

A Sketch Grammar of Darai

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Central Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
In the Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Degree of Masters of Arts in Linguistics**

by

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Date: 2003

Dedication

To

the Darai people

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an attempt to analyse the Darai language at phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. In addition, there is a short text with interlinear translation. It consists of six chapters. The introductory chapter and the second chapter outline geographic, cultural and socio-linguistic sketch of Darai and its speaker, together with the linguistic relations with other dialects of Darai. The chapter third is on phonology. It includes vowels, consonants, vowel segments and suprasegmentals. The minimal pairs of consonant and vowel phonemes, distribution of consonant and vowel phonemes, positional variants of Darai consonants, distribution of consonants in syllables, vowel sequences, and possible structure in Darai are highlighted. The chapter four is on morphology. It describes nominal and verbal morphology. The morpho-syntactic criteria of Pronoun, Noun, Verbs, Structure of Verb, Aspect, Mood, Tense, Animacy marking in verb are highlighted.

The fifth chapter is on syntax. It describes word order, sentence types, various agreement patterns, negativization, reflexivization, causativization, passivization, relativization coordination and subordination.

The sixth chapter summarizes the whole work with basic conclusions. The sample text with interlinear translation and gloss, the comparative vocabularies of neighbouring languages of Darai, details of Darai ceremonies, maps, basics sentences and some relevant photographs are all included in the appendix A, B, C, ... respectively.

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Abbreviations

	Zero Element
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
A	Argument of the Transitive Clause
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
PI	Plural
S	Singular
Adj	Adjective
CAUS	Causative
CLSF	Classifier
COM	Comitative
CONJ	Conjunction
COR	Coordinator
DAT	Dative
EXCL	Exclamation
FEM	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
H	Honorific
HAB	Habitual
HOR	Hortative
IDN	Identificational
IMP	Imperative
IMPFV	Imperfective
INS	Instrumental
INTRG	Interrogative
M/F	Male/Female
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
NUM	Number
OPT	Optative
PST	Past
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
O	Argument of Transitive Clause
OBJ	Object(ive)
PROB	Probability
PROX	Proximate
PURP	Purposive

REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative
SG/sg.	Singular
NF	Non-feminine

Signs:

dot (.) = Inflection

dash (-) = Affix break

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ABSTRACT

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

Nepal is a multiracial, multireligious, multicultural and multilingual country. Nepal, though quite small in size (147,181 sq. kms), has been very fertile for language. Even today linguists are discovering new languages in some remote place of the country and probably many more languages are still waiting to be discovered. There have been quite few attempts to identify and enumerate these languages in the past. Two of these estimates list 70 (Malla 1989, Toba 1992) and 125 languages (Grimes 2000). The recent census (2001) records 60 different ethnic communities and 91 languages and some 'unidentified languages'. These languages and their innumerable dialects have genetic affiliations to at least four language families, namely Tibeto-Burman (about 56 languages), Indo-Aryan (14 languages), Austro-Asiatic/Munda (1 language) and Dravidian (1 Language) together with one controversial language isolate Kusunda. Despite the mutual influences among these languages of different genetic stocks, the channels of communication between groups of speakers are not ideal due to natural and social barriers of caste or professions. Nepali designated in 1990 as 'the official language of the nation and other languages as 'national languages'. It has opened up the door for all the mother tongues in the

country to develop but each of the mother tongues is not in the equal state of development. So a large number of minority languages spread over a wide geographical area are characterized by a declining number of speakers. This trend in the degeneration of Nepal's numerous languages can be seen clearly in the statistics compiled in various census reports over past four decades. There is therefore a strong case for adequate codification, description and expansion in the uses of these endangered languages for their preservation, development and standardization. Among them, Darai can be taken as an example. It is the language of the Darai people, one of the minority ethnic groups of Nepal.

Darai is one of the endangered languages of Nepal. Because of the strong pressure of various factors and wide use of the dominant language as a lingua-franca, Darai people are losing their language day by day. However, after the restoration of democracy, the younger generation of Darai seems to be aware of their language and culture. According to the CBS report, there were 3084 speakers in 1952/54. They remained 1645 in 1961 census report. However, Darai population has been increased in 2001 census report. They number 10210. But hardly one-third of them can speak their language. Language shift is very rapid process in the Darai speech community.

Darai language is spoken mainly in the plains of the Chitwan district and the Western hill area of the Tanahun district. These two districts are the core areas where the Darai language is spoken. However, a limited number of Darai speakers are also found in Palpa, Nawalparasi, Parsa and Dhading districts of Nepal.

The Darai people look Mongoloid, but their language is Indo-Aryan. Flat-nosed, short in stature and stout in build, Darais are prominently boatmen and fishermen. That's why they live in the river banks. These days, however, a large number of Darais are engaged in farming. It has been their main occupation to earn

livelihood. They profess Hinduism, and alcohol accentuates their religious ceremonies.

The Darai language is called "Darai Kura" by the Darais themselves and the speakers of other neighboring languages as well. This is the language Grierson (1909) calls 'Darhi' and 'Dahi' and Hodgson (1874) calls 'Dadhi'.

This is a sketch grammar of the Darai language.

1.4. Previous works in Darai

Though Darai language has been described by both foreign and Nepalese scholars, extremely few significant studies have been found to be done on Darai language.

Hodgson (1874), a British scholar, was the first person who studied some structural patterns of Darai. He named the language 'Dahi'. He also said that this language resembles with Turanian language.

Grierson (1909) compared 81 words of Darai language with English and Nepali. He named the language 'Darhi'.

Kotapish (1973a) has prepared the phonemic summary of Darai language, and again Kotapish (1973b) makes studies on Darai cases. Kotapish (1975) provides Darai-English, English-Darai glossary. These studies done by Kotapish are most significant and outstanding studies so far done on Darai language.

Regmi (2032 BS) says Darai language is spoken in Tanhun, Palpa and Chitwan districts, and also he tries to mention number of speakers. Pokharel (2040 BS) classifies Darai language under Ardhamagadhi group.

Pokharel (2040 BS)

Sharma (2042 BS) compares some basic words of Darai and Bote, and shows

the partial relationship between these two languages.

Sharma (2043 BS) compares Darai language with Kumal language and finds similarities between these two languages.

Darai (2043 BS) provides the introduction of people and culture, and gives some sentences of Darai language with Nepali gloss.

Adhikari (2046 BS) also provides introduction of Darai people and classifies some sentences of Darai language.

Gautam (2049 BS) says Darai language has been developed from Ardhamagadhi prakrit.

Pokharel (2052 BS) mentions the origin of Darai people and classifies some sentences of Darai language in grammatical way.

Darai (1996) provides a sociolinguistic profile of Darai language.

Neupane (2057 BS) compares basic vocabularies of Darai language with Nepali language.

So far no work has been done on morphology and syntax of the Darai language. Therefore, this study is an attempt to analyze some basic features of morphology and syntax of Darai language. However, the present work provides detail information regarding Darai people, their culture and language.

1.6. Delimitation

This study made on Darai language is mainly concentrated on the Darai language spoken in Pipaltar, Tanahu district, Sundi, Chitwan district and Bhadgaun, Damauli. The study is limited in a sketch grammar of Darai.

Chapter Two

The People and Their Language

2.1 The People and Their Language

Nepal is a multiethnic kingdom having many castes and creeds and people having different languages, customs and socio-cultural lives. The land of Nepal has been inhabited by races of diverse origin. The Brahmin and Chhetry as well as occupational castes like Kami, Damai and Sarki are scattered all over the country. The Rai and Limbu are mostly found in the Eastern hills. The Gurung and Magars are the inhabitants of the middle hills, while the Newar are urban dwellers. The Danuwar, Rajput, Tharu, Majhi, Rajbansi, Satar and Dhimal are the dwellers of the Terai and inner-Terai. The settlement of the Sherpas and Tamang are found in the upper hilly region and Himalays.

The Darais, one of Nepal's indigenous ethnic groups, are mainly found in Tanahu, Gorkha, Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Palpa and Dhading districts of Nepal. However, the majority of Darai people are still living in the several parts of Tanahu district. In the same way, Chitwan comes second in terms of number of Darai people. The Darai

people communicate in their own dialect. The Darai language lacks a separate script. In written form they use Devanagari script.

They are hardworking and peace loving people. These people are shy in nature. The literacy rate is very low and economically very poor.

Darais are of Mongoloid stock. They have short stature, depressed nazal roots– at the end of which they have stupy noses and oblique eyes due to the interaction with Mongoloid people. In spite of all these factors they are dark skinned and many anthropologists have assumed that this dark complexion or skin pigmentation is a phenotypic characteristic rather than a genotypic one (Gautam and Magar, 1994).

Darai men wear shirt, *Kachhad* and half or full trouser and women wear *Cholo*, blouse and *Lungi*. However, the traditional dress of darai people is no more used by the new generation. Yongers in Darai community highly wear shirt, T-shirt, pant, etc. Even though while performing traditional dances or other ceremonies they all use their own dress as mentioned above to show their cultural identity and uniqueness.

A typical traditional Darai house is no more seen in these days. In my fifteen days field research I visited many Darai communities in different districts. But I could see only one traditional Darai house at Bhadhgaun in Tanahu district. It was really exciting house made of wood and scrub. The walls were plastered with a mixture of mud and *Khar* 'a kind of plant scrub' on both inside and outside. Inlet of air was made with just small holes there were not windows. In general such house contains four rooms, namely: *bhansa* 'kitchen', *majheri* 'common room', *bhadar* 'guest room' and *sikuwa* 'sleeping room'. The roof is made of *Khar* 'scrub' in umbrella style. In Darai

community such house is called *Ghumauni ko ghar* 'round house'. It is because it is constructed in round style. See appendix-F.

However, nowadays, Darais are building modern houses, such as cement and plastered home. So such type of traditional houses are no more seen in these days.

2.1. **Their Origin**

No scientific, anthropological and social research has been made regarding the origin of the Darais. In the 'Tribal Ethnography of Nepal (1994)' it has been assumed that the word Darai originated from Dard, which is a tribe mentioned in the Mahabharat Manu Smriti and Haribangsha Purana. During the Baise Rajya period, the various kingdoms in the Karnali region were divided into various Daras for administrative convenience and it is from these Daras that the word Darai is alleged to have emerged. Although it is very difficult to state clearly the origins of these Darais, however from a historical perspective, it can be found that the Darai name is mentioned in the Lalmohar granted by king Prithivi Narayan Shaha to Saddhi Bhagawantnath.

According to the story prevalent among the Darai community, it is said that initially these people had a small kingdom in Darbhanga, now located in Bihar state, India. It was the migration (for what reason is unclear) from Darbhanga which caused the spread of these people to the Tanahu, Chitwan and other hilly areas. However, to support this story, there has not been found any corroborative evidence till today. The word Darai coincides with the word Darbhanga.

There is also similarity between the terms Darai and Terai. It leads us to take Darais as Terai people. It is because still the majority of Darai people live in Terai part of Nepal. However, this view can immediately be falsified by number of arguments. The most significant linguistic argument is that the pronominalization system, which is the unique part of Darai language is found in the Pipaltar dialect of Darai language. It is spoken in hilly areas of Tanhaun district. This system is not perfectly found to be used by the Darai speakers of Terai areas. The next point is that the typical traditional Darai house (see appendix-F) is found in hilly areas of Tanhaun district. They are still preserving their culture and their unique identity. Such house is no more seen in Terai areas. The third point is that the Darai people themselves say that they are hilly people. The fourth and the next significant point regarding the context of Nepal is that the migration trend. People move from hill area to Terai not vice-versa. So all these above points lead us to conclude that Darais are prominently hilly people.

Composition of Household

Darai family is male-dominated. Like in most societies, the oldest man in the household is considered the head of that family. The Darai household is not just a single family (nuclear), but consists of many small nuclear families consolidated into one and thus has up to 20 or more members under the same roof. Thus extended or joint families are a common feature of the Darai society. In these extended family systems the role of the oldest man in the household is of immense importance. Since this old man is a representative or leader, and because he functions as the medium for any borrowing or lending works, he is known as the *Mukhiya* or Male Chief. Similarly the oldest woman in the household who directs the domestic department is called

Mukhiyani or female chief (a domestic counterpart of *Mukhiya*).

Today, the fast growing social mobility has stressed them to prefer a unifamilial system. The trend of separating from *Mulghar* 'main house' and establishing a small nuclear family nearby or somewhere else has become very much common. This has resulted in the slow deterioration of the traditional compound family system that a unique feature among these Darais.

2.4. Occupation

In the past the main occupation of Darai people was fishing and boating. They used to catch fish from rivers and sell them in markets to earn their livelihood. In this respect Darais are similar to Bote, Majhi, Danuwar and Kumal people. They all were settled by the river side and lived on fishing. But due to the several reasons and the process of modernization some of them have started to grow fish in developed way in their own ponds. In my field trip I met many Darai people in Chitwan district who are handling their traditional occupation in the modern way. However, it is limited in extremely few Darais.

These days most of the Darais are fully dependent upon farming. So agriculture is the main backbone of their economic development. Their economic condition is almost below the poverty line because of primitive way of farming untrained and unskilled manpower. In addition, due to the lack of awareness, innocence and ignorance, they have been exploited by immigrants. They have no other occupations and opportunities such as good education, government service, medical profession, teaching, engineering and advocacy, etc. They have the habit of not selling their home made things to others for the livelihood. Though they skillfully make

bamboo baskets and other items for their daily use, they do not make these things for business motives. It is easily imagined that how poor they are living deprived of all the modern facilities and depending only on the traditional system of farming. Only a few countable numbers of people are enrolled in his Majesty's Government offices.

2.5. Demography

2.5.1. Location

Darai is spoken mainly in the flat plains of Chitwan district and hilly area of Tanahu, Palpa, Gorkha, Nawalparasi and Dadhing districts. Although the number of the Darais is scattered all over Nepal and outside Nepal, the language is not spoken by all. This is because of active socialization. As a result, they are shifting over to other languages such as Nepali and use the dialects of Nepali to the extent of losing their own identity.

The main Darai villages of different districts are given below.

A. Tanahu

1. Bhatgaun
2. Sakhar
3. Khakauli
4. Ratauli
5. Dini
6. Ranigaun
7. Paleng
8. Beltar
9. Khaharekhola
10. Sewar

11. Dumechur
12. Thulachur
13. Dumsi
14. Kumtar
15. Athrauli
16. Jogitar
17. Pateni
18. Sangi
19. Dhodeni
20. Ruptar
21. Pipaltar
22. Puktar
23. Benikot
24. Otangdi
25. Sero
26. Simtar
27. Chintar
28. Khahare
29. Galbu
30. Bardar
31. Sukaura

B. Chitwan

1. Mathuwa mar
2. Parwari Parsa
3. Pidrahani

4. Sundi
5. Gaidaha
6. Dhogrera
7. Harnhari
8. Badhrahani
9. Khurkhure
10. Rampur Bhandara
11. Dhusari
12. Unartole
13. Ramkola
14. Kasi gaun
15. Tongra
16. Jutpani
17. Bhateni
18. Bhaheri
19. Bhahera
20. Madi Balewa
21. Madhapur
22. Jayamangla
23. Jirauna
24. Tikauli
25. Gondrang
26. Naurange
27. Katsikari
28. Salyani

29. Mangalpur
30. Shantighol
31. Dadagaun
32. Gitanagar
33. Ramilodada
34. Jagatpur
35. Khadgauli
36. Devinagar
37. Shantipur
38. Mohanpur
39. Khadrauli
40. Ujelinagar

C: Nawalparasi

1. Kokhe
2. Buling
3. Bhedabari
4. Dumkibas
5. Belani
6. Kusunde

D. Palpa

1. Dadgaun
2. Athrauli
3. Rampur

E. Gorkha

1. Kholaghat

2. Goplighat
3. Maghuwa
4. Daritar
5. Chepetar
6. Kundurtar
7. Sallen
8. Chortar
9. Khunge
10. Arughat
11. Baluwatar, etc.

These are the most dominating Darai areas. I hope the name of these areas will help the future researchers to carry out their studies in the right place.

2.5.2. Population

According to the CBS report 2002 there are altogether 10210 Darai people in different parts of the country. But hardly half of them can speak their language.

2.6. Socio-Cultural Features

Culturally the Darais are one of the rich ethnic groups in the whole ethnic mosaic of Nepal. All national festivals: Dashain, Tihar, Teej, Krishna Asthami and Chaite Dashain are celebrated by Darai also. In addition to these festivals, Darais tribal rites and rituals, for instance, ancestor worshipping, godworshipping, birth, death and marriage, etc. are rather typical.

The Baisakh Purnima (full moon) is marked distinctly in this community. On that day by the help of dry woods of *Gidari* (type of tree) they create new fire and distribute it to all the villagers then they cook varieties of foods to observe the commencement of the new year. Thus the Baisakh Purnima is marked as the new year in this community.

2.6.1. Rites

People observe many kinds of activities from the day of birth till the arrival of death as permitted by their culture and social rites. Darai people too have their own identity in such practices.

Birth Ceremony

A typical traditional house which has been already described before, is made of wood, mud and scrub (*khar*). In Darai community it is called *ghumauni ko ghar* (round house). It has got two doors but not windows. Inlet of air is made possible through the small holes on the walls. Such house contains upto 8 rooms. In Darai language such rooms are called *khoka-khoki*. After marriage, a couple gets a *khoka* as their permanent room. A woman delivers her child in her own *khoka*. At the time of delivery they call *sudeni* professional lady who helps to deliver children in the community. The work of cutting the navel string of a newborn baby is done with an old knife, and it is thrown out.

The naming ceremony is conducted with the presence of a priest in 11th days of birth. However, if the child is daughter they conduct naming ceremony in 9th days of birth. The naming ceremony of Darai community is similar to Kumal, Majhi and Bote.

The Feeding Ceremony

This ceremony takes place in the fifth month if the mother has given birth to a female child and in the six month if the child is male. At that time they gather all their close relatives and priest. The baby is offered varieties of food, however, the main item is *bhat* (rice) and *dal* (the lentil). This ceremony also depends on the economic condition of the particular family. If the family is economically strong, they can afford to invite the neighbors to participate and if not, they celebrate it with a normal feeding ceremony.

The Marriage Ceremony

Marriage and the family are very old institutions. To find out the forms of marriage interviews were taken with many Darai informants but the valuable information was given by older people.

In Darai community, polyandry and polygamy system of marriage are not found, only monogamy is common. In the 30 sample households only one respondent has two wives. It shows that a man in the Darai community could have more than one wife or polygamy but it was rare.

The older respondents of the Darai, mentioned the following were the most and least prevalent forms of marriage.

- i. *Magi Bibaha* (arranged marriage)
- ii. *Damari Bibaha* (arranged marriage)
- iii. *Bhagi Bibaha* (elopement marriage)
- iv. *Jari Bibaha* (adulterous marriage)
- v. *Chori Bibaha* (capture marriage)

Arranged marriage and elopement marriages are popular with other ethnic groups too, such as: Gurung, Magar, Chepang, Rai, Limbu, etc. (Tribal Ethnography of Nepal: Vol.I, II, 1994).

Jari marriage is prevalent among the Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Tamang and Magar communities of Nepal (Bista, 2052 BS).

Forms of marriage are explained in detail as follows:

i. Magi Bibaha

This marriage system is quite popular among the Darais. In this type of marriage, the parents both from the bride and groom make all decisions with regards to the marriage. A third person, known as the kaliya, acts as a mediator and completes the marriage ceremony. This marriage ceremony is preferred with their indigenous rites and rituals. In this type of marriage, 24 *pathi* rice, 24 *pathi* maize, 24 *ghaito jand* (booze), 24 *dharni* pig's meat and 24 *chhangra* (rupees) has to be given by the groom's family to the bride's family. (*pathi* is Nepali word for the amount of four K.G.).

ii. Damari Bibaha

This marriage custom is also similar to arranged marriage. Rites and rituals are the same as in *Magi Bibaha*. Only the difference in this type of marriage is the absence of a *gharti* girl (*kalseudi*) which is used in the *Magi Bibaha*. (*gharti* is one of the ethnic groups of Nepal.)

iii. Bhagi Bibaha

It was the most popular and prevalent marriage among the Darais. In an

elopement marriage, no role is observable and assigned to the parents of either the boy or girl. In this type of marriage just a boy and girl themselves eloped from the *rodi*, *Chudkaa* or from the *haat bazaar*.

In *bhagi Bibaha* when a girl elopes the boy takes her to his home. Within a week, the girl's mother, sister, or aunt visit the boy's house to take her back. This ritual is called *khosera lyaaune*. After bringing the girl back to her parent's home, a marriage proposal from the boy's side is expected following the same rites and rituals of the *Magi Bibaha*.

iv. **Jari Bibaha**

Jari Bibaha is also very common in Darai community. In this situation, an adulterous relationship occurs between a married woman and man. The first marriage ends when the wife and other man eloped. In this type of marriage, generally the rites and rituals are not performed, but the new husband has to pay some amounts as compensation to the previous one.

v. **Chori Bibaha**

Chori Bibaha, known as capture marriage, occurs very rarely. It occurs in the cases when the parents give permission for marriage to their daughter but the girl does not agree to get married. In such a case, the girl is captured by boy during cultural ceremonies.

In this type of marriage, the same process and procedures has to be followed as in the elopement marriage.

Similarly, in the next system, if the husband dies the widow can marry her brother-in-

law, however there is no compulsion. Presently this system is hardly practiced in Darai community.

The Death

The Darai death rituals are related to Hindu tradition. However, in some respect they are very unique. For example if somebody dies they first take the corpse in the yard in front of their house and cover it with fish-net. And then they call all their relatives and take the corpse to the banks of holy river or the stream known as ghat. In the past, the corpse was used to be buried but nowadays it is not. They have to burn it. The elder son has to light the funeral pyre.

2.6.2. Rituals

Darais equally celebrate *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *Fagu*, *Teej*, *Shivaratri* and other Hindu festivals with a great enthusiasm, but their way of celebrating these festivals are distinct from Brahamins and other Hindus. But these days their ways of celebrating are being brahaminized. The Tihar has special place in the Darai communities. The special feature of *Tihar* in the Darai community is that who ever was on *Barkhi* due to the parents death during any time of year gets purified on this particular day. It is known as '*SOHARAI*'. It is followed by '*SATAURA*' for condolence by visiting of the neighbours to the family of the dead person. If somebody dies between *SOHARAI* and *SATAURA*; they finish all the formalities with *SATAURA*. The relatives of the family in which a person has died, are not supposed to enjoy the festival. A village where there is no death during the year is known as '*CHOKHO*' (sacred) village. *Bhaitika* in *Tihar* was reported as one of the recent celebrations introduced and celebrated in a similar manner of other Hindus, which might probably, be as a result of demonstration effect

(Darai, 1997:3).

