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Exploring Noun Phrases in Dhimal

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Abstract

Dhimal is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by the Dhimals residing originally in the far-eastern Tarai region (i.e., Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts) of Nepal. The noun phrases in Dhimal range from a single word (personal noun and pronoun) to complex noun phrases (conjoined noun phrases, relative clauses and nominalized clauses). Demonstrative, genitive, numeral, adjective, relative clause, common noun, compound noun and pronoun are the elements of the noun phrase in Dhimal. The linear order of the noun phrase elements is NP→ (demonstrative)-(genitive)-(numeral)-(adjective phrase)-head-(number marker)-(case marker)-(indicative)-(topic marker). Dhimal follows the hierarchy of the relative order of conjoined NPs proposed by Ross (1975 as quoted in Givón 2001b: 17).

Keywords: Cnjunctive Morpheme, Conversion, Nominalization, Complementation, Conjoined NPs

1.Outline

Dhimal is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by the Dhimals residing in the far-eastern Tarai region (i.e., Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts) of Nepal. This article deals with the structure and major functions of the noun phrases in Dhimal. It consists of four sections. In section 2, we deal with syntactically simplex noun phrases and their functions. Section 3 examines syntactically complex noun phrases and their functions in Dhimal. In section 4, we deal with the noun phrases derived by nominalization. Section 5 presents the summary of the findings of this discussion.

2. Simplex Noun Phrases

Noun phrases are the syntactic constituents that serve as arguments of verbs.[1] A noun phrase may take up a syntactic position where a noun or a pronoun may occupy. In this sub-section, we deal with the types of noun phrases, elements of noun phrases, linear order of constituents in noun phrases and dispersed/scattered NPs in Dhimal.

The noun phrases in Dhimal, as in other languages, range from a single word (referential noun or personal pronoun) to syntactically complex noun phrases (conjoined nouns, relative clauses and nominalized clauses). A noun phrase may consist of a single pronoun in Dhimal, as in (1):

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[1]Givón (1993: 247) notes that the noun phrases of different types occupy the characteristic syntactic positions - and case roles - of nouns. These syntactic positions are most typically those of subject, direct object, indirect object and nominal predicate.

(1) a. *na tʌrbar buŋ bʰiriteŋ lonʰa*
[na] tʌrbar bu-ŋ bʰiri-teŋ lo-ɦi-na
2SG sword also-EMPH hang-SEQ come-PST-2
'You happened to come hanging a sword as well.' (TBDFSW_495)

b. *kelai te atuisa diñẽ ɦanili madonʰaɦi*
[kelai] te atuisa diñẽ ɦane-li ma-do-nʰa-ɦi
1PL TOP little west go-INF NEG-be.able-1PL-PST
'We could not be able to go even a bit further west.' (TBDFSW_35)

In examples (1a, b), the second person singular pronoun *na* and first person plural pronoun *kelai* have occupied the position of a noun phrase as a subject or agent of the predicate, respectively. The pronouns in Dhimal, being finite and referential, do not take any modifier. The first person singular pronoun and second person singular and plural pronouns trigger the pronominal agreement in Dhimal.

A noun phrase, in Dhimal, may consist of a noun head with or without preceding modifiers. A bare noun head is illustrated in (3a) and a head noun with an attributive modifier is illustrated in (3b):

(3) a. *dzamal sika dzeŋɦi*
[dzamal] si-ka dzeŋ-ɦi
child die-NMLZ be-PST
'The child was about to die.' (TBDFSW_410)

b. *mʰuika um dana pipaɦi aŋ*
[mʰuika Um dana] pi-pa-ɦi aŋ
small Rice gain give-CAUS-PST QUOT
'(He) brought and gave a small grain of rice, it is said.' (TBDFSW_451)

In example (3a), the noun head *dzamal* 'child' has occupied the position of the noun phrase whereas in (3b) the NP *um dana* 'grain of rice' is modified by a modifier *mʰuika* 'small' to form a noun phrase.

2.1. Elements of the Noun Phrase

The noun phrases in Dhimal may contain a number of different elements. They are presented in Table 1.1.

Element	Example	Gloss	reference
Demonstrative	*[iŋko] musar tsalai*	'that mushroom seed'	KRDMPW_77
Genitive	*[wako] aba*	'his/her father'	LBDFSW_31
Number	*[naloŋ] tsamindi*	'five daughters'	LBDFSW_03
Relative clause	*[sikar gʰali ɦaneka] dyaŋ*	'an individual who went for hunting'	TBDFSW_214
Adjective	*[barka] dʌrbar*	'big palace'	LBDFSW_31
Noun	*Musar*	'mushroom'	KRDMPW_33
Compound noun	*musar tsalai*	'mushroom seed'	KRDMPW_79
Pronoun	*Obalai*	'they'	LBDFS_56

Table 1.1: Lexical Elements of the Noun Phrase

All the NP elements, except the head noun, shown in Table 1.1 are optional in Dhimal. Givón (2001b: 3) observes that the noun-headed NPs are relatively rare in natural communication, where the most common nominal referent is anaphoric, so are coded as a pronoun or zero. As noun phrases may be headless, even a bare noun need not necessarily become an obligatory element in a noun phrase in Dhimal. In case of headless noun phrases, the meaning is constructed by the context.

