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**A Descriptive Grammar of Darma: An Endangered Tibeto-  
Burman Language**

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**A Descriptive Grammar of Darma: An Endangered Tibeto-  
Burman Language**

**by**

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**Dissertation**

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Liberal Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**The University of Texas at Austin**

**December, 2007**

UMI Number: 3324629

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## **Dedication**

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Dan Oko, whose endless support and love has kept me inspired and motivated. I would also like to dedicate this work to the Darma people without whom this grammar would not exist.

## **Acknowledgements**

I want to thank so many people who have helped me at every stage of writing this dissertation there are not enough words and there is not enough space here to thank each individual. First, I would like to thank the Darma community for welcoming me into their lives and sharing with me their language and culture. I especially must thank Bishan Singh Bonal and his family for their exceptional hospitality in Delhi and in Baun Village. My association and friendship with the Bonal family opened so many doors in the Darma community, I am forever in their debt. Harish Singh Rautela was the first Rang man I met in Dharchula, and I am forever grateful to him and his family for their kind hospitality. I was so lucky to have met him, and I look forward to the day I start to document his language, Chaudangsi. It was his suggestion that I work on Darma, but I now know that he has always longed for someone to work on his language. I would like to thank Davinder Singh Garbyal for insightful commentary and wonderful stories about the Rang culture of the past. Both Dan and I are grateful to Bhupendra Bisht for his friendship and especially for introducing us to Sohnta Garbyal and saving us from a life at the KMVN Tourist Rest House! Sohnta, Aunty, thank you for trusting that the foreigners would be good renters. You opened your home and heart to us, and we learned so much about Rang culture living in your house. We truly feel we have a home and family away from home. Govind Fimal your frank and insightful discussion about the complex social structure of

the Rang community was invaluable. Thank you for being a friend and for being so honest about a very difficult topic. Your assistance kept me from derailing my project before it even started. Many thanks to Dinesh Singh Vyans for his friendship and interest in this project. His work on Rang history and culture, and his willingness to share his insights with me proved helpful beyond measure. I must thank Jitendra Gandhi for taking Dan trekking and keeping him from the abyss of boredom, but mostly I must thank him for introducing me to Bishan Singh Selal in my hour of need. I cannot thank Bishan Singh Selal enough for working with me year after year even after figuring out just how tedious being a language consultant can be. His tireless work as a consultant for this project in addition to his full time day job as a teacher was invaluable.

This project would never have been completed without the financial support of the University of Texas at Austin, the National Science Foundation, or the Fulbright Program. I am grateful to have received funding to pursue this line of inquiry, and hope that this type of research continues to be supported.

Finally, I would like to thank my advisors and peers who have supported me with this project from inception to completion. Anvita Abbi, Rajesh Bhatt, Megan Crowhurst, Scott DeLancey, Patience L. Epps, Randy J. LaPolla, Scott Myers, Anthony C. Woodbury, Roberto Zavala, and many others have been invaluable resources as I have worked on this project. I am lucky to have had the chance to share my work with such brilliant faculty. Heidi Johnson and Susan Smythe Kung thank you for keeping me grounded, and offering such sound advice whenever I turned to you for guidance. My comrades in description and documentation, Lynda De Jong Boudreault, Liberty Lidz, Laura Mahalingappa, Malavika Shetty, hearing of your adventures and misadventures and sharing data has been so helpful, and kept me on track! The graduate students at the University of Texas at Austin are such a cohesive group, I am truly appreciative of the

supportive learning environment that has continued to thrive in a competitive arena. If I have forgotten to thank anyone here, it is not for a lack of manners, it is simply because there is not enough room!



# **A Descriptive Grammar of Darma: An Endangered Tibeto-Burman Language**

Publication No. \_\_\_\_\_

Christina M. Willis, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2007

Supervisors: Anthony C. Woodbury and Rajesh Bhatt

This dissertation is a description of Darma, an under-documented Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the eastern corner of the state of Uttarakhand, India. With fewer than 2,600 speakers and no writing system, Darma is considered endangered. This is the most comprehensive description of Darma to date.

Like the other Himalayan languages, the genetic classification of Darma has not been definitively determined. It is widely described as a western Himalayish language that is closely related to Byansi, Chaudangsi and Rangkas (the latter being extinct).

The data presented in this dissertation were obtained through three methodologies: direct elicitation, participant observation, and the discourse-centered approach to data collection advocated by University of Texas linguistic anthropologist Joel Sherzer. The discourse-centered methodology relies on naturally occurring speech, including conversation, stories, songs and public dialogues. The resulting data are contextualized in a cultural framework, which is useful to linguists and anthropologists alike; and the majority of examples presented come from these texts.

The dissertation is presented in five sections with a total of nineteen chapters and a glossary. The first section provides background information on the Darma people, the language, and how this project came about. The second section describes the sound system of Darma, including its typologically unusual class of oral stops. The third section introduces the words that comprise a noun phrase including nouns, personal pronouns, and pronominal demonstrative forms, which are marked on a spatial axis (e.g. proximate, neutral, distal, and non-visible). The fourth section examines the affixes that combine with verb stems to form clauses and sentences. This includes a discussion of the basic SV/AOV constituent order, and the ergative/absolutive alignment system. Here nominalization/relativization, a common feature of Tibeto-Burman languages, is also presented along with the clause chaining strategy commonly found in narrative discourse.

The analysis for this dissertation is informed by a functional-typological perspective, and an effort has been made to capture general patterns found in the grammar. The goals are to provide a description of the grammar of Darma in a format that is accessible to many, and to avoid relying on any overly specific theoretical framework that may become obsolete.

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## Abbreviations

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Darma Morpheme</i>
1	First person	--
1PL	First person plural	[nɪŋ]
1SG	First person singular	[ʃi]
2	Second person	--
2PL	Second person plural	[genɪ]
2SG	Second person singular	[gɛ]
3	Third person	--
3PL	Third person plural	[wi]
3SG	Third person singular	[ʔu]
ABS	Absolutive	∅
ADJ	Adjective	--
ADV	Adverb	--
ANT	Anterior	[-hi]
ASP	Aspiration	C <sup>h</sup>
AUX	Auxiliary	--
BEN	Benefactive	[dɔŋsu]
CAUS	Causative	--
CFP	Clause final particle	[ŋa]
COMP	Complementizer	[ki]
COMPL	Completive	[ki-], [pi-], [par-], [lu-], [tu-]

COND	Conditional	[-jɛ]
CONT	Contrastive	[da]
COP	Copula	[le]
CVB	Converb	[-lan], [-t <sup>h</sup> ɛ]
DAT	Dative	[jo], [ju]
DEM	Demonstrative	--
ECHO	Echo	--
EMPH	Emphatic	[na], [ri]
ERG	Ergative	[su]
FEM	Feminine	--
FUT	Future	[-jan], [-aŋ], [-ŋ]
LN	Loan word	.LN
HM	Hesitation/pause marker	[jo nini], [ʔã]
IMP	Imperative	[-a], [-ni]
INC	Incompletive	[budu]
INF	Infinitive	[-mu]
INFER	Inferential evidential	VSTEM-FUT + [le] VSTEM [-ya le] VSTEM + [le]
INST	Instrumental	[su]
LOC	Locative	[ru]
MAT	maternal	--
MID	Middle	[-xi]
NEG	Negative	[ma-]



NEUT	Neutral (deictic)	--
NOM	Nominalizer	[-nu]
NONVIS	Non-Visible (deictic)	--
NPT	Non-Past	--
OPT	Optative	[-lo]
PAT	Paternal	--
PER	Permissive	[-mu]
PST	Past	[-su], [-ju], [-cu]
PL	Plural	[ʝɛn]
POSS	Possessive	[gu]
PROH	Prohibitive	[t <sup>h</sup> a]
PROX	Proximate (deictic)	--
Q	Question Particle	[k <sup>h</sup> a]
REP	Reported evidential	[la]
SG	Singular	--
TAG1	Confirmation Tag	[nɛ], [ja]

# PRELIMINIARIES

## Chapter 1: Background Information

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Darma<sup>1</sup> is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by fewer than 2,615 people in the Pithoragarh District of the northern Indian state Uttarakhand.<sup>2</sup> The Darma-speaking area of India is circled on the map of India shown in Illustration 1.0 below. While two brief sketches of Darma exist, this dissertation will serve as the most in-depth description of the language to date. Moreover, the data compiled and analyzed for this dissertation are largely extracted from naturally occurring discourse. Paradigmatic and other structural information regarding the language were fleshed out through direct elicitation sessions. Examples from these interview sessions are also used throughout this grammar.

Before I begin the description of the language itself, I would like to provide background information on the language, the people who speak it and how this project came about.<sup>3</sup> I will also provide information regarding previous work on Darma and closely related languages, the proposed genetic affiliation, and how this descriptive grammar fits into the current scholarship. I will explain how I collected data, how I have analyzed the data included in this dissertation, and how the data are presented. Finally, I will discuss the theoretical orientation of the analysis and description.

---

<sup>1</sup> Darma is called Darmiya in the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005). This name is also found in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (1967-68). The Darma themselves rarely use the word Darmiya; occasionally I heard people use the word Darmani.

<sup>2</sup> When I began investigating whether this project was viable, this area was part of Uttar Pradesh. In 2002, a new state was formed called Uttaranchal, which included the Garhwal and Kumaun regions. The name of the state was changed to Uttarakhand in early 2007. The current name of this area is a regional name that is found in much of the literature describing the peoples and languages of Garhwal and Kumaun.

<sup>3</sup> Research for this project was supported by: UT at Austin (Liberal Arts Graduate Research Award); Fulbright (IIE Scholarship & DDRA Fellowship); National Science Foundation (Dissertation Improvement Grant: BCS 0236475, Anthony C. Woodbury, supervising PI).



Illustration 1.0: Map of India (CIA 2007)<sup>4</sup>

## 1.1 THE DARMA PEOPLE

Darma is the name of a language, the group of people who speak the language, and the name of the valley that these people call home. Matisoff uses the term *loconym* to ‘refer specifically to a “place name that has been extended to serve as the name of a language or dialect”’ (1986: 7). He suggests that this might be due to the fact that languages frequently vary from village to village, and what one speaks is a result of where one was raised. Based on Matisoff’s definition, the term loconym is an appropriate label for the name Darma. The Darma people hail from the Darma Valley and they speak the language Darma; people in the adjacent valleys Byans and Chaudangs speak different languages.

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<sup>4</sup> This map is provided courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

The Darma are part of a larger group called the Rang people. The Rang comprise three groups the Byans, the Chaudangs,<sup>5</sup> and the Darma. The Government of India classifies all three groups as Bhotiya (from Bhot meaning ‘of Tibet’) a term the Darma and their fellow Rang people consider inaccurate and thus resent.<sup>6</sup>

The Rang people live in the Dharchula sub-District of the Pithoragarh District in the state Uttarakhand, India. This is the easternmost part of the Kumaun region,<sup>7</sup> which together with Garhwal to the west forms a region known historically, and now officially, as Uttarakhand.

Illustration 1.1.A below shows the Dharchula area of the Pithoragarh District in detail. The upper rightmost circle shows the town of Dharchula, which is the economic hub of the Darma-speaking area. The other circles indicate the locations of other towns where Darma speakers reside (i.e. Chhar Chum and Kalika in the central circle, and Baluwakot in the left-most circle). Located on the banks of the Kali River, which serves as the Indo-Nepali border, Dharchula is at the base of a valley and sits at an elevation of about 3,500 feet above sea level (900 meters). The weather tends to be fairly mild year round. There are heavy rains during the monsoon, and the winters are generally sunny and dry; the valley rarely sees snowfall.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Like the Darma, the Byans and Chaudangs people have various names. Byans is sometimes spelled Byangs, and the people and language are referred to as Byansi and Byangsi. Similarly, Chaudangs is sometimes spelled Chaudans, and the people and language are referred to as Chaudansi and Chaudangsi. I will refer to these Rang people as the Byans and Chaudangs, and their languages as Byansi and Chaudangsi. This decision is based on the use of self referents within the Rang community.

<sup>6</sup> The term Bhotiya is a general term used by the Government of India and the general Indian population to refer to any group of people who ‘look’ Tibetan. Part of the resentment on the part of the Rang people, is that they have been in contact with Tibetans historically, and consider Tibetans to be substantially different physically, culturally, and linguistically.

<sup>7</sup> This is one of two spellings of the name of this region found in English orthography. The other, Kumaon is preferred by some. My use of Kumaun versus Kumaon is not a political choice. The first encounter I had with the spelling of this region was with “u” rather than “o”. The spelling in Devanagari is with what is usually transliterated as a long, nasalized “u”.

<sup>8</sup> In early 2005 it snowed in Dharchula while I was in Kerala attending the annual Fulbright conference. Locals report that it was the first snowfall since about 1955. I returned to Dharchula a week after the snowfall, and while water was available there was no power for another three days.

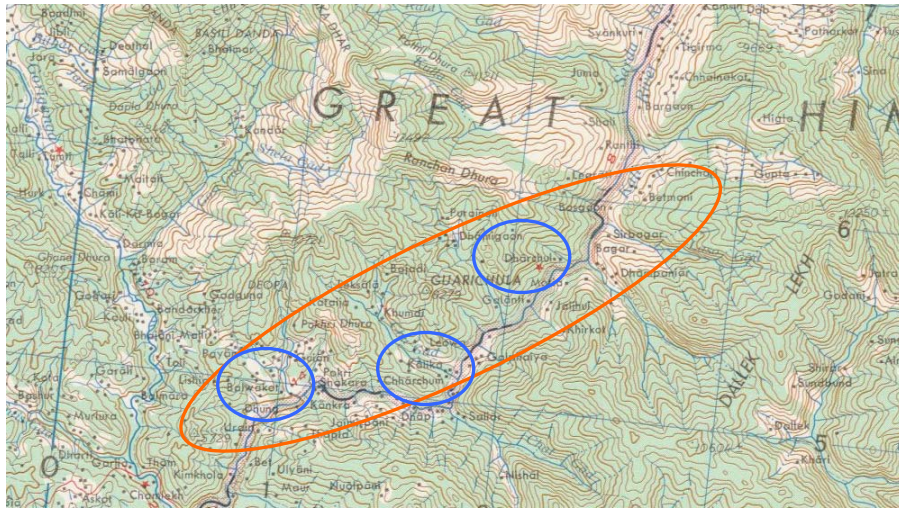


Illustration 1.1.A: Map of Dharchula Area (Army Map Service 1955b)<sup>9</sup>

Traditionally, the Darma lived from October/November through April/May in villages along the banks of the Kali River near the town of Dharchula, and then migrated to the higher elevation of the Darma Valley for the summer season. Nowadays, many Darma people live year-round in the Dharchula area. This will be discussed again below. The traditional summer home of the Darma is shown in Illustrations 1.1.B and 1.1.C below. Referred to as the Darma Valley, the valley is bisected on a north-south axis by the Dhauli Ganga River. The residential villages of the Darma are found on both banks of the river. The valley is usually referred to as two distinct areas Malla Darma (Upper)--from Sela to Sipu--and Talla Darma (Lower) below Sipu. These areas are shown separately; the Darma Valley area is circled on each map. The migration upward to the valley from the Dharchula area begins after the snow in the mountains begins to recede. The villages in the Darma valley are at an elevation of about 10,000 to over 13,000 feet.

<sup>9</sup> This map is provided courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

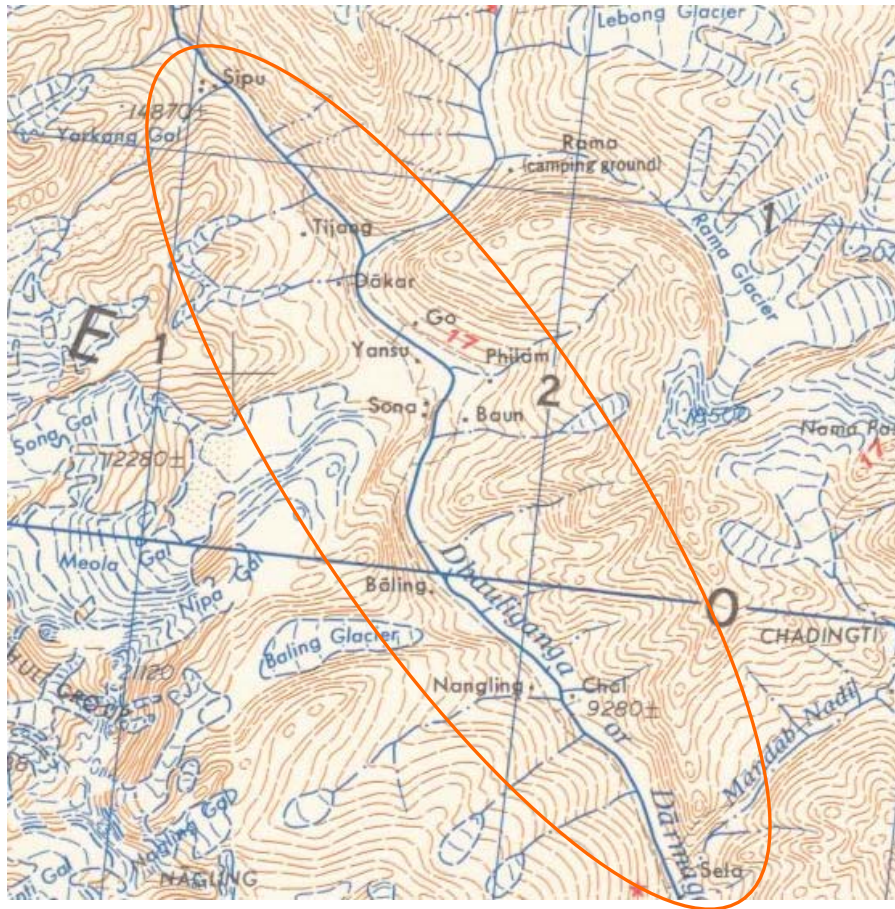


Illustration 1.1.B: Map of Upper Darma Valley (Army Map Service 1955a)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> This map is provided courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

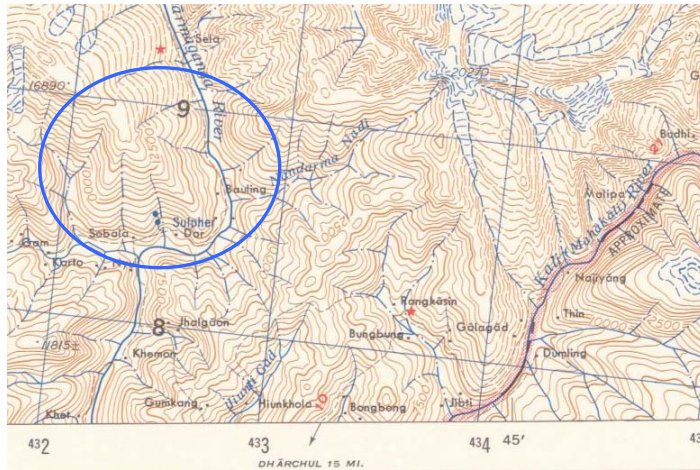


Illustration 1.1.C: Map of Lower Darma Valley (Army Map Service 1955a)<sup>11</sup>

### 1.1.1 The Linguistic Area

The Dharchula area is home both to speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages (i.e. the Rang people as discussed in §1.1 above) and to speakers of Indo-Aryan languages (i.e. Nepali and Kumauni people). In addition, many Hindi-speaking<sup>12</sup> Indians from outside the area reside in the Dharchula area as government employees and military personnel. Frequently these people bring their families to live with them. Most of these people live in housing colonies just outside of Dharchula.

In addition to the fourteen villages of the Darma Valley, Darma is spoken in the villages along the Kali River from Jauljibi to Dharchula (cf Illustration 1.1.A above). The surname of a Darma person indicates the name of the ancestral village (or if a woman is married, the ancestral village of her husband). For example, a person from Baun village will have the surname Bonal.<sup>13</sup> During the winter months, the population of each village from Darma Valley will move to an associated village in the Dharchula area. For

<sup>11</sup> This map is provided courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>12</sup> Hindi is also an Indo-Aryan language.

<sup>13</sup> I am using the spellings that the Rang people use when writing their village names and surnames using a romanized orthography.

example, the people from the Darma village Tidang reside in the town of Kalika during the winter months. While the land in the Darma Valley belongs to the Darma, and each family has a plot of land that is passed down through a patrilineal line, the residences in the Dharchula area are not historically owned by the Darma. In historic times the king of Askot owned the land where the Darma now spend their winters. Today, who rents and who owns land in the winter villages in and around Dharchula varies.

Like the Darma, the other Rang tribes have winter and summer residences. The Byans people have ancestral homes in the Byans Valley and winter residences in Dharchula. The Chaudangs people have ancestral homes in the Chaudangs Valley, and some Chaudangs people spend the winter months in and around Dharchula. Because the Chaudangs Valley is at a lower elevation than the Darma and Byans valleys, it is possible to remain in the valley year-round;<sup>14</sup> thus many Chaudangs people do not migrate seasonally.

The Kali River serves as a natural border between India and Nepal, and a footbridge connects Darchula, Nepal with Dharchula, India. Citizens from both sides are allowed to cross the river without a passport; this open border allows the Rang people and the Nepali-speaking people to interact freely. Some of the Byans people spend the winter months in villages that are located on the Nepal side of the river, and many Rang do not consider Darchula, Nepal and Dharchula, India to be different towns.

The exact numbers of Darma speakers are difficult to ascertain due in part to the fact that the census does not count the Rang people individually. Based on the data from the 2001 Census, I estimate that of the 51,026 people living in Dharchula, there are 6,572

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<sup>14</sup> Because the elevation is lower the Chaudangs people are also able to grow crops in their valley that are not grown in either Darma or Byans. For example, the Chaudangs grow rice in their ancestral fields.



Rang people (i.e., people who are classified as members of a Scheduled Tribe).<sup>15</sup> Of these, 2,615 live in Darma villages.

Other Rang languages spoken locally include Byansi and Chaudangsi. The exact relationship between these three Rang varieties has yet to be established. I will present the various attempts at genetic classification of these languages in §1.4 below. According to the Rang people, Darma is the original Rang language from which Byansi and Chaudangsi have evolved. They make this claim because they perceive Darma to be the most conservative of the three languages. This was also codified by a Chaudangsi scholar, Ratan Singh Rayapa,<sup>16</sup> in his book *Shauka* about the Rang culture.<sup>17</sup>

Some locals report that there are three non-Rang (i.e. Indo Aryan) languages spoken in the area, while others report that there are four (i.e. Hindi, Nepali, Kumauni, and Pahari). An acquaintance from Kathmandu who was living in Dharchula while working on a local dam project told me that the Nepali spoken in this region is ‘different’ from the Nepali near the capital. In fact some locals do not consider this language to be Nepali at all—they refer to it as Pahari<sup>18</sup> instead. The other Indo-Aryan language considered local to the region, Kumauni, has also been referred to by locals as Pahari. One consultant explained that Kumauni is really spoken in and around Almora. The Kumauni in the Pithoragarh area, which is a four-hour jeep ride from Dharchula, is considered quite different from the Almora variety, and the variety spoken in Dharchula is different from the Pithoragarh variety. This consultant said that the Kumauni in

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<sup>15</sup> The status of Scheduled Tribe is discussed in a later section. While it is possible that there are non-Rang Scheduled Tribe members living in the Dharchula area, their numbers are not substantial.

<sup>16</sup> Mr. Rayapa died in April 2005.

<sup>17</sup> I have not been able to obtain a copy of this book, which is out of print. Mr. Rayapa’s view was explained to me by his colleague Dr. J.C. Das of the Anthropological Survey of India during a 2001 interview in Dehra Dun.

<sup>18</sup> There is a language spoken in Himachal Pradesh called Pahari. As far as I know this is not closely related. The word *pahar* means ‘mountain’ in the Indo-Aryan languages, and Pahari refers to the dialect or language spoken in the mountains.

Dharchula is really just Pahari, and that Pahari and Nepali are basically the same thing. The online Ethnologue has an entry for Kumauni, and confirms that speakers consider the eastern varieties of the language to be very different (Gordon 2005). It is also reported that in this border area there are dialects of Kumauni that are different from those to the west (D.D. Sharma 1983).

Because the focus of this project was to document and describe Darma, I did not spend much time trying to figure out whether there were indeed four Indo-Aryan languages being spoken in Dharchula (i.e. Hindi, Nepali, Kumauni, and Pahari). Until I conduct research specifically on the Indo-Aryan varieties of this far flung region of Kumaun, I will simply report that some speakers recognize four Indo-Aryan languages of the region, some recognize three (i.e. Hindi, Nepali, and Kumauni/Pahari), and others recognize only two (i.e. Hindi and Pahari).

Hindi is spoken in this region by the government employees who are stationed in and near Dharchula for work and locals who are educated in Hindi-medium schools.<sup>19</sup> Hindi is the language of the state government, and is used in interactions between locals and non-locals. The Dharchula area is considered a sensitive border area due to its proximity to Tibet (China). The Indo-Tibetan Border Patrol (ITBP), the Sima Sasastra Bal (SSB or Border Special Force), the Kumaun Scouts, the police, the Indian Army, the National Hydro-Electrical Power Corporation, and a Central Intelligence Officer are all stationed in and around Dharchula. These groups are largely comprised of people from all over India who speak Hindi as a common language; many of them are also fluent in English, and some posts require the use of English in daily communication. As

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<sup>19</sup> There are also English-medium schools, which many local students attend. Two English-medium schools were established specifically for government employees, but enrollment is also open to the local population. There is also a Christian mission school in Dharchula that is English-medium. English is highly valorized, and many parents send their children to the English-medium schools with the hope that they may obtain secure, high-paying jobs in the future.

mentioned previously, the employees and personnel of these groups frequently relocate to Dharchula with their immediate families. The result has been a housing boom and an increase in the use of Hindi and English in Dharchula and the surrounding towns.

In general, the Darma interact with all of the language groups of the Dharchula area. Because the Byans and Chaudangs are considered sister tribes, the Darma sometimes inter-marry with both groups. As mentioned, the Hindi-speaking people of the area are mainly from the plains, and they don't frequently interact with the local populations. For example, the military has its own grocery store, and the Western subcontractors for the dam project usually have goods shipped up from Delhi for their staff. One subcontractor has built a private subdivision in Dharchula where its employees reside. The complex is gated and is guarded by security personnel (along with a ferocious German shepherd); visitors may enter only with an invitation.

The relationship between the Rang and the Nepali people is generally friendly. There is a group of servant class people some of who speak Darma. These people are considered either very low caste or are considered to be untouchable, depending on who is reporting their status. Some Darma people will allow these servant people into their homes and others will not let them across the threshold. Even the servants allowed into the house are not allowed into the kitchen. For those Darma who make the annual migration the servants play an integral role in the planting and harvesting of the crops. This issue of caste will be addressed in §1.1.4 below.

### **1.1.2 Transhumance and Trade**

Beginning in May, as the snow in the high mountains begins to recede, the Darma move up to higher elevations northeast of Dharchula to the Darma Valley, where they live until the first winter snow flies (usually in late October). The move to higher ground

provides fresh grazing areas for sheep and other livestock, and brings the Darma closer to the high mountain passes that lead into Tibet.

The Darma Valley has fourteen villages<sup>20</sup> Sela, Chal, Nagling, Baling, Dugtu, Dantu, Saun, Baun, Filam, Go, Dhakar, Tidang, Marccha, and Sipu.<sup>21</sup> The villages are located on both sides of the Dhauli Ganga River, which bisects the valley. The last village in Darma Valley is Sipu and it is also at the highest elevation (about 14,000 feet) high above the Dhauli Ganga. While my husband and I did not venture beyond Sipu, we were told that beyond the village the valley widens and there is a large lake.<sup>22</sup>

Historically the summer months were the time when the Darma conducted trade with Tibet bringing goods traded and purchased on the Indian Plains to a large market in Taklakot across the border. The market is still active today, and it is accessible via a high mountain pass from Darma Valley. While the men went to Tibet for trade, the women planted and tended fields in the Darma villages. The sheep and livestock were led from grazing area to grazing area throughout the valley by herders hired for this purpose. While some families still have livestock, and still bring them to Darma Valley for summer grazing, the number of animals is reportedly greatly diminished.

The cycle of migration for the purpose of grazing animals, moving agricultural operations, and conducting trade is referred to as *transhumance* (Hoon 1996), and the

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<sup>20</sup> From the town of Tawaghat, where the Kali River and the Dhauli Rivers meet, there are three villages before one reaches Sela (Sobla, Dar and Bungling). Some people consider these to be part of the Lower Darma Valley; Darma people and non-Rang people live in these villages year-round. Additionally, the Dhauli Ganga dam, which is being constructed by the National Hydro-Electrical Power Corporation (NHPC), has created a town called Chirkala where the dam site is located. This town and the area around it will be submerged when the dam is completed. From Sela upward, the villages are only occupied during the migration season.

<sup>21</sup> The map in Illustration 1.1.B shows twelve villages, one of which I do not know. Considering these maps are from 1955, it is possible that this village, Yansu, is a traditional village name no longer used, but I do not know.

<sup>22</sup> Based on the topographic maps and on the Google Earth maps I have examined, there is no lake.

number of Darma and Rang people who participate in *transhumance* has declined in the last forty years. One reason for this decline will be discussed in the next section.

### **1.1.3 Indo-China Conflict**

In 1962, a war broke out with China and the Indian government closed the border. This included the mountain passes in the Darma and Byans Valleys that were used by the Rang to reach the markets at Takalakot. The sudden closure of the border and the subsequent militarization of the area had a direct impact on the livelihood of the Rang communities. Unable to earn a living through trade, many Rang people were forced to find jobs and adopt a sedentary lifestyle. As a result, many families remain in and around Dharchula year-round; they no longer participate in trade; and because they cannot take a six-month hiatus from their jobs they no longer participate in the migration.

In the past, all Darma people made the annual migration. Today, the number of Darma who continue the annual migration to what is considered the motherland has decreased; the reopening of the border in 1992 has brought some back in to the trade business, but not many. Those who continue to make the annual migration to Darma Valley do not have steady employment. They rely on profits from their buckwheat crops, which fetch a high price on the plains, and from the rugs, blankets, sweaters, hats and shawls they make using wool from their own animals and that purchased from the government. When I visited the Darma Valley in 2003, there was a group of Darma visiting their ancestral home for the first time in many years (in some cases as many as 20 years). They were returning to pay their respects to the gods in thanks for their success in life and their secure employment in government jobs.

#### **1.1.4 Scheduled Tribe Status**

The Darma and the other Rang tribes are classified as members of the Scheduled Tribes of India. This status has educational and economic benefits for the Rang people. Seats for Scheduled Tribes are held in all universities and a number of government jobs are reserved as well. While not all Scheduled Tribes recognize the caste system in India, the Rang identify as Kshatriya, which is denoted by the use of Singh as a second name by all males. For example, a Darma man from Sela village named Bishan will have the full name Bishan Singh Selal.

Historically, the Rang people have servants who are classified as Scheduled Caste. Without going into great detail, Scheduled Caste refers to people who are members of the lower castes (e.g. Dalits, more commonly known as Untouchables). The classification Scheduled Caste, like the classification Scheduled Tribe, was constructed by the Government of India to protect this group, and provide seats in the universities and in government positions. The Scheduled Caste people who live in and around Dharchula are not looked upon favorably by the Scheduled Tribes, and are generally relegated to positions as porters and servants.

The history of the Rang as Kshatriya is not clear. Some locals claim to be of Rajput descent. They say that the ancestors of the Rang fled to the hills during the Mughal invasion. Other Rang people say that this is a story that was made up to earn Kshatriya status, and the Rang people are in fact traditionally mountain people and most likely are related to the people of the Sinosphere. Whatever the case may be, the status of the Rang as a Scheduled Tribe is secure, and the caste name Singh is not questioned within the larger community, which includes non-Rang people.

The relationship between the Rang and the Scheduled Caste is also unclear. Some Rang and Scheduled Caste people described the relationship as master-slave. Others said

that historically the Scheduled Caste people were indentured servants brought to work in the area. Some Rang families have a relationship with Scheduled Caste families that goes back generations. The Scheduled Caste family works for the Rang family and they are guaranteed food, shelter, and sometimes healthcare. Many Scheduled Caste families use the Darma village as a surname as their Scheduled Tribe counterparts do.<sup>23</sup> Unlike the Rang, the Scheduled Caste people do not have Singh as a second name. Most Scheduled Caste people will not use a second name at all, but some men use Ram as a second name. For example, a Scheduled tribe man whose family works for a Rang family from the Darma village of Baun will use Bonal as a surname. The relationships between the members of the Scheduled Caste and the members of the Scheduled Tribe are not openly discussed, and it took quite a bit of time for me to learn what I now know.

The Scheduled Caste people who live near the Darma and work for Darma families speak Darma, but I was unable to ascertain the extent of their fluency during my fieldwork. Due to the difficult relationship between the groups, I was advised to not work with Scheduled Caste people. To do so, I was told, would prevent Rang people from working with me.

#### **1.1.5 Various Names of Darma and Rang People**

The Kumauni call the Rang people the Shauka, which reportedly means money. Similarly, the Tibetans call the Rang ‘money bags’. The British referred to the Rang people as Bhotiya because they resemble Tibetans (recall that Bhot means Tibet). The Government of India continues to use the term Bhotiya for all Himalayan tribes that have physical features characterized as Tibetan. The Rang have historically had a close

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<sup>23</sup> This practice is found to be unacceptable by many Rang people. Some Rang claim that the use of Darma surnames is an effort by the Scheduled Caste to confuse outsiders regarding their status. Whether this is an official scheme, it is true that the use of Darma names by non-Rang people confused me at the start of my research. It was, however, a Scheduled Caste friend who alerted me to the relationship between the Rang and the Scheduled Caste and offered sage advice on how best to handle myself within the community.

relationship with Tibetans and consider themselves to be nothing like them. The general attitude towards the term Bhotiya is that it is a misnomer. Nevertheless scholars who have worked in the area continue to refer to the Byans, Chaudangs and Darma not as Rang people, but as Bhotiya people (cf Trivedi 1991 and D.D. Sharma 1983 & 1989)

The Rang people refer to all of the dialects spoken by tribe members as *Rang lo*,<sup>24</sup> which literally means ‘Rang language’. When pressed, however, the Rang are emphatic that there are different varieties of *Rang lo* spoken in the area. The Byans people tell me that the varieties of Byansi spoken in Tinkar and Kuti are different from the variety spoken in the other villages.<sup>25</sup> It is hardly surprising to find this type of variety when one considers the mountainous landscape of the region.

## **1.2 THE DARMA WITHIN THE RANG COMMUNITY**

### **1.2.1 The Socio-Economic Situation**

While the major activity of males used to be trading goods in Nepal and Tibet, this activity was abruptly halted when the Indo-Tibetan border was closed in 1962. Even though the border has since reopened, few people are involved in trade today. The traditional occupation of women included agriculture and weaving. Today, Rang women continue to weave rugs and blankets for personal use and for sale. Now, the men contribute to this activity by spinning wool into yarn. Both men and women knit socks and hats.

After the border closure, the Rang were forced to find an alternative source of income. Many Rang men became merchants, an occupation that continues today. Many of the shops in marketplaces from Dharchula to Jauljibi are run by Rang people. Beginning in the 1960s the Rang began to send their sons away to be educated in

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<sup>24</sup> The term *Rang boli* is also used for all of the Rang languages. *boli* is an Indo-Aryan word for ‘dialect’.

<sup>25</sup> These differences are also reported in Trivedi (1991) and S.R. Sharma (2001b).



English-medium and Hindi-medium schools. This generation is now largely employed in government positions, which has contributed to a growing Rang diaspora. While considered successful, and looked up to by the Rang in the Dharchula area, the diaspora community have largely eschewed Rang culture. The children of Darma diaspora that I met were amazed that I knew about their language and culture. Most of these children did not speak Darma, and had little knowledge of the traditional ceremonies. In some families, if both parents were Darma, the Rang language was used as a code language between parents. In other diaspora families, Hindi was used as the home language. I even met one Darma family in Dharchula where the language with the children at home was Hindi. These children attended an English-medium school, and had a passive knowledge of Darma, which their parents used as a code language.

In addition to government employment and work as shopkeepers, there is a darker side to the border closure. Some Rang people have turned to the lucrative and dangerous work of smuggling animal skins and parts to China. While this business is not openly discussed, and I was unable to confirm with individuals about their illicit means of employment, there were several arrests while I was in Dharchula of local Rang men en route to Nepal with animal skins and parts destined for the Chinese market. As a foreign researcher, I was visited by the local intelligence officer as soon as I arrived in Dharchula. A friendly man who was interested in my research and the local people, he proved a useful source of information. He was able to explain the illegal trade routes and confirm that locals, including Rang people, were integral to the smuggling enterprise.<sup>26</sup>

Some Rang families rely on the crops reaped from subsistence agriculture year round (i.e. crops grown in the Dharchula area and crops grown in the Darma Valley).

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<sup>26</sup> I must note that the intelligence officer never compromised his job by revealing names of suspected traders. He clarified stories that I read in the local papers. I did not report the names of men who were rumored to be smugglers, and the intelligence officer never requested that I spy on the community.

Because they are classified as a Scheduled Tribe the Rang people receive support from the government for schooling, medical expenses and food. Many men have no formal means of employment. The rugs and blankets woven by women are sold whenever possible as a source of income, and men participate in spinning wool and knitting garments for personal use and for sale. These families are the poorest of the Rang people, and for them making the annual migration is integral to their survival.

### **1.2.2 The Sociolinguistic Situation**

I do not have statistics about who is monolingual versus multi-lingual. Anecdotally, the few monolingual speakers I met were women usually aged 50 and older. All of the monolingual women I encountered had received no education and their families continued to make the annual migration to the Darma Valley.

While some of the children that I visited in the villages near Dharchula spoke Darma fluently, many parents encourage their children to focus on learning English and Hindi. The perception is that Darma and the other Rang languages will not benefit the children when they reach adulthood and need to find employment. Many Rang people I met do not bring their children on migration because it would interrupt the school year. Most villages in the Darma Valley no longer have schools, due in large part to a dearth of teachers willing to spend six months in such a rugged and remote area.

### **1.2.3 Contexts of Use and Language Choice**

Many people use Darma in the home, especially if they live in a village tied to their ancestral village in the Darma Valley. For example, if a Bonal person lives in Gothi in the winter, where most Bonals congregate, then that Bonal will most likely speak Darma in the home. But if a Bonal person lives in Dharchula or Delhi, then Hindi or English is most likely the primary language in the home. In the Dharchula market, with

non-Rang people and non-Darma speakers, Darma people tend to speak Hindi or Nepali (or whichever language is appropriate). Byansi speakers will initiate conversation with Darma speakers in Byansi. If the Darma speaker is not comfortable with his knowledge of Byansi, he will shift the conversation to Hindi.<sup>27</sup> Within the Rang community the Byans people are the most prosperous and have the most economic stability. The Government of India granted the Byans people the title to the land in Dharchula, which is historically their winter residence. Because Dharchula is the economic hub of the sub-district, the Byans people hold title to land that is very valuable. This economic status contributes to the view of local Rang people that the Byans people and the Byans language are superior to Darma and Chaudans.

#### **1.2.4 Viability**

As mentioned in previous sections, I encountered many children in the villages of the Dharchula area who are fluent in Darma. In Dharchula, Delhi, and other outside places, the children are spoken to in Hindi (and sometimes English) and the adults use Darma as a code language.

Youngsters are encouraged to excel in Hindi or English, both of which are perceived as prestige languages. Attendance in a Hindi- or English-Medium school is also highly prized; the goal is that these children will get good government postings after they finish their education. Children are expected to embrace Hindi and/or English. There is a generation of Rang people who have succeeded in attaining outside government postings after receiving an education in Hindi and English. This group of people, now in their mid-forties to mid-fifties is held up as an example and inspiration to young Darma people living in the villages. The first generation of government employees was sent to

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<sup>27</sup> This phenomenon was reported to me on many occasions by Darma people. I also witnessed this happening on several occasions. Occasionally Byans people would tell me that all Rang people understood their language (i.e. Byansi).

boarding school after the government closed the border with Tibet in 1962 after China invaded. If the current trend continues, the number of Darma speakers will certainly decrease. Considering the economic and social status associated with language use, the viability of Darma must be considered marginal.

### **1.2.5 Dialects**

This grammar is based on recordings of people from Baun Village, Sipu Village, Sela village, and interviews with people from nearly every village in Darma Valley. According to the Darma speakers I interviewed there is little difference in the variety of Darma spoken from village to village in Darma Valley. Unlike the neighboring Byansi people who recognize three distinct dialects (i.e. Byansi, Tinkari and Kutyal), the Darma perceive their language as homogeneous throughout the valley. My primary consultant is from Sela, and had no problem listening to tapes from villages not his own, including tapes from Sipu, the village farthest from Sela. When asked, he could not identify the village of origin for any of the speakers recorded (unless, of course, he recognized the speaker's voice). While this grammar is not based on the idiolect of my primary consultant or recordings from a single village, I cannot substantiate with empirical evidence the claim that there is only one variety of Darma .

## **1.3 DOCUMENTING DARMA**

This project would never have happened without the faculty at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in Delhi or without the advice from Harish Singh Rautela in Dharchula. In this section, I will provide some background information on how this project developed.

When I appealed to Dr. Anvita Abbi at JNU to help me find a language in India to document, she suggested that I think about working on *Rangboli*. When I searched the

literature, I found that there had been no work done on *Rangboli*, whatsoever. The thought of beginning a project on a language that was entirely unknown was simultaneously exciting and terrifying. I wondered how a language spoken in India could possibly have no record of its existence, especially considering the great task undertaken by G.A. Grierson to record the name of every language in India that he could find and to provide a brief sketch of each variety.<sup>28</sup> The Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) recorded the name of languages spoken in nearly every nook and cranny of the subcontinent (Grierson 1967-68). It wasn't until later that I was able to piece together the puzzle of *Rangboli*.

Dr. Abbi is an expert on the languages of India, and she and her colleagues had led a fieldtrip to the area where *Rangboli* is spoken. I had no question that *Rangboli* existed, but how had it been missed in the literature? I went to India in 2001 to survey the situation. Dr. Abbi was away when I landed in India, but her colleague Dr. Ayesha Kidwai stepped in and offered me helpful advice about visiting Dharchula.<sup>29</sup> She also agreed to serve as my local advisor for any project I decided to undertake. When I finally made my way to Dharchula Town, I learned from Harish Singh Rautela why there is no record of *Rangboli* in the literature. It is true that the locals sometimes call their language *Rangboli*, but *boli* is the Hindi word for 'dialect'. The autonym *Ranglo* is frequently used, but which language is referenced when this term is used depends on who is

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<sup>28</sup> The majority of sketches included in Grierson's survey were based on translations of religious parables into the target language. For example one text of Darma (Darmiya) is the story of the prodigal son.

<sup>29</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Kidwai for instructing me to make two purchases that proved invaluable. The first is an immersion rod used to heat a bucket of water for bathing. While the thought of immersing an electrified metal rod into a bucket of water was initially alarming, having hot water with which to wash was luxurious (especially during the winter months). The second article I was instructed to buy was an electric mosquito coil. Plugged in, the device heats up a mysterious liquid that kills mosquitoes and is 'harmless' to humans. This device came in handy throughout India, and in conjunction with a mosquito net kept me (mostly) mosquito bite-free, and (absolutely) malaria free.

speaking. For example, a Darma man talking about *Ranglo* is usually referring to Darma, not Byansi.

During my interview with Mr. Rautela, I learned of the three Rang tribes and was advised to work on Darma. Mr. Rautela suggested this in part because it is perceived as the ‘original’ Rang language, and in part because no one had really done much work on Darma. When I returned to the University of Texas at Austin, I learned that Mr. Rautela was correct and that only two brief sketches of Darma existed, while there was already a descriptive grammar of Byansi (and Chaudangsi was presumed to be the same). Looking back it is amazing that Mr. Rautela suggested that I work on Darma. He is a Chaudangsi man and while he knows that many people believe Chaudangsi and Byansi are possibly dialects, he does not hold this view. Mr. Rautela and other Chaudangsi people have requested that their variety of *Ranglo* be the focus of an independent project.

#### **1.4 GENETIC AFFILIATION**

Many of the languages that comprise the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family are tenuously classified. In an effort to gather various classifications of these languages together, Hale (1982) provides an overview of the research available on the Tibeto-Burman languages. When one reads a sketch or a grammar of a Tibeto-Burman language, the author most often leads with a note on the uncertain classification of the language that is described (Genetti 1994; S.R. Sharma 2001a); Darma is no exception. I have found six different classifications of the language; a selection of these is shown below in Figures 1.4.A-1.4.F. Several of the systems presented here are summarized in Hale (1982). The multiple classifications do not differ radically, but I think this variation is a testament to the need to continue documenting and describing the Tibeto-Burman languages.

When comparing all of the classifications below, it is interesting to note that all of the systems except that of Grierson-Konow (cf Figure 1.4.A) and Saxena (cf Figure 1.4.F) place Darma in a branch that is called Almora. It should also be noted that the language Rangkas is classified as extinct (Driem 2001 934; S.R. Sharma 2001b; Gordon 2005).

In Figure 1.4.A, we see that Grierson-Konow places Darma in the Western Subgroup of the Complex Pronominalized languages. Genetti 1994 traces the classification of these Himalayan languages as either non-Pronominalized or Complex Pronominalized to the feature of cross-referencing external arguments on the verb (cf §13.2 below for a discussion of cross-referencing in Darma). The spelling of each language in the following figures is as it is presented in the source.

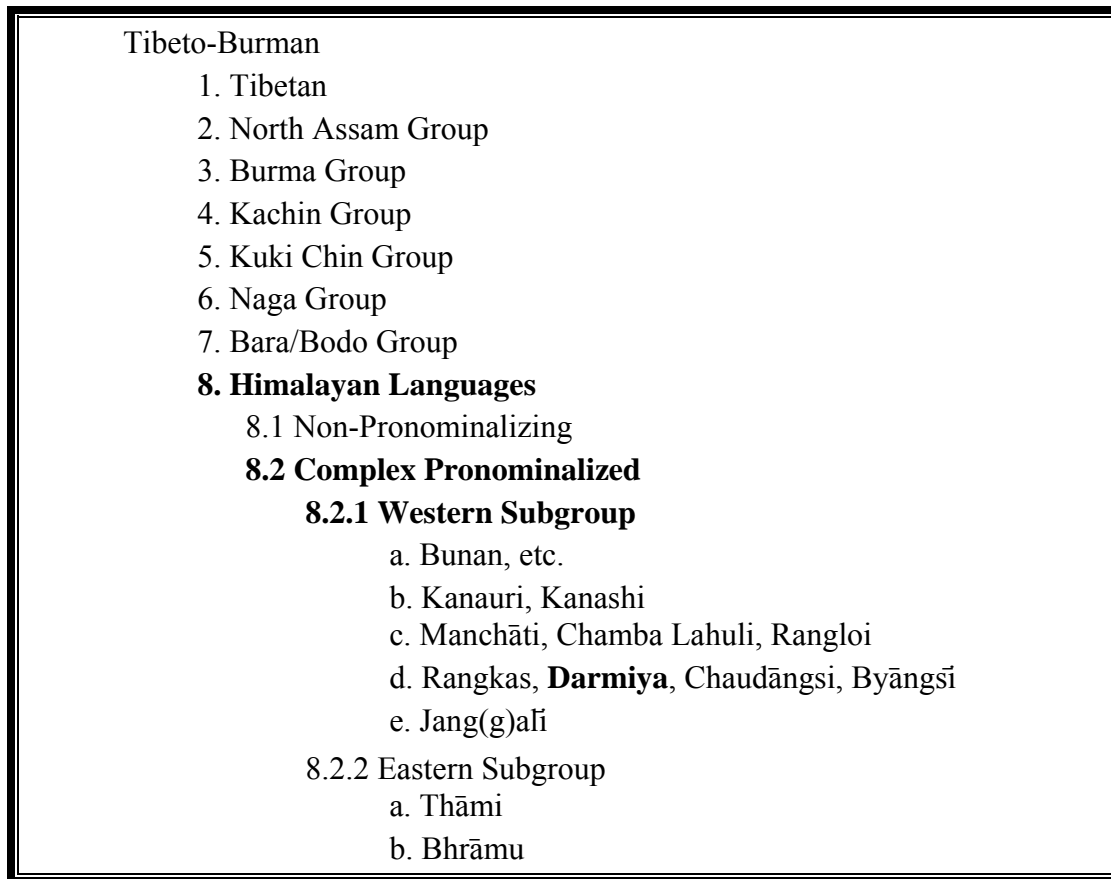


Figure 1.4.A: Genetic Classification: Grierson-Konow (in Hale 1982)

In Figures 1.4.B and 1.4.C below, note that both Shafer and Benedict place Rangkas and Darma into one group of the Almora Branch/Subtype of Himalayish languages and Byansi and Chaudangsi in another group. This classification stands in contrast to all of the other classifications presented here where Darma is listed as a sister to Byansi and Chaudangsi. While Rangkas is reported to be extinct, the Darma people in Sipu referred to a Darma-speaking people in the village Ralam located in Milam Valley<sup>30</sup> to the west. According to the Darma speakers, the traditional language of Milam Valley is still spoken. It is unclear at this time if people in Ralam are speaking Darma, a variety of

<sup>30</sup> One can reach the Milam Valley from Sipu via a mountain pass. This pass is reportedly extremely treacherous and the gods will only allow the men who speak Darma to safely cross.



Darma, or if a closely related, mutually intelligible language is spoken there. Whatever the case may be, this area must be investigated further.

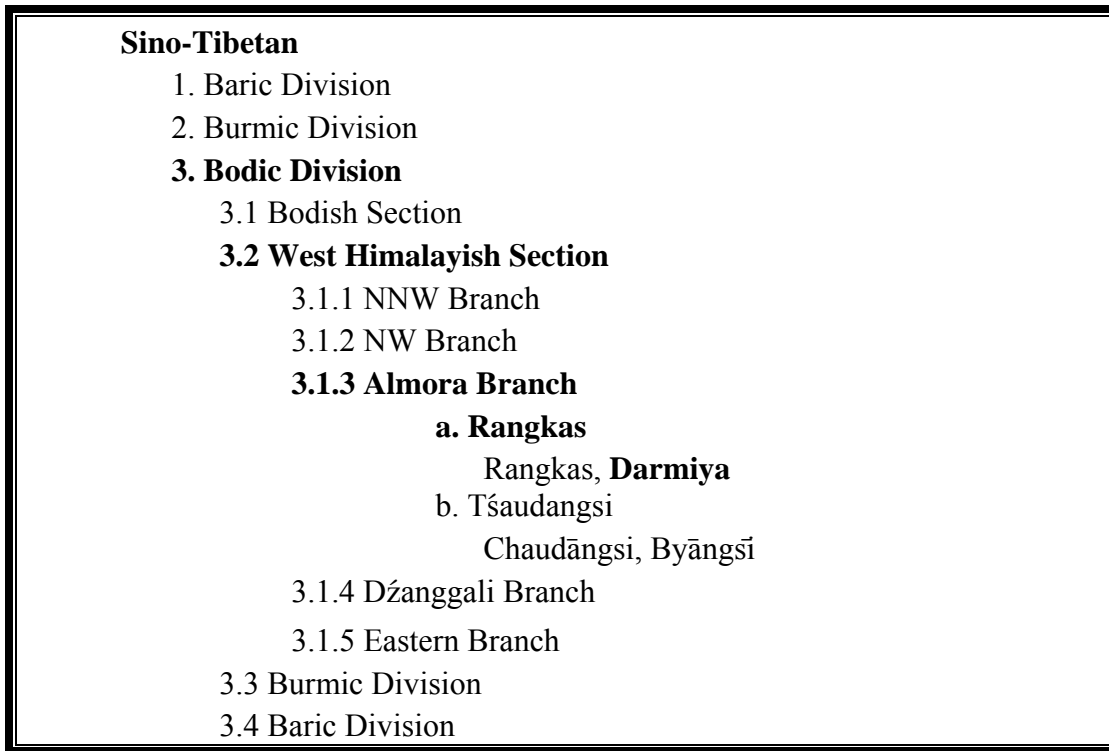


Figure 1.4.B: Genetic Classification: Shafer (in Hale 1982)



Figure 1.4.C: Genetic Classification: Benedict (in Hale 1982)

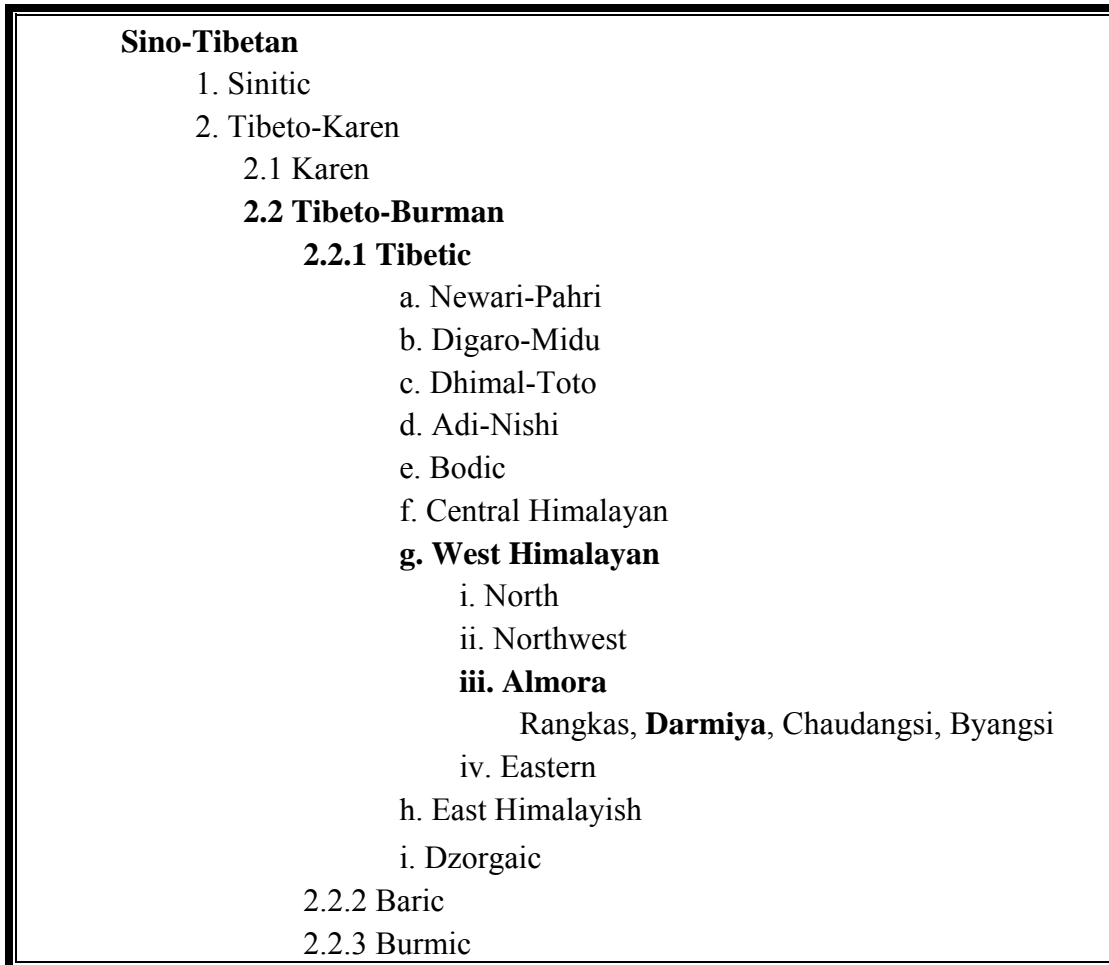


Figure 1.4.D: Genetic Classification: Ruhlen (1991:331)

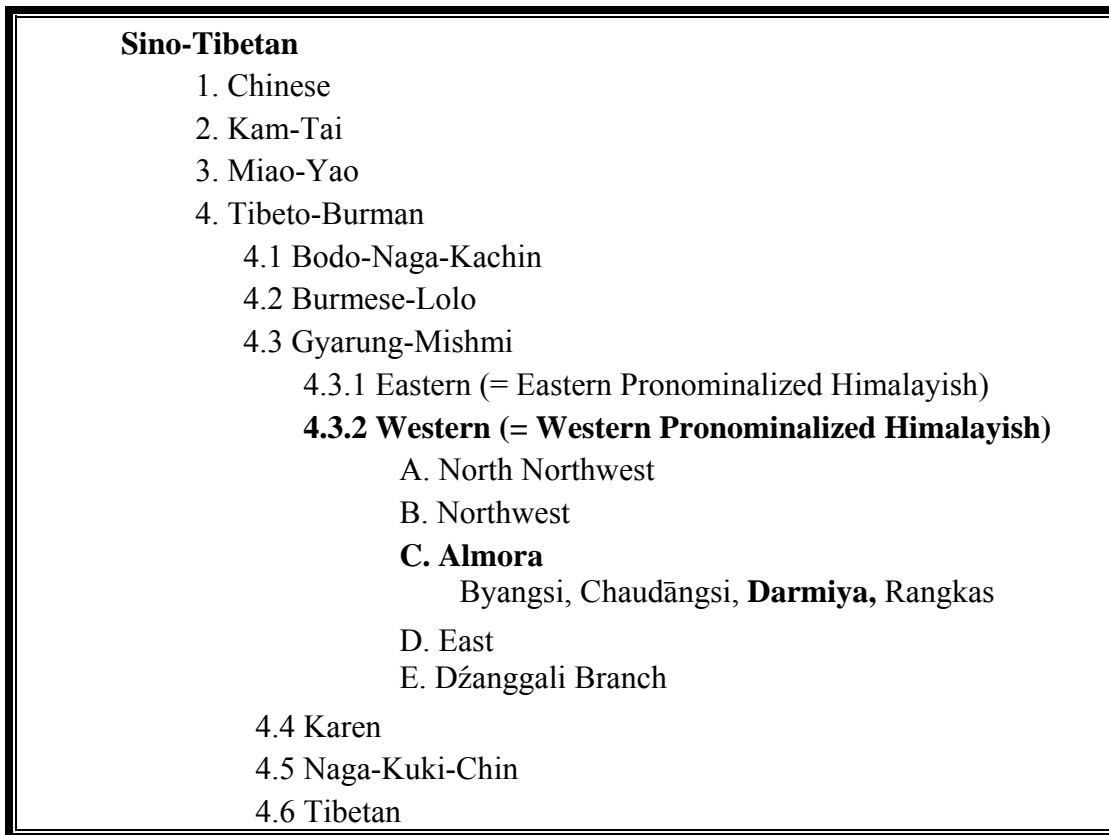


Figure 1.4.E: Genetic Classification: Voegelin & Voegelin (1977:307)

Many of the classifications presented here are based on the work of others. Saxena has proposed a new classification system that includes Darma, which she has modeled after Benedict (1972) and Nishi (1990); it is informed by her own work on Kinnauri (1997: 17) and related languages. This classification is presented in Figure 1.4.F below; the languages in parentheses are languages that Saxena added to the classification in her 1992 dissertation.

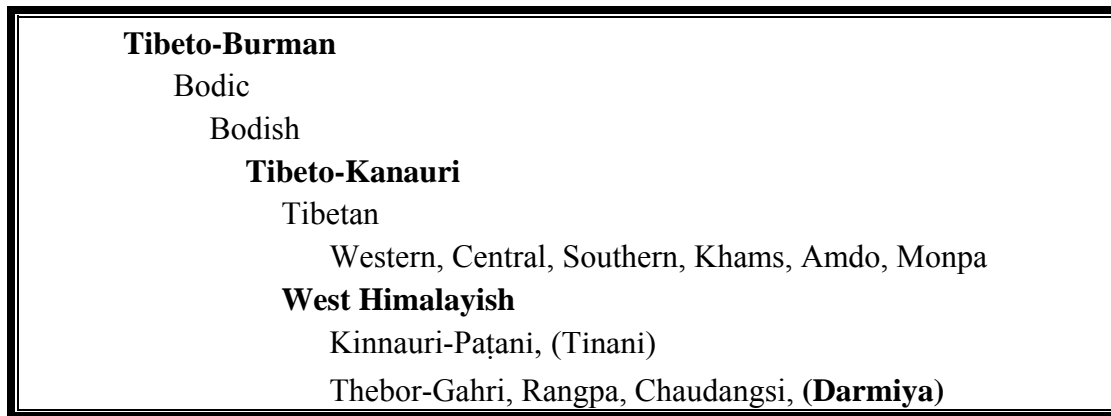


Figure 1.4.F: Genetic Classification: Saxena (1992 & 1997)

Clearly the languages of the Himalaya need to be further studied to clarify the classification systems put forth. The general trend is that Darma is a Himalayish language; it belongs to the Western branch and it is closely related to Rangkas, Chaudangsi and Byansi. I will not adopt any one of the classifications proposed.

### 1.5 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

To date Darma has been briefly described in Grierson’s Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1967-68; Varma 1972), and in two short sketches (D.D. Sharma 1989; Krishan 2001). The sketch by D.D. Sharma is part of a larger attempt to give a thumbnail description of all of the languages of the Himalayan region of north India. His work has been used by Saxena in her investigation of the tense-aspect system of Himalayan languages (Saxena 1992; Saxena 1997). D.D. Sharma’s work on Darma appears to draw heavily on Grierson’s data, which is based on the translation of texts (e.g. the prodigal son story). I attempted to verify the Grierson texts while I was in the field, but the speakers I interviewed did not understand them. This was due in large part to the fact that many words in the stories were unfamiliar to Darma speakers. One speaker told me that the texts were not Darma. The fact that D.D. Sharma’s work draws heavily on Grierson’s

data may have contributed to the inconsistencies in his transcription and analysis that have lead scholars to suggest that we cannot rely on the current descriptions of Darma for analysis (Saxena 1992; Driem 2001). The inconsistencies of Sharma's work also led to the sketch done by Krishan (2001). It is unclear whether Krishan employed any methodology other than direct elicitation. Based on his sketch, I would guess that his work is based on direct translation from Hindi and English.<sup>31</sup> The final write-up and analysis of the sketch by Krishan was completed by Randy J. LaPolla after Krishan was injured and unable to finish the project. Krishan himself stated that his sketch was rough, and further work would need to be done on Darma.

## 1.6 TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Darma is an ergative absolutive language with a basic SV/AOV constituent order. Nominalized verb stems function as predicate and attributive adjectives, where the attributive adjective precedes the noun. Nominalized forms are also used in relative constructions. Unlike other Tibeto-Burman languages, the nominalizer in Darma does not appear to derive from the word for 'man' *mi*.

The possessive phrase is formed in one of two ways: by juxtaposing two nouns or with the particle *gu* following the possessor and preceding the head. Other grammatical relations are marked with case-marking postpositions. The case marking particle follows its NP complement. Agents of transitive verbs are overtly marked with ergative case (although this appears to be optional in some cases), while subjects of transitive verbs and objects of intransitive verbs are not marked with absolutive case. Verbs are marked for tense, modality and aspect. The verb is also marked with subject agreement in the first

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<sup>31</sup> This is especially apparent in his discussion of the ergative marker, which he says can only occur in the past tense. While Hindi has a split ergative system, I find no evidence in Darma to support Krishan's claim. During elicitation sessions, however, speakers were much more likely to follow the Hindi pattern, especially if Hindi was used as the contact language. The effects of the contact language were evident in other aspects of the grammar. This topic will crop up throughout the dissertation.

person plural and the second person (singular and plural); first person singular is marked distinctly. The agreement marker for first person plural and second person is the same.

Darma has evidence of an evidential system that is used to indicate reported speech and information inferred from the context. Further work must be done to fully understand this system. Like other languages of the subcontinent, Darma chains non-finite clauses together under a single matrix verb. Clause-chaining is used robustly in natural discourse, especially in historical narratives. In the following section, I will describe the primary methodology of data collection, which was integral to understanding the use of this discourse strategy.

## **1.7 THE DATA**

The data presented in this dissertation come from over two dozen texts that were recorded, transcribed and translated in and around Dharchula, India. Additionally, the data were collected during interview sessions with native speakers of Darma.

### **1.7.1 Methodology of Data Collection**

I conducted fieldwork for this dissertation during three long-term visits to Dharchula India that occurred over the span of several years (from the fall of 2002 through the spring of 2005). The primary method of data collection during fieldwork was the discourse-centered approach (Sherzer 1987; Urban 1991). I recorded conversations, story-telling sessions, narratives, and people singing songs. I listened to the recorded texts with a native speaker and together we transcribed and translated them. These transcription and translation meetings also served as a time when I could ask questions about the translations from previous sessions, or ask questions about the structures that appeared in the natural discourse. I refer to these sessions when I asked questions about the grammar of Darma as ‘direct elicitation’.

In addition to the discourse-centered and direct elicitation methodologies, I participated in activities of the Darma-speaking community in and around Dharchula and in the ancestral Darma villages in the Darma Valley. I attended a traditional memorial service, where a lama (priest) and his assistants chanted directions to Holy Mount Kailash, so that the decedent's soul would not get lost along the way. I attended the wedding ceremonies of humans and the ritual wedding ceremonies of deities. I sat with men and women as they prepared wool for weaving, and as the women wove rugs and blankets. I listened to stories and gossip and answered questions about my life in the United States. During these interactions with the Darma, people spoke in English, Hindi, and Darma. While participating in cultural events, I recorded natural speech whenever I was permitted, and took notes during and after each interaction.

### **1.7.2 Discourse and Analysis**

The motivation for using a discourse-centered approach to data collection is two-fold. First, this method brings to light different genres of discourse, and provides examples of language as it is used in the day-to-day lives of the speakers. Moreover, natural discourse often reveals structures that may not be found in utterances produced through direct elicitation. Second, the language sample that is recorded reflects genres and topics that are culturally relevant to the speakers.

In an attempt to offer insight into the process of analysis, I will present a portion of a conversation that I recorded, transcribed and translated, and walk the reader through an impressionistic initial analysis.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> For a lovely outline of the analysis process and the implications of a discourse-centered approach to data collections see Sadaf Munshi's doctoral dissertation *Jammu and Kashmir Burushaski: Language, Language Contact, and Change* (2006).



### 1.7.2.1 Sample Text

The following is the beginning portion of a conversation between a young Darma woman and an elderly Darma woman who are not related. As with most speakers who were recorded, the women requested that their identities be withheld. Throughout this dissertation, I do not reveal the author of a text or the names of participants in a conversation. I refer to the author of a story or legend as ‘narrator’ and identify other speakers as ‘woman’, ‘man’, or with initials.

This mini-text is presented using IPA symbols. The first line is the utterance as it was spoken, line two provides a gloss, and line three a broad English translation. Morpheme boundaries are not identified. Hindi borrowings are in **bold>bold**.

[G]

tɛʃu            wuɖ    ɖɛʃu,    puni?  
Brother-in-law where went.3, mother-in-law?  
Where did brother-in-law go, ma’am?

[P]

sobaŋ.  
Sobla.  
To Sobla.

[G]

gumba    ɖɛʃu?  
when went.3?  
When did he go?

[P]

nimaŋ.  
Yesterday.  
Yesterday.

[G]

nimaŋ?            munci cɛn,    jo            ʈaʃu?  
Yesterday? sisters-in-law, downside set off.3?  
Yesterday? Did the women take off for the plains?

[P]

tʰjã t̚aʃu.

Today set.off.3

They set off today.

[G]

tʰjã t̚aʃu?

Today set.off.3?

They left today?

[P]

[inaudible]

[G]

tʃeʃu tʰo d̚eʃu, guma rajəŋ?

Brother-in-law up went.3, when will.come.3?

Brother-in-law went up the valley, when will he come back?

[P]

kʰwe, t̚a h̚əbʰta la re.

Don't know, one **week** says.3 emphasis.

I don't know, he *says* he'll be back in a week.

[G]

t̚a h̚əbʰta?

One **week**?

In one week?

[P]

ʔõ.

Yes.

[G]

t̚eʃu niŋ d̚a nimaŋ hreʃja ram le, rajəŋ

Brother-in-law we though yesterday day.before.yesterday come is will.come.3

galen bəkte ʔiɖu ma na kəʃu.

doing time that like only finished.3

Just the other day brother-in-law told us to come, that he would come, that is what he said.

[P]

k<sup>h</sup>a ʔiləŋ wəna ʃja ru soŋ ru na nincu, ʔən ma na  
What this.much until, day in home in only, were.1PL, like this only,  
lem pərcu k<sup>h</sup>a lejaŋ? [laughs] ʔej pja!  
to.say must.3 what will.happen.3? Oh bird!  
Until recently, every day we were only ever at home, it must be told like this, what will  
happen? Oh my goodness.

[G]

nimaŋ hriʃja na, ranʃe lenu kəlni?  
Yesterday day.before.yesterday only, if come.1PL, happening did.3?  
If we had come just yesterday or the day before yesterday it would have happened?

[P]

ʔō nəŋ! [laughs]  
Yes only then!  
Yes indeed!

[G]

ʃi na k<sup>h</sup>joŋnu ma leni!  
I only be.lost.3 like is.3!  
Its like I'm the only one who is lost!

[P]

ʃi ɛ, ʃi ɛ, gɛ ɛ k<sup>h</sup>joŋni k<sup>h</sup>a guŋdi.  
Me too, me too, you too be.lost.3, what will.do.1SG?  
Me too, me too, you are also lost what will I do?

ʃi k<sup>h</sup>a lem le ʃi ʃo ɛ pəʃa məra, nə, ʔiɖu?  
I what to.say be, I to even **known** isn't.come.3, right, that one?  
I don't know what I should say, even I don't know when he'll come back, right, that one?

[G]

t<sup>h</sup>e, k<sup>h</sup>a bəbəla leʃu, hã puni?  
Hey, what puzzle was.3, then mother-in-law?  
Gosh, how confusing this has become, hasn't it mother-in-law?

[P]

ʔō nəŋ!  
Yes, only then!  
Yes indeed!

[G]

nimaŋ hrejja rance lenu kəlni?  
Yesterday day.before.yesterday if.come.1PL, happening was.3?  
If we had come yesterday or the day before, it would have happened?

[P]

?ō na--  
Yes even--  
Yes indeed--.

This snippet of conversation offers insight into both the grammar of Darma and the linguistic practices of the community. The sociolinguistic information that can be gleaned is scant, but useful as a first step towards understanding the broader context of the local community. In this exchange, we find that the younger woman addresses the older woman as ‘mother-in-law’ even though the two women are not related. She also refers to brother-in-law who, based on the context here, is the older woman’s son. Using terms of relation to address non-relatives is common throughout Asia, and is usually deemed respectful.<sup>33</sup> As the older woman answers her questions, the younger woman repeats the answers before inquiring further. Neither woman uses many borrowed words, which prompts us to wonder whether this is common for all Darma speakers. A possible explanation of the occurrence of few borrowings is that one of the interlocutors is elderly.<sup>34</sup>

In terms of the grammar of Darma, we can make some preliminary comments several aspects of the language including the sound system, word order, and the verb. We see that there are voiced and voiceless stops, and that there are stops at six places of articulation dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar, and glottal stops. The glottal stops

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<sup>33</sup> It turns out that this type of address is deemed respectful in the Darma/Rang community as well.

<sup>34</sup> Borrowed words and grammatical constructions is found throughout the corpus I have analyzed. Some speakers are more prone to using borrowed forms than others. That the interlocutor *P* is an elderly woman who received no formal education and that *G* received very little formal education is certainly relevant to understanding their language choices.

only appear in word-initial position preceding a vowel. We also find both plain and aspirated stops for the dental, alveolar and velar places of articulation. Of the eleven vowels found in the text, nine are plain and two are nasal. The basic word order appears to be verb-final, and there is a distinction between first person plural, first person singular and third person forms of the verb.

While we find several overt personal pronouns (i.e. first person singular and plural, second person singular), the paradigm is not complete. Also, while we see that the verb system bears some type of person and number marking, we need more information to flesh out the grammatical picture. Based on this snippet, we know that we need more information, and that the information provided must have more detail. In this dissertation, I will present the examples from discourse and elicitation using a format that is more revealing, which I will outline in the following section.

### **1.7.3 Presentation of the Data**

The Darma data is presented in a few ways throughout this dissertation. I will use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in tables and within square brackets (e.g. [jɛnu] ‘good’). The English gloss for examples in the IPA is provided in italics in tables and in single quotation marks following the square-bracketed examples. Excluding tables, the IPA will be used primarily in the section where the sound system of Darma is described. In later sections of the dissertation, I will use a practical orthography (cf §2.6 below). Individual examples presented in the practical orthography will be italicized with the English gloss following in single quotation marks (e.g. *jenu* ‘good’). Other examples found throughout the dissertation are clauses and sentences extracted from texts and elicitation sessions. The Darma portion of these examples will be presented using the practical orthography, and a modified version of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (LGR), which were developed by Bernard Comrie and Martin Haspelmath of the Max Planck

Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and Balthasar Bickel of the University of Leipzig (cf <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html> for the complete description of this convention).

For the examples using Darma clauses and utterances from natural discourse and elicitation, I have slightly altered the LGR format in an effort to present the data in the clearest fashion possible. For example, LGR present the data in a four-line format; I have extended the presentation to five lines. In the LGR format the first line provides the name of the language and the source of the example, the second is the example, which includes a morpheme breakdown, the third line is the gloss, and the fourth line is the free translation. In this dissertation each example will be presented in five lines as shown in example (1).

(1)	<i>kham</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>tangsu?</i>	Line 1: Utterance in practical orthography
	<i>khami</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>tang-su?</i>	Line 2: Morpheme breakdown
	who	ERG	see-PST	Line 3: Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss
	‘Who saw (it)?’			Line 4: Free translation
				Line 5: Source
				T0046: Elicited. 020

In (1) the first line is the example in Darma using the practical orthography, the second line is a morpheme breakdown of the example, also in the practical orthography, the third line is the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, the fourth line is the free translation, and the fifth line (aligned to the right) is the source of the example. The examples are generally presented phonetically (cf Chapter 2 for a discussion of phonological alternations that are predictable and thus transcribed in the examples), but final vowels are reduced in certain contexts. I have presented a transcription of the phonetic pronunciation in line one followed by the phonemic representation of the full form in line two.

#### **1.7.4 Archiving the Data**

Because the discourse-centered approach to data collection results in texts that are culturally significant, it is imperative that the materials I have recorded to date be archived. At the writing of this dissertation I have not located an archive where I can deposit audio recordings and documented materials, but I am in the process of finding an archive that will make the materials available to the Darma people and scholars alike.

### **1.8 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF GRAMMAR**

The analysis in this grammar is informed by a functional-typological framework. I have drawn on a wide body of literature including, but not limited to, the work of: DeLancey (1981; 1984; 1985; 1986; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1992; 1993; 1999; 2001); Diessel (1999); Dryer (1986); Givón (1982; 1995); LaPolla (1994; 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2006); and Shopen (1985a; 1985b; 1985c). The data used to support my analysis come from a variety of sources and genres. I have attempted to base my broad analysis on data that come from natural discourse, but in some cases the majority of data on a specific topic were obtained through direct elicitation. I have attempted to present a description of Darma that is firmly rooted in context with an eye towards culturally relevant information and typological features of the Tibeto-Burman languages and the linguistic area of the South Asian Himalayas. In keeping with ‘basic linguistic theory’ (Dixon 1997), I have attempted to analyze the data and present it in such a way so that it is accessible to a wide audience, and so that the data will be useful to scholars regardless of their theoretical framework.

### **1.9 ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK**

The remainder of this dissertation is organized in four broad sections (i.e. sounds, nouns, verbs, and texts). The first three sections each contain multiple chapters which

cover the topics relevant to the section. Wherever possible, I refer the reader to earlier or later sections that contain additional relevant information. There are cases where a topic is introduced in one section and then discussed in detail in a later section. While I certainly don't anticipate that anyone other than my mother would ever sit down with this grammar and read it cover to cover, I have attempted to present the material from the ground up. I begin with discrete sounds, then progress to words, constituents, phrases, and culminate in example texts. The table of contents will prove useful to the reader who is searching for the discussion of a particular feature of the grammar.



# **SOUNDS AND SOUND PATTERNS**

## **Chapter 2: Sound System**

### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter I will present the sound system of Darma including the inventory of sounds (both phonemic and phonetic), how phones are put together to form syllables, and suprasegmental features such as vowel length, tone, and the basic stress pattern of the prosodic word. Because the best place to start is everywhere, I will toggle back and forth between topics throughout this chapter. I will begin by providing an outline of the phonemic inventory (cf §2.1) and then present a summary of the syllable structure (cf §2.2). In §2.3, I will return to the phonemic system and provide evidence for the phonemes proposed. After this I will present the syllable, I will finish the discussion of the syllable structure in §§2.4.1 and 2.4.2, by presenting a summary of possible onsets, codas and so forth. In §§2.5 and 2.6, I will present the phonetic inventory and the practical orthography to be used throughout this dissertation. In §2.7, I will discuss suprasegmental features. Finally in §§2.8 and 2.9, I will discuss sound alternations in terms of allophones and assimilation respectively.

### **2.1 OVERVIEW OF PHONEMIC INVENTORY**

Darma has 34 sounds that are phonemic. The inventory of 26 consonants and 8 vowels are presented in Tables 2.1.A and 2.1.B below. The segments are written in the International Phonetic Alphabet (cf §2.6 below for a presentation of the practical orthography used in this dissertation). The table of consonants follows the conventional form of presentation in which the place of articulation is found on the horizontal axis and

the manner of articulation is on the vertical axis. When there is a contrast in voicing, the sound on the left is voiceless and the sound on the right is voiced.

Like other languages of the Subcontinent, Darma has both plain and aspirated stops. These are presented with the plain stops in the top row and the aspirated stops on the bottom row. I recorded voiced aspirated stops, but these were found exclusively in words borrowed from Hindi. For most speakers the borrowed words that contain voiced aspirated stops in the Indo-Aryan language of origin are pronounced without the aspiration when they are used in Darma. The degree of aspiration on voiced segments in borrowed words used by an individual speaker may be related to how well he speaks the Indo-Aryan language from which the word is borrowed.<sup>1</sup> When I was trying to determine whether these sounds existed in Darma, I was unable to produce minimal pairs or near minimal pairs for all of the segments. One older speaker of Darma stated in an interview that voiced aspirated stops are not native to Darma; they are only available in borrowed words. While the class of voiced aspirated stops is included in the phonetic inventory presented in §2.5 below, I will not attempt to motivate that these sounds are phonemically contrastive in this dissertation.

Matisoff suggests that voiced aspirates found in the Himalayish languages of Nepal are due to contact with IA languages (2003: 15). Considering that Darma is a Himalayish language spoken on the border of Nepal, and that the voiced aspirates generally appear in borrowed words, it seems logical to assert that these sounds are in the sound inventory as a result of contact with IA. Matisoff states that in some of the Himalayish languages of Nepal, these voiced aspirated stops are now found in native TB words as well as in IA borrowings (2003: 15). This is not yet the case in Darma.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Other factors to consider include how long the loan form has been in the Darma lexicon and whether the form is actually an occurrence of code-switching.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that there is speaker variation in the articulation of the borrowed forms also suggests that these sounds have yet to fully integrate into the Darma sound system.

Darma also has retroflex stops, another areal feature of the languages of the Subcontinent. While retroflex stops are not common in the sound inventories of TB languages, Matisoff states that they are not unusual in the Himalayish languages (2003: 22). It may be the case that the Himalayish languages share features commonly found areally throughout South Asia as a result of contact. Unlike the aspirated voiced segments, however, the retroflex series is attested in a variety of words that are not borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages.

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar	Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p	b	t̪	d	t	ʈ	ɖ	c	ɟ	k	g		
	p <sup>h</sup>		t̪ <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup>	ʈ <sup>h</sup>				k <sup>h</sup>			
Nasal	m		n							ŋ			
Tap					r								
Fricative					s							χ	h
Approximant					l								
Glide	w							j					

Table 2.1.A: Inventory of Consonant Phonemes<sup>3</sup>

The series of stops in Darma has six places of articulation, which includes dentals, alveolars and palatals. Maddieson states that languages generally do “not include a dental stop, fricative, nasal or lateral and an alveolar stop, fricative, nasal or lateral of the same type” (1984: 14). That Darma has stops in six places of articulation provides further evidence that Maddieson’s statement is not universal. In the two existing sketches of Darma, Krishan (2001) and Sharma (1989) described affricate segments for what I class as alveolar and palatal stops. Having a series of stops with six places of articulation,

<sup>3</sup> While I use the dental diacritic with the oral voiceless plain and aspirated stops, I do not use the dental diacritic with the oral voiced dental stop or with the nasal dental stop. This is because there is no need to distinguish either the oral voiced dental stop or the nasal dental stop from an alveolar segment.

however, is not unattested. Of the 317 languages included in the UPSID analysis, Maddieson found six languages that use six places of articulation for stops. Of these six languages, five of them have bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, and velar stops, just as I have found in Darma (1984: 33).<sup>4</sup> In languages with both dental and alveolar stops, the difference is “not always contrastive, since the place could be redundantly predicted from a manner difference in some languages” (Maddieson 1984: 32), so Darma provides an empirical contribution. While I argue that the alveolar and palatal segments are stops and not affricates as Krishan and Sharma described, there are acoustic differences between the dental and the alveolar. These perceptible differences will be discussed further in Chapter 3 below.

The glides [w] and [j] are phonemic in Darma, which will be motivated by minimal pairs in §2.3.1 below. The glides also combine with vowels. I will describe glides as consonants even when combined with vowels<sup>5</sup> for two reasons. First, the glides are phonemes in the sound inventory, and they pattern like other consonants. Second, in many cases the formants of the glides are much fainter than the formants found in vowels, which is consistent with the formants found in consonants. Because glides pattern as consonants do in terms of their distribution and in terms of their physical properties, they will be considered members of the consonantal class of sounds.

Darma has six oral vowels and two nasal vowels. The six oral vowel phonemes with six distinct vowel qualities and the two nasal vowels that are found in Darma are presented in Table 2.1.B below. Of the 317 languages surveyed by Maddieson, 43 (13.6%) have six vowel phonemes and 60 (18.9%) have six vowel qualities (1984: 126-

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<sup>4</sup> It must be noted that all five of the languages that have bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, and velar stops are Australian.

<sup>5</sup> I will not argue that glides and vowels form diphthongs that are phonemically contrastive with vowels. They are considered segments that are permitted to appear together within a syllable. Glide-vowel combinations will be presented in the same discussion as onsets and codas (cf§2.4.2 and §2.4.3).

27). While the number of oral vowels in the Darma inventory is not common, the quality of the vowels follows the generalizations made in the UPSID analysis. Maddieson states that “front vowels are usually unrounded, back vowels are usually rounded, low vowels are usually central and central vowels are usually low” (1984: 134). With regards to nasalization, 71 languages of those surveyed (22.4%) have an oral-nasal contrast (1984: 130). Furthermore, “21.2% of languages with 4-6 vowel qualities have contrastive nasalization” (1984: 131). In Darma, the nasal vowels do not form a unique set in terms of vowel quality. Instead the two nasal vowels comprise a reduced set of the oral vowels; they are [+back, -high]. See Chapter 3 for a detailed description of the physical properties of vowels. Allophones of the attested vowels will be discussed in §2.8 below.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e ε		o
Low		a	

	Front	Central	Back
High			
Mid			õ
Low		ã	

Table 2.1.B: Inventory of Vowel Phonemes

It must be mentioned that there are only a handful of words in the corpus with nasalized vowels (e.g. [ʔõ] ‘yes’, [hã] ‘then’, and [t<sup>h</sup>jã] ‘today’), and I have not found examples to demonstrate a contrast between nasal and oral vowels. The words with nasalized vowels have no other nasal sounds present that could trigger assimilation. There is, however, nasalization due to assimilation, which is discussed in §2.9 below. Because the status of nasal vowels is marginal, I will not attempt to motivate a contrastive relationship between nasal and oral vowels in the sound inventory.

## 2.2 SUMMARY OF SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Before proceeding with a presentation of minimal pairs to support the proposed phonemic inventory, it might be helpful to introduce the basic syllable inventory attested in the corpus. While a CV pattern is the most common in Darma, closed syllables and complex onsets are also attested. The syllables found in the corpus are shown in Table 2.2 below. I maintain that a V syllable is not licensed. The evidence that supports this claim is the presence of glottalization preceding vowels in word-initial position. While I have transcribed this glottalization of vowels as a glottal stop in the surface form, it must be noted that there is no evidence of full closure when examined in a spectrogram (cf §3.2.3 below). The glottal stop is not phonemic; it is always present in word-initial position, and is not found in coda position.

<b>SYLLABLE SHAPE</b>	<b>DARMA EXAMPLE</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>
CV	[ba]	<i>father</i>
CCV	[k <sup>h</sup> wi]	<i>dog</i>
CVC	[loŋ]	<i>back (of body)</i>
CCVC	[bjam]	<i>rug</i>

Table 2.2: Summary of Attested Syllables

Features of the attested syllable structures in Darma (e.g. possible onsets and codas) will be discussed in §2.4 below.

## 2.3 PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

The phonemic inventory presented in §2.1 above, is supported by minimal pairs and near minimal pairs. In this section I will present evidence for the phonemes proposed

with minimal pairs as relevant<sup>6</sup> (i.e. I will provide evidence to motivate distinct phonemes that we would expect to contrast like the phonetically similar /p/ and /p<sup>h</sup>/, but I will not present evidence to contrast sounds that we would not expect to be found in alternation like /p/ and /ŋ/). Whenever possible, the evidence for a phonemic contrast will be provided in syllable-initial and syllable-final positions (cf §2.4.1-2.4.3 below for a discussion of possible consonant onsets and codas). The Darma words in this section are presented using the phonemic transcription presented in §2.1 above (i.e. IPA); the sounds contrasted will appear in slash brackets, but the example words will appear without the slash brackets. Whenever possible the words presented are native to Darma; borrowed words that are used are noted with (IA).

### **2.3.1 Consonants**

Evidence for the proposed 26 consonant phonemes is available in syllable-initial and syllable-final positions. All of the consonants are found in syllable-initial position; these will be presented in §2.3.1.1 below. Not all consonants are attested in syllable final position, but those that are will be contrasted in §2.3.1.2 below. The contrasts will be presented in roughly the same order as an IPA chart beginning with the bilabial place of articulation in the series of oral stops. Following the bilabial stops, the order will proceed along the place of articulation axis from front to back. Similarly, relevant pairings of sounds will be contrasted based on the manner of articulation. Note that syllable-initial position is not restricted to word-initial position; the word-medial minimal pairs presented in the following section are all in syllable-initial position.

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<sup>6</sup> I will not present minimal pairs for the voiced aspirated segments mentioned above. These sounds are only found in words that are borrowed from IA languages such as Hindi and Nepali. While borrowings are certainly part of the Darma lexicon, the voiced aspirated stops are not found in any native Darma words at this juncture, and meaningful minimal pairs are not available for comparison.



### 2.3.1.1 Syllable-initial Contrasts

The series of bilabial oral stops are found to be in contrastive distribution, which is supported by the following examples:

/p/		/p <sup>h</sup> /		/b/	
pu	‘older brother’	p <sup>h</sup> u	‘copper’	bu	‘worm’
penu	‘torn’	p <sup>h</sup> enu	‘thick’		
pe	‘brother’			be	‘thread’
pamu	‘to measure’	p <sup>h</sup> amu	‘to speak’	ba	‘father’
piramu	‘to have come back’			birace	a type of flower
pola	‘shoe’			bola	‘thumb’

The oral bilabial stops are found to be in contrastive distribution with the nasal bilabial stop, which is supported by the following examples:

/p/		/b/		/m/	
pamu	‘to contribute’			mamu	‘to look for’
		ba	‘father’	ma	EQUATIVE particle
pi	‘four’			mi	‘man’
pu	‘brother’	bu	‘worm’	mu	‘rain’
pe	‘brother’	be	‘thread’	me	‘fire’

The oral bilabial stops are found to be in contrastive distribution with the labio-velar glide, which is supported by the following examples:

/p/		/w/	
pan	‘work’	wan	‘arrival’
pe	‘brother’	we	‘mountain’
pi	‘four’	wi	‘wind’
/b/		/w/	
ba	‘father’	wa	‘tiger’
buŋ	‘bell’	wuŋ	‘bunch’
be	‘thread’	we	‘mountain’

It is also possible to demonstrate that the dental, alveolar, palatal and retroflex stops are in contrastive distribution, as shown in the following examples. It is important to note that each of these sounds is found preceding front and back vowels. Because dentals and alveolars are found preceding /i/ and /e/, and palatals are found preceding back vowels, we can be certain that palatal stops are in fact phonemes and not the result of palatalization.

/ṭ/		/ṭ <sup>h</sup> /	
ṭi	‘water’	ṭ <sup>h</sup> imu	‘to melt’
ṭemu	‘to cry’	ṭ <sup>h</sup> emu	‘to stutter’
ṭamu	‘to set off’	ṭ <sup>h</sup> a	PROHIBITIVE
ṭaŋmu	‘to be available’	ṭ <sup>h</sup> aŋ	‘floor’
ṭomu	‘to play (instrument)’	ṭ <sup>h</sup> omu	‘pick’
/ṭ/		/ḍ/	
ṭi	‘water’	ḍi	‘hither/over here’
ṭanu	‘spicy’	ḍanu	‘giving’
ṭarom	‘key’	ḍarum	‘door’
ṭumu	‘to buy’	ḍumu	‘to mix’
ṭomu	‘to play (instrument)’	ḍo	‘here’
/ṭ/		/ṭ <sup>h</sup> /	
ṭaŋmu	‘to throw’	ṭ <sup>h</sup> aŋmu	‘to butcher’
ṭemu	‘to apply’	ṭ <sup>h</sup> emu	‘be hot’
/ṭ/		/t/	
ṭali	‘plate’	tal	Chal (village name)
ṭomu	‘to play (instrument)’	tomu	‘to finish’
ṭi	‘water’	ti	‘memory’
ṭuŋmu	‘to drink’	tuŋ	‘lots’

/t̥<sup>h</sup>/  
 t̥<sup>h</sup>a NEGATIVE PARTICLE  
 t̥<sup>h</sup>aŋ ‘floor’  
 t̥<sup>h</sup>u ‘up (direction)’

/t<sup>h</sup>/  
 t<sup>h</sup>a ‘salt’  
 t<sup>h</sup>aŋru ‘Tibetan’  
 t<sup>h</sup>u ‘spoon’

/t/

taŋmu ‘to live’  
 tomu ‘to light (fire)’  
 guɬemu ‘to calculate’

/t̥<sup>h</sup>/

t̥<sup>h</sup>aŋmu ‘to build’  
 t̥<sup>h</sup>omu ‘to toss (ritually)’  
 guɬ<sup>h</sup>e ‘pancake’

/t/

ɬemu ‘to exaggerate’  
 tomu ‘to light (fire)’

/d/

ɬemu ‘to match’  
 ɬomu ‘to be happy’

/t/

ɬimu ‘to lead (horse)’  
 tomu ‘to light (fire)’  
 ɬe ‘sum’

/t̥/

ɬi ‘water’  
 ɬomu ‘to play (instrument)’  
 ɬe DEMONSTRATIVE.DISTAL

/t̥<sup>h</sup>/

t̥<sup>h</sup>um ‘custom’  
 t̥<sup>h</sup>aŋmu ‘to build’

/t̥<sup>h</sup>/

t̥<sup>h</sup>ummu ‘to get together’  
 t̥<sup>h</sup>aŋ ‘floor’

/c/

canu ‘sweet’  
 cuŋ ‘lots’  
 ci ‘ten’

/ɟ/

janu ‘eating’  
 juŋ ‘money’  
 ji 1SG

/c/

cuku ‘lemon’

/t̥/

ɬukɬu ‘before’

/c/

cimu ‘to meet’

/t/

timu ‘to understand’

The series of velar stops are found to be in contrastive distribution, which is supported by the following examples:

/k/		/k <sup>h</sup> /		/g/	
ka	‘crow’	k <sup>h</sup> a	‘walnut’	ga	‘rice paddy’
kimu	‘to worship’	k <sup>h</sup> imu	‘to think’	gijimu	‘to fall’
kwemu	‘to hurt’	k <sup>h</sup> wemu	‘to clean (e.g. teeth)’		
kwemu	‘to cook’	k <sup>h</sup> wɛmu	‘to dig’	gwɛ	‘feces’
kuli	‘calf’	k <sup>h</sup> uli	‘monkey’	gult <sup>h</sup> iŋ	‘testicles’
kurmu	‘to take away’			gur	‘tent’
kum	‘pillow’			gum	‘how’

The series of nasal stops are found to be in contrastive distribution, which is supported by the following examples:

/m/		/n/		/ŋ/	
ma	EQUATIVE particle	na	EMPHATIC particle	ŋa	‘and then’
maŋnu	‘red’	naŋnu	‘herding’		
		nasa	‘twenty’	ŋasa	‘fifty’
mi	‘person’	ni	‘sun’		
mja	‘son-in-law’	nja	‘fish’		
mu	‘rain’	nu	‘milk’		

While the uvular fricative /χ/ and the velar fricative /h/ are phonetically similar and warrant evidence for being contrastive sounds, the alveolar tap, /ɾ/, is not similar to either fricative in terms of articulation. These sounds, however, are perceptually similar, so I provide evidence here that they are indeed contrastive.

/χ/		/r/		/LN/	
χaŋ	‘horse’	raŋ	Rang people	haŋ	‘therefore’
χaksa	‘sand’	raksa	‘with’		
χimu	‘to learn’	rimu	‘to write’	-hi	1SG.NPT
χe	‘louse’	re	‘field’	he	‘oh’
χo	‘snow’	ro	‘basket’	ho	‘oh’
χamu	‘to be shy’	ramu	‘to come’		
χumu	‘to ask’	rumu	‘to stand up’		

The series of fricatives are found to be in contrastive distribution, which is supported by the following examples:

/s/		/χ/		/LN/	
sɛmu	‘to kill’	χɛmu	‘to bring’	hɛmɛ	ECHO (drum)
so	‘tooth’	χo	‘snow’	ho	EXCLAMATION
saŋ	‘village’	χaŋ	‘horse’	haŋ	‘and’
sa	‘dirt’	χa	‘bring’ (2SG.IMP)	hã	‘then’

The alveolar approximant and tap are found to be in contrastive distribution, which is supported by the following examples:

/l/		/r/	
linu	‘heavy’	rimu	‘to write’
le	‘be’ (COPULA)	re	‘field’
la	‘hand’	ra	‘one hundred’
lubmu	‘to bury’	rubmu	‘to mend’
lo	‘language’	ro	‘basket’

The labio-velar glide and the palatal glide are found to be in contrastive distribution, which is supported by the following examples:

/w/		/j/	
wa	‘tiger’	ja	‘wild tuber’
wi	‘wind’	ji	‘flour’

### 2.3.1.2 Syllable-final Contrasts

In syllable-final position there are fewer minimal pairs available for contrasting phonemes. Following are the minimal pairs and near minimal pairs found in the corpus to support the phonemic inventory proposed in §2.1 above.<sup>7</sup>

/p/		/b/	
dapja	‘Gurkha knife’	jandab	‘little, some’
/m/		/ŋ/	
t <sup>h</sup> am	‘wool’	t <sup>h</sup> aŋmu	‘to butcher’
nim	‘nose’	niŋ	‘we’
/ŋ/		/n/	
raŋmu	‘to sell’	renmu	‘to weave’
/n/		/t̚/	
renmu	‘to weave’	raṭ	‘clan’
/l/		/ŋ/	
gal	‘glacier’	gaŋ	‘and’
/l/		/m/	
kul	‘always’	kum	‘pillow’
/l/		/b/	
jilmu	‘to rub’	jibmu	‘to sow’

### 2.3.2 Vowels

Vowels are found to contrast in syllable-initial and syllable final position. While all of the vowels are found in syllable-initial and syllable-final position, they are rarely found in syllable-initial position word medially. That is, vowels in syllable-initial

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<sup>7</sup> Unlike the minimal pairs for syllable-initial position, most of the minimal pairs shown in this section are not demonstrating meaningful contrasts (e.g. the contrast of /l/ and /b/).

position are generally found to also be in word-initial position. In syllables that are in word-initial position the vowel is glottalized; this is also discussed in §2.10 below. As I indicated above, the two nasalized vowels are excluded from this discussion except for the following section where I illustrate that nasalized vowels appear with glottalization in word-initial position.

### 2.3.2.1 Syllable-initial Vowels

While I have evidence of all of the oral vowels in syllable-initial position, for some of these vowels there are only a few examples in the corpus.<sup>8</sup> The vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ are found in only a few examples in this position, and even then the examples are not convincing. As shown below, /e/ is found in an interjection, and /ɛ/ is found in a quantifier. The remaining examples in the corpus include a hesitation marker and a pair of borrowed words. Other vowels attested following a glottal stop in syllable-initial position belong to a class of words. For example, most of the [Glottal Stop] + /i/ words are found in the class of pro-forms where [ʔi] indicates something that is not visible (cf Chapters 6-12 for a discussion of nouns and their associated categories). Of the vowels found following the word-initial glottal stop, [a] is found in the largest array of words that do not appear to be semantically related (e.g. ‘mouth’, ‘high’, ‘expensive’, ‘sister’, ‘sausage’, and so forth).

/i/	[ʔi]	DEM.NONVIS	/u/	[ʔu]	3SG
/e/	[ʔej]	INTERJECTION	/õ/	[ʔõ]	‘yes’ <sup>9</sup>
/ɛ/	[ʔɛliba]	‘some’ <sup>10</sup>	/a/	[ʔa]	‘mouth’

<sup>8</sup> I have not found any examples where the glottal stop + vowel is in a syllable-initial position that is not also word initial.

<sup>9</sup> The word ‘yes’ is the only attested glottal stop + [õ] found in the corpus.

<sup>10</sup> This is the only glottal + [ɛ] found in the corpus.

### 2.3.2.2 Consonant + Vowel

Vowels are found to be contrastive in CV and CVC syllables. In the following presentation I will contrast front vowels with other front vowels as shown in (i) below, back vowels with other back vowels as shown in (ii) below, front vowels with central vowels as shown in (iii) below, back vowels with central vowels as shown in (iv) below, and finally front vowels with back vowels as shown in (v) below.

#### i. Front Vowels and Front Vowels

/i/		/e/	
mi	‘man’	me	‘fire’
pi	‘four’	pe	‘brother’
çi	‘story’	çe	‘louse’
wi	‘wind’	we	‘mountain’
/i/		/ɛ/	
jiɾnu	‘narrow’	jeɾnu	‘coward’
gwi	‘nine’	gwe	‘feces’
ni	‘sun’	ne	DEM.NEUTRAL
çiɾmu	‘to teach’	çeɾmu	‘to bring’
/e/		/ɛ/	
p <sup>h</sup> enu	‘thick’	p <sup>h</sup> ɛnu	‘miserly’
be	‘thread’	bɛ	‘skin’
ge	‘clothes’	gɛ	‘you’
re	‘field’	rɛ	‘cow’
temu	‘to understand’	tɛmu	‘to apply’



ii. *Back Vowels and Back Vowels*

/u/		/o/	
ru	LOCATIVE	ro	‘basket’
cu	‘spoon’	co	‘lake’
bumu	‘to carry (on back)’	bomu	‘to flow (water)’
tu	‘chin’	to	‘time (e.g. event)’
wulaŋ	‘how much’	wolan	‘non-Rang person’

iii. *Front Vowels and Central Vowels*

/i/		/a/	
pi	‘four’	pamu	‘to contribute’
ji	1SG PRONOUN	ja	‘eat’ 2SG.IMP
ji	‘flour’	ja	wild edible tuber
gwimu	‘to tie up’	gwamu	‘to laugh’

/e/		/a/	
pemu	‘to tear’	pamu	‘to measure’
re	‘field’	ra	‘one hundred’
temu	‘to cry’	tamu	‘to set off’

/ɛ/		/a/	
p <sup>h</sup> enu	‘miserly’	p <sup>h</sup> anmu	‘to sew’
lɛgɛ	‘leg’	lagemu	‘to employ’ (IA)

iv. *Back Vowels and Central Vowels*

/o/		/a/	
p <sup>h</sup> o	‘cave’	p <sup>h</sup> a	‘ash’
bomu	‘to flow (water)’	bamu	‘be dry’
co	‘lake’	ca	‘tea’
so	‘tooth’	sa	‘earth’
lo	‘language’	la	‘hand’
kommu	‘to pick up’	kammu	‘to hit’

/u/		/a/	
pumu	‘to start’	pamu	‘to measure’
k <sup>h</sup> u	‘smoke’	k <sup>h</sup> a	‘walnut’
luŋmu	‘be warm’	laŋmu	‘to jump’
rumu	‘to ask’	ramu	‘to come’

v. *Front Vowels and Back Vowels*

/i/		/e/		/ɛ/		/u/	
ni	‘sun’	ne	‘medicine’	nɛ	DEM	nu	‘milk’
ci	‘ten’	ce	‘grass’	ceŋmu	‘be tired’	cu	‘spoon’
ji	1SG	ɟemu	‘be bored’	ɟenu	‘good’	ɟu	‘yak-cow’
gimu	‘to fall (person)’	gemu	‘cover (s.o.)’	gɛ	‘2SG’	gumu	‘to pluck’

/i/		/e/		/ɛ/		/o/	
linu	‘heavy’	lemu	‘to call’	lɛmu	‘to fall (object)’	lomu	‘to read’
nimu	‘to be’	nemu	‘to stand’	nɛ	DEM	nomu	‘to pull’
pi	‘four’	pemu	‘to tear’	pɛmu	‘to wander’	pomu	‘to open’
ɬi	‘water’	ɬemu	‘to cry’			ɬomu	‘to play’ (instrument)

## 2.4 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

As shown in Table 2.2 above, both open and closed syllables are available in Darma. Simple and complex onsets are available, but there are no complex codas attested.<sup>11</sup> In this section, I will present a summary of the distribution of onsets and codas found in the corpus. This will include examples of words that have simple onsets (§2.4.1), complex onsets (§2.4.2), and codas (§2.4.3).

<sup>11</sup> There are no complex codas attested in the corpus considering words in their full form. There are, however, instances of final vowel deletion that result in a C[n] cluster. For example /kur-nu ni-n-su/ → [kurn nnsu] ‘we took (it) away’ and /sir-nu ni-n-su/ → [ɕirn nɪŋu] ‘we weeded’. In addition to the resulting C[n] in syllable final position, the onset of the following word in these contexts is also [n], and it is difficult to ascertain whether the [n] in the consonant cluster is articulated.

## **2.4.1 Simple Onsets**

The most commonly attested syllable in the corpus is the CV syllable. The onsets found in the corpus include the entire consonant phonemic inventory and the glottal stop, which is not phonemic. In the following subsections, I will provide examples of the attested onsets.

### ***2.4.1.1 Consonants***

All places and manner of articulation are available in onset position. Examples of consonants in onset position are shown in Table 2.4.1.1 below. The velar nasal is only found in an onset position in a handful of words in the corpus. Most of these are words that are derived from the word /ŋaj/ ‘five’. Younger speakers tend to pronounce these words with /n/, but older speakers consistently pronounced the velar nasal.

<b>C</b>	<b>DARMA</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>DARMA</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>
/p/	[pe]	<i>brother</i>	/k/	[ka]	<i>crow</i>
/p <sup>h</sup> /	[p <sup>h</sup> o]	<i>cave</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> /	[k <sup>h</sup> a]	<i>walnut</i>
/b/	[bɛ]	<i>thread</i>	/g/	[ga]	<i>rice paddy</i>
/t̥/	[t̥i]	<i>water</i>	/m/	[mi]	<i>person</i>
/t̥ <sup>h</sup> /	[t̥ <sup>h</sup> u]	<i>up</i>	/n/	[ni]	<i>sun</i>
/d/	[do]	<i>here</i>	/ŋ/	[ŋasa]	<i>twenty</i>
/t/	[taj]	<i>flour</i> <i>(parched)</i>	/r/	[ru]	LOCATIVE
/t <sup>h</sup> /	[t <sup>h</sup> a]	<i>salt</i>	/s/	[sa]	<i>earth</i>
/c/	[ca]	<i>tea</i>	/χ/	[χo]	<i>snow</i>
/ʃ/	[ʃi]	1SG	/h/	[har]	<i>voice</i>
/t̥/	[t̥aʃa]	<i>joke</i>	/l/	[la]	<i>hand</i>
/t̥ <sup>h</sup> /	[t̥ <sup>h</sup> omu]	<i>throw</i> <i>(ritually)</i>	/w/	[wa]	<i>tiger</i>
/d̥/	[d̥il]	<i>late</i>	/j/	[ji]	<i>flour</i>

Table 2.4.1.1: Attested Consonant Onsets

#### 2.4.1.2 Vowels

Vowels found in word-initial position in the phonemic representation are articulated with glottalization, which I have transcribed as a glottal stop in the phonetic representation. As mentioned in earlier sections, the glottal stop is not phonemically contrastive in Darma; it is used only in contexts where a vowel would serve as the onset

of a word. The glottal stop is not found word-medially or word finally.<sup>12</sup> As discussed in §2.3.2.1 above, all vowels are attested after a word-initial glottal stop, but some of the attested vowels are found in interjections and hesitation markers rather than semantically meaningful words. Examples of a glottal stop followed by a vowel are shown in Table 2.4.1.2 below.

<b>V</b>	<b>DARMA</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>
/i/	ʔi	DEM.NONVISIBLE
/e/	ʔe	INTERJECTION
/ɛ/	ʔɛliba	<i>some</i>
/a/	ʔa	<i>mouth</i>
/u/	ʔu	3SG
/õ/	ʔõ	<i>yes</i>

Table 2.4.1.2: Attested Glottalized Vowel Onsets

Except for [pua] ‘uncle’, I find no evidence in the corpus of vowel-initial syllables in word-medial position (cf footnote 8 above).

## 2.4.2 Complex Onsets

Complex onsets are limited to C + [glide]. Examples of possible complex onsets are provided in Tables 2.4.2.A and 2.4.2.B below. It must be noted that several of the attested onsets have only one example in the corpus. Several of these solitary examples are likely from an IA origin. All of these are indicated with a footnote.

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<sup>12</sup> The glottal stop is the only sound that is limited to a word-initial position, which has led me to claim that it is not a phoneme in Darma. Cross-linguistically it is not uncommon for vowel-initial words to be pronounced with glottalization (e.g. in English vowels in word-initial position are glottalized).

<b>C</b>	<b>DARMA</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>
[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> wi]	<i>dog</i>
[k]	[kwəmu]	<i>to boil</i>
[g]	[gwi]	<i>nine</i>
[l]	[lwar jɛn]	<i>low-caste people</i> <sup>13</sup>
[h]	[hwanəm]	<i>far</i> <sup>14</sup>

Table 2.4.2.A: Attested Consonant + [w] Onsets

In the words with a C[glide] onset, the labio-velar glide is only found following [+back] consonants. The exception to this generalization is the word referring to low-caste people, which begins with an [l]. On the other hand, the palatal glide appears to be less restricted. The [j] is attested following [-back] consonants and [+back] consonants. The possible C[j] combinations are illustrated in Table 2.4.2.B below.

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<sup>13</sup> This is the only example of [l] + [w] found in the corpus. The word [lwar] most likely comes from the IA word *lohaar*, which means ‘blacksmith’.

<sup>14</sup> The other attested occurrence of [h] + [w] is [hwemu], which means ‘to get drunk’. Both forms are also pronounced by younger speakers without the glottal fricative (i.e. [wanəm] and [we]). The [h] is also attested preceding the voiceless tap in some recordings. These consonants with [h] and other sounds in free variation, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

C	DARMA	GLOSS
[p]	[pja]	<i>bird</i>
[p <sup>h</sup> ]	[p <sup>h</sup> jumu]	<i>to slit (e.g. a throat)</i>
[b]	[bjambu]	<i>housefly</i>
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> jã]	<i>today</i> <sup>15</sup>
[t]	[tjõndu]	<i>side</i>
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> jõnmu]	<i>be tired</i>
[t <sup>h</sup> ]	[t <sup>h</sup> jake]	<i>right</i> <sup>16</sup>
[d]	[djaŋ]	<i>go (future)</i>
[ʃ]	[ʃja]	<i>day</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> jõŋmu]	<i>to get lost</i> <sup>17</sup>
[g]	[gjõmu]	<i>to run</i>
[m]	[mja]	<i>son-in-law</i>
[n]	[njõnu]	<i>new</i>
[s]	[çju] <sup>18</sup>	<i>heart</i>
[l]	[lja]	<i>say (imperative)</i>

Table 2.4.2.B: Attested Consonant + [j] Onsets

<sup>15</sup> This is the only example of [t<sup>h</sup>] + [j] found in the corpus. The form [t<sup>h</sup>jã] is also found in [t<sup>h</sup>jã karte] and [t<sup>h</sup>jã lo], which both mean ‘nowadays’ or ‘thesedays’.

<sup>16</sup> This is the only example of [t<sup>h</sup>] + [j] found in the corpus. The word [t<sup>h</sup>jake] most likely comes from the IA word *rthiik*, which means ‘good’.

<sup>17</sup> This is the only example of [k<sup>h</sup>] + [j] found in the corpus.

<sup>18</sup> /s/ is palatalized preceding the palatal glide. This will be discussed again in Chapter 3.

### 2.4.3 Codas

Fifteen consonant phonemes are attested in a syllable final position. An example of each is provided in Table 2.4.3 below. Consonants that are not found in syllable final position include aspirated stops, alveolar stops, the voiced retroflex stop, and palatal stops. Additionally, the labio-velar glide, the glottal stop, and the glottal fricative are not found in coda position. Some of the attested codas are found in a limited number of tokens; these appear in shaded cells in Table 2.4.3. For example, [t̪] is found in coda position in three words, [d] is found in coda position in two words, and [g] is found in coda position in only one word in the corpus. The class of nasals appears frequently in coda position; of the nasals, [ŋ] is the most common coda. As mentioned above, complex clusters are not found in coda position except in cases where the deletion of a final vowel results in a cluster. These cases appear to be limited to nominalized constructions preceding the inflected auxiliary ‘be’ (e.g. /sir-nu ni-n-su/ → [çırn nɪŋu] ‘we weeded’).



CODA	DARMA	GLOSS
[p]	[lakcip] <sup>19</sup>	<i>earring</i>
[b]	[gab]	<i>quiet</i>
[t]	[raʈ]	<i>clan</i>
[d]	[çɪdbaʈ]	<i>arthritis</i>
[t]	[paʈ]	<i>naughty</i> <sup>20</sup>
[k]	[bakte]	<i>time</i>
[g]	[dɔg]	<i>greet</i>
[m]	[ʔam]	<i>path</i>
[n]	[bɪnʈi]	<i>sacrament</i>
[ŋ]	[baŋ]	<i>place</i>
[r]	[bɪr]	<i>all</i>
[s]	[χis]	<i>angry</i>
[χ]	[k <sup>h</sup> aχcu]	ABLATIVE
[l]	[dɪl]	<i>late</i>
[j]	[k <sup>h</sup> aj]	<i>yesterday/tomorrow</i>

Table 2.4.3: Attested Codas

## 2.5 PHONETIC INVENTORY

The phonetic inventory of Darma includes those sounds which are allophones of the phonemes outlined in §2.1 above. The consonant inventory is presented in Table 2.5.A below and the vowel inventory is presented in Table 2.5.B below. The nasal vowels are the same as those presented in Table 2.1.B above, which will not be repeated here.

<sup>19</sup> The high front tense vowel surfaces as lax in closed syllables. This alternation is discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>20</sup> This is the only example of the voiceless retroflex stop in coda position.

The shaded cells in the consonant inventory illustrate those sounds which are borrowed from Hindi. Allophones will be discussed in detail in §2.8 below.

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p	b	t̪	d	t		ʈ	ɖ	c	ɟ	k	g		ʔ
	p <sup>h</sup>	b <sup>h</sup>	t̪ <sup>h</sup>	d <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		ʈ <sup>h</sup>	ɖ <sup>h</sup>			k <sup>h</sup>	g <sup>h</sup>		
Nasal	m		n								ŋ			
Tap					ɾ	ɽ								
Fricative					s				ç				χ	LN
Approximant					l		ɭ							
Glide	w								j					

Table 2.5.A: Phonetic Inventory of Consonants

It should be noted that of the shaded cells, four are voiced aspirated stops. Matisoff suggests that voiced aspirates found in the Himalayish languages of Nepal are due to contact with IA languages (2003:15). Considering that Darma is a Himalayish language spoken on the border of Nepal, and that the voiced aspirates generally appear in borrowed words, it seems logical to assert that these sounds are in the inventory as a result of contact with IA. Matisoff states that in some of the Himalayish languages of Nepal, these voiced aspirated stops are now found in native TB words as well as in IA borrowings (2003:15). This is not yet the case in Darma.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ɪ	ʊ	u
Mid	e ɛ	ə	o
Low		a	

Table 2.5.B: Phonetic Inventory of Vowels

The schwa is limited to epenthetic use. For example the phrase /soŋ ɾu/ ‘in the village’ is usually pronounced [soŋəɾu], where the schwa breaks up the [nasal] – [tap] cluster. This will be addressed in §4.3 below.

## 2.6 PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

Unless otherwise noted, the examples in the remainder of this dissertation are presented in a practical orthography, which is defined in Table 2.6 below.<sup>21</sup> In an effort to avoid confusion, words in the practical orthography are written in italics (except in line two of the numbered examples in the LGR format). The sounds in Table 2.6 include descriptions, which include the abbreviations *vd* for ‘voiced,’ *vl* for ‘voiceless,’ *asp* for ‘aspirated,’ and *approx* for ‘approximate’.

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<sup>21</sup> The data presented in square brackets, including the data in tables, will continue to be presented using the IPA.

IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	DESCRIPTION	IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	DESCRIPTION
p	p	<i>vl bilabial stop</i>	ŋ	ng	<i>velar nasal stop</i>
p <sup>h</sup>	ph	<i>vl, asp bilabial stop</i>	ɾ	r'	<i>alveolar tap</i>
b	b	<i>vd bilabial stop</i>	s	s	<i>vl alveolar fricative</i>
b <sup>h</sup>	bh	<i>vd, asp bilabial stop</i>	ç	x	<i>vl palatal fricative</i>
t̚	t	<i>vl dental stop</i>	χ	xh	<i>vl uvular fricative</i>
t̚ <sup>h</sup>	th	<i>vl, asp dental stop</i>	h	h	<i>vl glottal fricative</i>
d	d	<i>vd dental stop</i>	l	l	<i>alveolar lateral approx</i>
d <sup>h</sup>	dh	<i>vd, asp dental stop</i>	ɽ	rr	<i>retroflex tap</i>
t	t'	<i>vl alveolar stop</i>	w	w	<i>labio-velar glide</i>
t <sup>h</sup>	th'	<i>vl, asp alveolar stop</i>	j	y	<i>palatal glide</i>
c	c	<i>vl palatal stop</i>	i	i	<i>high, front, unround, tense</i>
ç	j	<i>vd palatal stop</i>	ɪ	i	<i>high, front, unround, lax</i>
ɽ	rt	<i>vl retroflex stop</i>	e	ee	<i>mid, front, unround, tense</i>
ɽ <sup>h</sup>	rth	<i>vl, asp retroflex stop</i>	ɛ	e	<i>mid, front, unround, lax</i>
ɽ̚	rd	<i>vd retroflex stop</i>	ə	@	<i>mid, central</i>
ɽ̚ <sup>h</sup>	rdh	<i>vd, asp retroflex stop</i>	u	u	<i>high, central, unround, tense</i>
k	k	<i>vl velar stop</i>	u	u	<i>high, back, round, tense</i>
k <sup>h</sup>	kh	<i>vl, asp velar stop</i>	o	o	<i>mid, back, round, tense</i>
g	g	<i>vd velar stop</i>	a	a	<i>low, central, lax, unround</i>

IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	DESCRIPTION	IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	DESCRIPTION
g <sup>h</sup>	gh	<i>vd, asp velar stop</i>	:	:	<i>length</i>
ʔ	ʔ	<i>vl glottal stop</i>	ˈ	Vˈ	<i>high tone</i>
m	m	<i>bilabial nasal stop</i>	̃	̃	<i>nasalization</i>
n	n	<i>alveolar nasal stop</i>			

Table 2.6: Practical Orthography

It is important to note that while the glottal stop is not phonemic, I have chosen to include it in the practical orthography. The distribution of the glottal stop is discussed in §2.10 below.

## 2.7 SUPRASEGMENTAL FEATURES

In this section, I will discuss features such as vowel length, tone and stress, which are part of the prosodic word, but not encoded in the phonemes of Darma.

### 2.7.1 Vowel Length

While vowel length is not phonemically contrastive in Darma, evidence of vowel length and vowel shortening are found in the data. The vowel length is used pragmatically, while vowel shortening is an artifact of the structure of the prosodic word.

#### 2.7.1.1 Long Vowels

Vowels are lengthened to intensify the word, and sometimes the length is used iconically. Frequently, lengthened vowels are uttered in a creaky voice. Vowel lengthening and the addition of creaky voice to lengthened vowels can be heard throughout the Dharchula region with both Rang and non-Rang people alike. I have heard

non-Rang speakers of Nepali and Pahari employing the same lengthening to impart extra intensity to a word.

Example (1) below illustrates the use of vowel length iconically. The second utterance of ‘slowly’ contains a lengthened vowel, which is indicated with a colon. The speaker is suggesting that when one visits Darma Valley, one should not rush along the way; instead the visitor should make the journey at a leisurely pace. By lengthening the word ‘slow’ the speaker is indicating how slow the pace of the visit should be. This example is presented in the practical orthography, which is described in §2.6 above.

- (1) *khee balth'eemu macing tar' su, r'amu*  
*khee balth'ee-mu ma-cing tar' su, r'a-mu*  
 some rush-INF NEG-need slowly come-INF
- tar' su: r'amu.*  
*tar' su r'a-mu.*  
 slowly come-INF

‘One doesn’t need to rush, you should come slowly, you should come slowly.’

T0023: Migration. 040

This lengthening also includes a rise in the pitch of the entire word or phrase, resulting in a song like pronunciation. In the following example the speaker draws out the word *sar'ee* ‘all’<sup>22</sup> in a singsong voice giving the final vowel extra long length. He is emphasizing the fact that each and every relative at the ceremony receives a piece of cloth.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> This word is a borrowing from IA सारे [*sare*]. The Darma word for ‘all’ is used in used in example (3). See Chapter 10 for a discussion of quantifiers.

<sup>23</sup> The word [ka<sup>h</sup>o] is translated as ‘white cloth’, and it is frequently just that. I did attend ceremonies, however, where the [ka<sup>h</sup>o] was a dish towel rather than a piece of the sheer white cloth that is normally given. The same cloth is used to wrap men’s turbans, as a belt over the men’s traditional dress, and to drape over the shoulders of women during ceremonies.

- (2) *ning su jo nini sar'ee::: xyahi jen, jama 7ido*  
 ning su jo ni-ni sar'ee syasi jen jama idu  
 1PL ERG HM all relative.MAT PL everyone DEM.NONVIS
- su kartho geeden.*  
 su kartho gee-den.  
 after cloth cover-1PL.NPT

‘We, um, after that (we) cover all of the relatives, everyone, with the cloth.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal: 032

In the following example, we find the word *bir'* ‘all’ lengthened. The meaning conveyed is that it is absolutely every person who receives the ceremonial food that is being distributed. As in example (2) above, the vowel length in example (3) below is used to emphasize the fact that the speaker means each and every individual benefits.

- (3) *hã bi::r' th'unu gaden.*  
 hã bir' th'u-nu ga-den.  
 then everyone distribute-NOM do-1PL.NPT

‘Then we distribute (the food) to everyone.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony:017

In direct elicitation and careful speech, the vowels in a word are often drawn out in syllable final position. For example, I have a recording made during an elicitation session of the word [ɟati] ‘food’ (bss\_291\_6), where the second vowel is .22 seconds in the first utterance, and .07 seconds in the second utterance. In a recording of [niɟu] ‘(he/she) was’ (bss\_291\_9), the second vowel is .21 seconds in the first utterance and .12 seconds in the second utterance. In many of the recordings, monosyllabic words like [ji], the first person singular pronoun, are drawn out to well over .22 seconds.