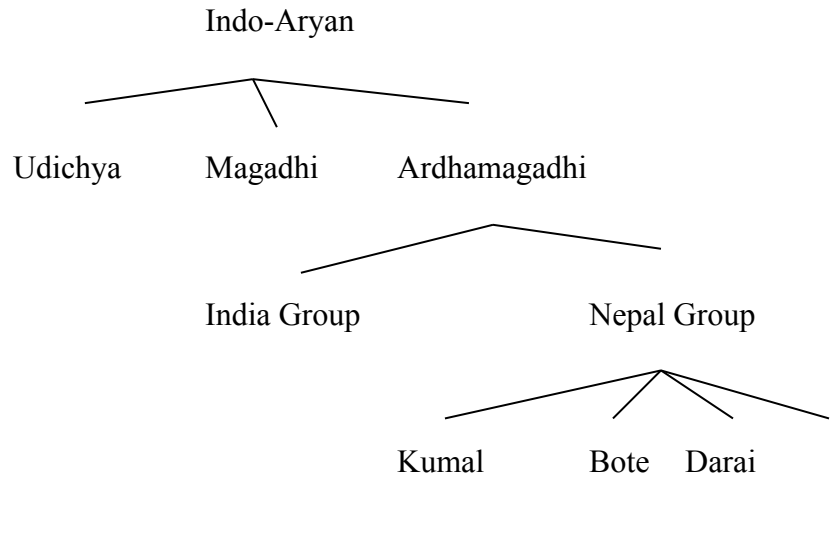
Darai people strongly believe on ancestral deity. They equally believe on ghost, witch, gurau, etc. The door of ancestral deity, *Kuwar warti*, etc. are the main God of these people. Wine, hens, pigeon, he-goat are extremely necessary while worshipping those gods in Darai communities.

For details of rituals of Darai communities see appendix-C.

2.6. Language

2.6.1 Genetic Affiliation

Nepal, as a country having diverse culture, tradition, language and ethnicity, is a common home to four different language families: Austro-Asiatic, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman. Within these families at least sixty different ethnic communities or castes and a distribution of over seventy languages are spoken within the country's present day political boundaries (Kansakar: 1995). Therefore, the kingdom of Nepal is a multilingual and common home of several languages and dialects. Among them the Darai language is one which is genetically affiliated to the Indo-Aryan family. According to Pokharel (2050 BS) this language falls under the Ardhamagadhi branch of Indo-Aryan language family. He has presented the following family tree.



(Source: Pokharel, 2050 BS)

2.8 Kinship Terms

The kinship relation includes both the relation by blood and the relation by marriage. Darai language is quite rich in kinships. Like other Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal, Darai language also borrows some kinship terms from Nepali language. However, some Darai kinship terms are quite unique and typical and they are not found in Indo-Aryan languages.

The most common Darai kinship terms are given below with English equivalent.

<i>uya</i>	'mother'
<i>bwaa</i>	'father'
<i>cha-hom</i>	'son (my son)'
<i>cha-him</i>	'my daughter'
<i>cha-hik</i>	'his daughter'
<i>mausi</i>	'aunti'
<i>mausa</i>	'uncle'

<i>mama</i>	'maternal uncle'
<i>boju/bojun</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>barajun</i>	'father-in-law'
<i>bha-tu</i>	'brother-in-law'
<i>ba-ri</i>	'mothers sister'
<i>nanu/kaka</i>	'father's brother'

The details regarding the Darai kinship relation can be shown with the help of following tables. The following is considered to be the core of the system. The tables are meant to be read from left to right with the right-most column giving the English equivalent. For example, kinship table 1, when read from left to right, will give any of six renderings for the English relation 'uncle'. Such as Fa, Yo, Br, Fa, El, Br, Mo, Yo, Si, Hu, etc. Also to be noted and of interest is that age of aunts and uncles relative to the parents of ego is distinguished only for kin of the same sex as the parent of ego. For example, one must differentiate relative age of father's brother's, and of mother's sisters, but not of father's sisters or mothers brothers.

Abbreviation conventions for these tables are the following:

Fa	=	father
Mo	=	mother
Hu	=	husband
Wi	=	wife
So	=	son
Da	=	daughter
Br	=	brother
Si	=	sister

El = elder

Yo = younger

	Yo Br	El Br	Si Hu	'uncle'
	<i>kaaka</i>	<i>TayThaa</i>	<i>pisaa</i>	
Father's	Yo Br Wi	El Br Wi	Si	'aunt'
	<i>kaaki</i>	<i>TayThi</i>	<i>phuphu</i>	

	Yo Si	El Si	Br Wi	'aunt'
	<i>Maausi</i>	<i>baaRi</i>	<i>maami</i>	
Mother's	Yo Si Hu	El Si Hu	Br	'uncle'
	<i>mausa</i>	<i>baaRaa</i>	<i>maamaa</i>	

Kinship Table 1: Anunt-Uncle

	Yo Br	El Br		'brother-in-law'
	<i>dehur</i>	<i>jeThaaju</i>		
Husband's	Yo Si	El Si		'sister-in-law'
	<i>namda</i>	<i>aamaaju</i>		

Wife's	Yo Br	El Br	'brother-in-law'
	<i>sare</i>	<i>jeThu</i>	
	Yo Si	El Si	'sister-in-law'
	<i>sarayTi</i>	<i>jeThaani</i>	

Kinship Table 2: Brother-in-law and Brother-in-law

Ego	Yo Si	El Si	'sister'
	<i>bayni</i>	<i>didi</i>	
	Yo Si Hu	El Si Hu	'brother-in-law'
	<i>jaway</i>	<i>bhaTu</i>	
	Yo Br	El Br	'brother'
	<i>bhaai</i>	<i>daaju</i>	
	Yo Br Wi	El Br Wi	'sister-in-law'
	<i>bore</i>	<i>bhaauju</i>	

Kinship Table 3: Sister, Sister-in-law, Brother and Brother-in-law

Female ego	Yo Si	El Si Da	Br Da	'niece'
	<i>baaRi</i>	<i>maausi</i>	<i>bhadayni</i>	
	Yo Si So	El Si So	Br So	'nephew'
	<i>baaRaa</i>	<i>mausaa</i>		

Kinship Table 4: Niece-Nephew

2.9. Dialects of Darai Language

Each language exists in a number of varieties and this language is the sum of these various varieties. The varieties are uniquely associated with some external factors such as geographical and social factors, the level and standard of the participants, the social context in which the language is used, the topic and so on. As regards, the Darai language has got different dialects spoken in different geographical and social boundaries. During field studies, it is found that the Darai language spoken in Chitwan district is different from that of Damauli. It is highly influenced by Nepali and Tharau language. In the same way, Damauli dialect of Darai language is different from that of Pipaltar, Tanahu district. It is influenced by Nepali, Magar, Gurung and Newar languages. However, the Pipaltar dialect of Darai language remains less influenced by other languages. Thus the present studies show that Chitwan, Damauli, and Pipaltar are the three major dialects of Darai language. All three names are exonyms, and the speakers themselves, regardless of their dialect, refer to their local language simply as Darai Kura (Kura is a Nepali word for 'language'). The figure 1 shows the three major branches of Darai language

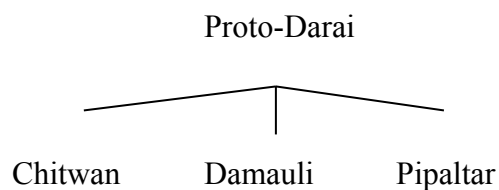


Figure 1: The Dailects of Darai

2.9.1. Basic Vocabulary: Comparative Study

*Swadesh 100 words of three different dialects

S.N.	Chitwan	Damauli	Pipaltar	English gloss
1.	<i>moĩ</i>	<i>māĩ</i>	<i>māĩ</i>	I
2.	<i>toĩ</i>	<i>tāĩ</i>	<i>tāĩ</i>	You
3.	<i>hāmē</i>	<i>hāmē</i>	<i>hāmē</i>	We
4.	<i>i</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>jo</i>	This
5.	<i>u</i>	<i>use</i>	<i>tjo</i>	That
6.	<i>kono</i>	<i>kono</i>	<i>kono</i>	Who
7.	<i>kiti</i>	<i>kja</i>	<i>ke</i>	What
8.	<i>nidza</i>	<i>naidze</i>	<i>haina</i>	Not
9.	<i>sabai</i>	<i>dzammaĩ</i>	<i>sabai</i>	All
10.	<i>derei</i>	<i>d^herai</i>	<i>ḍerai</i>	Many
11.	<i>eḳta</i>	<i>eḳta</i>	<i>eḳta</i>	One
12.	<i>dukta</i>	<i>dukta</i>	<i>dukta</i>	Two
13.	<i>baḷko</i>	<i>buḷko</i>	<i>baḷka</i>	Big
14.	<i>lambo</i>	<i>lābo</i>	<i>lāmō</i>	Long
15.	<i>nani</i>	<i>nani</i>	<i>nāni</i>	Small
16.	<i>beṭi</i>	<i>beṭi</i>	<i>beṭi</i>	Woman
17.	<i>beṭa</i>	<i>beṭa</i>	<i>beṭa</i>	Man
18.	<i>dzeṭa</i>	<i>dzana</i>	<i>dzena</i>	Person
19.	<i>mat^{sh}o</i>	<i>mat^{sh}o</i>	<i>mā^sḷa</i>	Fish
20.	<i>t^sḷaĩ</i>	<i>t^sḷaĩ</i>	<i>t^sḷai</i>	Bird
21.	<i>kukkur</i>	<i>kukkur</i>	<i>kukkur</i>	Dog
22.	<i>ḍilo</i>	<i>ḍilo</i>	<i>ḍilo</i>	Louse
23.	<i>ruk^h</i>	<i>ruk^h</i>	<i>ruk^h</i>	Tree
24.	<i>bija</i>	<i>bija</i>	<i>bija</i>	Seed
25.	<i>pat</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>pat</i>	Leaf
26.	<i>dzari</i>	<i>dzari</i>	<i>dzari</i>	Root
27.	<i>t^{sh}ala</i>	<i>t^{sh}alak</i>	<i>bokra</i>	Bark
28.	<i>t^{sh}ala</i>	<i>t^{sh}ala</i>	<i>t^{sh}ala</i>	Skin
29.	<i>māsu</i>	<i>māsu</i>	<i>māsu</i>	Flesh
30.	<i>ragat</i>	<i>ragat</i>	<i>ragat</i>	Blood
31.	<i>haḷ</i>	<i>haḷ</i>	<i>haḷ</i>	Bone
32.	<i>boso</i>	<i>boso</i>	<i>boso</i>	Grease
33.	<i>āṛa</i>	<i>āṛa</i>	<i>āṛa</i>	Egg
34.	<i>siṅ</i>	<i>sīgek</i>	<i>sīṅ</i>	Horn
35.	<i>putt^{sh}i</i>	<i>putt^{sh}ik</i>	<i>putt^{sh}i</i>	Tail
36.	<i>pākhi</i>	<i>pākhi</i>	<i>pākhi</i>	Feather
37.	<i>bar</i>	<i>raũ/bar</i>	<i>bar</i>	Hair
38.	<i>mūḷ</i>	<i>mūḷ</i>	<i>ṭauko</i>	Head

39.	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	Ear
40.	<i>ākhi</i>	<i>ākhi</i>	<i>ākhi</i>	Eye
41.	<i>naknū</i>	<i>naknū</i>	<i>naknā</i>	Nose
42.	<i>mūhū</i>	<i>mūhū</i>	<i>mū</i>	Mouth
43.	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāt</i>	Tooth
44.	<i>dzibi</i>	<i>dzibi</i>	<i>dzibi</i>	Tongue
45.	<i>hatakela</i>	<i>lahar</i>	<i>nāḡ</i>	Claw
46.	<i>goṛ</i>	<i>goṛ</i>	<i>goṛ</i>	Foot
47.	<i>ḡeūnū</i>	<i>ḡeūnū</i>	<i>ḡeunū</i>	Knee
48.	<i>fiat</i>	<i>fiat</i>	<i>fiat</i>	Hand
49.	<i>peṭ</i>	<i>peṭ</i>	<i>peṭ</i>	Belly
50.	<i>giṅṅi</i>	<i>geṅṅi</i>	<i>geṅṅi</i>	Neck
51.	<i>pipri</i>	<i>dud</i>	<i>dud</i>	Breast
52.	<i>muṭu</i>	<i>muṭu</i>	<i>muṭu</i>	Heart
53.	<i>kagdzi</i>	<i>kaledzo</i>	<i>kadro</i>	Liver
54.	<i>piute</i>	<i>k^haike</i>	<i>k^hhaike</i>	Drink
55.	<i>k^haite</i>	<i>k^haike</i>	<i>k^haike</i>	To eat
56.	<i>kapṭate</i>	<i>kapṭike</i>	<i>kapṭike</i>	To bite
57.	<i>dek^hte</i>	<i>dek^hike</i>	<i>dek^hike</i>	To see
58.	<i>sunte</i>	<i>sunlo</i>	<i>sunike</i>	To hear
59.	<i>dzante</i>	<i>dzanlo</i>	<i>dzanike</i>	To know
60.	<i>sutte</i>	<i>suttam</i>	<i>sutike</i>	To sleep
61.	<i>marilala</i>	<i>marlo</i>	<i>marike</i>	To die
62.	<i>marlo</i>	<i>marlo</i>	<i>marike</i>	To kill
63.	<i>paṛate</i>	<i>goxrotam</i>	<i>gok^hrike</i>	To swim
64.	<i>uṛelate</i>	<i>uṛelo</i>	<i>uṛeike</i>	To fly
65.	<i>hūṭte</i>	<i>hūṭlo</i>	<i>hūṭ^hike</i>	To walk
66.	<i>lite</i>	<i>lilo</i>	<i>aike</i>	To come
67.	<i>paṭate</i>	<i>paṭalo</i>	<i>paṭ^hike</i>	To lie
68.	<i>bastē</i>	<i>baslo</i>	<i>basike</i>	To sit
69.	<i>ḡ^hoṛela</i>	<i>ḡ^hoṛelo</i>	<i>uṭ^hike</i>	To Stand
70.	<i>dete</i>	<i>delo</i>	<i>dike</i>	To give
71.	<i>kahate</i>	<i>kahalo</i>	<i>kaike</i>	To say
72.	<i>gam</i>	<i>gam</i>	<i>gam</i>	Sun
73.	<i>d^hauwar</i>	<i>dzana</i>	<i>dzana</i>	Moon
74.	<i>tirija</i>	<i>tire</i>	<i>tara</i>	Star
75.	<i>panī</i>	<i>panī</i>	<i>pānī</i>	Water
76.	<i>dzari</i>	<i>dzari</i>	<i>ḡzari</i>	Rain
77.	<i>pat^har</i>	<i>pat^har</i>	<i>pathar</i>	Stone
78.	<i>baluwa</i>	<i>baluwa</i>	<i>baluwa</i>	Sand
79.	<i>maṭi</i>	<i>maṭi</i>	<i>maṭi</i>	Earth
80.	<i>badri</i>	<i>badri</i>	<i>badri</i>	Cloud
81.	<i>ḡuwā</i>	<i>ḡuwā</i>	<i>ḡwā</i>	Smoke
82.	<i>agi</i>	<i>agi</i>	<i>agi</i>	Fire
83.	<i>k^harani</i>	<i>k^harani</i>	<i>k^harani</i>	Ash
84.	<i>gau/ḡaṛla</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>gau</i>	Burn

85.	<i>pāĩṛa</i>	<i>pāĩjāṛ</i>	<i>pāēṛ</i>	Path
86.	<i>paḥiaṛ</i>	<i>paḥiaṛ</i>	<i>ḍāĩṛa</i>	Mountain
87.	<i>raktari</i>	<i>raktara</i>	<i>raktari</i>	Red
88.	<i>ḥarija</i>	<i>ḥarija</i>	<i>ḥarijo</i>	Green
89.	<i>ḥardara</i>	<i>ḥadara</i>	<i>ḥardara</i>	Yellow
90.	<i>goro</i>	<i>goro</i>	<i>goro</i>	White
91.	<i>kaḍzaṛa</i>	<i>kaṛḍzaṛa</i>	<i>kaḍzaṛa</i>	Black
92.	<i>rat</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>rat</i>	Night
93.	<i>tato</i>	<i>tato</i>	<i>tato</i>	Hot
94.	<i>ṭiso</i>	<i>ṭiso</i>	<i>ṭiso</i>	Cold
95.	<i>ḥori</i>	<i>ḥaṛlo/ḥori</i>	<i>ḥori</i>	Full
96.	<i>laṁṭ^ha</i>	<i>laṁṭ^ha</i>	<i>laṁ</i>	New
97.	<i>ramri</i>	<i>ramro</i>	<i>ramro</i>	Good
98.	<i>ḍalgaṛa</i>	<i>ḍalgaṛa</i>	<i>ḍalgaṛa</i>	Round
99.	<i>sukk^hlo</i>	<i>sukk^hlo</i>	<i>kaḵto</i>	Dry
100.	<i>naĩ</i>	<i>naĩ</i>	<i>nāĩ</i>	Name

Intelligibility Levels

At a purely lexical level, based on cognate counts from the Swadesh 100 word list, the similarity between the major branches of Darai is about 50 to 60 percent; enough, it would seem to high level of intelligibility between them. The count between Chitwan and Damauli, for example, is 57 percent. Intelligibility between Chitwan and Pipaltar is lower in comparison to Chitwan and Damauli.

2.10. Forms of Address and Honorificity

'Forms of Address' refers to the pronominal system of language. In other words the pronouns which we use to address when we speak to a person or persons. Darai pronominal system is wonderful in comparison to other Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal. There is just only one pronoun of address, i.e., *taĩ* in the Darai language. It is equivalent to English 'you'.

The following examples make clear regarding the use of *taĩ* in real Darai linguistic community.

Master	← <i>tʌĩ</i> →	Servant
Son	← <i>tʌĩ</i> →	Father
Friend	← <i>tʌĩ</i> →	Friend
Wife	← <i>tʌĩ</i> →	Husband

Honorific System

In Darai community, there is no necessary to use honorific form in the case of kin relation. A son and a father use the same form to address each other, e.g.,

Father: *mʌĩ tʌĩ-ke cinʌm*

I you-DAT know

'I know you.'

Son: *mʌĩ tʌĩ-ke cinʌm*

I you-DAT know

'I know you.'

However, in the case of affinal relation, relation by marriage, they use honorific form.

In this case *-meu* is attached at the final of the main verb, e.g.,

Wife to husban: *mʌĩ tʌĩ-ke cinta-meu*

I you-DAT know-H

'I know you.'

Father-in-law to son-in-law

māi teura-ke deta-meu

I you-DAT give-H

'I give you.'

Note: This system of honorificity is not fully found in Chitwan and Damauli dialect of Darai language.



Author recording Darai texts: 2003

Chapter Three

Phonology

3.0 Introduction

The branch of linguistics which studies the elements and principles that determine how sounds pattern in a particular language is referred to as phonology. This chapter is a description of Darai phonology. It deals with the consonant and vowel phonemes, syllable structure, and their phonotactic behaviour in Darai.

3.1 The Inventory of Darai Phonemes

According to Kotapish and Kotapish (1973) there are thirty consonant sounds and six vowel sounds in Darai. However, we do not support the consonant system described by Kotapish and Kotapish. According to our data, there are twenty nine consonants in Darai. It is because we could not find any pair to support the phonemicity of /ɽ/. It is an allophone of /d/ phoneme, and occurs in intervocalic position as in other South-Asian Indo-Aryan languages.

