

Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns
in selected languages of Nepal

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Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in selected languages of Nepal

Part II, Clause

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Clause Patterns in Tamang

Doreen Taylor

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is first of all to provide some materials on the Tamang language as it is spoken in the village of Sahugaon, Tupche Panchayat, Nuwakot Jilla (West No. 1) of the Bagmati Anchal; and secondly, to provide material which may be useful for comparison with the grammatical systems of other languages of Nepal.

The reader must bear in mind that this paper presents a preliminary analysis only and further detailed study will be necessary.

Following is a brief statement of the phonology of Western Tamang and the orthography used for examples given in this paper.

stops	unaspirated	p	t	ʈ	k
	aspirated	ph	th	ṭh	kh
affricates	unaspirated			ts	
	aspirated			tsh	
fricatives				s	
nasals		m		n	ng
liquids				l	
				r	
glides	unaspirated	w			y
	aspirated	wh			

Figure 1. Consonants in Tamang.

	i		u
	e		o
		a	

Figure 2. Vowels in Tamang.

- c = (ts) affricate
- capital T = (ʈ) retroflexed consonant
- v = short vowel

vv = long vowel
 vh = lax vowel
 'v = tense with tone, high falling
 v = tense with tone high, basically level
 'vh = lax with tone mid, falling
 vh = lax with tone low, basically level
 Initial phonetic voiced stops have been retained in transcription.

Figure 3. Orthographic transcription.

Mr. Karna Bahadur Tamang, 28 years of age, and Mr. Bhajuman Tamang, 20 years of age, have served in the capacity of language assistants. I am indebted to them for the excellent help given in checking the data upon which this analysis is based.

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II. BASIC PATTERNS

A. The Contrastive System

1. The Role Marker System

The sememic classification of clause patterns in Tamang is based on the three primary roles, actor, undergoer, and site. The purpose of this section is to show how these roles are marked as they occur in the different clause types.

Differences and Contrasts. A difference which is counted as evidence of contrast as they relate to roles, is not merely an optional choice or omission of a nuclear tagmeme but involves the obligatory presence vs obligatory absence of one of these roles. A further criterion for contrast is the presence vs absence, or presence vs optional usage of a role marker with a particular role. (This applies primarily to the use of the agentive marker with the actor role and is dealt with more fully in Section II. A. 3).

The Transitivity System. The transitivity system which is defined by the roles of actor, undergoer, and site, consists of the transitive set and receptive set of clauses.

<u>Receptive set</u>	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Bi-Receptive
<u>Transitive set</u>	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	Bi-Transitive

Figure 4. Transitivity system.

Transitivity Matrix Covering State and Event Categories. One major distinctive feature marked in the verb phrase as it occurs within clauses in narrative discourse is event vs state. An event is typically given in the past tense, while state is indicated by non-past tenses, negatives, and non-indicative moods. This distinction between state and event provides a further basis for separating clauses in Tamang.

By adding state and event to the transitivity system the transitivity matrix is doubled. The state side of the system consists of two additional sets, the stative set and the attributive set. The full system is shown in Figure 5. (It should be noted here that names of sets are lower case: transitive set (which refers to a set of four patterns, BT, T, ST, and I) whereas the names of patterns or types are upper case: BiTransitive, Transitive etc.)

		Sit	Und	Und + Sit
<u>State</u> Sta	Circumstantial	Semi-Attributive	Attributive	Bi-Attributive
	Descriptive	Semi-Statative	Statative	Bi-Statative
<u>Event</u> Act	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Bi-Receptive
	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	Bi-Transitive

Figure 5. Full transitivity system.

Normal Role Markers in Tamang. The correlation between the normal role markers and the nuclear roles of actor, undergoer and site are basic to the identification of the contrastive clause patterns in Tamang. In Figures 6 to 12 the normal markers have been summarised as they occur within the clause patterns. Cells in which a given role cannot occur, by definition of the transitivity pattern, are marked by three hyphens. Cells for which no appropriate examples of a given role have been found are marked by empty parentheses.

The clauses below each figure illustrate the normal markers. The forms referred to by label in the figures are underlined in the examples. M stands for marker, R for role.

C ---	SA ---	A ---	BA ---
D ()	SS ()	S ()	BS ()
E ---	SR ---	R ---	BR ---
I Agt**	ST Agt*	T Agt*	BT Agt*

Figure 6. Normal actor markers.
*Optionally marked in non-event tenses.
**Always optionally marked.

Normal Actor Markers.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| I | <p>M <u>Umk</u> P
R Act Evt
<u>He went.</u></p> | or | <p>M <u>the-ce</u> nyi-ci.
R Act P
<u>He went.</u></p> |
| ST | <p>M <u>tamra-ce</u> gahsyng-Ti Duhn-ci.
R Act Loc P
<u>The bean plant</u> climbed up the stick.</p> | | |
| T | <p>M <u>the-ce</u> ken ca-ci.
R Act Umk P
<u>He ate rice.</u></p> | | |
| BT | <p>M <u>the-ce</u> apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
R Act Gol Umk P
<u>He gave</u> the book to father.</p> | | |

C ---	SA ---	A Umk	BA Umk
D ---	SS ---	S ()	BS ()
E ---	SR ---	R Umk	BR Umk
I ---	ST ---	T Gol/Umk	BT Umk/Gol

Figure 7. Normal undergoer markers for animate undergoers.

Normal Undergoer Markers (animate).

- | | |
|----|--|
| A | <p>M <u>'uhcu miih</u> cho-pa.
R Und State
<u>That man</u> is fat.</p> |
| BA | <p>M Gol <u>'uhcu miih-ta</u> nga pep-pa.
R Sit Umk P Und State
<u>I</u> am shy of that man.</p> |

- R apa ching-ci.
M Umk P
R Und Evt
 Father awoke.
- BR syet nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
M Umk Gol P
R Und Sit Evt
 I caught lice.
- T the-ce naki-ta 'to-ci.
M Agt Gol P
R Act Und Evt
 He hit the dog.
- T the-ce naki cyaa-ci.
M Agt Umk P
R Act Und Evt
 I saw the dog.
- BT the-ce 'kola 'bahcaar-Ti pit-ci.
M Agt Umk Loc P
R Act Und Sit Evt
 He sent the child to the bazaar.

C	---	SA	---	A	Umk	BA	Umk
D	---	SS	---	S	()	BS	()
E	---	SR	---	R	Umk	BR	Umk
I	---	ST	---	T	Umk	BT	Umk

Figure 8. Normal undergoer markers for inanimate undergoers.

Normal Undergoer Markers (inanimate).

- A the-la syaahma 'char mu-pa.
M Umk P
R Und State
 Her skirt is new.
- BA 'uhcu gyaah nga-ta jehppa mu-pa.
M Umk Gol P
R Und Sit State
 That garment is big for me.

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- R 'dihm ruhl-ci.
 M Umk P
 R Und Evt
The house fell down.
- BR nga-ta 'ki phii-ci.
 M Gol Umk P
 R Sit Und Evt
 I am thirsty.
- T the-ce 'sanga 'to-ci.
 M Agt Umk P
 R Act Und Evt
 He beat the millet.
- BT the-ce apa-ta wahre pin-ci.
 M Agt Gol Umk P
 R Act Sit Und Evt
 He gave the sickle to father.

C	---	SA	()	A	---	BA	Gol/Gen*
D	---	SS	()	S	---	BS	()
E	---	SR	()	R	---	BR	Gol
I	---	ST	()	T	---	BT	Gol

Figure 9. Normal goal-site markers.
 *inanimate only

Normal Goal Site Markers (animate).

- BA 'uhcu naki-ta 'kola long-pa.
 M Gol Umk P
 R Sit Und State
 The child is afraid of that dog.
- BA 'uhcu miih-ta jah 'nyiih mu-pa.
 M Gol Umk P
 R Sit Und State
That man has two sons.
- or
- M 'uhcu miih-la jah 'nyiih mu-pa.
 R Gen Umk P
 Sit Und State
That man has two sons.

BR ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
 M Umk Gol P
 R Und Sit Evt
I caught your cold.

BT the-ce nga-ta 'chiTi pin-ci.
 M Agt Gol Umk P
 R Act Sit Und Evt
 He gave me a letter.

Normal Goal Site Markers (inanimate).

BA cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik mu-pa.
 M Umk Gol P
 R Und Sit State
 This door is all right for the house.

BA 'ee-la wahre-ta jihta 'yu mu-pa.
 M Gol Umk P
 R Sit Und State
Your sickle has a small handle.

or 'ee-la wahre-la jihta 'yu mu-pa.
 M Gen Umk P
 R Sit Und State
Your sickle has a small handle.

BA nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
 M Umk Gen P
 R Und Sit State
 I am twelve years old.

C	---	SA	()	A	---	BA	Asc
D	---	SS	()	S	---	BS	()
E	---	SR	()	R	---	BR	()
I	---	ST	Asc*	T	---	BT	()

Figure 10. Normal associative-site markers.
 *animate site only

Normal Association Sites.

- BA the-teng wahre mu-pa.
M Asc Umk P
R Sit Und State
 He has a sickle (with him).
- BA 'ee-la bahr nga-la-teng mu-pa.
M Umk Asc P
R Und Sit State
 Your basket is with mine (my basket).
- ST the-ce nga-teng bahng-ci.
M Agt Asc P
R Act Sit Evt
 He abused me.

C	---	SA	()	A	---	BA	Loc
D	---	SS	()	S	---	BS	()
E	---	SR	()	R	---	BR	Loc
I	---	ST	Loc	D	---	BT	Loc

Figure 11. Normal inanimate locative-site markers.

Normal Locative Sites.

- BA nyi 'cu sawang namsa-ri 'saaThi ghar mu-pala.
M Loc Umk P
R Sit Und State
 In this our village of Sahu, there were sixty houses.
- BR the pre loh-ri nah-ci.
M Umk Loc P
R Und Sit Evt
 He was born in the year of the monkey.
- ST apa-ce 'sunaap-Ti Daa-ci.
M Agt Loc P
R Act Sit Evt
 Father won the election.

BT the-ce 'mrang-Ti lapu jahng-ci.
 M Agt Loc Umk P
 R Act Sit Und Evt
 He planted radishes in the garden.

C	---	SA	()	A	---	BA	Agt
D	---	SS	()	S	---	BS	()
E	---	SR	()	R	---	BR	()
I	---	ST	()	D	---	BT	Agt

Figure 12. Normal inanimate source-site markers.

Normal Source Sites.

BA bohrpi thiti 'uhcu 'kaaran-ce mu-pa-rim.
 M Umk Src P
 R Und Sit State
From that we have the custom of taking a bride.

BT the-ce gaahkhre-ce 'ki 'tet-ci.
 M Agt Src Umk P
 R Act Sit Und Evt
 He drew water out of the waterpot.

2. Modifications of the Normal Pattern:
 Nominal Role Markers.

In this section modifications of the role marker system are given according to the roles involved.

Modified Actor Markers. The normal actor marker in the transitive clause patterns as shown in Figure 6 is the agentive marker, -ce. When the actor is first person singular the agentive form nye may be used instead of nga-ce, but its use is far less common than nga-ce. nye may occur in all the transitive clause patterns as shown.

I nye nyi-ci.
 M Agt P
 R Act Evt
I went.

ST	<u>nye</u> gahng-Ti kret-ci.
M	Agt Loc P
R	Act Sit Evt
	<u>I</u> climbed the hill.
T	<u>nye</u> ken ca-ci.
M	Agt Umk P
R	Act Und Evt
	<u>I</u> ate rice.
BT	<u>nye</u> apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
M	Agt Gol Umk P
R	Act Sit Und Evt
	<u>I</u> gave the book to father.

Modified Undergoer Markers. In Figure 7 it was shown that normally animate undergoer roles are unmarked except in the Transitive clause when an animate undergoer occurs with a particular class of verbs. Modification occurs when, in a clause having a normally unmarked animate undergoer, the predicate is being focussed upon; in which case the undergoer is marked by the normal goal marker. This is described more fully in the section on focus (see Section II. A. 3).

Modified Site Markers. Modification of the normal goal marker with the site role in the Attributive clause occurs when the predicate is under focus (see Section II. A. 3).

In addition to the simple site markers which show the normal patterns for animate and inanimate sites there are other site markers which are more specific. Some of these markers are shown in the following examples.

Locative Markers occurring with animate and inanimate sites are as follows: Those which may be optionally preceded by the genitive form of the site:

choo 'dihm ngonkyam ('dihm-ki ngonkyam) mupa.
The rope is in front of the house.

'dihm duhngTi ('dihm-ki duhngTi)	<u>below the house</u>
'dihm pherang ('dihm-ki pherang)	<u>above the house</u>
'dihm pitcyor ('dihm-ki pitcyor)	<u>outside the house</u>

Those in which the genitive form of the site is obligatory:

choo 'dihm-ki asenTi mupa.	The rope is <u>under the house.</u>
'dihm 'nyih-i guhngTi	<u>between the two houses</u>

Those in which the site is not genitive in form:

choo 'dihm-nahng mupa.	The rope is <u>inside the house.</u>
------------------------	--------------------------------------

Source Markers which deviate from the normal pattern are as follows: Those occurring with animate sites:

'kola apa-nyehnsye nga samma nyici.
The child went from father to me.

and those occurring with inanimate sites:

the 'dihm-ce nyici.	He went <u>from the house.</u>
<u>'dihm-gyam-ce</u>	<u>by way of the house</u>
<u>'dihm-nang-ce</u>	<u>from inside the house</u>
<u>'dihm-nyehnsye</u>	<u>from the house</u> (starting point)

3. The Focus Marker System in Tamang

In this section we will be concerned with three kinds of focus relevant to clause level structures: unmarked focus, topic focus, and emphatic focus.

Unmarked Focus. Where no special device has been used to highlight a given clause constituent, we speak of unmarked focus. We refer to the topic in unmarked focus as the subject, the topic being the first nuclear constituent of the clause in normal order. In Tamang there appears to be a ranking of roles played by the subject. If an animate actor is present, it will be the subject. If there is no animate actor but there is an animate undergoer, the animate undergoer will be the subject.

C ()	SA ()	A Und	BA Und
D ()	SS ()	S ()	BS ()
E ()	SR ()	R Und	BR Und
I Act	ST Act	T Act	BT Act

Figure 13. Role of the subject.

The relation of animate subject to a role may be illustrated as follows:

A the 'khang-pa.
 S p
 Und State
 He is cold.

- BA 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
 S REF P
 Und Sit State
 The child is in the house.
- R naki syi-ci.
 S P
 Und Evt
 The dog died.
- BR the pre loh-ri nah-ci.
 S REF P
 Und Sit Evt
 He was born in the year of the monkey.
- I 'kola kraa-ci.
 S P
 Act Evt
 The child cried.
- ST the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
 S REF P
 Act Sit Evt
 He climbed the hill.
- T kon-ce ken ca-ci.
 S O P
 Act Und Evt
 Kon ate rice.
- BT apa-ce ale 'mrang-Ti pit-ci.
 S O REF P
 Act Und Sit Evt
 Father sent young brother to the garden.

Topic Focus. A given role may be topicalised by fronting and affixation of the particle -mi. (It may also be topicalised either by fronting alone or by the affixation of -mi alone, though these options have not been illustrated here.)

Normal Order:

bhai-la Tika (yihm-pa).
 young brother-Gen Tika (be-pres)
 It is the younger brother Tika (ceremony).

Topicalised Tika:

Tika-m bhai-la (yihm-pa).
The Tika (ceremony) is for the younger brother.

Normal Order:

nga kainla-ki 'santaan.
 I Kainla-Gen descendent
 I am descendent of Kainla.

Topicalised Kainla:

kainla-ki 'santaan-mi nga.
 I am a descendent of Kainla.

Normal Order:

thumpi chutti-teng nopa.
 Thumpi Chuti-with tall
 Thumpi is taller than Chuti.

Topicalised Chuti:

chutti-teng-mi thumpi-no nopa.
 The meaning is the same as in the example above,
 but here Chuti is the topic of the conversation.

Normal Order:

the-la jah no-pa ta-sye-la.
 she-Gen son tall-Nm be-future
 Her son will be tall.

Topicalised tall:

nopa ta-sye-la-mi the-la jah-ka-syim.
 tall be-future-em she-Gen son-em-em
 Her son will certainly become tall.

Normal Order:

the-ce-no ken-mi ca-ci.
 he-agt-em rice-em eat-pst
 He indeed ate the rice.

Topicalised Undergoer:

ken-mi the-ce-no ca-ci.
 For sure he ate the rice.

Emphatic Focus. A role may be placed in emphatic focus either by permuting it to post predicate position or by affixing to it one of various emphatic particles.

Emphatic Focus by Emphatic Particle. Emphatic particles are

widely used in the structure of Tamang clauses and convey different shades of meaning. The more commonly used emphatic particles which have been analysed so far include the following as they occur with actor, undergoer and site roles: -m/-mi 'specific'; -mi 'contrastive'; -caanyi 'identified, selected, contrastive'; -ka 'instead of, certainty, contradiction'; -no 'confirmation, contradiction'.

The above meanings do not cover the whole range of meanings but represent what has been found in data so far analysed. While some emphatic particles do not affect the clause structure (they are simply added to the role), in other cases it constitutes a link between two clauses.

'ee-i serngo-mi nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
your cold-emp me-Gol move-pst
I caught your cold.

Where -mi occurs once each in paired clauses the meaning is 'contrastive'. The roles upon which -mi occurs in the two clauses are the same. Thus actor contrasts with actor, undergoer contrasts with undergoer, site contrasts with site.

BT nga-ce-mi apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci 'ee-ce-mi
I-Agt emp father-Gol book give-pst you-Agt-emp
I gave father a book but you gave him a light.

baTi pin-ci.
light give-pst

T nga-ce-mi ken ca-ci kon-ce-mi 'a-ca.
I-Agt-emp rice eat-pst Kon-Agt-emp neg-eat
I ate rice but Kon didn't.