### 2.7.1.2 Short Vowels

It appears that vowels in unstressed syllables and word-initial closed syllables are short in comparison to vowels in stressed, open syllables. For example, comparing the length of a vowel in a closed syllable that is the first syllable of a disyllabic word with the length of a vowel in an open syllable in the same position, we find that the vowel is the

closed syllable is shorter. This is demonstrated in a recording of [tuku] ‘first’ (bss\_293\_28), where the vowel in the closed syllable [tuk] is .06 seconds. This is shorter than the vowel in the first syllable of the word [tɛdu] ‘there’ (bss\_293\_29), which is .10 seconds. Similarly, in the word [ciŋto] ‘roof’ (bss\_292\_21), the vowel in the closed, stressed syllable [ciŋ] is .03 seconds, while the vowel in the second, unstressed syllable [to] is .10 seconds. This is a topic for future investigation through a controlled study of vowel length in open versus closed syllables, and in stressed versus unstressed syllables.

### 2.7.2 Tone

Contrastive tone is found in Darma, but it is attested in a limited number of words. Whether what I find is an example of tonogenesis or the loss of tone, I cannot definitively say. Based on my experience in the Darma community, I would guess that tone is being lost. The paucity of minimal pairs, the difficulty I had in getting speakers to provide words with tone, along with the fact that younger speakers are generally unable to produce tone distinctions in the few words that I have documented with tone all lead me to believe that tone is being lost. Table 2.7.2 provides the attested contrasts. I find that there is a two tone contrast: high versus low. The high tone is marked with an acute accent above the vowel (e.g. á) and low tone is unmarked.

LOW TONE	GLOSS	HIGH TONE	GLOSS
la	<i>hand</i>	lá	<i>moon</i>
me	<i>fire</i>	mé	<i>eye</i>

Table 2.7.2: Minimal Pairs Showing Tone Contrast

In general, speakers are unable to articulate how ‘hand’ and ‘moon’ are different; meaning the concept of tone is not familiar to the community. This is not surprising



considering the Indo-Aryan languages that are spoken in the area are not tonal. Additionally, Darma is not a written language, so neither literary nor teaching traditions are established in the community. It is not surprising then that speakers have difficulty articulating the precise difference between the word for ‘moon’ and the word for ‘hand’. The nearest language with tone (in terms of proximity and genetic relationship) is Tibetan, which is spoken on the other side of a mountain range.<sup>24</sup> Contact with Tibetan speakers is not frequent.<sup>25</sup>

### 2.7.3 Stress

The stress pattern of the prosodic word follows a trochaic pattern. Primary stress falls on the first syllable of the prosodic word as shown in examples (4)-(6) below. I have indicated the stressed syllable in bold letters. These examples are presented in the practical orthography.

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<sup>24</sup> On a recent research trip (2004-2005) there was a group of Tibetan people living across the border in Nepal. They had come to the Dharchula area to sell and trade goods at the Jauljibi Fair. After they were robbed, the group was unable to afford the journey back home, and they spent the winter doing day-labor in the area.

<sup>25</sup> Darma men who conducted trade made annual contact with Tibetan speakers prior to 1962, and many of these traders were fluent in Tibetan. This contact was suddenly terminated after China attempted to invade India via the border in the Dharchula area. While the border is now open to Rang people, not many go to Tibet for trade, and few Darma speak Tibetan.

- (4) **be.na**  
'cow'
- (5) *th'a.yi*  
'I play'
- (6) **ne.du**  
'this'
- (7) **kang.the**  
'conversation'
- (8) *khaxh.cu*  
'from'

When there is a closed syllable in a multisyllabic word, primary stress falls on the closed syllable. This is shown in examples (9)-(13) below; the stressed syllable is in bold. In these examples, the primary stress of each word is on the second syllable, which is CVC. Because CVC syllables draw stress, I infer that these syllables are heavy. Heavy CVC syllables without a vowel length distinction is typologically marked.

- (9) *ʔi.dung*  
'there'
- (10) *kha.wel*  
a wild green vegetable
- (11) *ho.mang*  
'darkness'
- (12) *di.phan*  
'over here'
- (13) *wu.lang*  
'how much'

## 2.8 ALLOPHONES

There are several phonemes in Darma that have multiple allophones. The high vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/ are found to have allophones that are in complementary distribution as does the dento-alveolar fricative /s/. For each phoneme the allophones are

predictable based on the shape of the prosodic word or the quality of the following sound. These alternations will be described in the following subsections.

### 2.8.1 High Front Vowel

The high front tense vowel [i] is in complementary distribution with the high front lax vowel [ɪ]. The lax vowel is found in CVC syllables, and the tense vowel is found elsewhere. The examples presented in (i) below show /i/ in open syllables where it surfaces as [i]. The examples presented in (ii) below show /i/ in closed syllables where it surfaces as [ɪ].

- (i) /ku.ti/ → [ku.ti] ‘spit(tle)’  
 /si/ → [çi] ‘blood’  
 /i.laŋ/ → [ʔi.laŋ] ‘that much’  
 /ji/ → [ji] ‘flour’  
 /ki/ → [ki] ‘worship (stem)’  
 /kwa.li/ → [kwa.li] ‘forehead’  
 /ni/ → [ni] ‘sun’
- (ii) /bin.ti/ → [bɪn.ti] ‘sacrament’  
 /bir/ → [bɪr] ‘all’  
 /a.niŋ.χiŋ/ → [ʔa.niŋ.χɪŋ] ‘year before last’  
 /jib/ → [jɪb] ‘sow (stem)’  
 /jil/ → [jɪl] ‘rub (stem)’  
 /jiŋ/ → [jɪŋ] ‘year’  
 /cim/ → [cɪm] ‘house’  
 /ciŋ.tɔ/ → [cɪŋ.tɔ] ‘roof’  
 /jil/ → [ɟɪl] ‘wrap (stem)’  
 /niŋ/ → [nɪŋ] ‘we’

/niŋ.tja/ → [niŋ.tja] ‘day after tomorrow’

/gul.tʰiŋ/ → [gul.tʰiŋ] ‘testicles’

/nim/ → [nim] ‘nose’

There are exceptions to this generalization. For example, the vowel is not lax in [χis] ‘anger’; despite appearing in a closed syllable, the vowel surfaces as high and tense. This word for ‘anger’ was also given as [χisu], so the tense vowel may not be in a closed syllable in the underlying form.<sup>26</sup> Despite the exceptions, the practical orthography reflects the phoneme not what is articulated. So words where the high front vowel is pronounced as the lax allophone are written with *i* in the practical orthography. For example, both the word for ‘anger’ /χisu/ and the word for ‘we’ /niŋ/ will be written with an *i* in the practical orthography even though they are pronounced [χis] and [niŋ] respectively. In most cases, because the vowel appears in a closed syllable, we know that it is pronounced as a high front lax vowel.

### 2.8.2 High Back Vowel

The high back round vowel [u] is in complementary distribution with the centralized and unrounded vowel [ɯ]. The unround vowel [ɯ] is found in closed syllables where the coda is a nasal consonant. The round [u] surfaces elsewhere. Examples (iii)-(v) below provide examples of /u/ in different environments. The examples in (iii) show /u/ in an open syllable where it surfaces as [u]. The examples in (iv) show /u/ in a closed syllable where the coda is a non-nasal. In these words the vowel is also pronounced [u]. The examples in (v) show /u/ in a closed syllable where the coda is a nasal consonant. In these words the vowel is pronounced [ɯ].

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<sup>26</sup> The word for ‘anger’ appears to be an exception, however. There are words in the corpus that lose the final vowel, which results in a CVC syllable. In some of these examples, the high front tense vowel of the full form is pronounced lax (cf §4.2.1.1 for examples).

- (iii) /bu/ → [bu] ‘worm’  
 /gu/ → [gu] POSSESSIVE  
 /na.du/ → [na.du] DEM.NEUT
- (iv) /bul.nu/ → [bul.nu] ‘fat’  
 /kul/ → [kul] ‘always’  
 /puk.ʈo/ → [puk.ʈo] ‘knee’
- (v) /χum/ → [χum] ‘root’  
 /dum/ → [dum] ‘garlic’  
 /gun.t<sup>h</sup>u/ → [gun.t<sup>h</sup>u] ‘winter’  
 /i.duŋ/ → [ʔi.duŋ] ‘here’  
 /piʈ.tum/ → [piʈ.tum] ‘egg’

The high back round vowel is also centralized and unrounded following the palatal glide [j] and following a palatal consonant.<sup>27</sup> Examples of each are provided in (vi) below.

- (vi) /gju.hi/ → [gju.hi] ‘run’  
 /k<sup>h</sup>aχ.cu/ → [k<sup>h</sup>aχ.c<sup>j</sup>u] ‘from’  
 /rɛ.ɟu/ → [rɛ.ɟ<sup>j</sup>u] ‘ear’

The centralized, unrounded variant of the high back round vowel will not be represented in the practical orthography. So the word for ‘garlic’ will be written *dum*; the pronunciation of the vowel as central and unround is predicted by the context.

### 2.8.3 Palatal Fricative

The voiceless dento-alveolar fricative /s/ has three allophones: the voiceless palatal fricative [ç], the voiceless glottal fricative [h], and the dento-alveolar [s]. The

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<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that the voiceless palatal stop /c/ has a palatal offglide preceding the high back vowel. This will be addressed in §2.9.2.

palatal fricative is found preceding the palatal glide /j/ and the high front vowel /i/. The voiceless glottal fricative is also found preceding the palatal glide /j/ and the high front vowel /i/. The voiceless glottal appears to be in free variation with the palatal fricative (i.e. the same word is found with both [hi] and [çi]). The voiceless dento-alveolar fricative is found elsewhere (cf §2.9.2.2 below for a further discussion). Examples (vii)-(ix) below show the phoneme /s/ in different environments. Example (vii) show words where /s/ surfaces as [s]. Examples (viii) and (ix) show words where /s/ surfaces as [ç]. In the former example the /s/ precedes the high front vowel; and in the latter the /s/ precedes the palatal glide.

- (vii) /senu/ → [senu] ‘cold’  
       /sa/ → [sa] ‘dirt’  
       /su/ → [su] ERGATIVE
- (viii) /si/ → [çi] ‘blood’  
       /sik.ma/ → [çık.ma] ‘grain (type)’  
       /sil/ → [çıl] ‘wash (stem)’  
       /sir.nu/ → [çır.nu] ‘sour’  
       /siŋ/ → [çiŋ] ‘tree’
- (ix) /sje.li/ → [çje.li] ‘brass’  
       /sjaŋ/ → [çjaŋ] ‘big’  
       /sja/ → [çja] ‘meat’  
       /sjuŋ/ → [çjuŋ] ‘sit’ (STEM)  
       /si.sjo/ → [çi.çjo] ‘heart’

The voiceless glottal fricative [h] and the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] are in free variation as shown in the examples below. The alternation is found in a variety of

contexts and appears to be a speaker's choice. Further examples of this will be shown in §§ 4.1.4 and 4.1.6 below.

/sjɛno/ → [çjɛno] or [hjɛno] 'boy'

/simu/ → [çimu] or [himu] 'to die'

Cross-linguistically it is not uncommon for a fricative in the alveolar region to become more palatal preceding a front segment. This type of palatalization is found in Tibeto-Burman languages as well. In Dolakhā Newari, Genetti describes an alternation that is similar to what we find in Darma. While in Dolakhā “the fricative is palatalized, and pronounced slightly farther forward than English [ʃ]” (1994: 19), in Darma the /s/ is more palatal; thus I have transcribed the allophone as [ç]. Unlike the vowels described in the preceding sections, where the alternations are not captured in the practical orthography, the palatalized fricative is transcribed in the practical orthography of the first line of interlinearization.<sup>28</sup> The palatalized fricative is written as *x*. This is due largely to the fact that the distinction between [s] and [ç] is salient to native speakers; not distinguishing between the two sounds in the practical orthography might be perceived as evidence that this grammar is incomplete.

## 2.9 ASSIMILATION

There are two patterns of assimilation found in Darma. First is the assimilation of a sound to an adjacent sound within a word or stem. The second pattern is assimilation that occurs across morpheme boundaries. In the following sections, I will discuss the various types of word-internal assimilation found in Darma. Assimilation across morpheme boundaries is discussed in Chapter 4.

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<sup>28</sup> The palatal fricative is written *s* in the second line of the examples.

### 2.9.1 Nasalization

Cross-linguistically, vowels that precede a nasal stop tend to be nasalized. This is the case in Darma as well. In addition to nasalization preceding a nasal, I find that vowels following a nasal are also nasalized. Because a nasal consonant always results in nasalization on the following vowel, I do not transcribe nasalization in the corpus. There are, however, a handful of words that have nasalized vowels (e.g. *thyã* ‘today’ and *ʔõ* ‘yes’) with no triggering environment. These have been transcribed as nasal vowels.

### 2.9.2 Palatalization

According to Ladefoged, there are two ways the terms ‘palatalization’ and ‘palatalized’ can be used (2001: 218). The first sense of these terms refers to a secondary articulation, which has ‘a lesser degree of closure occurring at the same time as another (primary) articulation’ (117). Secondary articulations are described by Ladefoged as vowel-like, and are visible as part of a vowel on a spectrogram. Palatalization as a secondary articulation shows up as formants (like a high, front vowel) at the edge of a vowel.

The second sense of the terms ‘palatalization’ and ‘palatalized’ suggested by Ladefoged describes a change in the place of the primary articulation from something not palatal to something palatal. The change of the primary articulation to palatal is triggered by the phonological environment. This sense of the meaning includes processes such as velars becoming palatals before a front vowel, and ‘involve[s] descriptions of a process—something becoming something else—rather than a state such as a secondary articulation’ (218).

In Darma, we find examples of palatalization in both senses of the term as defined by Ladefoged. The vowels that follow the palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ are found to have a secondary articulation in the form of a palatal offglide before certain vowels, and the



non-palatal /s/ becomes a palatal before high front vowels and a palatal glide. Both of these assimilation processes will be described in the sections to follow.

### **2.9.2.1 Offglide**

A palatal offglide is found following palatal sounds that precede [+back] vowels. Examples of the offglide after a palatal before /u/ and /o/ are found in (14)-(19) below. The offglide with these vowels is quite pronounced, and I find no examples without it.<sup>29</sup>

(14) /coŋ/ → [cʲoŋ] ‘very’

(15) /co/ → [cʲo] ‘lake’

(16) /ʃonu/ → [ʃʲonu] ‘young’

(17) /raʃu/ → [raʃʲu] ‘(he/she) came’

(18) /kapcu/ → [kapcʲu] ‘tongs’

(19) /kʰaχcu/ → [kʰaχcʲu] ‘from’

An offglide is also usually found when the vowel [a] follows a palatal sound, but it is not always perceptible. Examples (20)-(22) below show words where the offglide is perceptible. Example (23) shows a word where the offglide is perceptible in the second syllable, but not the first; the offglide is not perceptible on the central vowel.

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<sup>29</sup> There are also consonant clusters with a palatal followed by [j]. The glide in these words is much more pronounced, longer, and is always present. With the offglide, the perceptibility of the sound can vary from speaker to speaker and individual speakers vary from text to text in how they articulate it.

(20) /gwalʃa/ → [gwalʃ<sup>h</sup>a] ‘lock’

(21) /ca/ → [c<sup>h</sup>a] ‘tea’

(22) /jamu/ → [ʃ<sup>h</sup>amu] ‘to eat’

(23) /canʃu/ → [canʃ<sup>h</sup>u] ‘morning’

An offglide can also be detected where mid, front vowels follow a palatal stop. As with the [a], the offglide preceding these vowels is not always perceptible. Examples (24) and (25) show words that usually have an offglide, and examples (26) and (27) show words that do not.

(24) /reʃε/ → [reʃ<sup>h</sup>ε] ‘wheat’

(25) /cεkti/ → [c<sup>h</sup>εkti] ‘liquor’

(26) /ʃεnu/ → [ʃεnu] ‘good’

(27) /cεʔaŋ/ → [cεʔaŋ] ‘ritual items’

It is not possible to predict where an offglide is articulated. Despite this, I will not transcribe the offglide in the practical orthography. The reason for this is twofold. First, in articulatory terms the front of the tongue is high for a palatal sound as it is for a high front vowel. The articulators will invariably pass through the /i/ en route to the target vowel following a palatal sound, which is why it is not surprising to find palatalization as a secondary articulation in the vicinity of palatal sounds. The second reason I will not transcribe the offglide, is that speakers do vary in terms of pronunciation of the offglide. In my notes I have found cases where the same word transcribed with an offglide in one utterance and without an offglide in another. In some cases the examples are from the same speaker within the course of a single interview session. The presence or absence of

the offglide does not result in a minimal pair; instead it is an artifact of the place of articulation.

### 2.9.2.2 *Voiceless Fricative*

As described in §2.8.3 above, the voiceless dento-alveolar fricative [s] is in complementary distribution with the voiceless palatal fricative [ç]. The generalization for this distribution is shown in (i) below. The dento-alveolar fricative is found before the vowels [e], [ɛ], [u], [o], and [a]. Examples of this distribution are given in (ii) below. The palatal fricative is also found before the palatal glide [j] and the high front vowel [i]. Examples of this distribution are given in (iii) below.

(i) /s/ → [ç] / \_\_\_\_ [+high, -back, -consonantal]

(ii) /se/ → [se] ‘one hundred’

/sɛ/ → [sɛ] ‘god’

/sum/ → [sum] ‘three’

/so/ → [so] ‘tooth’

/sa/ → [sa] ‘soil’

(iii) /sjuŋmu/ → [çjuŋmu] ‘to sit’

/sja/ → [çja] ‘meat’

/siŋ/ → [çiŋ] ‘tree’

/si/ → [çi] ‘blood’

There are exceptions to this generalization. One exception is the word for ‘mirror’ /arsi/, which is not pronounced with a palatalized fricative. This word, however, is borrowed from IA, and may not have completely entered the Darma lexicon. Like many borrowed forms, this word was obtained during direct elicitation sessions. It was confirmed with several consultants. Another exception involves a place name. The town Sipu is generally pronounced [sipu]. Many of the villages in Darma Valley go by names

that are not native to Darma. For example, the town Filam is called [paŋsun] in Darma. The name Filam is used by the Indian Government, and has been widely adopted by the Rang people. This extends to the use of the surname Fimal by those people from Filam. Knowing that the traditional names are not widely used, and some speakers are not familiar with the traditional names, it is possible that Sipu is not the original Darma name of the village, but the Indian name for the village instead.

## 2.10 GLOTTALIZATION

As mentioned in §2.2 above, vowels in word-initial position are preceded by glottalization, which I have transcribed as a glottal stop. Glottalized vowels are found in words of all types, in open and closed syllables, and in mono- and multi-syllabic words as shown in the examples below.

/inna/	→	[ʔinna]	‘pepper’
/aṭṭa/	→	[ʔaṭṭa]	‘sister’
/a/	→	[ʔa]	‘mouth’
/oŋ/	→	[ʔoŋ]	‘rock’
/ur/	→	[ʔur]	‘side’
/ilaŋ/	→	[ʔilaŋ]	‘that much’
/ahinu/	→	[ʔahinu]	‘high’
/akci/	→	[ʔakci]	‘very’
/u/	→	[ʔu]	‘he/she’
/uŋmu/	→	[ʔuŋmu]	‘to look at’
/ō/	→	[ʔō]	‘yes’

There are some words in the lexicon with a syllable-initial vowel in word-medial position. For example, [pua] ‘uncle’ and [deatola], which is a place name.

Unfortunately, I do not have recordings of these words. Based on my notes, ‘uncle’ is not a C [glide] (i.e., it is not [pwa]); the word sounds like it has two syllables. It is possible, however, that this should be transcribed [puwa]. I am not sure about the status of the V syllable in the place name. There are also a few cases where a vowel-initial suffix on a CV verb stem does not appear to result in an offglide or glottal stop intervocalically. For example, [t<sup>h</sup>oan̩da] ‘he/she will throw (it)’ is not transcribed with a glottal. It may be the case that this type of vowel cluster (i.e., across a morpheme boundary) is broken up with a glottal stop, but further exploration of these words using spectral analysis is necessary. For examples of words that have been examined using PRAAT, see §3.2.3 below.

## Chapter 3: Phonetics: An Acoustic Analysis of the Sounds of Darma

### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

The inventory of sounds in Darma as described in Chapter 2 calls for further examination. The series of stops I have posited is typologically unusual (Maddieson 1984) and is slightly different from the series described in previous sketches of Darma (cf Sharma 1989 and Krishan 2001). In this chapter, I will present an acoustic analysis of the sounds of Darma that lends support to the claims I have made. It must be made clear, however, that further acoustic analysis of the sounds of Darma (and possibly other Tibeto-Burman languages) is necessary to gain a better understanding of the sound system. Before I turn to the acoustic analysis, I will briefly review where, with whom, and how the recordings were made, and how the sounds were analyzed.

The recordings I used for acoustic analysis were made in Dharchula for on-site analysis and analysis at a later date. I did not, however, make the recordings following a well defined procedure that would allow for a statistically significant analysis of the sounds. As is common in fieldwork, the research site was rife with ambient noise, and I had neither the time nor the resources to fabricate an ideal recording studio. Additionally, speakers preferred to be recorded in their villages and homes, so getting people to come to my residence was an obstacle.<sup>1</sup> I was only able to record two consultants under ideal circumstances, and in hindsight I see that the sessions were not well designed. For example, I did not record the same number of tokens for each speaker. Also, I did not

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<sup>1</sup> It became apparent that this was an insurmountable obstacle. I lost several afternoons (time which could have been spent in the villages collecting data) waiting for speakers to come to my residence to be recorded. Realizing that my time would be better spent with Darma speakers, I stopped my effort to record a variety of people in ideal conditions. The result is a paucity of ideal recordings for acoustic analysis, but a large number of texts that have been recorded, transcribed, and translated (and a large number of recorded texts that can be transcribed and translated in the future).

always record the same set of tokens with each speaker. In essence, the study is not balanced.

When an analysis such as this is planned before recording is done, an effort is made to prepare a word list that combines each vowel with every consonant, if possible. While I attempted to record as many tokens as possible, I have found several gaps.<sup>2</sup> I recorded the words and utterances analyzed here so that I could examine the vowels and consonants in spectrograms and refine my transcription, which I have been able to accomplish.<sup>3</sup>

The two subjects I was able to record worked with me at various stages in my project as primary consultants. GBG is a 32-year old female originally from Baun village in Darma Valley.<sup>4</sup> She is married to a Byansi man and lives in Dharchula. GBG speaks Byansi at home. She frequently visits her family in the village Gothi near Dharchula, and has the opportunity to speak Darma regularly. In addition to Darma and Byansi, GBG speaks the local variety of Kumauni and is fairly fluent in Hindi. GBG is not missing any teeth and outside of a slight lisp, she speaks normally.

The second speaker recorded, BSS, is a 26-year old male from Sela village in Darma Valley. He is single and lives with his parents and siblings in Dharchula. BSS speaks Darma at home. Besides Darma, BSS is fluent in Hindi, which he speaks in a variety of contexts including the marketplace and with his friends who are both Rang and Kumauni. BSS is also proficient in English; in fact he teaches five-year-olds at the local

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<sup>2</sup> Of course some of these gaps exist because a combination of sounds had not been documented, or is not attested in the language.

<sup>3</sup> It must be noted that while I consider my transcription to be refined, I do not consider it infallible. Hearing the distinction between the palatal and alveolar sounds remains a challenge, and I am confident that errors exist in my transcription.

<sup>4</sup> Speakers and consultants are identified using their initials rather than their full names. While happy to participate this project, many felt that being identified by name was a burden. Most Darma speakers I encountered felt that being identified as a source of a grammatical construction would allow others to single them out for criticism. Sometimes people would refer me to someone else with the claim that that person spoke 'pure Darma'.

English-medium army-base school. BSS is not missing any teeth and speaks normally without any speech impediment.

GBG worked with me in the early stages of research in 2002. I recorded her directly to a Dell Latitude laptop with an ESS Maestro 2E PCI sound card using a Sony ECM-717 stereo tabletop microphone. Some of the recordings from GBG are not of high quality and have not been used for analysis. BSS was recorded with the Sony stereo tabletop microphone and with a Shure Cartoid unidirectional head-worn microphone. The tabletop microphone recordings were made to a Sony MD. The head-worn microphone recordings were made directly to a Dell Latitude laptop with an ESS Maestro 2E PCI sound card. The tokens recorded directly to the laptop were made using Cool Edit with a sampling rate of 48000 Hz. The recordings were saved as 16-bit mono wave files for analysis.

The subject was asked to say each token twice. Prompts were provided in Hindi, and, in the case of BSS, sometimes in English. If there was confusion, the Darma token sought was provided as a prompt. The infinitive morpheme in Darma is [-mu], and I speculate that the final vowel bears the effect of the preceding nasal, so verbs were elicited in an inflected form (usually first person singular). Obtaining an inflected form usually required me to provide a prompt in Darma. In some cases when a token was requested, the subject would spontaneously provide a fuller form. For example, the full form 'I go' is [ʃi dihi], but the pronoun does not need to be overtly stated. On occasion, when prompted to say [dihi] alone, the speaker would say [ʃi dihi] instead.

### **3.1 CONSONANTS**

The consonants require an articulatory description beyond what is provided in the IPA representation. Specifically, the voiced consonants in Darma are preceded by voicing and the alveolar and palatal stops are articulated with a lot of noise. These aspects of



articulation are visible on a spectrogram. I will present examples of illustrative spectrograms in the following subsections.

### 3.1.1 Pre-Voicing

Voiced stops are pre-voiced,<sup>5</sup> which is visible on a spectrogram as a voice bar preceding the burst. This pre-voicing is most perceptible in word-initial position, especially in words uttered in isolation. A voice bar preceding the voiced onsets in the words *ge* ‘you’, *ju* ‘ox’, and *dan* ‘stomach’ can be seen in Figures 3.1.1.A-3.1.1.C below. In Figure 3.1.1.A, there is pre-voicing preceding the voiced velar stop in [gɛ]. Less perceptible is the pre-voicing before the voiced stop in [dihɛn]. The words in Figures 3.1.1.B and 3.1.1.C were uttered in isolation during an elicitation session that was designed specifically for recording. Tokens with a voiced stop in the word-initial position consistently have pre-voicing; pre-voicing can be detected in narratives as well.

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<sup>5</sup> Ladefoged (2001) calls this pre-nasalization. I am calling this pre-voicing at the suggestion of Scott Myers. The evidence on the spectrogram is a voice bar preceding the voiced consonant.

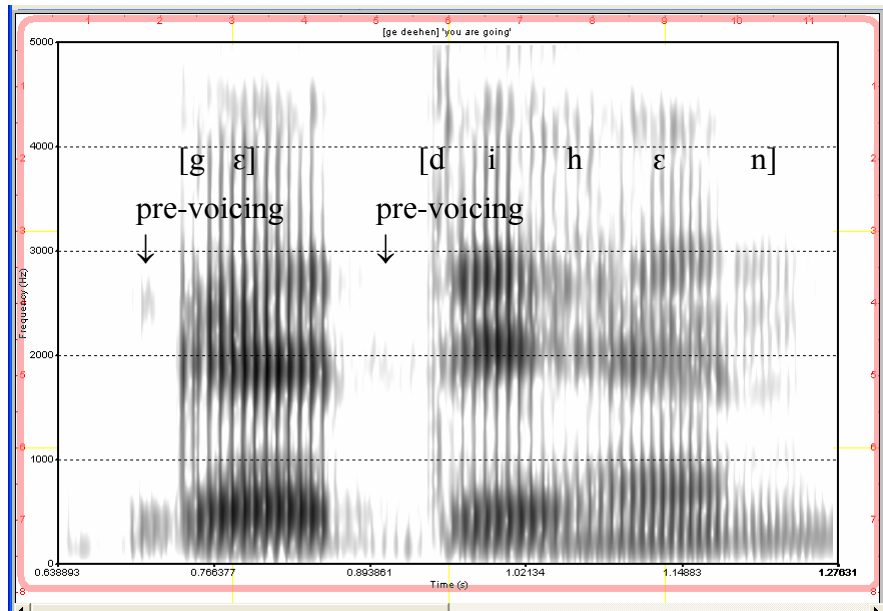


Figure 3.1.1.A: Pre-Voicing in [ge dihen] 'you go'

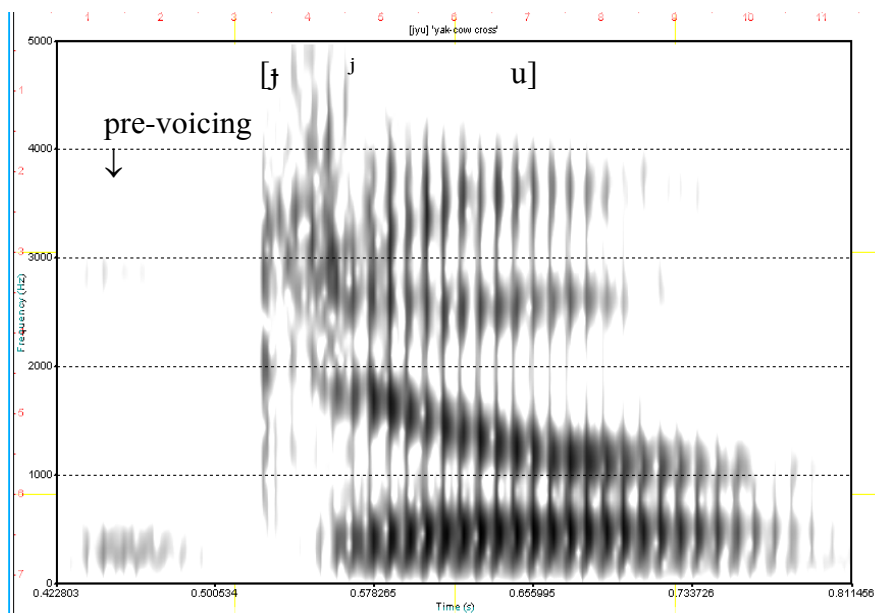


Figure 3.1.1.B: Pre-Voicing in [jʊ] ‘ox’

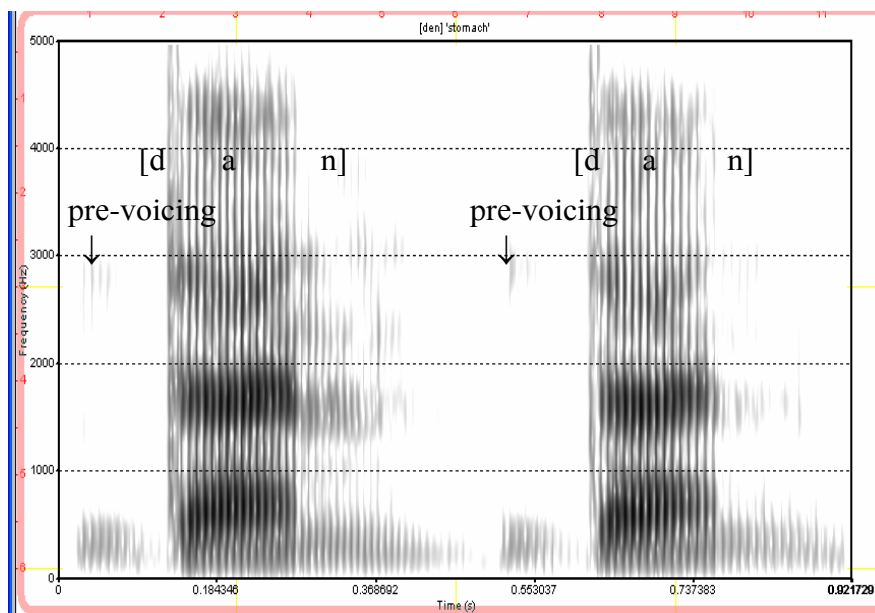


Figure 3.1.1.C: Pre-Voicing in [den] ‘stomach’

### 3.1.2 Release of Stops

As mentioned in §2.1 above, the series of stops found in Darma is not common cross-linguistically. These stops have special features that must be explained.

Previous sketches of Darma include stops and affricates in the phonemic inventory. When I began documenting Darma, I agreed with this analysis, and transcribed alveolar affricates [ts], [tsh] and [dz]. I heard a palatal affricate as well, which I transcribed as [c]. It wasn't until I began examining these sounds using a spectrogram that I realized that these sounds are not affricates at all. Rather than being stops followed by homorganic fricatives (Ladefoged 2001), these sounds are in fact stops with a release that is extremely turbulent.<sup>6</sup> In Maddieson (1984), the Sino-Tibetan languages included in his analysis have 'sibilant' and 'non-sibilant affricates' in their consonant inventories. It may be that these sounds are stops with very noisy releases, as I have found in Darma. Maddieson did not analyze the sounds included in the inventories of UPSID. The database is based on descriptive grammars that were available to Maddieson and it is possible that many of the phonemic inventories were posited without the aid of acoustic analysis. If the sounds included in the database have a strong release like the sounds found in Darma, it is easy to imagine that affricates were transcribed instead of stops.

That some of the stops in Darma might have a noisy release is not unusual cross-linguistically. In his description of palatal sounds, Ladefoged points out that 'because of the shape of the roof of the mouth, the contact between the front of the tongue and the hard palate often extends over a fairly large area. As a result, the formation and release of a palatal stop is often not as rapid as in the case of other stops, and they tend to become affricates' (2001: 144). The palatal stops in Darma have a large area of intensity after the

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<sup>6</sup> I did not make this discovery on my own. I must attribute this to Scott Myers who astutely noted that what I was transcribing as affricates were in fact stops.

release. An example of this is shown in Figure 3.1.2.A below. In this spectrogram, it is also possible to see the offglide from the palatal stop into the high back vowel. This offglide is audible and visible to varying degrees whenever a palatal sound precedes a vowel that is [+back].

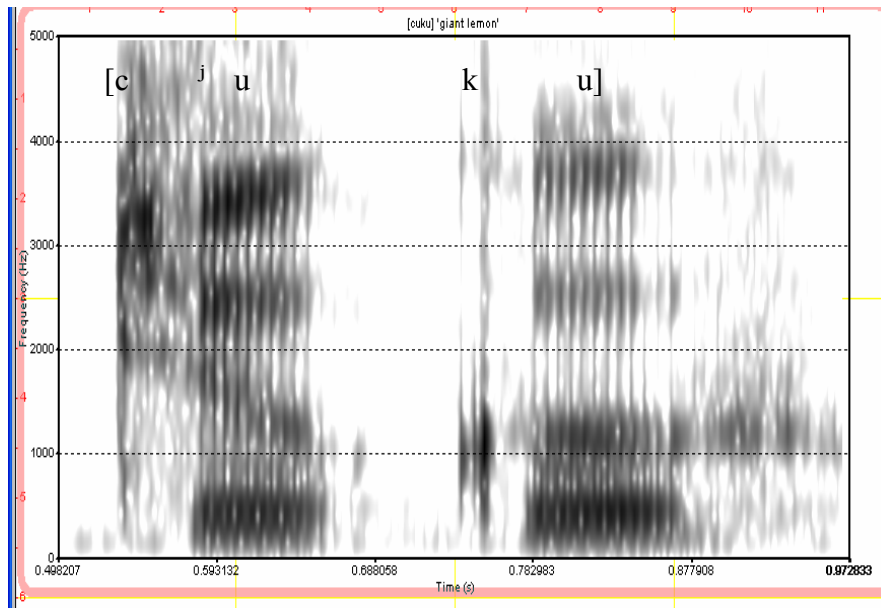


Figure 3.1.2.A: Palatal Stop [cuku] ‘big lemon’ (bss\_293\_27)

This turbulent release is also found on the alveolar stops in Darma, as shown in Figure 3.1.2.B below. It is possible to see the turbulence from the point of release. This energy dissipates throughout the period of aspiration, and lowers before the low back vowel.

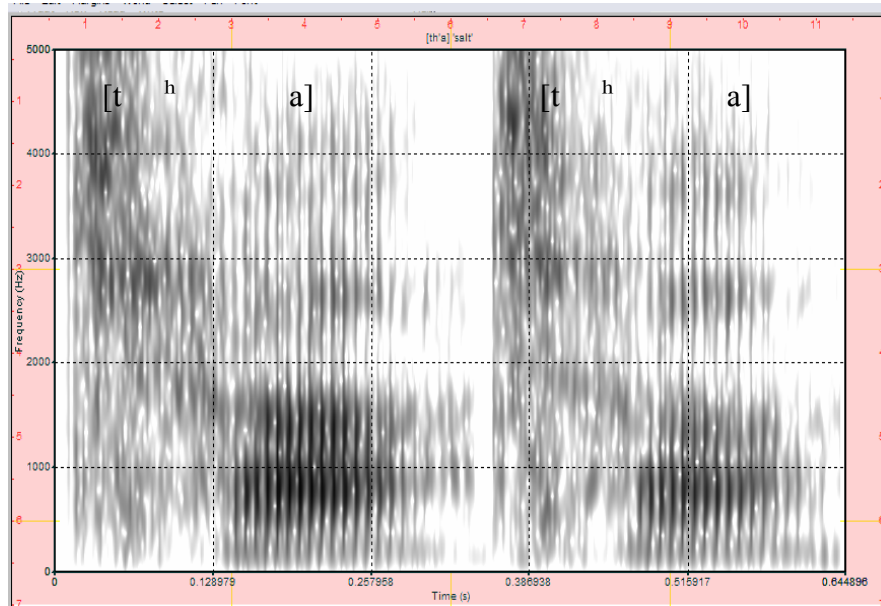


Figure 3.1.2.B: Voiceless Aspirated Alveolar Stop [tʰa] ‘salt’ (bss\_292\_14)

These sounds remain a challenge to hear and while the recordings and analysis with spectrograms have been helpful, much more work needs to be done with the sound system of Darma. In an effort to clarify the point of contact, I attempted to make palatograms with my primary consultant BSS. Unfortunately I did not have access to carbon powder as Ladefoged recommends (2003). I experimented with cocoa powder, but the results were not satisfactory. This ad-hoc experimentation had two benefits. First, I learned that BSS has an incredibly high palate. Second, the experiment led to detailed discussions of place of articulation. While we had discussed articulatory matters in the past, the failed palatogram experiment engaged BSS in the importance of distinguishing a palatal sound from an alveolar or a dental sound.

### 3.1.3 Gemimates

There are few examples of gemimates in the lexicon. Two gemimates are shown in Figures 3.1.3.B and 3.1.3.C below. Figure 3.1.3.A provides a single [l] in an environment

similar to the geminate [l] shown in Figure 3.1.3.B. The single [l] is .9s, while the geminate is nearly twice that length at .17s.

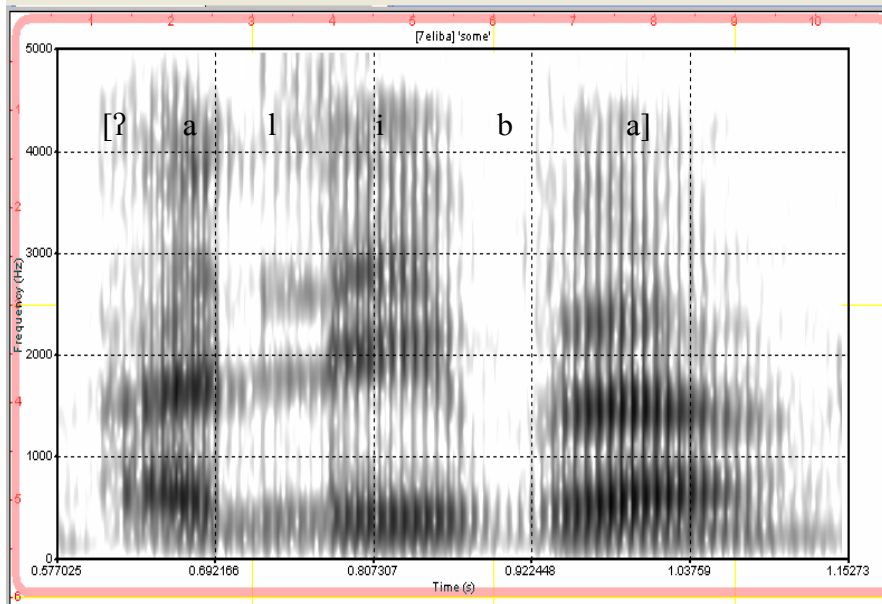


Figure 3.1.3.A: Single [l] in [ʔaliba]

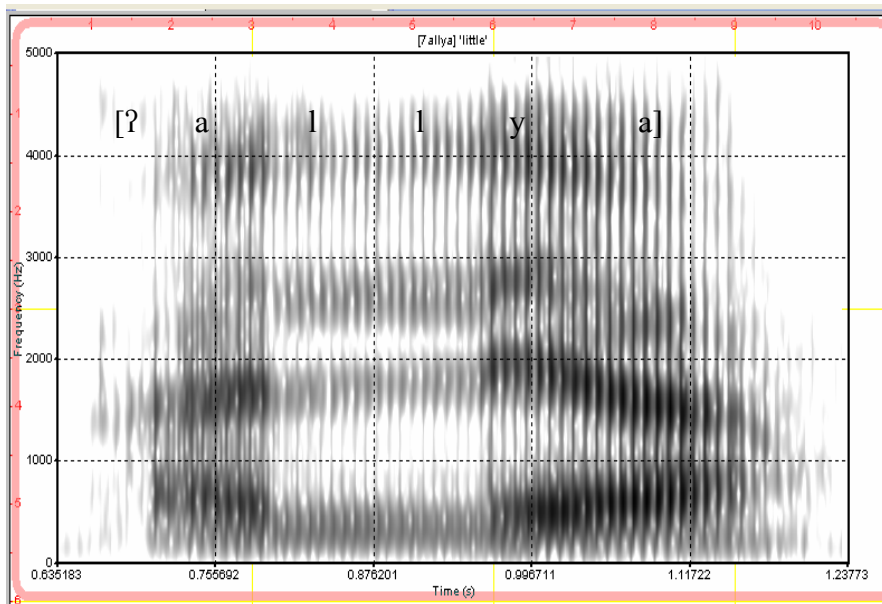


Figure 3.1.3.B: Geminate [l] in [ʔallya] 'little'

Similarly [t] is found as a geminate. In the word ‘sister’ shown in Figure 3.1.3.C, the closure for the dental stop is quite long.

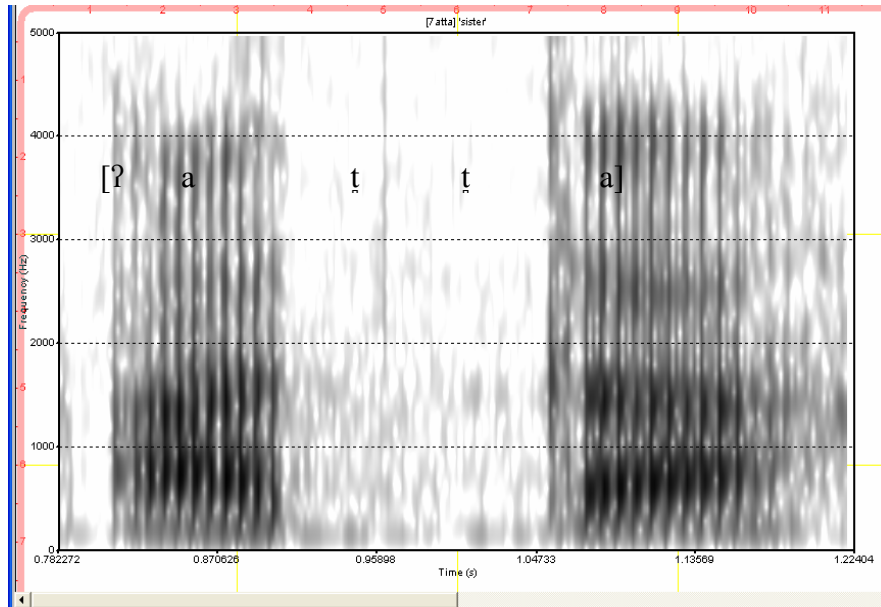


Figure 3.1.3.C: Geminate [t] in [ʔatt̪a] ‘sister’

Other words in the lexicon with geminates include [pitt̪um] ‘egg’ and [but̪ti] ‘buttermilk’.

### 3.2 VOWELS

While a vowel chart is useful in representing the sounds of a language, it is important to provide a description that includes the formant values to specify exactly where in the vowel space the phonemes are found.

Using tokens from BSS, I conducted a study on the value of F1 and F2 in Hertz for the vowels of Darma. After preliminary analysis, I have determined that Darma vowels are not distinctive based on length; thus vowel length was not considered in this study.



I measured F1 and F2 of the vowels in each token in one of two ways:<sup>7</sup>

- (i) If the vowel formants had a transition period at the onset and/or offset, and there was a period within the vowel where F1 and F2 are static, then a measurement was taken at the center of the steady state.
- (ii) If the vowel formants were at a slant from onset to offset, then a measurement was taken at the midpoint of the vowel.

The spectrogram window was set with a view range of 5,000 Hz, a bandwidth of 260 Hz, and a dynamic range of 40 dB.<sup>8</sup> The formants were measured using an LPC-based formant-tracking tool and the formant values were also measured by hand directly from the spectrogram display screen. If the values of these two initial measurements conflicted, the formants were measured again using an FFT spectral slice from the same point where the LPC measurement was taken with the formant-tracking tool.

In the following sections, I will present scatterplots of vowels measured and spectrograms of specific vowels.

### **3.2.1 Formant Values**

Using the formant values obtained from the analysis described above, I averaged the values measured for F1 and F2. These values are presented in Figure 3.2.1.A below.

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<sup>7</sup> The procedure originally included information regarding how to measure vowels that involved a trough and a peak. All of the vowels measured here, however, had either a steady state or slanted from onset to offset, so only two measurement procedures were needed.

<sup>8</sup> The analysis software I am using does not allow me to set a grid on my spectrogram window display. I can, however, place the cursor anywhere in the spectrogram and get a Hertz value for the formants.

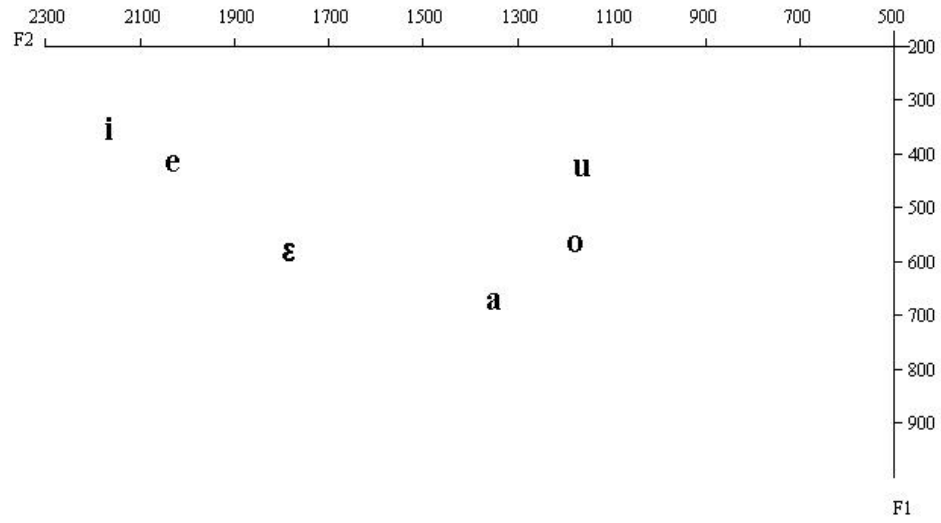


Figure 3.2.1.A: Average Formant Values for F1 and F2 for Vowels

To provide an idea of the target area for vowels in Darma, Figure 3.2.1.B plots the formant values for the vowels of Darma. While the analysis done to date does not take the environment of the vowels into consideration, each vowel has fourteen measurements plotted.

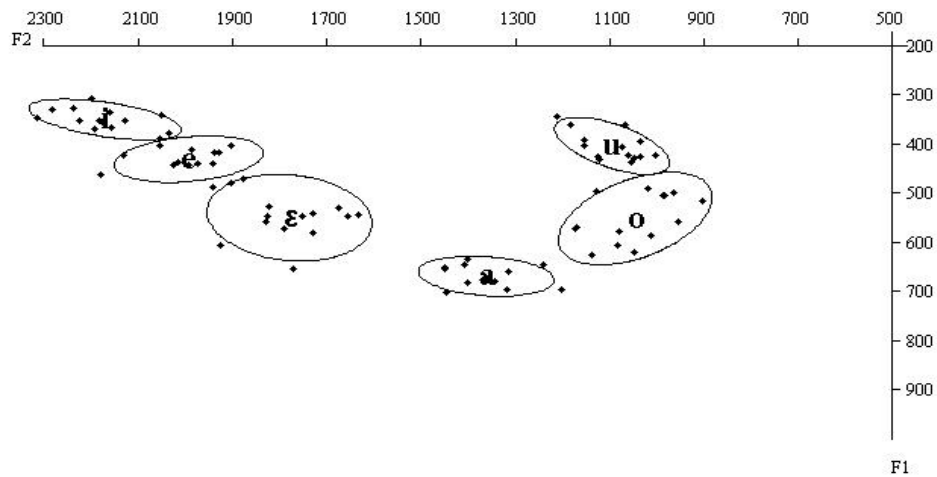


Figure 3.2.1.B: Scatterplot of Darma Vowel Phonemes

### 3.2.2 Centralized Vowels

As discussed in §2.8.1 above, the high front tense vowel [i] becomes lax [ɪ] in closed syllables. Figure 3.2.2.A illustrates the change of formant values of the high front vowel in a closed syllable.

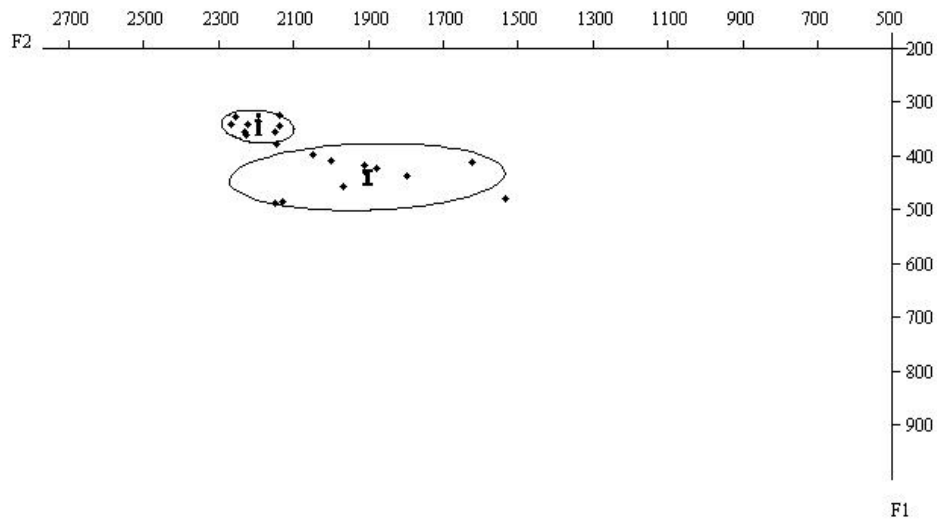


Figure 3.2.2.A: Scatterplot of /i/ in Open and Closed Syllables

The points on the scatterplot representing [i] are for formant values of /i/ found in an open syllable, and the points for [ɪ] are for formant values of /i/ from closed syllables.

Similar to the front vowel, the high back tense vowel [u] is pronounced as a lax, unround [ʊ] in closed syllables where the coda is a nasal consonant (cf. §2.8.2 above). The high back tense vowel is also lax and unround when it follows a palatal consonant or a palatal offglide. The difference in formant values for this alternation is shown in Figure 3.2.2.B below.

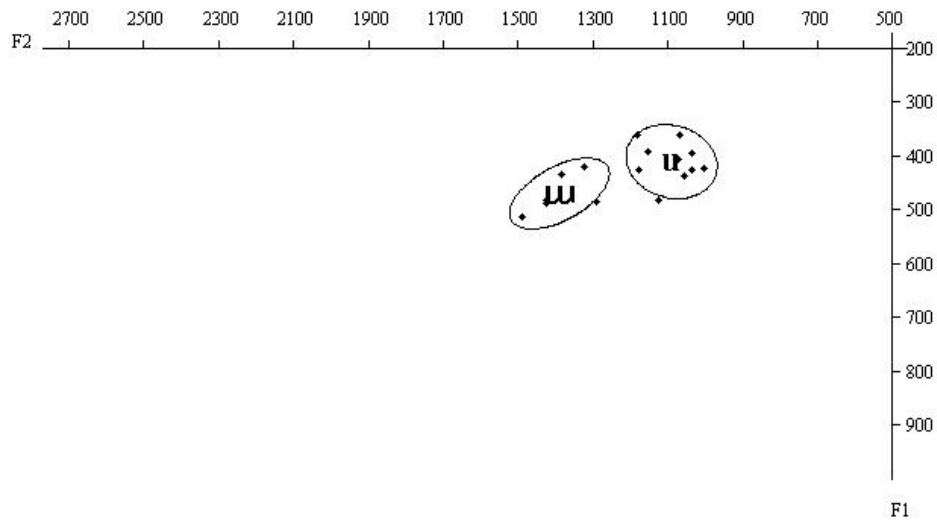


Figure 3.2.2.B: Scatterplot of /u/ in Open and Closed Syllables

The points in the scatterplot of Figure 3.2.2.B representing [u] are for formant values of /u/ found in an open syllable, and the points for [u] are for formant values of /u/ from closed syllables where the coda is a nasal consonant.

Similar to /i/ and /u/, which have allophones in predictable environments, the formant values of /a/ become more centralized in closed syllables and in unstressed positions.

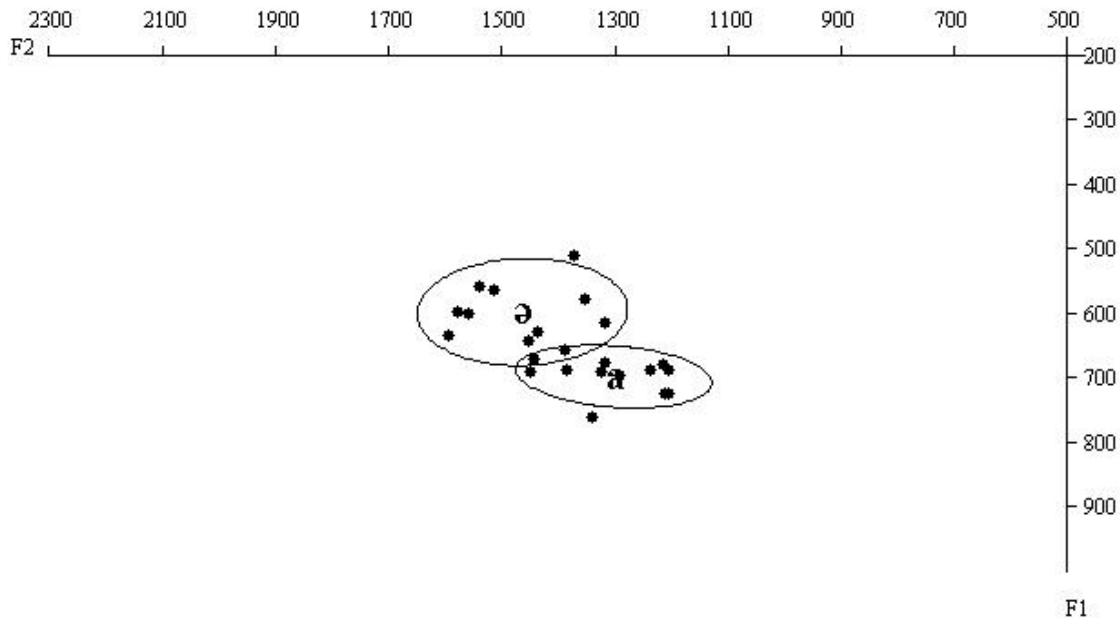


Figure 3.2.2.C: Scatterplot of /a/ in Open and Closed Syllables

The points in the scatterplot of Figure 3.2.2.C representing [a] are for formant values of /a/ found in an open syllable, and the points for [ə] are for formant values of /a/ from closed syllables. The overlap of the low vowel and its centralized counterpart is more extreme than we find with the high vowels. This, and the abundant exceptions<sup>9</sup> to centralization have led me to not hypothesize two allophones for /a/. Further work must be done before this claim can be confirmed.

### 3.2.3 Glottalization

As discussed in §§2.3.2.1 and 2.4.1.2 above, vowels in word-initial position are glottalized. I have transcribed this glottalization as a glottal stop (represented as ʔ in the

<sup>9</sup> These exceptions include a number of IA borrowings as well as Darma words. For example: [pəsu] ‘rug’, [pəʔhɪra] ‘shawl’, [dərə] ‘confront’, [pəʔa məɭju] ‘I don’t know’ (IA), [tʰəge] ‘cheat’ (IA), [pəʔe] ‘naughty’, [pəʔhɪe] ‘see off’, [tʰəma] ‘rice’, [dərə] ‘near’, [wəʔna] ‘up to’, [kəme] ‘earn’, [ləge] ‘apply’ (IA), [tʰəlija] ‘dance (type of)’, [bəse] ‘stay’ (IA), [bəte] ‘save’ (IA).

practical orthography). The spectrograms shown in Figures 3.2.3.A-3.2.3.C below, illustrate the glottalization of the initial vowel the words ‘sister’ *ʔatta*, ‘very’ *ʔakci*, and the personal pronoun ‘he/she’ *ʔu*.

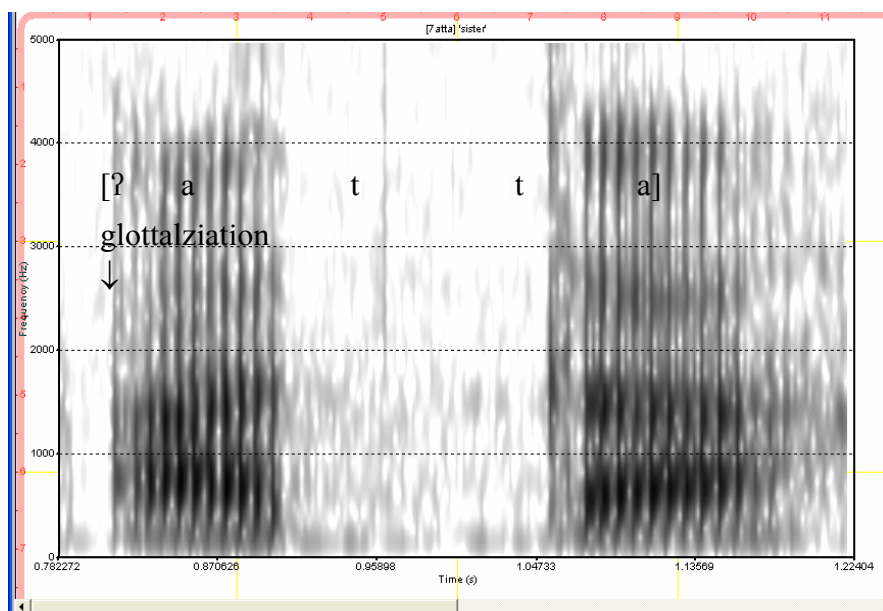


Figure 3.2.3.A: Glottalization of Initial Vowel in [ʔatta] ‘sister’

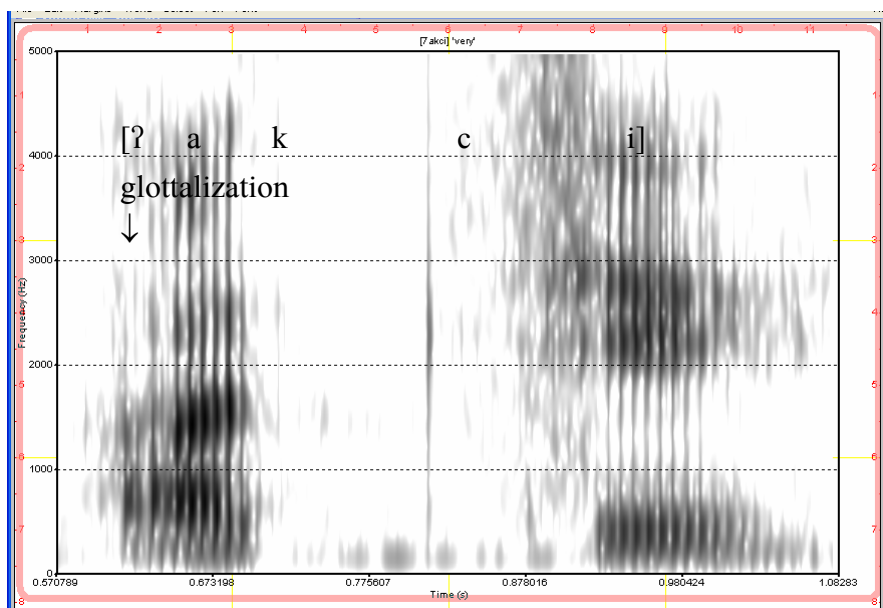


Figure 3.2.3.B: Glottalization of Initial Vowel in [ʔakci] ‘very’



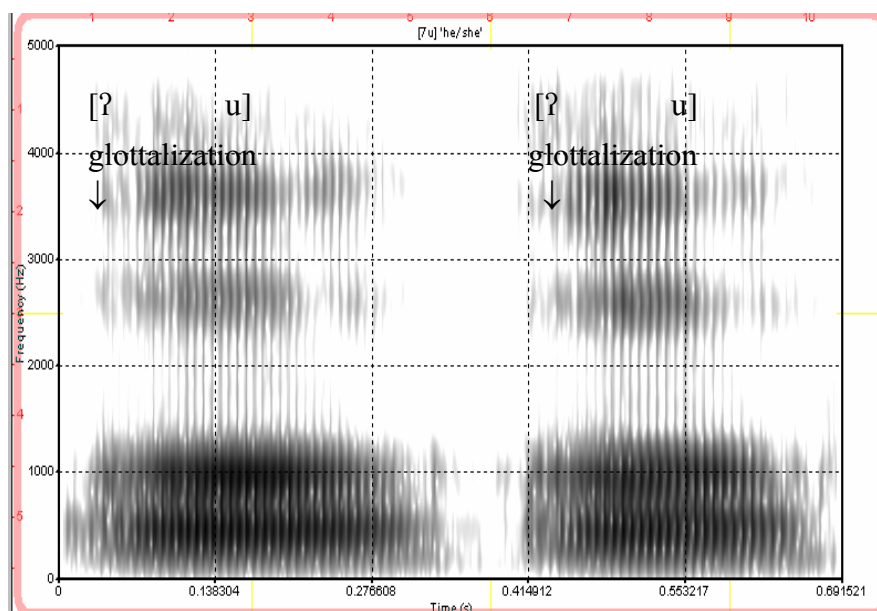


Figure 3.2.3.C: Glottalization of Vowel in [ʔu] ‘he/she’

The glottal portion of the vowel is part of the vowel and is not the same length as other stops in word-initial position. The presence of glottalization does not add to the length of the word-initial vowel. That is, the glottal is part of the vowel rather than a full segment.

### 3.2.4 Vowel Length

While vowel length is not distinctive in Darma, vowels in a closed syllable are shorter than vowels in an open syllable (cf §2.7.1.2 above). Also, vowels that are in an unstressed syllable are shorter than vowels that are in a stressed syllable. Figures 3.2.4.A and 3.2.4.B below provide the contrast of /i/ in an open and a closed syllable respectively; and Figures 3.2.4.C and 3.2.4.D provide the contrast of /u/ in an open and closed syllable (with a nasal coda) respectively.

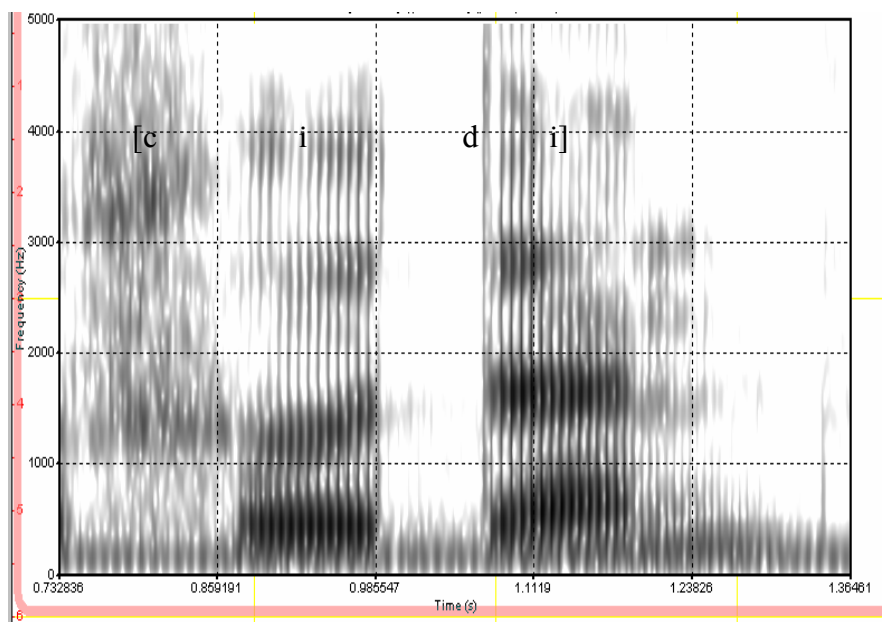


Figure 3.2.4.A: /i/ in an Open Syllable (V = .13s)

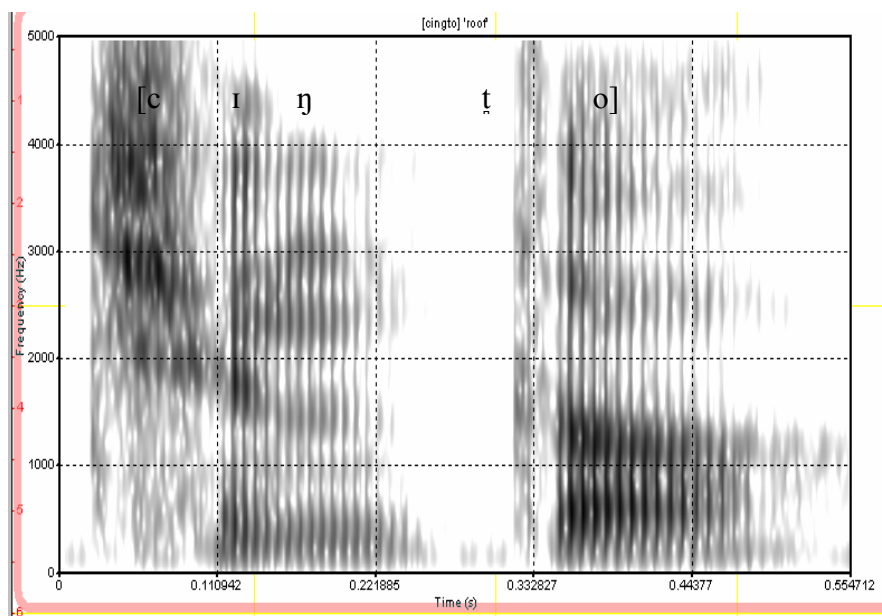


Figure 3.2.4.B: /i/ in a Closed Syllable (V = .03s)

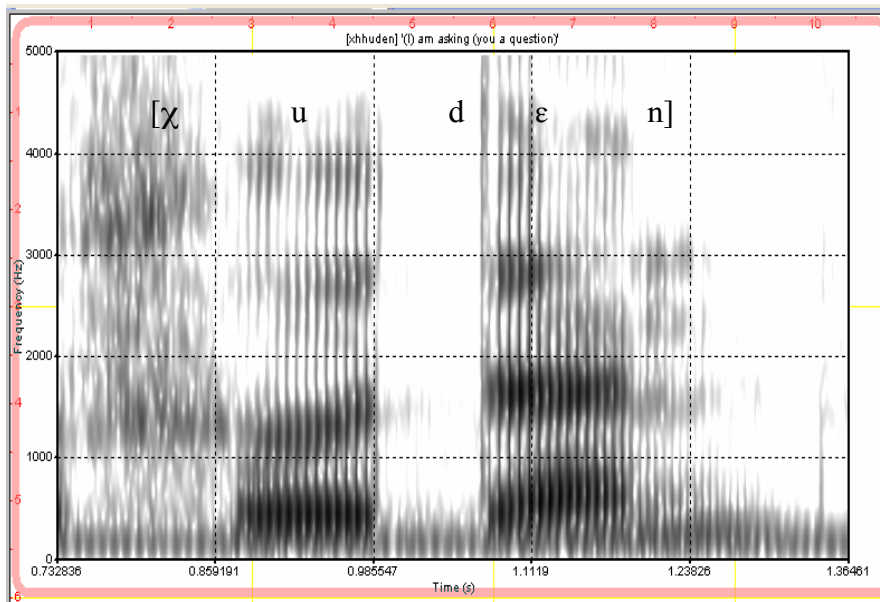


Figure 3.2.4.C: /u/ in an Open Syllable (V = .11s)

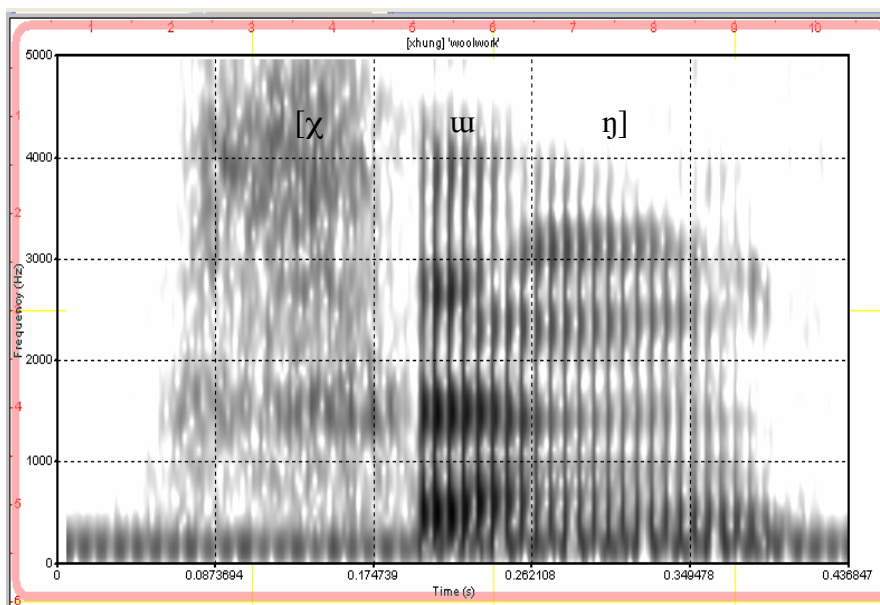


Figure 3.2.4.D: /u/ in a Closed Syllable (V = .04s)

See Figures 3.1.3.A and 3.1.3.B above for examples of /a/ in an open and closed syllable. Unlike the high vowels, the difference in length is not as significant and it is not

as consistent. In Figure 3.1.3.A, the first /a/ is unstressed and is .08s; the second /a/ is also unstressed and is .13s. In Figure 3.1.3.B the first vowel is .08s and the second vowel is about .14s (excluding the preceding glide).

## Chapter 4: Morpho-Phonology

### 4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is dedicated to alternations across morpheme boundaries. This will include a discussion of allomorphs and the environments that trigger the alternations, morpheme-boundary deletion and epenthesis, and word-boundary phenomena such as vowel deletion.

The examples in this chapter will be presented in two formats. The first format uses the IPA to show underlying and surface forms. The underlying forms are presented in slash brackets and the surface forms are presented in square brackets. The second format uses a modified version of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (LGR), which I presented in §1.7.2 above. The version I use includes five lines, which I will summarize here.

(1)	<i>gerthu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>r'ani.</i>	line one: Surface form
	<i>gerthu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>r'a-ni</i>	line two: Underlying form
	flourmill	ABL	come-3.NPT	line three: morpheme- gloss
	'He is coming from the flourmill.'			line four: Free translation
	T0032: Conversation. 099			line five: Source of example

The first line represents the phonetic transcription, the second line the phonemic, the third is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and the fourth line is a free translation. Both line one and line two are written in the practical orthography (cf §2.6 above), which is largely phonemically based. In general, predictable alternations are not transcribed in the practical orthography, so sounds like the high front lax vowel, which surface only in specific environments, will not be transcribed. Throughout this chapter I will specify which allophones will and which will not be differentiated in the practical orthography.

## 4.1 ALLOMORPHS

Verb stems are inflected for tense, aspect, and mood (cf Chapter 13 for further discussion). Some of the inflectional affixes are found to be in morpho-phonological alternations. In this section I will present these alternations.

### 4.1.1 Future Marker

The future marker /-aŋ/ has three allomorphs [-aŋ], [-jaŋ], and [-ŋ]. Examples (2) and (3) below, show the allomorph [-aŋ]. Examples (4) and (5) below, show the allomorph [-jaŋ]. Examples (6) and (7) below, show the allomorph [-ŋ].

- (2) *wi su nadu pharsa su pyelangda.*  
wi su nadu pharsa su pyel-ang-da.  
3PL ERG DEM.NEUT axe INSTR cut-FUT-3.NPT  
'They will cut this with an axe.'

T0042: Elicited. 502

- (3) *bir' bang pe kur'angden.*  
bir' bang pe kur'-ang-den  
all place tour take-FUT-1PL.NPT  
'(We) will take you on tour of all the places.'

T0023: Migration:038

- (4) *jab ji kheeru la bon song r'u lyangkhi*  
jab ji kheeru la bon sang r'u lee-ang-hi  
when.LN 1SG next month Baun village LOC AUX.EX-FUT-1SG.NPT  
*ji ge ciyangkhi.*  
ji ge ci-ang-hi.  
1SG 2SG meet-FUT-1SG.NPT

'When I am in Baun village next month, I will meet you.'

T0048: Elicited. 115

- (5) *7idu 7isteej r'u theyangda.*  
idu isteej r'u the-ang-da.  
DEM.NONVIS stage.LN LOC show-FUT-3.NPT  
'(They) will show (you) on that stage.'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 085

- (6) *ge yepthe xyunghimu ji r'angkhi.*  
*ge yeb-thee syung-si-mu ji r'a-ang-hi.*  
 2SG wait-CVB sit-MID-2SG.IMP 1SG come-FUT-1SG.NPT

‘You should sit waiting, I’ll come.’

T0046: Elicited. 042

- (7) *7u gangda.*  
*u ga-ang-da.*  
 3SG do-FUT-3.NPT

‘He will do (it).’

T0048: Elicited. 065

The allomorph [-aŋ] is found only with transitive verb stems. The allomorph [-yaŋ] is found with intransitive verb stems and transitive verb stems that end in front vowels.<sup>1</sup> The allomorph [-ŋ] is found with transitive verb stems that end in [a] and with some forms of intransitive verbs that end with [a]. Table 4.1.1.A summarizes the distribution of the future marker with transitive verbs, and Table 4.1.1.B summarizes the distribution of the future marker with intransitive verbs. There is no suppletion in the verb stem, so the forms for the transitive verb stems are the same regardless of person and number marking (cf Chapter 13 for a discussion of verb morphology). I have used the third person non-past marker [-da] throughout Table 4.1.1.A for consistency. The order of the morphemes in the examples provided is STEM-FUT-3.NPT.

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<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that this is based on the corpus. I did not obtain future forms for every verb in the lexicon. Future investigation is in order to check whether the distribution described here holds for all verbs.

STEM SHAPE	FUTURE MARKER	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
CVC	[-aŋ]	[ʔuŋ-aŋ-da]	3SG/PL will look at
C[e]	[-jaŋ]	[pe-jaŋ-da]	3 SG/PL will tear (it)
C[ɛ]	[-jaŋ]	[t <sup>h</sup> ɛ-jaŋ-da]	3 SG/PL will show (it)
C[i]	[-jaŋ]	[χi-jaŋ-da]	3 SG/PL will teach (s.th)
C[a]	[-ŋ]	[ta-ŋ-da]	3 SG/PL will put (it)
CV (other)	[-aŋ]	[t <sup>h</sup> o-aŋ-da]	3SG/PL will throw

Table 4.1.1.A: Future Marker on Transitive Verb

There is one transitive verb that has a future form that is slightly different from the pattern outlined in Table 4.1.1.A. The verb [lemu] ‘to say’ is like other C[e] verbs in that it takes the future marker [-jaŋ]. Unlike ‘tear’ and other C[e] verb stems, where the vowel [e] in the verb stem is pronounced, ‘say’ is pronounced [ljaŋda] with the stem vowel [e] deleted.

Like the transitive verbs, the intransitive verb stems do not undergo suppletion; thus the stem is the same shape regardless of the person and number marking. Unlike the transitive, the intransitive third person is not overtly marked in future constructions. In Table 4.1.1.B I have included examples that are marked for first person [-hi], second person [-hen], and third person [-Ø]. The order of the morphemes in the examples provided is STEM-FUT-3.NPT.



STEM SHAPE	FUTURE MARKER	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
CVC	[-jaŋ]	[tuŋ-jaŋ-hɛn]	2SG/PL will drink
C[e]	[-jaŋ]	[ge-jaŋ-Ø]	3 SG/PL will wear out
CV-[-çi]	[-jaŋ]	[ne-ç-jaŋ-hi]	1 SG will stand self up
C[a]	[-jaŋ]	[ra-jaŋ-Ø]	3 SG/PL will come
CV (other)	[-jaŋ]	[dɔ-jaŋ-Ø]	3SG/PL will be happy

Table 4.1.1.B: Future Marker on Intransitive Verb

As shown in Table 4.1.1.B, the vowel [i] in the middle morpheme [-çi] is deleted preceding the future marker. This will be addressed again in §4.1.6 below.

There are a number of irregular intransitive verbs in the future construction. These irregular verbs are presented in Table 4.1.1.C below. Each irregular verb is presented in first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural, and third person singular and plural. Many of these forms have more than one possible pronunciation; alternative pronunciations are also provided in the table.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> An alternate form of the future found in the third person [-haŋ] is in free variation with [-jaŋ]. Sometimes the palatal glide of the future morpheme is preceded by the glottal fricative as in the following example:

<i>ʔi</i>	<i>jang</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>xyunghinje</i>	<i>tʰumhang,</i>
i	jang	dal	xyung-xi-n-je	tʰum-ang,
DEM.NONVIS	COMP	more	sit -MID-1PL-COND	catch-FUT.3
tʰumhyang	ʔan	jen.		
tʰum-ang	an	jen.		
catch-FUT.3	DEM.PROX	people		

‘If you stay longer than this, they’ll arrest (you), (they) will arrest those people.’

STEM	1 SG	2 SG	3 SG/PL	1 PL	2 PL	GLOSS
ra	[ra-ŋ-k <sup>hi</sup> ]	[ra-jaŋ-hɛn] [ra-ŋ-hɛn]	[ra-jaŋ-∅]	[ra-ŋ-hɛn]	[ra-ŋ-hɛni]	<i>come</i>
p <sup>h</sup> a	[p <sup>h</sup> a-jaŋ-çɪ] [p <sup>h</sup> a-ŋ-k <sup>hi</sup> ]	[p <sup>h</sup> a-ŋ-hɛn]	[p <sup>h</sup> a-jaŋ-∅]	[p <sup>h</sup> a-ŋ-hɛn]	[p <sup>h</sup> a-jaŋ-ni]	<i>speak</i>
ʃa	[ʃa-jaŋ-k <sup>hi</sup> ] [ʃa-ŋ-çɪ]	[ʃa-ŋ-hɛn]	[ʃa-jaŋ-∅]	[ʃa-ŋ-hɛn]	[ʃa-jaŋ-ni]	<i>eat</i>
de	[d-jaŋ-k <sup>hi</sup> ]	[d-jaŋ-hɛn]	[d-jaŋ-∅] [de-haŋ-∅]	[d-jaŋ-hɛn] [de-haŋ-hɛn]	[d-jaŋ-hɛni] [de-haŋ-ni]	<i>go</i>
le	[l-jaŋ-k <sup>hi</sup> ]	[l-jaŋ-hɛn]	[l-jaŋ-∅]	[l-jaŋ-hɛn]	[l-jaŋ-hɛni]	<i>be</i>
ni	[n-jaŋ-k <sup>hi</sup> ]	[n-jaŋ-hɛn]	[ni-jaŋ-∅]	[ni-jaŋ-hɛn]	[ni-jaŋ-hɛn]	<i>be</i>

Table 4.1.1.C: Irregular Intransitive Future Constructions

The verbs ending in [a] all take [-jaŋ] in the third person, but the endings for the other persons and number vary. The second person singular and the first person plural forms of C[a] verb stems all take the future marker [-ŋ], and one form of the second person singular ‘come’ takes [-jaŋ]. The verb ‘come’ does not have an alternative first person singular future form as we find with ‘speak’ and ‘eat’. Additionally, ‘come’ has a second person plural form that is different from ‘speak’ and ‘eat’. As we found with the irregular form [lemu] ‘say’ in the transitive constructions, the intransitive irregular verb stems that end in [e] also have the final vowel of the stem elided preceding the future marker [-jaŋ]. This elision does not occur when the future marker is pronounced [-haŋ]. The stem vowel is also elided in some of the future forms of the auxiliary ‘be’ [ni].<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> While I don’t find examples of both [n-jaŋ-hɛn] and [ni-jaŋ-hɛn] for second person singular and first person plural, it is possible that both pronunciations are available. In general, the second person singular and first person plural forms are found to be pronounced the same.

#### 4.1.2 Converb

Converbs are used in discourse to concatenate clauses under one matrix verb. The function and distribution of the converb will be addressed in §18.4 below. The converb morpheme /-len/ has two allomorphs [-len] and [-lan], which will be outlined here.

While my primary consultant stated on multiple occasions that it is possible to use either [-len] or [-lan] in any context without a change in meaning (i.e. the allomorphs are in free variation), the distribution of these forms in the corpus indicates that the alternation is predictable.

The form [-lan] is found in the corpus preceding the word ‘time’ [bakte], as shown in examples (8)-(9), or when the word ‘time’ [bakte] is assumed, as shown in example (10). In (9) and (10), the phrase [milan (bakte)] means ‘childhood’.

- (8) *7u jenameleng bakte, jab 7u jenameni...*  
 u jename-len baktee, jab u jename-ni...  
 3SG be.born.LN-CVB time when.LN 3SG be.born.LN-3.NPT

‘His being born time, when he is born...’

T0030: Bar'te. 007

- (9) *tuktu ज्या r'u da jo he jesa ki ning@*  
 tuktu ज्या r'u da jo he jesa ki ning gu  
 before day LOC CONT HM.LN as.LN CONJ.LN 1PL POSS
- mileng bakte, 7abi ya 7ungangden.*  
 mi-len baktee, abi ya ung-ang-den.  
 be.young-CVB time EMPRO.LN and.LN see-FUT-1PL.NPT

‘In the old days, though, that is, as our being young time, we ourselves and (we) will see.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 093

- (10) *mileng khaxhcu na teere teknikal parrai gada,*  
 mileng khaxhcu na teeree parrai ga-da,  
 be.young-CVB ABL EMPH there technical.LN studies.LN do-3.NPT
- 7api gu khar'ee.*  
 abi gu khar'ee.  
 EMPRO.LN POSS something

‘From being young (time) even there (they) do technical studies, each his own thing.’

T0041: Conversation. 126

All other converb morphemes in the corpus surface as [-len] as shown in examples (11) and (12) below.

- (11) *7idu ma gar'tu, jo he, se kilen, rthinglen,*  
 idu ma gar'tu, jo he, se ki-len, rthing-len,  
 DEM.NONVIS EQU manner HM.LN god worship-CVB dance-CVB
- th'alén, 7ã, ne gabla su r'ahen.*  
 th'a-len, ã, ne gabla su r'a-hen.  
 play-CVB HM DEM.NEUT Gabla ABL come-1PL.NPT

‘In this manner, um, worshipping god, dancing, playing, um, (we) come from that Gabla (temple).’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 063

- (12) *nadu la r'u kur'len geni wude r'i dee tar'ni.*  
 nadu la r'u kur'-len geni wudee r'i dee tar'-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT hand LOC take-CVB 2PL where EMPH go able-3.NPT

‘This one this clearness, though, it comes in all, taking this one in your hand, you are able to go anywhere.’

T0041: Conversation. 149

### 4.1.3 Imperative

Direct imperatives are formed by suffixing the morpheme /-a/ to the verb stem (cf §13.9 below for further discussion of imperative forms). The imperative morpheme has three allomorphs [-a], [-wa], and [-ja]. The allomorph [-wa] is found following verb stems that end in the back vowels [u] and [o]. The allomorph [-ja] is found following

verb stems that end in front vowels [e] and [ɛ].<sup>4</sup> The allomorph [-a] is found following verbs stems that end in a consonant or an [a].

Examples of each allomorph are provided in (i)-(iv) below. Examples of verb stems that end in back vowels are shown in (i) below. Examples of verb stems that end in front vowels are shown in (ii) below. Examples of verb stems that end in a consonant are shown in (iii) below.

- (i) /ru/ + /-a/ → [ruwa] ‘ask (2SG.IMP)’  
 /bu/ + /-a/ → [buwa] ‘carry (2SG.IMP)’  
 /t<sup>h</sup>o/ + /-a/ → [t<sup>h</sup>owa] ‘scratch (2SG.IMP)’
- (ii) /tɛ/ + /-a/ → [tɛja] ‘apply (2SG.IMP)’  
 /t<sup>h</sup>ɛ/ + /-a/ → [t<sup>h</sup>ɛja] ‘show (2SG.IMP)’
- (iii) /sjuŋ/ + /-a/ → [çjuŋa] ‘sit (2SG.IMP)’  
 /puŋ/ + /-a/ → [puŋa] ‘pour (2SG.IMP)’  
 /rɛn/ + /-a/ → [rɛna] ‘weave (2SG.IMP)’  
 /pjɛl/ + /-a/ → [pjɛla] ‘cut (2SG.IMP)’

When the imperative morpheme /-a/ is suffixed on a verb stem that ends in [a], only one vowel surfaces. Because the imperative form is often stressed, and prosodic words that are CV often have an extra long vowel (i.e. >.2 seconds), it is difficult to state definitively whether a vowel is dropped or whether the resulting vowel is long. I have transcribed these forms as a single vowel, which is due in part to the fact that vowel length is not phonemic in Darma. Examples of verb stems that end in [a] are shown in (iv) below.

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<sup>4</sup> In the corpus I have not found examples of the imperative form for any verbs that end in the high front vowel.

- (iv) /ga/ + /-a/ → [ga] ‘do (imperative)’  
 /da/ + /-a/ → [da] ‘give (imperative)’  
 /p<sup>h</sup>a/ + /-a/ → [p<sup>h</sup>a] ‘talk (imperative)’

There are irregular forms in the imperative construction. Examples of irregular forms are shown in (v) and (vi) below. In (v), we find the imperative morpheme [-a] suffixed on the verb stem [le] ‘say’, which ends in a mid, front, tense vowel. In the surface form the front vowel [e] surfaces as a glide.<sup>5</sup> In (vi), we find the imperative morpheme [-a] suffixed on the verb stem [χε] ‘bring’, which ends in a mid, front, lax vowel. In the surface form the front vowel is not pronounced.

- (v) /le/ + /-a/ → [lja] ‘say (imperative)’  
 (vi) /χε/ + /-a/ → [χa] ‘bring (imperative)’

Examples (13)-(16) below show the verbs ‘say’ and ‘bring’ in declarative and imperative constructions. Examples (13) and (15) are declarative constructions and examples (14) and (16) are imperative constructions.

- (13) *ning jo leeda*  
 ning jo lee-da  
 1PL DAT say-3.NPT  
 ‘(He/she) says to us.’

T0047: Elicitation. 021

- (14) *Jite taku ber’a ga lya.*  
 taku ber’a ga lee-a.  
 one song do say-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Say “Jite sing one song” (Tell Jite to sing one song).’

T0032: Conversation. 407

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<sup>5</sup> It must be noted that the first person singular hortative form of ‘say’ is pronounced [leja].

- (15) *guli ceki xheden.*  
*guli ceki xhe-den.*  
 beer liquor bring-1PL.NPT  
 ‘(We) bring the beer-like liquor.’

T0021:046

- (16) *do xyungemu dangsu byam xha.*  
*do syung-mu dangsu byam xhe-a*  
 here sit-INF BEN rug bring-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Bring the rug here for sitting (= in order to sit down).’

T0032: Conversation. 263

#### 4.1.4 Intransitive First Person Nonpast

The first person nonpast morpheme /-hi/ is found on intransitive verbs, and has the allomorphs [-hi], [-çi], and [-k<sup>hi</sup>] (cf §13.1.1 below for a discussion of verb classes and §13.3.1 below for a discussion of the finite verb morphology).

The first person nonpast allomorph [-çi] is usually found in those constructions that include the middle morpheme, which can also be pronounced [-çi] (cf §4.1.6 below). When concatenated, the first person singular nonpast and the middle are frequently pronounced only once as [çi]. This is shown in example (17) below<sup>6</sup> (the phenomenon of the middle followed by the first person singular nonpast is addressed again in §4.2.3 below).

- (17) *ji 7ur’xi.*  
*ji ur’-si-hi.*  
 1SG wash-MID-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am washing myself.’

T0042: Elicited. 1083

There are a few examples of the first person singular nonpast surfacing as [-çi] without being directly preceded by the middle morpheme. The examples in (18) and (19)

<sup>6</sup> We know the valency decreasing middle morpheme is there underlyingly because the verb ‘wash’ is transitive; it would be conjugated differently without the middle morpheme (i.e. [ʔurdi] ‘I am washing (something)’).

below show that the first person singular morpheme surfaces as both [-hi] and [-çi] even if the preceding verb bears the middle morpheme.<sup>7</sup>

- (18) *ji pehi dexi.*  
ji pe-si dee-hi.  
1SG walk-MID go-1SG.NPT  
'I am going wandering.'

T0042: Elicited. 035

- (19) *ji pexi dihi.*  
ji pe-si dee-hi.  
1SG walk-MID go-1SG.NPT  
'I am going wandering.'

T0042: Elicited. 034

The examples in (20) and (21) below show that the alternation between [-hi] and [-çi] is found on verbs without a middle anywhere in the verb complex. This pair was provided by my consultant during a session when I was trying to determine the distribution of [-hi] and [-çi].

- (20) *ji nihi.*  
ji ni-hi.  
1SG AUX.EQ-1SG.NPT  
'I am.'

T0042: Elicited. 096

- (21) *ji nixi.*  
ji ni-hi.  
1SG AUX.EQ-1SG.NPT  
'I am.'

T0042: Elicited. 097

The allomorph [-k<sup>h</sup>i] is found following the future marker as shown in example (22) below.

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<sup>7</sup> These examples also show that the middle morpheme varies in pronunciation independent of the way the first person singular is articulated on the finite nonpast verb that follows.



- (22) *ji (su) yeblen xyungyangkhi...*  
*ji (su) yeb-len syung-ang-hi...*  
 1SG (ERG) wait. CVB sit-FUT-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I will sit and wait...’

T0046: Elicited. 040

While there are many examples of the first person singular nonpast allomorph [-k<sup>h</sup>i] following the future marker, it does not appear that the coda (i.e. the nasal velar consonant) is the triggering environment for this alternation. Compare example (22) where we find the allomorph [-k<sup>h</sup>i] following a velar nasal to example (23) where we find the allomorph [-hi] following a velar nasal. In the corpus the only examples of [-k<sup>h</sup>i] indicating the first person singular nonpast morpheme are found with verbs that are in the future.

- (23) *ji sang r’u khaxhcu phunghi.*  
*ji sang r’u khaxhcu phung-hi.*  
 1SG village LOC ABL run.away-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am running away from the village (home).’

T0042: Elicited. 1083

#### 4.1.5 The Past Particle

The past particle /su/ has four allomorphs [su], [ɟu], [suŋ], and [saŋ]. Speakers reported that the four were interchangeable, but there is evidence that the distribution may have a pattern. The distribution of the four allomorphs remains unclear at this time. These forms will be discussed again in §13.3.2.

#### 4.1.6 The Middle

The middle morpheme /-si/ has three allomorphs [-hɛ], [-hi], [-ɟi], and [-çi].<sup>8</sup> The distribution of these morphemes is not clear at this time. Here I will present an example

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<sup>8</sup> These forms are sometimes pronounced with a glide (e.g. [-hj]); and sometimes the vowel is elided (e.g. before a future morpheme).

of each allomorph without attempting to explain a pattern of distribution. Further investigation of the allomorphs must be done.<sup>9</sup>

- (24) *hã song jama pehenu leenju.*  
*hã sang jama pe-si-nu lee-n-su.*  
 then village all wander-MID-NOM AUX.EX-1SG.NPT  
 ‘Then the village all (over) (we) are wandering.’

T0018: Funeral. 015

- (25) *kha la xyunghim bang?*  
*kha lee-da syung-si-mu bang?*  
 what say-3.NPT sit-MID-INF place  
 ‘What do (they) say (= is it called) the sitting/resting place?’

T0023: Migration. 010

- (26) *ji neehyangkhi.*  
*ji nee-si-ang-hi.*  
 1SG stand.up-MID-FUT-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I will stand myself (run) for office.’

T0046: Elicited. 073

- (27) *ge rujyen.*  
*ge r’u-si-hen.*  
 2SG get.up-MID-2SG.NPT  
 ‘You get up.’

T0047: Elicited. 029

- (28) *bokt’u cukxini.*  
*bokt’u cuk-si-ni.*  
 boots put.on-MID-3.NPT  
 ‘(They) wear the boots.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 010

## 4.2 DELETION AND CENTRALIZATION

Vowels and syllables are deleted in a variety of circumstances. For example, the final vowel of a multisyllabic word is often deleted in rapid speech. The full form and the shortened form are largely found to be in free variation; whether or not the vowel is

<sup>9</sup> It remains unclear that all of these allomorphs function in the same way. In particular, it may be that the various [ji] forms function differently.

articulated is a speaker's choice. I also find instances of haplology, where identical or phonologically similar syllables that are concatenated are frequently merged into one syllable. Finally, in rapid speech the high vowels are frequently centralized. These alternative pronunciations will be discussed in the following sections.

#### 4.2.1 Nouns and Pro-Forms

The final vowel of a multisyllabic word is frequently deleted; this vowel deletion is found with both nouns and pronominal words. In example (29) below, the final vowel of the interrogative pronoun 'who' is dropped preceding the inflected verb. In example (30) below, the final vowel of the second utterance of 'everyone' is deleted. Compare example (30) to example (31). In the latter example, the final vowel of the word 'who' is deleted in both occurrences.

- (29) *kham neehyang?*  
 khami nee-si-ang?  
 who stand.up-MID-FUT  
 'Who will stand himself (run) for office?'  
 T0046: Elicited. 072

- (30) *jama jam xyablen ju ceki gan ninju.*  
 jama jama syab-len su ceki ga-nu ni-n-su.  
 everyone everyone stand.up-CVB after liquor make-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
 'After standing absolutely everyone up, we make *cekti*.'  
 T0018: Funeral. 012

- (31) *7i su le r'ekor'ding kigayn nini*  
 i su le ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni  
 DEM.NONVIS ERG also recording.LN COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
*teer'o khwee kham kham gu.*  
 teer'o khwee khami khami gu.  
 LOC.UP don't.know who who POSS  
 'She has also made recordings up there, (but) I don't know of who all.'  
 T0041: Conversation. 078

Final vowel deletion is also found with the disyllabic noun *xyeno* 'child' as shown in example (32) below. It should be noted that the full form of the noun *xyeno* is not

attested preceding the plural particle in the corpus; the word ‘children’ is always pronounced [ɕjen jən].

- (32) *ge gu xyen jen nini.*  
*ge gu syeno jen ni-ni.*  
 2SG POSS child PL AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘Do you have children?’

T0042: Elicited 349

#### 4.2.1.1 Pro-Forms + EQUATIVE

The final vowel of the nonvisible demonstrative pronoun, [ʔidu], is frequently deleted preceding the equative particle [ma] (cf Chapters 7 and 14 below for a discussion of the postposition particles). This is shown in example (33) where the final vowel of [ʔidu] is dropped. It should be noted that the vowel in the resulting CVC syllable is lax, which suggests that the high front lax vowel described in §2.8.1 can surface in forms that are underlyingly V.CV, but pronounced CVC.

- (33) /ʔidu ma gartu/ → [ʔid ma gartu]  
 ‘in that manner’

The final vowel of [ma] can also be dropped as shown in (34) and (35) below. This is frequently found following demonstrative pronouns. When the final vowel of the equative particle is dropped, the remaining [m] is incorporated onto the pronoun, as predicted in §2.8.1, the vowel in the resulting CVC syllable is centralized.

- (34) *nadum taym r’u...*  
*nadu ma taym r’u*  
 DEM.NEUT EQU time LOC  
 ‘Like that at the time...’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 089

- (35) *ʔidum galen ju*  
*idu ma ga-len su*  
 DEM.NONVIS EQU do-CVB after  
 ‘After doing it like this...’

T0018: Funeral.028

#### 4.2.1.2 Verbal Nouns

Nouns derived from a verb stem plus the infinitive marker are found to undergo vowel deletion as well. In these forms, the final vowel of the infinitive marker [-mu] is dropped when it is combined with another noun to form a complex noun (cf §6.2.1 below for a discussion of verbal nouns).

(36) /sjuŋ-si-mu + baŋ/ → [çjuŋçim baŋ]  
'the sitting down place/the place to sit down'

(37) /barçe + ga-mu + bakçe/ → [barçe gam bakçe]  
'the hair-cutting ceremony time'

The final vowel of the infinitive marker [-mu] is also frequently dropped preceding another verb in a compulsion construction (cf §13.1.5 below for a discussion of compulsion constructions). Compare examples (38) and (39) below. In the former example, the final vowel of the infinitive marker has been dropped, while in the latter example it was pronounced.

(38) *dar'u*    **gam**        *parrni*  
dar'u    ga-mu        parr-ni  
liquor    make-INF    must.LN-3.NPT  
'(One) must make the liquor.'

T0021: Food.035

(39) *7idu*            *na*        **damu**        *parrni*  
idu                na        da-mu        parr-ni  
DEM.NONVIS    EMPH    make-INF    must.LN-3.NPT  
'(One) must make it just like this.'

T0021: Food.035

#### 4.2.2 Nominalized Forms

The final vowel of nominalized forms is omitted in a variety of contexts. This is the most frequent type of vowel deletion found in the corpus. The contexts are outlined in the following sub-sections.

#### 4.2.2.1 Preceding Auxiliaries

Frequently, the final vowel of the nominalizer morpheme [-nu] is dropped when it precedes an inflected form of the auxiliary *ni-* as shown in examples (40) and (41) below. While nominalized forms also function as adjectives, the deletion of the final vowel generally does not occur if the [STEM + NOMINALIZER] is functioning as a predicate adjective.<sup>10</sup> Example (42) below, shows a predicate adjective with the full nominalizer morpheme articulated. The adjective, however, does not always appear in full form. Example (43) below, shows that a predicate adjective can also surface with the final vowel of [-nu] dropped.

- (40) *hã r'o r'u th'iblen ju hã bulen*  
*hã r'o r'u th'ib-len su hã bu-len*  
 then basket LOC pour-CVB after then carry.(on.back)

*kur'n ninsu.*  
*kur'-nu ni-n-su.*  
 take.away-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘Then, after pouring (them) into baskets, then (we) carry them away on our backs.’

T0018: Funeral:004

- (41) *jyadu le jan ninju, dar'ma r'aleng.*  
*jyadu le ja-nu ni-n-su dar'ma r'a-len.*  
 porridge also eat-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST Darma come-CVB

‘We ate porridge also, after coming to Darma.’

T0021:015

- (42) *ju t'im punu nini.*  
*ji t'im pu-nu ni-ni.*  
 1SG house big-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘My house is big.’

T0007: TMA questionnaire:004

<sup>10</sup> Most adjectives are derived by suffixing the nominalizer morpheme to a verb stem. See Chapter 11 and §11.2 for a discussion of adjectives and adjectives derived from verbs.

- (43) *do su ʔiskul pun nini.*  
do su iskol pu-nu ni-ni.  
here LOC school.LN big-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
‘Here the school is big.’

T0042: Elicited.:873

The final vowel of the nominalizer preceding an inflected auxiliary verb is found in a few examples in the corpus, which substantiates the claim that the /-nu/ is the underlying form. An example of [-nu] preceding an auxiliary is shown in (44) below. In this example, the first clause has a [STEM + NOMINALIZER] where the final vowel is dropped, while in the second clause the final vowel is overt. These instances with the full form of [-nu], however, are very rare even in careful speech. Consultants confirmed my hypothesis that these constructions include /-nu/ in the underlying form. When asked directly, native speakers told me that the [-nu] is there, it is just pronounced [-n] preceding an inflected [ni-] ‘be’ verb.

- (44) *palrti jen xir’n ninju, bir’*  
palrti jen sir’-nu ni-n-su, bir’  
group PL drink.CAUS-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST, all

*xir’nu ninju.*  
sir’-nu ni-n-su.  
drink.caus-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘(We) made the groups drink, (we) made them all drink.’

T0018:014

#### 4.2.2.2 *Preceding Nouns*

The [STEM + NOMINALIZER] forms function as adjectives when they precede nouns, which they modify. The final vowel of these adjectives is sometimes dropped preceding the noun it modifies, but not always. This is shown in example (45) below. In the first clause, the adjective ‘good’ is pronounced without the final vowel, but in the third clause, the final vowel is overt. Note that the word ‘good’ precedes the word ‘day’ in both instances.

- (45) *jen*      *jya* *le* *mar'ti* *gam*      *parrni,*      *dar'u* *gam*  
 je-nu      *jya* *le* *mar'ti* *ga-mu*      *parr-ni,*      *dar'u* *ga-mu*  
 good-NOM day also beer make-INF must.LN-3.NPT liquor make-INF
- parrni,*      *jenu*      *jya* *r'aje,*      *7ã* *7idu*      *na*  
 parr-ni,      je-nu      *jya* *r'a-je,*      *ã* *idu*      *na*  
 must.LN-3.NPT good-NOM day come-COND HM DEM.NONVIS EMPH
- damu*      *parrni.*  
 da-mu      parr-ni.  
 give-INF must.LN-3.NPT

‘Beer must be made on good days also, liquor must be made, when a good day comes, um, this must be given.’

T0021:035

#### 4.2.2.3 Marked with Plural

The final vowel of a nominalized form preceding the plural marker is deleted. This is shown in examples (46)-(47) below. Compare these forms with the examples in (48)-(50) below. In the latter examples, multisyllabic nouns retain the final vowel preceding the plural marker. With the exception of ‘child’ outlined above, this pattern preceding the plural is consistent throughout the corpus; I find no [STEM + NOMINALIZER] constructions preceding a plural marker that have an overt final vowel.

- (46) ... *yedu*      *ber'a*      *gan*      *jen* ...  
          *yedu*      *ber'a*      *ga-nu*      *jen*  
          DEM.NEUT song do-NOM PL

‘...these singers...’

T0037: Conversation:025

- (47) *jon*      *jen* *gu*      *7allya*      *phahim*      *le*      *leeni.*  
 jo-nu      *jen* *gu*      *allya*      *pha-si-mu*      *le*      *lee-ni*  
 young-NOM PL POSS little speak-MID-INF also AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘The young people’s some quarreling happened.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla:102

- (48) *ning* *gu*      *pit@r'u*      *jen* *su*      *7im*      *dobu*      *gasu* ...  
 ning *gu*      *pitr'u*      *jen* *su*      *i*      *ma* *dobu*      *ga-su*  
 1PL POSS ancestors.LN PL ERG DEM.NONVIS EQU manner do-PST

‘...Our ancestors did like this manner.’

T0018: Funeral. 028



- (49) ... *xyaxi*            *jen tak cendu deeni.*  
           *syasi*            *jen taku cendu dee-ni*  
           relative.MAT PL one side go-3.NPT

‘...The (female) relatives go to one side.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal:039

- (50) *wor’axir’i*    *jen pan deen niju.*  
       *wor’asir’i*    *jen pan dee-nu ni-su*  
       male        PL business go-NOM AUX.EQ-PST

‘The men went for business.’

T0043: Woolwork:009

### 4.2.3 Haplology

There are multisyllabic verb stems where the final syllable is similar to morphemes of inflection. For example, the verb stem ‘forget’ ends in /he/, as shown in example (51) below.

- (51) /lehemu/  
       ‘to forget’

When the verb is inflected with the second person plural morpheme /-hen/, the two concatenated morphemes /he + -hen/ are usually pronounced [hen]. Compare example (52) with example (53) below. In the first example, the syllables that are similar are not both pronounced, while in the second example all of the underlying syllables are pronounced.

- (52) / gɛ lehe + -hen/ → [gɛ lehen]  
       ‘you are forgetting’

- (53) /u lehe + -ni/ → [ʔu leheni]  
       ‘he is forgetting’

The final vowel of the verb stem is dropped in the first person singular past tense form of this verb as shown in example (54) below.

(54) /ji ki- + leħ + -ju / → [ji kɪlehju]  
 ‘I forgot’

As discussed in §2.9.2.2 above and §4.1.6 above, the middle marker /-si/ is sometimes pronounced [-çi] and sometimes pronounced [-hi]. The latter is also the first person singular nonpast morpheme for intransitive verbs, which can also be pronounced [-çi]. Like the second person [-ħen] discussed above, when two concatenated syllables have the same shape, or similar shapes, they are sometimes pronounced only one time. For example, when the middle morpheme is found preceding the first person singular nonpast morpheme, the two morphemes together are frequently pronounced as [-hi] or [-çi]. This is shown in example (55) below.

(55) /ji ur + -si + hi/ → [ji ʔurçi]  
 ‘I am bathing myself’

We know that the example in (55) above is a reflexive form with the middle marker because if the verb ‘wash’ were not reflexive it would have the transitive verb morpheme for the first person singular. An example of the transitive verb ‘wash’ in the first person singular is shown in (56) below.

(56) *ji su ge ʔurti*  
*ji su ge ur-di.*  
 1SG ERG 2SG wash-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am washing you.

T0042: Elicited. 768

#### 4.2.4 Centralized Vowels

In addition to the alternations outlined in §2.8.1 and §2.8.2 above (i.e. The high tense unround vowel /i/ surfaces as lax [ɪ] in closed syllables and the high back round vowel /u/ is centralized and unrounded in closed syllables that end in a nasal consonant), the high vowels are sometimes centralized in rapid speech and in unstressed positions.

This reduction appears to be an artifact of articulation; it is found in recordings of full sentences, or tokens that were uttered quickly. Examples of this reduction are provided in (57)-(62) below. In these examples the stressed syllables of the phonetic forms are in bold and the morphemes with the centralized vowel are underlined. For a discussion of the stress pattern, cf §2.7.3 above.

(57) /gɛ su u χudɛn/ → [**gɛ** su **ʔu** χudɛn]

‘You are asking him/her.’

(58) /rɛju/ → [**rɛ**ju]

‘ear’

(59) /guntu/ → [**gun**tu]

‘winter’

(60) /ʃi su sinu tanju/ → [**ʃi** su sinu **tan**ju]

‘You are asking him/her.’

(61) /idu ma/ → [**ɪ**duma]

‘like that’

(62) /iduŋ/ → [**ɪ**duŋ]

‘there (nonvisible)’

Similarly, the low central vowel [a] becomes more centralized in closed syllables and in an unstressed syllable.

### 4.3 VOWEL EPENTHESIS

There are two types of vowel epenthesis found in the corpus: the insertion of a schwa; and the insertion of a mid front vowel. The schwa is found at word boundaries preceding the locative morpheme, and at syllable boundaries in nouns. The epenthetic

mid front vowel [e] is found on inflected verbs. Each type of epenthesis is discussed in the sub-sections below.

#### 4.3.1 Epenthetic Schwa

An epenthetic schwa surfaces between a nasal and a tap and between a tap and a following consonant. This is generally found in rapid speech; in careful speech speakers do not articulate the schwa. In articulatory terms, it is not unusual to have an ‘open phase’ surrounding a tap for aerodynamic reasons.<sup>11</sup>

When the locative [ru] follows a word that ends in a nasal consonant, an epenthetic schwa is frequently found. This is shown in examples (63)-(65) below.

(63) /cim ru/ → [ciməru] ‘in the house’

(64) /soŋ ru/ → [soŋəru] ‘in the village/at home’

(65) /rom ru/ → [roməru] gloss unknown

An epenthetic schwa is also found after an [r] in a coda position preceding the consonant onset of the following syllable as shown in example (66) below.

(66) /ar.ɟja/ → [arəɟja] ‘sausage’

#### 4.3.2 Epenthetic [e]

An epenthetic mid front vowel [e]<sup>12</sup> is found following a verb stem preceding a CV(C) suffix when the verb stem ends in [r]. In examples (67)-(69) below, the coda of the verb stem ‘be able’ is [r]. Preceding the future morpheme and the third person non-past morpheme, we find an epenthetic vowel. The epenthetic vowel is not always

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<sup>11</sup> My thanks to both Scott Myers and Megan Crowhurst for pointing out the physical explanation for a schwa in these environments.

<sup>12</sup> This is sometimes pronounced [ɛ].

attested, however, which we see in example (70) below. In this example, the third person form of ‘be able’ has no epenthetic vowel.

- (67) *ga tar'eyang.*  
*ga tar'-ang.*  
 do able-FUT

‘(He) will be able to do (it).’

T0047: Elicited. 030

- (68) *7idakhay 7ida ci cyene jya kham su ga tar'eyang.*  
*idakhay ida ci cyene jya khami su ga tar'-ang.*  
 thesedays now ten twelve day who ERG do able-FUT

‘Thesedays, now who is able to do ten or twelve days?’

T0018: Funeral. 029

- (69) ... *tibat byapar dee tar'eeni.*  
*tibat byapar' dee tar'-ni.*  
 PropN business go able-3.NPT

‘You can go to Tibet for business.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar:067

- (70) *geni wudee r'i dee tar'ni.*  
*geni wudee r'i dee tar'-ni.*  
 2PL where EMPH go able-3.NPT

‘You can go anywhere.’

T0041: Conversation: 149

Other verb stems that are CV[r] are found with the epenthetic vowel (e.g. [sar] ‘deliver’ and [dar] ‘confront’). This pattern is similar to what we find with CVC verb stems borrowed from IA languages (cf Chapter 5 for examples).

The epenthetic mid front vowel is also found following verb stems with nasal codas preceding the infinitive morpheme [-mu]. This is shown with [ruŋ] ‘eavesdrop/listen’ in example (71) below. The example in (72) below demonstrates that the epenthetic vowel is not found preceding a non-nasal suffix. In example (73) below, we find another verb stem that ends with a nasal where an epenthetic vowel is found preceding the infinitive [-mu].

- (71) *ge r'ēju r'u r'ungeemu.*  
*ge r'ēju r'u r'ung-mu.*  
 2SG ear LOC listen-INF

‘You should listen in your ears.’

T0032: Conversation:108

- (72) *ji wi kangthe r'ungxi.*  
*ji wi kangthe r'ung-hi.*  
 1SG 3PL conversation listen-1SG.NPT

‘I am listening to their conversation.’

T0042: Elicitation: 301

- (73) *do xyungemu dangsu byam xha.*  
*do syung-mu dangsu byam xhee-a.*  
 here sit-INF BEN rug bring- 2SG.IMP

‘Bring a rug over here so you can sit down.’

T0032: Conversation. 263

As with the epenthetic schwa, the [e] surfaces in rapid and casual speech; it is not pronounced in careful speech.

#### 4.4 THE MYSTERIOUS FINAL [K]

Some verb stems and some nouns surface with a final [k]. While there is a tentative pattern for this alternation, there are exceptions. Matisoff describes a similar phenomena found in other Tibeto-Burman languages: “Even more elusive semantically than the suffixes already discussed is a sporadically attested velar suffix \*-k that occurs mostly after verb roots” (2003: 479). While Matisoff does not propose a triggering environment for the alternation of a CV verb stem with CV[k], the fact that this final [k] is attested in other TB languages and is reconstructed as a proto-form indicates that the pattern in Darma warrants further investigation. For the time being, I will simply present

the distribution of verb stems and other words that I have found in the corpus with a final [k].<sup>13</sup>

#### 4.4.1 Verb Stems

The middle suffix [-çi] generally functions as a reflexive and in many cases decreases the valency of a transitive verb resulting in an intransitive verb (cf §13.7 below for further discussion of this morpheme).<sup>14</sup> So for example [çi-mu] means ‘to apply’ and [çi-çi-mu] means ‘to apply to oneself’; the former is a transitive verb and the latter is an intransitive verb. Some CV verb stems are found to be CV[k] when they precede the middle morpheme. For example, [çja-di] means ‘I am putting (something) on (someone else)’, and [çjak-çi-hi] means ‘I am putting (something) on myself’. Similarly, the verb stem [cu] ‘put on’ is pronounced [cuk] preceding the middle morpheme. This is shown in examples (74)-(75) below.

- (74) *7u gee cua.*  
 u gee cu-a.  
 3SG cloth put.on-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Put clothes on him.’

T0048: Elicited. 046

- (75) *ji gee cukxihi.*  
 ji gee cuk-si-hi.  
 1SG cloth put.on-MID-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am wearing clothes.’

T0048: Elicited. 043

The CV[k] verb stems that appear in the corpus with a middle morpheme are provided in Table 4.4.1 below. Wherever possible the non-middle form of the verb is also

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<sup>13</sup> Thank you to Tony Woodbury for reminding me that k(i) is ‘do/ERG’ in Tibetan and suggesting that this is like genitive ‘s in compounds such as ‘boatsman’ and ‘landsman’. I will investigate this further in the future.

<sup>14</sup> It must be noted that there is a great deal of homophony in Darma. The reflexive morpheme *-xi* resembles the words *xi* ‘blood’, *xi* ‘apply’ and *xi* ‘die’. Context and verb morphology disambiguate the intended meaning.

provided, but it must be noted that many of these verbs are not found in the corpus without the middle suffix.<sup>15</sup>

<b>INFINITIVE FORM</b> STEM + [mu]	<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>MIDDLE FORM</b> STEM + [çi]	<i>GLOSS</i>
[pa-mu]	<i>to contribute</i>	[pak-çi-nu]	<i>remaining</i>
		[pok-çi-nu]	<i>rotten</i>
		[dak-çi-mu]	<i>to fight</i>
[cu-mu]	<i>to put on (clothes)</i>	[cuk-çi-mu]	<i>to wear (clothes)</i>
[gok-mu]	<i>to fall/collapse</i>	[gok-çi-mu]	<i>to collapse</i>
[lo-mu]	<i>to read</i>	[lok-çi-mu]	<i>to read to self</i>
[çja-mu]	<i>to put on (jewelry)</i>	[çjak-çi-mu]	<i>to wear (jewelry)</i>

Table 4.4.1: Middle Verb Forms with Final [k] on Stem

The verbs stems in Table 4.4.1 all have [+back] vowels as the nucleus. There are, however, other verb stems with [+back] vowels that do not surface with a [k] preceding the middle morpheme. For example, the verb ‘escape’ has a [+back] vowel, but as we see in (76) below it does not surface with a [k] preceding the middle morpheme. We will see in the following sections that the [+back] generalization does not work for nouns or numerals either.

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<sup>15</sup> I tried to elicit some of these verbs without the reflexive morpheme with little success. Based on this it cannot be assumed, however, that these forms do not exist. It may be that the base form is not obviously related semantically to the middle form (cf [pamu] and [pakçinu] in Table 3.4.3.1). Another possibility is that the speaker was unable to think of a context for a non-middle form. For example, I was told that the adjective [jenu] ‘good’ was not based on a verb [jemu], and that no such verb existed. The verb was confirmed at a later date, however, based on an occurrence in a recorded narrative.



- (76) *r'e thoxilen pir'aju*  
*r'e tho-si-len pi-r'a-su*  
 cow escape-MID-CVB COMPL-come-PST

‘The cow escaped and came back.’

T0042: Elicitation. 068

Verb stems that end with a [k] are also found preceding a converb marker<sup>16</sup> [-t<sup>h</sup>ε] as shown in examples (77) and (78) below; compare these examples with example (79) below, where the stem of ‘make graze’ is [χo] and the converb following the verb stem is [-len].

- (77) *r'e xhokthee su dee leeyo 7ir'o*  
*r'e xhok-thee su dee lee-yo ir'o*  
 cow make.graze-CVB after go-2SG.IMP say-1SG.PST LOC.NONVIS

‘“After grazing the cow, go,” I said, over there.’

T0032: Conversation. 268

- (78) *r'e xhokthe song r'u r'amu.*  
*r'e xhok-thee sang r'u r'a-mu.*  
 cow make.graze-CVB home come-INF

‘After grazing the cow, you should come home.’

T0048: Elicited. 054

- (79) *r'e xholen ju song r'u r'amu*  
*r'e xhok-len su sang r'u r'a-mu*  
 cow make.graze-CVB after home come-INF

‘After grazing the cow, you should come home.’

T0048: Elicited. 054

There is also evidence of an alternation in a compound verb construction where the verb stem ‘untie’ is found preceding a verb that begins with a dental stop. Compare example (80) below with the examples in (81) and (82). In example (80), the verb stem is inflected with [-di], the first person singular non-past morpheme for a transitive verb. In this example the verb stem is pronounced [pu]. In examples (81) and (82), however, the verb

<sup>16</sup> There are two suffixes that function as converb markers. The function and distribution of these will be discussed in §13.5.1 and §18.4.

stem ‘untie’ is in a compound construction<sup>17</sup> where it precedes the fully inflected verb ‘go’.<sup>18</sup> In these examples, the stem ‘untie’ is pronounced with a final [k]. While all three examples show the verb stem ‘untie’ followed by a morpheme that begins with a dental stop, [puk] only surfaces in the compound construction.

- (80) *ji ne beg **pudi***  
*ji ne beg pu-di.*  
 1SG DEM.NEUT bag.LN untie-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am untying (opening) this bag.’

T0042:194

- (81) *ge r’e **puk** teemu.*  
*ge r’e pu dee-mu.*  
 2SG cow untie give-INF  
 ‘You should untie the cow.’

T5:BOB:4

- (82) *hã ya byankar’ da hadu ma **puk** teen*  
*hã ya byangkar’ da hadu ma pu tee-nu*  
 then wild goat.type CONT DEM.NEUT EQU untie go-NOM  
*leenju, ning su.*  
*lee-n-su ning su.*  
 AUX.EX-1PL-PST 1PL ERG  
 ‘Then, the wild goat, though, like this we untied it.’

T0018: Funeral. 023

#### 4.4.2 Nouns

There are two CV nouns that surface with a final [k] when they are compounded: [la] ‘hand’ and [mé] ‘eye’. Of the two nouns, the former is the most productive in the corpus. In addition to these two nouns, there are a few other nouns that may be compounds. The components of these other nouns are not as clear as the ‘hand’ and ‘eye’

<sup>17</sup> Verbs in combination will be discussed in Chapter 13.

<sup>18</sup> The word ‘go’ is pronounced in both of these examples with a voiceless dental stop. This alternation between a voiced and voiceless dental stop is found throughout the corpus. In these examples, the alternation appears to be triggered by the preceding voiceless velar stop, but it must be pointed out that the alternation is also found without a voiceless segment preceding or following the dental stop.

forms. I will suggest that perhaps they are historical remnants of this compounding process.

NOUN + [k] + NOUN	GLOSS
[lakɕɪp]	<i>earring</i>
[lakp <sup>h</sup> uŋ]	<i>paw</i>
[lakp <sup>h</sup> u]	<i>ring</i>
[lakɕɪŋ]	<i>finger nail</i>
[mukt <sup>h</sup> am]	<i>eyebrow</i>
[mokɕya]	<i>mushroom</i>
[puksa]	<i>dirt</i>
[χukɕɛ]	<i>brush (for cleaning wool)</i>

Table 4.4.2: Compound Nouns with CV[k]

As with the verbs discussed in the preceding section, all of the nouns in Table 4.4.2 have a vowel that is [+back]. The phrase ‘by hand’ is the only example in the corpus of a NOUN + [k] + POSTPOSITION. This is shown in example (83) below.