Apart from the lexical elements of the noun phrases presented in Table 1.1, Dhimal noun phrases may also contain grammatical morphemes. They are presented in Table 1.2:

Element	Morpheme	Example	Meaning	Reference
Number marker	*-gelai/-galai/-lai*	*makra-gelai*	'spiders'	KRDMPW_117
Case markers (post-positions)	*-ta, -ɦeŋ, -so* etc.	*bora-ta*	'in the sack'	KRDMPW_139
		bai-heŋ	'to elder. sister'	TBDFSW_57
		pokʰʌri-so	'from the pond'	TBDFSW_162

Table 1.2: Grammatical Morphemes Modifying a Noun Phrase

The grammatical morphemes presented in Table 2.2 follow the lexical elements they are attached to. In case of the order of grammatical morphemes, the case marker always follows the number marker in Dhimal. The dual marking on nominal element confines only to pronouns; and dual pronouns are lexicalized in some way. The first and second person dual pronouns affect the agreement pattern.

2.2. Linear Order of Constituents in the Noun Phrase

More than two modifiers may come in the same noun phrase; however, it is quite uncommon to occur in naturally occurring texts in Dhimal. Except for the number marker and case marker (grammatical modifiers), all the lexical modifiers presented in Table 1.1 normally precede the head noun in the noun phrase.

The most common order of the noun phrase elements in Dhimal is presented in (4):

(4)	NP→(Dem)-(Gen)-(Num)-(appositional phrase (AP))-**Head**

Examples of noun phrases demonstrating the elements in (4) are presented in examples (5) through (14):

(5) **Demonstrative + Noun**

iŋko anmane tsumateŋ lo

[iŋko	anemone]	tsuma-teŋ	lo
that	stuff	bring-SEQ	come.IMP

'Come, having taken those materials.' (TBDFSW_167)

(6) **Demonstrative +Adjective +Noun**

iŋko baipʌŋkʰi oɦjã

[iŋko]	[baipʌŋkʰi]	oɦjã
that	flying	horse

'The flying horse.' (TBDFSW_541)

(7) **Demonstrative+Quantifier+Noun**
iŋko dzʰaraŋ tsamindigelaieŋ
iŋko dzʰaraŋ tsamindi-gelai-eŋ
that all daughter-PL-DAT
'To all the daughters' (LBDFSW_04)

(8) **Genitive+Noun**
te kantsʰi kunu naŋko sotsai ɦai
te kantsʰi kunu [naŋ-ko sotsai] ɦai
okay Kanchhi than 2SG.OBL-GEN thought what
'Okay, Kanchhi, what do you think, in fact?' (TBDFSW_195)

(9) **Numeral+Noun**
na basar dzeŋli tʰaleka ɦi
[na basar] dzeŋ-li tʰale-ka ɦi
five year be-INF start-NMLZ be
'It is about to be five years.' (KRDMPW_16)

(10) **Numeral+Adjective+Noun**
odoi taiseso eloŋ remka bedzan lokʰe
odoi taise-so [eʔ-loŋ rem-ka bedzan]
that cucumber-ABL one-CL be.good-NMLZ girl
lokʰe saipikʰe biɦa um
lo-kʰe sai-pi-kʰe biɦa um
come-PRS touch-BEN-PRS meat rice
'A pretty girl appears out of the cucumber and touches the meat and rice.' (GMDFSW_33)

(11) **Adjectival Phrase+Noun**
are ɦisika reremka bedzalai
are [ɦisi-ka rerem-ka] bedzalai
oh what.sort-NMLZ good.PL-NMLZ girl.PL
'Oh! What sort of pretty girls!' (TBDFSW_86)

(12) **Relative Clause+Noun**
sikar gʰali ɦanika djaŋ
[sikar gʰa-li ɦane-ka] djaŋ
hunt play-INF go-NMLZ person
'The person who went for hunting...' (TBDFSW_215)

(13) **Demonstrative+Relative Clause+Noun+Indicative**
iŋko musar taʔka tʰame tsaɦĩ
[iŋko musar taʔ-ka tʰame] tsaɦĩ
that mushroom keep-NMLZ place IND

'As for the place, where the mushroom is kept…' (KRDMPW_133)

(14) **Demonstrative+Genitive+Modifier+Noun+Indicative**

iŋko musarko kʰas sidzʌn tsaɦĩ

iŋko	musar-ko	kʰas	sidzʌn	tsaɦĩ
that	mushroom-GEN	special	season	IND

'The special season of the mushroom…' (KRDMPW_113)

Pronouns generally occur alone in noun phrases without modifiers in most of the languages (Dryer 2007: 151). In Dhimal, constructions in which pronouns occur with modifiers, as in *kelai dʰemalai* 'we Dhimal people' *obalai paragelai* ' they, the hill people' are possible. However, this is not a common phenomenon.