BR nga-ta-mi 'serngo 'khoo-nem the-ta-mi 'a-'khoo.
I-Gol-emp cold move-pst he-Gol-emp neg-move
I caught a cold but he didn't.

Where -caanyi occurs in a single clause its meaning is 'identified, selected'.

BT the-caanyi-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti pit-ci.
he-emp-Agt child garden-Loc send-pst
He sent the child to the garden (not someone else).

T the-caanyi-ce ken ca-ci.
he-emp-Agt rice eat-pst
He (not someone else) ate the rice.

BR pre loh-ri-caanyi the nah-pala.
year monkey-Loc-emp he be born-pst
It was in the year of the monkey he was born.

Where -caanyi occurs once each in paired clauses the meaning is 'contrastive'. As with -mi 'contrastive', the roles on which -caanyi occurs in the two clauses is the same, that is actor contrasts with actor, or undergoer contrasts with undergoer.

BT nga-ce choo-caanyi 'dihm-Ti then-ci bahr-caanyi 'a-then.
I-Agt rope-emp house-Loc put-pst basket-emp neg-put
I put the rope not the basket in the house.

Where -ka occurs in a dependent clause it means 'instead of'. This occurs in BiTransitive, Intransitive and Receptive clauses only, in which case the clause becomes dependent.

BT ale ramailo mela-ri pip-pala 'a-yihn nga-ce
young brother fun fair-Loc send-pst neg-be I-Agt
I didn't send younger brother to the fun fair I sent

bacaar-Ti-ka pit-ci.
bazaar-Loc-emp sent-pst
him to the bazaar instead.

I kon 'a-yihn naule-ka bacaar-Ti nyi-ci.
Kon neg-be Naule-emp bazaar-Loc go-pst
Naule went instead of Kon to the bazaar.

BR 'uhcu miih 'a-syi hari-ka syi-ci.
that man neg-die Hari-emp die-pst
Hari died instead of that man.

Where -ka occurs in an independent clause it means 'certainty'. -ka has not been found to occur in the transitive or attributive sets of clauses.

BR nga-ta 'ee-i 'serngo-ka 'khoo-nem.
me-Gol you-of cold-emp move-pst
I've caught your cold for sure.

R 'cu 'gaakare-ka breh-ci.
this waterpot-emp leak-pst
This waterpot leaked for sure.

Where -ka occurs in a dependent clause it means 'contradiction'. This particle is usually used in conjunction with the predicative emphatic particle -syihm, in which case the clause becomes dependent resulting in a construction similar to the English cleft sentence. When -syihm is used, the predicate is nearly always deleted.

BA nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-pala-mi hari-la 'a-yihn
I-Gol cold move-pst-emp Hari-Gen neg-be
It wasn't Hari's cold I caught, it was yours.

'ee-la-ka-syihm.
you-Gen-emp-emp

BA 'uhcu syaahma 'char-mi the-la 'a-yihñ nga-la-ka-syihm.
that skirt new-emp she-Gen neg-be I-Gen-emp-emp
That new skirt isn't hers, it is mine (the skirt that
is new isn't hers it is mine.)

Where -no occurs in a clause it means 'confirmation'.

BT the-ce-no 'kola bacaar-Ti pit-ci.
he-Agt-emp child bazaar-Loc send-pst
He indeed sent the child to the bazaar.

R ale-m 'a-'syi acyo-no 'syi-ci.
young brother-emp neg-die older brother-emp die-pst
It was for sure the older brother who died not the
younger one.

R 'uhcu syi-pa 'pang-pi miih-no 'syi-ci.
that die-pres say-of man-emp die-pst
That man said he would die, and die he did.

A 'kola-no nga-ta long-pa 'wam-o.
child-emp I-Gol afraid-pres persuade-imp
The child is afraid of me, pacify her.

A the-la syaahma-no 'char mu-pa 'phuki-no
she-Gen skirt-emp new be-pres kumberband-emp
Her skirt is new as well as her kumberband.

'char mu-pa.
new be-pres

BT the-ce wahre-mi 'hari-ta' pim-pala 'a-yihñ apa-ta-no.
he-Agt sickle-emp Hari-Gol give-pst neg-he father-Gol-emp
He didn't give the sickle to Hari, for sure he gave it
to father.

Emphatic particles also occur with the predicate adding different shades of meaning, some occurring only in dependent or independent clauses, others functioning in both. A complete analysis of the predicative emphatic particles has not yet been done but so far the following particles seem to be the most commonly used. These include: -m, -mi, -ka, -kaa, -te, -no, and -syihm.

-m. This particle occurs in all clause types, in both independent and dependent clauses. In the independent clause it conveys a meaning of 'confirmation', or 'indeed', while in a dependent clause it alternates with -mi, apparently quite freely,

to mean 'but, even, consequently'. Consider the following examples:

'dehre-m yampu-m jahmma-no 'thaa yang-pala-m
 now-emp Kathmandu-emp all-emp knowledge find-pst-emp
 Now I know indeed all (there is to know) about

asu-i 'dehre-m.
 Asu-emp now-emp
 Kathmandu, Asu.

nga-ce dhot dhot-bih kring-pala-m cen-ce-m
 I-Agt dhot dhot-say cry out-pst-emp leopard-Agt-emp
 I cried out, "dhot dhot", but the leopard only looked

jhehn nga-ta cyaa-pa.
 all the more I-Gol look at-pres
 at me all the more.

-mi. This particle has many meanings not all of which have been analysed yet. So far -mi has been found to occur only in dependent declarative clauses and in independent interrogative clauses. Occurring in dependent clauses it usually means 'but, then', for example:

nga kring-pala-mi cen-ce nga-ta cyaa-pa.
 I cry out-pst-emp leopard-Agt I-Gol look at-pres
 I cried out but the leopard just looked at me.

-ka. Also has many meanings some of which are 'then, but, and so, certainly, contrary to expectation'. It occurs with the predicate in dependent and independent clauses, as in the following examples:

nga-ce 'a-nyi-ka.
 I-Agt neg-go-emp
But I didn't go.

nga-ce chiTi ba-cim-ka 'ee khet-'myang-ci.
 I-Agt letter bring-pp-emp you read-find-pst
Contrary to what you thought I brought you a letter to read.

-kaa. So far this particle has been found to occur only in an independent clause with the meaning of 'defiance, doing something not supposed to be done', for example:

the-ce ken ca-ci-kaa.
 he-Agt rice eat-pst-emp
 He ate the rice (he wasn't supposed to).

nga nyi-pa-kaa.
 I go-pres-emp
 I will go (despite what you say).

-'te. This particle may occur with predicates in all clause types and conveys a strong emphatic meaning of 'indeed', for example:

cen 'kha-nem-'te.
 leopard come-pst-emp
 The leopard indeed came.

-no. This particle has been found to occur only with predicates in independent clauses, and has the meaning of 'indeed', for example:

syi-pa-i-la Tanga 'som som-pa-i-la Tanga
 die-Nm-Gen-Gen half-rupee three alive-Nm-Gen-Gen half-rupee
 The custom of placing one and a half rupee both for the
 'som 'juuh-pa-i pe sehng-pala-no.
 three put-Nm-Gen custom do-pst-emp
 dead and the living has indeed been carried out.

-syihm. This particle also has a meaning of 'certainty, and so, indeed'. It occurs in all clause types but with tense restrictions. For example:

'ee 'kha-pa-syihm.
 you come-pres-emp
And so you come!

Emphatic Focus by Permutation to Post Verbal Position.

We have seen that the natural word order in unmarked focus is for the topic to precede the predicate. However, the topic may be emphasised by permutation to a position following the predicate. This applies to all tagmemes whether nuclear or peripheral. This may be illustrated by the following examples.

ta-ci kon 'dehre bis bahrsa.
 Evt Voc Time Und
Now twenty years have passed, Kon.

asu-ce-m yampu-m 'khana 'khana kor-jeht-ci tinyi syoo-ri.
 Act Loc Loc Evt Time
 Where did you go for a stroll around Kathmandu this morning,
 Asu?

'dehre-no chyaa-la thenyi-'maah-ta-m.
 Time State Sit
 Now they will receive (the money).

Tup-'maah them-pala 'Tim chyau-'maah-ri.
 Und State Sit
 The threads were placed in the sides (of the loom).

'icu-'maah-ri 'raa-pi 'phinyi-ka cung-pala yaa-ce hoi.
 Sit Und State Inst
 Here (in these places) the weaving comb is caught by
the hand.

ken ca-ci the-ce-no.
 Und Evt Act
 It was indeed he who ate the rice.

B. Systemic Contrast.

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells in Figure 5 correspond to the inherent contrastive clause patterns in Tamang. The contrastive features are described according to 1. General Contrasts, which coincide with the features separating rows and columns in Figure 5; and 2. Specific Contrasts, which contrast individual cells with one another, or with certain groups of cells.

1. General Contrasts.

An event in discourse is the narration of something which has actually happened, whereas a state is a statement which refers to anything that is not an event. This includes such statements as: what might have happened, what did not happen, what should have happened; commands, requests and description of setting.

In Tamang the simple past tense is inherently an expression of an event (though negation may be added, thus in a sense 'stativising' it). Stative tenses are inherently an expression of a state.

The contrastive status of the two categories state and event does not rest solely on the optional inflectional possibilities mentioned above. There are also basic stative patterns contrasting with eventive patterns. So that by the inflectional options plus the basic differences the contrast of state versus event, as relevant to the basic clause structure in Tamang, is maintained.

The general contrasts are given below, first as they relate to state and event, and then as they relate to the event side, actor (vs no actor).

State vs Event.

A-set

- a) -stativising
- b) +eventivising
- c) Stative tense states something is in a state.

R-set and T-set

- a) +stativising
- b) -eventivising
- c) Eventive tense shows that something happened at some point in past time.

Examples illustrating stative verbs:

Stative Tense

the khrem-pala.
He was hungry.

nga-la yaa behr-pa.
My hand is cold.

'cu jehppa mu-pa.
This is big.

'cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik mupa.
This door is all right for
the house.

Eventive Tense

the khren-ci.
He hungered.

nga-la yaa behr-ci.
My hand (became) cold.

'cu jehppa ta-ci.
This became big.

'cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik
ta-ci.
This door became (was
made) all right for the
house.

Examples illustrating eventive verbs:

Eventive Tense

the-ce syaahma 'raa-ci.
She wove a skirt.

the-ce 'makai ca-ci.
He ate corn.

the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
He climbed the hill.

the 'mrang-Ti nyi-ci.
He went to the garden.

- d) Inherent verb, mu- 'is' indicates being in a state.

the-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa.
Her skirt is old.

Stative Tense

the-ce syaahma 'raa-pa.
She weaves a skirt.

the-ce 'makai ca-pa.
He eats corn.

the-ce gahng-Ti krep-pa.
He climbs the hill.

the 'mrang-Ti nyi-pa.
He goes to the garden.

- d) Eventivised mu-ci indicates 'doubt, disbelief'.

naa the-la syaahma bohkta
mu-ci.
Maybe her skirt is old.

the 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
She is in the house.

naa the 'dihm-Ti mu-ci.
Maybe she is in the house.

- e) Inherent verb, yihn- 'is' indicates a state of existence.

- e) Eventivised yihn-ci indicates 'probability'.

Consider the following examples:

'jahme yihm-pa.
(It) is a daughter.

naa 'jahme yihn-ci.
Maybe (it) is a daughter.

'cu the-la yihm-pa.
This is hers.

naa 'cu the-la yihn-ci.
Maybe this belongs to her.

'uhcu nyamnya baikkalak yihm-pa.
That bird is a swallow.

naa 'uhcu nyamnya
baikkalak yihn-ci.
Maybe that bird is a
swallow.

- f) Modal verb, ta- 'become' used as an eventiviser.

- f) Indicates 'something can now happen', or 'action decided upon'.

Consider the following examples:

yahl ta-ci.
It became light.

'gaahkre breh-sye ta-ci.
The waterpot will leak
now.

'uhcu char ta-ci.
It became new.

the 'breh-pa ta-ci.
Now he can walk.

'kamic jehppa ta-ci.
The shirt became big.

the-ce ken ca-sye ta-ci.
He will eat later on.

nga-ce baahra barsa ta-ci.
I am twelve years old.

kon-ce 'mrang-Ti lapu.
'jahng-sye ta-ci.
Kon has decided to plant
the radishes in the
garden.

- g) A difference in derivational potential. Compare tree diagrams of A-set (Figure 21 and 22) with tree diagrams of R- and T-sets (Figures 19, 20 and 15-18).

State vs Event. No Actor is present (A-set vs R-set).

A-set

R-set

- a) -stativising
b) +eventivising

- a) +stativising
b) -eventivising

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>c) Answer to the question, "What is it like?"</p> <p>d) A difference in derivational potential. Compare A-set tree diagrams (Figures 21 and 22) with R-set tree diagrams (Figures 19 and 20).</p> <p>e) Contrasts involving the modal verb <u>ta-</u> 'become' listed above apply here also.</p> | <p>c) Answers to the question, "What happened to it?"</p> |
|---|---|

Consider the following example:

'dehrem nyesyí ta-ci.
It is now evening.

naki 'syi-sye ta-ci.
The dog will die soon.

Actor (vs no Actor). An event side only. T-set vs R-set.

T-set

- a) Reciprocal action possible.
- b) +Benefactive
- c) Permissive causes double function.
- d) Modal verb ta- 'become' indicates 'action decided upon', or 'action now able to be carried out, happened to'.

R-set

- a) Reciprocal action not possible.
- b) -Benefactive
- c) Permissive does not cause double function.
- d) Modal verb ta- 'become' indicates 'something can now happen', or 'something is about to happen'.

Consider the following examples:

apa 'yu-sye ta-ci.
Father has decided to come down.

'glahp 'syi-sye ta-ci.
The ox will die now.

the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pa ta-ci.
Now he is able to plant the radishes in the garden.

'dehrem apa ching-sye ta-ci.
Now father will wake up.

the-ce ken ca-pa ta-ci.
He is now able to eat.

nga-ta 'ee-i 'serngo 'khoo-sye ta-ci.
Now I will catch your cold.

nga-ce apa-teng khatu ta-ci.
I happened to meet father.

'ahngka tai-pa ta-ci.
The branch is about to fall.

- e) Modal verb 'syee- 'know' indicates 'knows how to do something'.

- e) Modal verb 'syee- 'know' indicates 'it seems, it looks as though'.

- f) Difference in derivational potential. Compare T-set tree diagrams (Figures 15-18) with R-set diagrams (Figures 19, 20).

Consider the following examples:

the-ce 'raa-pa 'syee-pa.
She knows how to weave.

the ching-pa 'syee-pa.
It looks as though he is
waking up.

tamra gahsyng-Ti Duhm-pa
'syee-pa.
The bean plant knows how to
climb up the stick.

the-ta gahte gyoohne
'serngo 'khoo-pa
'syee-pa.
How quickly she seems to
have caught a cold.

2. Specific Contrasts.

The contrasts listed below do not coincide with those separating whole rows or columns, but rather contrast individual cells with one another, or may contrast a certain group of cells with another group.

Number of nuclear roles.

one role: A, R, I
two roles: BA, BR, ST, T
three roles: BT

Have actors.

I, ST, T, BT

Animate undergoer marked as goal in unmarked focus.

T, BT, A

Clause has an undergoer as object.

T, BT

Clause has a site as an indirect object.

BT, BR, BA

Clause has animate or inanimate actors.

ST, T, BT

Clause takes normal imperative.

I, ST, T, BT

Actor is subject in unmarked focus.

I, ST, T, BT

Undergoer is subject in unmarked focus.

A, BA, R, BR

Clauses requiring an actor with modal verbs buht- 'complete',
'maih-'inceptive', ta- 'become'.

BA only.

Clauses not requiring an actor with modal verbs.

I, T, BT

C. Contrastive Types.

Commencing with the BiTransitive clause all contrastive

patterns will be illustrated, preceded by a formula of the respective clause type.

BiTransitive Clause Type.

a) with Goal-Site.

S	NP (Agt)	IO	NP (Gol)	O	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act	anim	Sit	anim	Und	anim/ inan	BT	Evt

the-ce apa-ta 'chiTi 'pit-ci.
Act Sit Und Evt
He sent a letter to father.

apa-ce naule-ta wahre pin-ci.
He gave Naule the sickle.

ama-ce nga-ta 'ki 'baih-ci.
Mother brought me some water.

maili-ce nga-ta syit 'cek 'khit-ci.
Maili loaned me some rice.

the-ce nga-ta ra pin-ci.
He gave me a goat.

khekpa-ce 'kola-'maah-ta dahngpo-i peThim syet-ci.
The old man told the children the old customs.

b) with Locative-Site.

S	NP (Agt)	O	NP (Umk)	REF	NP (Loc)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act	anim/ inan	Und	item	Sit	inan/ place	BT	Evt

the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-ci.
Act Und Sit Evt
He planted radishes in the garden.

naule-ce choo 'dihm-Ti then-nem.
Naule put the rope in the house.

ama-ce phu-ri ken 'juuh-ci.
Mother put the food on the fire.

the-ce 'ki khore-ri yuu-ci.
She poured water into the bowl.

apa-ce the 'buh-ri 'pit-ci.
 Father sent him to the field.

nga-ce kam-ri yaa daah-ci.
 I leaned my hand on my chin.

Transitive Clause Type.

S	NP (Agt)	O	NP (Umk/Gol)	P	NP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Act	anim/ inan	Und	item	T	Evt

kon-ce ken ca-ci.
 Act Und Evt
 Kon ate (his) food.

thenyi-'maah-ce 'sanga 'to-ci.
 They beat the millet.

nga-ce ra cyaa-ci.
 I saw the goat.

dahpprang-ce 'uhcu 'ki 'thung-ci.
 The crow drank that water.