3.2 Consonant Phonemes

The Darai language is described as having the following consonant system:

p	t	T	c	k	
p ^h	t ^h	T ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
b	d	D	j	g	
b ^h	d ^h	D ^h	j ^h	g ^h	
m	n			ŋ	ɦ
	s				
	l				
	r				
w			y		

Figure: 2 Darai Consonants

3.2.1 Minimal Pairs of Consonant Phonemes

Set 1

/p/ vs. /p^h/

/per/ 'get dressed'

/p^her/ 'change'

/par/ 'across'

/p^har/ 'tip of metal plough'

/pel/ 'press'

/p^hel/ 'push'

Set 2

/b/ vs. /b^h/

/bat/	'word'
/b ^h at/	'cooked rice'
/bel/	'a kind of fruit'
/b ^h el/	'wave of water'
/bar/	'hair'
/b ^h ar/	'weight'

Set 3

/p/ vs. /b/	
/pel/	'press'
/bel/	'a kind of fruit'
/pas/	'pass'
/bas/	'shelter'
/pat/	'leaf'
/bat/	'word'

Set 4

/t/ vs. /t ^h /	
/tʌr/	'below, down'
/t ^h ʌr/	'section'
/tal/	'lake'
/t ^h al/	'dish plate'
/tur/	'to break'

/t^hur/ 'to grind'

Set 5

/d/ vs. /d^h/

/dar/ 'smooth'

/d^har/ 'blade of knife'

/dan/ 'donation'

/d^han/ 'paddy'

/dulΛ/ 'hole'

/d^hulΛ/ 'dust'

Set 6

/T/ vs. /d/

/Tas/ 'playing card'

/das/ 'spread out'

/Tar/ 'wire'

/dar/ 'smooth'

Set 7

/t^h/ vs. /d^h/

/t^han/ 'place of god'

/d^han/ 'paddy'

/t^ham/ 'house post'

/d^ham/ 'religious place'

/t^hulo/ 'big'

/d^hulo/ 'dust'

Set 8

/t/ vs. /T/

/tal/ 'lake'

/Tal/ 'mud'

/tar/ 'wire'

/Tar/ 'name of town'

/tas/ 'playing card'

/Tas/ 'tack up (paper)'

Set 9

/d/ vs. /D/

/dam/ 'cost, price'

/Dam/ 'imprint'

/dʌr/ 'rate'

/Dʌr/ 'fear'

/dil/ 'soul'

/Dil/ 'louse'

Set 10

/T^h/ vs. /D^h/

/T^ham/ 'place'

/D^ham/ 'a slap'

/T ^h al/	'senior'
/D ^h al/	'fell a tree'
/T ^h ik/	'correct'
/D ^h ik/	'mole hill'

Set 11

/T/ vs. /T ^h /	
/Tal/	'mud'
/T ^h al/	'senior'
/Tok/	'bite'
/T ^h ok/	'hit'
/paTi/	'res-house'
/paT ^h i/	'female kid of goat'

/D/ vs. /D ^h /	
/Dam/	'imprint'
/D ^h am/	'a slap'
/Dal/	'put into'
/D ^h al/	'fell a tree'
/Dunɡa/	'boat'
/D ^h unɡa/	'stone'

Set 13

/k/ vs. /k ^h /	
---------------------------	--

/kam/	'work'
/k ^h am/	'envelop'
/kas/	'a kind of dish'
/k ^h as/	'tasty/important'
/kat/	'to cut'
/k ^h at/	'bed'

Set 14

/g/	vs.	/g ^h /
/gam/		'village'
/g ^h am/		'sun'
/gas/		'unit of rice'
/g ^h as/		'grass'
/galu/		'cheek'
/g ^h alu/		'put in'

Set 15

/k/	vs.	/g/
/kas/		'a kind of dish'
/gas/		'unit of rice'
/kalu/		'yesterday'
/galu/		'cheek'
/kol/		'machine'
/gol/		'coal'

Set 16

/k ^h /	vs.	/g ^h /
/k ^h al/		'room'
/g ^h al/		'put in'
/k ^h am/		'envelop'
/g ^h am/		'sun'
/k ^h Δr/		'scrub, grass'
/g ^h Δr/		'house'

Set 17

/k/	vs.	/g ^h /
/kam/		'work'
/g ^h am/		'sun'
/kas/		'a kind of dish'
/g ^h as/		'grass'
/kalu/		'yesterday'
/g ^h alu/		'put in'

Set 18

/j/	vs.	/j ^h /
/jal/		'fish net'
/j ^h al/		'rabbit trap'
/jel/		'weave'
/j ^h el/		'window'

/jʌr/ 'root'
/jʰʌr/ 'come down'

Set 20

/c/ vs. /j/
/cʌr/ 'graze'
/jʌr/ 'root'
/cor/ 'thief'
/jor/ 'fix'
/cʌl/ 'move'
/jʌl/ 'burn'

Set 21

/s/ vs. /h/
/sul/ 'network of corn'
/hul/ 'crowd'
/sal/ 'a kind of tree'
/hal/ 'put in'
/sor/ 'volume'
/hor/ 'plough'

Set 22

/r/ vs. /l/
/ras/ 'pile'
/las/ 'corpse'

/rel/ 'train'

/lel/ 'taken'

/rat/ 'night'

/lat/ 'kick'

Set 23

/m/ vs. /n/

/mas/ 'cereal, grain'

/nas/ 'destruction'

/mil/ 'fit'

/nil/ 'swallow'

3.2.2 Positional Variants of Darai Consonants

1. /p/ voiceless-bilabial-stop

/par/ 'across'

/Tapa/ 'fish hook'

/sāp/ 'snake'

2. /p^h/ voiceless-aspirated-stop

/p^har/ 'tip of a plough'

/gΛp^har/ 'talkative'

/b^hΛp^haike/ 'to steam'

3. /b/ voiced-bilabial-stop

/bar/ 'hair (head)'

/dubrΛ/ 'thin'

/damb/ 'strain'

4. /b^h/ breathy-voiced-bilabial-stop
- /b^hori/ 'full'
- /job^hΛn/ 'youth'
5. /t/ voiceless-dental-stop
- /tato/ 'hot'
- /jatΛ/ 'stone grinder'
- /dit/ 'gives, s/he'
6. /t^h/ voiceless-aspirated-dental-stop
- /t^hurike/ 'to grind'
- /bΛt^hlΛ/ 'hurt'
7. /d/ voiced-dental-stop
- /dΛlgΛrΛ/ 'round'
- /nadit/ 's/he doesn't give'
8. breathy-voiced-dental-stop
- /d^hilo/ 'louse (head)'
- /ad^ha/ 'half'
- /Λnd^ha/ 'blind'
9. /T/ voiceless-alveolar-retroflexed-stop
- /Torike/ 'to pick up'
- /g^hanTi/ 'throat'
- /sΛŋTi/ 'narrow'
10. /T^h/ voiceless-aspirated-retroflexed-stop
- /T^haro/ 'straight'
- /paT^hiΛ/ 'she goat'

11. /D/ voiced-alveolar-retroflexed-stop
- /Dungur/ 'great amount'
- /haDurΛ/ 'light'
- /muD/ 'head'
12. /D^h/ breathy-voiced-alveolar-retroflexed-stop
- /D^hilo/ 'louse (head)'
- /maD^huri/ 'a room of house'
- /moD^h/ 'liquor'
13. /c/ 'voiceless-lamino-alveolar-affricate
- /cΛrΛi/ 'bird'
- /mΛrca/ 'things that cause to ferment'
- /nãc/ 'dance'
14. /c^h/ 'voiceless-aspirated-lamino-alveolar-affricate
- /c^hagri/ 'goat'
- /pac^hu/ 'after'
- /goc^h/ 'a kind of huge fish'
15. /j/ voiced-lamino-alveolar-affricate
- /jal/ 'net'
- /sojo/ 'straight'
- /laj/ 'shame'
16. /j^h/ breathy-voiced-lamino-alveolar-affricate
- /j^halo/ 'rabbit trap'
- /buj^haikē/ 'to make understand'
17. /k/ voiceless-velar-stop

/kalu/ 'tomorrow'

/tapke/ 'pan'

/b^hok/ 'hunger'

18. /k^h/ voiceless-aspirated-velar-stop

/k^hΔite/ 'to eat'

/āk^hi/ 'eye'

19. /g/ voiced-velar-stop

/galu/ 'cheek'

/sΔηgati/ 'friends'

/nag/ 'snake'

20. /g^h/ 'breathy-voiced-stop

/g^hhuri/ 'sparrow'

/gug^haike/ 'to throw away'

21. /m/ 'voiced-bilabial-nasal

/marilalΔ/ 'to die'

/lambo/ 'long'

/detΔm/ 'give (I)'

22. /n/ voiced-dental-nasal

/naũ/ 'name'

/jante/ 'to know'

/kan/ 'ear'

23. /ŋ/ voiced-velar-nasal

/nΔŋ/ 'finger nail'

/rΔŋ/ 'colour'

/raŋga/ 'bull, male buffalo'

Note: /ŋ/ sound can not occur in the word initial position in Darai.

24. /s/ voiceless-lamino-alveolar-sibilant

/sunte/ 'to hear'

/mãsu/ 'meat'

/bãs/ 'bamboo'

25. /fi/ breathy-voiced-glottal-fricative

/fiəs/ 'duck'

/fiat/ 'hand'

/bafiΛr/ 'out side'

26. /l/ voiced-alveolar-lateral

/lambo/ 'long'

/rΛulΛ/ 'cried'

/munlΛ/ 'closed'

27. /r/ voiced-alveolar-tap

rΛktari/ 'red'

/sare/ 'brother-in-law'

/bãr/ 'hair, head'

28. /w/ voiced-bilabial-approximant

/wasta/ 'care'

/d^hΛuwΛr/ 'moon'

/sewã/ 'marrow'

29. /y/ voiced-fronto-palatal-approximant

/yetki/ 'this much'

/uya/ 'mother'

/cʌɾʌy/ 'bird'

3.2.3 Distribution of Consonants in Syllables

I. Word Initial Consonants

All the consonants except /ŋ/ can occur in word initial position. Examples in support of this statement may be found in the above data.

II. Word final consonants

Only consonants /p, t, T, c, k, m, n, ŋ, s, l, r and y/ can occur in word final position in Darai. Examples are as follows:

/p/ /sap/ 'snake'

/t/ /dit/ 'gives s/he'

/T/ /kaT/ 'wood'

/m/ /c^haim/ '(my) daughter'

/n/ /onen/ 'they'

/ŋ/ /uyaiŋ/ 'his mother'

/s/ /b^has/ 'mire'

/l/ /lil/ 'swallow'

/r/ /k^her/ 'thatch'

/y/ /cʌɾʌy/ 'bird'

III. Word Medial Consonants

All consonants occur word medially in intervocalic position except /D^h/ and /ŋ/ in Darai. Examples are listed below:

/p/	/Tapa/	'fish hook'
/p ^h /	/bip ^h Λr/	'smallpox'
/b/	/lābo/	'long'
/b ^h /	/sΛb ^h a/	'meeting'
/t ^h /	/pat ^h i/	'unit of measure'
/d/	/dadi/	'younger brother's wife'
/d ^h /	/ad ^h a/	'half'
/T/	/pΛTuka/	'waist cloth'
/T ^h /	/paT ^h i/	'she goat'
/D/	/gΛDurΛ/	'heavy'
/c/	/kicike/	'to take photograph'
/c ^h /	/tac ^h ike/	'to peel with knife'
/j/	/b ^h Λja/	'older brother's son'
/j ^h /	/buj ^h ike/	'to understand'
/k/	/D ^h ukike/	'to blow with mouth'
/k ^h /	/kok ^h e/	'name of town'
/g/	/kagΛt/	'paper'
/g ^h /	/ag ^h aike/	'to have eaten'
/m/	/mama/	'mother's brother'
/n/	/munike/	'to close'
/s/	/pisa/	'father's younger sister's husband'
/h/	/bahΛr/	'outside'
/l/	/lilike/	'to swallow'
/r/	/durau/	'far'

/w/ /d^huwa/ 'smoke'

/y/ /uya/ 'mother'

All Darai consonants are diagrammed below with their place and manner of articulation.

Table - 1: Inventory of Darai Consonants

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Unasp	p b	t d	T D		k g	
	Asp	p ^h b ^h	t ^h d ^h	T ^h D ^h		k ^h g ^h	
Affricates	Unasp			c j			
	Asp			c ^h j ^h			
Fricatives				s			h
Nasal		m		n		ŋ	
Lateral				l			
Trill				r			
Glide		w			y		

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant.

3.3 Vowel Phonemes

There are six vowel phonemes in the Darai language. They are presented as follows:

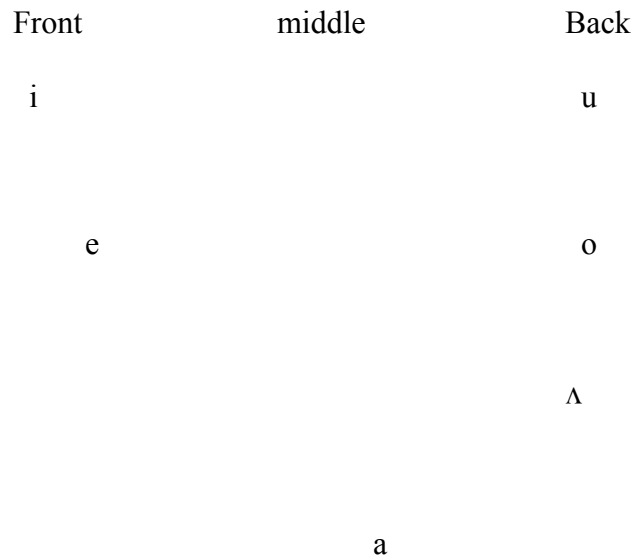


Figure: 2 Darai Vowels

3.3.1 Minimal Pairs of Vowel Phonemes

Set 1

/i/ vs. /u/

/dit/ 's/he gives'

/dut/ 'milk'

/kit/ 'black stone'

/kut/ 'to beat'

Set 2

/i/ vs. /e/

/pɪr/	'sorrow'
/pɛr/	'get dressed'
/kʰɪr/	'rice pudding'
/kʰɛr/	'thatch'

Set-3

/e/ vs. /o/

/pɛr/	'get dressed'
/pɔr/	'steep path'
/sɛr/	'jackal'
/sɔr/	'volume'

Set-4

/ʌ/ vs. /a/

/mʌr/	'die'
/mar/	'kill'
/pʰʌr/	'winnow'
/pʰar/	'tip of a plough'

Set-5

/o/ vs. /u/

/koʊ/	'coat'
/kuʊ/	'to beat'
/dʊt/	'milk'
/doʊ/	'a kind of white flower'

Set 6

/ʌ/ vs. /o/

/cʌr/ 'climb'

/cor/ 'thief'

/bʌl/ 'strength'

/bol/ 'speak'

Set 7

/e/ vs. /ʌ/

/bel/ 'a fruit'

/bʌl/ 'strength'

/p^her/ 'change'

/p^hʌr/ 'winnow'

3.3.2 Vowel Sequences

The Darai language has the following basic vowel sequences that can occupy at the nuclear position of a syllable. These are ui, iu, oi, ei, ai, eu and au

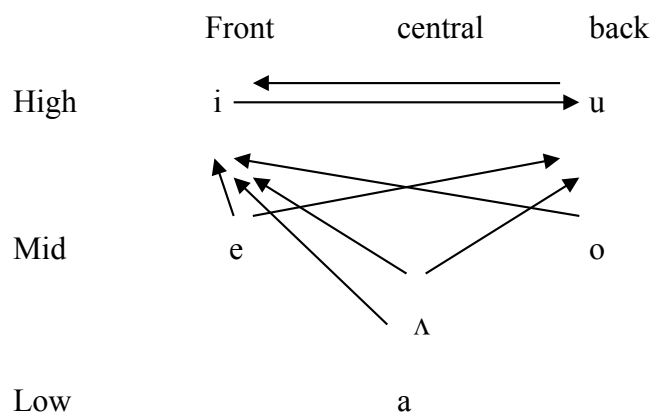


Figure: 4 Direction of gliding

High to high:	ui	/b ^h uical/	'earthquake'
		/b ^h uiya/	'floor'
		/suiya/	'needle'
iu		/hiu/	'snow'
		/jiu/	'body'
		/jiuta/	'alive'
Mid to high:	Λi	/bΛis/	'puberty'
		/mΛi/	'I'
		/tΛi/	'you'
oi		/d ^h oike/	'to clean'
		/g ^h oila/	'a kind of insect'
		/koi/	'which'
eu		/haɾeu/	'a kind of snake'
		/c ^h eu/	'side'
		/leu/	'moss'
ei		/eitay/	'here'
		/t ^h orei/	'little'
		/t ^h ureike/	'to beat'
Low to High:	ai	/b ^h ai/	'younger brother'
		/c ^h ai/	'daughter'
		/c ^h aike/	'to look at'
au	/hau/	'vapor'	

/jau/	'bareley'
/durau/	'far'

3.4. Nasalization in Darai

Darai has not the system of nasalization in its own. No consistent nasalization is found in Darai language. So nasalization is not contrastive in this language. However, in some Nepali borrowed words, it does occur, e.g.,

/bas/	'shelter'
/bās/	'bamboo'
/dai/	'elder brother'
/dāĩ/	'thrashing the paddy with the help of oxen']

3.5. Syllable Structure in Darai Language

The basic syllable structure in Darai is (C₁) (C₂) V (C₃), in which (C₁), (C₂) and (C₃) consonants are optional and the nucleus which is occupied by a single vowel, is obligatory. C₁ may filled by all consonants except /ŋ/, (C₂) by /w/ and (C₃) by all consonants except the breathy stops (/ɖ/ and /fi/).

There are five distinct and contrastive syllable types. These are V, VC, CV, CVC and CCVC. Each is illustrated with proper data below.

V:	/i/	'this'
	/u/	'that'
VC:	/am/	'mango'
	/ek/	'one'
CV:	/se/	'from/with'
	/ma/	'I'

CVC:	/dut/	'milk'
	/sur/	'pig'
CCVC:	/bwak/	'(his) father'
	/t ^h wak/	'tap'

3.6. Stress and Tone

Stress is not phonemic in Darai. Tone is also not distinctive in the Darai language. A word with high tone or low tone does not make any difference in meaning.

Chapter Four

Morphology

4.0 Introduction

Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words. This chapter is a description of basic Darai morphology. It deals with the various word classes in Darai- nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc – together with their grammatical characteristics. Pronouns and nouns are described first and we will show that they display all the prototypical characteristics expected cross-linguistically of that class. The same type of prototypical syntactic and semantic criteria can be applied to a definition of other word classes as well.

The section 4.1 introduces the nominal morphology and 4.2 verb morphology.

4.1 Nominal Morphology

4.1.1 Pronouns

Darai pronouns are inflected (marked) for person, case and number, but not for gender.

4.1.1.1 Person

Following are the three persons in the Darai language:

	Singular	Plural
First Person	<i>māĩ</i>	<i>hamē</i>
Second Person	<i>tāĩ</i>	<i>tahē</i>
Third Person	<i>u</i>	<i>unen</i>

4.1.1.2 Gender

On the basis of pronoun substitution method there are two genders- Human and Non-human. The nouns replaced by *ke* 'what' are non human while those that are replaced by *kān* 'who' are humans. It can be illustrated with the help of following diagram.

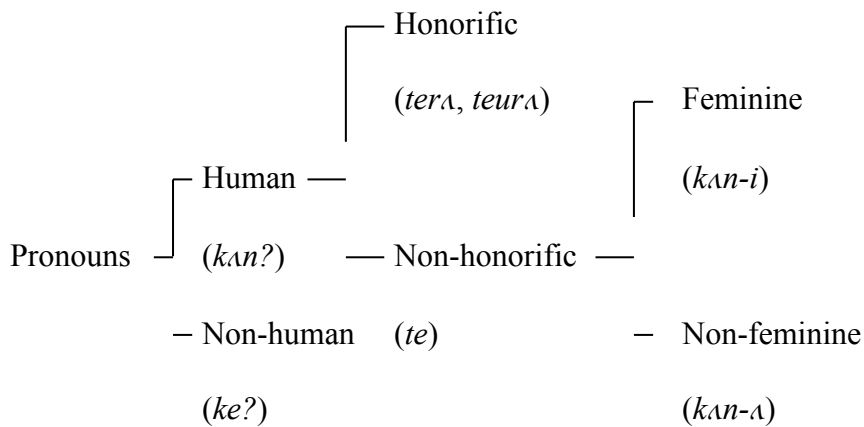


Figure: 5 Gender (Pronoun Substitution Method)

- (1) a. *ke λi-lλ?*
 what come-PST
 'What came?'
- b. *gai λi-lλ*
 cow come-PST
 'The caw came.'
- (2) a. *kān λi-lλ ?*

who come-PST

'Who came?'

b. *beta li-la*

son come-PST

'The son came.'

c. *bet-i li-li*

daughter come-PST.F

'The daughter came.'

(3) *kaŋ-i li-li*

who-FEM come-PST.F

'Who came?'

4.1.1.3 Case

The case system of pronouns is more complex than that of nouns. More or less the same case marker and postpositions are used both for nouns and pronouns but used in expressing various case relationships, pronouns are subject to special morphophonemic alternations. See 4.1.1.3.1.1.

4.1.1.3.1 Classes of Pronouns

Three classes of pronouns are recognized in Darai: Personal, demonstrative and interrogative

4.1.1.3.1.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns and their distinction in number is given below:

Singular

Plural

First Person	<i>māĩ</i>	<i>hamẽ</i>
Second Person	<i>tāĩ</i>	<i>tahẽ</i>
Third Person	<i>u</i>	<i>unen</i>

4.1.1.3.1.1.1 Declension of Personal Pronouns

First Person

	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>māĩ</i>	<i>hamẽ</i>
DAT	<i>me-ke</i>	<i>ham-ra</i>
GEN	<i>me-ra</i>	<i>ham-ra</i>
LOC	<i>me-ra-se</i>	<i>ham-ra-se</i>

Second Person

	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>tāĩ</i>	<i>tahẽ</i>
DAT	<i>tāĩ-ke</i>	<i>tahẽ-ke</i>
GEN	<i>te-ra</i>	<i>tahẽ-ra</i>
LOC	<i>te-ra-se</i>	<i>tahẽ-ra-se</i>

Third Person

	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>u</i>	<i>unen</i>
DAT	<i>uk-ra-ke</i>	<i>unen-ke</i>
GEN	<i>uk-ra</i>	<i>unen</i>

LOC

uk-rΛ-se

unen-se

Concerning the above declension of the personal pronouns, several points are to be noted:

- i. The nominative is the unmarked case in Darai pronouns.
- ii. The dative is marked by the case marker *-ke* (e.g. *me-ke*), but by the genitive case marker *-rΛ* in case of first person plural (e.g. *ham-rΛ*). *rΛ* also occurs in 3rd sg. dative (*-ke*).
- iii. The genitive is marked by the case marker *-rΛ* in all cases except in the plural form of the third person *u* (e.g. *u > unen*) where it remains unmarked.
- iv. The locative is marked by */-se/* added to the genitive stem. But in case of third person plural only one case marker, i.e., *-se* is attached (e.g. *unen-se*). However, that 3rd pl. genitive is ϕ .

4.1.1.3.1.2 Demonstrative Pronoun

The demonstrative pronouns are of two types- (i) Proximate and (ii) Remote. The proximate demonstrative pronouns refer to the person or object which is near and within sight, while the remote demonstrative pronouns refer to the person or object which is either far and within sight or not necessary within sight. These are shown below:

	Singular		Plural	
Proximate	<i>i</i>	'this'	<i>i sΛb</i>	'these'
Remote	<i>u</i>	'that'	<i>u sΛb</i>	'those'

The periphrastic plural is indicated by the particle *-sΛb*.

(4) *i kΛn ho ?* (Human)

this who be-Nonpast

'Who is this?'

(5) *i ke ho?* (Non-human)

this what be-Nonpast

'What is this?'

(6) *u kΛn ho?* (Human)

that who be-Nonpast

'Who is that?'

(7) *u ke ho?* (Non-human)

that what be-Nonpast

'What is that?'

(8) *i-sΛb Λi-lΛ*

this-Pl. come-PST

'They came.'

