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

Part II, Clause

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Acknowledgments

These volumes are unique in that they are the fruit of cooperation with two institutions—Andhra University in India and Tribhuvan University in Nepal. The Summer Institute of Linguistics was invited by Andhra University to conduct a linguistic workshop on its campus in January and February of 1972. This was the formal beginning of this four-phase report. The Andhra University campus was especially convenient since several of the languages under study were located in or near Andhra Pradesh.

We wish therefore to express our sincere appreciation to the Vice Chancellor, Mr. L. Bollayya, the Registrar, Mr. M. Gopalakrishna Reddy, and the Syndicate of Andhra University for their encouragement and cooperation in making this research possible.

Subsequent to the two months at Andhra University, the research teams travelled to Nepal where they worked on further analysis and composition under the kind auspices of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. We are deeply grateful to the Vice Chancellor, Dr. T. N. Uprait and to Dr. P. R. Sharma, Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, for their part in making this further work possible.

Dr. Kenneth L. Pike, Project Director, and his wife Evelyn were with us for both the India and Nepal phases of the work and we are deeply indebted to them for providing the original stimulus, as well as continued encouragement and oversight as the work progressed.

Recognition is also due to the author of each paper—Kent Gordon, Norman and Helen McNair, Uwe Gustafsson, Ray and Elizabeth Christmas, and Jennifer Williams—all of whom did their own analysis and write-up with but a modicum of consultant and editorial assistance.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of my colleague Kent Gordon, who in addition to writing his own clause paper on Dhungar-Kurux, served as a consultant on Kolami, Kotia Oria, and occasionally on Maithili.

Hearty thanks is due to Madeline Troyer for the tedious and painstaking work of typing these papers in photo-ready form. The artwork for these papers was under the able hand of Roma Mathieson while Gail Trail shouldered the main responsibility for the proofreading.
We express our genuine appreciation to Deccan College in Poona, India, under whose auspices general research was carried out in Kotia Oriya and Kupia prior to this workshop. Without this the present analyses would not have been as far along as they are.

Finally, we all wish to express our appreciation to the Institute of International Studies, U.S. Office of Education, for making it possible for Dr. and Mrs. Pike and other members of the research team to attend the workshop.
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Introduction

We present in this volume the clause analyses of five languages of India-Nepal—Dhangar-Kurux, Kolami, Kotia Oriya, Kupia, and Maithili. Of these, three are Indo-Aryan (Kotia Oriya, Kupia, and Maithili); and two are Dravidian (Dhangar-Kurux and Kolami). Dhangar-Kurux and Maithili are spoken in Nepal; Kolami, Kotia Oriya, and Kupia are spoken in India.

We focus in these papers on clause as a verb-centered construction surrounded by certain nuclear constituents which serve to strictly subcategorize it. We are not focussing on sentence in the traditional sense of the term which would include clause and certain larger constructions of clause combination traditionally known as compound and complex sentences.

Each analysis is presented as a complete unit with the exception that a Combined References section is given at the end of the volume uniting references for individual articles. An Index to the contents is included at the end of each paper (the paper by Austin Hale is an exception to this). The format for all of the Clause Pattern papers is relatively uniform. The clause analysis of Parengi, a Munda language of Central India (actually an integral part of this volume) has been included in Volume I of this report merely to cut down on the size of this volume.

The theory and format for these papers have been worked out by Austin Hale in collaboration with Kenneth L. Pike and form a synthesis of sorts between two divergent models of linguistics—transformational generative and structural (Tagmemics). Hale's system is based on the assumptions that it is, "...possible to enumerate for all languages the possible range of sememic functions on the clause level and this inventory should provide a principled basis for the selection of feature values for box 4"; and that it is, "...possible to relate each box 4 entry in a clause to all other possible entries in such a way as to show its place in a coherent closed system and to make clear the range of phenomena covered by each possible entry," (Hale, p. 7). What he means by "box 4" and by "sememic functions on clause level," is made
clear in the first article of this volume which he has kindly permitted us to use as an introduction to this compilation. His paper, "Toward the Systematization of Display Grammar," is included here just as it was published in Hale 1973, Vol. I. The reader is therefore alerted to the fact that his references to papers elsewhere in the volume refer to Hale's volume, not to ours. We would like to express our deep indebtedness to Austin Hale for the major role he has played in making our volume possible.

Briefly, from the technician's point of view, what Hale has done in his full transitivity system (Figure 1) is to give us a systematic means of eliciting, contrasting, and categorizing the major clause patterns of a language. Although some have found, and Hale recognizes, that the terminal nodes of the tree or cells of the matrix do not include all that there is to say about the clause patterns of a language (in that there can be subtypes of these patterns), the fact remains that the system does function to give us the major patterns. The average number of patterns for five of the papers presented was 10.4 per language (not counting subtypes). Dhangar-Kurux was not included in the count because only inherent clause patterns from the Event half of the matrix are handled in that paper.

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<tr>
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Figure 1. Full Transitivity Matrix.

The fact that no one went beyond Hale's original 16 witnesses to the comprehensiveness of the model and its ability to provide a basic framework from which the technician can begin to operate in a language. The fact that many languages had to posit subtypes of the major patterns seems to indicate that the model may be inadequate at these points. It may, however, be one of the drawbacks inherent in any binary system of language which exhausts its own universe of meaning. Perhaps this is as far as we can expect to go in systematizing natural language. Perhaps on the other hand, with more research on these points at which subtypes are needed, it will be found that there are more regular features which can be brought into the system thus cutting down on the need for subtypes.
Clause Patterns in Kupia

R. B. and J. E. Christmas

A. **Introduction.**

**The Language.** The Kupia language belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. It is spoken in the Munchinput, Aruku, and Paderu Blocks of Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh, and in the adjacent Koraput District of Orissa, India.

The people who speak the language are called Valmiki. Some claim they descend from the famous poet Maharsi Valmiki. They belong to the Valmiki Scheduled Tribe of India.

The word Kupia does not occur in the 1961 census of India. The word Valmiki does occur, and is recorded as the name of a language spoken by eight people living in Andhra Pradesh State, but not in Visakhapatnam District. We have chosen the name Kupia instead of Valmiki since the people themselves refer to their language as Kupia. It was evident during the 1971 census that the people whose mother tongue is Kupia gave the regional language, Telugu, as their mother tongue. We consider that at least 6,000 people have Kupia as their mother tongue.

The work, *The Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh* (1963) records of the people, "They speak a corrupt form of Oriya." As far as we are aware, no study of any depth has been made of the Kupia language.

Our judgment that Kupia is an Indo-Aryan language is based on comparative vocabulary and grammar studies. However, since many of the speakers are living in Andhra Pradesh, where Telugu is the regional language, there are many Telugu loan words in the language. These are from Dravidian roots, or Indo-Aryan roots having come via Telugu (a Dravidian language). A few words have a clear English origin.

**Purpose of Paper.** The purpose of this paper is threefold: firstly to provide some materials on the Kupia language; secondly to make these materials available for comparison with other languages, particularly Indo-Aryan languages; thirdly to be a companion article to the paper, "Kupia Sentence Patterns" written by the authors and occurring in
Volume 1 of this report. The distribution of independent and dependent clauses that are exponents of Sentence level slots is shown in the Kupia sentence paper.

Research Details. This paper is a study on the Kupia language as spoken by the people of the village of Sujanakota, Munchinput Block, Andhra Pradesh, India. During the past three years the authors have spent approximately eight months actually living in the village. For a further nine months language helpers have been readily available. During the months of January and February 1972, Mr. Christmas attended a workshop held on the campus of Andhra University under the joint auspices of the Andhra University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Two language helpers have assisted us during most of this period, others helping in occasional checking. These are Mr. G. Kamiswarao, about 25 years of age, and Mr. G. Suryaya, about 20 years of age. Both are Valmiki Scheduled Tribal men of Sujanakota village. Mr. Samma Reddi Rajayya, and an elderly lady, Kamesili, gave us several texts which we have recorded. These stories, as well as those told by the above named language helpers, have provided a valuable source of language material.

Analysis Model. Tagmemics as conceived by Dr. Kenneth L. Pike provides the theoretical background for this paper, while the basic approach has been provided by Dr. Austin Hale.

Script. Illustrative examples throughout the text use the Kupia phonemes shown in Figure 1.

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<td>/length/**</td>
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Figure 1. Kupia Phonemes.

*Nasalization is phonemic and occurs on all vowels. It is symbolized by a colon after the vowel (v:).

**Length is phonemic and occurs on all vowels. It is symbolized by doubling of the vowel (vv).*
Acknowledgements. We would like to express our gratitude to the following persons and institutions for making this paper possible.

a) Our two language helpers, Mr. G. Kamiswarao and Mr. G. Sureyya.
b) Dr. Kenneth L. Pike, both because of his personal friendship, and also because of his wise counsel and fine leadership at the India workshop, Visakhapatnam.
c) Dr. Ronald L. Trail, who has followed the analysis of this language from its early stages, and whose advice and encouragement, patience, and persistence have been most welcome and stimulating.
d) Dr. Austin Hale who has been of considerable assistance in providing the outline of the paper, and explaining many details of the analysis.
e) Mr. B. SchoettleIndreyer, Mr. D. Watters, Mr. F. R. Aze, and Miss J. Williams for providing me with copies of their papers on clause patterns. Also to Messrs. D. Watters, C. M. Bandhu, G. Shepherd, K. Gordon, U. Gustafsson, and Misses M. Schulze, E. Strahm, F. Woods, and J. Williams—my colleagues—for frequent stimulating discussions.
f) The help of computers. The IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma processed 112 pages of typewritten texts and arranged it into a concordance. This concordance was of immense help in syntactic analysis. It was made possible by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, sponsored by Grant No. 65-1605 of the National Science Foundation.

B. Basic Patterns.

1. The Contrastive System.

1.1 The Role Marker System in Kupia.

Clauses in a language can be contrasted and categorized in various ways. In the present paper it is our purpose to show how various combinations of the three primary roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site are useful in producing a semantic classification of Kupia clause patterns. The roles may be viewed as corresponding to a set of case relations. They are central to the description of the derivational history of a clause. The purpose of this section is to show how these three roles are marked in Kupia.

Transitivity Matrix Covering State and Event Categories. Combinations of the three primary roles—Actor, Undergoer, and Site—result in the following matrix of eight cells, called the Transitivity System.
In addition, work on the organization of Narrative Discourse has led to a further contrasting parameter for clauses. This is the contrast of Event vs. State. If this distinction is added to the Transitivity Matrix, the Transitivity System is doubled. This is shown in Figure 3.

**Figure 3. The Full Transitivity System Showing the Distinction Between State and Event.**

**Normal Role Markers in Kupia.** The correlation between markers and roles is basic to the identification of contrastive clause patterns in Kupia. In Figures 4 to 8 the normal markers have been summarized for the nuclear roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site within each of the transitivity 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 labels in the figures are underlined in the examples. M stands for marker and R for Role.
Figure 4. Normal Actor Markers for Animate Actors and Inanimate Actors.

I  booda  eeD-lo.
M  child  Umk  cry-pa  3s P
R  Act    Evt
    The child cried.

ST  jeewu  eek gurute  ge-la.
M  they  Umk  one teacher to Gol  go-pa  3pl P
R  Act    Sit    Evt
    They went to a teacher.

T  aam  geeru  band-ilam.
M  we  Umk  house  Umk  build-pa  1 pl P
R  Act    Und    Evt
    We built a house.

DT  naaDi  boodaka  jooDlu  gal-li.
M  girl  Umk  child on Gol  shoes  Umk  put-pa  3s P
R  Act    Sit    Und    Evt
    The girl put shoes on the child.

Figure 5. Normal Undergoer Markers for Animate Undergoers.
A nilayva cengngilo as-e.
M Nilayya Umk good be-3s P
R Und Cpl St

DA amka eeku maansu as-e.
M we to Gol one person Umk be-3s P
R Sit Und
We have one servant.

R booda jerm-ilan.
M child Umk be born-pa 3s P
R Und Evt
A child was born.

DR angka maansu Diis-ilii.
M me to Gol person Umk appear-pa 3s P
R Sit Und Evt
A person appeared to me.

T jeewu maansu-ka peT-la.
M they Umk person-to Gol hit-pa 3pl P
R Act Und Evt
They hit the man.

DT aam maansu-ka ceTT-e banda d-ilam.
M we Umk person-to Gol tree-to Loc build give-pa 1pl P
R Act Und Sit Evt
We tied the men to the tree.

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<td>I</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>T Umk</td>
<td>DT Umk</td>
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Figure 6. Normal Undergoer Markers for Inanimate Undergoers.

A geeru cengngilo as-e.
M house Umk good be-3s P
R Und Cpl St
The house is good.

DA aamka eeku geeru as-e.
M we to Gol one house Umk be-3s P
R Sit Und St
We have one house.

R  keam  keed-li.
M  work  Umk  finish-pa  3s  P
R  Und   Evt
The work is finished.

DR  ang-ka  geeru  Diis-ili.
M  me-to  Gol  house  Umk  appear-pa  3s  P
R  Sit   Und   Evt
A house appeared to me.

T  aam  geeru  band-ilam.
M  we  Umk  house  Umk  build-pa  lpl  P
R  Act   Und   Evt
We built the house.

DT  jo  peed-e  kaawaDi  gal-lo.
M  he  Umk  verandah-on  Loc  bundle  Umk  threw-pa  3s  P
R  Act   Sit   Und   Evt
He threw a bundle onto the verandah.

Notes on Undergoer Role. In Figure 6 it was noted that inanimate Undergoers are not marked in any of the clause types in Kupia. However, the verbs dekule 'to see' and peTuka 'to hit' have been found to optionally take a marked Undergoer. In Kupia the Undergoer is marked by -ka.

T  aam  geeru  dek-ilam.
M  we  Umk  house  Umk  see-pa  lpl  P
R  Act   Und   Evt
We saw the house.

T  aam  geeru-ka  dek-ilam.
M  we  Umk  house-to  Loc  see-pa  lpl  P
R  Act   Und   Evt
We saw the house.

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<td>I</td>
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<td>DT Gol/Src</td>
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Figure 7. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Goal and Animate- Source Sites.
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**DA** je raano-ke sattu jiina tersivo as-ti.
M that king-Gol seven people wives Umk be-3pl P
R Sit Und St
That king has seven wives.

**DR** ang-ka maansu Diis-ili.
M me-to Gol person Umk appear-pa 3s P
R Sit Und Evt
A person appeared to me.

**ST** jeewu eek guru-te ge-la.
M they Umk one teacher-to Gol go-pa 3pl P
R Act Sit Evt
They went to a teacher.

**DT** aa:wu tu-ka kabburu d-ilayi
M I Umk you-to Gol message Umk give-pa 1s P
R Act Sit Und Evt
I gave a message to you.

**ST** jeewu guru tento a-yila.
M they Umk teacher from Src come-pa 3pl P
R Act Sit Evt
They came from the teacher.

**DT** tuuwì saamani am-te tento aan-ladi.
M you Umk goods Umk we-to from Src bring-pa 2pl P
R Act Und Sit
You brought goods from us.

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**Figure 8. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate-Location and Inanimate-Source Sites.**

**DA** gerr-i kurciwo as-ti.
M house-in Loc chairs Umk be-3pl P
R Sit Und St
The chairs are in the house.
DR  eek addum-te  jowaci mokkum  Diis-ili.
M  one mirror-on Loc  his  face Umk  appear-pa 3s P
R  Sit  Und  Evt
   His face appeared in a mirror.

