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Patterns In Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

in selected languages of India and Nepal

Part II, Clause

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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. Bullayya, 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 auspicee of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. We are deeply grateful to the Vice Chancellor, Dr. T. N. Upraity and to Dr. P. R. Sharma, Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, for their part in making this further work possible.

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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 Dhangar-Kurux, served as a consultant on Kolami, Kotia Oriya, 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 auspicee 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.

Table of Contents

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 focuseing 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.

		Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
Event	Actor	Ditransitive	Transitive	SemiTransitive	Intransitive
		DiReceptive	Receptive	SemiReceptive	Eventive
State	Actor	DiStative	Stative	SemiStative	Descriptive
		DiAttributive	Attributive	SemiAttributive	Circumstantial

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 Kotia Oriya

Uwe Gustafsson

A. Introduction.

The purpose of this paper is to provide some materials on the Kotia Oriya language as it is spoken in the Araku Valley area of Visakhapatnam District in Andhra Pradesh, India. It is also hoped that it may prove useful for grammatical comparison across various languages of India, especially among the Indo-Aryan languages.

The reader should bear in mind that this paper presents a preliminary analysis of clause patterns in Kotia Oriya. We hope to be able to present a more complete work on this subject at a later date.

Mr. Golori Ram, 28 years of age, has served in the capacity of language assistant. I am indebted to him for his excellent help in gathering and checking the data on which this analysis is based. I also profited much from the help given by Mr. Killo Pratap and various others from time to time. Mr. Golori Ram was born in the villags of Hattaguda, Araku Development Block, Visakhapatnam District.

Furthermore, I am very grateful to Mr. Kama Shasti, Block Development Officer of the Araku Block, who gave his kind consent to Mr. Golori Ram and Mr. Killo Pratap to accompnay me to a workshop in Visakhapatnam.

Dr. Kenneth L. Pike and Dr. Austin Hale deserve special recognition for the theoretical background, without which the writing of this paper would not have been possible. Dr. Austin Hale also gave valuable help with the problems of analysis at various points. Mr. Kent Gordon served as my chief consultant, and I would like to thank him for his many hours spent in consultation with me. Mrs. Evelyn Pike has also given much of her time and talents during the early part of analysis, for which I thank her deeply. My colleagues Dr. Ronald Trail, Mr. David Watters, and Mr. Burkhard Schoettelndreyer were an encouragement through frequent stimulating discussions.

I have benefited in the analysis of this paper from a computer concordance of Kotia Oriya texts processed at the University of Oklahoma in a program supported by National Science Foundation Grant Number GS-1605.

Below is a brief statement on Kotia Oriya orthography as used in this paper.

stops	p	t	T[1]	c	k	
	b	d	D	z	g	
fricatives				s		h
nasals	m	n	N			
liquids		l	r	R		

Figure 1. Consonants as used in Kotia Oriya orthography.

i u /length/[2]
/nasalization/[3]
e o
a

Figure 2. Vowels as used in Kotia Oriya orthography.

1 Capitalization represents retroflection (T = ṭ).

2 Length applies to all vowels and is symbolized by a double vowel /vv/.

3 Nasalization applies to all vowels and is symbolized by a colon following the vowel /v:/.

B. Basic Patterns.

1. The Contrastive System.

1.1 The Role Marker System in Kotia Oriya.

All contrastive clause patterns in Kotia Oriya emerge from a transitivity system which has been defined in terms of the possible combinations of the three primary roles—Actor, Undergoer, and Site. Such combinations result in the following matrix of eight cells, each of which is labelled for reference throughout this paper.

	Site	Undergoer	Sit + Und
-Actor	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Di-Receptive
+Actor	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	DiTransitive

Figure 3. The Transitivity Matrix of the Receptive and Transitive sets of Clauses.

Each of these three roles, which are central to the sememic classification of clause patterns, may be viewed as corresponding to a set of case relations. The eight cells in Figure 3 make up the first major category, that of Event. If we want to show the second major category, that of State, eight more cells will make up the complete transitivity system in Kotia Oriya. The eight-cell State matrix is subdivided into +Statant/-Statant sets. The +Statant set will be called the Stative set; the -Statant set will be called the Attributive set. The complete transitivity system with 16 cells is given in Figure 4.

		Site	Undergoer	Sit + Und
State	-Statant	Circumstantial	SemiAttributive	Attributive	DiAttributive
	+Statant	Descriptive	Semi Stative	Stative	Di Stative
Event	-Actor	Eventive	Semi Receptive	Receptive	Di Receptive
	+Actor	Intransitive	SemiTransitive	Transitive	DiTransitive

Figure 4. Full Transitivity System.

Normal Role Markers in Kotia Oriya. The correlation between markers and roles is basic to the identification of contrastive clause patterns in Kotia Oriya. In Figures 5 through 12 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; R for role.

Actors in Kotia Oriya are unmarked except by agreement patterns in the verb. This agreement marking is shown in the examples by means of underlining.

C ---	SA ---	A ---	DA ---
D ( )	SS Umk	S Umk	DS ( )
E ---	SR ---	R ---	DR ---
I Umk	ST Umk	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 5. Normal Actor and Statant Markers for animate/inanimate Actors.

1) SS Dokra baD-e ac-e.
M old man Umk garden-in Loc is P
R Sta Sit State
The old man is in the garden.

2) S tui poti poR-i par-su.
M you Umk book reading Umk can P
R Sta Und State
You can read the book

3) I sedi kand-la.
M he Umk cry P
R Act Event
He cried.

4) ST oRa somond upr-e ga-la.
M ship Umk ocean up-on Loc go P
R Act Sit Event
The ship sailed on the ocean.

5) T mui bat kai-li.
M I Umk rice Umk eat P
R Act Und Event
I ate rice.

6) DT tui mo-ke kauni de-lus.
M you Umk me-to Gol food Umk give P
R Act Sit Und Event
You gave food to me.

Note that the example given for the ST clause type has an inanimate Actor. It is, of course, possible for ST clauses to have animate Actors. Similarily, the DT clause type can also take inanimate Actors.

C ---	SA ---	A Umk	DA Umk
D ---	SS ---	S Gol	DS ( )
E ---	SR ---	R Umk	DR Umk
I ---	ST ---	T Gol	DT Gol

Figure 6. Normal Undergoer Markers for animate Undergoers.

1) A sedi soTa lok.
M he Umk cripple person Umk
R Und Pex
He is a cripple.

2) DA gaD-e mac ac-ot.
M river-in Loc fish Umk are P
R Sit Und State
There are fish in the river.

3) S ram-ke mui zan-i.
M Ram-to Gol I Umk know P
R Und Sta State
I know Ram.

4) R sedi Tak-la.
M he Umk get tired P
R Und Event
He got tired.

5) DR seli Dongr-e az-la.
M goat Umk mountain-in Loc get lost P
R Und Sit Event
The goat got lost in the mountain.

6) T mapru to-ke rokia ko-la.
M god Umk you-to Gol mercy Umk do P
R Act Und Pex Event
God was merciful to you.

7) DT basu mo-ke te-i ne-la.
M bus Umk me-to Gol at-in Loc take P
R Act Und Sit Event
The bus took me there.