2. 3. Scattered NPs

The constituents within the noun phrase violate their linear order for pragmatic purposes. The most universal means of binding all NP constituents together is adjacency, a transparently iconic device that keeps together structurally what belongs together functionally (Givón 2001b: 13). Basically, the elements of Dhimal NPs tend to occur together, however, in a language permitting flexible word order like Dhimal, scattered NPs are common. Hence, scattering of members of the noun phrase is allowed as illustrated in (15) through (18):

(15) *jaseɦeŋ tʰame timpili gojaŋ*

ja-seɦeŋ	tʰame	tiŋ-pi-li	goi-aŋ
this-DAT	place	see-BEN-INF	must-EMPH

tsi amka doʔɦi aŋ

[tsi	am-ka]	doʔ-ɦi	Aŋ
water	drink-NMLZ	say-PST	QUOT

'It must be shown the place to him, (the place) to drink water, he said.' (TBDFSW_27)

In example (15), the relativized noun *tʰame* 'place' is dislocated from its final position in the relative clause. The normal order of the clause would be *tsi am-ka tʰame* 'the place to drink water'. Following is another example of scattered NP constituents.

(16) *lo marpʰa iŋko anmane tsumteŋ lo*

lo	marpʰa	iŋko	anemane	tsuma-teŋ	lo
come.IMP	fast	that	stuff	bring-SEQ	come.IMP

gʰaka doʔkʰe aŋ

gʰa-ka	doʔ-kʰe	aŋ
play-NMLZ	say-PRS	QUOT

'Come fast, taking the materials to play (she said).' (TBDFSW_167)

In example (16), the nominalized verb *gʰaka* 'play' is shifted from its normal position between the demonstrative *iŋko* 'that' and relativized head noun *anemane* 'things'. Moreover, the normal order *iŋko gʰaka anemane* 'those things for playing' is scattered which resulted in deviation of the nominalized adjective after the head noun, as in (17):

(17) *wadzan tsan baʔtã doʔteŋ remka*

wadzan	tsan	baʔt-aŋ	doʔ-teŋ	rem-ka
boy	son	carry.in.arm-FUT	say-SEQ	be.good-NMLZ

'You wished you would carry a male child in your arm.' (TBDFSW_270)

In example (17), the adjective *remka* 'handsom' is shifted to the final position of the proposition from its first place in the noun phrase. The adjective *remka* 'good' is placed in clause final position being the normal position as *remka wadzan tsan* 'handsome male child'
The adjective may be moved to the initial position, as in (18):

(18) *salalaŋka eʔloŋ taise kalau tsumteŋ loɦi doʔkʰe*

salalaŋka	eʔ-loŋ	taise	kalau	tsum-teŋ	lo-ɦi	do-ʔkʰe
straight	one-CLF	cucumber	then	bring-SEQ	come-PST	say-PRS

'(S/he) came taking a straight cucumber, it is said.'(GMDFSW_16)

Exampels (15) through (18) exhibit that, Dhimal allows the scrambling of the constituent within the NP.

3. Complex Noun Phrases

The complex noun phrases are used to further specify the description of referents, i.e., of subjects or objects. The strategies of the further specification may be used upon first introduction into the discourse. It may also be used upon subsequent re-introduction into the discourse to differentiate the referents from other referents. Givón (2001b: 15) notes that the sources of syntactic complexity in the NP are (a) relative clause (b) NP conjunction and (c) nominalization. Relative clauses in Dhimal are discused elsewhere[2]. We will deal here with the noun phrase conjunction and nominalization in order.

3.1. Noun Phrase Conjunction

The noun phrases in Dhimal are either juxtaposed or conjoined by *rʌ* 'and' and *kalau* 'then'. The conjoined nominal NPs take the finite verb in third person. In case of the involvement of first person, the number agreement results in the first person plural whereas the second and third person participants take the collective morpheme *-su* in second person finite verbal complex. Examples in (19a, b) illustrate the point.

(19) a. *kelai rʌ obalai ɦanenʰakʰe*

kelai	rʌ	obalai	ɦane-nʰa-kʰe
1PL	and	3PL	go-1PL-PRS

'We and they go.'

b. *nelai rʌ obalai ɦanesukʰena*

nelai	rʌ	obalai	ɦane-su-kʰe-na
2PL	and	3PL	go-COL-PRS -2

'You (all) and they go.'

In example (19a), the conjoined pronouns *kelai* 'we' and *obalai* 'they' agree with the first person plural finite verb. Similarly, in example (21), the second person plural and the third person plural NPs agree with the second person plural finite verb.

[2] Khatiwada (2016b) discusses the relative clauses in Dhimal.