ST  jeewu  eek guruci  gerr-i  ge-la.
M  they Umk one teacher's house-in Loc  go-pa 3pl P
R  Act  Sit  Evt
   They went to a teacher's house.

DT  aawu post  appis-te  kabburu  d-ilayi.
M  I Umk post office-to Loc  message Umk  give-pa 1s P
R  Act  Sit  Und  Evt
   I gave a message to the post office.

ST  maansu  gerr-i  tinto  baar ja-lo.
M  person Umk  house-in from Src  out  become-pa 3s P
R  Act  Sit  Evt
   A person came out from the house.

DT  tuuwi saamani  santa-yi  tinto  aan-ladi.
M  you Umk  goods Umk  market-in  from Src  bring-pa 2s P
R  Act  Und  Sit  Evt
   You brought goods from the market.

Notes on Site Role. The role of Site in Kupia is always marked. Animate Site markers are -ka and -te, while inanimate location markers are -i, -e, -te, -ke, and others. The most frequently used inanimate source marker is tinto 'from'.

Normal Role Markers on the Verb.

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Figure 9. Normal Actor Agreement in Kupia Verbs.

The following examples are to illustrate agreement between Actor role and Predicate in the Kupia clause. Examples are given first for Class 1 verbs, and then for Class 2 verbs. For a fuller treatment of verb morphology see Section C.
a) Class 1 verbs.

DT  
\[ aa\text{-}wu \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{\text{-}lavi}. \]
I Umk child-to Gol ball Umk gave-pa 1s P
Act Sit Und Evt
I gave the ball to the boy.

\[ tuuwi \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{\text{-}ladu}. \]
You gave the ball to the boy.

\[ jo \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{-}lo. \]
He gave the ball to the boy.

\[ ja \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{-}li. \]
She gave the ball to the boy.

\[ maansu \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{-}an. \]
The person gave the ball to the boy.

\[ aam \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{-}am. \]
We gave the ball to the boy.

\[ tuumu \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{-}adu. \]
You (pl) gave the ball to the boy.

\[ jeewu \quad naaDu-ka \quad banti \quad d-il\text{-}a. \]
They gave the ball to the boy.

T  
\[ aa\text{-}wu \quad kaam \quad ker-l\text{\text{-}lavi}. \]
I Umk work Umk do-pa 1s P
Act Und Evt
I did the work.

ST  
\[ aa\text{-}wu \quad ceT\text{-}e \quad weg-l\text{\text{-}lavi}. \]
I Umk tree-to Loc climb-pa 1s P
Act Sit Evt
I climbed the tree.

I  
\[ aa\text{-}wu \quad kel-l\text{\text{-}lavi}. \]
I Umk play-pa 1s P
Act Evt
I played.

For persons other than first person singular in T, ST, and I, the agreement is the same as illustrated in the DiTransitive example above.

b) Class 2 verbs.

T  
\[ aa\text{-}wu \quad mateli \quad jaan-i. \]
I Umk story Umk know-1s P
Act Und Evt
I know the tale.

\[ tuuwi \quad mateli \quad jaan-si. \]
You know the tale.

\[ jo \quad mateli \quad jaan-e \]
He knows the tale.

\[ aam \quad mateli \quad jaan-um \]
We know the tale.
tuumu mateli jaan-su.  You know the tale.
jeewu mateli jaan-ti They know the tale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Und</td>
<td>Und</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>DS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>DR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Und</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>DT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xxx*</td>
<td>xxx*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10. Normal Undergoer Agreement in the Kupia Verbs.

*These clauses have an inherent Actor. The Actor takes precedence over the Undergoer in agreeing with the verb.

DR tu-ka seiwu Diis-ilavi. I appeared to you.
you-to Gol I Umk appear-pa ls P
Sit     Und     Evt

ang-ka tuuwi Diis-iladi. You appeared to me.
ang-ka jo Diis-ilo. He appeared to me.
ang-ka ja Diis-ili. She appeared to me.
ang-ka tuumu Diis-iladu. You appeared to me.
and-ka jeewu Diis-ila. They appeared to me.

R seiwu koopum ja-lavi. I Umk angry became-pa ls P
Und     Cpl     Evt     I became angry.

DA seiwu inn-e t-ilavi. I Umk here-at Loc be-pa ls P
Und     Sit     St     I was here.

For persons other than the first person singular in R and DA agreement is the same as illustrated in the DiReceptive example above.

A seiwu suuTi as-i I am beautiful.
I Umk beautiful be-pa ls P
Und     Cpl     St
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tuuvi suuTi as-isi. You are beautiful.
jo suuTi as-e. He is beautiful.
aam suuTi as-um. We are beautiful.
tuumu suuTi as-usu. You are beautiful.
jeewu suuTi as-ti. They are beautiful.

1.2 Grammatical Organization.

Relationship Between Grammatical Categories and Roles. In order to describe the grammatical organization of the nuclear constituents of a clause, categories such as subject (S), object (O), indirect object (IO), referent (Ref), and predicate (P) will be used. The normal relationship between these categories and the roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site are as follows:

a) When all three nuclear roles are present:
   Actor is Subject
   Undergoer is Object
   Site is IO (animate) or Ref (inanimate)

b) When Actor is absent:
   Undergoer is Subject
   Site is IO or Ref

c) When Undergoer is absent:
   Actor is Subject
   Site is IO or Ref

d) When Site is absent:
   Actor is Subject
   Undergoer is Object

There are no clauses in Kupia where both roles of Actor and Undergoer are absent. Note the role of Subject in the following clauses.

DT  jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk father his-to Gol thousand rupees Umk give-3s P
S  IO 0 P
Act  Sit Und Evt
He gave his father a thousand rupees.

T  aam cimbo rand-ilam.
we Umk rice Umk cook-pa lpl P
S 0 P
Act Und Evt
We cooked rice.
ST  jo  ceTT-e  weg-ilO.  
The child climbed the tree.
he Umk tree-to Loc climb-pa 3s P
S   Ref   P
Act  Sit   Evt
He climbed the tree.

I  booda  eeD-ilO.  
The child cried.
child Umk cry-pa 3s P
S   P
Act  Evt

DR  ang-ka  Dumbo  Diis-ilO.  
A ghost appeared to me.
me-to Gol ghost Umk appear-pa 3s P
IO   S   P
Sit  Und   Evt

R  booda  jerm-ilO.  
A child was born.
child Umk born-pa 3s P
S   P
Und  Evt

DA  tu-ka  gayimi  as-e.  
You have a wound.
you-to Gol wound Umk be-3s P
IO   S   P
Sit  Und  St

A  nilayya  cenggil as-e.  
Nilayya is good.
Nilayya Umk good  be-3s P
S   P
Und  Cpl  St

Normal Order of Roles in the Clause. Of the nuclear roles, Actor typically occurs first. If the Site and Undergoer are inanimate they occur in that order (see examples 1 and 2). This same order is maintained when the Site is animate and the Undergoer is inanimate (see example 3). If they are both animate this order is reversed to Undergoer, Site (see example 6). This order also occurs when Undergoer is animate and Site is inanimate (see examples 4 and 5). This shows a marked preference for animate to occur before inanimate in the clause. Figure 10 below summarizes this. Predicate as Event or State typically occurs last.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate state</th>
<th>Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Both Und and Sit inanimate</td>
<td>Actor, Site, Undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sit is animate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Und is inanimate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Both Und and Sit animate</td>
<td>Actor, Undergoer, Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Und is animate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit is inanimate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10. Normal Order of Roles in a Clause.

1) DT jo peeD-e kaawaDi gal-lo.  
he Umk verandah-on Loc bundle Umk throw-pa 3s P
S Ref 0  P
Act Sit Und Evt
He threw a bundle onto the verandah.

2) DT jo naaDu ceTT-e banti peT-lo.  
that boy Umk tree-to Ref ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
S Ref 0  P
Act Sit Und Evt
The boy hit the ball to the tree.

3) DT jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.  
he Umk father his-to IO thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
S IO 0  P
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave his father one thousand rupees.

4) DT jo maansu-ka ceTT-e band-ilam.  
He Umk person-to Gol tree-to Ref build-pa 1 pl P
S 0 Ref P
Act Und Sit Evt
He tied the man to the tree.

5) DT jo waggo-ka jesci stalum-te rak-ilam.  
he Umk tigers-to Gol their den-in Ref shepherd-pa 3s P
S 0 Ref P
Act Und Sit Evt
He watched the tigers in their den.

6) DT jo naaDi-ka jowayin-te tedray-ilo.  
he Umk child-to 0 them-to IO send-pa 3s P
S 0 IO P
Act Und Sit Evt
He sent the girl to them.
2. **Systemic Contrasts.**

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells shown in Figure 3 are filled by inherently contrastive clause patterns in Kupia. The contrasts will be discussed under two headings: General Contrasts, which correspond to features separating rows and columns in Figure 3; and Specific Contrasts, which show contrasts between individual cells, or certain groups of cells.

2.1 **General Contrasts.**

There are four general contrasts in the transitivity system. They will be discussed in the following order: State vs. Event, Actor vs. no Actor, Undergoer vs. no Undergoer, and Site vs. no Site. In discussing these contrasts it will be helpful to refer to the following tree diagram of the transitivity system. Those clauses which are inherent in Kupia are underlined. Note that there are no inherent clauses in the Stative Set in Kupia.

![Tree Diagram of the Transitivity System](image)

**Figure 12. Tree Diagram of the Transitivity System.**

2.11 **State vs. Event.**

**Attributive Set vs. Receptive and Transitive Sets.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Set</th>
<th>R Set and T Set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) verb <em>as-</em> fills the S base slot of the verb phrase</td>
<td>1) verb <em>as-</em> fills the Auxbase slot of the verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) <em>tangka</em> is not used as a modal verb to form other aspect-tenses</td>
<td>2) <em>tangka</em> is used as a modal to form other aspect-tenses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Patterns in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

3) -k1 and -k2
4) -stativization
5) +eventivization
6) -manner slot
7) -instrument slot
8) ±Predicate deletion

3) +k1 and +k2
4) + stativization
5) -eventivization
6) +manner slot
7) +instrument slot
8) -Predicate deletion

Attributive Set Vs. Receptive Set.

The eight contrasts listed above also apply here, and in addition the following:

A Set R Set
1) k3 from as-
2) -benefactive slot

1) k3 from jangka
2) ±benefactive slot

Attributive Set Vs. Transitive Set.

The first eight general contrasts between State and Event also apply here. The following are specific contrasts between the Attributive and Transitive sets.

A Set T Set
1) +Subject as Undergoer
2) -Object as Undergoer
3) -Passive
4) +k3
5) -benefactive

1) -Subject as Undergoer
2) +Object as Undergoer
3) ±Passive
4) -k3
5) ±benefactive

2.12 Actor Vs. No Actor

Transitive Set Vs. Receptive Set.

T Set R Set
1) +Subject as Actor
2) -Object as Undergoer
3) ±Passive
4) +jangka as modal
5) ±an actor-reflexive

1) -Subject as Actor
2) +Object as Undergoer
3) -Passive
4) -jangka as modal
5) -an actor-reflexive

2.13 Undergoer Vs. No Undergoer.

1) Undergoer is present in
   DT, T, DR, R, DA, A.
   1) Undergoer is not present in
      ST, I

2.14 Site Vs. No Site.

1) Site is present in DT, ST, DR, DA.
   1) Site is not present in T, I, R, A.
2.2 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: I, R, A.
two roles: T, DR, DA, ST.
three roles: DT.

Animate Undergoer marked as Goal.
yes DT, T.
no DR, R, DA, A. (ST and I, no undergoer)

Object as Undergoer.
yes DT, T.
no DR, DA, R, A. (ST and I, no undergoer)

Undergoer has verb agreement.
yes A, DA, R, DR.
no T, DT.

Clauses can be passivized.
yes IT.
no DT, ST, I, DR, R, DA, A.

Clauses can take Instrument/Means slot
yes T, ST, DT.
no I, R, DR, DA, A.

All the clause patterns can be contrasted by noting which of the derivational rules, discussed in Section D, are applicable to them. Figure 12 shows these contrasts.
### Figure 13. Applicability of Rules to Clause Patterns.

#### 3. Contrastive Types.

Beginning with the DiTransitive clause, all contrastive patterns will be illustrated by examples preceded by a formula of the respective type. All the examples are inherent to the type. Where necessary, subtypes are posited. These may or may not have a different derivational potential.

#### 3.1 The DiTransitive Clause Type.

**DiTransitive Clause with Goal-Marked Site.** These clauses reject both the modal *dengka* 'other-than-Subject directed' and *-an* 'actor reflexive'. With the verb *dengka* 'to give', Site is marked by *-ka*; with *wikuka* 'to sell', Site is marked by *-te*.

$$
\begin{align*}
+ S \quad \text{NP} & + \text{REF} \quad \text{NP}\text{(Gol)} & + O \quad \text{NP} & + P \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{Act} \quad \text{an} & \text{Sit} \quad \text{an} & \text{Und} \quad \text{an/inan} & \text{Evt} \quad \text{dt}
\end{align*}
$$

-jo abbas-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
-He Umk father his-to Gol thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P

Act Sit Und Evt

He gave his father a thousand rupees.

-jeewu kamiswarao-ka duuwisi d-ila.
-they Umk Kamiswarao-to Gol daughter Umk give-pa 3pl P

Act Sit Und Evt

They gave their daughter to Kamiswarao. (in marriage)
aa:wu tu-ka        kabburu     d-ilayi.
I Umk you-to Gol message Umk give-pa 1s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
I gave a message to you.

jo      naaDu-te   postukumu wik-ilco.
he Umk boy-to Gol book Umk sell-pa 3s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
He sold a book to the boy.

DiTransitive Clause A with Goal or Location-Marked Site. These clauses accept the modal dengka 'other-than-Subject directed', but reject -an 'actor reflexive'.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{S} & \text{NP} & \text{REF} & \text{NP (Loc)} \\
\text{Act} & \text{an} & \text{Sit} & \text{an/inan} \\
\text{Und} & \text{inan*} & \text{Evt} & \text{dt}
\end{array}
\]

*projectile, movable object

jo      peD-e          kaavaDi   gal-lo.
he Umk verandah-onto Loc bundle Umk throw-pa 3s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
He threw a bundle onto the verandah.

naaDu  ceTT-e      banti   peT-lo.
boy Umk tree-to Loc ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
The boy hit the ball to the tree.

jo  surayya-ka       banti   gal-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk throw-pa 3s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
He threw the ball to Surayya.

jo  surayya-te      banti   gal-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk throw-pa 3s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
He threw the ball to Surayya.

jo  surayya-ka       banti   peT-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
He hit the ball to Surayya.

jo  surayya-te      banti   peT-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
Act    Sit     Und     Evt
He hit the ball to Surayya.
**DiTransitive Clause B with Goal or Location-Marked Site.** These clauses accept both *dengka* 'other-than-Subject directed' and *-an* 'actor reflexive.'

\[ + \text{S} & \text{NP} & + \text{REF} & \text{NP (Loc)} & + \text{O} & \text{NP} & + \text{P} & \text{VP} \]

- **jeewu booda-ka teel gaa:s-ila.**
  - Act: S
  - Sit: an
  - Und: inan
  - Evt: dt
  - Meaning: They rubbed oil on the child.

- **ja roos-te bangala kanda gal-li.**
  - Act: S
  - Und: Evt
  - Meaning: She put potatoes in the curry.

- **aam kuDD-i cunnun gaa:s-ila.**
  - Act: S
  - Und: Evt
  - Meaning: We rubbed whitewash on the wall.