- (83) *hã lak su na th'un ninju.*  
*hã lak su na th'u-nu ni-n-su.*  
 then limb INSTR EMPH dye-NOM AUX.EQ -1PL-PST  
 ‘Then (we) dyed (it) by hand only.’

T0043: Woolwork. 050

#### 4.4.3 Numerals

A subset of numerals appear in long and short forms (cf Chapter 10 for a full discussion of numerals). This subset is summarized in Table 4.4.3.A below. From this table we can see that the vowels in the short forms are both front (‘two’) and back (‘one’),

‘five’, ‘six’). The fact that we find a final [k] following a front vowel does not fit in with the pattern that we have seen thus far that a final [k] is found following a [+back] vowel.

NUMBER	FULL FORM	SHORT FORM
1	[ʈaku]	[ʈa] ~ [ʈak]
2	[niçu]	[ni] ~ [ne] ~ [nek]
5	[ŋaj]	[ŋa]
6	[ʈuku]	[ʈu] ~ [ʈo] ~ [ʈuk]

Table 4.4.3.A: Full Forms and Short Forms of Numerals

The short forms that end with [k] are found in a few examples in the corpus. The distribution of each is presented in Table 4.4.3.B below.

NUMBER	SHORT FORM + [k]	GLOSS
1	[ʈak to]	<i>one time</i>
	[ʈak t <sup>h</sup> agu]	<i>one (portion) rice</i>
	[ʈak tandu]	<i>one direction</i>
2	[nek sɛ]	<i>two hundred</i>
	[nek to]	<i>two times</i>
6	[ʈuk sa]	<i>sixty</i>
	[ʈuk sɛ]	<i>six hundred</i>

Table 4.4.3.B: CV[k] Short Forms of Numerals

The least convincing short forms are [ʈak] and [ʈuk]. While the full form for ‘two’ has no evidence of [k], the full forms for ‘one’ and ‘six’ have [k] in their full forms.

These short forms with [k] could simply be a result of final vowel deletion, which is attested throughout the corpus. I have included these forms in Table 4.4.3.B because both ‘one’ and ‘six’ have alternative short forms without the final [k] (e.g. [t̪a]), and the distribution of the short forms with the final [k] is similar for ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘six’. Additionally, these forms are found in compound numerals, which may be evidence that these short forms are in fact clitics.<sup>19</sup> The CV short form ‘one’ is found far more frequently in the corpus than its CV[k] counterpart.<sup>20</sup>

#### **4.5 ALTERNATIONS AT WORD BOUNDARIES AND MORPHEME BOUNDARIES**

Some of the alternations that are found occur at word boundaries and some are found to occur at morpheme boundaries. In this section, I will discuss these alternations which include co-articulation, sounds in free variation, and vowel harmony.

##### **4.5.1 Co-articulation**

There are a few kinship terms that are formed by modifying a noun with an adjective that is derived from a nominalized verb (i.e. STEM + [nu]). In one instance, the nominalized form surfaces without the final vowel, and the place of articulation of the nasal coda assimilates to the initial C of the modified noun as shown in example (84) below. This type of assimilation is also found with the words for ‘relative’ and ‘contrary’ as shown in examples (85) and (86) below. The latter example [ʝansu] is found to be in free variation with [ʝaŋsu].

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<sup>19</sup> The stress pattern of these numerals falls outside the general pattern described in Chapter 2. Stress falls on the second syllable of the numeral despite the fact that the first syllable is usually stressed and the fact that the first syllable is heavy.

<sup>20</sup> There are not many examples of six in the corpus in full or short form.

(84) [minu] + [ba] = [mimba] ‘uncle (father/mother’s younger brother)’

(85) [suŋ] + [pe] = [sumpe] ‘relatives (paternal)’

(86) [jaŋ] + [su] = [jansu] ‘contrary’

This co-articulation is usually found in rapid speech, but does not always happen. When asked to say ‘uncle’ slowly, consultants consistently articulated [minu ba].

It is interesting to note that this type of co-articulation does not appear to be widespread in the corpus. Nasal clusters within morphemes and across morpheme boundaries do not tend to assimilate for place of articulation. So we find intra-morphemic nasal-obstruent clusters with different places of articulation as shown in examples (87)-(89) below, and cross-morphemic nasal-obstruent clusters with different places of articulation as shown in examples (90)-(92) below.

(87) [gumdo] ‘how’

(88) [ʔamʔam] ‘path’

(89) [loŋbar] ‘lungs’

(90) [ɕaŋ] + [mi] = [ɕaŋmi] ‘servant’

(91) [laŋ] + [sa] = [laŋsa] ‘dung’

(92) [jamu] + [la] = [jamla] ‘right hand’ (literally ‘eating hand’)

Finally, the kinship examples showing co-articulation are interesting because there is another kinship term where the nasal does not assimilate with the initial consonant of the following morpheme. This is shown in example (93) below.

(93) [minu] + [ma] = [minma] ‘aunt (father/mother’s younger sister)’

#### **4.5.2 Assimilation in Free Variation**

In addition to the alternations already described, there are also sounds that are in alternation between voiced and unvoiced segments. The alternation of these sounds can frequently be accounted for based on phonological grounds (e.g. voice assimilation), but because the triggering environment does not always result in an alternation these sounds are ultimately found to be in free variation. Many of the sounds that are in alternation have been established as phonemically distinct in Chapter 2. For the most part, the sounds found to be in free variation are distinct in terms of the feature [voice]. The sounds found to be in free variation will be presented in the following subsections.

##### **4.5.2.1 Stops**

The voiceless dental stop [t̥] and the voiced dental stop [d] are frequently found to alternate. As established in §2.3 above, these sounds are in contrastive distribution (cf the minimal pair [t̥anu] ‘spicy’ and [danu] ‘giving’). Despite this contrast, voiceless and voiced segments are found to alternate in contexts that do not appear to be consistently triggered by the phonological environment. The examples (94)-(100) below show an alternation following a nasal preceding a vowel, intervocalically, following a devoiced tap preceding a vowel, and word initially. The alternation is found at a morpheme or word boundary in all cases except ‘haircutting ceremony’. Of those cases where the alternation occurs at a morpheme or word boundary, it is with the nonpast morpheme from the *d*-series in all of the examples except ‘he/she is going’ (cf §13.1.1 below for a discussion of the verb stem classes).

- (94) /bin̥ti / → [bin̥ti] or [bin̥di] ‘haircutting ceremony’
- (95) /ta-ɖen/ → [taɖen] or [taɖen̥] ‘we/you are putting (something somewhere)’
- (96) /ki-ɖen/ → [kiɖen] or [kiɖen̥] ‘we/you are worshipping (god)’
- (97) /ga-ɖen/ → [gaɖen] or [gaɖen̥] ‘we/you are making (something)’
- (98) /ur-ɖen/ → [ʔuɖen̥] or [ʔuɖen̥] ‘we/you are washing (something)’
- (99) /jip-ɖi/ → [jib̥di] or [jip̥ti] or [jip̥di] ‘I am sowing (seeds)’
- (100) /de-ni/ → [deni] or [ɖeni] ‘he/she is going’

I propose a voiceless stop in the underlying form for ‘haircutting ceremony’. The voiceless segment is found to be voiced following a nasal, which is a common type of assimilation cross-linguistically.

The remaining examples involve an alternation of a voiceless and voiced segment in syllable-initial position. In example (100) this is also word-initial position. I have proposed an underlying voiced segment that is devoiced in part because the voiced forms are by far the most commonly attested in spontaneous speech and elicited tokens. Further work must be done on this to confirm this analysis. For example, I would like to conduct further research to record these segments and analyze them using spectrograms to see the extent of voicing. It may be the case that in certain environments voicing is in fact gradient.

Similar to the alternation of voicing found with the dental stops, this voiced/voiceless alternation can be found with the bilabial stops as well, as shown with the verb stem /jip/ ‘sow’ in example (99) above. The voiced and voiceless bilabial stops are found to alternate in a syllable-final position, where the triggering environment is the



neighboring voiced segment, as we saw with the dental stops. The bilabial stops, however, appear to assimilate the feature [voice] with the following segment.

Another example to support this is found in /jɛp/ ‘wait’, which is usually pronounced with a voiceless bilabial stop preceding a voiceless segment as in the middle form [jɛpximu] and with a voiced bilabial stop preceding a voiced segment as in the infinitive form [jɛbmu]. As with ‘sow’, I have proposed an underlying voiceless bilabial stop for ‘wait’, which is voiced when followed by a voiced segment. This environment does not always trigger assimilation, however, as we can see from the pronunciation of ‘I am sowing’ as [jɪpɖi] shown in example (99) above.

The voiceless palatal stop [ç] and the voiced palatal stop [j] are also found to be in free variation. The plural particle<sup>21</sup> /ʃɛn/ is pronounced [jʃɛn] or [çɛn]. As with the nonpast forms above the only potential environment for this alternation is that it is a morpheme boundary in syllable-initial position.<sup>22</sup>

/siri ʃɛn/ → [çiri ʃɛn] or [çiri çɛn] ‘children’

/nɛ ʃɛn/ → [nɛ jʃɛn] or [nɛ çɛn] ‘these people’

Similarly, sometimes the first person singular pronoun [ji] is pronounced [çi]. This variation is found for all speakers, and individual speakers pronounce both forms within the context of one narrative. During an elicitation session I recorded my primary consultant saying the phrase ‘I am mixing’ several times. I have the voiced palatal stop in the first utterance and a voiceless palatal stop in the second (cf *bss\_291\_5*).

Utterance 1: [ji dudi]

Utterance 2: [çi dudi]

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<sup>21</sup> This particle also can mean ‘people’. See §6.3 for a discussion of this particle.

<sup>22</sup> There is one plural form [ʔicɛn] ‘they/those (nonvisible)’ where the voiced counterpart is never pronounced. This is discussed again in Chapter 8. While this would not fit with the historical account of the morpheme, it is possible that the palatal stop found in the plural particle is underlyingly voiceless. The plural form [ʔicɛn] may have fossilized before the alternation became widespread. If this is the case, it would serve as evidence for the analysis that the plural particle is /çɛn/ and not /jʃɛn/.

This example supports a hypothesis that voiced segments can be devoiced in phrase initial position, but further investigation and examination of spectrograms is necessary. Especially considering how unusual such an assimilation pattern is.

#### **4.5.2.2 Fricative [h]**

The sounds [h] and [j] are found to be in free variation. For example, the phrase /ji ci-hi/ ‘I am visiting’ can be pronounced as [ji cihi] or [ji cijhi] (from Notes\_2\_bss\_291\_3\_a). Similarly, the first person plural and second person nonpast morpheme /-hɛn/ can be pronounced [-hɛn] or [-jɛn] (from bss\_291\_2\_b). Specific allomorphs were presented in §4.1 above. The allophone [ç] also surfaces as [h] in the middle forms as discussed in §4.1.6 above.

#### **4.5.2.3 Tap**

The alveolar tap is sometimes pronounced as voiceless. This alternation is also found to be in free variation. There are examples in the corpus where the tap is voiced in one utterance and not voiced in the next utterance. For example in a recording of the word for ‘basket’, I find a voiced tap in the first utterance and a voiceless tap in the second (example from Notes\_2\_bss\_281\_25):

Utterance 1: [ro]                      Utterance 2: [ɾo]

Sometimes the voiced tap is preceded by [h] and sometimes by [hə], which is audible to the casual listener and visible on the spectrogram. When this is perceptible in texts I have transcribed the fricative preceding the tap (i.e., as *hr*).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that this devoicing appears to occur in word-initial position. This is similar to the alternation of voiced and voiceless dental stops discussed above. In these cases, when speakers were queried about which pronunciation is correct, the voiced segment is provided.

### 4.5.3 Vowel Harmony

The possessive marker triggers vowel harmony in the dependent of the possessive clause if the dependent is the first person or second person singular personal pronoun. This is shown in examples (101)-(103) below. In these examples the vowel harmony is regressive; the vowel of the personal pronoun is harmonizing with the vowel of the possessive morpheme.

- (101) *ge su ju gu lubung tangsu?*  
*ge su ji gu lubung tang-su?*  
2SG ERG 1SG POSS book see-PST

‘Did you see my book?’

T0046: Elicited. 027

- (102) *gu gu dar’um gwaljya ga.*  
*ge gu dar’um gwaljya ga.*  
2SG POSS door lock do.OPT

‘Lock your door.’

T0048: Elicited. 024

- (103) *ju gu la jyaksu.*  
*ji gu la jyakt’e-su.*  
1SG POSS hand break-PST

‘My hand broke.’

T0042: Elicited 603

Vowel harmony with the personal pronouns does not always occur, however. This is shown in examples (104)-(106) below.<sup>24</sup>

- (104) *ji gu phal gee-ju.*  
*ji gu phal gee-su.*  
1SG POSS rations.LN end-PST

‘My rations ended.’ (= ‘My rations ran out.’)

T0049: Elicited. 044

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<sup>24</sup> The possessive particle is sometimes omitted in possessive constructions. When this happens with the second person singular, I have found cases where the personal pronoun appears as *gu*. For example, *gu gu mung kha lee?* and *gu mung kha lee?* ‘What is your name?’ where in the latter example, the possessive particle is not overt, but the pronoun has harmonized.

(105) *ji ge gu khwidi.*  
*ji ge gu khwi-di.*  
 1SG 2SG POSS steal-1SG.NPT

‘I am stealing yours.’

T0042: Elicited 589

(106) *ji ge gu pee 7aningxhing ciyo.*  
*ji ge gu pee aningxhing ci-yo.*  
 1SG 2SG POSS brother before.last.year meet-1SG.PST

‘I met your brother before last year.’

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 051

There are other examples of vowel harmony in the corpus. As with the possessive, these cases of harmony are not consistently found in the texts. Compare example (107) below with example (108) below. In the first example, the verb ‘go’ is pronounced *dee* preceding the C[i] inflection, but in the second example it is pronounced *di* in the same environment.

(107) *ji pehi deexi.*  
*ji pe-si dee-hi.*  
 1SG walk-MID go-1SG.NPT

‘I am going wandering.’

T0042: Elicited. 035

(108) *ji pexi dihi.*  
*ji pe-si dee-hi.*  
 1SG walk-MID go-1SG.NPT

‘I am going wandering.’

T0042: Elicited. 034

While these cases of vowel harmony appear in the corpus, at this time they appear to be unpredictable. I find no triggering environment for vowel harmony in phonological or morphological terms. At this time it appears that the instances of vowel harmony found in the corpus are the vestiges of a past vowel harmony system.

## Chapter 5: Borrowings

### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

Darma borrows words from the languages with which it is in contact freely and frequently (cf §1.1.1 above for further discussion of the languages spoken in the community). Sometimes borrowed words are used when a Darma word is available. In this section, I will outline the patterns that I have discovered when borrowed words are incorporated into the Darma lexicon. Namely I will present those words that have been resyllabified, or altered phonologically and phonetically to fit the pattern of Darma words. Throughout the dissertation I will point out expressions and calques that appear to be borrowed from IA (e.g. cf §9.6 below for a discussion of the expression ‘about’).

Darma has borrowed words from the Indo Aryan languages and from English. Because there is limited contact with English, it is likely that the English borrowings are coming into the language via Hindi and/or Nepali. Regardless of the route by which these English words have entered the Darma lexicon, I have indicated in the dictionary that they are of English (ENG) origin. I cannot determine whether the words of Indo Aryan origin have entered the language via Kumauni, Hindi or Nepali, or which of these languages might be the source of the borrowed word, so I have indicated an Indo Aryan origin (IA) in the dictionary.<sup>1</sup> For all borrowed forms I have glossed them as loan words (LN) without specifying from which language they may have come.

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<sup>1</sup> Darma is currently not in continuous contact with any variety of Tibetan. While there are many Tibetan cognates, this is not unexpected considering Darma and Tibetan are related (some classify both as Tibeto-Kinauri languages). I will not speculate here whether any words in Darma are borrowings from Tibetan.

## 5.1 FROM INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

There are two types of borrowings from the IA languages: those that have been changed to fit the phonological pattern of Darma, and those that remain intact. There are texts that contain many words of IA origin some of which are instances of code switching. Here I will discuss the words that I claim have been borrowed into Darma from IA that have undergone some sort of phonological alteration,<sup>2</sup> and where a robust pattern can be described.

### 5.1.1 Emphatic Pronoun

The word *apnaa* is an emphatic pronoun from IA meaning ‘one’s own’. This word appears to be in the process of becoming a Darma word (cf §8.1.1 below for a discussion of the distribution of the emphatic pronoun in Darma). The emphatic pronoun is found in the corpus pronounced as it is in IA, but these instances are part of a larger pattern that is most likely code switching. In general the emphatic pronoun is pronounced *ʔapi* or *ʔabi*,<sup>3</sup> as shown in examples (1)-(3) below.

- (1) *mileng khaxhcu na ter’e teknikal parrai gada*  
*mileng khaxhcu na ter’ee parrai ga-da*  
childhood ABL EMPH there technical.LN studies.LN do-3.NPT
- ʔapi gu khar’e.*  
*abi gu khar’ee.*  
EMPRO.LN POSS something

‘From childhood even they do studies in technical, each his own.’

T0041: Conversation. 126

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<sup>2</sup> This may include pronouncing a word that contains a sound not found in the Darma inventory using a similar sound. For example, the sound [b<sup>h</sup>] is not found in Darma. Any borrowed word containing this sound could be pronounced with a [b] instead.

<sup>3</sup> The variation in pronunciation is not surprising. Voiceless stops and voiced stops are frequently found to be in free variation in Darma (cf §4.5.2.1 for further discussion).

- (2) *hã 7ã hã 7abi mee su tangsu ki gabla*  
*hã ã hã abi mee su tang-su ki gabla*  
 then HM then EMPRO.LN eye INSTR see-PST CONJ.LN Gabla
- cuti gabla nee ज्या leen niju.*  
*cuti gabla nee ज्या lee-nu ni-su.*  
 Cuti Gabla two day AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-PST

‘Then, um, then one saw it with one’s own eyes that Gabla, Cuti-Gabla was happening for two days.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 094

- (3) *jo ning jon jen 7ã ning 7ã jo hee minu bale jen,*  
*jo ning jon jen ã ning ã jo hee minu bale jen,*  
 that.LN 1PL youth PL HM 1PL HM HM. small brother PL
- xhingxya jen, jo ber’a kehreenu leeni, jo*  
*xhingsya jen, jo ber’a ke-xhee-nu lee-ni, jo*  
 sister PL that.LN song COMPL-study-NOM AUX.EX-3.NPT that.LN
- 7abi** *gu kala nini; jo 7abi*  
*abi gu kala ni-ni; jo abi*  
 empro.LN POSS performance AUX.EQ-3.NPT that.LN empro.LN
- rthungmu th’amu leeni.*  
*rthung-mu th’a-mu lee-ni.*  
 dance-INF play-INF AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Our youth, um, our, uh, that is, the small brothers and the small sisters who have been studying singing, that is their own performance; that is their own dancing and choreography.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 084

### 5.1.2 Verbs

Darma has many verbs that end in [e], which appear to be borrowed from IA. In the source language, the verb stem of these borrowed words ends in a consonant. Maintaining the form from the source language would result in CVC verb stems, which are found in Darma, but CV syllables are more common and appear to be preferred. Borrowed verbs that have an added [e] are shown in Table 5.1.2 below,<sup>4</sup> and examples of some of these borrowed forms from the corpus are provided in (4)-(6) below.

<sup>4</sup> The IA forms and Darma forms are provided in IPA.

IA WORD	DARMA BORROWING	GLOSS
[ha:rna:]	[haremu]	<i>to lose</i>
[t <sup>h</sup> agna:]	[t <sup>h</sup> agemu]	<i>to cheat</i>
[basnu]	[basemu]	<i>to stay</i>
[bacna:]	[bacemu]	<i>to rescue</i>
[ciɽna:]	[ciɽemu]	<i>to scatter</i>
[socna:]	[socemu]	<i>to think</i>
[laɽna:]	[laɽemu]	<i>to fight</i>
[caɽ <sup>h</sup> a:na:]	[tɛɽemu]	<i>to offer (to god)</i>
[g <sup>h</sup> uɽa:na:]	[guɽemu]	<i>to subtract</i>
[ɟanam hona:]	[ɟanamemu]	<i>to be born</i>

Table 5.1.2: Verbs Borrowed from Indo Aryan Languages

- (4) *wi deme kihareeju.*  
*wi deme ki-haree-su.*  
 3PL drum(s) COMPL-lose.LN-PST  
 ‘They lost the drumming/unkaa Dhol haar gayaa.’  
 T0027: Kiti Phondar. 009
- (5) *bunglung khaxhcu tar’tar’ su r’amu, hã xyela bassemu.*  
*bunglung khaxhcu tar’tar’ su r’a-mu, hã sela basse-mu.*  
 Bungling ABL slow MAN come-INF then Sela stay.LN-INF  
 ‘From Bungling (you) should go slowly, then (you) should stay in Sela.’  
 T0023: Migration. 004



- (6) *r'aja r'aksa larreelen bakte, r'aja r'aksa deme r'u*  
*r'aja r'aksa larree-len baktee, r'aja r'aksa deme r'u*  
 king.LN COM fight.LN-CVB time king.LN COM drum(s) LOC
- larreelen bakte, khami gu deme, tar'ni--.*  
*larree-len baktee, khami gu deme, tar'ni--.*  
 fight.LN-CVB time someone POSS drum(s) able-3.NPT

‘At the time of the fighting with the king, at the time of fighting with the king on the drums, someone’s drums, are able --.’

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 003

- (7) *7u jenameleng bakte, jab 7u jenameni...*  
*u jename-len baktee, jab u jename-ni...*  
 3SG be.born.LN-CVB time when.LN 3SG be.born.LN-3.NPT

‘His being born time, when he is born...’

T0030: Bar'te. 007

The epenthetic vowel [e] on borrowed verbs is visible on a spectrogram, as shown in Figure 5.1.2 below.

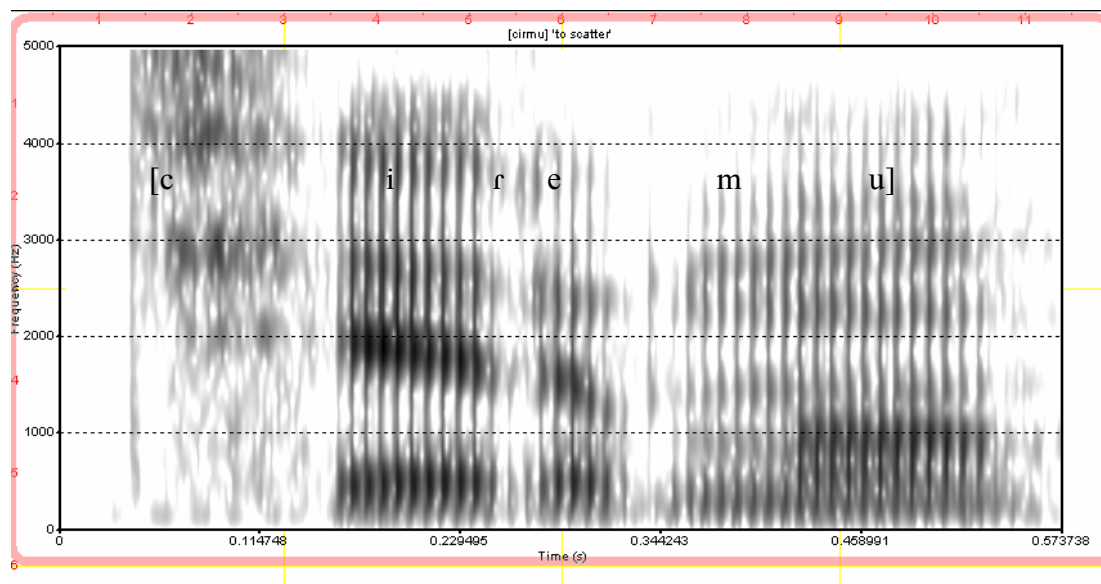


Figure 5.1.2: Epenthetic Vowel in Infinitive Verb [cirem] ‘to scatter’

### 5.1.3 Adjectives

The number of adjectives that are of Indo-Aryan origin used in Darma is quite large. A handful of these have undergone some type of phonological alteration; these are shown in Table 5.1.3 below. In Hindi, most adjectives agree in number and gender with the noun they are modifying; the default form is the masculine, which ends in [a:] (cf *whole* and *entire* in Table 5.1.3). In Darma, however, there is no grammatical gender, so the borrowed forms do not inflect for gender; these forms frequently end in [e]. Some of the adjectives that inflect for gender in IA languages do appear in various forms in Darma. For example, the word for ‘whole’ is found to be *pura*, *puro*, *puree*. In general, the borrowed adjectives follow a CV pattern, and if the word of origin is consonant final, the Darma forms have a final vowel added. While the vowel added is not as consistent as found with the verbs, many adjectives are also found with a final [e].

IA WORD	DARMA BORROWING	GLOSS
[t <sup>h</sup> i:k t <sup>h</sup> a:k]	[t <sup>h</sup> jake t <sup>h</sup> uke]	<i>just right</i>
[pu:ra:]	[puro], [pure], [puri]	<i>whole</i>
[sa:ra:]	[sare]	<i>entire</i>
[gari:b]	[garibe]	<i>poor</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> u:ʃ]	[k <sup>h</sup> uçi]	<i>happy</i>

Table 5.1.3: Adjectives Borrowed from Indo Aryan Languages

Some adjectives that are borrowed from Hindi function as nouns in Darma. This is shown in examples (8) and (9) below, where the borrowed words *barriya*<sup>5</sup> and *pura* are found with a demonstrative article, which must precede a noun (cf §8.2 below for a

<sup>5</sup> This nominal form of ‘good’ has not entered the Darma lexicon fully. This is evidenced by the fact that the stress pattern does not follow the normal Darma pattern. In this form, the stress is on the final syllable.

discussion of the distribution of demonstrative articles and demonstrative pronouns). Additionally, the resulting noun phrase in example (8) is marked with the benefactive postposition (cf Chapters 6-12 and 14 for a full discussion of NPs and postpositions).

- (8) *7or ning 7aglee sal gu kam gaden ki*  
 or ning alee sal gu kam ga-den ki  
 and.LN 1PL next.LN year.LN POSS work.LN do-1PL.NPT CONJ.LN
- 7aglee sal le ne barriya dangsu leelo.*  
 alee sal le ne barriya dangsu lee-lo.  
 next.LN year.LN also DEM.NEUT goodness.LN BEN AUX.EX-OPT
- ‘And we do next year’s work so that next year also let it be for this goodness.’  
 (=So next year will be good.)

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 110

- (9) *ne pur’a leeni.*  
 ne pur’a lee-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT whole.LN AUX.EX.NPT-3SG

‘This is whole.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 046

#### 5.1.4 Nouns

There are many nouns used in the corpus that are of Indo-Aryan origin. Some of these are pronounced exactly the same, and some are altered slightly to fit the phonological pattern of Darma. In some cases, it is difficult to tell whether or not the words have been borrowed into Darma. Determining the status of a word is confounded by the fact that some words are only used once in the entire corpus, or the words are only used by a single speaker. Some words, however, are different enough from their IA forms to be considered to be part of the Darma lexicon. Some of these are shown in Table 5.1.4 below; examples from the corpus are provided in (10)-(12) below.

IA WORD	DARMA BORROWING	GLOSS
[itva:r]	[ʔeʈa]	<i>Sunday</i>
[mi:rc]	[mortu]	<i>chili</i>
[patti:]	[paʈo]	<i>leaf</i>
[parva:ʃ]	[piʈru] / [piʈəru]	<i>ancestor</i>
[vrat]	[bart̪e]	<i>ceremonial haircut</i>
[a:lu:]	[alo]	<i>potato</i>
[billi:]	[billa]	<i>cat</i>
[bi:ʃ]	[piʃe]	<i>seed</i>

Table 5.1.4: Nouns Borrowed from Indo Aryan Languages

- (10) *ya ʔeta r'u [INAUDIBLE] yoni.*  
*ya eta r'u yo-ni.*  
 or.LN Sunday.LN LOC come-2PL.IMP

‘Or (you all) should come on Sunday [inaudible].’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 006

- (11) *ning gu pit@r'u jen su 7im dobu gasu ...*  
*ning gu pituru jen su i ma dobu ga-su*  
 1PL POSS ancestors.LN PL ERG DEM.NONVIS EQU manner do-PST

‘...Our ancestors did like this manner.’

T0018: Funeral. 028

- (12) *hã kee gu bar'te gaden.*  
*hã kee gu bar'te ga-den*  
 yes grandson POSS haircut.ritual do-1PL.NPT

‘Yes, (we) do (our) grandson’s ritual haircut.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 003

### 5.1.5 Function Words

In addition to verbs, adjectives and nouns, there are some function words commonly used in Darma that originate in Indo-Aryan languages. These include the

conjunctions *7or* ‘and’, *ya* ‘or’, *ki* ‘that’. These forms appear to be unaltered, which is probably due to the fact that they are monosyllabic, and the syllable shape is CV. Examples of each are shown in (13) and (14) below. In example (14), we find the expression *jo hee*, which literally means ‘that is’ in Hindi. This expression also surfaces more frequently as *jo nini*, which combines *jo* with the Darma form of the Hindi word ‘be’. Both expressions are used in the discourse as ‘that is’ and ‘um’; these have been glossed as hesitation markers (HM). The conjunction *ki* ‘that’ is frequently used in the discourse; this has been glossed as a conjunctive particle (CONJ).

- (13) *7or ning 7aglee sal gu kam gaden ki*  
 or ning alee sal gu kam ga-den ki  
 and.LN 1PL next.LN year.LN POSS work.LN do-1PL.NPT CONJ.LN  
*7aglee sal le ne barriya dangsu leelo.*  
 alee sal le ne barriya dangsu lee-lo.  
 next.LN year.LN also DEM.NEUT goodness.LN BEN AUX.EX-OPT  
 ‘And we do next year’s work so that next year also let it be for this goodness.’  
 (=So next year will be good.)  
 T0031: Cuti Gabla. 110

- (14) *to 7idu gu bad r’u jo hee gubu byangpha*  
 to idu gu bad r’u jo hee gubu byangpha  
 then.LN DEM.NONVIS POSS later.LN LOC HM.LN some Byansi  
*mi ya gubu...*  
 mi ya gubu...  
 person or.LN someone  
 ‘Then after that, um, some Byans person or someone...’  
 T0025: Kiti Phondar. 049

## 5.2 FROM ENGLISH

There are many words used in Darma that come from English. While the use of English is on the rise in and around Dharchula, contact with English is not usually a part of daily life.<sup>6</sup> Many of the words borrowed from English, however, are also used in

<sup>6</sup> The exception to this are those children who attend English-medium schools, and the instructors who teach in those schools.

every day Hindi; thus, it is most likely that the words of English origin have entered the Darma lexicon via Hindi.

As discussed in §2.4.2 above, complex onsets in Darma are limited to C + [glide]. Words in English that have complex onsets that are not C + [glide] have an epenthetic vowel preceding the CC cluster.<sup>7</sup> The resulting word is resyllabified to satisfy the preferred CVC structure. For example, in words like ‘stage’, ‘school’, and ‘scooter’ the onset of [s] + [stop] is broken up by inserting [ʔi] before the [s]. This breaks up the consonant cluster resulting in a structure that is CVC.C... rather than the English CC onset. Examples (15)-(17) below show ‘stage’, ‘school’, and ‘scooter’.<sup>8</sup>

- (15) *[inaudible]* ʔidu                    ʔistej      r'u    theyangda.  
                   idu                        istej      r'u    the-ang-da.  
                   DEM.NONVIS    stage.LN    LOC    show-FUT-3.NPT

‘They will show (you) on the stage.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 085

- (16) do    su    ʔiskul      pun      nini.  
       do    su    iskul      pu-nu    ni-ni.  
       here DAT school.LN big-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This school here is big.’

T0042: Elicited 873

- (17) *[OL]* ne                    ʔi—, ʔitom    lee    la,      kha    leeda?    *[GBG]* ʔiskuter'.  
           ne                        lee    la      kha    lee-da                    iskuter'.  
           DEM.NEUT                    COP TAG2 Q    be-3.NPT                    scooter.LN

[OL] ‘This *i*, it’s an *itom*, right? What is it called?’ [GBG] ‘Scooter.’

T0026: Conversation 210

<sup>7</sup> This is pronounced [ʔV] because all vowel initial words begin with a glottal stop (cf §§2.3.2.1 and 2.4.1.2).

<sup>8</sup> It must be noted that ‘stage’, ‘school’, and ‘scooter’ are also pronounced with an initial [i] in Hindi as well. These forms most likely entered the Darma lexicon via Hindi. There are other English-origin words used in Darma that most likely entered the lexicon via Hindi. For example, the word ‘photo’ is commonly pronounced [p<sup>h</sup>oto] in Hindi (many [f]-initial words are pronounced with a [p<sup>h</sup>] in Hindi); Darma speakers also pronounce ‘photo’ [p<sup>h</sup>oto].

Similar to the unacceptable [s] + [stop] onset, a [stop] + [s] coda is dispreferred. The one example in the corpus is the word ‘box’. This word appears with a vowel epenthesized after the offending CC coda. The word is resyllabified as CVC.CV resulting in [bak.su]. This is shown in example (18) below, where ‘box’ is pronounced [bak.sa].<sup>9</sup>

(18) *ge baksa r'u gwaljya t'ea.*  
*ge baksu r'u gwalja t'e-a.*  
2SG box.LN LOC lock apply-OPT

‘You put the lock on the box.’

T0048: Elicited. 087

Many other English words are attested in the corpus, but they do not seem to be part of the Darma lexicon. Most of these words are related to technology. Examples include: ‘underground’, ‘computer’, ‘battery’, ‘laptop’, ‘light’, ‘connection’.

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<sup>9</sup> My primary consultant provided both forms [bak.su] and [bak.sa]; he states both forms are acceptable. The latter is the pronunciation of ‘box’ in Hindi. It must be noted that the Darma word [bak.sa] means ‘wedding’.

## NOUN PHRASES—WORDS AND STRUCTURE

In this section, I will present the words that are found in noun phrases. This includes nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, and adjectives. The role of a noun phrase in a sentence is marked with postpositions. A noun phrase can serve as the core or oblique argument of a verb. Core arguments function grammatically as the subjects and objects of the sentence.

The discussion presented in the chapters of this section is informed by the ‘relationally based view’ of grammatical functions of NPs as outlined in Andrews 1985. Within this framework, the arguments of the predicate are the NPs that fulfill the roles of the verb (Andrews 1985: 66). The grammatical functions are A, O, and S, and the grammatical relations are the subject and object. An A function is the NP that is treated morphologically and syntactically like an agent of a two-argument verb; an O function is the NP that is treated like a patient of a two-argument verb; and an S function is the NP that is treated as the single argument of an intransitive verb. The coding strategies of Darma indicate that there are grammatical relations subject and object, where the A and S function are the subject, and the O function is the object. In sentences that have a two-argument verb, the A argument is optionally marked with an ergative postposition. If the arguments appear without any morphological case-marking, they are in a fixed order (this will be discussed further in Chapter 14). Evidence of the grammatical relations subject and object include the fact that the subject and the agent of a predicate are cross-referenced on the verb (cf Chapter 13 for a discussion of the verb complex and verb morphology).

As I discussed in Chapter 1, my primary methodology was the discourse-centered approach to data collection. Much of my time with my primary consultant was spent



listening to recordings of natural speech, and transcribing and translating the texts. While these work sessions frequently evolved into investigations of a grammatical phenomenon, similar to direct elicitation,<sup>1</sup> I did not schedule sessions specifically for direct elicitation with my primary consultants.<sup>2</sup> As a result, I rarely spent time with consultants conducting constituency tests. When I did attempt these tests, consultants were frustrated with the tedium and the absurdity of the task. Much of the structural information presented in this dissertation is derived from looking at where categories appear in the structure, and paying attention to what gets extraposed and moved in natural discourse.

I have also taken into consideration the structures deemed unacceptable by my consultants, but it should be noted that sometimes a consultant would state during the course of an elicitation session that a structure is impossible, but the same structure is attested in natural discourse. These cases could be explained away as speaker error, but I will refrain from making such a claim. In the following chapters I will outline each lexical category found in a noun phrase by presenting the general pattern of distribution, including any forms that speakers deemed ungrammatical, and whenever relevant, I will present the exceptions to the pattern. The structure of the noun phrase that I propose is based on the general pattern; the exceptions remain just that—exceptions to the current analysis. The structure of the noun phrase is shown in the phrase structure rule (i) below. Elements in parentheses are optional. Only the head of the noun phrase, the noun, must appear in the noun phrase.

(i) NP → (POSSESSOR) (DEM) (QUANT/NUM) (ADJP) N (PL)

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<sup>1</sup> All examples that were obtained during transcription sessions that did not come from recordings of natural speech are labeled ‘direct elicitation’.

<sup>2</sup> I did visit people in Darma speaking villages to complete and verify word lists. Frequently people would provide the target word in an example sentence. These examples are also labeled ‘direct elicitation’.

Some of the categories in the structure proposed in (i) cannot be made bigger. These include the categories DEM, NUM, and PL. The remaining categories POSSESSOR and ADJP can be expanded.

The category POSSESSOR comprises a noun phrase followed by the possessive particle *gu*. We can see that this is a constituent because it can be moved to a position following the matrix verb, as shown in (1) below. In this example, the possessor is the complement to the noun ‘rent’, which is *in situ* preceding the matrix verb ‘say’.

- (1) *ta mahina gu kir'aya ta hazaar' dalar'*  
*taku mahina gu kir'aya taku hazaar' dalar'*  
 one month.LN POSS rent.LN one thousand.LN dollar.LN
- kir'aya leeda [ta t'im gu.]*  
*kir'aya lee-da [taku t'im gu.]*  
 rent.LN say-3.NPT [one house POSS]

‘She’s saying that one month’s rent (is) one thousand dollars rent, [one house’s (rent)].’

T0041: Conversation. 226

It is possible for the NP of a POSSESSOR to be [PRONOUN *gu*] or [NP *gu*] as shown in example (2) below. I have bracketed each NP and POSSESSOR to illustrate that *ning gu* is a POSSESSOR constituent embedded within the POSSESSOR constituent *ning gu se gu*.

- (2) ... [ning]<sub>NP</sub> gu]<sub>POSS</sub> se]<sub>NP</sub> gu]<sub>POSS</sub> tyâr]<sub>NP</sub> ...  
 [ning] gu] se] gu] gityâr]  
 [1PL] POSS] god] POSS] festival.LN]

‘...our god’s festival...’

T0021: Darma Food. 049

Additionally, there are examples in the corpus that indicate it is possible to have both POSSESSOR and DEM within the NP, as shown in (3) and (4) below.<sup>3</sup> Note that in example (4) the NP in bold contains the elements POSSESSOR, DEM, NUM, and N.

<sup>3</sup> This structure is also possible in Hindi.

- (3) ... *ning gu ne lan* ...  
       *ning gu ne lan*  
       1PL POSS DEM.NEUT work  
 ‘...our work....’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 031

- (4) *hã ning gu ne ta sapati, ʔandu lee ʔayi,*  
*hã ning gu ne taku sabapati, andu lee ayi,*  
 then 1PL POSS DEM.NEUT one chairman.LN DEM.PROX COP extra  
  
*nee sabapati ʔayi kheju nini.*  
*nisyu sabapati ayi kheju ni-ni.*  
 two chairman.LN extra other AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Then, our this one chairman, is this one, the extra, the two chairman extra are others.’ (The speaker is pointing to a chairman in the room and explaining that there are two more chairmen).’

T0024: Election. 006

The other category of a noun phrase that can be expanded is the ADJP, which comprises minimally an adjective. The fact that adjectives can be modified by adverbs indicates that there is an ADJP. At this time I find no examples of an ADJP with multiple adjectives. Each element found in a noun phrase will be discussed in turn in the remaining chapters of this section.

The organization of this section is as follows. In Chapter 6, I will outline the basic structure of nouns and describe how plurals are marked. In Chapter 7, I will outline the inventory of case markers and postpositions used to indicate the role of each element of a noun phrase.<sup>4</sup> In Chapter 8, I discuss the pronominal expressions such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and other pronominal words. In Chapter 9, I will present the possessive particle used to mark the relationship between two noun phrases. In Chapter 10, I will present the quantifiers including numerals. In Chapter 11, I will discuss the structure of adjectives, their modifiers, and evidence for an adjective phrase.

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<sup>4</sup> Role markers are introduced in this chapter. For a full discussion of the distribution of each role marker see Chapter 14 below.

Finally, in Chapter 12, I will provide evidence that the proposed noun phrase is a constituent based on the evidence of movement gleaned from the corpus.

## Chapter 6: Nouns

### 6.0 INTRODUCTION

Nouns belong to the class of word that comprises the semantic core and syntactic head of the NP. Nouns can be preceded by a modifying element (e.g. a demonstrative, a quantifier, or an adjective), and nouns can be replaced by a pronominal form (e.g. a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, and so forth). In some cases nouns can be pluralized with a plural particle.

In this chapter, I will discuss the various nominal forms found in Darma. This will include a brief summary of the attested shape of a noun stem (§6.1);<sup>1</sup> a discussion of derivational strategies (§6.2); how number is marked on nouns (§6.3); and how nouns are used in echo formations (§6.4).

### 6.1 NOUN STEMS

There is no telltale shape for a noun in Darma. That is, there is no morphology that indicates that a word belongs to the class of nouns. Structurally, nouns can be monosyllabic, as shown in Table 6.1.A below, or multisyllabic, as shown in Table 6.1.B below.

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<sup>1</sup> Here and throughout this dissertation, ‘stem’ refers to an uninflected, free-standing constituent.

<b>DARMA</b>	<b>ENGLISH GLOSS</b>
[ʔa]	<i>mouth</i>
[ba]	<i>father</i>
[lan]	<i>work</i>
[mi]	<i>person</i>
[cim]	<i>house</i>

Table 6.1.A: Monosyllabic Nouns

The syllables of monosyllabic nouns can be open or closed (cf §2.4.3 for a discussion of attested codas) as shown in Table 6.1.A above. The multisyllabic nouns shown in Table 6.1.B show that both CV and CVC syllables are available in these forms as well. Disyllabic nouns are more common than nouns with three or more syllables.

<b>DARMA</b>	<b>ENGLISH GLOSS</b>
[ʔa.t̚.ta]	<i>sister</i>
[gu.gu.t̚i]	<i>snow pigeon</i>
[ku.maŋ]	<i>summer</i>
[lɛ.p <sup>h</sup> u]	<i>radish</i>
[wo.ra.çi.ri]	<i>husband</i>

Table 6.1.B: Multisyllabic Nouns

## 6.2 DERIVED NOUNS

In addition to free-standing noun stems, there are nouns that are formed through derivational processes. These include nouns derived from verb stems and compound

nouns. Additionally, there is a small set of feminine nouns, which are formed through a compounding process. Each will be discussed in the following subsections.

### 6.2.1 Verbal Nouns

The infinitive verb in Darma is used in a variety of ways, one of which is similar to the gerund of English. In these instances, the infinitive verb functions as a noun. Other uses of the infinitive will be presented in §13.4 below. I argue that STEM-mu can function as a verbal noun based on where it is found in the sentence. Examples (1) and (2) below show that STEM-mu words appear in the same position a noun would be found.

In example (1), the verbal noun *ja-mu* ‘eating’ is part of a compound expression, which means ‘rations’ (cf §6.2.2 below for a discussion of compounding). Like other nouns, the verbal noun can function as the argument of a postposition. This is shown in example (2), where the verbal noun is the complement of the benefactive postposition (cf Chapters 7 and 14 for a discussion of postpositions).

- (1) *ning gu jam phal*  
 ning gu ja-mu phal  
 1PL POSS eat-INF portion.LN  
 ...our rations...

T0018: Funeral. 029

- (2) *do xyung@mu dangsu byam xha.*  
 do syung-mu dangsu byam xhee-a.  
 here sit-INF BEN rug bring- 2SG.IMP  
 ‘Bring a rug over here so you can sit down.’

T0032: Conversation. 263

### 6.2.2 Compounds

Compounding in Darma brings together two distinct words to form a new noun. Compounds are comprised of two noun stems; a derived noun plus a noun stem; or a derived adjective plus a noun stem. Determining whether two concatenated words form a compound is difficult. As far as I can determine, the prosodic form of the individual

words do not change. What indicates a compound is the interpretation of the two forms together. Some of the proposed compounds are perceived as one word by native speakers (cf ‘date’ below), and these compounds have been written as one word. Other words that I claim are compounds are perceived by native speakers to be two separate words. The crucial distinction is that together the two words form a new word. Additionally, there does not appear to be a pattern for headedness of the compound.<sup>2</sup> For example, compare the compound noun ‘oil’ where NOUN<sub>1</sub>, ‘ghee’, appears to be the head with the compound noun ‘beer’ where NOUN<sub>2</sub>, ‘liquor’, appears to be the head (cf Table 6.2.2.1 below). Compound nouns take the following forms:

NOUN<sub>1</sub> + NOUN<sub>2</sub> → NOUN<sub>3</sub>

ADJ (< STEM-*nu*) + NOUN → NOUN

STEM-*mu* + NOUN → NOUN

While compounded nouns are frequently found in the corpus, the only forms that appear productive are the agentive nouns in the shape STEM-*nu* + NOUN. Examples of each type of compound noun formation will be provided in the following sub-sections.

### 6.2.2.1 NOUN<sub>1</sub> + NOUN<sub>2</sub> → NOUN<sub>3</sub>

Joining two nouns together to form a compound is found frequently in the corpus. Table 6.2.2.1 provides a summary of compounds that have been found in the corpus. While in some of the compounds it is difficult to argue which element serves as the head, the distribution of adjectives preceding the nouns they modify in attributive position indicates that this may be the preference in Darma. Examples of a variety of compound nouns are given in (3)-(7) below.

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<sup>2</sup> According to LaPolla (2003: 43), in the Sino-Tibetan languages the modifying noun always precedes the modified noun in a compound. He also describes ‘tightly coordinated nouns’ where the order of the nouns is not relevant. The examples of this type of compound that he provides from Qiang are similar to words like ‘grandchildren’ and ‘parents’ in Darma. Further work with compounds in Darma may reveal a distinct pattern as LaPolla suggests.



NOUN <sub>1</sub>		NOUN <sub>2</sub>		NOUN <sub>3</sub> (COMPOUND)	
DARMA	GLOSS	DARMA	GLOSS	DARMA	GLOSS
[mar]	<i>ghee</i> <sup>3</sup>	[ti]	<i>water</i>	[mart̪i]	<i>oil</i>
[mar]	<i>ghee</i>	[cɛkt̪i]	<i>liquor</i>	[marcɛkt̪i]	<i>beer</i> <sup>4</sup>
[χuŋ]	<i>weaving</i>	[tʰam]	<i>wool</i>	[χuŋtʰam]	<i>woolwork</i>
[pe]	<i>brother</i>	[saŋ]	<i>village</i>	[pesaŋ]	<i>paternal relatives</i>
[tʰuɪm]	<i>custom</i>	[t̪ja]	<i>day</i>	[tʰuɪmt̪ja]	<i>customs and practices</i>
[t̪ja]	<i>day</i>	[la]	<i>month</i>	[t̪jala]	<i>date</i>
[ki]	<i>pray (verb stem)</i>	[baŋ]	<i>place</i>	[kibaŋ]	<i>temple</i>
[re]	<i>field</i>	[lan]	<i>work</i>	[relan]	<i>fieldwork</i>
[muŋ]	<i>name</i>	[har]	<i>voice</i>	[muŋəhar]	<i>reputation</i>

Table 6.2.1.1: NOUN<sub>1</sub> + NOUN<sub>2</sub> → NOUN<sub>3</sub> Compounds

The most frequent compounds are those that denote kinship terms. Many of these forms are simply the elements that make up the whole, which are compounded together. For example, *khee kheme* ‘grandchildren’ is from *khee* ‘grandson’ and *kheme*

<sup>3</sup> Ghee is a Hindi word with no English equivalent. The closest term in English is ‘clarified butter’ or ‘drawn butter’, but ghee is not made in the same way. To make ghee one slowly cooks the cream skimmed from the top of milk. As the cream cooks, the foam is scraped from the top until only the oil remains. In the Dharchula area, *mar* can range in color from a light yellow to a rich brownish red. Many Rang people eschew the pale yellow ghee prized on the plains and demand the nutty ghee. I have heard it described as Pahari (meaning Mountain people) ghee.

<sup>4</sup> This isn’t literally ‘beer’, but that is the English word Rang people use for *mar’cekti*. To make this libation, one takes the traditional libation, *cekti*, and mixes it with water. This is then fermented in a wooden cask for a short while. The result is a drink that is milky yellow, similar to the color of ghee.

‘granddaughter’, as shown in example (3) below. Similarly, in example (4) below, we find that the nouns *ba* ‘father’ and *mina* ‘mother’ can be combined to form the compound *bamina* meaning ‘parents’. This compound form is found frequently in the corpus, but if the order of the elements ‘father’ and ‘mother’ are reversed, the meaning is not parents. This is shown in (5) below.

- (3) *7ã ning gu khee kheme leeni.*  
 ã ning gu khee kheme lee-ni.  
 HM 1PL POSS grandchild AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘We have grandchildren/hamare nathii nathin hote hai’.

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 002

- (4) *bamina na 7alag xyungni.*  
 bamina na alag syung-ni.  
 parents EMPH separate.LN live-3.NPT

‘The parents live separate.’

T0041: Conversation. 095

- (5) *ning mina ba jen su ning rdungsu.*  
 ning mina ba jen su ning rdung-su.  
 1PL mother father PL ERG 1PL rear-PST

‘Our mothers and fathers raised us’.

T0049: Elicited. 064

- (6) *xita ne cen su bamina jen.*  
 si-da ne jen su bamina jen.  
 leave-3.NPT 3 PL ERG parents PL

‘(They) leave, these people their parents.’ (= ‘They leave their parents these people.’)

T0041: Conversation. 093

While these kinship terms are reminiscent of dyad constructions described by Evans (2005), they cannot be classified as such. Evans defines dyads as constructions that “denote relationally-linked groups of the type ‘pair/group of brothers’, ‘mother and child(ren)’, ‘teacher/student pair’” (2005: 1), which is not what we find in Darma. Furthermore, according to Evans’ definition, these constructions tend to denote the relationship of the pair within the dyad (e.g. the dyad ‘father and child’), which is not

what we find in Darma. There are, however, compound forms that appear to resemble Evans' description (cf *pee sang* 'paternal relatives' from *pee* 'brother' and *sang* 'village'). These forms will be the focus of future research.

The word 'date' is formed by compounding *jya* 'day' and *la* 'month' as shown in example (7). In the text where this example comes from, the narrator is describing how a marriage is arranged. The groom's family goes to the bride's village and a date is set for the wedding party to come and take the bride away.

- (7)    *ning*    *gu*        *jyala*    *dada*.  
          *ning*    *gu*        *jyala*    *da-da*.  
          1PL    POSS    date        give-3.NPT

'...(They) give us our (wedding) date'.

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 006

#### 6.2.2.2 ADJECTIVE (>STEM-*nu*) + NOUN → NOUN

Another type of compound noun comprises a derived adjective (i.e. a verb stem with the nominalizer affix *-nu*) and a noun.<sup>5</sup> Most examples of this type of compound found in the corpus are kinship terms. For example, *minu* means 'small', *ba* means 'father', and *mimba* means 'uncle'. Specifically, *mimba* refers to 'ones father's younger brother'. The adjective establishes the relationship of the resulting compound noun to the core noun in the compound (e.g. 'little' indicates the person is younger than the relative being referred to, like 'father' in *mimba*).

Adjectives derived from verb stems are frequently combined with *mi* meaning 'man' or 'person' to form a noun. For example, *jernu* is 'frightened' or 'scared' and *jernu mi* means 'coward'. The word *thenu* means 'stuttering', and *thenu mi* means 'stutterer'. This form of compounding is highly productive; almost every adjective formed from a

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<sup>5</sup> In these constructions the verb stem plus the nominalizer affix *-nu* functions as an adjective. These derived forms will be discussed later in the chapter.

verb stem + *-nu* can be combined with *mi* to form an agentive noun. These constructions can also be analyzed as relative constructions (e.g. the person who is scared); I will address this again in Chapter 17 when I discuss relative clauses.

### 6.2.2.3 *NOUN*<sub>1</sub> (<*STEM-mu*>) + *NOUN*<sub>2</sub> → *NOUN*<sub>3</sub>

As we saw in §6.2.1 above, the verb STEM-INF construction can be combined with another noun to form a compound noun. For example, SIT-INF + ‘place’ is used to refer to a resting place, like where one would sit, or where one would sleep. Similarly, SLEEP-INF + ‘place’ is used to refer to a bed. Examples of each are shown in (8)-(11) below. It should be noted that the word *bistar* ‘bed’ is borrowed from IA. In the conversation where the following examples appear, the speaker is trying to figure out if the word *bistar* is a Darma word, and if not, how one says ‘bed’ in Darma.

(8) *kha la xyunghim bang?*  
*kha la syung-si-mu bang?*  
 what say-NPT sit-MID-INF place  
 ‘What do (they) say (= is it called) the sitting/resting place?’  
 T0023: Migration. 010

(9) *xyunghim kamr’a--*  
*syung-si-mu kamr’a--*  
 sit-MID-INF room.LN  
 ‘The sitting room—’  
 T0023: Migration. 011

(10) *yam bang, yam bang--*  
*ya-mu bang, ya-mu bang--*  
 sleep-INF place sleep-INF place  
 ‘The sleeping place, the sleeping place—’  
 T0023: Migration. 012

(11) *kamr’a t’i, yam bang...*  
*kamr’a t’i, ya-mu bang*  
 room.LN POSS.LN sleep-INF place  
 ‘The room’s sleeping place...’ (NB: *t’i* is a Byans word).  
 T0023: Migration. 013

#### 6.2.2.4 Gender

Darma does not have grammatical gender, but there are nouns that are made feminine when compounded with a gender morpheme. Krishan analyzes gender on animate nouns in terms of a human class and a non-human class (2001:356). He presents productive masculine and feminine markers on non-human animates (*pho* and *mo* respectively), and analyzes the kinship terms as gender-marked. He presents four feminine markers for humans and two masculine markers. I will not analyze these human nouns in the same way, because I find no motivation in the language to do so.

The masculine and feminine markers for non-human animate nouns as presented in Krishan 2001 have not been attested in the natural discourse data that I have gathered. During interview sessions, however, I did find that some speakers accepted *pho* to mark a masculine animal to distinguish it from a female animal (as in *pho hrang* for ‘stallion’. I also found *yapho* to refer to ‘a wild goat’ or ‘a wild animal’ in general; this same consultant said that one could also call the same animal *ya*, and that *pho* was used to indicate ‘wild, hooved animals’ such as deer. I was not able to find a speaker who accepted *mo* as a general feminine marker (as in *mo hrang* for ‘mare’). There is one example in the data where a female animal is differentiated from the male with *mu*, but it is not a prefix as Krishan suggests. This consultant stated that *ju* is a ‘male yak-cow cross’ and *jumu* is the female. He told me that the *jumu* is similar to a cow in that it produces milk (T2:130).

Because I do not find evidence in the corpus to support the majority of the gender morphemes described in Krishan, I will only discuss the feminine forms that I did find throughout the corpus. I find no evidence so far for masculine markers. Of the four feminine gender markers presented in Krishan’s sketch, only *xya* appears to indicate gender on a noun; it is used to mark female humans, and is recognized by Darma

speakers as a gender marker. The general term for Darma, Byansi and Chaudangsi people as one group is *r'ang* (written by the community and scholars 'Rang' or 'Rung' in romanized orthography). This word generally refers to males; females are specifically referred to as *r'angxya*.

Many compound nouns with the feminine *xya* have a masculine counterpart, which is the other noun in the feminine compound. For example, *r'ithi* is a 'landlord', 'boss', or 'husband', and *r'ithixya* is his wife. Examples of these forms are shown in (12)-(14) below.

- (12) *JesuliBuri jo nini, r'ithi r'ithixya na leeju.*  
           jo nini, r'ithi r'ithixya na lee-su.  
           HM boss boss's.wife EMPH AUX.EX-PST

'JB, um, (they) were husband and wife.'

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 014

- (13) *to 7alang dhan wala leeju, 7an dhan@*  
       to alang dhan wala lee-su, an dhan  
       then QUAN.PROX wealth.LN one.LN AUX.EX-PST DEM.PROX wealth.LN  
       *wala nim bakte r'ithi 7ã r'ithi pungtsu.*  
       wala ni-mu baktee r'ithi ã r'ithi pung-su.  
       one.LN AUX.EQ-INF time boss HM boss die-PST

'Then, there was one who had this much wealth, um this wealthy one when he was there the husband, um the husband died.'

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 015

- (14) *to 7u r'ithixya su kha gasu?*  
       to u r'ithixya su kha ga-su?  
       then 3SG boss's.wife ERG what do-PST?

'So what did this man's wife do?'

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 016

The meaning of the feminine noun formed with *xya* is not always 'wife of X', where X is the free noun stem. For example, in the word *r'angxya*, *xya* indicates that the Rang person is female, but she need not be married to a Rang man. A *r'angxya* can be a female Rang person of any age; she can be married or single. In the word *r'ithixya*,

however, *xya* does not mean ‘female boss’ or ‘female landlord’, rather the meaning is the wife of the ‘boss’ or the ‘landlord’.

In many compounds with *xya*, the meaning of the other noun is opaque. In these cases, the other noun in the compound does not refer to the male counterpart of the feminine compound. For example, *namxya* is ‘daughter-in-law’, but ‘son-in-law’ is *myāmi*.<sup>6</sup>

(15)	<i>xir’i</i>	<i>xile</i>	<i>jillen,</i>	<b><i>namxya</i></b>	<i>kharto</i>
	<i>sir’i</i>	<i>sile</i>	<i>jil-len,</i>	<i>namsya</i>	<i>kharto</i>
	boy	turban	wrap-CVB	daughter-in-law	white.cloth
	<i>gelen</i>	<i>gada.</i>			
	<i>ge-len</i>	<i>ga-da.</i>			
	cover-CVB	do-3.NPT			

‘Tying the boy's turban, (they) do the daughter in-law's covering.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 023

Another example of a feminine compound noun that is not derived from a masculine stem is the word *rtixya*, which refers to the female relatives of a male who is the central figure of a ceremony. The groom of a wedding or the young male in a hair-cutting ceremony will have sisters or female cousins who act as *rtixya* during a ceremony. These female relatives bring gifts and the items required to complete the ceremony.<sup>7</sup>

(16)	<i>7ido</i>	<i>su</i>	<b><i>rtixya</i></b>	<i>jen</i>	<i>jo nini</i>	<i>yangni</i>
	<i>idu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>rtisya</i>	<i>jen</i>	<i>jo nini</i>	<i>ang-ni</i>
	DEM.NONVIS	after	bridesmaids	PL	HM	be.ready-3.NPT

‘After that the bridesmaids, um, are ready.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 010

<sup>6</sup> The word for ‘daughter’ is *t'imme* and the word for ‘son’ is *xir’i*.

<sup>7</sup> The things used in a ceremony are called *certang*. The items include the local alcoholic beverage *cekti*, incense, raw rice for tossing, grass and flowers to adorn participants, and a red paste used to make a mark on the center of the forehead of participants. For some ceremonies the *rtixya* also bring the *dulang*, which is an unbaked ‘cake’ made from roasted buckwheat flour and water.

The word *xyaxi* is unlike the other *xya* words discussed up to this point in that the *xya* is the first element of the word. Also, the word *xyaxi* does not refer to ‘female humans’. Rather, it refers to ones maternal relatives; and is also used for guests from another village. One speaker, in an effort to explain the difference between these relatives and paternal relatives, translated the word *xyaxi* to mean ‘flesh and blood’, which would indicate that this word is a compound of the words *xya* ‘flesh/meat’ and *xi* ‘blood’. It is unclear if the feminine marker *xya* derives historically from the noun for ‘flesh/meat’ or if the feminine marker *xya* and the word for ‘flesh/meat’ are homophonous and the translation provided by my consultant is a folk etymology.

- (17) *jyala thojelen jang hã 7idu su thor’o*  
*jyala thoji-len su hã idu su thor’o*  
 date ask.for-CVB after then DEM.NONVIS after LOC.UP
- peesung thumlen jang, xyaxi thumlen jang,*  
*peesung thum-len su, syasi thum-len su,*  
 relative.PAT gather-CVB after relative.MAT gather-CVB after
- hã ning jyala dada.*  
*hã ning jyala da-da.*  
 then 1PL date give-3.NPT

‘After asking for the date, then after that after the male relatives there gather, and after the maternal relatives gather, then (they) give (us) our date’.

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 004

### 6.3 NUMBER

Plurality is marked in one of three ways in Darma: (a) using a quantifier; (b) using a numeral; or (c) using the plural particle.<sup>8</sup> None of these options involves a grammatical affix, and the use of one strategy generally precludes the availability of the other two plural markers within that construction.<sup>9</sup> For example, it is not possible to use ‘all’ and

<sup>8</sup> Personal pronouns are found in singular and plural forms. The discussion of number in personal pronouns will be presented in §8.1.

<sup>9</sup> There are exceptions to this generalization. For example, the word *sar’ee/sar’i*, which is from IA meaning ‘all’, is found preceding a noun that is modified by the plural marker. Other exceptions are found in this section and in the section on quantifiers.



the plural marker in the same utterance. Examples of each pluralization strategy available in Darma are shown in (18)-(20) below. In example (18), plurality is marked with the indefinite quantifier *bir'* 'all'.<sup>10</sup> In example (19), we find plurality marked with a numeral, which precedes the noun. As with 'book' in example (18), the noun 'basket' takes no grammatical plural marker. In example (20), we find the plural particle *jen* following the noun it is modifying.<sup>11</sup> Example (21) shows an ungrammatical construction with an overt quantifier and the plural particle together. Unlike some other Tibeto-Burman languages (cf Dolakhā Newari, Thangmi, and Kham), I find no evidence of classifiers with the plural marker or with numerals. It must be noted that the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal by and large do not have numeral classifiers (Turin 2004), so the fact that they are not found in Darma is not unusual.

- (18) *ne*            ***bir'*** ***luphung*** *mangnu* *nini*.  
 ne            bir' lubung mangnu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT all book red be-3.NPT  
 'All of these books are red'.

T0042: Elicited 152

- (19) ***nixyu*** ***r'o***    *na*    *lyang*    *lesu*.  
 nisyu r'o na lee-ang lee-su.  
 two basket EMPH AUX.EX-FUT say-PST  
 'She said, "There will be only two baskets".'

T0032: Conversation. 296

- (20) *ne*            ***luphung*** ***jen*** *mangnu* *nini*.  
 ne            lubung jen mangnu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT book PL red AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'These books are red'.

T0042: Elicited 151

<sup>10</sup> The verb takes the same inflection for third person singular and plural, so without an overt quantifier or plural marker, number of the grammatical subject cannot be determined from the verb form.

<sup>11</sup> The discussion of the plural as part of the structure of a noun instead of as an element of the noun phrase is motivated by the fact that the status of the plural remains unclear. The plural form is not widely used in natural discourse, and the conflicting judgements from speakers make it difficult for me to determine whether or not the plural marker is a particle; it may be a phrasal clitic. This will remain ambiguous until further work is done.

- (21) \*ne            *bir' luphung jen mangnu nini*  
 \*ne            bir' lubung jen mangnu nini  
 DEM.NEUT all book PL red AUX.EQ-3.NPT

As the preceding examples indicate, quantifiers and numerals precede the noun that they modify, while the plural morpheme follows the noun it modifies. Because these appear to be separate strategies for marking number, quantifiers and the plural marker will be discussed individually. Quantifiers (including numerals) are discussed in detail in Chapter 10. The remainder of this section will focus on the plural particle *jen*, and its distribution.

### 6.3.1 The Distribution of [jen]

In the corpus, *jen* is used predominantly to mark plurality on nouns referring to humans. This is shown in examples (22)-(25) below.

- (22) *nyung xixya, sar'i sung, sung pee jen jo nini, hã*  
 ning syasi, sar'ee sang, sang pee jen jo nini, hã  
 1PL relative.MAT all.LN village village brother PL HM then  
*byolo xile jilda.*  
 byolo sile jil-da.  
 bridegroom.LN turban wrap-3.NPT

‘Our maternal relatives, the entire village, the male villagers, that is, then (they) tie the bridegroom's turban.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 022

- (23) *hã bud@r'u, jo nini, ning su jo nini sar'ee::: xyahi jen*  
 hã budr'u, jo nini, ning su jo nini sar'ee::: syasi jen  
 then inside HM 1PL ERG HM all.LN relative.MAT PL  
*jama 7ido su kharto geeden.*  
 jama idu su kharto gee-den.  
 everyone DEM.NONVIS after white.cloth cover-1PL.NPT

‘Then, inside that is, we, um, cover all of the female relatives everyone with the white cloth after that (check that we are covering the females with the cloth).’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 032

- (24) *jama duniya bar' ju mi mi jen wintsu.*  
 jama duniya bar' jo mi mi jen wi-n-tsu.  
 everyone world.LN entire.LN DAT person person PL invite-1PL-PST  
 'We invite everyone in the whole world (i.e., from the area).'

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 004

- (25) *pan jen ta mi tinggeen nini.*  
 pan jen taku mi tinggee-nu ni-ni.  
 Filam PL one man stand-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'The Filam people one man is standing.' ('standing' = running for election)  
 T0024: Election. 003

While it is generally the case that *jen* serves as a plural marker for humans, in some cases it is used to mark the plurality of non-human nouns as shown in (26)-(28) below. Example (26) shows an animate noun with the plural particle, and examples (27)-(28) show inanimate nouns modified by the plural particle.

- (26) *mala jen than da than ning song su*  
 mala jen than da than ning sang su  
 goat PL now CONT now 1PL village ERG  
*mala na kammeden.*  
 mala na kammee-den.  
 goat EMPH make.living.LN-1PL.NPT

'The goats, even now, now our village (we) make a living with goats only.'  
 T0043: Woolwork. 021

- (27) *hã ning kee gu pitr'a r'u xilee jen*  
 hã ning khe gu pisya r'u sile jen  
 then 1PL grandson POSS head LOC turban PL  
*jama jilta, gubu su mala xyata.*  
 jama jil-da, gubu su mala sya-da.  
 everyone wrap-3.NPT someone ERG garland adorn-3.NPT

'Then everyone wraps turbans on our grandson's head, someone puts the garland (on him).'

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 008

- (28) *bandu jen.*  
 bandu jen.  
 dish PL

‘The dishes –.’ (This is in the context of a discussion about doing the dishes. The speaker is cut off.)

T0034: Conversation. 001

Most of the examples with the plural particle *jen* come from direct elicitation. Examples of these are shown in (29)-(32) below. When asked directly for the plural form of a noun, consultants frequently provided *jen* as the plural.

- (29) *ne hen jen th'ani.*  
 ne syeno jen th'a-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT child PL play-3.NPT

‘Those children are playing.’

T0042: Elicited 001

- (30) *ne mi jan 7u t'umangda.*  
 ne mi jen 7u t'um-ang-da.  
 DEM.NEUT person PL 3SG catch-FUT-3.NPT

‘Those people will catch him.’

T0048: Elicited. 063

- (31) *ne luphung jen mangnu nini.*  
 ne lubung jen mangnu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT book PL red AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘These books are red.’

T0042: Elicited 151

- (32) *ge gee jan yangmu.*  
 ge gee jen ang-mu.  
 2SG cloth PL get.ready-INF

‘You should get your clothes ready.’ (‘get ready’ = pack)

T0048: Elicited. 073

It is not obligatory to mark plurality on a noun with the plural particle. This is illustrated in (33)-(36), where a plural particle is optional. In these examples, the plural particle is superfluous. In examples (33) and (34), *cong* indicates that there is more than one monkey, so the presence of *jen* in the latter is redundant (cf §11.5 below for a

discussion of *cong* as a modifier of adjectives). Likewise, in examples (35) and (36), the plural particle is redundant because the personal pronoun *wi* indicates that the referent is plural.

- (33) *ter'e cong na kholi nini.*  
 ter'e cong na kholi ni-ni.  
 there lot EMPH monkey AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'There are quite a lot of monkeys over there.'

T0042: Elicited 355

- (34) *ter'e cong na kholi jen nini.*  
 ter'e cong na kholi jen ni-ni.  
 there lot EMPH monkey PL AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'There are quite a lot of monkeys over there.'

T0042: Elicited 355

- (35) *wi r'ang mi lee.*  
 wi r'ang mi lee.  
 3PL Rang person COP  
 'They are Rang people.'

T0042: Elicited 1101

- (36) *wi r'ang mi jen lee.*  
 wi r'ang mi jen lee.  
 3PL Rang person PL COP  
 'They are Rang people.'

T0042: Elicited 1101

We find a similar distribution with an inanimate object 'mountain' as shown in examples (37)-(39) below.

- (37) *cyong na wee nini*  
 cong na wee ni-ni  
 lots EMPH mountain AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'There are lots of mountains.'

Elicited with ASS

- (38) *cyong na wee jen nini*  
 cong na wee jen ni-ni  
 lots EMPH mountain PL AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘There are lots of mountains.’

Elicited with ASS

- (39) *dal na wee nini*  
 dal na wee ni-ni  
 lots EMPH mountain AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘There are lots of mountains.’

Elicited with ASS

Modifying a noun with a numeral and using the plural is dispreferred as evidenced by the minimal pair shown in (40) and (41) below. These examples come from direct elicitation, but the generalization is borne out in the corpus. There are cases where speakers deemed a plural form to be unacceptable during elicitation sessions, while the same form was found marked with the plural in a text. Examples with a numeral modifier and a plural marker, which were deemed unacceptable like those shown below, are not attested in natural discourse.

- (40) \**sum wee jen nini.*  
 sum wee jen ni-ni.  
 three mountain PL AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 \*‘There are three mountains.’

Elicited with ASS

- (41) *sum wee nini.*  
 sum wee ni-ni.  
 three mountain AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘There are three mountains.’

Elicited with ASS

There are nouns that are not pluralized with the *jen* particle.<sup>12</sup> These include ‘nighttime’, ‘sun’, ‘egg’, ‘heart’, ‘day’, ‘fire’, ‘milk’, ‘water’ and ‘head’. Some of these may belong to a class of mass nouns, the scope of which is not yet determined; others like

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<sup>12</sup> When compiling word lists during elicitation sessions, native speakers consistently stated that these nouns were unacceptable with the plural particle *jen*.

‘sun’ may not be grammatical with a plural particle because there is no real world referent ‘sun+plural’. The plural marker is allowed for nouns such as ‘neck’, ‘stomach’, ‘sand’, ‘salt’ and ‘wood’. Determining whether there is a class of mass nouns was difficult because in some cases I received conflicting judgments on the acceptability of plural forms. For example, one consultant rejected *jen* as a plural marker for *lubung* ‘book’ on one occasion, and on another occasion provided the utterance in (42), where ‘book’ appears with the plural marker. A possible explanation for this type of inconsistency will be suggested in the next section.

- (42) *ne lumphung jen mangnu nini.*  
*ne lubung jen mangnu ni-ni.*  
 DEM.NEUT book PL red AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘These books are red.’

T0042: Elicited 151

Future investigation into the possibility of a mass/count distinction will include an examination of prototypical mass nouns such as oil, water, and rice to see whether they can be modified by *jen* or with a numeral. Additionally, future work will investigate whether mass nouns can be modified with the plural particle to indicate different types of the modified mass noun (e.g. *the oils* in English indicates different types, such as olive, canola, and peanut oils).

### 6.3.2 [jɛn] as a Borrowed Morpheme

Krishan suggests that the plural marker is a loan word from IA *jan*, meaning ‘people’ (2001: 357). There are examples in the corpus where *jen* functions as a noun meaning ‘people’ rather than a plural particle. These examples indicate that Krishan’s assessment is correct. In example (43) below, *jen* means ‘people’. The proximate demonstrative *ʔan* does not generally appear without an overt noun, so we can hypothesize that *jen* is fulfilling the role of noun in this sentence (cf §8.2 below for a full

discussion of demonstratives). The context of this example is a conversation about me and my husband. After hearing that we had been married for two years and had no children, the speakers are discussing how old we are, and that marriage is quite delayed in our culture compared to theirs.

- (43) *xyanglen ju baksa gada 7an jen ju.*  
 syang-len su baksa ga-da an jen jo.  
 be.big-CVB after wedding make-3.NPT DEM.PROX people DAT  
 ‘After getting big, the wedding is done to these people.’

T0032: Conversation. 315

Similarly, the neutral demonstrative article *ne* does not usually appear without an overt noun. In example (44) below, *ne* is followed by *jen*, which is functioning as the overt noun ‘people’.

- (44) *ne jen dor’o wulang wana su*  
 ne jen dor’o wulang wana su  
 DEM.NEUT people LOC.PROX how.much up.to  
*leeni, xhiximu?*  
 lee-ni, xhi-si-mu?  
 AUX.EX-3.NPT study-MID-INF  
 ‘In their place, they are studying up until when?’

T0041: Conversation. 117

Examples from the corpus show that *jen* has two different functions. The first, as a word meaning ‘people’. The second, as a plural marker. The two functions suggest that this morpheme is in the process of grammaticalizing as the general plural marker. The bridging context includes those cases where the plural particle is used with nouns denoting humans that are also interpreted as plurals. In the corpus, *jen* is freely used as a plural marker for human nouns as shown in example (45) below.

- (45) *7ido su rtixya jen jo nini yangni*  
 idu su rtisya jen jo nini yang-ni  
 DEM.NONVIS after bridesmaids PL HM be.ready-3.NPT  
 ‘After that the bridesmaids, um, are ready.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 010



In most of these cases, the plural particle could be interpreted either as ‘people’ or as a plural particle. Table 6.3.2 provides examples of human referent nouns that are found with the plural particle in the corpus (most of these examples come from the natural discourse corpus).

<b>DARMA</b>	<b>ENGLISH GLOSS</b>
[tʃja ʃɛn]	<i>bridesmaids</i>
[pe ʃɛn]	<i>paternal relatives</i>
[çjaçi ʃɛn]	<i>maternal relatives</i>
[pɪʈru ʃɛn]	<i>ancestors</i>
[ʃon ʃɛn]	<i>youth/young people</i>
[çʃɛn ʃɛn]	<i>children</i>
[woraçiri ʃɛn]	<i>men/husbands</i>
[dan ʃɛn]	<i>people from Dantu</i>
[pan ʃɛn]	<i>people from Filam</i>
[jɛhar ʃɛn]	<i>people from the Yehar clan</i>
[pɛhar ʃɛn]	<i>people from the Pahar clan</i>
[hjaŋki ʃɛn]	<i>Hyankis (surname)</i>
[garbjal ʃɛn]	<i>Garbyals (surname)</i>
[gunjjal ʃɛn]	<i>Gunjyals (surname)</i>
[coŋp <sup>h</sup> a ʃɛn]	<i>Tibetans</i>
[gork <sup>h</sup> al ʃɛn]	<i>Gurkhas</i>
[ʔangrez ʃɛn]	<i>Englishmen</i>

Table 6.3.2: Human Referent Nouns with Plural

Even though *jen* is primarily used to mark plurality of human referent nouns, the fact that *jen* is sometimes used to mark plurality of non-human referent nouns cannot be overlooked. As I mentioned before, I frequently asked consultants to provide the plural form of nouns. The results varied from speaker to speaker. My primary consultant accepted *jen* as a plural marker with a wide variety of nouns. Some speakers rejected the

use of the plural particle with non-human referent nouns. Some speakers accepted some plurals and rejected others. In some cases a consultant would accept a plural with *jen* in one interview, and reject it in a later session. For all speakers it was always okay to use quantifiers (e.g. ‘all’) and numerals (e.g. ‘two’) to indicate plurality.

The fact that there is so much variation in grammaticality judgments, combined with the evidence that *jen* still functions as the nominal ‘people’, indicates the possibility that the plural particle *jen* is in a transition stage, but historical evidence is necessary to substantiate this hypothesis. Another piece of evidence to support the grammaticalization hypothesis, is the frequent occurrence of *jen* acting as a plural particle with the word ‘person’. This is shown in examples (46) and (47) below. In these examples it is impossible to interpret *jen* as ‘people’. The only interpretation is as a plural marker.

- (46) *than da mi jen kha kha na jani?*  
 than da mi jen kha kha na ja-ni?  
 now CONT person PL what what EMPH eat-3SG.PRS?  
 ‘Now, though, what all do people eat?’

T0021: Darma Food. 012

- (47) *guma r’aju nadu mi jen?*  
 gumba r’a-su nadu mi jen?  
 when come-PST DEM.NEUT person PL  
 ‘When did they get here, these people?’

T0032: Conversation. 096

Finally, looking at closely related Rang languages, we find that that the plural suffix in Byansi is /maŋ/ (S.R. Sharma 2001a: 283), and that the plural suffix in Chaudangsi is /may/ (Krishan 2001: 409).<sup>13</sup> The fact that these markers are different lends credence to Krishan’s assertion that *jen* is borrowed from IA, and my assertion that the examples provided above trace the path of grammaticalization. Future work determining the status of the plural morpheme in Darma will include a detailed

<sup>13</sup> As with Darma, Byansi and Chaudangsi have other strategies for forming plurals. The point here is that the marker in Darma does not appear to be similar to those found in its sister languages.

examination of plurality in Tibeto-Burman languages, in particular the languages of this region of the Himalayas.

#### 6.4 ECHO FORMATIONS

Echo formations are an areal feature of the languages of South Asia (Masica 2005). In languages like Hindi, echo formations can be constructed with a large variety of nouns. In Hindi, these echo constructions are used frequently. In Darma, the most common echo formations are with the verbs (cf §18.4.1 below); echo formations using nouns are rare in the corpus. In fact, there is only one echo attested for nouns. This is shown in example (48) below. It is interesting to note that the echo is formed with the IA word for ‘drum’.

- (48) *baktsa deemu yangxyen, 7ido deme heme*  
*baksa dee-mu ang-si-hen, idu deme heme*  
*wedding go-INF get.ready-MID-2PL.NPT then drum.LN ECHO*
- ning gu mangneden.*  
*ning gu mangne-den.*  
 1PL POSS request.LN-1PL.NPT

‘(We) get ourselves ready to go to the wedding, then (we) the drums and all (we) request ours.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 008

Other constructions were called echo formations by native speakers, but the second element is actually not an echo of the core word. Instead the second element is an IA loan word. True echo formations consist of a semantically meaningful word followed by a nonsense word that rhymes with the core word. The second word, called the echo, has no meaning on its own, and generally has the same shape as the core word with a different onset. For example, in Hindi *chai chai* is a common echo formation that means ‘tea and everything that goes with it (e.g. biscuits, salty snacks, and conversation)’. In Darma, these so-called echo formations follow a different pattern.

Like the echo formations of IA languages, those in Darma are fixed expressions, so the second element is not used by itself, and does not appear to be assimilated into the Darma vocabulary. In example (49) below, the word *bar'e* is most likely a borrowing from IA *barii*, meaning ‘gifts sent from the bridegroom’s house to the bride’s before the wedding’ (McGregor 1997: 710). I was told that the word *bya* is a borrowed word for ‘wedding’, but I have not found the word in any Hindi or Nepali dictionary to date.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted, that in the following example, the interpretation of *bya bar'e* is ‘wedding and all of the things that go along with a wedding’ exactly as the Hindi echo formation *shaadii vaadii* would be translated.<sup>15</sup>

- (49) *wi gu bya bar'e gaten.*  
*wi gu bya bar'e ga-den.*  
 3PL POSS wedding ECHO make-1PL.NPT  
 ‘(We) do their wedding and all that.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 035

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<sup>14</sup> Rajesh Bhatt has informed me that *byah* means ‘wedding’ via Sanskrit. Combining two words with the same meaning that come from two different source languages is common with Persian and Sanskrit words. Similar to an echo formation these double formations impart a meaning of ‘and all of the things that go along with that’. According to Bhatt, these double formations are also becoming more common with Hindi and English words. The use of these turns of phrase may be a way for the speaker to demonstrate familiarity with both languages (personal communication).

<sup>15</sup> *shaadii* means ‘wedding’ via Persian.

## Chapter 7: Role Markers

### 7.0 INTRODUCTION

In this section I will introduce the particles that are used to mark the relationship of a noun phrase with the rest of the clause. I will use the term ‘role marker’ to refer to these case markers and adpositions. While role markers are sometimes described to include discourse markers (Schachter 1985), I will not include discourse markers in the current discussion.

Like many other verb-final languages, Darma has postpositions. These particles follow their noun phrase complements and indicate the syntactic and semantic role of the constituents they mark. Darma does not have grammatical case affixes, but grammatical relations are marked with postpositional particles, which is not common cross-linguistically (Dixon 1994). I will refer to the particles that indicate a semantic role in one of three ways: role markers, postpositions, and postposition particles. Also included in the class of role marker postpositions are all function particles that relate their noun phrase dependents to other constituents in a sentence (e.g. ‘possessive’, ‘instrument’, and so forth).

In this section, I will outline the basic subcategorization frame for role marker postpositions found in the corpus. The possessive postposition will be discussed in Chapter 9. This role marker has been singled out from the others because its function is slightly different (i.e. it marks a relationship between two nominal expressions that are asymmetrical--a fully established possessor and a not fully established entity that is the possessed). The possessor marker is also different from other postpositions because it is an element of the larger category ‘possessor’, which is a constituent within the structure

of a noun phrase. In this chapter I will introduce the role markers; they will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 14 after the structure of the verb is introduced.

## **7.1 OVERVIEW OF POSTPOSITIONS**

Table 7.1 below provides an overview of the postpositions found in the corpus including the primary function of each role marker. Many postpositions have alternative forms, which may be used in the same context as the primary form. For these forms consultants were happy to employ all of the variant forms in the same construction. Examining the corpus there does not appear to be any environment that triggers the use of an alternative form of a postposition. When alternative forms were used in a construction, my consultants indicated that the sentence had the same meaning as the construction using the primary form (i.e. most widely attested form) of the postposition.

CATEGORY	FORM	ALTERNATIVE FORM(S)	FUNCTION OF MARKED DEPENDENT
Ergative	[su]	---	Ergative
Absolutive	∅	---	Absolutive
Dative	[ʝo]	[ʝu] / [su]	Experiencer, Recipient/Possessor, Adjunct Participant
Possessive	[gu]	---	Possessor
Malafactive	[ʝo]	[ʝu]	Participant adversely affected
Benefactive	[daŋsu]	---	Benefactor
Comitative	[raksa]	---	Accompanies participant
Locative	[ru]	[jarto]	Location of participant/action
Ablative	[k <sup>h</sup> əχcu]	[su]	Source
Instrumental	[su]	---	Instrument of Agent
Equative	[ma]	---	Equal to/Like
Incompletive	[budu]	---	Something done half- heartedly, or incompletely

Table 7.1: Semantic Roles Indexed by Postpositions<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be the case that the comparative *jang*, discussed in §11.6.1, is actually a postposition. Further tests will determine this. For example, if the associated noun phrase cannot be elided, then it is probably a postposition. For now I will not classify it as a postposition.



The role markers are grouped into two categories: Macro and oblique. Each group of roles and the postpositions included in the two categories will be discussed in the following sections.

## **7.2 MACRO ROLES**

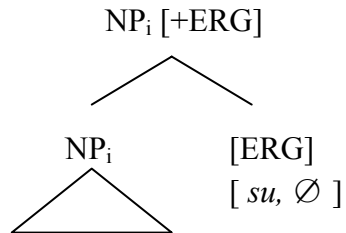
The macro roles include those roles that are determined by the verb (i.e. semantic roles). In this section I will outline the particles that are used to indicate core relations of a verb. These arguments of the predicate are expressed as subject, agent, and object of the verb. Darma has an ergative-absolutive alignment system, so the subject of an intransitive verb is marked in the same way as the object of a transitive verb, while the agent of a transitive verb is distinctly marked. As mentioned above, marking the agent does not appear to be obligatory in Darma. Clauses with an unmarked agent tend to have a fixed word order, which will be presented in Chapter 14. Clauses will be discussed in Chapters 17 and 18. In the following sections, I will outline the subcategorization frames that select the macro roles as arguments.

### **7.2.1 Ergative**

The ergative postposition *su* indicates the agent of a transitive clause. Overt subjects are not required, and the ergative postposition is not found with all overt agents of transitive verbs (this will be addressed further in §14.2.2). The ergative is, however, found on agentive subjects in all tense aspects and moods. The subcategorization frame in (1) below indicates a verb that selects for an agent and an object (i.e. a transitive verb). For example, the verb HIT selects for an agent, the one who does the hitting, and an object, the one who is hit. The agent is marked with the ergative postposition *su*, as shown in examples (2) and (3) below.

(1) < Agent, Object > verb

(2) NP<sub>i</sub> SU NP<sub>j</sub> HIT



(3) *7u su wi kamda.*  
*u su wi kam-da.*  
**3SG ERG 3PL hit-3.NPT**  
'He hits them.'

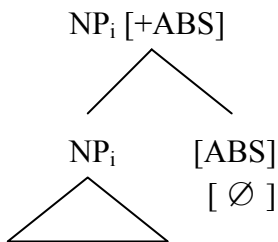
T0042: Elicitation. 753

### 7.2.2 Absolutive

The subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb are unmarked for the absolutive (this will be addressed further in §14.2.1). The subcategorization frame in (4) below shows a verb that selects for a subject (i.e. an intransitive verb). In (5) below we see the verb RUN, which selects a zero-marked subject noun phrase. An example from Darma is provided in (6) below with the verb RUN.

(4) < SUBJECT > VERB

(5) NP ∅ RUN



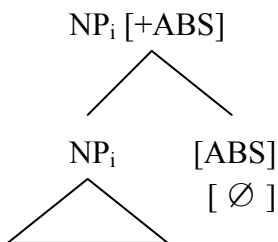
- (6) *ji pehi.*  
**ji**     $\emptyset$  pe-hi.  
**1SG abs** walk-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am walking.’

T0048: Elicitation. 100

The subcategorization frame in (7) below is like the frame provided for the ergative role marker, *su*, above. The verb HALVE selects for an agent and an object as shown in (8) below. An example showing the overtly marked agent and the zero-marked object of the verb HALVE is shown in example (9) below.

- (7) < AGENT, OBJECT > VERB

- (8) NP<sub>i</sub> *SU* NP<sub>j</sub>  $\emptyset$  HALVE



- (9) *[ji su] [th'ama] pyeldi.*  
 [ji su] [th'ama  $\emptyset$ ] pyel-di.  
 [1SG ERG] [vegetable abs] halve-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am halving (=cutting) the vegetables.’

T0042: Elicitation. 111

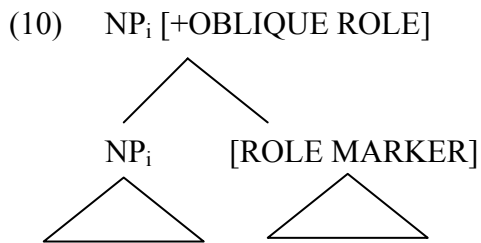
In the examples provided throughout the dissertation, the zero-marked absolutive is not included on the morpheme break line or the morpheme gloss line.

### 7.3 OBLIQUE ROLES

Andrews describes the role markers in terms of participatory and circumstantial roles. Participatory roles indicate the actual participants of a verb, while the circumstantial roles ‘form part of the setting of the event’ (1985: 69). It is difficult to

ascertain which roles are participatory and which are circumstantial in Darma. In some cases the same postposition can be used to mark both a participatory and a circumstantial role (e.g. the locative postposition can be used to indicate an inner locative or an outer locative). Because I cannot yet categorize the role markers in Darma in terms of participatory and circumstantial, I have divided the role markers into the categories macro role markers and oblique role markers. In the following sections I will present the remaining role markers, which are referred to as oblique. While the ultimate analysis of these role markers is informed by Andrews 1985, I will refrain from categorizing the postpositions in terms of participatory and circumstantial roles.

The oblique role markers, like the macro role markers presented above, are dependent-marking postpositions. Each of the markers in the following subsections is in a relationship as illustrated in the structure shown in (10) below.



In an effort to avoid redundancy, I will simply summarize each role marker and provide an example without repeating the structure for each role marker. A full discussion and further examples of the oblique role markers is presented in §14.3 below.

### 7.3.1 Dative

The dative postposition, *jo*, is used to indicate objects in adjuncts, experiencer subjects, some forms of possession, and place of origin (cf §14.3.1 below). The dative is found in the corpus most frequently as *jo*, but there are occurrences of alternate forms *ju* and *su*. Speakers state that all three forms can be used interchangeably.

- (11) *7u jo kha maleensung.*  
 u jo kha ma-lee-n-su.  
 3SG DAT Q NEG-say-2SG-PST  
 ‘Why haven't (you) told him?’

T0032: Conversation. 242

### 7.3.2 Malafactive

The malafactive postposition, *jo*, indicates the one or thing that is adversely affected (cf §14.3.2 below). This is frequently used to mark a noun phrase that has been deprived of something. This postposition has one alternative form *ju* found in the corpus.

- (12) *ji ge ju ne lubung th'udi.*  
 ji ge jo ne lubung th'u-di.  
 1SG 2SG mal DEM.NEUT book take-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am taking this book from you.’

T0042: Elicitation. 088

### 7.3.3 Benefactive

The benefactive postposition, *dangsu*, marks the noun phrase that is the benefactor of the action of the verb (cf §14.3.3 below). The benefactive phrase is interpreted as ‘for X’, where X is a noun with a referent (e.g. ‘you’), or a verbal noun (e.g. sitting). The latter example translates as ‘in order to sit down’.

- (13) *do xyungemu dangsu byam xha.*  
 do syung-mu dangsu byam xhe-a  
 here sit-INF BEN rug bring-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Bring the rug here for sitting (= in order to sit down).’

T0032: Conversation. 263

### 7.3.4 Comitative

The comitative postposition, *r'aksa*, indicates with whom or what something is done (cf §14.3.4 below). This role marker is also found in the corpus without an overt dependent. In these cases it means ‘together’.

- (14) *ʔo, jo nini, ʔaskot, ʔa ʔaskot r'aja r'aksa larreeju.*  
*o, jo nini, askot, a askot r'aja r'aksa larree-su.*  
 3SG HM name.place HM name.place king.LN COM fight.LN-PST

‘He, that is, Askot, uh, (he) fought with the king of Askot.’

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 002

### 7.3.5 Locative

The locative postposition is used to locate a person or thing in a physical place or at an instant of time (cf §14.3.5 below). There are two locative postpositions *r'u* and *yer'to*; the former is more commonly found in the corpus. The locative postposition is also found in fixed constructions that appear to be borrowed from IA (e.g. an expression that means ‘later’).

- (15) *nadu th'ama r'u cong na mor't'u nini.*  
*nadu th'ama r'u cong na mor't'u ni-ni.*  
 DEM.NEUT daal LOC lots EMPH chili AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘In this daal there are *lots* of chilis.’

T0042: Elicited 021

### 7.3.6 Ablative

The ablative postposition indicates the source of an action (cf §14.3.6). There are two ablative postpositions *khaxhcu* and *su*. Of the two postpositions, *khaxhcu* is found the most frequently in the corpus.

- (16) *bunglung khaxhcu tar' tar' su r'amu, hã xyela bassemu.*  
*bunglung khaxhcu tar' tar' su r'a-mu, hã sela basse-mu.*  
 Bungling ABL slow slow MAN come-INF then Sela stay-INF

‘From Bungling (you) should go slowly, then (you) should stay in Sela.’

T0023: Migration. 004

### 7.3.7 Instrumental

The instrumental postposition, *su*, indicates the instrument used to complete the action of the matrix verb (cf §14.3.7). The instrument is frequently used by the agent of the verb to perform the action.

- (17) *ning su pharsa su nadu t'eensu.*  
 ning su pharsa su nadu t'ee-n-su.  
 1PL ERG axe INSTR DEM.NEUT chop-1PL-PST  
 'We chopped it with an axe.'

T0042: Elicited. 475

### 7.3.8 Equative

The equative postposition, *ma*, indicates something that is like or similar to something else (cf §14.3.8). This postposition is frequently found in the corpus with a demonstrative pronoun dependent. The equative postposition is sometimes reduced to *m* when it follows a disyllabic dependent.

- (18) *hã hã hadu ma gam parrni.*  
 hã hã hadu ma ga-mu parr-ni.  
 yes yes DEM.NEUT EQU do-INF must.LN-3SG  
 'Yes, yes, (one) must do it just like this.'

T0032: Conversation. 160

### 7.3.9 Incompletive

The incompletive postposition, *budu*, indicates an action that has not been completed or an action that was done with half-hearted effort (cf §14.3.9). The dependent of the incompletive postposition is usually a verbal noun.

- (19) *7u ning r'aksa r'am budu gada par' mar'a.*  
 u ning r'aksa r'a-mu budu ga-da par' ma-r'a.  
 3SG 1PL COM come-INF INC do-3.NPT but.LN NEG- come  
 'He started to come with us, but didn't come.'

T0042: Elicited 206

## Chapter 8: Pronouns

### 8.0 INTRODUCTION

Pronouns are those words that can be used in place of lexical nouns or noun phrases. Pronouns can be modified for number, and can serve as the argument of a verb or a postposition.

While grammatical subjects and objects are often not overt in the texts (i.e. they are suppressed),<sup>1</sup> Darma does have pronominal forms to refer deictically to a referent. These deictic elements can reference an entity on three levels. The entity can be: something that is within the physical space of the speaker and hearer; something that is not visible; or something that has been established in the discourse, which may or may not be visible (i.e. referring anaphorically to an established antecedent). Pronouns are not marked for gender, and some pronouns are frequently unmarked for number (e.g. the demonstrative pronouns).

Darma has free standing personal pronouns and free standing demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to both animate and inanimate entities; the animate entities may be human or non-human. The personal pronouns are discussed in §8.1 and demonstrative pronouns are discussed in §8.2. Other pronouns to be described in this chapter include indefinite pronouns (cf §8.3); relative pronouns (cf §8.4); and interrogative pronouns (cf §8.5).

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<sup>1</sup> In Darma, the subject of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb are marked on the verb for first person plural and second person singular and plural. Called cross-referencing (Bloomfield 1961, Andrews 1985) or agreement (Dixon 1994) in the general linguistic literature, and pronominalization in the Tibeto-Burman literature (Bauman 1975, DeLancey 1988, Genetti 1994 and others), this marking of subject agreement on the verb allows the subject or agent of the clause to be omitted (i.e., pro drop is licensed). Cross-referencing and pro-drop are evidence that there are grammatical subjects and objects in Darma (cf Andrews 1985). Pronominalization in Darma is also discussed in Chapter 12.



## 8.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns refer deictically to the speech participants in terms of first person, second person, and third person. In addition to person, singular and plural are distinguished on the pronoun. Personal pronouns are free standing and take case markers and postpositions in the same way as full noun phrases. A paradigm of the personal pronouns is shown in Table 8.1 below. This table shows the personal pronouns with some of the postpositional role markers demonstrating that the pronominal form is invariant except with the possessive postposition.<sup>2</sup> While there is no separate paradigm for possessive pronouns, the personal pronouns followed by the possessive postposition do show an alternation in the first person singular and second person singular forms. These alternations do not always occur; they are discussed further in §4.5.3 & §9.1.

	ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE	DATIVE	POSSESSIVE
1 singular	[ji]	[ji su]	[ji ʃo]	[ʃu gu]
2 singular	[gɛ]	[gɛ su]	[gɛ ʃo]	[gu gu]
3 singular	[ʔu]	[ʔu su]	[ʔu ʃo]	[ʔu gu]
1 plural	[niŋ]	[niŋ su]	[niŋ ʃo]	[niŋ gu]
2 plural	[gɛni]	[gɛni su]	[gɛni ʃo]	[gɛni gu]
3 plural	[wi]	[wi su]	[wi ʃo]	[wi gu]

Table 8.1: Personal Pronouns with Postpositions

Personal pronouns can appear with or without an overt noun. In (1) below, the overt personal pronoun ‘he’ seems to be parenthetically modified with ‘the soothsayer’;

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<sup>2</sup> It would be redundant to list the personal pronouns with all of the postpositional role markers. This is because the personal pronouns are invariant with all of the role markers except the possessive.

and in (2) below, the first person plural pronoun combines with the quantified noun, ‘two people’ to indicate ‘both of us’.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) [7u] [7aphahenu mi] su lama xyerje dada.  
 [u ] [a-pha-he-nu mi] su lama syerje da-da.  
 [3SG] [soothsayer man] ERG lama rice.ceremonial give-3.NPT  
 ‘He, the soothsayer, gives the lama the ceremonial rice.’

T0046: Elicited. 002

- (2) [ning ni mi] phamu la, 7u r’aksa?  
 [ning nisyu mi] pha-mu la, u r’aksa?  
 [1PL two person] speak-INF TAG2 3SG COM  
 ‘We two people (=both of us) should speak with her, right?’

T0035: Conversation\_T4\_193. 005

More frequently, personal pronouns appear without an overt noun. Examples of each personal pronoun are shown in (3)-(8).

- (3) *ji pehi.*  
 ji pe-hi.  
 1SG walk-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am walking.’

T0048: Elicited. 100

- (4) *ge phahen?*  
 ge pha-hen?  
 2SG speak-2SG.NPT  
 ‘Are you talking/speaking?’

T0042: Elicited 1038

- (5) *7u r’ani.*  
 u r’a-ni.  
 3SG come-3.NPT  
 ‘He is coming.’

T0048: Elicited. 009

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<sup>3</sup> This appears to function as an exclusive first person plural construction. In this case the speaker is asking if she and another person (not the addressee) should talk to a third person.

- (6) *ning th'agu th'ama dangden na.*  
 ning th'agu th'ama da-ang-den na.  
 1PL rice.cooked daal give-FUT-1PL.NPT EMPH

'We will even give (you) some daal and rice.'

T0023: Migration. 020

- (7) *nadu la r'u kur'len geni wude r'i*  
 nadu la r'u kur'-len geni wudee r'i  
 DEM.NEUT hand LOC take-CVB 2PL where EMPH

*dee tar'ni.*  
 dee tar'-ni.  
 go able-3.NPT

'Taking this in the hand, you all are able to go anywhere.'

T0041: Conversation. 149

- (8) *wi 7inglish na phani.*  
 wi na pha-ni.  
 3PL English EMPH speak-3.NPT

They only speak English.

T0032: Conversation. 219

Personal pronouns are found in all positions of a sentence. The distribution of personal pronouns will be addressed further in Chapter 14.

### 8.1.1 Emphatic Pronoun

Darma has an emphatic pronoun *7abi* (also pronounced *7api* and *7apna*), which is most likely borrowed from Indo Aryan *apnaa* (cf Chapter 5 above for a discussion of borrowed words and §5.1.1 above for a discussion of the emphatic pronoun). It is used to emphasize that the antecedent is doing the action himself or to emphasize the role of the antecedent subject/agent.

The emphatic pronoun can appear in a sentence immediately following the antecedent as shown in (9)-(12) below, or it can appear as the sole subject/agent in a sentence, where it is referring to an antecedent from a previous utterance. It appears with

the possessive postposition and without the possessive postposition as shown in examples (13)-(16) below.

- (9) *ning su 7api bamina jen xincu.*  
 ning su api ba-mina jen si-n-su.  
 1PL ERG EMPRO.LN parents PL leave-1PL-PST  
 ‘We left our own parents.’

T4:246

- (10) *to 7u su jo nini 7apna dimag r'u, kha*  
 to u su jo nini apna dimag r'u, kha  
 then 3SG ERG HM EMPRO.LN mind.LN LOC what  
*khur'apat sot'eeni ki "ji su 7agar'*  
 khur'apat sot'ee-ni ki ji su agar'  
 mischievous.idea.LN think.LN -3.NPT CONJ.LN 1SG ERG if.LN  
*ne garthu mee pudengdi baydabe."*  
 ne garthu mee pu-da-ang-di baydabe.  
 DEM.NEUT watermill fire start-give-FUT-1SG.NPT perhaps  
 ‘Then he, um, in his mind what mischievous plan did he devise, “If I were to set the mill on fire maybe--.”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 016

- (11) *ji 7abi gu samaan t'yaldi.*  
 ji abi gu samaan t'yel-di.  
 1SG empro.LN POSS luggage.LN move-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am moving my own luggage.’

T0049: Elicited. 006

- (12) *bang su mi jen jab r'ani, to wi le*  
 bang su mi jen jab r'a-ni, to wi le  
 place DAT man PL when.LN come-3.NPT then.LN 3PL also
- 7api hisab su, 7api gu kala gu*  
 api hisab su, abi gu kala gu  
 empro.LN part.LN INSTR empro.LN POSS performance.LN POSS
- hisab su 7ã koshish gada ki ning da jo he*  
 hisab su ã koshish ga-da ki ning da jo he  
 part.LN INSTR HM try.LN do-3.NPT conj.LN 1PL CONT HM
- 7abi kala thenja.*  
 abi kala the-n-ya.  
 EMPRO.LN performance show-1PL-OPT

‘When people from the outside come, then they also with their own part, with the part of their own performance, uh, (they) try, that we, though, that is, let us give our own performance.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 090

- (13) *hã 7ã hã 7abi mee su tangsu ki gabla*  
 hã ã hã abi mee su tang-su ki gabla  
 then HM then EMPRO.LN eye INSTR see-PST CONJ.LN Gabla
- cuti gabla nee ज्या leen niju.*  
 cuti gabla nee ज्या lee-nu ni-su.  
 Cuti Gabla two day AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-PST

‘Yeah, um, yeah one saw it with one's own eyes that Gabla, Cuti-Gabla was for two days.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 094

- (14) *7abi 7alag na t'im kur'len kir'ay r'u ya*  
 abi alag na t'im kur'-len kir'ay r'u ya  
 EMPRO.LN separate.LN EMPH house take-CVB rent.LN LOC or.LN
- 7abi gu na t'im tolen 7alag su na xyungni.*  
 abi gu na t'im to-len alag su na syung-ni.  
 empro.LN POSS EMPH house buy-CVB separate.LN manEMPH live-3.NPT

‘They rent their own house separately, or they buy their own house, they just live separately.’

T0041: Conversation. 110

- (15) *mileng khaxhcu na ter'e teknikal parrai gada*  
 mileng khaxhcu na ter'ee parrai ga-da  
 childhood ABL EMPH there technical.LN studies.LN do-3.NPT

*7api gu khar'e.*  
 abi gu khar'ee.  
 empro.LN POSS something

‘From childhood even over there (they) do studies in technical, each his own something.’

T0041: Conversation. 126

- (16) *7api gu dan rdungmu t'ar gujur'a gamu budu,*  
 abi gu dan rdung-mu t'ar gujr'a ga-mu budu,  
 EMPRO.LN POSS stomach rear-INF for livelihood do-INF INC

*gam na parr leeju.*  
 ga-mu na parr lee-su.  
 do-INF EMPH must.LN AUX.EX-PST

‘To satisfy one's stomach, one has to do this for a living just piecemeal.’

T0043: Woolwork. 066

- (17) *jo ning jon jen 7ã ning 7ã jo hee minu bale jen,*  
 jo ning jon jen ã ning ã jo hee minu bale jen,  
 that.LN 1PL youth PL HM 1PL HM HM.LN small brother PL

*hringxya jen, jo ber'a kixheenu leeni, jo*  
 hringsya jen, jo ber'a ki-xhi-nu lee-ni, jo  
 sister PL that.LN song COMPL-study-NOM AUX.EX-3.NPT that.LN

*7abi gu kala nini jo 7abi*  
 abi gu kala ni-ni jo abi  
 EMPRO.LN POSS performance.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT that.LN EMPRO.LN

*rthungmu th'amu leeni.*  
 rthung-mu th'a-mu lee-ni.  
 dance-INF play-INF AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘That our youth, um, our, uh, that is, the small brothers and the sisters who have been studying songs, that is their own performance; that is their own dancing and playing (= choreography).’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 084

## 8.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives, like personal pronouns, are deictic elements that are ‘used to focus the hearer’s attention on objects or locations in the speech situation’ (Diessel 1999:

2). These pronouns are contrastive on a spatial plane, the minimal distinction being between referents that are proximate and referents that are distal. In this section, I will present the distribution of demonstratives in Darma. The organization and presentation of this section is informed by Diessel's work on demonstratives (1999) with the exception of personal pronouns, which are presented as a separate section (cf §8.1 above for the discussion of personal pronouns). I will, however, follow Diessel and include demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs as subsets of the term demonstrative. This is largely due to the paradigmatic similarity between the demonstrative pronouns that refer to physical entities (animate and inanimate) and the demonstrative adverbs that refer to the location of an action. In both cases, these demonstratives are found to be based on a deictic center to which they are proximate, neutral, distal, or non-visible.

In the following subsections I divide the demonstratives into two categories based on two syntactic contexts: those demonstratives that are used in the place of a noun or noun phrase or are used to modify a noun or noun phrase are called demonstrative pronouns; those demonstratives that are used locate an event or an action are called demonstrative adverbs. I will demonstrate that while the latter can function in the true adverbial sense (i.e. they modify verbs), they can also function as other pronouns do (e.g. serve as the argument for a postposition).

### **8.2.1 Demonstrative Pronouns**

The demonstrative pronouns in Darma locate the spatial relationship of the object they are indexing as proximate, neutral, distal, and non-visible. Based on examples in the corpus and interviews with consultants, it appears that the choice of demonstrative pronoun is 'person-oriented' meaning the deictic center is based on the speaker and hearer (Diessel 1999: 39). In Darma, the term demonstrative pronoun encompasses what Diessel describes as three potentially distinct types of syntactic distribution: pronominal;

adnominal; and identificational (1999: 57). In pronominal distribution, demonstrative pronouns stand alone and function as arguments for verbs and adpositions. These pronouns function as nouns or noun phrases. In adnominal distribution, demonstrative determiners are found to co-occur with nouns and noun phrases. These are modifiers, and are not inflected. In an identificational distribution, demonstrative identifiers are used in copular and nonverbal clauses.

While cross-linguistically it is common that three distinct forms are found in each syntactic context, this is not the case in Darma. Instead, Darma has one set of demonstratives used in all three contexts, which I refer to as demonstrative pronouns. It must be noted, however, that there are two forms of demonstrative pronouns, a short form and a full form. It is possible that the demonstrative pronouns are in the process of grammaticalizing into a demonstrative determiner, but because the distribution of the short and full form still overlap, I will call both forms demonstrative pronouns. The short and full forms of the demonstrative pronouns distinguish four degrees of distance; they are shown in Table 8.2.1 below.

	<b>PROXIMATE</b>	<b>NEUTRAL</b>	<b>DISTAL</b>	<b>NON-VISIBLE</b>
<b>SHORT FORM</b>	[ʔan]	[ne]	[te]	[ʔi]
<b>FULL FORM</b>	[ʔandu]	[nadu] [hadu]	[tadu]	[ʔidu]

Table 8.2.1: Demonstrative Pronouns

As mentioned above, the degrees of distance for the demonstrative pronoun are based on a deictic center that is located with the speaker and hearer, which Diessel



defines as ‘person-oriented’ (1999: 39).<sup>4</sup> The four degrees of distance found in Darma demonstrative pronouns fits with Diessel’s generalization that cross-linguistically, systems with more than three degrees of distance distinguished are found to be ‘person-oriented’ rather than ‘distance-oriented’. According to Diessel, things that are not visible are usually only distinguished in a ‘person-oriented’ system.<sup>5</sup>

Within the deictic system Diessel uses the terms ‘proximate’, ‘medial’, and ‘distal’. The term ‘proximate’ can be used to refer to things that are near either the speaker or the hearer. In Darma, it appears to refer to things near the speaker.<sup>6</sup> While Diessel uses the term ‘medial’ to refer to something that is a medium distance to the hearer, I use the term ‘neutral’ instead. The reason for this is based on the distribution of the term and the responses from speakers during elicitation sessions. The ‘neutral’ demonstrative pronouns are the most ubiquitous forms found in the corpus, and both the full and short form are used for things that are nearby and for things that are further away. In general, the object of reference is visible to the speaker and hearer, but its distance is not relevant. In contrast to the ‘neutral’ demonstrative pronoun, the ‘distal’ form is used exclusively for things that are far away from the speaker and hearer. In general the ‘distal’ is used for things that are visible, but it can be used for things that are not visible at the time of utterance. Finally, the demonstrative pronoun is found in a ‘non-visible’ form. This form is used to refer to things that are not visible or things that have already been established in the discourse. In the latter case, it does not matter whether the referent is currently visible to the speech participants.

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<sup>4</sup> This is in opposition to a ‘distance-oriented’ system where the deictic center is not with the speaker and hearer.

<sup>5</sup> It is also possible to indicate referents that are uphill or downhill and moving toward or away. These distinctions are used in the system of demonstrative adverbs.

<sup>6</sup> This is based on the distribution of the deictics within the discourse and the responses provided by speakers during elicitation sessions. Like most of the deictics, when speakers tried to clarify the meaning of the ‘proximate’, they generally used the deictic while pointing, or in the case of the ‘proximate’ patting the ground next to themselves.

The demonstrative pronouns do not vary morphologically from the forms presented in Table 8.2.1 above.<sup>7</sup> As mentioned above, the short form may be in the process of grammaticalizing as a demonstrative determiner. Cross-linguistically, demonstrative determiners commonly ‘consist only of a demonstrative root’ (Diessel 1999: 28). Demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, can consist of the demonstrative root plus another morpheme.<sup>8</sup> This appears to be the case in Darma where the demonstrative root is combined with [-du] to form a demonstrative pronoun.<sup>9</sup> The root bears the distance information (i.e. if the referent is ‘proximate’, ‘neutral’, ‘distal’, or ‘non-visible’). That the short form of the demonstrative pronoun consists of only the root is not unusual if we consider the grammaticalization patterns found cross-linguistically. The process of grammaticalization from a demonstrative pronoun to a demonstrative determiner is attested in languages where the demonstrative pronoun appears as a free-standing element and in an adnominal position (i.e. co-occurring with a noun or noun phrase). Because the demonstrative pronoun is found in two syntactic environments, it is reanalyzed as a demonstrative determiner. When this happens, the shape of the demonstrative pronoun is commonly altered; it is often truncated. This shortening is frequently found in those cases where the demonstrative pronoun consists of a root and an additional morpheme (Diessel 1999: 69). This appears to be what we find in Darma. The slight variation in the shape of the root in the shortened form could be attributed to

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<sup>7</sup> The full forms are found without the final vowel in certain contexts. By morphologically invariant, I am referring to the fact that the demonstrative pronouns are not inflected for gender, case, and number. The demonstrative pronouns are, however, modified by the plural marker and postpositions.

<sup>8</sup> Demonstrative adverbs are also formed from a demonstrative root plus another morpheme, as we shall see in the following section.

<sup>9</sup> According to Diessel, the added morpheme is often a nominalizing suffix, a third person pronoun, or a classifier (1999:29). The origin of the added morpheme in Darma is unclear, but it may come from [do] ‘here’. This analysis fits with the distribution of the full forms of the demonstrative pronouns where they seem to emphasize the location of the referent. This type of emphasis is found in Dolakhā Newari as well. There is a set of demonstrative pronouns that ‘apparently have a stronger deictic function’, which Genetti translates as ‘this one right here’ and ‘this one right there’ (1994: 61).

the grammaticalization process. The fact that we find overlap in the distribution of the short and full forms in the corpus is evidence that the process is not yet complete.

In the following sub-sections I will present examples from the corpus that illustrate the distribution of the full and short forms of the demonstrative pronouns on each deictic level. While the distribution of the short and full forms are each a little different, in general, both forms are found before nouns and before noun phrases. The full forms are found as free standing pronominals with no associated nominal form following them in singular and plural forms and with and without postpositions. The short forms are found with the plural marker and with a few postpositions, but the distribution appears to be restricted. In the cases where the short form is found with the plural, the referent is human. In these cases, the plural can be interpreted as ‘people’ (see the discussion of the origin of the plural morpheme in §6.3.1 above). While I have classified both the short and full forms as demonstrative pronouns, I must point out that speakers of Darma do not consider the two forms to have the same distribution. In one interview, my main consultant, BSS, stated that *ne* cannot appear without an overt noun, which he illustrated with the examples shown in (18) and (19) below.

- (18) *ne*            *mi*        *bungnu*      *nini*  
       ne            mi        bung-nu      ni-ni  
       DEM.NEUT    person    be.tall-NOM    AUX.EQ-3SG  
       ‘This man is tall.’

T5:back of book 32

- (19) \**ne*            *bungnu*      *nini*  
       ne            bung-nu      ni-ni  
       DEM.NEUT    tall-NOM      AUX.EQ-3SG  
       \*‘This is tall.’

T5:back of book 32

Another consultant, GBG, made a similar claim stating that the short forms may not appear without a co-occurring noun. She provided the minimal pair shown in examples (20) and (21) below to illustrate her point.

- (20) *ʔandu khwi tee mi jen gu lee*  
 andu khwi tee mi jen gu lee  
 DEM.PROX dog DEM.DIST person PL POSS COP  
 ‘This dog is that person’s.’

T1:Elicitation. 32

- (21) \**ʔandu khwi tee gu lee*  
 andu khwi tee gu lee  
 DEM.PROX dog DEM.DIST POSS COP  
 ‘This dog is that (one’s).’

T1:Elicitation. 32

### 8.2.1.1 Proximate

The short form of the proximate demonstrative pronoun, *ʔan*, was rarely used in the recorded texts that I have. Native speakers consistently pointed to something close by, or held something in their hand when I asked them to clarify the meaning of this demonstrative pronoun. It is found preceding a noun, preceding postpositions, preceding the contrastive particle, and with the plural morpheme (with and without postpositions). Unlike the full form of the proximate demonstrative, however, the short form is never found in the corpus as a free-standing noun.

The most frequent use of *ʔan* was with the plural morpheme *jen*. In these cases the referent is always human.<sup>10</sup> An example is provided in (22) below. Most of the examples I have of this demonstrative are from conversations where the people being recorded are talking about me and my traveling companion while we were present.

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<sup>10</sup> See §6.3.2 for a discussion of the hypothesis that the plural morpheme is grammaticalizing from a borrowed form of the word ‘people’.

- (22) *xyanglen ju baksa gada 7an jen ju.*  
 syang-len su baksa ga-da an jen jo.  
 be.big-CVB after wedding make-3.NPT DEM.PROX people DAT

‘After getting big, the wedding was done to these people.’

T0032: Conversation. 315

During a recorded interview with a woman in Sipu village, I was told the names of all of the parts of the loom. As the woman was talking, we were pulling burrs from wool, and holding up a burr she said the following:

- (23) *7an jo kurtup la, 7an jo.*  
 an jo kurtup la, an jo.  
 DEM.PROX DAT burr call.3.NPT DEM.PROX DAT

‘This is called *kurtup*, this one.’

T0032: Conversation. 387

She used the short form of the demonstrative pronoun *7an* rather than the full form *7andu*.<sup>11</sup> If the short form were a demonstrative article, it would not take the postposition, and it would not appear without a co-occurring noun or noun phrase. As we can see in example (23), *7an* is followed by the dative case marker *jo*. While the nominal element that *7an* is referencing (*kurtup* ‘burr’) is overt in the construction, it does not immediately follow *7an*.

The short form of the proximate demonstrative pronoun is also found with the equative postposition *ma* as shown in example (24) below.

- (24) *7ama tee gumdo leen niyang ya?*  
 an ma tee gumdo lee-nu ni-ang ya?  
 DEM.PROX EQU LOC.DIST how AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT TAG1

‘Like this over there how will it be, or?’

T0041: Conversation. 097

The only other postposition attested with the short proximate demonstrative pronoun as an argument is the instrumental *su*. There is one example of this in the corpus,

<sup>11</sup> It is possible that this is a reduced form of *7andu jo* with the final vowel of the demonstrative dropped. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is common for the final vowel of a word to be dropped. It may be that the following palatal stop makes it difficult to hear the [d] of the demonstrative.

which is shown in (25) below. This example shows the short form of the demonstrative pronoun followed by the contrastive morpheme.

- (25) *ʔan da matlab jo nini ni mi nihen,*  
 an da matlab jo nini nisyu mi ni-hen,  
 DEM.PROX CONT meaning.LN HM two man AUX.EQ-1PL.NPT
- ʔandu jo nini ʔalang da yi nini,*  
 andu jo nini alang da yi ni-ni,  
 DEM.PROX HM QUAN.PROX CONT flour AUX.EQ-3.NPT
- ʔan su kha lyang?*  
 an su kha lee-ang?  
 DEM.PROX INSTR what AUX.EX-FUT

‘This, though, meaning, um, (we) are two men, this, um, there is this much flour, with this, what will happen?’

0025: Kiti Phondar. 045

The short form of the proximate demonstrative pronoun is also found to co-occur with a noun. This is shown in example (26) below. This example is from a recording of a man telling the story of a Darma woman named Jaisuli Burrhi<sup>12</sup> who became very wealthy when her husband died. While both Jaisuli Burrhi and her husband were dead when this version of their story was recorded, the deictic demonstrative used to refer to the husband is the proximate form. This may be a tactic used to bring the listener into the story, or it may be that *ʔan* can be used to mean ‘aforementioned’.

- (26) *to ʔalang dhan wala leeju, ʔan dhan@*  
 to alang dhan wala lee-su, an dhan  
 then.LN QUAN.PROX wealth.LN one.LN AUX.EX.PST DEM.PROX wealth.LN
- wala nim baktee r’ithi ʔã r’ithi pungcu.*  
 wala ni-mu baktee r’ithi ã r’ithi pung-su.  
 one.LN AUX.EQ-INF time husband HM husband die-PST

‘Then, there was this one who had so much money, at the time when he was rich, um, the husband died.’

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 015

<sup>12</sup> [buɽ<sup>hi</sup>:] means ‘old woman’ in Hindi and Nepali. According to the story told, Jaisuli Burrhi allowed some British people to use her wealth to build rest houses in the Kumaun region. I was told that some of these lodges still exist, but I have yet to find the exact location. There is a statue of Jaisuli Burrhi in the village Dantu in Darma Valley.

The full form for the proximate demonstrative pronoun, *7andu*, is found in the corpus as a free-standing noun with and without a postposition, and as an adnominal with a co-occurring noun or noun phrase. Many of the examples of the full proximate form appear in a context where the referent was close to both speaker and interlocutor. For example, in (27) below, the speaker is telling me the names of objects that were near both of us during the conversation. Similarly, in example (29) below, the proximate referent is sitting nearby as the speaker discusses her outfit.<sup>13</sup>

- (27) *7andu nyap.*  
*andu nyap.*  
 DEM.PROX loom.part  
 ‘This is a *nyap*.’<sup>14</sup>

T0032: Conversation. 250

- (28) *7andu xir’i jenu nini.*  
*andu sir’i jenu ni-ni.*  
 DEM.PROX boy good AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘This boy is good.’ (Context: he is next to us)

T0042: Elicited 415

- (29) *7andu do r’alen khaxhcu na sut cukhemu*  
*andu do r’a-len khaxhcu na sut cuk-si-mu*  
 DEM.PROX here come-CVB ABL EMPH suit.LN put.on-MID-INF  
*yange lee na.*  
*ang lee na.*  
 ready COP EMPH

‘This one from coming here only (she) must (get) suits to wear ready, huh?’

T0032: Conversation. 379

The full form of the proximate demonstrative pronoun is found in a copular construction, as shown in (30) below; as a free-standing noun as shown in (31) below; co-occurring with a noun, as shown in (32) below; and preceding a postposition, as shown in

<sup>13</sup> The proximate referent is in fact me. The fact that I was wearing an Indian *salwaar-kamiz*, commonly referred to as a ‘suit’, was frequently a topic of conversation.

<sup>14</sup> *nyap* are bamboo sticks used in weaving. The sticks are used to separate the base yarn so that the wool used to make the rug or blanket can be run through. I don’t know the English (or Hindi) term.

(33) and (34) below. There are no examples in the corpus of the full form of the proximate demonstrative pronoun with a plural morpheme.