C ---	SA ---	A Umk	DA Umk
D ---	SS ---	S ( )	DS ( )
E ---	SR ---	R Umk	DR ( )
I ---	ST ---	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 7. Normal Undergoer Markers for Inanimate Undergoers.

1) A goc unc ac-e.
M tree Umk tall Umk is P
R Und Pex State
The tree is tall.

2) DA petia-te Dabu ac-e.
M box-in Loc money Umk is P
R Sit Und State
The money is in the box.

3) R gor bosol-la.
M house Umk collapse P
R Und Event
The house collapsed.

4) T nonimon dan kaT-lai.
M girls Umk rice Umk cut P
R Act Und Event
The girls cut the rice.

5) DT DokTer oso gau-te lagai-la.
M doctor Umk medicine Umk wound-at Loc apply P
R Act Und Sit Event
The doctor applied medicine to the wound.

C ---	SA Gol	A ---	DA ( )
D ---	SS ( )	S ---	DS ( )
E ---	SR Gol	R ---	DR ( )
I ---	ST ( )	T ---	DT Gol

Figure 8. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Goal Referents.

1) SA pila-ke zor ac-e.
M child-to Gol fever Umk is P
R Sit Pex State
The child has a fever.

2) SR ta-ke maia oi-la.
M him-to Gol illusion Umk become P
R Sit Pex Event
He had an illusion.

3) DT mui to-ke poti de-li.
M I Umk you-to Gol book Umk give P
R Act Sit Und Event
I gave a book to you.

C ---	SA Loc	A ---	DA Loc
D ---	SS Loc	S ---	DS ( )
E ---	SR Loc	R ---	DR Loc
I ---	ST Loc	T ---	DT Loc

Figure 9. Normal Site Markers for Inanimats Locative Sites.

1) SA gor-e andar ac-e.
M house-in darkness Umk is P
R Sit Pex State
It is dark in the house.

2) DA goc-e kiRa coRoi ac-e.
M tree-in Loc parrot Umk is P
R Sit Und State
There is a parrot in the tree.

3) SS guru guRi-ng ac-e.
M priest Umk temple-in Loc is P
R Sta Sit State
The priest is in the temple.

4) SR nuti-ng pani oi-la.
M well-in Loc water Umk become P
R Sit Pex Event
The well became full with water.

5) DR oRa somd-e buD-la.
M ship Umk ocean-in Loc sink P
R Und Sit Event
The ship sank in the ocean.

6) ST ram gaD-e pongor-la.
M Ram Umk river-in Loc swim P
R Act Sit Event
Ram swam in the river.

7) DT pila pani bui-e: rokoi-la.
M boy Umk water Umk ground-on Loc pour P
R Act Und Sit Event
The boy poured water on the ground.

C ---	SA ( )	A ---	DA ( )
D ---	SS ( )	S ---	DS ( )
E ---	SR ( )	R ---	DR ( )
I ---	ST Asc	T ---	DT ( )

Figure 10. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Associative Sites.

ST pila noni songe bul-la.
M boy Umk girl with Asc walk P
R Act Sit Event
The boy walked with the girl.

C ---	SA ( )	A ---	DA ( )
D ---	SS ( )	S ---	DS ( )
E ---	SR ( )	R ---	DR ( )
I ---	ST Src	T ---	DT Src

Figure 11. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate-Source Sites.

1) ST bag par-e oni baroi-la.
M tiger Umk cave-in from Src come out P
R Act Sit Event
The tiger came out of the cave.

2) DT tui aT-e oni sag an-lus.
M you Umk market-in from Src vegetable Umk bring P
R Act Sit Und Event
You brought vegetables from the market.

Normal Role Markers on Verbs in Kotia Oriya. All animate and inanimate Actors in Kotia Oriya are marked for agreement in the verb. Whether the Actor is expressed or not, it is always present in the verb phrase of Stative and Transitive set clauses. Below are given some examples to show the Role Markers on Verbs. For further information see Section C., Inflected Patterns.

C ---	SA ---	A ---	DA ---
D Agr	SS Agr	S Agr	DS Agr
E ---	SR ---	R ---	DR ---
I Agr	ST Agr	T Agr	DT Agr

Figure 12. Normal Actor Agreement in Kotia Oriya Verbs.

SemiStative Clauses

mui gore ac-i.	I am in the house.
tui gore ac-us.	You are in the house.
sedi gore ac-e.	He is in the house.
amu gore ac-ung.	We are in the house.
tomu gore ac-as.	You are in the house.
se lok gore ac-ot.	They are in the house.

The Verbal Role marking in the SemiStative clauses above is representative for the Stative set of clauses with ace. Below we will give Verbal Role Markers in Transitive Verbs as representative for the Transitive set of clauses.

Transitive Clauses

mui bat kai-li.	I ate rice.
tui bat kai-lus.	You ate rice.
sedi bat kai-la.	He ate rice.
amu bat kai-lung.	We ate rice.
tomu bat kai-las.	You ate rice.
se lok bat kai-lai.	They ate rice.

1.2 Modifications of the Normal Role Marker System.

Modified Undergoer Markers. If the Undergoer is marked, it is always marked with -ke. The affix -ke has many uses in Kotia Oriya, and more research is needed to understand all the various meanings. In some cases Undergoers which are normally marked with -ke, remain unmarked. As we understand it now, the difference lies between definiteness vs. indefiniteness. Consider the example below.

T	sedi	goc-ke	mar-la.
M	he Umk	tree-to Gol	hit P
R	Act	Und	Event
	He felled the tree.		

The meaning of this clause is that he went to the hills, looked for a particular tree and felled it. If the marker were omitted, it would mean that the speaker had no particular tree in mind, but had just cut down a tree.

A Note on Inanimate-Locative Sites. Inanimate-Locative Sites can be marked in three ways in Kotia Oriya depending on the ending of the locative noun. The three affixes are -e, -i, and -ng. The meaning of all of them is 'in' or 'on.' Thus, par 'cave' becomes par-e 'in the cave,' nuti 'well' becomes nuti-ng 'in the well,' and beDa 'paddy field' becomes beDa-i 'in or on the paddy field.' Proper place names do not take any of these affixes.

1.3 A Note on Focus Marker System In Kotia Oriya.

This section needs more investigation before it can be discussed in detail. We will here only make a few comments. No particular Focus Markers have been found thus far. Normally the Subject of a clause takes the first position in the clause, the Indirect Object second position and the Object precedes the Predicate. Word order, however, is quite flexible, and the conditions underlying this flexibility await further investigation.

2. Systemic Contrasts.

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells of the Full Transitivity Matrix of Figure 13 are filled by inherent clause types in Kotia Oriya. This will be done by showing: a) General Contrasts which coincide with the features separating rows and columns, b) Specific Contrasts which separate basic types in the various cells, and c) Derivational Contrasts which arise from the processes by which one basic type is derived into another cell as a derived type.