- **aam orn-e piiri band-ilam.**
  - Act: S
  - Und: Evt
  - Meaning: We tied thatch on the roof.

- **naaDi booda-ka jooDlu gal-li.**
  - Act: S
  - Und: Evt
  - Meaning: The girl put shoes on the child.

In this subtype, when the Undergoer is animate, the order of nuclear tagmemes is Actor, Undergoer, Site, as is illustrated in the following examples.

- **doro baabu tu-ka santa-yi tedray-ilo.**
  - Act: S
  - Und: Evt
  - Meaning: The foreign man sent you to the market.

- **aam maansu-ka ceTT-e band-ilam.**
  - Act: S
  - Und: Evt
  - Meaning: We tied the man to the tree.

- **jo maansu-ka jowayin-te tedray-ilo.**
  - Act: S
  - Und: Evt
  - Meaning: He sent the man to them.
3.2 The Transitive Clause Type.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
 S \quad NP \\
\text{Act} \quad \text{an} \\
+ \quad 0 \quad \text{NP(Gol/Umk)} \\
\text{Und} \quad \text{an/inan} \\
\quad + \quad \text{P} \\
\text{Evt} \quad \text{t} \\
\quad + \quad \text{VP}
\end{array}
\]

Transitive Clause A (Rejecting K1, K2, and Pv).

aam mateli jaan-um.
we Umk story Umk know-1pl P
Act Und Evt
We know the tale.

aam jo-ka jaan-um.
we Umk him-to Gol know-1pl P
Act Und Evt
We know him.

aam jo-ka neen-um.
we Umk him-to Gol not know-1pl P
Act Und Evt
We don't know him.

Transitive Clause B (Rejecting Pv but Accepting K1 and K2).

aam cimbo kay-ilam.
we Umk rice Umk eat-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We ate rice.

aam suuru pi-ilam.
we Umk liquor Umk drink-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We drunk liquor.

aam cimbo rand-ilam.
we Umk rice Umk cook-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We cooked rice.
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aam  kaam  ker-lam.
we  Umk work Umk work-pa 1pl  P
Act    Und    Evt
We did work.

teer  boodalu  paalalu  keeD-la.
female persons Umk cloth Umk wash-pa 3pl  P
Act    Und    Evt
The women washed clothes.

aam  geeru  band-ilam.
we  Umk house Umk build-pa 1pl  P
Act    Und    Evt
We built a house.

aam  jowaying-ka  bukar-lam.
we  Umk them-to Gol call-pa 1pl  P
Act    Und    Evt
We called them.

jeewu  ja  naaDi-ka  poos-ila.
they Umk that girl-to Gol rear-pa 3pl  P
Act    Umk    Evt
They reared that girl.

jeewu  jo  waagu-ka  maar-la.
they Umk that tiger-to Gol kill-pa 3pl  P
Act    Und    Evt
They killed that tiger.

Transitive Clause C  (Accepting Both K1 and K2 as well as Py).

Deewid  paani  suuw-ilo.
David Umk water Umk spill-pa 3s  P
Act    Und    Evt
David spilt the water.

Deewid  uu:Ti  Sind-ilo.
David Umk finger Umk cut-pa 3s  P
Act    Und    Evt
David cut his finger.

ja  naaDi  psalum  cir-ili.
that girl Umk cloth Umk tear-pa 3s  P
Act    Und    Evt
The girl tore the cloth.

3.3 The SemiTransitive Clause.
They went to a teacher.

They came to us.

He climbed the tree.

He entered the house.

He came from Jalaput.

He climbed down from the tree.

He came away from there.

3.4 The Intransitive Clause.

The child cried.
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jo    kel-lo.
he Umk play-pa 3s P
Act    Evt
He played.

jeewu  nac-ila.
they Umk dance-pa 3pl P
Act    Evt
They danced.

jo    nij-ilo.
he Umk sleep-pa 3s P
Act    Evt
He slept.

jo wess-ilo.
he Umk sit-pa 3s P
Act    Evt
He sat down.

3,5 The DiReceptive Clause.

DiReceptive Clause A with Animate Site.

\[
\text{REP} \quad \text{AR-ka} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{VP}
\]

Sit ' an Und ' concrete Evt ' dr

ang-ka    Dumbo    Diis-ili.
me-to Gol ghost Umk appear-pa 3s P
Sit      Und      Evt
A ghost appeared to me.

ang-ka guunu a-yili.
me-to Gol sleep Umk come-pa 3s P
Sit      Und      Evt
I got sleepy. (Sleep came to me)

DiReceptive Clause B with Animate Site. This subtype differs from
A in that it has the same derivational pattern as the subtype with the
inanimate Site.

booda-ka    peeTi    ber-li.
child-to Gol stomach fill-pa 3s P
Sit      Und      Evt
The child's stomach became full.

DiReceptive Clause C (with Inanimate Site). Note that the tagmeme
order is Undergoer, Site, Predicate.
3.6 The Receptive Clause.

Receptive Clause A (Rejecting K3).

booda jerm-ila.
child Umk born-pa 3s P
Und Evt
A child was born.

jo maansu mor-lan.
that person Umk die-pa 3s P
Und Evt
That person died.

jo maansu naas-ilo.
that person Umk lost-pa 3s P
Und Evt
That person got lost.

jonna sij-ila.
corn Umk boil-pa 3pl P
Und Evt
The corn boiled.

amba euk-ila.
mangoes Umk dry-pa 3pl P
Und Evt
The mangoes dried out.
kaam      keeD-li.  
work       Umk finish-pa 3s P  
Und        Evt  
The work finished.

bongro    gunjir-lo.  
spinning top Umk spin-pa 3s P  
Und        Evt  
The top spun.

Receptive Clause B (with Complement in VP Accepting K3).

ja        teer booda  teyyar ja-li.  
that female person Umk ready become-pa 3s P  
Und        Cpl  Evt  
That lady became ready.

aa:wu cuu  ja-layi.  
I Umk hungry become-pa 1s P  
Und        Cpl  Evt  
I became hungry.

aa:wu penDli ja-layi.  
I Umk married become-pa 1s P  
Und        Cpl  Evt  
I became married.

jo        oggar calli ja-lo.  
he Umk very cold became-pa 3s P  
Und        Cpl  Evt  
He became very cold.

aa:wu mayla  ja-layi.  
I Umk monthly period become-pa 1s P  
Und        Cpl  Evt  
My monthly period has come.

3.7 The DiAttributive Clause.

We have broken this type into ten subtypes on the basis of: 1) the
derivational potential, 2) the contrastive meaning of each construction
as shown in the various names of each subtype, and 3) the order of the
nuclear dramatis persona.

The Personal State DiAttributive.

\[ + \text{REF} \mid \text{AR} -ka \quad + \text{S} \mid \text{NP} \quad + \text{P} \mid \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{Sit} \mid \text{an} \quad \text{Und} \mid -an \quad \text{St} \mid \text{da} \]
\[-\text{concrete} \]
jo-ka calli as-0.
he-to Gol cold Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
He is cold.

ang-ka jorjo as-0.
me-to Gol fever Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I have a fever.

ang-ka guunu as-0.
me-to Gol sleep Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I am sleepy.

ang-ka cuu as-0.
me-to Gol hunger Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I am hungry.

The Possessive DiAttribute.

+ REF ! AR -ka + S ! NP + P ! VP
Sit 'an Und \\tan St 'da
\\concrete

ang-ka kaam as-0.
me-to Gol work Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I have work.

am-ka eek maansu as-0.
we-to Gol one person Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
We have a servant.

am-ka santaanum t-ili.
we-to Gol heir Umk be-pa 3s P
Sit Und St
We had an heir.

am-ka tooDu as-0.
we-to Gol help Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
We have help.

jo raano-ka satu jiina tersiwo t-ila.
that king-to Gol seven persons wives Umk be-pa 3pl P
Sit Und St
That king had seven wives.
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jo-ka ja uddesim t-ili.
he-to Gol that intention Umk be-pa 3s P
Sit Und St
He had that intention.

am-ka Taamu t-ili.
we-to Gol space Umk be-pa 3s P
Sit Und St
We had room.

The Desiderative DiAttributive.

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{REF} & \text{AR} & \text{NP} & \text{VP}^* \\
\text{Sit 'an} & \text{Und 'concrete} & \text{St 'an} & \\
\end{array} \]

*Fillers are: kaawale 'want'
akkar nay 'don't want'

jo-ka santaanum kaawale.
he-to Gol heir Umk want P
Sit Und St
He wants an heir.

jo-ka duuvisi akkar nay.
he-to Gol daughter Umk want not P
Sit Und St
He doesn't want a daughter.

The Relationship DiAttributive. In these clauses the predicate is formed with a complement which gives to the verb its particular relational meaning—wife, boss, son—to the Site.

ang-ka ja teer booda terni as-e.
me-to Gol that female person Umk wife my Umk be-3s P
Sit Und Cpl St
That woman is my wife.

jo-ka ja naaDi duuvisi ja-yede.
she-to Gol that girl Umk daughter become-3s fut P
Sit Und Cpl St
She is his daughter. (idiomatic use of jangka)

The Subjective DiAttributive. These clauses also require a complement in the predicate which gives to the verb a certain subjective relationship—"seems good" or "appears good," and the like—to the Site.

ang-ka ja cenggil Diis-ili.
me-to Gol that Umk good seems-pa 3s P
Sit Und Cpl St
That seems good to me. (Diis-ili elsewhere means appears, and then it
is DiReceptive

ang-ka iinjapa cengngil t-ili.
me-to GOL this photo Umk good be-pa 3s P
Sit Und Cpl St
That photo seems good to me.

**The Existive DIAtributive.**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+ & \text{REF} & \text{AR -te} & + & S & + & P & \text{VP} \\
\text{Sit} & \text{Ian} & \text{Und} & \pm \text{concrete} & \text{St} & \text{da} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
gerr-i & \text{kurciwo} & \text{as-ти.} & \\
house-in & \text{Loc} & \text{chairs Umk} & \text{be-3pl P} \\
\text{Sit} & \text{Und} & \text{St} & \\
\text{There are chairs in the house.} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
am-te & \text{kurciwo} & \text{as-ти.} & \\
we-at & \text{Loc} & \text{chairs Umk} & \text{be-3pl P} \\
\text{Sit} & \text{Und} & \text{St} & \\
\text{There are chairs at our house.} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
anci & \text{booDi-te} & \text{teesTalu} & \text{as-ти.} & \\
my & \text{head-in GOL ideas Umk} & \text{be-3pl P} \\
\text{Sit} & \text{Und} & \text{St} & \\
I have ideas in my head. & \\
\end{array}
\]

**The Locative DIAtributive.** In contrast to the Existive DIAtributive the Locative DIAtributive focuses on the location of the Undergoer rather than its existence. The reader's attention is also drawn to the contrastive order of the constituents of this subtype, the Undergoer preceding the Site.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
+ & S & + & \text{REF} & \text{AR (-te)} & + & P & \text{VP} \\
\text{Und} & \pm \text{concrete} & \text{Sit} & \text{St} & \text{da} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
kurciwo & \text{am-te} & \text{as-ти.} & \\
chairs Umk & \text{we-at Loc} & \text{be-3pl P} \\
\text{Und} & \text{Sit} & \text{St} & \\
The chairs are at our place. & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
kurciwo & \text{gerr-i} & \text{as-ти.} & \\
chairs Umk & \text{house-in Loc} & \text{be-3pl P} \\
\text{Und} & \text{Sit} & \text{St} & \\
The chairs are in the house. & \\
\end{array}
\]
raamuDu  gerr-i  t-ilo.
Ramudu  Umk  house-in  Loc  be-pa  3s  P
Und  Sit  St
Ramudu was in the house.

aam  guru  tenu  t-ilam.
we  Umk  teacher  with  Loc  be-pa  1pl  P
Und  Sit  St
We were with the teacher.

The Physical State DiAttributive.
\[ + \frac{\text{S}}{\text{NP}} + \frac{\text{REF}}{\text{AR (-te)}} + \frac{\text{P}}{\text{VP}} \]
Und 'Sit' St 'da

ja  angng-i  as-e.
she  Umk  flesh-in  Loc  be-3s  P
Und  Sit  St
She is pregnant.

The Descriptive (Climate) DiAttributive.
\[ + \frac{\text{REF}}{\text{AR (-te)}} + \frac{\text{S}}{\text{-an}} + \frac{\text{P}}{\text{VP}} \]
Sit 'Und' St 'da
+climactic

wiid-i  opaaDi  as-e.
grounds-in  Loc  sun  Umk  be-3s  P
Sit  Und  St
The sun is shining on the grounds.

peeD-e  calli  as-e.
porch-on  Loc  cold  Umk  be-3s  P
Sit  Und  St
Its cold on the porch.

gerr-i  saluwa  as-e,
house-in  Loc  shade  Umk  be-3s  P
Sit  Und  St
It's shady in the house.

palan-te  paani  as-e.
area-in  Loc  water  Umk  be-3s  P
Sit  Und  St
It's raining in the district.

The Attaching State DiAttributive.
3.8 The Attributive Clause.

The Existive Attributive Clause.

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Sit} + \text{an} \\
\text{Und} \\
\text{St} + \text{da}
\end{array} \]

jo-ka gayimi as-æ.
he-to Gol wound Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
He has a wound.

3.8 The Attributive Clause.

The Existive Attributive Clause.

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Sit} + \text{an} \\
\text{Und} \\
\text{St} + \text{a}
\end{array} \]

eek bapanwento t-ilo.
one Brahmin Umk be-pa 3s P
Und St
(Once upon a time) there was a (certain) Brahmin. (story setting)

...kasturi ToonTa as-æ; kumari ToonTa as-æ...
Kasturi fruit Umk be-3s P Kumari fruit Umk be-3s P
Und St Und St
...there is Kasturi fruit; there is Kumari fruit...

Contest: from a text about what kind of mangoes there are. This is part of a long list.

tuci naawu tawusu.
your name Umk remain-2pl impv

May your name remain (for ever and ever).

The Obligatory/Permissive Attributive.

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Sit} + \text{Cl (-uka)} \\
\text{Und} \\
\text{St} + \text{a}
\end{array} \]

*verbs are as 'to be', ja 'to become', and nenj 'not to be'.

samu otta gec-uka t-ili.
we there go-inf be-pa 3s P
Und St
We had to go there.

sa:wu otta gec-uka ja-yede.
I there go-inf become-3s fut P
Und St
It is permissible that I go there./ I will have to go there.
jeewu otta gec-uka nenj-ili.
they there go-inf not be-pa 3s P
Und Cpl St
It was not permissible/was not possible for them to go there.

The Definitive Attributive.

These clauses require a complement in the predicate which gives to the copula its full descriptive meaning. This meaning is then ascribed to the Undergoer. The complement may take the form of NP or AdjP, and must agree with the Undergoer. Semantically the complement of these clauses is an inherent characteristic of the Undergoer.

niilayya jowaying-te wello as-e.
Nilayya Umk them-among big be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Nilayya is the older among them.

jeewu ambə tiyanaca as-ti.
those mangoes Umk sweet ones be-3pl P
Und Cpl St
Those mangoes are sweet ones.

baagya kaasenoci duuwisi ja-yede.
Bagya Umk Kasena's daughter become-3s fut P
Und Cpl St
Bagya is Kasen's daughter. (idiom)

jo maansu raano as-e.
that person Umk king be-3s P
Und Cpl St
That man is a king.

jo booda edilosə as-e.
that child Umk small one be-3s P
Und Cpl St
That child is a small one.

jo eranalo as-e.
he Umk red one be-3s P
Und Cpl St
He is a red (white) man.

surayya cengngilo as-e.
Surayya Umk good be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Surayya is good (character).