- (30) *hã ning gu ne ta sapati, 7andu lee 7ayi,*  
*hã ning gu ne taku sabapati, andu lee ayi,*  
 then 1PL POSS DEM.NEUT one chairman.LN DEM.PROX COP extra  
*nee sabapati 7ayi kheju nini.*  
*nisyu sabapati ayi kheju ni-ni.*  
 two chairman.LN extra other AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Then, our this one chairman, is this one, the extra, the two chairman extra are others.’ (The speaker is pointing to a chairman in the room and explaining that there are two more chairmen).’

T0024: Election. 006

- (31) *hã geejimu 7andu gaden.*  
*hã gee-si-mu andu ga-den.*  
 then cover-MID-INF DEM.PROX make-1PL.NPT

‘Then to cover ourselves (we) make this.’

T0043: Woolwork. 041

- (32) *7andu pasu r’endi.*  
*andu pasu r’en-di.*  
 DEM.PROX blanket weave-1SG.NPT

‘(I) am weaving this blanket.’

T0032: Conversation. 020

- (33) *to 7andu gu kar’an jo niju.*  
*to andu gu kar’an jo ni-su.*  
 then DEM.PROX POSS reason.LN REL.LN AUX.EQ-PST

‘Then the reason of this was that.’

T0025: Khiti Phondar. 059

- (34) *thaying gu jamana jama 7andu ma na nini.*  
*thaying gu jamana jama andu ma na ni-ni.*  
 this.year POSS times.LN all 3SG EQU EMPH AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This year's times are just like this.’

T0024: Election. 034

### 8.2.1.2 Neutral

The neutral forms are the most frequent demonstrative pronouns found in the corpus. My primary consultant used *ne* and *nadu* to point to objects of varying distances



(e.g., something near to both of us, something closer to me than to him, something closer to him than to me, something across the room, and so forth).

When asked directly what the difference is between the full and short forms of the demonstrative pronoun, my consultants stated that *nadu* and *ne* are interchangeable before a noun.<sup>15</sup> My primary consultant provided the examples shown in (35) and (36) below to demonstrate that either form can be used in the adnominal position. When producing this pair, my consultant added emphasis when saying the full form by tugging on his pants; the example with the full form seems to convey the meaning ‘these pants here’ (cf footnote 28 above).

- (35) *ne*            *pant*        *ji*    *jo*    *gani*.  
          ne                            ji    jo    ga-ni.  
          DEM.NEUT pants.LN 1SG DAT be.tight-3.NPT  
          ‘These pants are tight on me.’

T0042: Elicited 342

- (36) *nadu*        *pant*        *ji*    *jo*    *gani*.  
          nadu                            ji    jo    ga-ni.  
          DEM.NEUT pants.LN 1SG DAT be.tight-3.NPT  
          ‘These pants are tight on me.’

T0042: Elicited 342

The short form of the neutral demonstrative pronoun is found as an adnominal preceding a noun or noun phrase, as shown in examples (37)-(43) below,<sup>16</sup> and preceding a plural morpheme as shown in examples (44) and (45) below. Unlike the proximate short form, the neutral short form is not found directly preceding a postposition. The examples in (40)-(42) below show the short neutral demonstrative pronoun preceding a quantified noun. In example (42), *ne* precedes *sum* ‘three’ and *pi* ‘four’ without an overt

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<sup>15</sup> In an interview with a similar line of inquiry, he provided the examples shown in (18) and (19) above illustrating that the short form does not appear without a co-occurring noun.

<sup>16</sup> The nouns co-occurring with the short form of the demonstrative pronoun can be in plural form and can be followed by postpositions.

noun. While numerals will be discussed in the section on quantifiers, I will note here that numerals can appear without an overt noun. In these cases, the numeral is either functioning as a noun or modifying a null noun. Here ‘three’ and ‘four’ are interpreted as ‘three people’ and ‘four people’, respectively.

- (37) *ning ne baksa partheeden.*  
 ning ne baksa parthee-den.  
 1PL DEM.NEUT wedding see.off.LN-1PL.NPT

‘We are seeing off this marriage’ (i.e., from the bride’s house).

T0046: Elicited. 003

- (38) *ne lubung ji su tangdi.*  
 ne lubung ji su tang-di.  
 DEM.NEUT book 1SG ERG put.FUT-1SG.NPT

‘I will put this book (down).’

T0046: Elicited. 026

- (39) *7or ning 7aglee sal gu kam gaden ki*  
 or ning aglee sal gu kam ga-den ki  
 and.LN 1PL next.LN year.LN POSS work.LN do-1PL.NPT CONJ.LN  
*7aglee sal le ne barriya dangsu leelo.*  
 aglee sal le ne barriya dangsu lee-lo.  
 next.LN year.LN also DEM.NEUT goodness.LN BEN AUX.EX-OPT

‘And we do next year’s work so that next year also let it be for this goodness.’  
 (=So next year will be good.)

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 110

- (40) *hã ning gu ne ta sapati, 7andu lee 7ayi,*  
 hã ning gu ne taku sabapati, andu lee ayi,  
 then 1PL POSS DEM.NEUT one chairman.LN DEM.PROX COP extra  
*nee sabapati 7ayi kheju nini.*  
 nisyu sabapati ayi kheju ni-ni.  
 two chairman.LN extra other AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Then, our this one chairman, is this one, the extra, the two chairman extra are others.’ (The speaker is pointing to a chairman in the room and explaining that there are two more chairmen).’

T0024: Election. 006

- (41) *ne nee bang r'i ter'e deeje da deen*  
 ne nisyu bang r'i ter'e dee-je da dee-nu  
 DEM.NEUT two place EMPH there go-COND CONT go-NOM  
*na niyang, ne th'in da niyang ne,*  
 na ni-ang, ne th'i-nu da ni-ang ne,  
 EMPH AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 visit-NOM CONT AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1  
*lekin r'aksa maxyung necen.*  
 lekin r'aksa ma-syung ne jen.  
 but.LN together NEG-live DEM.NEUT people  
 'If (they) go to these two places (=both places), then they must go, they must visit, right, but they don't live together.'  
 T0041: Conversation. 106
- (42) *ne wor'axir'i jen sirt@ leelen ju,*  
 ne wor'asir'i jen sirt lee-len su,  
 DEM.NEUT man PL seat(political).LN AUX.EX-CVB after  
*ne sum sum pi pi tinggeen nini.*  
 ne sum sum pi pi tingee-nu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT three three four four stand-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'After this man's seat came up (into existence), these three or four men are standing (for election).'  
 T0024: Election. 018
- (43) *ne pur'a leeni.*  
 ne pur'a lee-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT whole.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT  
 'It is that whole (thing).'  
 T0031: Cuti Gabla. 046
- (44) *xita necen su bamina jen.*  
 si-da ne jen su bamina jen.  
 leave-3.NPT DEM.NEUT people ERG parents PL  
 'They leave their parents.'  
 T0041: Conversation. 093

- (45) *ne jen dor' o wulang wana su*  
 ne jen dor' o wulang wana su  
 DEM.NEUT people LOC.PROX how.much up.to  
*leeni, xhiximu?*  
 lee-ni, xhi-si-mu?  
 AUX.EX-3.NPT study-MID-INF

'In their place up to how long do they study?'

T0041: Conversation. 117

The short form of the neutral demonstrative pronoun is also found preceding the locative noun 'here'. This example is shown in (46). Earlier I suggested that the morpheme that is combined with the deictic root to form the full demonstrative pronouns might be the locative noun.

- (46) *ne do ju rekor'd.*  
 ne do jo  
 DEM.NEUT here DAT record.LN

'(It is) recording from this here.'

T0041: Conversation. 164

The full form of the neutral demonstrative pronoun is found as a free-standing pronoun, as shown in examples (47)-(50) below, co-occurring with a noun or noun phrase, as shown in examples (51) and (52) below, and in a superlative construction, as shown in example (53) below.

- (47) *nadu mangnu nini.*  
 nadu mangnu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT red AUX.EQ-3.NPT

This is red.

T0042: Elicited 155

- (48) *nadu kha lee?*  
 nadu kha lee?  
 DEM.NEUT what COP

What is this?

T0032: Conversation. 247

(49) *ne t'ya langnu mani nadu seenu nini.*  
 ne t'ya langnu ma-ni nadu senu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT tea hot NEG-AUX.EQ DEM.NEUT cold AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'This tea is not hot, it is cold.'

T0042: Elicited 019

(50) *nadu duni.*  
 nadu du-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT mix-2PL.IMP  
 'Mix this.'

T0046: Elicited. 009

(51) *nadu lubang kham su tangda.*  
 nadu lubang khami su tang-da.  
 DEM.NEUT book who ERG put.FUT-3.NPT  
 'Who will put this book (down).'

T0046: Elicited. 025

(52) *guma r'aju nadu mi jen?*  
 gumba r'a-su nadu mi jen?  
 when come-PST DEM.NEUT person PL  
 'When did they get here, these people?'

T0032: Conversation. 096

(53) *nadu lejang mahenga r'ani, "laptop computer".*  
 nadu lejang mahenga r'a-ni,  
 DEM.NEUT SUPER expensive.LN come-3.NPT  
 'This comes as the most expensive, the laptop computer.'

T0041: Conversation. 134

As we would expect, the demonstrative pronoun *nadu* is found in the corpus as the complement of a postposition. This is shown in examples (54)-(55) below.

(54) *nadu r'u mort'u mata.*  
 nadu r'u mort'u ma-ta'.  
 DEM.NEUT LOC chili NEG-put.2SG.IMP  
 'Don't put chilies in this.'

T0042: Elicited 093

- (55) *ge ne lupung 7unglen nadu ma r'iya.*  
*ge ne lubung ung-len nadu ma r'i-a.*  
 2SG DEM.NEUT book see-CVB DEM.NEUT EQU write-1SG.OPT

‘Looking at this book, write like this.’ (Context: Said while pointing to a type of script, e.g., Devanagari.)

T0042: Elicited 700

The full form of the neutral demonstrative pronoun *nadu* is found to be interchangeable with another form *hadu* as shown in examples (56) and (57) below. Based on the corpus and interviews with native speakers, these forms appear to be in free variation. Of the two forms, *nadu* is found more frequently in the corpus.

- (56) *hadu xir'i lanu nini.*  
*hadu sir'i lanu ni-ni.*  
 DEM.NEUT boy thin AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This/that boy is thin (visible).’

T0042: Elicited 009

- (57) *nadu xir'i jenu nini.*  
*nadu sir'i jenu ni-ni.*  
 DEM.NEUT boy good AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This/that boy is good (visible).’

T0042: Elicited 411

Like *nadu*, the neutral demonstrative *hadu* also appears in the data as an adnominal before a noun, as shown in examples (58) and (59) below, and preceding a postposition, as shown in examples (60) and (61) below. In example (61), I am being coached on pulling burrs from wool. The speaker is telling me that I am doing it correctly.

- (58) *had dād jo he koi punu dād mahā.*  
*hadu dād jo he koi punu dād mahā.*  
 DEM.NEUT fine.LN HM.LN some.LN big fine.LN isn't

‘This fine, um, isn't some huge fine.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 079

- (59) *hadu gobi tha ga*  
 hadu gobi tha ga-a  
 DEM.NEUT cauliflower.LN PROH make-2SG.IMP

‘Don’t make that cauliflower.’

T0024: Election. 020

- (60) *to hadu dangsu ge dād dam parryang.*  
 to hadu dangsu ge dād da-mu parr-ang.  
 then.LN DEM.NEUT BEN 2SG fine.LN give-INF must.LN-FUT

‘Then, for this (mistake) (they) must give you a fine.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 078

- (61) *hā hā hadu ma gam parrni.*  
 hā hā hadu ma ga-mu parr-ni.  
 yes yes DEM.NEUT EQU do-INF must.LN-3SG

‘Yes, yes, (one) must do it just like this.’

T0032: Conversation. 160

There is one example in the corpus of the alternative form of the neutral demonstrative pronoun in short form. In this utterance, shown in (62) below, the short form is found preceding a variation of the plural morpheme. In this example, the referent of the neutral demonstrative pronoun is human.

- (62) *ber’a gasu hacen.*  
 ber’a ga-su ha jen.  
 song do-PST DEM.NEUT people

‘(They) sang, those people.’

T0037: Conversation. 006

### 8.2.1.3 Distal

Like the proximate demonstrative pronouns, the distal pronouns are rarely found in the corpus. Both the short and full forms are found as adnominals preceding nouns and noun phrases, but only the full form is found as a free-standing pronoun. Another distinction is that the short form of the distal demonstrative is homophonous with the directional deictic, which will be described below in the discussion of demonstrative adverbs.

The short form of the distal demonstrative, *tee*, is found preceding a noun as shown in examples (63)-(66) below. In example (64), Raju is sitting across from the speaker, but out of her reach. The speaker is directing Raju to listen to a tape by putting the headphone earbuds in his ear. In example (65), the referent, LSB, was in Pithoragarh, a town that is 90 kilometers away from Dharchula (about 3.5 hours by hired jeep), at the time of the conversation. In this utterance the distal demonstrative pronoun *tee* could be interpreted as a locative adverb ‘over there, but my consultant translated it as a distal demonstrative pronoun.

- (63) *tuktu da, tee wor'axir'i mi jen byang khung*  
*tuktu da, tee wor'asir'i mi jen byang khung*  
 before CONT DEM.DIST man person PL Byans place  
*deen niju.*  
*dee-nu ni-su.*  
 go-NOM AUX.EQ-PST  
 ‘Before, though, those men went to the Byans place.’ (=Byans Valley)  
 T0043: Woolwork. 003

- (64) *R'aju tee r'eju r'u xyakhihen than!*  
*tee r'eju r'u syak-si-hen than!*  
 DEM.DIST ear LOC put- MID-2SG.NPT now  
 ‘Raju, put (it) in that ear, now!’<sup>17</sup>  
 T0032: Conversation. 261

- (65) *taku sor' r'u, tee khar'ee nokr'i gada LSB.*  
*taku sor r'u, tee khar'ee nokr'i ga-da*  
 one Pithoragarh LOC DEM.DIST thing work.LN do-3.NPT  
 ‘The one in Pithoragarh, that thing, he does work, (Mr.) LSB.’  
 T0041: Conversation. 072

- (66) *tee mi jen jenu nini.*  
*tee mi jen jenu ni-ni.*  
 DEM.DIST person PL good AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘Those (pointing) people are good/well.’  
 T0042: Elicited 430

<sup>17</sup> The second person nonpast form is frequently interpreted as either a command or a question depending on the context (cf §13.9 for further discussion).



There are few examples of the full form of the distal demonstrative pronoun, *tadu*, in the corpus. My primary consultant BSS stated on one occasion that *tadu* points to something far away; on another occasion he stated that the thing being indexed is not visible. Based on the examples, however, the object referenced can be visible or not visible to the speaker. In either case, the referent is beyond reach. The full form of the distal demonstrative is found as a free-standing pronoun as shown in examples (67)-(69) below. The last example shows the demonstrative pronoun preceding the locative postposition.

- (67) *tadu r'eje r'u t'emunga ge gwama.*  
 tadu r'eju r'u t'e-mu-nga ge gwa-mu na.  
 DEM.DIST ear LOC put.in-INF-EMPH 2SG laugh-INF EMPH  
 'You should put those in your ears, then you should laugh.'  
 T0032: Conversation. 153

- (68) *tadu 7aam da.*  
 tadu aam da.  
 DEM.DIST mango.LN give.2SG.OPT  
 'Give (me) that mango.'  
 T0042: Elicited 322

- (69) *tee tadu r'u pir'aju.*  
 tee tadu r'u pi-r'a-su.  
 DEM.DIST DEM.DIST LOC COMPL-come-PST  
 '(It) came on that one there.'  
 T0032: Conversation. 011

#### 8.2.1.4 Non-Visible

The non-visible demonstrative pronoun points to a referent that cannot be seen by the speaker. As is found cross-linguistically, the non-visible pronoun is also used to refer to an object or person that is known to both the speaker and the hearer (i.e. something pre-established in the discourse).

The distribution of the non-visible demonstrative pronouns *7i* and *7idu* is similar to the demonstrative pronouns described in the preceding sections. Both the short and the full form are found preceding the plural morpheme and preceding postpositions. Like the other demonstrative pronouns, the short form of the non-visible is the more restricted of the two. This assessment may be attributed to the fact that the short form of the non-visible demonstrative pronoun *7i* is rarely used in the corpus.

The short form is found preceding the plural morpheme, but according to my primary consultant, *7icen* is one word that means ‘they’.<sup>18</sup> This is shown in examples (70) and (71) below. The short form is found preceding a postposition, but the only form attested is the equative postposition *ma*. This is shown in examples (72) and (73) below. Finally, the short form is found in a comparative construction, which is shown in example (74) below.

- (70) *7icen*                      *le tan*                      *niju*                      *7icen*                      *le*  
i                      jen le                      ta-nu                      ni-su                      i                      jen le  
DEM.NONVIS PL also leave-NOM AUX.EQ-PST DEM.NONVIS PL also  
  
*pir’an*                      *niju*.  
pi-r’a-nu                      ni-su.  
COMPL-come-NOM AUX.EQ-PST  
‘They also left, they also had come.’  
  
T0041: Conversation. 075

- (71) *seela*                      *th’iju*                      *7icen*                      *seela*                      *kihr’ungjen*  
seela                      th’i-su                      icen                      seela                      ki-hr’ungji-nu  
name.village meet-PST DEM.NONVIS.PL name.village COMPL-stop-NOM  
  
*niju*                      *tuktu*.  
ni-su                      tuktu.  
AUX.EQ-PST first  
  
‘(They) met in Sela, those people stopped in Sela first.’  
  
T0041: Conversation. 076

<sup>18</sup> It must be noted that this is in contrast with the general plural morpheme *jen*, which is pronounced both *jen* and *cen*. In the case of *7icen*, my primary consultant BSS stated on several occasions that it is never pronounced *7i jen*. He also stated that *7icen* is one word.

(72) *7ima*                    *basa*                    *r'u* *7ima*                    *la*.  
 i                    ma   *basa*                    r'u   i                    ma   *la*.  
 DEM.NONVIS   EQU   language.LN   LOC   DEM.NONVIS   EQU   REP

‘Like this in the language like this, they say’.

T0036: Conversation. 005

(73) *ning*   *gu*   *pit@r'u*            *jen*   *su*   *7im*                    *dobu*   *gasu* ...  
 ning   *gu*   *pitr'u*            jen   *su*   i                    ma   *dobu*   *ga-su*  
 1PL   POSS   ancestors.LN   PL   ERG   DEM.NONVIS   EQU   manner   do-PST

‘...Our ancestors did like this manner.’

T0018: Funeral. 028

(74) *7i*                    *jang*   *dal*            *xyunghenje*                    *t'umehang*,  
 i                    *jang*   *dal*            *syung-si-n-je*                    t'um-ang,  
 DEM.NONVIS   COMP   more   sit-MID-1PL-COND   catch-3.FUT  
*t'umhyang*   *7an*            *jen*.  
 t'um-ang            an            jen.  
 catch-FUT.3   DEM.PROX   people

‘If you stay longer than that, (they) will catch (you), (they) will catch those people.’

T0032: Conversation. 345

The full form of the non-visible demonstrative pronoun, *7idu*, is found in an adnominal position preceding a noun or a noun phrase, as shown in examples (75)-(77) below. It is also found as a free-standing pronoun, as shown in examples (78) and (79) below.

(75) *7u*   *su*   *7idu*                    *wala*   *jo nini*   *khar'ee*   *gasu*.  
 u   *su*   *idu*                    *wala*   *jo nini*   *khar'ee*   *gasu*.  
 3SG   ERG   DEM.NONVIS   one.LN   HM   thing   do-PST

‘He that one, um, did the thing.’

T0025: Khiti Phondar. 027

- (76) *hã 7idu baktee jo nini bir' mi su xyaxi jen*  
*hã idu baktee jo nini bir' mi su syasi jen*  
 then DEM.NONVIS time HM all person ERG relative.MAT PL
- jama kharto daden, bir' khar'ee gaden.*  
*jama kharto da-den, bir' khar'ee ga-den.*  
 everyone white.cloth give-1PL.NPT all thing do-1PL.NPT

‘Then, at that time, um, all the people (we) give the maternal relatives, everyone, a white cloth, (we) all do something.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 015

- (77) *tee 7idu bet'ar'a su leesu, lyang.*  
*tee idu bet'ar'a su lee-su, lee-ang.*  
 DEM.DIST DEM.NONVIS poor.thing.LN ERG say-PST AUX.EX-PST

‘That that poor thing said, “There will be.”’

T0025: Khiti Phondar. 042

- (78) *xhungth'am galen, 7idu galen...*  
*xhungth'am ga-len, idu ga-len...*  
 woolwork make-CVB DEM.NONVIS make-CVB

‘Making the woolwork, making that....’

T0043: Woolwork. 046

- (79) *7idu ma gar'tu, jo he, se kilen, rthinglen,*  
*idu ma gar'tu, jo he, se ki-len, rthing-len,*  
 DEM.NONVIS EQU manner HM.LN god worship-CVB dance-CVB
- th'alen, 7ã ne gabla su r'ahen.*  
*th'a-len, ã ne gabla su r'a-hen.*  
 play-CVB HM DEM.NEUT Gabla ABL come-1PL.NPT

‘In this manner, that is, worshiping god, dancing, playing, um, (we) come from Gabla (temple).’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 063

The full form of the non-visible demonstrative pronoun is most frequently found in the fixed expressions *7idu su*, *7idu gu bad r'u*, and *7idu bad*, all of which mean ‘after this/that’. The latter two expressions appear to be modeled after the Hindi construction *is/us ke baad*, which also means ‘after this/that’. Examples of each are shown in (80)-(82) below. In example (81), *7idu* appears in the construction ‘after this’ in the first line, and as a free-standing pronoun in the second and third lines. In the last two lines, the referent

of *ʔidu* is the goat that is slaughtered in the ceremony, which was mentioned in the preceding discourse.

(80) *hã ʔido su, hado ʔalam th'ulen jang, hã*  
*hã idu su, hadu alam th'u-len su, hã*  
 then DEM.NONVIS after DEM.NEUT totem cut-CVB after then

*ʔido su, ʔã bir' mi na rdoxyen*  
*idu su, ã bir' mi na rdo-si-hen*  
 DEM.NONVIS after HM all person EMPH happy-MID-1PL.NPT

‘Then after that, after cutting this totem, then after that, um, all of the people we are all happy...’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 025

(81) *ʔidu gu bad r'u se r'u xya ʔã mala*  
*idu gu bad r'u se r'u sya ã mala*  
 DEM.NONVIS POSS after LOC temple LOC meat HM goat

*khar'ee ʔã sethan r'u ʔidu ʔã be kholen ju,*  
*khar'ee ã sethan r'u idu ã be kho-len su,*  
 thing HM temple LOC DEM.NONVIS HM skin remove-CVB after

*ʔidu lakxya, ʔã lege jama ʔalag ʔalag*  
*idu lak-sya, ã lege jama alag alag*  
 DEM.NONVIS limb-meat HM leg all individual.LN individual.LN

*gaden.*  
*ga-den.*  
 do-1PL.NPT

‘After that, in the temple, the meat, uh, the goat thing, uh in the temple, its, uh, after removing its skin, its limbs, uh, legs (we) do it all individually.’ (Meaning the goat is butchered after it is slaughtered in the temple.)

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 012

(82) *jati punga ʔido bad r'u.*  
*jati pung-a idu bad r'u.*  
 food serve-2SG.IMP DEM.NONVIS after LOC

‘Serve the food, after that.’

T0039: Conversation. 015

### 8.2.2 Demonstrative Adverbs

Following Diessel 1999, I include demonstrative adverbs as a subset of demonstratives (cf Chapter 15 for a discussion of other adverbs found in Darma). These

demonstratives are “locational deictics such as *here* and *there* in English. Locational deictics are adverbial in that they are primarily used to indicate the location of the event or situation that is expressed by a co-occurring verb...” (Diessel 1999: 74). The reason for including adverbs as a type of demonstrative in Darma is twofold. First, like the demonstrative pronouns, the demonstrative adverbs are contrastive in terms of distance to a deictic center. Second, while these locational deictics can be used to modify verbs, as adverbs do, these deictics are also found in positions associated with the category of nouns. (i.e. They appear in an adnominal position preceding a noun or as the argument of a postposition.)

The demonstrative adverbs are divided into two subsets: locational adverbs and directional adverbs. Like the demonstrative pronouns, both the locational demonstrative adverbs and the directional demonstrative adverbs are found in forms that appear to be the base form plus an additional morpheme. Additionally, the directional demonstrative adverbs are found in a basic form without additional morphology (similar to the short forms of the demonstrative pronouns). The distribution of each form found in the corpus will be outlined in the following sub-sections.

### ***8.2.2.1 Locational***

As with the demonstrative pronouns discussed in the previous section, it appears that the set of locational demonstrative adverbs consists of a deictic root plus a morpheme [-duŋ]. Cross-linguistically, the added morpheme for demonstrative adverbs is a locative or a directional affix (Diessel 1999: 31). The meaning of the morpheme [-duŋ] that is found on the Darma demonstrative adverbs, however, is unclear. Like the demonstrative pronouns described in §8.2.1 above, these adverbs are contrastive on a ‘person-oriented’ deictic center. The locational demonstrative adverbs are shown in Table 8.2.2.1 below. A

summary of the distribution of each demonstrative adverb along with examples are provided in the subsections following the table.

PROXIMATE	NEUTRAL	DISTAL	NON-VISIBLE
[ʔandung] ~ [ʔaduŋ]	[naduŋ] [haduŋ]	[taduŋ]	[ʔiduŋ]

Table 8.2.2.1: Locational Demonstrative Adverbs

### *Proximate Locational*

The proximate locational demonstrative adverb, *ʔandung*, locates the place close to the speaker. This adverb is found as the modifier of the verb as shown in examples (83) and (84) below, and combined with the distal adverb followed by a postposition as shown in example (85) below.

- (83) *ge ʔandung yo.*  
*ge andung yo.*  
 2SG LOC.PROX come.2SG.OPT  
 ‘You come here.’

T0048: Elicited. 052

- (84) *hã, ʔandung jo nini ning sar’i song na kilagen*  
*hã, andung jo nini ning sar’ee sang na ki-lagee-nu*  
 then LOC.PROX HM 1PL all.LN village EMPH COMPL-apply-NOM  
*na nihen le.*  
*na ni-hen le.*  
 EMPH AUX.EQ-1PL.NPT also

‘Then here, um, we the whole village only has applied also.’ (Context: A political campaign)

T0024: Election. 026

- (85) *to r'aja su leesu ki ge matlab ji ni*  
to r'aja su lee-su ki ge matlab ji nisyu  
then king.LN ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG meaning.LN 1SG two
- mi gu 7annyay khalen gansu 7adung tadung su?*  
mi gu annyay khalan ga-n-su andung tadung su?  
men POSS wickedness.LN why do-2SG-PST LOC.PROX LOC.DIST ABL

‘Then the king said “You, I mean my two men’s wickedness why have you done, from here and there?”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 021

### ***Neutral Locational***

The neutral locational demonstrative adverb is used to point to something that is defined as neither near nor far away from the speaker and hearer. There are two forms of the neutral locational demonstrative adverb *nadung* and *hadung*. There is just one example of each in the corpus. The adverb *nadung* is found in an adnominal position, which is shown in example (86) below. The adverb *hadung* is shown in example (87) below, where it locates the action of the co-occurring verb.

- (86) ***nadung*** *pur'a khar'ee r'u th'itput 7allya tunglen jalen ju,*  
*nadung pur'a khar'ee r'u th'itput alya tung-len ja-len su,*  
LOC.NEUT whole.LN thing LOC minor.LN little drink-CVB eat-CVB after
- jon jen gu 7allya thorra jo he phahim le leeni.*  
*jonu jen gu allya thorra jo he phahi-mu le lee-ni.*  
youth PL POSS little little.LN HMLN quarrel-INF also AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘In this here whole thing, after minor, a little eating and drinking, the youth’s some, a little, that is, quarreling also happened.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 102

- (87) *kha ga deeni hadung?*  
*kha ga dee-ni hadung?*  
what do go-3.NPT LOC.NEUT

‘What is (he) going to do, over there?’

T0032: Conversation. 092

### ***Distal Locational***

The distal locational demonstrative adverb, *tadung*, is used to refer to things that are out of reach of the speaker and hearer; it can also be used for things that are not



visible to the speaker or hearer. This form is found modifying a verb, as shown in example (88), and found preceding a noun as shown in example (89).

- (88) *r'ida wulang barriya r'ida matangnu tadung?*  
 r'i-da wulang barriya r'i-da ma-tang-nu tadung?  
 write-3.NPT how.much good.LN write-3.NPT NEG-see-NOM LOC.DIST  
 'She is writing very well, haven't you seen it there?'  
 T0041: Conversation. 008

- (89) *tadung kamr'a r'u kitaynu luphung mangnu nini.*  
 tadung kamr'a r'u ki-ta-hi-nu lubung mangnu ni-ni.  
 LOC.DIST room.LN LOCCOMPL-put-ANT-NOM book red AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'The book kept in that room over there is red.'  
 T0042: Elicited 153

### ***Non-Visible Locative***

The non-visible locational demonstrative adverb, *7idung*, is used to point to locations that are visible, but not close, to the speaker and the hearer. It is also used to locate something that is not visible. *7idung* is found modifying a verb, as shown in examples (90) and (91) below. The non-visible locational demonstrative adverb is also found functioning as a pronoun preceding a postposition, which is shown in examples (92) and (93) below.

- (90) *ge 7idung na xyungen ge.*  
 ge idung na syung-hen ge.  
 2SG LOC.NONVIS EMPH sit-2SG.NPT 2SG  
 'You sit right there, you.'  
 T0032: Conversation. 161

- (91) *7idung deej.*  
 idung dee-su.  
 LOC.NONVIS go-3.NPT  
 '(They) went there.'  
 T0041: Conversation. 036

- (92) **7idung**        **su**    *bunglung*        *basseemu.*  
 idung            su    bunglung        bassee-mu.  
 LOC.NONVIS    ABL   name.village   stay-INF

‘From there you should stay in Bungling.’

T0023: Migration. 003

- (93) **7idung**        **khaxhcu**    *bung*            *r’u*    *r’anje*            *r’amu,*  
 idung            khaxhcu        bong            r’u    r’a-n-je            r’a-mu,  
 LOC.NONVIS    ABL            name.village   LOC   come-1PL-COND   come-INF

*duktung*        *deenje*            *deemu.*  
 duktung        dee-n-je            dee-mu.  
 name.village   go-1PL-COND   go-INF

‘From here, if you come to Baun then you should come, if you go to Dugtu you should go.’ (Meaning this is where one decides whether to go to Baun or Dugtu)

T0023: Migration. 007

### 8.2.2.2 Directional

Directional features such as ‘towards’, ‘away’, ‘up’, ‘down’ are not always considered deictic (Diessel 1999: 41), but because the Darma words with these features fit the deictic patterns described by Diessel, I will include them as a subset of demonstratives. As we find with the demonstrative pronouns, which are based on a proximal-distal scale, Darma has a set of directional deictic roots. These roots function as adverbs and indicate things that are ‘towards’, ‘away’, ‘up’, ‘down’ from the conceptual deictic center. The directional deictics are shown in Table 8.2.2.2.A below.

ADVERB	GLOSS
[di]	<i>hither/towards</i>
[tɛ]	<i>thither/away</i>
[ju]	<i>down, downside</i>
[tʰo]	<i>up, upside</i>

Table 8.2.2.2.A: Directional Adverb Stems

The directional adverb stems *tee* and *di* function as adverbs. As adverbs, the directional stems are found preceding a verb as shown in examples (94) and (95) below. The verb does not need to be inflected for tense, which we see in example (94) where the verb ‘turn around’ is an infinitive that is modified by the incompletive postposition.

- (94) *jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phayem budu*  
*jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phaye-mu budu*  
 like.this.LN EMPH HM saint.LN away turn.around-INF INC
- gasu da ʔidu rʼu pha gu du desu.*  
*ga-su da idu rʼu pha gu du de-su.*  
 do-PST CONT 3SG LOC ash POSS mix go-PST

‘Just like this, um, just as the saint had partially turned away, (he—the hero) mixed ashes in that.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 046

- (95) *hã ning nyingtaba bakte jo nini, wi tarʼaf su*  
*hã ning nyingtaba baktee jo nini, wi tarʼaf su*  
 then 1PL nighttime time HM 3PL direction.LN ABL
- di rthing rʼani.*  
*di rthing rʼa-ni.*  
 hither dance come-3.NPT

‘Then, we at night time um, from their side (they) come dancing hither.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 030

The directional adverbs hither and thither can be used together consecutively, or individually in parallel constructions as shown in examples (96) and (97) below. Speakers will use thither in one sentence and then hither in the following sentence, or use

both together in one sentence to indicate things happening far and wide. In the examples found in the corpus, ‘thither’ always comes first.

- (96) *nying da, ne sar’e song jo nini, gubu tee danya*  
 ning da, ne sar’e sang jo nini, gubu tee da-n-ya  
 1PL CONT DEM.NEUT all.LN village HM someone thither give-1PL-OPT  
*la gubu di danya kil(n) nini.*  
 la gubu di da-n-ya ki-lee-nu ni-ni.  
 or someone hither give-1PL-OPT COMPL-AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘We, though, this entire village, um, let us give to someone thither or let us give to someone hither, it has happened.’

T0024: Election. 008

- (97) *tee di da deeni magar’ r’aksa maxyung.*  
 tee di da dee-ni magar’ r’aksa ma-syung-nu.  
 thither hither CONT go-3.NPT but.LN COM NEG-live-NOM

‘(They) go hither and thither though, but (they) don’t live together.’

T0041: Conversation. 109

The directional adverbs *tho* and *yu* mean ‘up(side)’ and ‘down(side)’ and are frequently used to mean ‘up valley’ and ‘down valley’ with reference to Darma Valley. Like ‘hither’ and ‘thither’ these forms function as adverbs locating the action of the co-occurring verb. Examples are shown in (98)-(100) below.

- (98) *7idu su sipu t’al th’am deenje, tho*  
 idu su sipu t’al th’am de-n-je, tho  
 DEM.NONVIS after name.village name.village go-1PL-COND up  
*delen ju, yo r’am bakte, go r’amu.*  
 dee-len su, yu r’a-mu baktee, go r’a-mu.  
 go-CVB after down come-INF time name.village come-INF

‘After that if (you) go to Sipu and Chal Cham, after going up, when you come down you should come to Go.’

T0023: Migration. 015

- (99) 7ō, jyar' gu jyar' na, khami **yu** gyum nini,  
 ō, jyar'i gu jyar'i na, khami yu gyo-mu ni-ni,  
 yes daily POSS daily EMPH someone down run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT
- khami **tho** gyum nini.  
 khami tho gyo-mu ni-ni.  
 someone upside run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Yes day by day only, someone has to run down, someone has to run up....’  
 [Context: He is talking about campaigning for a local election.]

T0024: Election. 024

- (100) 7ido th'ilo th'alen baktee, 7agar' jo mi  
 idu th'ilo th'a-len baktee, agar' jo mi  
 DEM.NONVIS game play-CVB time if.LN that.LN man
- lar' su 7idu th'ilo **yu** leni...  
 la r'u su idu tshilo yu le-ni...  
 hand LOC ABL DEM.NONVIS game down fall-3.NPT

‘At the time of playing that game, if from that man’s hand that th’ilo falls...’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 073

Like other demonstratives, *tho* and *yu* are found in an adnominal position with a co-occurring noun or in a pronominal position modified by a postposition. Examples are shown in (101)-(103) below.

- (101) **tho** t'apal jua de.  
**tho** t'apal ju-a de.  
 up sandal.LN get.down-2SG.IMP now

‘Get down the upper sandals, now.’

T0041: Conversation. 109

- (102) than da mi jen 7ā **yu** khaxhcu r'ani.  
 than da mi jen ā yu khaxhcu r'a-ni.  
 now CONT person PL HM down ABL come-3.NPT

‘Now though people, um are coming from down(side).’

T0021: Darma Food. 023

- (103) gumba r'aju **yu** khaxhcu?  
 gumba r'a-su yu khaxhcu?  
 when come-NPT down ABL

‘When did (they) come from downside?’

T0032: Conversation. 220

In a pattern that resembles what we found with the demonstrative pronouns, the directional adverbs combine with other morphemes to form directional demonstratives. Some of these are based on the physical environment of the Darma Valley and the surrounding area. The directional demonstratives will be outlined in turn below, but first it might be helpful to provide a sketch of the landscape in which Darma is spoken.

The Darma Valley is bisected by the Dhauli River.<sup>19</sup> Some of the villages lie to the west of the river and some of the villages lie to the east. As one would imagine, the near side and the far side of a river is a relevant concept, and not surprisingly the directional roots ‘thither’ and ‘hither’ combine with another form, [ba], to indicate the near or far side of the river respectively. The meaning of the form [ba] found in these directional adverbs is unclear at this time. It is not found in combination with other roots, and does not appear to have any relation to the word [ba] ‘father’. The directional adverbs formed with the directional roots plus [ba] are shown in Table 8.2.2.2.B below.

ADVERB	GLOSS
[diba]	<i>this side (of river)</i>
[teba]	<i>that side (of river)</i>

Table 8.2.2.2.B: Directional Adverbs Type 1

As with other demonstratives that consist of a root and an additional form, these directional demonstrative adverbs are found in in a pronominal position modified by a postposition. These forms are also found in an adverbial position modifying a verb. Examples are provided in (104)-(106) below.

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<sup>19</sup> This river is also sometimes called the Darma River.

(104) *r'an da niyu le tee teeba khaxhcu.*  
 r'a-nu da ni-su le tee teeba khaxhcu.  
 come-NOM CONT AUX.EQ-PST also LOC.DIST that.side ABL

‘(He) was coming though also from over there on the other side?’

T0032: Conversation. 100

(105) *th'am teeba deenu bijat'eme ning mina gu*  
 th'am teeba dee-nu bijat'eme ning mina gu  
 bridge that.side go-NOM woman 1PL mother POSS

*7atta lee.*  
 atta lee.  
 sister COP

‘The woman crossing the bridge is my mother’s sister.’

T0042: Elicited. 381

(106) *ge diba yo.*  
 ge diba yo.  
 2SG this.side come-2SG.IMP

‘You come (to) this side.’

T0042: Elicitation. 409

As mentioned previously, it is common cross-linguistically for demonstrative adverbs to comprise a deictic root plus a locative or a directional affix (Diessel 1999: 31). For one set of the distance-oriented directional demonstrative adverbs found in Darma, this appears to be the case. In this set, the demonstrative adverb consists of the deictic root plus the locative /ru/. In the resulting adverb, the locative is pronounced [ro].<sup>20</sup> These directional adverbs are shown in Table 8.2.2.2.C below.

PROXIMATE	UP	DOWN	NON-VISIBLE
[doro]	[t <sup>h</sup> oro]	[juro]	[?iro]

Table 8.2.2.2.C: Directional Adverb Type 2

<sup>20</sup> While further work must be done with regards to the sound system, there appears to be a fair amount of overlap between [u] and [o].

This set of demonstrative adverbs is a little different than those shown in Table 8.2.2.2.B above. In addition to the ‘up’ and ‘down’ axis, we find things located as proximate and non-visible. The deictic root for the non-visible is the same as we have found with other demonstratives, but the root for the proximate is different. Despite these differences, these elements are semantically similar, and fit the general pattern of demonstratives found in the corpus. With this in mind, they are grouped together here.

***Proximate***

The proximate form of the locative directional adverbs is different from other demonstratives in two ways. First the deictic root appears to come from the locative noun *do* ‘here’. Second, it appears as the head of a possessive construction that does not have an overt possessive postposition. In these constructions, *dor’o* indicates that it is the place, home or location of the possessor. Examples of this are shown in (107) and (108) below.

(107) *na jen dor’o wulang wana su*  
 ne jen dor’o wulang wana su  
 DEM.NEUT people LOC.PROX how.much up.to  
*leeni, xhiximu.*  
 lee-ni, xhi-si-mu.  
 AUX.EX-3.NPT study-MID-INF

‘In their place one is studying until when?’

T0041: Conversation. 117

(108) *tuktu wi dor’o khar’ee kampyuter’ wulang, wulang*  
 tuktu wi dor’o khar’ee kampyuter’ wulang, wulang  
 before 3PL LOC.PROX that computer.LN how.much how.much  
*gu r’ani?*  
 gu r’a-ni?  
 POSS come-3.NPT

‘Before at their place that computer how much, how much does it cost?’

T0041: Conversation. 170



## Up

The locative demonstrative directional adverb, *thor'o*, indicates an upward location. This adverb is found in a pronominal position preceding a postposition, and as a locative adverb postposed after the finite verb. Examples are provided in (109) and (110) below.

- (109) *hã 7idu su thor'o khaxhcu mala 7idu*  
hã idu su thor'o khaxhcu mala idu  
then DEM.NONVIS after LOC.UP ABL goat DEM.NONVIS
- kha mungni th'ungpha jen r'an niju.*  
kha mung-ni th'ungpha jen r'a-nu ni-su.  
what name-3.NPT Tibetan people come-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Then, after that, from up there the goats, what are they named, the Tibetan people used to come.'

T0043: Woolwork. 006

- (110) *7i su le r'ekor'ding kigayn nini*  
i su le ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni  
DEM.NONVIS ERG also recording.LN COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT
- thor'o khwee kham kham gu.*  
thor'o khwee khami khami gu.  
LOC.UP don't.know who who POSS

'She has also recorded up there, but I don't know who all.'

T0041: Conversation. 078

## Down

The locative demonstrative directional adverb, *yur'o*, indicates a location that is down from the deictic center. There is just one example of *yur'o* in the corpus. In this example, the locative demonstrative directional adverb is in a pronominal position preceding a postposition.<sup>21</sup> The deictic center is Darma Valley.

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<sup>21</sup> In this example, *7adung su* was translated by my consultant as 'to here' even though *su* is generally the ablative.

- (111) *yur'o*        *khaxhcu*    *ʔadung*    *wulang*    *sa*    *ʔadung*    *su*  
 yur'o        khaxhcu    adung    wulang    sa    adung    su  
 LOC.DOWN    ABL        PROX.LOC    how.much    much    PROX.LOC    ABL
- taym*        *ban*            *nini*            *wi*    *gu?*  
               ban-nu        nini            wi    gu?  
 time.LN    make.LN-NOM    AUX.EQ-3.NPT    3PL    POSS

'From downside here how much time did it take for them?'

T0032: Conversation. 344

### *Non-Visible*

The non-visible locative demonstrative directional adverb, *ʔir'o*, indicates a location that is not visible to the speaker or hearer. It is found in a pronominal position preceding a postposition, and as a locative adverb postposed after the finite verb. Examples are provided in (112) and (113) below.

- (112) *r'e*    *xhokthee*        *su*    *dee*        *leeyo*        *ʔir'o*  
 r'e    xhok-thee        su    dee        lee-yo        ir'o  
 cow    make.graze-CVB    after    go-2SG.IMP    say-1SG.PST    LOC.NONVIS

'"After grazing the cow, go," I said, over there.'

T0032: Conversation. 268

- (113) *ʔir'o*        *su*    *phani*        *do*    *r'ani*.  
 ir'o        su    pha-ni        do    r'a-ni.  
 LOC.NONVIS    ABL    talk-3.NPT    here    come-3.NPT

'(He) talks from over there, (it) comes here.'<sup>22</sup>

T0032: Conversation. 114

Cross-linguistically, another strategy for forming demonstrative adverbs is for the deictic root to be combined with a noun meaning 'place' (1999: 31). We find a pattern in Darma that resembles this strategy with the set of demonstrative adverbs containing the morpheme [kaŋ], which was translated as 'direction'.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> In this example 'come' is used to refer to 'record'. The speaker is explaining to someone that one talks in the direction of the microphone, but the conversation is recorded to the device that is sitting in a different location.

<sup>23</sup> There is another morpheme [p<sup>h</sup>an] that is found with [te] and [di] to mean 'thither' and 'hither'. These forms are also exclusively from elicitation sessions. Further work on these combinatorial demonstrative adverbs needs to be done.

TOWARD	AWAY	UP	DOWN
[dikaŋ]	[tekaŋ]	----	[jukaŋ]

Table 8.2.2.2.D: Directional Adverbs Type 3

While the adverbs presented in Table 8.2.2.2.D are found in the corpus almost exclusively on word lists acquired through direct elicitation, there is a single example in the natural-discourse texts of the adverbs *dikang* and *teekang*. This is shown in example (114) below. In this example, these forms are found in a pronominal position preceding a postposition.

- (114) *gubu teekang ju, gubu dikang ju, gubu jama su, 7ã*  
*gubu teekang jo, gubu dikang jo, gubu jama su, ã*  
 some LOC.DIST DAT some LOC.PROX DAT some everyone ERG HM
- jama su 7ã jama su rdeelen ju, 7idu*  
*jama su ã jama su rdee-len su, idu*  
 everyone ERG HM everyone ERG meet-CVB after DEM.NONVIS
- lan pur'a ga dangda.*  
*lan pur'a ga da-ang-da.*  
 work whole.LN do give-FUT-3.NPT

‘Some from over there, some from over here, some everyone, uh, everyone, everyone, uh everyone after getting together, will do all of that work.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 030

### 8.2.2.3 Reduplication

As with other word classes, some of the demonstrative adverbs are found in reduplicated constructions. The following example has the word *tee* ‘thither’ reduplicated to indicate that people are being called from far and wide.

(115) *jati galen jang, hã tee tee wixyen,*  
*jati ga-len su, hã tee tee wi-si-hen,*  
 food make-CVB after then LOC.DIST LOC.DIST call-MID-1PL.NPT

*di wixyen.*  
*di wi-si-hen.*  
 LOC.PROX call- MID-1PL.NPT

‘After making the food, then (we) call all over there, (we) call here.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 003

### 8.3 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

There are three indefinite pronouns in the corpus. One, [k<sup>h</sup>ami], refers only to humans, while the other two, [k<sup>h</sup>e] and [k<sup>h</sup>are], generally refer to non humans. The indefinite pronouns that index non humans are very similar, and may be two alternatives of one form. The indefinite pronouns are shown in Table 8.3 below.

INDEFINITE PRONOUN	ENGLISH GLOSS
[k <sup>h</sup> e]	<i>some(thing)/anything</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> are]	<i>something/thing</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> ami]	<i>someone</i>

Table 8.3: Indefinite Pronouns

#### 8.3.1 [k<sup>h</sup>e] ‘something/anything’

The indefinite pronoun for non humans usually appears with the emphatic marker [ri] in the corpus (cf §16.1 below for a discussion of this emphatic). When it does appear without [ri], it is found in both subject and agent positions. It can be interpreted as ‘anything’, ‘something’, and if it precedes a noun, it can mean ‘some’.

- (116) *khee balth'eemu macing tar' su, r'amu tar' su: r'amu.*  
 khee balth'ee-mu ma-cing tar' su, r'a-mu tar' su: r'a-mu.  
 something rush-INF NEG-want.LN slowly come-INF slowly come-INF  
 'You don't need to rush anything; you should come slowly and easily.'  
 T0023: Migration. 040

- (117) *to gunjyal khee bu r'at tho ki wala jen su leesu,*  
 to khee bu r'at tho ki wala jen su lee-su,  
 then surname some clan.name clan up of.LN one.LN people ERG AUX.EX-  
 PST  
 "hamaaree paas hee."

we.have.it.LN

- 'Also the Gunjyal, some Burat, people from upside said "we have it".'<sup>24</sup>  
 T0025: Kiti Phondar. 051

Negation in a clause appears to license negative polarity items. For example, 'something' is interpreted as 'nothing' in the example below where the verb is negative. Negative clauses and how negation and pronouns interact will be discussed further in §13.8 below.

- (118) *khee malee.*  
 khee ma-lee.  
 something NEG- AUX.EX  
 'Nothing is happening.'  
 T0034: Conversation. 006

### 8.3.2 [k<sup>h</sup>are] 'something'

Even though my primary consultant stated at one point that [k<sup>h</sup>e ri] and [k<sup>h</sup>are] meant the same thing, the indefinite pronoun for 'thing' is used in slightly different contexts than the pronoun for 'something' that is outlined in §8.3.1 above.

[k<sup>h</sup>are] can function as a noun in which case it is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, as is shown in example (119) below. In this case it is interpreted as 'thing'.

<sup>24</sup> *hamaree paas hee* is from Hindi meaning 'we have (it)'. The narrator of this text used a large number of Hindi words and phrases when telling the story.

- (119) *nadu khar'ee kast wulang leeni?*  
 nadu khar'ee wulang lee-ni?  
 DEM.NEUT thing cost.LN how.much AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘How much does this thing cost?’

T0041: Conversation. 133

- (120) *bir' khar'ee gaden.*  
 bir' khar'ee ga-den.  
 all thing do-1PL.NPT

‘... we do everything.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 015

In other examples, [k<sup>h</sup>are] could be interpreted as ‘thing’ or as ‘something’. This is shown in examples (121)-(122) below.

- (121) *se khush leelen, jo he ning mala gu 7ã khar'ee gaden.*  
 se khush lee-len, jo he ning mala gu ã khar'ee ga-den.  
 god happy.LN AUX.EX-CVB HM.LN 1PL goat POSS HM thing do-1PL.NPT

‘After God is happy, um, we do the goat’s, uh, thing.’ (Discussing slaughter)

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 004

- (122) *ji su khar'ee toyo*  
 ji su khar'ee to-yo  
 1SG ERG something buy-1SG.PST

‘I bought something.’

T5:31

### 8.3.3 [k<sup>h</sup>ami] ‘someone’

The word [k<sup>h</sup>ami] is found to serve three functions. First, it functions as an indefinite pronoun, the distribution of which will be presented in this section. It also functions as a relative pronoun, which is discussed in §8.4 below, and as an interrogative pronoun, which is discussed in §8.5 below.

The pronoun [k<sup>h</sup>ami] as an indefinite indicates an unspecified person like ‘someone’ as shown in examples (123)-(125) below. The indefinite pronoun is found in the corpus functioning as the agent of a transitive clause, as shown in examples (123) and

(124) below, and functioning as the subject of an intransitive verb as shown in example (125) below.

- (123) *khami th'am pancu, khami xhung r'encu.*  
 khami th'am pan-su, khami xhung r'en-su.  
 someone wool spin-PST someone rug weave-PST  
 'Someone spun the wool, someone wove the rugs.'

T0043: Woolwork. 030

- (124) *khami t'unya gada.*  
 khami t'unya ga-da.  
 someone doughnut make-3.NPT  
 'Someone makes doughnuts.'

T0021: Darma Food. 044

- (125) *7ō, jyar' gu jyar' na, khami yu gyum nini,*  
 ō, jyar'i gu jyar'i na, khami yu gyo-mu ni-ni,  
 yes daily POSS daily EMPH someone down run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
*khami tho gyum nini.*  
 khami tho gyo-mu ni-ni.  
 someone upside run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Yes day by day only, someone has to run down, someone has to run up....'  
 [Context: He is talking about campaigning for a local election.]

T0024: Election. 024

#### 8.4 RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Darma does not have distinct relative pronouns, but *wh*-words are found in relative constructions. While this type of construction is not commonly used in Darma, there are a few examples, which are shown in (126)-(127). The *wh*-words shown in these examples are the interrogative pronouns 'who' and 'which', respectively.

(126) *hã wanlen jo nini khami tuktu wanje, nogdi wannu*  
*hã wan-len jo nini khami tuktu wan-je, nogondi wan-nu*  
 then reach-CVB HM REL first reach-COND later reach-NOM

*mi jen jati gata.*  
*mi jen jati ga-da.*  
 person PL food make-3.NPT

‘Then reaching, um whoever reaches first, (they) make food for the people arriving later.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 002

(127) *kha tyar lya pant’emi leeju*  
*kha gityār lee-a lee-su*  
 REL festival.LN say-OPT name.festival AUX.EX-PST

*tagu gityar leeju.*  
*taku gityār lee-su.*  
 one festival.LN AUX.EX-PST

‘Say, which festival, it was the Pantsemi (festival), it was one ghee festival.’

T0021: Darma Food. 059

Two relativization strategies are found in the corpus. The first strategy employs nominalized expressions to form relative-like constructions. This is commonly found in the Tibeto-Burman languages. The second strategy appears to be borrowed from neighboring IA languages; sometimes IA relative pronouns are used in these constructions as well. Nominalization and relativization will be discussed in more detail in §17.2.1 below.

## 8.5 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘when’, ‘why’, ‘where’, ‘how’, and ‘how much’ are shown in Table 8.5 below. The distribution of each pronoun will be discussed in §17.1.2 below.



<b>INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN</b>	<b>ENGLISH GLOSS</b>
[k <sup>h</sup> ami] ~ [k <sup>h</sup> am]	<i>who</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> a]	<i>what</i>
[gumba] ~ [guma] ~ [gum]	<i>when</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> alan] [k <sup>h</sup> a] [k <sup>h</sup> am]	<i>why</i>
[wude] ~ [wu]	<i>where</i>
[gum dobo] ~ [gumdo] ~ [gum]	<i>how</i>
[wolan] ~ [ʔulan]	<i>how much</i>

Table 8.5: Interrogative Pronouns

## Chapter 9: Possessive Constructions

### 9.0 INTRODUCTION

Unlike the role markers described in Chapter 7, the possessive postposition indicates the relationship between two nominal elements. This is most often a relationship of ownership. Like other postpositions, the possessive marker, *gu*, follows its dependent; the possessive appears between the dependent and the head of the possessive phrase. Possessive constructions comprise the possessor and the thing possessed as shown in (i) below.

(i) NP *gu* NP

The possessor NP can be in the shape of any attested noun phrase (e.g. a noun, a pronominal form, a proper noun, a complex noun phrase). The possessive marker, *gu*, is optional when the possessor is a pronoun. The possessed NP is optional in all of the attested constructions, but it is only omitted when it can be reconstructed based on context. If the possessed NP is omitted, then *gu* is obligatory. Examples of possessor constructions are shown in (1)-(5) below. The first and second examples show *gu* relating two overt nouns; the third shows a pronominal possessor with an overt *gu*; the fourth shows a pronominal possessor where *gu* is omitted; and the fifth shows a possessor, but no possessed. In this latter example the fact that it is the wool of a goat that is being discussed has been established.

(1) *sir'kar'i*            **gu**            *th'am*  
sir'kar'i            gu            th'am  
government.LN    POSS        wool  
'the government's wool'

T0043: Woolwork. 053

- (2) ...*gar'byal jen gu t'ij*  
       *gar'byal jen gu t'ij*  
       surname PL POSS thing.LN

‘the Garbyal’s thing’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 060

- (3) *ge gu xyen jen*  
       *ge gu syeno jen*  
       2SG POSS child PL

‘your children’

T0042: Elicited 349

- (4) *7u wor'axir'i*  
       *u wor'asir'i*  
       3SG husband

‘her husband’

T0032: Conversation. 409

- (5) ...*mala gu*  
       *mala gu*  
       goat POSS

‘the goat’s (wool)’

T0043: Woolwork. 049

In the following subsections I will outline the distribution of *gu*, the various interpretations of the possessive marker, and alternative strategies for showing a relationship of possession. Before I present the distribution and meanings of the possessive particle, I will review the morphophonemic pattern of vowel harmony that appears with some of the personal pronouns.

### 9.1 VOWEL HARMONY

When the possessive particle appears after some person pronouns, there is vowel harmony (cf §4.5.3 above). We find the second person singular pronoun *ge* can be pronounced *gu* when followed by the possessive marker. This is shown in example (6) below. This type of vowel harmony also occurs with the first person singular pronoun *ji* as shown in example (7) below.

- (6) *khami su mabateeju, ki gu gu khatar'a*  
 khami su ma-batee-su, ki ge gu khatar'a  
 who ERG NEG-tell.LN-PST CONJ.LN 2SG POSS danger.LN
- leenu lenju*  
 lee-nu leensu  
 AUX.EX-NOM said.3PL

‘...Who didn’t tell (me) that it was said that your danger existed (=No one told (me), that you were in danger).’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 024

- (7) *ju gu t'im r'u billa nini.*  
 ji gu t'im r'u billa ni-ni.  
 1SG POSS house LOC cat.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘There is a cat in my house.’

T0042: Elicited 1117

This phenomenon of vowel harmony is not mandatory, so it is possible for the first person singular pronoun to precede the possessive particle without harmonizing.

## 9.2 THE GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF [GU]

The most common function of *gu* is to indicate an ownership relationship between two nouns or noun phrases. Examples of this are shown in (8)-(10) below.

- (8) *gu gu dar'um gwaljya ga.*  
 ge gu dar'um gwalja ga-a.  
 2SG POSS door lock do-2SG.IMP

‘Lock your door.’

T0048: Elicited. 024

- (9) *ning gu rthumjya bateya ne?*  
 nIng gu rthumjya batee-a ne?  
 1PL POSS custom describe.LN-2SG.IMP TAG1

‘Describe our customs, okay?’

T0037: Conversation. 041

- (10) *hã khee gu bar'te gaden.*  
 hã khee gu bar'te ga-den  
 yes grandson POSS haircut.ritual do-1PL.NPT

‘Yes, (we) do (our) grandson’s ritual haircut.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 003

It is possible to have one head for multiple dependents. In the following example there is a string of three dependents each of which is followed by *gu*. After all three dependents we find the head ‘purity’, which itself is followed by a benefactive postposition. In the following examples, I have put the dependents in brackets, and the head in bold.

(11) [*ning se gu*] [*ning mati gu*] [*ning bumi gu,*]  
 ning se gu ning mati gu ning bumi gu,  
 1PL god POSS 1PL birthplace.LN POSS 1PL motherland.LN POSS

***poitr’ata*** *dengsu*  
 poitr’ata dangsu  
 purity.LN BEN

‘For our god’s, our birthplace’s, our homeland’s purity...’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 042

Examples (12)-(15) below illustrate that both the head and the dependent of a possessive clause can be either animate or inanimate. In example (12), we find both the head (girl) and the dependent (the clan) are animate. In example (13), we find an animate head (youth) with an inanimate dependent (time). In example (14), we find an inanimate head (door) with an animate dependent (first person plural). In example (15), we find an inanimate head (garland) with an inanimate dependent (money). In each example, both the head and the dependent are in brackets.

(12) [*pahar jen*] *gu* [*t’eme*] *leeju.*  
 [pahar jen] gu [t’eme] lee-su.  
 [name.clan PL] POSS [girl] AUX.EX-PST

‘The girls of the Pahar Clan existed.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 033

- (13) *[pur'ana taym] gu [jon jen] su jo he to ʔalla*  
 [pur'ana taym] gu [jonu jen] su jo he to alla  
 [old.LN time.LN] POSS [young PL] ERG HM.LN then.LN name.place  
*dang r'u dukan le gan lee.*  
 dang r'u dukan le ga-nu lee.  
 corner LOC shop.LN also make-NOM COP

'The young people of the old times, um, then on Alla corner there is also a shop.'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 097

- (14) *[ning] gu [dar'umpha] wan r'ahen....*  
 [ning] gu [dar'umpha] wan r'a-hen  
 [1PL] POSS [door.at ] reach come-1PL.NPT

'(We) reach our door.'

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 021

- (15) *[r'ipya] gu [mala] xyaden.*  
 [rupya ] gu [mala] sya-den.  
 [money] POSS [garland.LN] put.on-1PL.NPT

'(We) put the garland of money (on the child).'

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 005

### 9.3 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS WITHOUT [GU]

There are examples in the data where the possessive particle is not overt, but the expression is still interpreted as possessive. The variety of possessed nouns available in these constructions without an overt possessive marker indicate that there is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in Darma. Possessive constructions without the overt possessive particle are most frequently found with the first person plural pronoun *ning*, but they are also found with other forms as well. In the corpus I find examples of possessive constructions that contain no overt *gu* with all of the personal pronouns. The first and second person pronouns appear in this construction with things commonly associated with alienable possession as well as with things commonly associated with inalienable possession. In the corpus I have found that the third person pronouns appear in possessive constructions without an overt *gu* with the words for

‘voice’, ‘conversation’, ‘people’, ‘brother’, ‘mind’, ‘birth’, ‘limb’, ‘husband’, ‘son’, and ‘hand’. Examples of *gu*-less possessor constructions are presented below.

The following examples show the first person singular and first person plural pronouns in possessive constructions without *gu*. The examples include heads (i.e. the possessed) that are animate, as in (16) and (17) below, heads that are body parts, as in (18) below, and heads that are inanimate objects, as in (19) and (20) below.

- (16) *nying sumpe r'ani da r'angga keexyen.*  
 ning sumpe r'a-ni da r'angga gee-si-hen.  
 1PL brother come-3.NPT CONT clothes.male cover-2PL.NPT

‘Our brothers come, (so we) wear the *r'angga*.’<sup>1</sup>

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 009

- (17) *hã ning xyen jen gu din bar' r'u hã*  
 hã ning syeno jen gu din bar' r'u hã  
 then 1PL child PL POSS day.LN times.LN LOC yes

*jenu leeni.*  
 jenu lee-ni.  
 good AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Then at our children’s days/times (= lives) there is good.’

T0021: Darma Food. 037

- (18) *ji nim r'u th'agu kushbu lani.*  
 ji nim r'u th'agu kushbu la-ni.  
 1SG nose LOC rice.cooked smell.good.LN smell-3.NPT

‘In my nose the rice smells good’ (=The rice smells good to me).

T0042: Elicited 248

- (19) *ju t'im punu nini.*  
 ji t'im punu ni-ni.  
 1SG house big AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘My house is big.’

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 004

<sup>1</sup> This is the traditional dress for men. The traditional outfit consists of a white wool robe (*r'angga*), which is worn over pants. A white cloth is wrapped around the waist, and a turban of white cloth is worn on the head.

- (20) *ning t'im r'u ta billa nini.*  
 ning t'im r'u taku billa ni-ni.  
 1PL house LOC one cat.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'In our house there is a/one cat.'

T0042: Elicited 1113

The following examples show the second person singular and second person plural pronouns in possessive constructions without *gu*. The examples include heads (i.e. the possessed) that are animate, as in (21) and (22) below, and heads that are inanimate, as in (23)-(25) below.

- (21) *geni pu gumdo nini?*  
 geni pu gumdo ni-ni?  
 2PL brother how AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'How is your brother (knowing he has been sick)?'

T0042: Elicited 690

- (22) *geni mina xhung r'en niju.*  
 geni mina xhung r'en ni-su.  
 2PL mother woolwork weave AUX.EQ-PST

'Did your mother weave the woolwork (e.g. rugs)?'

T0032: Conversation. 284

- (23) *ge lubung ʔi t'eme su kikir'n niyang.*  
 ge lubung i t'eme su ki-kur'-nu ni-ang.  
 2SG book DEM.NONVIS girl ERG COMPL-take-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

'It will be (it seems) that girl has taken your book.'

T0048: Elicited. 117

- (24) *r'agu geni gen lan.*  
 geni geni lan.  
 name 2PL 2PL work

'Raghu your, your work....'

T0037: Conversation. 020



- (25) *7ama na geni 7andu 7andu geni basa*  
 an ma na geni andu andu geni basa  
 DEM.NEUT EQU EMPH 2PL DEM.PROX DEM.PROX 2PL language.LN
- 7andu nini la?*  
 andu ni-ni la?  
 DEM.PROX AUX.EQ-3.NPT REP

‘It is like this, right, your this, this, your language is this, it is said?’

T0036: Conversation. 002

The following examples show the third person singular and third person plural pronouns in possessive constructions without *gu*. The examples include heads (i.e. the possessed) that are human, as in (26) below, body parts, as in (28) below, and heads that are things that are closely associated with humans such as birth and voices, as in examples (29) and (30) below.

- (26) *7u wor’axir’i bit’ar’a bor’ kilju.*  
 u wor’asir’i bit’ar’a bor’ ki-lee-su.  
 3SG husband poor.thing.LN bored.LN COMPL-AUX.EX-PST

‘Her husband, the poor man is bored.’

T0032: Conversation. 409

- (27) *wi mi jen jenu nini.*  
 wi mi jen jenu ni-ni.  
 3PL person PL good AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Their people are well.’

T0042: Elicited 426

- (28) *7idu lakxya, 7ã lege jama 7alag 7alag gaden.*  
 idu lak-sya, ã lege jama alag alag ga-den.  
 DEM.NONVIS limb-meat HM leg all separate.LN separate.LN do-1PL.NPT

‘Its limbs, the legs, (we) do it all separately’ (=we butcher it).

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 012

- (29) *7u jenameleng bakte, jab 7u jenam@ni...*  
 u jename-len baktee, jab u jenamee-ni...  
 3SG be.born.LN-CVB time when.LN 3SG be.born.LN-3.NPT

‘His being born time, when he is born...’

T0030: Bar’te. 007

- (30) *ji wi har' r'ungxi.*  
 ji wi har' r'ung-si-hi.  
 1SG 3PL voice.LN listen-MID-1SG.NPT  
 'I am listening to his voice.'

T0042: Elicited 299

#### 9.4 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS WITHOUT AN OVERT HEAD

The head of a possessive construction is not always overt. In these cases the head is derived from the context. Examples of this are shown in (31)-(34) below.

- (31) *hã ning gu galen jang, hã ning gu jo nini bir'*  
 hã ning gu ga-len su, hã ning gu jo nini bir'  
 then 1PL POSS do-CVB after then 1PL POSS HM all  
*dangnu sangnu, barriya leeni 7ido su.*  
 dang-nu sang-nu, barriya lee-ni idu su.  
 be.allright-NOM ECHO-NOM good.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT DEM.NONVIS after  
 'Then having done ours, then our, that is all is very well, after that.'

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 029

- (32) *hã ning gu sar'ee song gu rthang dangda,*  
 hã ning gu sar'ee sang gu rthang da-ang-da,  
 then 1PL POSS all village POSS build give-FUT-3.NPT  
*t'e dangda.*  
 t'e da-ang-da.  
 apply give-FUT-3.NPT  
 'Then (he) will build up our whole village's and improve (it).'

T0024: Election. 036

- (33) *7and@ gu kilju.*  
 andu gu ki-lee-su.  
 DEM.PROX POSS COMPL-AUX.EX-PST

'Hers is done' (NB: This is referring to the fact that I am old by Darma standards, have been married for a couple of years, and have no kids).

T0032: Conversation. 317

- (34) *7atta, ju gu le lubucu kher'i malee.*  
 atta, ji gu le ki-bu-su khe-r'i ma-lee.  
 sister 1SG POSS also COMPL-come.undone-PST some EMPH NEG-AUX.EX  
 'Sister, mine also came undone and nothing is happening.'

T0034: Conversation. 007

## 9.5 OTHER USES OF [GU]

While the general function of *gu* is to indicate a relationship between two noun phrases, there are expressions found in the corpus with the possessive particle that do not denote outright possession. In these cases, there is only one noun phrase present. Here I will outline examples where the phrase marked with *gu* forms an idiomatic expression.

In example (35) below, *7idu gu* can be interpreted as ‘from this’. Note that in this example *7idu* refers to the profit from the sale of the *cekti*.

- (35) *ta kur'u ceki gaden, hã r'angden, hã*  
 taku kur'u ceki ga-den, hã r'ang-den, hã  
 one drinking.cup liquor make-1PL.NPT then sell-1PL.NPT then
- 7idu gu, birr'i tungxyen.*  
 idu gu, birr'i tung-si-hen.  
 DEM.NONVIS POSS cigarette smoke-1PL.NPT

‘We make a little wine and sell it and then with this we smoke cigarettes.’

T0021: Darma Food. 029

We find *gu* in an idiomatic expression *jyar' gu jyar'* ‘day by day’ as shown in example (36) below.

- (36) *7õ, jyar' gu jyar' na, khami yu gyum nini,*  
 õ, jyar'i gu jyar'i na, khami yu gyo-mu ni-ni,  
 yes daily POSS daily EMPH someone down run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT
- khami tho gyum nini.*  
 khami tho gyo-mu ni-ni.  
 someone upside run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Yes day by day only, someone has to run down, someone has to run up....’

[Context: He is talking about campaigning for a local election.]

T0024: Election. 024

In examples (37) and (38) below, *gu* imparts a sense of ‘about’ (cf §9.6 below for another construction involving *gu* that means ‘about’). In both examples it is the second *gu* (in bold) that gives the ‘about’ reading. Literally these mean ‘the gossip of at our festival’ and ‘the one story of your Darma homeland’, respectively.

- (37) *hã [ning gu tjar r'u] gu kangthe le pha.*  
*hã [ning gu gitjār r'u] gu kangthe le pha.*  
 then [1PL POSS festival.LN LOC] POSS gossip also speak.2SG.OPT

‘Then speak (about) the gossip of at our festival too.’

T0021: Darma Food. 041

- (38) *[ge r'ang gu dar'ma lung] gu tagu xhi da*  
*[ge r'ang gu dar'ma lungba] gu taku xhi da*  
 [2SG Rang POSS Darma homeland] POSS one story CONT

*thoyo khijo.*  
 tho-yo khijo.  
 make.up-1SG.PST something.also

‘I have made up a story something about your Rang Darma homeland.’

T0037: Conversation. 032

## 9.6 HINDI-LIKE CONSTRUCTIONS AND FIXED EXPRESSIONS

As with the locative particle (cf §7.3.5 above and §14.3.5 below), the possessive particle is used in constructions that appear to be borrowed from Hindi. In Hindi, ‘about’ is [ke bare mē].<sup>2</sup> In Darma, the *gu* is in place of [ke] and the *r'u* in place of [mē], and the Hindi [bare] remains the same. The structure is *gu bar'ee r'u*, and is interpreted as ‘about’. Examples of this are provided in (39) and (40) below.

- (39) *to 7idu baktee 7u jo nini, t'ampawat deeju*  
 to idu baktee u jo nini, t'ampawat dee-su  
 then DEM.NONVIS time 3SG HM name.place go-PST
- ki ji le dar'ma gu ta wikas gu bar'ee r'u*  
 ki ji le dar'ma gu taku wikas gu bar'ee r'u  
 CONJ.LN 1SG also Darma POSS one development.LN POSS about
- jo nini, ki kuc na kuc jo nini koj gadi.*  
 jo nini, ki kuc na kuc jo nini koj ga-di.  
 HM CONJ.LN something.or.other.LN HM investigation.LN do-1SG.NPT

‘So, at that time he (KP) was going to Campavat, and he thought, "I am also going to investigate whether there is something to do about the development of Darma."’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 004

<sup>2</sup> This entire expression is called a compound postposition in Hindi. In this postposition [ke] is the possessive morpheme. In Hindi [mē] is a locative postposition.

(40) *ne pur'a khar'ee phamili gu bar'ee r'u.*  
ne pur'a khar'ee gu bar'ee r'u.  
DEM.NEUT whole.LN some family.LN POSS about

'These were all about some family.'

T0041: Conversation. 105

## Chapter 10: Quantifiers

### 10.0 INTRODUCTION

There are four sets of quantifiers in Darma. One set is used exclusively for humans, another is used to refer to both humans and non-humans, the third is the set of indefinite quantifiers, and the fourth set is the numerals. All of these forms can quantify an overt noun, or stand alone, referencing an antecedent; some of the quantifiers have additional roles. I will present the distribution of each set of quantifiers in the following sections.

### 10.1 QUANTIFIERS FOR HUMANS

The quantifiers that specifically refer to humans are [gubu] ‘some’ and [ɟama] ‘all’. These forms appear as quantifiers in an adnominal position preceding nouns, and as pronouns without an overt noun. The quantifiers are shown in Table 10.1 below.

QUANTIFIER (HUMAN)	ENGLISH GLOSS
[gubu]	<i>some/someone</i>
[ɟama]	<i>all/everyone</i>

Table 10.1: Quantifiers for Humans

The meaning of individual quantifiers is slightly different when they function as pronouns. In pronominal position [gubu] means ‘someone’ and [ɟama] means ‘everyone’. The distribution of each is presented in the following subsections.

#### 10.1.1 [gubu] ‘something/someone’

As mentioned above, the quantifier [gubu] has two roles depending on the structure of the sentence. When it precedes a noun it functions as a quantifier, ‘some X’,

where X frequently refers to a human referent. When [gubu] appears alone, it means ‘some people’ or ‘someone’. Examples are provided in (1) and (2) below. Most examples found in the corpus show this pronoun in agent position.

- (1) ***gubu jon jen patem kam gangda.***  
 gubu jon-nu jen pate-mu kam ga-ang-da.  
 some young-NOM people shape-INF work.LN do-FUT-3.NPT

‘...some youngsters will do the shaping work’ (i.e. shape the dough into round bread for frying).

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 026

- (2) ***gubu bakci pungmu kam gangda.***  
 gubu bakci pung-mu kam ga-ang-da.  
 some fried.bread put-INF work.LN do-FUT-3.NPT

‘Someone will do the fried bread putting work’ (i.e., put the shaped dough into the hot oil for frying).

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 027

While [gubu] generally refers to humans, there are two constructions where this quantifier is used to modify a non-human noun. Both of these are related to time. One construction, ‘sometimes’ is written as one word; it appears to be a compound of the quantifier plus ‘day’. Examples of each are shown in (3) and (4) below.

- (3) ***gubjya pasu na gaden.***  
 gubjya pasu na gaden.  
 sometimes blanket EMPH make-1PL.NPT

‘Sometimes we only make blankets.’

T0043: Woolwork. 024

- (4) ***gub bakte khar’ee de kheer’i phankxyen tee deen niyang.***  
 gub bakte khar’ee de kheer’i tee dee-nu ni-ang.  
 some time that now some function.LN DIST go-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

‘Sometimes, that now, some function over there (they) will be going.’

T0041: Conversation. 107

### 10.1.2 [jama] ‘everyone’

The quantifier [jama] can be found in an adnominal position preceding a noun or noun phrase. Examples are shown in (5) and (6) below.

- (5) *sud@ galen ju, ning jama mi, 7idu gu puja*  
 sud ga-len su, ning jama mi, idu gu puja  
 pure.LN make-CVB after 1PL all man DEM.NONVIS POSS ceremony.LN
- galen ju, pur'xim gu pur'i koshish gaden.*  
 ga-len su, pur'-si-mu gu pur'i koshish ga-den.  
 do-CVB after shake-MID-INF POSS all.LN try.LN do-1PL.NPT

‘After making (it) pure, we all the men, after doing that one’s ceremony, (we) try to do the whole of shaking.’<sup>1</sup>

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 011

- (6) *jama duniya bar' ju mi mi jen winsu.*  
 jama duniya bar' jo mi mi jen wi-n-su.  
 all world.LN entire.LN DAT person person PL invite-1PL-PST

‘We invite people, all of the people from the whole world.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 004

Most commonly, however, [jama] is used as a pronoun meaning ‘everyone’. As a pronoun, it is found in the subject, agent and object position of a sentence. This is illustrated in examples (7)-(9) below.

- (7) *7ida 7ida jama 7allya sanstha ma gar'tu kilju*  
 ida ida jama allya sanstha ma gar'tu ki-lee-su  
 now now everyone some community.LN EQU type COMPL-AUX.EX-PST
- ning gu?*  
 ning gu?  
 1PL POSS

‘Now, now everyone became the type like some communities, ours?’

T0018: Funeral. 027

- (8) *hã ning khee gu pitr'a r'u xile jen jama*  
 hã ning khee gu pisya r'u sile jen jama  
 then 1PL grandson POSS head LOC turban PL everyone
- jilta, gubu su mala xyata.*  
 jil-da, gubu su mala sya-da.  
 wrap-3.NPT someone ERG garland.LN put.on-3.NPT

‘Then on our grandson’s head everyone wraps the turbans, someone puts the garland (on him).’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 008

<sup>1</sup> The narrator is explaining about preparing a goat for sacrifice, the men purify the temple and then check whether it is okay to slaughter the goat by seeing if it shakes when water is poured on its back.



- (9) *hã ʔidu baktee jo nini bir' mi su xyaxi jen*  
*hã idu baktee jo nini bir' mi su syasi jen*  
 then DEM.NONVIS time HM all person ERG relative.MAT PL
- jama kharto daden, bir' khar'ee gaden.*  
*jama kharto da-den, bir' khar'ee ga-den.*  
 everyone white.cloth give-1PL.NPT all thing do-1PL.NPT
- ‘Then, at that time, um, all of the people (we) give the maternal relatives, everyone, a white cloth, (we) do everything.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 015

### 10.1.2.1 Reduplication

As we find with other word classes, pronominal forms of the quantifier are found in reduplicated constructions. The example found in the corpus with [jama] is shown in (10) below. Like other reduplicated constructions, the repetition of ‘everyone’ adds emphasis; here it indicates that each individual person is made to stand up before the action of the matrix verb takes place.

- (10) *jama jam xyablen ju cekti gan ninju.*  
*jama jama syab-len su cekti ga-nu ni-n-su.*  
 everyone everyone stand.up-CVB after liquor make-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST
- ‘After standing absolutely everyone up, we make *cekti*.’

T0018: Funeral. 012

## 10.2 GENERAL QUANTIFIERS

There are six general quantifiers found in the corpus. Of these, three overlap in meaning. These forms, [ʔalipe], [ʔalja], and [jandab], are translated as either ‘a little’, ‘some’, or ‘a small amount’. According to native speakers these three quantifiers can be used interchangeably, but the examples found in the corpus indicate that each form patterns in a slightly different way. These and the remaining general quantifiers are shown in Table 10.2 below.

<b>QUANTIFIER</b> <b>(human and non-human)</b>	<i>ENGLISH GLOSS</i>
[ʔalipe] ~ [ʔaliba] ~ [ʔalipa]	<i>little, some, small</i>
[ʔalja]	<i>little, some, small</i>
[jandab]	<i>little, some, small</i>
[dal]	<i>many, much, lots</i>
[tuŋ]	<i>lots</i>
[bir]	<i>all/everything</i>

Table 10.2: General Quantifiers

The distribution and meaning of each general quantifier will be presented in the following subsections.

### 10.2.1 ‘little’, ‘some’, ‘small’

As mentioned above, there are three general quantifiers that can be translated as ‘little’, ‘some’, or ‘small’. Of the three, only one, *ʔalya*, is found frequently in the corpus. The word *ʔalipee* appears only in the notes from direct elicitation sessions. It was provided in response to the question: ‘What is the word for ‘some?’ During these interview sessions, when asked to translate ‘some’, speakers offered both *ʔalipee* and *ʔalya*.<sup>2</sup> During interviews speakers also reported that *ʔalipee*, *ʔalya*, and *yandab* all mean the same thing, and can be used interchangeably. In natural discourse, *ʔalya* appears in an adnominal position before a noun or a noun phrase, and in a pronominal position as the argument of a verb. When *ʔalya* precedes a noun or a noun phrase, it

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<sup>2</sup> The alternative forms *ʔaliba* and *ʔalipa* were also offered in an elicitation context.

functions as a quantifier; when it is the argument of a verb, it functions as a pronoun, and means ‘a little bit’. Examples are shown in (11)-(16) below.

- (11) *dād gu matlab hang nini, ki geni*  
*dād gu matlab hang ni-ni, ki geni*  
 fine.LN POSS meaning.LN such AUX.EQ-3.NPT CONJ.LN 2PL  
*7ā jo he, ge 7ur’ su 7allya galti kilju.*  
*ā jo he, ge ur’ su allya galti ki-lee-su.*  
 HM HM.LN 2SG side ABL some mistake.LN COMPL-AUX.EX-PST

‘The meaning of the the fine is such that you all, uh, um, from your side, there was some mistake.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 075

- (12) *7allya jor su pha.*  
*allya jor su pha-a.*  
 some power.LN MAN speak-2SG.IMP

‘Talk with some power.’ (= Talk a little louder.)

T0037: Conversation. 008

- (13) *7u jo 7allya rupyā nini.*  
*u jo allya rupyā ni-ni.*  
 3SG DAT some money AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘He has some money.’

T0042: Elicited 1111

- (14) *nadu'ng pur'a khar'ee r'u th'itput 7allya tunglen jalen ju,*  
*nadu pur'a khar'ee r'u th'itput alya tung-len ja-len su,*  
 DEM.NEUT whole.LN thing LOC minor.LN little drink-CVB eat-CVB after  
*jon jen gu 7allya thorra jo he phahim le leeni.*  
*jon jen gu allya thorra jo he phahi-mu le lee-ni.*  
 youth PL POSS little little.LN HM.LN quarrel-INF also AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘In this whole thing, drinking a minor, a little bit and after eating, the youth’s little bit, a little, um, quarreling also happens.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 102

- (15) *7allya sar'su le khwe pyel na.*  
*allya sar'-su le khwee pyel na.*  
 little deliver-PST also don't.know half EMPH

‘A little bit was delivered also, (I) don’t know--just half.’

T0032: Conversation. 188

- (16) *7allya hr'ungjen ji yangxihi.*  
 alya hr'ungji-hen ji yang-si-hi.  
 little wait-2SG.NPT 1SG ready-MID-1SG.NPT

'Wait a little bit, I am getting ready.'

T0042: Elicited 293

There is only one example of *yandab* in the corpus, which is shown in example (17) below. In this context, *yandab* functions as a quantifier and means a small amount as in 'some'.

- (17) *yandab lan le mani mal pan le mani.*  
 yandab lan le ma-ni mal pan le ma-ni.  
 some work even NEG-AUX.EQ profitable business even NEG-AUX.EQ

'There isn't any work even, (nor) is there profitable business even.'

T0043: Woolwork. 028

### 10.2.2 'lots'

The quantifiers *cong* and *dal* are used as nominal quantifiers and as degree modifiers, when combined with an adjective or a verb. As nominal quantifiers, they are used to indicate that there is more than one of something. Using a quantifier to indicate plurality is just one strategy for pluralization (cf the discussion of the plural particle in §6.3.1 above and the discussion of numerals in §10.4 below). At this time there is no evidence in the corpus that there is an identifiable pattern with a mass/count distinction for nouns (cf §6.3 above for a discussion of the plural marker and a list of possible mass nouns). Examples of *cong* and *dal* preceding nouns with the meaning 'lots' are shown in (18)-(20) below. It is unclear why the emphatic particle *na* is consistently found with *cong* and *dal*.

- (18) *nadu th'ama r'u cong na mor't'u nini.*  
 nadu th'ama r'u cong na mor't'u ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT daal LOC lots EMPH chili AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'In this daal there are lots of chilis.'

T0042: Elicited 021

- (19) *ter'e cong na kholi nini.*  
 teer'e cong na kholi ni-ni.  
 over.there lots EMPH monkey AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'Over there there are *lots* of monkeys.'

T0042: Elicited 355

- (20) *ji dal na t'ee r'ani.*  
 ji dal na t'ee r'ani.  
 1SG lots EMPH memory come-3.NPT  
 'I remember a lot.'

T0042: Elicited 854

The noun associated with *cong* can be moved after the finite verb of the sentence. In example (21) below, the quantifier 'lots' modifies 'Bonal people', but the two are separated by the verb complex.

- (21) *cong na kiseen nini bonal jen.*  
 cong na ki-see-nu ni-ni bonal jen.  
 lots EMPH COMPL-know.someone-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT surname people  
 '(She) knows lots (of them)—Bonal people.'

T0041: Conversation. 071

These forms also have an adverbial function preceding an adjective or a verb. This is not unusual considering that we saw a similar pattern with the demonstrative adverbs described in §8.2.2 above. When preceding an adjective or a verb, *cong* and *dal* mean 'quite' or 'much', as shown in examples (22)-(25) below. Adverbs are also discussed in Chapter 15.

- (22) *ju t'im cong na punu nini.*  
 ji t'im cong na punu ni-ni.  
 1SG house very EMPH big AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'My house is quite large.'

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 005

- (23) *t'up lya dal maphamu.*  
 t'up lee-a dal ma-pha-mu.  
 quiet say.2SG.IMP much NEG-speak-INF  
 'Say quiet, (you) shouldn't say much.'

T0032: Conversation. 111

- (24) *7u xir'i dal na bungnu nini.*  
 u sir'i dal na bungnu ni-ni.  
 3SG boy very EMPH tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This boy is VERY tall (e.g., compared to these other people here).’

T0042: Elicited 830

- (25) *thyã dal na see'ni.*  
 thyã dal na see'-ni.  
 today quite EMPH be.cold-3.NPT

‘Today is quite cold.’

T0042: Elicited 015

### 10.2.3 ‘all’, ‘everything’

As with the other quantifiers, *bir'* is found in an adnominal position preceding a noun or noun phrase, and as a pronoun that can be modified for number or with a postposition. Which meaning *bir'* conveys when it appears as a pronominal form can be derived from the context. The examples (26)-(28) below show *bir'* as a quantifier preceding a noun.

- (26) *hã bir' mi thor'o*  
 hã bir' mi thor'o  
 then all man LOC.UP

‘Then everyone up there...’

T0023: Migration. 027

- (27) *wi da wude wude na deju wi da bir' cen*  
 wi da wudee wudee na dee-su wi da bir' cen  
 3PL CONT where where EMPH go -PST 3PL CONT all thing

*r'ekor'd kigayn nini.*  
 ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 record.LN COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘They, though went where all, they though have made recordings of everything.’<sup>3</sup>

T0041: Conversation. 001

<sup>3</sup> While *bir'cen* could be translated as *bir'* plus the plural marker, my consultant translated this as ‘everything’.

- (28) *min minu bakci mahãje le bir' bang jahen*  
 minu minu bakci mahã-je le bir' bang ja-hen  
 small small fried.bread is.not-COND even all place eat-1PL.NPT

*tungxyen.*

*tung-si-hen.*

drink -1PL.NPT

‘Even if there isn’t any small fried bread, (we) eat (at) all places (and) drink.’

T0021: Darma Food. 055

When it does not precede a noun, *bir'* functions as a pronoun meaning ‘everything’ or ‘everyone’ depending on the context. Examples are shown in (29) and (30) below. As a pronoun *bir'* can be followed by a locative marker as shown in examples (31).

- (29) *bir' kigayn nini 7u su.*  
 bir' ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni u su.  
 all COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT 3SG ERG

‘She's done everything.’

T0041: Conversation. 034

- (30) *hã jo wanlen, sar' sung bir' wanlen na,*  
 hã jo wan-len, sar'ee sang bir' wan-len na,  
 then that arrive-CVB whole.LN village everyone arrive-CVB EMPH

*hã se kiden.*

*hã se ki-den.*

then god worship-1PL.NPT

‘Then while arriving, the whole village, just as everyone arrives, then (we) worship god.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 004

- (31) *nadu ne klir' da bir' r'u r'ani*  
 nadu ne da bir' r'u r'a-ni  
 DEM.NEUT DEM.NEUT clear.LN CONT all LOC come-3.NPT
- nadu la r'u kur'len geni wude r'i dee tar'ni.*  
 nadu la r'u kur'-len geni wudee r'i dee tar'-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT hand LOC take-CVB 2PL where EMPH go able-3.NPT

‘This one this clearness, though, it comes in all, taking this one in your hand, you are able to go anywhere.’

T0041: Conversation. 149

### 10.3 INDEFINITE QUANTIFIERS

The indefinite quantifiers indicate ‘this much’ and ‘that much’. Like the pattern found with the demonstrative pronouns outlined in §8.2 above, the indefinite quantifiers refer to things on a spatial scale. With the indefinite quantifiers, however, the space utilized is not the distance from the speaker and hearer. Instead, the spatial plane is based on a quantity of something.<sup>4</sup> The indefinite quantifiers are listed in Table 10.3 below.

PROXIMATE	NEUTRAL	DISTAL	NON-VISIBLE
[ʔalaŋ]	[nalaŋ] ~ [nelaŋ] [halaŋ]	---	[ʔilaŋ]

Table 10.3: Indefinite Quantifiers

It should be noted that a distal form is not attested in the data. The distribution of each indefinite quantifier will be outlined below.

#### 10.3.1 Proximate Indefinite Quantifiers

The proximate form of the indefinite quantifier often includes the speaker using his hands to indicate the amount he means (e.g. using the index finger and thumb to indicate a small amount of something). In the following examples, each speaker is referring to a small bit of something. In example (32), the speaker is talking about a time when rice was not readily available. Unlike now, where a meal contains a large quantity of rice, in the old days just a few grains of rice were sprinkled in with other grains that were more readily available. Similarly, in example (33), the narrator is explaining that there are two people and a scant amount of flour for making flatbread.

<sup>4</sup> While there are not many references to time in the corpus, it does appear that the corresponding interrogative form *wulang* can be used to refer to time (cf T0041 in Chapter 19, where NSG asks *taym wulang leeju* ‘what time is it?’)



- (32) *ni gir'o put'am 7alang xikama pung ninju.*  
 nisyu gir'o put'am alang sikama pung ni-n-su.  
 two grain rice.raw QUAN.PROX grain.type pour AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
 'We put in two grains of rice (and) this much grain.'

T0021: Darma Food. 007

- (33) *7an da matlab jo nini ni mi nihen,*  
 an da matlab jo nini nisyu mi ni-hen,  
 DEM.PROX CONT meaning.LN HM two man AUX.EQ-1PL.NPT  
*7andu jo nini 7alang da yhi nini,*  
 andu jo nini alang da yhi ni-ni,  
 DEM.PROX HM QUAN.PROX CONT flour AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
*7an su kha lyang?*  
 an su kha lee-ang?  
 DEM.PROX INSTR what AUX.EX-FUT

'This, though, meaning, um, (we) are two men, this, um, there is this much flour, though, with this, what will happen?'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 045

### 10.3.2 Neutral Indefinite Quantifiers

I have found only two examples of the neutral indefinite quantifier in the corpus. In one example it is pronounced *nalang*, and in the other example it is pronounced *neelang*. In example (34) below, the amount referred to with *nalang* is not specific, but indicates that it is a large number of people. In example (35) below, *neelang* was translated to mean 'a lot'.

- (34) *ning nalang mi jen gu t'im bung r'u lee,*  
 ning nalang mi jen gu t'im bong r'u lee,  
 1PL QUAN.NEUT person PL POSS house name.village LOC COP  
*bung r'u, pangsung, hã 7idung r'amu.*  
 bong r'u, pangsung, hã idung r'a-mu.  
 name.village LOC name.village then LOC.NONVIS come-INF

'We have so many people's houses in Baun, in Baun, Filam, then you should come there.'

T0023: Migration. 018

- (35) *nadu r'u 7eek se 7eek pr'og@r'am phit*  
*nadu r'u eek se eek*  
 DEM.NEUT LOC one.LN with.LN one.LN program.LN fit.LN
- nini, neelang cen nini, do na ne?*  
*ni-ni, neelang cen ni-ni, do na ne?*  
 AUX.EQ-3.NPT QUAN.NEUT thing AUX.EQ-3.NPT here EMPH TAG1
- nadu r'u na.*  
*nadu r'u na.*  
 DEM.NEUT LOC EMPH

'On that one by one the programs fit, there are this many things, here though, right? On this one even.'

T0041: Conversation. 150

### 10.3.3 Non-Visible Indefinite Quantifier

The non-visible indefinite quantifier *7ilang* is also rarely found in the texts I have analyzed. Like the neutral indefinite quantifier described above, this form also indicates an unspecified amount. Examples are shown in (36)-(38) below.

- (36) *7ilang khar'ee mani ne?*  
*ilang khar'ee ma-ni ne?*  
 QUAN.NONVIS that NEG-AUX.EQ TAG1

'That isn't that much, is it?'

T0032: Conversation. 290

- (37) *to 7ilang t'oka ning gu, Kiti Phondar gu 7ilang*  
*to ilang t'oka ning gu, gu ilang*  
 then QUAN.NONVIS amount 1PL POSS POSS QUAN.NONVIS
- t'oka mung@har ning g@ dar'ma gart r'u nini.*  
*t'oka mung-har ning gu dar'ma gart r'u ni-ni.*  
 amount reputation 1PL POSS Darma valley LOC AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Then, that amount our Kiti Phondar had that amount of a reputation in our Darma Valley.'

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 011

- (38) *7ilang t'i gumu leesu 7ama su.*  
*ilang t'i gu-mu lee-su ama su.*  
 QUAN.NONVIS grass cut.grass-INF say-PST grandmother.LN ERG

''You should cut that much grass,' Grandmother said.'

T0032: Conversation. 295

(39) 7ã ter'e pandr'a hazaar' 7ilang hazaar' nini  
 ã teer'e ilang ni-ni  
 HM there fifteen.LN thousand.LN QUAN.NONVIS thousand.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
*partibyakti ayi.*

average.income.LN

'Uh, over there (it) is 15,000, that many thousand, the average income.'

T0041: Conversation. 221

#### 10.4 NUMERALS

As with the other quantifiers, the numerals are found as modifiers of nouns and noun phrases and as free-standing elements. Based on the corpus it appears that the Darma numbers are being replaced with Hindi numerals. For some speakers the shift to Hindi numerals is complete. I have many recordings where speakers use Hindi numbers instead of Darma numbers, and some recordings where a single speaker uses a Hindi number in one utterance and a Darma number in another. I encountered numerous speakers who could not count to ten in Darma. This is especially true of younger speakers. Needless to say, finding speakers with a grasp of the counting system was challenging. During my quest to record the numbers, one speaker asserted that Darma had no numbers beyond twenty. This is not true, however. Darma does have numbers beyond twenty, and I was fortunate enough to meet several people who could count, and who were willing to help me document the number system.

Women frequently had no knowledge of numbers beyond ten regardless of their age. One woman explained to me that it was the men who had conducted trade, and only men had needed to count using the higher numbers. That said, it must be noted that one

consultant who helped me with the numbers was a woman in her mid forties.<sup>5</sup> Several older men I met counted freely and easily well beyond one hundred.<sup>6</sup>

As mentioned in §6.3 above, Darma does not have numeral classifiers. This might appear to be unusual considering that classifiers are cited as a feature of Sinitic languages and the fact that some other Tibeto-Burman languages (cf Dolakhā Newari, Kham, and Thangni) have numeral classifiers. It is not odd, however, when examined from an areal and typological perspective. Many of the languages of Nepal do not have classifiers--in fact, those that do are considered to be unusual (Turin 2004). It is also important to consider that the languages of the Bodic branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, to which Darma presumably belongs, are largely devoid of numeral classifiers (Noonan 2003). Taking the proximity of the Darma-speaking community to Nepal into account, that it patterns like other Tibeto-Burman languages of the region is not surprising. That it patterns like other languages of its genetic branch makes the lack of numeral classifiers hardly worthy of comment.

This section will include an inventory of the numbers I have recorded, and illustrate their distribution with examples of numbers used in daily conversation and storytelling. I have found evidence of cardinal numerals, partitive numerals, and ordinal numerals.

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<sup>5</sup> This woman is a widow who supports herself through the sale of milk, ghee, and *cekti*. She sells the products out of her house. Working with her in her home, I noticed that her interactions and transactions are done largely in Darma.

<sup>6</sup> I was told by experienced fieldworkers that recording mishaps are inevitable. Knowing this does not prepare one for the horror experienced upon realizing that a recording has been deleted, or that a battery has run out at a crucial moment. After much searching I found a man who could count past one hundred in Darma. After convincing him to recite the numbers for me, I made a recording. It was not ideal. The man was missing several teeth and jeeps rumbled past as we stood on the street. Nevertheless, the numbers were there. Later as I was preparing to make a backup, I erased the recording. This mishap still haunts me, especially because the man would not recite the numbers for me again.

### 10.4.1 Cardinal Numerals

As mentioned above, many, but not all Darma speakers can count to ten. Some speakers use Hindi numbers even when they know the Darma numbers. Often a text will have one speaker using some Darma numbers and some Hindi numbers. The cardinal numbers ‘one’ through ‘ten’ are presented in Table 10.4.1.A below; there is no word for ‘zero’.

<i>GLOSS</i>	<i>DARMA</i>	<i>GLOSS</i>	<i>DARMA</i>
1	[taku]	6	[tuku]
2	[niçju]	7	[neçju]
3	[sum]	8	[tjedu]
4	[pi]	9	[gwi]
5	[ŋaj]	10	[ci]

Table 10.4.1.A: Cardinal Numerals 1 through 10

While a vigesimal counting system is a common feature of the Western Himalayish languages (D.D. Sharma 1994: 17), only traces of such a system are found in Darma. In a vigesimal system the numbers ‘one’ through ‘twenty’ are distinct. In Darma however, only the numbers ‘one’ through ‘ten’ are distinct. The numbers ‘eleven’ through ‘nineteen’ are formed by combining the numbers ‘one’ through ‘nine’ (or some variant of each number) with a stem that appears to be derived from ‘ten’. These forms are shown in Table 10.4.1.B below.

<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>DARMA</b>	<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>DARMA</b>
<i>11</i>	[cjet̪ɛ]	<i>16</i>	[cjet̪o]
<i>12</i>	[cjenɛ]	<i>17</i>	[cjeni]
<i>13</i>	[cjesum]	<i>18</i>	[cjobar̪ʃi] ~ [cjobar̪ci]
<i>14</i>	[cjopi]	<i>19</i>	[cirgu]
<i>15</i>	[cjobaŋ]		

Table 10.4.1.B: Cardinal Numerals 11 through 19

The ten-based numerals ‘twenty’, ‘thirty’, ‘forty’, and so forth, contain the morpheme [sa] (~ [ca]), which Krishan suggests is an allomorph of ten (2001: 364). The numerals ‘twenty’ through ‘ninety’ are shown by tens in Table 10.4.1.C below. Take note that the numerals ‘seventy’ and ‘ninety’ are different from the other forms. These combine ‘sixty’ and ‘eighty’ with ‘ten’ to form ‘seventy’ and ‘ninety’ respectively. Also, the number ‘forty’ has an alternate form that is ‘two’ and ‘twenty’. This alternative form appears to be a remnant of the vigesimal system that Sharma mentions.

<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>DARMA</b>	<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>DARMA</b>
20	[nasa]	60	[tʉksa]
30	[sumsa]	70	[tʉksa ci]
40	[pisa] [niçju nasa]	80	[jjeça]
50	[ɲasa]	90	[jjeça ci]

Table 10.4.1.C: Ten-Based Cardinal Numerals 20 through 90

The numbers ‘twenty one’, ‘twenty two’, ‘twenty three’, and so forth, are formed as they are in English. This system continues through ‘sixty nine’. Table 10.4.1.D includes the numerals ‘twenty’ through ‘twenty nine’.

<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>DARMA</b>	<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>DARMA</b>
20	[nasa]	25	[nasa ɲaj]
21	[nasa tʉku]	26	[nasa tʉku]
22	[nasa niçju]	27	[nasa neçju]
23	[nasa sum]	28	[nasa jjeðu]
24	[nasa pi]	29	[nasa gwi]

Table 10.4.1.D: Cardinal Numerals 20 through 29

The cardinal numerals ‘seventy’ through ‘seventy-nine’ are formed with the numeral ‘sixty’ followed by the numerals for ‘ten’, ‘eleven’, ‘twelve’, and so forth. Similarly, the numerals ‘ninety’ through ‘ninety-nine’ are formed with the numeral ‘eighty’ followed by the numerals for ‘ten’, ‘eleven’, ‘twelve’, and so forth. The cardinal numerals ‘seventy’ through ‘ninety-nine’ are shown in Table 10.4.1.E below.

<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>DARMA</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>DARMA</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>DARMA</b>
70	[tʉksa ci]	80	[tʃjɛca]	90	[tʃjɛca ci]
71	[tʉksa cjeɬɛ]	81	[tʃjɛca tʉku]	91	[tʃjɛca cjeɬɛ]
72	[tʉksa cjɛnɛ]	82	[tʃjɛca niɕju]	92	[tʃjɛca cjɛnɛ]
73	[tʉksa cjɛsum]	83	[tʃjɛca sum]	93	[tʃjɛca cjɛsum]
74	[tʉksa cjopi]	84	[tʃjɛca pi]	94	[tʃjɛca cjopi]
75	[tʉksa cjobaŋ]	85	[tʃjɛca ŋaj]	95	[tʃjɛca cjobaŋ]
76	[tʉksa cjeɬo]	86	[tʃjɛca tʉku]	96	[tʃjɛca cjeɬo]
77	[tʉksa cjetni]	87	[tʃjɛca neɕju]	97	[tʃjɛca cjeni]
78	[tʉksa cjobaɕi]	88	[tʃjɛca tʃjɛdu]	98	[tʃjɛca cjobaɕi]
79	[tʉksa cirgu]	89	[tʃjɛca gwi]	99	[tʃjɛca cirgu]

Table 10.4.1.E: Cardinal Numerals 70 through 99

The cardinal numerals for the hundreds ‘one hundred’ to ‘one thousand’ are shown in Table 10.4.1.F below.



<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>DARMA</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>DARMA</b>
<i>100</i>	[ra] [tak sɛ]	<i>600</i>	[tuk sɛ]
<i>200</i>	[nɛk sɛ]	<i>700</i>	[nuk sɛ]
<i>300</i>	[sum sɛ]	<i>800</i>	[tjɛ sɛ]
<i>400</i>	[pi sɛ]	<i>900</i>	[gwi sɛ]
<i>500</i>	[ŋa sɛ]	<i>1000</i>	[ci sɛ] [ta haza:r]

Table 10.4.1.F: Cardinal Numerals 100-1,000 by 100s

The alternative form for one thousand is borrowed from IA, but is the only form attested in the corpus. The Darma form for one thousand (literally meaning ‘ten one hundred’) was obtained through direct elicitation.<sup>7</sup> The first form for ‘one hundred’ [ra] is used to count by ones above one hundred. Table 10.4.1.G below provides the cardinal numerals ‘one hundred’ through ‘one hundred ten’.

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<sup>7</sup> As mentioned above, most speakers use IA forms of cardinal numerals in natural discourse. Most of the numerals provided here come from direct elicitation sessions. Speakers provided the cardinal numerals in a counting context (i.e. a speaker would count from one to one hundred).

<i>GLOSS</i>	<i>DARMA</i>	<i>GLOSS</i>	<i>DARMA</i>
101	[ra ʔaku]	106	[ra ʔuku]
102	[ra niçju]	107	[ra neçju]
103	[ra sum]	108	[ra jjeðu]
104	[ra pi]	109	[ra gwi]
105	[ra ɲaj]	110	[ra ci]

Table 10.4.1.G: Cardinal Numerals 100-110

#### 10.4.1.1 *Cardinal Numerals as Quantifiers*

Cardinal numerals are found in an adnominal position preceding nouns where they function as quantifiers as shown in examples (40)-(42) below. When two numerals are found preceding a noun, the amount is a general range (e.g. ‘three to four’). Examples of this are shown in (43) and (44) below. The distribution of cardinal numerals as quantifiers is discussed further in the next section.

- (40) *hã sung r’u r’alen jang hã sum jya pi jya*  
*hã sang r’u r’a-len su hã sum jya pi jya*  
 then house LOC come-CVB after then three day four day  
*nongdi ning su ʔidu gu gwan gan ninju.*  
 nogondi ning su idu gu gwan ga-nu ni-n-su.  
 later 1PL ERG DEM.NONVIS POSS funeral do-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
 ‘Then after coming home, then three or four days later we would do his funeral.’  
 T0018: Funeral. 009

- (41) *ga matar’henje than da nixyu jya na gaden.*  
*ga ma-tar’-si-n-je than da nisyu jya na ga-den.*  
 do NEG-able-MID-1PL-COND now CONT two day EMPH do-1PL.NPT  
 ‘If (we) are not able to do it, now, though, (we) do it for just two days.’  
 T0018: Funeral. 030

- (42) *hã ximi tangkhwe rtholen jang hã cyopi ximi tangkhwe*  
*hã simi tangkhwe rtho-len su hã cyopi simi tangkhwe*  
 then house.god throw-CVB after then fourteen house.god

*rthoden.*

*rtho-den.*

toss-1PL.NPT

‘Then, after throwing for the house god, then we throw for the fourteen house gods.’

T0021: Darma Food. 048

- (43) *7idu su hã ning ngay rtuku pee kur’len jang*  
*idu su hã ning ngay rtuku pee kur’-len su*  
 DEM.NONVIS after then 1PL five six brother bring-CVB after

*ning jyala thoje deexyen.*

*ning jyala thoje dee-si-hen.*

1PL date request go-MID-1PL.NPT

‘After that, then after bringing five or six of our bretheren, we go to ask for the date.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 003

- (44) *7idakhay 7ida ci cyene ज्या kham su ga tar’eyang.*  
*idakhay ida ci cyene ज्या khami su ga tar’-ang.*  
 thesedays now ten twelve day who ERG do able-FUT

‘Now, thesedays, who is able to do ten or twelve days?’

T0018: Funeral. 029

#### 10.4.1.2 *Full Forms and Short Forms of Cardinal Numerals*

Several cardinal numerals are found in the corpus in a full form and a short form. Table 10.4.1.2.A below shows the short forms in one column with their full form counterparts in another column. The list of short forms shown is based on examples found in the corpus; it is possible that other numerals have short forms as well.

NUMBER	FULL FORM	SHORT FORM
1	[taku]	[ta] ~ [tak]
2	[niçju]	[ni] ~ [ne]
5	[ɲaj]	[ɲa]
6	[tuku]	[tu] ~ [to]

Table 10.4.1.2.A: Full Forms and Short Forms of Cardinal Numerals

As with the full forms, the short forms are found as quantifiers preceding the noun they modify. The use of a full form versus an abbreviated form of a numeral appears to be in free variation. The one restriction that I have identified for the use of a full numeral versus an abbreviated numeral is that the abbreviated form may not be immediately followed by an emphatic particle (see Chapter 16 for a discussion of discourse markers and the distribution of emphatic particles). Beyond this, I have not been able to determine a pattern for the distribution of full versus short forms of the cardinal numerals.

In the corpus, some nouns are found with both the full and the short form of the cardinal numeral quantifier. These are listed in Table 10.4.1.2.B below; examples from the corpus are given in (45)-(50) below.

FULL FORM		SHORT FORM	
DARMA	GLOSS	DARMA	GLOSS
[taku jja]	<i>one day</i>	[ta jja]	<i>one day</i>
[taku bera]	<i>one song</i>	[ta bera]	<i>one song</i>
[niçju paltji]	<i>two groups (IA)</i>	[ni paltji]	<i>two groups (IA)</i>
[niçju jja]	<i>two days</i>	[ne jja]	<i>two days</i>

Table 10.4.1.2.B: Nouns with an Overlap of Full and Short Numeral Forms

- (45) *taku jya do la?*  
 taku jya do la?  
 one day here TAG2  
 ‘One day here, right?’

T0032: Conversation. 207

- (46) *ning xyen jen da ta jya de sum cyo pi jyo*  
 ning syeno jen da taku jya de sum co pi co  
 1PL child PL CONT one day at three times four times  
*jani 7idakhay na.*  
 ja-ni idakhay na.  
 eat-3.NPT nowadays EMPH

‘Our kids, though, in one day (they) eat three or four times, only nowadays!’

T0021: Darma Food. 014

- (47) *Jite taku ber’a ga lya.*  
 taku ber’a ga lee-a.  
 name one song do say-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Jite, sing one song, say it’.

T0032: Conversation. 407

- (48) *ta ber’a ga.*  
 taku ber’a ga.  
 one song do  
 ‘Sing one song.’

T0037: Conversation. 030

- (49) *nisu jya xyunga lya ne?*  
 nisyu jya syung-a lee-a ne?  
 two day sit-2SG.IMP say-2SG.IMP TAG1  
 ‘Tell them “stay two days”, okay?’

T0032: Conversation. 210

- (50) *nee jya na gwan gaden le kilju.*  
 nee jya na gwan ga-den le ki-lee-su.  
 two day EMPH funeral do-1PL.NPT also AUX.EX.PST  
 ‘We do a funeral in just two days, then its over.’

T0018: Funeral. 026

As shown, both the full and short form of numerals can appear before a variety of nouns where the numeral functions as a quantifier. The types of nouns found following the numerals varies. We find both animate and inanimate nouns following both the full and the short forms. We also find nouns that are one, two and three syllables long following both forms of the numerals. There are some nouns, however, that are found in the corpus with only the short form of the cardinal numeral. These are shown in Table 10.4.1.2.C below with example sentences given in (51)-(55) below. Likewise, there are some nouns that are found in the corpus with only the full form of the cardinal numeral. These are shown in Table 10.4.1.2.D with example sentences given in (57)-(60) below. This distribution warrants further investigation considering the frequency of IA cardinal numerals in daily discourse, and the fact that not all numerals are found to have a full and a short form (e.g. *sum* ‘three’ is found only in full form).

ANIMATE		INANIMATE	
DARMA	GLOSS	DARMA	GLOSS
[ʈa mi]	<i>one person</i>	[ŋa la]	<i>five months</i>
[ni mi]	<i>two people</i>	[ʈo la]	<i>six months</i>
[ʈa ɕjahi]	<i>one relative</i>	[ni giro]	<i>two grains</i>
[ʈa sɛ]	<i>one god</i>	[ʈa kuru]	<i>one cup</i>
[ʈa sapaʈi]	<i>one chairman (IA)</i>	[ʈa wika:s]	<i>one development (IA)</i>
[ne sapaʈi]	<i>two chairmen (IA)</i>	[ʈa ra:ʂa]	<i>one way (IA)</i>
		[ʈak tagu]	<i>one meal</i>
		[ʈa roʈa]	<i>one piece of flatbread (IA)</i>
		[ʈa k <sup>h</sup> are]	<i>one thing</i>
		[ʈak to]	<i>one time</i>

Table 10.4.1.2.C: Nouns Found Only with Short Numeral Forms

- (51) *hã baksa deelen jang ʈidu su, ta xyahi*  
*hã baksa dee-len su idu su, taku syahi*  
 then wedding go-CVB after DEM.NONVIS after one relative.MAT

*leeni.*

*lee-ni.*

AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Then after going to the wedding, after that there is one relative.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 014

- (52) *hã ning gu ne ta sapati, 7andu lee 7ayi,*  
*hã ning gu ne taku sabapati, andu lee ayi,*  
 yes 1PL POSS DEM.NEUT one chairman.LN DEM.PROX COP extra  
*nee sabapati 7ayi kheju nini.*  
*nisyu sabapati ayi kheju ni-ni.*  
 two chairman.LN extra other AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Yeah, our this one chairman, this is one extra, the two extra are others (The speaker is pointing to a chairman in the room and explaining that there are two more chairmen).’

T0024: Election. 006

- (53) *to 7idu baktee 7u jo nini, t’ampawat deeju*  
*to idu baktee u jo nini, t’ampawat dee-su*  
 then DEM.NONVIS time 3SG HM name.place go-PST  
*ki “ji le dar’ma gu ta wikas gu bar’ee r’u*  
*ki ji le dar’ma gu taku wikas gu bar’ee r’u*  
 CONJ.LN 1SG also Darma POSS one development.LN POSS about.LN  
*jo nini, ki kuc na kuc jo nini koj gadi.”*  
*jo nini, ki kuc na kuc jo nini koj ga-di.*  
 HM CONJ.LN s.th.or.other.LN HM investigation.LN do-1SG.NPT

‘So, at that time he (KP) was going to Campavat, and he thought, "I am also going to investigate whether there is something to do about the development of Darma."’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 004

- (54) *7ulang t’o tak t’o na?*  
*wolang t’o taku t’o na?*  
 how.much time one time EMPH

‘How many times, just one time?’

T0032: Conversation. 091

- (55) *nek t’o sum t’o kileeyo “ji lung kangni”*  
*nisyu t’o sum t’o ki-lee-yo ji lung kangni*  
 two times three times COMPL-call-1SG.PST 1SG back pain-3.NPT  
*la “ji madeeyo” la.*  
*la ji ma-dee-yo la.*  
 say.3.NPT 1SG NEG-go-1SG.PST say.3.NPT

‘I called, two times, three times, “My back hurts,” he says, “I didn’t go,” he says.’

T0032: Conversation. 270



ANIMATE		INANIMATE	
DARMA	GLOSS	DARMA	GLOSS
[ʔaku ri k <sup>h</sup> wi]	<i>only one dog</i>	[ʔaku tʃār]	<i>one ceremony (IA)</i>
[ʔagu darmaçja]	<i>one Darma woman</i>	[ʔagu t <sup>h</sup> eṭrə]	<i>one field of study (IA)</i>
[ʔagu biʃateme]	<i>one woman</i>	[ʔagu gramsaba:]	<i>one village assembly (IA)</i>
[ʔaku baʃa: puʃari]	<i>one big priest</i>	[nixju gramsaba:]	<i>two village assemblies (IA)</i>
[ʔaku jeharu]	<i>one clan</i>	[niçju ro]	<i>two baskets</i>
[niçju paltʃi]	<i>two groups (IA)</i>	[ʔagu sa martʃi wala]	<i>one of the kerosene ones</i>
[cjobaŋ mala]	<i>fifteen goats</i>		
[ŋasa mala]	<i>fifty goats</i>		
[cjobarçi mala]	<i>eighteen goats</i>		

Table 10.4.1.2.D: Nouns Found Only with Full Numeral Forms

The use of ‘two’ before the word for ‘person’ can sometimes mean ‘both’, as is shown in (56) below.

- (56) *gen ni mi phani ne.*  
*geni nisyu mi pha-ni ne.*  
 2PL two person speak-2PL.IMP TAG1

‘You two people (both) should go ahead and talk.’

T0032: Conversation. 014

- (57) *ning@ se gu taku barra pujar’i leeni.*  
*ning gu se gu taku barra pujar’i lee-ni.*  
 1PL POSS god POSS one big.LN priest.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘(He) is our god’s one big priest.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 021

- (58) *cyebang cyebang mala bangr'u gwin ninju.*  
 cyebang cyebang mala bangr'u gwi-nu ni-n-su.  
 fifteen fifteen goat outside tie-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘(We) tied up fifteen fifteen goats outside.’

T0018: Funeral. 018

- (59) *nixyu r'o na lyang lesu.*  
 nisyu r'o na lee-ang lee-su.  
 two basket EMPH AUX.EX-FUT say-PST

‘There will be just two baskets, (she) said.’

T0032: Conversation. 296

- (60) *7õ, hã thaying, jo nini, nixyu gr'amsaba r'u, jo nini*  
 õ, hã thaying, jo nini, nisyu gr'amsaba r'u, jo nini  
 yes then this.year HM two village.assembly.LN LOC HM  
*tagu na tshetr@ samithi kitayn nini.*  
 taku na tshetr'a samithi ki-ta-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 one EMPH region.LN committee.LN COMPL-put-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Yes, then this year, that is, from the two village assemblies, that is, they have been put into just one regional committee.’<sup>8</sup>

T0024: Election. 013

### 10.4.1.3 Cardinal Numerals as Nouns

The cardinal numbers are also found to function as nouns. In such cases the cardinal number represents the number of a pre-established entity. Context allows the interlocutor to discern who or what the cardinal numeral is referring to. In the utterance preceding example (61) below, the speaker referred to two super clans from his village the *yahar' jen* and the *pahar' jen*. In (61), he is saying that all of the people from both groups become one, where ‘one’ appears without the word ‘group’. The meaning is ‘one group’ and refers to the fact that at the ceremony the two clans merge into one group.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Previously there was one committee leader for each village. This year, because villages are smaller, the committees from two villages have been merged into one, and they both share one single leader.

<sup>9</sup> The ceremony plays out the wedding of two gods, Cuti and Gabla. One clan represents Cuti, and the other clan represents Gabla. The merging of the two clans at the ceremony mirrors the merging of two families at a wedding.

- (61) *7õ 7idu su, jama mi taku leehen.*  
 õ idu su, jama mi taku lee-hen.  
 yes DEM.NEUT after all man one become-1PL.NPT

‘Yes, after that we all become one.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 050

Only the full form of the cardinal numerals are found in the corpus functioning as nouns (i.e. without an overt noun following the quantifier). Compare example (62) below with the examples in (63) and (64) below. In the first example, the entity that ‘one’ is modifying is not overt, while in the latter two examples, the noun ‘song’ is overt. In example (63), the numeral quantifier is in the full form, while in example (64) below, the numeral quantifier is in the short form.

- (62) *gen ni mi taku gani de.*  
 geni ni mi taku ga-ni de.  
 2PL two person one do-2PL.IMP now

‘You two people (both) should do one now.’

T0037: Conversation. 022

- (63) *Jite taku ber’a ga lya.*  
 taku ber’a ga lee-a.  
 name one song do say-2SG.IMP

‘Say, “Jite, sing one song”.’

T0032: Conversation. 407

- (64) *ge ber’a da ga lahen na ta ber’a ga.*  
 ge ber’a da ga-a la-hen na taku ber’a ga.  
 2SG song CONT do-2SG.IMP know-2SG.NPT EMPH one song do

‘You surely know how to sing, sing one song.’

T0037: Conversation. 030

#### 10.4.2 Ordinal Numerals

The ordinal numerals are used to place things or events in a sequence. While I was not able to successfully elicit an ordinal paradigm, I found evidence in the corpus that there is an ordinal *tuktu*, meaning ‘first’, and that the numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ can

function as ordinals meaning mean ‘second’ and ‘third’, respectively. An example of each is shown in (65)-(68) below.

- (65) *hã wanlen jo nini khami tuku wanje, nogdi wannu*  
*hã wan-len jo nini khami tuku wan-je, nogondi wan-nu*  
 then reach-CVB HM REL first reach-COND later reach-NOM
- mi jen jati gata.*  
*mi jen jati ga-da.*  
 person PL food make-3.NPT

‘Then upon arriving, that is whoever arrives first then they make food for the people arriving later.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 002

- (66) *seela th’iju 7icen seela kihr’ungjen*  
*seela th’i-su icen seela ki-hr’ungji-nu*  
 Sela meet-PST DEM.NONVIS.PL name.village COMPL-stop-NOM
- niju tuku.*  
*ni-su tuku.*  
 AUX.EQ-PST first

‘(They) met in Sela, those people stopped in Sela first.’

T0041: Conversation. 076

- (67) *neexyu jo hr’usu r’aja 7ando da khatar’a leeju.*  
*nisyu jo r’u-su r’aja ando da khatar’a lee-su.*  
 second DAT ask-PST king.LN for CONT danger.LN AUX.EX-PST

‘(He) asked a second (person), was the king in danger’.

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 009

- (68) *sum jo hr’usu mabadesu.*  
*sum jo r’u-su ma-batee-su.*  
 third DAT ask-PST NEG-tell.LN-PST

‘(He) asked a third (person), (who) did not say’.

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 011

### 10.4.3 Multiplicative Numerals

The multiplicative numerals ‘once’, ‘twice’, and so forth are formed by concatenating the short form of the numeral with the word ‘time’ *t’o*. The short forms of the numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ are found in the corpus with ‘time’ to mean ‘once’ and ‘twice’. Examples are shown in (69) and (70) below.

- (69) *wulang t'o tak t'o na?*  
 wolang t'o taku t'o na?  
 how.much time one time EMPH  
 'How many times, one time, right?'

T0032: Conversation. 091

- (70) *nek t'o sum t'o kileeyo "ji lung kangni"*  
 nisyu t'o sum t'o ki-lee-yo ji lung kangni  
 two times three times COMPL-call-1SG.PST 1SG back pain-3.NPT  
*la "ji madeeyo" la.*  
 la ji ma-dee-yo la.  
 say.3.NPT 1SG NEG-go-1SG.PST say.3.NPT

'I called, two times, three times, "My back hurts," he says, "I didn't go," he says.'  
 T0032: Conversation. 270

#### 10.4.4 Partitive Numerals

There is one partitive numeral, *pyel* 'half', found in the corpus. Examples of 'half' are provided in (71) and (72) below. Beyond the Darma form for 'half', there are borrowed partitive numerals found in the corpus. For example, the IA partitive 'two and a half' is attested in the corpus. This is not surprising considering IA numerals are frequently used instead of Darma numerals.

- (71) *7allya sarsu le khwe pyel na.*  
 allya sar'-su le khwee pyel na.  
 little deliver-PST also don't.know half EMPH

'A little bit was delivered also, (I) don't know--just half.'

T0032: Conversation. 188

- (72) *hã 7ido su pyel geejihen, pyel r'angden.*  
 hã idu su pyel gee-si-hen, pyel r'ang-den.  
 then DEM.NONVIS after half cover-MID-1PL.NPT half sell-1PL.NPT

'Then, after that, (we) cover ourselves with half and sell half.'