3.2. Joint Participants in a Single Event

Dhimal does not agree in terms of person and number in the third person. Consequently, the joint particiants (i.e., in the third person) in a single event are analogous to the single participant in a single event, as in (20a-c):

(20) a. *sikar gʰali ɦanika djaŋ wako aba*
sikar gʰa-li ɦane-ka djaŋ wa-ko
hunting play-INF go-NMLZ person 3SG-GEN
ama tsaɦĩ insa doʔkʰe aŋ
[aba ama] tsaɦĩ insa doʔ-kʰe aŋ
father mother IND like.that say-PRS QUOT
'One, who had been for hunting…, said his father and mother (it is said).' (TBDFSW_214)

b. *kaŋo dada rʌ wako bai*
kaŋ-ko dada rʌ wa-ko bai
1SG.OBL-GEN elder brother and 3SG-GEN elder sister
ɦate ɦaneɦi
hate hane-ɦi
market go-PST
'His sister and my brother went to the market.'

c. *odoi bistara daʔteŋ tʌjar dzenteŋ*
odoi bistara daʔ-teŋ tʌjar dzeŋ-teŋ
that bed stretch.bed-SEQ ready be-SEQ
ɦiɦi aŋ la dzetʰi rʌ maili
ɦi-ɦi aŋ la [dzetʰi rʌ maili]
sit-PST QUOT MIR Jethi and Maili
'Having prepared the bed and getting ready, probably, Jethi and Maili sat over there.' (TBDFSW_174)

In Dhimal, two NPs are either juxtoposed without an overt conjunct, as in (20a) or are joined with the conjunct *rʌ* 'and', as in (20b, c).

The collective/plural number marker *-galai* follows the rightmost element in the conjoined NP construction, as in (21):

(21) *ə̃ dzʌsto bisadi oseregalai iŋko makra*
ə̃ dzʌsto [bisadi osere-gelai] iŋko [makra
GF like pesticide medicine-PL that spider
bʰusunagalai malagjako doʔteŋ
bʰusuna-gelai] ma-lagi-ako doʔ-teŋ
small.fly-PL NEG-happen-OPT say-SEQ
'In the hope that may the spiders and small flies (gnats) not affect (the mushroom plant)….' (KRDMPW_146)

In the example (21), only the second NP of the conjoined NPs, *bisadi oseregalai* 'pesticides and medicines' and *makra bʰusunagalai* 'spiders and gnats' are pluralized.

Dhimal also employs a native conjunct *kalau* 'then/and' to conjoin two NPs, as in (22):[3]

(22) *penṭe doʔka eloŋ juwa kalau*

penṭe	doʔ-ka	e-loŋ	juwa	[kalau]
Pente	say-NMLZ	one-CLF	youth	and

kelaiko dai tsʌmpalal

kelai-ko	dai	tsʌmpalal
1PL-GEN	brother	Champalal

'A youth called Penṭe and our brother Champalal…' (GMDWH_40)

In example (22), the two NPs *penṭe doʔka eloŋ juwa* and *kelaiko dai tsʌmpalal* are conjoined by the conjunct *kalau*.

3.3. Relative Order of Conjoined NPs

Dhimal follows the hierachy of the relative order of conjoined NPs proposed by Cooper and Ross (1975, as quoted in Givón 2001b: 17). The natural order found in Dhimal is prsented as follows:

a. Near >Far

The spatial deictic words in Dhimal generally follow near>far order, as in (23):

(23) *ede desso ode desta tsumpu*

[ede	des-so	ode	des-ta]	tsum-pu
this	country-ABL	that	country-LOC	bring-AND.IMP

'Take away (the horse) from this country to that one.'

b. Male>Female

In terms of gender, the ordering of conjoined NPs is male>female, as in (24a-c):

(24) a. *sikar gʰali ɦanika djaŋ wako aba*

sikar	gʰa-li	ɦane-ka	djaŋ	wa-ko	[aba
hunting	play-INF	go-NMLZ	person	3SG-GEN	father

ama tsaɦĩ insa doʔkʰe aŋ

ama]	tsaɦĩ	insa	doʔ-kʰe	aŋ
mother	IND	like.that	say-PRS	QUOT

'The one, who went for hunting, said his father and mother (it is said).' (TBDFSW_214)

b. *warŋ beraŋ dinaŋ dudʰe eʔteŋ*

[warŋ	beraŋ]	dinaŋ	dudʰe	eʔ-teŋ
old.man	old.woman	everyday	milk	milk-SEQ

gotʰalaɦeŋ dudʰe ampagʰakʰe

gotʰala-ɦeŋ	dudʰe	am-pa-gʰa-kʰe
cow.boy-DAT	milk	drink-CAUS-IPFV-PRS

'Having milked (the cattle) the old man and woman would make the cow boy drink milk.'(LBD2HSW_11)

[3]In most of the naturally occuring texts *kalau* is used in the meaning 'and then', however, sometimes it is found to be used to conjoin two NPs.