The Attaching State Attributive.

These clauses closely resemble the Definitive Attributive clauses
except that agreement between the complement of the predicate and the
Undergoer is not obligatory, and that these clauses are negated by nenj
'not to be', whereas the Definitive clauses are negated by nay 'not'.
The complement of this subtype tends to be an acquired characteristic.

raamuDu preema as-e.
Ramudu Umk love be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Ram is beloved.

surayya cengngil as-e.
Surayya Umk good be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Surayya is well. (in health)

aam alara as-um.
we Umk trouble be-3s P
Und Cpl St
We have troubles. (we are in a mess)

The Prohibitive Attributive.

These clauses also require a complement which may or may not require
a copula. The only form of the copula noted thus far is the negative
nay 'is not', which occurs with the complement will.

  + S + Cl(-uka) + P + VP
    Und '    St ' a

teer boodal otta gec-uka gaaru
female persons there go-inf taboo P
Und Cpl St
It is forbidden for women to go there.

teer boodal otta gec-uka will nay.
female persons there go-inf absolutely not P
Und Cpl St
It is absolutely forbidden for women to go there.

C. Inflected Patterns.

Verb Phrase Structure.

The verb phrase is made up of a number of elements. There are:

  Stem Base   Sbase
  Modal Stem Base   Mbase
  Auxiliary Base   Auxbase
Sequventive Base Seqbase
Final stem suffixes fss
Non-final stem suffixes nfss
Dependent stem suffixes des

Formulas for these are as follows:

\[ Sbase = \pm \text{Vbl \ Obj + stem } \pm k1 \pm k2 \pm ar \]

\[ Mbase = \pm \text{Vbl \ Obj + stem } \pm k1 \pm k2 \pm ar \]

Auxbase = stem of \text{as-e (as-)} 'to be'

Seqbase = stem of \text{k eru ka (ker-)} 'to do'

\[ fss = \text{imperfect aspect (-t') + } M_3^* \]

\[ \text{perfect aspect (-l') + } M_2 \]

\[ M_1/ M_4/ M_5 \]

\[ \text{inf (-uka)} \]

\[ nfss = \text{perfect participle (-e)} \]

\[ \text{imperfect participle (-te)} \]

\[ \text{inf (-uka)} \]

\[ dss = \phi \]

perfect participle (-e) \quad \text{(See Section E, Dependent Patterns.)}

imperfect participle (-te)

imperfect aspect (-it/t)

perfect aspect (-ll/l)

* These \text{ '{M}' symbols refer to Figures 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 in Sections C,2 and 3.}

The maximum expansion of the independent Kupia verb phrase is represented in Figure 14.

![Diagram of Verb Phrase]

**Figure 14.** Kupia Verbal Phrase Formula.
The following examples illustrate various expansions of the verb phrase.

**VP = Sbase + Mbase + fss**

(jo geeru) **band-e, gel-l-o.**
(he house) **build-pp complete-pa-3s**
(He) built (the house) completely.

**VP = Sbase + Mbase + Auxbase + fss + post verbal + Q**

(jo geeru) **band-e, gel-e as-e nijumuwi ge?**
(he house) **build-pp complete-pp be-3s truly Q**
(He) has built (a house), isn’t that right?

**VP = Sbase + Mbase + Auxbase**

(amci gerric kuDu) **gali-uka modol ker-aw-aD-an-e as-um.**
(our house’s walls) **make-inf start do-kl-k2-ar-pp be-lpl**
(We) have started to make (the walls of our house).

The minimum verb phrase expansion for a positive independent clause is:

**VP = Sbase + fss (Where Sbase is realized as stem)**

**band-ilo.**
build-pa 3s
He built (it).

Assuming a compound stem and also two causatives and an actor-reflexive in the verb phrase, we can have:

**VP = Sbase + fss (Where Sbase is realized as Vbl Obj + stem + kl + k2 + ar)**

ja teer booda **teyvar ker-aw-aD-an-1-i.**
that female person **ready do-kl-k2-ar-pa-3s**
That woman had someone dress her.

The verbal phrase structure for negative active independent clauses can take two forms. The more frequently occurring is minimally:

**VP = Sbase + fss + neg**

**band-i nay,**
build-1s not
(I) am not building (it).

The verb phrase structure for some positive and negative active dependent clauses is shown in the following formula:

**VP = d neg + Sbase ± [nfss + Mbase] ± [nfss + Seq/Auxbase] + dss**

Minimally this is:
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\[ VP = S_{base} + dss \]

(kaam) ker-a (ayilo).
(work) do-pp (came he)
Having done (the work), (he came).

1. Mood

Mood identifies the function of the speech act in a given clause. That is, it is concerned with whether the speech act imparts information, requests information, gives an order, or pronounces a blessing or a curse. The various moods expressed in Kupia are:

1.1 Declarative.

Throughout this paper, examples are in this mood unless otherwise stated. Declarative is the basic mood for imparting information. No further exemplification is considered necessary for this mood.

1.2 Interrogative.

This mood is used to request information. The following subdivisions, each having a slightly different meaning are considered:

a. Simple Questions
b. Alternative Questions
c. Content Questions
d. Tag Questions

Simple Questions. This interrogative construction is formed by:
1) the use of the interrogative marker ge occurring verb phrase final, and an interrogative intonation pattern; or 2) by the interrogative intonation pattern alone. A feature of this construction is that the speaker anticipates the reply 'Yes' or 'No'.

diiladi ge?
give-pa 2s Q
Did you give it?

Intonation is low on the ladi and high on the ge.

jeewu jo naaDuka poos-ila ge?
they that boy to rear-pa 3pl Q
Did they rear that boy?

Intonation is low on possila and high on ge.

d-iladi,
give-pa 2s
Did you give (it)?

Intonation is low on la, and high on di.
jeewu jo naaDuka poos-ila?
they that boy to rear-pa 3pl
Did they rear that boy?

Intonation is low on poo, rising on si, and high on la.

We intuitively feel that when the ge is present, the question is more neutral in that the speaker has no preconception as to whether the answer will be 'Yes' or 'No'. Whereas where ge is omitted it seems the speaker expects the answer 'No'.

**Rhetorical Questions.** Rhetorical Questions in Kupia take the same form as a Simple Question. They are only distinguished by their non-verbal context.

**Alternative Questions.** With the Alternative Question the answer is not 'Yes' or 'No' as with the Simple Question, but must either be a choice of one of the Alternatives given or a denial of both. See the discussion of Alternative Sentence in the paper Kupia Sentence Patterns, occurring in volume 1 of this report.

**Content Questions.** Here the answer expected will contain an amount of something, the means of doing something, of the time something happened—in brief, a reply to the specific question word. The following content question words have been found in Kupia:

- kacci whose?
- kaka to whom?
- kee:kakka how much size/volume?
- keeddi when?
- keddobi where?
- keene how much/quantity?
- ketti when?

Also the following content question phrases have been found:

- kicci rasso what reason?
- kicci uppiri about what?
- kee:yakka ayiladi? when come did you
- kicci atti by whose hand?
- kicci ceeta by what means?
- kicci uppiri about what?
- kicci atti by whose hand?
- kicci ceeta by what means?
- ko ayila? who came?
- ko ayila? who came?
- ko ayila? who came?
- ko ayila? who came?

With the use of ko 'who', the verb has plural number agreement. Intonation drops to low on the last word-stress, fading away on the last syllable.

**Tag Question.** This question suggests the answer 'Yes'. See the description of Positive-Echo Sentence in the paper Kupia Sentence Patterns occurring in volume 1 of this report.

ja diisi diladi naay-i?
that day on gave I did not-emp
I gave it that day, didn't I?

There is a drop to low intonation on the last word-stress of the first predicate, fading off to a pause. This is followed by mid intonation on naa rising to high on yi. When the question word ge is used after naayi, it seems to add some small degree of doubt or hesitation.

ja diisi dilayi naay-i ge?
that day in gave I did not-emp Q
I did give it that day, didn't I?

1.3 Mandatory.

There are three variations of the mandatory mood in Kupia—Imperative, Necessitative, and Obligatory.

**Imperative.** The person-number morphemes illustrated in Figure 15 are used to form the imperative mood in Kupia. They fill the final stem suffix slot in the verb phrase. Note, Hortative and Optative are terms which are traditionally used for mood. They correspond to what we have called first and third person imperative respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-usu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-uma</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-utu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15. M1 Person-number Suffixes.

geeru band-u,
house build-impv 2s
Build a house!

g eeru band-usu,
house build-impv 3s
Let him build a house!

g eeru band-uma,
house build-impv 1pl
Let's build a house.

g eeru band-a
house build-impv 2pl
You build a house!

g eeru band-utu,
house build-impv 3pl
Let them build a house!
Note: Prohibitive or Negative Imperative is treated under Modality.

**Necessitative.** This usage is formed by suffixing -uka 'inf' to the predicate final verb. There is no agreement between subject and predicate. A common usage of this form is in characterizing what a person is habitually like.

\[ as:wu ta-ngka. \]
\[ I \ remain-inf \]
\[ I \ must/have \ to \ remain. \]

\[ ja \ booda eeD-u\ka. \]
\[ that \ child \ cry-inf \]
\[ That \ child \ has \ to \ cry/cries \ incessantly. \]

**Obligatory (Absolute Mandatory).** The Obligatory mood is formed by the use of an Attributive clause having the following formula:

\[ + \frac{S}{Cl} \frac{/uka/}{-uka/} + \frac{P}{stem + fss + as-e}{be-3s} \]

The exponents of this Attributive clause are: embedded clause as subject, plus as-e 'be-3s' as predicate. The embedded clause has a 3rd person singular agreement with the verb as-e and is in the infinitive form.

\[ aam \ jowayingka \ tin \ tin \ wenDlu \ de-ngka \ as-e. \]
\[ We \ those \ to \ three \ three \ rupees \ give-inf \ be-3s \]
\[ S \ P \]
\[ We \ are \ obligated \ to \ give \ those \ people \ three \ rupees \ each. \]

\[ jo \ kaalika \ gaa:wi \ gec-u\ka \ as-e. \]
\[ he \ tomorrow \ village \ to \ go-inf \ be-3s \]
\[ S \ P \]
\[ He \ has \ to \ go \ to \ the \ village \ tomorrow. \]

Note: Prohibitive (negative imperative) is being treated under modality.

2. Gender.

In the Kupia verb phrase agreement with the Subject in gender is signalled only in third person singular perfect aspect, and in third person singular in the conjectural mode. In both cases the endings are:

- o masculine
- i feminine
- an neuter
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nig-il-o  
run-pa-3sm  
He ran.

nig-il-i.  
run-pa-3sf  
She ran.

3. Person and Number.

In Kupia person and number are realized as a fused morpheme. Person is contrastive for first, second, and third persons; and number is contrastive for singular and plural. The person-number morphemes are exponents of the final-stem-suffix slot in the verb phrase. They are shown in the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td>-adi</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-amu</td>
<td>-adu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16. M₂ Person-number_suffixes.

These person-number morphemes are used with class 1 and class 2 verbs in the perfect aspect, and in the imperfect aspect in the conjunctural mode.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-asi</td>
<td>-asi</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-asum</td>
<td>-asu</td>
<td>-ati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17. M₃ Person-number_suffixes.

Figure 17 shows the person-number morphemes used with class 1 verbs in the imperfect aspect and class 1 and class 2 verbs in the progressive tenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-(i)si</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-(u)su</td>
<td>-(i)ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 18. M₄ Person-number_suffixes.
Figure 18 shows the person-number morphemes used with the negative of class 1 verbs, the imperfect aspect of class 2 verbs, and the perfect present of class 1 and 2 verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-inde</td>
<td>-(i)ste/-te</td>
<td>-ede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-umde</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19. M₃ Person-number Suffixes.

Figure 19 shows the person-number morphemes used with the future, imperfect future, and perfect future tenses. Only class 1 verbs form the future.

Figures 20 and 21 show the distribution of person-number suffix sets (M₂ to M₅) in the three simple aspect-tenses. The choice of person-number morpheme set is dependent on the verb class, and on mode (conjectural or non-conjectural).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspect-Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect present</td>
<td>M₃</td>
<td>M₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td>M₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
<td>M₅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20. Non-Conjectural Mode Plus M₂-M₅ Suffix Sets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspect-Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td>M₂</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 21. Conjectural Mode plus M₂ Suffix Set.

4. Aspect-Tense.

In Kupia tenses are made in a number of ways: a) by use of aspect morphemes in conjunction with person-number morphemes; b) by use of person-number morphemes alone; c) by use of participial suffixes in combination with the auxiliary verb as-e 'to be'; and d) by use of partic-
cipial suffixes in combination with the modal verb *tangka* 'to remain'.

4.1 **Aspect morphemes and person-number morphemes.**

In Kupia there are two tenses that form from these variables:

**Perfect Aspect.** This is formed by the perfect aspect morpheme -l and the person-number morphemes shown in M2 (Figure 16). Classes 1 and 2 verbs form the aspect-tense in this way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1 verb, <strong>banduka</strong> 'to build'</th>
<th>Class 2 verb, <strong>jaanuka</strong> 'to know'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(geeru) band-il-ayi.</td>
<td>(ja) jaan-1-ayi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-pa-2s</td>
<td>(that) know-pa-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I built a house.</td>
<td>I knew that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(geeru) band-il-adi.</td>
<td>(ja) jaan-1-adi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-pa-2s</td>
<td>(that) know-pa-2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You build a house.</td>
<td>You knew that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(geeru) band-il-o.</td>
<td>(ja) jaan-1-o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-pa-3s</td>
<td>(that) know-pa-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He built a house.</td>
<td>He knew that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(geeru) band-il-i</td>
<td>(ja) jaan-1-i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-pa-3s</td>
<td>(that) know-pa-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She built a house.</td>
<td>She knew that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(geeru) band-il-an.</td>
<td>(ja) jaan-1-an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-pa-3s</td>
<td>(that) know-pa-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she built a house.</td>
<td>He/she knew that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(geeru) band-il-amu.</td>
<td>(ja) jaan-1-amu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-pa-1pl</td>
<td>(that) know-pa-1pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We built a house.</td>
<td>We knew that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(geeru) band-il-a.</td>
<td>(ja) jaan-1-a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-pa-3pl</td>
<td>(that) know-pa-3pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They built a house.</td>
<td>They knew that.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperfect Present Aspect-Tense A.** For class 1 verbs this tense is formed by the imperfect aspect morpheme -l and the person-number morphemes shown in matrix M3 (Figure 17).

| (geeru) band-it-asi.                | (geeru) band-it-asi.               |
| (house) build-imp-1s                | (house) build-imp-2s               |
| I build a house.                    | You build a house.                 |
| (geeru) band-it-asi.                | (geeru) band-it-asi.               |
| (house) build-imp-1pl               | (house) build-imp-2pl              |
| We build a house.                   | You build a house.                 |
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(geeru) band-it-ayi.  (geeru) band-it-ati.
(house) build-imp-3s  (house) build-imp-3pl
He builds a house.  They build a house.