T0043: Woolwork. 042

#### 10.4.5 Reduplication of Numerals

Reduplicated numerals are frequently found in the corpus. When a cardinal numeral is reduplicated, it is understood to indicate that each individual in a group is

doing the action, or that the action is applied to each individual in a group. Reduplication of cardinal numerals is used in this manner in other South Asian languages, and may be an areal feature. Both Hindi and Darma cardinal numerals are found in reduplicated constructions, as shown in examples (73)-(77) below. In example (73), the Hindi numeral ‘one’ is repeated to indicate that each man makes the successful contestant drink. A similar construction is found using a Darma numeral, as shown in (74).

- (73) *phunglo ʔangmu gu bad, mi jen khu ganje*  
*phunglo ang-mu gu bad, mi jen khus ga-n-je*  
 rock lift-INF DAT after.LN man PL happy.LN do-1PL-COND
- ʔeek ʔeek mar'ti dar'u pileeda.*  
*eek eek mar'ti dar'u pilee-da.*  
 one.LN one.LN beer liquor make.drink-3.NPT

‘After the lifting of the rock, if the men are pleased, then they each make him drink beer (the rock lifter).’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 058

- (74) *ning gu pi pi t'yapya pamu.*  
*ning gu pi pi t'yapya pa-mu.*  
 1PL POSS four four small.pot contribute-INF

‘(We) should each give our four measures.’

T0042: Elicited 223

In example (75), the reduplicated numeral appears as a short form plus a full form of the numeral.

- (75) *tuktu ning gu ta tagu r'u gr'amsaba*  
*tuktu ning gu taku taku r'u gr'amsaba*  
 before 1PL POSS one one LOC village.assembly.LN
- ta tagu na niju.*  
*taku taku na ni-su.*  
 one one EMPH AUX.EQ-PST

‘Before, in our one one assemblies was one one only’ (Meaning: Before each of our assemblies was separate only).

T0024: Election. 014

In this next example (76) the reduplicated number ‘fifteen’ means that each individual funeral was fifteen days long.

- (76) *tuktu jya da cyebang cyebang jya gwan leen niju*  
 tuktu jya da cyebang cyebang jya gwan lee-nu ni-su  
 before day CONT fifteen fifteen day funeral AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-PST  
*ʔidakhay da nee jya na gwan nini ʔidakhay da.*  
 idakhay da nee jya na gwan ni-ni idakhay da.  
 nowadays CONT two day EMPH funeral AUX.EQ-3.NPT nowadays CONT  
 ‘The before days (=in the olden days) though, each funeral would be fifteen days, nowadays, though, a funeral is just two days, nowadays though.’

T0018: Funeral. 025

In example (77), we find two cases of reduplication. The first is includes two numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ indicating that the number of vessels being drunk is not exact. The second instance involves the reduplication of the number ‘one’, which is modifying the doer of the action.

- (77) *hã [nee nee sum sum ʔankur’a cyekti] [ta ta mi]*  
 hã [nisu nisyu sum sum ankur’a cekti] [taku taku mi]  
 then [two two three three vessel.LN liquor] [one one person]  
*na xir’n niju*  
 na sir’-nu ni-su  
 EMPH guzzle-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Then, each two to three vessels of *cekti*, each person guzzled.’

T0018: Funeral. 013

## Chapter 11: Adjectives and Adjective Modifiers

### 11.0 INTRODUCTION

Adjectives are found in an attributive position preceding the nouns they modify and in predicative position preceding a verb. Darma has two classes of adjective: those that are basic, and those that are derived from verb stems. Additionally, adjectives borrowed from IA are found frequently in the corpus. Darma adjectives are not inflected for gender or number. This includes the adjectives that have been borrowed from IA (even if the borrowed adjective would have been inflected in IA). Adjectives are modified with adverbial intensifiers, which precede the adjective. The presence of adjective modifiers is the basis for proposing that there is an adjective phrase in Darma (ADJP → INTENSIFIER ADJ\*, where \* indicates that more than one phrasal head is licensed). There is minimal evidence in the corpus that more than one adjective is licensed in an adjective phrase, but this needs to be investigated further. In the following sections, I will outline each type of adjective and its distribution, and briefly discuss the intensifiers used to modify adjectives. Finally, I will outline comparative and superlative constructions.

### 11.1 BASIC ADJECTIVES

The basic adjectives in Darma are a limited set, which cover a wide range of semantic domains. Dixon (1977) describes semantic domains such as dimension, color, and value, which are frequently conveyed through the class of adjectives. He also describes other properties that might be expressed through adjectives such as position, physical property, human propensity, and speed. The basic adjectives found in Darma can be classified as members of several semantic domains (e.g. dimension, physical property,



human propensity, and value). These basic forms are shown in Table 11.1 below. Some of these adjectives were obtained through direct elicitation; thus, these forms have no illustrative examples from natural discourse. Additionally, there is evidence that some of these forms may also function as nouns. As we will see below, many of the borrowed adjectives found in the corpus also appear to have a nominal capacity. It may be the case that Darma does not have true adjectives, but this needs to be further investigated, especially in light of recent cross-linguistic research that indicates the class adjectives exists in all languages (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2004).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is not unusual for languages that are described as lacking the word class ‘adjective’ to have descriptive words that are classified as nouns or verbs. It may be the case that in Darma descriptive words are either nouns or verb stems with the nominalizer suffix (to be discussed in §11.2). Until further evidence supports this, however, I will consider adjective to be a valid word class in Darma.

DARMA	GLOSS
[ʔakro]	<i>expensive</i>
[hagu] / [gab]	<i>quiet</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> ɛʝu]	<i>different</i>
[loksa]	<i>steep</i>
[harsu]	<i>happy</i>
[χis] ~ [χisu]	<i>angry</i>
[saru]	<i>hard</i>
[xjaŋ]	<i>big/great</i>
[xjokoma]	<i>sweet/nice</i>
[gondu]	<i>round</i>

Table 11.1: Basic Adjectives

The adjectives in Table 11.1 are the only basic adjectives that I have found in the corpus. Other words denoting property concepts are formed by combining a root with the nominaler suffix (e.g. *mangnu* ‘red’ is formed from *mang* ‘be angry’ and *-nu* the nominalizer morpheme--this is discussed later in the chapter). In the following subsections, I will provide examples of these basic adjectives functioning as modifiers in attributive and predicative positions.

### 11.1.1 Attributive Position

As mentioned above, the basic adjectives appear rarely in the natural discourse. As such, there are only two examples of basic adjectives in an attributive position. These are shown in (1) and (2) below. The adjective *xyang* is also found preceding the word *se* ‘god’, but this combination refers to a specific god not just the concept of a ‘big god’.

- (1) *jon jen khej@ na 7ã punu mi jen kheju bang,*  
 jon jen kheju na ã punu mi jen kheju bang,  
 youth PL different EMPH HM big man PL different place
- 7idu gu bad, jama leem gu bad, mi jen jama*  
 idu gu bad, jama lee-mu gu bad, mi jen jama  
 DEM.NONVIS after.LN all AUX.EX-INF after.LN man PL all
- r'i se yeja kur'ta.*  
 r'i se yeja kur'-da.  
 EMPH god guest bring-3.NPT

‘The youth (are) different, uh, the big people (are in) a different place, after that, after all the happening, the men absolutely everyone brings the guests to god (the temple).’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 067

- (2) *xyang bakte, hã, than da lan le matanghi.*  
 syang baktee, hã, than da lan le ma-tang-hi.  
 big time yes now CONT work also NEG-available-1SG.NPT

‘During the big time (golden years), yes, now though work isn't even available.’

T0043: Woolwork. 070

### 11.1.2 Predicative Position

The basic adjectives are rarely found in a predicative position. As with the attributive position described in the preceding section, the paucity of examples is largely due to the infrequent use of the basic Darma adjectives. The few examples found in the corpus are shown in (3)-(5) below. As we will see in the following sections, the derived adjectives and the IA borrowings are used more frequently.

- (3) *ne 7am loksa nini.*  
 ne am loksa nini.  
 DEM.NEUT path steep AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This path is steep.’

T0042: Elicitation. 878

- (4) *7o xhis nini.*  
 u xhisu nini.  
 3SG angry AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘He is angry.’

Adjective Elicitation

- (5) *dangto dan jen keju na leeju.*  
*dangto dan jen keju na lee-su.*  
 name.village name.village PL different EMPH AUX.EX-PST

‘The village Dantu, the Dantu people were different.’<sup>2</sup>

T0023: Migration. 014

## 11.2 DERIVED ADJECTIVES

As indicated in the previous sections, most of the words in Darma that function as adjectives are derived. These adjectives are formed by combining the nominalizer suffix, *-nu*, with a range of roots. While the roots found in derived adjectives are frequently stative verb stems, not all of the root forms are productive verbs. As such, it not possible to make the claim that these forms are all VSTEM + *-nu* (cf §§13.6 and 17.2 for further discussion of nominalized forms and constructions). While it is the case that the nominalizer suffix can attach to any verb stem in certain constructions, those nominalized forms that function as adjectives are most commonly stative verbs. Some of these derived adjectives are entered into the dictionary as individual words (e.g. the color terms *mangnu* ‘red’, *womnu* ‘black’, *xinu* ‘white’, *tungnu* ‘green’). This is generally because an associated stative verb does not appear elsewhere in the corpus (or if there is a stative verb attested, it is rarely used).

### 11.2.1 Attributive Position

Adjectives derived by combining a root with the nominalizer morpheme are found preceding the noun they modify. Examples in this position are shown in (6)-(10) below.

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<sup>2</sup> The speaker is offering advice on how to visit the Darma Valley. He has suggested a stay in Duktu, which is a village next to Dantu. As an afterthought he recommends going to Dantu, and from there going to the village Go. Here is is clarifying that Duktu and Dantu are different villages.

- (6) *gubjya path'ir'a gaden lanu path'ir'a gaden*  
*gubjya path'ir'a ga-den la-nu path'ir'a ga-den*  
 sometimes shawl make-1PL.NPT thin-NOM shawl make-1PL.NPT
- korto gaden.*  
*korto ga-den.*  
 coat.LN go-1PL.NPT
- ‘Sometimes (we) make shawls, (we) make thin shawls (and we) make coats.’  
 T0043: Woolwork. 060

- (7) *ju gu punu t'im kikokcu.*  
*ji gu pu-nu t'im ki-kok-su.*  
 1SG POSS big-NOM house COMPL-collapse-PST
- ‘My big house collapsed.’  
 T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 007

- (8) *punu lama pir'an nini.*  
*pu-nu lama pi-r'a-nu ni-ni.*  
 big-NOM priest COMPL-come-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT
- ‘The big priest has come.’  
 T0024: Election. 012

- (9) *jen jya le marti gam parni, dar'u gam*  
*je-nu jya le mar'ti ga-mu parr-ni, dar'u ga-mu*  
 good-NOM day also beer make-INF must.LN-3.NPT liquor make-INF
- parrni, jenu jya r'aje, 7ã 7idu na*  
*parr-ni, je-nu jya r'a-je, ã idu na*  
 must.LN-3.NPT good-NOM day come-COND HM DEM.NONVIS EMPH
- damu parrni.*  
*da-mu parr-ni.*  
 give-INF must.LN-3.NPT
- ‘Beer must be made on good days also, liquor must be made, when a good day comes, um, this must be given.’  
 T0021:035

- (10) *7alo laphu junu lungba...*  
*alo laphu ju-nu lungba...*  
 potato.LN radish grow-NOM place
- ‘The potatoes and radishes growing place...’  
 T0040: Song: Remember Darma. 014

Derived adjectives are also found followed by *mi* ‘man’ or ‘person’. The STEM-*nu mi* construction when the verb stem is transitive has an agentive meaning such as ‘the one

who does STEM'. Examples are shown in (11)-(15) below. These forms are highly productive; they will be discussed again in §17.2.1 below.

- (11) *r'am kangnu mi lee.*  
           kang-nu mi lee.  
 name ill-NOM person COP  
 'Ram is a sick person (= invalid).'

T0047: Elicitation. 004

- (12) *nu xhenu mi.*  
 nu xhe-nu mi.  
 milk bring-NOM person  
 'milkman/milk bringing person/the person who brings milk'

T0042: sentences elicited 583

- (13) *ti xhenu mi.*  
 ti xhe-nu mi.  
 water bring-NOM man  
 'waterboy/water bringing person/the person who brings water'

T0042: sentences elicited 585

- (14) *gwanu ga-nu mi.*  
 gwa-nu ga-nu mi.  
 laugh-NOM make-NOM person  
 'comedian/laughing making person/the person who makes laughing'

T0048: Elicited. 041

- (15) *than 7idakhay da ning da, jonu mi jen leenju.*  
 than idakhay da ning da, jo-nu mi jen lee-n-su.  
 now thesedays CONT 1PL CONT young-NOM person PL AUX.EX-1PL-PST  
 'Now, thesedays, though, we though, were young people.'

T0018: Funeral. 029

While the nominalized form is frequently followed by the noun *mi* 'man', sometimes the IA word *wala* 'one' is used instead.

- (16) *than gu gu phayhen wala wan dyang.*  
 than ge gu pha-si-nu wala wan dee-ang  
 now 2SG POSS talk-ANT-NOM one.LN reach go-FUT

'Now your talking one will reach (there).' (Context: Referring to a recording.)

T0034: Conversation.011

- (17) *dar'cula xyungnu wala jen niyang.*  
 syung-nu wala jen ni-ang.  
 name.town sit-NOM one.LN PL AUX.EQ-FUT

‘(They) will be the people who live in Dharchula (= They must live in Dharchula).’

T0032: Conversation. 125

Derived adjectives can also be compounded to form a new adjective. In the example below both *lanu* and *penu* refer to knowing information--using the two together, as in *lanu penu* below, means ‘wise’. This does not appear to be a productive process.

- (18) *dar'ma ju jo nini lejang manajana jo nini, gadi*  
 dar'ma jo jo nini lejang manajana jo nini, gadi  
 Darma DAT HM SUPER famous.LN HM motherland
- ji mi jo nini, khar'a wala lejang lanu penu*  
 ji mi jo nini, khar'a wala lejang la-nu pe-nu  
 1SG person HM that one.LN SUPER know-NOM know-NOM
- rderra kiti phondar leju.*  
 rderra lee-su.  
 old.man name AUX.EX-PST

‘From Darma, um, the most famous, um, the motherland, my people (Darma), um, (compared to) that one, Kiti Phondar was the wisest old man.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 001

Two adjectives are also found without a compound meaning. In the following example both adjectives ‘fat’ and ‘tight’ modify the noun ‘rug’.

- (19) *than [bulnu gangnu byam] na gaden.*  
 than [bulnu gangnu byam] na ga-den.  
 now [fat tight rug] EMPH make-1PL.NPT

‘Now (we) make fat, tight rugs only.’ (NB: Fat, tight rugs are not considered high quality weaving.)

T0043: Woolwork. 023

As mentioned above, the root found in some of the derived adjectives is not found in the corpus as a productive morpheme (i.e., it is not found as a verb stem as are the roots of many derived adjectives). For example, the adjectives ‘old’ and ‘new’ in the

following example are derived from the roots *wi* and *nyu* respectively. Neither root, however, is found in any other form in the corpus.<sup>3</sup>

- (20) *7idakhay da jo nini, winu rthum taju nyunu rthum*  
*idakhay da jo nini, winu rthum ta-su nyunu rthum*  
 thesedays CONT HM old tradition go-PST new tradition
- than, than than da, 7ã than da sar'at leeni*  
*than, than than da, ã than da sar'at lee-ni*  
 now now now CONT HM now CONT funeral.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT
- ta ta jya xicye nyangjya na 7ã*  
*taku taku jya siji-je ningjya na ã*  
 one one day die-COND day.after.tomorrow EMPH HM
- ningjya na pangden.*  
*ningjya na pang-den.*  
 day.after.tomorrow EMPH send-1PL.NPT

‘Nowadays, though, that is, the old traditions have gone (and) new traditions, now, now, now though, um, now though there is a funeral. If (one) dies one one day, two days after that only, um, two days later only (we) send (them).’

T0018: Funeral. 024

### 11.2.2 Predicative Position

The most frequent placement of derived adjectives is in a predicative position preceding an auxiliary verb, as shown in examples (21)-(22) below. Nominalized forms in this position will be discussed further in Chapter 16.

- (21) *wor'axir'i jenu nini.*  
*wor'asir'i je-nu ni-ni.*  
 husband good-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘(Your) husband is good (= nice).’

T0032: Conversation. 376

<sup>3</sup> There is a transitive verb *wi* meaning ‘invite’ or ‘call’ found in the corpus, but it does not appear to be related to the word for ‘old’. Based on the pattern found for many of the other adjectives, one would expect to find stative intransitive verbs meaning ‘be old’ and ‘be new’. For example, we find the stem *pu* ‘be big’ in utterances with the nominalizer suffix functioning as a derived adjective meaning ‘big’ and inflected with the meaning ‘be big.’



- (22) *ju t'im punu nini.*  
*ji t'im punu ni-ni.*  
 1SG house big-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'My house is big.'

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 004

Derived adjectives are also found preceding a verb that is not an auxiliary as shown in example (23) below. In this position, these derived forms appear to be functioning as adverbs.

- (23) *hã dugtu le wi gu bister' jenu na gada.*  
*hã le wi gu bister' je-nu na ga-da.*  
 then name.village also 3PL POSS bed.LN good-NOM EMPH make-3.NPT

'Then Dugtu also, their bed is made nice even.'

T0023: Migration. 010

### 11.3 BORROWED ADJECTIVES

In addition to the adjectives described thus far, there are a number of adjectives that are borrowed from IA. These borrowed forms are used frequently in discourse. Table 11.3 below includes a summary of these borrowed words. Whenever the borrowed form also has a corresponding Darma word, the Darma word is also included in the table.

IA BORROWING	ENGLISH	OTHER DARMA WORD
[ʔacc <sup>h</sup> a]	good	[ʃenu]
[ʔagla:]	next	-----
[baɾ <sup>h</sup> ija:]	good	[ʃenu]
[baɾa:]	big	[punu]
[betab]	eager	-----
[biʃeʃ]	special	-----
[har]	every	-----
[k <sup>h</sup> a:l] ~ [k <sup>h</sup> a:li]	empty	-----
[k <sup>h</sup> atara]	danger	-----
[k <sup>h</sup> uʃ]	happy	-----
[pura:] ~ [puri]	whole/complete	-----
[pura:na:]	old	[winu]
[sasta:]	cheap	-----
[məhẽga]	expensive	[ʔakro]
[t <sup>h</sup> ik]	good	[ʃenu]
[t <sup>h</sup> ja:ka]	ECHO	[ʃenu]
[teja:r]	ready	[jaŋnu]

Table 11.3: Adjectives Borrowed from IA

This list of borrowed adjectives is not exhaustive. Speakers use words from IA frequently in natural discourse even when a Darma word is available. In many cases, both the borrowed form and the Darma form are used within the same utterance. I have also found borrowings from English in the corpus. In the following subsections I will show the borrowed adjectives in attributive and predicative positions.

### 11.3.1 Attributive Position

The adjectives borrowed from IA are found preceding the nouns they modify. Unlike their counterparts in IA, the adjectives in Darma are not inflected for gender or number. It is usually the IA masculine form that is found as the borrowed form in the Darma corpus. Examples of borrowed adjectives in an attributive position are provided in (24)-(27) below.

- (24) *rthyake rthyuke galen ju barriya rdang su*  
 rthyake rthyuke ga-len su barriya rdang su  
 good.LN ECHO do-CVB after good.LN manner.LN MAN  
*khar'ee gaden, ne?*  
 khar'ee ga-den, ne?  
 thing do-1PL.NPT, TAG1

‘After doing good and all, (we) do the thing in a good manner, right?’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 016

- (25) *ning@ se gu taku barra pujar'i leeni.*  
 ning gu se gu taku barra pujar'i lee-ni.  
 1PL POSS god POSS one big.LN priest.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘(He) is our god’s one big priest.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 021

- (26) *pur'ana taym gu jon jen su jo he to 7alla*  
 pur'ana taym gu jonu jen su jo he to alla  
 old.LN time.LN POSS young PL ERG HM then.LN name.place  
*dang r'u dukan le gan lee.*  
 dang r'u dukan le ga-nu lee.  
 corner LOC shop.LN also make-NOM COP

‘The young people of the old times, um, then on Alla corner there is also a shop.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 097

- (27) *halka phalka t'ij hr'ua batyangda barriya.*  
 halka phalka t'ij r'u-a batee-ang-da barriya.  
 easy.LN ECHO thing.LN ask-2SG.IMP tell.LN-FUT-3.NPT good.LN

‘Ask easy things, (she) will tell (you) nicely.’

T0041: Conversation. 011



Examples of derived adjectives in a nominal position are shown in (32) and (33) below.

- (32) *jenu ma rthik rthak leeni.*  
 jenu **ma** rthik rthak leeni.  
 good-NOM EQU good.LN ECHO AUX.EX-3.NPT  
 ‘Like goodness, it is good and all.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 104

- (33) *7ã hadu long ju bonu ma gar'tu.*  
 ã hadu lung su bo-nu ma gar'tu.  
 HM DEM.NEUT back DAT flow-NOM EQU manner  
 ‘Um, (its) manner (is) like flowing from his back (referring to the pain).’

T0032: Conversation. 278

Examples (34) and (35) below show *barriya* as the argument of a postposition and as the head of a possessive construction; both of these positions are usually held by nouns.

- (34) *7or ning 7aglee sal gu kam gaden ki 7aglee*  
 or ning alee sal gu kam ga-den ki alee  
 and.LN 1PL next.LN year.LN POSS work.LN do-1PL.NPT CONJ.LN next.LN  
*sal le ne barriya dangsu leelo.*  
 sal le ne barriya dangsu lee-lo.  
 year.LN also DEM.NEUT goodness.LN BEN AUX.EX-OPT  
 ‘And we do next year’s work so that next year also let it be for this goodness.’  
 (=So next year will be good.)

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 110

- (35) *ji ne xir'i rdungjee 7u gu barriya lyang.*  
 ji ne sir'i rdungjee u gu barriya lee-ang.  
 1SG DEM.NEUT boy raise.LN -COND 3SG POSS goodness.LN AUX.EX-FUT  
 ‘If I raise this boy, his goodness will happen.’

T0049: Elicitation. 065

#### 11.4 REDUPLICATION

Like other word classes, the class of adjectives is found in the corpus in reduplicated constructions. As with other reduplicated constructions the repetition of the adjective indicates that there are multiple entities with the quality described. Examples

are shown in (36) and (37) below. In example (36), the first repetition of ‘small’ indicates that a small amount of rice is eaten at each place visited, the second repetition of ‘small’ means that even if each place doesn’t have small fried bread, the guests eat something. In example (37) below, the repetition of ‘round’ means that the agent is giving more than one unit of round rice.

- (36) *hã min minu th’agu mar’e bir’ bang jahren*  
*hã minu minu th’agu ma r’i bir’ bang ja-hen*  
 then small small rice.cooked EQU EMPH all place eat-1PL.NPT
- min minu bakt’i mahãje le bir’ bang jahren*  
*minu minu bakt’i mahã-je le bir’ bang ja-hen*  
 small small fried.bread is.not-COND even all place eat-1PL.NPT
- tungxyen.*  
*tung-si-hen.*  
 drink-1PL.NPT

‘Then (we) eat just a little tiny bit of rice at every house. Even if there isn’t any small fried bread, (we) eat and drink (at) all places.’

T0021: Darma Food. 055

- (37) *mala seelen jang hã geeja geeja ju gandu gandu*  
*mala see-len su hã geeja geeja su gandu gandu*  
 goat kill-CVB after then portion portion INSTR round round
- th’agu daden.*  
*th’agu da-den.*  
 rice give-1PL.NPT

‘After killing the goat, then with all of the portions we give round (=balls) rice.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 016

## 11.5 ADJECTIVE MODIFIERS

Adjectives are found to be modified by adverbs of degree that mean ‘very’. The examples (38)-(42) below show the Darma modifiers preceding Darma adjectives and borrowed adjectives, and borrowed modifiers preceding borrowed adjectives.

- (38) *ju t'im cong na punu nini.*  
*ji t'im cong na pu-nu ni-ni.*  
 1SG house very EMPH big-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘My house is very large.’

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 005

- (39) *7u xir'i dal na bungnu nini.*  
*u sir'i dal na bungnu ni-ni.*  
 3SG boy very EMPH tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This boy is very tall (e.g., compared to these other people here).’

T0042: Elicited 830

- (40) *hã barte gam bakte, jo nini, 7akcit barriya*  
*hã barte ga-m bakte, jo nini, akcit barriya*  
 then haircut.ritual do-INF time HM very good.LN  
*galen ju 7idu bakte xyaxi baksa ma*  
*ga-len su idu baktee syasi baksa ma*  
 do-CVB after DEM.NONVIS time relative.MAT wedding EQU  
*t'andu gaden.*  
*t'andu ga-den.*  
 style do-1PL.NPT

‘Then at the time of the ceremonial haircut, um, after doing very well, at that time (we) do this in the style of a relative’s wedding’.

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 004

- (41) *t'im le khub babya t'im leju ne?*  
*t'im le khub babya t'im leesu ne?*  
 house also very.LN grand.LN house AUX.EX-PST TAG1

‘The house also, it was a very grand house, wasn’t it?’

T0041: Conversation. 227

- (42) *khub barriya mar' jaxyen nu jaxyen.*  
*khub barriya mar' ja-si-hen nu ja-si-hen.*  
 very.LN good.LN ghee eat-MID-1PL.NPT milk eat-MID-1PL.NPT

‘(We) eat very good ghee and (we) eat milk (= yogurt).’

T0041: Conversation. 227

## 11.6 COMPARATIVES AND SUPERLATIVES

Darma has an overt lexical comparative, *jang*, and an overt superlative, *lejang*, which appear to be closely related. Both the comparative and the superlative are found

preceding the adjective and following the noun phrase(s). A basic equational sentence such as ‘this book is good’ has the constituent order NP ADJ AUX as shown in example (43) below. In a comparative construction we find NP (NP) COMP ADJ AUX as shown in example (44) below. Superlative constructions have the order NP (NP) SUPER ADJ AUX as shown in example (45) below. Further examples of comparatives and superlative constructions will be described in the following subsections.

- (43) *[nadu        lubung] [jenu] nini.*  
 nadu        lubung    jenu      ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT   book        good      AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘This book is good.’

T0042: Elicited 565

- (44) *[ne            lubung] [nadu        lubung] **jang** [jenu] nini.*  
 ne            lubung    nadu        lubung    jang        jenu        ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT   book        DEM.NEUT   book        COMP       good        AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘This book is better than that book.’

T0042: Elicited 569

- (45) *[nadu        lubung] **lejang** [jenu] nini.*  
 nadu        lubung    lejang     jenu        ni -ni.  
 DEM.NEUT   book        super       good        AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘This book is the best.’

T0042: Elicited 567

### 11.6.1 Comparatives

The comparative *jang* is found following the noun phrases preceding the adjective as shown in examples (46)-(47) below. The placement of the comparative morpheme is similar to the placement of postpositions, which are described in Chapters 7 and 14.

- (46) *[r'am]    [ji]        **jang**    [bungnu] nini.*  
                   ji        jang        bungnu    ni-ni.  
 Ram        1SG    COMP    tall        AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘Ram is taller than I am.’

T0050: Elicited. 153



- (47) [7i]            **jang**    *dal*    *xyunghenje*            *t'umehang,*  
           i            jang    dal    syung-si-n-je            t'um-ang,  
           DEM.NONVIS COMP more sit-MID-1PL-COND catch-3.FUT  
  
*t'umhyang*    *7an*            *jen.*  
 t'um-ang    an            jen.  
 catch-FUT.3 DEM.PROX people

'If you stay longer than that, (they) will catch (you), (they) will catch those people.'

T0032: Conversation. 345

The comparative is also found following a noun phrase that contains a verbal noun and preceding the word 'early'. These constructions can be interpreted as 'before NP'. Examples are shown in (48)-(50) below.

- (48) [*geni r'amu*]    **jang**    [*tuktu*]    *pu*            *leter'*            *r'in*            *niju.*  
           geni    r'a-mu    jang    tuktu    pu            r'i-nu            ni-su.  
           2PL    come-INF COMP early    brother letters.LN write-NOM    AUX.EQ-PST

'Before you arrived, brother was writing letter(s).'

TMA Questionnaire

- (49) [*ne*            *la*            *su-m*]    **jang**    [*tuktu*]    *ning*    *yohen.*  
           ne            la            su-mu    jang    tuktu    ning    yo-hen.  
           DEM.NEUT hand grasp-INF COMP before 1PL bless-1PL.NPT

'Before we take anything in our hands, we come and go from the temple (to purify the food).'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 041

- (50) *7ã*    [*mala seem*]    **jang**    [*tuktu*]    *7ã*    *7idu*            *khar'ee*  
           ã            mala see-m    jang    tuktu    ã            idu            khar'ee  
           um            goat kill-NOM COMP before um    DEM.NONVIS thing  
  
*se*            *r'u*    *kur'ta.*  
 se            r'u    kur'da.  
 temple LOC bring-3NPT

'Um, before killing the goat, um, (they) bring that thing in the temple.'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 001

When two noun phrases are being compared, the comparative is found after both of the noun phrases preceding the adjective. The order of the noun phrases is X Y meaning 'X is more ADJ than Y' as shown in example (51) below.

- (51) [7u xir'i] [7u t'imme] **jang** [bungnu] nini.  
 u sir'i u t'imme jang bungnu ni-ni.  
 3SG boy 3SG girl COMP tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'His boy is taller than his girl.'

T0042: Elicited. 835

### 11.6.2 Superlatives

The superlative *lejang* is found in the same position as the comparative. It follows the noun phrase(s) and precedes the adjective of the superlative construction. This is shown in examples (52)-(53) below.

- (52) [7u xir'i] **lejang** [bungnu] nini.  
 u sir'i lejang bungnu ni-ni.  
 3SG boy SUPER tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'His boy is the tallest.'

T0042: Elicited 832

- (53) [nadu] **lejang** [mahenga] r'ani, "laptop computer".  
 nadu lejang mahenga r'a-ni,  
 DEM.NEUT SUPER expensive.LN come-3.NPT

'This comes as the most expensive, the laptop computer.'

T0041: Conversation. 134

The noun phrase and its modifying superlative can be discontinuous as shown in examples (54)-(55) below.

- (54) [saart hazaar' wala "laptop"] kitayn nini,  
 saart hazaar' wala ki-ta-hi-nu ni-ni,  
 seven.LN thousand.LN one.LN COMPL-put-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

**lejang** [sasta].  
 lejang sasta.  
 SUPER cheap

'The seven thousand (rupee) laptop that has been put (on the market) is the cheapest.'

T0041: Conversation. 143

- (55) *lejang* [mahenga] r'ani, [nadu].  
 lejang mahenga r'ani, nadu.  
 SUPER expensive.LN come-3.NPT DEM.NEUT

‘(It) comes (=runs) the most expensive, this one.’

T0041: Conversation. 136

Both the comparative and the superlative are found in a single utterance as shown in the example (56) below.<sup>4</sup>

- (56) [nadu xir'i] [ne xir'i] [ne t'imme] **jang**  
 nadu sir'i ne sir'i ne t'imme jang  
 DEM.NEUT boy DEM.NEUT boy DEM.NEUT girl COMP  
  
*lejang* bungnu nini.  
 lejang bungnu ni-ni.  
 super tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘That boy is taller than this boy and this girl (he is the tallest).’

T0042: Elicited. 837

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<sup>4</sup> I have not found any examples of multiple NPs in a superlative construction.

## **Chapter 12: The Structure of the Noun Phrase**

### **12.0 INTRODUCTION**

Chapters 6 through 11 have provided an overview of the elements found in a noun phrase. In this chapter, I will review the proposed structure for the noun phrase in Darma, and present examples from the corpus that support the proposition of a noun phrase (i.e. through constituency tests).

### **12.1 THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE**

As mentioned earlier, the core arguments of the verb in Darma function grammatically as the subjects and objects of the sentence, which are expressed as noun phrases. The word classes that comprise the constituents of a noun phrase and the postpositions used to mark core and external arguments of a verb have been introduced in the preceding chapters. The analysis and presentation I have used for this discussion is informed by a ‘relationally based view’ of grammatical functions of NPs, where the arguments of the predicate are the NPs that fulfill the roles of the verb (Andrews 1985: 66).

In Darma we find three grammatical functions (A, O, and S) and two grammatical relations (subject and object). The grammatical function A is the NP that is treated morphologically and syntactically like the agent of a two-argument verb. The grammatical function O is the NP that is treated like a patient of a two-argument verb. The grammatical function S is the NP that is treated as the single argument of an intransitive verb. The claim that Darma has the grammatical relations subject and object is supported by the fact that the subject and the agent of a predicate are cross-referenced

on the verb using the same morphological marking (cf §13.2 below for a discussion of agreement marking on the verb).

Grammatical subjects and objects are expressed as noun phrases. The general structure of a noun phrase in Darma includes the noun, which is the head of the phrase, and a number of optional elements. This structure provided in the introduction to this section is repeated in (i) below. In this structure, the POSSESSOR comprises a noun phrase followed by the possessive particle *gu* (cf Chapter 9 for a discussion of possessive constructions).

(i) NP → (POSSESSOR) (DEM) (QUANT/NUM) (ADJP)<sup>1</sup> N (PL)

While I cannot practically provide an example of every possible combination of the noun phrase, the remainder of this section will include as wide a variety of noun phrase examples as possible. In the corpus, I have found examples of the following noun phrases:

N

N PL

ADJP N

NUM N

DEM N

DEM N PL

POSSESSOR N

DEM NUM N

DEM ADJP N

QUANT ADJP N

---

<sup>1</sup> Adjectives are described in Chapter 11. The same structure is used to construct relative clauses, which appear in the adjective position of the noun phrase described here. Relativization and nominalization are discussed again in Chapters 13 and 16.

POSSESSOR ADJP N

POSSESSOR QUANT N

POSSESSOR QUANT ADJP N

POSSESSOR DEM NUM N

There are examples of each structure throughout this dissertation. For example, (1) and (2) below, show that POSSESSOR DEM NUM N and DEM NUM N are possible structures for an NP. In the first example, the NP contains a possessor, a demonstrative article, a numeral, and a noun. In the second example, the NP contains a demonstrative article, a numeral, and a noun.

- (1) *hã* [*ning gu ne ta sapati*], *7andu lee 7ayi*,  
*hã* [*ning gu ne taku sabapati*], *andu lee ayi*,  
yes [1PL POSS DEM.NEUT one chairman.LN] DEM.PROX COP extra  
*nee sabapati 7ayi kheju nini.*  
*nisyu sabapati ayi kheju ni-ni.*  
two chairman.LN extra other AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Yeah, our this one chairman, this is one extra, the two extra are others (The speaker is pointing to a chairman in the room and explaining that there are two more chairmen).’

T0024: Election. 006

- (2) [*ne nee bang*] *r'i ter'e deeje da deen*  
[*ne nisyu bang*] *r'i ter'e dee-je da dee-nu*  
[DEM.NEUT two place] EMPH there go-COND CONT go-NOM  
*na niyang, ne? th'in da niyang ne,? lekin*  
*na ni-ang, ne? th'i-nu da ni-ang ne,? lekin*  
EMPH AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 visit-NOM CONT AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 but.LN  
*r'aksa maxyung necen.*  
*r'aksa ma-syung ne jen.*  
together NEG-live DEM.NEUT PL

‘If they go to both places, then they must go, they must visit, right, but they don't live together.’

T0041: Conversation. 106

## **12.2 CONSTITUENCY TESTS**

The tests used to determine whether a string of words comprise a constituent vary depending on the type of phrase being considered. Tests for determining whether a cluster of words form a noun phrase include the ability to substitute the potential constituent with a similar phrase or proform; whether the potential constituent can be moved to the beginning or end of a clause or utterance; whether the potential constituent can be used as a sentence fragment (e.g. as the answer to a question); and whether the potential constituent can be coordinated with a similar constituent (Radford 1988; Kroeger 2005).

As mentioned earlier, I did not organize elicitation sessions to test for constituency. There are, however, examples from the corpus that demonstrate that the noun phrase is a relevant constituent in the grammar of Darma. In the following subsections, I will present examples from the corpus illustrating the relevant constituency tests for noun phrases.

### **12.2.1 Substitution**

The ability to substitute a complex noun phrase with a pronoun demonstrates constituency. This is commonly done during elicitation sessions, where a minimal pair is provided (the first utterance with a complex noun phrase and the second with a pronoun) and the native-speaker consultant provides a grammaticality judgement. Examples included in this section come from elicitation sessions and natural discourse where the substitution occurred organically. For example, my primary consultant was providing examples of nouns with the neutral demonstrative pointing out things of varying distances. He provided the sentences in (3) and (4) below within the context of this session exploring deictics. All of the sentences from this session were in the format of ‘X is red’

- (3) *ne bir' luphung mangnu nini.*  
 ne bir' lubung mangnu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT all book red be-3.NPT  
 'All of these books are red'.

T0042: Elicited 152

- (4) *nadu mangnu nini.*  
 nadu mangnu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT red AUX.EQ-3.NPT

This is red.

T0042: Elicited 155

Similar to the previous examples, substitution was sometimes used within a single utterance. Examples (5) and (6) below each contain two finite clauses that are related. In example (5), the first sentence indexes a girl who is singing. The second sentence refers to the girl using a demonstrative pronoun instead of a lexical noun. In example (6), the noun phrase of the first sentence consists of a DEM and a N. In the second sentence the noun phrase referring to the same entity, 'tea', consists solely of a demonstrative pronoun.

- (5) *t'imme ber'a gada ʔidu filam su lee.*  
 t'imme ber'a gada idu filam su lee.  
 girl song do-3.NPT DEM.NONVIS name.village DAT COP

'The girl is singing, that one is from Filam.'

T0042: Elicited 377

- (6) *ne t'ya langnu mani nadu seenu nini.*  
 ne t'ya langnu ma-ni nadu senu ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT tea hot NEG-AUX.EQ DEM.NEUT cold AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'This tea is not hot, it is cold.'

T0042: Elicited 019

The final type of substitution that I find in the corpus is spontaneous within a narrative. In these cases, the speaker recapitulates what he is saying by substituting one noun phrase for another. This is shown in example (7) below. In this utterance, the speaker first says 'garland' and then clarifies by saying 'the garland of money'. We find a noun phrase that consists of a single lexical noun being immediately followed by a noun



phrase that consists of a POSSESSOR and the noun head. Based on the context, we know that the referent for both NPs is the same entity. The first reference to the entity is broad, while the second reference is more specific.

- (7) *jo nini [mala], [r'ipya gu mala] xyaden.*  
*jo nini [mala] [r'upya gu mala] sya-den.*  
 HM [garland.LN] [money.LN POSS garland.LN] put.on-1PL.NPT  
 '...um, the garland (we) put the garland of money (on the child).'
- T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 005

### 12.2.2 Movement

In Darma, it is common to move a constituent into a position following the matrix verb. This is the strongest evidence that I find in the corpus supporting the noun phrase as a constituent. Examples (8)-(13) below show a variety of noun phrases of varying complexity that have been extraposed after the finite verb.

- (8) *guma r'aju [nadu mi jen]?*  
*gumba r'a-su [nadu mi jen]?*  
 when come-PST [DEM.NEUT person PL]  
 'When did they get here, these people?'
- T0032: Conversation. 096

- (9) *"matungyo" la [ne bit'ar'a su].*  
*ma-tung-yo la [ne bit'ar'a su.]*  
 NEG-drink-1SG.PST REP [DEM.NEUT poor.thing.LN ERG]  
 "'I didn't drink (it)", he says, the poor guy.'
- T0023: Migration. 025

- (10) *ni r'ee wasu na ber'a baji gaden [ning su].*  
*ni r'ee wasu na ber'a baji ga-den [ning su].*  
 sun set until EMPH song performance.LN do-1PL.NPT [1PL ERG]  
 'We sing and dance only until the sun sets' (after that we go home).
- T0013: Marriage Proposal. 037

- (11) *lejang mahenga r'ani, [nadu].*  
*lejang mahenga r'a-ni, [nadu.]*  
 SUPER expensive.LN come-3.NPT [DEM.NEUT]  
 '(It) comes (=runs) the most expensive, this one.'
- T0041: Conversation. 136

- (12) *ning ni mi phamu la, [7u r'aksa]?*  
 ning nisyu mi pha-mu la, [u r'aksa]?  
 1PL two person speak-INF TAG2 [3SG COM]

‘We two people (=both of us) should speak with her, right?’

T0035: Conversation\_T4\_193. 005

- (13) *7ay mardangne khay gam nini*  
 ayi ma-rdang-ni khay ga-mu ni-ni  
 right.now NEG-good-3.NPT tomorrow do-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

*[nadu ma da].*

[nadu ma da.]

[this EQU CONT]

‘Right now isn't good, (one) should do it tomorrow, like this though.’

T0032: Conversation. 281

### 12.2.3 Fragmentation

Examples of fragmentation in the corpus are rare. Some evidence for constituency through fragmentation comes from elicitation sessions where my primary consultant provided only a noun phrase as an example. When trying to determine the spatial axis for the demonstrative pronouns, I would ask for examples of ‘this book’ or ‘that book’, and my primary consultant would simply provide noun phrases. Most of these examples are noun phrases that are [DEM N] or [DEM N PL]; I will not include them here. The examples of fragmentation provided here in examples (14)-(17) below, come from elicitation sessions and the natural discourse. While the noun phrase fragments are not very complex, they do provide evidence that the noun phrase is a valid constituent.

Frequently during elicitation sessions my primary consultant would provide a mini dialogue or set up a situation contextually before providing the example utterance. The example in (14) comes from such a mini dialogue. The context of the this example is someone knocks at your door, and you ask ‘who is it’, and the person responds ‘its me’. You do not recognize the voice of the person, so you reply ‘me who?’ hoping that the person will identify himself.

- (14) *khami ji?*  
*khami ji?*  
 who 1SG  
 ‘Me who?’

T0042: Elicitation. 167

In the following example, the narrator is telling about a ceremonial haircut and how the male child is adorned with a garland. He then says ‘(we) make the ceremonial cake’. A woman interjects saying ‘the girls’ (a noun phrase that is role marked as agentive). The woman is asserting that it is actually the *girls* who make the cake, lest anyone infer that males have anything to do with the cake-making process (note that the narrator is a *man*).

- (15) *t'imme su.*  
*t'imme su.*  
 girl ERG  
 ‘The girls’

T0017: Bar'te. 007

The following example is from a conversation between two women. One woman is asking questions, which the other is answering. In some cases, the first woman then repeats part of the response.

- (16) *ta habta?*  
*taku habta?*  
 one week.LN  
 ‘One week?’

T0026: Conversation. 012

The following example, from the same conversation as above, is a response to a question about whose wedding had taken place.

- (17) *7u xir'i gu bakca.*  
*u sir'i gu bakca.*  
 3SG boy POSS wedding  
 ‘His son’s wedding’

T0026: Conversation. 146

## 12.2.4 Coordination and Disjunction

The most common type of coordination found in Darma does not involve an overt coordinator. Noun phrases coordinated without an overt conjunctive particle are juxtaposed as shown in examples (18) and (19) below. Noun phrases that are coordinated with an overt conjunctive particle are shown in (20) and (21) below.

- (18) [la r'u ʔangurthi] [bana r'u mangal] xyakta  
 [la r'u angurthi] [bana r'u mangal] sya-da  
 [hand LOC ring.LN] [neck LOC necklace] put.on-3.NPT  
 byolo su.  
 byolo su.  
 bridegroom ERG

‘(He) puts the ring on (her) finger (and) the necklace on (her) neck, the bridegroom.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 027

- (19) [jyadu] [wel cyokpa] galen jan ninsu.  
 [jyadu] [wel cyokpa] ga-len ja-nu ni-n-su.  
 [porridge] [greens cooked.veg] make-CVB eat-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘Making porridge (and) fried greens (we) would eat.’

T0021: Darma Food. 004

- (20) kung r'u [ʔalo] **ji** [laphu] t'eebung nini.  
 kong r'u [alo] **ji** [laphu] t'eebung ni-ni.  
 hole LOC [potato.LN] **and** [radish] be.full AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘The hole is full of radishes and potatoes.’

T0042: Elicited. 042

- (21) to gabla, ʔã [yehar' jen] **ji** [pahar' jen]  
 to gabla, ã [yehar' jen] **ji** [pahar' jen]  
 then god.name HM [clan.name PL] **and** [clan.name PL]  
 rthunglen r'ani.  
 rthung-len r'a-ni.  
 dance-CVB come-3.NPT

‘Then, Gabla, um, the Yehar clan and the Pahar clan come while dancing.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 047

The pattern of disjunction is similar to the pattern of coordination. Noun phrases with numeral quantifiers that are juxtaposed have the meaning X or Y, where X and Y

are different noun phrases. This interpretation of quantified elements that are juxtaposed is also discussed in Chapter 10. Examples of juxtaposed noun phrases with a disjunct reading are shown in (22) and (23) below. It is also possible to coordinate noun phrases with an overt disjunction particle as shown in examples (24) and (25) below. The disjunct morpheme appears to be borrowed from IA.

- (22) *ning xyen jen da ta jya de [sum cyo] [pi jyo]*  
 ning syeno jen da taku jya de [sum co] [pi co]  
 1PL child PL CONT one day at [three times] [four times]  
*jani 7idakhay na.*  
 ja-ni idakhay na.  
 eat-3.NPT nowadays EMPH

‘Our kids, though, they eat three or for times in one day, only nowadays!’

T0021: Darma Food. 014

- (23) *[ngasa ngasa mala][cyobar’ji cyobar’ji mala] sen ninsu.*  
 [ngasa ngasa mala][cyobar’ji cyobar’ji mala] se-nu ni-n-su.  
 [twenty twenty goat] [eighteen eighteen goat] kill-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘(We) slaughtered eighteen or twenty goats.’

T0018: Funeral. 010

- (24) *[gubu byangpha mi] ya [gubu]...*  
 [gubu byangpha mi] ya [gubu]...  
 [some Byansi person] or.LN [someone]

‘...some Byans person or someone...’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 049

- (25) *[wi] ya [wee]?*  
 [wi] ya [wee]?  
 [wind] or.LN [mountain]

‘Wind or mountain?’

T0032: Conversation. 362

The coordination and disjunction of clauses and sentences will be discussed again in Chapter 18.

## VERB MORPHOLOGY AND CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

In the preceding section I presented the constituents that comprise a noun phrase and the morphology of each word class found therein. Similarly, in this section, I will outline the morphology of the verb and the constituents that comprise verb phrases. While I was able to present a fixed structure of the noun phrase in the form of a PS rule, the same is not true of the verb phrase. This is not surprising when we consider the typology of Darma, and the nature of PS rules. Givón (1995) discusses the difficulty of assigning PS rules to structures found cross-linguistically. For example, in serial verb constructions the verb that takes the finite morphology is not always the main verb of the clause (i.e. it may be an auxiliary or a modal verb--possibly a lexical verb that is bleached of semantic meaning). In an OV language, the generalization is that one will “attach the finite verbal inflection to the clause-final verb” (211).

Darma is an OV language, and we find two types of verb complex with multiple verbs in combination. As Givón suggests, the finite inflection is found on the clause-final verb, which is not always the main verb (i.e. it is often an auxiliary). While the basic constituent order is SV/AOV, constituents move about freely, and we find both grammatical subjects and grammatical objects in extraposed positions. Furthermore, a primary narrative strategy in Darma includes chaining multiple non-finite clauses together under a single matrix verb, which Givón asserts is problematic for determining the structure for the VP, especially if both clauses do not share the same subject. Chained clauses in Darma are not required to share the same subject. The problem with clause chains where the subject may or may not be the same in all of the clauses is that the same structure cannot be used to account for both types of clause. If we posit a structure where the S node branches into the subject NP followed by two equally dominated VPs, we can

account for the same-subject construction, but this does not work for the different-subject construction (Givón 1995: 217-218).

For the purposes of this discussion, I will present the constituents found in finite and non-finite clauses and describe the pattern of distribution for each constituent as found in the corpus. While it is not feasible to propose a fixed-order PS rule for a VP, it is possible to propose a fluid rule for the sentence in Darma. The phrase structure rule for a sentence is shown in (i) below, where it is possible to extrapose constituents after the inflected verb. The brackets indicate that the constituents therein are not ordered. NP-args represent the arguments licensed by the verb; these will number one, two, or three depending on the valency of the verb.

(i)  $S \rightarrow [ \text{NP-args, Adverb} ] \text{V-inflected}$

The remainder of this section is organized as follows. The morphology of the verb is presented in Chapter 13. This includes finite and non-finite verb morphology. In Chapter 14, I outline the basic constituent order of transitive and intransitive clauses, and declarative utterances. I then revisit the noun phrase and discuss in detail the macro and oblique case markers that were introduced in Chapter 7. In Chapter 15, I outline the various adverbs found in Darma and discuss their distribution in the clause. Chapter 16 is dedicated to discourse markers that emphasize and contrast phrases and clauses. In Chapter 17, I present non-declarative speech acts, nominalization and relativization, and evidential strategies. Finally, in Chapter 18, I discuss clauses in combination including clause chains and conditionals.

## Chapter 13: Morphology of the Verb

### 13.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will discuss the morphemes that are combined with a verb stem to form the finite and non-finite verbs found in a clause or phrase. I will begin by providing an overview of the types of verb found in Darma (cf §13.1) including stem classes, light verb constructions, the copula, auxiliary verbs, verbs of compulsion, and lexical verbs that function as auxiliaries when combined with other verbs. I will then discuss agreement morphology (cf §13.2) followed by finite morphemes (cf §13.3). I will then turn to morphemes that are found on non-finite verbs including the infinitive (cf §13.4), converbs and conditionals (cf §13.5), the nominalizer (cf §13.6), and the middle (cf §13.7). I will then introduce the negative prefix (cf §13.8). After this, I will discuss the morphology of commands and requests (cf §13.9). Finally, I will present the aspectual morphology (cf §13.10). For some of the verb forms I will only introduce the morphemes here (e.g. the nominalizer), the distribution of these verb forms will be discussed later in Chapters 17 and 18. These forms tend to have multiple functions and complicated distribution patterns. For forms that are straightforward (e.g. the imperative), the discussion here will include their distribution.

### 13.1 VERB TYPES

A verb includes a verb stem plus inflectional morphology. The stem is the morpheme that contains the lexical information of the verb. Verbs can be inflected for person, number, tense, aspect and mood. Verb stems generally do not appear alone except when they precede an inflected verb to form a complex verb.<sup>1</sup> In this section I will

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<sup>1</sup> Some verbs in the direct imperative form appear to be bare verb stems, but are in fact inflected. See §13.9.1 for a discussion of the imperative form.



introduce the types of verb found in Darma beginning with the two classes of verb stem. In the subsections following this discussion, I will outline the morphemes found prefixed and suffixed to the verb stem. Before I begin, it might be helpful to have an overview of morpheme order. This is presented in Table 13.1 below. It is important to bear in mind that not all of the morphemes are available simultaneously (e.g. the negative is not found in the corpus to co-occur with the converb suffix).

PREFIXES		STEM					SUFFIXES				
NEGATIVE	STEM	ANTERIOR	NOMINALIZER	NONPAST	AGREEMENT	CONDITIONAL					
PROHIBITIVE		MIDDLE	CONVERB	HORTATIVE							
COMPLETIVE		IMPERATIVE	FUTURE	PAST							
		OPTATIVE									

Table 13.1: Verb Morphology Schema

### 13.1.1 Verb Stem Classes

Verb stems are the basic form of a verb, which can be inflected for tense, aspect, and mood; uninflected stems only occur in complex verb constructions, which will be discussed in §13.1.2 below. In Darma, verb stems tend to be monosyllabic. There are two classes of verb: transitive and intransitive. Transitive verbs have more than one argument, while the intransitive verbs have one argument. The transitivity of a verb can only be determined by looking at which non-past suffix the stem takes. Transitive verbs are inflected for non-past tense with one set of suffixes, which I will call the *d-series*, and intransitive constructions are inflected for non-past tense with a different set of suffixes,

which I will call the *h-series*. The inflectional paradigms for the non-past forms will be discussed in detail in §13.3.1 below.<sup>2</sup>

### **13.1.1.1      *Transitive Stems***

The class of transitive verbs includes verbs with two or more arguments. These can be identified in the corpus based on the suffixes used in the non-past forms of the verb (cf §13.3.1 below for a discussion of the non-past suffixes for transitive verbs). The *d-series* of non-past inflectional suffixes indicates that the verb stem is transitive. Transitive verbs can be found with overt agents that are marked with an ergative particle and overt objects the marking of which depends on the grammatical role of the object. In many cases, however, neither the agent clause nor objects of the verb are overt, so sometimes the hearer is left only with an inflected verb to decipher the meaning of an utterance. This issue will be discussed again in Chapter 14.

Transitive verbs stems are found in many different syllable shapes including CV, CCV and CVC. Table 13.1.1.1 provides a sample of transitive verb stems.

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<sup>2</sup> Rajesh Bhatt has suggested that the differential marking of tense on transitive and intransitive verbs may be an overt realization of voice morphology.

STEM	GLOSS	3SG/PL FORM
[ki]	<i>worship</i>	[kida]
[jɪb]	<i>plant</i>	[jɪbda]
[gwi]	<i>tie up</i>	[gwida]
[ce]	<i>chop</i>	[ceda]
[pɛ]	<i>know (information)</i>	[pɛda]
[da]	<i>give</i>	[dada]
[təŋ]	<i>see</i>	[təŋda]
[du]	<i>mix</i>	[duda]
[ʔur]	<i>wash</i>	[ʔurda]
[lo]	<i>read</i>	[loda]

Table 13.1.1.1: Transitive Verb Stems

### 13.1.1.2 *Intransitive Stems*

The class of intransitive verbs includes verbs with a single argument, which functions as the grammatical subject. The subject does not need to be overt in an intransitive construction. In those cases without an overt subject, the argument of the verb can be derived from context (cf §14.1 below). As with the transitive verbs, the intransitive verbs can be identified in the corpus based on the suffixes used in the non-past forms of the verb (cf §13.3.1 below for a discussion of the non-past suffixes for intransitive verbs).

Like the transitive verbs, the intransitive verbs are found in a variety of syllable shapes including CV, CCV, and CVC. Table 13.1.1.2 below provides a sample of intransitive verb stems.

STEM	GLOSS	3SG/PL FORM
[ci]	<i>meet</i>	[cini]
[gju]	<i>run</i>	[gjuɪni]
[de]	<i>go</i>	[deni]
[pɛ]	<i>walk</i>	[pɛni]
[ʃɛr]	<i>be afraid</i>	[ʃɛrni]
[ra]	<i>come</i>	[rani]
[kəŋ]	<i>be ill</i>	[kəŋni]
[pu]	<i>be big</i>	[puni]
[bo]	<i>flow</i>	[boni]

Table 13.1.1.2: Intransitive Verb Stems

Comparing the verb stems in Table 13.1.1.2 to the verb stems presented in Table 13.1.1.1, it is clear that the two verb classes are not based on the phonological shape of the verb stem. In fact there are a number of homophones in the lexicon (e.g. [pɛ] has two potential meanings: ‘know’ or ‘walk’). It is the context in which the verb is used combined with the inflectional marking on the stem that allows for the correct interpretation of the verb.

### 13.1.2 Light Verb Constructions

Light verb constructions are comprised of a noun plus a lexical verb, which together form a single verb as shown in Table 13.1.2 below. Examples of the light verb constructions follow the table in (1)-(3) below. The meanings of some of the light verbs are more transparent than others (cf ‘to remember’). Those where the components of the light verb construction are opaque (cf ‘to lie’) are glossed as one single verb.

NOUN	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS	COMPLEX VERB
[te]	<i>memory</i>	[ramu]	<i>to come</i>	<i>to remember</i>
[njɛp.ti]	<i>snot</i>	[ramu]	<i>to come</i>	<i>snot to run</i>
[ʔa]	<i>mouth</i>	[lamu]	<i>to know</i> <i>or</i> <i>to smell</i>	<i>to lie</i>
[t <sup>h</sup> uru]	<i>urine</i>	[gamu]	<i>to do/make</i>	<i>to urinate</i>
[te]	<i>sum</i>	[demu]	<i>to go</i>	<i>to add</i>
[çi]	<i>blood</i>	[t <sup>h</sup> ɛmu]	<i>to take out</i>	<i>to exsanguinate</i>
[bɛra]	<i>song</i>	[gamu]	<i>to do/make</i>	<i>to sing</i>

Table 13.1.2: Light Verbs

- (1) *ge puni phamu ne? ʔida danxixya jen t'ee r'anu*  
*ge puni pha-mu ne? ida dansisya jen t'ee r'a-nu*  
 2SG m.i.l speak-INF TAG1 now name.town PL memory come-NOM  
*t'ee mar'anu.*  
*t'ee ma-r'a-nu.*  
 memory NEG-come-NOM

'You should talk to mother in law, okay? (About) whether the current people of Baluwakot remember or not.'

T0035: Conversation. 003

- (2) *malje tha ʔa la.*  
*ma-lee-je tha a la-a.*  
 NEG-AUX.EX-COND PROH lie-2SG.IMP

'If (nothing) happened, don't lie.'

T0034: Conversation. 008

- (3) *bog@r'o phyulen ju, xi xiteden.*  
*bogor'o phyu-len su, si si-te-den.*  
 throat slit-CVB after blood drain.blood-1PL.NPT

‘After slitting the throat, we drain the blood.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 006

### 13.1.3 The Copula

The copula, *lee*, is uninflected in the non-past for all persons and number, and hence is in a class by itself. This is shown in Table 13.1.3 below where the same form of the copula *lee* is used for all of the personal pronouns--the structures are from utterances provided during elicitation sessions. (NB: The Darma in the table is presented in IPA.) As we will see in the next section, the copula and the existential auxiliary are similar and appear to be related.

PRONOUN		COPULA	GLOSS
<i>ʃi</i>	<i>gu muŋ X</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>My, your, his, our, your,</i> <i>their name is X</i>
<i>gɛ</i>			
<i>ʔu</i>	<i>kəŋnu mi</i>		<i>I/you/he/we/you/ they</i> <i>am/are/is an invalid.</i>
<i>niŋ</i>			
<i>gɛni</i>	<i>masab</i>		<i>I/you/he/we/you/ they</i> <i>am/are/is a teacher.</i>
<i>wi</i>	<i>darma ʃo</i>	<i>I/you/he/we/you/ they</i> <i>am/are/is from Darma</i> <i>(Valley)</i>	

Table 13.1.3: Copula Constructions

In the natural discourse, the copula is found to be a verb that links two phrases. Examples are provided in (4)-(13) below.

- (4) ...bung r'u [bung r'u] [ning gu t'im] lee.  
 bung r'u [bung r'u] [ning gu t'im] lee.  
 name.village LOC [name.village LOC] [1PL POSS house] COP

'...in Baun, our house is in Baun.'

T0023: Migration. 017

- (5) hã [ning gu ne ta sapati,] [7andu] lee 7ayi,  
 hã [ning gu ne taku sabapati,] [andu] lee ayi,  
 then [1PL POSS DEM.NEUT one chairman.LN] [DEM.PROX] COP extra

nee sabapati 7ayi kheju nini.  
 nisyu sabapati ayi kheju ni-ni.  
 two chairman.LN extra other AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Then, our this one chairman, is this one, the extra, the two chairman extra are others.' (The speaker is pointing to a chairman in the room and explaining that there are two more chairmen).'

T0024: Election. 006

- (6) ter'e deemu gu bad r'u, r'aja su leesu bhay 7at'th'a  
 ter'e dee-mu gu bad r'u, r'aja su lee-su bhay at'th'a  
 there go-INF POSS after.LN king.LN ERG say-PST brother.LN okay.LN

[7andu lal mahor'] da [rthik] lee 7andu.  
 [andu ] da [rthik] lee andu.  
 [DEM.PROX name ] CONT [good.LN] COP DEM.PROX

'After going there, the king said, "Brother, okay, this Lal Mahor, though, is good, this one."'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 063

- (7) 7idu gu dus'r'a subkar'ee lee.  
 idu gu dus'r'a subkar'ee lee.  
 DEM.NONVIS POSS second.LN sacrament.LN COP

'It is his second sacrament.'

T0030: Barte. 007

- (8) jo ning gu se gu sud@ lee.  
 jo ning gu se gu sud lee.  
 REL.LN 1PL POSS god POSS purity.LN COP

'That is our god's purity.'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 008

- (9) [7idu leem] da [sobabik] **lee**.  
 [idu lee-mu] da [sobabik] lee.  
 [DEM.NONVIS AUX.EX-INF] CONT [normal.LN] COP

‘Being like this though is normal.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 107

- (10) *diidii*, [gu mung] [kha] **lee** na?  
 diidii, [ge mung] [kha] lee na?  
 sister.LN [2SG name] [what] COP EMPH

‘Sister, what is your name then?’

T0032: Conversation. 078

- (11) [wu su] **lee** [ge]?  
 [wudee su] **lee** [ge]?  
 [where ABL] COP [2SG]

‘Where are you from?’

T0032: Conversation. 117

- (12) *diidii*, wi gu ba **lee** ba.  
 diidii, wi gu ba **lee** ba.  
 sister.LN 3PL POSS father COP father

‘Sister, (he) is their father, father’

T0032: Conversation. 388

- (13) *pasu daynu* wala **lee** la?  
 pasu da-hi-nu wala lee la?  
 rug make-ANT-NOM one.LN COP TAG2

‘It is the one who made the rug, or?’

T0043: Woolwork. 036

### 13.1.4 Auxiliary Verbs

Darma has two auxiliary verbs *lee-* and *ni-*, both of which are inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and agreement. The former appears to have two functions. The first function of *lee-* is as an existential auxiliary, which combines with another verb. As an auxiliary *lee-* does not introduce syntactic arguments of its own. The second function of *lee-* is as a verb meaning ‘be’, ‘become’ or ‘happen’. This verb appears to be related to the copula *lee*. The other auxiliary, *ni-*, is an equational verb that is found in constructions where it links the grammatical subject to another element (e.g. another noun/noun phrase,



or an adjective). The auxiliary *ni-* is also found in nominalized constructions, which will be discussed in §§13.6 and 17.2 below, and compulsion constructions, which will be discussed in §13.1.5 below. Both auxiliaries are discussed again in the section on evidentiality (cf §17.3 below). In the following sections, I will present examples illustrating the distribution of the two auxiliaries found in Darma.

#### 13.1.4.1 *The Existential Auxiliary*

The existential auxiliary is found throughout the corpus; it is usually used to introduce a new topic, which is cross-linguistically a common function of an existential (Payne 1997: 123). In example (14) below, the narrator is beginning to tell about the ceremonial haircut that is performed on boys. In this example, the topic of grandchildren is being introduced to the narrative.

(14) *7ã ning gu khee kheme leeni.*  
       ã ning gu khee kheme lee-ni.  
       HM 1PL POSS grandchild AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Our grandchildren exist (=We have grandchildren).’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 002

In the text preceding example (15) below, the narrator declared that he was finished telling his story. An audience member then directs him to tell about a festival, so he begins to explain what happens during a Darma festival. In the first few lines of this portion of the narrative he uses the existential auxiliary to introduce the topic of the festival, which is what we see in example (15) below.

- (15) *hã ning gu tyãr lageni tyãr lagem*  
*hã ning gu gityãr lagee-ni gityãr lagee-mu*  
 then 1PL POSS festival.LN begin.LN-3.NPT festival.LN begin.LN-INF
- bad r'u ning, tyãr, tyãr leeni.*  
*bad r'u ning gityãr gityãr lee-ni.*  
 after.LN LOC 1PL festival.LN festival.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Then, our festival begins, after the festival begins we, the festival, there is a festival.’

T0021: Darma Food. 042

After explaining what is done in this festival, the narrator introduces another festival that is done in honor of the local god. Again the speaker uses the existential auxiliary to introduce the new topic, as shown in example (16) below.

- (16) *hã ningjya t'anju jo nini, ning gu se gu*  
*hã ningjya th'anju jo nini, ning gu se gu*  
 then day.after.tomorrow morning HM 1PL POSS god POSS
- tyãr leeni.*  
*gityãr lee-ni.*  
 festival.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Then, the day after tomorrow (in) the morning, um it is our god's festival.’

T0021: Darma Food. 049

Other uses of the existential auxiliary will be addressed in §17.3 below.

#### 13.1.4.2 *The Equational Auxiliary*

The equational auxiliary is used when the property denoted by the predicate holds for the subject. The equational auxiliary is commonly provided during elicitation sessions for utterances like ‘the book is big’, ‘you are nice’, ‘the tea is cold’, and so forth. Examples of the equational auxiliary are provided in (17)-(22) below.

- (17) *ning garib mi nixyen.*  
*ning garib mi ni-hen.*  
 1PL poor.LN person AUX.EQ-1PL.NPT

‘We are poor people.’

T0021: Darma Food. 028

- (18) *hã dar'ma lungba r'u bir'na lungba barriya nini, kha?*  
*hã dar'ma lungba r'u bir'na lungba barriya nini, kha?*  
 then Darma place LOC all EMPH place good.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT, Q

‘Then in the Darma area, every place is good, isn’t it?’

T0023: Migration. 028

- (19) *thaying gu jamana jama 7andu ma na nini.*  
*thaying gu jamana jama andu ma na ni-ni.*  
 this.year POSS times.LN all DEM.PROX EQU EMPH AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This year's times are all just like this.’

T0024: Election. 034

- (20) *dãd gu matlab hang nini...*  
*dãd gu matlab hang ni-ni...*  
 fine.LN POSS meaning.LN such AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘The meaning of the the fine is such...’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 075

- (21) *rder'a patr'ikar nini.*  
*rder'a patr'ikar ni-ni.*  
 old.man.LN journalist.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘The old man is a journalist.’

T0032: Conversation. 340

- (22) *7igzam wude nini, geni gu.*  
*igzam wudee ni-ni, geni gu.*  
 exam.LN where AUX.EQ-3.NPT 2PL POSS

‘Where is your exam?’

T0041: Conversation. 089

The equational auxiliary is also used in nominalized constructions and some compulsion constructions. These will be discussed in §§17.2.2 and 13.1.5, respectively.

### 13.1.5 Modals (Compulsion Constructions)

Compulsion constructions indicate that the speech participant is obliged to do something in terms of: an internal obligation; an external obligation; or a moral obligation. Similar to auxiliary constructions described in the preceding section, compulsion constructions comprise an infinitive verb plus a inflected verb, which is either the equational auxiliary *ni-*, the modal *cing-* ‘want’ or the modal *parr-* ‘must’. I

have found three structures in Darma that can be classed as compulsion constructions, which are shown in (23)-(25) with the type of compulsion they indicate. In all three constructions, the auxiliary or the modal verb of compulsion bears the inflectional morphology of the utterance; these auxiliaries are found in the third person form for all subjects.

(23) STEM-INF + AUX.EQ (INTERNAL COMPULSION)

(24) STEM-INF + *PARR*- (EXTERNAL COMPULSION)

(25) STEM-INF + *CING*- (MORAL COMPULSION)

The pattern of the compulsion constructions outlined above, along with the modal verbs of compulsion (*parr* ‘must’ and *cing* ‘want’) appear to be borrowed from IA. Both *parr* and *cing* are found in the corpus as lexical matrix verbs and as auxiliaries in compulsion constructions.<sup>3</sup> Examples of each compulsion construction are shown in (26)-(35) below.

The subject of compulsion constructions does not need to be overt. It is often a generic third person subject, but subjects can be of any person and number. Regardless of the subject, the inflected verb is always in the third person form. The examples below show cases where the subject is not overt and where the subject is overt. Overt subjects found in the corpus include: second person singular (cf example (34)); first person plural (cf examples (28), (32), and (35)); and third person (cf example (29)).

(26) *to 7ã to t'agu ji r'orta na jamu nini.*  
to ã to t'agu ji r'orta na ja-mu ni-ni.  
then.LN HM then.LN rice and flatbread.LN EMPH eat-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Then, uh, then (they) must eat only rice and flatbread.’

T0021: Food. 011

<sup>3</sup> The retroflex coda in *parr* is sometimes pronounced as a tap. This verb stem is the only example of a syllable with retroflex tap as a coda in the corpus.

- (27) *7ay mardangne khay gam nini*  
 ayi ma-rdang-ni khay ga-mu ni-ni  
 right.now NEG-good-3.NPT tomorrow do-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

*nadu ma da.*  
 nadu ma da.  
 this EQU CONT

‘Right now isn't good, (one) must do it tomorrow, like this though.’

T0032: Conversation. 281

- (28) *hã ning thaying ne t'unaw r'u bort*  
 hã ning thaying ne t'unaw r'u bort  
 yes 1PL this.year DEM.NEUT election.LN LOC vote.LN

*da-mu ni-ni.*  
 da-mu ni-ni.  
 give-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Yes, this year we must vote in this election.’

T0024: Election. 005

- (29) *7õ, jyar' gu jyar' na, khami yu gyum nini,*  
 õ, jyar'i gu jyar'i na, khami yu gyo-mu ni-ni,  
 yes daily POSS daily EMPH someone down run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

*khami tho gyum nini.*  
 khami tho gyo-mu ni-ni.  
 someone upside run-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Yes day by day only, someone has to run down, someone has to run up....’

[Context: He is talking about campaigning for a local election.]

T0024: Election. 024

- (30) *hã hã hadu ma gam parrni.*  
 hã hã hadu ma ga-mu parr-ni.  
 yes yes DEM.NEUT EQU do-INF must.LN-3SG

‘Yes, yes, you have to do it just like this.’

T0032: Conversation. 160

- (31) *7idu pun dikt'i r'u 7idu su kwem parrni.*  
 idu punu dikt'i r'u idu su kwe-mu parr-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT big pot LOC DEM.NEUT after do-INF must.LN-3SG

‘In that big pot, after that, (it) has to be cooked.’

T0032: Conversation. 160

(32) *rtul@len rtalen galen ju 7idu na damu*  
 rtul-len rta-len ga-len su idu na da-mu  
 mix-CVB ECHO-CVB do-CVB after DEM.NONVIS EMPH give-INF

*parrni ning su.*  
 parr-ni ning su.  
 must.LN-3.NPT 1PL ERG

‘After doing the mixing and all that, we must give that one.’

T0021: Darma Food. 035

(33) *matlab jo jis t’etr’a r’u deemu*  
 matlab jo jis t’etr’a r’u dee-mu  
 meaning.LN that.LN which.LN field.LN LOC go-INF

*lan gam cingni.*  
 lan ga-mu cing-ni.  
 work do-INF want.LN-3SG

‘Meaning that whichever field (you) go into, (you) ought to do the work.’

T0041: Conversation. 122

(34) ... *ge su phahyem cingni.*  
 ... *ge su pha-si-mu cing-ni.*  
 2SG ERG speak-ANT-INF want.LN-3SG

‘... You ought to talk.’

T0034: Conversation. 009

(35) *ning ni mi phamu cingni ne?*  
 ning nisyu mi pha-mu cing-ni ne  
 1PL two person speak-INF want.LN-3.NPT TAG1

‘We two people ought to speak, right?’

T0035: Conversation. 004

### 13.1.6 Verbs in Combination

As we have seen in the compulsion constructions, some verbs have two functions: as matrix verbs and as auxiliary verbs. When a verb functions as an auxiliary, it is found following another verb stem; the auxiliary bears the inflectional morphology of the utterance. In these cases, the two verbs form a single unit. In the following subsections I will outline the verbs found in combination.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> These constructions may be better analyzed as serial verbs.

### 13.1.6.1 Motion Verbs

Verbs of motion are frequently found in combination. The most frequent verbs of motion found in the corpus in combination with another verb are *ra-* ‘come’ and *dee-* ‘go’. In combination, the verbs of motion generally function as directional auxiliaries. Compare the examples (36) and (37) below, where ‘come’ and ‘go’ are functioning as directional auxiliaries. In (36), the subject is reaching his own door, so the verb is ‘come’. In (37), the subject is reaching someone else’s door, so the verb is ‘go’. In both examples, the subject ‘we’ includes the speaker.

- (36) *ning gu dar’umphā wan r’ahen....*  
 ning gu dar’umphā wan r’a-hen  
 1PL POSS door.at reach come-1PL.NPT  
 ‘(We) reach our door.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 021

- (37) *hā 7idu byoli gu namxya gu dar’umphā*  
 hā idu byoli gu namsya gu dar’umphā  
 then DEM.NONVIS bridegroom.LN POSS bride POSS door.at  
*wan deexyen.*  
 wan dee-si-hen.  
 reach go-MID-1PL.NPT  
 ‘Then (we) reach that bridegroom’s, the bride’s door.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 018

Further examples of ‘come’ and ‘go’ functioning as directional auxiliaries are shown in (38)-(40) below.

- (38) *jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phayem budu*  
 jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phaye-mu budu  
 like.this.LN EMPH HM saint.LN thither turn.around-INF INC  
  
*gasu da 7idu r’u pha gu du deesu.*  
 ga-su da idu r’u pha gu du dee-su.  
 do-PST CONT DEM.NONVIS LOC ash POSS mix go-PST

‘Just like this, that is, just as the saint had partially turned away, he (refers to the hero of the story) mixed in ashes’.

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 046

- (39) *hã ning nyíngtaba bakte jo nini, wi tar'af su*  
*hã ning nyíngtaba baktee jo nini, wi tar'af su*  
 then 1PL nighttime time HM 3PL direction.LN ABL
- di rthing r'ani.*  
*di rthing r'a-ni.*  
 hither dance come-3.NPT

‘Then, we at night time um, from their side (they) come dancing hither.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 030

- (40) *bar'thee khaxhcu r'amu ne, nongdi da mu*  
*bar'the khaxhcu r'a-mu ne, nogondi da mu*  
 early ABL come-INF TAG1 later CONT rain
- r'ani ti r'ani seema kimu baktee*  
*r'a-ni ti r'a-ni seema ki-mu baktee*  
 come-3.NPT water come-3.NPT gods worship-INF time
- dee r'amu.*  
*dee r'a-mu.*  
 go come-INF

‘You should come early, right—later, though, the rains come, the water comes, (you) should go (for) the god-worshipping time.’

T0023: Migration. 042

The verb stem in combination with the verb of motion can also be interpreted as an infinitive. For example, in (41) below, the subject is going to the temple to cut the ribbon; in example (42) below, the subject is coming in order to meet another person.

- (41) *hã se gu tyâr' jo nini 7idu bakte se dor'o*  
*hã se gu tyâr' jo nini idu bakte se dor'o*  
 then god POSS festival.LN HM DEM.NONVIS time god near
- daja cee deehen.*  
*daja cee dee-hen.*  
 ribbon.LN cut go-1PL.NPT

‘Then, god’s festival, um, at that time (we) go to cut the ribbon near god.’

T0021: Darma Food. 050

- (42) *ji 7o ci r'ayo.*  
*ji o ci r'a-yo.*  
 1SG 3SG meet come-1SG.PST

‘I came to meet him.’

T0046: Elicitation. 050



Verbs in combination can also appear with the second verb in a nominalized form preceding an inflected auxiliary. This is shown in examples (43)-(45) below.

- (43) *hã yak to deen ninsu.*  
*hã yak to dee-nu ni-n-su.*  
 then yak buy go-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-NPT  
 ‘Then, (we) used to go buy a yak.’

T0018: Funeral. 019

- (44) *hã ya byankar da hadu ma puk teen*  
*hã ya byangkar da hadu ma pu dee-nu*  
 then wild goat.type CONT DEM.NEUT EQU untie go-NOM  
*leenju, ning su.*  
*lee-n-su ning su.*  
 AUX.EX-1PL-PST 1PL ERG

‘Then, the wild goat, though, like this we untied it.’

T0018: Funeral. 023

- (45) *pasu 7ung tan nini.*  
*pasu ung ta-nu ni-ni.*  
 blanket see take.off-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘(They) are taking off to see the blanket.’

T0043: Woolwork. 035

### 13.1.6.2 *The Verb of Ability*

The verb *tar’-* (*~tar’ee-*) ‘be able’ is slightly different than the verbs of motion described above because it is rarely found as a matrix verb; it is almost always found in combination with a verb stem.<sup>5</sup> The interpretation of the ability constructions is similar to the examples of verbs of motion described in the previous section where both verbs contribute to the meaning of the utterance (cf ‘go to cut’).

<sup>5</sup> The two exceptions to this found in the corpus include ‘able’ following the word for ‘drum’, *deme*, and ‘able’ inflected as part of a paradigm. In the former example, it is possible that the IA borrowing ‘drum’ also functions as a verb (i.e. ‘to drum’). The latter example comes from a direct elicitation session where the goal was to conjugate the verb, not provide a grammatically acceptable utterance.

- (46) *ga tar'eyang.*  
*ga tar'-ang.*  
 do able-FUT  
 '(He) will be able to do (it).'

T0047: Elicited. 030

- (47) *ga matar'eyang.*  
*ga ma-tar'-ang.*  
 do NEG-able-FUT  
 '(He) will not be able to do (it).'

T0047: Elicited. 031

- (48) *ṭidakhay ṭida ci cyene ज्या kham su ga tar'eyang.*  
*idakhay ida ci cyene ज्या khami su ga tar'-ang.*  
 thesedays now ten twelve day who ERG do able-FUT  
 'Now, thesedays, who is able to do ten or twelve days?'

T0018: Funeral. 029

### 13.1.6.3 'Give'

The verb *da-* 'give' is also found with a verb stem preceding it. In these constructions, 'give' indicates that the action is away from the one performing it, or for the benefit of someone other than the person performing the action. For example in (49) below, the verb 'speak' in combination with 'give' indicates that the person is being directed to speak aloud. In example (50) below, the agent is making the bed for someone other than himself. Further examples are shown in (51)-(52) below. As with other verbs in combination, the second verb bears the inflectional morphology.

- (49) *ge lee dya!*  
*ge lee dee-a!*  
 2SG speak give-2SG.IMP  
 'You speak aloud!'

T5:BoB28

- (50) *hã 7idung jenu xyungximu hã jenu bistar'*  
*hã idung jenu syung-si-mu hã jenu bistar'*  
 then LOC.NONVIS good sit-MID-INF then good bed.LN

*ga dangden.*  
*ga da-ang-den.*  
 make give-FUT-1PL.NPT

‘Then at that place you should stay nicely (=comfortably), then (we) will make a nice bed (for you).’

T0023: Migration. 019

- (51) *hã ning gu sar'ee song gu rthang dangda,*  
*hã ning gu sar'ee sang gu rthang da-ang-da,*  
 then 1PL POSS all.LN village POSS build give-FUT-3.NPT

*t'e dangda.*  
*t'e da-ang-da.*  
 apply give-FUT-3.NPT

‘Then (he) will build up our whole village’s and improve (it).’

T0024: Election. 036

- (52) *to 7u su jo nini 7apna dimag r'u, kha khur'apat*  
*to u su jo nini apna dimag r'u, kha khur'apat*  
 then.LN 3SG ERG HM EMPRO.LN mind.LN LOC what mischievous.idea.LN

*sot'eeni ki ji su 7agar' ne garthu*  
*sot'ee-ni ki ji su agar' ne garthu*  
 think.LN-3.NPT conj.LN 1SG ERG if.LN DEM.NEUT watermill

*mee pu dengdi baydabe.*  
*mee pu da-ang-di baydabe.*  
 fire start give-FUT-1SG.NPT perhaps

‘Then he he came up with a mischievous plan, “If I were to set the mill on fire maybe--.”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 016

### 13.2 CROSS-REFERENCE (PRONOMINALIZATION)

Cross-referencing requires external NP arguments to be marked on the verb. This type of marking is also called agreement, person marking, and ‘pronominalization’. The latter term is found in the Tibeto-Burman literature (Bauman 1975; DeLancey 1989; Genetti 1994). Cross-referencing in general appears to be a feature of Tibeto-Burman languages. Dolakhā Newari is described as having a cross-referencing system where the

subject is indexed on the verb (Genetti 1994), and other Tibeto-Burman languages are described as having both the subject and object cross-referenced on the verb (cf Chepang and Hayu as described in Watters 1975). In Darma, the grammatical subject is found to be cross-referenced on the verb for first person plural and second person singular and plural.<sup>6</sup>

In Darma, the subject of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb are cross-referenced on the verb. Examples (53)-(56) below, provide us with a contrast between transitive verbs with a cross-referenced NP that refer to agents, and intransitive verbs with cross-referenced NPs that refer to nominative subjects. The first person plural, second person singular, and second person plural subjects and agents are the only forms cross-referenced on the verb with an overt morpheme; the first person singular past tense morpheme is a portmanteau morpheme indicating person and tense. Examples demonstrating this are shown below. For example, in (53), we find the first person plural agent cross-referenced on the verb ‘chop’, while in (54) the agent is not cross-referenced because it is third person plural. In example (55) the second person singular subject of the intransitive construction is cross-referenced on the verb, while in example (56) the subject is not cross referenced on the verb because it is third person plural.

- (53) *[ning su] pharsa su nadu t'eensu.*  
*[ning su] pharsa su nadu t'ee-n-su.*  
*[1PL ERG] axe INSTR DEM.NEUT chop-1PL-PST*

‘We chopped it with an axe.’

(T0042: Elicited. 475)

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<sup>6</sup> For the purposes of this discussion I am referring to an identifiable morpheme (i.e. *-n*). It is important to note, however, that the first person singular inflectional morphology is in fact distinct. So, in effect, these forms are also cross-referenced.

- (54) *[wi su] nadu pharsa su t'eesu.*  
*[wi su] nadu pharsa su t'ee-Ø-su.*  
**[3PL ERG]** DEM.NEUT axe INSTR chop-Ø-PST

‘They chopped it with an axe.’

(T0042: Elicited. 479)

- (55) *[ge] Seela guma r'ansu?*  
*[ge] Seela gumba r'a-n-su?*  
**[2SG]** name.village when come-2SG-NPT

‘When did you come from Sela?’

(T0042: Elicited. 188)

- (56) *[7u] r'aju.*  
*[u] r'a-Ø-su.*  
**[3SG]** come-Ø-PST

‘He came.’

(T0048: Elicited. 013)

These examples demonstrate that Darma encodes only one argument on the verb, and that argument is the grammatical subject. Cross-linguistically, marking only one argument on the verb is typologically ‘much less common’ (Dixon 1994: 46). The cross-referencing strategy of Darma has a nominative/accusative alignment system. This is in contrast to the ergative/absolutive alignment system that we found in the NP-marking system. This is also the case of the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages described by Saxena (1997). The nominative subject of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb are cross-referenced on the verb of a clause for first person plural, second person singular and second person plural.<sup>7</sup> The same marker [-n] is used in all three cases,<sup>8</sup> which is not

<sup>7</sup> Darma does not have honorific forms, morphological dual, or an inclusive exclusive distinction in the first person plural.

<sup>8</sup> It must be noted that differentiating between [n] and [ŋ] in some positions can be difficult. While the first person plural non-past forms were clearly pronounced [-den], there were instances when the first person plural past form of the equational auxiliary sounded like [niŋsu] rather than [ninsu]. Considering the first person plural pronoun is [niŋ], it is not difficult to imagine that the velar nasal was originally the first person plural agreement morpheme, and that this form merged with the alveo-dental second person agreement marker.

true of other TB languages I have looked at to date (Watters 1975; DeLancey 1988; Saxena 1997).

Cross-referencing on the verb allows for pro-drop. Payne describes cross-referencing as an “anaphoric device” that “counts as the only reference to the subject of the verb” (1997: 42). In Darma, however, we find that cross-referencing is obligatory; thus, an overt pronoun co-occurs with cross-referencing on the verb (cf example (53) above where the pronominal agent co-occurs with the cross-referencing on the verb). This is unlike some languages with a cross-referencing strategy, where overt NPs are not cross-referenced on the verb.

Further examples that show an overt NP argument is simultaneously cross-referenced on the verb are given in (57)-(59) below. The examples show cross-referencing with an overt external argument for first person plural, second person singular, and second person plural.

(57) *ning tanju*  
ning ta-n-su  
1PL left-1PL-PST  
‘We took off (i.e. left).’

(T0050: Elicited.010)

(58) *ge tanju*  
ge ta-n-su  
2SG left-2SG-PST  
‘You took off (i.e. left)?’<sup>9</sup>

(T0050: Elicited.006)

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<sup>9</sup> Second person sentences in the non-past are generally interpreted as questions. I refrain from calling this a conjunct/disjunct pattern for a few reasons. First, the verb morphology for first person plural and second person singular is identical, and the morphology for the second person singular closely mirrors the 1PL/2SG pattern. Second, the copula pattern in Darma is different than patterns described for Dolakhā Newari (Genetti 2003) and the non-Western Himalayish Bodic languages (DeLancey 1992). Finally, DeLancey (1992) explicitly states that the conjunct/disjunct pattern appears to be region specific.

- (59) *geni tanju*  
 geni ta-n-su  
 2PL left-2PL-PST  
 ‘You all took off (i.e. left)?’

(T0050: Elicited.012)

The paradigm for the cross-referencing system found in Darma is presented in Table 13.2 below. You will notice that the past forms follow the order STEM-AGR-TNS, while the non-past forms follow the order STEM-TNS-AGR. This issue will be addressed in §13.3.2 below.

<b>TRANSITIVE: [ga] ‘do/make’</b>	<b>STEM-AGR-PAST</b>	<b>STEM-NONPAST-AGR</b>
1SG	[ga-Ø-yu]	[ga-di-Ø]
2SG	[ga-n-su]	[ga-de-n]
3SG	[ga-Ø-su]	[ga-da-Ø]
1PL	[ga-n-su]	[ga-de-n]
2PL	[ga-n-su]	[ga-de-n(i)]
3PL	[ga-Ø-su]	[ga-da-Ø]
<b>INTRANSITIVE: [ra] ‘come’</b>	<b>STEM-AGR-PAST</b>	<b>STEM-NONPAST-AGR</b>
1SG	[ra-Ø-yu]	[ra-hi-Ø]
2SG	[ra-n-su]	[ra-he-n]
3SG	[ra-Ø-su]	[ra-ni-Ø]
1PL	[ra-n-su]	[ra-he-n]
2PL	[ra-n-su]	[ra-he-n(i)]
3PL	[ra-Ø-su]	[ra-ni-Ø]

Table 13.2: Cross-referencing on transitive and intransitive verbs

The person marker on the verb is not detectable when the verb stem ends in a nasal consonant. Compare the verbs in examples (60) and (61) where the verb stem [kam] ‘hit’ ends in a nasal consonant with the example in (62) where the verb stem [da] ‘give’ ends in a vowel.

- (60) *7o su ge kamsu.*  
**u** su ge kam-Ø-su.  
**3SG** ERG 2SG hit-**3SG**-PST  
 ‘He hit you.’

T0042: Elicited. 735

- (61) *ge su 7o kamsu.*  
**ge** su u kam-**n**-su.  
**2SG** ERG 3SG hit-**2SG**-PST  
 ‘You hit him.’

T0042: Elicited. 737

- (62) *ge su ji lubang dansu.*  
**ge** su ji lubang da-**n**-su.  
**2SG** ERG 1SG book hit-**2SG**-PST  
 ‘You gave me the book.’

T0042: Elicited. 125

Cross referencing is also found in non-finite constructions where it is suffixed on the verb stem in conditional constructions and on the hortative.

- (63) *ge t’eejang r’u janjee ge gu baksa r’u*  
**ge** t’eejang r’u ja-**n**-jee ge gu baksa r’u  
**2SG** pot LOC eat-**2SG**-COND 2SG POSS wedding LOC  
*mu r’ayang.*  
 mu r’a-ang.  
 rain come-FUT

‘If you eat from the pot, then it will rain at your wedding.’

T0048: Elicited. 112



- (64) *wor'axir'i mi jen sung deejee r'aksa na*  
*wor'asir'i mi jen sang dee-Ø-jee r'aksa na*  
**husband person PL village go-3PL-COND together EMPH**  
*deemu nini.*  
 dee-mu ni-ni.  
 go-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'If the husband men go to the village, then they must go together only.'

T0043: Woolwork. 003

- (65) *kha gamu, ji su, kha leeya?*  
*kha ga-mu ji su, kha lee-Ø-ya.*  
 what do-INF **1SG** ERG what say-**1SG**-HORT

'What should I do, let me say what?'

T0024: Election. 023

- (66) *gubu tee danya la gubu di danya*  
*gubu tee da-n-ya la gubu di da-n-ya.*  
 someone LOC.DIST give-**1PL**-HORT or someone LOC.PROX give-**1PL**-HORT

'Let us give to someone over there or let us give to someone over here.'

T0024: Election. 008

### 13.3 FINITE MORPHEMES

In Darma, the finite morphology divides events into a past and non-past temporal space. Events that are projected to occur in the future will be discussed in §13.10.2 below. The temporal morphemes non-past and past will be presented in the following sections.

#### 13.3.1 Non-Past

There are two inflectional paradigms indicating the non-past the *d-series* and the *h-series*. Which non-past morpheme is suffixed on a verb stem depends on the transitivity of the verb. Transitive verbs take one set of non-past suffixes, while intransitive verbs take another. The paradigm for each class of verb is shown in Table 13.3.1 below. I have included the agreement morphemes as part of the non-past morphemes because these

morphemes are not segmented in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss throughout the dissertation. The agreement paradigm is discussed in §13.2 above.

	INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	[-hi]	[-hɛn]	[-di]	[-dɛn]
2	[-hɛn]	[-hɛni]	[-dɛn]	[-dɛni]
3	[-ni]	[-ni]	[-da]	[-da]

Table 13.3.1: Non-Past Verb Endings

Examples of intransitive verbs and transitive verbs in non-past constructions are shown in (67)-(76) below.

- (67) ...*ji*    *ʔaskort*    *partrti*    *r'u*    ***xyunghi***.  
 ...*ji*                      *partrti*    *r'u*    *syung-hi*.  
 1SG   name.place   area.LN   LOC   live-1SG.NPT  
 'I live in the Askot area.'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 033

- (68) ...*ge*    *wude*    ***xyunghen?***  
 ...*ge*    *wudee*    *syung-hen?*  
 2SG   where   live-2SG.NPT  
 'Where do you live?'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 032

- (69) *bar'thee khaxhcu r'amu ne, nongdi da mu*  
 bar'the khaxhcu r'a-mu ne, nogondi da mu  
 early ABL come-INF TAG1 later CONT rain  
*r'ani ti r'ani seema kimu baktee*  
 r'a-ni ti r'a-ni seema ki-mu baktee  
 come-3.NPT water come-3.NPT gods worship-INF time  
*dee r'amu.*  
 dee r'a-mu.  
 go come-INF  
 'You should come early, right—later, though, the rains come, the water comes,  
 (you) should go (for) the god-worshipping time.'  
 T0023: Migration. 042
- (70) *than da r'orta jehen.*  
 than da r'orta ja-hen.  
 now CONT flatbread.LN eat-1PL.NPT  
 'Now though (we) eat flatbread.'  
 T0021: Darma Food. 025
- (71) *than da mi jen kha kha na jani?*  
 than da mi jen kha kha na ja-ni?  
 now CONT person PL what what EMPH eat-3SG.PRS?  
 'Now, though, what all do people eat?'  
 T0021: Darma Food. 012
- (72) *kha gada leedi.*  
 kha ga-da lee-di  
 what do-3.NPT say-1SG.NPT  
 'I am saying, "What is (he) doing?"'  
 T0032: Conversation. 095
- (73) *ge kha r'en-den?*  
 ge kha r'en-den?  
 2SG what weave-2SG.NPT  
 'What are you weaving?'  
 T0032: Conversation. 019

- (74) *hã ning khee gu pitr'a r'u xilee jen*  
*hã ning khe gu pisya r'u sile jen*  
 then 1PL grandson POSS head LOC turban PL
- jama jilta, gubu su mala xyata.*  
*jama jil-da, gubu su mala sya-da.*  
 everyone wrap-3.NPT someone ERG garland put.on.s.o.-3.NPT

‘Then everyone wraps turbans on our grandson’s head, someone puts the garland (on him).’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 008

- (75) *khee gu bartee gaden.*  
*khee gu bartee ga-den.*  
 grandson POSS haircut.ritual do-1PL.NPT

‘(We) are doing our grandson’s ritual haircut.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 003

- (76) *7õ r'ang le t'eeda.*  
*õ le t'ee-da.*  
 yes also understand-3.NPT

‘Yes, (they) understand Rang also.’

T0032: Conversation. 119

### 13.3.2 Past

The past tense forms are presented in Table 13.3.2 below. As with the non-past forms, the transitive and intransitive paradigm is different. Unlike the non-past forms, however, the difference between a transitive past tense morpheme and an intransitive past tense morpheme is found only in the third person forms. The third person forms of the intransitive verbs are pronounced *-ju* while the third person forms of the transitive are pronounced *-su*.

	INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE	
SUBJECT	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	[-ju]	[-su]	[-ju]	[-su]
2	[-su]	[-su]	[-su]	[-su]
3	[-ju]	[-ju]	[-su]	[-su]

Table 13.3.2: Past Verb Endings

There are some exceptions to the forms presented in Table 13.3.2. In the corpus there are examples of first person plural and second person forms (of transitive and intransitive verbs) pronounced as *-ju* rather than *-su*. Similarly, there are examples of transitive third person forms pronounced as *-ju* rather than *-su*.

The order of morphemes in a non-past construction is different from the order of morphemes in a past construction. The order of morphemes on a non-past verb places the agreement morpheme after the tense morpheme (i.e. STEM-NONPAST-AGREEMENT), while the order of morphemes on a past verb places the agreement morpheme before the tense morpheme (i.e. STEM-AGREEMENT-PAST). Compare the following examples. In example (77) the verb is in the non-past with the agreement morpheme [-n] at the end, while in example (79) the verb is in the past with the agreement morpheme [-n] after the verb stem. The examples in (78) and (80) provide a similar contrast.

(77) [gɛ ra-hɛ-n] ‘you are coming’

(78) [gɛ da-dɛ-n] ‘you are giving’

(79) [gɛ ra-n-su] ‘you came’

(80) [gɛ da-n-su] ‘you gave’

This disparity in the order of morphemes may be evidence that the past morpheme is a recent innovation. The past tense appears to be grammaticalized from ‘after’, which is still found in the corpus.<sup>10</sup> The particle *su*<sup>11</sup> is found in a variety of contexts: following converbs; in the expression *7idu su* ‘after that’; and in the expression *hã su* ‘then after’.

Examples of each are shown in (81)-(86) below

(81) *7ido*            *su*    *rtixya*            *jen*    *jo nini yangni*  
idu                su    rtisya            jen    jo nini yang-ni  
DEM.NONVIS    after   bridesmaids    PL    HM    be.ready-3.NPT  
‘After that the bridesmaids, um, are ready.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 010

(82) *7ido*            *su*    *dan*            *kwelen*    *ju*    *bogor’o phyudan.*  
idu                su    dan            kwe-len    su    bogor’o    phyu-dan.  
DEM.NONVIS    after   stomach    split-CVB    after   throat    slit-1PL.NPT  
‘After that, after (we) split the stomach, (we) slit the throat.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 005

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<sup>10</sup> Because the past tense appears to be grammaticalized from ‘after’, it is entered as /su/ in the phonemic line of the interlinearized examples.

<sup>11</sup> The particle *su* ‘after’ is found in alternation with *sang*. This appears to be in free variation. Similarly, the particle meaning ‘after’ is also found following converb constructions where it is pronounced *ju*. Like *su* in *7idu su*, *ju* is found to be in free variation with *jang*. There is an example in the corpus where the past form of the verb is with *jang*:

*than*    *gujar’a*            *da*    *gamu*    *na*    *parr*    *leejang.*  
than    gujar’a            da    ga-mu    na    parr    lee-su-nga.  
now    livelihood.LN    CONT    do-INF    EMPH    must    AUX.EQ-PST-EMPH  
‘Now we must do it for our livelihood.’ (T0043: Woolwork. 044)

My consultant said this was the past form plus an emphatic *nga*. It is unclear if this is also the case with the ‘after’ particle.

- (83) *7idu su hã ning ngay rtuku pee kur'len jang*  
 idu su hã ning ngay rtuku pee kur'-len su  
 DEM.NONVIS after then 1PL five six brother bring-CVB after  
*ning jyala thoje deexyen.*  
 ning jyala thoje dee-si-hen.  
 1PL date request go-MID-1PL.NPT  
 'If (we) are not able to do it, now, though, (we) do it for just two days.'  
 T0013: Marriage Proposal. 003

- (84) *...hã su pexyen ninsu ning.*  
 ...hã su pe-si-nu ni-n-su ning.  
 then after wander-MID-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST 1PL  
 'Then, after we went wandering.'  
 T0018: Funeral. 017

- (85) *ne r'alen jang hã su hã hã bud@r'u*  
 ne r'a-len su hã su hã hã budr'u  
 DEM.NEUT come-CVB after then after then then inside  
*bangr'u daja ceeden.*  
 bangr'u daja cee-den.  
 outside ribbon.LN cut-1PL.NPT  
 'After this coming, then after, then, then, inside and outside (we) cut the ribbon.'  
 T0021: Food. 052

- (86) *...hã su pee jen yoni leeden.*  
 ...hã su pee jen yo-ni lee-den.  
 then after relative.PAT PL come-2PL.IMP say-1PL.NPT  
 'Then, after (we) say to the paternal relatives, "you all should come".'  
 T0021: Food. 053

One challenge to tracing a grammaticalization path for the past marker is that *su* is found to have many meanings. It is the ergative marker and the instrumental marker as well. There are several examples where the *su* was translated as an instrumental 'with', but based on the context, it could also mean 'after'. One example is shown in (87) below.

- (87) *pasu da jyar' r'enje da tsi jya su*  
*pasu da jyar'i r'en-je da tsi jya su*  
 blanket CONT daily weave-COND CONT ten day INSTR
- le keeden.*  
*le kee-den.*  
 also finish-1PL.NPT

'If we weave every single day, though, then **in ten days** even we finish.'

T0043: Woolwork. 037

### 13.4 INFINITIVE

The infinitive form of a verb comprises a verb stem with the suffix *-mu*. During elicitation sessions, most speakers provide this form when prompted with an infinitive in the contact language.<sup>12</sup> The infinitive form of a verb functions in a variety of ways, which I will briefly outline here.

As outlined in §6.2.1 above, one function of the infinitive form of the verb is as a noun. This is shown in examples (88)-(90) below. Example (88) shows the verbal noun in a compound construction. Example (89) shows the verbal noun in a comparative construction. Example (90) shows the verbal noun followed by a postposition. The distribution of the verbal noun in each construction is also discussed in §6.2.1, §6.2.2.3, and §11.3 above.

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<sup>12</sup> Consultants often provided the [-mu] form of the verb when asked for an infinitive. Another form that was frequently provided is the nominalized [-nu] form of the verb. There were consultants who always provided verbs in an inflected form—usually in an example sentence. In general the form that a consultant provided reflected the level of education they had received. Those with the most education provided the [-mu] form and those with the least provided an example sentence. It is important to note that the citation form of a verb in Hindi is also the infinitive, and that Hindi is the language of education in the Dharchula area. Additionally, the infinitive form in Hindi and the infinitive form in Darma are found to pattern in similar ways (e.g. both are used as the polite imperative and both are used in compulsion constructions).



- (88) *hã barte gam bakte, jo nini, ʔakcit barriya*  
*hã barte ga-m bakte, jo nini, akcit barriya*  
 then haircut.ritual do-INF time HM very good.LN
- galen ju ʔidu bakte xyaxi baksa ma*  
*ga-len su idu baktee syasi baksa ma*  
 do-CVB after DEM.NONVIS time relative.MAT wedding EQU
- t'andu gaden.*  
*t'andu ga-den.*  
 style do-1PL.NPT

‘Then at the time of the ceremonial haircut, um, after doing very well, at that time (we) do this in the style of a relative’s wedding’.

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 004

- (89) *ne la su-m jang tuktu ning yohen.*  
*ne la su-mu jang tuktu ning yo-hen.*  
 DEM.NEUT hand take-INF COMP before 1PL bless-1PL.NPT

‘Before taking anything in our hands, we do the blessing (Meaning we come and go from the temple (to purify the food)).’<sup>13</sup>

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 041

- (90) *do xyungemu dangsu byam xha.*  
*do syung-mu dangsu byam xhe-a*  
 here sit-INF BEN rug bring-2SG.IMP

‘Bring the rug here for sitting (= in order to sit down).’

T0032: Conversation. 263

The infinitive form of the verb is also used as a polite imperative, as shown in example (91) below; and it is used as the first person permissive as shown in examples (92) and (93) below. See also §13.9 below for further discussion of these and other forms of commands and requests.

<sup>13</sup> The word ‘bless’ is most likely related to the words *yo* and *yoni*, which are used as imperative forms of ‘come’ (I was unable to obtain an infinitive or a paradigm for this form of ‘come’). Before distributing food at a celebration that involves a ritual sacrifice, all of the prepared food is carried by the men out of the temple and back in. A group of men sit inside the temple with vats of cooked food, which they distribute to another group of men who take the food on plates and dance it out of the temple and then back in again. Speakers do not consider this use of the verb *yomu* to be related to the direct imperative forms *yo* and *yoni*; it was defined as ‘to bless’, which is how I have glossed it here and in the texts.

- (91) *ge r'ēju r'u r'ungeemu.*  
*ge r'ēju r'u r'ung-mu.*  
 2SG ear LOC listen-INF  
 'You should listen in your ears.'

T0032: Conversation:108

- (92) *ning su kha gamu?*  
*ning su kha ga-mu?*  
 1PL ERG what do-INF  
 'What shall we do?'

T0024: Election. 009

- (93) *kha gamu, ji su kha leeya?*  
*kha ga-mu, ji su kha lee-ya?*  
 what do-INF 1SG ERG what say-HORT  
 'What shall I do, let me say what?'

T0024: Election. 023

The infinitive form of the verb is also found in compulsion constructions, as shown in example (94) below. These constructions are discussed in detail in §13.1.5 above.

- (94) *rtul@len rtalen galen ju 7idu na damu*  
*rtul-len rta-len ga-len su idu na da-mu*  
 mix-CVB ECHO-CVB do-CVB after DEM.NONVIS EMPH give-INF  
*parrni ning su.*  
*parr-ni ning su.*  
 must.LN-3.NPT 1PL ERG

'After doing the mixing and all that, we must give that one.'

T0021: Darma Food. 035

Finally, the infinitive form of the verb is used as an infinitive construction. In this type of construction, the infinitive precedes an inflected verb, as shown in example (95) below.

- (95) *baktsa deemu yangxyen, 7ido deme heme*  
*baksa dee-mu yang-si-hen, idu deme heme*  
 wedding go-INF get.ready-MID-2PL.NPT then drum(s) ECHO
- ning gu mangneden.*  
*ning gu mangne-den.*  
 1PL POSS request.LN-1PL.NPT

‘(We) get ourselves ready to go to the wedding, then (we) the drums and all (we) request ours.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 008

### 13.5 ADVERBIALS

Adverbial clauses contain a non-finite verb at the end of the clause. There are two verbal suffixes found on non-finite verbs in adverbial clauses the converb and the conditional. The suffixes are discussed in the following sections. Converb and conditional clauses are discussed further in Chapter 18 below.

#### 13.5.1 Converbs

The converb morphemes *-len* and *-the* are non-finite verb suffixes. The converb suffixes are found following the verb stem of a subordinate clause (STEM-CONVERB). The converb *-the* is rarely found in the corpus, but according to native speakers the two morphemes are interchangeable. During one elicitation session my primary consultant provided the following pair of utterances as evidence that the two converb morphemes have the same meaning.<sup>14</sup>

- (96) *r’e xhokthe song r’u r’amu.*  
*r’e xhok-thee sang r’u r’a-mu.*  
 cow make.graze-CVB home come-INF

‘After grazing the cow, you should come home.’

T0048: Elicited. 054

<sup>14</sup> My primary consultant also provided minimal pairs of the *-len* converb with and without *-ju* stating that the two utterances mean the same thing.

- (97) *r'e xholen ju song r'u r'amu*  
*r'e xhok-len su sang r'u r'a-mu*  
 cow make.graze-CVB after home come-INF

'After grazing the cow, you should come home.'

T0048: Elicited. 054

The *-len* form is found in alternation with *-leng*. The latter form is usually found preceding *bakte* 'time' as shown in example (98) below. There are just four examples where the converb preceding 'time' is not *-leng*.

- (98) *do leeleng bakte...*  
*do lee-len baktee...*  
 here AUX.EX -CVB time

'The being here time...'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 064

The distribution of converbs and how they are used in natural discourse will be discussed further in §18.4 below.

### 13.5.2 Conditional

Conditional constructions are formed by suffixing *-je* onto a verb stem in the subordinate clause. This is shown with the verb 'go' in example (25) below.

- (99) *than da r'ee jib deeje r'aksa na deemu nini.*  
*than da r'ee jib dee-je r'aksa na dee-mu ni-ni.*  
 now CONT field plant go-COND together EMPH go-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Now though, if (they) go to plant the fields, then (they) have to go together only.'

T0043: Woolwork. 031

Unlike other non-finite forms, the conditional verb is marked with agreement for the first person plural and second person. The agreement morpheme precedes the conditional morpheme as shown in example (100) below. This type of cross-referencing on non-finite clauses is also discussed in §13.2.

(100)	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>ʔang</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>xyunghenje</i>	<i>t'umehang,</i>
	<i>i</i>	<i>ʔang</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>syung-si-n-je</i>	<i>t'um-ang,</i>
	DEM.NONVIS	COMP	more	sit-MID-1PL-COND	catch-3.FUT
	<i>t'umhyang</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>jen.</i>		
	<i>t'um-ang</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>jen.</i>		
	catch-FUT.3	DEM.PROX	people		

'If you stay longer than that, (they) will catch (you), (they) will catch those people.'

T0032: Conversation. 345

The conditional clause will be discussed further in §18.3 below.

### 13.6 NOMINALIZER

The non-finite morpheme, *-nu*, is combined with the verb stem (STEM-*nu*) to form nominalized and relativized constructions. The STEM-*nu* forms function as adjectives in attributive and predicate position, and are found in relative constructions and participial constructions. In participial constructions, the final vowel of the nominalized form is usually dropped preceding the inflected auxiliary. The distribution of the nominalized forms will be discussed in Chapter 17.

### 13.7 MIDDLE MARKER

The suffix *-xi* is found on transitive verb stems to form an intransitive, which often has a reflexive meaning. This morpheme is found directly following the verb stem preceding all other inflectional morphology. Compare examples (101) and (102). In the former example, the transitive verb 'get (something) ready' is STEM-NONPAST, while in the latter example the verb bears the morpheme *-xi* and the order is STEM-*xi* -NONPAST.

(101)	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>yangdi</i>
	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>yangdi</i>
	1SG	get.ready-1SG.NPT
	'I am getting (it) ready.'	

T5:192

- (102) *ji yangxihi*  
*ji yang-si-hi*  
 1SG get.ready-MID-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am getting (myself) ready.’

T5:192

Based on the distribution of *-xi*, I have classified it as a middle marker. The middle morpheme is also pronounced *-hi*, *-ji* and *-je*. This distribution of the alternative forms appears to be in free variation, but further investigation of the middle morpheme needs to be done before this claim can be made with certainty.

The morpheme *-xi*,<sup>15</sup> is found as a suffix on verb stems forming verbs that fall into one of the sixteen domains of meaning for middle forms outlined in Kemmer (1988). These domains include reflexives, reciprocals (including ‘naturally reciprocal events’ like *dakxi-* ‘fighting’), grooming (*7urxi-* ‘bathe’), nontranslational motion (*pexi-* ‘turn’), change in body posture (*r’uje-* ‘stand up’), other body actions (*gulxi-* ‘cough’), translational motion (*gije-* ‘fall’), positionals (*xyungxi-* ‘be sitting’), emotion middle (*khixi-* ‘desire’), cognition middle (*ciji-* ‘think’), perception middle (‘see’), and spontaneous events (*xiji-* ‘die’, *pokxi-* ‘rot’). The middle morpheme in Darma is similar in shape and distribution to the ‘detransitivizer’ morpheme *-si* described for Thulung Rai in Lahaussais (2003).

As mentioned above, the middle often appears with transitive verb stems and functions as a valency decreasing morpheme. These cases are apparent because the middle form of these transitive verbs are inflected with intransitive morphology. Compare the transitive construction in example (101) above to the same verb stem with a

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<sup>15</sup> In Darma there is another morpheme that is not fully understood, *-hi* ~ *-xi*. This morpheme appears to indicate that an event happened in the past, which is similar to what Noonan (1997) describes as an anterior suffix in Chantyal. This suffix is “available for indicating a secondary [relative] past tense in complement clauses” (Noonan 1997: 3). In Darma, this morpheme appears on nominalized verbs; it is found following the verb stem before the nominalizer suffix. I have glossed this alternate suffix as ANT until I can investigate further.

middle morpheme suffixed in example (102) above. In the former example, the nonpast morpheme is from the *d-series*, which indicates that the verb is transitive. In the latter example, however, the nonpast morpheme is from the *h-series*, which indicates that the verb is intransitive.

The middle forms of verbs in Darma adhere to Kemmer's description that the initiator of the event is an affected participant and that there is a low degree of distinguishing the participants of the event (1988). The result in Darma is that the middle forms of verbs are syntactically intransitive and are sometimes derived from transitive verbs. Examples of transitive verbs along with their intransitive, middle counterparts are provided in Table 13.7.A below.

<b>INFINITIVE FORM</b>		<b>MIDDLE FORM</b>	
<b>STEM + [mu]</b>	<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>STEM + [çi]</b>	<i>GLOSS</i>
[te-mu]	<i>to understand (vt)</i>	[te-çi-mu]/ [te-ji-mu]	<i>to think (vi)</i>
[t <sup>h</sup> u-mu]	<i>to take (vt)</i>	t <sup>h</sup> u-ji-mu/ [t <sup>h</sup> u-çi-mu]	<i>to distribute (vi)</i>
[jaŋ-mu]	<i>to get s.th ready (vt)</i>	[jaŋ-çi-mu]	<i>be ready/get self ready (vi)</i>
[t <sup>h</sup> aŋ-mu]	<i>to butcher (vt)</i>	[t <sup>h</sup> aŋ-çi-mu]	<i>to bite self</i>
[jɛb-mu]	<i>to wait for s.o. (vt)</i>	[jɛp-çi-mu]	<i>to wait (vi)</i>
[ʔur-mu]	<i>to wash (vt)</i>	[ʔur-çi-mu]	<i>to bathe (vi)</i>
[çi-mu]	<i>to apply (vt)</i>	[çi-çi-mu]	<i>to apply (vi)</i>
[çi-mu]	<i>to teach (vt)</i>	[çi-çi-mu]	<i>to study (vi)</i>
[ge-mu]	<i>to cover (vt)</i>	[ke-çi-mu]	<i>to cover self (vi)</i>

Table 13.7.A: Transitive Verbs with Middle Counterparts

A crucial characteristic of middle verbs described by Kemmer is that they do not need to derive from transitive verbs (1988). We find this is the case in Darma. In addition to the transitive verbs described above, there are intransitive verbs that appear with the middle morpheme. Examples are shown in Table 13.7.B below.



<b>INFINITIVE FORM</b>		<b>MIDDLE FORM</b>	
<b>STEM + [mu]</b>	<i>GLOSS</i>	<b>STEM + [çi]</b>	<i>GLOSS</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> i-mu]	<i>to think about (vi)</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> i-çi-mu]	<i>to think (vi)</i>
[pɛ-mu]	<i>to walk (vi)</i>	[pɛ-çi-mu]	<i>to wander (vi)</i>
[çjuŋ-mu]	<i>to sit (vi)</i>	[çjuŋ-çi-mu]	<i>to sit down, to stay (vi)</i>
[ruŋ-mu]	<i>to listen (vi)</i>	[ruŋ-çi-mu]	<i>to listen (vi)</i>

Table 13.7.B: Intransitive Verbs and Middle Counterparts

While many of the verbs found with the middle morpheme in the corpus are derived from a verb stem that also appears without the middle morpheme, this is not always the case. There are middle forms where the plain verb stem is not attested in the corpus. For example, *gulximu* ‘cough’ was obtained through a questionnaire, but *gulmu* is not found in the corpus.

Finally, there is a subset of CV verb stems that appear as CV[k] stems when preceding the middle morpheme. Examples of these are shown in Table 13.7.C below. This alternation between CV and CV[k] is discussed in detail in §4.4 above.

INFINITIVE FORM STEM + [mu]	GLOSS	MIDDLE FORM STEM + [çi]	GLOSS
[lo-mu]	<i>to read (vt)</i>	[lok-çi-mu]	<i>to read to self (vi)</i>
[çja-mu]	<i>to adorn s.o (vt)</i>	[çyak-çi-mu]	<i>to wear (jewelry) (vi)</i>
[cumu]	<i>to put on (clothes)</i>	[cuk-çi-mu]	<i>to wear (vi) to put on self (vi)</i>
[pa-mu]	<i>to contribute</i>	[pak-çi-nu]	<i>remaining</i>

Table 13.7.C: Middle Verb Forms with [k]

### 13.8 NEGATIVE

The negative particle, *ma-*, is found preceding the verb stem. The vowel of the negative is usually very short.<sup>16</sup> The negative is found on finite and non-finite verb forms. In examples (103)-(110) below, we find the negative with verbs in the past tense.

- (103) *put'am matangju.*  
 put'am ma-tang-su.  
 rice NEG-see-PST  
 'Rice was not seen.'

T0021: Darma Food. 005

<sup>16</sup> As with other Tibeto-Burman languages (cf Dolakhā Newari and Qiang), the vowel of the negative has multiple variants. On a spectrogram, the vowel appears underspecified. LaPolla (2003) and Genetti (1994) discuss vowel harmony with the negative morphemes of Qiang and Dolakhā Newari, respectively. The quality of the vowel in the negative morpheme in Darma needs to be investigated further.

(104) *7u su ge gu lubung makhwisu.*  
 u su ge gu lubung ma-khwi-su.  
 3SG ERG 2SG POSS book NEG-steal-PST

‘He/she did not steal your book.’

T0048: Elicitation. 142

(105) *matungyo la ne bit’ar’a su.*  
 ma-tung-yo la ne bit’ar’a su.  
 NEG-drink-1SG.PST REP DEM.NEUT poor.thing.LN ERG

‘‘I didn’t drink (it)’’, he said, the poor guy.’

T0023: Migration. 025

(106) *ji su matangyo.*  
 ji su ma-tang-yo.  
 1SG ERG NEG-see-1SG.PST

‘I didn’t see (it).’

T0046: Elicited. 029

The non-past forms of the negative are found to have a slightly different pattern than the past forms. Two forms of the first person singular are found in the corpus. The first form is the same as the past form as shown in (107) below. These constructions have a broad interpretation, so example (107) below means that the speaker doesn’t know how to sing in general. The second form has the first person singular non-past morpheme suffix, as shown in (108) below. The first person plural form of the negative in the non-past is also found with the tense morpheme as shown in example (109) below. The second person singular negative is frequently formed as a verb-not-verb construction, as shown in (110) below. This construction is discussed in §18.1 below. The second person plural forms appear with *-ni* as shown in example (111) below. The third person non-past verb forms in the negative are found without a finite suffix as shown in examples (112)-(114) below.

- (107) *ji ber'a ga malayo.*  
*ji ber'a ga ma-la-yo.*  
 1SG song do NEG-know.information-1SG.PST  
 'I don't know how to sing.'  
 T0037: Conversation. 023
- (108) *xyang bakte, hã, than da lan le matanghi.*  
*syang baktee, hã, than da lan le ma-tang-hi.*  
 big time yes now CONT work also NEG-available-1SG.NPT  
 'During the big time (golden years), yes, now though work isn't even available.'  
 (LIT: ...I don't see work even.)  
 T0043: Woolwork. 070
- (109) *xyung da matar'hen r'ujee da matar'hen.*  
*syung da ma-tar'-hen r'ujee da ma-tar'-hen.*  
 sit CONT NEG-able-1PL.NPT stand CONT NEG-able-1PL.NPT  
 '(We) aren't able to sit, nor are (we) to stand up.'  
 T0043: Woolwork. 067
- (110) *ber'a la la malanu?*  
*ber'a la la ma-la-nu?*  
 song know or NEG-know-NOM  
 'Do you know the song or not?'  
 T0042: Elicited. 029
- (111) *geni ta mar'ani, bamina.*  
*geni da ma-r'ani, bamina.*  
 2PL CONT NEG-come-NPT parents  
 'You, though, don't come, mother and father.'  
 T0038: Song. 003
- (112) *kha phamu, pua mapha.*  
*kha pha-mu, pua ma-pha.*  
 what speak-INF father-in-law NEG-speak  
 'What shall I say, father-in-law isn't talking.'  
 T0032: Conversation. 105
- (113) *bijat'emme t'eeda, wor'axir'i mat'ee.*  
*bijat'emme t'ee-da, wor'asir'i ma-t'ee.*  
 wife understand-1SG.NPT husband NEG-understand  
 'The wife understands, the husband doesn't.'  
 T0032: Conversation. 120

- (114) *mi jen khee mar'ayang wilen.*  
 mi jen khee ma-r'a-ang wi-len.  
 person PL some NEG-come-FUT invite-CVB  
 'Some of the people will not come after being invited.'

T0037: Conversation. 019

The negative is found with the non-finite conditional verb as shown in examples

(115)-(116) below. The conditional clause is negated in these constructions.

- (115) *ga matar'henje than da nixyu jya na gaden.*  
 ga ma-tar'-si-n-je than da nisyu jya na ga-den.  
 do NEG-able-MID-1PL-COND now CONT two day EMPH do-1PL.NPT

'If (we) are not able to do it, now, though, (we) do it for just two days.'

T0018: Funeral. 030

- (116) *malje tha 7a la.*  
 ma-lee-je tha a la  
 NEG-happen-COND NEG lie

'If nothing happened, don't lie.'

T0034: Conversation.008

The negative is also found on nominalized forms. These forms appear as negatives in predicate and attributive positions as shown in examples (117)-(118) below.

- (117) *put'am majunu leeju, r'ejee majunu*  
 put'am ma-ju-nu lee-su, r'ejee ma-ju-nu  
 rice NEG-grow-NOM AUX.EX-PST wheat NEG-grow-NOM  
*bang leeju.*  
 bang lee-su.  
 place AUX.EX-PST

'Rice did not grow, (it) was a place where wheat did not grow.'

T0021: Darma Food. 020

- (118) *magwanu mi.*  
 ma-gwa-nu mi.  
 NEG-laugh-NOM person

'a not laughing person (=serious).'

T0042: Elicitation. 208

Nominalized forms are found in negative constructions without an auxiliary verb in the non-past as shown in examples (119) and (120) below. Note that the example in

(119) is similar to a verb-not-verb construction. Compare this example with example (110) above. Also note that the example with the second plural singular in (110) above is formed with a nominalized verb form as is the negative form in example (120) below.

(119) *ge puni phamu ne? 7ida danxixya jen t'e r'anu*  
*ge puni pha-mu ne? ida dansisya jen t'e r'a-nu*  
 2SG m.i.l speak-INF TAG1 now name.town PL memory come-NOM

*t'e mar'anu.*  
*t'e ma-r'a-nu.*  
 memory NEG-come-NOM

‘You should talk to mother in law, okay? (About) whether the current people of Baluwakot remember or not.’

T0035: Conversation. 003

(120) *r'ida wulang barriya r'ida matangnu tadung?*  
*r'i-da wulang barriya r'i-da ma-tang-nu tadung?*  
 write-3.NPT how.much good.LN write-3.NPT NEG-see-NOM LOC.DIST

‘She is writing very well, haven't you seen it there?’

T0041: Conversation. 008

### 13.8.1 Indefinite Pronouns with Negative Verb

When indefinite pronouns appear with a negative verb, the scope of the negative includes the pronoun. So for example, ‘something’ with a negative verb is interpreted as ‘nothing’. This is shown in example (121) below, where the scope of the negative verb extends to the indefinite pronoun.