'jahmma-no nyamnya-'maah-ce 'ki 'maih-ci.
 All the birds searched for water.

'uhcu miih-ce the-ta 'to-ci.
 That man hit him.

cen-ce ra-ta 'gher-'ti-ci.
 The leopard circled round the goat.

nga-ce naule-ta 'ngot-ci.
 I called Naule.

sangkul-ce 'gohmpo thi-nem.
 The earth tremor cracked the temple.

laapa-ce 'mrap Thong-ci.
 The wind closed the door.

mukpa-ce mu kuu-ci.
 The cloud covered the sky (it is cloudy).

SemiTransitive Clause Type.

S	NP (Agt)	IO	NP (Accom/Loc)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Act	anim/ inan	Sit	(anim/ place	ST	Evt

the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
 Act Sit Evt
 He climbed the hill.

tamra-ce gahsyng-Ti Duhn-ci.
 The bean plant climbed the stick.

apa-ce 'sunaap-Ti 'Daah-ci.
 Father won the election.

the-ce apa-teng bahng-ci.
 He abused father.

the-ce 'bahcaar-Ti kor-ci.
 He went for a stroll in the bazaar.

nakca-ce mama-teng 'buhp-ci.
 The chicken nestled under the mother hen.

nga-ce apa-teng khatu la-ci.
 I met father.

Intransitive Clause Type.

S	NP(+Agt)	P	VP
+-----	-----	+-----	-----
Act	anim	I	Evt

a) Motion directed clauses in which peripheral purpose adjunct optionally occurs. Motion verbs include nyi- 'go', 'yu- 'come down', 'kha- 'come up'.

the the-i mring-'maah 'maih-pa-ri nyi-ci.
 Act (purpose) Evt
 He went to look for his wives.

the-ce nga-la char 'dihm cyaa-pa-ri 'kha-ci.
 She came to look at my new house.

cen 'kha-nem.
 The leopard came.

'jahmma-no miih 'yu-ci.
 All the people came down.

tila syoori the-ce nyi-ci.
 He went yesterday morning.

b) Non-motion directed clauses.

nga-caanyi pherang 'khang-Ti 'nuu-ci.
 Act Evt
 As for me, I slept on the top bunk.

nyamnya phumpa-i ya-ri net-ci.
The bird sat on the rim of the waterpot.

'uhcu dahpprang ban-Ti 'yahr-ci-ro.
That crow flew (went) into the forest.

apa 'mrang-Ti syee-ci.
Father went (honorific) to the garden.

'kola-ce yahkko-no kraa-ci.
The child cried a lot.

the-ce nyet-ci.
He laughed.

the-ce kring-ci.
He cried out.

'maki nya-ci.
The buffalo bellowed.

BiReceptive Clause Type.

a) with Goal-Site.

S	NP	IO	NP (Gol)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	Sit	anim/ inan	BR	Evt

'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
Und Sit Evt
I caught your cold.

the-ta 'syet 'khoo-nem.
She caught lice.

'uhcu wen the-ta chanta 'kha-pa.
Those clothes look well on him.

'uhcu wen-ta yahko 'paisa 'yahr-ci.
A lot of money was spent on that cloth.

the-ta jahro 'kha-ci.
He has fever.

b) with Locative-Site.

S	NP	REF	NP (Loc)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	Sit	inan	BR	Evt

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the pre loh-ri nah-ci.
 Und Sit Evt
 He was born in the year of the monkey.

'amparu sa-ri tai-ci.
 The mangoes dropped to the ground.

nga-la kang 'yungpa-ri 'jehk-ci.
 I stubbed my foot on a stone.

Receptive Clause Type.

S		NP		P		VP
+---		----		+---		----
Und		item		R		Evt

the 'syi-ci.
 Und Evt
 He died.

apa ching-ci.
 Father awoke.

the-la 'gaahkre breh-ci.
 Her waterpot leaked.

'dihm ruhl-ci.
 The house fell down.

'uhcu ama-'maah waih-ce breeh-ci.
 That woman lost by not being able to answer in song.

'ki khar-ci.
 The water dried up.

'kola-'maah dahr-ci.
 The children shivered.

'glihng 'nyuuh-ci.
 The snow melted.

byuhrwa 'nyuhl-ci.
 The plant withered.

roro 'kram-ci.
 The fruit rotted.

mu guhrung-ci.
 It thundered (sky bellowed).

tiplik plik-ci.
 Lightning flashed.

BiAttributive Clause Type.

(for sub-classes see Derived Patterns, Section IV. B.)

a) with Goal- or Genitive-Site.

S	NP	IO	NP(Gol, Gen)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	Sit	anim/ inan	BA	State

Class (a)

nga baahra bahrsa-la mu-pa.
Und Sit (-Gen) State
I am twelve years old.

Class (b)

tila mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala.
Time Sit(-Gol) Und State
Yesterday grandmother enjoyed going walking.

kon-ta 'kaam sehngpa-ri 'atture mu-pa.
Kon is quick doing his work.

ama-ta 'icu 'rang jeeh-pa.
This colour suits mother.

'cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik mu-pa.
This door is all right for the house.

'ee-la wahre-ta jihta 'yu mu-pa.
Your sickle has a small handle.

or 'ee-la wahre-la jihta 'yu mu-pa.
Your sickle has a small handle.

b) with Locative-Site.

S	NP/Cl	REF	NP(Loc)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	Sit	place	BA	state

Class (c)

apa 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
Und Sit State
Father is in the house.

nyi-'maah 'ciranyi 'pangpi-'glaah-ri mu-pa.
We are at a place called Cirani.

the-la yaa-ri kriti mu-pa.
His hands are dirty.

'uhcu wen 'gyahp-ce mu-pala.
That was from behind the cloth.

tor-ce ele kuuti mu-pala.
It was crooked like that from the top.

the 'samet-teng 'blih mu-pa.
Including him, there are four.

Attributive Clause Type.

(for sub-classes see Derived Patterns, Section IV. B.)

S	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	A	State

Class (a)

nga-la syaahma 'char mu-pa.
Und State
My skirt is new.

'ee-la 'dihm jehppa mu-pa.
Your house is big.

the bleku mu-pa.
He is lazy.

the rahku mu-pa.
He is intelligent.

'uhcu wen ping mu-pa.
That cloth is blue.

Class (b)

the-la yaa behr-pa.
His hand is cold.

bahr lih-pa.
The basket is heavy.

'ee-la wen jya-pa.
Your cloth is good.

'uhcu 'dohngpo 'no-pa.
That tree is tall.

'jahme yihm-pa.
(It) is a daughter.

nga 'ki phii-pa.
I am thirsty.

the 'khang-pa.
He is cold.

wahre 'chyar-pa.
The sickle is sharp.

'uhcu miih lem-pa.
That man is dumb.

Equative sub-type of the Attributive Clause Type.

S	NP (Umk)	PEX	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	Cpl		A	state

chuala wen 'raapi seeh yihm-pa.
A chuala is a cloth weaving machine.

baikalak nyamnya yihm-pa.
A baikalak is a bird.

'cu nga-la yihm-pa.
This is mine.

III. INFLECTED PATTERNS.

The Tamang verbal phrase may be viewed as consisting of a number of verbal modifications. These may be semantically classified into the broad categories of mood, tense, aspect, modality, and editorials.

Mood. Mood reflects the psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker. It may indicate that information is being imparted or requested, or an order is being given; it may indicate hope, desire, intention, or doubt. The various moods expressed in Tamang are: declarative, interrogative, imperative, desiderative, hortative, permissive, dubitive, conditional, and intentive.

Tense. Tense in Tamang is relative time in that while stative tenses may cover a span of time (with present tense

extending over into the future), in event the past tense conveys the meaning of an action completed. Four tenses occur, simple past, perfect past, present and future.

Aspect. Aspect refers to a kind of action and its distribution in time. The various aspects include continuous, habitual, durative, inceptive, incessant, sequential and concurrent.

Modality. Modality states a relationship between the statement and actual occurrence. The various modals expressed in the Tamang verbal phrase are: abilitative, compulsive, anticipative, completive, inceptive, factitive, negative, eventive, and reported speech.

Editorials. Editorials express such editorial comments as affirmation, confirmation, and doubt.

A. The Verbal Phrase - Surface Structure.

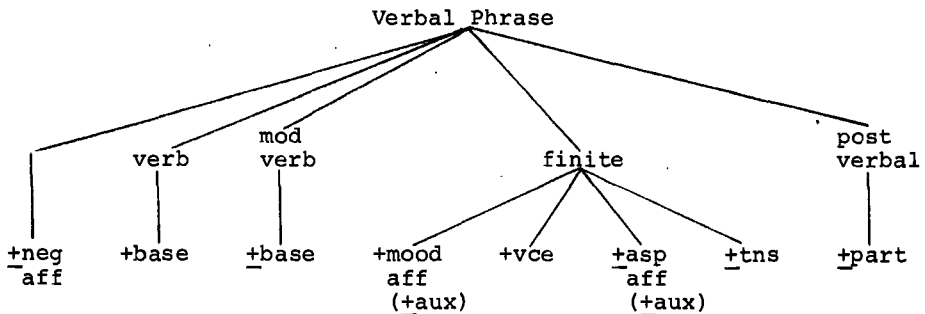


Figure 14. The structure of the verb phrase in Tamang.

The structure of the verb phrase as illustrated in Figure 14 above shows that certain elements occur obligatorily, indicated by a plus sign, while other elements occur optionally, indicated by plus over minus.

1. Nuclear Elements in the Verb Phrase

The nuclear elements of the verbal phrase are, 1) obligatory verbal base, 2) obligatory mood, 3) obligatory voice, 4) optional aspect, and 5) optional tense.

The Verbal Base. The verbal base gives the lexical meaning to the verb phrase and may be manifested by a BiTransitive, Transitive, SemiTransitive, Intransitive, BiReceptive, Receptive,

BiAttributive or Attributive verb stem. It may be manifested by, 1) a single verb stem, 2) by a compound of two verb stems, 3) by noun, plus verb, or 4) by adjective plus verb. In a compound base the verbal idea may be singular with one verbal idea modified by the other, or the verbal idea can be double in which case meanings of both elements are expressed.

The Simple Verb Base. The simple verb base consists of only the verb stem, and it is to this that the mood, aspect or tense morphemes are suffixed.

The Compound Verbal Base. In a compound verbal base where the verbal idea is double the first verb may be a BiTransitive, Transitive, SemiTransitive or Receptive verb, and the second verb is an Intransitive verb. The meaning then conveys 'purpose'. Consider the following examples:

BiTransitive plus Intransitive.

the-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-nyi-ci.
He went to give father the book

Transitive plus Intransitive.

the-ce ken ca-kha-ci.
He came to eat rice.

SemiTransitive plus Intransitive.

the-ce gahng-Ti kret-nyi-ci.
He went to climb the hill.

Receptive plus Intransitive.

the-ce 'uhcu-ri 'syi-nyi-ci.
He went there to die.

In a compound verbal base where the verbal idea is single the examples so far show that, 1) both the verb stems may be Intransitive, 2) the first verb stem may be Transitive and the second verb stem BiTransitive, or 3) the first verb BiTransitive and the second verb Intransitive. These seem to present more of a formula type of compound and lexically are considered as a single unit. Consider the following examples:

the-ce yampu dooh-'yu-ci.
He arrived in Kathmandu (arrive-come down).

the-ce chyong-'kha-ci.
He came quickly (run-come).

the-ce kaam-ce syol-'kha-ci.
He came straight from work (leave-come).

the-ce 'kola-ta 'ngot-bah-ci.
He called the child (call-bring).

'ee-ce 'chiTi pit-'kha-ci.
Your letter arrived (sent-come).

A further type of verbal compounding occurs when the two verbs are Transitive and BiTransitive respectively. The meaning then is that after the first action has been completed, 'having done something', the second action is carried out. Consider the following examples:

nga-ce tam nyem-bah-ci.
I came to tell you what I heard.
(the word heard-brought)

nga-ce yen 'gluh-bah-ci.
I brought you the cloth I bought.
(cloth bought-brought)

The Nominal Compound Verb Base. As with verbal compounds, nouns also combine with verbs to convey a single verbal idea. The most common nominal compounds are formed with la- 'do'. For example:

ama-ce ken yokta la-pa.
Mother cooks the food.

the-ce nga-la ana-teng 'bhyaa la-ci.
He married my elder sister.

the-ce apa-teng bahcaar-Ti khatu la-ci.
He met father in the bazaar.

the-ce anga 'buih la-ci.
She carried younger sister (on her back).

The Adjective plus Verb Compound. This type of compound, in which the complement is included in the predicate is found in the Attributive clause type only. The complement is usually an adjective. For example:

the-la syaahma 'char mu-pa.
Her skirt is new.

'uhcu 'dihm jehppa mu-pa.
That house is big.

Mood. As shown previously, the various moods expressed in Tamang are: 1) declarative, 2) interrogative, 3) imperative, 4) desiderative, 5) hortative, 6) permissive, 7) dubitive, 8) conditional, 9) intensitive, 10) anticipatory, and 11) concessive.

Declarative Mood. Declarative mood is represented by zero. When this mood is chosen the verbal base connects directly with aspect or tense. For example:

the-ce ken ca-pa.
He eats rice.

Interrogative Mood. The interrogative mood may be manifested in the verbal phrase as an alternate question, a tag question, a rhetorical question, or a content question.

The alternate question indicates that the speaker requests a 'yes' or 'no' answer, and is manifested by 1) -wai being suffixed to the tense affix, or 2) by -cyo which is suffixed directly to the verb stem. With -cyo the question always refers to a past event. It does not occur with the negative verb, 'are 'not'.

Consider the following examples with -wai:

'ee bahcaar-Ti nyi-pa-wai?
Are you going to the bazaar?

'ee-ta tinamsyo jyahpa mu-pa-wai 'are?
These days are you well, or not?

Consider the following examples with -cyo:

(nga-ce kring-pa) 'ee-ce thee-cyo?
(I cried out), didn't you hear?

(apa-ce 'uhcu-ri then-ci) 'ee-ce mrang-cyo?
(Father put it there), didn't you see it?

The tag question, which is manifested by -'ampo suffixed to aspect or tense, indicates that an affirmative response is expected. For example:

'saat bace-ke muna ta-pa-'ampo kon?
It is dark at seven o'clock, isn't it, Kon?

namsyo baahra bace-m dooh-la-'ampo kon nga-ce-m?
I'll arrive by 12 o'clock tomorrow, won't I, Kon?

'kha-u 'pang-pala-'ampo the-ce?
He said, "Come!" didn't he?

So far one type of rhetorical question has been found, in which the morpheme -ri functions as a rhetorical negative marker. It occurs following the present tense affix, for example:

'ee-ce 'kheema-ka 'kha-pa-ri?
When will you come? (You know you never come.)

'ee-ce nga-ta 'taa bah-pa-ri?
What will you bring me? (You know you never bring me anything.)

Content questions. In this type of question where information is requested, the verbal phrase is not affected. The interrogative tagmemes are simply added to the clause. These include, 'taale 'why', 'kheema 'when', 'khana 'where', 'taa 'what', and 'khale 'how'.

Imperative Mood. The imperative mood, manifested by the affixes -o, -u, and -ko is suffixed to the verb stem as follows:

- o occurs following closed syllables.
 - u occurs following short open syllables having vowels i, e, a, and o.
 - ko occurs following long open syllables or syllables containing vowel glides, ai, oi, ui.
- open syllables with the short vowel u take zero.

Consider the following examples:

sehng-o!	Do it!
'Ti-u!	Sit!
waih 'ko-u!	Sing!
naa-ko!	Carry it!
baih-ko	Bring it!
'yu!	Come down!

The honourific affix 'byohng- precedes the verb stem of the intransitive verbs 'yu- 'come down' and 'kha- 'come up', for example:

'curi 'kha-u!	'curi 'byohng-'kha-u!
Come here!	Please come here!
'yu!	'byohng-'yu!
Come down!	Please come down!

The imperative mood used with a first person subject may also indicate permission requested, for example:

nga wang-'kha-u?	May I come in?
nga Ti-u?	May I sit?
nga brih-u!	Let me write!

Normally the second person pronoun (as actor) is not used with the imperative mood. However, when the imperative form, -ke/-i-'le is suffixed to the stem of certain Intransitive verbs the second person pronoun is also used. As the speaker is included in the action the inclusive particle -eeno occurs with the actor role. If the speaker is excluded the particle -no is used instead of -eeno, and the normal imperative form occurs with the verb stem plus the particle -'le. This form of the imperative may occur in all clause types within the transitive set. -ke occurs following long open syllables and closed syllables. -i occurs following short open syllables.

Consider the following examples:

Speaker included:

'ee-eeno nyi-i-'le.
You go (I'll go too).

'ee-eeno chyong-ke-'le.
You run (I'll run too).

Speaker excluded:

'ee-no nyi-u-'le.
You go (I'm not going).

'ee-no sehng-o-'le.
You do it (I'm not doing it).

'ee-no gahng-Ti kret-o-'le.
You climb the hill (I'm not going to climb it).

Desiderative Mood. The desiderative mood, indicating 'desire' and also 'like to', is manifested by -ke/-i plus the verb 'men- 'think'. -ke occurs following long open syllables, or closed syllables while -i occurs following short open syllables.

Consider the following examples:

nga sehng-ke 'mem-pa.
I like to do (it).

'ee 'dehrem syee-ke 'mem-pa?
Do you want to go now?

the 'makai ca-i 'mem-pa.
He likes to eat corn.