2.1 General Contrasts.

The following general contrasts will be discussed below: State vs. Event; Undergoer vs. No Undergoer; Site vs. No Site. In discussing these contrasts it will be useful to refer to the following tree diagram of the Transitivity System (Underlined terminal nodes are clause types inherent in Kotia Oriya):

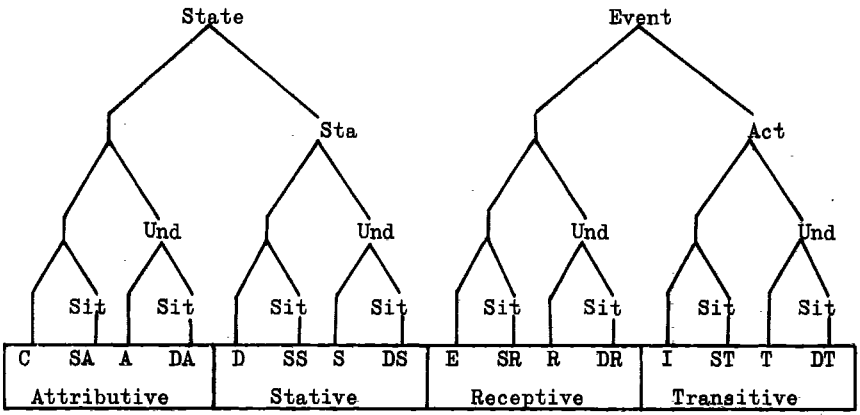


Figure 13. Tree Diagram of the Transitivity System.

2.11 State vs. Event.

The State category covers identification of participants, descrip-

tion of settings, evaluation of participants or of the narrator, commands, questions, quoted material presented as distinct from the actual chain of narrative events, and explanations and other logical statements. The Event category covers the chain of actual happenings in the narrative discourse.

The typical State verb is ace 'to be.' The verb can only be inflected for person and number in the present tense. The past tense of ace is roila (from roibar 'to remain'). Most inherent State clause types with ace, except those of DA and S , are derived into the Event side of the Transitivity Matrix by means of the verb korbar 'to do' and oibar 'to become.'

Attributive and Stative Vs. Receptive and Transitive.

A-set and S-set	R-set and T-set
1) State verb ace	1) Any verb inherent to a particular clause type in these sets.

Below we will give one example for each inherent clause type for each set of clauses.

A-set

(C) puni ace. It is the time of the full moon.
time of the full moon is

(SA) pilake zor ace. The child has a fever.
child to fever is

(A) pani kakor ace. The water is cold.
water cold is

(DA) goce kiRa coRoi ace. There is a parrot in the tree.
tree in parrot is

S-set

(SS) Dokra baDe ace. The old man is in the garden.
old man garden in is

(S) tui poti poRi parsu. You can read the book.
you book reading can

No example has been found for the Stative clause type with ace.

R-set

(E) sakal oila. It became morning (it dawned).
morning became

(SR) toke baia oila. You became friendly.
you to insanity became

(R) sedi oza oila. He became friendly.
he friendliness became

(DR) ram moke beT oila. — Ram met me.
Ram me to meeting became

T-set

(I) kukur bunkla. — The dog barked.
dog barked

(ST) ram gaDe pongorla. — Ram swam in the river.
Ram river in swam

(T) pila bat kaila. — The child ate the rice.
child rice ate

(DT) ram pratapke pol dela. — Ram gave fruit to Pratap.
Ram Pratap to fruit gave

2) Use of oibar 'to become,' korbar 'to do,' or of roibar 'to remain or to be,' results in derivation to the Event side.

2) Use of ace 'to be' results in derivation to the State side.

Examples:

A-set derives into R-set

(C) to E puni oila.
time of the full moon became
It became the time of the full moon.

(SA) to SR pilake zor oila.
child to fever became
The child came down with a fever.

(A) to R pani kakor oila.
water cold became
The water became cold.

(DA) to DR The DA clause given above cannot be derived into the Event side with oila.

S-set derives into T-set

(SS) to ST Dokra baDe roila.
old man garden in remained
The old man remained in the garden.

(S) to T The S clause given above cannot be derived into the Event side.

R-set derives into A-set

(E) to C sakal oi ace.
morning become is
It has become morning.

(SR) to SA toke baia oi ace.
you to insanity become is
You have become insane.

(R) to A sedi oza oi ace.
he friendliness become is
He has become friendly.

(DR) to DA ram moke beT oi ace.
Ram me to meeting become is
Ram has met me.

T-set derives into S-set

(I) to D kukur bunki ace.
dog barking is
The dog has barked.

(ST) to SS ram gaDe pongri ace.
Ram river in swimming is
Ram has swum in the river.

(T) to S pila bat kai ace.
child rice eating is
The child has eaten the rice.

(DT) to DS ram pratapke pol de ace.
Ram Pratap to fruit giving is
Ram has given fruit to Pratap.

3) The Attributive and the Stative sets have different derivation potential than the Receptive and Transitive sets. See Section D. Derived Patterns.

Attributive Vs. Receptive.

A-set	R-set
1) + Inherent verb (ace) with present tense only	1) - Inherent verb with present tense only (R-set verbs occur in all tenses)

See examples under State vs. Event above.

2) - Inherent verb when eventivized	2) + Inherent verb (participial form) when stativized

Examples:

(C) puni ace.
time of the full moon is
It is the time of the full moon.

to E puni oila.
time of the full moon became
It became the time of the full moon.

(E) sakal oila.
morning became
It became morning.

to C sakal oi ace.
morning become is
It has become morning.

Stative Vs. Transitive.

S-set	T-set
1) - Derivation into Transitive set	1) + Derivation into Stative set
S tui poti poRi parsu. you book reading can You can read the book.	T pila bat kaila. child rice ate The child ate rice. S pila bat kai ace. child rice eat is The child has eaten the rice.
2) State verbs for the Stative cell are zanbar 'to know,' parbar 'to be able,' etc. These take Pseudo-Actors or Statants	2) Event verbs of the Transitive cell take real Actors.
S tui poti poRi parsu. you book reading can You can read the book.	T pila bat kaila. child rice ate The child ate the rice.
3) - Animate Site	3) + Animate Site
SS amor aba sorge ace. our father heaven in is Our father is in heaven.	
4) + Embedded clause	4) - Embedded clause

S mui kar indaibar zani.
I car driving know
I know how to drive a car.

2.12 Undergoer vs. No Undergoer.

The criteria by which the columns that have an Undergoer are separated from those that do not have an Undergoer may be listed as follows.

+ Undergoer	- Undergoer
1) Undergoer is present in A, DA, S, R, DR, T, and DT clause patterns.	1) Undergoer is absent in C, SA, SS, E, ST, I, and ST clause patterns

2) The derivational potential of clauses with Undergoer and clauses with no Undergoer is different. See Section D. Derived Patterns.

2.13 Site Vs. No Site

+ Site	- Site
1) Site is present in SA, DA, SS, ST, DR, ST, and DT clause patterns	1) Site is absent in C, A, S, E, R, I, and T clause patterns.