4.1.1.3.1.2.1 Declension of Demonstrative Pronoun

A. Proximate

	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>i</i>	<i>i (sΛb)</i>
DAT	<i>ik-ra-ke</i>	<i>ik-ra-sΛb-ke</i>
GEN	<i>ik-ra</i>	<i>ik-ra</i>
LOC	<i>ik-ra-me</i>	<i>ik-ra-sΛb-me</i>

B. Remote/ Distal

	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>u</i>	<i>unen</i>
DAT	<i>uk-ra-ke</i>	<i>uk-ra-sab-ke</i>
GEN	<i>uk-ra</i>	<i>uk-ra</i>
LOC	<i>uk-ra-me</i>	<i>uk-ra-sab-me</i>

Historically the pronouns are likely *ik* and *uk*.

4.1.1.3.1.3 Interrogative Pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in Darai: *kan* 'who' and *ke* 'what'. *kan* is used in human reference, and *ke* is used for non-human. For detail see section 4.1.1.2.

Examples

(9) *taĩ kan ho?*

you who be-Nonpast

'Who are you?'

(10) *kan-i ai-li?*

who-F come-Nonpast.F

'Who came?'

(11) *ke b^hai-la?*

what happen-PST

'What happened.'

4.1.1.3.1.3.1 Declension of Interrogative Pronoun

A. Human *kʌn* 'who'

	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>kʌn</i>	<i>kʌn-kʌn</i>
DAT	<i>kʌn-ke</i>	<i>kʌn-kʌn-ke</i>
GEN	<i>kʌn-ke</i>	<i>kʌn-kʌn-ke</i>
LOC	<i>kʌn-me</i>	<i>kʌn- kʌn-me</i>

B. Non-human *ke* 'what'

	Singular	Plural
NOM	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke-ke</i>
DAT	<i>ke-ke</i>	
GEN	<i>kek-rʌ</i>	
LOC	<i>ke-me</i>	<i>ke-ke-me</i>

Number distinction in the interrogative pronouns is denoted by reduplication.

But reduplication in these pronouns give distributive meaning, e.g.

(12) *kʌn kʌn ʌi-lʌ?*

who who come-PST

'Who (pl) came.'

(13) *ke ke kʰʌi-lʌ?*

what what eat-PST

'What things did you eat?'

4.1.2 Nouns

The determination of noun classes in any language is based, in large part, on syntactic criteria. Gender distinction, for example, commonly affect syntactic behaviour within the noun phrase (NP), as well as broader, clause based agreement properties with the verb, adjective, genitive and some other item in the syntactic construction.

Gender, number and case are the basic morpho-syntactic criteria by which Darai nouns can be classified.

4.1.2.1 Gender

There are two genders: feminine and neutral in the Darai language. In most of the corresponding nouns, simply /-i/ suffix is added to form feminine gender, e.g.,

(14) *c^ha-o*

sibling-NF

'The son.'

(15) *c^ha-i*

sibling-F

'The daughter'

(16) *dul^h-a*

groom-NF

'The bridegroom'

(17) *dul^h-i*

groom-F

'The bride'

(18) *beT-a manas*

sibling-NF man

'The man'

(19) *beT-i man*_{AS}

sibling-F man

'The woman'

The final vowel sound usually changes into /-i/ to make feminine gender. As in the example (14) the final vowel /o/ is changed into *i*. In the same way, in the examples (15-19) the vowel sounds *ʌ* and *a* are changed into /i/ to form feminine gender. This trend is highly productive in most of the Indo-Aryan languages of South-Asia.

However, grammatical gender is restricted to very limited instances in Darai. There is natural gender system in other forms. In this case, separate lexical items are found for masculine and feminine nouns, e.g.,

Masculine

bwa 'father'

barat 'ox'

b^hatu 'brother-in-law'

daju 'brother'

Feminine

uya 'mother'

gai 'cow'

didi 'sister'

b^hauje 'sister-in-law'

4.1.2.2 Classifier

There is only one numeral classifier /-ta/ in Darai. It falls between a numeral and a noun in a typical noun phrase construction. The classifier indicates countabilities, e.g.,

(20) *ek-ta aɾa*

one-CLSF egg

'One egg.'

(21) *duk-ta caɾaɪ*

two-CLSF bird

'Two birds.'

The classifier /-ta/ cannot occur with an uncountable noun, e.g.,

(22) * *ek-ta pañĩ*

one-CLSF water

'One water.'

4.1.2.3 Grammatical Number

There is no number distinction in the morphology of Darai nouns. Plural number is denoted by the optional particle /sʌb/ after the noun, e.g.,

(23) *beT-a*

sibling-NF

'The son.'

(24) *beT-a (sʌb)*

sibling-NF

'The sons.'

4.1.2.1.4 Case

There are six morphological cases in Darai. The nominative and accusative cases are marked as verbal suffixes.

4.1.2.4.1 Declension of Nouns

NOM

beTa-φ

ACC/GEN/DAT	<i>beTa-ke</i>
INST	<i>hath-ai</i>
LOC	<i>k^het-aya</i>

Concerning the above declension of nouns, several points are to be noted:

(i) The semantic roles of agent, force, and patient are expressed in the nominative surface case when any of them occurs without being distinguished from the others. The nominative case is unmarked. When an agent or force is the subject of an intransitive clause, it is in the nominative case, e.g.,

(25) *goʁa ai-la*

horse come-PST

'The horse came.'

(26) *bʌtas ai-t*

wind come-Nonpast

'The wind comes.'

When the patient is the subject of an intransitive clause it is also in the nominative case, e.g.,

(27) *goʁa maʀ-la*

horse die-PST

'The horse died.'

(ii) The locative case goes with the locative nouns or noun phrases, e.g.,

(28) *mʌĩ ciT^{hi} g^hʌʀ-aya patha-la*

I letter house-LOC send-PST

'I sent a letter to the house.'

(29) *mãĩ g^har-aya bas-ta-m*

I house-LOC sit-Nonpast-1S

'I live in the house.'

The locative suffix *-(a)ya/* may be replaced by the suffix */-i/*, e.g.,

(30) *mãĩ bar-i bas-ta-m*

I field-LOC sit-Nonpast-1S

'I live in the field.'

The suffix */-i/* has a much more limited use than that of *-(a)ya/*, but the constraints governing it has not yet been determined. If an animate being is treated as inanimate, it takes *-(a)ya/* or */-i/* inflection, e.g.,

(31) *mãĩ me-ra g^har-aya bas-ta-m*

I I-POSS house-LOC sit-Nonpast-1S

'I live in the house.'

(iv) The instrumental case in Darai is marked by the suffixation of the case marker */-ai/*, e.g.,

(32) *mãĩ hãth-ai b^hat k^hai-ta-m*

I hand-INS rice eat-Nonpast-1S

'I eat rice with hand.'

In addition to these morphological cases, Darai uses some postpositions to mark genitive and associative cases, e.g.,

(A) Genitive

The genitive signals some kind of dependent relationship between the head noun and some other word in the NP. The genitive case in Darai is marked by the postposition *-ko* and occurs only on nouns 3rd person pronouns. The noun phrase in genitive case basically performs a modifying function and qualifies the noun (or the

noun like adjective, or the verbal noun) to which it bears the case relationship.

(33) *ram-ko b^hai*

Ram-GEN brother

'Ram's brother.'

(B) The comitative case in Darai is marked by the postposition *sʌŋge* 'with', e.g.,

(34) *mʌĩ ram sʌŋge ʌi-lʌ*

I Ram with come-PST

'I came with Ram.'

(35) *tʌĩ uya sʌŋge k^hʌi-tʌ-s*

you mother with eat-Nonpast-2S

'You eat with mother.'

4.1.2.5 Adjective

Adjectives in Darai do not show number and case distinction, but gender distinction is shown, e.g.,

(36) a. *kʌjad-l*

'Black male'

b. *kʌjad-i*

'Black female'

(37) a. *gor-o*

'White male'

b. *gor-i*

'White female'

(38) a. *moT-o*

'Fat male'

- b. *moT-i*
'Fat female'
- (39) a. *bΛrk-Λ*
'Elder male'
- b. *bΛrk-i*
'Elder female'
- (40) *moT-i-ke*
fat-F-to
'To fat woman'

However, if an adjective is used in the syntactic slot of a noun there appear case marking particles after the adjective, see (40).

4.2 Verbs

4.2.1 Introduction

It can be commonly observed that a unique characteristic which distinguishes Darai from the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal is its elaborate verb system. The conjugation of the verb form is the most unique part of Darai verb. Darai is rich in verb morphology compared to nominal morphology. It is a pronominalized language. It can be categorized as a language with complex pronominalization. Darai can be compared to Maithili among the Indo-Aryan languages which have complex pronominalization. The rest of the Indo-Aryan languages are non-pronominalized language.

In terms of verb morphology, two classes can be distinguished for Darai, the transitive and intransitive. This section deals with basic verb morphology of Darai.

The organization of this section is as follows: 4.2 provides an introductory

remarks on categories like number and gender, and the 4.3 discusses the structure of the verb phrase.

4.2.1.1 Number

In past tense there is no person or number distinction in the verb, e.g.,

- (41) a. *mãĩ ʌi-lʌ*
I come-PST
'I came.'
- b. *hamẽ sʌb ʌi-lʌ*
we all come-PST
'We came.'
- (42) a. *uya p^huk-lʌ*
mother blow-PST
'The mother blew (a wind).'
- b. *uya rʌ bwa p^huk-lʌ*
mother and father blow-PST
'The mother and father blew (a wind).'
- (43) a. *tãĩ sut-lʌ*
you sleep-PST
'You slept.'
- b. *tʌhẽ sut-lʌ*
you(pl.) sleep-PST
'You (pl.) slept.'

However, in the case of non-past forms of the verb both the categories-person and number are marked by a single, unanalyzable morpheme which clearly shows

number distinction.

- (44) a. *Λi-tΛ-m*
come-Nonpast-1S
'I come.'
- b. *Λi-tΛ-ir*
come-Nonpast-1Pl
'We come.'
- c. *Λi-tΛ-s*
come-Nonpast-2S
'You come.'
- d. *Λi-tΛ-u*
come-Nonpast-2Pl
'You (pl.) come.'
- e. *Λi-t*
come-Nonpast.3S
'He comes.'
- f. *Λi-tΛ-t*
come-Nonpast-3Pl.
'They comes.'

These examples (44a-f) show person/number distinction in the verbal paradigms in intransitive clause structure.

Table: 6 Number markers in verbal paradigms

Person/Number	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-m</i>	<i>-ir</i>
2	<i>-s</i>	<i>-u</i>
3	<i>-ϕ</i>	<i>-t</i>

4.2.1.2 Gender

The Darai language makes distinction of gender in the verb system. In this sense, there are mainly two gender: feminine and non-feminine, e.g.

- (45) a. *beta li-la*
son come-PST.NF
'The son came.'
- b. *beti li-li*
daughter come-PST.F
'The daughter came.'
- (46) a. *bwa jli-la*
father go-PST.NF
'The father went.'
- b. *uya jli-li*
mother go-PST.F
'The mother went.'

4.3 Structure of the Verb

The structure of the verb and verb phrase may be characterized as follows:

Finite verb = Stem + tense + mood + (gender)

For example:

- (47) *k^hli-la*
eat-PST.NF
'(S/he, we) ate.'

- (48) *k^hli-li*

eat-PST.F

'(She) ate.'

In the example, (47) *kʰli-lɔ* is a finite verb. /-lɔ/ inflection in this verb is the past tense marker, at the same time it marks non-feminine gender and perfective aspect.

In the same way, in the example (48) *kʰli-li* is a finite verb. /-li/ inflection in this verb is the past tense marker, at the same time it marks feminine gender and perfective aspect. /-i/ is specially feminine gender marker in Darai, and in most of the South Asian Indo-Aryan languages.

A detailed discussion of verb stem is given below; and attempt is also made to isolate morphemes. It should be born in mind, though that in a fusional language like Darai it is not always possible to distinctly analyze and isolate each and every morpheme. Upon closer scrutiny, one discovers that a single morpheme may represent more than one grammatical function and is the marker of person, tense, mood, aspect and gender all at once. As it is clearly shown in the examples (47-48).

4.3.1 Verb Stems

Generally the Darai language introduces three classes of verb stems.

- (i) Primitive
- (ii) Derivative
- (iii) Compound

4.3.1.1 Primitive Stems

Primitive stems are simple and their morphological structure is also simple. They are regarded as first or basic stems, e.g.,

(49)	Infinite	Gloss		Stem
a.	<i>k^hʌi-t-e</i>	eat-Nonpast/NF	'to eat'	<i>k^hʌi-</i>
b.	<i>piu-t-e</i>	drink-Nonpast/NF	'to drink'	<i>piu-</i>
c.	<i>mari-t-e</i>	kill-Nonpast/NF	'to kill'	<i>mar-</i>
d.	<i>suni-t-e</i>	hear-Nonpast/NF	'to hear'	<i>sun-</i>

Most primary verb stems show remarkably few phonological alternations when aspect, tense, mood or other inflectional suffixes are added.

4.3.1.2 Derivative Stems

In contrast to primitive verb stems, derivative stems are polymorphemic, so their morphological structure is complex, as complex structure consists of more than one morpheme (Nida, 1968). They are formed by adding different kinds of derivational suffixes to different types of stems verbal or non-verbal, e.g.,

(50)	Root	Stem	meaning
a.	<i>hin</i>	<i>hin-a</i>	'cause to walk'
		walk-CAUS	
b.	<i>g^hum</i>	<i>g^hum-a</i>	'cause to move'
		move-CAUS	
c.	<i>pʌlt</i>	<i>pult-a</i>	'cause to lay'
		lay-CAUS	
d.	<i>sut</i>	<i>sut-a</i>	'cause to sleep'
		sleep-CAUS	
e.	<i>hãs</i>	<i>hãs-a</i>	'cause to laugh'
		laugh-CAUS	

The above examples are the examples of derivational stems in Darai. However, these are especially causative stems.

In morphological causative an affix /-a/ is suffixed to the non-causative verb roots as the example (50a-e). On the basis of change that occur in root morpheme, it can be divided into two types. In the first type, the root vowel is not changed in the process of causativization. It has been shown in the examples (50a-d). In the second type, the vowel is changed in the process of causativization (50e). In this example, the /ã/ vowel of the root has been changed into /ã/. The theory behind this is that if there is /a/ vowel in the nucleus position of the root, it change into /a/, e.g.,

- (51) *kat* *kaɫ-a* 'cause to cut'
 cut-CAUS
 sat *saɫ-a* 'cause to change'
 change-CAUS

4.3.1.3 Complex Predicate

In Darai, noun and verb, adjective and verb and adverb and verb can combine to form a complex predicate, e.g.,

- (i) Noun + Verb (Light verb)

- (52) a. *kɔɫpɔna gaɾ*
 imagination do
 'Imagine'
 b. *pañi paɾ*
 water fall
 'Rain'

- c. *pet bok*
stomach hold
'Be pregnant'

(ii) Adjective + Verb

- (53) a. *k^hali k^Λr*
empty do
'Empty' (lit. make vacant)
- b. *saro p^Λr*
hard feel
'difficult' (lit. feel different)
- c. *k^husi lag-l^Λ*
happiness touch-PST
'Happy' (lit. feel happy)

4.4 Aspect

Aspect is a category which is used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with tense and mood), referring primarily to the way grammar marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb (Crystall, 1991). There are two major aspects in Darai they are (i) imperfective, and (ii) Perfective.

4.4.1 Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect pays attention to the internal structure of the situation. It is an explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing from within; as also will be general point that imperfectivity is not incompatible with

perfectivity, and that both can be expressed if the language in question possesses the formal means to do so (Comrie, 1976).

The imperfective aspect is divided into habitual and progressive.

4.4.1.1 Habitual Aspect

(i) Non-Past

The habitual non-past aspect is not marked in the Darai language, e.g.,

(54) *māi kam kaɾ-tʌ-m*

I work do-Nonpast-1S

'I work.'

(55) *hamē kam kaɾ-tʌ-ir*

we work do-Nonpast-1Pl

'We work.'

(ii) Past

The habitual past aspect is periphrastic in the Darai language, e.g.,

(56) *tāi kam kaɾ-te rʌ-s*

you work do-HAB be.PST-2S

'You used to do work.'

(57) *u kam kaɾ-te rʌ-i*

he work do-HAB be.PST-3S

'He used to work.'

The same aspect is exemplified with the verb *bogra* 'speak', e.g.,

(58) *māi bogra-te rʌ-m*

I speak-HAB be.PST-1S

'I used to speak.'

(59) *tã bogra-te rλ-s*

you speak-HAB be.PST-2S

'You used to speak.'

(60) *u bogra-te rλ-i*

s/he speak-HAB be.PST-3S

'S/he used to speak.'

4.4.1.2 Progressive Aspect

(i) Non-Past

(61) *mã bogra-tλ-m ba-m*

I speak-PROG-1S be-1S

'I am speaking.'

(62) *tã bogra-tλ-s ba-s*

you speak-PROG-2S be-2S

'You are speaking.'

(63) *u bogra-tλ-i ba-i*

s/he speak-PROG-3S be-3S

'He is speaking.'

The same aspect is exemplified with the verb *kλr* 'do', e.g.,

(64) *mã kam kλr-tλ-s ba-s*

you work do-PROG-2S be-2S

'You are doing work.'

(65) *u kam kar-tΛ-i ba-i*

s/he work do-PROG-3S be-3S

'S/he is doing work.'

(ii) Past

Progressive past aspect is also periphrastic in Darai, e.g.,

(66) *mΛĩ kalu bogra-tΛ-m rΛ-m*

I yesterday speak-PROG-1S be.PST-1S

'I was speaking.'

(67) *tΛĩ kalu bogra-tΛ-s ba-s*

you yesterday speak-PROG-3S be.PST-3S

'You were speaking.'

(68) *u kalu bogra-tΛ-i rΛ-i*

s/he yesterday speak-PROG-3S be.PST-3S

'S/he was speaking.'

4.4.2 Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation (Comrie, 1976),

Non-Past

(69) *mΛĩ i-c^he Λi-lΛ-tΛ-m*

I this-LOC come-PST-Nonpast-1S

'I have come here.'

(70) *tΛĩ i-c^he Λi-lΛ-tΛ-s*

you this-LOC come-PST-Nonpast-2S

'You have come here.'

(71) *u i-c^he ʌi-lʌ-tʌ-i*

s/he this-LOC come-PST-Nonpast-3S

'S/he has come here.'

Past

(72) *mʌĩ kalu i-c^he ʌi-lʌ rʌ-m*

I yesterday this-LOC come-PST be.PST-1S

'I had come here yesterday.'

In Darai, the suffix */-lʌ/* indicates the perfective marker. The difference occurs only in its existential 'be' verbs */ba-/* and */rʌ-/* for nonpast and past respectively. The inflections agree with the person, and gender of the subject. The examples (69-71) illustrate past and nonpast perfective aspects.

4.5 Mood

The term 'mood' is traditionally restricted to a category expressed in verbal morphology. It is formally a morpho-syntactic category of the verb like tense and aspect (Palmer 1986).

In Darai, five moods are distinguished: indicative, imperative, optative, hortative and probabilitative. Not all of these moods are indicated by overt morphological markers.

4.5.1 Indicative Mood

This is the basic mood. There is no explicit marker signalling indicative mood.

All the Darai sentences which are not examples of other moods discussed below are in the indicative mood:

(73) *mɔ̃ b^hat k^hɔ̃i-lɔ*

I rice eat-PST

'I ate rice.'

(74) *mɔ̃ b^hat k^hɔ̃i-tɔ-m*

I rice eat-Nonpast-1S

'I eat rice.'

4.5.2 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood conveys an order or a request. As in many natural languages of the world, the unmarked imperative forms of Darai are the bare verb stems themselves. However, in some forms overt morphological devices are employed in order to indicate the intensity or force of the speaker, e.g.,

(75) *(tɔ̃) k^ha-φ*

you eat-IMP

'You eat.'

(76) *(tɔ̃) ja-φ*

you go-IMP

'You go.'

(77) *(tɔ̃) bɔs-uk*

you sit-IMP

'You sit down.'

(78) *(tɔ̃) kɔr-uk*

you do-IMP

'You do.'

/-uk/ suffix indicates emphasis of the speaker. However, such forms are not found in Chitwan and Damauli dialects of Darai. It is only found in the Pipaltar dialect of Darai.

There is no difference between imperative and optative mood in Darai.

4.5.3 Hortative Mood

There is not any morphological device to express hortative mood in Darai. They are usually unmarked, e.g.,

(79) *hamẽ bogra-m*

we speak-1Pl

'Let's talk.'

(80) *hamẽ nacΛ-m*

we dance-1Pl

'Let's dance.'

(81) *hamẽ k^hel-m*

we play-1Pl

'Let's play.'

There are not past and non-past marker in hortative mood. It is because tense markers are only found in indicative mood. A non-declarative mood does not contrast for tense and aspect in Darai.

4.5.4 Probabilative Mood

The probabilative mood refers to the verbal expressions which indicate the uncertainty or probability. In Darai, *ok^hai* particle is added after verb to express

probability, e.g.,

(82) *me-rΛ sat^hi Λi-t-ok^hai*

my-POSS friend come-Nonpast-PROB

'My friend probably come.'

(82) *aju pañi pari-t-ok^hai*

today water fall-Nonpast-PROB

'It probably rain today.'

(83) *mΛi mΛru-tΛ-m-ok^hai*

I die-Nonpast-1S-PROB

'I probably die.'

4.6. Tense

Tense is a grammatical expression of location in time (Comrie 1983). It normally indicates the time prediction in relation to particular moment. This moment is typically the moment of speaking or writing (Katamba 1993).

Darai verbs conjugates for two tenses-Past and Non-past.

4.6.1 Nonpast

In Darai language, there is only one tense to refer to both present and future time. Only the time adverbials help to indicate the meaning of present or future. So they are grouped under non-past tense as in the examples.

(84) *mΛi pañi piu-tΛ-m*

I water drink-Nonpast-1S

'I drink water/ I will drink water.'

(85) *tã panĩ piu-tã-s*
 you water drink-Nonpast-2S
 'You drink water/ You will drink water.'

(86) *u panĩ piu-tã-i*
 s/he water drink-Nonpast-3S
 'S/he drinks/will drink water.'

In the case of first person /-tãm/ suffix is used in both singular and plural sentences. There is no number distinction. However, in the case of feminine gender /tim/ is used, e.g.,

(87) *mãĩ kam kar-t-i-m*
 I work do-Nonpast-F-1S
 'I do/will do work.'