c. *dziskaŋ kelaiko tsan tsamindi usikaŋ*
dziskaŋ kelai-ko tsan tsamindi usikaŋ
like 1PL-GEN son daughter like that.EMPH
idoiko tsan tsamindi buŋ
idoi-ko tsan tsamindi buŋ
this-GEN son daughter also
'Their (bird's) offspring are just like our son and daughter.' (MMD2MWW_251)

c. Adult>Young

If the conjoined NPs differ in terms of age, the elder referent precedes the younger referent, as in (25):

(25) a. *naŋko be iŋko dzeʈʰi rʌ maili*
naŋ-ko be iŋko dzeʈʰi rʌ maili
2SG.OBL-GEN wife that eldest and second
mʌɦako ɖʌŋkini
mʌɦa-ko ɖʌŋkini
big-GEN witch
'Your wives the eldest and the second one are great witches.' (TBDFSW_610)

b. *obalai sumloŋ bai one*
obalai sum-loŋ bai one
3PL three-CLF elder.sister younger. sibling
'They are/were three sisters.'

However, in our corpora one example of the opposite order, i.e., young>adult is found, as in (26):

(26) *itaso kalau tsan ama dzeŋɦoi bʰeʈgʰaʈ*
ita-so kalau tsan ama dzeŋ-ɦoi bʰeʈgʰaʈ
here-ABL then son mother be-PFV meeting
'The son and mother met (each other) hereafter.' (TBDFSW_627)

In example (26), the order of conjoined NPs is young>adult, i.e., *tsan* 'son' and *amai* 'mother'. The context in the story is that the son was lost for long and now he appeared unexpectedly.

d. Singular> Plural

The singular number generally precedes the plural one, as in (27):

(27) *kaseɦeŋ eʔloŋ nʰeloŋ kija pi-su au*
ka-seɦeŋ eʔ-loŋ nʰe-loŋ kija pi-su au
1SG-DAT one-CLF two-CLF fowl give-COL.IMP okay
'Please give me one or two cocks, okay!'

e. Large>Small

In terms of size the larger NP precedes the smaller NP, as in (28):

(28) a. *ə̃ dzʌsto bisadi oseregalai*
ə̃ dzʌsto bisadi osere-gelai
GF like pesticides medicine-PL
iŋko makra bʰusunagalai malagjako doʔteŋ
iŋko [makra bʰusuna-gelai] ma-lagi-ako doʔ-teŋ

that spider small.fly-PL NEG-happen-OPT say-SEQ
'In the hope that the small flies and spiders do not affect (the mushroom plant).' (KRDMPW_146)

b. *ka odoŋ kʰwaɦã lokara ekdʌm*
ka odoŋ kʰwaɦã lokara ekdʌm
1SG that.EMPH tiger leopard complete
sʌmdzʰʌna ɦi
sʌmdzʰʌna ɦi
remembrance be
'I remember the tiger and leopard very well.' (GMDWH_67)

In example (28a), *makra* 'spider' precedes the *bʰusuna* 'small fly' in terms of their size whereas in (28b) the noun *kʰwaɦã* 'tiger' precedes the *lokara* 'leopard' being the larger and powerful than the later.

3.4. Placement of the Conjunctive Morpheme

In Dhimal, the conjunctive morpheme is placed between the two conjoined NPs. Givón (2001b: 22) notes "the conjunctive particle may also be suffixed to the second NP, a pattern most often found in OV languages." However, Dhimal, an OV language, does not exhibit this pattern. Moreover, the basic pattern of NP conjunction in Dhimal is simply juxtaposing the NPs. However, Dhimal employs *rʌ* (borrowed from Nepali) and *kalau* as the conjunctive particle, as in (29):

(29) a. *ela dabja rʌ tsuppi sʌmet prʌjog panʰaɦi*
ela dabja rʌ tsuppi sʌmet prʌjog pa-nʰa-ɦi
now kʰukuri and knife including use do-1PL-PST
'Now, we used even Khukuri and knife.')CLDVFW_25)

b. *penṭe doʔka eloŋ juwa kalau*
penṭe doʔ-ka e-loŋ juwa [kalau]
Pente say-NMLZ one-CLF youth and
kelaiko dai tsʌmpalal
kelai-ko dai tsʌmpalal
1PL-GEN brother Champalal
'A youth called Penṭe and our brother Champalal…' (GMDWH_40)

We see that the position of the conjuncts *rʌ* in (29a) and *kalau* in (29b) is between the NPs conjoined by them.

4. Noun Phrases Derived by Nominalization

Nominalization in Dhimal applies to lexical derivation as well as clausal derivation.[4] For both the process the suffixe *-ka* is attached to the verbal base.[5] The nominalizer in

[4]Genetti (2011: 1) notes, "the presence of nominalized clauses which are used in a range of syntactic structure is one of the most frequently noted syntactic characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman languages."

Chamling (Ebert 2003b: 545) is *-ko* whereas Belhare (Bickel 2003: 550) utilizes the morpheme *-kʰak* to perform the same function. Here, we discuss syntactic nominalization.