4.2 Person-number morphemes alone.

**Imperfect Aspect-Tense.** For class two verbs the imperfect aspect-
tense is formed by suffixing the person-number morphemes from matrix M4
(Figure 18) to the verb stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Argument</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tumca koDDo</td>
<td>jaan-i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your language</td>
<td>understand-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I understand your language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumca koDDo</td>
<td>jaan-si.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your language</td>
<td>understand-2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You understand your language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumca koDDo</td>
<td>jaan-a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your language</td>
<td>understand-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He understands your language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Argument</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tumca koDDo</td>
<td>jaan-um.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your language</td>
<td>understand-1pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We understand your language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumca koDDo</td>
<td>jaan-su.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your language</td>
<td>understand-2pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You understand your language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumca koDDo</td>
<td>jaan-ti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your language</td>
<td>understand-3pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They understand your language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future Intentional Aspect.** By suffixing the person-number morphemes
shown in matrix M5 (Figure 19) to the class 1 verbs, the future aspect
is formed. Class 2 verbs do not form the future aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Argument</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>geeru</td>
<td>band-inda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-1s fut</td>
<td>I will build a house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geeru</td>
<td>band-iste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-2s fut</td>
<td>You will build a house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geeru</td>
<td>band-ade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-3s fut</td>
<td>He will build a house.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Argument</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>geeru</td>
<td>band-umde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-1pl fut</td>
<td>We will build a house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geeru</td>
<td>band-iste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-2pl fut</td>
<td>You will build a house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geeru</td>
<td>band-ula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(house) build-3pl fut</td>
<td>They will build a house.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Participles and Auxiliary Verb as-e 'to be'.

The verb as-e 'to be' has a simple past and a simple present tense.
(As does hoona in Hindi.) Combinations of the perfect and imperfect
participles and these tenses of the auxiliary verb yield the following
aspect-tenses. Class 1 and class 2 verbs both form these tenses in the
same way.

**Perfect Present Aspect-Tense.** This aspect-tense is formed by suf-
fixing the perfect participle suffix -e to the main verb, and suffixing
the person-number suffixes from matrix M4 (Figure 18) to the present
stem of as-e 'to be'.

...
(geeru) band-a as-i. (geeru) band-a as-um.
(house) build-pp be pr-1s (house) build-pp be pr-1pl
I have built a house. We have built a house.

(geeru) band-a as-isi. (geeru) band-a as-usu.
(house) build-pp be pr-2s (house) build-pp be pr-2pl
You have built a house. You have built a house.

(geeru) band-a as-e. (geeru) band-a as-ti.
(house) build-pp be pr-3s (house) build-pp be pr-3pl
He has built a house. They have built a house.

**Imperfect Present Aspect-Tense**. This aspect-tense is formed by suffixing the imperfect participle suffix -te to the stem of the main verb, and the person-number morphemes from M4 (Figure 18) to the present stem of as-e 'to be'.

(geeru) band-ite as-i. (geeru) band-ite as-um.
(house) build-imp p be pr-1s (house) build-imp p be pr-1pl
I build a house. We build a house.

(geeru) band-ite as-isi. (geeru) band-ite as-usu.
(house) build-imp p be pr-2s (house) build-imp p be pr-2pl
You build a house. You build a house.

(geeru) band-ite as-e. (geeru) band-ite as-ti.
(house) build-imp p be pr-3s (house) build-imp p be pr-3pl
He builds a house. They build a house.

**Perfect Past Aspect-Tense**. This is formed by suffixing the perfect participle suffix -a to the stem of the main verb, and the person-number suffixes of matrix M2 (Figure 16) to the past stem (ti-) of as-e 'to be'.

(geeru) band-a ti-1-ayi (geeru) band-a ti-1-amu.
(house) build-pp be-pa-1s (house) build-pp be-pa-1pl
I had built a house. We had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-1-adi. (geeru) band-a ti-1-adu.
(house) build-pp be-pa-2s (house) build-pp be-pa-2pl
You had built a house. You had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-1-o. (geeru) band-a ti-1-a.
(house) build-pp be-pa-3s (house) build-pp be-pa-3pl
He had built a house. They had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-1-i (geeru) band-a ti-1-an.
(house) build-pp be-pa-3s (house) build-pp be-pa-3s
She had built a house. He/she had built a house.

**Imperfect Past Aspect-Tense**. This is formed by use of the imperfect participle suffix -te on the stem of the main verb and the person-
number suffixes from matrix M2 (Figure 16) on the past stem of *as-e 'to be'.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-ayi.  (geeru) band-ite ti-l-amu.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-1s We used to build a house.
I used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-adi.  (geeru) band-ite ti-l-adu.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-2s You used to build a house.
You used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-o.    (geeru) band-ite ti-l-a.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-3s They used to build a house.
He used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-i.    (geeru) band-ite ti-l-an.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-3s He/she used to build a house.
She used to build a house.

4.4 Participles and the Modal Verb *tangka 'to remain'.

**Imperfect Future Aspect-Tense.** This aspect-tense combines the imperfect participle form of the main verb and the verb *tangka 'to remain' plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M5 (Figure 19).

(geeru) band-ite ta-yinde.  (geeru) band-ite ta-umde.
(house) build-imp p remain-1st fut We will be building a house.
I will be building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-ste.    (geeru) band-ite ta-ste.
(house) build-imp p remain-2s fut You will be building a house.
You will be building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-yede.   (geeru) band-ite ta-wula.
(house) build-imp p remain-3s fut They will be building a house.
He will be building a house.

**Perfect Future Aspect-Tense.** This aspect-tense combines the perfect participle form of the main verb, and the verb *tangka 'to remain' plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M5 (Figure 19).

(geeru) band-a ta-yinde.   (geeru) band-a ta-umde.
(house) build-pp remain-1s fut We will have been building a house.
I will have been building a house.

(geeru) band-a ta-ste.     (geeru) band-a ta-ste.
(house) build-pp remain-2s fut You will have been building a house.
You will have been building a house.
(geeru) band-a ta-yede. (geeru) band-a ta-wula.
(house) build-pp remain-3s fut (house) build-pp remain-3pl fut
He will have been building a house. They will have been building a house.

*Imperfect Progressive Present Aspect-Tense.* This aspect-tense combines the imperfect participle form of the main verb and the verb Tangka 'to remain' plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M3 (Figure 17).

(geeru) band-ite ta-t-asi. (geeru) band-ite ta-t-asum.
(house) build-imp p remain-imp-1s (house) build-imp p remain-imp-1pl
I am building a house. We are building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-t-asi. (geeru) band-ite ta-t-asu.
(house) build-imp p remain-imp-2s (house) build-imp p remain-imp-2pl
You are building a house. You are building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-t-ayi. (geeru) band-ite ta-t-atu.
(house) build-imp p remain-imp-3s (house) build-imp p remain-imp-3pl
He is building a house. They are building a house.

*Perfect Progressive Present Aspect-Tense.* This combination employs the perfect participle form of the main verb, and the verb Tangka plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M3 (Figure 17).

(geeru) band-a ta-t-asi. (geeru) band-a ta-t-asum.
(house) build-pp remain-imp-1s (house) build-pp remain-imp-1pl
I was building a house. We were building a house.

(geeru) band-a ta-t-asi. (geeru) band-a ta-t-asu.
(house) build-pp remain-imp-2s (house) build-pp remain-imp-2pl
You were building a house. You were building a house.

(geeru) band-a ta-t-ayi. (geeru) band-a ta-t-atu.
(house) build-pp remain-imp-3s (house) build-pp remain-imp-3pl
He was building a house. They were building a house.

5. Voice.

**Passive Voice.** Kupia distinguishes between active and passive voice. Passive voice can only occur with verbs of Transitive Clause C. However, passive examples are rare in text material and do not occur frequently in conversation. We postulate the following hypothesis:

a) Cases where a human agent is inherently involved cannot be expressed by passive constructions.

b) Passive constructions can be used where there is not necessarily a human agent involved, or where the speaker does not want to admit that a human agent was involved.
The passive is formed by adding the suffix -i to the stem of the base, together with the appropriate form of the jangka 'to become', as illustrated below. Expansion with the modal verb geluke 'to complete' is frequent.

(paani) suuw-i ja-t-ayi.
(water) spill-passive become-imp-3s
Water is becoming spilt.

(paani) suuw-i ja-l-i.
(water) spill-passive became-pa-3s
Water became spilt.

(daanu) suuw-i ja-a gel-l-i.
(rice grain) spill-passive become-pp complete-pa-3s
Rice grain was completely scattered.

Other verbs that have been found to have passive forms are:

guDDi jaa gelii 'became drowned'
regDi jaa gelii 'became squashed'
sindi jaa gelii 'became cut'
ciri jaa gelii 'became torn'

Reflexive Voice. If the actor of a verb is doing something for his own benefit the actor-reflexive morpheme -an occurs in the actor reflexive slot of the Sbase or Mbase of the verb phrase.

(geeru) band-an-l-o.
(house) build-ar-pa-3s
He built a house for himself.

(amci gerrici kuDu) gall-uka modol ker-aw-aD-an-umde.
(our house's walls) do-inf start do-kl-k2-ar-lpl
We will start to make the walls of our house.

6. Causative and Double Causative.

If the Actor is the causer of the action of the verb, this will be shown by the morpheme -aw/-ay. This morpheme occurs within the Sbase and less commonly within the Mbase of the verb phrase. It occurs following the stem and preceding the actor-reflexive morpheme.

(geeru) band-ay-l-o.
(house) build-kl-pa-3s
He caused a house to be built.

In double causative constructions the causative morpheme -aD will follow the first causative morpheme -ay.
(geeru) band-aw-sD-l-o
(house) build-kl-k2-pa-3s
He caused someone to build a house.

7. Aspect.

Aspect markers function as event modifiers. They indicate distribution of an event or state of affairs in time. Mention has been made of some aspects in the previous section. Other aspects expressed in the verb phrase in Kupia are: Inceptive, Completive, Sequentive, and Emphatic.

7.1 Inceptive Aspect.

**Inceptive Aspect A.** The inceptive aspect is formed by use of the modal verb deruka 'to begin'. The modal verb inflects for person-number, tense, and mood. Causative and actor-reflexive morphemes are suffixed to the stem of the base verb, and not to the modal verb. The base stem occurs with the infinitive suffix.

(booda) eD-uka der-l-i.
(child) cry-inf begin-pa-3s
The child began to cry.

(aa:wu tumca koDDo) jaan-uka der-l-ayi.
(I your language) know-inf begin-pa-1s
I began to know your language.

**Inceptive Aspect B.** The inceptive aspect can also be formed by use of the modal verb modol keruka 'to begin to do'. The base stem occurs with the infinitive form. The modal verb inflects for person-number, tense, and mood; and it can take the causative morpheme.

(aa:ji) cuwe ta-ngka modol ker-umde.
(today) fast remain-inf begin do-lpl fut
We will begin fasting today.

(amci gerrici kuDu) gall-uka modol ker-u.
(our house's walls) throw-inf begin do-impv
Start building the walls of our house!

7.2 Completive Aspect.

**Completive Aspect A.** With transitive verbs and some causativized intransitive verbs this completive aspect is formed by use of the verb geluka 'to complete an action'. geluka inflects for person-number, tense, and mood. The base stem occurs with the perfect participle suffix -a.
(tumci booda postukumu) cir-a gel-l-i.
your [child book] tear-pp complete-pa-3s
Your child tore the book right up.

(aa:wu tumca koDDco) jaan-a gel-l-ayi.
(I your language) know-pp finish-pa-1s
I became familiar with your language.

(jo ayile tuumu gerri) pes-aw-a gel-t-adu.
(he come if you house in) enter-kl-pp finish-would have-2pl
If he had come, you would have had him go right into the house.

Compleitive Aspect B. With receptive and intransitive verbs, this
completive aspect is formed by use of the modal verb gocuka 'to go'.
The modal verb inflects for person-number, tense, and mood. The base
stem occurs with the perfect participle suffix -a.

(mossa etki) keeD-a ge-l-a.
(fish all) finish-pp go-pa-3pl
The fish all ran out completely.

(jo) mac-a gec-ede.
(he) drink-pp go-3s fut
He will get drunk.

(ja) garbini ja-a ge-l-i.
(she) pregnant became-pp go-pa-3s
She became pregnant.

7.3 Sequentive Aspect.

The sequentive aspect is expressed by the perfect participle form
of the modal verb keruka 'to do'. It's function is to signal that the
action or state of the verb to which it acts as modal is completed be-
fore the action or state of the following clause takes place. The
sequentive aspect occurs only in dependent clauses. The preceding verbs
in the phrase are all of the perfect participle form.

(amba) aan-a ker-a (katasum).
(mangoes) bring-pp do-pp (eat we (them)).
Having brought mangoes, we eat them.

ka-a ker-a (tuumte jemunde).
eat-pp do-pp (you to come we will)
When we have eaten, we will come to your house.

7.4 Emphatic.

In Kupia two emphatic forms are common: gede 'indeed' and the
emphasis particle -vi. They are post verbals.
(kaali joka oggar Dabbulu) di-1-o geda.
(yesterday him to much money) give-pa-3s indeed
There can be no doubt that he gave much money to him yesterday.

(jo postukumu) sadu kerede geda.
(he gook) read do will indeed
He will read the book for sure.

(jo) gec-e naayi.
(he) go-3s not emp
He definitely did not go.

In the last example, the particle -vi when added to the negative nav, yields the emphatic negative, naayi.

8. **Modality.**

Modality can be thought of as a reality index which states the relationship of the verb to the actual. Anything which transports the statement into the realm of the hypothetical, non-occurring, the potential, the unreal, the contrary-to-fact, is included under the heading modality. The various modals we have found either in or in conjunction with the verb phrase in Kupia are: Conjectural (Contrary-to-fact), Abilitive, Release of Responsibility (Hypothetical), Negative, Prohibitive, and Inabilitive.

8.1 **Conjectural.**

Normally the conjectural mode is conveyed by a multi-propositional sentence. The first proposition is realized as a dependent clause, and the second as a dependent clause in the contrafactual mode. In conversation, where the conditional (first) proposition is understood, it is frequently omitted. The conjectural mode is formed by suffixing the imperfect aspect morpheme -it/-t to the stem, followed by the person-number suffixes illustrated in matrix M2, (Figure 16).

(tuuwi ayile) dek-it-am.
(you come if) see-imp-lpl
If you had come, we would have seen (you).

(jo ayile) jaan-t-am.
(he come if) know-imp-lpl
If he had come, we would have known.

(tuuwi ayile) booda eeD-uka der-t-i.
(you come-if) child cry-inf begin-imp-3s
If you had come, the child would have started to cry.

8.2 **Abilitive.**

There are three ways of expressing Abilitive mode in Kupia:
As An Attributive Clause Structure. The Subject of the Attributive Clause is an embedded clause in the infinitive form. The Predicate is manifested by jangka 'to become' expressed in the 3rd person singular.

geeru band-uka ja-yede.
house build-inf become-3s fut
S P
It is possible to build a house.

gerri ka-ngka ja-yede.
house in eat-inf become-3s fut
S P
It is possible to eat in the house.

aa:wu tumca koDDo jaan-an-uka ja-yede.
I your language know-ar-inf become-3s fut
S P
It is possible for me to know your language for myself.

This usage can mean either 'It is physically possible to...' or 'It is permissible to...'

By teruka 'to be able.' This is a much less common way of expressing ability. The stem base occurs in the infinitive form; the modal verb teruka takes the appropriate person-number aspect-tense suffixes.

eenabayi keejiluci jaaduci saamani ukul-ka ter-e.
sixty kilograms of weight of goods lift-inf be able-3s imp
He is capable of lifting sixty kilograms of goods.