In the case of second person, /-tãs/ suffix is added in both singular and plural sentences. There is no number distinction in second person also. But in the case of female /-tim/ is used, e.g.,

(88) *tãĩ kam kar-t-i-s*
 you work do-Nonpast-F-2S
 'You do/will do work.'

In the same way, in the case of third person, /-rãi/ suffix is added in both singular and plural sentences. There is no number and gender distinction in third person. The table of the verb *kar* 'do' with mentioned suffixes is presented in table below:

Table 7: The verb *kar*- 'do' in Non-past

Person	Number/Singular/Plural
--------	------------------------

1 st	<i>kAR-tA-m</i>
2 nd	<i>kAR-tA-s</i>
3 rd	<i>kAR-tA-i</i>

4.6.2 Past

In the Darai language, /-lA/ inflection is added to the verb to indicate past, e.g., (89-93). There are no person/number distinction in past.

(89) *māi b^hat k^hli-lA*

I rice eat-PST

'I ate rice.'

(90) *hamē b^hat k^hli-lA*

we rice eat-PST

'We ate rice.'

(91) *tāi b^hat k^hli-lA*

you rice eat-PST

'You ate rice.'

However, in the case of feminine gender/ -li/ suffix is added to indicate past,

e.g.,

(92) *māi b^hat k^hli-li*

I rice eat-PST.F

'I ate rice.'

(93) *hamē b^hat k^hli-li*

we rice eat-PST.F

'We eat rice.'

The table below summaries the past and nonpast markers in Darai

Table 8: Past and Non-past markers

Non-past		Past	
NF	F	NF	F
-t Λ	-ti	-l Λ	-li

4.7 Causative Verb

Causative verbs in Darai are derived through a highly productive morphological process. Causativization in Darai is mainly suffixal. It is formed by adding the suffix /-a/ to the non-causative verb stem. It should also be noted that this trend is a South-Asian typological feature of Indo-Aryan languages.

In Darai both intransitive and transitive verbs can be causativized, and an intransitive verb becomes a transitive verb when causative suffixes are added to the stem.

The process of transitivity (though stem alternation) and causativization of such intransitive verbs are illustrated in section 4.7.1 and 4.7.2.

4.7.1 Intransitive Verbs

A few monosyllabic intransitive verb stems of CVC type (where V = Λ) are transitivized by ablauting the stem vowel.

	Intransitive	Transitive
(94) a.	<i>mar-</i>	<i>mar</i>
	'die'	'kill/cause to die'
b.	<i>tΛ</i>	<i>tal</i>

	'cover'	'cover/cause to cover'
c.	<i>kaɫ</i>	<i>kat</i>
	'cut'	'cut/cause to cut'

4.7.1 Transitive Verbs

The causativization of transitive verb is a straightforward process in Darai, and generally speaking, there is no stem alternation of any kind, e.g.,

	Intransitive	Transitive
(95) a.	<i>lik^h-tɔm</i>	<i>lik^h-a-tɔm</i>
	'write (I)'	write-CAUS-1S
		'Cause to write'
b.	<i>jot-lɔ</i>	<i>jot-a-lɔ</i>
	plough-PST	plought-CAUS-PST
		'Cause to plough'
c.	<i>pɔD^h-lɔ</i>	<i>pɔD^h-a-lɔ</i>
	study-PST	study-CAUS-PST
		'Cause to study'

4.8 Animacy Marking in the Verb

In Darai, the first person object does not take part in the verb agreement. But objects in other person are marked in the verb, e.g., (96-99) illustrates this phenomenon in ditransitive verb. While examples (100-101) in transitive verb.

(96)	<i>de-tɔ-i</i>
	give-Nonpast-3S

'S/he gives me.'

(97) *de-tʌ-s*

give-Nonpast-2S

'You give me.'

(98) *de-ta-mi-s*

give-Nonpast-1S-2S

'I give you.'

(99) *de-ta-si-k*

give-Nonpast-2S-3S

'You give to him.'

(100) *mʌĩ tʌĩ-ke cin-tʌ-mi-s*

I you-DAT know-Nonpast-1S-2S

'I know you.'

(101) *tʌĩ ukra-ke cin-tʌ-si-k*

you he-DAT know-Nonpast-2S-3S

'You know him.'

These data clearly show that the first person object does not take part in verb agreement. This is an example of 'speaker vs. non-speaker' dichotomy. The language constraints the speaker to be the object of the sentence for verb agreement. This may be the example of animacy hierarchy in Darai.

Chapter Five

Syntax

5.0 Introduction

Syntax refers to the branch of grammar dealing with the ways in which words, with or without appropriate inflections, are arranged to show connections of meaning within the sentence (Mathews, 1981:1). This chapter is a description of the basic syntax of Darai. It deals mainly with word order, sentence types, agreement patterns, negation, causativization, passivization, relativization, coordination and subordination.

5.1 Word Order

Darai is a verb final language. Topics and sentence head normally occur in initial position. The basic unmarked word order of the major constituents of the sentence in Darai is SOV (i.e., Subject, Object, Verb in that order). The following isolated sentences exemplify unmarked word order, e.g.,

(1) *mλĩ b^hat k^hλi-tλ-m*

I rice eat-Nonpast-1S

S O V

'I eat rice.'

(2) *tāi kam kar-tā-s*
 you work do-Nonpast-2S
 S O V
 'You do work.'

(3) *māi te-ke kitab de-lā*
 I you-DAT book give-PST
 S O₁ O₂ V
 'I gave the book to you.'

Sometimes, it is observed that the word order in Darai is fairly free and that the order of the constituents in a sentence can be changed without an appreciable change in meaning. Thus, the constituents of the sentence exemplified in (1) may be rearranged as shown below.

(4) *b^hat māi k^hāi-tā-m* OSV

(5) *b^hat k^hāi-tā-m māi* OVS

(6) *k^hāi-tā-m māi b^hat* VSO

(7) *k^hāi-tā-m b^hat māi* VOS

(8) *māi k^hāi-tā-m b^hat* SVO

However, sentences 4-8 are all stylistically marked sentences, since any permutation of the constituents of sentence (1) will automatically lead to a change in stress and intonation pattern and hence a different assignment of semantic and/or pragmatic roles such as topic and focus.

Thus, Darai is basically an SOV word order language. We now turn to word order within the noun phrase (NP). The attributive adjectives (A) and genitive

modifiers (G) precede head nouns (N), and therefore Darai should be characterized as AN and GN language, e.g.,

(9) *raktari c^hagari*

red.FEM goat.FEM

'The red goat.'

(10) *ba^hka b^hai*

elder brother

'The elder brother'

(11) *dalgara g^har*

round house

'The round house.'

Following are examples of genitive modifiers preceding head nouns in Darai. This is the characteristic of South-Asian languages.

(12) *me-ra g^har*

my-GEN house

'My house.'

(13) *te-ra kitap*

you-GEN book

'Your book'

(14) *uk-ra c^hawa*

he-GEN son

'His son.'

It has also been shown that, SOV languages tend to have postpositions rather than prepositions. This generalization holds true for Darai as well.

(15) *g^har-me*

house-at

'At the house.'

(16) *uya-ke*

mother-of

'Mother's/of mother.'

(17) *k^het-aya*

field-at

'At the field.'

(18) *b^hai-ke*

brother-to

'To the brother.'

(19) a. *mã jai-ta-m*

I go-Nonpast-1S

'I go.'

b. *mã tai-ke cin-ta-m*

I you-DAT know-Nonpast-1S

'I know you.'

In summary, Darai is a nominative-accusative (see example 19) rather than an ergative language; it shows SOV, GN, AN, NREL, VAUX, and NPo ordering and it is a suffixing language.

5.2 Sentence Types

Five major sentence types will be discussed in this section. These are declarative, imperative, exclamatory, and hortative. By a sentence type is meant a

regular coincidence that obtains between a specific syntactic form and a specific semantic/pragmatic function. Thus, a declarative sentence is typically used to make a statement, an imperative sentence is typically used to express an order, a request or a warning.

A basic description of the four major sentence types in Darai is given below:

5.2.1 Declarative Sentence

A declarative sentence is the least marked, the most basic, and the most wide spread form of clause observed in Darai. It generally has the following characteristics:

i) A declarative sentence has falling intonation.

(20) *mã skul jai-ta-m*
I school go-Nonpast-1S
'I go to school.'

(21) *hamẽ skul jai-ta-ir*
we skul to-Nonpast-1Pl
'We go to school.'

ii) A declarative sentence has the unmarked word order, SOV, e.g.,

(22) *mã te-ke cin-ta-m*
I you-DAT know-Nonpast-1S
'I know you.'

(23) *ramẽ kitab pAD-la*
Ram book read-PST
'Ram read the book.'

iii. Both the subject and the object control verb agreement in a typical declarative sentence, e.g.,

(24) *mɑ̃ ukra-ke de-ta-m-ik*

I he-DAT give-Nonpast-1S-3S

'I give him.'

(25) *tɑ̃ ukra-ke de-ta-s-ik*

you he-DAT give-Nonpast-2S-3S

'You give to him.'

5.2.2 Interrogative Sentence

A declarative sentence serves as the basis on which other sentence type are formed, e.g.,

(26) *tɑ̃ sut-lɑ ?*

you sleep-PST

'Did you sleep?'

(27) *tɑ̃ b^hat k^hɑi-lɑ ?*

you rice eat-PST

'Did you eat rice?'

Sentences 26-27 are syntactically declarative, but the addition of a new prosodic feature (i.e. rising intonation) converts it into an interrogative sentence.

5.2.3 Imperative Sentence

Imperative sentences are unique in Darai: they tend to differ from imperative constructions in other Indo-Aryan languages. In Darai imperatives, the second person subject pronouns (which represent the addressee) are suppressed, but their presence is overt in the verbal category and at the same time extra-suffix *-uk* is added to the verb, e.g.,

- (28) *panĩ an-uk*
 water bring-IMP
 'Bring the water.'
- (29) *b^hat k^ha-uk*
 rice eat-IMP
 'Eat the rice.'
- (30) *kitab paD-uk*
 book read-IMP
 'Read the book.'
- (31) *g^has kat-uk*
 grass cut-IMP
 'Cut the grass.'

However, speakers of the Chitwan and Damauli dialects do not use such forms. They do not add the final suffix *-uk* to the verb, e.g.,

- (32) *g^has kat-ϕ*
 grass cut-IMP
 'Cut the grass.'
- (33) *g^har ja-ϕ*
 house go-IMP
 'Go house'
- (34) *b^hat k^ha-ϕ*
 rice eat-IMP
 'Eat the rice.'

5.2.4 Exclamatory Sentence

Darai has no special markers to show exclamation. They have borrowed *aha !*, *c^hi ! oh !*, etc. from Nepali language, e.g.,

(35) *aha ! kasto miTo bai !*

EXCL what delicious be-Nonpast

'oh ! how delicious it is !'

(36) *c^hi ! tici gu bai !*

EXCL there shit be-Nonpast

'Oh ! there is shit.'

(37) *oh! tã li-la*

EXCL you come-PST

'Oh ! you came.'

5.2.5 Hortative Sentence

There are not past and non-past markers in hortative sentences. So hortative sentences do not show any tense in Darai, e.g.,

(38) *hamẽ bogra-m*

we talk-1S

'Let's talk.'

(39) *hamẽ nacΛ-m*

we dance-1S

'Let's dance.'

(40) *hamẽ k^helΛ-m*

we play-1S

'Let's play.'

5.3 Agreement Patterns in Darai

Agreement with both Agent and Object marking is a typologically less common feature of the languages of the world. It is rare in Indo-European/ Indo-Aryan languages. However, it is widespread in many Sino-Tibetan languages including Kiranti, Siberian and Caucasian languages as well. Darai stands out in this respect from other Indo-European languages not only because it has poly-personal agreement where both the subject and the object trigger agreement in transitive clause, but also due to its linear agreement of arguments in terms of person hierarchy. Besides this, it is also unique for hierarchical agreement marking where the highest-ranking non-first person argument triggers the agreement in some persons of the paradigms. This is reported to be an uncommon feature of the languages of the world; and it has not been observed yet in South Asian languages. But it has been reported for a number of Native American languages (Mithun 1991, 1999, Jany 2008).

1.0 Basic Introduction

Darai (ISO 639-3: dry) is one of the endangered languages of Nepal. Because of the strong pressure of various socio-political factors and wide use of Nepali as a lingua franca, Darai people are losing their language day by day. However, after the restoration of democracy (1990), the younger generation of Darai seems to be aware of their language and culture.

Darai population has increased according to the 2001 census report. They number 10210. But hardly one-third of them can speak their language.

The Darais are mainly settled in Tanahu, Gorkha, Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Palpa and Dhading districts of Nepal. However, the majority of Darai people still live in several parts of the Tanahu district. In the same way, Chitwan comes second in terms of number of Darai people. The Darai people communicate in their own language, which lacks a separate script.

There are three dialects of Darai i.e Chitwan, Pipaltar and Damauli. At a purely lexical level, based on cognate counts from the Swadesh 100 word list, the similarity between the major branches of Darai is about 50 to 60 percent; which exhibits a high level of intelligibility between them. The count between Chitwan and Damauli, for example, is 57 percent. Intelligibility between Chitwan and Pipaltar is lower in comparison to Chitwan and Damauli (Paudyal 2003).¹ I have here mostly used the data from Pipaltar dialect of Darai which is considered to be an archaic variety of the language.

Though some of Darai people have Mongoloid look, but their language is affiliated to Indo-Aryan. A genealogical development route of Indo-Aryan languages shows that Old Indo-Aryan languages (OIA) split into several Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) dialects; among them the most popular were Maharashtri Prakrit, Sauraseni Prakrit and Magadhi (Jain 2003) and Ardhamagadhi Prakrit. Darai along with other languages, Bote, Majhi, Danuwar, Tharu, Kumal, Bengali, Oriya, Asamese, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Maithili form a linguistic group. Their source is traced back to the Ardhamagadhi Prakrit or Eastern Prakrit, which was brought to this area from Magadh. Lassen (in Clark 1924) tried to prove that the Prakrit dialect spoken in the Prabodhacandrodaya by the Digambara Jain monk, by the pupil of the Carvaka, and by the messenger from Orissa is Ardhamagadhi. Bhattacharya (1993) notes that Magadhi was the spoken language of eastern India, which was inhabited by large number of fishermen. He summarizes that Magadhi has some strong phonetic similarities which scholars think are due to its close contact with Non-Aryan languages. It is true with Darai people who were prominently boatmen and fishermen. But, instead of phonetic and phonological features, the syntactic and inflectional morphological features of Darai are similar to Non-Aryan

¹ ISO 639-3: dry. This data was collected during my Thesis research for MA in 2003. I am grateful with Prof. Madhav Pokharel for his very helpful guidance and supervision both in the fieldwork and during the thesis writing. It is verified with Kotapis and Kotapis 1973.

2. I also acknowledge the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst) scholarship (A/06/91690) to work on the Chintang language for my PhD degree. This opportunity helped me to compare Chintang and other Kiranti languages with Darai.

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languages.

The Darai language is called Darai Kura by the Darais themselves and the speakers of other neighboring languages as well. This is the language Grierson (1903) call Darhi and Dahi and Hodgson (1874) calls Dadhi.

1.1 Language Typology

Darai is a verb final language. Topics normally occur in the initial position. The dominant unmarked word order of the major constituents of the sentence is SOV. It is a nominative/ accusative language rather than an ergative/ absolutive language. It shows SOV, GN, AN, NREL, V AUX order. It is a suffixing language.

The following isolated sentence exemplifies unmarked word order, e.g.,

- (01) mɔ̃ b^hat k^hɔ̃i-tɔ̃-m
1s rice eat-NPST-1s
S O V
'I eat rice.'

Darai is a head-marking language where the core arguments are obligatorily marked on the verb; possession is marked on the possessed. Like other South Asian languages, there is no preference in the order of nominal elements.

A typological survey of Darai shows that its phonology and the nominal morphology follow the patterns of other Indo-Aryan languages of South-Asia. But the inflectional morphology and the agreement patterns in the syntax distinguish Darai from other languages of the same family. It is amazing that the agreement pattern based on person hierarchy of Darai is not only different from Nepali and Hindi but also it is completely different from Bote, Kumal (Gautam

2000, Parajuli 2000), Danuwar (Bhandari 2001), Majhi languages which are the close sister languages of Darai. In terms of inflectional morphology and syntactic relations, Darai shares some features of Tibeto-Burman languages.

2.0 Darai Agreement

In this section, I will discuss the various agreement patterns of Darai which function to copy features from possessive onto noun phrase and noun phrase onto verbal inflections.

2.1 Possessive Agreement

Unlike other Indo-Aryan languages, the possessive agreement system of Darai is similar to the Chintang and other Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal. In both languages, there are possessive markers that are at least in some persons distinct from regular personal pronouns. However, the languages vary as to whether these markers are themselves pronominal stems or affixes. Darai marks possession with various suffixes (see table 01), which are clearly different from pronominal stems. These suffixes cannot be inflected for case and they are strictly restricted for nominal stems.

However, Chintang, Puma (Gautam et. al 2005)²⁴ and number of other Kiranti languages employ prefixes to mark possession.

(02) Chintang

ak-ko a-khim

1s-GEN1Poss-house

My house

²⁴ Puma possessive markers for first and second person function as pronominal stems, but the third person functions as prefixes. (See Personal pronouns and Possessive pronouns in Puma Southern Kiranti, Gautam et. al)

(03) Puma (Gautam et. al 2005)

khokku-bo kʌ-khim

3s-GEN 3sPOSS-house

'His house

All possessive markers in Darai are phonologically bound i.e. procliticized and are attached to the head. In such cases, agreement in person and number is obligatory between possessors and possessed. When ownership is expressed the cross-reference is optionally marked. In the examples, (04-09), the suffixes –m, -Ø, -r, -u, -k, and -ikan are attached to the corresponding pronouns. These markers probably reflect various stages of historical developments of free pronouns into bound agreement markers.

i. Expressions of kin relationship

(04) me-rʌ b^hai-m

1s-POSS brother-1s

'My brother.'

(05) ham-rʌ b^hai-Ø

1p-POSS brother

'Our brother.'

(06) te-rʌ b^hai-r

2s-POSS brother-2s

'Your brother.'

(07) teu-rΛ b^hai-u
2p-POSS brother-2p
'You brothers.'

(08) ik-ra b^hai-k
3s-POSS brother-3s
'His brother.'

(09) onen-kΛ b^hai-kan
3p-POSS brother-3p
'Their brothers.'

The examples (04-09) show possessor-possessed agreement in Darai.

If a language has possessive agreement system with kin relationship, this does normally extend to ownership as well. This holds true with Darai. The examples 10-15 show that the pronouns agree with inanimate noun.

ii. Ownership

(10) me-rΛ g^hΛr-em
1s-POSS house-1s
'My house.'

(11) te-rΛ g^hΛr-er
2s-POSS house-2s
'Your house.'

- (12) ik-rΛ g^hΛr-ek
 3s-POSS house-3s
 'His house.'
- (13) ham-rΛ g^hΛr-Ø
 1p-POSS house-1p
 'Our house.'
- (14) teu-rΛ g^hΛr-eu
 2p-POSS house-2p
 'Your (p) house.'
- (15) onen-kΛ g^hΛr-ekan
 3p-POSS house-3p
 'Their house.'

Possessive agreement of these types is not a common feature of Indo-European/Indo-Aryan languages. It is rare not only in Himalayan but also among the South Asian languages (Pokharel 2006).

However, probably due to the strong influence of Nepali and Chitwan-Tharu, the Chitwan dialect of Darai has completely dropped the possessor agreement noted by Kotapish and Kotapish (1975), and Paudyal (2003), which is still found optionally in the Pipaltar variety of the same language. This can be observed in the examples (16-17), where the first and second person pronoun does not agree with the noun g^hΛr 'home' and gai 'cow'.

- (16) me-rΛ g^hΛr-Ø

1s-POSS house

'My house.'

(17) te-rΛ gai

2s-POSS cow

'Your cow.'

Table 01: Personal Pronouns and possessive marking suffix

	Pronouns	possessive marker
1s	mΛiü	-m
1p	hameü	-Ø
2s	tΛiü	-r
2p	taheü	-u
3s	u	-k
3p	unen	-kan

2.2 Verb Agreement

This is the most typical feature of Darai, which makes this language quite different from other languages of the same group. In verb agreement, pronominal marking is obligatorily on both intransitive and transitive predicates. An other interesting fact is that it does not make a difference whether coreferential nominal is present in the clause or not.

(18) de-ta-m-is

give-NPST-1s-2s

'I give to it you.'

Though, both the agent (A) and recipient (R) are missing from the clause, the example (18) is a grammatical sentence in Darai. But it may not be an interesting feature when we see the general trend of the languages of this area—‘South Asian languages in general have the ability to pro-drop any and all arguments’ (Butt 2001). The various types of verb agreement found in Darai are described below:

2.2.1 Dative Agreement

Dative Subject construction (Davison 1985) or Experience Subject construction (Verma 1990) or Experiencers goal construction (Bickel 2004), which is a general characteristic feature of South Asian languages throughout most of Indo-European and its neighboring languages, is also found in Darai. A general trend of Dative agreement in Indo-European/Indo-Aryan languages is that an experiencer qualifies as an agreement trigger if the argument is in the nominative, but not if it is in the dative (Bickel 1999, Ghimire 2002).

(19) Nepali (Bickel 1999)
ma bhut sanga ḍarā-ẽ
1s.NOM ghost with fear-1s.PST
‘I was afraid of the ghost.’

(20) Nepali (Bickel 1999)
ma-lāi bhut sanga ḍar lag-yo (*lā-ẽ)
1s-DAT ghost with fear feel-3s.PST
‘I was afraid of the ghost.’

The Nepali agreement rule illustrated above (19-20) reflects a general trend of Indo-Aryan languages (in Bickel 1999) where an oblique experiencer does not take part in the agreement.

But unlike Nepali and other Indo-Aryan languages, the case suffixes (either ergative or dative) do not function as blocking element with regard to the agreement morphology in the Darai language, the overtly case marked subject nominal (dative marked here) can trigger agreement on the verb.

(21) mer_Λ-ke b^hok lag_Λ-t_Λ-m
1s-DAT hunger touch-NPST-1s
'I am hungry/ I feel hungry.'

(22) ter_Λ-ke b^hok lag_Λ-t_Λ-s
2s-DAT hunger touch-NPST-2s
'You feel hungry.'