Hortative Mood. The hortative mood indicates exhortation or suggestion and is manifested by, 1) -khai. When preceded by 'ri-, a continuative meaning is added. It is frequently used with an

emphatic particle, -le; 2) by the suffix -ke/-i plus the optional particle -le. -ke occurs with a long open syllable or a closed syllable, -i occurs with a short open syllable. The first person plural inclusive pronoun nyang often occurs with this form.

Consider the following examples:

With -khai.

'uhcu mu-'ri-khaj.
Let it be.

the-la min ngatcyang ta-khai.
Let his name be great (honoured).

laapa-ce syosyo doh-ri bohr-khai.
Let the wind blow the paper into the courtyard.

the nyi-ri-khai.
Let him go on ahead.

'ki 'yahr-Ti-khai.
Let the water go (it won't spoil the floor).

the nyi-khai-'le.
Let him go.

the ca-khai-'le.
Let him eat (it).

With -ke/-i-'le.

syee-ke!
Let's go!

nyang ca-i-le!
Let's eat!

nyang nyiih chyong-ke-'le!
Let us two run!

nyang-'maah waih ko-i-'le!
Let's all sing!

Permissive Mood. The permissive mood indicates that permission is granted. This is described more fully under the section on Derived Patterns (IV. A. 3).

Dubitive Mood. The dubitive mood indicates doubt and is manifested by -syi suffixed to the verb stem plus the auxiliary verb mu- 'be' plus -na affixed to mu-. Frequently the abbreviated

form, -syi plus -na is used affixed to the main verb stem. Dubitative mood is always used with a third person subject, and refers either to a present or past action.

Consider the following examples:

the 'kha-syi-na mu-na. or the 'kha-syi mu-na.
Maybe she came. Maybe she came.

the sunaap-Ti Daah-syi mu-na.
Maybe he won the election.

the dihm-nang mu-syi mu-na.
Maybe he is inside the house.

Conditional Mood. The conditional mood indicates that an action is conditioned in its occurrence and is manifested by the suffix -sam affixed to the verb stem, for example:

nam 'yu-sam (nga 'a-nyi).
If it rains (I'll not go).

'mal yuu-sam (byuhrwa nopa ta-pa).
If manure is put into the ground (the plants will grow tall).

Intentive Mood. The intentive mood indicates intention and is manifested by, 1) -ke/-i plus the auxiliary verb, bih- 'say' in which case the intention appears to be premeditated; 2) -ke/-i-'le which conveys the meaning of a decision just been made and refers only to a first person subject.

Consider the following examples:

With -ke/-i-bih.

nga sawang-Ti nyi-i-bih 'kha-pala.
I said I would come to Sahugaon, and I've come.

the 'raaca sehng-ke-bih nga-ta tii-ret 'raaca 'pang-pung-ci.
He planned to make me King, so one day (he) called me king.

khana syee-ke-bih?
Where do you intend to go?

With -ke/-i-'le.

nga-eeno nyi-i-'le.
I think I'll go too.

nga 'dehrem 'cu 'kaam sehng-ke-'le.
I think I'll do this work now.

Anticipatory or Optative Mood. This indicates that an action is anticipated or hopefully, will happen, and is represented by the auxiliary verb, bih- 'say', which is preceded by the future indefinite tense marker, -la. For example:

apa yampu 'yu-la-bih nga-ce tha-'yu-bih chiTi brih-pala.
I thought father said he would come to Kathmandu, so I wrote telling him not to come.

'karca too-la-bih baih-pala.
I brought the amount I thought we would need.

the namsyo 'kha-la-bih 'chiTi bri-pala.
He wrote that he thought he would come tomorrow.

the 'kaam sehng-la-bih 'kha-pala.
He came hoping to do work.

Concessive Mood. Concessive mood indicates 'although, even if, if ... or not' and is manifested by -le affixed to the verb stem. Usually the emphatic particle -eeno also occurs.

Consider the following examples:

'nam 'yu-le-eeno nga nyi-pa.
Even if it rains I'll go.

ken ca-le-eeno ohtepa 'a-ca-le-eeno ohtepa.
If I eat or I don't eat, that's all right.

nga-ce curi 'kha-u 'pang-le-eeno the 'a-'kha.
Although I said, "Come!", he doesn't come.

The honourific is included in the mood category and is manifested by the morpheme -jeht- which is affixed to the verb stem. Some verbs have an honourific counterpart, but even then -jeht- may still be used.

Consider the following examples:

Verb with no honourific counterpart.

the-ce syosyo brih-jehp-pa. He writes.
the-ce nga-ta chiTi pit-jeht-ci. He sent me a letter.

Verbs with an honourific counterpart.

non-honourific		honourific
nyi-pa	'go'	syee-pa
'Ti-pa	'sit'	syuu-pa
'pang-pa	'say'	sung-pa

ca-pa	'eat'	sol-pa
'syee-pa	'know'	khem-pa

Verbs with the honourific morpheme -jeht- included.

'taa sung-jehp-pa?	What do you say?
the syeehpa sol-jehp-pa.	He is eating rice.

Aspect. Aspect includes, 1) continuous, 2) habitual, 3) durative, 4) inceptive, 5) incessant, 6) sequential, and 7) concurrent. They will be discussed in this order.

Continuous Aspect. Continuous Aspect, an action being carried out, is manifested by the morpheme 'Ti-/-ri- which fluctuates freely following closed or open syllables and is suffixed to the verb stem. For example:

the ken ca-'ri-pa.
He is eating rice.

apa 'mrang-Ti lapu 'jahng-'Ti-pala.
Father was planting radishes in the garden.

Habitual Aspect. Habitual aspect is manifested by the morpheme -syino suffixed to the verb stem plus the auxiliary verb 'Ti- 'sit, remain'. It conveys the meaning of an action frequently occurring. For example:

'uhcu dahpprang syoh-'ri 'kha-syino-Ti-pa.
That crow comes every morning.

the-ce chiTi nga-ta maina maina brih-syino-'Ti-pa.
He writes to me every month.

Durative Aspect. Durative aspect indicates that the action continues on without stopping. It is shown by the morpheme -syino suffixed to the verb stem, plus the continuous morpheme 'ri/'Ti. For example:

'kola kraa-syino-'ri-pala.
The child kept on crying.

the-ce 'pang-syino-ri-pala.
He kept on talking.

the-ce lapu 'jahng-syino-'Ti-pa.
He keeps on planting the radishes.

Inceptive Aspect. Inceptive aspect indicates that the action is at the point of happening and is manifested by -ke/-i suffixed to the verb stem plus the auxiliary verb chee 'prepare' plus 'ri. -ke follows short closed syllables and long open syllables and -i follows short open syllables.

the-ce 'pang-ke chee-'ri-pa.
He is about to say.

the-ce brih-i chee-'ri-pala.
He was about to write.

Incessant Aspect. Incessant aspect indicates the time aspect of an action in the present and may be translated as 'still'. It is shown by -i-'leng suffixed to the present tense marker, -pa. In rapid speech the vowel of the tense marker elides as shown in the following examples:

the nyi-pa-i-'leng. or the nyi-pi-'leng.
He still goes. He still goes.

the sehng-pi-'leng.
He still does (it).

the 'Ti-pi-'leng.
He still sits.

Sequential Aspect. Sequential aspect indicates that one action has been completed before commencing another. It is shown by the morpheme -cim suffixed to the verb stem in the subordinate clause. This is illustrated in the following examples:

'uhcu dahpprang-ce 'ki mren-na-le 'thung-cim bahn-Ti
That crow having drank until he was satisfied went
yahr-ci ro.
into the forest.

the-ce yaa 'khru-cim ca-ci.
Having washed his hands he ate.

Concurrent Aspect. Concurrent aspect indicates that two actions are going on at the same time. This is manifested in the subordinate clause in three ways: 1) by the morpheme -ma which emphasises the time aspect of the action, 2) by the morpheme -mam which emphasises the action itself, and 3) by the nominaliser -na plus samma 'up to the time of', where again the time element is being stressed.

ra-'maah chi-ri ca-ma nga curi 'Ti-pala.
While the goats grazed, I sat here.

'ee 'uhcu 'gyahm-ce 'kha-mam nga-ce 'ee-ta cyaa-ci.
I saw you while you were coming up the path.

'kola-'maah doh-ri klang-na samma nga 'pentTi-ri 'Ti-ci.
While the children played in the courtyard I sat on the verandah.

Tense. The four tenses which occur in Tamang are present (-pa), simple past (-ci or -nem), perfect past (-pala), and future (-syé or -la). As well as expressing the time element, tense affixes also express that, in relation to time, the speaker is certain or uncertain of the action or state. The present and past tenses show certainty, while with the future tense -syé expresses certainty and -la uncertainty. -la occurs with second person subject only in the interrogative. To show uncertainty in the present or perfect past, the dubitive mood is added, but only with a third person subject. Concerning the two simple past tense affixes -ci and -nem, -ci denotes that the action has been observed by the speaker, -nem that the speaker is sure that the action has happened but he didn't see it or that the result of the action has been observed. Consider the following examples:

Present Tense -pa.

the ken ca-pa.	He eats rice.
the 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.	He is in the house.

Past Perfect Tense -pala.

the ken ca-pala.	He has eaten rice.
the 'dihm-Ti mu-pala.	He was in the house.

Future Tense -syé and -la.

the ken ca-syé.	He will eat rice (time is certain).
the ken ca-la.	He will eat rice (but the time is uncertain).

Simple Past -ci and -nem.

the-ce ken ca-ci.	He ate rice (action observed).
the-ce ken ca-nem.	He ate the rice (there is no rice left, result of action observed).

Auxiliary Verbs. We have seen that certain verbs function as auxiliary verbs in the mood and aspect systems. They have been considered to be auxiliaries since they function as part of the mood or aspect modifier, giving semantic inflection to the main verb, but without causing any involvement of roles within the clause (and thereby supporting a role frame). The following verbs, while functioning elsewhere as main verbs have been described under Mood and Aspect as auxiliary verbs:

'Ti-	'sit, remain'
bih-	'say'

mu- 'be'
chee- 'prepare'

2. Non-nuclear Elements in the Verbal Phrase.

The non-nuclear elements in the verbal phrase are, 1) optional modal base, 2) optional negative, and 3) optional post verbal particles.

Modal Verbs. These verbs and their function are described under Derived Patterns (IV. A. 3).

The Negative. The negative, also included in the modal system, may be indicated by, a) negative affixes, b) by the negative verb 'are'.

a) The negative prefixes are 'a-, which occurs with the declarative, interrogative and desiderative moods, and tha-, which occurs with the imperative mood. Consider the following examples:

the-ce ken 'a-ca.	He doesn't eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-la.	He will not eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-pala.	He hasn't eaten rice.
tha-ca-u!	Don't eat (it)!

b) The following illustrate the use of the negative verb 'are':

the-ce ken ca-pala 'are.	He hasn't eaten rice.
--------------------------	-----------------------

Post Verbal Particles. Post verbal particles or editorials include such items as reported speech markers, particles which indicate affirmation or doubt. The reported speech markers are -ro and -mu. -ro indicates that the speaker disclaims any responsibility for the statement, and occurs suffixed to the aspect or tense affix.

ken ca-kha-u-ro!
Come and eat (mother said)!

'uhcu-ri them-pala-ro.
(He said he) put it there.

'uhcu dahpprang-ce bahn-Ti 'yahr-ci-ro.
(The story goes that) that crow went into the forest.

-mu indicates that the speaker acknowledges responsibility for the statement made. -mu, only used with a first person subject, is affixed to the verb 'panq- 'say'.

tiyung 'pus-Ti nyehnsye 'khol-'ti-pala-ro 'pang-mu kon.
I heard it said, Kon, that (they) began (the road) in
 the month of Pous last year.

the namsyo 'kha-pa 'pang-mu.
I heard him say he will come tomorrow.

The particle Tim/rim, (which freely fluctuates), occurs frequently in discourse and has many meanings, some of which have not yet been analysed. So far it has been found to indicate 'affirmation'. When combined with soT- it indicates 'maybe, it looks as though'. Consider the following examples:

'bhatau-ki belo-ri 'nam 'phusphus-le 'yu-ri-pa-'rim.
 In the month of Bhatau the rain drizzles down.

'uhcu 'coori-ka cen 'gohng-ri-pa-'rim.
 The leopard is sitting there.

cen-ka 'kha-pala-'Tim.
 The leopard has come.

the nyi-pa soT-'Tim.
 Maybe she has gone (she doesn't answer).

'uhcu wen jyahpa mu-pa soT-'Tim.
 It looks as though that cloth is very good (it has all been sold).

B. The Verbal Phrase Illustrated by Paradigm.

The following paradigm, using the verb ca- 'eat' as an example, illustrates the categories described above.

the-ce ken ca-pa.	He eats rice.
the-ce ken ca-ci.	He ate rice.
the-ce ken ca-pala.	He has eaten rice.
the-ce ken ca-sye.	He will eat rice (definite).
the-ce ken ca-la.	He will eat rice (indefinite).
the-ce ken ca-ci-wai?	Did he eat rice?
the-ce ken ca-pa-'ampo?	He ate rice, didn't he?
ken ca-u!	Eat rice!
nga ken ca-u?	May I eat rice?
'ee-eenoken ca-i-'le.	You eat rice (I'll eat too).
'ee-no ken ca-u-'le.	You eat rice (I won't eat).
the ken ca-i 'mem-pa-ro.	He likes to eat rice, he said.
the ken ca-khai-'le!	Let him eat the rice!
nyang 'nyiih ken ca-i-'le!	Let us eat rice!
the-ce ken ca-syi mu-na.	Maybe he eats rice.
the-ce ken ca-sam nga-eeno ca-pa.	If he eats rice, I'll eat rice too.
the-ce ken ca-i-bih kha-ci.	He came intending to eat rice.

nga ken ca-i-'le.	I think I'll eat rice.
the ken ca-la-bih kha-ci.	He came hoping to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-le-eeno nga 'a-ca.	Even though he eats rice I don't eat (it).
the-ce syeehpa sol-jehp-pa.	He (hon) eats rice.
the-ce ken ca-'ri-pa.	He is eating rice.
the-ce ken ca-syino-'Ti-pa.	He usually eats rice.
the ken ca-syino-'ri-pa.	He continues to eat rice.
the ken ca-i chee-'ri-pa.	He is about to eat rice.
the ken ca-pi-leng-no.	He is still eating rice.
the-ce ken ca-cim yahr-ci.	After eating rice he went.
the-ce ken ca-mam nga curi 'gohng-'Ti-pala.	While he ate rice I was sitting here.
the-ce ken 'a-ca.	He doesn't eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-la.	He will not eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-pala.	He hasn't eaten rice.
the-ce ken ca-pala 'are.	He hasn't eaten rice (a fact).
tha-ca-u!	Don't eat!
the-ce ken ca-ci-ro.	He said he ate the rice.
the ken ca-pa 'kham-pa.	He is able to eat rice.
the ken ca-'myang-pa.	He can eat rice (rice is available).
the ken ca-pa 'syee-pa.	He knows how to eat rice.
the ken ca-thoo-pa.	He ought to eat rice.
the ken ca-'yam-pa.	He is about to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-buht-ci.	He already ate rice.
the-ce ken ca-then-ci.	He finished eating rice.
the-ce ken ca-pa 'maih-pa.	He is ready to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-pa ta-pa.	He is now able to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.	He has eaten rice (a fact).
the-ce ken ca-pa yihm-pa.	It is true that he eats rice.

IV. DERIVED PATTERNS.

A clause may be considered as belonging inherently to a given cell of the transitivity system only when the following have been realised: 1) all nuclear items are present, 2) all peripheral items have been excluded, and 3) the derivation rules are non-operative within the predicate. Once these conditions have been fulfilled it is then possible by a set of derivation rules to move the clause out of its inherent cell into various other cells of the transitivity system, so that the clause then becomes a derived type. As may be seen in the derivation tree diagrams, given in Section IV. B., a derived type may also be the result of a series of one or more derivations applied to the inherent type. Consider the following example where an inherent Receptive clause, by a series of derivations, becomes a derived Attributive clause.

R	gaahkre breh-ci.	The waterpot leaked.
T	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na la-ci.	Kon caused the waterpot to leak.
S	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na la-pala.	Kon has caused the waterpot to leak.
A	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na la-pala yihm-pa.	It is true that Kon caused the waterpot to leak.

A. Derivational Rules.

There are three major types of rules by which clauses may be derived from one cell into another cell of the transitivity matrix. They are: a) rules that delete the undergoer or site, or both; b) rules that shift from one discourse category to another, that is from state to event or vice versa, and c) rules that cause embedding.

1. Deletion Rules.

Deletion rules which refer to the optional deletion of the undergoer or site roles occur when the deleted items are clearly understood from the context. The most frequent occurrence is in answer to a question.

Within the attributive and receptive sets, deletion of the undergoer or site does not provide any contrast. However, two restrictions within the transitive set prevent certain deletions; both of these restrictions involve the agentive marker, -ce. By the first, the optional vs obligatory use of -ce (optional in Intransitive, obligatory in BiTransitive, Transitive and Semi-Transitive clauses) prevents BiTransitive, Transitive and Semi-Transitive clauses, by the undergoer and/or site deletion rules, from deriving into the Intransitive cell. The second restriction concerns the alternation between the agentive, -ce and the focus marker, -mi in the SemiTransitive clause. Because of this alternation a BiTransitive clause may not be derived (by the undergoer deletion rule) into the SemiTransitive cell.

The deletion rules may be illustrated by the following:

Undergoer Deletion (Ud)

A	nga 'khang-pa. I am cold.
Ud	C 'khang-pa. (I) am cold.
BA	'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa. The child is in the house.
Ud	SA 'dihm-Ti mu-pa. (Someone or something) is in the house.

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- R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Ud E 'syi-ci.
(Something or someone) died.
- BR 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught a cold.
- Ud SR nga-ta-eeno 'khoo-nem.
I also caught (the cold).