(121) *p@rteen da kee r'i mani,*  
*parteem da kee r'i ma-ni,*  
 profit.LN CONT something EMPH NEG-AUX.EQ

‘The profit, though, is absolutely nothing...’

T0043: Woolwork. 056

(122) *wi da bas r'a wasu nadu ma so*  
*wi da bas r'a wasu nadu ma so*  
 3PL CONT bus.LN come until DEM.NEUT EQU hundred.LN  
*do so r'ipyā da kher'i na malageen*  
*do so rupya da kher'i na ma-lagee-nu*  
 two.LN hundred.LN Rupees CONT something EMPH NEG-seem.LN-NOM  
*niyang dam r'u.*  
*ni-ang da-mu r'u.*  
 AUX.EQ-3.FUT give-INF LOC

‘They, though, until the bus comes, its like this, 100 or 200 rupees, though, it will not seem like anything at all (must not seem like much) in giving.’

T0041: Conversation. 241

(123) *khe malayo.*  
*khee ma-la-yo.*  
 some NEG-know.information-1SG.PST

‘I don’t know anything.’ (=I have no idea.)

T0037: Conversation. 049

In the following exchange from a conversation, a woman says that nothing is happening. Her sister tells her that she did the same thing and that nothing is happening for her as well. In the latter example, the pronoun has the emphatic *r'i* following it, which gives the meaning ‘absolutely nothing’.

(124) *khee malee.*  
*khee ma-lee.*  
 something NEG-AUX.EX

‘Nothing is happening.’

T0034: Conversation. 006

(125) *ʔatta ju gu le lubucu* *khe r'i malee.*  
*atta ji gu le ki-bu-su* *khee r'i ma-lee.*  
 sister 1SG POSS also COMPL-come undone-PST something EMPH NEG-AUX.EX

‘Sister, mine also came open and absolutely nothing is happening.’

T0034: Conversation. 007

## 13.9 COMMANDS AND REQUESTS

Commands can be given in one of three ways: giving a direct command using the imperative; using the infinitive, which is a polite command; or by stating the desired action in a declarative form, where the declarative can also be interpreted as a question or as a very polite form. Analyzing the corpus, I find that the latter strategy is used by younger people when making requests of their elders.

In the following subsections, I will present examples from each type of command.

### 13.9.1 Imperative

There are two types of imperative morphemes, the direct imperative and the polite imperative. Another strategy for issuing a polite command is to use the second person singular declarative form. This strategy is the most polite form of making a request. Here I will outline the direct imperative morphemes and the polite imperative morpheme.

#### 13.9.1.1 *Direct Imperative*

The direct imperative is found in singular and plural forms.<sup>17</sup> The imperative morphemes are both suffixes. The singular direct imperative is formed by suffixing [-a] to the verb stem. The plural direct imperative is formed by suffixing [-ni] to the verb stem. Each is discussed in turn below.

The phonotactics of the singular direct imperative are discussed in detail in §4.1.3. Here I will briefly summarize the distribution of the singular direct imperative suffix [-a]. Verb stems that end in a vowel that is not [a] receive an offglide preceding the imperative suffix (a palatal glide after a front vowel, a labio-velar glide after a back

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<sup>17</sup> Trivedi (1991), Genetti (1994), and Lahaussais (2003) all describe a singular and a plural imperative form. In Dolakhā Newari, Genetti suggests that the plural imperative might be related to the plural marker (1994: 115). It appears that the plural direct imperative in Darma may be derived from the short form of the numeral *nixyu* meaning ‘two’. This would be similar to the formation of the second person plural pronoun *geni*, which appears to be 2SG + *ni* ‘two’.



vowel). When the verb ends in [a] the imperative ending is absorbed. It is difficult to ascertain whether or not the result is a long vowel because the imperative is usually stressed for emphasis by vowel lengthening. Some verb stems that end in [e] are irregular in that the final vowel of the verb stem is elided preceding the singular direct imperative. Following are examples of the imperative with different verb stems. In example (126), we find a verb stem that ends in a consonant. In example (127), we find a verb stem that ends with a vowel that is not [a]. In example (128), we find a verb stem that ends in [a]. In example (129), we find a verb stem that ends in [e] where the final vowel of the verb stem has been elided.

(126) *nadu put'am baksu r'u phunga.*  
*nadu put'am baksu r'u phung-a.*  
 DEM.NEUT rice.raw box.LN LOC put-2SG.IMP

'Put this rice in the box.'

T0046: Elicited. 011

(127) *gu gu dar'um gwaljya t'eya.*  
*ge gu dar'um gwalja t'e -a.*  
 2SG POSS door lock apply -2SG.IMP

'Lock your door.'<sup>18</sup>

T0048: Elicited. 025

(128) *7allya jor su pha.*  
*allya jor su pha-a.*  
 some power.LN MAN speak-2SG.IMP

'Talk a little louder.'

T0037: Conversation. 008

(129) *"nisu jya xyunga" lya ne.*  
*nisyu jya syung-a lee-a ne.*  
 two day sit-2SG.IMP say-IMP TAG1

'Tell them "stay two days", okay.'

T0032: Conversation. 210

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<sup>18</sup> In this region of India, doors and gates are generally locked using keyed padlocks rather than internal locks, so the command here is that the padlock should be put on the door.

The singular direct imperative for ‘say’, *lya*, is used often throughout the discourse; and can be interpreted as ‘tell him/her’. It is frequently used when interrupting a narrative to instruct the narrator on what to say. An example of this is shown in (130). In this text the narrator was instructing me about an upcoming visit to the Darma Valley. The narrator is interrupted by someone who wants him to tell me to visit the village Baun.

- (130) “*bung r’u r’amu” lya.*  
 “*bong r’u r’a-mu “ lee-a.*  
 name.village LOC come-INF say-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Say, “you should come to Baun.”’

T0023: Migration. 016

The plural direct imperative STEM-*ni* is used when directing more than one person to perform an action. Examples of this are shown in (131)-(133) below.

- (131) *jenu ber’a gani ne.*  
*jenu ber’a ga-ni ne.*  
 good song do-2PL.IMP TAG1  
 ‘Sing a nice song, okay.’

T0037: Conversation. 013

- (132) ...*hã su pee jen yoni leeden.*  
 ...*hã su pee jen yo-ni lee-den.*  
 then after relative.PAT PL come-2PL.IMP say-1PL.NPT

‘Then, after (we) say to the paternal relatives, “you all should come”.’

T0021: Food. 053

- (133) *nadu duni.*  
*nadu du-ni.*  
 DEM.NEUT mix-2PL.IMP  
 ‘Mix this.’

T0046: Elicited. 009

The direct imperative is also found with an overt second person pronoun for both the singular and the plural as shown in examples (134)-(137) below.

(134) *ge pha.*  
*ge pha-a.*  
 2SG speak-2SG.IMP  
 ‘You speak.’

T0048: Elicited. 076

(135) *ge jati ga.*  
*ge jati ga-a.*  
 2SG food make-2SG.IMP  
 ‘You make the food.’

T0042: Elicited. 470

(136) *7idu wala baksa wala geni nimi taku gani.*  
*idu wala baksa wala geni nimi taku ga-ni.*  
 3SG one.LN wedding one.LN 2PL both one do-2PL.IMP  
 ‘That one, the wedding one, both of you do (=sing) one.’

T0037: Conversation. 021

(137) *gen nimi taku gani de.*  
*geni nimi taku ga-ni de.*  
 2PL both one do-2PL.IMP now  
 ‘Both of you do one now!’

T0037: Conversation. 022

### 13.9.1.2 Polite Imperative

The polite imperative is formed with the infinitive, *-mu*, suffixed to the verb stem. These forms are requests, or suggestions rather than direct commands; often the request has future reference.<sup>19</sup> This polite imperative *-mu* is only found with the second person;

<sup>19</sup> This is similar to the polite imperative found in neighboring IA languages, which also employ the infinitive. For example in Hindi, the infinitive form of a verb is used to request that something be done. In Hindi, however, these forms are not used to request that something be done right away. In Darma, the infinitive can be used to request that something be done immediately. For example, in one conversation I recorded a speaker is gossiping about someone and one interlocutor tells a third party to tell her to be quiet, which she does. The requests in the following exchange are meant to be granted immediately.

[Speaker A:]

*t'up la ... dal maphamu!*  
 quiet.LN say.IMP much NEG-speak-INF  
 ‘Tell her to be quiet...don’t say so much!’

[Speaker B (to speaker C):

*maphamu!*

NEG-speak-INF

‘Shut up!’

(T0032: Conversation. 111-112)

there is no singular/plural distinction for this form. Examples are shown in (138)-(141) below.

- (138) *dar'ma ju wala jen ber'a gamu.*  
 dar'ma jo wala jenu ber'a ga-mu.  
 Darma DAT one.LN good song do-INF  
 'One from Darma, (you) should sing a nice song.'

T0037: Conversation. 014

- (139) *7idung su bunglung basseemu.*  
 idung su bunglung batee-mu.  
 LOC.NONVIS ABL name.village stay.LN-INF  
 'From there you should stay in Bungling.'

T0023: Migration. 003

- (140) *bunglung khaxhcu tar' tar' su r'amu,*  
 bunglung khaxhcu tar' tar' su r'a-mu,  
 name.village ABL slow slow MAN come-INF  
*hã xyela bassemu.*  
 hã sela basse-mu.  
 then name.village stay.LN -INF

'From Bungling (you) should go slowly, then (you) should stay in Sela.'

T0023: Migration. 004

- (141) *nixyu na r'o gumu leesu.*  
 nisyu na r'o gu-mu lee-su.  
 two EMPH basket cut.grass-INF say-PST  
 '(You) should cut only two baskets, (she) said.'

T0032: Conversation. 298

### 13.9.2 Hortative

The hortative suffix, *-ya*, is found following a verb stem in first person singular and first person plural constructions. In the first person plural, the hortative is preceded by the agreement morpheme, *-n* to mean 'let us VERB'.

The first person singular hortative is rare. Unlike the first person plural hortative, the singular form is found only in questions. Examples are shown in (142)-(144). The meaning of these forms is similar to the permissive described below.

(142) *kha leeya?*  
 kha lee-ya?  
 what say-1SG.HORT  
 ‘What shall I say?’

T0037: Conversation. 015

(143) *kha gamu, ji su, kha leeya?*  
 kha ga-mu ji su, kha lee-ya.  
 what do-INF 1SG ERG what say-1SG.HORT  
 ‘What should I do, let me say what?’

T0024: Election. 023

(144) *tuktu sang r’u leelen r’aya la tak cu?*  
 tuktu sang r’u lee-len r’a-ya la taku co?  
 first village LOC say-CVB come-HORT TAG2 one time  
 ‘Shall I first tell them at home and come, right, one time?’

T0048: Elicitation. 040

The first person plural hortative is frequently found in the corpus. It is used to call groups of people together to perform an action. It is interpreted as ‘let us VERB’. Examples are shown in (145)-(147) below.

(145) ...*la xil leenya, r’a leenya, bud@r’u...*  
 ...*la sil lee-n-ya, r’a lee-n-ya, budr’u...*  
 hand wash AUX.EX-1PL-HORT come AUX.EX-1PL-HORT inside  
 ‘...let us wash our hands, let us come, inside...’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 030

(146) *janya janya, tungya tungya...*  
*ja-n-ya ja-n-ya, tung-n-ya tung-n-ya...*  
 eat-1PL-HORT eat-1PL-HORT drink-1PL-HORT drink-1PL-HORT  
 ‘...let us eat, let us eat, let us drink, let us drink...’

T0015: Song. 001

(147) ...*hã jama na rtholen pyamsar’e rthonya leeden.*  
 ...*hã jama na rtho-len pyamsar’e rtho-n-ya lee-den.*  
 then all EMPH throw-CVB offering throw-1PL-HORT say-1PL.NPT  
 ‘Then, all throwing, (we) say, “let us throw the offering!”’

T0021: Food. 053

There is an example in the corpus of the first person plural hortative in a question. Like the first person singular hortative, this construction has a permissive meaning ‘shall we’.

- (148) *lege t'unya la pixya parnya, than kha ganya?*  
 lege t'u-n-ya la pisya par'-n-ya, than kha ga-n-ya?  
 feet plant-1PL-HORT or head shake-1PL-HORT now what do-1PL-HORT

‘Shall we plant our feet or shall we shake our heads, now what shall we do?’

T0024: Election. 010

### 13.9.3 Optative

The optative marker, *-lo*, is a third person directive indicating that the speaker wants the action to occur. The optative forms mean ‘let him/her VERB’. This is similar in meaning to the hortative. The optative is sometimes referred to as the jussive mood. Examples are shown in (149)-(151) below.

- (149) *7or ning 7aglee sal gu kam gaden ki*  
 or ning alee sal gu kam ga-den ki  
 and 1PL next.LN year.LN POSS work.LN do-1PL.NPT CONJ.LN
- 7aglee sal le ne barriya dangsu leelo.*  
 alee sal le ne barriya dangsu lee-lo.  
 next.LN year.LN also DEM.NEUT goodness.LN BEN AUX.EX-OPT

‘And we do next year’s work so that next year also let it be for this goodness.’  
 (=So next year will be good.)

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 110

- (150) *kheer'i r'alo kheer'i deelo.*  
 kheer'i r'a-lo kheer'i dee-lo.  
 some come-OPT some go-OPT

‘Let some come, let some go.’

T0046: Elicitation. 054

- (151) *xyungxilo.*  
 syung-si-lo.  
 sit-MID-OPT

‘Let (him) sit down.’

T3:75

#### 13.9.4 Permissive

The permissive, *-mu*, is found in the corpus as a first person singular form meaning ‘shall I’ or ‘may I’, and a first person plural form meaning ‘shall we’. It is often used to request permission to do something. When the subject of the permissive is not overt, it is derived from the context. The permissive form is the same as infinitive and the second person singular polite imperative described above; all three are glossed as INF. The permissive has a rising intonation, and is usually a question. Examples with a singular and plural interpretation are shown in (152)-(155) below.

- (152) *ge curri xyamu?*  
ge curri sya-mu?  
2SG bangle.LN put.on-INF  
‘Shall I put bangles on you?’

T0048: Elicitation. 105

- (153) *kha phamu than hang’?*  
kha pha-mu than hang’?  
what speak-INF now then  
‘What should (I) say now then?’

T0032: Conversation. 007

- (154) *ning su kha gamu?*  
ning su kha ga-mu?  
1PL ERG what do-INF  
‘What shall we do?’

T0024: Election. 009

- (155) *than ying kha gamu than, ne?*  
thaying kha ga-mu than, ne?  
this.year what do-INF now TAG1  
‘This year what should (we) do, now then?’

T0024: Election. 019

#### 13.9.5 Prohibitive

The prohibitive is formed with the negative particle *tha* preceding the imperative. This is shown in examples (156)-(158) below.

(156) *hadu gobi tha ga*  
*hadu gobi tha ga-a*  
 DEM.NEUT cauliflower.LN PROH make-2SG.IMP

‘Don’t make that cauliflower.’

T0024: Election. 020

(157) *malje tha 7a la.*  
*ma-lee-je tha a la-a.*  
 NEG-AUX.EX-COND PROH lie-2SG.IMP

‘If (nothing) happened, don’t lie.’

T0034: Conversation. 008

(158) *tha ga!*  
*tha ga-a*  
 PROH do-2SG.IMP

‘Don’t do (that)!’

T0038: Song. 001

There is only one instance of a negative polite imperative in the corpus. This is shown in example (159) below. Unlike the prohibitive outlined above, which uses *tha*, this polite prohibitive is formed with the negative prefix *ma-*. Compare this with example (160) below, where the prohibitive *tha* is used with an inflected second person declarative form. Using a declarative construction is viewed as the most polite way to make a request. The fact that the prohibitive particle is found preceding an inflected verb provides evidence that declarative forms also function as imperatives.

(159) *t’up lya dal maphamu.*  
*t’up lee-a dal ma-pha-mu.*  
 quiet say.2SG.IMP much NEG-speak-INF

‘Say “(be) quiet”, don’t say too much.’

T0032: Conversation. 111



(160) *thyã ne ti seenu nini*  
*thyã ne ti see-nu ni-ni*  
 today DEM.NEUT water cold-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
*ge tha 7urxiyen.*  
*ge tha ur-si-hen.*  
 2SG PROH wash-MID-1PL.NPT

‘Today this water is cold, you shouldn’t wash yourself.’

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 044

Like the polite imperative, the hortative also appears with the negative prefix *ma-* as shown in example (161) below.

(161) *bamina jen r’aksa maxyungnya leen niyang ya?*  
*bamina jen r’aksa ma-syung-n-ya lee-nu ni-ang ya?*  
 parent PL COM NEG-live-1PL-HORT say-NOM AUX.EQ-3PL.FUT TAG1

‘(They) will be (=must be) saying, ‘let’s not live with our parents’, or?’

T0041: Conversation. 102

### 13.10 ASPECT

The aspectual system of Darma is not yet fully understood. Based on a preliminary analysis of the corpus, it appears that there is a completive aspect and an intentive aspect. The completive may be a perfective. Further work must be done before a satisfactory analysis of the aspectual system can be presented. In the following sections, I will outline the data attested in the corpus of these potential aspectual morphemes.

#### 13.10.1 Completive

There are four morphemes attested in Darma that appear to indicate the completive aspect:<sup>20</sup> *ki-*, *pi-*, *par’-*, *tu-*, and *lu-*. All of these morphemes are prefixes as shown in examples (162)-(170) below. Of the aspectual prefixes, the form found most frequently in the corpus is *ki-*. The forms *tu-* and *lu-* are the rarest in the corpus; each is found just once. For both examples, my primary consultant said *tu-* and *lu-* could be

<sup>20</sup> Trivedi (1991: 129) describes past participle prefixes. The forms he describes in Byansi are only found on participial verbs. In Darma, however, these morphemes are found on inflected verbs and nominalized forms functioning as participles and adjectives.

replaced by *ki-*. The form *pi-* is always found with ‘come’, and the form *par’-* is always found with ‘finish’.<sup>21</sup> Further work with the aspectual system may reveal a pattern that is not currently apparent.

- (162) *nek co sum co kileeyo ji lung kangni*  
 nek co sum co ki-lee-yo ji lung kang-ni  
 two times three times COMPL-call-1SG.PST 1SG back hurt-3.NPT
- la ji ma-dee-yo la.*  
 la ji ma-dee-yo la.  
 REP 1SG NEG-go-1SG.PST REP

‘I called, two times, three times, “my back hurts,” he says, “I didn't go,” he says.’  
 T0032: Conversation. 270

- (163) *ne sir'ka su ham d@bu*  
 ne sir'kar'i su hadu ma dobo  
 DEM.NEUT government.LN ERG DEM.NEUT EQU manner
- kigata thaying.*  
 ki-ga-da thaying.  
 COMPL-do-3.NPT this.year

‘This year the government has done it like this.’

T0024: Election. 016

- (164) *didi, jati kijansu?*  
 didi, jati ki-ja-n-su?  
 sister.LN food COMPL-eat-1PL-PST

‘Sister, did you eat?’

T0032: Conversation. 431

- (165) *cyekti da maweje puwen na lya.*  
 cekti da ma-hwe-je pi-hwe-nu na lee-a.  
 liquor CONT NEG-get.drunk-COND COMPL-get.drunk-NOM EMPH say-IMP

‘Say that if one doesn't get drunk on *cekti* though, (one) got drunk.’

T0021: Darma Food. 058

- (166) *punu lama pir'an nini.*  
 pu-nu lama pi-r'a-nu ni-ni.  
 big-NOM priest COMPL-come-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘The big priest has come.’

T0024: Election. 012

<sup>21</sup> It is possible that these forms are actually allomorphs, where the final consonant of the prefix is not easily perceptible preceding the onset of ‘come’ because they are the same sound.

- (167) *7u su gartho me polen ju pulis su jo nini*  
 u su gartho me po-len su pulis su jo nini  
 3SG ERG mill fire start-CVB after police.LN ERG HM  
*t'umlen ju, jo nini r'aja dar'o sar' pukur'su.*  
 t'umlen su, jo nini r'aja dar'o sar' pi-kur'-su.  
 catch-CVB after HM king.LN near deliver COMPL-take.away-PST  
 'After he started the mill fire, after the police, um, caught (him), um, (they) took (him) away to deliver to the king.'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 020

- (168) *last su galan da sum r'e sum phal,*  
 last su ga-lan da sum r'e sum phal,  
 last.LN MAN do-CVB CONT three by three ration.LN

*jo nini, par'geeju.*  
 jo nini, par'-gee-su.  
 HM COMPL-finish-PST

'Lastly, doing (this) though three by three, um, (he) finished the rations.'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 012

- (169) *7ida na halang tuktayn nini.*  
 ida na halang tu-ta-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 now EMPH that.much COMPL-put-MID-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Now (they) have put that much.'

T0024: Election. 015

- (170) *7atta ju gu le lubucu khe r'i malee.*  
 atta ji gu le lu-bu-su khee r'i ma-lee.  
 sister 1SG POSS also COMPL-come.undone-PST some EMPH NEG-AUX.EX

'Sister, mine also came open and nothing is happening.'

T0034: Conversation. 007

As we can see in the preceding examples, the completive morpheme is found on finite and non-finite verbs. For example, we find the completive morpheme on a nominalized verb, as shown in (171), and on a finite auxiliary, as shown in (172).

- (171) *...kha kir'in nini?*  
 ...kha ki-r'i-nu ni-ni?  
 ...what COMPL-write-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'All of it happened this fast, what has (she) written?'

T0037: Conversation. 046

(172) *hado ma ning bar'ee r'u r'inu kilni.*  
*hadu ma ning bar'ee r'u r'i-nu ki-lee-ni.*  
 DEM.NEUT EQU 1PL about write-NOM COMPL-AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Like that she has been writing about us.’

T0037: Conversation. 047

The completive form is also found on a nominalized form that is combined with a future auxiliary to denote a speculative construction. This is shown in example (173) below.

(173) *thor'o de 7ido khar'ee, khar'ee wala jo nini, se sema wala*  
*thor'o de ido khar'ee, khar'ee wala jo nini, se sema wala*  
 LOC.UP at then that that one.LN HM god goddess one.LN  
*ber'a kha lee? tho adiyo kigajnu niyang.*  
*ber'a kha lee? tho ki-ga-si-nu ni-ang.*  
 song what COP up audio.LN COMPL-do-MID-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

‘Up there, then that, that one, that is, the god and goddess song, what is it? Up (there) she must have done the audio.’

T0041: Conversation. 079

### 13.10.2 Intentive/Future

The morpheme indicating that something will or might happen is glossed as FUTURE and co-occurs with a non-past suffix except in the third person forms of intransitive verbs. The morpheme order for future constructions is STEM-FUT-NPT-AGR. The future suffix has three allomorphs (*-ang*, *-yang*, and *-ng*), which are discussed in §4.1.1 above. In Table 13.10.2 provided below, I will only include the allomorph *-ang*.

PERSON	INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	[-aŋ-hi]	[-aŋ-hɛn]	[-aŋ-di]	[-aŋ-dɛn]
2	[-aŋ-hɛn]	[-aŋ-(hɛ)ni]	[-aŋ-dɛn]	[-aŋ-dɛni]
3	[-aŋ]	[-aŋ]	[-aŋ-da]	[-aŋ-da]

Table 13.10.2: Future Verb Endings

Examples of the intentive/future construction for intransitive and transitive verbs are shown in (174)-(184) below.

- (174) *jab ji kheeju la bon song r'u*  
*jab ji kheeju la bon sang r'u*  
 when.LN 1SG next month name.village village LOC

*lyangkhi, ji ge ciyangkhi.*  
*lee-ang-hi, ji ge ci-ang-hi.*  
 AUX.EX-FUT-1SG.NPT 1SG 2SG meet-FUT-1SG.NPT

‘When I am in Baun village next month, I will meet you.’

T0048: Elicited. 115

- (175) *ge thaying feel lyangen.*  
*ge thaying feel lee-ang-hen.*  
 2SG this.year failure.LN AUX.EX-FUT-2SG

‘You will fail this year.’

T0049: Conversation. 004

- (176) *7idakhay 7ida ci cyene ज्या kham su ga tar'eyang?*  
*idakhay ida ci cyene ज्या khami su ga tar'-ang?*  
 thesedays now ten twelve day who ERG do able-FUT

‘Now, thesedays, who is able to do ten or twelve days?’

T0018: Funeral. 029

- (177) *xyel geeyang.*  
*syel gee-ang.*  
 cell.LN end-FUT

‘The cell (=battery) will end (=run out).’

T0032: Conversation. 403

(178) *7o r'aksa thor'i phangen.*  
 o r'aksa tha-r'i pha-ang-hen.  
 3SG COM NEG-EMPH speak-FUT-2SG.NPT

‘(We) won’t even speak with him.’

T0035: Conversation. 004

(179) *ning tanglan suja par'n niyang, wi.*  
 ning tang-lan suja parr-nu ni-ang, wi.  
 1PL see-CVB worry.LN must.LN-CVB AUX.EQ-FUT 3PL

‘Seeing us, they must worry.’

T0032: Conversation. 318

(180) *ji ne mala t'umangdi.*  
 ji ne mala t'um-ang-di.  
 1PL DEM.NEUT goat catch-FUT-1SG.NPT

‘I will catch this goat.’

T0042: Elicitation. 052

(181) *7idu dangsu wi gu manobal barriyangda.*  
 idu dangsu wi gu manobal barree-ang-da.  
 DEM.NONVIS BEN 3PL POSS morale.LN be.big.LN-FUT-3.NPT

‘For that, their morale will increase.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 088

(182) *ning th'agu th'ama dangden na.*  
 ning th'agu th'ama da-ang-den na.  
 1PL rice.cooked daal give-FUT-1PL.NPT EMPH

‘We will even give (you) daal and rice.’

T0023: Migration. 020

(183) *7akoangdeni deelen ju.*  
 ako-ang-deni dee-len su..  
 abuse.FUT-2PL.NPT go-CVB after

‘You (all) will abuse (me) after (I) go.’

T0032: Conversation. 264

(184) *7ido 7ãn t'ejang pungangda.*  
 ido ãn t'ejang pung-ang-da.  
 then HM kettle put-FUT-3.NPT

‘Then, um, (they) will put the kettle on.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 025

There is one example in the corpus where the future marker is found with the nominalizing suffix. In this example, the future morpheme is found following the nominalizer. This is shown in example (185) below.

(185) *kha maphanyang mi xyalbar' do leeni.*  
kha ma-pha-nu-ang mi syalbar' do lee-ni.  
Q NEG-speak-NOM-FUT person whole.year here AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Has this man who will not speak been here a whole year?’<sup>22</sup>

T0032: Conversation. 037

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<sup>22</sup> This can also be interpreted to mean ‘Why won’t this man speak, hasn’t he been here a whole year?’

## **Chapter 14: Constituent Order and the Roles Markers (reprise)**

### **14.0 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I will present the basic constituent order of Darma (cf §14.1), revisit the topic of role markers introduced in Chapter 7 and elaborate on how personal pronouns are role marked (cf §14.2-14.4). I will then look at pro-drop and provide examples showing that subjects and objects can be omitted from a sentence (cf §14.5).

The noun phrase constituent and its components were introduced in Chapters 6-12 above. I also introduced the terms ‘agent’, ‘subject’, and ‘object’ to refer to the grammatical relations found in Darma. The ‘agent’ is defined here as the entity that is performing the action of a transitive verb; the ‘object’ is defined as the patient of a transitive verb. A ‘subject’ is the core argument of an intransitive verb. According to Andrews, the grammatical relation ‘subject’ is relevant when there is cross-referencing on the verb and subjects can be suppressed (1985: 104). In Darma, we find that the core argument of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb are cross-referenced on the matrix verb (cf §13.2 above). We also find that the semantic role of some core arguments can be indicated with a postposition. These postpositions are referred to in this dissertation as role markers; they were introduced in Chapter 7.

In his discussion of noun phrases, Andrews (1985: 70) indicates that the proposed semantic roles in the literature are not adequate to capture the structures found cross-linguistically. He outlines two groups of roles that are commonly found: ‘participatory’ roles (i.e. complements) and ‘circumstantial’ roles (i.e. adjuncts). The participatory roles include: ‘agent’; ‘patient’; ‘directional’, which includes ‘source’ and ‘goal’; ‘inner locative’, which he defines as ‘giving the location of a participant, rather than of the event or state as a whole’; ‘experiencer’; ‘recipient’; ‘theme’; ‘causer’; and



‘instrumental’. The circumstantial roles include: ‘benefactive’; ‘outer locative’; which is defined as ‘the place where something is done’; ‘reason’; ‘comitative’; and ‘temporal’.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, it is difficult to determine which roles in Darma would be classified as ‘participatory’ and which would be classified as ‘circumstantial’ because some of the roles overlap (e.g. the locative). For the current discussion, I have divided the postpositions used to mark semantic roles in a clause into two broad categories: macro roles and oblique roles.

Some of the particles presented in this chapter are used to fulfill multiple roles, which is not unusual cross-linguistically. For example, *su* marks the ergative, the instrumental, the ablative, and as we will see later in Chapter 15, it is used in adverbial constructions to indicate an adverb of manner. There are cases where it is difficult to determine the best classification for some examples containing *su*. This is shown in example (1) below, where *su* could be interpreted as the instrumental or the dative.

- (1) *ʔan da matlab jo nini ni mi nihen,*  
 an da matlab jo nini nisyu mi ni-hen,  
 DEM.PROX CONT meaning.LN HM two man AUX.EQ-1PL.NPT
- ʔandu jo nini ʔalang da yhi nini,*  
 andu jo nini alang da yhi ni-ni,  
 DEM.PROX HM QUAN.PROX CONT flour AUX.EQ-3.NPT
- ʔan su kha lyang?*  
 an su kha lee-ang?  
 DEM.PROX INSTR what AUX.EX-FUT

‘This, though, meaning, um, (we) are two men, this, um, there is this much flour, with this, what will happen?’

0025: Kiti Phondar. 045

#### 14.1 BASIC CONSTITUENT ORDER IN DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

The basic constituent order in Darma declarative sentences is SV/AOV. This constituent order is predominant in elicited sentences, but there is some variability to the order. In some cases the object of a transitive verb precedes the agent. Generally this

variability is allowed only when the semantic role of the core arguments is not ambiguous as a result of the re-ordering (i.e. when the agent is overtly marked with the ergative postposition). This type of variability is not uncommon in the languages of the world, and “some languages seem to tolerate surprising amounts of ambiguity” (Andrews 1985:71). Examples of variable word order are found throughout this dissertation. Here I will focus solely on the basic constituent order that is found in pragmatically neutral utterances.

The examples presented in the following subsections come mainly from direct elicitation sessions. This is due to the fact that, unlike those found in natural discourse, utterances produced during elicitation sessions usually have all core arguments overtly expressed.

#### 14.1.1 One Participant

Intransitive sentences have a basic SV constituent order; the sole participant precedes the matrix verb. This is shown in examples (2)-(4) below.

- (2) *ning phaxyen*  
ning pha-si-hen  
1PL speak-MID-1PL.NPT  
‘We are speaking/talking (amongst ourselves).’  
T0049: Elicited. 108
- (3) *7o r’ani.*  
o r’a-ni.  
3SG come-3.NPT  
‘He is coming.’  
T0048: Elicited. 009
- (4) *ji cih.*  
ji cee-hi.  
1SG think-1SG.NPT  
‘I am thinking.’  
T0046: Elicited. 066

### 14.1.2 Two Participants

Verbs that have two arguments are classified as transitive verbs. In the declarative, the basic order is AOV, where the agent precedes the object, and both arguments precede the verb. This is shown in examples (5)-(8) below.

- (5) [ji su] [r'e] podi.  
ji su r'e po-di.  
1SG ERG cow tie-1SG.NPT  
'I am tying the cow.'

T0046: Elicitation. 075

- (6) [ge su] [nim] thoncu la?  
ge su nim tho-n-su la  
2SG ERG nose pierce-2SG-PST TAG2  
'You pierced your nose?'

SOURCE

- (7) [7u su] [ge gu lubung] makhwisu.  
u su ge gu lubung ma-khwi-su.  
3SG ERG 2SG POSS book NEG-steal-PST  
'He/she did not steal your book.'

T0048: Elicitation. 142

Additional information, such as the location of the event, can appear following the agent and preceding the object.

- (8) [ji] r'ee r'u [ti] phungdi.  
ji r'ee r'u ti phung-di.  
1SG field LOC water pour-1SG.NPT  
'I am pouring water in the field.' (= 'I am watering the field')

T0042: Elicited 215

### 14.1.3 Three Participants

Verbs with three participants are classified as transitive verbs. These verbs are conjugated using the same morphology as transitive verbs with two arguments (i.e., both types of verb are found with the *d*-series of non-past morphemes as discussed in §13.3.1 above). In these sentences the recipient, which I refer to as the (primary) object, follows

the agent and precedes the secondary object; the basic order is AO<sub>P</sub>O<sub>S</sub>V. This is shown in examples (9)-(13) below. In example (14) below, we find the same constituent order with a malffective (as opposed to a recipient) preceding the secondary object (a further discussion of objects is presented later in this chapter).

- (9) [ji] [ge xir'i] [r'ipya sale] xyadi.  
 ji ge sir'i r'ipya sale sya-di.  
 1SG 2SG son money garland put.on-1SG.NPT

'I am putting the garland of money on your son.'

T0048: Elicited.055

- (10) [ji su] [gu gu dar'um] [gwaljya] t'eedi.  
 ji su ge gu dar'um gwalja t'ee-di.  
 1SG ERG 2SG POSS door lock affix-1SG.NPT

'I am affixing the lock on your door.'

T0048: Elicited.113

- (11) [ji] [xyeno] [nu] pileedi.  
 ji syeno nu pilee-di.  
 1SG child milk feed-1SG.NPT

'I am feeding the child milk.'

T0049: Elicited.012

- (12) hã 7idu baktee jo nini [bir' mi su]  
 hã idu baktee jo nini bir' mi su  
 then DEM.NONVIS time HM all person ERG  
 [xyaxi jen] [jama] [kharto] daden.  
 syasi jen jama] kharto da-den.  
 relative.MAT PL everyone] white.cloth give-1PL.NPT

'Then, at this time, um, all people (=all of us) give the maternal relatives, everyone, a white cloth.'

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 015

- (13) [ji su] [7u] [nixyu luphung] dati  
 ji su u nisyu lubang da-di  
 1SG ERG 3SG two book give-1SG.NPT

'I am giving him two books'

SOURCE

(14) [ji] [ge ju] [nadu lubung] th'udi.  
 ji ge jo nadu lubung th'u-di.  
 1SG 2SG MAL DEM.NEUT book take-1SG.NPT

'I am taking this book from you.'

T0042: Elicited 135

While an example like (11) above is unusual, it is not ambiguous for several reasons. First, the word order AO<sub>P</sub>O<sub>S</sub>V is maintained, which allows the listener to understand that the speaker is feeding the baby and not the other way around. Second, the verb is in the first person singular alerting the listener to the fact that the speaker is the subject of the clause. Finally, in this example, as in all of the examples of three-participant constructions found in the corpus, it is possible to disambiguate the roles of the two internal arguments based on the verb meaning. In this example it is unlikely that the speaker is being fed milk by the child. Future investigation must obtain examples of sentences with two animate internal arguments such as 'I introduced Ram to Sita'. This type of sentence would reveal whether it is possible to have three participants without case marking with just word order to disambiguate.

#### 14.1.3.1 *Primary and Secondary Objects*

Kroeger summarizes the patterns commonly found with primary objects and secondary objects. In terms of case marking: 'If one object is marked like the object of a simple (mono-) transitive clause while the other gets a special marker (e.g. dative case; see Chapter 14), the one with the special marker is probably the OBJ<sub>2</sub>' (2005: 62). In terms of position: 'If there is no difference in the marking of the two objects, eg. if both are bare NPs, and if their relative ordering is fixed (or if one ordering can be shown to be more basic than the other), the object that occurs closest to the verb is more likely to be the primary object' (2005: 62). Darma does not follow either pattern described by Kroeger. The primary object is marked with the dative marker when it appears in an

oblique clause, and in constructions with two objects, the secondary object is closest to the verb. Examples highlighting each pattern are provided in (15)-(28) below. The dative marked objects are in bold, when secondary objects are overt, they are in brackets.

- (15) **ji jo** *th'agu kushbu lani.*  
 ji jo th'agu kushbu la-ni.  
 1SG DAT rice.cooked smell.good.LN smell-3.NPT  
 'The rice smells good to me.'

T0042: Elicited. 246

- (16) *nadu pant* **ji jo** *gani.*  
 nadu ji jo ga-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT pants.LN 1SG DAT be.tight-3.NPT  
 'These pants are tight on me.'

T0042: Elicited. 342

- (17) **ning jo** [*rokxyen gubxyen xyangse ber'a*] *ga ne?*  
 ning jo rokxyen gubxyen syangse ber'a ga ne?  
 1PL DAT song do.OPT TAG1  
 'Sing the "Rokxyen Gubxyen Xyangse" song to us, okay?'

T0037: Conversation. 011

- (18) *ning tuktu par'i le ning jo do* [*photo*] *thesu.*  
 ning tuktu par'i le ning jo do [photo] the-su.  
 1PL before time also 1PL DAT here photo.LN show-PST  
 'We at an earlier time also, (she) showed pictures to us here.'

T0041: Conversation. 104

- (19) **7u jo,** *pata malju.*  
 u jo, pata ma-lee-su.  
 3SG DAT known.LN NEG-AUX.EX-PST  
 '...He did not know.'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 007

- (20) **sum jo** *hr'usu mabadesu.*  
 sum jo r'u-su ma-batee-su.  
 third DAT ask-PST NEG-tell.LN-PST  
 '(He) asked a third, (who) did not say.'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 011

- (21) *7u jo dikat gu samna gamu parju.*  
 u jo dikat gu samna ga-mu parr-su.  
 3SG DAT difficulty.LN POSS opposite.LN do-INF must.LN-PST  
 ‘He had to face difficulty.’  
 T0025: Kiti Phondar. 013
- (22) *7u jo [xile] t’ilju.*  
 u jo sile t’il-su.  
 3SG DAT turban wrap-PST  
 ‘(They) wrapped the turban on him.’  
 T0030: Barte Ceremony. 049
- (23) *ning jo leeda.*  
 ning jo lee-da.  
 1PL DAT say-3.NPT  
 ‘(She) is saying to us.’  
 T0032: Conversation. 213
- (24) *7u jo kha maleensung.*  
 u jo kha ma-lee-n-su.  
 3SG DAT Q NEG-say-2SG-PST  
 ‘Why haven't you told him?’  
 T0032: Conversation. 242
- (25) *...hã [ning] [jyala] dada.*  
 ...hã ning jyala da-da.  
 ...then 1PL date give-3.NPT  
 ‘...Then (they) give us the date.’  
 T0013: Marriage Proposal. 004
- (26) *to hadu dangsu [ge] [dãd] dam parryang.*  
 to hadu dangsu ge dãd] da-mu parr-ang.  
 then DEM.NEUT BEN 2SG fine.LN give-INF must.LN-FUT  
 ‘So, for this (mistake) you will receive a fine/must receive a fine.’  
 T0031: Cuti Gabla. 078
- (27) *ge su [ji] [lubung] dadan.*  
 ge su ji lubang da-dan.  
 2SG ERG 1SG book give-2SG.NPT  
 ‘You are giving me the book.’  
 T0042: Elicitation. 123

- (28) 7u 7aphahenu mi su [lama] [xyerje] dada.  
 u a-pha-si-nu mi su lama syerje da-da.  
 3SG soothsayer man ERG lama rice.ceremonial give-3.NPT

‘He, the soothsayer gives the lama the ceremonial rice.’

T0046: Elicited. 002

## 14.2 MACRO ROLES

### 14.2.1 Absolutive

The absolutive is reserved for the grammatical subject of an intransitive clause and the patient or object of a transitive clause. As is expected in an ergative-absolutive alignment system, the grammatical subject of an intransitive clause and the patient of a transitive clause are marked in the same way in Darma. The absolutive is unmarked in Darma, which is not uncommon cross-linguistically. According to Dixon, ‘if any case has zero realization, or a zero allomorph, it will be absolutive or nominative’ (1994). The following subsections provide examples which show that the grammatical subject of an intransitive clause is unmarked for case, and the patient of a transitive clause is also unmarked for case.

#### 14.2.1.1 *Subject of Intransitive Clause*

The grammatical subject of an intransitive clause is unmarked for case. This is shown with a pronoun in examples (29)-(30), with a common noun in example (31), and with a proper noun in example (32).

- (29) 7u r’ani.  
 u r’a-ni.  
 3SG come-3.NPT

‘He is coming’.

T0048: Elicited. 009



- (30) *wi 7inglish na phani.*  
 wi na pha-ni.  
 3PL English EMPH speak-3.NPT  
 ‘They only speak English.’

T0032: Conversation. 219

- (31) *thyākarte mosam th'eeni.*  
 thyākarte mosam th'ee-ni.  
 thesedays weather.LN be.cold-3  
 ‘Thesedays the weather is cold.’

T0048: Elicited. 114

- (32) *r'am kang-ni.*  
 r'am kang-ni.  
 name.m be.sick-3.NPT  
 ‘Ram is sick.’

T0047: Elicited. 002

There are examples where the subject of an intransitive clause is marked with the dative postposition. These are defined as ‘experiencer subjects’; they will be discussed in §14.3.1.2 below.

#### 14.2.1.2 *Patient of Transitive Clause*

The patient of a transitive verb is unmarked for case. When an agent is not overtly marked, an AOV constituent order is maintained. When the agent is overtly marked, the word order of the sentence is not fixed. Examples (33)-(35) show an overt agent that is marked with the postposition *su*. In the first two examples, the AOV constituent order is maintained. In example (35), however, the AOV word order is scrambled. In this example, the patient precedes the agent. The agent is followed by the ergative postposition, and the patient is not marked. According to Andrews (1985:71), scrambling is not uncommon in the languages of the world ‘providing ambiguity is not introduced’. He goes on to point out that this statement is not entirely true since ‘some languages seem

to tolerate surprising amounts of ambiguity.’ Scrambling is found frequently in Darma, especially in constructions where the participants are overtly marked with postpositions.

- (33) *7u su 7u kamda.*  
 u su u kam-da.  
 3SG ERG 3SG hit-3.NPT  
 ‘He hit him’.

T0042: Elicited 721

- (34) *ning su pharsa su xing ceentsu.*  
 ning su pharsa su sing cee-n-tsu.  
 1PL ERG axe INSTR wood chop-1PL-PST  
 ‘We chopped the tree with an axe.’

T0042: Elicited 485

- (35) *ne lubung ji su tangdi.*  
 ne lubung ji su tang-di.  
 DEM.NEUT book 1SG ERG put.FUT-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I will put this book (down)’.

T0046: Elicited. 026

### 14.2.2 Ergative

The ergative particle indicates the agent of a transitive clause. As mentioned above, the alignment system in Darma appears to be ergative/absolutive. Unlike the ergative languages of the IA family, which are mostly split alignment systems, Darma marks ergative case in all tenses. While Krishan states that, as in Hindi, the agent in Darma is marked only in the past (2001: 359), this is not borne out in the data. Looking at data collected during elicitation sessions I found that indeed the ergative marker surfaced mainly in past tense constructions. When asked if the agent of non-past transitive constructions could take the ergative marker, speakers allowed the ergative. In natural discourse, I have found examples in all tenses and moods where ergative case is marked, but the agent of a transitive clause is not always marked with the ergative particle. The ergative postposition thus appears to be optional.

This optionality in Darma and the fact that other TB languages have ‘optional’ ergative marking supports the claim made by Scott DeLancey (p.c.) that the alignment systems of TB languages are not best described under the ergative/absolutive and nominative/accusative systems presented in the literature (see for example the description of ergativity in Dixon 1994). This combined with the presence of a nominative/accusative alignment system in the agreement morphology lead me to believe that the relevance of alignment cross-linguistically merits further investigation.

In the following subsections I will present examples of ergative marking in the past and non-past tenses and in the future mood. It is important to note that it is possible to have an overt ergative marker with all persons and number in the past, non-past, and future forms. Likewise, it is possible to omit the ergative marker (and the agent) for all persons and number in the past, non-past, and future forms.

#### **14.2.2.1      *Past Tense***

As with the other ergative languages of South Asia, agents are marked with the ergative postposition in past tense constructions in Darma. As mentioned above, in elicitation sessions, the agent was always marked in past tense constructions. In natural discourse, subjects and agents are frequently omitted, but when the agent is overt in a past tense construction, it is usually marked with *su*. Compared to the non-past constructions, where speakers frequently accept utterances that have an agent with and without the ergative postposition, the consistent use of the ergative in the past tense appears to be a result of contact with Hindi. In Hindi, the ergative is mandatory in the simple past. Examples (36)-(38) below, are from elicitation sessions and natural discourse.

- (36) *ge su ju gu lubung tangsu?*  
 ge su ji gu lubung tang-su?  
 2SG ERG 1SG POSS book see-PST

‘Did you see my book?’

T0046: Elicited. 027

- (37) *hã sung r’u r’alen jang hã sum jya pi jya*  
 hã sang r’u r’a-len su hã sum jya pi jya  
 then house LOC come-CVB after then three day four day  
*nongdi ning su 7idu gu gwan gan ninju.*  
 nogondi ning su idu gu gwan ga-nu ni-n-su.  
 later 1PL ERG DEM.NONVIS POSS funeral do-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘Then after coming home, then three or four days later we would do his funeral.’

T0018: Funeral. 009

- (38) *to r’aja su leesu*  
 to r’aja su lee-su  
 then king.LN ERG say-PST

‘Then the king said...’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 021

While an ergative morpheme is preferred, there are examples from the corpus where an overt agent is unmarked.

- (39) *nyung xixya, sar’i sung, sung pee jen jo nini, hã*  
 ning syasi, sar’ee sang, sang pee jen jo nini, hã  
 1PL relative.MAT all.LN village village brother PL HM then  
*byolo xile jilda.*  
 byolo sile jil-da.  
 bridegroom.LN turban wrap-3.NPT

‘Our maternal relatives, the entire village, the male villagers, that is, then (they) tie the bridegroom's turban.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 022

- (40) *geni mina xhung r’en niju.*  
 geni mina xhung r’en ni-su.  
 2PL mother woolwork weave AUX.EQ-PST

‘Did your mother weave the woolwork (e.g. rugs)?’

T0032: Conversation. 284

### 14.2.2.2 *Non-Past Tense*

The agent is optionally marked in the non-past tense. I found that direct elicitation resulted in few instances of the ergative marker in non-past transitive clauses. It is unclear if this is an artifact of contact with IA languages that only mark agents in past tense constructions, or if the marking has always been optional. Example (41) is from natural discourse. Here the agent of the verb ‘do’ is marked with the ergative particle. The agent has been postposed, and in this instance, could be interpreted as an afterthought.

- (41) *ni ree wasu na ber’a baji gaden ning su.*  
*ni ree wasu na ber’a baji ga-den ning su.*  
 sun set until EMPH song performance.LN do-1PL.NPT 1PL ERG

‘We sing and dance only until the sun sets’ (after that we go home).

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 037

During elicitation sessions, whenever the agent of a non-past transitive utterance was not marked with the ergative particle, I would ask whether it was possible to mark the agent. Speakers were always willing to accept the same utterance with the agent overtly marked. When asked whether the meaning of an utterance with an overtly marked agent was different than the meaning of the same utterance with an unmarked agent, they would respond that the meaning was the same in both utterances. Sometimes consultants would then say that it was in fact ‘better Darma’ to use the overtly marked agent in a transitive construction. The examples (42)-(44) below illustrate that it is possible for the agent in a non-past utterance to be overtly marked with the ergative particle *su*.

- (42) *7u, 7aphahenu mi su lama xyerje dada.*  
*u, a-pha-si-nu mi su lama syerje da-da.*  
 3SG soothsayer man ERG lama rice.ceremonial give-3.NPT

‘He, the soothsayer gives the lama the ceremonial rice.’

T0046: Elicited. 002

- (43) *matungyo la ne bit'ar'a su.*  
 ma-tung-yo la ne bit'ar'a su.  
 NEG-drink-1SG.PST REP DEM.NEUT poor.thing.LN ERG

‘‘I didn’t drink (it)’’, he said, the poor guy.’

T0023: Migration. 025

- (44) *ge su ji lubang dadan.*  
 ge su ji lubang da-dan.  
 2SG ERG 1SG book give-2SG.NPT

‘You are giving me the book.’

T0042: Elicitation. 123

Compare the previous examples to the following in (45), where there is no agent particle following an overt agent.

- (45) *ji t'im lubdi.*  
 ji t'im lub-di.  
 1SG house clean-1SG.NPT

‘I am cleaning the house (meaning to apply a manure and mud mixture to the walls and floors).’

T0046: Elicited. 015

It should be noted that ‘house’ preceded by a personal pronoun can be interpreted as ‘X’s house’, so it is possible that this is actually ‘I am cleaning my house’ without an overt agent. Regardless, it is possible to have an overt agent that is not marked with the ergative particle. This is also shown in examples (46) and (47), which show that the ergative marker is optional. Initially the consultant provided the example shown in (46), where the agent is unmarked with the ergative. After I explicitly asked, it was confirmed that it is fine to include the ergative in this sentence, as in example (47).

- (46) *ji ne r'e kung r'u lubdi.*  
 ji ne r'e kong r'u lub-di.  
 1SG DEM.NEUT cow grave LOC bury-1SG.NPT

‘I am burying the cow in a grave.’

T0046: Elicited. 016

- (47) *ji su ne r'e kung r'u lubdi.*  
 ji su ne r'e kong r'u lub-di.  
 1SG ERG DEM.NEUT cow grave LOC bury-1SG.NPT

'I am burying the cow in a grave.'

T0046: Elicited. 016

It should be noted that in both utterances it is clear who the agent of the action is. The grammatical subject can be determined based on the form of the verb, which is inflected with *-di* (the first person singular nonpast marker for transitive verbs). Based on the inflected verb we know that it is the first person singular doing the action. Additionally, it is unlikely that the cow would be burying anybody (unless this was a story about a cow burying someone, which it is not).

#### 14.2.2.3 *Future Constructions*

Transitive clauses that are predicted to occur in the future also have overt agents marked with the ergative particle. Examples (48)-(49) show future constructions where the agent of the action that is yet to be done is overtly marked with the ergative particle.

- (48) *wi su nadu pharsa su pyelangda.*  
 wi su nadu pharsa su pyel-ang-da.  
 3PL ERG DEM.NEUT axe INSTR cut-FUT-3.NPT

'They will cut this with an axe.'

T0042: Elicited 502

- (49) *7u su ge gu lubung makhwin niyang.*  
 u su ge gu lubung ma-khwi-nu ni-ang.  
 3SG ERG 2SG POSS book NEG-steal-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

'She will not (=couldn't) have stolen your book.'

T0048: Elicited. 119

Not all examples of the future have an ergative marked agent, however. This is shown in examples (50)-(51) below.

- (50) *7o khay xile cilangda.*  
 u khay sile jil-ang-da.  
 3SG tomorrow turban wrap- FUT-3.NPT  
 ‘He will wrap the turban tomorrow.’

T0042: Elicitation. 261

- (51) *ne mi jan 7u t'umangda.*  
 ne mi jen 7u t'um-ang-da.  
 DEM.NEUT person PL 3SG catch-FUT-3.NPT  
 ‘Those people will catch him.’

T0048: Elicited. 063

### 14.3 OBLIQUE ROLES

#### 14.3.1 Dative

The dative postposition *jo* is used to mark objects in adjuncts, to mark the experiencer subject in certain intransitive constructions; to show possession of some physical objects (sometimes called ‘have’ constructions); and to indicate a place of origin. As with other postpositions, the dative particle *jo* has alternative forms. In addition to *jo*, *ju* and *su* are found in the corpus marking dative case. When I tried to determine the pronunciation of this postposition during elicitation sessions, speakers would use all three forms interchangeably, sometimes providing all options for a single utterance. The dative particle is found in both intransitive and transitive constructions, which will be illustrated below.

Abbi argues that the dative experiencer found in South Asian languages should be considered the subject of the clause. She uses the fact that in these languages, when there is a reflexive, a conjunctive participle, or a reduplicated adverb construction, the elements co-refer to the dative experiencer (1988: 265). Chelliah (1988), based on her analysis of Manipuri, suggests that while these dative experiencers are the logical subjects of clauses, they are not grammatical subjects. She calls them logical subjects because they appear in the position where subjects normally appear. According to Chelliah, the dative



experiencer cannot be the grammatical subject of these constructions because the grammatical subject receives nominative case in Manipuri. Chelliah suggests that by placing the dative experiencer in the position where grammatical subjects normally appear, the dative experiencer is focused. The dative postposition in Darma appears to function like the dative discussed in Chelliah.

#### 14.3.1.1 *Dative Objects*

As mentioned in §14.2.1 above, the patient of a transitive clause is unmarked for absolutive. Likewise, secondary objects are often unmarked as shown in (52). In this example all of the arguments of the verb are unmarked. We know who is giving what to whom based on the word order. The agent is in first position followed by the recipient and then the patient.

- (52) *ji ge lubang dadi.*  
 ji ge lubang da-di.  
 1SG 2SG book give-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am giving you the book’.

T0042: Elicited 139

In some constructions, however, the object is marked with the dative case, as shown in example (53) below. Prior to this example, the hero of the story has been asking people ‘Where is the king?’ While the question is not repeated in this example, it has been established in the discourse.

- (53) *sum jo hr’usu mabadesu.*  
 sum jo r’u-su ma-batee-su.  
 third DAT ask-PST NEG-tell.LN-PST  
 ‘(He) asked a third, (who) did not say’.

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 011

There are other constructions where an object is marked with dative case. In example (54), the proximate demonstrative *ʔan* (cf §8.2.1.1 above for a full discussion of this demonstrative) is referring to the object that is called *kurtup* in Darma. In example

(55), the first person plural personal pronoun is the one to whom the action ‘show’ is directed. Similarly, in (56), ‘mother’ is the participant to whom ‘speak’ is directed. It should be noted, however, that ‘speak’ is an intransitive verb, while ‘call’ and ‘show’ are both transitive.

- (54) *ʔan jo kurtup la, ʔan jo.*  
 an jo kurtup la, an jo.  
 DEM.PROX DAT burr call.3.NPT DEM.PROX DAT

‘...this is called *kurtup*, this one’.

T0032: Conversation. 387

- (55) *ning tuktu par’i le ning jo do photo thee su.*  
 ning tuktu par’i le ning jo do the-su.  
 1PL before time also 1PL DAT here photo.LN show-PST

‘We at an earlier time also, she showed pictures to us here.’

T0041: Conversation. 104

- (56) *mina ju phayo.*  
 mina jo pha-yo.  
 mother DAT speak-1SG.PST

‘I spoke to mother.’

T0039: Conversation\_T4\_221. 003

### 14.3.1.2 *Dative Experiencer*

A common feature of the languages of South Asia is to use the dative to mark the subject in sentences where the predicate is not ‘objectively ascertainable’ to anyone other than the one experiencing the situation (Masica 2005: 160). For example, in Hindi the first person singular is case marked with the dative in a sentence like ‘I am hungry’. Masica calls this the ‘subjective experience’ (2005: 160). Languages of South Asia mark those things that are directly observable to the non-experiencer differently than those things that are not directly observable. Masica states that this distinction is not found in the Tibeto-Burman languages, and in terms of ‘hunger’, ‘thirst’, and so forth I confirm that this is not a distinction made in Darma. In these predicates, I do not find the

experiencer marked with the dative particle in Darma as it would be in Hindi. This is shown in the examples (57)-(59) below, where the experiencer of ‘hunger’, ‘thirst’, and ‘pain’ are not marked. Moreover, the subjects in the first two examples are arguments of the verb. This is apparent because the verbs in these examples agree with the subjects who are experiencing the sensations ‘hunger’ and ‘thirst’. In example (59), the verb is in the third person, which indicates that the first person singular pronoun *ji* is most likely in a possessive construction (i.e. *ji lung* = ‘my back’).

- (57) *ge r’o nihen?*  
 ge r’o ni-hen?  
 2SG hungry AUX.EQ-2SG.NPT  
 ‘Are you hungry?’

T0042: Elicited 498

- (58) *ji ti tung pakar’n nihi.*  
 ji ti tung-mu pakar’-nu ni-hi.  
 1SG water drink-INF be.thirsty-NOM AUX.EQ-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am thirsty for drinking water (itung=paanii piine).’

T0042: Elicited 500

- (59) *nek t’o sum t’o kileeyo “ji lung kangni”*  
 nisyu t’o sum t’o ki-lee-yo ji lung kangni  
 two times three times COMPL-call-1SG.PST 1SG back pain-3.NPT  
*la “ji madeeyo” la.*  
 la ji ma-dee-yo la.  
 say.3.NPT 1SG NEG-go-1SG.PST say.3.NPT

‘I called, two times, three times, “My back hurts,” he says, “I didn’t go,” he says.’

T0032: Conversation. 270

There are, however, some verbs where the experiencer is marked with the dative particle. In the following example, the verb ‘smell’ is intransitive. It is in the third person form; the argument of the verb is ‘rice’. The first person singular experiencer is marked with the dative particle; and it is not an argument of the verb.

(60) *ji jo th'agu kushbu lani.*  
*ji jo th'agu kushbu la-ni.*  
 1SG DAT rice.cooked smell.good.LN smell-3.NPT

'The rice smells good to me.'

T0042: Elicited 246

This same expression is possible using a locative phrase, which is not an option in the languages with a 'subjective experiencer' that Masica describes. Compare the previous example with example (61) below. In the following example the experiencer of 'smell' is the possessor in a locative construction.

(61) *ji nim r'u th'agu kushbu lani.*  
*ji nim r'u th'agu kushbu la-ni.*  
 1SG nose LOC rice smell.good.LN smell-3.NPT

'In my nose the rice smells good.' (=The rice smells good to me.)

T0042: Elicited 248

In examples (62)-(63) below, the experiencers are marked with the dative particle. In both examples, the matrix verb is intransitive and does not agree with the dative subject. In the corpus the verbs found in this type of construction are the existential auxiliary (found in a construction that is translated as 'know something'), 'be afraid', 'be tight' (as in clothes), and 'talk'.

(62) *khitiphondar ju leeju ki t'ampavat than ji*  
*su lee-su ki t'ampavat than ji*  
 Khiti Phondar ERG say-PST CONJ.LN name.town now 1SG  
*wan pir'ayo lekin r'aja wude xyungheni?*  
*wan pi-r'a-yo lekin r'aja wudee syung-si-ni?*  
 reach COMPL-come-1SG.PST but.LN king.LN where sit-MID-3.NPT  
*7u jo, pata malju.*  
*u jo, pata ma-lee-su.*  
 3SG DAT known.LN NEG-AUX.EX-PST

'Kithi Phondar said, "Now I have arrived in Campavat, but the where is the king?" He did not know.'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 007



discussion of the possessive marker). In Darma, though, the use of the dative particle to indicate a relationship between the possessed and the possessor does not seem to match any of the descriptions provided by Masica.

Many of the predicates where the possessor is dative marked appear to pertain to a relationship between the possessor and the possessed that is temporary (or at least in the process of changing). In South Asian languages, according to Masica, these are marked with the locative case. It is the inherent possessor and the subjective possessor that are marked with the dative or the genitive, which is what we find in Hindi (2005: 168). Darma, however, marks most possessive constructions with the possessive particle (which some might analyze as the genitive), and some possessive constructions with the dative particle. The following examples show the possessor with dative particle in ‘have’ constructions.

(64) *to khiti phondar jo 7alang t’oka dimag leeju*  
 to jo alang t’oka dimag lee-su  
 then Khiti Phondar DAT QUAN.PROX much mind.LN AUX.EX-PST  
 ‘Then, Khiti Phondar has this much of a mind...’ (Meaning he was very wise.)  
 T0025: Kiti Phondar. 002

(65) *sohnta jo ngay kut’o nini.*  
 sohnta jo ngay kut’o ni-ni.  
 name.F DAT five broom AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘Sohnta has five brooms.’  
 T0047: Elicited. 006

(66) *kha ge ju kha nini?*  
 kha ge jo kha ni-ni.  
 Q 2SG DAT walnut AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘Do you have walnuts?’  
 T0042: Elicited 346

- (67) *7u jo niya lee.*  
 u jo ni-ya lee.  
 3SG DAT AUX.EQ-INFER  
 ‘He must have (it).’

T0049: Elicited. 051

The section discussing how malafactives are marked below is also of interest to this discussion of the dative.

#### 14.3.1.4 *Dative Marking Source*

The dative particle is also used to indicate the originating location of someone or something as shown in examples (68)-(70) below. Most commonly, the dative is used to mark the native place of someone. In example (68), the speaker is asking if the interlocutor is from the village Sela, which is in the Darma Valley.<sup>1</sup> In example (69), the speaker is telling her interlocutors that I, the researcher, come from the United States. In example (70), the verb ‘be afraid’ is an intransitive verb. The dative marks ‘dog’ indicating that this is the source of the fear.

- (68) *ge sela su nihen la*  
 ge sela jo ni-hen la  
 2SG name.village DAT AUX.EQ-2SG.NPT TAG2  
 ‘You are from Sela, right?’

T0042: Elicited 185

- (69) *7amer’ika jo lee.*  
 amer’ika jo lee.  
 America DAT COP  
 ‘(She) is from America’.

T0032: Conversation. 085

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<sup>1</sup> Notice that the verb is [nihen], which is the declarative form. In Darma, what is the declarative for first person singular and plural and third person is generally interpreted as a question for second person. This is discussed again in §17.1.1.

- (70) *ji khwi su/jo jerhi.*  
 ji khwi jo jer-hi.  
 1SG dog DAT be.afraid-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am afraid of dogs.’

T0042: Elicited 340

### 14.3.2 Malafactive

The malafactive indicates the one or thing that is deprived of something. The particle *jo* follows the noun or NP complement. This particle alternates with *ju*. All but one example of the malafactive come from direct elicitation sessions.

The malafactive appears in transitive and intransitive constructions and marks an adjunct of the matrix verb. Example (71) below, shows the malafactive following a personal pronoun; the patient, ‘this book’, is overt. The verb ‘take’ is transitive, which we can see by the presence of the NPT marker *-den* (cf §13.3.1 above for a discussion of the nonpast suffix). In this sentence, ‘from you’ is an adjunct of the verb,<sup>2</sup> and is marked with the malafactive postposition.

- (71) *ning ge ju nadu lubung th’uden.*  
 ning ge jo nadu lubung th’u-den.  
 1PL 2SG MAL DEM.NEUT book take-1PL.NPT  
 ‘We are taking this book from you.’

T0042: Elicited 090

Compare example (71) above with example (72) below. In (72) the secondary object is not overt. There are many examples like this one in the corpus where a core argument is omitted. This example was provided during the same interview session as the preceding example.

<sup>2</sup> In this example, and the example that follows, the agent is not marked with the ergative postposition particle. As discussed in §14.2.2, the ergative is frequently not marked in non-past sentences provided during direct elicitation. In both of these examples, which NP serves as the agent can be determined based on the verb inflection.



- (72) *ji ge jo th'udi.*  
*ji ge jo th'u-di.*  
 1SG 2SG MAL take-1SG.NPT  
 'I am taking (something) from you.'

T0042: Elicited 133

Compare the preceding examples to the following examples where the verb is 'steal'. In the examples (73) and (74) below, we find the primary object expressed as a possessor in the NP. Instead of expressing 'you' with the malfactive postposition *jo*, we find 'you' as part of a possessive construction ('your X' and 'yours', respectively). In example (74) below, the possessor does not have an overt head. This is common in possessive constructions (see Chapter 9 for a full discussion of possession and *gu*).

- (73) *ji su ge gu khe r'i khwiyo.*  
*ji su ge gu khee r'i khwi-yo.*  
 1SG ERG 2SG POSS something EMPH steal-1SG.PST  
 'I stole your something.'

T0042: Elicited 591

- (74) *ji ge gu khwidi.*  
*ji ge gu khwi-di.*  
 1SG 2SG POSS steal-1SG.NPT  
 'I am stealing yours.'

T0042: Elicited 589

The following is the only example of the malafactive found in the natural discourse corpus analyzed to date. Note that the verb 'end' is intransitive.

- (75) *jab 7u ju phal geeju...*  
*jab u jo phal gee-su...*  
 when.LN 3SG MAL ration.LN end-PST  
 'When his rations ran out...'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 014

In a follow up interview session, I obtained a construction similar to (75) above, except with the possessive *gu*. This example is shown in (76). Here 'rations' is the head of a possessive construction.

(76) *ji gu phal gee-ju.*  
*ji gu phal gee-su.*  
 1SG POSS rations.LN end-PST

‘My rations ended.’ (= ‘My rations ran out.’)

T0049: Elicited. 044

### 14.3.3 Benefactive

The benefactive postposition *dangsu* does not appear often in the corpus. It indicates who or what something is for, and the meaning can often be translated as: ‘In order to do X’. The benefactive directly follows the NP complement it is marking. As with other postpositions, the benefactive is found in the corpus marking NPs of varying complexity. In this section, I will show the benefactive with a full noun complement and with a personal pronoun complement.

The benefactor does not need to be a human being. The following example illustrates that the benefactive particle can mark an inanimate as a benefactor.<sup>3</sup> The village is preparing for the arrival of the men bearing a freshly cut tree that will be erected in the temple.<sup>4</sup> This tree, called an *ʔalam*, is sacred. The villagers who do not participate in the cutting of the tree go to meet the men on their way back from the forest. The men bearing the totem are met by villagers who bring drinks (e.g. tea and *cekti*) and drums. The whole group then parades back to the temple where the totem is erected.

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<sup>3</sup> This assessment of the Alam as an inanimate may be incorrect. A Chaudangsi friend and I have had numerous discussions about the religious practices of the Rang people, and while many claim that the Rang have been Hindus since the beginning of time, others believe that Hinduism is a recently adopted practice. My Chaudangsi friend says that traditionally the Rang worshiped nature. According to the traditional doctrine, god can be found in trees, rocks, mountains and animals. In this world view, the Alam may not be semantically inanimate.

<sup>4</sup> There are sometimes multiple totems erected at one time. One ceremony we witnessed in the village Baun involved the erection of three totems simultaneously. There was a totem erected in three of the corners of the temple grounds (in this particular temple the fourth corner is where the shrine is located).

- (77) *7alam dangsu deme yangthee deehen ning.*  
alam dangsu deme yang-thee dee-hen ning.  
totem BEN drum(s) get.ready-CVB go-1PL.NPT 1PL

‘Getting the drums for the Alam ready, we go.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 035

In example (78) below, *dangsu* indicates that 2SG ‘you’ is the benefactor of the action. The context my consultant provided is that on migration to Darma Valley, person A lags behind person B. Noticing this, B waits for A. When person A catches up, person B says what is shown in example (78) below.

- (78) *ji ge dangsu hr’ungjiyo.*  
ji ge dangsu hr’ungji-yo.  
1SG 2SG BEN stop.(wait)-1SG.PST

‘I waited for you.’

T0046: Elicited. 038

#### 14.3.4 Comitative

The comitative indicates with whom or what something is done. This is expressed using *r’aksa* following the noun or noun phrase complement. In the corpus, the NP complements with *r’aksa* are all human referents. The form *r’aksa* is also found without a complement, in which case it means ‘together’.

Examples (79)-(81) below, all show the comitative *r’aksa* in a position following the NP complement. All of the complements refer to humans.

- (79) *ge r’aksa ta sath le xheemu.*  
ge r’aksa taku sath le xhee-mu.  
2SG COM one companion.LN also bring- INF

‘You should bring a friend along with you.’

T0023: Migration. 032

- (80) *bamina jen r’aksa maxyungnya leen niyang ya?*  
bamina jen r’aksa ma-syung-n-ya lee-nu ni-ang ya?  
parent PL COM NEG-live-1PL-OPT say-NOM AUX.EQ-3PL.FUT TAG1

‘(They) will be (=must be) saying, ‘let’s not live with our parents’, or?’

T0041: Conversation. 102

- (81) *wor'axir'i r'aksa kha phanya ledi.*  
 wor'asir'i r'aksa kha pha-n-ya lee-di.  
 husband COM what speak-1PL-OPT say-1SG.NPT

‘(I) am saying, “What shall we talk about with the husband?”’

T0032: Conversation. 417

In the following examples, *r'aksa* has no preceding complement, and means ‘together’. The participants are derived from the discourse. In example (82), the conversation is about how my companion and I reached the village Sipu in Darma Valley. It is the last village in the valley, and the inhabitants were not only surprised that we actually showed up, they were amazed that we found the way on our own. In example (83), the speaker is comparing modern times to the old days. She is talking about how now that the men no longer go to Tibet to trade, they help out in the field, and how they all go together to do their work.

- (82) *r'aksa na r'aling.*  
 r'aksa na r'a-ling.  
 together EMPH come-INFER

‘(They) must have come together only.’

T0032: Conversation. 231

- (83) *than da r'ee jib deeje r'aksa na deemu nini.*  
 than da r'ee jib dee-je r'aksa na dee-mu ni-ni.  
 now CONT field plant go-COND together EMPH go-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Now though, if (they) go to plant the fields, then (they) have to go together only.’

T0043: Woolwork. 031

### 14.3.5 Locative

The locative locates a person or thing in a place or at an instant of time. In Darma there are two locatives: *r'u* and *yer'to*. The former is the more commonly used locative, which has a wide range of meanings, the latter locative is not widely attested in the corpus. The less common form generally means ‘on top of.’ Both forms of the locative postposition are found following their NP complement. This is shown in examples (84) and (85) below, where ‘rug’ is the NP complement of the postposition.

- (84) **byam r'u tagu lubung nini.**  
 byam r'u taku lubung ni-ni.  
 rug LOC one book AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'On the rug there is one/a book.'

T0047: Elicited. 013

- (85) **lubung byam yer'to nini.**  
 lubung byam yer'to ni-ni.  
 book rug LOC AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'A book is on the rug.'

T0047: Elicited. 014

Outlining the various semantic roles found cross-linguistically, Andrews differentiates between the 'inner locative' and the 'outer locative'. He claims that the former gives 'the location of a participant, rather than of the event or state as a whole', while the latter gives 'the place where something is done' (1985:70). In Darma, the locative *r'u* fills both roles. In example (86) below, the location of the theme (i.e. 'cat') is marked with the locative. This should be compared to (87), where the location of what is being done (i.e. 'playing tug-of-war') is marked.

- (86) **ning t'im r'u ta billa nini.**  
 ning t'im r'u taku billa ni-ni.  
 1PL house LOC one cat.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'In our house there is a/one cat.'

T0042: Elicited 1113

- (87) **gabla se r'u r'@sko th'ani.**  
 gabla se r'u r'asko th'a-ni.  
 name.god temple LOC tug.of.war play-3.NPT

'In the Gabla temple (they) play tug-of-war.'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 065

In the following subsections I will provide examples for the various interpretations of the locative *r'u*, including the use of *r'u* in fixed expressions, which appear to be borrowed from Hindi. I will then present the limited data for *yer'to* and contrast the distribution with *r'u*. Finally, I will provide examples of two locative words

(*bangr'u* ‘outside’ and *budr'u* ‘inside’) where *r'u* appears to be part of the phonological word. These forms are entered into the dictionary as single words.

#### 14.3.5.1 *‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’ a Place*

The locative postposition *r'u* can mean ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’ in terms of a physical location or a place. Examples (88)-(90) below, show *r'u* locating a person or thing in a physical place in the world.

- (88) *ji thang r'u xyunghi.*  
*ji thang r'u syung-hi.*  
 1SG floor LOC sit-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am sitting on the floor.’

T0042: Elicited 119

- (89) *ji r'ee r'u ti phungdi.*  
*ji r'ee r'u ti phung-di.*  
 1SG field LOC water pour-1SG.NPT  
 ‘I am pouring water in the field.’ (= ‘I am watering the field.’)

T0042: Elicited 215

- (90) *dar'ma r'u nyingtaba se'ni.*  
*dar'ma r'u nyingtaba se'-ni.*  
 name.valley LOC night-time be.cold-3.NPT  
 ‘In Darma Valley it is cold at night.’

T0042: Elicited 017

#### 14.3.5.2 *‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’ a Container or Object*

The locative postposition *r'u* can locate something or someone ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’ buildings, containers, and so forth. In examples (91) and (92) below, the best interpretation of *r'u* is ‘in’. In example (91), *r'u* locates ‘water’ in a ‘bucket’, and in example (92), *r'u* locates ‘water’ in some ‘milk’.

- (91) *balti r'u ti t'erbungju.*  
 balti r'u ti t'eebung-su.  
 bucket.LN LOC water be.full-PST

'In the bucket water was full.' (= The bucket was full of water.)

T0042: Elicited 040

- (92) *7u nu r'u ti duda.*  
 u nu r'u ti du-da.  
 3SG milk LOC water mix-3.NPT

'He is mixing water in the milk.'

T0046: Elicited. 035

### 14.3.5.3 'in', 'on', 'at' a Body Part

The locative postposition *r'u* can locate something or someone 'on' the body of a human or animal. This is shown in examples (93) and (94) below.

- (93) *hã jama, bana r'u sale xyakta.*  
 hã jama, bana r'u sale sya-da.  
 then everyone neck LOC necklace put.on-3.NPT

'Then everyone... (they) put the necklace on (=around) (her) neck.'

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 025

- (94) *ne baeg long r'u phoa.*  
 ne lung r'u pho-a.  
 DEM.NEUT bag.LN back LOC put-IMP.2SG

'Put this bag on (your) back.'

T0042: Elicited 066

### 14.3.5.4 'in', 'on', 'at' a Temporal Location

The locative postposition *r'u* can locate a person or situation in time. Examples (95) and (96) below show the locative postposition following a noun or noun phrase that is a time referent.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Both of the time referents are words borrowed from IA. *budhvaar*, meaning 'Tuesday', and *itvaar*, meaning 'Sunday'. Darma does not have words for days of the week or months of the year. The words that refer to time are related to the annual migration, but more frequently the IA borrowings are used.

- (95) *budh r'u yoni.*  
 budh r'u yo-ni.  
 Tuesday.LN LOC come-2PL.IMP  
 ‘(You all) should come on Tuesday.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 005

- (96) *ya 7eta r'u [XX] yoni.*  
 ya eta r'u yo-ni.  
 or Sunday.LN LOC come-2PL.IMP  
 ‘Or (you all) should come on Sunday [inaudible].’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 006

#### 14.3.5.5 ‘to’ or ‘from’ a Location

The locative postposition *r'u* can place someone or something at a point of origin or an end destination with a directional verb. In example (97), the narrator is describing the traditional methods of burial, which are no longer commonly practiced. The body is taken to a field and buried.

- (97) *hã ree r'u kur'len ju kung r'u lub ninju.*  
 hã ree r'u kur'-len su kong r'u lub-nu ni-n-su.  
 then field LOC take.away-CVB after grave LOC bury- NOM AUX.EQ-1PL.PST  
 ‘Then after we take (the body) away to the field (we) bury (it) in a grave.’

T0018: Funeral. 005

In example (98), the speaker is narrating how to get from village to village in Darma Valley. After the town of Baling there is a crossroads where one must decide whether to go to the village Dugtu, or to the village Baun. The narrator is from Baun, so the word ‘come’ is used in this utterance.

- (98) *7idung khaxhcu bung r'u r'anje r'amu,*  
 idung khaxhcu bong r'u r'a-n-je r'a-mu,  
 LOC.NONVIS ABL name.village LOC come-2SG-COND come-INF  
  
*duktung deenje deemu.*  
 duktung dee-n-je dee-mu.  
 name.village go-2SG-COND go-INF

‘From here, if (you) come to Baun then you should come, if (you) go to Dugtu you should go.’

T0023: Migration. 007



Example (99) is from a song celebrating the fact that a dirt road has been constructed all the way to the village Dar, which is considered by some to be the first village in the Darma Valley.<sup>6</sup> Unlike the other villages in the valley the inhabitants of Dar do not migrate to lower elevations during winter. Also, Dar has a high population of non-Rang inhabitants who are both Scheduled Caste (SC) and Schedule Tribe (ST) (cf §1.1.4 for a discussion of SC and ST status).

(99) *gar'i pir'aju, pir'aju, dar'ma lungba r'u.*  
*gar'i pi-r'a-su, pi-r'a-su, dar'ma lungba r'u.*  
 car.LN COMPL-come-PST COMPL-come-PST Darma homeland LOC

‘The car has come, (it) has come to Darma’s Homeland.’

T0040: song\_T4\_225. 002

#### 14.3.5.6 *Other Meanings of [ru]*

The locative postposition *r'u* is used in some constructions that don’t fit neatly into any of the categories outlined in previous sub-sections. Examples of these other uses are shown in (100)-(104) below. In example (100), the locative postposition is found following a verbal noun. The meaning is ‘in’, but it is not locating the noun ‘giving’ in time or space; instead it means ‘in’ in a sense similar to ‘via’ or ‘by’.

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<sup>6</sup> The construction of this road began after the National Hydro-Electric Power Corporation (NHPC) began to build a dam below the town of Sobla, which is about five kilometers downriver from Dar. In preparation for transporting the turbines that are needed to run the dam from the plains, the government has been widening the roads from the railhead at Tanakpur all the way to the dam site. The locals believed that since the government was building a dam in the lower half of the valley, and improving the roads that led to Sobla, building a road further up the valley would not be a problem. NHPC has already scouted out two other dam sites further upstream (an area which is firmly in the Darma Valley), and the common belief is that a road will eventually be built to the prospective dam sites. The local Rang people have advocated for the construction of a road all the way to Sipu (the last village in the valley). The government has denied the builders a permit based on the fact that the Darma Valley falls within the boundary of the Askot Sanctuary, and the area is a protected nature reserve. The Rang people are outraged at the government’s refusal to sanction the road; in protest a local contractor has continued to build the road to Dar without a permit. While I strongly disagree with the Rang people that a road would improve the Darma Valley, I love this song. It has a catchy tune, and I find myself singing it regularly.

(100) *wi da bas r'a wasu nadu ma so*  
*wi da bas r'a wasu nadu ma so*  
 3PL CONT bus.LN come until DEM.NEUT EQU hundred.LN  
*do so r'ipyda da kher'i na malageen*  
*do so rupya da kher'i na ma-lagee-nu*  
 two.LN hundred.LN Rupees CONT something EMPH NEG-seem-NOM  
*niyang dam r'u.*  
*ni-ang da-mu r'u.*  
 AUX.EQ-3.FUT give-INF LOC

'They, though, until the bus comes, its like this, 100 or 200 rupees, though, it will not seem like anything at all (must not seem like much) in giving.'

T0041: Conversation. 241

In example (101), the phrase 'on the drums' indicates that the battle is fought by playing the drums, not that the fighters are physically located on the drums.

(101) *r'aja r'aksa larreelen bakte, r'aja r'aksa deme r'u*  
*r'aja r'aksa larree-len baktee, r'aja r'aksa deme r'u*  
 king.LN COM fight.LN-CVB time king.LN COM drum(s) LOC  
*larreelen bakte, khami gu deme, tar'ni--.*  
*larree-len baktee, khami gu deme, tar'-ni--.*  
 fight.LN-CVB time someone POSS drum(s) able-3.NPT

'At the time of the fighting with the king, at the time of fighting with the king on the drums, someone is able to drum --.'

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 003

In example (102), the locative postposition means 'by'. The action is done to each individual family in succession, 'family by family'.

(102) *khu khu r'u yeja galen jyung r'axyen.*  
*khu khu r'u yeja ga-len su r'a-si-hen.*  
 family family LOC guest.invited do-CVB after come-MID-2PL.NPT

'After doing the guests family by family (we) come.'

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 020

In example (103), the phrase 'in two village assemblies' does not locate the action in the village assemblies; instead the meaning here is that from the two village assemblies one person is elected to the regional committee. Formerly each village assembly sent someone to the regional committee, as is explained in example (104).

- (103) 7ō, hã thaying, jo nini, **nixyu gr'amsaba** **r'u**, jo nini  
 ō, hã thaying, jo nini, nisyu gr'amsaba r'u, jo nini  
 yes then this.year HM two village.assembly.LN LOC HM
- tagu na tshetr@ samithi kitayn nini.*  
 taku na tshetr'a samit-hi ki-ta-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 one EMPH region.LN committee.LN COMPL-put-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Yes, then this year, that is, from the two village assemblies, that is, they have been put into just one regional committee.'<sup>7</sup>

T0024: Election. 013

- (104) *tuktu ning gu ta tagu r'u gr'amsaba ta*  
 tuktu ning gu taku taku r'u gr'amsaba taku  
 before 1PL POSS one one LOC village.assembly.LN one

*tagu na niju.*  
 taku na ni-su.  
 one EMPH AUX.EQ-PST

'Before our individual village assembly, each was its own.' (Meaning each village had their own leader. Now there is one leader for multiple villages.)

T0024: Election. 014

Like with *gu* and other postpositions, the locative postposition *r'u* can appear after a STEM-mu construction. The postpositional phrase in example (105) stands out because it doesn't follow the general pattern where *r'u* locates something in time or space with a meaning of 'on', 'in', 'at', and so forth.

- (105) *kineemu r'u kha leeni?*  
 ki-nee-mu r'u kha lee-ni?  
 COMPL-stand-INF LOC what happen-3.NPT

'What's happening in standing up?' (=Why haven't you stood up?).

T0042: Elicited 405

#### 14.3.5.7 Borrowed Constructions with the Locative

There are fixed expressions with the locative postposition found in Darma that mirror a pattern found in Hindi. In Hindi, the postposition *mē* means 'in', 'on', 'at' as *r'u* does in Darma. This postposition, *mē*, is also used in constructions for 'later' (*bad mē*),

<sup>7</sup> Previously there was one committee leader for each village. This year, because villages are smaller, two villages' committees have been merged into one, and they both share one single leader.

‘about’ (*ke bare mē*), and ‘finally’ (*ant mē*).<sup>8</sup> Darma employs *r’u* combining it with *bad* to form [bad ru] ‘later/after’, [ʔidu gu bad ru] ‘after this’, [X (gu) bad ru] ‘after X’, where X = Noun, and [X gu bare ru] ‘about X’, where X = Noun. There is also an expression combining the locative postposition with *last* (a word of English origin) to form [last ru] ‘finally’.

The expression [bad ru] ‘later/after’ is found in clause initial position where it functions as a time adverbial locating the utterance a sequence of events. This is similar to the expression *baad mē* found in Hindi. An example of this construction is shown in (106) below.

- (106) *bad r’u* 7u man r’u kha jengsu dimag gu  
 bad r’u u man r’u kha jangsu dimag gu  
 later.LN 3SG mind.LN LOC what contrary mind.LN POSS  
*mathi r’aju de?*  
 mathi r’a-su de?  
 idea.LN come-PST now

‘Later, in his mind what contrary idea of the mind came to him, now (next what trick occurred to him)?’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 044

The expression [bad ru] is found following a pronoun like the Hindi *us ke baad*, as shown in example (107) below. We also find [bad ru] following a noun phrase as shown in example (108) below.

- (107) *to ʔidu gu bad r’u jo hee gubu byangpha mi ya gubu...*  
 to idu gu bad r’u jo hee gubu byangpha mi ya gubu...  
 then DEM.NONVIS POSS later.LN HM some Byansi person or someone

‘Then after that, um, some Byans person or someone...’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 049

<sup>8</sup> *ant* in Hindi means ‘end’. I have heard *last mē* and *ant mē* used interchangeably in Hindi, and this extension appears to be available in Darma as well.

(108) *hã kung r'u lublen ju, [nga la rto la] bad r'u*  
*hã kong r'u lub-len su, [ngay la' rtuku la'] bad r'u*  
 then grave LOC bury-CVB after [five month six month] later.LN

*hã tho then nincu.*  
*hã tho the-nu ni-n-su*  
 then up take.out-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘Then after burying it in a grave five or six months later then (we) dug (it) up.’  
 T0018: Funeral. 006

[bad ru] is also found following a verbal noun. These constructions take the shape: [STEM-mu (gu) bad ru] as shown in examples (109) and (110) below.

(109) *ter'e deemu gu bad r'u, r'aja su leesu...*  
*ter'ee dee-mu gu bad r'u, r'aja su lee-su...*  
 there go-INF POSS after.LN king.LN ERG say-PST

‘After going there, the king said...’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 063

(110) *to 7askort parti r'u xyunghem bad r'u 7u su leesu*  
*to parti r'u syung-si-mu bad r'u u su lee-su*  
 then name.place area.LN LOC sit-MID-INF later.LN 3SG ERG say-PST

*ki ge kha cij cingen.*  
*ki ge kha cij cing-hen.*  
 CONJ.LN 2SG what thing.LN want.LN-2SG.NPT

‘Then, after sitting in the Askot area, he (the king) said, “What things do you want?”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 034

Another construction with the locative postposition that is modeled after a construction found in IA is [bare ru], which is similar to the Hindi *ke bare mē* ‘about’. In Darma this expression is found following a nominal as shown in examples (111) and (112) below.

(111) *hado ma ning bar'ee r'u r'inu kilni.*  
*hadu ma ning bar'ee r'u r'i-nu ki-lee-ni.*  
 DEM.NEUT EQU 1PL about.LN write-NOM COMPL-AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Like that (she) has been writing about us.’

T0037: Conversation. 047

(112) *kha bar'ee r'u?*  
*kha bar'ee r'u?*  
 what about.LN  
 'What about?'

T0037: Conversation. 048

Example (113) below shows the fixed construction with English 'last'; this expression is used to mean 'finally'.

(113) *to 7idu gu bad, last r'u jo hee...*  
*to idu gu bad, last r'u jo hee...*  
 then DEM.NONVIS POSS after finally.LN HM  
 'Then, after that, finally, that is...'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 016

#### 14.3.5.8 [jerto] and [ru] Compared

The locative postposition *yer'to* was documented during an elicitation session; it has not been found in the natural discourse corpus. Like *r'u* this postposition follows the noun it modifies. There are two examples of *yer'to* in the corpus. When contrasted with *r'u*, we find that the phrase with *yer'to* is found directly preceding the verb. This is shown in examples (114)-(117) below.

(114) *byam r'u tagu lubang nini.*  
*byam r'u taku lubang ni-ni.*  
 rug LOC one book AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'On the rug there is a/one book.'

T0047: Elicited. 013

(115) *lubung byam yer'to nini.*  
*lubung byam yer'to ni-ni.*  
 book rug LOC AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'The book is on (top of) the rug.'

T0047: Elicited. 014

- (116) *byam r'u lubung mani.*  
 byam r'u lubung ma-ni.  
 rug LOC book NEG-AUX.EQ  
 'On the rug there isn't a book.'

T0047: Elicited. 015

- (117) *lubung byam yer'to mani.*  
 lubung byam yer'to ma-ni.  
 book rug LOC NEG-AUX.EQ  
 'The book isn't on (top of) the rug.'

T0047: Elicited. 016

This postposition warrants further investigation before any claims are made regarding the word order of a postpositional clause containing *r'u* versus a clause containing *yer'to*.

#### 14.3.5.9 'inside' and 'outside'

The words for 'outside' *bangr'u* and 'inside' *budr'u* are usually pronounced with an epenthesized vowel, which is what we find when words ending in voiced consonants are followed by *r'u* (cf §4.3.1 above for a discussion of epenthetic schwa). This would imply that *bangr'u* and *budr'u* each comprise a noun followed by the locative postposition *r'u* (i.e. *bangr'u* = *bang* + *r'u*). While this may be the case historically, it is not an etymology that speakers recognize today. According to my consultants, these locative forms cannot be broken into separate words. Only *bang* 'place' is attested in the corpus as a free-standing noun as shown in (118) below.

- (118) *ning se kim bang*  
 ning se ki-mu bang  
 1PL god worship-INF place  
 'Our place to pray to god'

T0023: Migration. 021

Based on native speakers' intuitions, I have written 'outside' and 'inside' as individual words rather than as a word followed by a postposition particle.

- (119) *ji bangr'u peeyo.*  
*ji bangr'u pee-yo.*  
 1SG outside slip-1SG.PST  
 'I slipped outside.'

T0048: Elicited. 090

- (120) *ge bangr'u xing th'ua.*  
*ge bangr'u sing th'u-a.*  
 2SG outside wood cut.wood-2SG.OPT  
 'You cut (2SG.IMP) wood outside.'

T0042: Elicited 026

- (121) *ne r'alen jang hã su hã hã bud@r'u*  
*ne r'a-len su hã su hã hã budr'u*  
 DEM.NEUT come-CVB after then after then then inside  
*bangr'u daja ceeden.*  
*bangr'u daja cee-den.*  
 outside ribbon.LN cut-1PL.NPT

'After this coming, then after, then, then, inside and outside (we) cut the ribbon.'

T0021: Food. 052

### 14.3.6 Ablative

The ablative indicates the source of an action; this postposition can be expressed with both *khaxhcu* and *su*. The examples (122)-(125) below show both forms. In examples (122) and (123), the verb is 'come', and the grammatical subject is coming from a place (a village and the market, respectively). In examples (124) and (125), the verb is 'fall'. In these examples the grammatical subject is falling from somewhere (a tree and a man's hand respectively).

- (122) *bunglung khaxhcu tar'tar' su r'amu.*  
*bunglung khaxhcu tar'tar' su r'a-mu.*  
 name.village ABL slow MAN come-INF  
 'From Bungling (you) should come slowly.'

T0023: Migration. 004



(123) *gen ba bazar su pir'aju?*  
 geni ba bazar su pi-r'a-su?  
 2PL father market.LN ABL COMPL-come-PST

‘Did your father come (back) from the bazaar?’

T0048: Elicited. 016

(124) *xing khaxhcu leju.*  
 sing khaxhcu le-su.  
 tree ABL fall- PST

‘(He/She/It) fell from the tree.’

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(125) *7ido th'ilo th'alén baktee, 7agar' jo mi*  
 idu th'ilo th'a-len baktee, agar' jo mi  
 DEM.NONVIS game play-CVB time if.LN that.LN man

*lar su 7idu th'ilo yu lani...*  
 la r'u su idu tshilo yu le-ni...  
 hand LOC ABL DEM.NONVIS game down fall-3.NPT

‘At the time of playing that game, if that th'ilo falls from that man's hand...’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 073

### 14.3.7 Instrumental

The instrumental postposition *su* indicates the object with which the agent of a clause does the action. The instrumental postposition can also indicate the means employed by the agent of the clause.

(126) *gondu su sud@ gaden.*  
 gondu su sud ga-den.  
 urine.cow.LN INSTR pure.LN make-1PL.NPT

‘(We) purify (the temple) with cow urine.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 010

- (127) *hã 7ã hã 7abi mee su tangsu ki gabla*  
*hã ã hã abi mee su tang-su ki gabla*  
 then HM then EMPRO.LN eye INSTR see-PST CONJ.LN name.god  
*cuti gabla nee jya leen niju.*  
*cuti gabla nisyu jya lee-nu ni-su.*  
 name.godess name.god two day happen-NOM AUX.EQ-PST

‘Then, um, then (one) saw it with one's own eyes that Gabla, Cuti-Gabla (the ceremony) was happening for two days.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 094

- (128) *xyen jen su tabli su 7am t'eeda.*  
*syenu jen su tabli su am t'ee-da.*  
 child PL ERG knife.LN INSTR mango.LN cut-3.NPT

‘The children cut/are cutting the mango with a knife.’

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- (129) *hã xhukt'e su r'on nincu r'e*  
*hã xhukt'e su r'o-nu ni-n-su r'i*  
 then brush INSTR brush-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL.PST EMPH

‘Then, (we) brushed (the wool) with a brush.’

T0043: Woolwork. 015

- (130) *hã lak su na th'un ninju.*  
*hã lak su na th'u-nu ni-n-su.*  
 then limb INSTR EMPH dye-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘Then (we) dyed (it) by hand only.’

T0043: Woolwork. 050

- (131) *“batteries” su le ga tar'hen ya?*  
*su le ga tar'-hEn ya*  
 INSTR also do able-2SG.NPT TAG1

‘(You) are able to do (it) with batteries also, or?’

T0041: Conversation. 155

- (132) *ji th'u' su jati jahi.*  
*ji th'u' su jati ja-hi.*  
 1SG spoon INSTR food eat-1SG.NPT

‘I eat the food with a spoon.’

T0042: Elicited 472

(133) *wi su pharsa su xing tseeda.*  
*wi su pharsa su sing tsee-da.*  
 3PL ERG axe INSTR wood chop-3.NPT

‘They chop the tree with an axe.’

T0042: Elicited 492

(134) *ning r’e jyang su gwiden.*  
*ning r’e jyang su gwi-den.*  
 1PL cow rope INSTR tie-1PL.NPT

‘We tie the cow with rope.’

T0042: Elicited 531

### 14.3.8 Equative

The equative postposition *ma* indicates something that is like or similar to something else. It is frequently translated to mean ‘as’ or ‘like’. The equative particle follows the dependent, which is frequently a demonstrative pronoun. The dependent can also be a noun or a noun phrase. The equative phrase can refer to an antecedent or the referent can appear in the same clause as the equative phrase. In the following subsections, I will outline the distribution of *ma*.

#### 14.3.8.1 Demonstrative Pronouns

The majority of examples with the equative postposition *ma* are found following demonstrative pronouns. The postposition *ma* is frequently found following a demonstrative pronoun to form a phrase meaning ‘like this/that’ (cf §8.2 above for a full discussion of the demonstrative pronouns). The postposition *ma* can follow proximate demonstratives (e.g. *ʔandu*) and neutral demonstratives (e.g. *hadu*) as shown in examples (135)-(136) below.

(135) *thaying gu jamana jama ʔandu ma na nini.*  
*thaying gu jamana jama andu ma na ni-ni.*  
 this.year POSS times.LN all DEM.PROX EQU EMPH AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘This year's times are all just like this’.

T0024: Election. 034

- (136) *sir'kar'*            *su le hadu ma gada.*  
 sir'kar'i            su le hadu ma ga-da  
 government.LN    ERG also DEM.NEUT EQU do-3.NPT

‘The government also does it like this’.

T0024: Election. 023

### 14.3.8.2 Full Nouns and Noun Phrases

The equative postposition *ma* is also found following full nouns and noun phrases. This is shown in examples (137)-(139) below.

- (137) *7idu bakte xyaxi baksa ma t'andu gaden.*  
 idu baktee syasi baksa ma t'andu ga-den.  
 DEM.NONVIS time relative.MAT wedding EQU style do-1PL.NPT

‘At that time (we) do this in the style of a relative’s wedding’.

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 004

- (138) *7ã hadu long ju bonu ma gar'to.*  
 ã hadu lung su bo-nu ma gar'tu.  
 HM DEM.NEUT back DAT flow-NOM EQU manner

‘Um, (its) manner (is) like flowing from the back (referring to the pain).’

T0032: Conversation. 278

- (139) *7ida, 7ida jama 7allya sanstha ma gar'tu*  
 ida, ida jama allya sanstha ma gar'tu  
 now now everyone some community.LN EQU type

*kilju ning gu.*  
 ki-lee-su ning gu.  
 COMPL-AUX.EX-PST 1PL POSS

‘Now, now everyone became the type like a few communities, for us.’

T0018: Funeral. 027

### 14.3.8.3 Reduction of Equative

The expression *7idu ma* ‘like that’ is used frequently in the corpus, and is often reduced to *7idam* in rapid speech. Likewise, there are examples of the equative particle being reduced to *m* in the corpus. The examples in (140)-(141) below illustrate the reduction of *ma* (cf §4.2.1.1 above for further discussion of vowel reduction with the equative postposition).

(140) *ham phan niju r'e.*  
hadu ma pha-nu ni-su r'i.  
DEM.NEUT EQU speak-NOM AUX.EQ-PST EMPH

'He was speaking in that way (e.g., in Darma)/aisaa hii bol rahaa thaa'.

T0037: Conversation. 034

(141) *7idum galen ju*  
idu ma ga-len su  
DEM.NONVIS EQU do-CVB-NPT

'After doing it like this...'

T0018: Funeral.028

#### 14.3.8.4 *Equative with [gartu]*

Another common construction is *7idu ma gar'tu*, which means 'in this manner' or 'of this type'. Examples are shown in (142) and (143) below. Both *7idu ma* and *gar'tu* were translated into Hindi by my consultants as *jaisaa*, *aisaa*, or *vaisaa*, which are all variations on 'in this manner'. Despite the parallel translation, it appears upon closer examination that *7idu ma* means 'like this' and *gar'tu* means 'manner' or 'type'. I do not have any examples of *gar'tu* without a preceding equative phrase.

(142) *7idu ma gar'tu, jo he, se kilen, rthinglen,*  
idu ma gar'tu, jo he, se ki-len, rthing-len,  
DEM.NONVIS EQU manner HM god worship-CVB dance-CVB  
*th'alén, 7ã, ne gabla su r'ahén.*  
th'a-len, ã, ne gabla su r'a-hén.  
play-CVB HM DEM.NEUT name.god ABL come-1PL.NPT

'In this manner, um, worshipping god, dancing, playing, um, (we) come from that Gabla (temple).'

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 063

(143) *ge leenu ma gar'tu kalju.*  
ge lee-nu ma gar'tu ki-lee-su.  
2SG say-NOM EQU manner COMPL-happen-PST

'(It) happened in the manner you were saying.'

T0049: Elicitation. 005

### 14.3.9 Incompletive

The incompletive postposition *budu* identifies an action that was partially done, done half-heartedly, or an action that was started, but not completed. Despite its adverbial quality, the incompletive is found to be in the same distribution as other postpositions. The most common construction with the incompletive places the postposition following a verbal noun, most frequently following *gamu* ‘to do/to make’.

- (144) *7u ning r'aksa r'am budu gada par' mar'a.*  
 u ning r'aksa r'a-mu budu ga-da par' ma-r'a.  
 3SG 1PL COM come-INF INC do-3.NPT but.LN NEG- come

‘He started to come with us, but didn't come.’

T0042: Elicited 206

- (145) *7u jam budu gada.*  
 u ja-mu budu ga-da.  
 3SG eat-INF INC do-3.NPT

‘He is pretending to eat/He is playing with his food.’

T0049: Elicited. 067

- (146) *jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phayem budu*  
 jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phaye-mu budu  
 like.this.LN EMPH HM saint.LN thither turn.around-INF INC
- gasu da 7idu r'u pha gu du deesu.*  
 ga-su da idu r'u pha gu du dee-su.  
 do-PST CONT DEM.NONVIS LOC ash POSS mix go-PST

‘Just like this, that is, just as the saint had partially turned away, he (refers to the hero of the story) mixed in ashes’.

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 046

## 14.4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Examples (147)-(152) below show the personal pronouns in subject and object positions. As mentioned in Chapter 9 above, the personal pronoun is the same in all positions except when followed by the possessive particle. Examples of personal pronouns with a possessive particle are provided in (153) and (154) below.

The agent of a transitive predicate may be marked with ergative case as shown in (147), or the ergative particle following the agent may be omitted as shown in (148).

- (147) *ji su th'am th'am t'odi liya.*  
 ji su th'am th'am t'o-di lee-a.  
 1SG ERG wool wool brush-1SG.NPT say-2SG.IMP

'Say: "I am brushing wool!"' [laugh] (=Tell her that I'm brushing wool.)

T0032: Conversation. 151

- (148) *ge le r'enden pasu?*  
 ge le r'en-den pasu?  
 2SG also weave-2SG.NPT blanket

'You also make (them), blankets?'

T0032: Conversation. 177

The argument of an intransitive clause is not marked with case as shown in examples (149) and (150) below.

- (149) *ning pehen.*  
 ning pe-hen.  
 1PL wander-1PL.NPT

'We are wandering.'

T0048: Elicited. 109

- (150) *nying sumpe r'ani da r'angga keexyen.*  
 ning sumpe r'a-ni da r'angga gee-si-hen.  
 1PL brother come-3.NPT CONT clothes.male cover-MID-PL.NPT

'When our brothers come, (we) wear the 'rangga' (traditional dress).'

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 009

Dryer (1986) describes two types of language: the type that has direct and indirect objects; and the type that has primary and secondary objects. In the latter type of language the direct object of a monotransitive verb and the indirect object of a ditransitive verb are marked the same. In many languages outlined by Dryer, the marking is optional, which is what we find in Darma. As discussed in §14.2.1, objects are not generally marked, but when they are, the alignment follows a pattern of primary and secondary objects. In Darma, the primary objects are the object of a monotransitive verb

and the indirect object of a ditransitive verb, which are optionally case marked with the dative particle *jo*. When the primary object is a personal pronoun, the pronoun is the same with or without the dative case marker. Compare examples (151) and (152) below. In example (151), the third person singular pronoun *7u* is followed by the dative particle *jo*. In example (152), the third person singular pronoun is not case-marked, and is also *7u*.

- (151) *7u jo kha maleensung.*  
 u jo kha ma-lee-n-su.  
 3SG DAT Q NEG-say-2SG-PST  
 ‘Why haven't you told him?’

T0032: Conversation. 242

- (152) *7u su 7u kamsu.*  
 u su u kam-su.  
 3SG ERG 3SG hit-PST  
 ‘He hit him.’

T0042: Elicited 747

The first singular *ji* and second singular *ge* sometimes surface as *ju* and *gu* when followed by the possessive postposition *gu* as shown in examples (153)-(156) below. This alternation is also discussed in §4.5.3 above and again in §9.1 above.

- (153) *7atta ju gu le lubucu khe r'i malee.*  
 atta ji gu le ki-bu-su khee r'i ma-lee.  
 sister 1SG POSS also COMPL-come.open-PST some EMPH NEG-AUX.EX  
 ‘Sister, mine also came open and nothing is happening.’

T0034: Conversation. 007

- (154) *ji gu mung bishan lee.*  
 ji gu mung bishan lee.  
 1SG POSS name name.male COP  
 ‘My name is Bishan.’

T0042: Elicited 143





### 14.5.2 Arguments of Transitive Verbs

We find that the agent of a transitive clause can be omitted, as shown in example (158) below. The entire narrative that this example comes from is told from a first person singular point of view. We also find that the agent and the object can be omitted as shown in examples (160)-(161) below. In example (160), the female narrator is explaining how the women used to prepare raw wool for weaving. In example (161), the narrator is explaining how the Darma used to deal with their dead.

- (158) *khee gu bartee ga-den.*  
*khee gu bartee ga-den.*  
 grandson POSS haircut.ritual do-1PL.NPT  
 ‘(We) are doing our grandson’s ritual haircut.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 003

- (159) *7ã 7alam daja daden.*  
*ã alam daja da-den.*  
 HM totem ribbon.LN give-1PL.NPT  
 ‘Um, (we) give the ribbon to the totem.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 034

- (160) *hã lak su na th’un ninju.*  
*hã lak su na th’u-nu ni-n-su.*  
 then limb INSTR EMPH dye-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
 ‘Then (we) dyed (the wool) by hand only.’

T0043: Woolwork. 050

- (161) *hã r’o r’u th’iblen ju hã bulen*  
*hã r’o r’u th’ib-len su hã bu-len*  
 then basket LOC pour-CVB after then carry.(on.back)-CVB  
*kur’n ninsu.*  
*kur’-nu ni-n-su.*  
 take.away-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST

‘Then, after pouring (them) into baskets, then (we) carry them away on our backs.’

T0018: Funeral:004

Agents of a three-participant sentence can be omitted as shown in examples . In example (162) below, the speaker is wondering if my consultant has helped me get

certain recordings. Here he referring to a specific song, saying that it must be recorded because it is an important religious song. In example (163) below, the agent ‘they’ is dropped; the order of the remaining constituents remains recipient followed by secondary object.<sup>9</sup>

(162) [ʔidu]            le    [ge] da    dam    parrjang    ya    ʔido?  
 idu                le    ge    da    da-mu    parr-ang    ya    ido?  
 DEM.NONVIS    also    2SG    give    give-INF    must.LN-FUT    TAG1    then

‘(They) will have to give you that also, or else?’

T0041: Conversation. 031

(163) ...hã            [ning]            [jyala]    dada.  
 ...hã            [ning]            [jyala]    da-da.  
 ...then        [1PL]            [date]    give-3.NPT

‘...Then (they) give us the date.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 004

It is possible to omit the secondary object, as shown in example (164) below. Based on the context, we know that the speaker is talking about the government giving the Darma people food.

(164) [sirka                su]            [nying]    dada,            than    da    r’orta  
 [sirkar’i                su]            [ning]    da-da,            than    da    r’orta  
 [government.LN    ERG]        [1PL]    give-3.NPT,    now    CONT    flatbread.LN  
 jahren,                th’agu            jahren            than da.  
 ja-hen,                th’agu            ja-hen            than da.  
 eat-1PL.NPT    rice.cooked    eat-1PL.NPT    now    CONT

‘The government gives (food) to us, *now* we eat flatbread, we eat rice *now*.’

T0021: Darma Food. 025

It is also possible for the recipient to be omitted as shown in the following example where ‘you’ is not overt. The recipient can be derived from the context. The speaker is telling me how I will be treated when I come up to Darma Valley.

<sup>9</sup> This could be translated as ‘our date’ in which case both the recipient and the agent would be omitted.

(165) [ning] [th'agu th'ama] dangden na.  
 [ning] [th'agu th'ama] da-ang-den na.  
 [1PL] [rice.cooked daal] give-FUT-1PL.NPT EMPH

'We will even give (you) some daal and rice.'

T0023: Migration. 020

## **Chapter 15: Adverbs**

### **15.0 INTRODUCTION**

Adverbs are those words which function as modifiers of ‘constituents other than nouns’ (Schachter 1985: 20). In Darna adverbs modify adjectives, verbs, clauses, and sentences. In this chapter, I will outline the classes of adverbs in terms of: time (cf §15.1); manner (cf §15.2); and direction and location (cf §15.3). I will also outline the adverb intensifiers that are found preceding adjectives and inflected verbs (cf §15.4) and provide evidence for an adverb phrase (cf §15.5).

### **15.1 TIME**

The adverbs of time are in relation to the referent ‘now’ on a scale of past, present, and future; these are shown in Table 15.1 below. Adverbs of time include words for the present time like ‘now’, ‘today’, ‘thesedays’; words that locate time in the past such as ‘yesterday’, ‘last year’; and words that locate time in the future such as ‘tomorrow’ and ‘next year’.

PAST		PRESENT		future	
[tʉktu]		[tʰan] [dɛ] [ʔida] [ʔida kʰaj] ([ruŋ])		[nogondi] ~ [nogodi] ~ [nongdi]	
-2	-1	0 = TODAY		+1	+2
[χijja]	[nimaŋ]	[tʰjã] [tʰjã karɕe] [tʰjã ruŋ]		[kʰaj]	[naŋjja]
-2	-1	0 = THIS YEAR		+1	+2
[χijin] ~ [ʔaniŋχing]	[ʔaniŋ]	[tʰajin]		[naŋkʰwe]	---

Table 15.1: Adverbs of Time

The adverbs of time tend to appear in clause initial position or at the end of a clause after the fully inflected verb. Some of these adverbs function as nouns in certain constructions. In the following subsections, each adverb of time will be discussed with examples from the corpus.

### 15.1.1 Present

As shown in Table 15.1 above, there are nine adverbs where the time referent is the present time. These will be presented in the subsections below as adverbs indicating ‘now’, ‘today’, ‘nowadays’, and ‘this year’.

15.1.1.1 'now'

I find four ways to say 'now' in the corpus *than*, *ʔida*, *de*, and *r'ung*. Of the four, the words *than* and *ʔida* are most commonly used. While *than*, *ʔida*, and *de* appear to function as adverbs, appearing in clause-initial position or extraposed after the verb, the fourth, *r'ung*, is sometimes translated as 'time', and is most likely a noun. Examples of *than*, *ʔida*, and *de* in clause-initial position are provided in (1)-(6) below.

- (1) *ga matar'henje*                      **than** *da nixyu jya na gaden.*  
*ga ma-tar'-si-n-je*                      **than** *da nisyu jya na ga-den.*  
do NEG-able-MID-1PL-COND now CONT two day EMPH do-1PL.NPT  
'If (we) are not able to do it, now, though, (we) do it for just two days.'  
T0018: Funeral. 030
- (2) **than** *wor'axir'i mi jen bir' song r'u na leeni.*  
**than** *wor'asir'i mi jen bir' sang r'u na lee-ni.*  
now man person PL all home LOC EMPH AUX.EX-3.NPT  
'Now the men all just stay at home.'  
T0043: Woolwork. 027
- (3) **than** *da r'orta jahren.*  
**than** *da r'orta ja-hen.*  
now CONT flatbread.LN eat-1PL.NPT  
'Now though (we) eat flatbread.'  
T0021: Darma Food. 025
- (4) **ʔida** *ning se kidan.*  
**ida** *ning se ki-den.*  
now 1PL god worship-1PL.NPT  
'Now we are worshipping god.'  
T0049: Elicited. 009
- (5) *or ʔida bungti t'errelen ju, par'xinu gada.*  
*or ida bungti t'erre-len su, par'-si-nu ga-da.*  
and.LN now holy.water offer-CVB after shake-MID do-3.NPT  
'And now after offering the holy water, (it) does the self-shaking.'  
T0031: Cuti Gabla. 002

- (6) *de kalju.*  
 de ka-lee-su.  
 now COMPL-AUX.EX-PST  
 ‘Now (it) is done.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 020

Evidence that *r’ung* is a noun includes the fact that it can be modified by *tuktu* and *ʔida* as shown in the following examples.

- (7) *tuktu r’ung kunca dee wasu--.*  
 tuktu r’ung kunca dee wasu--.  
 early time migration go until  
 ‘(In) earlier times until going on migration--.’

T0043: Woolwork. 001

- (8) *ʔu ʔida r’ung cirtrthi r’ida.*  
 u ida r’ung cirtrthi r’i-da.  
 3SG now time letter.LN write-3.NPT  
 ‘He is, at this time, writing a letter.’

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 050

Despite the evidence that *r’ung* is a noun, it does appear preceding a verb in one example. This is shown in (9) below, where *r’ung* appears to function as an adverb of time rather than a noun. In the conversation preceding this example two speakers are trying to figure out what a man across the way is doing. One speaker utters the following after her interlocutor asks her when my husband and I arrived, which could be construed as a nonsequitor. It appears that the speaker is making sure that her interlocutor is paying attention to what she is saying about the man across the way.

- (9) *ge r’ung tangden?*  
 ge r’ung tang-den?  
 2SG now see-2SG.NPT  
 ‘Are you seeing (it) now?’

T0032: Conversation. 097



Like other adverbs of time, ‘now’ can be extraposed to the end of the clause as shown in examples (10)-(14) below.<sup>1</sup>

- (10) *th’agu jahan than da.*  
 th’agu ja-hen than da.  
 rice.cooked eat-1PL.NPT now CONT  
 ‘(We) eat rice now though.’

T0021: Darma Food. 025

- (11) *ga 7it na.*  
 ga-a ida na.  
 do-2SG.IMP now EMPH  
 ‘Do (it) now only.’ (Meaning ‘right now’)

T0032: Conversation. 392

- (12) *nadu “light connection” mani 7ida.*  
 nadu ma-ni ida.  
 DEM.NEUT NEG-AUX.EQ now  
 ‘This isn’t plugged in now.’

T0041: Conversation. 154

- (13) *nee jya na pangden, wi, kalju de.*  
 nisyu jya na pangden, wi, ka-lee-su de.  
 two day EMPH send-1PL.NPT 3PL COMPL-AUX.EX-PST now  
 ‘(We) send them (after) just two days, (it) is finished now.’

T0018: Funeral. 031

- (14) *r’ang r’u pha, de.*  
 r’ang r’u pha-a, de.  
 Rang LOC talk-2SG.IMP now  
 ‘Talk in Rang, now.’

T0032: Conversation. 159

It is also possible to have the time adverb at the beginning and at the end of a clause. This is shown in example (15).

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<sup>1</sup> The word *r’ung* appears in another time adverb *thyã r’ung* ‘nowadays’, which will be discussed below.

- (15) *7ida pu taym wulang leeju 7ida?*  
 ida pu wulang leesu ida?  
 now brother time.LN how.much happen-PST now

‘Now, brother how much time has happened now?’ (Meaning: ‘What time is it?’)  
 T0032: Conversation. 392

The word *7ida* is also found followed by *wan na* meaning ‘until’ forming the phrase ‘until now’. This is shown in example (16) below.

- (16) *ge wude hwensu 7ida wan na?*  
 ge wudee hwe-n-su ida wan na?  
 2SG where get.drunk-1PL-PST now until EMPH

‘Where were you getting drunk, until just now?’

T0042: Elicitation. 970

The word *wan* appears to be related to the word *wasu*, which is found following a phrase with a bare verb stem in all cases except one, where it is found following a postpositional phrase. Like *wan na*, *wasu* conveys the meaning ‘until’. Examples are shown in (17)-(20) below; the last example shows *wasu* following a postpositional phrase.

- (17) *[ni ree] wasu na ber’a baji gaden ning su.*  
 [ni ree] wasu na ber’a baji ga-den ning su.  
 [sun set] until EMPH song performance.LN do-1PL.NPT 1PL ERG

‘We sing and dance only until the sun sets’ (after that we go home).

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 037

- (18) *[do mi ruje] wasu le phani, la?*  
 [do mi ruje] wasu le pha-ni, la?  
 [here person stand.up ] until also talk-2PL.IMP TAG2

‘It is said, you should talk until the people here stand up?’ (Meaning: ‘We should talk until these people here go?’)

T0032: Conversation. 167

- (19) *jilnu r’ani [jati ga] wasu.*  
 jil-nu r’a-ni [jati ga] wasu.  
 late come-3.NPT [food make] until

‘(He) comes late, until the food is cooked.’

T0032: Conversation. 271

- (20) *ʔidung khaxhcu [dar' r'u] wasu gar'i r'u*  
 idung khaxhcu [dar' r'u] wasu gar'i r'u  
 LOC.NONVIS ABL [name.village LOC] until car.LN LOC
- r'anje leeni na.*  
 r'a-n-je lee-ni na.  
 come-2PL-COND happen-3.NPT EMPH

‘From here until Dar, if you come by car it is happening.’ (Meaning: ‘From here it is possible to come up until Dar by car.’)

T0023: Migration. 002

While I suggest here that the two are related, the distribution of *wan* and *wasu* and the relationship between these forms of ‘until’ requires further investigation.

### 15.1.1.2 ‘today’

The adverb meaning ‘today’ is found in clause-initial position as shown in examples (21)-(23) below. It is also possible to extrapose the adverb after the verb as shown in example (24) below.

- (21) *thyã th'ama pheenu kal nini.*  
 thyã th'ama phee-nu ki-lee-nu ni-ni.  
 today lentil thick-NOM COMPL-AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Today the lentils have become thick.’

T0042: Elicited. 190

- (22) *thyã hice khay na khay na phangden.*  
 thyã si-je khay na khay na pha-den.  
 today die-COND tomorrow EMPH tomorrow EMPH send-1PL.NPT

‘If (someone) dies today, tomorrow only, tomorrow only (we) send (him).’

T0046: Elicited. 083

- (23) *thyã do na xyungni.*  
 thyã do na syung-ni.  
 today here EMPH sit-2PL.IMP

‘You all should stay here today.’

T0032: Conversation. 202

- (24) *hã hadu ma phani, thyã.*  
*hã hadu ma phani, thyã.*  
 then DEM.NEUT EQU talk-2PL.IMP today  
 ‘Then, you all should talk like this, today.’

T0032: Conversation. 163

### 15.1.1.3 ‘nowadays’

There are three ways to say ‘nowadays’ found in the corpus *7idakhay*, *thyã kar’te*, and *thyã r’ung*. Examples of each are shown in (25)-(27) below. Of the three, *7idakhay* is the form most commonly found in the texts.

- (25) *7idakhay da jo nini, winu rthum taju nyunu rthum*  
*idakhay da jo nini, winu rthum ta-su nyunu rthum*  
 thesedays CONT HM old tradition go-PST new tradition  
*than, than, than da, 7ã than da sar’at leeni.*  
*than, than, than da, ã than da sar’at lee-ni.*  
 now now, now CONT HM now CONT funeral.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT  
*ta ta jya xicye nyingjya na 7ã*  
*taku taku jya siji-je ningjya na ã*  
 one one day die-COND day.after.tomorrow EMPH HM  
*ningjya na pangden.*  
*ningjya na pang-den.*  
 day.after.tomorrow EMPH send-1PL.NPT

‘Nowadays, though, that is, the old traditions have gone (and) new traditions, now, now, now though, um, now though there is a funeral. If (one) dies one one day, two days after that only, um, two days later only (we) send (them).’

T0018: Funeral. 024

- (26) *than song su kamedenga, thyãkar’te da*  
*than sang su kamee-den-nga, thyãkar’te da*  
 now home ABL earn.LN-1PL.NPT-EMPH nowadays CONT  
*lal th’am le mani.*  
*lal th’am le ma-ni.*  
 enough wool also NEG-AUX.EQ

‘Now, from home in order to earn a living, nowadays though there isn’t even enough wool.’

T0043: Woolwork. 022

- (27) *thyã r'ung da khwe ning tuktu par'i le ning jo*  
 thyã r'ung da khwee ning tuktu par'i le ning jo  
 today now CONT don't.know 1PL before time also 1PL DAT  
*do photo thee su.*  
 do photo the-su.  
 here photo.LN show-PST

'Nowadays, though, I don't know, we a time before also, (she) showed the pictures to us here.'

T0041: Conversation. 104

Of the three adverbs meaning 'nowadays', only *7idakhay* appears in the corpus in an extraposed position. This is shown in example (28) below.

- (28) *ning xyen jen da ta jya de sum cyo pi jyo*  
 ning syeno jen da taku jya de sum co pi co  
 1PL child PL CONT one day at three times four times  
*jani 7idakhay na.*  
 ja-ni idakhay na.  
 eat-3.NPT nowadays EMPH

'Our kids, though, they eat three or for times in one day, only nowadays!'

T0021: Darma Food. 014

#### 15.1.1.4 'this year'

I have found the adverb 'this year' in two forms *than ying* and *thaying*. Of the two forms, *than ying* is rarely found in the natural discourse.<sup>2</sup> As with other adverbs of time both forms of 'this year' are found clause-initially. *thaying* is also found extraposed after the verb. This is shown in examples (29)-(32) below.

- (29) *than ying kha gamu than, ne?*  
 thaying kha ga-mu than, ne?  
 this.year what do-INF now TAG1

'This year what shall we do, now then?'

T0024: Election. 019

<sup>2</sup> Translated literally, *than ying* means 'now year'. It appears that the expression has merged into the word *thaying*.

- (30) *thaying, thaying dar'ma r'amu, do khaxhcu sobang r'amu.*  
 thaying, thaying dar'ma r'a-mu, do khaxhcu sobang r'a-mu.  
 this.year this.year Darma come-INF here ABL name.village come-INF  
 'This year, this year you should come to Darma, from here you should come to Sobla.'

T0023: Migration. 001

- (31) *ne sir'ka su ham d@bu*  
 ne sir'kar'i su hadu ma dobo  
 DEM.NEUT government.LN ERG DEM.NEUT EQU manner  
*kigata thaying.*  
 ki-ga-da thaying.  
 COMPL-do-3.NPT this.year

'This year the government has done it like this.'

T0024: Election. 016

- (32) *wi da se mapopsu thaying.*  
 wi da se ma-pap-su thaying.  
 3PL CONT god NEG-ask-PST this.year

'They, though, didn't ask god this year.'

T0041: Conversation. 035

As with some of the other adverbs, 'this year' is found as the dependent of a possessive construction. This is shown in example (33) below.

- (33) *thaying gu jamana jama 7andu ma na nini.*  
 thaying gu jamana jama andu ma na ni-ni.  
 this.year POSS times.LN all DEM.PROX EQU EMPH AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'This year's times are all just like this.'

T0024: Election. 034

### 15.1.2 Past

As shown in Table 15.1 above, there are five adverbs that indicate a time in the past: 'before'; 'yesterday'; 'the day before yesterday'; 'last year'; and 'before last year'. Each of the past adverbs will be presented individually in the following subsections.