(23) ukr_Λ-ke b^hok lag_Λ-ta-k
3s-DAT hunger touch-NPST-3s
'He feels hunger.'

(24) hamr_Λ-ke b^hok lag_Λ-ta-ir
1p-DAT hunger touch-NPST-1p
'We feel hunger.'

(25) teur_Λ-ke b^hok lag_Λ-ta-u
2p-DAT hunger touch-NPST-2p
'You feel hunger.'

(26) onen-ke b^hok lag_Λ-ta-kan
3p-DAT hunger touch-NPST-3p

'They feel hunger.'

These examples (21-26) show that the subject nominals are overtly case marked with dative case suffix -ke. The verb stem, however, takes the agreement markers that are coreferential to the subject nominal. In example, (21), the subject nominal is first person singular $me\lambda$ -ke 1s-DAT and the agreement marker that occur with the verb stem -m entails the dative agreement. There is also a semantic restriction for the occurrence of the dative case clitic. In general, it is restricted to the animate nominals.

2.2.2 Possessive of experience

Himalayan languages code experiencers in two broad areal patterns (Bickel 2004). The most common across the Indo-European languages is experiencer-goal or Dative subject construction, which is already discussed in the 2.2.1 of this paper. In the Himalayas, it is universal in the Indo-Aryan languages, but has also spread into adjacent Tibeto-Burman languages (and in to Burushaski; Bashir 1985). It is vigorously attested in the Newar and the Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal, and also in the western Tibetan language Balti (Bickel 2004). Apart from Dative subject construction, in the Northeastern part of the Indic subcontinent, occur the Experiencers-possessor constructions, which spread all over South-East Asia (including Myo-Yao, Mon Khmer, and Tai-Kadai languages). It is widely found in the Kiranti languages, but apart from few examples in Newar it is not a common feature of other Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages. In Indo-Aryan, except for Maithili (Yadava 1996) and Marathi in the majority of South Asian Indo-Aryan languages, a verb does not agree across a postposition (Kachru, 1980). However, the recent research shows that in Darai a verb agrees with the possessor typically in comparative situation of the Dative Subject construction, which is sometime termed as 'Possessive of experience' or 'Experiences-possessor'. Such constructions recapitulate the pan-Southeast Asian theme of what Matisoff (1986) calls psycho-collocations or haplogized, psycholocations. Among Indo-Aryan

languages, it is also found to some extent in Assamese, Bangla and Oriya adjacent to the Tibeto-Burman world (Bickel 2004).

These examples (27-32) show that the possessive subject agrees with the verb.

(27) me-rΛ peT bot^ha-im
1s-POSS stomach hurt-1s
'I have a stomach ache.'

(28) te-rΛ peT bot^ha-ir
2s-POSS stomach hurt-2s
'You have a stomach ache.'

(29) ik-rΛ peT bot^ha-ik
3s-POSS stomach hurt-3s
'He has a stomach ache.'

(30) ham-rΛ peT bot^ha-it
1p-POSS stomach hurt-1p
'We have a stomach ache.'

(31) teu-rΛ peT bot^ha-iu
2p-POSS stomach hurt-2p
'You (pl) have a stomach ache.'

(32) onen-kΛ peT bot^ha-ikan
3p-POSS stomach hurt-3p

'They have a stomach ache.'

2.2.3 Object Verb Agreement

It is well known that objects whose features are high on one of the animacy/topicality hierarchies (e.g. human, specific, first person, etc.) are more likely to trigger agreement (Comrie 1981, Das 2006). However, this generalization has not been easy to capture in formal syntactic theories because the actual conditions on object agreement differ considerably from language to language. The following examples show object verb agreement in Darai:

(33) u teur_Λ-ke cin-t_Λ-s
3s 2s-DAT know-NPST-2s
'He recognizes you.'

(34) u de-t_Λ-is
3s give-NPST-2s
'He gives to you.'

The verb in examples (33-34) agrees with the object or the recipient instead of the subject. Such type of agreement occurs when there is a third person subject and a second person object in the specific statement. In this case, the verb does not agree with the third person subject but with the second person object, i.e. the highest ranking participant 2>3.

In the structural theory of object agreement according to Chomsky 1992, agreement can occur if an object moves out of the VP to the object agreement position, Spec Agr-O. Objects that remain inside VP do not trigger agreement. In a language where all objects agree, all the objects move to Spec Agr-O (perhaps because case is not available inside VP). In a language

with no object agreement, objects remain inside the VP or the language family simply lacks overt object agreement.

The problem is how to handle a language like Darai in which only some objects trigger agreement. For this, Chomsky 1992 proposes two possible approaches. The simpler approach would be one in which all objects move to Spec Agr-O, but because of the gaps in the inventory of overt agreement morphemes, only some objects trigger overt agreement. The next approach explains that only the agreeing objects move, while the non-agreeing objects remain in the VP.

2.2.4 Subject Object agreement and person hierarchy

Darai shows poly-personal agreement when the speech act participants are in the subject and object position. Both the subject and object trigger agreement when the person higher in animacy is in the subject position and the object is lower in person hierarchy than the subject. The following are the examples of the subject and object agreement:

(35) mɔ̃ de-ta-m-is

1s give-NPST-1s-2s

'I give to you.'

(36) mɔ̃ de-ta-m-ik

1s give-NPST-1s-3s

'I give to him.'

(37) mɔ̃ de-ta-m-iu

1s give-NPST-1s-2p

'I give to you.'

- (38) mɫĩ de-ta-m-ikan
1s give-NPST-1s-3p
'I give to them.'

- (39) tɫĩ de-ta-s-ik
2s give-NPST-2s-3s
'You give to him.'

- (40) tɫĩ de-ta-s-ikan
2s give-NPST-2s-3p
'You give to them.'

This direct form is used when the subject has higher obviation status in terms of person hierarchy i.e. 1>2>3. It means, there is poly-personal agreement when a subject is the first person and an object is either second or third person. It is illustrated in examples (35-40) above. In the same way it also occurs when the subject is second person and object is third person. It is illustrated in the examples (39-40) above.

However, there is no poly personal agreement when the subject (pronoun) is lower in animacy hierarchy than the object. It is illustrated below in (41-43).

- (41) tɫĩ me-ke de-tɫ-s
2s 1s-DAT give-NPST-2s
'You give to me.'

(42) u merai-ke di-t-Ø
3s 1s-DAT give-NPST-3s
'He gives to me'

(43) u hamrΛ-ke di-t-Ø
3s 1p-DAT give-NPST-3s
'He gives to us.'

In the above examples, the subject is lower in person hierarchy than the object. The first person pronoun is acting as an object in all the examples. In this case, the object does not trigger any agreement with the verb. There is no first person agreement (either singular or plural) when it appears as an object in Darai. In this case, there is no hierarchy-based agreement.

But the second person behaves differently in Darai. It outranks third person and even first person object. It always triggers agreement no matter whether it is in agent or recipient role. In the examples below, the second person is a recipient object and it is taking part in verb agreement. Like North American languages mentioned earlier, Darai exhibits a person hierarchy based agreement when the speech act participants are second and third person in inverse relation i.e. $3 \rightarrow 2 = 2$.

(44) u de-ta-is
3s give-NPST-2s
'He gives to you.'

(45) u tΛhe-ke de-tΛ-iu
3s 2p-DAT give-NPST-2p
'He gives to you (p)'.

Agreement with first person plural subject:

The recipient does not trigger agreement if the subject is first person plural. In the examples (46-49), the first person plural subject agrees with the verb *de* ‘give’. It seems the first person plural can be a most powerful argument to fill the subject slot in a transitive clause. But it loses its strength when it has to appear as an object (see example 41-43).

(46) hame terai-ke de-t Λ -ir
1p 2s-DAT give-NPST-1p
‘We give to you’.

(47) hame ukrai-ke de-t Λ -ir
1p 3s-DAT give-NPST-1p
‘We give to him’

(48) hame teurai-ke de-t Λ -ir
1p 2p-DAT give-NPST-1p
‘We give to you (p)’.

(49) hame onen-ke de-t Λ -ir
1p 3p-DAT give-NPST-1p
‘We give to them’.

Table 02: Transitive verb paradigm: NPST (illustrated by de, to give)ⁱ

	1s	1p	2s	2p	3s	3p
1s			de-tΛ-m-is	de-tΛ-m-iu	de-tΛ-m-ik	de-tΛ-m-ikan
1p			de-tΛ-ir	de-tΛ-ir	de-tΛ-ir	de-tΛ-ir
2s	de-tΛ-s	de-tΛ-s			de-tΛ-s-ik	de-tΛ-s-ikan
2p	de-tΛ-u	de-tΛ-u			de-tΛ-u-k	de-tΛ-u-kan
3s	di-t	di-t	de-tΛ-is	de-tΛ-iu	de-tΛ-ik	de-tΛ-ikan
3p	de-tΛ-t	de-tΛ-t	de-tΛ-is	de-tΛ-iu	de-tΛ-ik	de-tΛ-ikan

In brief, poly personal agreement in leaner order occurs only when the object is lower than the subject on the person hierarchy: 1>2>3. Thus, 1→2, 1→3, 2→3 all have subject object agreement.

In the semantic inverse, 2→1, 3→1 or 3→2 (41-45) the verb agrees with one person only the highest-ranking non-first person.

The Darai agreement system typologically resembles to a number of Native American languages. In both cases, there is agreement on the basis of person hierarchy. But still there is a very interesting difference between them. In general, only one core argument is marked on the predicate following a hierarchy whereby speech act participants, i.e. first and second persons, are favored over third person in North American languages (Jany 2008), especially in Chimariko (50-51). But the Darai language marks the both core arguments when they are in direct relation; it marks the highest-ranking non-first person only in the inverse relation.

(50) m-oko-xana-ʔ
 2s-tattoo-FUT-Q
 ‘Are you going to tattoo her?’ (Chimariko: Jany 2008)

(51) q^ha-k’o-ʔna-ʔ
 2p-talk-APPL-Q
 ‘Was he talking to you?’ (Chimariko: Jany 2008)

The example (50) shows the pattern 2>3=>2 and the example is 51) 3>2=>2. In both cases, the second person is favored over the third person. However, in clauses where only speech act participant occur, both participants are marked.

(52) m-e-xota
 2s-1s.P-look.at
 ‘You look at me’.

(53) m-ixota
 2s-look.at
 ‘You look at it’. (Chimariko: Jany 2008)

All the possible agreement relations are shown in the Table 03

Darai (Nepal)	Chimariko (North America)
1>3=>1+3 both marked	1>3=>1 agent marked
2>3=>2+3 both marked	2>3=>2 marked
3>1=>3 agent marked	3>1=>1 patient marked
3>2s=>2s marked	3>2s=>2 marked
3>2p=>2p marked	3>2p=>2p patient marked
1>2=>1+2 both marked	1>2=>1 agent marked
2>1=>2 agent marked	2>1=>2 marked+1 patient marked
3>3=>3 marked	3>3=>3 marked

Table 03: Person hierarchy in Darai and Chimariko

In general, Darai marks the both core arguments when the arguments are in hierarchical linear order i.e. 1>2>3 in direct relation. But the basic trend of Chimariko is that it marks only one core argument on the predicate following a hierarchy. In both the languages first and second person are favored over third person. However, unlike Darai and Chimariko, Kadiweu, a South American language, exhibits a ‘second person over first’ in the agreement system, i.e. 2>1 order (Sandalo 2008).

2.2.5 Subject Verb Agreement

In some Indo-Aryan languages, the case markers appear to be a constraint in mediating the agreement between verbal elements and the argument. But Darai agrees with both the marked and unmarked nominal.

In this section two types of subject verb agreement are discussed: Subject Agreement with intransitive verb and subject agreement with transitive verb. In Darai, agreement is restricted to the Non-past environment.

i) Subject agreement in intransitive clause

Most of the intransitive verbs in Darai show agreement with their subjects. These examples of intransitive verbs (54-55) show that they are one place predicate with regard to argument

structure. The verbs of these clauses agree with their subjects in person, number, and gender. However, it is possible that the intransitive verb optionally takes a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, but the verb does not agree with it.

(54) mλĩ λi-tλ-m
1s come-NPST-1s
'I come.'

(55) hamẽ λi-ta-ir
1p come-NPST-1p
'We come.'

(56) tλĩ λi-tλ-s
2s come-NPST-2s
'You come.'

(57) tλhẽ λi-ta-u
2p come-NPST-2p
'You (p) come.'

(58) u λi-t
3s come-NPST-3s
'he comes.'

(59) onen λi-ta-t
3p come-NPST-3p
'They come.'

These (54-59) examples show agreement in intransitive clauses. The following are the affixes for various pronominal cross-references.

Table 04: Cross referent suffixes.

Person / Number	Singular	Plural
1 st	-m	-ir
2 nd	-s	-u
3 rd	-Ø	-t

ii.) Subject Agreement with transitive verb

In a transitive clause, there is an external and an internal argument that is the subject and direct object respectively. The verb in the following sentences (61-63) shows agreement with nominative subject.

(60) mɹĩ kitap an-tɹ-m
 1s book bring-NPST-1s
 'I bring the book.'

(61) hamẽ kitap an-ta-ir
 1p book bring-NPST-1p
 'We bring the book.'

(62) tɹĩ kitap an-tɹ-s
 2s book bring-NPST-2s
 'You bring the book.'

(63) tɹhẽ kitap an-ta-u
 2p book bring-NPST-2p

'2p bring the book.'

First person $m\Delta i$ 'I' triggers agreement with the transitive verb an 'bring' (60); pronominal marker of the first person $-m$ is attached to the verb. In the same way, the first person plural, second person singular and plural also appear on the verb (61-63).

3.0 Animacy hierarchy and morphosyntactic alignment

Animacy can also influence the nature of morphologies of languages which are split-ergative. In such languages, participants, which are more animate, are more likely to be the agent of the verb, and therefore are marked in an accusative pattern: unmarked in the agent role and marked in the patient or oblique role. Likewise, less animate participants are inherently more patient-like, and take ergative marking: unmarked when in the patient role and marked when in the agent role. The hierarchy of person/animacy generally, but not always, is ordered in the following way:

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > proper names > humans > non-humans > animates > inanimate

The location of the split (the line which divides the inherently agentive participants from the inherently patientive participants) varies from language to language, and in many cases the two classes overlap, with a class of nouns near the middle of the hierarchy being marked for both the agent and patient roles.

In a direct-inverse language clauses with transitive verbs can be expressed either using a direct or an inverse construction. The direct construction is used when the subject of the transitive clause outranks the object in salience or animacy but the inverse is used when the object outranks the subject. Both types of constructions are found in Darai.

4.0 Conclusion

Poly personal agreement or biactantial agreement is not a common feature of Indo-European/Indo-Aryan languages. However, it is noted in number of Sino-Tibetan languages including Kiranti. Darai is a unique Indo-Aryan language, where one can find not only biactantial agreement, but also a very clear linear order of arguments in agreement i.e. 1>2>3. In its inverse relation, Darai also shows person hierarchy based agreement that has been a topic of concern in typological studies for a long time. It is a very common phenomenon in North and South American languages. But it was not observed in the languages of South-Asia.

From the typological standpoint, this phenomenon relies on a tight relationship between morphological expression and constructional markedness hierarchies. Such markedness hierarchies predict which arguments are more likely to take the function of subjects. Arguments high on the scale make better subjects and those low on the scale are better objects.

5.4 Negation

In Darai, negation is indicated by the use of particles *nijge* and *na*. However, in some identificational sentences it is also indicated by suffix *-n* to the verb.

5.4.1 Existential Negative

In Darai, existential negative is formed with the particle *nijge*. It is used in both past and nonpast sentences. The most interesting phenomenon is that the negative particle replaces the 'be' verb in nonpast, but in the past it can not. It is illustrated in the following examples:

Nonpast

- (89) a. *māi ichi ba-m*
I here EXI-be-Nonpast-1S
'I am here.'
- b. *māi ichi niŋge.*
I here NEG
'I am not here.'
- (90) a. *hamē ichi ba-i*
we here be.EXI-Nonpast-1Pl
'We are here.'
- b. *hamē ichi niŋge*
we here NEG
'We are not here.'
- (91) a. *tāi ichi ba-s*
you here be.EXI-Nonpast-2S
'You are here.'
- b. *tāi ichi niŋge*
you here NEG
'You are not here.'
- (92) a. *u ichi ba-i*
s/he here be.EXI-Nonpast-3S
'S/he is here.'
- b. *u ichi niŋge*
s/he here NEG
'S/he is not here.'

Past

- (93) a. *māi ichi rΛ-m*
I here EXI.be.PST-1S
'I was here.'
- b. *māi ichi niŋge rΛ-m*
I here NEG be.EXI.PST-1S
'I was not here.'
- (94) a. *hamē ichi rΛ-i*
we here be.EXI.PST-1Pl
'We were here.'
- b. *hamē ichi niŋge rΛ-i*
we here NEG be.EXI.PST-1Pl
'We were not here.'
- (95) a. *tāi ichi rΛ-s*
you here be.EXI.PST-2S
'You were here.'
- b. *tāi ichi niŋge rΛ-s*
you here NEG be.EXI.PST-2S
'You were not here.'

5.4.2 Identificational Negative

The indentificational negative is also of two types: Past and Nonpast. The nonpast is negativized by suffixing the negative marker /-n/ to the verb, but the past is negativized with the help of particle *niŋge*. Both of these are illustrated in the

following examples.

Non-past

- (96) a. *māi beTa ho*
I boy be.IDN-Nonpast-1S
'I am a boy.'
- b. *māi beTa ho-i-n*
I boy be.IDN-NEG-Nonpast-1S
'I am not a boy.'
- (97) a. *tāi boTe ho*
you boatman be.IDN-Nonpast-2S
'You are a boatman.'

- b. *tāi boTe ho-i-n*
you boatman be.IDN.NEG-Nonpast-2S
'You are not a boatman.'

Past

- (98) a. *māi pass b^hai-la*
I pass be-PST
'I passed (the exam).'
- b. *māi pass niṅge b^hai-la*
I pass NEG be-PST
'I did not pass (the exam).'
- (99) a. *hamē pass b^hai-la*
we pass be-PST

'We passed (the exam).'

b. *hamẽ pass niŋge b^hli-la*

we pass NEG be-PST

'We did not pass (the exam).'

5.4.3 Other Negatives

Non-copular verbs can be negativized by both prefixing a negative marker *na-* to the verb root and with the help of particle *niŋge*. /*na-*/ is added for non-past and *niŋge* is for past sentences. It is illustrated with the help of examples, e.g., (102-107) non-past and (100-109) past sentences.

Non-past

(100) a. *mɔĩ b^hat k^hli-tɔ-m*

I rice eat-Nonpast-1S

'I eat rice.'

b. *mɔĩ b^hat na-k^ha-m*

I rice NEG-eat-1S

'I do not eat rice.'

(101) a. *hamẽ b^hat k^ha-ta-ir*

we rice eat-Nonpast-1Pl

'We eat rice.'

b. *hamẽ b^hat na-k^ha-ir*

we rice NEG-eat-1Pl

'We do not eat rice.'

- (102) a. *tʌĩ b^hat k^hʌ-tʌ-s*
 you rice eat-Nonpast-2S
 'You eat rice.'
- b. *tʌĩ b^hat na-k^ha-s*
 you rice NEG-eat-2S
 'You do not eat rice.'
- (103) a. *tʌhẽ b^hat k^hʌi-ta-u*
 you rice eat-Nonpast-2Pl
 'You (pl.) eat rice.'
- b. *tʌhẽ b^hat na-k^ha-u*
 you rice NEG-eat-2Pl
 'You (pl.) do not eat rice.'
- (104) a. *u b^hat k^hʌi-t*
 he rice eat-Nonpast-3S
 'He eats rice.'
- b. *u b^hat na-k^hʌi-ϕ*
 he rice NEG-eat-3S
 'He does not eat rice.'
- (105) a. *onen b^hat khʌi-ta-n*
 they rice eat-Nonpast-3Pl
 'They eat rice.'
- b. *onen b^hat na-khʌi-ϕ*
 they rice NEG-eat-3Pl
 'They do not eat rice.'

Note: tense marker is deleted in negative sentences.

Past

- (106) a. *māi li-la*
I come-PST
'I came.'
- b. *māi niṅge li-la*
I NEG-come-PST
'I did not come.'
- (107) a. *hamē li-la*
we come-PST
'We came.'
- b. *hamē niṅge li-la*
we NEG-come-PST
'We did not come.'
- (108) a. *tāi mar-la*
you die-PST
'You died.'
- b. *tāi niṅge mar-la*
you NEG-die-PST
'You did not die.'
- (109) a. *tahē mar-la*
you (Pl) die-PST
'You (Pl) died.'
- b. *tahē niṅge mar-la*
you (Pl) NEG-die-PST

'You (Pl) did not die.'

Table 11: Negative marker in Nonpast and Past tenses.

Nonpast	Past
<i>-na</i>	<i>niŋge</i>

5.5 Reflexivization

So far as reflexive constructions are concerned Darai language has *ap^hai* 'self' for nominal types and *ap^han* 'one's' for possessives. The nominal reflexive marker *ap^hai* refers to animate as well as inanimate where as *ap^han* 'one's' refers to possessive reflexives.

5.5.1 Nominal Reflexive

The nominal reflexive in Darai, refers to nouns or pronouns which precede reflexive marker in the sentences. Examples of nominal reflexives are illustrated below:

(110) *mã ciT^{hi} ap^hai lek^h-l^h*

I letter REFL write-PST

'I wrote the letter myself.'

(111) *hamẽ ciT^{hi} ap^hai lek^h-l^h*

we letter REFL write-PST

'We wrote the letter ourselves.'

(112) *tã ciT^{hi} ap^hai lek^h-l^h*

you letter REFL write-PST

'You wrote the letter yourself.'

(113) *tʌhẽ ciT^{hi} ap^hʌi lek^h-lʌ*
you(Pl) letter REFL write-PST
'You(Pl) wrote the letter yourselves.'

(114) *u ciT^{hi} ap^hʌi lek^h-lʌ*
he letter REFL write-PST
'He wrote the letter himself.'

(115) *onen ciT^{hi} ap^hʌi lek^h-lʌ*
they letter REFL write-PST
'They wrote the letter themselves.'