2.2 Specific Contrasts.

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

1) Number of nuclear roles
   no roles: E, C
   one role: SA, A, SR, R, and I
   two roles: DA, SS, S, DR, ST, and T
   three roles: DT

2) Animate Undergoer marked as Goal
   T and DT

3) Clause takes normal imperative
   I, T, ST, and DT

4) Clause can be causativized by -ai with double function
   T and DT

5) Clause can be causativized without double function
   R, DR, I, and ST

6) Clause can take the reflexive
   T

7) Benefactive derivation takes participial form of verb + dela
   T and DT

8) Clause can take the passive
   T and DT

9) Clause takes completive aspect with participial form of verb + dela
   ST, T, and DT

10) Clause takes completive aspect with participial form of verb + gala
   E, SR, R, DR, and ST

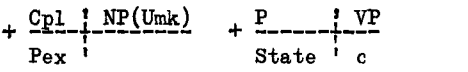
2.3 Derivational Contrasts

For each of the contrastive clause types which are illustrated in Section 3, Contrastive Types below, the derivational potentials are different. This fact may be seen easily in Figures 14-35.

3. Contrastive Types.

Beginning with the Circumstantial clause type all contrastive patterns will be illustrated with a formula and a set of examples for each type and subtype.

3.1 Circumstantial Clause Type.



puni ac-e
time of full moon Umk is P
Pex State
It is the time of the full moon.

amas ac-e
time of the new moon Umk is P
Pex State
It is the time of the new moon.

pue porop ac-e
January festival Umk is P
Pex State
It is the time of the January festival.

eoit porop ac-e
April festival Umk is P
It is the time of the April festival.

3.2 SemiAttributive Clause Type.

SemiAttributive Clause Type (with locative Site).

+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Sit	place	Pex	attrib	State	sa

gor-e andar ac-e
house-in Loc darkness Umk is P
Sit Pex State
It is dark in the house.

Dongr-e kakor ac-e
mountain-in Loc cold Umk is P
Sit Pex State
It is cold in the mountains.

paTna-i gond ac-e
city-in Loc smell Umk is P
Sit Pex State
It smells in the city.

beDa-i biza ac-e
field-in Loc wetness Umk is P
Sit Pex State
It is wet in the field.

SemiAttributive Clause Type (with goal Site).

+ IO	NP(Gol)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Sit	anim	Pex	attrib	State	sa

pila-ke zor ac-e
child-to Gol fever Umk is P
Sit Pex State
The child has a fever.

mo-ke kosTu ac-e
me-to Gol difficulty Umk is P
Sit Pex State
I have difficulty.

ram-ke sarda
Ram-to Gol happiness Umk
Gol Pex
Ram is happy.

maizi-ke duk
wife-to Gol sorrow Umk
Sit Pex
The wife has sorrow.

Note: In the SemiAttributive set of examples the verb is often left understood. The conditions under which the verb is omitted are not well understood at present.

3.3 Attributive Clause Type.

Attributive Clause Type (without Predicate).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)
Und	anim	Pex	anim

sedi soTa lok
he Umk cripple person Umk
Und Pex
He is a cripple.

razu san pila
Razu Umk small boy Umk
Und Pex
Razu is a small boy.

oricondor goTek raza
Oricondor Umk a king Umk
Und Pex
Oricondor is a king.

bordo siima lok
Bordo Umk dwarf person Umk
Bordo is a dwarf.

Dokra anki kaNa lok
old man Umk eye blindness person Umk
Und Pex
The old man is blind.

Attributive Clause Type (with Predicate).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ Cpl	AP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Und	anim/inanim	Pex		State	a

pani kakor ac-e
water Umk cold Umk is P
Und Pex Stats
The water is cold.

goc unc ac-e
tree Umk tall Umk is P
Und Pex State
The tree is tall.

kata sot ac-e
story Umk true Umk is P
Und Pex State
The story is true.

noni sundor ac-e
girl Umk beautiful Umk is P
Und Pex State
The girl is beautiful.

Daru bol ac-e
firewood Umk good Umk is P
Und Pex State
The firewood is good.

3.4 DiAttributive Clause Type.

DiAttributive Clause Type (with animate non-human Und).

+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ S	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Sit	place	Und	anim(non-hum)	State	da

gaD-e mac ac-ot
river-in Loc fish Umk are P
Sit Und State
There are fish in the river.

baD-e pul ac-ot
garden-in Loc flower Umk are P
Sit Und State
There are flowers in the garden.

pani-ng kankRa ac-ot
water-in Loc crayfish Umk are P
Sit Und State
There are crayfish in the water.

Dongr-e bag ac-e
jungle-in tiger Umk is P
Sit Und State
There are tiger in the jungle.

goc-e kiRa coRoi ac-e
tree-in Loc parrot Umk is P
Sit Und State
There is a parrot in the tree.

DiAttributive Clause Type (with inanimate/concrete Und).

+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ S	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Sit	place	Und	inanim/concr	State	da

petia-te oso ac-e
box-in Loc medicine Umk is P
Sit Und State
Medicine is in the box.

somd-e bali ac-e
ocean-in Loc sand Umk is P
Sit Und State
There is sand in the ocean.

basu upr-e petia ac-e
bus up-on Loc box Umk is P
Sit Und State
A suitcase is on top of the bus.

kuD-e boma ac-e
wall-on Loc picture Umk is P
Sit Und State
On the wall is a picture.

tali-te boti ac-e
beam-on Loc lamp Umk is P
Sit Und State
A lamp is (hangs) on the beam.

3.5 SemiStative Clause Type.

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ P	VP
Act	anim/hum	Sit	place	State	se

pila gor-e ac-e
child Umk house-in Loc is P
Act Sit State
The child is in the house.

amor aba sorg-e ac-e
our father Umk heaven-in Loc is P
Act Sit State
Our father is in heaven.

guru guRi-ng ac-e
priest Umk temple-in Loc is P
Act Sit State
The priest is in the temple.

tin amerika lok zon-te ac-ot
three Americans Umk moon-on Loc are P
Act Sit State
Three Americans are on the moon.

3.6 Stative Clause Type.

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ O	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Act	anim	Und	item	State	s

ram siti lek-bar zan-e
Ram Umk letter writing Umk knows P
Act Und State
Ram knows how to write a letter.

mui kar indai-bar zan-i
I Umk car driving Umk know P
Act Und State
I know how to drive a car.

tui poti poR-i par-su
you Umk book reading Umk can P
Act Und State
You can read the book.

tomu gor band-i par-sa
you Umk house building Umk can P
Act Und State
You can build a house.

3.7 Eventive Clause Types.

+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Pex	inanim	Evt	e

pani mar-la
water Umk hit P
Pex Event
It rained.

guR guR-la
thunder Umk thundered P
Pex Event
It thundered.

baaro ganTa oi-la
twelve o'clock Umk became P
Pex Event
It is twelve o'clock.

3.8 SemiReceptive Clause Type.

SemiReceptive Clause Type (with animate Site).

+ IO	NP(Gol)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Sit	anim	Pex	inanim/abstr	Evt	sr

ta-ke maia oi-la
him-to Gol illusion Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
He had an illusion.

to-ke baia oi-la
you-to Gol insanity Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
You became insane.

tom-ke pap oi-la
you-to Gol sin Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
You became sinful.

SemiReceptive Clause Type (with locative Site).