### 15.1.2.1 'before'

The word *tuktu* can function as an adverb of time or as an adjective. When functioning as an adverb, *tuktu* is a sentential adverb appearing in clause-initial position. This is shown in examples (34)-(35) below.

- (34) *tuktu ning gu ta tagu r'u gr'amsaba ta*  
 tuktu ning gu taku taku r'u gr'amsaba taku  
 before 1PL POSS one one LOC village.assembly.LN one  
*tagu na niju.*  
 taku na ni-su.  
 one EMPH AUX.EQ-PST

'Before our individual village assembly, each was its own.' (Meaning each village had their own leader. Now there is one leader for multiple villages.)

T0024: Election. 014

- (35) *tuktu wi dor'o khar'ee kampyuter' wulang, wulang gu*  
 tuktu wi dor'o khar'ee wulang, wulang gu  
 before 3PL place that computer.LN how.much how.much POSS  
*r'ani?*  
 r'a-ni?  
 come-3.NPT

'Before at their place that computer how much, how much does it cost?'

T0041: Conversation. 170

When functioning as an adjective, *tuktu* precedes the noun it modifies; this is usually a noun expressing a unit of time like 'day' or the concept 'time'. When it precedes 'day' the *tuktu* expression can be interpreted as 'the olden days' (cf Chapter 11 for a discussion of adjectives). Examples are shown in (36)-(37) below.

- (36) *tuktu jya da cyebang cyebang jya gwan leen niju*  
 tuktu jya da cyebang cyebang jya gwan lee-nu ni-su  
 before day CONT fifteen fifteen day funeral AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-PST  
*7idakhay da nee jya na gwan nini 7idakhay da.*  
 idakhay da nee jya na gwan ni-ni idakhay da.  
 nowadays CONT two day EMPH funeral AUX.EQ-3.NPT nowadays CONT

'In the olden days, though, each funeral would be fifteen days, nowadays, though, a funeral is just two days, nowadays.'

T0018: Funeral. 025

- (37) *tuktu ज्या r'u da 7im d@bu gan ninju.*  
 tuktu ज्या r'u da idu ma dobo ga-nu ni-n-su  
 before daily LOC CONT DEM.NONVIS EQU manner do-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
 ‘In the early days, though, (we) used to do it like this.’

T0018: Funeral. 029

As with other adjectives, *tuktu* is found in a comparative construction. This is shown in example (38) below (cf Chapter 11 for a discussion of comparative constructions).

- (38) *7ã mala seem jang tuktu 7ã 7idu khar'ee*  
 ã mala see-m jang tuktu ã idu khar'ee  
 um goat kill-NOM COMP before um DEM.NONVIS thing  
*se r'u kur'ta.*  
 se r'u kur'da.  
 temple LOC bring-3NPT

‘Um, before killing the goat, um, (they) bring that thing in the temple.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 001

### 15.1.2.2 ‘yesterday’

The adverb for ‘yesterday’ is rarely found in the corpus of natural discourse. I have found a few examples from direct elicitation sessions with my primary consultant BSS. Adverbs in elicited constructions are found following the subject or agent and preceding the verb phrase, while adverbs in natural discourse tend to appear clause-initially (we will see this again in §15.1.3.2 with the word for ‘tomorrow’). This is shown in examples (39)-(42) below. The first two examples are from elicitation sessions, and the latter two examples are from naturally occurring speech.

- (39) *7u nimang xile cilju.*  
 u nimang sile jil-su.  
 3SG yesterday turban wrap-PST  
 ‘He wrapped the turban yesterday.’

T0042: Elicited 259



- (40) *7u su nimang r'isu.*  
 u su nimang r'i-su.  
 3SG ERG yesterday write-PST

‘He wrote yesterday.’

T0042: Elicited 279

- (41) *nimang munci cen yo taju?*  
 nimang munci cen yu ta-su?  
 yesterday sister.in.law PL downside take.off-PST

‘Yesterday did the sisters in law take off (for) downside?’

T0026: Conversation. 005

- (42) *nimang hrijya r'anje*  
 nimang hrijya r'a-n-je  
 yesterday day.before.yesterday come-1PL-COND

*leenu kalni.*  
 lee-nu ki-lee-ni.  
 happen-NOM COMPL-AUX.EX-NPT

‘Yesterday or the day before yesterday if (we) had come it would have happened’

T0026: Conversation. 013

### 15.1.2.3 ‘day before yesterday’

I have found just one instance of ‘day before yesterday’ in the corpus. In this example it follows the adverb ‘yesterday’. Concatenated, the adverbs mean ‘yesterday or the day before yesterday’.<sup>3</sup>

- (43) *nimang hrijya r'anje*  
 nimang hrijya r'a-n-je  
 yesterday day.before.yesterday come-1PL-COND

*leenu kalni.*  
 lee-nu ki-lee-ni.  
 happen-NOM COMPL-AUX.EX-NPT

‘Yesterday or the day before yesterday if (we) had come it would have happened’

T0026: Conversation. 013

<sup>3</sup> This pattern is true for numerals as well. When numbers appear in succession without a conjunction, as in *sum pi* ‘three four’, the meaning conveys a range as in ‘three to four’ or ‘three or four’.

#### 15.1.2.4 ‘last year’

The only examples for ‘last year’ come from elicitation sessions as shown in (44)-(45) below. In the former example, the adverb precedes the verb; in the latter example it is in clause-initial position.

- (44) *ge ju gu ba seeden jo 7aning hicyu.*  
*ge ji gu ba see-den jo aning si-si-su.*  
 2SG 1SG POSS father know-2SG.NPT REL.LN last.year die-MID-PST  
 ‘Do you know my father who died last year?’  
 T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 069

- (45) *7aning jab ge do r’ansu, ge ju gu*  
*aning jab ge do r’a-n-su, ge ji gu*  
 last.year when.LN 2SG here come-2SG-PST 2SG 1SG POSS  
*pe seeden?*  
*pe see-den?*  
 brother know-2SG.NPT  
 ‘Last year when you came, did you know my brother?’  
 T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 069

#### 15.1.2.5 ‘before last year’

The time adverb ‘before last year’ has two forms *7aningxhing* and *xhiying*. Each form of ‘before last year’ is found only once in the corpus. The example for *7aningxhing* is from an elicitation session and the example for *xhiying* is from natural discourse. In the latter example the speaker was cut off, so the utterance is not complete. In both cases, the adverb ‘before last year’ appears preceding the verb. This is shown in examples (46)-(47) below.

- (46) *ji ge gu pee 7aningxhing ciyo.*  
*ji ge gu pee aningxhing ci-yo.*  
 1SG 2SG POSS brother before.last.year meet-1SG.PST  
 ‘I met your brother before last year.’  
 T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 051

- (47) *thaying xhiying r'amu da--.*  
 thaying xhiying r'a-mu da--.  
 this.year before.last.year come-INF CONT  
 'This year or the year before last coming though--.'

T0037: Conversation. 051

### 15.1.3 Future

As shown in Table 15.1 above, there are four adverbs that indicate a time that is in the future: 'later'; 'tomorrow'; 'day after tomorrow'; and 'next year'. Each of the future adverbs will be presented individually in the following subsections.

#### 15.1.3.1 'later'

There are two ways of expressing the time concept 'later'. These involve constructions that are borrowed from the IA: *X ke bad* 'after X'; and *bad mẽ* 'later'. The Darma equivalents are *idu gu bad* and *bad r'u*. Because these 'later' constructions include a postposition, these forms were not included in Table 15.1 above. These borrowed constructions are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The other form of 'later' is *nongdi*.<sup>4</sup> Example (48) below includes both *bad r'u* and *nongdi*.

- (48) *hã, pheelen ju, hã, 7ido su, bad r'u, jo nini, hã*  
*hã, pheelen su, hã, idu su, bad r'u, jo nini, hã*  
 then sow-CVB after then DEM.NONVIS after later HM then  
  
*ning gu, hã 7ido su, nongdi, 7ã, 7asar la*  
*ning gu, hã idu su, nongdi, ã, asar la*  
 1PL POSS then DEM.NONVIS after later HM June-July.LN month  
  
*r'u ning se kiden.*  
*r'u ning se kiden.*  
 LOC 1PL god worship-1PL.NPT

'Then, after sowing, then, after that, later, um, then, our, then after that, later, uh, in the June-July month (we) worship god.'

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 011

<sup>4</sup> This word has various pronuciations including *nongdi*, *nogodi*, and *nogondi*. All variants have been confirmed with multiple speakers and appear to be in free variation.

The word *nongdi* functions as a sentential adverb appearing in clause-initial position as shown in examples (49)-(50) below.

- (49) *bar'thee khaxhcu r'amu ne, nongdi da mu*  
 bar'the khaxhcu r'a-mu ne, nogondi da mu  
 early ABL come-INF TAG1 later CONT rain  
*r'ani ti r'ani seema kimu baktee*  
 r'a-ni ti r'a-ni seema ki-mu baktee  
 come-3.NPT water come-3.NPT gods worship-INF time  
*dee r'amu.*  
 dee r'a-mu.  
 go come-INF

‘You should come early, right—later, though, the rains come, the water comes, (you) should go (for) the god-worshipping time.’

T0023: Migration. 042

- (50) *nongdi gen hyen jen 7andu, 7andu wala 7ã, lyangda.*  
 nongdi geni syeno jen andu, andu wala ã, lee-ang-da.  
 later 2PL child PL DEM.PROX DEM.PROX one.LN HM say-FUT-3.NPT

‘Then your children, uh, will say (to) this, this one.’

T0036: Conversation. 004

The adverb *nongdi* can appear in clause-initial position preceding a relative construction as shown in example (51) below. In this example, ‘later’ is associated with the relative construction (i.e. ‘the people who arrive later’).

- (51) *hã wanlen jo nini khami tuku wanje, nogdi wannu*  
 hã wan-len jo nini khami tuku wan-je, nogondi wan-nu  
 then reach-CVB HM REL first reach-COND later reach-NOM  
*mi jen jati gata.*  
 mi jen jati ga-da.  
 person PL food make-3.NPT

‘Then upon arriving, that is whoever arrives first then they make food for the people arriving later.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 002

The word *nongdi* also appears in the corpus meaning ‘behind’. In both examples with this meaning, *nongdi* follows a noun, and appears to function as a postposition. This is shown in (52)-(53) below. In the former example the intention is that the hearer should

come behind, or follow, the speaker. In the latter example, the speaker is describing a wedding procession. The bridesmaids are the last members of the official wedding party and follow behind everyone else (i.e. the bridegroom, his father, and the groomsmen). In example (53) below, the word *nongdi* is itself followed by the ablative postposition; the two may be functioning together as a type of complex postposition.

- (52) *cilen r'anje yo [ning] nongdi.*  
 cilen r'a-n-je yo [ning] nongdi.  
 meet-CVB come-2PL-COND come.2SG.IMP [1PL] behind

‘Meeting, if you come, come behind us.’ (Meaning ‘follow us’.)

T0041: Conversation. 077

- (53) ...*hã rtixya jen [jama] nongdi su r'ani...*  
 ...*hã rtisyã jen [jama] nongdi su r'a-ni...*  
 then bridesmaid PL everyone behind ABL come-NPT

‘Then, the bridesmaids followed behind everybody.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 012

Both *bad r'u* and *nongdi* can follow a noun phrase that indicates a length of time. In this type of construction, the word *nongdi* also appears to function as a postposition. Compare example (54) with example (55). In each example the time adverbial meaning ‘later’ is preceded by a noun phrase indicating an approximate length of time.

- (54) *hã kung r'u lublen ju, [nga la rto la] bad r'u*  
*hã kong r'u lub-len su, [ngay la' rtuku la'] bad r'u*  
 then grave LOC bury-CVB after [five month six month] later

*hã tho then ninču.*  
*hã tho the-nu ni-n-su*  
 then up take.out-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL.PST

‘Then after burying (it) in a grave five or six months later, then (we) take it up.’  
 (Context: Discussing traditional burial practices where the body was buried for 5-6 months and then dug up to be cremated.)

T0018: Funeral. 006

- (55) *hã sung r'u r'alen jang hã [sum jya pi jya]*  
*hã sang r'u r'a-len su hã [sum jya pi jya]*  
 then house LOC come-CVB after then [three day four day]
- nongdi ning su 7idu gu gwan gan ninju.*  
 nogondi ning su idu gu gwan ga-nu ni-n-su.  
 later 1PL ERG DEM.NONVIS POSS funeral do-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-  
 PST

‘Then after coming home, then three or four days later we would do his funeral.’

T0018: Funeral. 009

### 15.1.3.2 ‘tomorrow’

The adverb meaning ‘tomorrow’ appears after the grammatical subject in elicited utterances. In natural discourse, the adverb is found in clause-initial position and extraposed after the verb. Examples of elicited constructions are shown in (56) and (57) below, and examples from natural discourse are shown in (58) and (59) below.

- (56) *7o khay xile cilangda.*  
 u khay sile jil-ang-da.  
 3SG tomorrow turban wrap- FUT-3.NPT

‘He will wrap the turban tomorrow.’

T0042: Elicitation. 261

- (57) *7o khay r'an nini.*  
 u khay r'a-nu ni-ni.  
 3SG tomorrow come-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘He is coming tomorrow.’

T0048: Elicitation. 011

- (58) *hã ne khay ningjya bort dam bakte*  
*hã ne khay ningjya bort da-mu baktee*  
 then TAG1 tomorrow day.after.tomorrow vote.LN give-INF time
- khami jiteni.*  
 khami jitee-ni.  
 who win-3.NPT

‘Then right, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, (during) the voting time who is winning?’

T0024: Election. 007

- (59) *7ay mardangne khay gam nini*  
 ayi ma-rdang-ni khay ga-mu ni-ni  
 right.now NEG-good-3.NPT tomorrow do-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
*nadu ma da.*  
 nadu ma da.  
 this EQU CONT

‘Right now isn't good, (one) should do it tomorrow, like this though.’

T0032: Conversation. 281

The word ‘tomorrow’ appears to function as a noun as well. This is shown in the following example where *khay* is the dependent in a possessive construction, a position that is usually filled by a noun.

- (60) *khay gu ज्या r'u khwee kham xyungheni...*  
 khay gu ज्या r'u khwee khami syung-si-ni...  
 tomorrow POSS day LOC don't.know who sit-MID-3.NPT

‘In the coming days, (I) don't know who (will) win...’

T0024: Election. 025

### 15.1.3.3 ‘day after tomorrow’

The adverb ‘day after tomorrow’ is found clause-initially and extraposed after the verb. This is shown in examples (61)-(62) below.

- (61) *hã ningjya t'anju jo nini, ning gu se gu*  
 hã ningjya th'anju jo nini, ning gu se gu  
 then day.after.tomorrow morning HM 1PL POSS god POSS  
*tyār leeni.*  
 gityār lee-ni.  
 festival.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Then, the day after tomorrow (in) the morning, um it is our god's festival.’

T0021: Darma Food. 049

- (62) 7ã than da sar'at leeni, ta ta jya xicye  
 ã than da sar'at lee-ni, taku taku jya si-ji-je  
 HM now CONT funeral.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT one one day die-MID-COND
- nyangjya* na 7ã *ningjya* na pangden.  
 ningjya na ã ningjya na pang-den.  
 day.after.tomorrow EMPH HM day.after.tomorrow EMPH send-1PL.NPT

‘Um, now though there is a funeral. If (one) dies one one day, two days after that only, um, two days later only (we) send (them).’

T0018: Funeral. 024

#### 15.1.3.4 ‘next year’

The word for ‘next year’ was only provided as a lexical item during a transcription and translation session. I did not obtain *nangkhwee* in an example.

### 15.2 MANNER

There are a handful of manner adverbs that are formed with the postposition *su*. These are shown in examples (63)-(67) below. Like other postpositions, *su* in these constructions can modify an NP. It is possible to interpret the *su* in some of these constructions as the instrumental postposition (e.g. ‘easily’ included in the examples below could be interpreted as ‘with ease’). In other constructions, the *su* cannot be interpreted as the instrumental (e.g. *tar*’ is not found in the corpus without *su* to mean ‘slow’). The final caveat to this identification of manner adverbs is that most of the examples found in the corpus and included below involve words that are borrowed from IA. The construction used in Darma (i.e. *X su*) is identical in structure to the construction used in IA (i.e. *X se*). For example, ‘easily’ in IA is *aaraam se*, while the expression in Darma is *7aram su*. This is shown in example (64) below. I have glossed the morpheme *su* as MAN in these constructions.



- (63) *jamana ʔanusar su hadu ma gada, lya.*  
jamana anusar su hadu ma ga-da, lee-a.  
times.LN according.LN MAN DEM.NEUT EQU do-3.NPT say-OPT  
‘Say/(tell them), the times accordingly (they) do it like this.’  
T0024: Election. 023
- (64) *har’ par’ivar har’ mi ʔar’am su da tar’ni.*  
har’ par’ivar har’ mi ar’am su da tar’ni.  
each.LN family.LN each.LN person ease.LN MAN give able-3.NPT  
‘Each family, each man is able to give easily.’  
T0031: Cuti Gabla. 081
- (65) *prem baw su xyungen.*  
prem baw su syung-hen.  
love.LN temperament.LN MAN sit-1PL.NPT  
‘(We) sit peacefully.’  
T0031: Cuti Gabla. 108
- (66) *ʔallya jor su pha.*  
allya jor su pha-a.  
some power.LN MAN speak-2SG.IMP  
‘Talk a little louder.’  
T0037: Conversation. 008
- (67) *ʔabi ʔalag na t’im kur’len kir’ay r’u ya*  
abi alag na t’im kur’-len kir’ay r’u ya  
EMPRO.LN separate.LN EMPH house take-CVB rent.LN LOC or  
  
*ʔabi gu na t’im tolen ʔalag su na xyungni.*  
abi gu na t’im to-len alag su na syung-ni.  
EMPRO.LN POSS EMPH house buy-CVB separate.LN MAN EMPH live-3.NPT  
‘They rent their own house separately, or they buy their own house, they just live separately.’  
T0041: Conversation. 110
- (68) *rthyake rthyuke galen ju barriya rdang su*  
rthyake rthyuke ga-len su barriya rdang su  
good.LN ECHO do-CVB after good.LN manner.LN MAN  
  
*khar’ee gaden, ne?*  
khar’ee ga-den, ne?  
thing do-1PL.NPT, TAG1  
‘After doing good and all, (we) do the thing in a good manner, right?’  
T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 016

### 15.2.1 Reduplication

Two adverbs of manner appear in reduplicated forms. The first is *tar' tar' su* meaning 'slowly', and the second is *gupjya gupjya* meaning 'occasionally'. As with other reduplicated forms, the word is intensified when it is repeated. So, while both *tar' su* and *tar' tar' su* mean 'slowly', the latter is slower than the former. Similarly, *gupjya* means 'sometimes' and *gupjya gupjya* means 'occasionally'. Examples of *tar' su* and *tar' tar' su* are shown in (69) and (70) below.<sup>5</sup> Example (71) below shows 'sometimes'. The reduplicated form *gupjya gupjya* meaning 'occasionally' was obtained in interview sessions without an example.

- (69) *khee balth'eemu macing tar' su, r'amu*  
*khee balth'ee-mu ma-cing tar' su, r'a-mu*  
 some rush-INF NEG-need.LN slow MAN come-INF

*tar' su: r'amu.*  
*tar' su r'a-mu.*  
 slow MAN come-INF

'One doesn't need to rush, you should come slowly, you should come slowly.'

T0023: Migration. 040

- (70) *bunglung khaxhcu tar' tar' su r'amu,*  
*bunglung khaxhcu tar' tar' su r'a-mu,*  
 name.village ABL slow slow MAN come-INF

*hã xyela bassemu.*  
*hã sela basse-mu.*  
 then name.village stay.LN-INF

'From Bunglung (you) should go slowly, then (you) should stay in Sela.'

T0023: Migration. 004

- (71) *gubjya pasu na gaden.*  
*gubjya pasu na gaden.*  
 sometimes blanket EMPH make-1PL.NPT

'Sometimes we only make blankets.'

T0043: Woolwork. 024

<sup>5</sup> The vowel length on the manner postposition has a similar effect to the repetition of 'slow'; both iconically indicate that the action should be slow. This type of vowel length is also discussed in Chapter 3.

### 15.2.2 Echo Formations

There is one adverb of manner, *hapyta tapyta* ‘quickly’, that is an echo formation. Like other echo formations that do not involve verbs, the first element of this echo formation is not found in the corpus alone. Nevertheless, speakers describe this adverb as an echo formation. Like many adverbs, ‘quickly’ is in a clause-initial position. This is shown in example (72) below.

- (72) *seru deenje, hapyta tapyta na gam parrni,*  
*seru de-n-je, hapyta tapyta na ga-mu parr-ni,*  
 forest go-1PL-COND quickly ECHO EMPH do-INF must.LN-3.NPT
- sang r’u r’anje, hapyta tapyta na jati gam*  
*sang r’u r’a-n-je, hapyta tapyta na jati ga-mu*  
 house LOC come-1PL-COND quickly ECHO EMPH food make-INF
- parrni, hapyta tapyta na lan gam parrni.*  
*parr-ni, hapyta tapyta na lan ga-mu parr-ni.*  
 must.LN-3.NPT quickly ECHO EMPH work do-INF must.LN-3.NPT

‘If we go to the forest, we must go quickly, if we come home, we must make the food quickly, one must do the work in quite a hurry.’

T0043: Woolwork. 068

### 15.3 DIRECTION AND LOCATION

The structure of the directional and locational adverbs is parallel to the structure of demonstrative pronouns. Additionally, these adverbs also appear to function as nominals in some cases. For a full discussion of the direction and location adverbs found in Darma see §8.2.2 above.

### 15.4 INTENSIFIERS

Adverbs that function as intensifiers are found preceding adjectives and verbs. In Darma the intensifiers are *7akcit*, *cong*, and *dal*. The latter two forms are also found to function as quantifiers (cf §10.2 above for a discussion of general quantifiers). When intensifiers are found preceding an adjective, the degree of the adjective is increased (cf

§11.5 above for a discussion of adjective intensifiers). Examples are shown in (73)-(75) below.

(73) *hã barte gam bakte, jo nini, 7akcit barriya*  
*hã barte ga-m bakte, jo nini, akcit barriya*  
 then haircut.ritual do-INF time HM very good.LN

*galen ju 7idu bakte xyaxi baksa ma t'andu*  
*ga-len su idu baktee syasi baksa ma t'andu*  
 do-CVB after DEM.NONVIS time relative.MAT wedding EQU style

*gaden.*  
*ga-den.*  
 do-1PL.NPT

‘Then at the time of the ceremonial haircut, um, after doing very well, at that time (we) do this in the style of a relative’s wedding’.

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 004

(74) *ju t'im cong na punu nini.*  
*ji t'im cong na punu ni-ni.*  
 1SG house very EMPH big AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘My house is very big.’

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 005

(75) *7u xir'i dal na bungnu nini.*  
*u sir'i dal na bungnu ni-ni.*  
 3SG boy very EMPH tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘His boy is very tall’ (Meaning compared to these other people here.)

T0042: Elicited 830

(76) *t'up lya dal maphamu.*  
*t'up lee-a dal ma-pha-mu.*  
 quiet.LN say.2SG.IMP much NEG-speak-INF

‘Say (be) quiet, don't say too much.’

T0032: Conversation. 111

(77) *thyã dal na see'ni.*  
*thyã dal na see'-ni.*  
 today very EMPH be.cold-3.NPT

‘Today is very cold.’

T0042: Elicited 015

## 15.5 ADVERB PHRASE

There is evidence of an adverb phrase. As shown in the examples throughout this chapter, the adverb phrase can be extraposed. This is true when the adverb phrase contains only an adverb, and when it is an adverb and an emphatic particle. We also find evidence of an adverb phrase based on other constituency tests such as the ability to conjoin two adverb phrases with a conjunctive particle and the ability to respond to a question using an adverb phrase as a fragment (cf Radford 1988 for a discussion of constituency tests). In example (78) below, we find two adverbs conjoined with the particle ‘or’.<sup>6</sup>

- (78) *7ō keen nini, [khay] ya [thyã] keeangda.*  
*ō kee-nu ni-ni, [khay] ya [thyã] kee-ang-da.*  
yes finish-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT [tomorrow] or [today] finish-FUT-3.NPT  
‘Yes, (she) is finishing (the blanket), (she) will finish tomorrow or today.’  
T0032: Conversation. 287

In examples (79) and (80) below, we find adverbs appearing as fragments in response to the same question “When are you leaving from here?”

- (79) *thyã?*  
*thyã?*  
today  
‘Today?’  
T0032: Conversation. 191

- (80) *than?*  
*than?*  
now  
‘Now?’  
T0032: Conversation. 192

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<sup>6</sup> These may be adverbial nouns. The adverb ‘tomorrow’ is found in the corpus in a possessive construction. Generally, however, ‘today’ and ‘tomorrow’ are found in parallel distribution with other adverbs (i.e. clause-initial position).

## Chapter 16: Discourse Markers

### 16.0 INTRODUCTION

Discourse markers can be discussed in terms of focus and contrast (Payne 1997), topic and emphasis (Genetti 1994), emphasis and contrast (Schachter 1985), and so forth. The discourse markers found in Darma can be used to mark emphasis or highlight a specific phrase in contrast to others. The precise meaning of each marker depends in part on its distribution. Discourse markers identified in this chapter are found following noun phrases, adverb phrases, subordinate clauses, and finite clauses. Because each marker is distributed across phrasal categories, I will present the discourse markers individually and describe the distribution and meaning of each in turn.

### 16.1 THE EMPHATIC [NA]

The discourse marker *na* is an emphatic particle that means ‘even’, ‘only’, or ‘just’ depending on the context. The emphatic particle *na* is found following the word or phrase that receives the emphasis. If the role of the phrase is indicated with a postposition, the emphatic particle follows the postposition. This includes numeral quantifiers, nouns, noun phrases, subordinate clauses, and matrix clauses. The emphatic particle is found marking the grammatical subject, the grammatical object, and adjuncts as shown in examples (1)- (4) below.

- (1) *hã* [ning bijaceme jen su] **na** ree lan t'on ninsu.  
hã [ning bijaceme jen su] na ree lan t'o-nu ni-n-su.  
then [1PL women PL ERG] EMPH field work finish-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
‘Then we women only finish the field work.’

T0043: Woolwork. 010

- (2) *than [bulnu gangnu byam] na gaden.*  
 than [bulnu gangnu byam] na ga-den.  
 now [fat tight rug] EMPH make-1PL.NPT

‘Now (we) make fat, tight rugs only.’ (NB: Fat, tight rugs are not considered high quality weaving.)

T0043: Woolwork. 023

- (3) *to 7ã to [t’agu ji rorta] na jamu nini*  
 to ã to [t’agu ji rorta] na ja-mu ni-ni  
 then.LN HM then.LN [rice and flatbread.LN] EMPH eat-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Then, um, then (they) have to eat only rice and flatbread.’

T0021: Food. 011

- (4) *wi [7inglish] na phani.*  
 wi na pha-ni.  
 3PL [English] EMPH speak-3.NPT

‘They only speak English’.

T0032: Conversation. 219

The emphatic particle is found following the numeral quantifier that is modifying a noun, in which case the emphasis is on the amount. The emphatic particle is also found following the entire noun phrase that contains a numeral quantifier, in which case the emphasis is on the entire noun phrase. This is shown in examples (5) and (6) below.

- (5) *[nixyu] na r’o gumu leesu.*  
 [nisyu] na r’o gu-mu lee-su.  
 [two] EMPH basket cut.grass-INF say-PST

‘(You) should cut only two baskets, (she) said.’

T0032: Conversation. 298

- (6) *[nee jya] na pangden, wi, kalju de.*  
 [nisyu jya] na pangden, wi, ka-lee-su de.  
 [two day] EMPH send-1PL.NPT 3PL COMPL-AUX.EX-PST now

‘(We) send them (after) just two days, now (it) is finished.’

T0018: Funeral. 031

The emphatic particle is found following the full form of a numeral, but not following the short form.<sup>1</sup> In example (7), we find the full form followed by an emphatic

<sup>1</sup> It may be the case that the short forms of the numerals are clitics, which would explain the distribution of the emphatic particle.

particle and then the associated noun ‘day’. In example (8), the partial numeral precedes the noun ‘day’, and the emphatic particle follows the noun.

- (7) *taku na jya xyungni la do?*  
 taku na jya syung-ni la do?  
 one EMPH day sit-3.NPT TAG2 here  
 ‘They are staying for only one day, here?’

T0032: Conversation. 209

- (8) *[ta jya] na wude lyanga.*  
 taku jya na wudee lee-ang-nga.  
 one day EMPH where happen.FUT-EMPH  
 ‘(In) just one day, where will it happen then?’

T0032: Conversation. 282

We find similar examples with the number ‘two’. In examples (9)-(10) below, we find the full form of ‘two’ preceding the noun ‘basket’. In the first example, the emphatic particle follows the noun, and in the second example, the emphatic particle follows the numeral ‘two’.

- (9) *[nixyu r’o] na lyang lesu.*  
 nisyu r’o na lee-ang lee-su.  
 two basket EMPH AUX.EX-FUT say-PST  
 ‘There will be just two baskets, (she) said.’

T0032: Conversation. 296

- (10) *[nixyu] na r’o gumu leesu.*  
 nisyu na r’o gu-mu lee-su.  
 two EMPH basket cut.grass-INF say-PST  
 ‘(You) should cut only two baskets, (she) said.’

T0032: Conversation. 298

Following is an example with the short form of the number two. In this example, the emphatic particle is following the noun ‘day’, but there are no examples in the corpus where the emphatic particle directly follows the short form of the numeral.



- (11) [nee jya] **na** gwan gaden le kilju.  
 nee jya na gwan ga-den le ki-lee-su.  
 two day EMPH funeral do-1PL.NPT also AUX.EX.PST

We do a funeral in just two days, then its over.

T0018: Funeral. 026

- (12) ga matar'henje than da [nixyu jya] **na** gaden.  
 ga ma-tar'-si-n-je than da nisyu jya na ga-den.  
 do NEG-able-MID-1PL-COND now CONT two day EMPH do-1PL.NPT

'If we are not able to do it then now we do it for just two days.'

T0018: Funeral. 030

The emphatic particle is also found following the possessive particle *gu* marking the possessor in a noun phrase.

- (13) 7abi 7alag na t'im kur'len kir'ay r'u ya  
 abi alag na t'im kur'-len kir'ay r'u ya  
 EMPRO.LN separate.LN EMPH house take-CVB rent.LN LOC or

[7abi gu] **na** t'im tolen 7alag su  
 [abi gu] na t'im to-len alag su  
 [EMPRO.LN POSS] EMPH house buy-CVB separate.LN MAN

na xyungni.  
 na syung-ni.  
 EMPH live-3.NPT

'They rent their own house separately, or they buy their own house, they just live separately.'

T0041: Conversation. 110

The emphatic particle *na* can be used to place focus on one person out of a group of people. For example in (14) below, the *na* signifies that all of the liquor in the two to three vessels is being consumed by just one man in the group (as opposed to being passed around the whole group as would be done in many circumstances).

- (14) *hã nee nee sum sum ʔankur'a cyekti [ta ta mi]*  
*hã nisyu nisyu sum sum ankur'a cekti [taku taku mi]*  
 then two two three three vessel liquor [one one person]  
*na xir'n niju*  
*na sir'-nu ni-su*  
 EMPH guzzle-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘Then, each two to three vessels of Cyekti, each person guzzled.’

T0018: Funeral. 013

The examples in (15)-(22) below, provide further evidence that *na* is found after a wide variety of clauses and phrases.

- (15) *[ni ree wasu] na ber'a baji gaden ning su.*  
*[ni ree wasu] na ber'a baji ga-den ning su.*  
*[sun set until] EMPH song performance.LN do-1PL.NPT 1PL ERG*

‘We sing and dance only until the sun sets’ (after that we go home).

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 037

- (16) *hã ree resulen, t'olen ju na ayi ta*  
*hã ree resulen, t'olen su na ayi tagu*  
 then field plow-CVB finish-CVB after EMPH another one  
*se kiden.*  
*se kiden.*  
 god worship-1PL.NPT

‘Then, plowing the field, only after finishing (we) pray to another one god.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 007

T0024: Election. 026

- (17) *ning th'agu th'ama dangden na.*  
*ning th'agu th'ama da-ang-den na.*  
 1PL rice.cooked daal give-FUT-1PL.NPT EMPH

‘We will even give (you) daal and rice.’

T0023: Migration. 020

- (18) *ge ber'a da ga lahen na ta ber'a ga.*  
*ge ber'a da ga la-hen na taku ber'a ga.*  
 2SG song CONT do know-2SG.NPT EMPH one song do

‘You surely know how to sing, sing one song.’

T0037: Conversation. 030

- (19) *than da mi jen [kha kha] na jani?*  
 than da mi jen [kha kha] na ja-ni?  
 now CONT person PL [what what] EMPH eat-3SG.PRS?

‘Now, though, what all do people eat?’

T0021: Darma Food. 012

- (20) *hã, ʔandung jo nini ning [sar’i song] na kilagen*  
*hã, andung jo nini ning [sar’ee sang] na ki-lagee-nu*  
 then LOC.PROX HM 1PL [all village] EMPH COMPL-apply-NOM

*na nihen le.*  
 na ni-hen le.  
 EMPH AUX.EQ-1PL.NPT also

‘Then here, that is, we have applied all the villages.’ (Context: Talking about campaigning.)

- (21) *thyã [do] na xyungni.*  
 thyã [do] na syung-ni.  
 today [here] EMPH sit-2PL.IMP

‘(You all) should stay here today.’

T0032: Conversation. 202

- (22) *nadu th’ama r’u cong na mor’t’u nini.*  
 nadu th’ama r’u cong na mor’t’u ni-ni.  
 DEM.NEUT daal LOC lots EMPH chili AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘In this daal there are *lots* of chilis.’

T0042: Elicited 021

## 16.2 THE EMPHATIC [ri]

Like the emphatic *na*, the emphatic particle *r’i* (~*r’ee*) is found following pronouns, noun phrases, quantifiers, and sentence finally after an inflected verb. It is not clear what the difference is between these emphatic particles. As with the other discourse markers, emphatic *r’i* is found following grammatical subjects, objects, and adjuncts.

The emphatic is found following noun phrases. If the role of the noun phrase is indicated with a postposition, the emphatic particle follows the postposition. Examples are provided in (23)-(24) below.

- (23) *hã [min minu th'agu] ma r'ee bir' bang jahren*  
*hã [minu minu th'agu] ma r'i bir' bang ja-hen*  
 then [small small rice.cooked] EQU EMPH all place eat-1PL.NPT
- min minu bakt'i mahãje le bir' bang jahren*  
*minu minu bakt'i mahã-je le bir' bang ja-hen*  
 small small fried.bread is.not-COND even all place eat-1PL.NPT

*tungxyen.*

*tung-si-hen.*

drink -1PL.NPT

‘Then we eat just a little tiny bit of rice at every house. Even if there isn’t any small fried bread, (we) eat and drink (at) all places.’

T0021: Darma Food. 055

- (24) *[ne nee bang] r'i ter'e deeje da deen*  
*[ne nisyu bang] r'i ter'e dee-je da dee-nu*  
 [DEM.NEUT two place] EMPH there go-COND CONT go-NOM
- na niyang, ne th'in da niyang ne, lekin*  
*na ni-ang, ne th'i-nu da ni-ang ne, lekin*  
 EMPH AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 visit-NOM CONT AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 but.LN

*r'aksa maxyung necen.*

*r'aksa ma-syung ne jen.*  
 together NEG-live DEM.NEUT PL

‘If they go to both places, then they must go, right, (they) will (=must) visit, right, but they don't live together.’

T0041: Conversation. 106

Following a numeral quantifier, the emphatic *r'i* emphasizes the quantity.

- (25) *gorthi r'u taku r'i khwi mani.*  
*r'u taku r'i khwi ma-ni.*  
 LOC one EMPH dog NEG-AUX.EQ

‘In Gothi there isn’t a single dog.’

T0047: Elicited. 012

The emphatic pronoun *r'i* appears frequently in the data with *khee* ‘something’. There are far more examples of *khee* with *r'i* than without. The interpretation of emphatic *khee* can be ‘something’ with emphasis, as shown in (26), or it can be interpreted as ‘anything’ as shown in example (27).

- (26) *ji su ge gu khe r'i khwiyo.*  
*ji su ge gu khee r'i khwi-yo.*  
 1SG ERG 2SG POSS thing EMPH steal-1SG.PST  
 'I stole something from you.'

T0042: Elicited 591

- (27) *ge pha khe r'i, hr'ua.*  
*ge pha khee r'i, r'u-a.*  
 2SG speak thing EMPH ask-2SG.OPT  
 'You talk, ask anything.'

T0041: Conversation. 010

- (28) *niyang kham r'i.*  
*ni-ang khami r'i.*  
 AUX.EQ-FUT someone EMPH  
 '(It) will be (=must be) someone.'

T0041: Conversation. 070

The emphatic particle *r'i* after an interrogative pronoun gives it an indefinite reading as is shown in examples (29)-(30) below.<sup>2</sup> In these examples, *wudee* 'where' followed by *r'i* means 'anywhere'.

- (29) *nadu ne "clear" da bir' r'u r'ani nadu la*  
*nadu ne da bir' r'u r'a-ni nadu la*  
 3SG 3SG CONT all LOC come-3.NPT 3SG hand  
*r'u kur'len geni wude r'i de tar'ni.*  
*r'u kur'-len geni wudee r'i de tar'-ni.*  
 LOC take-CVB 2PL where EMPH go able-3.NPT

'This one this clearness, though, it comes in all, taking this one in your hand, you are able to go anywhere.'

T0041: Conversation. 149

- (30) *7icang gu xir'i da mahã la wud r'i?*  
*i jen gu sir'i da mahã la wudee r'i?*  
 3SG PL POSS son CONT is.not TAG2 where EMPH

'They don't have a son, do they, anywhere?'

T0041: Conversation. 068

<sup>2</sup> In her description of Dolakhã Newari, Genetti describes an emphatic pronoun, [uŋ], the distribution of which is very similar to [ri] (1994: 78-81). When the Dolakhã clitic is found with interrogative pronouns the interpretation is also indefinite.

The interrogative pronoun *khami* ‘who’ also has an indefinite reading ‘someone’ when followed by *r’i*. It should be noted that in many contexts *khami* has an indefinite reading without *r’i*. The indefinite reading of *khami* is discussed in §8.3.3 above.

- (31) *niyang kham r’i.*  
 ni-ang khami r’i.  
 AUX.EQ-3SG.FUT who EMPH  
 ‘(It) must be someone.’

T0041: Conversation. 070

In the examples of the quantifier pronoun ‘everyone’ followed by the emphatic pronoun *r’i*, the meaning ‘absolutely everyone’.

- (32) *7ido su yhi gvolen ju, mi jon jen jama r’i*  
 idu su yhi gvo-len su, mi jonu jen jama r’i  
 3SG after flour knead-CVB after man youth PL everyone EMPH  
*gubu jon jen patem kam gangda.*  
 gubu jonu jen patee-mu kam ga-ang-da.  
 some youth PL shape.LN-INF work.LN do-FUT-3.NPT

‘After that, after the flour is kneaded, men, the youth, absolutely everyone, some youth will do the shaping work (of the dough).’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 026

The emphatic *r’i* is also found sentence finally as shown in example (33) below. In this example, the use of the emphatic *r’i* in sentence final position is emphasizing that the action was done. Prior to this another speaker is encouraging someone to speak in Darma, she says, ‘speak in Darma’ to which another speaker replies with the following utterance.

- (33) *ham phan niju r’ee.*  
 hadu ma pha-nu ni-su r’i.  
 DEM.NEUT EQU speak-NOM AUX.EQ-PST EMPH

‘He was speaking in that way (e.g., in Darma)’.

T0037: Conversation. 034

### 16.3 THE CONTRASTIVE EMPHATIC [da]

The particle *da* is found in the corpus following noun phrases, adverb phrases, subordinate clauses, and following an inflected matrix verb. Following noun phrases and adverb phrases, *da* has a contrastive reading. Following subordinate clauses the emphatic particle *da* is interpreted as ‘then’. Following a matrix verb the emphatic particle *da* is interpreted as ‘then’ or ‘just as’. This particle is found to be in similar distribution as the particle [t̥o] in Hindi (cf Nair 1991 for a discussion of this particle in Indian languages) and the suffix [-uri] found in Dolakhā Newari (Genetti 1990: 107-111). Such contrastive marking may be an areal feature of the South Asian languages.

In the following example, the speaker is contrasting how things were done in times past with how they are done today. Each time adverb is followed by the contrastive particle to contrast the past with the present.

- (34) *tuktu jya da cyebang cyebang jya gwan leen niju*  
*tuktu jya da cyebang cyebang jya gwan lee-nu ni-su*  
 before day CONT fifteen fifteen day funeral AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-PST  
*ʔidakhay da nee jya na gwan nini ʔidakhay da.*  
*idakhay da nisyu jya na gwan ni-ni idakhay da.*  
 nowadays CONT two day EMPH funeral AUX.EQ-3.NPT nowadays CONT  
 ‘In the olden days though each funeral would be fifteen days, nowadays, though, a funeral is just two days, nowadays.’

T0018: Funeral. 025

The contrastive particle is also found following a conditional clause, where it has the meaning ‘then’. This is shown in example (35) below.

- (35) *[ne nee bang r'i ter'e deeje] da deen*  
 [ne nisyu bang r'i ter'e dee-je] da dee-nu  
 [DEM.NEUT two place EMPH there go-COND] CONT go-NOM
- na niyang, ne th'in da niyang ne, lekin*  
 na ni-ang, ne th'i-nu da ni-ang ne, lekin  
 EMPH AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 visit-NOM CONT AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 but.LN
- r'aksa maxyung necen.*  
 r'aksa ma-syung ne jen.  
 together NEG-live DEM.NEUT PL
- 'If they go to both places, then they must go, they must visit, right, but they don't live together.'

T0041: Conversation. 106

This contrastive particle is also found following an inflected clause, where it has the meaning 'at that moment' or 'just as'. This is shown in example (36), where the contrastive particle *da* indicates that it is at the moment the saint pretended to turn away that the ashes were mixed in to the flour.

- (36) *jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phayem budu*  
 jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phaye-mu budu  
 like.this.LN EMPH HM saint.LN thither turn.around-INF INC
- gasu da 7idu r'u pha gu du deesu.*  
 ga-su da idu r'u pha gu du dee-su.  
 do-PST CONT DEM.NONVIS LOC ash POSS mix go-PST
- 'Just like this, that is, just as the saint had partially turned away, he (refers to the hero of the story) mixed in ashes'.

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 046

- (37) *nying sumpe r'ani da r'angga keexyen.*  
 ning sumpe r'a-ni da r'angga gee-si-hen.  
 1PL brother come-3.NPT CONT clothes.male cover-MID-PL.NPT
- 'When our brothers come, (we) wear the 'rangga' (traditional dress).'

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 009

The contrastive particle is also found following a noun phrase. In this position, the noun phrase is being contrasted with another noun phrase, as shown in examples (38)-(40) below.



- (38) *[ning xyen jen] da ta jya de sum cyo pi jyo*  
 ning syeno jen da taku jya de sum co pi co  
 1PL child PL CONT one day at three times four times  
*jani 7idakhay na.*  
 ja-ni idakhay na.  
 eat-3.NPT nowadays EMPH

‘Our kids, though, in one day (they) eat three or for times, only nowadays!’

T0021: Darma Food. 014

- (39) *wor’axir’i da hindi pha mala.*  
 wor’asir’i da hindi pha ma-la.  
 husband CONT Hindi speak NEG-know

‘The husband, though, doesn’t know how to speak Hindi.’

T0032: Conversation. 214

- (40) *do da wi da wulang na len nijang.*  
 do da wi da wulang na lee-nu ni-ang.  
 here CONT 3PL CONT how.much EMPH AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

‘Here though, (for) them though, how much will (=must) (it) be.’

T0041: Conversation. 239

#### 16.4 MULTIPLE DISCOURSE MARKERS

It is possible to concatenate the discourse markers as shown in examples (41)-(42) below. Multiple discourse markers, however, are rarely found in the corpus; these are the only two examples found to date. As a result, it is unclear what the restrictions are for concatenating discourse markers. In the examples shown here, the emphatic *na* is followed by the contrastive *da*. Further exploration must be done to understand the full extent of possible combinations.

- (41) *mi xita necen bir’ 7alag na da xyungni.*  
 mi sita necen bir’ alag na da syungni.  
 person leave-3.NPT 3PL all separate.LN EMPH CONT stay-3.NPT

‘They leave people, they all just stay separately.’

T0041: Conversation. 100

(42) *bir' taku na da lee, ne pua phalen.*  
bir' taku na da lee, ne pua phalen.  
all one EMPH CONT COP, DEM.NEUT uncle speak-CVB

‘Everything is only one, though, when this uncle is talking.’<sup>3</sup>

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 024

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<sup>3</sup> The woman who says this is interrupting the narrative of a man whom she perceives as conflating two well known folk tales. She is suggesting that the two stories have become one in the man’s narrative.

## Chapter 17: Clause and Sentence Structure

### 17.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will discuss some of the clause types that are prominent in the discourse that I have analyzed for this dissertation. This will include: a discussion of non-declarative speech acts (cf §17.1); nominalization and relativization (cf §17.2); and evidentiality (cf § 17.3). This chapter is by no means an exhaustive analysis of the structure of clauses and utterances in Darma, but it is a launching point for further work.

### 17.1 NON-DECLARATIVE SPEECH ACTS

There are several types of non-declarative speech act found in Darma: yes/no questions, information questions, and tag questions. Each type of question formation will be discussed in turn in the following sub-sections.

#### 17.1.1 Yes/No Questions

Cross-linguistically, yes/no questions are formed in several ways. One can use rising intonation, a particle or a clitic, or a verbal affix to mark a yes/no question (Kroeger 2005). Darma uses two of these strategies, which can also be used in combination. Questions that seek an answer of ‘yes’ or ‘no’ are formed in the following ways: with rising intonation; with the question marker *kha* in clause-initial position; or with both rising intonation and the question marker. The basic constituent order of a question remains unchanged in yes/no questions whether or not the question particle *kha* is present. Compare the declarative sentence in (1) below with the yes/no question in (2) below. The latter example has the same constituent order as the former, but *kha* is in clause-initial position and the intonation is rising.

- (1) *ʔu su jati gada.*  
 u su jati ga-da.  
 3SG ERG food make-3.NPT  
 ‘She is making food.’

T0042: Elicited. 456

- (2) *kha ʔu su jati gada?*  
 kha u su jati ga-da?  
 Q 3SG ERG food make-3.NPT  
 ‘Is he making food?’

T0042: Elicitation. 462

The question marker *kha* will be discussed again in the following section on information questions. While *kha* indicates a yes/no question when it is in utterance-initial position, as shown in (3) below, it appears that the placement of *kha* determines the scope of the question.

- (3) *kha ʔu jati jani?*  
 kha u jati ja-ni?  
 Q 3SG food eat-3.NPT  
 ‘Is he eating food?’

T0042: Elicited. 461

The question marker is also found extraposed after the utterance, as shown in (4) below. In this case *kha* has scope over the entire sentence, and it is a yes/no construction.

- (4) *hã dar'ma lungba r'u bir' na lungba*  
 hã dar'ma lungba r'u bir' na lungba  
 then Darma place LOC all EMPH place  
*barriya nini, kha?*  
 barriya nini, kha?  
 good.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT, Q  
 ‘Then in the Darma area, every place is good, isn't it?’

T0023: Migration. 028

Basic declarative utterances in the second person are usually interpreted as yes/no questions whether or not the intonation rises.<sup>1</sup> In natural discourse, these constructions usually include rising intonation.

- (5) *ge ning gu kangthe t'eedan?*  
*ge ning gu kangthee t'ee-den?*  
 2SG 1PL POSS conversation understand-2SG.NPT  
 'Do you understand our conversation?'

T0048: Elicited. 081

- (6) *ge le r'enden?*  
*ge le r'en-den?*  
 2SG also weave-2SG.NPT  
 'Do you also weave?'

T0032: Conversation. 179

In the following example, the speaker is wondering if his interlocutor has seen me write Darma (using a practical orthography based on the IPA).

- (7) *r'ida wulang barriya r'ida matangnu tadung?*  
*r'i-da voleng barriya r'i-da ma-tang-nu tadung?*  
 write-3.NPT how.much good.LN write-3.NPT NEG-see-NOM LOC.DIST  
 '(She) is writing, how well (she) writes, haven't you seen (it) there?'

T0041: Conversation. 008

### 17.1.2 Information Questions

The class of interrogative words used to form information questions are shown in Table 17.1.2 below (this table was originally presented in §9.5 above).

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<sup>1</sup> The fact that these constructions are usually interpreted as questions wasn't always apparent. Occasionally, during elicitation or translation sessions, when my primary consultant would come across what appeared on the surface as a second person declarative he would explain that the construction was a question not a statement. Frequently this was an afterthought. I checked utterances that had not been recorded as questions, and determined that the basic declarative constituent order for second person is generally interpreted as a question.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN	ENGLISH GLOSS
[k <sup>h</sup> ami] ~ [k <sup>h</sup> am]	<i>who</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> a]	<i>what</i>
[gumba] ~ [guma] ~ [gum]	<i>when</i>
[k <sup>h</sup> alan] [k <sup>h</sup> a] [k <sup>h</sup> am]	<i>why</i>
[wude] ~ [wu]	<i>where</i>
[gum dobo] ~ [gumdo] ~ [gum]	<i>how</i>
[wulan] ~ [ʔulan]	<i>how much</i>

Table 17.1.2: Interrogative Words for Information Questions

As with yes/no questions, the order of the constituents does not change in information questions. Interrogative words are usually found in the place where the argument they are questioning would be found. This is illustrated in examples (8) and (9) below.

- (8) *kham su la?*  
khami su la?  
who ERG say.3.NPT  
‘Who says?’

T0047: Elicited. 017

- (9) *7o su la.*  
u su la.  
3SG ERG say.3.NPT  
‘He/she says.’

T0047: Elicited. 018

The interrogative pronoun can appear as the subject of an intransitive clause, as shown in (10) below, as the agent of a transitive clause, as shown in example (11) below, or as the object of a transitive clause as shown in examples (12) and (13) below.

- (10) *kham lee ba?*  
 khami lee ba?  
 who COP father  
 ‘Who is it, father?’

T0032: Conversation. 394

- (11) *kham ʔungangda?*  
 khami ung-ang-da?  
 who look.at-FUT-3.NPT  
 ‘Who will look at (it)?’

T0046: Elicited. 033

- (12) *ge kha r'en-den?*  
 ge kha r'en-den?  
 2SG what weave-2SG.NPT  
 ‘What are you weaving?’

T0032: Conversation. 019

- (13) *to ʔu r'ithixya su kha gasu?*  
 to u r'ithixya su kha ga-su?  
 then 3SG wife ERG what do-PST  
 ‘Then what did his wife do?’

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 016

Interrogative pronouns are also found as arguments of postpositions. This is shown with a comitative postposition in example (14) below and with a borrowed construction in example (15) below.

- (14) *dar'ma kham r'aksa deejju?*  
 dar'ma khami r'aksa dee-su?  
 Darma who COM go-PST  
 ‘Who did she go to Darma with?’

T0041: Conversation. 046

- (15) *kha bar'ee r'u?*  
*kha bar'ee r'u?*  
 what about  
 'What about?'

T0037: Conversation. 048

Further examples of individual interrogatives are provided in the following subsections.

### 17.1.2.1 [*k<sup>h</sup>ami*] 'who'

As mentioned in §8.3.3 above, the word [*k<sup>h</sup>ami*] has more than one function. It serves as the indefinite pronoun meaning 'someone', the relative pronoun meaning 'who' or 'whoever', and the interrogative pronoun meaning 'who'. The indefinite interpretation is discussed in §8.3.3 above, and the relative interpretation is discussed in §8.4 above.

As demonstrated in the previous section, the interrogative pronoun 'who' is found questioning all possible arguments of the verb. In example (16) below, the interrogative precedes the verb complex, the object of the verb is not overt.

- (16) *7idakhay 7ida ci cyene ज्या kham su ga tar'eyang.*  
*idakhay ida ci cyene ज्या khami su ga tar'-ang.*  
 thesedays now ten twelve day who ERG do able-FUT

'Now, thesedays, who is able to do (it) for ten or twelve days?'

T0018: Funeral. 029

### 17.1.2.2 [*k<sup>h</sup>a*] 'what'

As shown in §17.1.2 above, *kha* serves as a yes/no question marker. It can also be used as a relative pronoun 'which' (cf §8.4 above). As an interrogative, *kha* is found in place of subjects and objects.

- (17) *diidii, gu mung kha lee na?*  
*diidii, ge mung kha lee na?*  
 sister.LN 2SG name what COP EMPH

'Sister, what is your name then?'

T0032: Conversation. 078



- (18) *kha ga deni hadung?*  
 kha ga de-ni hadung?  
 what do go-3.NPT LOC.NEUT

‘What is he going to do, over there?’

T0032: Conversation. 092

- (19) *kha la xyunghim bang?*  
 kha la syung-si-mu bang?  
 what say.3SG sit-MID-INF place

‘...what is it called the resting place?’

The interrogative *kha* is also found preceding nouns where it selects a specific entity. This is shown in examples (19)-(23) below.

- (20) *7alo kha thang nini?*  
 alo kha thang ni-ni?  
 potato.LN Q price AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘What is the price of potatoes?’

T0042: Elicitation. 116

- (21) *to 7u su jo nini 7apna dimag r’u, kha khur’apat*  
 to u su jo nini apna dimag r’u, kha khur’apat  
 then 3SG ERG HM EMPRO.LN mind.LN LOC what mischievous.idea.LN
- sot’eeni ki ji su 7agar’ ne garthu*  
 sot’ee-ni ki ji su agar’ ne garthu  
 think.LN-3.NPT CONJ.LN 1SG ERG if.LN DEM.NEUT watermill

*mee pudengdi baydabe.*  
 mee pu-da-ang-di baydabe.  
 fire start-give-FUT-1SG.NPT perhaps

‘Then he, um, in his mind what mischievous plan did he devise, “If I were to set the mill on fire maybe--.”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 016

- (22) *kha rong kang-ni la?*  
 kha rong kang-ni la?  
 what shoulder pain-3.NPT REP

‘Which shoulder hurts, did he say?’

T0032: Conversation. 275

- (23) *ge kha cij cingen?*  
*ge kha cij cing-hen?*  
 2SG what thing.LN want.LN-2SG.NPT

‘What things do you want?’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 034

### 17.1.2.3 [*gumba*] ‘when’

The Darma interrogative *gumba* ‘when’ is rarely found in the corpus. Most examples of ‘when’ found in the corpus are the IA words *jab* and *tab*. Based on frequency, it appears that the IA *jab* and *tab* are replacing *gumba*. The only examples I have with the Darma word for ‘when’ involve the fixed phrase ‘when did you get here’; this phrase is found four times in the corpus. Of the four ‘when’ constructions, three instances are within a single text (i.e. the conversation recorded in T0032). The fourth occurrence of the ‘when’ construction is found in utterances produced by my primary consultant BSS during a direct elicitation session. Examples (24) and (25) below, comes from natural discourse.<sup>2</sup>

- (24) *guma r’aju nadu mi jen.*  
*gumba r’a-su nadu mi jen.*  
 when come-PST DEM.NEUT person PL

‘When did (they) come, these people?’

T0032: Conversation. 096

- (25) *gumba r’aju yu khaxhcu?*  
*gumba r’a-su yu khaxhcu?*  
 when come-NPT down ABL

‘When did (they) come from downside?’

T0032: Conversation. 220

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<sup>2</sup> As these examples illustrate, within text T0032 ‘when’ is pronounced *gumba* and *guma*.

#### 17.1.2.4 [k<sup>h</sup>alan] ‘why’

The interrogative pronoun ‘why’ is found in three different forms in the corpus [k<sup>h</sup>alan], [k<sup>h</sup>am], and [k<sup>h</sup>a]. Each form is found preceding the verb, as shown in examples (26)-(28) below.

- (26) *7u jo kha maleencung.*  
 u jo kha ma-lee-n-su.  
 3SG DAT why NEG-say-2SG-PST  
 ‘Why haven’t you told him?’

T0032: Conversation. 242

- (27) *ge khalan mar’ancu.*  
 ge khaleen ma-r’a-n-su.  
 2SG why NEG-come-2SG-PST  
 ‘Why didn’t you come?’

T0048: Elicited. 036

- (28) *ge kham mar’ancu?*  
 ge kham ma-r’a-n-su?  
 2SG why NEG-come-2SG-PST  
 ‘Why didn’t you come?’

T0048: Elicited. 038

I also find *gum* translated as ‘why’ in the texts, which is shown in examples (29)-(30) below. While my consultant translated these as ‘why’, it is possible, in some contexts, to interpret *gum* as ‘how’ (cf §17.1.2.6 below for examples of *gum* meaning ‘how’).

- (29) *khiti phondar su “lyang ne gum malyang” leeju.*  
 khiti phondar su lee-ang ne gum ma-lee-ang lee-su.  
 ERG AUX.EX-FUT TAG1 why NEG-AUX.EQ-FUT say-PST

‘Khiti Phondar said, “there will be, right, why wouldn’t there be?”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 043

- (30) *ge lan lyang ne gum malyang?*  
 ge lan lee-ang ne gum ma-lee-ang?  
 2SG work AUX.EQ-FUT TAG1 why NEG-AUX.EQ-FUT

‘Your work will be/happen, right, why wouldn’t it be?’

T0042: Elicited 900

It is unclear why all of the examples of ‘why’ are in negative constructions. This fact along with the multiple meanings and multiple variants of individual interrogatives indicates that this class of word needs to be investigated further.

#### 17.1.2.5 [wude] ‘where’

The interrogative pronoun ‘where’ is usually pronounced *wudee*. It is found preceding the matrix verb as shown in examples (31)-(33) below. There is one example with ‘where’ pronounced *wu*, shown in (34) below. In this example, ‘where’ is followed by the postposition *su*, which is interpreted as ‘from’. The result is *wu su*, which means ‘from where’.

- (31) *nado 7an dhan, than ji wude kur’angdi than?*  
*nadu an dhan, than ji wudee kur’-ang-di than?*  
 DEM.NEUT DEM.PROX wealth.LN now 1SG where take-FUT-1SG.NPT now  
 ‘This, this wealth, now where will I take this, now?’

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 016

- (32) *...ge wude [xyunghen]?*  
*...ge wudee syung-hen?*  
 2SG where live-2SG.NPT  
 ‘Where do you live?’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 032

- (33) *song r’u wude leenga.*  
*sang r’u wudee lee-nga.*  
 home LOC where AUX.EQ-CFP  
 ‘Where is your home, then?’

T0032: Conversation. 082

- (34) *pha t’aju wu su lee lya.*  
*pha-a t’aju wudee su lee lee-a.*  
 speak brother-in-law where ABL COP say-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Speak, ask the man where he is from.’ (LIT: ‘Speak, say “where is brother-in-law from?”’)

T0032: Conversation. 116

17.1.2.6 *[gum dobo]* ‘how’

The interrogative pronoun ‘how’ surfaces in three ways: *gum*, *gumdo*, and *gum dobo*. While the latter form was provided as ‘how’, it must be noted that *dobo* is found in other contexts to mean ‘manner’. My consultant provided the minimal triplet found in examples (35)-(37) below for the three forms of ‘how’. He was unable to provide a context where one form would be used while the other forms would be excluded.

- (35) *ge gum nihen?*  
*ge gum ni-hen?*  
 2SG how AUX.EQ-2SG.NPT  
 ‘How are you?’

T0042: Elicited 176

- (36) *ge gumdo nihen?*  
*ge gumdo ni-hen?*  
 2SG how AUX.EQ-2SG.NPT  
 ‘How are you?’

T0042: Elicited 687

- (37) *ge gum dobo nihen?*  
*ge gum dobo ni-hen?*  
 2SG how AUX.EQ-2SG.NPT  
 ‘How are you?’

T0042: Elicited 686

Other examples with ‘how’ follow the same pattern as the previous examples where the interrogative form appears before the inflected verb or before the verb complex (i.e. a verb stem plus the nominalizer morpheme with an inflected auxiliary). These are shown in examples (38)-(40) below.

- (38) *7ama tee gumdo leen niyang ya?*  
*an ma tee gumdo lee-nu ni-ang ya?*  
 DEM.PROX EQU LOC.DIST how AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT TAG1  
 ‘Like this over there how will it be, or?’

T0041: Conversation. 097

- (39) *7u xir'i gumdo nini?*  
 u sir'i gumdo ni-ni?  
 3SG boy how AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 'How is his boy?' (Meaning is he well.)

T0042: Elicited 419

- (40) *ree r'u lan pur'a maleeje, jenu kheeti*  
 ree r'u lan pur'a ma-lee-je, jenu kheeti  
 field LOC work whole.LN NEG-AUX.EX-COND good fieldwork.LN

*gumdo lyang?*  
 gumdo lee-ang?  
 how AUX.EX-FUT

'If in the field the work is not completed, how will the fieldwork be good?'

T0048: Elicited. 123

### 17.1.2.7 [*wulang*] 'how much'

The interrogative 'how much' can be used to question the numeric quantity of something, or the size of something. It is found where the quantifier or adverb would appear as shown in examples (41)-(42) below.

- (41) *ge gu wulang dal photo kit'ee-da-ng?*  
 ge gu wulang dal kit'ee-da-nga?  
 2SG POSS how.much many photo.LN take-3.NPT-EMPH

'How many photos of you is he taking, then?'

T0032: Conversation. 115

- (42) *wulang punu t'im nini?*  
 wulang punu t'im ni-ni?  
 how.much big house AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'How big is the house?'

T0007: TMA Questionnaire. 003

### 17.1.2.8 Reduplication

When the interrogative pronouns are reduplicated, the meaning of each changes slightly. A reduplicated interrogative pronoun conveys an exhaustive meaning, for example *wudee wudee* 'where, where' is interpreted to mean 'where all' or 'everywhere' as is shown in the following example.

- (43) *wi da wude wude na deeju wi da bir' cen*  
*wi da wudee wudee na dee-su wi da bir' cen*  
 3PL CONT where where EMPH go-PST 3PL CONT all thing  
*r'ekor'd kigayn nini.*  
*r'ekor'd ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni.*  
 record.LN COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘They, though went everywhere, they though have made recordings of everything.’

T0041: Conversation. 001

This type of reduplication is widely available and is found with *khami* ‘who’ as shown in (44), and *kha* ‘what’ as shown in (45) below.

- (44) *7i su le r'ekor'ding kigayn nini*  
*i su le r'ekor'ding ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni*  
 DEM.NONVIS ERG also recording.LN COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

*thor'o khwee kham kham gu.*  
*thor'o khwee khami khami gu.*  
 LOC.UP don't.know who who POSS

‘She has also has done recordings up there, but I don't know of who all.’

T0041: Conversation. 078

- (45) *than da mi jen kha kha na jani, kha kha*  
*than da mi jen kha kha na ja-ni, kha kha*  
 now CONT person PL what what EMPH eat-3.NPT what what  
*na tungni ning da 7idakhay da.*  
*na tung-ni ning da idakhay da.*  
 EMPH drink-3.NPT 1PL CONT nowadays CONT

‘Now though, people eat what all even, what all even do people drink, we though nowadays though.’

T0021: Darma Food. 012

### 17.1.3 Tag Questions

Darma has three ways to mark tag questions. These can be grouped into two categories: ‘biased’ tags and ‘confirmation’ tags (Kroeger 2005: 205). The former is “a true request for information, in the sense that the speaker requires an answer from the hearer; but it signals an expectation or preference on the part of the speaker for one particular answer to be given.” The latter is “much the same as a declarative statement,

with the tag question serving only as a request for feedback from the hearer”. These categories will be discussed in turn below.

The ‘biased’ tag, *la*, may be related to the short form of the third person form of the verb ‘say’, which is used in evidential constructions. The tag *la* is also found in verb-not-verb constructions, which are discussed in §18.1 below. As a tag, *la* is found at the end of a sentence, and is usually pronounced with rising intonation. The speaker indicates that he is uncertain about the information, and he is seeking a response from his interlocutor. For example, in (46) below, the speaker uses *la* at the end of a sentence to indicate that he expects a response. He then goes on to ask the question that is implied with the biased tag question. Further examples of *la* as a tag are shown in (47)-(48) below.

- (46) *bistar’ lee-da la? la, kha la*  
*bistar’ lee-da la? la, kha la*  
 bed.LN call-3.NPT TAG2 call-3.NPT what call-3.NPT
- xyung-hi-m bang?*  
*syung-hi-m bang?*  
 sit-REFLX-INF place

‘It is called a bed, right? It is called, what is it called the sitting place?’

T0023: Migration. 010

- (47) *pasu daynu wala lee la?*  
*pasu da-hi-nu wala lee la?*  
 rug make-ANT-NOM one.LN COP TAG2

‘It is the one who made the rug, or?’

T0043: Woolwork. 036

- (48) *ning gam leehen la?*  
*ning ga-mu lee-hen la?*  
 1PL do-INF AUX.EX-1PL.NPT TAG2

‘(You) have to make (it) for us, right?’

T5.261

The two ‘confirmation’ tags *ne* and *ya* are found in similar distribution. The latter form appears to be borrowed from IA, and is also used as the disjunct particle. Like the



‘biased’ tag, the ‘confirmation’ tags are found sentence finally, and are generally pronounced with rising intonation. These questions are seeking affirmation from the interlocutor much as ‘right’ in English, or *naa* in Hindi. The tag *ne* can be used when the speaker is encouraging an action, or seeking affirmation that an action be done. Examples of each tag are shown in (49)-(56) below.

- (49) “batteries” *su le ga tar’hen ya?*  
 su le ga tar’-hen ya  
 INSTR also do able-2SG.NPT TAG1

‘(You) are able to do (it) with batteries also, right?’

T0041: Conversation. 155

- (50) *bamina jen r’aksa maxyungnya leen niyang ya?*  
 bamina jen r’aksa ma-syung-n-ya lee-nu ni-ang ya?  
 parent PL COM NEG-live-1PL-HORT say-NOM AUX.EQ-3PL.FUT TAG1

‘(They) will be (=must be) saying, ‘let’s not live with our parents’, right?’

T0041: Conversation. 102

- (51) *baksa leenu nee la leesu ya?*  
 baksa lee-nu nisyu la’ lee-su ya?  
 marriage AUX.EX-NOM two month say-PST TAG1

‘She said she has been married for two months, right?’

T0032: Conversation. 308

- (52) *7o wor’axir’i wolan ma tangni ya?*  
 u wor’asir’i wolan ma tang-ni ya?  
 3SG husband non-Rang EQU appear-3.NPT TAG1

‘The husband looks like a non-Rang (=Indian), doesn’t he?’

T0032: Conversation. 311

- (53) *khiti phondar su “lyang ne gum malyang” leeju.*  
 khiti phondar su lee-ang ne gum ma-lee-ang lee-su.  
 name ERG AUX.EX-FUT TAG1 why NEG-AUX.EX-FUT say-PST

‘Khiti Phondar said, “there will be, right, why wouldn’t there be?”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 043

- (54) *khee r'i le pha ne?*  
*khee r'i le pha ne?*  
 thing EMPH also speak-2SG.IMP TAG1

'Say something also, okay?'

T0032: Conversation. 008

- (55) *mala galen ju pixya r'u xyata lya ne?*  
*mala ga-len su pisya r'u sya-da lee-a ne?*  
 garland make-CVB after head LOC put.on-3.NPT say-2SG.IMP TAG1

'Say, "after making the garland, (they) put it on (his) head," okay?'

T0017: Bar'te. 008

- (56) *thaying ge dar'ma r'amu ge na dangden ne?*  
*thaying ge dar'ma r'a-mu ge na da-ang-den ne?*  
 this.year 2SG Darma come-INF 2SG EMPH give-FUT-1PL.NPT TAG1

'This year, you should come to Darma, (we) will give (the vote) to you, okay?'

T0024: Election. 029

## 17.2 NOMINALIZATION AND RELATIVIZATION

As discussed in §11.2 above, most adjectives in Darma are derived from verbs. These nominalized STEM-nu forms are found in both attributive and predicative positions as shown in examples (57) and (58) below.

- (57) *ji t'eebinu gee rubdi.*  
*ji t'eebi-nu gee rub-di.*  
 1SG tear-NOM cloth mend-1SG.NPT

'I am mending torn clothes.'

T0048: Elicited. 001

- (58) *nadu gee t'eebin nini.*  
*nadu gee t'eebi-nu ni-ni.*  
 3SG cloth tear-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'These clothes are torn.'

T0048: Elicited. 002

In the following sections, I will discuss the placement of nominalized forms in the attributive and predicative positions where they function as relative clauses and participles.

### 17.2.1 Relative Clauses

Two types of relative clause are found in the corpus. The first, shown in example (59) below, has both a Darma demonstrative pronoun and the IA relative pronoun *jo* in the first clause, and a Darma demonstrative pronoun in the second clause. This construction is like the relative-correlative construction found in IA languages. In a relative-correlative construction, the first clause selects an entity with the relative pronoun, ‘the one who is standing’ in example (59), and the second clause comments on the entity, ‘that boy is tall’ in this example.

- (59) *[hadu jo kineen nini] [7idu xyeno*  
*hadu jo ki-nee-nu ni-ni idu syeno*  
 3SG REL.LN COMPL-stand-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT DEM.NONVIS child  
*bungnu nini.]*  
*bungnu ni-ni.*  
 tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT

‘The boy who is standing is tall.’ (Lit: Which boy is standing, that boy is tall.)

T0042: Elicited. 373

Relative-correlative constructions were easily elicited, especially when Hindi was used as the contact language. These constructions are not restricted to elicited forms, however. I find relative-correlative constructions in the natural-discourse corpus as well as shown in examples (60)-(62) below.

- (60) *7ido th'ilo th'alen baktee, 7agar' [jo mi*  
*idu th'ilo th'a-len baktee, agar' jo mi*  
 DEM.NONVIS game play-CVB time if.LN REL.LN man  
*lar su 7idu th'ilo yu lan] to*  
*la r'u su idu tshilo yu le-ni] to*  
 hand LOC ABL DEM.NONVIS game down fall-3.NPT then.LN  
*[7idu mi dād parrni.]*  
*idu mi dād parr-ni.*  
 DEM.NONVIS man fine.LN must.LN-3.NPT

‘At the time of playing that game, if from some man’s hand that th’ilo falls, then that man must be fined.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 073

- (61) *jo ning jon jen 7ã ning 7ã jo hee*  
 jo ning jonu jen ã ning ã jo hee  
 REL.LN 1PL youth PL HM 1PL HM HM.LN
- minu bale jen, hringxya jen, jo ber'a kixheenu*  
 minu bale jen, hringsya jen, jo ber'a ki-xhi-nu  
 small brother PL sister PL REL.LN song COMPL-study-NOM
- leeni, [jo 7abi gu kala nini]*  
 lee-ni, jo abi gu kala ni-ni  
 AUX.EX-3.NPT REL.LN EMPRO.LN POSS performance.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT
- [jo 7abi rthungmu th'amu leeni.]*  
 jo abi rthung-mu th'a-mu lee-ni.  
 REL.LN EMPRO.LN dance-INF play-INF AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘That our youth, uh, our, uh, that is, the small brothers and the sisters whoever has been studying songs, that is their own performance; that is their own dancing and playing (= choreography).’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 084

- (62) *matlab jo [jis t'etr'a r'u deemu lan gam*  
 matlab jo jis t'etr'a r'u dee-mu lan ga-mu  
 meaning.LN REL.LN REL.LN field.LN LOC go-INF work do-INF
- t'ingni, [7i t'etr'a dangsu 'high school' khaxhcu*  
 t'ing-ni, i t'etr'a dangsu khaxhcu  
 want.LN-3.NPT DEM.NONVIS field.LN BEN ABL
- na lagbag 7apna 'career' t'uneeda.]*  
 na lagbag apna t'unee-da.  
 EMPH about.LN EMPRO.LN choose.LN-3.NPT

‘Meaning whoever wants to do work in some field, for that field from high school only, one chooses about one’s career.’

T0041: Conversation. 122

Another type of relative construction is found in the natural discourse as shown in examples (63)-(67) below. These forms also have the nominalized verb, but instead of a relative-correlative construction, we find externally-headed relative constructions.

- (63) *...[kidang deenu] mi...*  
 ... dee-nu mi...  
 ... Kidang go-NOM person  
 ‘...the people going to Kidang...’

(T0025: Kiti Phondar. 061)

- (64) *[Dharchula xyungnu] wala jen niyang.*  
 syung-nu wala jen ni-ang  
 Dharchula sit-NOM one.LN PL AUX.EQ-FUT  
 ‘(They) will be people who sit in Dharchula.’ (= ‘They must be residents of Dharchula.’)  
 (T0032: Conversation. 125)

- (65) *hã wanlan jo nini khami tuktu wanje [nongdi]*  
 hã wan-lan jo nini khami tuktu wan-je nongdi  
 then arrive-CVB HM who first arrive-COND later  
*wannu] mi jen jati gata.*  
 wan-nu mi jen jati ga-da.  
 arrive-NOM person PL food make-3.NPT  
 ‘Then, arriving, um, whoever arrives first makes food for the people who arrive later.’  
 (T0033: Alam Ceremony. 002)

- (66) *...than [gu gu phahyen] wala wan dyang.*  
 ...than gu gu pha-si-nu wala wan dee-ang.  
 ...now 2SG POSS speak-ASP-NOM one.LN arrive go-FUT  
 ‘Now your spoken one (= an audio recording) will arrive (away from you).’  
 (T0034: Conversation. 011)

- (67) *...[7alo laphu junu] lungba...*  
 ...alo laphu ju-nu lungba...  
 potato.LN radish grow-NOM area  
 ‘The place where potatoes and radishes are grown...’  
 (T0040: Song. 014)

After I identified the relative constructions, I was able to obtain them during direct elicitation sessions. The example in (68) below was provided by my consultant as an alternative form of (59) above. He deemed the relative construction to be ‘better Darma’ than the relative-correlative.

- (68) *[hadu kineenu] hyeno bungnu nini.*  
 hadu ki-nee-nu syeno bungnu ni-ni.  
 3SG COMPL-stand-NOM child tall AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘The boy who is standing is tall.’  
 T0042: Elicited. 371

Further examples of relative clauses are shown in (69)-(72) below.

- (69) [meez r'u kitaynu] cya lungnu nini.  
meez r'u ki-ta-hi-nu ca lungnu ni-ni.  
table.LN LOC COMPL-put-ANT-NOM tea hot AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
‘The tea on the table is hot.’  
T0042: Elicited. 375
- (70) [th'@m teeba deenu] bijat'eme ning mina gu  
th'am teeba dee-nu bijat'eme ning mina gu  
bridge other.side go-NOM woman 1PL mother POSS  
xhingxya lee.  
xhingsya lee.  
sister COP  
‘That woman crossing the bridge is my mother’s sister.’  
T0042: Elicited. 381
- (71) [7u su gaynu] dar'amsala jo nini, 7angrez su  
u su ga-hi-nu dar'amsala jo nini, angrez su  
3SG ERG do-ANT-NOM hospice HM Englishman.LN ERG  
jo nini, banee deesu.  
jo nini, banee dee-su.  
HM make.LN give-PST  
‘The hospice that he made, um, an Englishman, um, made it.’  
T0027: Kiti Phondar. 022
- (72) [ber'a ganu t'imme] filam su lee.  
ber'a ga-nu t'imme filam su lee.  
song do-NOM girl name.village DAT COP  
‘The girl singing is from Filam.’  
T0042: Elicited. 379

### 17.2.2 Participles

The STEM-nu forms are most frequently found preceding an inflected auxiliary,<sup>3</sup> where they function as participles. The nominalized form plus the auxiliary form combined comprise the verb complex. This is shown in examples (73)-(76) below. Preceding an auxiliary, the final vowel of the nominalized form is usually dropped.

<sup>3</sup> The choice of auxiliary in these constructions appears to be part of a system of evidentiality. This is discussed in §17.3.

(73) *ʔō keen nini...*  
*ō kee-nu ni-ni...*  
 yes finish-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘Yes, (she) is finishing (the blanket)...’  
 T0032: Conversation. 287

(74) *ning nir’bir’od taku bijat’imme ta deen ninju.*  
*ning nir’bir’od taku bijat’imme ta dee-nu ni-n-su.*  
 1PL unanimously.LN one woman put go-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
 ‘We unanimously put (=elected) one woman.’  
 T0024: Election. 017

(75) *ʔidu na jan ninju.*  
*idu na ja-nu ni-n-su.*  
 DEM.NONVIS EMPH eat-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST  
 ‘That is what we ate.’  
 T0021: Food. 021

(76) *hã ʔangkhr’i baktee ʔidu mala ʔã seen leenju.*  
*hã angkhr’i baktee idu mala ã see-nu lee-n-su.*  
 then final time DEM.NONVIS goat HM kill-NOM AUX.EX-1PL-PST  
 ‘Then in the end (we) killed that goat.’  
 T0021: Food. 021

The nominalized form is also found with the completive aspect prefix and the negative prefix, as shown in examples (77)-(79) below.

(77) *seela th’iju ʔicen seela kibr’ungjen*  
*seela th’i-su icen seela ki-hr’ungji-nu*  
 name.village meet-PST DEM.NONVIS.PL name.village COMPL-stop-NOM  
*niju tuktu.*  
*ni-su tuktu.*  
 AUX.EQ-PST first  
 ‘(They) met in Sela, those people stopped in Sela first.’  
 T0041: Conversation. 076

(78) *punu lama pir’an nini.*  
*pu-nu lama pi-r’a-nu ni-ni.*  
 big-NOM priest COMPL-come-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT  
 ‘The big priest has come.’  
 T0024: Election. 012

(79) *7andu do de nadu da kheer'i na*  
 andu do de nadu da kheer'i na  
 DEM.PROX place then DEM.NEUT CONT something EMPH

*maleen niyang.*  
 ma-lee-nu ni-ang.  
 NEG-AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

‘At her place then this, though, will be nothing.’

T0041: Conversation. 236

There are examples of the nominalized verb without a following auxiliary. According to Genetti (1994: 164), ‘it is common for nominalizers to be found in sentence-final contexts’ in Tibeto-Burman languages. In Darma, these forms are frequently the verb-not-verb constructions as shown in example (80) below. The verb-not-verb construction is discussed in §18.1 below.

(80) *ber'a la la malanu?*  
 ber'a la la ma-la-nu?  
 tall know or NEG-know-NOM

‘Do you know the song, or not?’

T0042: Elicited. 029

In a form similar to the verb-not-verb construction, we find the nominalized form without an inflected auxiliary.

(81) *ge puni phamu ne? 7ida danxixya jen t'e r'anu*  
 ge puni phamu ne? ida dansisya jen t'e r'anu  
 2SG m.i.l speak-INF TAG1 now name.town PL memory come-NOM

*t'e mar'anu.*  
 t'e mar'anu.  
 memory NEG-come-NOM

‘You should talk to mother in law, okay? (About) whether the current people of Baluwakot remember or not.’

T0035: Conversation. 003

The nominalized verb preceding the auxiliary is found with the emphatic and the contrastive marker, as shown in example (82) below.



(82) *ne nee bang r'i ter'e deeje da deen*  
 ne nisyu bang r'i ter'e dee-je da dee-nu  
 DEM.NEUT two place EMPH there go-COND CONT go-NOM

*na niyang, ne th'in da niyang ne, lekin*  
 na ni-ang, ne th'i-nu da ni-ang ne, lekin  
 EMPH AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 visit-NOM CONT AUX.EQ-3.FUT TAG1 but.LN

*r'aksa maxyung necen.*  
 r'aksa ma-syung ne jen.  
 together NEG-live DEM.NEUT PL

'If (they) go to these two places (=both places), then they must go, right, they must visit, right, but they don't live together.'

T0041: Conversation. 106

### 17.3 EVIDENTIALS

The evidential system in Darma is not yet clearly understood. In this section, I will provide a sketch of the evidential system based on evidence found in the corpus and what I could glean from elicitation sessions. To date, no one has described an evidential system for Darma. The fact that Darma appears to have an evidential system is not unusual, however; it is not uncommon for Tibeto-Burman languages to mark information source (LaPolla 2003b). Unlike Lhasa Tibetan, which obligatorily marks evidentials in non-future, non-first person sentences (DeLancey 1985), Darma does not appear to always mark evidentials. Instead it is like another Tibeto-Burman language Qiang (LaPolla 2003a), in which evidentiality is not obligatorily marked on all clauses.

Here I will describe a system in which the source of information can be indicated on four levels: direct/visual; general knowledge/indirect (assumed); inferred; and reported. Four-term systems like this are also found cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003; Aikhenvald 2004). Clauses where the source of information is not indicated are found with a single inflected matrix verb as shown in example (83) below. In this example, the speaker is talking about an event that is taking place at the time of utterance.

- (83) *khee gu bartee ga-den.*  
*khee gu bartee ga-den.*  
 grandson POSS haircut.ritual do-1PL.NPT  
 ‘(We) are doing our grandson’s ritual haircut.’

T0017: Ceremonial Haircut. 003

Sometimes the use of evidential markers also indicates the speaker’s attitude toward the reliability of a statement, lending what Aikhenvald refers to as an epistemic reading (2003: 2).

In the following sections, I will outline each level of evidentiality and provide examples from natural discourse.

### 17.3.1 Visual/Direct Source

Visual/direct source indicates that a speaker has directly witnessed something, or knows something to be a fact. This can be expressed in two ways: using an inflected form of the equational auxiliary *nimu*; or using a nominalized verb stem (STEM-*nu*) plus an inflected form of the equational auxiliary. Examples of these structures are shown in (84) and (85) below.

Example (84) comes from a narrative where the speaker is explaining the events of a ceremony that was taking place in the village while he was talking about it. In this example, the speaker is explaining that the ceremony used to be two days long, but is now completed in just one day. He remembers when the ceremony was celebrated over the course of two days, and states explicitly that one could see it oneself. His use of *niju* indicates that the source of information is direct evidence. The referent for the emphatic pronoun *7abi* is ‘we’, which is established in the lines preceding this example. Using ‘we’ can refer to Darma people in general, but here because the construction indicating direct evidence is used, we understand that the narrator himself saw the two-day ceremony.

- (84) *hã 7a hã 7abi mee su tangsu ki gabla cuti*  
*hã a hã abi mee su tang-su ki gabla cuti*  
 then um then EMPRO.LN eye INSTR see-PST CONJ.LN god goddess
- gabla nee ज्या lee-n ni-ju.*  
*gabla nisyu ज्या lee-nu ni-su.*  
 god two day AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-PST

‘Then, um, then (one) saw it with one's own eyes that Gabla, Cuti-Gabla was for two days.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 094

In example (85), we see the inflected auxiliary functioning as an evidential indicating ‘factual information’.

- (85) *r’ajdani t’ampavat ni-ju.*  
*r’ajdani t’ampavat ni-su.*  
 capital name.place AUX.EQ.EQ-PST

‘The capital was Tsampawat.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 003

In the next section I will present a similar pattern with the existential form of the auxiliary that results in a different evidential structure.

### 17.3.2 General Knowledge/Indirect Source

Information that is general knowledge or is generally assumed to be true without the speaker having obtained the information directly, is indicated in two ways: using a nominalized verb stem (STEM-*nu*) with an inflected form of the existential auxiliary *leemu*; or using an inflected form of the existential auxiliary. Examples of the existential copula functioning as an evidential marking general knowledge/indirect source are shown in (86)-(87) below.

These examples come from a story about Kiti Phondar, a hero from Darma Valley, who lived before the narrator’s lifetime. These examples come from the first lines of the narrative where the main character of the story is being introduced. This story about Kiti Phondar is well-known to the Darma people and the information included in

the narrative is considered common knowledge. Because the information is considered common knowledge, the narrator uses inflected forms of the existential auxiliary *lee-*.

- (86) *dar'ma ju jo nini lejang manajana jo nini, gadi ji*  
 dar'ma jo jo nini lejang manajana jo nini, gadi ji  
 Darma DAT HM SUPER famous HM motherland and  
  
*mi jo nini, khar'a wala lejang lanu penu deerra*  
 mi jo nini, khar'a wala lejang lanu penu deerra  
 person HM that one.LN SUPER wise known man.old  
  
*kiti phondar leeju.*  
 kiti phondar lee-su.  
 AUX.EX-PST

'From Darma, that is, the most famous, that is, of man and motherland, that is, that one who was the most wise and well-known old man was Kiti Phondar.'

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 001

- (87) *to kiti phondar jo 7alang t'oka dimag leeju,*  
 to kiti phondar jo alang t'oka dimag lee-su,  
 then DAT this.much much mind.LN AUX.EX-PST  
  
*ki 7idu bakte jo nini, sayed ning gu r'ajdani*  
 ki idu bakte jo nini, sayed ning gu r'ajdani  
 conj.LN DEM.NONVIS time HM maybe.LN 1PL POSS capital.LN  
  
*jo nini t'ampavat leeju.*  
 jo nini t'ampavat lee-su.  
 HM name.place AUX.EX-PST

'Then, Kiti Phondar had such a mind, that at that time, that is, maybe our capital, that is, was in Campavat'.

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 002

Compare the last part of example (87) above with example (85) above. In example (87), the speaker is introducing the story and stating things that are general knowledge, such as the idea that Kiti Phondar was a great man. In example (87), which comes first in the story, the narrator says that the capital was in Tsampawat. The auxiliary he uses (*lee-*) indicates that the information is common knowledge. The narrator follows this immediately with example (85), where he restates that the capital was in Tsampawat.

In the latter utterance, the use of the equational auxiliary (*ni-*) indicates that the information is factual.

In example (88) below, we find a nominalized verb stem (STEM-*nu*) combined with an inflected form of the existential auxiliary *leemu*. In this example, we are told that the king is ‘sitting underground’ (i.e. in hiding). As with previous examples from this story, the narrator is relating information that is considered common knowledge.

- (88) *7u da r'aja da 7andergr'awnd r'u xungsyen leeju*  
*u da r'aja da andergr'awnd r'u sung-si-ni lee-su*  
 3SG CONT king.LN CONT underground.LN LOC sit-MID-NOM AUX.EX-PST  
 ‘*He though, the king though, was sitting underground.*’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 006

Using different auxiliaries to indicate information source is not unheard of in the Tibeto-Burman languages. Saxena 1997 describes a pattern in classical Tibetan that is similar to the pattern found in Darma. In his account of forms of ‘be’ in Byansi, Trivedi describes the existential form as one that is used for ‘expressions based on the definite knowledge of the speaker’. He describes the equational form of ‘be’ as one that is used for ‘expressing statements of universal applications and historical truth’ (1991: 72-74). While his description does not include a section that explicitly outlines a system of evidentiality, it does appear that Byansi has an evidential strategy similar to that found in Darma.

### 17.3.3 Inferential

There are several ways to indicate that the information in an utterance has been inferred by the speaker. The first strategy includes a verb stem with a future suffix followed by *lee*. It is unclear whether the *lee* found in the inferential construction is the same as the existential copula. Another strategy for an inferential construction is similar to the first. In this alternative formation the verb stem bears the suffix *-ya* and is followed

by *lee*. Finally, there are examples of inferential constructions where a bare verb stem is followed by *lee*. Each inferential form will be discussed in turn below.

### 17.3.3.1 *stem-FUT + lee*

One type of inferential construction is formed with future construction followed by *lee*. This is shown in example (89) below. In this example, the narrator is setting up a dramatic part of the Kiti Phondar legend, where the hero is visited by a local king dressed as a holy man. The holy man asks for food, which obliges Kiti Phondar to feed him. Because he does not have much flour, Kiti Phondar mixes ashes into the flour to make flatbread. In example (89), the narrator is explaining that Kiti Phondar must have only had a small amount of food (otherwise why would he mix ashes into the flour), and questions what he could possibly do with such a small amount.

(89) *to 7u gu jo nini 7alya tak th'agu niyang*  
 to u gu jo nini alya taku th'agu ni-ang  
 then 3SG POSS HM some one rice.cooked AUX.EQ-FUT  
*lee kha niyang lee 7idu su?*  
 lee kha ni-ang lee idu su?  
 INFER what AUX.EQ-FUT INFER DEM.NONVIS INSTR

‘Then his (KP), that is, must have had one small meal, what could be with that (the food)?’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 040

### 17.3.3.2 *STEM-ya + lee*

Another inferential is formed with the verb stem followed by *-ya lee*, as shown in example (90) below.

(90) *7o jo niha lee, lekin 7o su 7ilang bakte*  
*u jo ni-ya lee, lekin u su ilang bakte*  
 3SG DAT AUX.EQ-INFER but.LN 3SG ERG that time  
*mani leesu*  
*ma-ni lee-su*  
 NEG-AUX.EQ say-PST

‘He must have had (it), but he said at that time ‘I don’t have (it)’.

T5.BOB.17

The examples with this structure are all inferred from direct evidence, or based on what the speaker has learned from others. Further examples of this are shown in (91)-(92) below. In the story preceding example (91), the hero, Kiti Phondar, has been telling the king about the events that led up to their meeting. Not knowing that the king was hiding underground, Kiti Phondar had gone around the area asking people where he could find the king, but no one would tell him. In this example, Kiti Phondar is inferring that the people he asked must have thought that the king was in danger when they refused to tell him the whereabouts of the king.

(91) *khami su mabateeju, ki gu gu khatar’a lee-nu*  
*khami su ma-batee-su, ki gu gu khatar’a lee-nu*  
 who ERG NEG-tell.LN-PST CONJ.LN 2SG POSS danger.LN AUX.EX-NOM  
*len ju khi-ya lee tab ma-batee lee.*  
*lan-su khi-ya lee tab ma-batee lee.*  
 work-PST think-INFER when.LN NEG-tell.LN COP

‘No one told (me) that you were in danger, (they) must have thought this when they didn’t tell (me).’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 024

In example (92) below, a man is telling a story about a local heroine named Jaisuli Burri. This woman was widowed and left with great sums of money. Despairing over the loss of her husband, she was about to throw her money into the river when an Englishman happened along. He convinced Jaisuli Burri to entrust the money to him, after which he built rest houses for travelers throughout the Kumaun region. Several rest houses are reported to still exist and bear the name Jaisuli Burri, which has brought fame

to the Darma within the Kumaun region. In example (92) below, based on the actions of the Englishman, the narrator is inferring that he must have been a great man. He is also inferring what the Englishman must have said to Jaisuli Burri to convince her to entrust her fortune to him rather than throw it away.

- (92) *to 7angrez gu ta matlab jo nini, jo barriya mi*  
 to angrez gu taku matlab jo nini, jo barriya mi  
 then Englishman.LN POSS one meaning.LN HM that good.LN man
- ni-ya lee matlab jo nini mantr'i hantr'i jo le*  
 ni-ya lee matlab jo nini mantr'i hantr'i jo le  
 AUX.EQ-INFER meaning.LN HM minister.LN ECHO that also
- niyalee 7i su lee lee ki, ge 7alang*  
 ni-ya lee i su lee lee ki, ge alang  
 AUX.EQ-INFER DEM.NONVIS ERG say INFER CONJ.LN 2SG this.much
- dan gu jo nini khalan berbad ga-den.*  
 dhan gu jo nini khalan berbad ga-den.  
 wealth.LN POSS HM why waste.LN do-2SG.NPT

‘So the Englishman’s, meaning, um, he must have been a great man, meaning, um he must have been a minister and all, he must have said, “You have so much wealth, why are you wasting it?”’

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 032

The inferential evidentials STEM-FUT *lee* and *-ya lee* may be related to the future morpheme *-(y)ang*.<sup>4</sup> The future as a source for an inferential has been described as a possible development since the future is “by its nature...close to a non-indicative modality” (Aikhenvald 2004: 276). The future and the inferential are similar in that both are referring to something about which the speaker does not have direct knowledge, “and of which they can only talk on the basis of an educated guess...” (Aikhenvald 2004: 277).

With this in mind, it is interesting to note that it is also possible to get an inferential reading from a future construction without the *lee*. In these forms, the

<sup>4</sup> That there are two forms of the inferential *-(y)ang lee* and *-ya* that appear to be in free variation does not seem unusual when we consider other morphemes with a final non-velar nasal with allomorphs in free variation (e.g. the coordinating particle *ha ~ hang*, the phrase ‘after that’ *7idu su ~ 7idu sang*, and the converb morpheme *-len ~ -leng*).



auxiliary form *ni* is marked with the future suffix *-(y)ang*. This is preceded by a verb stem with the nominalizer suffix *-nu*. Examples of this are shown in (93)-(94) below.

In example (93), my main consultant and another Darma man are discussing whether or not a particular religious song has been recorded and transcribed. My consultant isn't sure which song the man is referring to and the man cannot think of the name of the song or its tune. My consultant has told him that I went to Darma Valley and made many recordings, some of which he and I had already transcribed and translated. He has not heard all of the recordings. In this example he is speculating that I must have recorded some song about the gods and goddesses.

- (93) *thor'o de 7ido khar'ee, khar'ee wala jo nini, se sema wala*  
*thor'o de ido khar'ee, khar'ee wala jo nini, se sema wala*  
 LOC.UP at then that that one.LN HM god goddess one.LN
- ber'a kha lee? tho 'audio' kigajnu niyang.*  
*ber'a kha lee? tho ki-ga-si-nu ni-ang.*  
 song what COP up COMPL-do-MID-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT
- 'Up there, then that, that one, that is, the god and goddess song, what is it? Up (there) she must have done the audio.'

T0041: Conversation. 079

In the dialogue preceding example (94) below, the speaker was talking about the exchange rate of the US dollar into Rupees. He was explaining that the cost of living is high in the United States and that, comparatively, India is inexpensive. Based on his knowledge of the exchange rate and how much rent one can expect to pay in a US city, the speaker is inferring that the cost of a bus ride to Dharchula must not seem like a lot of money to an American.

- (94) *wi da bas r'a wasu nadu ma so do*  
*wi da bas r'a wasu nadu ma so do*  
 3PL CONT bus.LN come until DEM.NEUT EQU hundred.LN two.LN
- so r'ipya da kher'i na malageen niyang*  
*so r'ipya da kher'i na ma-lagee-nu ni-ang*  
 hundred.LN rupees.LN CONT thing EMPH NEG-seem-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT
- da-m r'u.*  
*da-m r'u.*  
 give-INF LOC

‘For them coming here by bus, it’s like this to give 100 or 200 rupees must not seem like anything.’

T0041: Conversation. 241

### 17.3.3.3 STEM + *lee*

Finally, something that is inferred based on direct evidence can be indicated with just the particle *ling* or *lee* following a bare verb stem. Examples (95) and (96) below show this.

In example (95), the speaker is talking about me and my partner. We have just arrived in their village, which sits on a hill at an altitude of about 14,000 feet. I was sitting with the speaker and other Darma speakers recording their conversation when my partner sat down next to me and said something in English. The woman speaking in (95) had not seen him before and she is trying to figure out where he came from. Based on our interaction, and the fact that we are clearly foreign, the woman infers that my partner and I must have come to this remote village together.

- (95) *r'aksa na r'a ling.*  
*r'aksa na r'a ling.*  
 together EMPH come INFER
- ‘They must have come together.’

T0032: Conversation. 231

In the dialogue preceding example (96), I am being asked which village I visited prior to arriving. The speaker is confused because the direction I arrived from would indicate that I had come from a village that I did not visit. She is trying to figure out how

I arrived on the path I did. Based on the evidence, she is inferring that I took an alternative route.

(96) *7am khee lee.*  
 am khee lee.  
 path change INFER

‘(They) must have changed paths.’

T0032: Conversation. 139

Constructions with *ling* or *lee* are rare in natural discourse, but I have many other examples of this form of evidential from elicitation sessions. During these sessions, it was established that *ling* and *lee* are in free variation. The context for the examples with this evidential marker included inference based on physical evidence (e.g. luggage in the hallway indicating that someone has arrived).

(97) *7o khiya lee tab mabate lee*  
 u khi-ya lee tab ma-batee lee  
 2SG know-INFER when.LN NEG-tell.LN COP

‘He must have known when he didn’t tell.’

T5.BOB.18

### 17.3.4 Reported/Quotative

The evidential construction that indicates reported events and quoted speech comes from the verb ‘to say/call’. Cross-linguistically, it is common for a reported evidential to be grammaticalized from the verb ‘say’. Aikhenvald 2004 lists languages from a wide variety of families (e.g. Northeast Caucasian, Papuan, Tibeto-Burman, Yuman, and Uto-Aztecan), where the reported evidential has grammaticalized from a ‘verb of speech’ (272). In Darma, the evidential *la* is an abbreviated form of the third person singular form of ‘say/call’ *leeda*.<sup>5</sup> According to Aikhenvald, the third person

5 There is another morpheme *la* that is homophonous with the reported evidential. This other *la* is used as a tag question marker. It also means ‘or’ and is used to link to clauses.

(1) lege t’u-n-ya la pixya par-n-ya, than kha ga-n-ya?  
 feet plant-1PL-HORT or head shake-1PL-HORT now what do-1PL-HORT  
 ‘Shall we plant our feet or shall we shake our heads, now what shall we do?’  
 (T0024: Election. 010)

form of a ‘verb of speech’ is a frequent source for the grammaticalized form of the reported evidential (2004: 272).

Both the full form *leeda* and the abbreviated form *la* of the verb ‘say/call’ are available in constructions where the verb functions as the main verb of the clause. This is shown in example (98) below, where we find a single speaker using both forms. The speaker is trying to figure out if the Darma word for ‘bed’ is the same as the Hindi word *bistar*.<sup>6</sup>

- (98) *bistar*’ *leeda* *la?* *la,* *kha* *la*  
*bistar*’ *lee-da* *la?* *la,* *kha* *la*  
 bed.LN call-3.NPT TAG2 call-3.NPT what call-3.NPT
- xyunghim* *bang?*  
*syung-si-mu* *bang?*  
 sit-REFLX-INF place

‘It is called a bed, right? It is called, what is it called the sitting place?’

T0023: Migration. 010

The expression *kha la?* is used much more frequently than the full form *kha leeda*? Both expressions can be used to mean ‘what is it called’ or ‘what are they saying’. Example (99) below, shows the availability of *la* for the third person ‘say’. This example comes from a conversation where one woman has been asking me questions in Hindi. Another woman wants to know what I am saying, and asks the woman whom I have been speaking with to translate.

- (99) *kha* *la?*  
*kha* *la?*  
 what say.3SG

‘What is (she) saying?’

T0032: Conversation. 059

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6 The traditional ‘bed’ for Darma people is a rectangular woollen rug, which is placed on the floor. There are also long skinny rugs that are used for sitting.

The abbreviated form of ‘say/call’ is also used as a quotative marker to indicate the speech of someone other than the narrator. This is shown in example (100) below. In this example, the person talking is providing a direct quote from someone else.

(100) *nek co sum co ki-lee-yo ji lung kangni*  
 nisyu co sum co ki-lee-yo ji lung kang-ni  
 two times three times COMPL-call-1SG.PST 1SG back hurt-3.NPT  
*la ji madeeyo la.*  
 la ji ma-dee-yo la.  
 REP 1SG NEG-go-1SG.PST REP

‘I called, two times, three times, “my back hurts,” he says, “I didn't go,” he says.’  
 T0032: Conversation. 270

The abbreviated form of ‘say/call’ is also used as a reported evidential particle. In evidential constructions *la* is not marking a direct quote. This is shown in examples (101)-(102) below.

Prior to example (101), the speaker was talking about some large rocks that are said to be kept in the temple grounds nearby. He is explaining that the rocks are reportedly there so that people can use them in a play competition, and that people should use them.

(101) *7idu 7idu jo he, 7a th'imu th'a-mu la.*  
 idu idu jo he, a th'i-mu th'a-mu la.  
 DEM.NONVIS DEM.NONVIS HM um available-INF play-INF REP

‘Those, those, um, uh, they say (that) you should be available, you should play.’  
 T0031: Cuti Gabla. 071

In example (102) below, the speaker is telling about an accident that involved a local jeep driver hitting a child playing in the road. The woman has obtained her information from other members of the community, and recounting the details to her interlocutor. In this example she is explaining that it was reported that the jeep driver paid no money in damages, but that he reportedly donated some medicine for the boy’s

hospital stay. This is followed by ‘I think’, which indicates that she is not certain that she is remembering the reported information correctly.

(102) *khee r'i maphu, nee gasu la, khihi*  
khee r'i ma-phu, nee ga-su la, khi-hi  
thing EMPH NEG-pay medicine make-PST REP think-SG.NPT

‘(He) paid absolutely nothing, (he) made medicine, they say, I think.’

T0026: Conversation. 242

## Chapter 18: Combined Clauses

### 18.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will discuss the three primary methods of combining clauses: coordination through juxtaposition or with a disjunct morpheme (cf §18.1); the combination of a conditional clause with a matrix clause, which results in an ‘if...then’ construction (cf §18.3); and conjoining multiple clauses under a single matrix verb to construct a narrative (cf §18.4).

### 18.1 CLAUSE COORDINATION AND DISJUNCTION

The pattern of coordination and disjunction of clauses and sentences is different than the pattern described for noun phrases in Chapter 12. As described above, noun phrases can be conjoined without an overt coordinator by being juxtaposed. Coordination of two noun phrases with the overt coordinator *ji* is shown in example (1) below. Disjunction through juxtaposition is shown in example (2) below.

- (1) *to gabla, 7ã [yehar' jen] ji [pahar' jen]*  
to gabla, ã [yehar' jen] ji [pahar' jen]  
then god.name HM [clan.name PL] and [clan.name PL]
- rthunglen r'ani.*  
rthung-len r'a-ni.  
dance-CVB come-3.NPT

‘Then, Gabla, um, the Yehar clan and the Pahar clan come while dancing.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 047

- (2) *hã kung r'u lublen ju, [nga la] [rto la] bad r'u*  
*hã kong r'u lub-len su, [ngay la' rtuku la'] bad r'u*  
 then grave LOC bury-CVB after [five month six month] later
- hã tho then nincu.*  
*hã tho the-nu ni-n-su*  
 then up take.out-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL.PST

‘Then after burying (it) in a grave, five or six months later, then (we) take it up.’  
 (Context: Discussing traditional burial practices where the body was buried for 5-6 months and then dug up to be cremated.)

T0018: Funeral. 006

We find that clauses and sentences are conjoined by being juxtaposed. Example

(3) below, shows two converb clauses concatenated with a conjoined interpretation.

Examples (4) and (5) below, show two sentences conjoined through juxtaposition.

- (3) *7ã th'agu kwelen xya kwelen gaden.*  
*ã th'agu kwe-len sya kwe-len ga-den.*  
 um rice.cooked cook-CVB meat cook-CVB make-1PL.NPT

‘Um, cooking the rice, and cooking the meat (we) make (it).’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 015

- (4) *hã [khami rthungni] [khami th'ani].*  
*hã khami rthung-ni khami th'a-ni.*  
 then someone dance-3.NPT someone play-3.NPT

‘Then someone dances and someone plays.’

T0013: Marriage Proposal. 034

- (5) *hã min minu th'agu mare bir' bang jahen*  
*hã minu minu th'agu ma r'i bir' bang ja-hen*  
 then small small rice.cooked EQU EMPH all place eat-1PL. NPT
- min minu bakt'i mahãje le [bir' bang jahen]*  
*minu minu bakt'i mahã-je le bir' bang ja-hen*  
 small small fried.bread is.not-COND even all place eat-1PL.NPT
- [tungxyen].*  
*tung-si-hen.*  
 drink -1PL.NPT

‘Then we eat just a little tiny bit of rice at every house. Even if there isn’t any small fried bread, (we) eat and drink (at) all places.’

T0021: Darma Food. 055



When clauses with the same inflected verb are conjoined through juxtaposition, we do not find verb ellipsis, as shown in examples (6) and (7) below. In example (6), we find the verb ‘make’ is in both clauses. The free translation could be ‘we make thin shawls and coats too’. Similarly, in example (7), the free translation could be ‘sometimes we make blankets and shawls.’

- (6) ...[lanu path'ir'a gaden] [korto gaden].  
 ...la-nu path'ir'a ga-den korto ga-den.  
 ...thin-NOM shawl make-1PL.NPT coat.LN go-1PL.NPT  
 ‘...(We) make thin shawls (and we) make coats.’

T0043: Woolwork. 060

- (7) [gubjya pasu na gaden] [path'ir'a gaden].  
 gubjya pasu na gaden path'ir'a ga-den.  
 sometimes blanket EMPH make-1PL.NPT shawl make-1PL.NPT  
 ‘Sometimes we make blankets (and we) make shawls.’

T0043: Woolwork. 024

While there are no examples in the corpus of clauses or sentences conjoined with the conjunctive particle *ji*, there are some examples with the IA conjunctor *or*, as shown in (8) below. The borrowed form is also found conjoining noun phrases.

- (8) [yehar' jen su gabla jo hee rthoden] **7or'** [pahar'  
 yehar' jen su gabla jo hee rthoden or' pahar'  
 clan.name PL ERG god.name HM toss-1PL.NPT and.LN clan.name  
 jen su cuti cu se rthoda].  
 jen su cuti cu se rthoda.  
 PL ERG god.name god.name throw- 3.NPT

‘The Yehar clan (we) um toss for Gabla and the Pahar clan (they) toss for Cuti the Cu god.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 039

The disjunct particle used to conjoin noun phrases is used for clauses as well. We find converb clauses conjoined with the disjunct particle *ya*, as shown in example (9) below, and finite clauses conjoined with the disjunct particle, as shown in example (10) below. Examples with the disjunct particle joining clauses is, however, rare.

- (9) [7abi 7alag na t'im kur'len kir'ay r'u] **ya**  
 abi alag na t'im kur'-len kir'ay r'u ya  
 EMPRO.LN separate.LN EMPH house take-CVB rent.LN LOC or
- [7abi gu na t'im tolen] 7alag su na xyungni.  
 abi gu na t'im to-len alag su na syung-ni.  
 EMPRO.LN POSS EMPH house buy-CVB separate.LN MAN EMPH live-3.NPT
- ‘They rent their own house separately, or they buy their own house, they just live separately.’

T0041: Conversation. 110

- (10) [minu myanu th'yurtpurt jo hee dakheemu leeni] **ya**  
 minu myanu th'yurtpurt jo hee dak-si-mu lee-ni **ya**  
 small ECHO minor HM fight-MID-INF AUX.EX-3.NPT or
- [phahemu leeni].  
 pha-si-mu lee-ni.  
 speak-MID-INF AUX.EX-3.NPT
- ‘There is a small, tiny, minor (amount of) um infighting, or quarelling.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 105

There is one example in the corpus of an ‘either...or’ construction, which is shown in (11) below. In this example, the disjunct particle precedes each converb phrase. A similar structure is found with a ‘neither...nor’ construction, as shown in example (12) below. In this case, however, the contrastive particle *da* is used.

- (11) to 7andu bar'te gamu jo nini, xyen jen gu  
 to andu bar't e ga-mu jo nini, syeno jen gu  
 then DEM.PROX haircut.ritual do-INF HM child PL POSS
- ya [na ying polen], ya [ni xying polen], ya [gve hing  
 ya ngay ying po-len, ya nisyu ying po-len, ya gve ying  
 or five year age-CVB or seven year age-CVB or nine year
- polen] jo sum bar''te r'u jo khar'ee leeni.  
 po-len jo sum bar''te r'u jo khar'ee lee-ni.  
 age-CVB that three haircut.ritual LOC that that AUX.EX-3.NPT

‘Then to do this ritual haircut, um, either the child’s fifth year of age, or the seventh year, or the ninth year, there are three ritual haircuts.’

T0030: Bar'te. 004

- (12) *xyung da matar'hen r'ujee da matar'hen.*  
*syung da ma-tar'-hen r'ujee da ma-tar'-hen.*  
 sit CONT NEG-able-1PL.NPT stand CONT NEG-able-1PL.NPT

‘(We) aren’t able to sit, nor are (we) to stand up.’

T0043: Woolwork. 067

A common form of inquiry is to ask whether something has been done or not. These ‘verb-not-verb’ constructions are formed by conjoining a STEM and a NOT-STEM with the particle *la* as shown in examples (13)-(15) below.

- (13) *hã 7andu r'u jo manyata nini, lekin geni*  
*hã andu r'u jo manyata ni-ni, lekin geni*  
 then 3SG in that.LN validation.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT but.LN 2PL
- nagr'ikta [ni] la [mani] do leeleng bakte*  
*nagr'ikta ni la ma-ni do le-len baktee*  
 citizenship.LN AUX.EQ or NEG-AUX.EQ here AUX.EX-CVB time

*do nagr'ikta nahĩ hee.*

*do nagr'ikta nahĩ hee.*

here citizenship.LN NEG.LN be.LN

‘‘Then, in this there is validation, but do you have citizenship here or not?’’ At that time they did not have citizenship.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 064

- (14) *khay gu ज्या r'u khwe kham xyung@ni*  
*khay gu ज्या r'u khwe khami syung-ni*  
 tomorrow POSS day LOC don't.know who sit-3.NPT

*[da] la [mada], [rthang] la [marthang]?*

*[da] la [ma-da], rthang la ma-rthang?*

give or NEG-give build or NEG-build

‘In the coming days I don’t know who is sitting, give or don’t give, build or don’t build?’ (Context: Speculating about an upcoming election.)

T0024: Election. 025

- (15) *ning basemu 7andu bang [ni] la [mani]?*  
*ning base-mu andu bang ni la ma-ni?*  
 1PL stay.LN-INF for place AUX.EQ or NEG-AUX.EQ

‘Do we have a place to stay or not?’

T5.152

A similar pattern is found with the emphatic particle *na* as shown in example (16) below.

- (16) *tang na matang?*  
*tang na ma-tang?*  
 see EMPH NEG-see  
 ‘Didn’t (you) even see?’

T5.183

While the verb-not-verb constructions generally appear as STEM NOT-STEM, it is possible for the final verb to be inflected for tense. This is shown in the following exchange between my primary consultant and another man. The response to the verb-not-verb question is ‘no’.

[BSB]

- (17) [*pha*] **la** [*maphansu*] *r’ang r’u?*  
*pha la ma-pha-n-su r’ang r’u?*  
 speak or NEG-speak-2SG-PST Rang LOC  
 ‘Have you spoken to her or not in Rang?’

T0041: Conversation. 003

[NSG]

- (18) *maphayo.*  
*ma-pha-yo.*  
 NEG-speak-1SG.PST  
 ‘I haven’t spoken to her.’

T0041: Conversation. 004

Further examples of ‘verb-not-verb’ constructions with verbs that are inflected are shown in examples (19)-(20) below.

- (19) [*lege t’unya*] **la** [*pixya parnya*], *than kha ganya?*  
*lege t’u-n-ya la pisya par’-n-ya, than kha ga-n-ya?*  
 feet plant-1PL-HORT or head shake-1PL-HORT now what do-1PL-HORT  
 ‘Shall we plant our feet or shall we shake our heads, now what shall we do?’

T0024: Election. 010

- (20) *ne mi see la maseenu?*  
 ne mi see la ma-see-nu?  
 DEM.NEUT man know or NEG-know-NOM  
 ‘Do (you) know this man or not?’

T0053: Elicitation. 058

## 18.2 CLAUSE FINAL PARTICLE

Throughout the discourse, I find a suffix *-nga* in a clause-final position. In some cases, this particle means ‘then’, and in other cases it means ‘and then’. In most cases, it appears to lend emphasis to the clause. Examples of each sense of *-nga* are shown in (21)-(24) below. I have glossed *-nga* as a clause-final particle (CFP). When the particle means ‘then’, it functions as a rhetorical device or as an emphatic prompt as we see in examples (21) and (22). In the latter example, the speaker is expecting a response. When the particle means ‘and then’ it appears to be functioning as a coordinator combining clauses within the discourse. This is shown in example (23), where the speaker is about to detail a sequence of events. She is cut off and this thread does not go any further. Notice that the verb ‘arrive’ is finite and the clause final marker *-nga* follows. Finally, with the example in (24) we find *-nga* following an inferential. This example is interesting because the word *hã* ‘then’ begins the next inferential clause, which supports the notion that *nga* is a clause final emphatic particle.

- (21) *7u kha pe danga 7orreemu?*  
 u kha pe da-ang-nga orree-mu?  
 3SG what know give-FUT-CFP cover-INF  
 ‘What does she know about covering up, then?’

T0032: Conversation. 036

- (22) *song r’u wude leenga?*  
 sang r’u wudee lee-nga?  
 home LOC where COP-CFP  
 ‘Where is your home, then?’

T0032: Conversation. 082

- (23) *song r'u wanyanghenga--*  
*sang r'u wan-ang-hen-nga--*  
 home LOC arrive-FUT-1PL.NPT-cfp  
 '(We) arrive at our house, and then--'

T0039: Conversation. 001

- (24) *7õ ne, darcula tang leenga hã cukhee lee.*  
*õ ne, darcula tang lee-nga hã cuk-si lee.*  
 yes TAG1 name.town see INFER-CFP then put.on-MID INFER

'Yes indeed, (she) must have seen (Indian clothes) in Dharchula and then put them on.'

T0032: Conversation. 380

### 18.3 CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

As described in Chapter 13, the conditional is comprised of a verb stem plus the suffix *-je*. This is shown in example (25) below. In first person plural and second person forms, the conditional morpheme is preceded by the agreement morpheme *-n*, as shown in example (26) below.

- (25) *than da r'ee jib deeje r'aksa na deemu nini.*  
*than da r'ee jib dee-je r'aksa na dee-mu ni-ni.*  
 now CONT field plant go-COND together EMPH go-INF AUX.EQ-3.NPT

'Now though, if (they) go to plant the fields, then (they) have to go together only.'

T0043: Woolwork. 031

- (26) *7idu su sipu th'al th'am deenje, tho delen ju,*  
*idu su sipu t'al th'am de-n-je, tho dee-len su,*  
 DEM.NONVIS after Sipu Chal Cham go-1PL-COND up go-CVB after  
*yo r'am bakte, go r'amu.*  
*yu r'a-mu baktee, go r'a-mu.*  
 down come-INF time Go come-INF

'After that if you go to Sipu and Chal Cham, after going up, when you come down you should go to Go.'

T0023: Migration. 015

The subject of the conditional clause is the same as the subject in the matrix clause. This is unlike the converb construction described in §18.4 below, which can have

a different subject in the matrix clause. The subject need not be overt in either the conditional or the matrix clause.

- (27) *hã wanlen jo nini khami tuktu wanje, nogdi wannu*  
*hã wan-len jo nini khami tuktu wan-je, nogondi wan-nu*  
 then reach-CVB HM REL first reach-COND later reach-NOM
- mi jen jati gata.*  
*mi jen jati ga-da.*  
 person PL food make-3.NPT

‘Then reaching, um whoever reaches first, (they) make food for the people arriving later.’

T0033: Alam Ceremony. 002

- (28) *7idung khaxhcu bung r’u r’anje r’amu, duktung*  
*idung khaxhcu bong r’u r’a-n-je r’a-mu, duktung*  
 LOC.NONVIS ABL Baun LOC come-1PL-COND come-INF Duktu
- deenje deemu.*  
*dee-n-je dee-mu.*  
 go-1PL-COND go-INF

‘From here, if you come to Baun then you should come, if you go to Dugtu you should go.’ (Meaning this is where one decides whether to go to Baun or Dugtu.)

T0023: Migration. 007

While most occurrences of the conditional found in the corpus are similar to the preceding examples, and do not include an overt word for ‘if’, there are examples in the corpus with an overt ‘if’ that is borrowed from IA. In these examples the conditional construction follows the pattern found in IA. In the IA construction, shown in (29) below, the ‘if’ clause and the ‘then’ clause are both finite clauses. Additionally, the subject of each clause is different in this example of the IA conditional.

- (29) *7ido th'ilo th'alēn baktee, 7agar' jo mi*  
 idu th'ilo th'a-len baktee, agar' jo mi  
 DEM.NONVIS game play-CVB time if.LN that man
- lar' su 7idu th'ilo yu leni to*  
 la r'u su idu tshilo yu le-ni to  
 hand LOC ABL DEM.NONVIS game down fall-3.NPT then.LN
- 7idu mi dād parrni.*  
 idu mi dād parr-ni.  
 DEM.NONVIS man fine must.LN-3.NPT

‘At the time of playing that game, if from that man’s hand that th’ilo falls, then that man must be fined.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 073

While we find examples that follow the IA pattern in the corpus (in natural discourse and in direct elicitation), these appear to be direct borrowing and possibly artefacts of translation (i.e. the contact language, Hindi, has interfered during direct elicitation). Despite the presence of these IA-type examples, it appears that the conditional clause in Darma is not finite. Evidence to support this claim is found in the examples where the conditional clause is followed by the contrastive particle *da*. In these cases, as when it is found following noun phrases, the contrastive particle can be interpreted as either ‘though’ or ‘then’. If the conditional were a finite clause, we would expect the contrastive particle to be interpreted as it is when it follows a finite clause (i.e., ‘just as’).

- (30) ... *pasu da jyar' r'enje da ci jya su le*  
 pasu da jyar'i r'en-je da ci jya su le  
 blanket CONT daily weave-COND CONT ten day INSTR also
- keeden, gubu gwi jya su le keeden.*  
 kee-den, gubu gwi jya su le kee-den.  
 finish-1PL.NPT some nine day INSTR also finish-1PL.NPT

‘...If we weave every single day, though, then in ten days even we finish, some of us even finish it in nine days.’

T0043: Woolwork. 037



The conditional morpheme appears on the negative auxiliary *mahã*, as shown in example (31) below.

- (31) *hã minu minu th'agu mare bir' bang jahen*  
*hã minu minu th'agu ma r'i bir' bang ja-hen*  
 then small small rice.cooked EQU EMPH all place eat-1PL.NPT
- min minu bakt'i mahãje le bir' bang jahen*  
*minu minu bakt'i mahã-je le bir' bang ja-hen*  
 small small fried.bread is.not-COND even all place eat-1PL.NPT
- tungxyen.*  
*tung-si-hen.*  
 drink -1PL.NPT

‘Then we eat just a little tiny bit of rice at every house--even if there isn’t any small fried bread, (we) eat and drink (at) all places.’

T0021: Darma Food. 055

I have found no examples of counterfactuals in the corpus. When I attempted to elicit them, they followed the IA pattern.

There are examples from elicitation sessions of conditional constructions with an additional morpheme *-hi* preceding the conditional morpheme (e.g. *rahije*, *dihije* and *gahije*). There is some evidence that the additional morpheme may indicate that the conditional clause happened in the past, but this is unclear at this time. This morpheme has been glossed as ‘anterior’ until its status can be determined.

#### 18.4 CONVERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Chaining clauses using a nonfinite verbal marker is an areal feature of South Asian Languages (Masica 2005).<sup>1</sup> This nonfinite morpheme has several terms associated with it, including the term *converb*. In Darma, a common narrative structure includes chaining together multiple clauses under one matrix verb. The non-finite verb of each chained clause bears a *converb* suffix. Two *converb* suffixes, *-len* and *-the* are found in

<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that while *converbs* are commonly attested in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, the status of this clause chaining strategy in Tibeto-Burman languages is uncertain at this time. This is due in part to the fact that many Tibeto-Burman languages are underdocumented.

the corpus. The latter form is not well understood at this time, but native speakers report that the two converb suffixes are interchangeable. Further work must be done to fully understand the distribution of *-the* as a converb suffix. In the corpus, *-len* is more commonly used than *-the* (see also Willis 2005).

Haspelmath (1995: 3-4) defines a converb as ‘a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination.’ Converbs in Darma adhere to Haspelmath’s typological description. Darma is a verb-final language and the converb comprises a verb stem and a morpheme suffix (STEM-CONVERB). Also, per Haspelmath’s definition, converbs in Darma lack tense, aspect, mood and agreement markers, and are thus nonfinite. Haspelmath outlines five tests to determine whether a clause is subordinate. A subordinate clause can:

- embed in the superordinate clause;
- come before or after the superordinate clause;
- be focused with ‘only’ and ‘also’ particles;
- be extracted; meaning it is possible to form a question based on a subordinated clause;
- be subject to backward pronominal anaphora and control.