Deagentive Nominals

Reflexive markers develop a 'deagentive function'. They are used to encode spontaneous events not attributed by external agency. This feature is also found in Darai. They are illustrated in the following examples.

(116) *biruwa ap^hʌi mʌr-lʌ*
plant REFL die-PST
'The plant died itself.'

(117) *pat^hʌr ap^hʌi k^hʌs-lʌ*
stone REFL fall-PST
'The stone fell itself.'

5.5.2 Possessive Reflexives

apʌn is possessive reflexive marker in Darai. It should be followed by noun or noun phrase which is then followed by the ver. If it is not so, it is ungrammatical, e.g.,

(118) *mã apʌn cʰagʌri bec-la*

I REFL goat sell-PST

'I sold my own goat.'

(119) *tã apʌn uya niŋge cin-la*

you REFL mother not recognize-PST

'You did not recognize your mother.'

Possessive reflexive is found in all the dialects of Darai language. However, in Chitwan dialect of Darai *apun* is used instead of *apʌn*. It may be the influence of Tharu language. Examples

(120) *mõ apun cʰagʌri bec-la*

I REFL goat sell-PST-1S

'I sold my goat.'

5.6 Causativization

The morphological process of causative verb formation has been discussed in morphology, the syntax of causativization is discussed below:

In a syntactic causative, a 'vector' bearing causative meaning follows the infinitive form of the main verb. A thorough syntactic analysis of causativization in Darai must address the following two issues: (i) readjustment of grammatical relations

(e.g., subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique object, etc.) in view of the presence of an extra noun phrase (causer) in the corresponding causative sentence; and (ii) determining the case of the causee(s).

5.6.1 Causatives of Intransitive

In the causative of an intransitive sentence, the extra noun phrase (causer) appears as the subject, while the subject of the erstwhile intransitive sentence functions as direct object (causee). The direct object (causee), when an animate noun, is marked by the accusative-dative postposition */-ke/*. But when the direct object is an inanimate noun, it is generally unmarked for case. The causer NP, which functions as the subject, is in the nominative case and is unmarked for case. The following examples are illustrative:

- (121) a. *c^hawa sut-lλ*
 son sleep-PST
 'The son slept.'
- b. *u c^hawa-ke sut-ai-ke le-lλ*
 he son-DAT sleep-CAUS take-PST
 'He made the son sleep.'
- (122) a. *b^heguta up^hrλ-lλ*
 frog jump-PST
 'The frog jumped.'
- b. *ramē b^heguta-ke upr-ai-ke le-lλ*
 Ram frog-DAT jump-CAUS take-PST
 'Ram made the frog jump.'

However, in the case of inanimate direct object dative marker is not used, e.g.,

- (123) a. *pat^har k^has-l λ*
stone fell-PST
'The stone fall.'
- b. *ramẽ pat^har k^has-ai-l λ*
Ram stone fell-CAUS-PST
'Ram caused stone to fell.'
- (124) a. *am gir-l λ*
mango fell-PST
'The mango fall.'
- b. *ban \wedge re am gir-ai-l λ*
monkey mango fell-CAUS-PST
'The monkey mango to fell.'

5.6.2 Causative of Monotransitive

In the causative of a monotransitive sentence, the extra noun phrase (causer) appear as the subject, while the subject of the transitive sentence with a direct object becomes an indirect object. If the indirect object functions as a patient, it is marked by the accusative Dative Postposition *-ke*. The direct object of the basic transitive verbs remains as the direct object of the causative construction, as exemplified in the following constructions:

- (125) a. *rame kitab p \wedge D-l λ*
Ram book read-PST

'Ram read a book.'

b. *hʌri rame-ke kitab pʌD-ai le-lʌ*

Hari Ram-DAT book read-CAUS take-PST

'Hari made Ram to read the book.'

(126) a. *b^hai bʌl k^hel-lʌ*

brother ball play-PST

'The brother played a ball.'

b. *rame b^hai-ke bʌl k^hel-ai le-lʌ*

Ram brother-DAT ball play-CAUS take-PST

'Ram caused the brother to play the ball.'

On the other hand, if the causee is agentive in function, it becomes an oblique object and is marked by the (instrumental) postposition *bate*, e.g.,

(127) a. *beTa ruk^h kat-lʌ*

son tree cut-PST

'The son cut a tree.'

b. *uya beTa bate ruk^h kat-ai le-lʌ*

mother son ABL tree cut-CAUS take-PST

'The mother caused the son to cut the tree.'

(128) a. *kʌmʌl g^hʌr bʌna-lʌ*

Kamal house make-PST

'Kamal made a house.'

b. *mʌĩ kʌmʌl bate g^hʌr bʌna-ai le-lʌ*

I Kamal ABL house make-CAUS take-PST

'I caused Kamal to make (my) house.'

5.6.3 Causative of Ditransitive

The subject of the noncausative transitive sentence with both indirect and direct objects becomes an oblique object in the corresponding causative construction – to avoid doubling on indirect object and direct object, as it were. The oblique object is marked by the (instrumental) postposition *bate*, e.g.,

(129) a. *mohʌn ram-ke ciT^{hi} lek^h-lʌ*

Mohan Ram-DAT letter write-PST

'Mohan wrote a letter to Ram.'

b. *syam mohʌn bate rame-ke ciT^{hi} lek^h-ai le-lʌ*

Shyam Mohan-ABL Ram-DAT letter write-CAUS take-PST

'Shyam caused Mohan to write a letter to Ram.'

(130) a. *b^{hi}ai bʌhini-ke am de-lʌ*

brother sister-DAT mango give-PST

'The brother gave a mango to the sister.'

b. *bwa b^{hi}ai bete bʌhini-ke am de-lai le-lʌ*

father brother-ABL sister-DAT mango give-CAUS take-PST

'The father caused the brother to give a mango to the sister.'

5.7 Relativization

There are two strategies of relativization in Darai. One of the strategies is the Indo-European type and the other one is the South Asian type. In the Indo

European type there are two clauses, one of which has the relative pronominal typically beginning with the consonant /j-/. The other clause should have a pronominal initiated by a vowel /u-/ or a consonant /t-/. Darai shows this strategy in the following data.

(131) a. *mɔ̃ jan-lɔ*

I know-PST

'I knew.'

b. *mɔ̃ bʰɔn-lɔ*

I tell-PST

'I told.'

c. *je mɔ̃ jan-lɔ tei bʰɔn-lɔ*

whatever-REL I know-PST that tell-PST

'I said what I knew.'

(132) a. *uk-rɔ bwak mɔrl-lɔ*

s/he-POSS father die-PST

'His father died.'

b. *u turo bʰɔi-lɔ*

s/he orphan be-PST

'He became an orphan.'

c. *ʃɔk-rɔ bwak mɔr-lɔ uk-rɔ cʰawa turo bʰɔi-lɔ*

who-REL-POSS father die-PST s/he-POSS son orphan be-PST

'He whose father died became an orphan.'

In the Indo-European languages of Nepal, including Nepali, there has been developed another pattern where a relative clause begins with an interrogative pronominal starting with the consonant /k-/ instead of the relative pronominal that begins with /j-/. Darai also has followed this pattern, e.g.,

Darai also has followed this pattern, e.g.,

(133) a. *rame tici jʌi-lʌ*

Ram there go-PST

'Ram went there.'

b. *sita tici jʌi-li*

Sita there go-PST.F

'Sita went there.'

c. *rame kʌc^hi jʌi-lʌ sita tici jʌi-li*

Ram where go-PST Sita there go-PST.F

'Sita went where Ram went.'

(134) a. *beta han-lʌ*

boy hit-PST

'The boy hit.'

b. *beta jan-lʌ*

boy know-PST

'The boy knew.'

c. *kʌne han-lʌ one jan-lʌ*

whoever hit-PST he know-PST

'He who hit knew.'

(135) a. *bak kʌra-lʌ*

- tiger roar-PST
'The tiger roared.'
- b. *c^hagri hera-la*
goat lose-PST
'The goat lost.'
- c. *ka^hun bak kara-la ta^b c^hagri hera-la*
whenever tiger roar-PST then goat lose-PST
'The goat lost when the tiger roared.'
- (136) a. *u bac^a-la*
s/he live-PST
'S/he survived.'
- b. *u kuc^h dek^h-la*
s/he some see-PST
'S/he saw something.'
- c. *kaⁿ bac^a-la u kuc^h dek^h-la*
who live-PST s/he some see-PST
'He who survived saw something.'

This pattern is believed to have been borrowed from Tibeto-Burman languages which previously had borrowed it from the Indo-European language like Nepali (Genetti, 1994).

On the same structure Darai has innovated the use of demonstrative pronominal beginning with /t-/ instead of the relative /j-/ or the interrogative /k-/ , e.g.,

- (137) a. *ukra-ke kukur ni-kapt^alati*
she-DAT dog NEG-bite-PST.F

'The dog did not bite her.'

b. *ukra-ke daktre dawai na-dik*

s/he-DAT doctor medicine NEG-give-PST

'The doctor did not give the medicine (to him/her).'

c. *tikra-ke kukur ni-kaptilati ukra-ke daktre dawai na-dik*

that-DAT dog NEG-bite-PST s/he-DAT doctor medicine NEG-give-PST

'The doctor did not give the medicine to him whom the dog did not bite.'

Besides, the following is the example of relative clause which is typically

found in South-Asian language, e.g.,

(138) a. *mã pen dek^h-la*

I pen see-PST

'I saw a pen.'

b. *u pen ramr[∧] bai*

that pen good be-PST

'That pen was good.'

c. *mã dek^h-la pen ramr[∧] bai*

I see-PST pen good be-PST

'The pen which I saw was rice.'

These above data on relativization affiliate Darai as a represented of both the Indo-European and South Asian languages.

5.9 Clause Combining

In the Darai language, both types of conjunctions (co-ordinating and subordinating) are used to combine the constituents of the sentences.

5.9.1 Co-ordination

Darai uses three different types of co-ordinating conjunctions to link units equal status, e.g., phrases and sentences. Two co-ordinated phrases form a new phrase of the same type as the two constituent conjoin (Arts, 1997).

5.9.1.1 Additive

Darai uses *rΛ* 'and' as an additive type of co-ordinating conjunction. It combines two NPs, VPs AdvPs or other kinds of phrases. In the following examples, (139c, 140c) are for the following examples, (141c) for verb phrases, and (142c) is for adjective phrase.

- (139) a. *mΛĩ b^hat k^hΛi-lΛ*
I rice eat-PST
'I ate rice.'
- b. *mΛĩ tΛrkari k^hΛi-lΛ*
I vegetable eat-PST
'I ate vegetable.'
- c. *mΛĩ b^hat rΛ tΛrkari k^hΛi-lΛ*
I rice and vegetable eat-PST
'I ate rice and vegetable.'
- (140) a. *bwa Λi-lΛ*
father come-PST
'The father come.'
- b. *uya Λi-lΛ*

mother come-PST

'The mother came.'

c. *uya rΛ bwa Λi-lΛ*

mother and father come-PST

'The mother and father came.'

(141) a. *mΛĩ Λi-lΛ*

I come-PST

'I came.'

b. *mΛĩ jΛi-lΛ*

I go-PST

'I went.'

c. *mΛĩ Λi-lΛ rΛ jΛi-lΛ*

I come-PST and go-PST

'I came and went.'

(142) a. *c^hao dubrΛ rΛ-I*

son thin be.EXI-PST3S

'The son was tall.'

b. *c^hao Λlko rΛ-i*

son tall be.EXI-PST3S

'the was tall.'

c. *c^hao dubrΛ rΛ Λlko rΛ-i*

son thin and tall be.EXI-PST3S

'The son was tall and thin.'

5.9.1.2 Alternative

Darai uses kite 'either ... or' as an alternative conjunction. They are illustrated in the examples, (143c).

(143) a. *ramē pok^hara b_{AS}-l_A*

Ram Pokhara stay-PST

'Ram stayed in Pokhara.'

b. *ramē Pipaltar b_{AS}-l_A*

Ram Pipaltar stay-PST

'Ram stayed at Pipaltar.'

c. *ramē pok^hara kite pipaltar b_{AS}-l_A*

Ram Pokhara or Pipaltar stay-PST

'Ram stayed in either Pokhara or Pipaltar.'

5.9.1.3 Correlative

Darai uses p_{ANI} 'also' as a correlative conjunction. It can combine the structure of different phrases, e.g., NP with NP and VP with VP. The examples, (144) are for nouns and (145) for verbs.

(144) a. *māi nid_{AI}-l_A*

I sleep-PST

'I fell asleep.'

b. *tāi nid_{AI}-l_A*

you sleep-PST

'You fell asleep.'

c. *mã pãñ nidli-lã mã pãñ nidli-lã*

I COR sleep-PST you COR sleep-PST

'Not also I but also you fell asleep.'

(145) a. *u b^hat k^hli-lã*

he rice eat-PST

'He ate rice.'

b. *u tarkari k^hli-lã*

he vegetable eat-PST

'He ate vegetable.'

c. *u b^hat pãni k^hi-lã tarkari pãni k^hli-lã*

he rice COR eat-PST vegetable COR eat-PST

'He not only ate rice but also vegetable.'

5.9.2 Subordination

The Darai languages has different subordinating conjunctions. They are resultive, casual, purposive, purposive, concessive, and conjunctive participle *-erã*

5.9.2.1 Resultive

Darai uses *tenãile* 'therefore' as the resultive conjunction. It cobines two different sentences. It follows the statement which proves the result of something. They are exemplified in the following examples (146).

(146) a. *ramẽ bãillo rã-i*

Ram strong be.EXI-PST

'Ram was strong.'

b. *ramē bʌʔkʌ bʰar bok-lʌ*

Ram big weight hold-PST

'Ram carried the big bag.'

c. *ramē bʌillo rʌ-i tesʌile u bʌʔkʌ bʰar bok-lʌ*

Ram strong be.EXI-PST therefore he big hold-PST

'Ram was strong, therefore he carried the big bag.'

5.9.2.2 Causal

Darai uses *kʌnki* 'because' to express cause due to which something did happen or did not happen. It is exemplified in the examples (147).

(147) a. *mʌĩ gʰʌr bʌs-lʌ*

I house sit-PST

'I stayed at home.'

b. *me-rʌ goʔ bʌtʰ-lʌ*

my-POSS leg pain-PST

'My leg had ached.'

c. *mʌĩ gʰʌr bʌs-lʌ kʌnki me-rʌ goʔ bʌtʰ-lʌ*

I house sit-PST because me-POSS leg pain-PST

'I stayed at home because there had pain in my leg.'

5.9.2.3 Purposive

In Darai, purposive clauses are formed with the suffix *-ke* which is placed after the infinitive form of the verb as in the example (148c). However, the infinitive form itself also functions as purposive as in the example (149).

- (148) a. *u b^hok meT- λ i-l λ*
 he hunger rub-CAUS-PST
 'He killed the hunger.'
- b. *u b^hat k^h λ i-l λ*
 he rice eat-PST
 'He ate rice.'
- c. *u b^hok meT-a-e-ke b^hok k^h λ i-l λ*
 he hunger rub-CAUS-INF-PURP rice eat-PST
 'He ate rice in order to kill the hunger.'
- (149) *u b^hok meT-a-e b^hat k^h λ i-l λ*
 he hunger rub-CAUS-INF rice eat-PST
 'He ate rice in order to kill the hunger.'

5.9.2.4 Concessive

In Darai concessive clauses are introduced by the conjunction *hok^ht λ i p λ ni* 'in spite of'. It is illustrated in the example (150c).

- (150) a. *u d^h λ ni baT*
 he rich be.EXI.Nonpast
 'He is rich.'
- b. *u c^huca baT*
 he greedy be.EXI.Nonpast
 'He is greedy.'
- c. *u d^h λ ni hok^ht λ i p λ ni c^huca baT*
 he rich CONJ greedy be.EXI.Nonpast
 'Although he is rich, he is greedy.'

5.9.2.5 Conjunctive Participle

In the process of subordination, the conjunctive participle *er* is suffixed to the verb to join two different sentences. When it is attached to verb, the verb becomes non-finite. The example (151c and 152c).

- (151) a. *u klat^h b^han-l*
he story tell-PST
'He told a story.'
- b. *u sut-l*
he sleep-PST
'He slept.'
- c. *u klat^h b^han-er sut-l*
he story tell-CONJ sleep-PST
'He slept having told a story.'
- (152) a. *maĩ g^har jai-l*
I house go-PST
'I went to home.'
- b. *maĩ b^hat k^hai-l*
I rice eat-PST
'I ate rice.'
- c. *maĩ g^har ja-er b^hat k^hai-l*
I house go-CONJ rice eat-PST
'I went home and ate rice.'

Chapter Six

Summary and Conclusion

Darai is one of the endangered languages of the Indo-Aryan family. It is the language of the Darai people and is spoken by about five thousand speakers in Chitwan, Tanahaun, Gorkha, Palpa and Dhading districts of Nepal. Although the number of the Darais is scattered all over Nepal and abroad, the language is not spoken by all of them.

No scientific, anthropological and social research has been done so far regarding the origin of the Darais. According to the story prevalent among the Darai community, it is said that initially these people had a small kingdom in Darbhanga, now located in Bihar state of India. Later they migrated to Nepal for various reasons. In the past, the main occupation of the Darai people was fishing and boating. But now they are involved in other fields like farming, education, wood works and many others. Culturally, they are one of the rich ethnic groups in the whole ethnic mosaic of Nepal. They celebrate all national festivals like Dashain and Tihar. In addition to these festivals, Darais tribal rites and rituals, for example ancestor worship, god worship, Sansari Devi worship are very unique festivals of Darai people. Animism is also a common practice of these people.

According to Pokharel (2050 BS) the Darai language falls under the Ardhamagadhi branch of the Indo-Aryan language family. It has got three dialects: Chitwan, Damauli; and Pipaltar. The Chitwan dialect of Darai is highly influenced by Tharu and Nepali, its neighbouring languages. In the same way, the Damauli dialect is influenced by Gurung, Newar and Nepali languages. However, the Pipaltar dialect remains less influenced by the other languages.

This is a sketch grammar of Darai. It describes basic information on phonology, morphology and syntax of the Darai language. In addition there is a short text with gloss. The introductory chapter and the second chapter outline geographic, cultural and socio-linguistic sketch of the Darai and its speakers, together with the linguistic relations with other dialects of Darai.

The chapter on phonology includes vowels, consonants, diphthongs and suprasegmentals. There are six vowels /i, e, ʌ, a, u, o/, eight diphthongs /ui, iu, ʌi, oi, ei, ai, eu and au/ and twenty-nine consonants /p, p^h, b, b^h, m, w, t, t^h, d, d^h, n, l, s, r, T, T^h, D, D^h, c, c^h, j, j^h, y, k, k^h, g, g^h, ŋ and fi/ in Darai. Aspiration is contrastive in all stops and affricates. Alveolar and glottal fricative are found, the former is voiceless and the latter is voiced. The basic syllable structure in Darai is (C₁) (C₂) V (C₃), in which (C₁), (C₂) and (C₃) consonants are optional. (C₁) may be filled by all consonants except /ŋ/, (C₂) by /y/ and (w) and (C₃) by all consonants except breathy stops /D^h/ and /fi/. Darai does not have nasalization. However, in some Nepali borrowed words, it does occur, e.g.,

/bas/ 'shelter'

/bās/ 'bamboo'

The chapter on morphology describes nominal and verbal morphology. There are two numbers, two gender and six cases. There is only one classifier /-ta/ in Darai.

It falls between numeral and noun, and indicates countability. Case marking is both morphological and postpositional. Darai is rich in verb morphology compared to nominal morphology. It is a pronominalized language. It should be categorized as a complex pronominalizing language. Darai can be compared to Maithili among the Indo-Aryan languages which have the system of complex pronominalization. The rest of the Indo-Aryan languages are non-pronominalized languages. Darai stands out among the languages of South-Asia in possessive agreement where the number and person of the possessive pronoun is pronominalized after head of the noun phrase, e.g.,

- a. me-rʌ b^hai-m
 my-POSS brother-1S
 'My brother.'
- b. te-rʌ b^hai-r
 you-POSS brother-2S
 'Your brother.'
- c. uk-rʌ b^hai-k
 s/he-POSS brother-3S
 'His/her brother.'

Besides, there has been found a dative agreement in a typical dative subject construction. Both the subject and object pronouns are affixed to the verb in pronominalization. In that if the object is in the first person there is no pronominalization to mark it, e.g.,

- a. mʌĩ de-ta-mi-k
 I give-Nonpast-1S-3S
 'I give to him.'

- b. tʌi me-ke de-tʌ-s
 you I-DAT give-Nonpast-2S
 'You give to me.'

In this way, even animacy hierarchy plays a significant role in the agreement pattern of Darai. It is therefore that the grammatical categories of both the nouns and verbs take part in the verb morphology of Darai.

Darai language has binary tense system, i.e., Past and Nonpast which are identified by the conjugational suffixes. Only time adverbials and pragmatic contexts help to describe the meaning of futurity. There are two major aspect in Darai: Imperfective and Perfective. In Darai, five moods are distinguished: Indicative, imperative, optative, hortative and probabilitative. Not all of these moods are indicated by overt morphological markers.

The chapter on syntax describes word order, sentence types, agreement patterns, negativization, reflexivization, causativization, passivization and relativization.

Darai is verb final language. Topics and sentence head normally occur in the sentence initial position. The basic unmarked word order of the major constituents of the sentence is SOV (i.e., Subject, Object, Verb). It is a nominative accusative language rather than an ergative absolute language. It shows SOV, GN, AN, NREL, V AUX order and it is a suffixing language.

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Appendix A : Darai Text

Text 1: Story of sansari Devi

1. ü öü ü ü ü ü sü ü ü ü öü
 ü ü ü ü ü öü ü þ ü öü ü ü ü -ü öü ü ü ü ü
 þ ü -ö
 long ago we-POSS village-LOC one- LCS great
 þ ü öü ü öü þ ü ü -þ ü þ ü sü ü
 P disaster occur-PST be-PST

"Long ago, there had been a disaster in our village".

2. þ ü ü ü þ sü ü ü ü -ü ü ü
 ü þ sü ü ü þ þ sü ü ü þ þ sü -þ
 cattle disease suffer-PST spoil-RED be-PST

" Cattle were died of the diseases".