Givón (2011: 207) defines nominalization as the process via which a finite verbal clause is converted into a noun phrase. Regarding Dhimal, King (2009: 50) notes that the most common method of creating a nominal is through the nominalizing suffix *-ka*, which is affixed to a verb stem to derive the participles, doers and abstract nouns, and adjectives. This productive affix is also widely used to derive the nominals with the meaning 'one who V/thing that V. Verbs negated by the prefix *ma-* are also free to undergo nominalization in Dhimal.

Nominalized verbs have virtually all the same properties as non-derived nominals. They may take the plural suffix and be marked for case, as in (30):

(30) a. *ɦiŋkalaiɦeŋ sonako tise*
ɦiŋ-ka-lai-ɦeŋ sona-ko ti:se
listen-NMLZ-PL-DAT gold-GEN garland
katʰa doʔkaheŋ lʰeko ti:se
katʰa doʔ-ka-ɦeŋ lʰe-ko ti:se
story say-NMLZ-DAT flower-GEN garland
'Garlands of gold to the listeners, garland of flower to the story teller.')HLDSJW_87-88)

b. *odoŋ bʰasiŋ ɦikatsakalaiso buŋ*
odo-ŋ bʰasiŋ ɦi-ka tsa-ka-lai-so buŋ
that-EMPH for be-NMLZ eat-NMLZ-PL-ABL also
satʰ te niŋka te mantʰunʰaɦi
satʰ te niŋ-ka te mantʰu-nʰa-ɦi
support TOP receive-NMLZ TOP NEG. be-1PL-PST
'Therefore, we have't got support from those who are rich and proposperous.'(RMDLSW_203)

In example (30a), the nominalized verb *ɦiŋka* is undergone through the process of nominal morphology, i.e., the plural marking allomorph *-lai* is followed by the dative case marker. Similarly, in the same example, the nominalized verb *doʔka* is followed by the dative case marker *-ɦeŋ*. In example (30b), the conjoined nominalized verb *ɦika tsaka* is followed by the plural marker *-ɦeŋ* and ablative case marker *-so*, respectively.

Nominalization in Dhimal is described in terms of the adjustment process from the prototype verbal clause to the prototype noun phrase.[6] Some of the processes are as follows:

[5]In Limbu (van Driem 1987: 193), the nominalizer suffix is *-pa* which may be attached to a verbs stem to create a nominal which can be used adnominally as an adjective or independently as a noun taking case suffixes.

[6]Givón (2001b: 24) quotes Hopper and Thompson (1984) as "nominalization is best described in terms of the syntactic adjustments from the finite verbal-clause prototype to the nominal (NP) prototype."

4.1. Verb Becoming a Head Noun

The nominalized verb in Dhimal functions as the head noun, thus resulting into the headless noun phrase, as in (31):

(31) *ɦiŋkalaiɦeŋ sonako tise*

ɦiŋ-ka-lai-ɦeŋ	sona-ko	ti:se
listen-NMLZ-PL-DAT	gold-GEN	garland

'Garlands of gold to the listeners.')HLDSJW_87)

In example (35), the nominalized verb *ɦiŋka* has functioned at the head noun accquiring the nominal morphology of number and case.

4.2. Verb Acquiring Nominalizing Morphology

As exemplified in (31), a verb once nominalized acquires all the properties of nominalized morphology, i.e., it is inflected for number and case. Following is an example:

(32) *kat^{h}a doʔkaɦeŋ l^{h}eko ti:se*

kat^{h}a	doʔ-ka-ɦeŋ	l^{h}e-ko	ti:se
story	say-NMLZ-DAT	flower-GEN	garland

'Garland of flower to the story teller.') HLDSJW_88)

In example (32), the nominalized verb *doʔka* is followed by the dative case marker, which otherwise is the property of the nominals.

4.3.Loss of Tense-Aspect-Modal Morphology

Once a verb in Dhimal is nominalized, it loses the tense-aspect-modal morphology. Following are the examples:

(33) a. **Finite Clause**

wa kam padoŋg^{h}aɦi

wa	kam	pa-doŋ-g^{h}a-ɦi
3SG	work	do-DUR-IPFV-PST

'He used to be working.'

b. **Nominalized Clause**

wako paka kam

wako	paka	kam
3SG	do-NMLZ	work

The work he does/did...'

The finite verb *pa-doŋ-g^{h}a-ɦi* in (33a) carries the aspectual (durative and imperfective in sequence) morphemes followed by the past tense marker whereas the same finite verb nominalized in (33b) loses all the tense-aspect markers. Thus, the nominalizer *-ka* in Dhimal replaces the tense-aspect-modal markers.