By jaanuka 'to know.' The stem base occurs in the infinitive form; the modal verb jaanuka 'to know,' takes the appropriate person-number aspect-tense suffixes. This structure is more common than teruka above.

aa:wu sadu ker-uka jaan-i.
I read do-inf know-1s
I know how to read.

aa:wu gooDo weg-uka jaan-i.
I horse climb-inf know-1s
I know how to ride a horse.

8.3 Responsibility Disclaimer.

This mode is used when the speaker wants to make it clear either: a) that he has not observed for himself the facts he is speaking about; b) that he is making an hypothesis; c) that he has observed the events, but wants to remain out of focus himself; or e) that he is passing on information from hearsay and wishes to take no responsibility for the truth or falsity of the information.
By the Phrase *kicco ge*. The most common usage for this mode in daily speech is by use of the phrase *kicco ge* 'what?' normally following the predicate. However, it may follow any dramatis personae which is in focus as the item under question.

*joe donni wenDlu deede  kicco ge.*
*he two rupees give will what Q*
*He will give two rupees, maybe.*

*appe jeede  kicco ge.*
*now come will he what Q*
*It's my guess that he'll come now.*

*joe donni wenDlu kicco ge deede.*
*he two rupees what Q give will*
*I guess it's two rupees (no other amount) he'll give.*

*weera munsuska geca ase kicco ge.*
different husband to going be what Q
*They say she's gone to a different husband.*

By the Phrase *melli kooDu*. Another construction is the use of a statement together with the modifier *melli kooDu* 'spoken word.' This occurs when events are narrated in folk tales or in daily life, or in the recounting of legends about the culture.

*joe naaDuka aasti dorku jali mel-1-i kooDu.*
*that boy to inheritance available became say-pa-3s word*
*The boy is said to have received the inheritance.*

By the Word *bette*. The word *bette* 'so they say,' or 'the story has it,' can also be used to refer to an event either not observed at first hand, or posited to happen in the future.

*joe paanc wenDlu dilo bette.*
*he five rupees gave they say*
*They say he gave five rupees.*

*kalika paanc wenDlu deede bette.*
tomorrow five rupees give will they say
*There's a rumour that he'll give five rupees tomorrow.*

8.4 Negation.

Class 1 Verbs. The usual way of forming the negative for this class of verbs is to use person-number suffixes from matrix M4 (Figure 18) as fillers of the final stem suffix slot, followed by the negative morpheme, *nay*. Active and passive clauses are formed in this way.
geeru band-i nay.
house build-ls not
I am not building/won't build a house.

This negative construction is tenseless, and its meaning appears
to be non-past.

A perfect aspect negative is formed by adding the infinitive
suffix (-uka) to the verb stem, followed by nay 'not'.

kicco aai:vu aan-uka nay.
what I bring-inf not
I haven't brought anything.

Class 2 Verbs. Class 2 verbs cannot be negated. The negative
meaning of these verbs is conveyed by the choice of a specific negative
stem. For example, jaan-i 'I know' becomes neen-i 'I don't know.' It
appears that negative stem verbs may originally have formed from the
particle ne 'not' fusing with the positive stem.

tir-e
be able-3s
He can.

+ ne
not
ne tr-e
be unable-3s
He cannot.

jaan-e
know-3s
He knows.

+ ne
not
neen-e
not know-3s
He doesn't know.

Negation of Attributive and DiAttributive Clauses. Certain subsets
of the Attributive and DiAttributive clauses employ the verb nenj 'not
be.' That is, it is used in negative equations. It contrasts with
tanga nay 'not to remain' and as nay 'not to be,' both of which usually
occur in clauses expressing implicit location. nenj is a class 2 verb.

ja kurci as-e.
that chair be-pr-3s
That is a chair.

ja kurci nenj-e.
that chair not be-3s
That is not a chair.

ja kurci as-e.
that chair be-pr-3s
That chair is (here).

ja kurci nay.
that chair not
That chair is not (here).

8.5 Prohibitive.

There are at least four methods of signalling prohibition in Kupia.

Imperative Plus nay. Prohibition may be expressed by use of the
imperative mood plus the negative particle nay 'not.'

go nay
Don't go!

外国学習のための英語セミナーに参加する学生

シャリマンは、彼女の家に帰る

これは彼女が彼女の家の近くに住むことを示しています。
ge-tu nay.
go-impv 3pl not
Let them not go!

Infinitive Plus pooni. Prohibition may be expressed by suffixing
(-uka) to the clause predicate, plus the morpheme pooni (poona in the
plural form) 'desist/don't.' This can be used only for second person.

tuuwi otta gec-uka poon-i,
you there go-inf don't-2s
Don't you go there!

This form of prohibition is much more common than the second person
prohibition above. Note that pooni and poona can occur alone, repre-
senting the action known in context.

Infinitive Plus gaaru/gearu nay. This form is used to express
a taboo or strong prohibition of a generic sort.

jo otta gec-uka gaaru φ
he there go-inf taboo is
S P
It is taboo for him to go there.

otta gec-uka gaaru nay.
there go-inf taboo not
It's not forbidden to go there.

Infinitive Plus will nay. Absolute prohibition is expressed in
the form of a clause in the infinitive form plus the phrase will nay
'absolutely not' filling the post verbal slot.

jo otta gec-uka will nay.
he there go-inf absolutely not
It is absolutely forbidden for him to go there.

9. Other-than-Subject-Oriented Form.

This is formed by suffixing the perfect participle morpheme -a
to the stem of the base verb, followed by the verb dengke 'other-than-
subject oriented.' dengke fills the stem slot of the modal base in the
verb phrase, and can inflect for person-number, tense, and mood.

naaDi ayyaska saapaka peTT-a d-il-i,
girl mother for reed mat to hit-pp other-than-S-oriented-pa-3s
The girl beat the mat for her mother.

an-ci risso joka tuuwi buker-a des-su!
me-of reason him to you summon-pp other-than-Subject oriented 2pl impv
You summon him for me!
But note the following example where presumably the Actors will at least partially benefit from the action:

(aam cimbo) wanta d-il-ame.
(we rice) divide-pp other-than-Subject oriented-1pl
We divided up the rice.

D. Derived Patterns.

A clause which belongs inherently in one of the cells of the transitivity matrix may be moved out of that cell into various other cells in the system by a given set of rules. There are basically four types of rules in Kupia: a) rules that add an Actor; b) rules that delete an Undergoer, Site, or Actor; c) rules that embed; and d) rules that shift from one discourse category to another, i.e., from event to state or vice versa. We will describe and illustrate each of the rules and then consider each inherent clause type and its derivational pattern.

1. Derivational Rules.

Causativizing Rule. (Cv3). This rule adds an Actor to clauses in the Attributive cell, and substitutes the verb keruka 'to do' for the verb as 'to be.' The rule derives clauses in the Attributive cell into the Transitive cell.

A

booda
child Umk pretty be-3s P
und Cpl St
The child is pretty.

dT ja
booda-ka
she Umk child-to Gol pretty do-pa 3s P
act und Cpl evt
She made the child pretty.

In addition, the Cv3 rule adds an Actor to Receptive A clauses and substitutes the verb keruka 'to do' for the verb jangka 'to become.' The rule derives clauses in this subtype of the Receptive cell into the Transitive cell.

R
ja teer booda teyyar ja-li
that female person Umk ready become-pa 3s P
The woman got dressed. (became ready).

dT ayyasi ja teer booda-ka teyyar ker-li,
mother her Umk that female person-to Gol ready do-pa 3s P
act und Cpl evt
Her mother caused the girl to get dressed.
Undergoer Deletion. (Ud). This rule may apply to clauses containing an Undergoer. In the examples below the DiTransitive and Transitive clauses are derived into the SemiTransitive and Intransitive cells respectively.

DT jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk father his-to Gol thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave his father a thousand rupees.

dST jo abbos-ka d-ilo.
he Umk father his-to Gol give-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He gave to his father.

T jo cimbo ka-yilo.
he Umk rice Umk eat-pa 3s P
Act Und Evt
He ate rice.

dI jo ka-yilo.
he Umk eat-pa 3s P
Act Evt
He ate.

Site Deletion (Sd). This rule may apply to clauses having a Site. In the example below an inherent DiTransitive clause may be moved into the Transitive cell.

DT jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk father his-to Gol thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
He gave his father a thousand rupees.

dT jo weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
He gave a thousand rupees.

Passive (Pv). This rule deletes an Actor. It applies to Transitive clauses of subset C. The passive rule derives inherent Transitive clauses into the Receptive cell. For details about the formation of the passive, see Section C.5.

T Deewid paani suuw-ilo.
David Umk water Umk spill-pa 3s P
Act Und Evt
David spilled the water.

dR paani suuw-i ja-a gel-li.
water Umk spill-passive become-pp complete-pa 3s P
Und Evt
The water spilt.
**Causative (Cv 1,2).** This rule adds an Actor to inherent clauses of Attribute and Receptive sets. It adds an Undergoer to clauses of the Transitive set. Two causative morphemes occur as stem suffixes in Kupia, -av/-aw, and -ed. They are exponents of the non-final stem suffix slot in the verb phrase. Both of these causative morphemes can occur as suffixes to the same stem, in which case the order is always -avaded. Further study is necessary for a detailed description of the functions of these morphemes.

R  bongro  gunjir-li.
    spinning top Umk spin-pa 3sP
    Und Evt
    The top spun.

dT  jo  bongro  gunjr-sy-lo.
    he Umk top Umk spin-ki-pa 3sP
    Act Und Evt
    He spun the top.

**Eventive (Ev).** The eventivizing rule derives a clause out of the attributive set of clauses into the receptive set. The process involves the use of the verb jangka 'to become.'

DA  ang-ka  angkiwo  mayila  as-e.
    me-to Gol eyes  failing sight Umk be-3sP
    Sit Und St
    I have poor eyesight.

dDR  ang-ka  angkiwo  mayila  ja-li.
    me-to Gol eyes  failing sight Umk become-pa 3sP
    Sit Und Evt
    My eyesight became poor.

A  nilayya  cengngilo  as-e.
    Nilayya Umk good  be-3sP
    Und Cpl St
    Nilayya is good.

dR  nilayya  cengngilo  ja-lo.
    Nilayya Umk good  become-pa 3sP
    Und Cpl Evt
    Nilayya became good.

**Stative (St).** The stativizing rule derives a clause out of the transitive and receptive sets into the stative and attributive sets respectively. The structural change involved here is a change from the eventive tense to the stative tense. That is, the verb phrase has an exponent of the Auxiliary base slot.
R  booda  jerm-ilan.
    child Umk born-pa 3s P
    Und   Evt
    A child was born.

dA booda  jerm-a as-e.
    child Umk born-pp be-3s P
    Und   St
    A child has been born.

ST jeewu  eek guru-te    ge-la.
    they Umk one teacher-to Gol go-pa 3pl P
    Act   Sit   Evt
    They went to a teacher.

dSS jeewu  eek guru-te    gec-a as-ti.
    they Umk one teacher-to Gol go-pp be-3pl P
    Act   Sit   St
    They have gone to a teacher.

2. Derivational Patterns.

The derivational rules that have 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
derivational potentials of the inherent clauses (and their subtypes)
will become apparent, and provide further ground for contrasting the
basic clause types. A full tree diagram is given for each pattern.
Below the diagrams are given examples of each node in the tree. Ref-
erences to types and subtypes refer to Section B.3 Contrastive Types.

The conventions used in the tree diagrams (Figures 22–35) are as
follows:

  //    inherent clause pattern cell
Cv3  Causativizing rule Cv3
Ud   Undergoer deletion rule
Sd   Site deletion rule
Pv   Passivizing rule
Cv 1,2  Causativizing rule Cv1, 2
Ev   Eventivizing rule
Sv   Stativizing rule

2.1 Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern.

The derivational potential for the DiTransitive clause pattern is
given in Figure 22. All three subtypes of this pattern have the same
derivational pattern.
Figure 22. Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause.

1) DT  aa:wu joka wenDi dilayi.
   I gave him a rupee.

2) DS  aa:wu joka wenDi daa asi.
   I have given him a rupee.

3) T   aa:wu joka wenDi dawaDlayi.
   I caused someone to give him a rupee.

4) S   aa:wu joka wenDi dawaDa asi.
   I have caused someone to give him a rupee.

5) T   aa:wu wenDi dilayi.
   I gave a rupee.

6) S   aa:wu wenDi daa asi.
   I have given a rupee.

7) T   aa:wu wenDi dawaDlayi.
   I had someone give a rupee.

8) S   aa:wu wenDi dawaDa asi.
   I have caused someone to give a rupee.

9) ST  aa:wu joka dilayi.
   I gave to him.

10) SS  aa:wu joka daa asi.
    I have given to him.

11) T   aa:wu joka dawaDlayi.
    I caused someone to give something to him.

12) S   aa:wu joka dawaDa asi.
    I have caused someone to give something to him.
Patterns in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

13) I aa:wu dilayi.
    I gave.

14) D aa:wu daa asi.
    I have given.

15) T aa:wu dawaDlayi.
    I caused someone to give.

16) S aa:wu dawaDa asi.
    I have caused someone to give.

2.2 Derivations of the Transitive Clause Patterns.

The Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern A.

```
/T/
  1
   \   /3
   /   \\I
  Ud  Sd  Pv  Cv 1,2  Ev  Sv
     2  4  D
```

Figure 23. Derivations of Transitive Clause A.

1) T aa:wu mateli jaari.
    I know the tale.

2) S aa:wu mateli jaana asi.
    I am in a state of knowing the story.

3) I aa:wu jaani.
    I know.

4) D aa:wu jaana asi.
    I am in a state of knowing.
The Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern B.

Figure 24. Derivations of Transitive Clause B.

1) T aam cimbo kaylam.
   We ate rice.

2) S aam cimbo kaa asum.
   We have eaten rice.

3) T aam cimbo kawaDlam.
   We caused someone to eat rice.

4) S aam cimbo kawaDa asum.
   We have caused someone to eat rice.

5) I aam kaylam.
   We ate.

6) D aam kaa asum.
   We have eaten.

7) T aam kawaDlam.
   We caused someone to eat.

8) S aam kawaDa asum.
   We have caused someone to eat.
The Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern C.

Figure 25. Derivations of Transitive Clause C.

1) T  aa:wu paani suwilayi.
I spilled water.

2) S  aa:wu paani suwa asi.
I have spilled water.

3) T  aa:wu paani suwayilayi.
I caused someone to spill water.

4) S  aa:wu paani suwaDa asi.
I have caused someone to spill water.

5) I  aa:wu suwilayi.
I spilled (it).

6) T  aa:wu suwa asi.
I have spilled (it).

7) T  aa:wu suwaylayi.
I caused it to spill.

8) S  aa:wu suwawa asi.
I have caused someone to spill it.

9) E  suwi jaa geli.
Something became spilled.

10) C  suwi jaa geca ase.
Something has become spilled.

11) R  paani suwi jaa geca ase.
The water became spilled.
12) A paani suwi jaa geca ase.
The water has become spilled.

2.3 Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Pattern.

![Diagram of derivations]

Figure 26. Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause.

1) ST jo gerri pesilo.
   He entered the house.

2) SS jo gerri pesa ase.
   He has entered the house.

3) T jo gerri pesaylo.
   He caused someone to enter the house.

4) S jo gerri pesawa ase.
   He has caused someone to enter the house.

5) I jo pesilo.
   He entered.

6) D jo pesa ase.
   He has entered.

7) T jo pesaylo.
   He caused someone to enter.

8) S jo pesawa ase.
   He has caused someone to enter.
2.4 Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern.

/\I/ 1

Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1,2
Ev
Sv

Figure 27. Derivations of the Intransitive Clause.