+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ S	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Sit	place	Pex	inanim	Evt	sr

nuti-ng pani oi-la
well-in Loc water Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
The well filled with water.

goD-e puz oi-la
foot-on Loc pus Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
The foot oozed.

3.9 Receptive Clause Type.

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Und	anim/inanim	Evt	r

sedi Tak-la
he Umk tired P
Und Event
He tired.

pani kok-la
water Umk boiled P
Und Event
The water boiled.

gor gol-la
house Umk leaked P
Und Event
The house leaked.

kar nos-la
car Umk spoiled P
Und Event
The car broke down.

pul puT-la
flower Umk bloomed P
Und Event
The flower bloomed.

Receptive Clause Type (with Predicate Extension).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Und	anim	Pex	inanim	Evt	r

sedi porpanc oi-la
he Umk loss Umk became P
Und Pex Event
He lost (everything).

tui oza oi-lus
you Umk friendliness Umk became P
Und Pex Event
You became friendly.

bian paR oi-la
seed Umk decay Umk became P
Und Pex Event
The seed decayed.

3.10 DiReceptive Clause Type.

DiReceptive Clause Type (with animate Site).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ IO	NP(Gol)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Und	anim	Sit	anim	Pex	inanim	Evt	dr

ram mo-ke beT oi-la
Ram Umk me-to Gol meeting Umk became P
Und Sit Pex Event
Ram met me.

DiReceptive Clause Type (with locative Site).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ P	VP
Und	anim/inanim	Sit	place	Evt	dr

pol goc-e oni odor-la
fruit Umk tree from Loc fell P
Und Sit Event
The fruit fell from the tree.

oRa somd-e buD-la
ship Umk ocean-in Loc sank P
Und Sit Event
The ship sank in the ocean.

3.11 Intransitive Clause Type.

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Act	anim	Evt	i

kukur bunk-la
dog Umk barked P
Act Event
The dog barked.

pila punD-la
boy Umk breathed P
Act Event
The boy breathed.

tui kand-lus
you Umk cried P
Act Event
You cried.

Dokri konkol-la
old woman Umk coughed P
Act Event
The old woman coughed.

munos a:s-la
husband Umk laughed P
Act Event
The husband laughed.

Intransitive Clause Type (with Predicate Extension).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Act	anim	Pex	inanim	Evt	I

mui alsana ko-li
I Umk thought Umk did P
Act Pex Event
I thought.

pratap upai ko-la
Pratap Umk plan Umk did P
Act Pex Event
Pratap planned.

sedi bidia ko-la
he Umk magic Umk did P
Act Pex Event
He did magic.

3.12 SemiTransitive Clause Type.

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ P	VP
Act	anim/inanim	Sit	place	Evt	st

razu gaD-e pongor-la
Razu Umk river-in Loc swam P
Act Sit Event
Razu swam in the river.

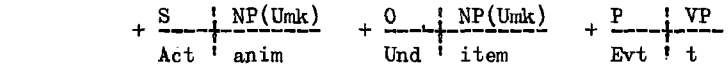
oRa somd-e poi:-la
ship Umk ocean-on Loc floated P
Act Sit Event
The ship sailed on the ocean.

lok kurci-ng bos-lai
people Umk chair-on Loc sat P
Act Sit Event
The people sat on chairs.

coRoi akas-e uD-la
bird Umk sky-in Loc flew P
Act Sit Event
The bird flew in the sky.

3.13 Transitive Clause Type.

Transitive Clause Type (with Actor Orientation).



pila bat kai-la
child Umk rice Umk ate P
Act Und Event
The child ate the rice.

maizi pul dek-la
wife Umk flower Umk saw P
Act Und Event
The wife saw the flower.

ramurti pancia pind-la
Ramurti Umk loincloth Umk bound P
Act Und Event
Ramurti bound the loincloth.

mui kata pasor-li
I Umk story Umk forgot P
Act Und Event
I forgot the story.

Transitive Clause Type (with Undergoer Orientation). This subtype has been separated from Transitive (with Actor Orientation) on the basis of derivational contrast. See Figures 30 and 31.

se lok amor gor band-lai
those people Umk our house Umk built P
Act Und Event
Those people built our house.

goRu goru rak-la
shepherd Umk animals Umk herded P
Act Und Event
The shepherd herded the animals.

nonimon dan kaT-lai
girls Umk rice Umk cut P
Act Und Event
The girls cut the rice.

ram-or babu goc saz-la
Ram's uncle Umk tree Umk planted P
Act Und Event
Ram's uncle planted the tree.

```
mui     siti        lek-li
I Umk   letter Umk  wrote P
Act     Und         Event
I wrote a letter.
```

Transitive Clause Type (with Predicate Extension).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ O	NP(Gol)	+ Cpl	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Act	anim	Und	anim	Pex	inanim/abstr	Evt	t

```
mapru     to-ke       rokia      ko-la
god Umk   you-to Gol  mercy Umk  did P
Act       Und         Pex        Event
God had mercy on you.

aba          pila-ke       aDu              ko-la
father Umk   child-to Gol  protection Umk   did P
Act          Und           Pex              Event
The father protected his child.

e     lok          to-ke       song       ko-la
this  person Umk   you-to Gol  help Umk   did P
Act                Und         Pex        Event
This person helped you.

sedi     mo-ke       ninda      ko-la
he Umk   me-to Gol   blame Umk  did P
Act      Und         Pex        Event
He blamed me.

guru         mapru-ke     zuar          ko-la
priest Umk   god-to Gol   worship Umk   did P
Act          Und          Pex           Event
The priest worshipped God.
```

3.14 DiTransitive Clause Type.

DiTransitive Clause Type (with Goal Site).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ IO	NP(Gol)	+ O	NP(Umk)	+ P	VP
Act	anim	Sit	anim	Und	item	Evt	dt

```
ram       pratap-ke       pol         de-la
Ram Umk   Pratap-to Gol   fruit Umk   gave P
Act       Sit             Und         Event
Ram gave fruit to Pratap.
```

DiTransitive Clause Type (with locative Site).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ O	NP(Gol)	+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ P	VP
Act	anim/inanim	Und	anim	Sit	place	Evt	dt

basu mo-ke te-i ne-la
bus Umk me-to Gol there Loc took P
Act Und Sit Event
The bus took me there.

noni pila-ke aT-e ne-la
girl Umk child-to Gol market-in Loc took P
Act Und Sit Event
The girl took the child to the market.

aia ta-ke gor-e an-la
mother Umk him-to Gol house-in Loc brought P
Act Und Sit Event
Mother brought him home.

DiTransitive Clause Type (with inherent causative).

+ S	NP(Umk)	+ O	NP(Umk)	+ Ref	NP(Loc)	+ P	VP
Act	anim	Und	item	Sit	place	Evt	dt

onot kot beDa-i pakai-la
Onot Umk fertilizer Umk field-on Loc applies P
Act Und Sit Event
Onot put fertilizer on the field.

pila pani bui-e: rokoi-la
boy Umk water Umk ground-on Loc poured P
Act Und Sit Event
The boy poured water on the ground.

mui saman petia-te songoi-li
I Umk goods Umk box-in Loc put P
Act Und Sit Event
I put the goods into the box.