Site Deletion (sd)

- BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
Grandmother enjoys going walking.
- Sd A korpa-ri chuu-pa.
It is pleasant (for someone) to go walking.
- BR 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught a cold.
- Sd R 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
(Someone) caught a cold.
- BT the-ce nga-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
He gave me a book.
- Sd T the-ce 'kitaap pin-ci.
He gave (someone) a book.

2. Shift Rules.

Shift rules include the eventivising rule (Ev) and the stativising rule (Sv).

Eventivising Rule. The eventivising rule derives a clause out of the attributive set into the receptive set by replacing the stative tense affixes by the eventive tense, -ci or -nem, or by substituting the eventive verb ta- for the attributive verb, mu-. The structural change is from being in a state to a change of state. For example:

- A the-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa.
Her skirt is old.
- Ev R the-la syaahma bohkta ta-ci.
Her skirt became old.
- BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
Grandmother enjoys going walking.

Ev BR mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-ci.
Grandmother enjoyed going walking.

Normally in the BiReceptive clause an animate site is marked by -ta. However, when the following BiAttributive clause becomes eventivised there is a switching of roles between undergoer and site.

BiAttributive - nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
I am twelve years old.

BiReceptive - nga-ce baara barsa ta-ci.
I became (am) twelve years old.

In the derived clause the original site, baara barsa, becomes the undergoer (unmarked), while the original undergoer, nga, becomes the site, marked by -ce. As the eventive verb ta- 'become', is not considered to belong to the transitive set but to the receptive set, in the derived BR clause nga is considered to be a site even though marked by the normal agentive marker, -ce.

The derived clause occurs as a response to a question seeking information, whereas the basic clause is a response to a question seeking confirmation. For example:

Ques: 'ee-ce gahte barsa ta-ci?
How old are you?

Ans: nga-ce baara barsa ta-ci.
I am twelve years old.

Ques: 'ee baara barsa-la mu-pa-wai 'teera?
Are you twelve or thirteen years old?

Ans: nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
I am twelve years old.

From the above then, it seems that -ce may be functioning as a predicate focussing device, as well as a site marker (see Section II. A. 3), and that this type of derivation is a focussing device functioning on a higher level. Analysis of discourse structures, yet to be done, will no doubt shed further light on this.

Stativising Rule. The stativising rule shifts a clause out of the transitive and receptive sets into the stative and attributive sets respectively. The structural change involves a change from the eventive tense to a stative tense. For example:

BT the-ce nga-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
He gave me a book.

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- Sv BS the-ce nga-ta 'kitaap pim-pala.
He has given me a book.
- T the-ce ken ca-ci.
He ate rice.
- Sv S the-ce ken oa-pala.
He has eaten rice.
- ST the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
He climbed the hill.
- Sv SS the-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala.
He has climbed the hill.
- I the nyi-ci.
He went.
- Sv D the nyi-pala.
He has gone.
- BR 'amparu sa-ri tai-ci.
The guava dropped on the ground.
- SV BA 'amparu sa-ri tai-pala.
The guava has dropped on the ground.
- R 'naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Sv A 'naki 'syi-pala.
The dog has died.

3. Embedding Rules.

Embedding rules include the causative, permissive, benefactive, modal and factitive rules.

Causative. Causative (Cv) may be applied to all basic clause types.

- Rule 1) Add the nominaliser -na to the verb stem of the clause.
- 2) Add the verb la- 'to do'.
- 3) Add a causer.
- 4) Delete agentive -ce with inanimate actor of embedded clause.

Structural change: The original clause, now an embedded, nominalised clause, becomes the undergoer of the main clause. The added verb becomes the main verb of the causative construction,

that is, the main clause, and the added causer is the actor of this clause. Consider the following examples:

- BT nga-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
I gave father a book.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-na la-ci.
Kon made me give father a book.
- T nga-ce ken ca-ci.
I ate rice.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ce ken ca-na la-ci.
Kon made me eat rice.
- ST nga-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
I climbed the hill.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-ci.
Kon made me climb the hill.
- ST tamra-ce gahsyng-Ti Duhn-ci.
The bean plant climbed the stick.
- Cv T kon-ce tamra gahsyng-Ti Duhn-na la-ci.
Kon caused the bean plant to climb the stick.
- I nga nyi-ci.
I went.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ta nyi-na la-ci.
Kon made me go.
- BR nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
I caught a cold.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-ci.
Kon caused me to catch a cold.
- R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Cv T kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-ci.
Kon caused the dog to die.
- BA ama-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for mother to go for a walk.
- Cv T kon-ce ama-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-ci.
Kon caused it to be pleasant for mother to go for a walk.

A byuhrwa no-pa.
The plant is tall.

Cv T kon-ce byuhrwa no-na la-ci.
Kon caused the plant to become tall.

Permissive. Permissive (Pm):

This rule may be applied to all basic clause types other than BR and BA.

- a) add the verb 'pung- 'hit' to the clause.
- b) where the actor of the basic clause is animate, replace the agentive -ce by the goal marker -ta.
- c) add an actor.

Structural change: The permissive verb 'pung- becomes the verb of the main clause. Since the added actor permits the action he is the actor of the main clause. The actor of the basic clause becomes the undergoer of the derived clause. The site (if one occurs) and the verb of the basic clause become the complement of the permissive verb, that is, an extension of the predicate. The verb 'pung- functioning as a main verb in a basic or inherent Transitive clause requires an animate undergoer to be marked by the goal marker -ta. In the permissive clause, where 'pung is now functioning in the main clause as the permissive verb it still requires the goal marker -ta with an animate undergoer. So that the original actor instead of being marked by the agentive -ce, is marked by the goal -ta. The original actor is now in double function as actor of the original clause and undergoer in the derived permissive clause. This only applies to the transitive set of clauses.

Consider the following examples:

BT nga-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
I gave a book to father.

Pm(1) T kon-ce nga-ta apa-ta 'kitaap pim-'pung-ci.
Kon let me give a book to father.

I the nyi-ci.
He went.

Pm(1) T kon-ce the-ta nyi-'pung-ci.
Kon let him go.

R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.

Pm(1) T kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-ci.
Kon let the dog die.

A naule 'khang-pa.
Naule is cold.

Pm(1) T kon-ce naule syim-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed Naule to become cool.

Benefactive. The Benefactive (Bv) applies to BT, T, ST, and I clause types.

Rule: In BiTransitive clauses which have an animate site
a) add the verb pim- 'give'.

naule-ce apa-ta chiTi pit-ci.
Naule sent a letter to father.

Rule: In clauses which have no animate site
a) add a benefactee marked with -ta or -i laakiri.
b) add the verb pim- 'give'.

Structural change: The animate site or the added benefactee becomes the benefactive object of pim-. The original actor becomes the benefactive subject actor of pim-. The original under-goer and/or inanimate site together with the original underlying verb becomes the undergoer of the benefactive verb pim-.

BT naule-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-ci.
Naule planted radishes in the garden.

Bv BT naule-ce kon-ta lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pin-ci.
Naule planted radishes in the garden for Kon.

ST naule gahng-Ti kret-ci.
Naule climbed the hill.

Bv BT naule-ce kon-i-laakiri gahng-Ti kret-pin-ci.
Naule climbed the hill for Kon's benefit.

I naule nyi-ci.
Naule went.

Bv BT naule-ce kon-i-laakiri nyi-pin-ci.
Naule went for Kon (for Kon's benefit).

Modal Verbs. The verbs which have been included in the modal category include, 1) verbs which function within the transitivity system as well as the modal system; these are: 'syee- 'know', 'then- 'put' (modal - 'complete in relation to action), 'maih- 'search' (modal - 'about to, to find a way'), 'ta- 'become', and 2) verbs which function only within the modal system. These include: 'kham- 'physical ability', 'myang- 'able, by favourable circumstances', 'thoo- 'must, ought', 'yam- 'about to, expect to', and 'buht- 'complete, in relation to time'.

The modal verbs may be further classified according to:
 a) those which take a nominalised clause as undergoer, and b) those which do not take a nominalised clause as undergoer. Group a) consists of the following verbs: 'kham-, 'mai-, and ta-. Group b) consists of: 'myang-, thoo-, 'yam-, buht-, and then-. The verb 'syee- may occur in either group.

Since it seems more natural in Tamang to ask the question "what?", than "who?" with modal verbs, it will be seen in the following that after applying a modal rule, the clause is derived into the receptive set. By re-interpretation of the whole clause in relation to the modifying verb the embedded original clause becomes the undergoer of the main clause. This feature is characteristic of all the modal derivations described below.

There are two rules by which the modal verbs operate in a clause. These rules are:

The first of these rules may be applied to all clause types. The verb stem is added to the verb stem of the basic clause. The embedded basic clause becomes the undergoer of the main clause whose verb is the modal verb. For example:

- T the-ce ken ca-ci.
 He ate the rice.
- M1 R the-ce ken ca-buht-ci.
 He already ate the rice.
- BR nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
 I caught a cold.
- M1 R nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-'yam-ci.
 I expected to catch a cold.
- BA nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
 I enjoy going for a walk.
- M1 R nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-ci.
 I expected to enjoy going for a walk
 (but it was not very pleasant).

The second of these rules may be applied to all clause types:
 a) nominalise the basic clause by the nominaliser -pa.
 b) add the modal verb.

When this rule is applied, the embedded nominalised clause becomes the undergoer of the main clause, the verb of which is the modal verb. For example:

- BT the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-ci.
He planted radishes in the garden.
- M1 R the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pa syee-ci.
He knew how to plant radishes in the garden.
- BR 'uhcu roro sa-ri tai-ci.
That fruit dropped on the ground.
- M1 R 'uhcu roro sa-ri tai-pa 'mai-h-ci.
That fruit is about to fall on the ground.
- A naule syim-pa.
Naule is cool.
- M1 R naule syim-pa 'kham-ci.
Naule was able to become cool.

It should be noted that it is grammatically possible to add a modal verb on to another modal verb, and up to four modal verbs may occur, but in normal speech no more than two usually occur. For example:

the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-buht-thoo-pa.
He should finish planting the radishes in the garden.

Factitive Rule. The factitive rule involves the two Attributive verbs, mu-, and yihn-, both may be translated 'be'.

The verb mu- is used to indicate that the state expressed in the verbal affixes is a fact, whether in reference to a present, past or future time.

Rules: These may be applied to the verb stem of the basic clause:

- a) to indicate present time add one of the aspect morphemes (continuous, habitual, incessant, durative, inceptive aspects may occur), plus the present tense suffix -pa. In the declarative mood only a third person subject may occur in the original clause.
- b) to indicate past time add only the past tense -pala.
- c) to indicate future time, add -syee.
- d) after applying one of the above rules, then add the verb mu-.

Structural change: By the factitive rule, mu- moves a clause into the Attributive cell. The original embedded, nominalised clause becomes the undergoer of the main clause whose verb is mu-. Since the tense markers which are involved in the

factitive rule, i.e. -pa 'present', -pala 'past', and -syé 'future' also function as verb nominalisers (see Section V.) for this reason they have been considered here, as having a dual function--that of nominalising the clause as well as that of indicating the time aspect. Consider the following examples:

- BT the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-ci.
She poured water into the waterpot.
- Fv A the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-'ri-pa mu-pa.
(The fact is) she is pouring water into the waterpot.
- the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-pala mu-pa.
She has poured water into the waterpot (it is a fact).
- the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-syé mu-pa.
She will pour water into the waterpot (the fact is certain).
- T the-ce ken ca-ci.
He ate rice.
- Fv A the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.
He has eaten rice (it is a fact).
- the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pala.
He had eaten rice. (He was in the state of having eaten rice.)
- R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Fv A naki 'syi-pala mu-pa.
(It is a fact) the dog has died. (It is dead.)

The verb yihn- is used to emphasise the reality of a state and may be translated as 'it is true', 'really'. The factive rules described above, involving mu-, apply to yihn- also, with the following exception: where yihn- occurs, Rule a) may be applied only in a question-answer construction, whereas where mu- occurs it may be applied to the declarative as well as the interrogative.

The structural change resulting from using yihn- is the same as described above for mu-, for example:

- BT kon-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-ci.
Kon sent the child to the garden.
- Fv A kon-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala yihm-pa.
It is true Kon has sent the child to the garden.

- T kon-ce ken ca-ci.
 Kon ate rice.
- Fv A Ques: kon-ce ken ca-'ri-pa yihm-pa?
 Is Kon really eating rice?
- Ans: kon-ce ken ca-'ri-pa yihm-pa.
 It is true that Kon is eating rice.
- R the sim-ci.
 He is resting.
- Fv A Ques: the sim-'Ti-pa yihm-pa?
 Is he really resting?
- Ans: the sim-'Ti-pa yihm-pa.
 He's really resting.

B. Derivational Patterns.

The same set of derivation rules that has been introduced in the preceding section will now be applied to each cell of the transitivity system which is filled by an inherent clause pattern. Thereby the various derivation potentials of the inherent clauses will become apparent and provide further ground for contrasting the basic clause patterns with one another.

For each clause pattern a tree of derivations will be given. These trees will illustrate the applicability of the rules. The applicability or non-applicability of certain rules will be regarded as a contrast between the tree diagrams and thus further ground may be supplied for contrasting clause patterns.

The conventions used in the tree diagrams below are as follows:

Ev	eventivising
Sv	stativising
Cv	causative
Pm	permissive
Bv	benefactive
Ml	modal
Fv	factitive

The numbers on the tree refer to the examples given below.

Derivations of the BiTransitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the BiTransitive clause pattern are given in Figure 15.

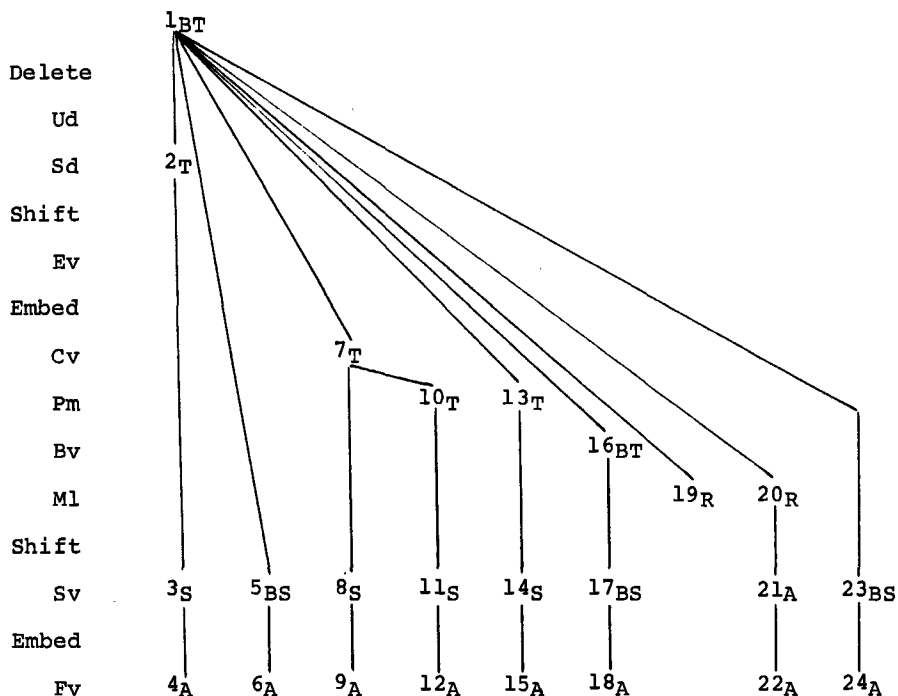


Figure 15. Derivations of a BiTransitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Bi-Transitive clause.

- 1.BT naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-ci.
Naule sent the child to the garden.
- 2.T naule-ce 'kola 'pit-ci.
Naule sent the child.
- 3.S naule-ce 'kola 'pip-pala.
Naule has sent the child.
- 4.A naule-ce 'kola 'pip-pala mu-pa.
Naule has sent the child (fact).
- 5.BS naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala.
Naule has sent the child to the garden.
- 6.A naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala mu-pa.
Naule has sent the child to the garden (fact).

- 7.T kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-ci.
Kon caused Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 8.S kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-pala.
Kon has caused Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 9.A kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).
- 10.T kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 11.S kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 12.A kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).
- 13.T kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-ci.
Kon let Naule send the child to the garden.
- 14.S kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 15.A kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).
- 16.BT naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pin-ci.
Naule sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit.
- 17.BS naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pim-pala.
Naule has sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit.
- 18.A naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pim-pala mu-pa.
Naule has sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit (fact).
- 19.R naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-ci.
Naule needed to send the child to the garden.
- 20.R 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-ci.
You needed to send the child to the garden.
- 21.A 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala.
You ought to have sent the child to the garden.

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22.A 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala mu-pa.
 You ought to have sent the child to the garden (fact).

23.BS naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala.
 Naule should have sent the child to the garden.

24.A naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala mu-pa.
 Naule should have sent the child to the garden (fact).

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the Transitive clause pattern are given in Figure 16.