Loss of Pronominal Agreement Morphology

When the finite verb in Dhimal is nominalized, it loses the pronominal agreement morphology. Let us compare the finite clause in (34a) and the nominalized clause in (34b):

(34) a. **Finite Clause**

na miliŋ tsoik^{h}ena

na	miliŋ	tsoi-k^{h}e-na

2SG land plough-PRS -2
'You plough the land.'

b. **Nominalized Clause**
na tsoika miliŋ
na tsoi-ka miliŋ
2SG plough-NMLZ land
'The land you plough/ploughed.'

The finite verb *tsoi-kʰe-na* 'plough-PRS-2' in (34a) is characterized by the pronominal agreement. In contrast, the nominalized verb *tsoi-ka* 'plough-NMLZ' in (34b) loses the pronominal agreement morpheme.

4.4.Subject Acquiring Genitive Case-Marking

The subject NP of the finite clause acquires genitive case marking. However, it is not obligatory. In this case, either the subject NP retains its nominative case, as in (35a) or it is characterized by the genitive case marking. Compare the finite clause and its nominalized counterpart, as in (35a, b):

(35) a. **Finite Clause**
ka um tsakʰa
ka um tsa-kʰa
1SG rice eat-PRS.1SG
'I eat rice.'

b. **Nominalized Clause**
kaŋko tsaka um
kaŋ-ko tsa-ka um
1SG.OBL-GEN eat-NMLZ rice
'The rice I eat/ate/shall eat.'

In example (35a), the subject of the finite clause is in nominative case whereas when nominalized in (35b) it is marked by the genitive case marker.

4.5. Conversion of Adverbs into Adjectives

The manner adverbs in the finite clause are converted into adjectives in nominalized clause, as the finite clause in (36a) converted into nominalized clause in (36b):

(36) a. **Finite Clause**
wa kam rempʰa pakʰe
wa kam rem-pʰa pa-kʰe
3SG work be.good-ADVLZ do-PRS
'He works well (lit. he work well does).'

b. **Nominalized Clause**
wako paka remka kam
wa-ko pa-ka rem-ka kam
3SG do-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ work

'The good work s/he did...'

We see that the adverb *rempʰa* 'well' in (36a) is converted into *remka* 'good' in (36b). Thus, it is to be noted that the process of nominalization in Dhimal characterizes the syntactic adjustments from the finite verbal-clause prototype to the nominal (NP) prototype as described in Givón (2001b: 25).

4.6. Functional Dimensions of Nominalization

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 2011: 163), Dhimal exhibits an interesting composite of behavior in nominalized structures. In particular, Dhimal makes an extensive use of clausal nominalization (found in attributive phrases, complementation, relative clauses, and independent utterances), as well as derivational nominalization. Different functional dimensions of Dhimal nominalization is discussed as follows:

a. Attributive Phrases

Attributive phrases in Dhimal are formed with the process of nominalization, as in (37):

(37) *nʌbʰʌndʌi wako diɦẽ paɦa*
nʌbʰʌndʌi wa-ko diɦẽ paɦa
at.once 3SG-GEN west side
eloŋ barka pokʰʌri ɦigʰakʰe
e-loŋ [bar-ka pokʰʌri] ɦi-gʰa-kʰe
one-CLF be.big-NMLZ pond be-IPFV-PRS
'To (his) surprise, there was a pond to the west side.' (TBDFSW_23)

In example (37), the attributive adjective *barka* 'big' is formed through the suffixation of nominalizer *-ka* to the stative verb *bar* 'be.big'.

b. Complementation

Nominalized structures function as the complement of copula verb *dzeŋ* 'become', as in (38a, b) and *ɦi* 'be', as in (39 a,b):

(38) a. *kalau narja ela mʰituka dzeŋɦi*
kalau narja ela mʰitu-ka dzeŋ-ɦi
then elephant now be.hungry-NMLZ become-PST
'Then the elephant became hungry now.' (TBDFSW_157)

b. *dzamal sika dzeŋɦi*
dzamal si-ka dzeŋ-ɦi
child die-NMLZ be-PST
'The child was about to die.' (TBDFSW_410)

(39) a. *enoŋ kurtsita jomteŋ ɦili ninako*
e-long kurtsi-ta jom-teŋ ɦi-li niŋ-ako
one-CLF chair-LOC sit-SEQ be-INF get-OPT
doʔka kaŋko sotsai
doʔ-ka kaŋ-ko sotsai
say-NMLZ 1SG.OBL-GEN thought
'My thought is that I wish I would sit on the chair (happily).'