C. Inflected Patterns.

In this section we will discuss briefly the verbal categories of person, number, tense, mood, aspect, and modality.

1. - 3. Person, Number, and Tense.

All verbs in Kotia Oriya are inflected for person, number, and tense. The Stative verb ace 'to be' is an exception in that it takes only present tense stative affixes. The Roles of Actor and Undergoer are thus marked in the verb phrase. For illustrative purposes only one verb is here inflected in context for person, number, and tense. The examples below are given with the verb debar 'to give.'

Past Tense Markers.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-li	-lung
2nd	-lus	-las
3rd	-la	-lai

mui take bat de-li.	I gave rice to him.
tui take bat de-lus.	You gave rice to him.
sedi take bat de-la.	He gave rice to him.
amu take bat de-lung.	We gave rice to him.
tomu take bat de-las.	You gave rice to him.
se lok take bat de-lai.	They gave rice to him.

Present Tense Marker -it.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-it-li	-it-lung
2nd	-it-lus	-it-las
3rd	-it-la	-it-lai

The -i of the present tense marker is dropped if the verb stem ends in a vowel. Since de- has a vowel ending, we give another illustration of a verb stem that ends with a consonant.

mui take bat de-t-li.	I give rice to him.
tui take bat de-t-lus.	You give rice to him.
sedi take bat de-t-la.	He gives rice to him.
amu take bat de-t-lung.	We give rice to him.
tomu take bat de-t-las.	You give rice to him.
se lok take bat de-t-lai.	They give rice to him.

mui paiti kor-it-li.	I do the work.
tui paiti kor-it-lus.	You do the work.
sedi paiti kor-it-la.	He does the work.
amu paiti kor-it-lung	We do the work.
tomu paiti kor-it-las.	You do the work.
se lok paiti kor-it-lai.	They do the work.

Future Tense Marker.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-bi	-bung
2nd	-su	-sa
3rd	-si	-bai

mui take bat de-bi.	I will give him rice.
tui take bat de-su.	You will give him rice.
sedi take bat de-si.	He will give him rice.
amu take bat de-bung.	We will give him rice.
tomu take bat de-sa.	You will give him rice.
se lok take bat de-bai.	They will give him rice.

The Present Tense of the Stative Verb ace.

mui gore ac-i.	I am in the house.
tui gore ac-us.	You are in the house.
sedi gore ac-e.	He is in the house.
amu gore ac-ung.	We are in the house.
tomu gore ac-as.	You are in the house.
se lok gore ac-ot.	They are in the house.

4. Mood.

The basic mood in Kotia Oriya discourse is the Declarative. It is found wherever the other moods discussed below do not occur.

4.1 Interrogative Mood.

There are several ways of stating questions in Kotia Oriya--by use of the interrogative particle ki, interrogative content words, intonation, the -u affix, or the negative interrogative.

4.11 Interrogative Particle ki.

tui sun-lus ki?	Did you hear?
sedi sun-la ki?	Did he hear?
tomu sun-las ki?	Did you hear?
se lok sun-lai ki?	Did they hear?

These questions can also be stated in the present and future tenses. In speech the personal pronoun is mostly not spoken. This can also be said about the following paradigm.

tui ai-su ki nai ki?	Are you coming or not?
sedi ai-si ki nai ki?	Is he coming or not?
tomu ai-sa ki nai ki?	Are you coming or not?
se lok ai-bai ki nai ki?	Are they coming or not?

4.12 Interrogative Content Words.

Two kinds of interrogative words are in use: one basic like koi 'where,' kai 'which,' and kon 'who'; and the other that becomes an interrogative word by prefixing k- to certain adverbs. Thus, ebe 'now' becomes k-ebe 'when,' ene 'here' becomes k-ene 'where,' and eDebol 'at this time' becomes k-eDebol 'at what time,' to name a few.

koi oni tui ai-lus?	From where did you come?
koi oni sedi ai-la?	From where did he come?
koi oni tomu ai-las?	From where did you come?
koi oni se lok ai-lai?	From where did they come?

Future and present tenses also occur.

k-ebe mui zi-bi?	When will I go?
k-ebe tui zai-su?	When will you go?
k-ebe sedi zai-si?	When will he go?
k-ebe amu zi-bung?	When will we go?
k-ebe tomu zai-sa?	When will you go?
k-ebe se lok zi-bai?	When will they go?

The present tense requires the stative auxiliary ace. Below we give the same constructions in the present tense.

k-ebe tui zai ac-us?	When are you going?
k-ebe sedi zai ac-e?	When is he going?
k-ebe tomu zai ac-as?	When are you going?
k-ebe se lok zai ac-ot?	When are they going?

kaike tui no ai-su?	Why are you not coming?
kaike sedi no as-e?	Why is he not coming?
kaike tomu no ai-sa?	Why are you not coming?
kaike se lok no as-ot?	Why are they not coming?

4.13 Intonation

mui iti kai-bi?	Will I eat here?
tui iti kai-su?	Will you eat here?
sedi iti kai-si?	Will he eat here?
amu iti kai-bung?	Will we eat here?
tomu iti kai-sa?	Will you eat here?
se lok iti kai-bai?	Will they eat here?

Present and past tenses are also possible.

4.14 Affix -u

sun-lus-u?	Did you hear?
azi mac dar-lus-u?	Did you catch fish today?

This form can only be used with the second person singular in the past and present tenses.

4.15 The Interrogative Negative

By use of the interrogative particle ki plus the negative particle nai, an echo question is formed which requires from the listener the answer 'yes.'

mui kand-i nai ki?	Am I not crying?
tui kan-su nai ki?	Are you not crying?
sedi kand-e nai ki?	Is he not crying?
amu kand-ung nai ki?	Are we not crying?
tomu kand-sa nai ki?	Are you not crying?
se lok kand-ot nai ki?	Are they not crying?

4.2 Imperative Mood.

The Imperative Mood in Kotia Oriya expresses a direct command. The imperative form of the verb changes for first and third person Sites. In this paper we will only discuss the following: normal imperative, imperative of debar 'to give,' imperative with auxiliary of debar 'to give,' and negative imperative.

4.21 Normal Imperative

Singular imperatives are normally formed from the stem of the verb. Plural imperatives are formed from the stem of the verb with affix -a.

kopaT ugaR	Open the door! (sg.)
kopaT ugaR-a	Open the door! (pl.)
bos	Sit down! (sg.)
bos-a	Sit down! (pl.)

4.22 Imperative of debar 'to give'

The verb debar 'to give' is an exception to the normal imperative discussed above. The difference does not lie between singular and plural, but rather between the 1st and 3rd person singular and plural goal-marked Sites.

mo-ke kauni de	Give me food! (sg.)
ta-ke kauni des	Give him food! (sg.)
am-ke kauni de	Give us food! (sg.)
tan-ke kauni des	Give them food! (sg.)

For the plural imperative there is a change in the stem of the verb, but the same principle holds true which we presented for the singular imperative of debar 'to give.'

mo-ke keuni dia	Give me food!	(pl.)
ta-ke keuni dias	Give him food!	(pl.)
am-ke kauni dia	Give us food!	(pl.)
tan-ke kauni dias	Give them food!	(pl.)