1) I  booda eeDlo.
The child cried.

2) D  booda eeDa ase.
The child has cried.

3) T  booda eeDaylo.
The child caused someone to cry.

4) S  booda eeDawa ase.
The child has caused someone to cry.

2.5 The Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause Patterns.

The Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause A.

/\DR/ 1

Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1,2
Ev
Sv

Figure 28. Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause A.
1) **DR** angka Dumbo Diisili.
   A ghost appeared to me.

2) **DS** angka Dumbo Diisa ase.
   A ghost has appeared to me.

3) **R** Dumbo Diisili.
   A ghost appeared.

4) **A** Dumbo Diisa ase.
   A ghost has appeared.

The Derivations of the DiReceptive Clauses B and C.

```
/DR/

Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1, 2
Ev
Sv

2DS 4S 6A 8S
3T 5R 7T
```

Figure 29. Derivations of the DiReceptive Clauses B and C.

1) **DR** duudu tapella tento geeDli.
   Milk spilled from the pot.

2) **DS** duudu tapella tento geeDa ase.
   Milk has spilled from the pot.

3) **T** duudu tapella tento geeDaylo.
   Someone spilled milk from the pot.

4) **S** duudu tapella tento geeDawa ase.
   Someone has spilt milk from the pot.

5) **R** duudu geeDli.
   Milk spilled.

6) **A** duudu geeDa ase.
   Milk has spilled.

7) **T** duudu geeDaylo.
   Someone caused the milk to spill.
8) S duudu geeDawa ase.
   Someone has caused the milk to spill.

2.6 Derivations of the Receptive Clause Patterns.

Derivations of the Receptive Clause A.

/R/
  1
  Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
  Cv 1,2
Ev
  Sv

Figure 30. Derivations of the Receptive Clause A.

1) R booda jermilan.
   A child was born.

2) A booda jerma ase.
   A child has been born.

3) T booda jermayli.
   Someone caused the child to be born.

4) S booda jermawa ase.
   Someone has caused the child to be born.

The Derivations of the Receptive Clause B.

/R/
  1
  Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
  Cv 1,2
Ev
  Sv

Figure 31. Derivations of the Receptive Clause B.
1)  R  ja teer booda teyyar jalli.
The woman became ready.

2)  A  ja teer booda teyyar jaa ase.
The woman has become ready.

3)  T  ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kerli.
Her mother caused the girl to become ready.

4)  S  ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kera ase.
Her mother has caused the girl to become ready.

5)  T  ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kerayli.
Her mother caused someone to cause the girl to become ready.

6)  S  ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kerawa ase.
Her mother has caused someone to cause the girl to become ready.

2.7 Derivations of DiAttributive Clause Patterns.

For the DiAttributive cell we have posited 10 subtypes. They are contrasted in Figure 34. This figure shows some eventivization and causativization verbs and the clause types to which they may be applied. Also the negative transform is shown. In addition to this Figures 32 and 33 show contrast among the subtypes which are formed by use of the derivations discussed in Section 2.1. The Personal State, Possessive, and Desiderative DiAttributives do not take any of the derivational rules explained in that section.

The Derivations of the Relationship DiAttributive Clause.

```
/DA/
     1
    / \
   /  \
  /    \
 /     \\
 Cv3   Ud
      /  \
     /    \
    /      \
   /        \
  /          \
 Cv 1,2  Sd
      /  \
     /    \
    /      \
   /        \
  /          \
  Pv      Bv
      /  \
     /    \
    /      \
   /        \
   /          \
 Sv      3DA
        /  \
       /    \
      /      \
     /        \
    /          \
   2DR      5R
     /  \
    /    \
   /      \
  /        \
 /          \
  6A
```

Figure 32. Derivations of the Relationship DiAttributive Clause.

1)  DA  angka ja teer booda terni ase.
That woman is my wife.
2) DR  angka ja teer booda terni jalli.
    That woman became my wife.

3) DA  angka ja teer booda terni jaa ase.
    That woman has become my wife.

4) A   ja teer booda terni ase.
    That woman is my wife.

5) R   ja teer booda terni jalli.
    That woman became my wife.

6) A   ja teer booda terni jaa ase.
    That woman has become my wife.

The Subjective, Existive, Locative, and Descriptive Diattributive subtypes may be derived into the Attributive sets by deletion of the Site tagmeme. The other derivations discussed in Section D.1, have been found not to apply to these subtypes. The Site deletion rule will not be illustrated in these cases.

The Derivations of the Physical State and Attaching State Diattributive Clauses.

```
/DA/
  1
    2
      3
      4
        5
          6
            7

Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1,2
Ev
Sv
```

Figure 33. Derivations of the Physical State and Attaching State Diattributive Clauses.

1) DA  ja angngi ase.
    She is pregnant.

2) DR  ja angngi jalli.
    She became pregnant.

3) DA  ja angngi jaa ase.
    She has become pregnant.
4) DT jo jeeka angngi kerlo.
   He made her pregnant.

5) DS jo jeeka angngi kara ase.
   He has made her pregnant.

6) T jo jeeka angngi keraylo.
   He caused someone to make her pregnant.

7) S jo jeeka angngi kerawa ase.
   He has caused someone to make her pregnant.

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<th>Desiderative</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Existive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Physical</th>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenji-</td>
<td>'not'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 34. Contrast Chart of Subtypes of the DiAttributive Clause.
2.8 Derivations of the Attributive Clause Patterns.

For the Attributive clause we have posited five subtypes. They are contrasted in Figure 36. This figure shows some eventivization and causativization verbs and the clause types to which they may be applied. Also the negative transform is shown. Attributive Subsets 3.81 and 3.82 do not have any of the derivations discussed in Section D.1. The derivations of Subset 3.85 is not known.

The Derivations of the Definitive and Attaching State Attributive Clauses.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 35. Derivations of the Definitive and Attaching State Attributive Clauses.

1) A raamuDu preema ase.
Ramudu is beloved.

2) R raamuDu preema jallo.
Ramudu became beloved.

3) A raamuDu preema jaa ase.
Ramudu has become beloved.

4) T jeewu raamuDuka preema kerla.
They caused Ramudu to be loved.

5) S jeewu raamuDuka preema kera asti.
They have caused Ramudu to be loved.

6) T jeewu raamuDuka preema kerayla.
They caused someone to cause Ramudu to become loved.

7) S jeewu raamuDuka preema kerawa asti.
They have caused someone to cause Ramudu to become loved.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Exist</th>
<th>Obligatory/Permissive</th>
<th>Definitive</th>
<th>Attaching State</th>
<th>Prohibitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derivations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eventivizers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jermuka</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jangka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasduke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causativizers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keruka</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banduka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Transforms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nav</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenij-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 36. Contrasts Chart of Subtypes of the Attributive Clause.

E. Dependent Patterns.

In this section we propose to discuss the manifestation and distribution of some dependent clauses. At this stage we are assuming that the relationships between the roles and markers of the nuclear dramatic personas of independent clauses are the same as those of dependent clauses. These relationships, therefore, will not be in focus here. Rather, we wish to show how independent clauses are made dependent, and to give some idea of the construction of the verb phrase of dependent clauses.

Dependent clauses do not occur in isolation. They are always paired with independent clauses to form sentences, or with other dependent clauses to form sentences. They may also occur embedded in other clauses. Dependent clauses do not occur as exponents of independent base tagmemes of sentences. The distribution of the dependent clauses described in this paper is shown in Figures 37 and 38.

The formula for the verb phrase for some active dependent patterns in Kupia was briefly mentioned in Section C. It is repeated here for convenience.
328 Patterns in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

\[ VP = \pm dneg + Sbase \pm [nfss + Mbase] \pm [nfss + Seq/Auxbase] + dss \]

Frequently this formula is not expanded beyond:

\[ VP = \pm neg + Sbase + dss \]

Dependent clauses are negated by the morpheme \textit{no} 'not' which occurs initially in the verb phrase.

The verb phrase in dependent clauses does not signal the person and number of the Subject. If the Subject of the dependent clause is different from the Subject of the clause with which it is paired, it must be indicated as a free form in the dependent clause. Also, in most cases the tense of a dependent clause is not signalled, but must be taken from the clause with which it is paired.

A comparison between the formulas of the verb phrase for independent clauses and dependent clauses shows: a) a different location of the negative tagmeme; b) the addition of the Sequentive base tagmeme to the Auxiliary base tagmeme of the independent clause; and c) the replacement of the final stem suffixes, post verbals, and question tagmemes of the independent clause by the dependent stem suffix tagmeme of the dependent clause.

Clauses are made dependent in three ways in Kupia. Firstly by participial exponents of the dependent stem suffix slot, secondly by relators of axis-relator constructions, and thirdly by special constructions (Indefinite dependent clauses). We will now discuss the various dependent clauses, according to these three ways by which they are made dependent.

1. 

There are two participial clauses in Kupia, Cl \(-te\) and Cl \(-a\), corresponding to the imperfect participle \(-ite/-te\), and the perfect participle \(-a\) respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause No.</th>
<th>'Participle Marker</th>
<th>Clause Abbreviation</th>
<th>Distribution of the Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(-ite/-te)</td>
<td>Cl (-te)</td>
<td>Axis slot of AR Cl podi Margin of Simultaneous A Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>(-a)</td>
<td>Cl (-a)</td>
<td>Margin of Sequence A Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 37. Distribution of Cl \(-te\) and Cl \(-a\).
1.1 Participle Clause -te.

Internal Structure. This clause has the imperfect participle -te filling the dependent stem suffix slot. Typically the verb phrase is limited to:

\[ VP = \pm \text{neg} + \text{stem} \pm \text{Mbase} + \text{dss} \]

That is, causatives, the actor reflexive-suffix, and auxiliary verbs do not normally occur.

Distribution. The distribution of this clause is as an exponent of the margin of Simultaneous A Sentences, and as the exponent of the axis slot of AR Cl podi. In the following examples (of Simultaneous A Sentences) the participle clause describes the circumstances occurring at the time of the action of the following clause, or the manner in which the action of the following clause was carried out.

ja awwoka ammoka kaka erike neen-te
that mother to father to whoever to knowledge not to know-imp p

(lungka cooru uTTa gecula.)
(hiding thief moving go they will)
Without their mother or father or anyone knowing, (they will go off like thieves hiding.)

kacoitumu naayi ne men-te (roojuka kanTika eek wiseek jinni
certainly not emp not say-imp p daily all together one twenty people

jawusu santayi gecuka gecumde.)
become market to go inf go we will)
Without a doubt, (every day some twenty of us will go to a market.)

ingka allara kor-a gel-te (iinjeewu almalu kuDanu...
moreover trouble do-imp complete-imp p (these monkeys also

ambesiwo etki keeD-sw-a geltati.)
mangoes all finish-kl-pp completely they)
Moreover, causing all the trouble they can, (these monkeys also,...
completely finish off all the mangoes.)

Frequently the stem plus participle suffix -te is repeated up to four times. As such its function is to give the sense of an action going on and on. There are five occurrences of clauses having a repetitive verb phrase in our concordance, with the verb keruka 'to do,'
aanuka 'to bring,' weguka 'to climb,' jengka 'to become,' and gecuka 'to go.'

dasse ge-te ge-te ge-te (muliyio basayi gelo.)
this way go-imp p go-imp p go-imp p junk seller hut to went he)
Going on and on and on like this, (he came to a junk seller's hut).

Going on and on and on like this, (he came to a junk seller's hut).
(iskolte galile podi) ketti ge diisalu sadu ker-te ker-te (school to putting time) how many ever days read do-imp p do-imp p
der-ke (abbosi mora gelo,)
do-imp p (father his dying went he)
(While at school) while he had continuously been reading for a
good many days, (his father died).

Note that in the last example the repetitive verb phrase has a verbal
object, sadu 'read;' which is not repeated with each repition of the
stem.

1.2 Participial Clause -a-

**Internal Structure.** This clause has the perfect participle suffix
-a as the exponent of the dependent stem suffix slot. It frequently has
the full verb phrase expansion and occurs as an exponent of the margin
of Sequence A Sentence. As such it is, therefore, of frequent occurrence
in procedural discourse.

kaam ker-a (ayilo).
work do-pp (came he)
Having done the work, (he came).

jo gerru band-uka der-a (kaam mulla dilo,)
house build-inf start-pp (work leaving gave he)
Having started to build a house, (he gave up work on it).

angka telive ta-a ker-a (aa:wu jiinlayi,)
me to knowledge remain-pp do-pp (I passed--the exam).
Knowledge having come to me, (I passed the exam).

kooni dinnalu jo doonaDi duupumu der-an-a ker-a (kooni
some days he two portions scented oil carry-ar-pp do-pp some
dinnalu tappasu wessilo,)
days sat down he)
Some days later, after having carried two portions of scented oil
for himself, (he sat down for some days).

**Distribution.** This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of
Sequence A Sentence.

2. **Axis-Relator Clauses.**

The clauses made dependent by relators are shown in Figure 36,
with their distribution.

2.1 Asix-Relator Clause (-i).

**Internal Structure.** The formula for this clause is:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause No.</th>
<th>Clause Abbreviation</th>
<th>Relator Exponent</th>
<th>Details of the Distribution of the Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AR Cl (-i)</td>
<td>(-i)</td>
<td>Modifier slot of NP Axis slot of some AR Cl's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AR Cl 1.1</td>
<td>-le or -le gina</td>
<td>Axis slot of AR Cl podi Margin of Cond/Temp-Ralt A Sen Margin of Cond/Temp-Ralt B Sen Margin of Contrafactual Sen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AR Cl 1.2</td>
<td>-le kavi</td>
<td>Margin of Cond/Temp-Ralt A Sen Margin of Contrafactual Sen Base 1 of Antithetical C Sen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AR Cl 1.3</td>
<td>-le kuDa</td>
<td>Margin of Concession-Contraexp Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AR Cl 1.4</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>Margin of Statement-Identification Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AR Cl 1.5</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>Margin of Dependent Negative Conditional Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ARR Cl</td>
<td>(risso)</td>
<td>Margin of Reason-Result B Sentence Base 1 of Reason-Result A Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>AR Cl podi</td>
<td>podi</td>
<td>Margin of Simultaneous A Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>AR Cl taruwaGata</td>
<td>(taruwa)</td>
<td>Margin of Sequence A Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>AR Cl -kavi</td>
<td>-kavi</td>
<td>Margin of Sequence A Sentence Margin of Simultaneous A Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>AR Cl -uka</td>
<td>(-uka)</td>
<td>Purpose and Subject Slot of Clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 38. Distribution of Axis-Relator Clauses.

AR Cl (-i) = Axis:D Cl 1 + Rel: (-i)

D Cl 1 is a dependent clause whose verb phrase dependent stem suffix slot has exponents -it/-i (imperfect aspect) and -i/-1 (perfect aspect). This clause only occurs as an exponent of the axis of AR Cl (-i).

The relator of AR Cl (-i) contrasts for feminine singular, -i; masculine singular, -o; and plural, -e. The function of these relators is to adjectivize the dependent clause. The possible combinations of dependent stem suffix exponents and relator exponents are shown in
Figure 39.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relator</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Suffix    | masculine | feminine | pl-
|           | -o        | -i     | a    |
| Imperfect | -it/-t    | -it-o/-t-o | -it-i/-t-i | -it-a/-t-a |
| Perfect   | -il/-1    | -il-o/-1-o | -il-i/-1-i | -il-a/-1-a |

Figure 39. Dependent Stem Suffixes Plus Relator (-i).