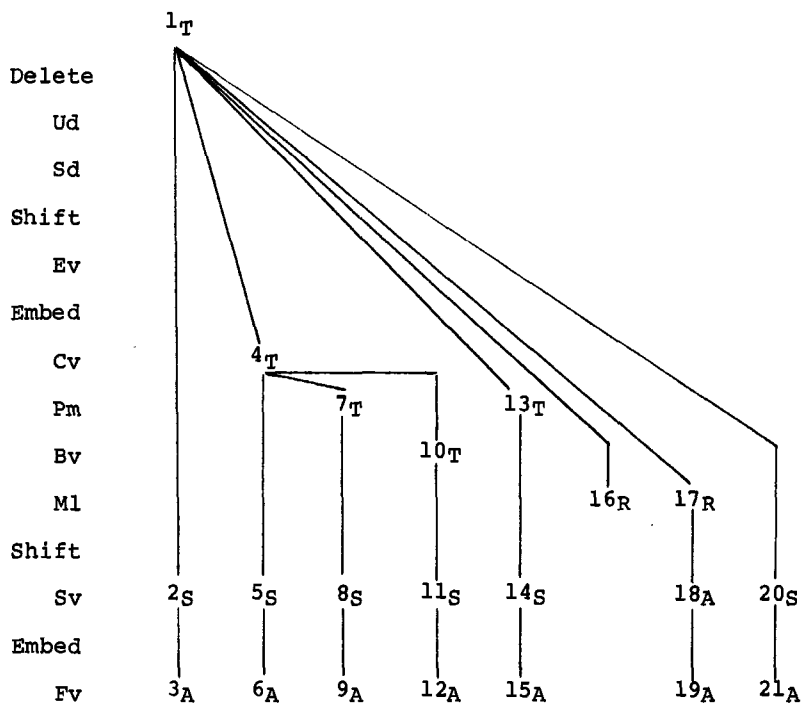


Figure 16. Derivations of a Transitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Transitive clause.

1.T kon-ce ken ca-ci.
 Kon ate rice.

- 2.S kon-ce ken ca-pala.
Kon has eaten rice.
- 3.A kon-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.
Kon has eaten rice (fact).
- 4.T naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-ci.
Naule caused Kon to eat rice.
- 5.S naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice.
- 6.A naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (fact).
- 7.T naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice.
- 8.S naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice.
- 9.A naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice (fact).
- 10.T naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pin-ci.
Naule caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit).
- 11.S naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pim-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit).
- 12.A naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pim-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit--fact).
- 13.T naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to eat rice.
- 14.S naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to eat rice.
- 15.A naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to eat rice (fact).
- 16.R nga ken ca-thoo-ci.
I needed to eat rice.
- 17.R 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-ci.
You needed to eat rice.
- 18.A 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
You ought to have eaten rice.

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- 19.A 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
You ought to have eaten rice (fact).
- 20.S kon-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
Kon ought to have eaten rice.
- 21.A kon-ce ken ca-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon ought to have eaten rice (fact).

Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the SemiTransitive clause pattern are given in Figure 17.

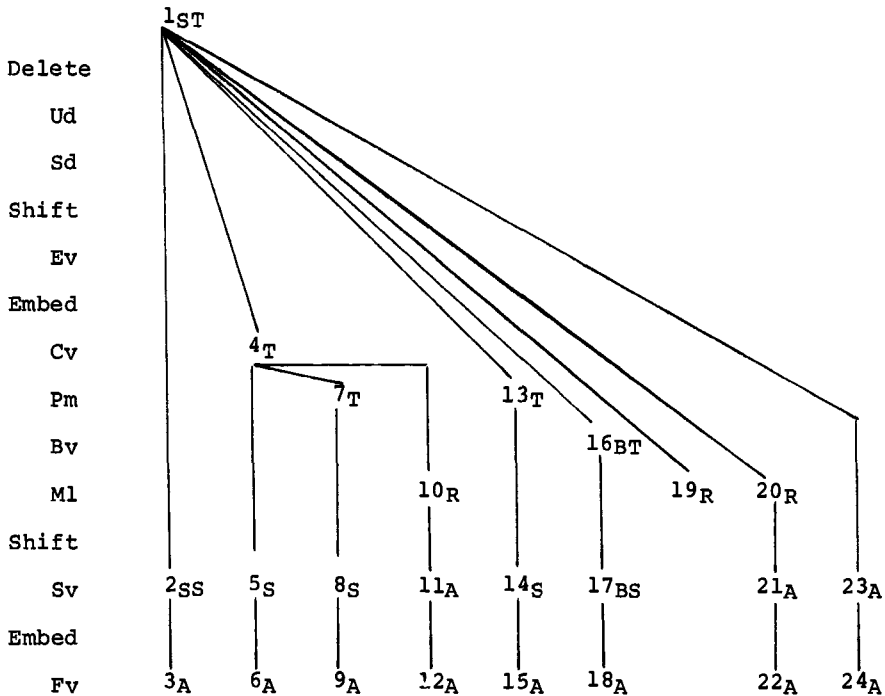


Figure 17. Derivations of a SemiTransitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Semi-Transitive clause.

- 1.ST kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
Kon climbed the hill.

- 2.SS kon-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala.
Kon has climbed the hill.
- 3.A kon-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala mu-pa.
Kon has climbed the hill (fact).
- 4.T naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-ci.
Naule caused Kon to climb the hill.
- 5.S naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to climb the hill.
- 6.A naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to climb the hill (fact).
- 7.T naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule let me cause Kon to climb the hill.
- 8.S naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to climb the hill.
- 9.A naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to climb the hill (fact).
- 10.R kon-ce tamra-ta gahsyng-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-ci.
Kon needed to make the bean plant climb up the stick.
- 11.A kon-ce tamra-ta gahsyng-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-pala.
Kon should have caused the bean plant to climb up the stick.
- 12.A kon-ce tamra-ta gahsyng-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon should have caused the bean plant to climb up the stick (fact).
- 13.T naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-ci.
Naule let Kon climb the hill.
- 14.S naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to climb the hill.
- 15.A naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to climb the hill (fact).
- 16.BT kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pin-ci.
Kon climbed the hill for Naule.
- 17.BS kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pim-pala.
Kon has climbed the hill for Naule.
- 18.A kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pim-pala mu-pa.
Kon has climbed the hill for Naule (fact).

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- 19.R nga gahng-Ti kret-thoo-ci.
I needed to climb the hill.
- 20.R 'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-ci.
You needed to climb the hill.
- 21.A 'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala.
You should have climbed the hill.
- 22.A 'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala mu-pa.
You should have climbed the hill (fact).
- 23.A kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala.
Kon should have climbed the hill.
- 24.A kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon should have climbed the hill (fact).

Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the Intransitive clause pattern are given in Figure 18.

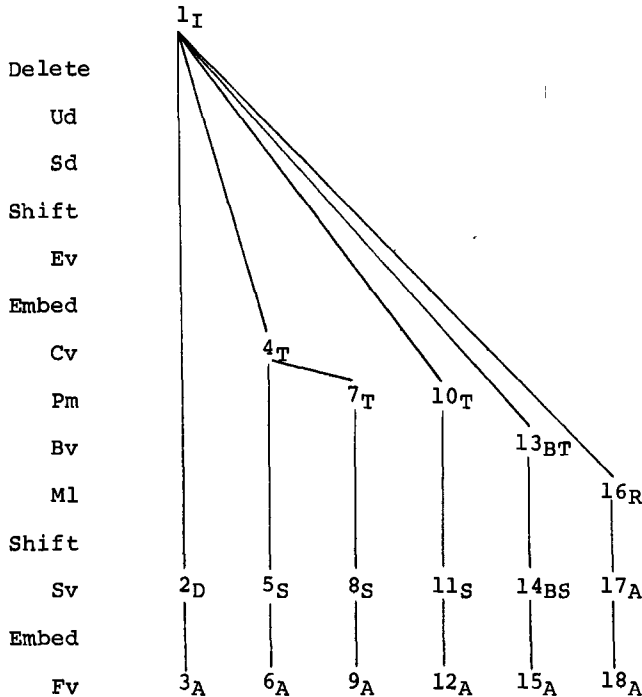


Figure 18. Derivations of an Intransitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of an Intransitive clause.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|----|--|
| 1.I | kon nyi-ci.
Kon went. | or | kon-ce nyi-ci.
Kon went. |
| 2.D | kon nyi-pala.
Kon has gone. | or | kon-ce nyi-pala.
Kon has gone. |
| 3.A | kon nyi-pala mu-pa.
Kon has gone (fact). | or | kon-ce nyi-pala mu-pa.
Kon has gone (fact). |
| 4.T | naule-ce kon nyi-na la-ci.
Naule caused Kon to go. | | |
| 5.S | naule-ce kon nyi-na la-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to go. | | |
| 6.A | naule-ce kon nyi-na la-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to go (fact). | | |
| 7.T | naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed me to cause Kon to go. | | |
| 8.S | naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to go. | | |
| 9.A | naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to go (fact). | | |
| 10.T | naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to go. | | |
| 11.S | naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to go. | | |
| 12.A | naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to go (fact). | | |
| 13.BT | kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri nyi-pin-ci.
Kon went for Naule (for Naule's benefit). | | |
| 14.BS | kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri pim-pala.
Kon has gone for Naule. | | |
| 15.A | kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri pim-pala mu-pa.
Kon has gone for Naule (fact). | | |
| 16.R | kon nyi-thoo-ci.
Kon needed to go. | | |

17.A kon nyi-thoo-pala.
Kon should have gone.

18.A kon nyi-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon should have gone (fact).

Derivations of the BiReceptive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the BiReceptive clause pattern are given in Figure 19.

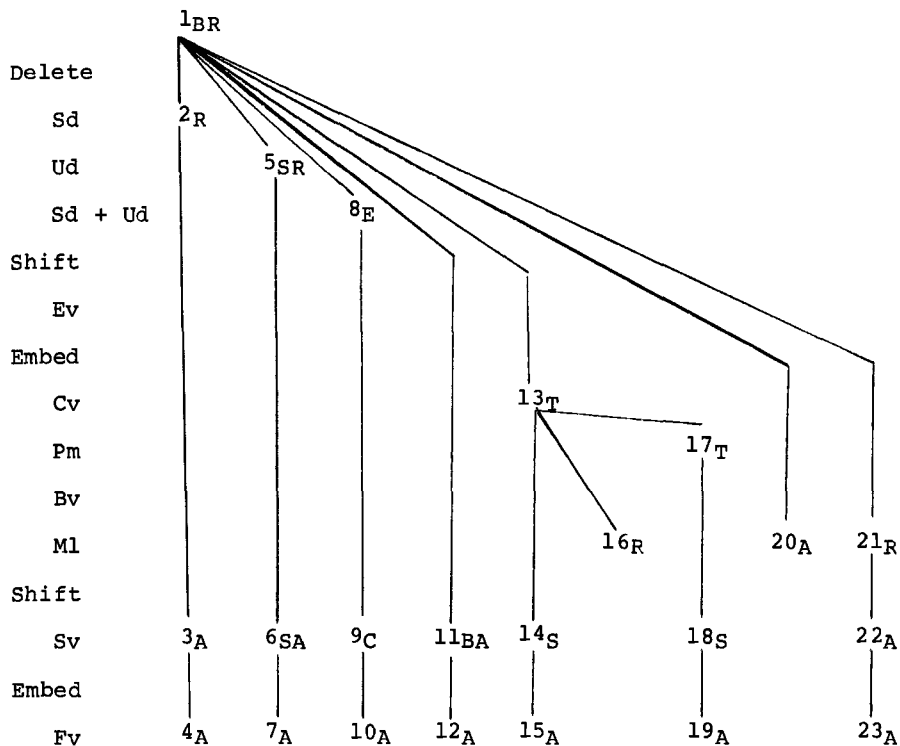


Figure 19. Derivations of a BiReceptive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Bi-Receptive clause.

1.BR 'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught your cold.

2.R 'ee-i 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
(Someone) caught your cold.

- 3.A 'serngo 'khoo-pala.
(Someone) has caught (your) cold.
- 4.A 'serngo 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
(Someone) has caught (your) cold (fact).
- 5.SR nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught (the cold).
- 6.SA nga-ta 'khoo-pala.
I have caught (a cold).
- 7.A nga-ta 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
I have caught (a cold--fact).
- 8.E 'khoo-nem-'te.
(Someone) indeed caught (a cold).
- 9.C 'khoo-pala-'te.
(Someone) has indeed caught (a cold).
- 10.A 'khoo-pala mu-pa-'te.
(Someone) has indeed caught (a cold--fact).
- 11.BA 'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-pala.
I have caught your cold.
- 12.A 'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
I have caught your cold (fact).
- 13.T kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-ci.
Kon caused me to catch a cold.
- 14.S kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-pala.
Kon has caused me to catch a cold.
- 15.A kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused me to catch a cold (fact).
- 16.R kon-ce syet nga-ta 'khoo-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Kon to cause me to become infested with lice.
- 17.T kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed Naule to cause me to become infested with lice.
- 18.S kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed Naule to cause me to become infested with lice.

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- 19.A kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed Naule to cause me to become infested with lice (fact).
- 20.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-pa 'kham-pa.
It is possible for me to be infested by your lice.
- 21.R 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buht-ci.
I have caught all your lice (they have finished moving to me).
- 22.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buht-pala.
I have already become infested with your lice (they have finished moving to me).
- 23.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buht-pala mu-pa.
I have already become infested with your lice (they have finished moving to me--fact).

Derivations of the Receptive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the Receptive clause pattern are given in Figure 20.

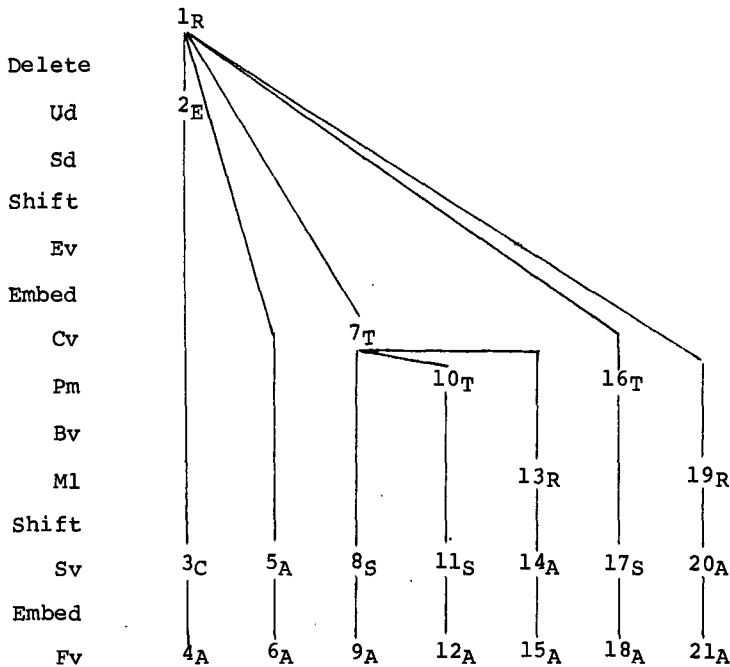


Figure 20. Derivations of a Receptive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Receptive clause.

- 1.R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- 2.E 'syi-ci.
(It) died.
- 3.C 'syi-pala-'te.
(It) has died.
- 4.A 'syi-pala mu-pa-'te.
(It) has died (fact).
- 5.A naki 'syi-pala.
The dog has died.
- 6.A naki 'syi-pala mu-pa.
The dog has died (fact).
- 7.T kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-ci.
Kon caused the dog to die.
- 8.S kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pala.
Kon has caused the dog to die.
- 9.A kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused the dog to die (fact).
- 10.T naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause the dog to die.
- 11.S naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the dog to die.
- 12.A naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the dog to die (fact).
- 13.R kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Kon to cause the dog to die.
- 14.A kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-pala.
Kon was able to cause the dog to die.
- 15.A kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Kon was able to cause the dog to die (fact).
- 16.T kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed the dog to die.

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- 17.S kon-ce naki 'syi-'syi-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed the dog to die.
- 18.A kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed the dog to die (fact).
- 19.R naki 'syi-'yam-ci.
The dog is about ready to die.
- 20.A naki 'syi-'yam-pala.
The dog was about to die.
- 21.A naki 'syi-'yam-pala mu-pa.
The dog was about to die (fact).

Derivations of the BiAttributive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the BiAttributive clause pattern are given in Figure 21.

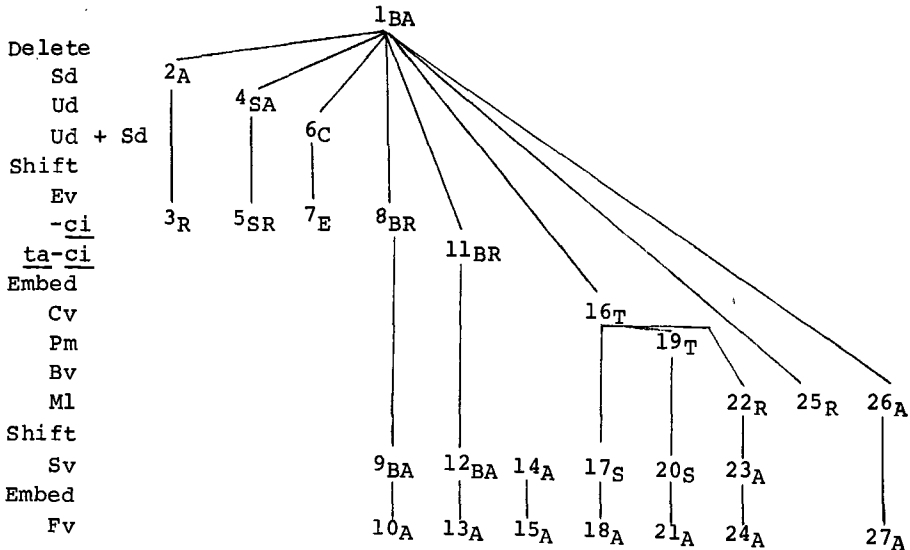


Figure 21. Derivations of a BiAttributive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Bi-Attributive clause.

- 1.BA nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
(a) I am twelve years old.
- (b) mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

- (c) 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
The child is in the house.
- 2.A korpa-ri chuu-pa.
Going for a walk is pleasant (for someone).

'kola mu-pa.
The child is (somewhere).
- 3.R korpa-ri chuu-ci.
Going for a walk was pleasant.
- 4.SA mam-ta chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for grandmother (to do something).