4.23 Imperative with auxiliary of debar 'to give.'

Verbs which under normal conditions in Kotia Oriya discourse can take the auxiliary debar 'to give,' can also take it in the imperative mood, but they do not necessarily have to take it. The implications and reasons for this are not yet understood.

soi des	Go to sleep!	(sg.)
soi dias	Go to sleep!	(pl.)

4.24 Negative Imperative.

nokor	Don't!
kor nai	Don't do it!
no kor	Don't do it!
ka nai	Don't eat it!
za nai	Don't go!

4.3 Hortative Mood.

The Hortative Mood is formed by suffixing -ng to the stem of the verb.

amu ta-ke oso de-ng.	Let us give him medicine.
amu tan-ke oso de-ng.	Let us give them medicine.

5. Aspect.

5.1 Continuous Action.

Continuous action is expressed by suffixing -te to the verb stem and employing the appropriate form of roibar 'to remain.' It can be expressed in all tenses.

mui kai-te roi-li.	I wae still eating.
tui kai-te roi-lus.	You were still eating.
sedi kai-te roi-la.	He was still eating.
amu kai-te roi-lung.	We were still eating.
tomu kai-te roi-las.	You were still eating.
se lok kai-te roi-lai.	They were still eating.

5.2 Permissive Aspect.

The causative form of the verb plus the causative form of korbar 'to do,' plus person, number, and tense affixes give us the permissive aspect. We could translate this construction as, 'permit or allow some-

one to do something.' Consider the examples below.

mui ta-ke kuait korai-li.	I allowed him to eat.
tui ta-ke kuait korai-lus.	You allowed him to eat.
sedi ta-ke kuait korai-la.	He allowed him to eat.
amu ta-ke kuait korai-lung.	We allowed him to eat.
tomu ta-ke kuait korai-las.	You allowed him to eat.
se lok ta-ke kuait korai-lai.	They allowed him to eat.

6. Modality.

6.1 The Negative Construction.

6.11 With nai Present Tense. The negative construction with nai in the present tense takes the following person-number affixes.

mui mor-i nai.	I am not dying.
tui mor-su nai.	You are not dying.
sedi mor-e nai.	He is not dying.
amu mor-ung nai.	We are not dying.
tomu mor-sa nai.	You are not dying.
se lok mor-ot nai.	They are not dying.

With the Infinitive Form of the Verb Plus nai. This form expresses negation in the immediate present, mostly in answer to a question.

mui zi-bar nai.	I'm not going.
tui zi-bar nai.	You're not going.

The Never or Habitual Aspect. This is formed by use of nai with the following affixes on the verb.

mui zai-i nai.	I don't go.
tui za nai.	You don't go.
sedi za-o nai.	He doesn't go.

6.12 With no.

The negation form with no allows all tenses, but like nai the present tense takes the following person-number affixes. Note the contrastive position of no preceding the verb as against nai following it.

mui no as-i.	I'm not coming.
tui no ai-su.	You're not coming.
sedi no as-e.	He's not coming.
amu no as-ung.	We're not coming.
tomu no ai-sa.	You're not coming.
se lok no as-ot.	They're not coming.

6.13 The Negative Verb noi-

It occurs in all tenses. We illustrate only the past tense below.

mui TeDebol iti noi-li.	I wasn't here at that time.
tui TeDebol iti noi-lus.	You were not here at that time.
sedi TeDebol iti noi-la.	He wasn't here at that time.
amu TeDebol iti noi-lung.	We were not here at that time.
tomu TeDebol iti noi-las.	You were not here at that time.
se lok TeDebol iti noi-lai.	They were not here at that time.

The neither/nor form with noi-.

mui cor noi-i ki dingor noi-i.	I'm neither a thief nor a lazy man.
tui cor noi-su ki dingor noi-su.	You are neither a thief nor a lazy man.
sedi cor noi-e ki dingor noi-e.	He is neither a thief nor a lazy man.
amu cor no-ung ki dingor no-ung.	We are neither thieves nor lazy men.
tomu cor noi-sa ki dingor noi-sa.	You are neither thieves nor lazy men.
se lok cor no-ot ki dingor no-ot.	They are neither thieves nor lazy men.

6.2 Contrary-to-Fact Result.

The contrary-to-fact result clause is formed by suffixing the imperfect affixes -ti, -tus, -ta, -tung, -tas, -tai to the verb stem as follows:

mui ta-ke mar-i de-ti.	I would have hit him. (if a certain condition had obtained)
tui ta-ke mar-i de-tus.	You would have hit him.
sedi ta-ke mar-i de-ta.	He would have hit him.
amu ta-ke mar-i de-tung.	We would have hit him.
tomu ta-ke mar-i de-tas.	You would have hit him.
se lok ta-ke mar-i de-tai.	They would have hit him.

D. Derived Patterns.

A clause which belongs inherently in one of the cells of the transitivity system may be moved out of that cell into various other cells of the system by a given set of rules. There are basically four types of rules in Kotia Oriya. 1) rules that add an Actor, 2) rules that delete the Actor or Undergoer, 3) rules that displace the original Actor, and 4) rules that shift from one discourse category to another—that is, from State to Event or vice versa.

1. Derivational Rules.

The rules needed for deriving an inherent clause into another cell are briefly stated below.

Actor Addition (Add Act). This rule adds an Actor to A-set and R-set clauses and thus derives these into the transitive set. An example would be:

(SA) gor-e andar ac-e.
It is dark in the house.

Add Act /ST/ ram gor-e andar ko-la.
Ram made it dark in the house.

The Actor Addition rule either replaces the verb of the deriving clause with appropriate forms of korbar 'to do,' or it adds the causative suffix -ai to the verb stem of the deriving clause.

Focus Actor (Focus Act). This rule puts the focus on the original Actor of the transitive set of clauses. The verb of the clause takes a participial form, and the verb oibar 'to become' is added to the clause.

(T) Ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

Focus Act /T/ ram kal kun-i oi-la.
Ram dug a hole for himself.

Actor Deletion (pv). The Actor deletion rule gives us the passive construction in Kotia Oriya. It applies only to /ST/, /T/, and /DT/ clause types which are the result of the Focus Actor rule. By deletion of the Actor from the Focus Actor clause we get the passive construction. Thus, ST derives to SR, T to R, and DT to DR.

/T/ ram kal kun-i oi-la.
Ram dug a hole for himself.

pv /R/ kal kun-i oi-la.
A hole was dug.

Undergoer Deletion (rv). When the Undergoer is deleted from a derived transitive clause to which the Focus Actor rule has been applied, we get the reflexive construction.

/T/ razu ram-ke kurai oi-la.*
Razu shaved Ram.

rv /I/ razu kurai oi-la.
Razu shaved himself.

*This derived clause is not necessarily a real language form in Kotia Oriya, but rather is a step in the reflexive derivation.

Displacement Rule (cv^1). In Kotia Oriya causativization is not an embedding rule, but rather a displacement rule. When a new Actor

(Causer) is introduced, the original Actor is displaced to the position of Goal-marked Site, and a causative morpheme (-ai) appears in the verb.