Typically the maximum expansion of the verb phrase for this clause is:

\[ VP = \pm \text{neg} + \text{Sbase} + \text{dss} \]

Distribution. The three ways this clause is distributed are:

a) The clause can be the exponent of the modifier slot of noun phrases:

rand-it-i maansu (as-e).
cook-imp-f person (be-3s)
The female cook is here.

jeewu geeru ne dek-it-a maansulu (as-ti).
those house not see-imp-pl people (be-3pl)
The people who did not see the house are here.
(Literally, the house-not-seeing people are here)

b) It can also fill the modifier slot of the nominalized noun phrase (NP-so). The nominalizer suffixes agree with their antecedents in number and gender as shown in Figure 38.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>-so</td>
<td>-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 40. Nominalizing suffixes for Cl (-i).

kaam ker-t-o-so-ka (Dabbulu dilo.)
work do-imp-m-nom-to (money gave)
(He gave money) to the worker.
geeru band-ite-so (ayilo.)
house build-imp m-nom (came)
The house builder (came). (Literally, the house-building one came.)

c) This clause is also an exponent of the axis of the axis-relator clauses shown below. For examples of AR Cl (-i) as an exponent of these clauses, see the discussion under the various clauses.

AR Cl (taruwata)
AR Cl podi
ARR Cl AR Cl -tikayi

2,2 Axis-Relator Clause 1.1.

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl 1.1 = Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: (-le)

D Cl 2 is a dependent clause whose verb phrase dependent stem suffix slot has a zero morpheme exponent. It is not unusual for the verb phrase of this clause to be fully expanded when it fills this slot.

The relator of this clause is either -le 'if/when' or -le gina 'if particular/when particular.'

tuuwi ay-ile...
you come-if
If you come...

jo geeru band-uca modol ker-le...
he house build-inf start do-if...
If he starts to build a house...

ja gorre mor-a gel-le (ja gaa:wica kicco kerla.)
that goat die-pp complete-when (that village's people what do they)
When the goat died, (what did the villagers do?)

tuuwi gen-te ti-le gina (dekitam).
you buy-imp be-if particular (see we would have)
If you in particular had been buying it (we would have seen).

Note: The function of gina 'particular' is to make the condition or proposition more specific, focussing on a specific item, usually the Subject. Thus in the above example, there is something special about tuuwi 'you,' this information would normally be conveyed by intonation in English.

Distribution. This clause fills the margin slot of Conditional/Temporal-Result Sentences.
2.3 Axis-Relator Clause 1.2.

**Internal Structure.** The formula for this clause is:

\[ \text{AR Cl 1.2} = \text{Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: } -\text{la kavi} \]

The relator of this clause is \(-\text{la kavi}\) 'if' or sometimes 'if then,' but in contrast to AR Cl 1.1, examples have not been found where the relator means 'when.' The axis exponent is D Cl 2.

> ja bangar kaD-a gel-le kayi...  
that gold fetch-pp complete-if then  
If (they) fetch the gold...

> ja kaam ker-le kayi...  
that work do-if  
If (you) do that work...

> tuuwi ay-ile kayi (dekitadi).  
you come-if then (seen you would have)  
If you would have come you would have seen.

**Distribution.** The distribution of this clause is in the margin slots of Conditional/Temporal-Result Sentence A and Contrafactual Sentence and in Base 1 of the Antithetical Sentence C.

2.4 Axis-Relator Clause 1.3.

**Internal Structure.** The formula for this clause is:

\[ \text{AR Cl 1.3} = \text{Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: } -\text{le kuDa} \]

The relator of this clause is \(-\text{le kuDa}\) 'if even,' and the axis exponent is D Cl 2.

> aa:wu go-le kuDa (ja laTab-e naayi).  
I go-if even (she speak-3s not-emp)  
Although I went, (she did not speak.)

> jo geeru band-uka der-le kuDa (aa:wu dek-i may.)  
he house build-inf start-if even (I see-1s not)  
Although he started to build the house, (I did not see it).

**Distribution.** This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Concession-Contraexpectation Sentence.

2.5 Axis-Relator Clause 1.4.

**Internal Structure.** The formula for this clause is:

\[ \text{AR Cl 1.4} = \text{Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: } -\text{le} \]
The relator of this clause is -le 'when.' The clause contrasts with AR Cl 1,1, not only because of the gloss of the relator, but also because of the restrictions on the filler class of the Sbase stem of D Cl 2. This requires one of a special set of 'speech' verbs. To date sanguka 'to say' and menuka 'to say' have been found. The semantic function of the clause is to identify, explain, or give a summary of the subsequent propositions.

amci sejansite pendli me-le...
our hill area in marriage say-when
When we speak of marriage in our hill area...

pendli men-a sang-ile...
marrige say-pp say-when
Speaking of marriage...

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Statement-Identification Sentence.

2.6 Axis-Relator Clause 1,5.

Internal Structure and Distribution. The formula for this clause is:

\[ \text{ARR Cl} = \text{Axis: AR Cl} \left( -_{1} \right) + \text{Rel: (risso)} \]

The relators of this clause are risso 'because' and anduka 'because.' The axis exponent is AR Cl \((-_{1})\).

otta ja deyawataci puuja ker-ti risso (puujaka weDDalu
there that god's worship do-imp because (priest to fields
dila,)
gave they)
Because of their worshipping the god deyawata there, (they gave
to the priest.)

Dangk-a gel-li risso...
submerged-pp complete-pa because
Because the ground became completely submerged...

buu: wiwo ethi buDD-a gel-li anduka...
grounds all drown-pp complete-pa because
Because all the grounds became completely drowned...

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Reason-Result Sentence B.

2.8 Axis-Relator Clause podi.

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:
Patterns in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

AR Cl podi = Axis: \[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{Cl} \, (-i) \\
\text{Cl -te} \\
\text{AR Cl 1} \\
\end{bmatrix}
\] + Rel: podi

**Axis exponent AR Cl (-i).** The relator podi acts like a singular feminine noun, and so only -i is found as an exponent of the relator AR Cl (-i).

amco doro gaaru ja-a t-il-i podi...
our foreign man become-pp be-pa-f time
When our foreign man was here...

jo sang-il-i podi...
he say-pa-f time
At the time he said it...

**Axis exponent Cl -te.** The clause Cl -te modifies the word podi 'time.'

anci boodaka senDi utrayi-te podi...
our child to hair cut-imp p time
When it is time to cut our child's hair...

**Axis exponent AR Cl 1.** In the description of AR Cl 1.1, it was noted that the relator was either -le or -le gina. Only -le occurs when it is the exponent of the axis of AR Cl podi.

ne ker-le podi (gerri tayede.)
not do-when time (house in remain he will)
When he is not working, (he will stay in the house.)

eeku naaDu jerm-ile podi (jooka iskolte gal-a.)
one boy born-when time (him to school to put-they)
When the boy was born,(they put him to school.)

podi also occurs as the relator of the AR NP podi.

**Distribution.** This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Simultaneous Sentence A.

2.9 Axis-Relator Clause (taruwata).

**Internal Structure.** The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl (taruwata) = Axis: Cl (-i) + Rel: (taruwata)

This clause has three relators, taruwata 'after,' pimaTi 'after,' and tinto 'from.'

The axis is manifested by AR Cl (-i). The D Cl 1 clause which is the exponent of the axis of AR Cl (-i) always has the perfect participial
form -l as its dependent stem suffix exponent when in this environment. This is because AR Cl (taruwata) is an exponent of the margin slot of the Sequence Sentence A, where the action or state specified in the margin proposition must be completed before the action or state of the proposition of any following clauses. Also, AR Cl (-i) always has -i as its adjectivizer exponent, since the relators taruwata, pimaTi, and tinto act as singular feminine nouns.

buudar santa keed-a ge-l-i taruwata... Wednesday market finish go-pa-f after
After the Wednesday market has finished...

band-a gel-l-i pimaTi... build-pp complete-pa-f after
After (they) finished building...

samaaru sukrari saaDupa ker-l-i tinto... about Friday offering do-pa-f from
From the time of the offering, about Friday...

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Sequence Sentence A.

2.10 Axis-Relator Clause -kayi.

Internal Structure and Distribution. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl -kayi = Axis: Cl (-i) + Rel: -kayi/-kayi sari

The relator of this clause is kayi 'as soon as' or kayi sari 'as soon as completely.' The axis exponent is Cl (-i). kayi acts as a singular feminine noun. The meaning of the relator kayi is presumed to be the reason that only the imperfect aspect -t (and not the perfect aspect -l) can occur in the axis of Cl (-i).

When the verb of the axis of Cl (-i) has the imperfect progressive aspect, AR Cl -kayi is an exponent of the margin slot of Simultaneous Sentence A.

appe jeewu ge-te ta-ti-kayi (aa:wu dekilayi.) now they go-imp p remain-imp-as soon as (I saw)
They were going just now, I saw them.

jo geeru band-uka der-te ta-ti-kayi (jo uTTa gelo.) he house build-inf start-imp p remain-imp-as soon as (he went)
As soon as he started to build a house, he got up and went.

When the verb of the axis of Cl (-i) has only the imperfect aspect, AR Cl -kayi is an exponent of the margin of Sequence Sentence A.
go be men-ti-kayi sari
go now say-imp-as soon as completed...
As soon as he said, 'Go now...'

anne cuu ker-ti-kayi (ayilan).
again hunger do-imp-as soon as (he came)
Again, as soon as he felt hungry, (he came).

2.11 Axis-Relator -uka.

Internal Structure and Distribution. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl -uka = Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: (-uka)

AR Cl -uka is distributed in Subject and Purpose clause level slots. When filling the purpose level slot, it is usual for only one or two roles to be realized in the clause. Examples where AR Cl -uka fills the Subject slot of an Attributive Clause are:

kaka jawusu de-ngka as-e ge nay?
to whom become give-inf be pr-3s Q not
Must we give to whoever it is, or not?

jo otta gec-uka wil nay.
there go-inf absolutely not
It is forbidden for him to go there.

In the following examples AR Cl -uka is an exponent of a clause level purpose slot.

angka peTT-uka ayili.
me to hit-inf came she
She came to hit me.

AR Cl -uka can also occur alone as an independent Clause and as such the clause is in the Necessitative mood.

aa:wu ta-ngka
I remain-inf
I must remain.

3. Indefinite Dependent Clauses.

For Kupia we posit the Indefinite Axis-Relator Clause and the Indefinite Clause.

3.1 Indefinite Axis-Relator Clause.

Internal Structure and Distribution. This clause has only been found as an exponent of the margin slot of Proportional Sentence 1. The
important features of the clause are: a) it contains a content ques-
tion pro-word, and b) it has a relator which can be the same as the
relators for conditional and concessive sentences. The base slot of
Proportional Sentence 1 is realized as an Independent Clause having a
co-relative pro-word (corresponding to the content question pro-word
of the margin).

Some of the content question pro-words and their corresponding
correlative pro-words are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Question pro-word/phrase</th>
<th>Co-relative pro-word/phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keddodi</td>
<td>‘whenever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keddí</td>
<td>‘however much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketti</td>
<td>‘however much money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kicco</td>
<td>‘whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeyakka</td>
<td>‘whenever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keen wersi</td>
<td>‘in whichever year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketti</td>
<td>‘however much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiisi</td>
<td>‘however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keene</td>
<td>‘wherever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘thenever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘that much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘that much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘that ever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘that day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘two shares more’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘that way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘one road’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relators of the Indefinite Axis-Relator Clause are -le, -le
gina, and -le kuDa. When a content question pro-word occurs in the
clause, these relators mean ‘ever,’ ‘ever particular,’ and ‘ever even’
respectively. The pro-words occur in their corresponding dramatis
persona slots in the clause.

keeeyakka korpa ja-le  gina  (teeeyakka deede.)
when  wish  become-ever  particular  (then  give  he  will)
Whenever you wish something special, (then he will give it).

In this example the content question pro-word is keeyakka ‘when,’ a
time word filling the time slot in the clause. In the environment of
the relator -le gina ‘ever particular,’ it is translated ‘whenever.’
Note also the co-relative pro-word in this case is teeeyakka ‘thenever.’

ja  naaDi  nacuka  kiisi  aDugu  gal-ila  (jo  naaDu  dasi
that  girl  dance  inf  how  steps  throw-ever  that  boy  that  way

baa:wuci  pungitayi.)
flute  plays  he.
However the girl steps the dance, that way the boy plays the flute.

3.2 Indefinite Clause.

Internal Structure and Distribution. This Clause is the exponent
of Base 1 of Proportional Sentence 2. It has two distinguishing features:
a) the presence of a content question pro-word, and b) the morpheme ge
occurring clause final. When the clause contains a content question
pro-word, ge means ‘ever.’ Base 2 of Proportional Sentence 2 is realized
as an independent clause having a co-relative pro-word (corresponding to the content question pro-word of the margin.) The content question pro-words and co-relative pro-words are the same as those given above on the Axis-Relator Indefinite Clause.

ketti paysal tukka dilo ge (tetti paysal keeDa geli.) how much money you to gave he ever (that much money finish went it) However much money he gave to you, (that much went).

Also, the same two co-relative pro-words can occur in the same sentence.

tuka teddoDi saaman dilo ge (angka teddoDi saaman dilo,) you to that much goods gave ever (me to that much goods gave he) He gave to you the same amount of goods as he gave to me.

Abbreviations.

A/a Attributional Clause
Act Actor
Adj Adjective
an animate
ar Actor Reflexive
Auxbase Auxiliary Base
C Circumstantial Clause
Cl Clause
Cpl Complement
Cv1,2,3 Causativizing rules
d derived
D Descriptive Clause
DA/da DiAttributive Clause
DP Dependent Predicate
DR/dr DiReceptive Clause
DS DiStative Clause
dss Dependent Stem Suffixes
DT/dt DiTransitive Clause
E Eventive Clause
emp emphatic
Ev Eventivizing Rule
Evt Event
f Feminine
fss Verb Phrase Final Stem Suffixes
Gol Goal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I/i</td>
<td>Intransitive Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp</td>
<td>Imperfect Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp p</td>
<td>Imperfect Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impv</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inan</td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Cl</td>
<td>Independent Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.o.</td>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1</td>
<td>Causative 1 (cv1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c2</td>
<td>Causative 2 (cv2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c3</td>
<td>Causative 3 (cv3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Marker (examples)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1, M2</td>
<td>Matrix One, Matrix 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbase</td>
<td>Modal Base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>Neuter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfrss</td>
<td>Non-final Stem Suffixes of Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>Perfect Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>Perfect Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td>Present Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pvr</td>
<td>Passivizing Rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>Question Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>Role (in examples)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R/r</td>
<td>Receptive Clause (in formulas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ref</td>
<td>Referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Stative Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Semiattributive Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sbase</td>
<td>Stem Base of Main Verb of Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd</td>
<td>Site Deletion Rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>src</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seqbase</td>
<td>Sequentive Base Slot of Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>SemiReceptive Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>SemiStative Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST/st</td>
<td>SemiTransitive Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sv</td>
<td>Stativizing Rule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Patterns in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

T/t Transitive Clause
Ud Undergoer Deletion Rule
Umkr Unmarked
Und Undergoer
Vbl Obj Verbal Object
VP Verb Phrase
1 First Person
2 Second Person
3 Third Person
ϕ zero morpheme as filler

Conventions used.

(-uka) The parentheses enclose a morpheme which is representative of the class to which it belongs.

( ) Encloses context not immediately part of the illustration.

[ a ] Either a, b, or c must be chosen.
[ b ]
[ c ]

- Morpheme break when occurring in words in the examples.
/ 'or'

Footnotes.


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