'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
(Someone) is in the house.
- 5.SR mam-ta chuu-ci.
It was pleasant for grandmother (to do something).
- 6.C chuu-pa.
Pleasant (something is pleasant for someone).

mu-pa.
Is (someone is somewhere).
- 7.E chuu-ci.
Was pleasant (something was pleasant for someone).
- 8.BR mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-ci.
It became pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- 9.BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala.
It was pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- 10.A mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala mu-pa.
It was pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk (fact).
- 11.BR nga-ce baara barsa ta-ci.
I am (became) twelve years old.
- 12.BA nga-ce baara barsa ta-pala.
I have become twelve years old.
- 13.A nga-ce baara barsa ta-pala mu-pa.
I have become twelve years old (fact).
- 14.A 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pala.
The child is in the house.

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- 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-pala.
The child has come to be in the house.
- 15.A 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-pala mu-pa.
The child has come to be in the house (fact).
- 16.T kon-ce mam-ta krop-a-ri chuu-na la-ci.
Kon caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-ci.
Kon caused the child to be in the house.
- 17.S kon-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-pala.
Kon has caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-pala.
Kon has caused the child to be in the house.
- 18.A kon-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk (fact).
- kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused the child to be in the house (fact).
- 19.T naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house.
- 20.S naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house.
- 21.A naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk (fact).
- naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house (fact).
- 22.R naule-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-thoo-ci.
Naule needed to make it pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

naule-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-thoo-ci.
Naule needed to make the child to be in the house.

- 23.A naule-ce mam-ta krop-a-ri chuu-na la-thoo-pala.
Naule should have made it pleasant for grandmother
to go for a walk.

naule-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-thoo-pala.
Naule should have made the child to be in the house.

- 24.A naule-ce mam-ta krop-a-ri chuu-na la-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Naule should have made it pleasant for grandmother
to go for a walk (fact).

naule-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Naule should have made the child to be in the house (fact).

- 25.R nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-ci.
All is ready for me to enjoy going for a walk.

- 26.A mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-pala.
Grandmother was about to enjoy going for a walk.

- 27.A mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-pala mu-pa.
Grandmother was about to enjoy going for a walk (fact).

Derivations of the Attributive Clause Pattern. Derivations
of the Attributive clause pattern are given in Figure 22.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of an
Attributive clause.

- 1.A nga-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa.

(a) My skirt is old.

(b) naule 'khang-pa.

Naule is cold.

- 2.C bohkta mu-pa.

(It) is old.

'khang-pa.

(Someone) is cold.

- 3.E 'khang-ci.

(Someone) became cold.

- 4.E bohkta ta-ci.

(Something) became old.

- 5.R naule 'khang-ci.

Naule became cold.

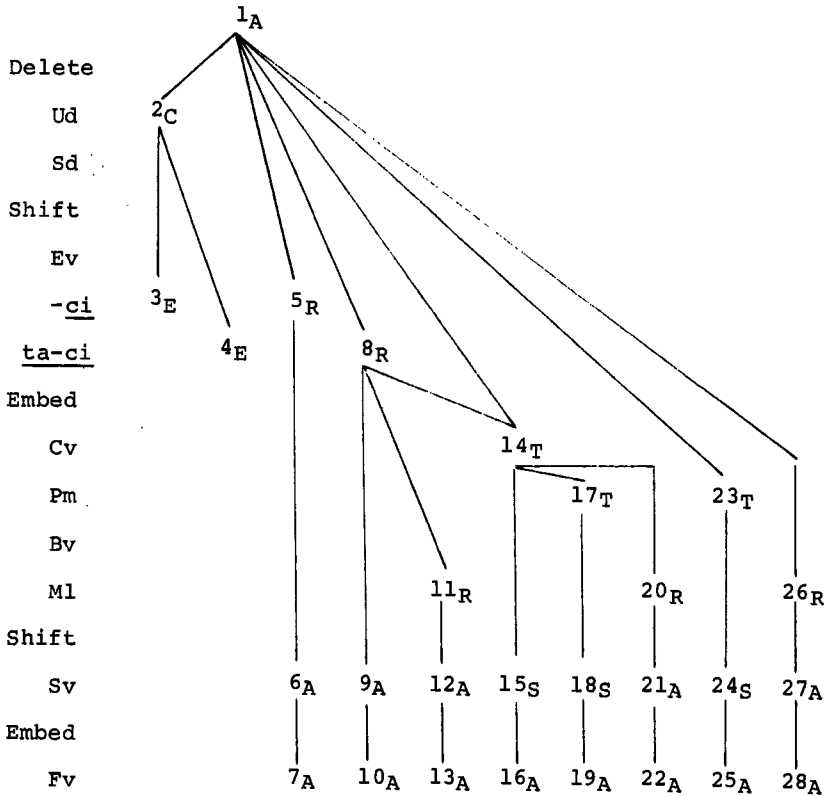


Figure 22. Derivations of an Attributive clause.

- 6.A naule 'khang-pala.
Naule was cold.
- 7.A naule 'khang-pala mu-pa.
Naule was cold (fact).
- 8.R nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-ci.
My skirt became old.
- 9.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-pala.
My skirt has become old.
- 10.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-pala mu-pa.
My skirt has become old (fact).

- 11.R nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buht-ci.
My skirt already became old (is worn out).
- 12.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buhp-pala.
My skirt has already become old.
- 13.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buhp-pala mu-pa.
My skirt has already become old (fact).
- 14.T ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-ci.
Mother caused my skirt to become old (wear out).

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-ci.
Kon caused Naule to become cold.
- 15.S ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pala.
Mother has caused my skirt to become old.

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pala.
Kon has caused Naule to become cold.
- 16.A ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pala mu-pa.
Mother has caused my skirt to become old (fact).

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused Naule to become cold (fact).
- 17.T ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-ci.
Mother allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old.

nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-ci.
I allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold.
- 18.S ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-pala.
Mother has allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old.

nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-pala.
I have allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold.
- 19.A ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Mother has allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old (fact).

nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
I have allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold (fact).
- 20.R ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pa kham-ci.
It became possible for mother to cause my skirt to become old.

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Kon to cause Naule to become cold.

- 21.A ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pa 'kham-pala.
Mother was able to cause my skirt to become old.

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pa 'kham-pala.
Kon was able to cause Naule to become cold.

- 22.A ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Mother was able to cause my skirt to become old (fact).

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Kon was able to cause Naule to become cold (fact).

- 23.T kon-ce naule syim-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed Naule to become cool.

- 24.S kon-ce naule syim-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed Naule to become cool.

- 25.A kon-ce naule syim-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed Naule to become cool (fact).

- 26.R naule syim-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Naule to be cool.

- 27.A naule syim-pa 'kham-pala.
Naule was able to be cool.

- 28.A naule syim-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Naule was able to be cool (fact).

V. DEPENDENT PATTERNS

The purpose of this section is to show the variants and distribution of dependent clauses in Tamang, that is, clauses which are not independent.

Dependent clauses fill dependent slots on sentence level², or slots on clause or phrase level. They may be classified as the following three types of dependent clauses: 1) dependent nominal clauses, 2) dependent axis-relator clauses, and 3) dependent participial clauses.

The Dependent Nominal Clause. The dependent nominal clause

is formed by adding a nominal affix to the verb stem. The nominal affixes include the affixes -na, -pa, -pala, and -syé. The affixes -pa, -pala and -syé have dual roles, that of marking present, past perfect and future tense respectively (described in Section III. C. e), and that of nominalisers. It is in the function of nominaliser that they have here been described.

The dependent nominal clause is manifested in a noun phrase as a filler of the head slot or as the axis of an axis-relator construction. In the matrix given in Figure 23, which illustrates the distribution of a nominal clause on phrase level, the vertical axis of the matrix gives the nominal affixes while the horizontal axis indicates the function the clause manifests in relation to each nominal affix. A plus sign indicates occurrence as filler of the slot, a blank space indicates non-occurrence.

Function Form	Head	Axis of Axis-Relator Phrase
-pa	x	x
-pala	x	
-syé	x	x
-na		x

Figure 23. Distribution of the dependent nominal clause on phrase level.

The matrix above may be illustrated by the following examples:

The Nominal clause is manifested by -pa as filler of the head slot.

tila nga-ce thaara 'raa-pa cyaa-ci.
Yesterday I saw the weaver weaving.

'cu 'maina 'dihm sehng-pa ta-pa.
It is all right to build the house this month.

It occurs as a filler of the axis slot in an axis-relator construction.

the-ta nyi-pa-ri 'atture mu-pa.
He is quick in his actions.

'uhcu kro-pa-i 'la 'som-ri 'ki khar-pa-ro.
In those three hot months the water dried up.

The nominal clause is manifested by -pala as filler of the head slot.

thuri cheng-pala 'cu yihm-pa.
This is the tool that pulled the shuttle.

nga-ce 'buh moi-pala cyaa-ci.
I saw the ploughed field.

The nominal clause is manifested by -sye as filler of the head slot.

namsyoo nga thaara 'raa-sye cyaa-la.
Tomorrow I will watch the weaving work.

'cu 'la-ri nga 'dihm sehng-sye ta-ci.
I decided I'll build the house this month.

It occurs as filler of the axis slot of an axis-relator construction.

namsyo nga thaara 'raa-sye-i miih cyaa-la.
Tomorrow I'll see the one who will weave.

nga-ta pin-sye-i choota 'khacu-caanyi jyahpa mu-pa.
(Of these ropes) which good one will (he) give to me?

The nominal clause is manifested by -na as filler of the axis of an axis-relator construction.

'uhcu dahpprang-ce 'ki 'mren-na-le 'thung-cim bahn-Ti
'yahr-ci-ro.
The crow drank until it was satisfied then flew into the forest.

We have seen from the above that when a clause becomes nominalised it may then function in the axis slot of an axis-relator construction³. By the various relator affixes the clause is then distributed as a filler of slots on the phrase, clause or sentence level. The relator affix -i occurs only with a clause nominalised by -pa or -sye to form a relative clause construction. The dependent relative clause fills an attributive slot in the noun phrase, which may then become a filler of a slot on clause or sentence level. On the clause level the relative clause (embedded in the noun phrase) may fill all slots except reason and manner.

The matrix given in Figure 24 illustrates the distribution of the axis-relator construction on the phrase and clause levels. The vertical axis gives the relators while the horizontal axis indicates the functions the clause manifests in conjunction with

each relator. A plus sign indicates occurrence within a slot, a blank space indicates non-occurrence.

Function Form	Phrase Level	Clause Level									
	Att	S	T	L	Ps	Rs	Acc	I	IO	O	M
-i	x										
-ce		x				x		x			
-ri		x	x	x	x						
-samma			x								
-teng							x				
-ta									x	x	
-le											x

Figure 24. Distribution of the axis-relator construction on phrase and clause level.

The above matrix may be illustrated by the following examples:

The dependent nominal clause functions on phrase level, occurring with the relator -i.

tila 'na-pa-i ('na-pi) miih 'syi-ci.
The man who was sick died yesterday.

The dependent nominal clause functions on clause level, occurring with the relator -ce, as filler of the subject slot.

sehng-pa-'maah-ce 'kha-ci.
The workers came.

It occurs as filler of the reason slot.

cen long-pa-ce 'yahr-ci.
The leopard went away out of fear.

It occurs as filler of the instrument slot.

'cu 'chyar-pa-ce thaa-pa 'kham-pa.
You can cut with the sharp one.

It occurs with the relator -ri, functioning as filler of the subject slot.

kor-pa-ri nga-ta chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for me to go walking.

It functions as filler of the time slot (embedded in the noun phrase).

ken ca-pi belo-ri 'kha-u.
Come at (rice) eating time.

It functions as filler of the locative slot (embedded in the noun phrase).

nyi-'maah ciranyi 'pang-pi 'glaah-ri mu-pa.
We are at a place called Cirani.

It functions as filler of the purpose slot.

the yen 'khru-pa-ri nyi-pa.
She is going to wash clothes.

It occurs with the relator 'samma, functioning as the filler of a time slot (embedded in the noun phrase).

'ee 'cu 'kaam sehng-pi belo 'samma syuu-ko.
Please sit while I (finish) do this work.

It occurs with the relator -teng, functioning as filler of the accompaniment slot.

nga waih 'ko-pa-'maah-teng sya-pa.
I dance with the singers.

It occurs with the relator -ta, functioning as filler of the indirect object slot.

the-ce kaam sehng-pa-ta tam syet-ci.
He told it to the one working.

It functions as filler of the object slot.

the-ce kring-pa-ta 'to-ci.
He hit the one crying out.

It occurs with the relator -le, functioning as filler of the manner slot.

'ee 'cu 'kaam jya-pa-le (jyap-le) sehng-thoo-pa.
You should do this work well.

'ee 'cu men nyesyi 'samma behna-le 'thung-thoo-pa.
You should take this medicine so as to finish it by evening.

The Dependent Axis-Relator Clause. The dependent axis-relator clauses, which typically occur in the margin slot of a sentence, may be classified as follows:

- a) Sequential, manifested by the relators -teng, -saat;
- b) Concessive, manifested by the relators -la or -ma;
- c) Anticipatory, manifested by the relator -la bih;
- d) Intentive, manifested by the relator -ke bih;
- e) Reason, manifested by the relators -ri, -i gyam-ce, or -nyehnsye;
- f) Concurrent, manifested by the relator 'samma.

The dependent sequential, reason and concurrent clauses have as a filler of the axis slot, a nominalised clause (nominalised by -pa, -ma or -na), while the concessive, anticipatory, and intentive dependent clauses have a non-nominalised clause as filler of the axis slot. From the above listing it will be seen that the relator tagmemes may be either a simple relator (affix only), or a compound relator.

The following examples illustrate the types given above:

Dependent Sequential Clause relator, -teng.

nga-la 'ket thee-pa-teng-mi 'jhen bahng-ce phuphu-bih
na rap-pa.
After hearing my voice (the cow) bellowed all the more.

'naak-ki goh-ri tam-pa-teng 'paap 'kha-pa.
After striking the snake on the back sin comes.

Dependent Sequential Clause relator, -saat, -saat-cem, or -cem.

the-m 'nuu-pa-saat-mi bhuhsuhka mehr-pa.
As soon as he lies down he goes sound asleep.

the reeh-pa-saat-cem 'pheeri-m nyiih-no 'syng bah-cim
me phut-cim 'Ti-ci.
As soon as he got up we two brought wood, lit the fire and
sat down.

the ken ca-pa-cem nyi-ci.
As soon as he ate rice he went.

'As soon as' may also be expressed by a repetition of the verb in a formula type construction as seen in the following examples:

nga 'kaam-ce syol-teng 'a-syol-no chyong 'kha-pala.
As soon as I left work I came quickly.

nga-ce tam 'pang-ke-chee-'ri-teng 'a-chee-no the-ce 'pang-ke
chee-ci.
As soon as I began to speak he began to speak.

Concession. The dependent concessive clause, which is manifested by the compound relator -la-eeno (-le-eeno), or by -ma-eeno (-me-eeno) indicates 'although, even though'. Consider the following examples:

The Dependent Concessive Clause Relator, -la-eeno et. al.

'nam 'yu-le-eeno nga nyi-pa.
Even though it rains, I'll go.

'pheeri nga-m 'nuu-le-eeno mehr-pa 'a-'kham.
Although I lie down again, I can't sleep.

kon-ce ken ca-le-eeno nga-ce makai ca-pa.
Although Kon eats rice, I eat corn.

'ki 'khana 'maih-ma-eeno 'ki 'a-yang-pa-ro.
Although (they) search for water (they) do not find any.

ohhtee-le kring-me-eeno 'ee-ce 'a-chor-pa.
Even though (I) cry out like that you don't hear (me).

Anticipation, this dependent clause type which indicates what a person thinks about a certain situation is manifested by the compound relator consisting of the indefinite future tense marker, -la + auxiliary verb bih 'say'. For example:

The Dependent Anticipatory Clause Relator, -la bih.

the 'kaam sehng-la-bih 'kha-pala.
He came hoping to do work.

the yampu 'yu-la-bih nga-ce tha-'yu 'pang-pala.
He hoped to come to Kathmandu (but) I wrote saying,
"Don't come."

Intention. This is manifested by the compound relator consisting of -ke/-i + the auxiliary verb, bih 'say' as shown in the following examples:

The Dependent Intentive Clause Relator, -ke/-i bih.

the bacaar-Ti nyi-i-bih 'yahr-ci.
He went, intending to go to the bazaar.

the 'kaam sehng-ke-bih 'kha-pala.
He came, intending to work.

The dependent reason clause, manifested by -ri, also indicates time.

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -ri.

nga-ce syosyo brih-pa-ri 'ee-ta bohmo 'kha-ci.
Because (and when) I was writing you became angry.

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -i gyahm-ce.

nga-la kang na-pa-i 'gyahm-ce nyi-pa 'a-'kham.
Because my foot aches, I cannot go.

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -nyehnsye.

'uhcu miih nga-la 'dihm kha-ma-nyehnsye nga 'a-long.
Since that man came to my house I am not afraid.

The Dependent Concurrent Clause Relator, 'samma.

ama thaara 'raa-na 'samma 'kola doh-ri klang-pa.
While mother weaves the child plays in the courtyard.

The Dependent Participial Clause. The dependent participial clause also occurs in the margin slot of a sentence. There are three types of participial clauses: 1) sequential, 2) concurrent, and 3) conditional.

The dependent sequential participial clause is manifested in the predicate by the past particle -cim, and indicates 'having done'. Consider the following examples:

The Dependent Sequential Participial Clause.

nyamnya-'maah 'ki phii-cim syi-'yam-pa-ro.
Having become thirsty, the birds are about to die.

'phumpa 'Deht 'ki mrang-cim 'thung-'a-'kham-na 'dooh-cim
Seeing the waterpot half filled with water and not being

'yahr-pa-ro.
able to drink (the birds) turn around and fly away.