Of these five tests, I have data to support two tests: Darma converbal clauses can be placed before and after the superordinate, or matrix, clause; and Darma converbs can take a focus particle. This is shown in examples (32)-(36) below. In examples (32)-(34) below, each converb clause is extraposed after the matrix verb. In examples (35)-(36) below, the converb clause receives the emphatic particle *na*.

- (32) *mi jen kee mar’ayang wilen.*  
 mi jen kee ma-r’a-ang wi-len.  
 person PL some NEG-come-FUT invite-CVB  
 ‘Some of the people will not come after being invited.’

T0037: Conversation. 019

- (33) *gyadu le jan ninju, dar'ma r'aleng.*  
*gyadu le ja-nu ni-n-su dar'ma r'a-len.*  
 porridge also eat-NOM AUX.EQ-1PL-PST Darma come-CVB

‘We ate porridge also, after coming to Darma.’

T0021:015

- (34) *bir' taku na da lee, ne pua phalen.*  
*bir' taku na da lee, ne pua phalen.*  
 all one EMPH CONT COP, DEM.NEUT uncle speak-CVB

‘Everything is only one, though, when this uncle is talking.’<sup>2</sup>

T0027: Kiti Phondar. 024

- (35) *jillen na xhemu.*  
*jil-len na xhe-mu.*  
 rub-CVB EMPH bring-INF

‘Rubbing only bring (it).’

T0042: Elicited. 247

- (36) *geni bhar'at khaxhcu nagrikta kharthlen na xheni.*  
*geni bhar'at khaxhcu nagrikta kharth-len na xhe-ni.*  
 2PL India.LN ABL citizenship.LN cut.LN-CVB EMPH bring-2PL.IMP

‘Cutting your Indian citizenship only, bring (it).’

T0042: Elicited. 247

As mentioned above, converbs in Darma are found primarily in narratives. This is logical considering the purpose of this type of construction is to move the narrative forward (Saxena 2004). Because converb constructions are a narrative style, most of the converb data I have in Darma come from natural discourse, and manipulating converbal constructions during elicitation sessions was a frustrating task for me and my consultant. As a result I was unable to determine the difference between the converb *-len* and the converb *-the*. During elicitation sessions, consultants indicated that the two forms mean the same thing. This is shown in the examples (37) and (38) below.

<sup>2</sup> The woman who says this is interrupting the narrative of a man whom she perceives as conflating two well known folk tales. She is suggesting that the two stories have become one in the man’s narrative.

- (37) *xile jillen*  
 sile jil-len  
 turban wrap-CVB  
 ‘wrapping the turban’

T0042: Elicited. 897

- (38) *xile jilthee*  
 sile jil-thee  
 turban wrap-CVB  
 ‘wrapping the turban’

T0042: Elicited. 897

Further examples of the converb *-thee* are shown in (39)-(42) below.

- (39) *r’e xhokthee song r’u r’amu.*  
 r’e xhok-thee sang r’u r’a-mu.  
 cow make.graze-CVB home come-INF  
 ‘After grazing the cow, you should come home.’

T0048: Elicited. 054

- (40) *ge yepthee xyunghimu ji r’angkhi.*  
 ge yeb-thee syung-si-mu ji r’a-ang-hi.  
 2SG wait-CVB sit-MID-INF 1SG come-FUT-1SG.NPT  
 ‘You should sit waiting, I’ll come.’

T0046: Elicited. 042

- (41) *7alam dangsu deme yangthee deehen ning.*  
 alam dangsu deme ang-thee dee-hen ning.  
 totem BEN drum(s) get.ready-CVB go-1PL.NPT 1PL  
 ‘Getting the drums for the Alam ready, we go.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 035

- (42) *bar’i buthee ne kokr’o khaxhcu r’an niju.*  
 bar’i bu-thee ne khaxhcu r’a-nu ni-su.  
 luggage carry-CVB DEM.NEUT name.place ABL come-NOM AUX.EQ-PST  
 ‘Carrying the luggage, (they) came from Kokro.’

T0031: Cuti Gabla. 035

The converb clause is also found preceding the particle *su* ‘after’; following a converb *su* is usually pronounced *ju* (or *jang*). In these cases, it appears that ‘after’ can indicate that the events in the two clauses are not simultaneous as shown in example (43) below, or that the subject in the matrix clause is different from the subject in the converb

clause as shown in example (44) below. In the former example, the burial of the body takes place after it is brought to the field. In the latter example, the narrator is talking about himself and his family attending a wedding in the converb clause, and then he introduces a new topic in the matrix clause.

- (43) *hã ree r'u kur'len ju kung r'u lub ninju.*  
*hã ree r'u kur'-len su kong r'u lub-nu ni-n-su.*  
 then field LOC take.away-CVB after grave LOC bury- NOM AUX.EQ-1PL.PST  
 ‘Then after we take (the body) away to the field (we) bury (it) in a grave.’  
 T0018: Funeral. 005

- (44) *hã baksa deelen jang 7idu su, ta xyahi*  
*hã baksa dee-len su idu su, taku syahi*  
 then wedding go-CVB after DEM.NONVIS after one relative.MAT  
*leeni.*  
*lee-ni.*  
 AUX.EX-3.NPT  
 ‘Then after going to the wedding, after that there is one relative.’  
 T0013: Marriage Proposal. 014

The particle ‘after’ is also found following the converb *-the*. In these cases, ‘after’ is pronounced *su*. This is shown in example (45) below.

- (45) *r'e xhokthee su dee leeyo 7ir'o*  
*r'e xhok-thee su dee lee-yo ir'o*  
 cow make.graze-CVB after go-2SG.IMP say-1SG.PST LOC.NONVIS  
 ‘‘After grazing the cow, go,’’ I said, over there.’  
 T0032: Conversation. 268

### 18.4.1 Echo Formations

When a converb is found in an echo formation, both the main verb and the echo counterpart receive the converb suffix. This is found with both forms of the converb as shown in examples (46)-(48) below.

- (46) *hã bakca rthunglen rthanglen deexyen 7idu su.*  
*hã bakca rthung-len rthang-len dee-si-hen idu su.*  
 then wedding dance-CVB ECHO-CVB go-MID-1PL.NPT DEM.NONVIS after  
 ‘Then, (we) go to the wedding dancing and everything after that.’  
 T0013: Marriage Proposal. 013

- (47) *rtul@len rtalen galen ju 7idu na damu*  
*rtul-len rta-len ga-len su idu na da-mu*  
 mix-CVB ECHO-CVB do-CVB after DEM.NONVIS EMPH give-INF  
*parrni ning su.*  
*parr-ni ning su.*  
 must.LN-3.NPT 1PL ERG  
 ‘After doing the mixing and all that, we must give that one.’  
 T0021: Darma Food. 035

- (48) *...hã ning gu sar’e sang thumthe thangthe 7idu*  
*...hã ning gu sar’e sang thum-thee thang-thee idu*  
 then 1PL POSS whole.LN village gather-CVB ECHO-CVB DEM.NONVIS  
*bakca deemu yangxyen.*  
*bakca dee-mu yang-si-hen.*  
 wedding go-INF ready-MID-1PL.NPT  
 ‘Then, (we) get ourselves ready to go to that wedding gathering our whole village together and all.’  
 T0013: Marriage Proposal. 007

## 18.5 COMPLEMENATION

Like other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Dolakhā Newari as described by Genetti 1994, Thulung Rai as described by Lahaussais 2003, Kham as described by Watters 2003), there is no evidence of overt complementizers in Darma. There is, however, a borrowed complementizer that is used ubiquitously. According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006), languages without complementizers will sometimes use nominalized clauses as a complementation strategy instead. Other strategies for combining clauses are discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter. Here I will present the distribution of the IA complementizer *ki* ‘that’ is found throughout the corpus.

A predominant utilization of the IA complementizer is in the borrowed quotation construction as shown in example (49) below. In Hindi, quotes are formed using the structure *Ram said ki* ‘quoted utterance’. The indigenous quotation construction in Darma involves embedding the quoted material into the sentence as shown in example (50) below. We also find examples where both patterns are used simultaneously as shown in example in the (51) below.

- (49) *khitiphondar ju leeju ki t’ampavat than ji*  
*su lee-su ki t’ampavat than ji*  
 Khiti Phondar ERG say-PST CONJ.LN name.town now 1SG  
*wan pir’ayo lekin r’aja wude xyungheni?*  
*wan pi-r’a-yo lekin r’aja wudee syung-si-ni?*  
 reach COMPL-come-1SG.PST but.LN king.LN where sit-MID-3.NPT  
*7u jo, pata malju.*  
*u jo, pata ma-lee-su.*  
 3SG DAT known.LN NEG-AUX.EX-PST

‘Kithi Phondar said, “Now I have arrived in Campavat, but the where is the king?” He did not know.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 007

- (50) *khiti phondar su “lyang ne gum malyang?” leeju.*  
*khiti phondar su lee-ang ne gum ma-lee-ang lee-su.*  
 ERG AUX.EX-FUT TAG1 why NEG-AUX.EQ-FUT say-PST

‘Khiti Phondar said, “there will be, right, why wouldn't there be?”’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 043

- (51) *...jogi su leesu, ki “7or’ ji da rorta, ji*  
*...jogi su lee-su, ki or’ ji da rorta, ji*  
 saint.LN ERG say-PST CONJ.LN and.LN 1SG CONT flatbread.LN 1SG  
*7andu le lyang? la?” leeju.*  
*andu le lee-ang? la?” lee-su.*  
 for also AUX.EX-FUT TAG2 say-PST

‘...The yogi said, “and me, though, will there be any flatbread for me, too? Huh?” He said.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 041

The complementizer is not only found in quoted constructions. It is found introducing a subordinate clause as shown in (52) below. This structure is also found in

IA languages. It is important to note that the verb selecting the complement clause in this example is a loan word (cf §5.1.2 above for a discussion of borrowed verbs).

- (52) *khami su mabateeju, ki gu gu khatar'a*  
*khami su ma-batee-su, ki ge gu khatar'a*  
 who ERG NEG-tell.LN-PST CONJ.LN 2SG POSS danger.LN
- leenu lenju*  
 le-nu lensu  
 AUX.EX-NOM said.3PL

‘...Nobody told me that you were reported to be in danger.’

T0025: Kiti Phondar. 024



## **DISCOURSE AND TEXTS**

### **Chapter 19: Discourse and Texts**

#### **19.0 INTRODUCTION**

The texts I have included in this chapter were selected for several reasons. First, I tried to select texts that are representative of different genres. I have recorded people telling stories, explaining how ceremonies are conducted, having conversations, telling me how to cook certain foods, telling me what they did yesterday, giving a speech, and singing songs. From these recordings, I have selected texts from several genres to include here. The texts presented in this chapter include: an explanation of how a marriage is arranged (cf §19.1); a description of the procedure and purpose of a ceremonial haircut (cf §19.2); a legend about a Darma hero (§19.3); and a portion of a conversation (cf §19.4).

#### **19.1 MARRIAGE PROPOSAL (T0013:T2\_61)**

The following text was recorded in the winter village of Gothi, which is six kilometers from Dharchula. I was able to make this recording with the help of a neighbor in Dharchula, GBG, who also worked with me as a consultant for several months. She was a Bonal by birth and married a Garbyal (Byans) man. A native-speaker of Darma, GBG speaks Byans with her husband and his family. She invited me to visit her parents in Gothi and while we were there many people gathered in the sitting room and listened as this story was told. The narrator is an older man who is usually very shy. When I would see him in Gothi he was frequently walking around the village by himself spinning yarn. I have several recordings of him telling stories, however, and his personality comes to life. As I understand it, he was called in especially to tell some stories for me to record.

Sometimes he is difficult to understand, due in part to a few missing teeth. During this recording session, everyone was drinking *cekti*, including the narrator. The effects of alcohol may have made his speech even more rapid—whatever the reason some parts of this recording cannot be made out.

[NARRATOR]

*hã ning ʔidu su [unintelligible] rtholen rthanglen,*  
*hã ning idu su rtho-len rthang-len,*  
 then 1PL DEM.NONVIS after throw.ritually-CVB ECHO-CVB

Then we, after that [unintelligible] ritually throwing (the rice) and all,

*mane, bindi jo nini, ning gu thoj deelen, rtholen*  
*mane, bindi jo nini, ning gu thoj dee-len, rtho-len*  
 meaning.LN ceremony HM 1PL POSS proposal go-CVB throw.ritually-CVB

meaning, the ceremony, that is going for our proposal, throwing ritually

*rthanglen galen ju-- hã rtholen gal@n jang*  
*rthang-len ga-len su-- hã rtho-len ga-len su*  
 ECHO-CVB do-CVB after then throw.ritually-CVB do-CVB after

and all, after doing the ceremony-- then after doing the throwing,

*hã ta jya ning, ʔidu su,*  
*hã taku jya ning, idu su,*  
 then one day 1PL DEM.NONVIS after

then one day we after that,

*hã ning ngay rtugu pee kur'len jang ning*  
*hã ning ngay rtugu pee kur'-len su ning*  
 then 1PL five six brother take.away-CVB after 1PL

then after we take away five or six men, we

*jyala thoj deexyen. jyala thojelen jang hã ʔidu su,*  
*jyala thoj dee-si-hen. jyala thoje-len su hã idu su,*  
 date ask.for go-1PL.NPT date ask.for-CVB after then DEM.NONVIS after

go ask for the date. After asking for the (proposal) date, then after that,

*toro, pee sung thumlen jang, xyaxi thumlen jang,*  
 toro, pee sung thum-len su, syasi thum-len su,  
 there relative.PAT village get.together-CVB after relative.MAT get.together-CVB after  
 there, after the (paternal) relatives get together, and after the (maternal) relatives get  
 together,

*hã ning jyala dada. kiden "ne ज्या र'ु योनि,*  
*hã ning jyala da-da. ki-den ne ज्या र'ु यो-नि,*  
 then 1PL date give-3.NPT worship-1PL.NPT DEM.NEUT day LOC come-2PL.IMP  
 then (they) give us the/our date. (We) pray. "You should come on this day,

*budu yoni. ya 7eta र'ु बार'ो योनि"*  
*budu yo-ni. ya eta र'ु बार'ो यो-नि*  
 Tuesday.LN come-2PL.IMP or.LN Sunday.LN LOC times come-2PL.IMP  
 (you) should come on Tuesday. Or on Sunday you should come,"

*lenju, ning gu jyala dada.*  
*lenju, ning gu jyala da-da.*  
 after.saying 1PL POSS date give-3.NPT  
 after saying this, (they) give our wedding date.

*hã 7idu र'alen ju do र'ु या, hã do र'alen jang,*  
*hã idu र'a-len su do र'ु या, hã do र'a-len su,*  
 then DEM.NONVIS come-CVB after here LOC or.LN then here come-CVB after  
 Then after he comes, here or, then after coming here,

*hã ning gu jo hee sarree sung thumthe*  
*hã ning gu jo hee sarree sung thum-the*  
 then 1PL POSS HM.LN all.LN village get.together-CVB  
 then our, um, entire village getting together

*thangthe 7idu baksa deemu yangxyen.*  
*thang-the idu baksa dee-mu yang-si-hen.*  
 ECHO-CVB DEM.NONVIS wedding go-INF ready-MID-1PL.NPT  
 and everything, (we) get ourselves ready to go to that wedding.

*baksa deemu yangxyen, 7idu deme heme ning gu*  
 baksa dee-mu yang-si-hen, idu deme heme ning gu  
 wedding go-INF ready-1PL.NPT DEM.NONVIS drum(s) ECHO 1PL POSS

*mangneeden.*  
 mangnee-den.  
 ask.for.LN-1PL.NPT

(We) get ourselves ready to go to the wedding, we ask for the drummers.

*nying sung pee r'ani da r'angga keexyen.*  
 ning sung pee r'a-ni da r'angga gee-si-hen.  
 1PL village relative.PAT come-3.NPT CONT clothes.male cover-MID-1PL.NPT

Our village (paternal) relatives come, then (we) wear the rangga (traditional dress).

*7idu su, rtixya jen, jo nini banigut'al [inaudible],*  
 idu su, rtisya jen, jo nini banigut'al,  
 DEM.NONVIS after bridesmaids PL HM cape

After that the bridesmaids, um, the cape [inaudible],

*cung bala cokhuni, bokt'u cokhuni.*  
 cung bala cok-si-ni, bokt'u cok-si-ni.  
 dress put.on-MID-3.NPT boots put.on-MID-3.NPT

(they) put on the *cung bala* and (they) put on the boots.

*hã 7idu sang, deme tolen jang, hã 7idu sang*  
 hã idu sang, deme to-len su, hã idu sang  
 then DEM.NONVIS after drum(s) play-CVB after then DEM.NONVIS after

Then, after that, after playing the drums, then after that

*certang gaden.*  
 certang ga-den.  
 ceremonial.items make-1PL.NPT

(we) set up the *certang*.

*ning ju certang galen jang, bangr'u r'ahen.*  
 ning su certang ga-len su, bangr'u r'a-hen.  
 1PL ERG ceremonial.items make-CVB after outside come-1PL.NPT

After we set up the *certang* (ceremonial table), (we) come outside.

*bangr'u r'ahen. bang r'alēn hã 7idu sang, hã*  
*bangr'u r'a-hen. bang r'a-len hã idu sang, hã*  
 outside come-1PL.NPT outside come-CVB then DEM.NONVIS after then

We come outside. Coming outside, then after that, then,

*bir' baksa deexyen. hã 7idu ju rthunglen deexyen.*  
*bir' baksa dee-si-hen. hã idu su rthung-len dee-si-hen.*  
 all wedding go-MID-1PL.NPT then DEM.NONVIS after dance-CVB go-MID-1PL.NPT

(we) all go to the wedding. Then after that, we go while dancing.

*hã rtixya jen jama nongdi deesu r'ani.*  
*hã rtisya jen jama nongdi dee-su r'a-ni.*  
 then bridesmaids PL everyone behind go-PST come-3.NPT

Then the bridesmaids went behind everyone, (they) come.

*bir', banigut'al, geethe ju jama r'i--*  
*bir', banigut'al, gee-the su jama r'i--*  
 all cape cover-CVB after everyone EMPH

All (of us), after covering with the cape, absolutely everyone--. Then, to the wedding dancing

*hã baksa rthunglen rthanglen deexyen, 7idu su.*  
*hã baksa rthung-len rthanglen dee-si-hen, idu su.*  
 then wedding dance-CVB ECHO-CVB go-1PL.NPT DEM.NONVIS after

and everything (we) go, after that.

*hã baksa deelen jang 7idu su, ta xyahi leeni.*  
*hã baksa dee-len su idu su, taku syahi lee-ni.*  
 then wedding go-CVB after DEM.NONVIS after one relative.MAT AUX.EX-3.NPT

Then after going to the wedding, after that there is one relative.

*ning gu xyahi do r'u ning gu certang gada.*  
*ning gu syahi do r'u ning gu certang ga-da.*  
 1PL POSS relative.MAT here LOC 1PL POSS ceremonial.items make-3.NPT

Our (maternal) relatives here do our *certang*.

*hã 7idung kung jo nini, saa-, 7ã r'a rto ngasa*  
*hã idung kung jo nini, saa-, ã r'a rtuku ngasa*  
 then LOC.NONVIS place HM HM one.hundred six twenty

*ripya rto ngasa ta:ten. sokunu taten. hã deehen*  
*ripya rtuku ngasa ta-den. sokunu ta-den. hã dee-hen*  
 Rupees six twenty leave-1PL.NPT kitty.LN put-1PL.NPT then go-1PL.NPT

Then from here, um, um one hundred, we leave one hundred rupees. We put (it in) the kitty.<sup>1</sup> Then (we) go.

*7idu yu r'u. hã 7idu,*  
*idu yu r'u. hã idu,*  
 DEM.NONVIS down LOC then DEM.NONVIS

There, at the downside, then, that,

*byoli gu, namxya gu dar'ampha wan deexyen.*  
*byoli gu, namsya gu dar'ampha wan dee-si-hen.*  
 bride.LN POSS daughter-in-law POSS door reach go-1PL.NPT

(we) reach the bride's, the daughter-in-law's door.

*hã namxya dar'ampha wan deelen jang, hã yu*  
*hã namsya dar'ampha wan dee-len su, hã yu*  
 then daughter-in-law door reach go-CVB after then down

Then, after reaching the daughter-in-law's door, then downside

*thumthe ju, hã 7idu su nyung namxya jo nini,*  
*thum-the su, hã idu su ning namsya jo nini,*  
 get.together-CVB after then DEM.NONVIS after 1PL daughter-in-law HM

after getting together, then after that our daughter-in-law, um,

*hã 7idu su tee ree, xir'i, namxya, myã,*  
*hã idu su tee r'i, sir'i, namsya, myã,*  
 then DEM.NONVIS after DEM.DIST EMPH boy daughter-in-law son-in-law

Then after that over there, the boy, the daughter-in-law, the son-in-law,

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the groom leaves money on the ritual plates of the families who come to meet him along the way for his wedding--they come out and give the wedding party drinks and apply tikkas and throw ritual rice from the ritual plates. The groom gives money for this; he puts the money on the plate with the tikka paste and ceremonial rice.

*t'imme, jo nini, hã kharto gee-, kharto geeda.*  
*t'imme, jo nini, hã kharto gee-, kharto gee-da.*  
 daughter HM then cloth.white cover cloth.white cover-3.NPT

the daughter, that is, then the white cloth is put, (they) cover (her) with the white cloth.

*xilee jilda. sab kuth' khar'ee gada.*  
*silee jil-da. sab kuth' khar'ee ga-da.*  
 turban wrap-3.NPT all.LN thing.LN that do-3.NPT

(They) wrap the turban (on him). (They) do all of that.

*hã phir'i bud@r'u khaxhcu r'alen jang, hã ning sar'ee sung su*  
*hã phir'i budr'u khaxhcu r'a-len su, hã ning sar'ee sung su*  
 then then.LN inside ABL come-CVB after then 1PL all.LN village ERG

Then, after coming from inside, then our entire village

*yejya gata. khu khur'u yejya galen jyung r'axyen.*  
*yejya ga-da. khu khur'u yejya ga-len su r'a-si-hen.*  
 guest do -3.NPT family.by.family guest do-CVB after come-1PL.NPT

does the guests. After doing the guests family by family, (we) come.

*hã 7idu kalju, bilkul [unintelligible].*  
*hã idu ka-lee-su, bilkul*  
 then DEM.NONVIS COMPL-AUX.EX-PST solely.LN

Then this is completely finished [unintelligible].

*hã ning gu darampha wan r'ahen 7idu su.*  
*hã ning gu darampha wan r'a-hen idu su.*  
 then 1PL POSS door reach come-1PL.NPT DEM.NONVIS after

Then (we) reach our door, after that.

*hã darampha wan r'amu 7idu su, nyung xi, xya,*  
*hã darampha wan r'a-mu idu su, ning si, sya,*  
 then door reach come-INF DEM.NONVIS after 1PL [relatives.MAT]

Then reaching the door, after that our (maternal side) relatives [sic],

*sar' sung, sung pee jen jo nini, hã byolo xile jilda.*  
*sar' sung, sung pee jen jo nini, hã byolo sile jil-da.*  
 all.LN village village relative PL HM then bridegroom.LN turban wrap-3.NPT

the entire village, the (paternal) relatives, that is, then (they) wrap the bridegroom's turban.

*xir'i xile jillen, namxya kharto geelen gada.*  
*sir'i sile jil-len, namsya kharto geelen gada.*  
 boy turban wrap-CVB daughter-in-law cloth.white cover-CVB do-3.NPT

Tying the boy's turban, (they) do the daughter in-law's covering.

*hã jama. hã jama, bana r'u salee xyakta.*  
*hã jama. hã jama, bana r'u salee syak-da.*  
 then everyone then everyone neck LOC necklace adorn-3.NPT

Then everyone--. Then everyone puts the garland around (her) neck.

*la r'u salee xyakta. hado [unintelligible] gata.*  
*la r'u salee syak-da. hadu ga-da.*  
 hand LOC necklace adorn-3.NPT DEM.NEUT do-3.NPT

(They) put the garlands on (her) hands. (They) do this [unintelligible].

[A WOMAN INTERJECTS]:

*ʔangurthi.*  
*angurthi.*  
 ring.LN

The ring.

[THE NARRATOR ASKS]:

*hã?*  
*hã?*  
*huh?*  
 Huh?

[THE WOMAN SAYS]:

*la r'u ʔangurthi, bana r'u mangal xyakta byolo su.*  
*la r'u angurthi, bana r'u mangal syak-da byolo su.*  
 hand LOC ring.LN neck LOC necklace adorn-3.NPT bridegroom.LN ERG

(He) puts the ring on her hand and the necklace on her neck, the bridegroom.

[THE NARRATOR RESPONDS]:

*ʔõ mangal su [...]taku na salee [...] taku na lya.*  
*õ mangal su taku na salee taku na lee-a.*  
 yes necklace INSTR one EMPH necklace one EMPH say-2SG.IMP

Yes, with the necklace, [unintelligible] just one necklace [unintelligible] say just one.



[ANOTHER PERSON SAYS SOMETHING THAT CANNOT BE HEARD. THE NARRATOR AGREES, SAYING]:

7õ.

õ.

yes

Yes.

*hã ning gu galen jang, hã ning gu, jo nini, bir'*  
*hã ning gu ga-len su, hã ning gu, jo nini, bir'*  
 then 1PL POSS do-CVB after then 1PL POSS HM all

*rdangnu sangnu, barriya leeni 7idu su.*  
*rdang-nu sang-nu, barriya leeni idu su.*  
 good-NOM ECHO-NOM good.LN AUX.EX-3.NPT DEM.NONVIS after

Then our having done this, then our, that is all is very well.

*hã bir', thumthe thangthe galen na budr'u su,*  
*hã bir', thum-the thang-the ga-len na budr'u su,*  
 then all get.together-CVB ECHO-CVB do-CVB EMPH inside ABL

Then everyone just getting together and all that from inside,

*ho than la xilni, la xilni, la hado,*  
*ho than la sil-ni, la sil-ni, la hadu,*  
 oh now hand wash-2PL.IMP hand wash-2PL.IMP hand DEM.NEUT

oh, now you all should wash your hands, you all should wash your hands, hands that one,

*la xil leenya, r'a leenya budr'u 7idu su,*  
*la sil lee-n-ya, r'a lee-n-ya budr'u idu su,*  
 hand wash AUX.EX-1PL-HORT come AUX.EX-1PL-HORT inside DEM.NONVIS after

let us wash hands, let us come, inside after that,

*hã ja- ning jaxyen. hã ja leenya.*  
*hã ja- ning ja-si-hen. hã ja lee-n-ya.*  
 then eat 1PL eat-MID-1PL.NPT then eat AUX.EX-1PL-HORT

then eat--, we eat. Then let us eat.

*sar' sung, pee sung, xyaxi, jama thumthe*  
 sar' sung, pee sung, syasi, jama thum-the  
 all.LN village relative.PAT village relative.MAT everyone get.together-CVB

The whole village, the paternal relatives and paternal relatives, everyone getting together

*thangthe r'ani. hã bud@r'u, jo nini, ning su, jo nini, sar'ee:::*  
 thang-the r'a-ni. hã budr'u, jo nini, ning su, jo nini, sar'ee:::  
 ECHO-CVB come-3.NPT then inside HM 1PL ERG HM all.LN

and everything comes. Then, inside that is, we, um, all

*xyahi jen jama, 7ido su, kharto geeden.*  
 syahi jen jama, ido su, kharto gee-den.  
 relative.MAT PL everyone DEM.NONVIS after cloth.white cover-1PL.NPT  
 of the female relatives everyone, after that, (we) cover (them with) the white cloth.

*jam jama. hã khami rthungni, khami t'ani.*  
 jama jama. hã khami rthung-ni, khami t'a-ni.  
 everyone everyone then someone dance-3.NPT someone sing-3.NPT

Every everyone. Then some people dance and some people sing.

*bilkul khalna barriya [...] gada 7idu su.*  
 bilkul khalna barriya ga-da idu su.  
 absolutely.LN very good.LN do-3.NPT DEM.NONVIS after

(They) do absolutey great, after that

*hã, namth'ang wasu, ni' r'i wasu na, ber'a baju gaden*  
 hã, namth'ang wasu, ni' r'i wasu na, ber'a baju ga-den  
 then be.early until sun set until only song performance.LN do-1PL.NPT

Then, until it gets early, until the sun sets, we do songs and performances

*ning su.*  
 ning su.  
 1PL ERG

we do.

[WOMAN INTERRUPTS]:

*cekti tunglen lya.*  
 ceki tung-len lee-a.  
 liquor drink-CVB say-2SG.IMP

Say, drinking ceki.

[THE NARRATOR CONTINUES]:

*hã ceki tunglen, ber'a baji gaden na 7ida.*  
hã ceki tung-len, ber'a baji ga-den na ida.  
then liquor drink-CVB song performance.LN do-1PL.NPT EMPH now

Then, drinking ceki, (we) do the song and performance only now.

*hã ningjya t'an lenju xyaxi jen*  
hã ningjya t'a-nu lenju syasi jen  
then day.after.tomorrow sing-NOM after.doing relative.MAT PL

Then, the day after tomorrow after doing singing the female relatives

*tak t'andu deeni. ning tak t'andu xyungxyen.*  
taku t'andu dee-ni. ning taku t'andu syung-si-hen.  
one side go-3.NPT 1PL one side sit-MID-1PL.NPT

go to one side. We sit on one side.

*7idu su, nyung kirdangju, kisingju lenju, hã*  
idu su, ning ki-rdang-su, ki-sang-su lenju, hã  
DEM.NONVIS after 1PL COMPL-be.good-PST COMPL-ECHO-PST after.doing then

After that after we have become well and all that, after doing this, then

*ning rdoxyen tar'xyen. kalju.*  
ning rdo-si-hen tar'-si-hen. ka-lee-su.  
1PL be.happy-1PL.NPT able-MID-1PL.NPT COMPL-AUX.EX-PST

we are happy, (we) are able. Finished!

[EVERYONE LAUGHS]

## 19.2 CEREMONIAL HAIRCUT (T0017:T2\_111)

The following text was recorded in March 2003 in the village Gothi. The narrator is explaining the ceremony surrounding the ritual haircut that is performed on male Darma children. His audience interjects their take on the ceremony throughout the text.

[NARRATOR]:

*thyã, jyuni pu-ni. 7ã ning gu khee kheme leeni.*  
*thyã, joni pu-ni. ã ning gu khee kheme lee-ni.*  
today youth be.big-3.NPT HM 1PL POSS grandchild AUX.EX-3.NPT

Today the the children are growing up. We have grandchildren.

*hã khee gu bar'tee gaden. hã bar'tee*  
*hã khee gu bar'tee ga-den. hã bar'tee*  
then grandson POSS haircut.ritual do-1PL.NPT then haircut.ritual

Then, we do our grandson's ceremonial haircut. Then the ceremonial haircut

*gam baktar' jo nini, 7akcit barriya galen ju, 7idu baktee*  
*ga-mu baktee r'u jo nini, akcitee barriya ga-len su, idu baktee*  
do-INF time LOC HM very good.LN do-CVB after DEM.NONVIS time

the time to do (it), that is, after doing (it) very well, at that time

*xyaxi baksa ma t'andu gaden jama duniya bar'*  
*syasi baksa ma t'andu ga-den jama duniya bar'*  
relative.MAT wedding EQU style do-1PL.NPT everyone world.LN entire.LN

(we) do (this) in the style of a relative's wedding, everyone from the entire world

*ju mi mi jen vincu. hã jama bangr'u*  
*jo mi mi jen wi-n-su. hã jama bangr'u*  
DAT person person PL invite-1PL-PST then everyone outside

we invite all of the people. Then everyone outside,

*jo nini mala, ripyã gu mala xyaden.*  
*jo nini mala, rupya gu mala shya-den.*  
HM garland.LN money POSS garland.LN put.on.s.o.-1PL.NPT

that is (we) put the garland, the garland of money (on the child).

*hã mala xyalen ju jo nini, 7ã, dulang rthoden.*  
*hã mala shya-len su jo nini, ã, dulang rtho-den.*  
 then garland.LN put.on.s.o.-CVB after HM HM cake throw.ritually-1PL.NPT

Then, after putting the garland (on him), um, we throw (ritually) the cake.<sup>2</sup>

[WOMAN INTERJECTS]:

*t'eme su.*  
*t'eme su.*  
 girl ERG

The girls--.

[NARRATOR]:

*hã ning khee gu pitr'a r'u xilee jen jama jilta.*  
*hã ning khee gu pisya r'u sile jen jama jil-ta.*  
 then 1PL grandson POSS head LOC turban PL everyone wrap-3.NPT

Then everyone wraps turbans on our grandson's head.

*gubu su mala xyata. bir' galen jyang--*  
*gubu su mala sya-ta. bir' ga-len su--*  
 someone ERG garland.LN put.on.s.o.-3.NPT all do-CVB after

Someone puts on the garland of money. After doing everything—(He is cut off).

[WOMAN INTERJECTS]:

*mala galen ju pixya r'u xyata lya ne?*  
*mala ga-len su pisya r'u sya-ta lee-a ne?*  
 garland.LN do-CVB after head LOC put.on.s.o.-3.NPT say-2SG.IMP EMPH

After making the garlands (they) put them around his neck, say it okay?

---

<sup>2</sup> Ritual throwing is done with a variety of media (i.e. food and drink). Here the 'cake' made of buckwheat flour and water is torn to bits and the bits are tossed in the air as a prayer is said. The middle finger and thumb are used to grasp the food to be tossed. The motion is similar to how one moves the hand to pull thread taught during sewing. Both hands are used to toss the food. This ritual throwing is often done with grains of uncooked rice. One always offers food and drink to the gods prior to the commencement of eating or drinking. This is done by taking a bit of food from the plate and tossing it; one does this to each food on the plate (i.e. take some from the rice, some from the vegetable, some from the daal, and so forth). Rather than actually throwing food from one's plate, this is generally done in a symbolic fashion; one performs the movement of the ritual throwing over the food, but does not actually toss food into the air. With the ritual throwing of uncooked rice and the cake, however, the items are literally tossed into the air.

[ANOTHER WOMAN SAYS]:

*mala na xyata lya ne? wudee mala?*  
mala na sya-ta lee-a ne? wudee mala?  
garland.LN only put.on.s.o.-3.NPT say-2SG.IMP EMPH where goat

(They) just put garlands on him, say it, okay, where (are) goats?<sup>3</sup>

[NARRATOR]:

*7õ, mala na than r'upya leeju da taku na leeju.*  
*õ, mala na than r'upya lee-ju da taku na lee-su.*  
yes garland.LN EMPH now money AUX.EX-PST CONT one EMPH AUX.EX-PST

Yes, the garland, when there was money, then there was just one.

[WOMAN INTERJECTS]:

*r'ang gu lo su--*  
r'ang gu lo su--  
Rang POSS language INSTR

With the language of the Rang—(Meaning he should speak in Darma.)

[NARRATOR]:

*hã nying rthyakee rthukee galen ju, hã bud@r'u deexyen,*  
*hã ning rthyakee rthyukee ga-len su, hã budr'u dee-si-hen,*  
then 1PL good.LN ECHO do-CVB after then inside go-1PL.NPT

Then, after we do everything just right, then (we) go inside,

*hã buderu deelen jung, hã nying ber'a gaden,*  
*hã budr'u dee-len su, hã ning ber'a ga-den,*  
then inside go-CVB after then 1PL song do-1PL.NPT

then after going inside, then we sing,

*baji gaden, rthingxyen, jaxyen. hã 7idu*  
*baji ga-den, rthing-si-hen, ja-si-hen. hã idu*  
performance.LN do-1PL.NPT dance-1PL.NPT eat-1PL.NPT then DEM.NONVIS

(we) perform, (we) dance, (we) eat.

---

<sup>3</sup> The woman is making a joke. The Darma word 'goat' and the Hindi word 'garland' are both [mala].

<i>bakte</i>	<i>jo nini</i>	<i>bir'</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>xyaxi</i>	<i>jen</i>	<i>jama</i>
baktee	jo nini	bir'	mi	su	syasi	jen	jama
time	HM	all	person	ERG	relative.MAT	PL	everyone

Then, at this time, um, all of the people (to) the female relatives, (to) everyone,

<i>kharto</i>	<i>daden,</i>	<i>bir'</i>	<i>khar'ee</i>	<i>gaden.</i>	<i>rthyak@</i>	<i>rthyuk@</i>
kharto	da-den,	bir'	khar'ee	ga-den.	rthyakee	rthyukee
white.cloth	give-1PL.NPT	all	something	do-1PL.NPT	good.LN	ECHO

a white cloth, (we) give, (we) do everything. Just right

<i>galen</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>barriya</i>	<i>rdang@su</i>	<i>khar'ee</i>	<i>gaden,</i>	<i>ne?</i>
ga-len	su	barriya	rdangsu	khar'ee	ga-den,	ne?
do-CVB	after	good.LN	proper.manner.LN	that	do-1PL.NPT	EMPH

After doing (this), (in) a good proper manner (we) do the thing (the ceremony), right?

<i>kilju</i>	<i>lya</i>	<i>ne?</i>	<i>kilju,</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>kilju.</i>
ki-lee-su	lee-a	ne?	ki-lee-su,	de	ki-lee-su.
COMPL-AUX.EX-PST	say-2SG.IMP	EMPH	COMPL-AUX.EX-PST	now	COMPL-AUX.EX-PST

(It) is done, say it okay, (it) is done, now (it) is done. (Meaning the story is over.)

### 19.3 THE LEGEND OF KITI PHONDAR (T0025:T3\_79)

Kiti Phondar is a Darma folk hero who, as the story goes, lived during the British era when the Askot region was ruled by a local king. I was neither able to corroborate the story, nor confirm the existence of Kiti Phondar, but I was told his story on several occasions. While the narrator of this version told me that every Rang village (including the Byans and Chaudangs villages) claims to be the birthplace of Kiti Phondar, most of the Byans and Chaudangs people I questioned were not familiar with the man or the legend. This is an excerpt of the full text. While the narrator of this story is heralded as an outstanding Darma speaker, and was in fact summoned to tell me a story, he uses many IA borrowings, and frequently switched into Hindi.

[NARRATOR]:

*dar'ma ju jo nini leecyang manajana jo nini, gadi*  
dar'ma jo jo nini leecyang manajana jo nini, gadi  
Darma DAT HM most famous HM motherland

*ji mi jo nini, khar'ee wala leecyang lanupenu rder'a*  
ji mi jo nini, khar'ee wala leecyang lanupenu rder'a  
and person HM that one.LN most wise old.man

*kiti phondar leeju.*  
kiti phondar lee-su.  
AUX.EX-PST

From Darma, that is, the most famous, that is, motherland and people, that is, that one the most knowledgable and well known old men was Kiti Phondar.

*to kiti phondar jo 7alang t'oka dimag leeju, ki*  
to kiti phondar jo alang t'oka dimag lee-su, ki  
then DAT this.much much mind.LN AUX.EX-PST CONJ.LN

*7idu baktee jo nini, sayed ning gu r'ajdani jo nini*  
idu baktee jo nini, sayed ning gu r'ajdani jo nini  
DEM.NONVIS time HM maybe.LN 1PL POSS capital.LN HM

*t'ampawat leeju.*  
t'ampawat lee-su.  
name.place AUX.EX-PST

Then Kiti Phondar had this much of a mind, that at that time, that is, maybe our capital, that is, was Tsampawat.

*r'ajdani t'ampawat niyu.*  
r'ajdani t'ampawat ni-su.  
capital.LN name.place AUX.EQ-PST

The capital was Tsampawat.



to 7idu baktee wo jo nini, t'ampawat deeju ki  
to idu baktee wo jo nini, t'ampawat dee-su ki  
then DEM.NONVIS time 3SG.LN HM name.place go-PST CONJ.LN

“ji le dar'ma gu ta wikas gu baree r'u jo nini,  
ji le dar'ma gu taku wikas gu baree r'u jo nini,  
1SG also POSS one development.LN POSS about HM

ki kuc na kuc jo nini koj gadi” lenju.  
ki kuc na kuc jo nini koj ga-di len-su.  
CONJ.LN something.or.other.LN HM investigation.LN do-1SG.NPT say-PST

Then at that time he, that is went to Tsampawat, that “I am also about Darma’s development, that is, that something or other, that is, I am investigating,” he said.

to t'ampawat r'aja dor'o wan deeju 7u.  
to t'ampawat r'aja dor'o wan dee-su u.  
then name.place king.LN near reach go-PST 3SG

Then he reached Tsampawat near the king.

wan deelen khaxhcu t'ampawat deelen th'eet r'u 7u su  
wan dee-len khaxhcu t'ampawat dee-len th'eet r'u u su  
reach go-CVB ABL name.place go-CVB name.place LOC 3SG ERG

jo nini, ki r'aja jo nini, 7u da r'aja ta 7andergr'awnd  
jo nini, ki r'aja jo nini, u da r'aja da  
HM CONJ.LN king.LN HM 3SG EMPH king.LN CONT underground.LN

r'u xyungxyenu leeju.  
r'u syung-sye-nu lee-su.  
LOC sit-MID-NOM AUX.EX-PST

From reaching going to Tsampawat, in Tshet, he, that is, that the king, that is, *he*, the *king*, was sitting underground.

to jab r'aja 7andergr'awnd r'u xyunghisda kiti  
 to jab r'aja andergr'awnd r'u syung-his-da kiti  
 then.LN when.LN king.LN underground.LN LOC sit-CAUS-3.NPT

phondar ju leeju ki "t'ampawat than ji wan  
 phondar su lee-su ki t'ampawat than ji wan  
 ERG say-PST CONJ.LN name.place now 1SG reach

pir'ayo lekin r'aja wudee xyungheni?"  
 pi-r'a-yo lekin r'aja wudee syung-he-ni  
 PFV-come-1SG.PST but.LN king.LN where sit-MID-3.NPT

Then, when the king was made to sit underground, Kiti Phondar said, "I have now reached Tsampawat, but where is the king sitting?"

7u jo, pata malju.  
 u jo, pata ma-lee-ju.  
 3SG DAT known.LN NEG-AUX.EX-pst

'He did not know.'

tab jakee tagu ju r'ulen khaxhcu mabadeesu r'aja  
 tab jakee tagu jo r'u-len khaxhcu ma-badee-su r'aja  
 when.LN going.LN first DAT ask-CVB ABL NEG-tell.LN-PST king.LN

wudee nini.  
 wudee nini.  
 where AUX.EQ-3.NPT

When going from asking the first (who) didn't tell where the King is.

neexyu ju r'usu r'aja 7ando da khatar'a leeju.  
 nixyu jo r'u-su r'aja ando da khatar'a lee-su.  
 second DAT ask-PST king.LN for CONT danger.LN AUX.EX-PST

(He) asked a second (whether) the king was in danger.

bahut jyada khatar'a peda leen niju.  
 bahut jyada khatar'a peda lee-n ni-su.  
 very.LN much.LN danger.LN born.LN AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-PST

(He) was born into a lot of danger.

sum jo r'usu mabadeesu.  
 sum jo r'u-su ma-badee-su.  
 third DAT ask-PST NEG-tell.LN-PST

(He) asked a third (who) did not tell.

laeest su galen da, sum r'ee sum phal jo nini  
 laeest su galen da, sum r'ee sum phal jo nini  
 last.LN DAT do-CVB CONT three by three ration.LN HM

par'geeju.  
 par'-gee-su.  
 PFV-finish-PST

Finally, just as (he) was doing this, three by three, that is, (he) finished (his) rations.

matlab, kafi 7u jo dikat gu samna gamu par'ju.  
 matlab, kafi u jo dikat gu samna ga-mu parr-su.  
 meaning.LN enough.LN 3SG DAT difficulty.LN POSS face.LN do-INF must.LN-PST

Meaning, enough he had to face a lot of difficulties.

jab 7u ju, phal geeju, dikat gu samna  
 jab u jo, phal gee-su, dikat gu samna  
 when.LN 3SG DAT ration.LN finish-PST difficulty.LN POSS face.LN

leem par'ju.  
 lee-m parr-su.  
 AUX.EX-INF must-PST

'When his rations were finished, (he) had to face difficulties.'

to 7u su jo nini 7apna dimag r'u, kha khur'apat  
 to u su jo nini apna dimag r'u, kha khur'apat  
 then.LN 3SG ERG HM EMPRO.LN mind.LN LOC what mischievous.idea.LN

sot'eeni ki ji su 7agar ne gertho  
 sot'ee-ni ki ji su agar ne gertho  
 think.LN-3.NPT CONJ.LN 1SG ERG if.LN DEM.NEUT mill.flour

mee pu d@ngdi bayd@bee, to r'aja su  
 mee pu da-ang-di baydabee, to r'aja su  
 fire start give-FUT-1SG.NPT perhaps then.LN king.LN ERG

t'umlen ji jo nini, nado kor'angda  
 t'um-len ji jo nini, nado kor'-ang-da  
 capture-CVB 1SG HM DEM.NEUT take.away-FUT-3.NPT

Then, he, that is, in his own mind, what mischievous idea he thinks, that "I, if (I) set this mill on fire, perhaps, then the king catching me, that is, (he) will take (me) away to that."

*jo nini r'aja daro t'umlén kur'angda pulis su.*  
 jo nini r'aja dar'o t'um-len kur'-ang-da pulis su.  
 HM king.LN near capture-CVB take.away-FUT-3.NPT police.LN ERG

“That is near the king, catching (me) (they) will take (me) away, the police.”

*to ji r'aja gu darsan gangdi.*  
 to ji r'aja gu darsan ga-ang-di.  
 then.LN 1SG king.LN POSS appearance.LN do-FUT-1SG.NPT

“Then I will make the king's appearance.” (= Meet the king.)

*to 7esa hee jo 7u su jo nini khur'apat dimag*  
 to esa hee jo u su jo nini khur'apat dimag  
 then.LN like.this.LN be.LN that.LN 3SG ERG HM mischievous.idea.LN mind.LN

*galen ju, 7u su gertho mee polen ju, pulis su*  
 ga-len su, u su gertho mee po-len su, pulis su  
 do-CVB after 3SG ERG mill.flour fire light-CVB after police.LN ERG

*jo nini, t'umlén ju jo nini, r'aja daro sar'*  
 jo nini, t'um-len su jo nini, r'aja dar'o sar'  
 HM capture-CVB after HM king.LN near deliver

*pukur'su.*  
 pu-kur'-su.  
 COMPL-take.away-PST

Then it is like this, that he, that is, after planning the mischievous idea, after he set the mill on fire, the police, that is, after capturing (him), that is, (they) took him away and delivered (him) to the king.

*to r'aja su leesu ki ge, matlab ji ni mi gu*  
 to r'aja su lee-su ki ge, matlab ji nisyu mi gu  
 then.LN king.LN ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG meaning.LN 1SG two person POSS

*7annyay khelen gansu 7adung tadung su.*  
 annyay khelen ga-n-su adung tadung su.  
 damage why do-2PL-PST here there from

Then the king said, “You, meaning, both of my men’s damage, why did (you) do it, from here and there?”

*kiti phondar su leesu ki sir'kar' leesu ji gu*  
 kiti phondar su lee-su ki sir'kar' lee-su ji gu  
 ERG say-PST CONJ.LN government.LN say-PST 1SG 2SG

*gu darsan 7andu su jo nini beetab*  
 gu darsan andu su jo nini beetab  
 POSS appearance.LN DEM.PROX INSTR HM eager.LN

*kil n niyo.*  
 ki-lee-n ni-yo.  
 PFV-AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-1SG.PST

Kiti Phondar said that, (to) the government (= his highness) (he) said, “For my appearance, that is, (I) was eager.”

*beetab kilyo.*  
 beetab ki-lee-yo.  
 eager.LN COMPL-AUX.EX-1SG.PST

“(I) was eager.”

*sar'a wolang jen ta ju r'uleng badee jo nini khami*  
 sar'a wolang jen da jo r'u-leng badee jo nini khami  
 all.LN how.many people CONT DAT ask-CVB time HM who

*su mabateēju, ki gu gu khatar'a leenu lenju.*  
 su ma-batee-su, ki ge gu khatar'a lee-nu lee-su.  
 ERG NEG-tell.LN-PST CONJ.LN 2SG POSS danger.LN AUX.EX-NOM say-PST

“All, how many people, though, at the time of asking, that is , nobody told (me) that you were in danger.”

*khiya lee tab mabatee lee.*  
 khi-ya lee tab ma-batee lee.  
 think-INFER when.LN NEG-tell.LN COP

“(They) must have known when (they) didn't tell.”

*ju gu da jo nini ki 7umid niju*  
 ji gu da jo nini ki umid ni-su  
 1SG POSS CONT HM CONJ.LN hope.LN AUX.EQ-PST

“My that is, that (it) was the hope.”

*ter'o khaxhcu dar'ma khaxhcu ji ni do pedal*  
 ter'o khaxhcu dar'ma khaxhcu ji nisyu do pedal  
 there ABL Darma ABL 1SG two here on.foot.LN

*pir'an nihi.*  
 pi-r'a-n ni-hi.  
 COMPL-come-NOM AUX.EQ-1SG.NPT

“From there, from Darma I two have come here on foot.”

*ji su ji gu 7annyay mi gu 7annyay galen ju,*  
 ji su ji gu annyay mi gu annyay ga-len su,  
 1SG ERG 1SG POSS damage person POSS damage do-CVB after

*t'umlen su ge dar'o kur'angda.*  
 t'um-len su ge dar'o kur'-ang-da.  
 capture-CVB after 2SG near take-FUT-3.NPT

“I, my damage, the people’s damage after (my) doing, after being captured, (they) will take (me) to you.

*ji gu darsan na kaphi lyang lakh*  
 ji gu darsan na kaphi lee-ang lakh  
 1SG POSS appearance.LN EMPH enough.LN AUX.EX-FUT much.LN

*lyang leeju.*  
 lee-ang lee-su.  
 AUX.EX-FUT say-PST

“My appearance only will be enough, it will be much,” he said.

*7u su 7idu wala jo nini khar'ee gasu.*  
 u su idu wala jo nini khar'ee ga-su.  
 3SG ERG DEM.NONVIS one.LN HM something do -PST

He (to) that one, that is, (he) did something.

*gam gu bad r'u r'aja su, leesu ki ge*  
 ga-m gu bad r'u r'aja su, lee-su ki ge  
 do-INF POSS after.LN LOC king.LN ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG

*7alang t'oka jo nini ge ji r'aksa mileemu dangsu*  
 alang t'oka jo nini ge ji r'aksa milee-mu dangsu  
 this.much much HM 2SG 1SG COM meet.LN-INF BEN

*ge 7alang dimag kur'len ju ge su 7alang*  
 ge alang dimag kur'-len su ge su alang  
 2SG this.much mind.LN take-CVB after 2SG ERG this.much

*kam ganju.*  
 kam ga-n-su.  
 work.LN do-2PL-PST

After doing this, the king said, “You how much, that is, you in order to meet with me, after you took this much mind, how much work did you do?”

*ge su gertho mee punsu r'i ge 7andu*  
 ge su gertho mee pu-n-su r'i ge andu  
 2SG ERG mill.flour fire start-2SG-PST EMPH 2SG DEM.PROX

*su koi 7annyay mahã.*  
 su koi annyay mahã.  
 INSTR some.LN damage is.not

“You just started the mill fire, you for this there is no damage.”

*matlab ge watar'o ge ji cim gu, kuc na kuc*  
 matlab ge watar'o ge ji ci-mu gu, kuc na kuc  
 meaning.LN 2SG really.LN 2SG 1SG meet-INF POSS s.thing.or.other.LN

*jo nini ge su ta r'asta nikaleenju.*  
 jo nini ge su taku r'asta nikalee-n-su.  
 HM 2SG ERG one path.LN discover.LN -2SG-PST

“Meaning, you really, you my meeting, something or other, that is you discovered the one path.”

*t'alo koi bat mani lenju, 7u su 7u banaya.*  
 t'alo koi bat ma-ni len-su, u su u banaya.  
 come.on.LN some.LN thing.LN NEG-AUX.EX say-PST 3SG ERG 3SG made.LN

“Come on, it is nothing,” he said (and then) he made him.

*7us kee bad, 7u su leesu ki ge wudee xyungen.*  
 us kee bad, u su lee-su ki ge wudee syung-en.  
 after.that.LN 3SG ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG where live-2SG.NPT

After that, he said, “Where do you live?”

*7u su leesu ki ji 7askort parti r'u xyungi.*  
 u su lee-su ki ji askort parti r'u syung-i.  
 3SG ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 1SG name.place area.LN LOC live-1SG.NPT

He said, “I live in the Askot area.”

*to 7askort parti r'u xyungung bad r'u 7u su leesu*  
 to askort parti r'u syung-ung bad r'u u su lee-su  
 then.LN name.place area.LN LOC sit-NOM later.LN 3SG ERG say-PST

*ki ge kha t'ij cingen?*  
 ki ge kha t'ij cing-hen?  
 CONJ.LN 2SG what thing.LN want.LN-2SG.NPT

Then after sitting in the Askot area, he said, “What things do you want?”

*to 7idu bad dee7atala tangtangti misal tang*  
 to idu bad deeatala tangtangti misal tang  
 then.LN DEM.NONVIS after.LN name.place see

*leenu ma gar'to 7u su jo nini, lal mahor gu sath*  
 lee-nu ma gar'to u su jo nini, lal mahor gu sath  
 AUX.EX-NOM EQU type 3SG ERG HM name.medal POSS together.LN

*khar'e dasu 7u su.*  
 khar'e da-su u su.  
 something give-PST 3SG ERG

Then after that, looking like the Tangtangti Misal at Deatala, he, that is with the Lal Mahor, gave something, he did.



*lal mahor gu daja dasu jis see jo nini sirkar*  
 lal mahor gu daja da-su jis see jo nini sirkar  
 name.medal POSS ribbon.LN give-PST with.which.LN HM government.LN

*jo nini, lal mahor 7us ko diya, 7a khar'e wala r'u,*  
 jo nini, lal mahor us ko diya, a khar'e wala r'u,  
 HM name.medal 3SG.LN to.LN gave.LN um that one.LN LOC

*t'ampawat r'aja su.*  
 t'ampawat r'aja su.  
 name.place king.LN ERG

(He) gave the Ribbon of the Lal Mahor, with this, that is, the government, that is, the Lal Mahor, (he) gave it to him, um, in that one, Tsampawat, the King (did).

*to jab 7o ju garjya r'aja.*  
 to jab o su garjya r'aja.  
 then.LN when.LN 3SG ERG name.place king.LN

'Then, when he, the King of Garjya.'

*wahã par' jo nini jesa na garjya r'aja r'aja gubju*  
 wahã par' jo nini jesa na garjya r'aja r'aja gubjya  
 there.LN at.LN HM such.as.LN EMPH name.place king.LN king.LN sometime

*jo nini jogi gu bees meeN.*  
 jo nini jogi gu bees meeN.  
 HM saint.LN POSS costume.LN LOC.LN

At that place, that is, just like this, the King of Garjya, the king sometimes, that is, (dressed) in the costume of a saint.

*7u gu jo nini dangsu r'u pir'a lee.*  
 u gu jo nini dangsu r'u pi-r'a lee.  
 3SG POSS HM tent LOC COMPL-come INFER

His, that is, he must have come back in the tent.

*to 7u gu jo nini 7allya tak t'o gu niya lee*  
 to u gu jo nini allya taku t'o gu ni-ya lee  
 then 3SG POSS HM little one times POSS AUX-INFER

*kha niyalee 7idu su.*  
 kha ni-ya lee idu su.  
 what AUX.EQ-INFER DEM.NONVIS INSTR

Then, his, that is, a little one time it must have been, what could be from this.

*rorta gadi galen baktee da, 7idu*  
 rorta ga-di ga-len baktee da, idu  
 flatbread.LN make-1SG.NPT make-CVB time COMP DEM.NONVIS

*baktee jo nini, jogi pir'aju jogi su leesu ki,*  
 baktee jo nini, jogi pi-r'a-su jogi su lee-su ki,  
 time HM saint.LN COMPL-come-PST saint.LN ERG say-PST CONJ.LN

*7or ji ta rorta ji 7andu lee lyang*  
 or ji da rorta ji andu lee lee-ang  
 and.LN 1SG CONT flatbread.LN 1SG DEM.PROX AUX.EX AUX.EX-FUT

*la leeju.*  
 la lee-su.  
 TAG2 say-PST

“I am making flatbread,” just at the time of making, at that time, that is the saint came back, the saint said, “And, *my flatbread?* Will that be for me, or not?” He said.

*tee 7idu beet'ar'a su leesu lyang.*  
 tee idu beet'ar'a su lee-su lee-ang.  
 there DEM.NONVIS poor.guy.LN ERG say-PST AUX.EX-FUT

There, that one the poor guy said, “There will be.”

*kiti phondar su lyang ne gum malyang*  
 kiti phondar su lee-ang ne gum ma-lee-ang  
 ERG AUX.EX-FUT TAG1 how NEG-AUX.EX-FUT

*leeju.*  
 lee-su.  
 say-PST

Kiti Phondar said, “There will be, why wouldn't there be?”

*bad r'u 7o man r'u kha jangsu dimag gu mathi*  
 bad r'u o man r'u kha jangsu dimag gu mathi  
 later.LN 3SG mind.LN LOC what contrary mind.LN POSS idea.LN

*r'aju de?*  
 r'a-su de?  
 come-PST now

‘Later, in his mind what contrary idea of the mind suddenly came?’

*ʔanda matlab jo nini ni mi nihen,*  
 anda matlab jo nini nisyu mi ni-hen,  
 DEM.PROX meaning.LN HM two person AUX.EQ-1PL.NPT

*ʔandu jo nini ʔalang da hi nini,*  
 andu jo nini alang da hi ni-ni,  
 DEM.PROX HM this.much CONT flour AUX.EQ-3.NPT

*ʔan su kha lyang.*  
 an su kha lee-ang.  
 DEM.PROX INSTR what AUX.EX-FUT

‘This means, that is, (we) are two men, this, that is, there is just this much flour, what will become of this?’

*jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phayem budu*  
 jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phaye-mu budu  
 such.as.LN EMPH HM saint.LN thither turn.around-INF INC

*gasu da ʔidu r’u pha gu du deesu.*  
 ga-su da idu r’u pha gu du dee-su.  
 do-PST CONT DEM.NONVIS LOC ash POSS mix go-PST

‘Just like this, that is, just as the saint pretended to turn away, in this (he) mixed in ashes.’

*pha du dusu r’ee ʔu gu jo nini, wahã par*  
 pha du- du-su r’ee u gu jo nini, wahã par  
 ash mix mix-PST EMPH 3SG POSS HM there.LN at.LN

*jo hee satyanas leeju, khar’ee r’u.*  
 jo hee satyanas lee-su, khar’ee r’u.  
 HM devastation.LN AUX.EX-PST that LOC

‘Just as (he) mi-mixed in the ashes, his, that is, at that place, that is devastation happened, at this (place).’

*garjya khar’ee r’u.*  
 garjya khar’ee r’u.  
 that LOC

‘At this Garjya.’

#### 19.4 CONVERSATION (T0041:T4\_231)

The following conversation took place in my apartment in 2004. This conversation between my primary consultant and a young Darma man provides interesting data for a couple of reasons. First, the conversation contains lots of loan words from English and Hindi and some constructions that are borrowed from IA (e.g. *gu bar'ee r'u* 'about' from *kee baar'ee mēē*). This conversation centers largely on me and my research project, which is uninteresting in cultural terms, but the result of this topic is that the conversation contains passages where the speakers are reporting information based on direct evidence, hearsay, and inference.

[BSS]

<i>wi</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>wudee</i>	<i>wudee</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>deēju.</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>bir'cen</i>	<i>r'ekor'd</i>
wi	da	wudee	wudee	na	dee-su	wi	da	bir'cen	r'ekor'd
3PL	CONT	where	where	EMPH	go-PST	3PL	CONT	everything	record.LN

<i>kigayn</i>	<i>nini.</i>
ki-ga-si-nu	ni-ni.
COMPL-do-MID-NOM	AUX.EQ-3.NPT

They, though, went all over the place. They, though, have recorded all kinds of things.

<i>barriya</i>	<i>phani</i>	<i>nang,</i>	<i>r'ang</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ter'e</i>	<i>r'ida</i>	<i>wulang</i>
barriya	pha-ni	na	r'ang	da	ter'ee	r'i-da	wulang
good.LN	speak-3.NPT	EMPH	Rang	CONT	there	write-3.NPT	how.much

<i>barriya</i>	<i>phani</i>	<i>than.</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>maphansu</i>	<i>r'ang</i>	<i>r'u?</i>
barriya	pha-ni	than.	pha	la	ma-pha-n-su	r'ang	r'u?
good.LN	speak-3.NPT	now	speak	TAG2	NEG-speak-2SG-PST	Rang	LOC

She speaks quite well, she is writing Rang even, now she is speaking quite well. Have you spoken to her in Rang?

[NSG]

<i>maphayo.</i>
ma-pha-yo.
NEG-speak-1SG.PST

I haven't talked to her.

[BSS]

*wulang barriya phani r'ang r'u ne?*  
wulang barriya pha-ni r'ang r'u ne?  
how.much good.LN speak-3.NPT Rang LOC TAG2

She speaks so nicely in Rang, right?

[NSG]

*phani?*  
pha-ni?  
speak-3.NPT

She speaks (Rang)?

[BSS]

*7õ ne. r'ida wulang barriya r'ida. matangnu, tadung?*  
*õ ne. r'i-da wulang barriya r'i-da. ma-tang-nu, tadung?*  
yes TAG2 write-3.NPT how.much good.LN write-3.NPT NEG-see-NOM there

Yes indeed. (She) is writing very well. Haven't you seen it, over there?

[NSG]

*acchaa.*  
acchaa.  
good.LN

I see.

[BSS]

*ge pha, kheer'i hr'uwa.*  
ge pha, kheer'i r'u-a.  
2SG speak something ask-2SG.IMP

You talk, ask something.

*halka phalka t'ij hr'uwa, batyangda barriya.*  
halka phalka t'ij r'u-a, batee-ang-da barriya.  
easy.LN ECHO.LN thing.LN ask-2SG.IMP tell.LN-FUT-3.NPT good.LN

Ask something easy, she'll answer you nicely.

*jam gu bar'ee r'u.*  
ja-mu gu bar'ee r'u.  
eat-INF about.LN

About eating.

[OMITTED--NSG directs questions to the researcher about her ability to speak Darma.

He wonders what songs she knows, and whether she has recorded any religious songs. He queries BSS]

*ʔidu le ge da dam parryang ya? ʔido.*  
idu le ge da da-mu parr-ang ya? ido.  
DEM.NONVIS also 2SG CONT give-INF must.LN-FUT TAG1 then

Those too, (they) must have given (them) to you, though, or? At that time.

[BSS]

*kha wala?*  
kha wala?  
what one.LN

Which ones?

[NSG]

*ʔidu dar'ma ju ne, 'se seema r'okxilo' wala ne?*  
idu dar'ma jo ne, see seema r'oksi-lo wala ne?  
DEM.NONVIS Darma DAT TAG2 god gods bless-OPT one.LN TAG2

That Darma one, you know, the 'Let all the gods bless us' one, right?

[BSS]

*bir' kigayn nini ʔu su.*  
bir' ki-ga-si-nu ni-ni u su.  
all COMPL-do-MID-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT 3SG ERG

She has done it all.

*se th@r'o, se papmo baktee bon r'aju wi da se*  
 see thor'o, see pap-mu baktee bon r'aja wi da see  
 god LOC.UP god ask(lama)-INF time village.name king.LN 3PL CONT god

*mapapsu thaying.*  
 ma-pap-su thaying.  
 NEG-ask-PST this.year

They went to Baun during the lama ceremony time, but they didn't do the ceremonies this year.

*7idung deeju bir' khar'ee r'ekor'd kayn nini.*  
 idung dee-su bir' khar'ee r'ekor'd ga-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 LOC.NONVIS go-PST all thing record do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

They went there and recorded everything.

[NSG]

*acchaa.*  
 acchaa.  
 good.LN

I see.

[BSS]

*7ã, seela da gasu.*  
 ã seela da ga-su.  
 HM village.name CONT do-PST

Um, they even did Sela.

*seela ta jya na, se r'u kur'su.*  
 seela taku jya na, see r'u kur'-su.  
 village.name one day EMPH temple LOC take.away-PST

Just one day in Sela, they were taken to the temple.

*bonal ka bang, bong tan niju.*  
 bonal ka bang, bon ta-nu ni-su.  
 surname POSS.LN place village.name set.off-NOM AUX.EQ-PST

Mr. Baunal's village, they set off for Baun.

*ʔidung jo bang pacis tar'ik ya teeyis tar'ik wi gu*  
 idung jo bang pacis tarik ya teeyis tar'ik wi gu  
 LOC.NONVIS that.LN place 25.LN date.LN TAG1 23.LN date.LN 3PL POSS

*se kisu, ʔidung gu r'ekor'd kayn nini.*  
 see ki-su, idung gu r'ekor'd ga-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 god worship-PST LOC.NONVIS POSS record do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

There at that place they worshiped their gods on the 25th or 23rd, she has done the recording of that place.

[NSG]

*acchaa.*  
 acchaa.  
 good.LN

I see.

[BSS]

*das baar'a si di jo nini bir' kigayn nini.*  
 das baar'a si di jo nini bir' ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 10.LN 12.LN CD.LN HM all COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

Ten or twelve CDs, that is, she has done everything.

*adiyo si di, widiyo gaynu mani.*  
 adiyo si di, widiyo ga-hi-nu ma-ni.  
 audio.LN CD.LN video.LN do-ANT-NOM NEG-AUX.EQ

Audio CDs, she didn't make any videos.

*ber'a le r'ekor'd kayn nini.*  
 ber'a le r'ekor'd ga-hi-nu ni-ni.  
 song also record.LN do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT

She also recorded songs.

[NSG]

*dar'ma kham r'aksa deejju?*  
 dar'ma khami r'aksa dee-su?  
 place.name who COM go-PST

Who did she go to Darma with?



[BSS]

*wi ni mi na deejū.*  
*wi nisyu mi na dee-su.*  
3PL two person EMPH go-PST

Just the two of them went.

[NSG]

*wi wi niho na?*  
*wi wi nisyu na?*  
3PL 3PL both EMPH

They, just the two of them?

[BSS]

*hã.*  
*hã.*  
yes  
Yep.

[OMITTED--NSG directs questions in English to the researcher about whom she visited--she is trying to explain which Bonal family hosted her in Baun Village--the following is BSS and NSG trying to figure out who it is]

[BSS]

*wese, niyang bonal jen.*  
*wese ni-ang bonal jen.*  
like.this.LN AUX.EQ-FUT surname PL

It is like this, they must be Baunals.

[BSS]

*hã ne do khar'ee gali r'u dakter' jen gu khar'ee*  
*hã ne do khar'ee gali r'u dakter' jen gu khar'ee*  
yes TAG1 here thing alley.LN LOC doctor.LN PL POSS thing

*hortal nini.*  
*hortal ni-ni.*  
café.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT

Right, here in the alley somewhere there is some doctor's place.

[NSG]

*7icen gu xir'i da mahã la wuder'i.*  
ijen gu sir'i da mahã la wudee r'i.  
DEM.NONVIS.PL POSS son CONT is.not TAG2 where EMPH

It isn't their son, though, is it, wherever?

[BSS]

*khwe ji da maseeyo. niyang kham r'i.*  
khwee ji da ma-see-yo. ni-ang khami r'i.  
don't.know 1SG CONT NEG-know.someone-1SG.PST AUX.EQ-FUT someone EMPH

I don't know, I don't know even know them. It must be someone.

*cong na kiseen nini bonal jen.*  
cong na ki-see-nu ni-ni bonal jen.  
many EMPH COMPL-know.someone-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT surname PL

She knows quite a lot of Bonals.

*taku sor' r'u, tee khar'ee nokr'i gada lal sing bonal.*  
taku sor' r'u, tee khar'ee nokr'i ga-da lal sing bonal.  
one town.name LOC thither that work.LN do-3.NPT name surname

One is in Pithoragarh, over there he does that work, Lal Singh Bonal.

[NSG]

*7õ...*  
*õ...*  
yes  
Yes...

[BSS]

*seeden? 7u su le seeda.*  
see-den? u su le see-da.  
know.someone 3SG ERG also know.someone-3.NPT

Do you know (him)? She knows him too.

*icen le tan niju, icen le pir'an*  
 ijen le ta-nu ni-su, ijen le pi-r'a-nu  
 DEM.NONVIS.PL also go-NOM AUX.EQ-PST DEM.NONVIS.PL also COMPL-come-NOM

*niju. seela ciju icen seela*  
 ni-su. seela ci-su ijen seela  
 AUX.EQ-PST village.name meet-PST DEM.NONVIS.PL village.name

*ki-hr'ungjen niju tuku.*  
 ki-r'ungji-nu ni-su tuku.  
 COMPL-stop-NOM AUX.EQ-PST first

They had also gone, they had also come. They met in Sela, they had stopped in Sela first.

*"cilen r'anje yo ning nongdi."*  
 ci-len r'a-n-je yo ning nogondi.  
 meet-CVB come-2PL-COND come.IMP 1PL behind

"When meeting, if you come, come follow us."

*7i su le r'ekor'ding kigayn nini thor'o*  
 i su le r'ekor'ding ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ni thor'o  
 DEM.NONVIS ERG also recording.LN COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-3.NPT LOC.UP

*khwee kham kham gu.*  
 khwee khami khami gu.  
 don't.know who who POSS

She has also recorded up there, but I don't know of who all.

[NSG]

*thor'o de 7ido khar'ee, khar'ee wala jo nini, se sema wala*  
 thor'o de ido khar'ee, khar'ee wala jo nini, see seema wala  
 LOC.UP at then thing thing one.LN HM god gods one.LN

*ber'a kha lee? tho adiyu kigayn niyang.*  
 ber'a kha lee? tho adiyu ki-ga-hi-nu ni-ang.  
 song what AUX.EX up audio.LN COMPL-do-ANT-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

Up there then the thing, that one, um, the song about the gods, what is it? Up there she must have recorded some audio.

[OMITTED--NSG questions researcher regarding recordings]

[NSG]

*ʔida pu taym wulang leeju ʔida?*  
ida pu taym wulang lee-su ida?  
now brother time.LN how.much AUX.EX.PST now

Now brother, what time is it now?

[BSS]

*th'e bajem r'u, das minat nini.*  
th'ee bajee-mu r'u, das minat ni-ni.  
six.LN chime.LN-INF LOC ten.LN minute.LN AUX.EQ-3.NPT

Its ten to six.

[NSG]

*acchaa.*  
acchaa.  
good.LN

I see.

[BSS]

*ʔigzam wudee nini geni gu. do na kanya ʔiskul?*  
igzam wudee ni-ni geni gu. do na kanya iskul?  
exam.LN where AUX.EQ-3.NPT 2.PL POSS here EMPH girl.LN school.LN

Where are your exams? Right here at the girl's school?

[NSG]

*do, GGIC.*  
do,  
here

Here at the GGIC.

[BSS]

*nee jen bamina jen r'aksa maxyung ya yu de.*  
ne jen bamina jen r'aksa ma-syung-nu ya yu de.  
DEM.NEUT PL parents PL COM NEG-live-NOM TAG1 down at

They don't live with their parents, right, over there?

*xita ne jen su bamina jen. ʔallya puju lubung*  
 si-ta ne jen su bamina jen. allya pu-su lubung  
 leave-3.NPT DEM.NEUT PL ERG parents PL some be.big-PST book

They leave their parents.

*ma xita. bamina na ʔalag xyungni ne jeng*  
 ma si-ta. bamina na alag syung-ni ne jen  
 MAN leave-3.NPT parents EMPH separate live-3.NPT DEM.NEUT people/PL

*ʔalag xyungni.*  
 alag syung-ni.  
 separate live-3.NPT

They get bigger and leave (them) as they would a book. The parents live separate, these people live separately.

[NSG]

*acchaa. ʔama de gumdo leen niyang ya?*  
 acchaa. andu ma dee gumdo lee-nu ni-ang ya?  
 good.LN DEM.PROX MAN at how AUX.EX-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT TAG1

I see. How does it become like this there?

[BSS]

*na?*

huh?

[NSG]

*bamina jen khalan gum xita.*  
 bamina jen khalan gum si-ta.  
 parents PL why how leave-3.NPT

How and why leave your mother and father?

[BSS]

*mi xita ne jen, bir' ʔalag na da xyungni.*  
 mi si-ta ne jen, bir' alag na da syung-ni.  
 person leave-3.NPT DEM.NEUT people/PL all separate EMPH CONT live-3.NPT

People leave, these people all just live separate.

*ʔapi kami leeju, ʔapi khar'ee.*  
 abigu kami lee-su, abigu khar'ee.  
 EMPRO.LN fault.LN AUX.EX-PST EMPRO.LN thing

People have their faults, their own thing.

[NSG]

*acchaa bamina jen r'aksa maxyungnya leen niyang ya?*  
 acchaa bamina jen r'aksa ma-syung-n-ya lee-nu ni-ang ya?  
 good.LN parents PL COM NEG-live-1PL-HORT say-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT TAG1

Okay, they must say, 'let's not live with our parents', right?

[BSS]

*maxyung ne?*  
 ma-syung ne?  
 NEG-live TAG1

They don't live, right?

[NSG]

*thyã r'ung da khwee ning tuktu par'i le ning jo do*  
thyã r'ung da khwee ning tuktu par'i le ning jo do  
today now CONT don't.know 1PL before time also 1PL DAT here

*photo thesu. ne pur'a khar'ee fameli gu bar'ee r'u.*  
photo the-su. ne pur'a khar'ee fameli gu bar'ee r'u.  
photo.LN show-PST DEM.NEUT whole thing family.LN about

Nowadays, though, I don't know, we at an earlier time also, she showed us pictures. The whole thing was about family.

[BSS]

*ne ne bang r'i tar'ee deeje da dee na niyang,*  
ne nisyu bang r'i tar'ee dee-je da dee na ni-ang,  
DEM.NEUT two place EMPH there go-COND CONT go EMPH AUX.EQ-FUT

*ne? cin da niyang ne? lekin r'aksa maxyung*  
ne? ci-nu da ni-ang ne? lekin r'aksa ma-syung  
TAG1 visit-NOM CONT AUX.EQ-FUT TAG1 but.LN COM NEG-live-NOM

*ne jen.*  
ne jen.  
DEM.NONVIS people/PL

If they go to both places, then they must go, right? They must visit, right? But they don't live together these people.

*gub bakte khar'ee de khee r'i phangt'an tee deen niyang.*  
gubu baktee khar'ee de khee r'i phangt'an tee dee-nu ni-ang.  
some time something at some EMPH function.LN thither go-NOM AUX.EQ-FUT

At some point they must go for some function or other.

[NSG]

*biji na lya ya?*  
biji na lee-a ya?  
busy.LN EMPH say-2SG.IMP TAG1

You say they are just busy, right?

[BSS]

*tee di da deeni magar' r'aksa maxyung.*  
tee di da dee-ni magar' r'aksa ma-syung.  
thither hither CONT go-3.NPT but COM NEG-live

They do go visit each other, but they don't live together.

*7abi 7alag na cim kur'len kir'ay r'u ya? 7abi gu*  
abi alag na cim kur'-len kir'ay r'u ya? abi gu  
EMPRO.LN separate.LN EMPH house take-CVB rent.LN LOCTAG1 EMPRO.LN POSS

*na cim tolen 7alag su na xyungni.*  
na cim to-len alag su na syung-ni.  
EMPH house buy-CVB separate.LN MAN EMPH live-3.NPT

Each rents his own house separately, right? Each buys his own house, they just live separately.



## Glossary

### B - b

---

- ba** *n.* father.  
**ba** *vi.* dry.  
**baksa** *n.* wedding; marriage.  
**baktee** *n.* time.  
**balo** *adj.* small.  
**bamina** *n.* parents.  
**bandru** *n.* monkey. *From:* IA.  
**bandu** *n.* dish; pot.  
**bang** *n.* place; outside.  
**bangr'u** *n.* outside.  
**bani** *n.* habit.  
**banigut'al** *n.* cape; ornaments.  
**bar'i** *n.* luggage; bundle.  
**batee** *vt.* tell. *From:* IA.  
**babala** *n.* puzzle.  
**be** *n.* grain (type).  
**be** *n.* cliff.  
**be** *n.* skin.  
**bee** *n.* thread.  
**beetab** *adj.* eager; impatient. *From:* IA.  
**beet'ara** *adj;* *n.* poor; miserable; poor guy. *From:* IA.  
**bekhwa** *n.* crevasse. *See:* khwa.  
**bena** *n.* cow.  
**ber'a** *n.* song.  
**bijat'eme** *n.* wife; woman.  
**binti** *n.* ceremony.  
**bir'** *adj.* all.  
**bir'cen** *n.* everything.  
**bir'i** *adj.* all.  
**bir'jya** *adv.* always.  
**baksu** *n.* box. *From:* ENG.  
**bakt'i** *n.* fried bread.  
**bal** *v.* hurry.  
**bal** *v.* braid.  
**bale** *n.* brother.  
**bana** *n.* neck.  
**banam** *n.* relative (m).  
**bo** *vi.* flow; float.  
**bogar'o** *n.* throat.  
**bokt'u** *n.* woven boots made of wool (from Tibet).  
**bol** *v.* be fat.  
**bola** *n.* thumb.  
**bongrthi** *n.* room sleeping.  
**bar'tee** *n.* ceremonial haircut. *From:* IA.  
**barthe** *adv.* quickly; early.  
**basee** *v.* stay. *From:* Byansi.  
**bat'ee** *v.* save; rescue. *From:* IA.  
**bu** *v.* come undone.  
**bu** *n.* insect; worm.  
**bu** *vt.* carry on back.  
**bu** *n.prop.* clan name.  
**budru** *adv.* inside.  
**budu** *v.* pretend; do something partially.  
**bukjang** *n.* tumpline; a strap worn across the forehead to support a load carried on the back. *See:* jang.  
**bulnu** *adj.* fat. *See:* bol.  
**bumi** *n.* motherland. *From:* IA.  
**bung** *v.* fill. *See:* [bungnu] 'tall'.  
**bungnu** *adj.* tall.  
**bungti** *n.* holy water.  
**butti** *n.* a beverage made from the liquid of soured milk mixed with water.  
**bya** *n.* wedding. *See:* bere.  
**byaberi** *n.* wedding; marriage.  
**byam** *n.* rug.  
**byambu** *n.* housefly.  
**byang** *n.prop.* Byans.  
**byangkar'** *n.* goat male.  
**byangkhung** *n.* Byans Valley.  
**byangpha** *n.prop.* Byans (people).  
**byangro** *n.* herb local.  
**byanu** *adj.* thin (cloth).  
**byoli** *n.* bride. *From:* IA.  
**byolo** *n.* bridegroom. *From:* IA.

### C - c

---

- ca** *n.* tea; salt tea made with a local root, ghee and salt.  
**cam** *vt.* take out.  
**canju** *n.* morning.

**canu** *adj.* sweet.  
**cee** *n.* grass; flower.  
**cee** *vt.* chop (wood); cut (grass); bite (dog).  
**ceejang** *n.* pot; kettle.  
**cekti** *n.* an alcoholic beverage made from wheat--used in all religious ceremonies. *See:* **guli cekti**; **mar cekti**.  
**ceme** *n.* sister-in-law; term of address for woman. *See:* **minci**.  
**ceng** *vi.* be tired.  
**certang** *n.* ceremonial items; ceremonial ritual.  
**ci** *vi.* meet; visit. *See:* **rdeemu**.  
**ci** *vt.* light fire.  
**ciji** *vi.* think. *See:* [t'ijemu] 'understand'.  
**cing** *vi.* want; need.  
**cingto** *n.* roof.

**cingxya** *n.* liver.  
**cir'** *v.* milk.  
**cir'** *v.* sprinkle; spread seed.  
**citung** *n.* grassy field.  
**co** *n.* lake.  
**cokhxi** *v.* put on.  
**cong** *lot;* very.  
**cu** *n.* thorn.  
**cu** *v.* chase away.  
**cuku** *n.* large lemon grown near Dharchula; small sour fruit grown in Darma Valley.  
**cukxi** *vi.* put on clothes (reflexive); wear.  
**cung bala** *n.* traditional dress worn by women. *See:* **cung geeju**.  
**cung geeju** *n.* skirt of traditional outfit worn by women. *See:* **cung bala**.  
**cunya** *n.* doughnut.  
**cyokpa** *n.* cooked(veg).

## D - d

---

**da** *vt.* give.  
**daja** *n.* ribbon.  
**dal** *very;* many; much.  
**dalo** *n.* basket.  
**dam** *vt.* touch.  
**dan** *n.* stomach.  
**dando kali** *n.* spiderweb.  
**dang** *n.* bend.  
**dang** *n.* corner.  
**dangsu** *for.*  
**dangsu** *n.* tent.  
**dar'ampha** *at the door.*  
**dar'u** *n.* liquor. *See:* **cekti**. *From:* IA.  
**daram** *n.* door.  
**do** *n.* way; manner.  
**de** *now;* at; then.  
**dee** *vi.* go.  
**deeba** *n.* this side.  
**deme** *n.* drum(s). *From:* IA.  
**denxi** *vi.* get up.  
**di** *hither;* here; over here.

**dikang** *here;* over here.  
**dikt'i** *n.* pot.  
**dilo** *v.* loosen (laces).  
**diphan** *over here.*  
**dakxi** *v.* fight.  
**do** *here.*  
**dokhung** *right here;* in this area.  
**doro** *near.*  
**dapya** *n.* Gurkha.knife.  
**dar'** *vt.* push.  
**dar'mu da** *vt.* divorce.  
**dar'o** *at;* with.  
**du** *vt.* mix.  
**du** *n.* poison.  
**dulang** *n.* cake. *See:* **xerje**.  
**dum** *n.* garlic.  
**dumumung** *all night long.*  
**dung** *vt.* hunt. *See:* **ma**.  
**dunung nukth'u** *all day long. See:* **nukth'u**.  
**dur'ukung** *n.* stable.

## G - g

---

**ga** *n.* rice paddy.  
**ga** *vt.* do, make.  
**ga** *vi.* be tight.

**gaji** *n.* animal domestic.  
**gal** *n.* glacier.  
**gam** *n.* slate.

**gandu** *adj.* round. *See:* **gol**.  
**gang** *CONJ.* and; or. *See:* **ji**.  
**gang** *v.* swell.  
**gang da** *otherwise.* *See:* **gang**.  
**gangnu** *adj.* tight.  
**ganu** *adj.* tight; small.  
**gar'ibe** *adj, n.* poor; wretch. *From:* IA.  
**garthu** *n.* flour mill powered by water. *From:* IA.  
**gar'tu** *n.* type; manner.  
**gab** *adj.* silent.  
**gabra** *PropN.* name of deity; male deity married to **cuti**. *See:* **cuti**.  
**gadi** *n.* motherland.  
**gee** *n.* cloth.  
**gee** *vt.* cover with.  
**gee** *v.* limp.  
**gee ju** *v.* get dressed; cover.  
**gee phannu** *sewing.*  
**geeja** *n.* portion.  
**geeju** *n.* pants; clothes. *See:* **cung geeju**.  
**geer'ungsee** *PropN.* God. *See:* **gur'u se**.  
**gi** *vi.* end.  
**gi** *v.* fall (e.g. a person). *See:* **gijee**.  
**gijee** *v.* fall down (e.g. a person).  
**gir'o** *n.* grain; pulse.  
**gityār** *n.* festival. *From:* IA.  
**goga** *n.* corn; maize.  
**gok** *v.* collapse (e.g. a building).  
**gokt'i** *vi.* collapse (e.g. a building).  
**gol** *adj.* round.  
**gola** *n.* coconut. *From:* IA for coconut.  
**goli** *n.* bullet. *From:* IA.  
**gom la t'andu** *left-hand side.*  
**gondu** *n.* urine cow. *From:* IA.  
**gongr'o** *n.* Bells worn around the ankle; used in traditional Indian dancing. *From:* IA.  
**gor'khya** *n.* dancers (at a funeral).  
**gar'** *n.* wall.  
**gar'bu** *n.* ceremony  
**gar'ja** *counterclockwise.*

**gu** *vt.* pluck; cut (grass).  
**gu** *n.* flood.  
**gubjya** *sometime; ever.*  
**gubu** *n.* some; someone.  
**gubu baktee** *sometimes.*  
**guguti** *n.* snow pigeon found in Darma Valley.  
**gujr'a** *n.* subsistence; livelihood. *From:* IA.  
**guli** *n.* pot for water; bullet. *See:* **goli for bullet reference. *From:* IA.  
**guli ceki** *n.* beer. *See:* **cekti**.  
**gulthing** *n.* testicles.  
**gulxi** *vi.* cough.  
**gum** *how.*  
**gumba** *when.*  
**gumdo** *how.*  
**gunda** *n.* middle.  
**gunda pu** *n.* middle elder brother.  
**gunth'u** *n.* winter.  
**gupjya gupjya** *sometimes.*  
**gur'** *n.* tent.  
**gur'ang** *n.* body.  
**gurtee** *v.* subtract. *From:* IA.  
**gurthe** *n.* pancake. *See:* **xili**; **flour (type); p@lti**.  
**gurthe yummu xing** *n.* flat wooden utensil used to stir pancake batter. *See:* **gurthe**.  
**guru see** *n.prop.* a God.  
**gwa** *v.* laugh. *See:* **gvamu ga**.  
**gwalja** *n.* lock.  
**gvamu ga** *v.caus.* make laugh.  
**gwan** *n.* funeral; memorial.  
**gwar'** *n.* forest.  
**gwe** *n.* feces.  
**gwi** *vt.* tie up.  
**gwol** *vt.* knead.  
**gwom la t'andu** *left-hand side.*  
**gyu** *vi.* run.**

## H - h

---

**hadung** *there.*  
**halang** *so many.*  
**hammi** *n.* dough made from ground roasted wheat mixed with water or butter tea.  
**hang** *such; of this type; after that; then.*  
**harsu** *adj.* happy.

**hagu** *n.* quiet.  
**halpa** *n.* cheek.  
**homang** *n.* darkness.  
**hapyā** *quickly.*  
**har'** *n.* voice; sound.  
**hr'am** *n.* breakfast.

**hr'ee** v. study.  
**hrixi** v. study (s.th.).  
**hrok** vt. make graze.  
**har'ti** n. phlegm.  
**hr'ukt'e** n. A brush used to clean burrs from the wool of sheep before it is spun into yarn.

**hr'ungji** v. stop (wait).  
**hula se** PropN. god worshiped in Sela.  
**hur** v. blow.  
**hwa** n. honey.  
**hwanam** far; how far.  
**hwe** vi. lose something; get drunk.

## J - j

---

**ja** vi. eat.  
**jam la t'andu** righthand.side.  
**jang** more. See: **le jang**.  
**janggo** n. gecko; lizard.  
**jangsu** contrary.  
**jansu** opposite; wrong.  
**jansula** lefthand.  
**jati** n. food.  
**je** vi. be well.  
**jee** vi. be bored.  
**jen** pl., n. plural particle; people.  
**jenu** adj. good.  
**jer** vi. be afraid.  
**jernu** n. coward.  
**jer'to** quickly.  
**jijang** n. belt worn around the **rangga**.  
**jil** vt. tie; wrap.  
**jir'nu** adj. narrow.  
**jir'nu byam** n. A long rug that seats four to five people. Used for sitting on the floor.  
**jir'u** n. coral.  
**jama** everyone.  
**jo** vt. be free; finish. See: **t'omu**.

**jo** v. have spare time.  
**jonu** adj. young. From: IA.  
**jiphe** n. tongue. From: IA.  
**ju** PRO. 1sg.  
**ju** v. get down.  
**ju** vi. grow; become.  
**ju** n. cross breed of a yak and a cow.  
**jung** n. money.  
**jung** v. start; begin.  
**jung** n. turmeric.  
**jur'ap** n. socks. See: **pola**. From: IA.  
**jya** n. day.  
**jyadu** n. porridge made from flour (mardwa) and water cooked together.  
**jyakt'ee** vi. break.  
**jyala** n. date.  
**jyama** n. the small intestine; blood sausage made in the small intestine. See: **γaxhica**.  
**jyang** n. rope.  
**jyangtham** n. stairs.  
**jyar'a** n. bushes(dense).  
**jyar'i** daily.

## K - k

---

**ka** n. crow; baby shit.  
**ka** n. bark of a tree.  
**kaka** n. uncle; term used for older male. From: IA.  
**kakwel xing** n. type of juniper.  
**kal** v. paste; stick.  
**kam** vt. beat; hit.  
**kammar'o** n. earnings. From: IA.  
**kana** blind. From: IA.  
**kando** n. tool used to till the earth.  
**kang** vi. be sick.  
**kanggi** n. comb. From: IA.  
**kangnu** adj. ill.

**kangthee** n. gossip; language; conversation.  
**kangthee ga** v. gossip; have a conversation; chat.  
**kapcu** n. tongs.  
**kartee** vt. pass/kill time.  
**kee** vt. finish.  
**keela** n. banana. From: IA.  
**keexi** vi. cover.self. See: **geemu**.  
**kha** n. walnut.  
**kha** vi. be bitter.  
**khal** aimlessly.  
**khalna** very.

**khan** *n.* bringing.  
**khang** *n.* wooden jug.  
**khanu** *adj.* bitter.  
**kharto** *n.* white cloth offered to relatives at rites of passage ceremonies; white cloth used to make turbans for men and head covering for women.  
**kharto** *n.* cot. *From:* ENG.  
**kharu** *n.* alley.  
**khawel** *n.* wild, bitter, green vegetable.  
**khaxya** *n.* side; flank.  
**khee** *n.* The male child of ego's child.  
**khee** *vi.* exchange; change (clothes).  
**khee** *v.* bite.  
**khee kheme** *n.* The child of ego's child.  
**kheexi** *v.* bite (meat).  
**kheju** *adj.* other; next.  
**kheju la** next month.  
**khejya** sometimes.  
**khelta** *n.* shirt.  
**kheme** *n.* The female child of ego's child.  
**khay** tomorrow.  
**khi** *vi.* plan; think. *See:* **khixi**.  
**khixi** *vi.* think. *See:* **khi**.  
**khixinu** desire.  
**kheme** *n.* granddaughter.  
**kho** *v.* remove.  
**khobu** *n.* snake.  
**khokt'u** *n.* bladder.  
**khoyang** *n.* pot copper. *See:* **kur'bjang**.  
**khapa** *n.* heel (of foot).  
**khu** *n.* smoke.  
**khuli** *n.* monkey.  
**khuru** *n.* family.  
**khuxi** *adj.* happy. *From:* IA.  
**khwa** *n.* ditch.  
**khwe** *v.* dig.  
**khwee** don't know.  
**khwee** *vt.* clean teeth.  
**khwi** *n.* dog.

**khwi** *vt.* steal; snatch.  
**khyong** *v.* get lost.  
**ki** *vt.* worship.  
**kibang** *n.* meeting place; temple.  
**kida** otherwise. *See:* **gang da**.  
**kingxinu** . curvy.  
**kister'** *n.* donkey.  
**kamee** *vt.* earn. *From:* IA.  
**kanath'oli** *n.* shield.  
**kom** *vt.* pick up. *See:* **kub**.  
**kong** *n.* grave; deep hole; pit. *See:* **mungo**.  
**kongnu** *adj.* bent (as in with age).  
**kongxyan** *n.* cold (the illness).  
**kortho** *n.* coat. *From:* IA.  
**karka** *n.* Saddle bags placed on sheep and goats to transport grains, salt and other products.  
**kartheeni** *vi.* stretch a small amount of food.  
**kasturi** *n.* musk deer. *From:* IA.  
**ku** *v.* destroy.  
**kub** *v.* pick up. *See:* **kom**.  
**kuco** *n.* broom.  
**kuli** *n.* calf.  
**kum** *n.* pillow.  
**kum** *v.* cultivate.  
**kumang** *n.* summer.  
**kunca** *n.* migration.  
**kunu** . twist two pieces of yarn together.  
**kur'** *vt.* take; take away; invite.  
**kur'byang** *n.* vessel. *See:* **khajang**.  
**kurtup** *n.* burr.  
**kur'u** *n.* drinking cup.  
**kushbu** *n.* smell good. *From:* IA.  
**kuti** *n.* spit.  
**kwali** *n.* forehead.  
**kwan t'andu** left side. *See:* **gom**.  
**kwe'** *v.* cook; boil.  
**kwee** *v.* hurt; split open; break.

## L - 1

**la** *vi.* smell.  
**la** *vi.* know information.  
**la** *n.* hand; arm.  
**la'** *n.* moon; month.  
**la'** *v.* be thin. *See:* **lanu**.  
**lab** *vt.* follow; pursue.  
**lahe** *vi.* call; refer to.

**lakcip** *n.* earring.  
**lakh** . much.  
**lakphu** *n.* ring.  
**lakpung** *n.* paw.  
**lakxing** *n.* fingernail.  
**lal** . enough.  
**lama** *n.* lama.

**lan** *n.* work.  
**lang** *v.* fly; jump.  
**lang** *n.* bull.  
**langsa** *n.* dung.  
**lanu** *adj.* thin (rope).  
**lanu penu** *adj.* wise.  
**laphu** *n.* daikon radish; tail (e.g. of animal).  
**larto** *n.* deaf mute.  
**lasang** *n.* moonlight.  
**le** *vi.* fall (as in fruit from a tree).  
**le jang** *most.* See: **jang**.  
**lee** *vi.* be.  
**lee** *vt.* say; call.  
**leejung** *v.* spread out.  
**lege** *n.* leg.  
**legendi** *near;* in front of; opposite.  
**lehe** *vi.* forget.  
**lella** *n.* grandmother; term of address for elderly female.

**linu** *adj.* heavy.  
**lakar'** *n.* star.  
**lo** *vt.* read.  
**lo** *v.* burn.  
**lo** *n.* fruit.  
**lo** *n.* language.  
**lokxa** *adj.* steep.  
**lokxi** *vi.* read to self.  
**longbar'** *n.* lungs.  
**lub** *vt.* bury.  
**lubung** *n.* book.  
**lung** *n.* back (e.g. of body).  
**lung** *v.* be warm/hot.  
**lungba** *n.* homeland; place.  
**lungnu** *adj.* hot; warm.  
**lwarjen** *n.* SC people. *From:* IA.  
**lub** *vt.* To re-coat a house and floors with cow manure mixed with water and dirt.

## M - m

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**ma** *vi.* look for.  
**mal** *adj.* profitable.  
**mala** *n.* cloth.  
**mala** *n.* goat.  
**manajana** *adj.* popular; famous. *From:* IA.  
**mang** *v.* get angry.  
**mangkhong** *n.* dream.  
**mangnu** *adj.* red.  
**mangnu sa** *n.* clay; red soil.  
**mansi** *n.* water buffalo.  
**mar'dwa** *n.* grain (type).  
**mar'jya** *n.* butter tea. *See:* **ca**.  
**mathi** *n.* idea.  
**me'** *n.* bamboo.  
**mee** *n.* fire.  
**mee** *n.* eye.  
**meelong** *n.* hearth.  
**mi** *n.* man; person.  
**mi** *v.* be young.  
**milang** *n.* childhood.  
**mimba** *n.* younger brother of mother or father.  
**min pu** *n.* bro.younger.  
**mina** *n.* mother.  
**minci** *n.* sister-in-law; term of address for

female. *See:* **ceme**.  
**minma** *n.* younger sister of mother or father.  
**minu** *adj.* short; small.  
**minu myanu** *adj.* tiny.  
**mamath'e** *v.* pay attention.  
**mo** *n.* cloud; rain.  
**mo** *n.* family(immediate). *See:* **kh**.  
**mokr'o** *n.* ant. *From:* IA.  
**mokxya** *n.* mushroom.  
**mona** *n.* honeybee.  
**mor't'u** *n.* chili. *From:* IA.  
**mosam** *n.* weather. *From:* IA.  
**mar** *n.* fat from cow dairy with the solids removed; clarified butter.  
**mar'cekti** *n.* beer. *See:* **cekti**; **marti**.  
**mar'ti** *n.* oil; beer. *See:* **m@r ceki**.  
**mukth'am** *n.* eyebrow.  
**mung** *n.* name.  
**mung** *v.* be ripe; be ready; be red.  
**munth'u** *n.* night-time.  
**mul** *n.* silver.  
**myami** *n.* son-in-law.  
**myer** *v.* guzzle. *See:* **xirmu**.

## N - n

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- nal** *vi.* memorize.  
**namth'ang** *v.* get early.  
**namxya** *n.* daughter-in-law.  
**nangkhwe** next year.  
**na'nu** *adj.* soft.  
**naso** *n.* gift; parcel.  
**nee** *vi.* stand up (e.g. a person).  
**nee** *n.* medicine.  
**nee'** *v.* massage.  
**neenam** near.  
**nelang** that much.  
**nemang** yesterday.  
**ni** *vi.* be.  
**ni** *n.* sun; sunshine.  
**nim** *n.* nose.  
**nim** *vt.* smell.  
**ningjya** *n.* next day; day after tomorrow.
- ningko** *n.* hips.  
**no** *vt.* pull.  
**nogondi** behind; later.  
**noksum** *n.* manners.  
**nu** *n.* milk.  
**nukth'u** *n.* day-time.  
**nunu** *n.* brother younger.  
**nupt'e** *vi.* clasp.  
**nya'** *n.* fish.  
**nyamnu** *adj.* delicious.  
**nyingtaba** *n.* night-time; evening.  
**nyap** *n.* loom part.  
**nyapti** *n.* snot. *See:* **nyapti bo**; **nyapti ra**.  
**nyapti bo** *vi.* have runny nose.  
**nyapti r'a** *vi.* be runny (nose).  
**nyunu** *adj.* new.

## P - p

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- pa** *v.* contribute; offer.  
**pa** *v.* measure.  
**palrti** *n.* group.  
**palti** *n.* buckwheat *See:* **gurthe**.  
**pamser'ee** *n.* offering. *From:* IA.  
**pan** *n.* business.  
**pan** *vt.* spin.  
**pang** *vt.* spread rug; send.  
**pangxi** *v.* hum.  
**par'** *vi.* must. *From:* IA.  
**par'i** time.  
**pate** *v.* shape bread dough (**bakci**) with hands.  
**pato** *n.* leaf. *From:* IA.  
**pe** *vt.* know information.  
**pe** *vi.* turn; walk; wander.  
**pee** *n.* brother; relative(village). *See:* **xyaxi**.  
**pee** *vi.* slip.  
**pee** *vt.* sweep.  
**pee** *vt.* tear (e.g. paper); split. *See:* **t'eebi** (**tear cloth**).  
**peesung** *n.* relatives (paternal m). *See:* **xyaxi**.  
**penu** *adj.* short.  
**pexi** *v.* walk; wander. *See:* **pe**.
- pha** *n.* ash.  
**phahi** *v.* quarrel; talk.  
**phak** *v.* carry.  
**phan** *n.* work.  
**phan** *v.* sew.  
**phanrdo** *n.* porridge made from flour and water.  
**phantee** *vt.* clean wool.  
**phanu** *adj.* brown.  
**phaye** *v.* turn around.  
**phee** *vt.* sow.  
**pheenu** *adj.* thick.  
**phenu** *adj.* miserly; cheap.  
**phal** *n.* portion. *From:* IA  
**pho** *n.* cave.  
**pho** *n.* copper.  
**pho** *v.* pay.  
**phar'sa** *n.* axe.  
**phu** *v.* churn.  
**phu** *v.* carry.  
**phung** *vt.* pour; put.  
**phung** *vi.* run away.  
**phung** *v.* hire.  
**phunglo** *n.* rock.  
**phunglo** *n.* pitcher copper.  
**phyela** *n.* palm.

**phyu** *vt.* slit.  
**pirtho** *n.* tikka; a red mark placed on the center of the forehead during religious ceremonies.  
**pittum** *n.* egg.  
**pitur'u** *n.* ancestor.  
**pixya** *n.* head.  
**pakar'** *adj.* thirsty.  
**pakxi** *v.* retain; remain.  
**pakxi** *vi.* to lie oneself down (e.g. to sleep).  
**penu byam** *n.* Rug used for sleeping. These come in pairs.  
**po** *v.* age.  
**po** *v.* light.  
**po** *vt.* open; untie; put.  
**pokxinu** *adj.* rotten.  
**pola** *n.* socks. *See:* **jurap**.  
**pap** *v.* ask(lama).  
**papal** *n.* calf; lower part of leg.  
**par'** *vi.* shake.  
**par'nu** *adj.* broad.  
**part** *very.*  
**parte** *n.* pest; ill mannered; at all.  
**parthe** *vt.* see off.  
**parxi** *vi.* shake (reflexive).  
**pasu** *n.* blanket.

**path'ir'a** *n.* shawl.  
**pu** *n.* brother.  
**pu** *vi.* be big.  
**pu** *v.* start.  
**pua** *n.* father-in-law; uncle; term of address for older male.  
**puksa** *n.* dirt; dust.  
**pukto** *n.* knee.  
**pun pu** *n.* bro.elder.  
**pung** *vt.* pour; put.  
**pung** *v.* die.  
**pungjenu** *adj.* dead.  
**pungse** *v.* kill cause.  
**puni** *n.* mother-in-law; aunt; term of address for older woman.  
**punta** *n.* sis.older.  
**punu** *adj.* big.  
**punu** *n.* greeting. *See:* **rdog damu**.  
**pur'o** *entire; whole.* *From:* IA.  
**put'um** *n.* uncooked rice. *See:* **th'agu**.  
**pya** *n.* bird; chicken.  
**pyaj** *n.* onion. *From:* IA.  
**pyakang** *n.* boil (septic).  
**pyel** *vt.* cut vegetables.  
**pyel** *n.* half.  
**pyu** *n.* mouse.

## R - r

**r'a** *vi.* come.  
**r'aksa** *PP.* with.  
**rang** *v.* sell.  
**rangga** *n.* clothes male.  
**rat** *n.* clan.  
**rda** *v.* shout.  
**rdang** *n.* manner. *From:* IA.  
**rdang** *vi.* become good. *From:* IA.  
**rdangmi** *n.* servant.  
**rdangnu** *adj.* pretty.  
**rdee** *vi.* meet; match. *See:* **cimu**.  
**rder'a** *n.* old man.  
**rdil** *late.*  
**rdo** *vi.* be happy.  
**rdog** *n.* salutation; greeting done by touching the feet of the person being greeted with hands folded together. *See:* **rdog tsumu**;  
**rdog damu**.  
**rdog da** *v.* greet someone by folding one's hands together, touching his knees or feet, and bringing hands up towards one's face. *See:*

**rdog th'u**; **rdog**.  
**rdog th'u** *v.* accept the greeting of another. *See:* **rdog**; **rdog da**.  
**rdum** *n.prop.* SC person.  
**rdung** *vt.* rear.  
**r'e** *n.* ungulate; cow.  
**r'ee** *n.* field.  
**r'ee** *vi.* set sun.  
**r'ee xir'** *v.* harvest.  
**r'eeje** *n.* wheat.  
**r'eenu** *adj.* jealous.  
**r'uju** *n.* ear.  
**r'en** *vt.* weave.  
**r'enunu** *n.* curd; yogurt.  
**r'esu** *vt.* plow.  
**r'i** *vt.* write.  
**r'ithi** *n.* husband; owner; boss.  
**r'ithixya** *n.* boss's wife.  
**r'o** *vt.* cut hair; brush.  
**r'o** *v.* bark.  
**r'o** *adj.* hungry.



**r'o** *n.* bone.  
**r'o** *n.* deep, round basket.  
**r'ogwe** *n.* dung.  
**r'om** *n.* base; root.  
**r'ong** *n.* arm; shoulder.  
**rtang** *vi.* live; survive.  
**rtang** *v.* be alive; escape.  
**rtarta** *n.* joke.  
**rtee** *n.* total; sum. *See:* **rtee demu**.  
**rtee'** *v.* exaggerate.  
**rtee de** *v.* add; sum up. *See:* **rtee**.  
**rthang** *vt.* build (house).  
**rthap** *vt.* sort.  
**rthagee** *vt.* cheat. *From:* IA.  
**rtho** *vt.* throw ritually (e.g. rice at a ceremony); toss in the air.  
**rthuktee** *v.* treat with contempt.  
**rthum** *n.* tradition. *See:* **rthumjya**.

**rthumjya** *n.* customs and practices. *See:* **rthum**.  
**rthung** *vi.* dance.  
**rthi** *v.* take an animal by the reins to lead it.  
**rtixya** *n.* bridesmaids.  
**rto** *vt.* light (fire).  
**rtul** *vt.* mix with hands (e.g. food at mealtime).  
**r'u** *n.* horn.  
**r'u** *v.* stand up.  
**r'u** *vt.* ask.  
**r'ub** *vt.* mend.  
**r'uje** *vi.* stand up (reflexive); get up.  
**r'ung** *vi.* eavesdrop; listen.  
**r'ung** *now.*  
**r'ungxi** *vi.* listen.  
**r'ul** *n.* loom.part.

## S - s

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**sa** *n.* soil; earth.  
**sa mar'ti** *n.* kerosine.  
**salee** *n.* necklace  
**sang** *n.* village; home.  
**sang r'u** *n.* home; village; at home.  
**sangkhung** *village; village (in).* *See:* **swng; swng r'u; sung**.  
**sar'** *vt.* deliver; see off.  
**sar'u** *adj.* hard; rough.  
**se** *n.* god; temple.  
**se** *v.* kill.  
**see** *vt.* know someone; recognize someone.

**see'** *vi.* be cold.  
**seema** *n.* gods.  
**seenu** *adj.* cold.  
**seer'u** *n.* forest.  
**seki** *vt.* worship.  
**sethan** *n.* temple.  
**sakt'ee** *v.* breathe. *From:* IA  
**sota** *n.* bean (type).  
**su** *n.* tooth.  
**suja** *adj.* troubled; worried.  
**sumpee** *n.* brother.

## T - t

---

**ta** *v.* go; set off.  
**ta'** *vt.* leave; put; keep.  
**tadung** *there; right there.*  
**tali** *n.* plate; copper plate from which only the owner (usu. male) may eat. *From:* IA.  
**tamina** *alone.*  
**t'andahar** *n.* necklace (of silver). *From:* IA.  
**t'andu** *n.* direction; style.  
**tang** *vi.* be available (e.g. work, food). *See:* **tang**.  
**tang** *vt.* see (e.g. in passing).

**t'ang** *vt.* throw.  
**tangnu** *adj.* living.  
**t'angrtham** *n.* window.  
**t'angxya** *n.* thigh.  
**tangyab** *v.* stand (people).  
**tanu** *adj.* spicy.  
**tar' su** *slowly.*  
**tar' tar' sw** *slowly.*  
**tarom** *n.* key.  
**tay** *v.* put.  
**t'ay** *n.* flour (parched grain).  
**taying** *this year.*

<b>tab</b>	v. dip.	<b>tho</b>	v. pick.
<b>t'ab</b>	v. suck.	<b>tho</b>	v. make up.
<b>t'e</b>	v. apply; put in.	<b>tho</b>	v. return; send back.
<b>t'eb</b>	n. needle.	<b>tho</b>	v. ask for (s.th.).
<b>tee</b>	v. cry; weep.	<b>th'o</b>	vt. scratch.
<b>t'ee</b>	vt. understand.	<b>th'o</b>	v. cut.
<b>t'ee r'ani</b>	v. remember.	<b>th'o</b>	vt. brush wool. <i>See: phantmu.</i>
<b>teeba</b>	n. other side.	<b>thob</b>	v. spit.
<b>t'eebi</b>	v. tear; rip (e.g. cloth). <i>See: pee (tear paper).</i>	<b>thoje</b>	n. proposal.
<b>t'eebung</b>	v. full.	<b>thoji</b>	vi. ask for.
<b>teekang</b>	there; over there.	<b>thoxi</b>	vi. graze; escape.
<b>teephan</b>	over there.	<b>thu</b>	up (side).
<b>t'ejw</b>	n. brother-in-law; term of address for male.	<b>th'u</b>	n. portion; part.
<b>t'erpya</b>	n. cock; male domestic fowl.	<b>th'u</b>	v. dye.
<b>t'erree</b>	vt. offer to god. <i>From: IA.</i>	<b>th'u</b>	vt. take; accept; borrow; acquire.
<b>th'a</b>	n. salt.	<b>th'u</b>	n. spoon. <i>See: th'u.</i>
<b>th'a</b>	vi. play a game.	<b>th'uji</b>	vi. distribute.
<b>th'agu</b>	n. rice cooked.	<b>th'ukto</b>	n. chest.
<b>th'am</b>	n. hair; wool.	<b>thum</b>	v. gather; get together.
<b>th'am</b>	n. bridge.	<b>thumxi</b>	vi. gather; get together.
<b>th'am</b>	v. let's go.	<b>th'ung</b>	v. cauterize.
<b>than</b>	now.	<b>th'ung</b>	v. pick up.
<b>th'an</b>	n. thing.	<b>thunu</b>	adj. thin (animals/people).
<b>than da</b>	now (as opposed to formerly).	<b>th'unu</b>	n. distribution.
<b>thang</b>	n. floor; ground.	<b>th'ura</b>	n. curd dried.
<b>thang</b>	n. price.	<b>th'uru</b>	n. urine. <i>See: th'uru gamu.</i>
<b>th'ang</b>	vt. butcher; cut.	<b>th'uru ga</b>	v. urinate.
<b>th'angxi</b>	v. bite (reflexive).	<b>th'uti</b>	n.prop. name of a deity; female god married to <b>gabla</b> . <i>See: gabla.</i>
<b>th'ani</b>	n. game.	<b>th'uxi</b>	v. distribute.
<b>th'ar'</b>	v. dry.	<b>thyã</b>	today. <i>See: thyãkarte.</i>
<b>th'ar'nu</b>	adj. dry.	<b>th'yang</b>	vi. be tired.
<b>the</b>	vt. show.	<b>thyãkar'te</b>	thesedays; nowadays. <i>See: thyãlo.</i>
<b>the</b>	vt. drain; take out.	<b>thyãlo</b>	thesedays; nowadays. <i>See: thyãkart'e.</i>
<b>the</b>	v. stutter; stammer.	<b>ti</b>	n. water.
<b>th'e</b>	n. fat; rendered goat fat that is dried in the bladder.	<b>t'i</b>	vt. understand.
<b>th'ee</b>	vi. get hot.	<b>t'i'</b>	n. memory.
<b>th'elang</b>	n. cymbals.	<b>tikang</b>	there.
<b>thenu mi</b>	n. stutterer.	<b>tikhwa</b>	n. canal.
<b>th'er</b>	vt. serve food.	<b>t'il</b>	vt. wrap.
<b>th'eti</b>	n. sweat.	<b>t'im</b>	n. house.
<b>thi</b>	v. melt.	<b>t'imme</b>	n. girl; daughter.
<b>th'ib</b>	vt. pour; send.	<b>t'immemang</b>	n. female.
<b>th'ilo</b>	n. game Rang.	<b>tinggeenu</b>	n. standing.
<b>thinu</b>	adj. wet; watery.	<b>t'irpa</b>	n. cake.
<b>thinu xya</b>	n. meat (fresh). <i>See: thinu.</i>	<b>tishi</b>	n. basket flat.
<b>thixi</b>	v. melt.	<b>titi</b>	adj. watery.
<b>thal</b>	n. loom.part.	<b>titte</b>	n. grandfather; term of address for elderly male.
<b>th'ama</b>	n. vegetables; lentils.		

**t'ixi** v. understand.  
**taksula** righthand.  
**to** vt. play an instrument.  
**to** vt. apply.  
**t'o** n. times.  
**t'o** v. finish.  
**t'oka** much.  
**tongnu** *adj.* thick.  
**tar** *vi.* able.  
**t'ar pyakang** n. boil (small).  
**tarni** *adj.* brave.  
**t'arnu** *adj.* sharp, e.g. knife.  
**tu** vt. buy.  
**t'u** n. chin.  
**t'u** v. spread something out (e.g. tent).

**t'u** vt. plant; pitch.  
**t'u'** vt. finish.  
**t'ugali ga** vt. criticize. *From: IA.*  
**tukpa** n. vegetable soup.  
**tuktu** before; first.  
**t'um** vt. catch; capture.  
**tung** *vi.* drink; smoke.  
**tungkhu** n. gun.  
**tungnu** *adj.* green hue; blue hue.  
**t'unu** *adj.* insane.  
**t'yandu** n. side.  
**t'yel** vt. carry; move; haul; transfer.  
**t'yong** v. gather.  
**t'yap** vt. stick into.  
**t'yapya** n. small pot silver.

## W - w

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**wa** n. tiger.  
**wan** *vi.* reach.  
**wee** n. mountain.  
**wel** n. greens. *See: khawel.*  
**wi** vt. invite; call.  
**wi** n. wind.  
**winu** *adj.* old (things).  
**wixi** *vi.* call.

**wolan** n. non-Rang (Indian).  
**wom** n. bear.  
**womi** n. face.  
**womnu** *adj.* black.  
**wor'axir'i** n. husband; man.  
**wudee** where.  
**wulang** how many; how much.

## X - x

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**xha** v. be ashamed; shy.  
**xhaksa** n. sand.  
**xhang** n. horse.  
**xhe** vt. bring.  
**xhe** *vi.* jealous.  
**xhee** n. louse.  
**xhi** n. avalanche.  
**xhi** vt. teach; learn.  
**xhi** n. story.  
**xhi** *vi.* study; learn.  
**xhijya** the day before yesterday.  
**xhingxya** n. sister(younger).  
**xhis** n. anger.  
**xhiying** before last year.  
**xho** n. snow.  
**xhung** n. rug.  
**xhungcam** n. woolwork.  
**xi** n. blood.  
**xi** vt. apply.  
**xi** vt. leave.

**xi** v. die.  
**xi the** vt. to drain blood; exsanguinate. *See: themu.*  
**xidbat** n. arthritis  
**xiji** v. die.  
**xikma** n. A small green dal that is shaped like a small kidney bean.  
**xil** *vi.* wash things. *See: 7urmu.*  
**xildu** n. An edible dough/cake, usually made from [xili] flour and water. *See: dulang.*  
**xile** n. turban.  
**xili** n. The flour used to make the dulang cake for ritual ceremonies. *See: bEra and guThe.*  
**xilnu** *adj.* raw; uncooked e.g. vegetable.  
**xilo** n. mortar.  
**xime** n. breast.  
**ximi tangkhwe** *PropN.* God of house.  
**xing** n. wood.  
**xingxhum** n. ginger.

**xinu** *adj.* white.  
**xinu** *n.* ghost.  
**xir'** *v.* guzzle. *See:* **mjErmu**.  
**xir'** *v.* weed; thresh.  
**xir'** *v.* be sour.  
**xir'i** *n.* boy; son.  
**xir'imang** *n.* male.  
**xir'nu** *adj.* sour.  
**xir'xing** *n.* high-alpine juniper used in ceremonies. *See:* **xing**.  
**xixi** *vi.* apply.  
**xixyo** *n.* heart.  
**xungxi** *vi.* sit down.  
**xya** *n.* meat; flesh.  
**xya** *v.* put to sleep.  
**xya** *vt.* adorn; put jewelry on someone.  
**xyakxi** *v.* put (wear jewelry). *See:* **xya**.  
**xyang** *adj.* big. *See:* **punu**.  
**xyangnu** *adj.* being old; rich.  
**xyaxi** *n.* relatives; guest. *See:* **pee**.  
**xyab** *vt.* stand up (something).  
**xyeeli** *n.* brass.  
**xyelba** *n.* bamboo. *See:* **me'**.  
**xyengse** *n.prop.* God.  
**xyeno** *n.* child.  
**xyer'je** *n.* rice that is tossed during ceremonies. *See:* **rthomu**.  
**xyokoma** *adj.* sweet; pretty.  
**xyu** *n.* apple.  
**xyung** *vi.* sit; stay; live.

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## Y - y

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- ya** *n.* small edible tuber; root of a pitcher plant.  
**ya** *vi.* sleep.  
**yab** *vi.* stand. *See:* **tangyab**.  
**yabang** *n.* bed. *See:* **yamu**.  
**yak** *n.* yak.  
**yamba** *.* more; many.  
**yandab** *.* little.  
**yang** *vt.* get someone else ready. *See:* **yang**.  
**yang** *vi.* be ready. *See:* **yangxi**.  
**yangti** *n.* river.  
**yangxi** *vi.* get ready (reflexive).  
**yanu** *adj.* bad; dirty; wrong.  
**yapho** *n.* goat (wild).  
**yeb** *v.* wait. *See:* **yebgxi**
- yejya** *n.* guest invited.  
**yen** *vt.* hear.  
**yepxi** *v.* wait.  
**yi** *n.* flour.  
**yi** *vt.* grind grain into a flour or powder; crush spices into a powder or paste.  
**yib** *vt.* plant; sow.  
**yil** *v.* rub.  
**yilnu** *adj.* late.  
**ying** *n.* year.  
**yoxi** *v.* bless.  
**yu** *down.*  
**yukang** *down; down.there.*  
**yukhu** *n.* sugarcane.

## 7

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- 7a** *n.* mouth.  
**7a la** *v.* lie.  
**7aam** *n.* mango.  
**7ahinu** *adj.* high.  
**7akci** *very.*  
**7akcitee** *very*  
**7akpe** *n.* lips.  
**7akr'o** *adj.* expensive.  
**7aku** *vt.* abuse; call.names.  
**7alam** *n.* This ceremonial totem is a tree stripped of its bark and branches save the top two or three feet.  
**7alanu** *adj.* lying.  
**7allya** *.* little; some; few.  
**7alo** *n.* potato. *From:* IA.  
**7am** *n.* path; road. *See:* **7amtam**.  
**7ama** *n.* grandmother. *From:* IA.  
**7amhr'ija** *n.* leader of funeral..  
**7amhr'imu** *n.* funeral ritual.  
**7amhr'inumi** *n.* leader of funeral ceremony.  
**7amtam** *n.* path. *See:* **7am**.  
**7anang** *last year.*  
**7a'ng** *vt.* lift.  
**7angkhr'i** *at last.* *From:* IA.  
**7angkur'a** *n.* vessel; water jug.
- 7annyay** *adj.* bad; wicked.  
**7apayhinumi** *n.* priest.  
**7ar'jya** *n.* the large intestine; sausage made in the large intestine of a sheep or goat. *See:* **7yema**.  
**7ar'si** *n.* mirror. *From:* IA  
**7atta** *n.* older sister; term used for female.  
**7eliba** *some; few.*  
**7ida** *now.*  
**7ida khay** *thesedays; nowadays.*  
**7idung khung** *at that place.*  
**7inna** *n.* peppery plant.  
**7ir'o** *down.*  
**7ang** *vt.* leave.  
**7angurthi** *n.* finger ring. *From:* IA.  
**7aning'** *last year.*  
**7aninghr'ing** *before last year.*  
**7ok dung** *vi.* choke.  
**7ong** *n.* rock; stone.  
**7ung** *vt.* look at something; watch something; look after something.  
**7ungji** *v.* look at.  
**7ur'** *vt.* wash body. *See:* **xilmu**.  
**7ur'** *n.* side.  
**7ur'phung** *v.* bathe cause.  
**7ur'xi** *vi.* wash (reflexive).

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## **Vita**

Christina M. Willis was born in Washington State in 1969 to John and Gail Sollid. She was raised in Seattle, Washington by her mother and her stepfather Donald Willis. She received an Associate of Arts degree from Seattle Central Community College in 1994, and a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology with a minor in Linguistics from the University of Montana in 1996. As part of her linguistics training, she received a TESL/TEFL certificate and has taught English in Missoula, Montana and South Korea. She entered the graduate program in linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin in 1999 where she has worked as a Teaching Assistant and an Assistant Instructor. As an Assistant Instructor, she taught the introductory linguistics course.

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