3. þ sü ü öü þ sü ü þ þ öü öü ü öü ü öü öü þ
 ü ü ü ü ü ü ü öü -ü ü ü ü ü ü ü ü þ -öü
 þ þ sü -þ
 crops great storm – heavy rain- AGT come-PST spoil be-PST

"Because of great storm and heavy rain, all crops were destroyed."

4. ü ü öü þ -ü öü -ü ü þ þ öü öü
 þ ü öü þ þ þ sü -þ
 small boy-girl all ill be-PST

" Almost all children became ill".

5. öü öü þ sü ü þ sü þ þ -ö öü öü öü

ü þ *þ ü -ð

village all over great tumult be-PST

"There was a terribly great tumult all over the village".

6. ü ð ü ü ü ü þ ü ü ü þ ü ü þ
ü þ ü ü -þ

people-pl all confusion be-PST

" All people became confused".

7. ü ð ü ü þ ü ü -þ ü ð ü þ ü ð
-ü ð

village-GEN leader-GEN house -LOC what

-þ ü þ ü þ ü ü þ ü ü ð -þ *ü þ

þ þ ü ü -þ

to do say one-CLS meeting sit-PST

"There was a meeting held in the house of the leader of the village to discover the right solution".

8. ü ü þ ü ð ü ü -ð þ ü ü ð -ð -þ þ ü ð -þ
ü ü ð ü þ

that village-LOC one-CLS famous wizard-GEN

þ ü ü ð þ þ ü ð þ ü ü þ ü ü ð

ü þ ü ü þ

sprit call its cause finding

ü ð ü þ ü þ -þ ü þ -ð ü -ð

discover decision do-PST

"They decided to discover the cause of it by calling the spirit with the help of a well known wizard of the village."

9. ü ü ü ü ü ü ü -ü ü ü
 sü ü ü ü ü
 he-AGT goddess of anger angry-PST such all.
 be-PST be its-GEN worship one-CLS
 --ü ü ü --ü ü --ü ü
 --ü ü sü ü sü sü
 sü sü sü sü
 --ü sü sü sü
 --ü sü sü sü
 sü sü sü sü
 sü sü sü sü
 sü sü sü sü
 sü sü sü sü
 good be-PST do-PST all together
 sü sü sü sü
 worship do-PST

" He told that the Bagbhairab (the goddess of anger) became angry so that you should worship him and according to his saying the villagers worshiped the Bagbhairab by sacrificing a black he-goat".

10. sü sü sü sü sü sü sü sü sü
 sü sü sü sü
 this-all do-finish-PST also village-LOC attitude also
 sü sü sü sü sü sü
 better NEG be-past

"He became tired of thinking over and over".

15. ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚
⌚ ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

he-AGN sleep-PST time one-CLS intrinsic

ü ⌚ ü ⌚ ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

dream sleep-PST

"He had seen an intrinsic dream".

16. ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚
ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

his dream-LOC one-CLS naked child

⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

come you(pl) all village around

⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

well and tap narrow way all clean-do

⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

goddess of protection angry-PST this all catastrophe

⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

village-LOC happen-PST be-PST because of that

⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

ü ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚ ⌚

village neat-clean make-PST Saturday

ü öü ð-ü ü √ü ðü öü ð-∫ ü ü -ö
 -∫ ü ü ü ∫ü ü ∫ ü
 on goddess-GEN worship do-INF but
 ü ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ð-ü ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ü ü
 -∫ -∫ ü ∫ ∫ ü
 all better be non-past tell-PP

"In his dream, a naked child came to him and started saying that the villagers did not care for making their well and tap, path and ways neat and clean because of this the goddess of protection became very angry and so they have been facing this crisis and he also suggested the old man to worship Devimai on Saturday, only then, you would get rid of this catastrophe".

17. ð-ü ü ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ü ∫ ∫ ü ü ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ü ü öü ∫
 ü ∫ ü ∫ ü öü ∫
 next morning that strange-GEN dream-GEN
 ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ü ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ü öü ü ∫
 ü öü ü ü ü ∫ -öü ü ö
 about all village-DAT people-GEN
 together
 ð-ü ð-ü ü -∫ ∫ ∫ ü -∫
 do-PST tell-PST

"The next day in the morning, the old man called all the villagers and told about that strange dream".

18. ü ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ∫ ü öü ü ∫
 ü ü ü ö ∫ ü ü ∫ ü ü ü ü ü ü ü öü ðü -ü ü ∫ ∫ ∫
 ü öü ü -∫

all villagers-GEN surprise suppose-PST surprise be-PST

"All the villagers became surprised".

19. ∫-ü \ü ü \ü -ü ü ∫ ∫ ∫ -ü -ü
∫ ∫ ü ü ∫ -ü -ü

one-two days all better RED be-INF go-

PST

"Within one or two days, all things started becoming better".

Appendix-B Comparative Vocabulary

Nepali	Darai	Danuwar	Bote	Kumal	Bhojpuri	English
mΛ	mΛĩ	muĩ	mΛĩ	mΛi	me	I
hami	hamē	hami	hami	hamri	hamrΛ	we
tΛ	tΛĩ	tuĩ	tuhĩ	tui	te	you
timi	tΛhē	tolek	toho	ture	hamni	you (pl)
yo	i	i	i/ise	yo	i	this
to	u	u	u/use	to	u	that
ko	kΛn	kun	kΛuno	kun	kΛun	who
kun	kon	kun	kΛuno	kun	kΛun	which
ama	uya	mai	boi	ama	mai	mother
rato	rΛktar	rato	rΛktar	rata	lal	red
k ^h anu	k ^h Λike	k ^h aba	khae	k ^h aike	k ^h Λiti	eat
janu	jΛike	jaba	jae	jaike	jaiti	go

These data hint close historical relationship of Nepali, Danuwar, Bote Kumal, Bhojpuri with the Darai language (Neupane, 2057 BS).

Appendix C: Religious Ceremonies

Presented is a preliminary sketch of the various religious ceremonies performed. The name of the ceremony depicts not only the kind of ceremony but also names the god or spirit to whom it is performed. For example, nak is the name of the god to whom the nak ceremony is directed. Exceptions to this are the kosili and pansa bali ceremonies which are performed to the akala goddess, the lawo a i ceremony which is performed to the mohori god, and the bakhhal ceremony which can be performed to any god except baAy-u and Jhakri.

Reading the left-hand column of the table from top to bottom one can ascertain the purpose of the ceremony, its frequency, the place where it is performed, the acceptable offering, whether it is performed by each individual household or the village as a whole, who officiates over the ceremony, and the required month and day on which it may be performed.

<u>Name of Ceremony</u>	<u>aytabar</u>	<u>bayu</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	heal sick	protection for people and animals
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	once a year
<u>Place</u>	by a siddha tree, different tree for each	by a siddha tree, particular tree for

<u>Acceptable Offering</u>	rooster	pig, chicken; whatever deceased person asked for
<u>Household or Village</u>	household	household
<u>Officiant</u>	man from household	man from household
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid Nov. - mid Feb.	mid Mar. - mid July
<u>Acceptable Day</u>	Sunday	Sunday, Tuesday, full moon

<u>Name of Ceremony</u>	<u>bakaRe bel</u>	<u>bhakal</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	protection for village	heal sick
<u>Frequency</u>	once a -ear	a. year
<u>Place</u>	by a particular <u>bakaRe bel</u> tree	Any place except <u>bayu</u> or <u>jhakri</u>
<u>Acceptable Offering Household or Village</u>	goat (male.)	goat (male or female)
<u>Officiant</u>	village headman	man from household
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid Jai- - mid Feb,	any except mid July mid Aug.
<u>Acceptable Day</u>	Monday	Sunday five days after full or half moon

<u>Name of Ceremony</u>	<u>bhuyer</u>	<u>candi</u>	<u>dalke pokari</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	heal sick	for good crops	heal sick
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	once a year	once a year
<u>Place</u>	by a particular <u>bakaRe bel</u> tree	Inside a circle made by a fence by a particular tree	by large dead stump of a <u>sal</u> tree
<u>Acceptable Offering</u>	young pig	Two young pigs, goat(male), one large pig,	goat (male)
<u>Household</u>	village	village	village
<u>Officiant</u>	Village headman	Daray man	village headman
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	Mid March- mid May	Mid March- mid May	mid March - mid June
<u>Acceptable</u>	Sunday	Sunday, Tuesday	

<u>Name of</u>	gayRu (house)	gayRu (cow shed)
<u>Purpose</u>	ask for cattle	ask for cattle
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	once a year
<u>Place</u>	inside house	in cow shed
<u>Acceptable offering</u>	rooster	rooster
<u>Household</u>	household	household
<u>Officiant</u>	man from household	man from household
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid May - mid June	mid Oct. - mid Nov.
<u>Acceptable Days</u>	ten days after half moon	Half moon

<u>Name of</u>	jhakri	konari	kosili
<u>Purpose</u>	heal sick	ask for cattle, buffalo, goats	heal sick, ask for grains, animals, and children
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	once a year	usually once a year if not sick, up to twice a month if sick
<u>Place</u>	by a <u>jhakri</u> tree, different tree for each house	inside house	<u>akala</u> place, rock with fence built around it
<u>Acceptable offering</u>	rooster	large pig, rooster and hen	goat (male or female), pair of pigeons
<u>Household or Village</u>	household	household	household
<u>Officiant</u>	man from household	man from household	man from household
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid January - mid February	mid June - mid July, mid September - mid October	any except mid July - mid August
<u>Acceptable Days</u>	Monday	Monday, Wednesday, ten days after half moon in mid June mid July	Monday, full moon, five days after full moon

<u>Name of ceremony</u>	kuldou	<u>Lawo agi</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	ask for food and clothes	protection from fire
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	once a year
<u>Place</u>	inside house	<u>mohori</u> place, small house
<u>Acceptable Offering</u>	goat (male)	one chick from each house
<u>Household ~ or Village</u>	household	village
<u>Officiant</u>	man from household	village headman
<u>Acceptable! Month</u>	raid April - mid May	mid March - mid May
<u>Acceptable Day</u>	Friday, Saturday	Monday, Wednesday, Friday

<u>Name of</u>	<u>mai</u>	<u>mandali</u>	<u>mohori</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	ask spirit to leave village so disease will go	protection for village	protection
<u>Frequency</u>	twice a year	once a year	once a year
<u>Place</u>	by a particular rock	by a particular <u>siddha</u> tree in a small shelter with stone walls and thatch roof	two places in village: a small house and a fence built around a mango tree stump
<u>Acceptable offering</u>	hen, goat (female), pair of pigeons from each house	pig, chicken	Buffalo(male), goat (male or female), pig, pigeons, chicken, duck, fish
<u>Household or Village</u>	village	village	group of man's male relatives by birth
<u>Officiant</u>	village headman	unmarried man	man from group
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid June - mid July, mid November - mid December	mid November - mid December	mid May - mid July
<u>Acceptable Days</u>	Monday	Wednesday	Saturday, Sunday, Monday, ten days after half moon

<u>Name of</u>	<u>nak</u>	<u>nim</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	ask to keep water coming from spring	heal sick, ask for animals and grain
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	once a year
<u>Place</u>	near the spring	<u>akala</u> place, rock with fence built around it
<u>Acceptable Offering</u>	pair of pigeons	goat (male or female), pair of pigeons
<u>Household or Village</u>	household	household
<u>Officiant</u>	man from household	man from household
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid July - mid August, mid January -mid February	any except mid July - mid August
<u>Acceptable Day</u>		Monday, five days after half or full moon

<u>Name of</u>	<u>paringge (bajebaje)</u>	<u>ansa bali</u>	<u>sansara mai</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	heal sick, protect those well	protection for village, ask for children, animals, food, and clothes	protection for village
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	up to once a year, usually every three to five years	twice a year

<u>Place</u>	by a particular <u>ciulaune</u> tree	<u>akala</u> place, rock with fence built around it	by a particular rock
<u>Acceptable offering</u>	pig, goat (male), rooster, hen	buffalo (male), duck, pigeons, goat (male)	chicken
<u>Household</u>	village	village	village
<u>Officiant</u>	Magar shaman	unmarried man	village headman
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid February - mid April	mid February - mid March	mid June - mid July, mid November - mid December
<u>Acceptable Days</u>	Wednesday, Friday	Monday, full moon, five days after full moon	Sunday

<u>Name of</u>	<u>satenaren</u>	<u>siddha jhakri</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	ask for food, animals, clothes, children	heal sick
<u>Frequency</u>	up to once a year, usually once every five years	once a year
<u>Place</u>	in temporary shelter built in front of house	by a <u>siddha</u> tree, different tree for each
<u>Acceptable Offering</u>	bread, bananas, papaya, oranges, flowers, sesame, flour, soy beans, milk	rooster
<u>Household or Village</u>	household	household
<u>Officiant</u>	Brahman	man from household
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid October - mid February	mid November - mid March
<u>Acceptable Day</u>	five days after half or full moon	Monday

<u>Name of</u>	<u>suna jhakri</u>	<u>thani bhuyer</u>
<u>Purpose</u>	heal sick	protection for village
<u>Frequency</u>	once a year	once a year

<u>Place</u>	by a , <u>jhakri</u> tree, different tree for each house	by a particular <u>siddha</u> tree
<u>Acceptable offering</u>	pair of pigeons	goat (male), rooster from each house
<u>Household or Village</u>	household	village
<u>Officiant</u>	man from household	village headman
<u>Acceptable Month</u>	mid January - mid April	mid May - mid June
<u>Acceptable Days</u>	Monday	Sunday, Tuesday

Appendix D: Pronominal Cross Reference Markings in Nouns and Verbs

The purpose of the following tables is to give in paradigmatic form a simple description of the pronominal cross reference markings in nouns and verbs. For the purpose of simplicity the cross reference markings are described in the nouns only in the nominative case and in the verbs only in the present tense. There are two sets of pronominal cross reference markings which are listed in Table 1 and their use is described below.

	Set	1	Set	2
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	-m	-ir	-m	Ø(nouns), -i* (verbs)
2	-s	-u	-r	-u
3	-i*	-t	-k	-kan

Pronominal Cross Referent Suffixes

In the simple present tense the third singular and the first plural suffix **-i** metathesizes with the present tense morpheme - **ta** with the deletion of **a**, as shown in the following verb paradigms **-ta + -i = it**. There are additional complications with vowel-final stems not discussed here.

Nouns

Pronominal cross referent markings are suffixed to the noun most commonly when kinship relations are expressed.

When ownership is expressed the cross reference is optionally marked. Agreement in person and number is obligatory between possessor and possessed. Nouns are only marked with Set 2 suffixes.

1. Relationship

1s mera bhai-m	my younger brother
2s tera bhai-r	your younger brother
3s ikra bhai-k	his younger brother
1pl hamra bhai-⊥	our younger brother
2pl teura bhai-u	your (pl.) younger brother
3pl onenka bhai-kan	their younger brother

2. Ownership

1s mera ghar-em	my house
2s tera ghar-er	your house
3s ikra ghar-ek	his house
1pl hamra ghar-↓	our house
2pl teura ghar-eu	your (pl.) house
3p onenka ghar-ekan	their house

Note: When a noun ends in a consonant, the pronominal suffixes are preceded by *e*.

Verbs

Pronominal cross referent markings are suffixed to the verb stem. Agreement in person and number is obligatory. Set 1 suffixes are joined to both intransitive and transitive verb stems, in cross reference with the subject.

a) Intransitive

may ayta-m	I come
tay ayta-s	you come
uwa ait	he comes
hame ayta-ir	we come
tahe a,yta-u	you (pl.) come
onen ayta-t	they come

b) Transitive

may kitap anta-m	I bring the book
tay kitap anta-s	you bring the book
uwai kitap anit	he brings the book
ha.me kitap anta.-ir	we bring the book
tahe kitap anta-u	you (pl.) bring the book
onen kitap anta-t	they bring the book

c) Receptive

Receptive verbs can be best described as those verbs which take the place of the verb-"have" in English. It is usually used to describe the physical state of a person (e.g. 'he has a stomach ache') or what someone possesses (e.g.'he has three sons') or a subjective experience (e.g. 'he has knowledge of something').

Set 2 suffixes are joined to the verb stem, in cross reference with the receiver of the action.

mera peT botha-i-m	(lit.) my stomach hurts-to-me
--------------------	-------------------------------

	I have a stomach ache
tera peT botha-i-r	(lit.) your stomach hurts-to you you have a stomach ache
ikra peT botha-i-k	(lit.) his stomach hurts-to him he has a stomach ache
hamra peT bothit	(lit.) our stomachs hurt we have a stomach ache
teura peT botha-i-u	(lit.) your (pl.) stomachs hurt-to-you(pl.) you (pl.) have a stomach ache
onenka peT botha,-i_-kan	(lit.) their stomachs hurt-tothem they have a stomach ache

d) **Bitransitive**

In the bitransitive verb the pronominal cross referents mark the subject as well as the receptor referents of the verb. It must be noted that the bitransitive pronominal referent markings are not equivalent to a combination of Set 1 plus Set 2 suffixes. For instance, the pronominal referent **-s** '2s' in Set 1, which fills only the subject slot in intransitive and transitive verbs, fills either the subject or receptor slot (but never both simultaneously) in the bitransitive verb. Whereas **-r** '2s' in Set 2, which fills only the receptor slot in receptor verbs, fills neither the subject nor the receptor slot in bitransitive verbs. Likewise, **-m** 'ls'(which fills both the subject and receptor slots in both Sets 1 and 2) in the bitransitive verb fills only the subject slot, the receptor slot being left unmarked.

The following chart illustrates the occurrence of the pronominal cross referents in the bitransitive verb. The left vertical column represents the subject cross referent while the upper horizontal column represents the receptor cross referent. Combined,

the suffixes read subject referent plus receptor marker - **i** plus receptor referent. In reading the chart from left to right one can find the subject-receptor marking for any particular combination of subject-receptor cross referents. Cells filled with a 0 indicate that reflexive is not included. Cells filled with a + indicate that the subject referent is possible but that the corresponding receptor referent is not. An **X** in a subject slot means that the third person subject cross referent has been reduced. A 0 in a receptor slot indicates the absence of a receptor marker -e ↓ /u-.

	me	you (sg)	him	us	you (pl)	them
I	0	-mis	-mik	0	-miu	-mikan
you (sg)	+	0	-sik	+	0	-sikan
he	+	-Xis	-Xik	+	-Xiu	-Xikan
we	0	+	+	0	+	+
you (pl)	+	0	-u⊥ k	+	0	-u⊥ kan
they	+	-Xis	-Xik	+	-Xiu	-Xikan

Abbreviation Conventions

- 0 = reflexive not included
- +
- ⊥ = receptor marker reduces following -**u**
- i = receptor marker
- m = 1sg subject referent
- s = 2sg subject or receptor referent
- X = 3sg, 3pl subject referent reduces before -**i**
- k = 3sg receptor referent
- u = 2p1 subject or receptor referent

kan = 3p1 receptor referent

Bitransitive pronominal cross referents

Reading the chart from left to right, the full paradigm (excluding reflexives) is:

may detamis	I give to you.
may detamik	I give to him.
may detamiu	I give to you (pl.).
may detamikan	I give to them.
tay meraike detas	+ You give to me.
tay detasik	You give to him.
tay hamraike detas	+ You give to us.
tay detasikan	You give to them.
uwai meraike dit	+ He gives to me.
uwai detais	He gives to you.
uwai detaik	He gives to him.
uwai hamraike dit	+ He gives to us.
uwai detaiu	He gives to you (pl.).
uwai detaikan	He gives to them.
hame teraike detair	+We give to you.
hame ukraike detair	+ We give to him.
hame teuraike detair	+ We give to you (pl.).
hame onenke detair	+ We give to them.
tahe meraike detau	You (pl.) give to me.
tahe detauk	You (pl.) give to him.
tahe hamraike detau	You (pl.) give to us.

tahe deta <u>ka</u>	you (pl.) give to them
onen meraike detat	+ they give to me
onen deta <u>is</u>	they give to you
onen deta <u>ik</u>	they give to him
onen hamraike detat	+ they give to us
onen deta <u>iu</u>	they give to you (pl.)
onen deta <u>ikan</u>	they give to them

For convenience, the + (the same as in the chart) indicates no receptor referent marked in the verb. Where the receptor referent is not marked, a corresponding indirect object. pronoun is placed before the verb.

As a concluding remark it should be noted that Set 1 suffixes cannot be labeled intransitive-transitive and Set 2 suffixes receptive. Restrictions become clear as to the assigning of labels when there is a change in tense. For example, in the future tense, intransitive and transitive verbs have Set 2 suffixes affixed to the verb stem instead of Set 1.

Appendix E: Pictures



A typical traditional Darai house, Bhatgaun, Damauli, Tanahun.



Researcher with a Darai woman, Bhatgaun, Damauli, Tanhaun.



Darai woman and her child at the back of their house.



Text collection in Sundi, Chitwan.



Prof. Dr Madhav Pokherel with Darai people of Pipal tar, Tanhaun District.



Data collection.

Note: Everyone can use my thesis and data for his or her research purpose. It is

completely an open archive for all. Please cite my thesis when use any data from it

Thank you!

ⁱ A transitive verb paradigm in table 02 shows that the object is accompanied with an extra *-i* phoneme (or may be a morpheme?), which is still needs to be defined for an elegant analysis. In its primary analysis, it can be analyzed as a recipient marker. As it appears with all the persons in the paradigm, it can be a default recipient marker that prepares a foundation for the true recipient object! But this hypothesis does not work with the forms when the second person plural acts up on third person singular and plural: 2p→3s/3p; the recipient object which is in third person both singular and plural forms, are not supported with *-i*. We can again adopt two hypothetical rules for this *-i* to overcome this problem and to prove it a recipient marker in Darai. For the first rule, we can postulate a phonological rule, where the recipient marker *-i* is deleted when it is preceded by *-u*. So Darai phonology does not accept the forms like **de-tAu-ik* 'You (p) give him'. But we do not have sufficient corpus of Darai to verify this rule. The next hypothesis can be 'an exceptional rule'. Simply, we can treat the Darai second person plural forms in different way to adjust this phenomenon. But again we do not have enough paradigms to prove it.

On the other hand, this *-i* can also be a third person singular/plural Agent when the third person acts up on second or third person. If this rule is true, it will kick away the hierarchy-based agreement from Darai. One needs to have enough corpuses to analyze such complex features of languages. This is a good topic for future research!