(TBDFSW_193)

b. *pokʰʌrita ɦaja poseka ɦigʰakʰe doʔkʰe*
pokʰʌri-ta ɦaja pose-ka ɦi-gʰa-kʰe doʔ-kʰe
pond-LOC fish rear-NMLZ be-IPFV-PRS say-PRS
'(They) had reared fish in the pond (it is said).' (TBDFSW_290)

In example (38a, b), the nominalized verb *mʰituka* and *sika* have functioned as the complemet of the copula verb *dzeŋ* 'become' whereas in (39a, b) the nominalized verb *doʔka* and *poseka* have functioned as the complement of the copula verb *ɦi* 'be'.

c. Relative Clauses

Nominalized verbs function as the relative clauses, as in (40):

(40) a. *te nʰemi bʰo:lʰasi tsi*
te nʰe-mi bʰo:-lʰa-si [tsi
okay two-HCLF search -INTENT-HORT.DU water
amka tʰame doʔkʰe aŋ
am-ka tʰame] doʔ-kʰe aŋ
drink-NMLZ place say-PRS QUOT
'Okay, let's search around for the (source of) water to drink.' (TBDFSW_42)

b. *ka te barka dzagir tsaka ɦabe*
ka te bar-ka dzagir tsa-ka ɦabe
1SG TOP be.big-NMLZ job eat-NMLZ GF
djaŋ dopʰa kʰiniŋ hanã
djaŋ dopʰa kʰiniŋ ɦane-ã
person with only go-FUT
'I will go with a person who has got an attractive job.' (TBDFSW_106)

In example (40a), *tsi amka tʰame* 'the place to drink water' and in (40b) *barka dzagir tsaka* 'the one who has got a big job' are relative clauses. In relativization, the finite verb undergoes the process of nominalization.

d. Independent Utterances

Nominalized verbs in Dhimal occupy a finite verb position in that a clause with a nominalized verb may stand as an independent utterance, as in (41):

(41) a. *adʰjan pali tsaɦĩ mamaɦaneka wa*
adʰjan pa-li tsaɦĩ ma-ma-ɦane-ka wa
study do-INF IND NEG-NEG-go-NMLZ 3SG
'He did not go to study at all.' (TBDFSW_04)

b. *kʰali ela derako djaŋ ela dinaŋ*
kʰali ela dera-ko dyaŋ ela dinaŋ
only now village-GEN person now daily
sikar gʰateŋ um tsaka doʔkʰe
sikar gʰa-teŋ um tsa-ka doʔ-kʰe
hunt play-SEQ rice eat-NMLZ say-PRS

'The people of that place used to earn their livelihood only by hunting, it is said. ' (TBDFSW_05)

c. *ela kʰanepane gottaŋ lesrataŋ tsumgilka*

ela	kʰanepane	gottaŋ	lesra-ta-ŋ	tsum-gil-ka
now	edibles	all	back-LOC-EMPH	grab-AMB-NMLZ

'(They) were carrying the edibles with them.' (TBDFSW_78)

d. *e wako be mantʰuka ela*

e	wa-ko	be	mantʰu-ka	ela
yes	3SG-GEN	wife	NEG. be-NMLZ	now

'Yes, he did not have his wife now.' (TBDFSW_91)

In examples (41a-d), we see that the nominaized verbs function just like the finite verbs otherwise. Nominalized verbs that stand as the head of the independent utterances differ from the finite verb in that they lack tense-aspect-modal morphology as well as inflectional morphology.

5. Summary

In this article, we dealt with the structure and major functions of the noun phrase in Dhimal. The noun phrases in Dhimal range from a single word (personal noun and pronoun) to complex noun phrases (conjoined noun phrases, relative clauses and nominalized clauses). Demonstrative, genitive, numeral, adjective, relative clause, common noun, compound noun and pronoun are the elements of the noun phrase in Dhimal. It also possesses post-nominal modifiers. They include number marker and case marker. Some of the discourse particles like indicative and topic markers also modify the head noun. The linear order of the noun phrase element is NP→ (demonstrative)-(genitive)-(numeral)-(adjective phrase)-**head**-(number marker)-(case marker)-(indicative)-(topic marker). Dhimal also allows scattering of the elements of the noun phrase for different pragmatic purposes. Dhimal noun phrases are conjoined either simply juxtaposing the NPs or intermediated by the conjunctive morphemes. Dhimal follows the hierarchy of the relative order of conjoined NPs proposed by Ross (1975 as quoted in Givón 2001b: 17). Nominalization in Dhimal supports the adjustment process from the prototype verbal clause to the prototype noun phrase proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1984). Functionally, Dhimal makes an extensive use of clausal nominalization found in attributive phrases, complementation, relative clauses and independent utterances.

Abbreviations

1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	IND	indicative
3	third person	INF	infinitive
ABL	ablative	INTENT	intentional
ACC	accusative	IPFV	imperfective
ADVL	adverbalizer	LOC	locative
AFF	affectionate	MIR	mirative

AMB	ambulative	NEG	negative
AND	andative	NMLZ	nominalizer
BEN	benefactive	NOM	nominative
CAUS	causative	NP	noun phrase
CLF	classifier	NUM	numeral
DAT	dative	OBL	oblique
DEM	demonstrative	OPT	optative
DU	dual	PL	plural
DUR	durative	PRS	present
EMPH	emphatic	PST	past
FUT	future	QUOT	quotative
GEN	genitive	SEQ	sequential
GF	gap filler	SG	singular
HCLF	human classifier	TOP	topicalizer
HORT	hortative		

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