The dependent concurrent participial clause is manifested in the predicate by the present participles -ma or -mam, and indicates two simultaneous actions. Where -ma occurs the focus is upon the time element, where -mam occurs the action expressed in the verb is in focus. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

The Dependent Concurrent Participial Clause occurring with -ma.

'uhcu iskul-Ti 'khep-ma 'ee-ce nga-la ale 'thaa yang-ci?
When you studied at the school did you know my younger brother?

'ee-ce yampu-ri 'khet-'yu-ma 'jahmma 'kharca gahte ta-nem?
How much did it cost both in coming down and while you studied in Kathmandu?

'uhcu 'dihm sehng-ma 'maina 'nyiih 'gyeeh-ci.
Two months passed while that house was being built.

The Dependent Concurrent Participial Clause occurring with -mam.

sertung-Ti 'dooh-'yu-mam 'angsa 'juh-pa-ro.
When we arrive at Sertung we divide the land.

the wen gluh-mam nga cyaa-ri-pala.
While she bought cloth I was looking on.

apa-'mahh-ce 'bohngsye sehng-mam ama-'maah 'buh 'suu-pa.
While the men prepare the field the women plant the rice.

Often -ma and -mam may be used interchangeably to give the same meaning, for example:

wen 'gluh-ma 'baih-ce 'taa 'pang-ci?
What did the merchant say to you while you were buying the cloth?

or wen 'gluh-mam 'baih-ce 'taa 'pang-ci?
What did the merchant say to you while you were buying the cloth?

bacaar-Ti nyi-ma apa cyaa-ci?
When you went to the bazaar did you see father?

or bacaar-Ti nyi-mam apa cyaa-ci?
When you went to the bazaar did you see father?

The dependent conditional participial clause, manifested in the predicate by the subjunctive participle -sam, indicates 'if'. For example:

The Dependent Subjunctive Participial Clause.

'nam 'yu-sam nga 'a-nyi.
If it rains I'll not go.

'pheeri 'kha-sam nga 'bantuk-ce 'pung-pa.
If (the leopard) comes again I will shoot it.

'paise 'yoo-sam 'gluh-pa 'kham-pa.
If there is enough money (you) can buy (it).

APPENDIX A: Abbreviations.

A	Attributive (Box 4 label)
Act	actor
Accom / Acc	accompaniment
advbl	adverbial
Aff	affix
Agt	agent
anim	animate
Ans	Answer
Asc	association
Asp	aspect
Att	attributive (Box 1 label)
Aux	auxiliary
BA	BiAttributive
BR	BiReceptive
BS	BiStative
BT	BiTransitive
C	Circumstantial
Cl	clause
conj	conjunctive
cont	continuous
Cpl	complement
D	Descriptive
Em / emp	emphatic
Evt	event
Gen	genitive
ger	gerund
Goal	goal
hes	hesitation
I	Intransitive (Box 4 label), Instrument (Box 1 label)
inan	inanimate
Inst	instrument
IO	indirect object
L / Loc	locative
M	manner
Mod	modal
Neg	negative
NL	Nepali loan verb
NM	nominal
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	predicate
part	particle
PEX	predicate extension
pl	plural
Pp	past participle
pres	present
Ps	purpose
pst	past
pt1	simple past tense
pt2	past perfect tense
pt3	immediate past tense.

purp	purpose
qm	question marker
R	Receptive
REF	referent
Rs	reason
S	subject
SA	SemiAttributive
Sing	singular
Sit	site
SR	SemiReceptive
Src	source
SS	SemiStative
Sta	stant
T	Transitive (Box 4 label), time (Box 1 label)
Tns	tense
Umk	unmarked
Und	undergoer
Vb	verb
vce	voice
voc	vocative
VP	verb phrase

APPENDIX B: Text.

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed

1. tiyung neyung 'kola-ri syipatangpa
 last year year before last childhood-at syipatangpa
- teng nga 'bhatau 'asausa kyor 'bhoirlo 'gohra-ri 'Ti-pa //
 and I Bhadra Ashwin about Bhorlo cattleshed-at stay-pres
2. nyeshi-ri-m 'nyiih-no paalo-'le yokta la-cim
 evening-at-emp we two-emp by turn-advbl (cook food)-conj
- ca-pa syihm 'nyiih-no 'tangku 'thung-pa // 3. tor mor
 eat-pres and we two-emp tobacco drink-pres up down
- baat la-pa khimce kor-pa la-cim muhna-i 'nau
 conversation do-pres neighbour walk-pres do-conj night-of nine
- 'das bace kyor-ki 'Tem-Ti 'nyiih-no 'nuu-pa // 4. the-caanyi
 ten o'clock about-of time-at we two-emp rest-pres he-emp
- 'duhngTi 'nuu-pa nga-caanyi pherang 'khyang-Ti 'khyang joh-ri
 beneath rest-pres I-emp above bed-on bed top-on
- 'nuu-pa // 5. the-m 'nuu-pa-saat-mi bhuhsukka mehr-pa
 rest-pres he-emp rest-pres-as soon-emp completely sleep-pres

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

- nga-mi 'nuu-cim-eno 'yam-ta-m phasak phasak 'a-mehr-
I-emp rest-conj-also a moment-for-emp (restless) Neg-sleep-
- pa // 6. 'tii-ret muhna 'cyam syor-pa-m 'cyam 'pung-pa-ri
pres one-time night urine take-pres-emp (urinate)-pres-purp
- nyi-ci 'nam 'phusphusle yu-ri-pala // 7. 'bhatau-ki
go-pt₁ rain softly drizzle come down-cont-pt₂ Bhadra-of
- behlo-ri 'nam 'phusphusle yu-ri-pa-rim // 8. nga
time-at rain softly drizzle come down-cont-pres-fact I
- cyam 'pung-cim nga-m 'pheeri-m 'nuu-ci // 9. syipatangpa-
(urinate) -conj I-emp again-emp rest-pt₁ Syipatangpa-
- caanyi-ce-m 'a-chor // 10. 'pheeri nga-m 'kyongle 'nuu-
emp-Agt-emp Neg-know then I-emp (legs straight) rest-
- ri-pala ah 'gahte-eno mehr-pa 'a-'kham // 11. 'meh-
cont-pt₂ hes how much-also sleep-pres Neg-able cow-
- ce mor-ce 'meh-ce 'yahm-ce 'yahm-no na rap-pa 'phii
Agt down-from cow-Agt (again and again)-emp nose blow-pres phii
- 'phii-bih na rap-pa // 12. ra-'maah-eno kang rap-pa //
phii-advbl nose blow-pres goat-pl-also foot beat-pres
13. 'meh-'maah-caanyi-eno 'meh-'maah-caanyi na rap-pa
cow-pl-emp-also cow-pl-emp nose blow-pres
- ra-'maah-caanyi-eno kang rap-pa // 14. hohl-la-cim nga-
goat-pl-emp-also foot beat-pres like that-do-conj I-
- caanyi-m 'meh-ta cyaa-cim 'meh-ta 'pang-pa // 15. 'meh-mi
emp-emp cow-to look at-conj cow-to say-pres cow-emp
- 'yahm-ce 'yahm-no nga-la 'ket thee-pa teng-mi 'jhehn
(again and again)-emp I-of voice hear-pres after-emp (all the
- bahng-ce phu phu-bih na rap-pa // 16. hohl-la-
more) strength-Inst phu phu-advbl nose blow-pres like that-do-
- mam nga-m 'pheeri 'meh-ta cyaa-pala-m 'meh-caanyi mor-ce
while I-emp again cow-to look at-pt₂-emp cow-emp below-from
- ngohn-cim phu phu-le na rap-ti-pa-rim kra
look other way-conj phu phu-advbl nose blow-cont-pres-fact head
- 'lihp-Ti-pa-rim // 17. 'pheeri nga-eno mor-ce cyaa-
shake-cont-pres-fact then I-also down-towards look at-

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

- pala-m 'huhcu 'coori-ka cen 'gohng-ri-pa-rim // 18. nga
 pt₂-emp that near-emp leopard sit-cont-pres-fact I
- reeh-cim nga kring-pala-mi cen-ce nga-ta cyaa-pa //
 rise up-conj I cry out-pt₂-emp leopard-Agt I-to look at-pres
19. nga-i kutto-'maah-ri 'lii-'maah-ri-m cen-ki 'mii-ki
 I-of chest-pl-at fact-pl-on-emp leopard-of eye-of
- Tak yohbaati-la rahng-le 'kha-pa // 20. nga-ce kring-
 gleam torch-of (like)-advbl come-pres I-Agt cry out-
- pa // 21. cen-caanyi nga 'kola-'maah-ki sor thee-cim 'ket
 pres leopard-emp I child-pl-of voice hear-conj voice
- thee-cim the-caanyi-m 'patai-'a-'ti-nale cyaa-pa //
 hear-conj it-emp-emp agreeable-Neg-NL-advbl look at-pres
22. hohl-la-cim 'bahl la 'bahl the 'dooch-cim
 like that-do-conj (at last) it turn around-conj
- 'yahr-ci // 23. duhng-ki 'gahra-ri lapu 'jahng-pala mu-pala //
 go-pt₁ below-of field-at radish sow-pt₂ be-pt₂
24. the 'dooch-cim 'yahr-pa-saat-cem 'pheeri nga-ce-m
 it turn around-conj go-pres-(as soon as) then I-Agt-emp
- syipatangpa-ta ching-ci // 25. syipatangpa-ta 'khol 'khol
 Syipatangpa-to wake up-pt₁ Syipatangpa-to (here and there)
- 'sik 'sik-le ching-cim the reeh-pa-saat-
 (this side, that side)-advbl wake up-conj he rise up-pres-
- cem 'pheeri-m 'nyiih-no 'syng bah-cim me phut-
 (as soon as) then-emp we two-emp wood bring-conj fire light-
- cim 'Ti-ci // 26. nga-ce syipatangpa-ta 'pang-ci nga-ce
 conj sit-pt₁ I-Agt Syipatangpa-to say-pt₁ I-Agt
- kring-pa 'ee-ce thee-cyo // 27. syipatangpa-ce 'pang-ci
 cry out-pres you-Agt hear-qm Syipatangpa-Agt say-pt₁
- nga-ce 'a-thee // 28. 'tinyi gohra 'chyoo-ri cen 'kha-cim
 I-Agt Neg-hear today cowshed side-at leopard come-conj
- cen 'gohng-Ti-pala // 29. 'meh-ce na rap-cim nga-ce
 leopard sit-pres-pt₂ cow-Agt nose blow-conj I-Agt

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

cyaa-pala-m cen 'kha-pala-Tim // 30. nga-ce 'dhot
look at-pt₂-emp leopard come-pt₂-fact I-Agt dhot

'dhot-bih kring-pala-m cen-ce-m 'jhen nga-ta
dhot-advbl cry out-pt₂-emp leopard-Agt-emp (all the more) I-to

cyaa-pa // 31. hottee-le kring-me-eno 'ee-ce
look at-pres (in this way)-advbl cry out-while-also you-Agt

'a-chor-pa 'pang-cim 'pang-pala-mi the-ce 'pang-ci nga-ce
Neg-hear-pres say-conj say-pt₂-emp he-Agt say-pt₁ I-Agt

'a-chor 'pang-pa // 32. hohl-la-cim 'pheeri-m 'nylih-no
Neg-hear say-pres like that-do-conj again-emp we two-emp

'syng-'maah bah-cim me phut-cim 'Dahngtang 'Duhngtung
wood-pl bring-conj fire light-conj Dahngtang Duhngtung

'yungpa-ce 'pung-cim 'Ti-ci // 33. nahmsyo rahng syooh-ri
stone-Inst throw-conj sit-pt₁ tomorrow time morning-at

apa 'kha-mam apa-ta 'tinyi muhna cen 'kha-ci
father come-while father-to today night leopard come-pt₁

cen 'kha-cim long-na la-ci nga 'gohra-ri 'Ti-pa
leopard come-conj afraid-ger do-pt₁ I cowshed-at stay-pres

'a-'kham 'pang-cim 'pang-pala-mi apa-ce bhyuuh 'pang-pa
Neg-able say-conj say-pt₂-emp father-Agt lie say-pres

cen 'a-'kha // 34. 'ee-ce bhyuuh 'pang-pala 'pang-pa //
leopard Neg-come you-Agt lie say-pt₂ say-pres

35. hohl-la-mam 'duhng-ki 'gahra-ri lapu 'jahng-pala
like that-do-while below-of field-at radish sow-pt₂

mu-pala // 36. 'duhng-Ti cyaa-pala-m jyohi-'maah-Tim //
be-pt₂ below-at look at-pt₂-emp footprint-pl-fact

37. 'pheeri apa-ce jyohi-'maah cyaa-cim 'pang-pa
then father-Agt footprint-pl look at-conj say-pres

rahng 'tinyi muhna-m cen 'kha-nem cen 'kha-nem-'te
like that today night-emp leopard come-pt₃ leopard come-pt₃-emp

'pang-cim 'pang-ci // 38. hohle 'pang-pa-saat-cemi
say-conj say-pt₁ like that say-pres-(as soon as)

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

nga-ce 'pang-ci 'pheeri 'kha-sam nga 'bantuk-ce 'pung-pa
 I-Agt say-pt₁ again come-cond I gun-Inst fire-pres

'pang-cim 'pang-pala-mi apa-ce 'pang-ci cen-ta 'bantuk-ce
 say-conj say-pt₂-emp father-Agt say-pt₁ leopard-to gun-Inst

'pung-pa 'a-ta-pa 'pang-cim 'pang-ci // 39. 'pheeri-mi
 fire at-pres Neg-be-pres say-conj say-pt₁ then-emp

apa-ce taa la-ci // 40. 'Tin bohkta 'giih bah-cim
 father-Agt what do-pt₁ tin old one bring-conj

'gohra cyoo-ri 'cyo-then-ci 'gohra-ki cyoo-ri 'cyo-then-ci //
 cowshed side-at hang-put-pt₁ cowshed-of side-at hang-put-pt₁

41. 'pheeri muhna hohle 'kha-ci 'pang-sam 'gohleele reeh-
 again night like that come-pt₁ say-cond slowly rise up-

cim 'gohleele reeh-cim 'cu behrka-ce 'Tin-Ti bahng-ce
 conj slowly rise up-conj this stick-Inst tin-on strength-Inst

'Duhngtung-bih rap-pim-pa teng cen long-pa-ce
 Duhngtung-advbl beat-give-pres after leopard fear-pres-Inst

chyong-pa 'pang-cim hohle lop-pa //
 run-pres say-conj like that teach-pres

Free Translation.

1. Some years ago, during my childhood, Syipatangpa and I were staying at the cattleshed in Bhorlo; this was about the time of Bhadra, Ashwin. 2. At evening time we two took turns to cook; having cooked food, we ate and smoked tobacco. 3. We talked, visited a neighbour, then at about nine or ten o'clock we went to bed. 4. Syipatangpa went to bed downstairs; I lay on top of my bed upstairs. 5. As soon as he lay down he went to sleep but I rested for a moment, became restless and couldn't sleep. 6. Once during the night I went out to urinate, it was raining lightly. 7. During the month of Bhadra the rain falls in a soft drizzle. 8. Having passed urine, I again lay down. 9. Syipatangpa didn't know I had been out. 10. Again I lay down with legs straight, but still wasn't able to sleep. 11. Down below, a cow snorted again and again. 12. The goats also stamped their feet. 13. Again the cows snorted and again the goats stamped their feet. 14. When they did that, I looked at the cows and spoke to them. 15. After hearing my voice, they snorted more loudly. 16. While they were doing this I again looked at them, but looking the other way, the cows continued snorting and shaking their heads. 17.

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

Looking down, I saw a leopard. 18. Getting up I cried out, but the leopard just looked at me. 19. The gleam of the leopard's eyes fixed upon me like the gleam of a torch. 20. I cried out. 21. The leopard, hearing my child's voice looked disagreeably at me. 22. At last it turned and went. 23. In the field below, radishes had been planted. 24. As soon as the leopard went, I woke Syipatangpa. 25. Syipatangpa having awoken, got up; then we brought wood, lit the fire, and sat down. 26. I said to Syipatangpa, "I cried out, didn't you hear?" 27. Syipatangpa said, "I didn't hear you." 28. (I told Syipatangpa) "A leopard came and was sitting at the side of the cowshed. 29. The cows were snorting, I looked and saw that a leopard had come. 30. I cried out, but the leopard looked at me all the more. 31. While crying out like this you didn't hear?" but he said "I didn't hear." 32. Again, having brought wood, having lit the fire, we threw stones and sat down. 33. The next morning my father came and I told him a leopard had come during the night and as I was afraid I couldn't stay at the cattleshed, but my father said I was lying. 34. "You're telling a lie", he said. 35. While that was happening, in the field below where the radishes had been planted, he saw the leopard's footprints. 36. Then he looked below and there were indeed footprints. 37. Then father, having looked at the footprints said, "last night a leopard certainly did come." 38. As soon as he said that I said, "If it comes again I will fire a gun," but father said, "You are forbidden to fire a gun at the leopard." 39. Then what did father do? 40. Having brought an old tin, he hung it at the side of the cattleshed. 41. He said, "If the leopard comes again, get up slowly and beat on the tin with this stick, the leopard will be frightened and run away," in this manner I learnt (what to do).

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FOOTNOTES.

¹This alternation between the goal marker and the genitive marker could be a focussing device, but so far this has not been determined.

²See Sentence patterns in Tamang, by Fay Everitt, in R. Trail, 1972, Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse.

³Further investigation is needed concerning the occurrence of nominalised clauses as fillers of slots on the clause level. So far it cannot be determined when the nominal affixes -pa, -pala, or -sye occur in reference to 1) the doer of an action, 2) the undergoer, 3) the verbal idea, or 4) the doer and the verbal idea, but any one of the three nominalisers may be used to nominalise a clause filling the indirect object slot.