(T) ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

cv /DT/ pratap ram-ke kal kun-ai-la.
Pratap caused Ram to dig a hole.

Causative Rule (T*/I*). This rule only adds the causative suffix -ai to the verb stem. It does not derive a clause out of its original cell. It is unique as a rule in that it applies only to derived clauses of the Transitive and Intransitive sets. It will not occur therefore in any of the figures, but will be indicated by an asterisk in the examples following a figure. Note also that T* indicates that that particular clause was derived from the last derived T or I listed above it.

Shift to Event (ev). The eventivizing rule derives a clause out of the Attributive and Stative sets into either the Receptive or Transitive set. Most of this involves the addition of some form of oibar 'to become' to the inherent clause. Specifically, if the verb of the inherent clause is ace 'to be' it changes to oibar 'to become' or to roibar 'to remain' in the case of the SemiStative clause. If the inherent clause is verbless, the appropriate form of oibar is added to the clause. If the verb of the inherent clause is something other than ace, then that verb takes the participial form, and the appropriate form of oibar is added to the clause.

(A) pani kakor ac-e.
The water is cold.

ev /R/ pani kakor oi-la.
The water became cold.

(A) sedi soTa lok.
He is a cripple.

ev /R/ sedi soTa oi-la.
He became a cripple.

(SS) ram gor-e ac-e.
Ram is in the house.

ev /ST/ ram gor-e roi-la.
Ram remained in the house.

Shift to State (sv). The stativizing rule derives a clause out of the Transitive or Receptive set into the Attributive or Stative set of clauses. The only constructional change that takes place is in the VP. The verb of a clause takes on the participial form and the stative verb

ace is added.

(T) ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

sv /S/ ram kal kun-i ac-e.
Ram has dug a hole.

(R) Dokra mo-la.
The old man died.

sv /A/ Dokra mor-i ac-e.
The old man has died.

2. Derivation Patterns.

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

For each clause pattern a tree of derivations will be given. These trees will illustrate the applicability of the rules. The applicability or non-applicability of certain rules can be regarded as a contrastive feature to further contrast the patterns.

Conventions used in the tree diagrams are as follows:

( ) inherent clause pattern cell
/ / non-terminal node--apply cyclical rule* as indicated for each case.
+ + does not occur.
i derivation applies to inherent clauses of that cell only. (Unmarked derivation applies to both inherent as well as derived clauses in that cell.)

*a cyclical rule is marked on the tree diagram as a non-terminal node by / /. Begin the new cycle at that tree diagram which has the same item at the highest possible point.

For example in Figure 14 the node E is marked by a / /, which indicates that a cyclical rule applies to that clause. In order to obtain the full derivation potential of /E/ one must refer to the tree diagram that has E as its highest node which is given in Figure 21.

Derivations of the Circumstantial Clause Pattern.

The derivation potential of a Circumstantial clause is given in Figure 14.

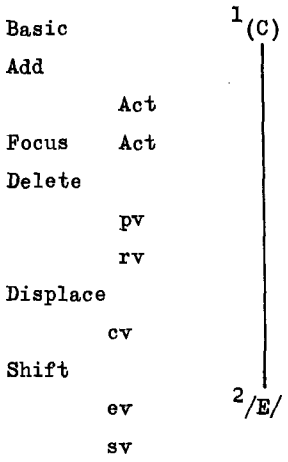


Figure 14. Derivation of a Circumstantial Clause.

Below are given the examples illustrating the derivation of a Circumstantial clause. The examples are ordered according to the raised numbers in the figure.

Circumstantial Derivations.

1) (C) puni ac-e.
It is the time of the full moon.

2) /E/ puni oi-la.
It became the time of the full moon.

C puni oi ac-e.
It has become the time of the full moon.

I mapru puni ko-la.
God made the time of the full moon.

D mapru puni kor-i ac-e.
God has made the time of the full moon.

I mapru puni kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to make the time of the full moon.

D mapru puni kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to make the time of the full moon.

Derivations of the SemiAttributive Clause Pattern with Locative Site. The derivation potential of a SemiAttributive clause with Locative Site is given in Figure 15.

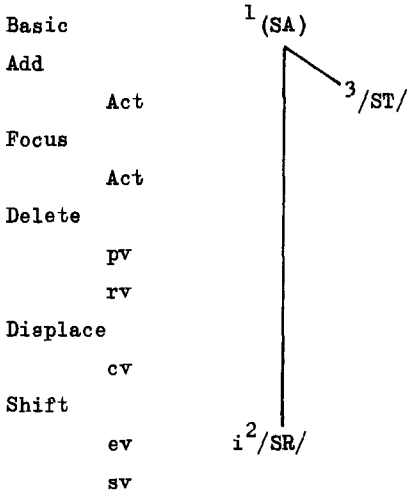


Figure 15. Derivation of a SemiAttributive Clause with Locative Site.

SemiAttributive Derivations with Locative Site.

1) (SA) gor-e andar ac-e.
It is dark in the house.

2) i/SR/ gor-e andar oi-la.
It became dark in the house.

SA gor-e andar oi ac-e.
It has become dark in the house.

3) ST ram gor-e andar ko-la.
Ram made it dark in the house.

SS ram gor-e andar kor-i ac-e.
Ram has made it dark in the house.

ST ram gor-e andar kor-ai-la.
Ram caused (someone) to make it dark in the house.

SS ram gor-e andar kor-ai ac-e.
Ram has caused (someone) to make it dark in the house.

Derivations of the SemiAttributive Clause Pattern with Goal Site. The derivation potential of a SemiAttributive clause with Goal Site is given in Figure 16.

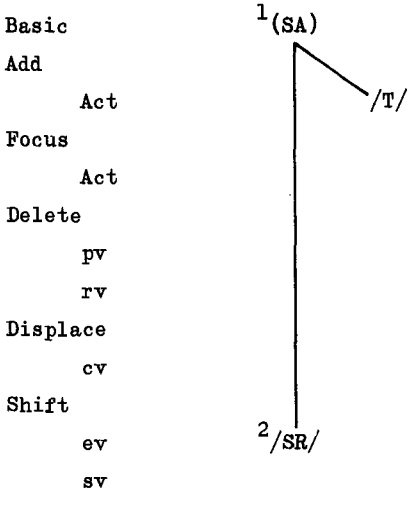


Figure 16. Derivation of a SemiAttributive Clause with Goal Site.

SemiAttributive Derivations with Goal Site.

1) (SA) pila-ke zor ac-e.
The child has a fever.

2) /SR/ pila-ke zor ai-la.
The child came down with a fever.

SA pila-ke zor as-i ac-e.
The child has come down with a fever.

3) /T/ kiRa pila-ke zor ko-la.
The bug gave the child a fever.

S kiRa pila-ke zor kor-i ac-e.
The bug has given the child a fever.

T* kiRa pila-ke zor kor-ai-la.
The bug caused the child to become feverish.

S kiRa pila-ke zor kor-ai ac-e.
The bug has caused the child to become feverish.

*Note: The addition of an Actor results in a derivational history that merges with that of Attributive clauses, which see.

Derivations of the Attributive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of an Attributive Clause is given in Figure 17.

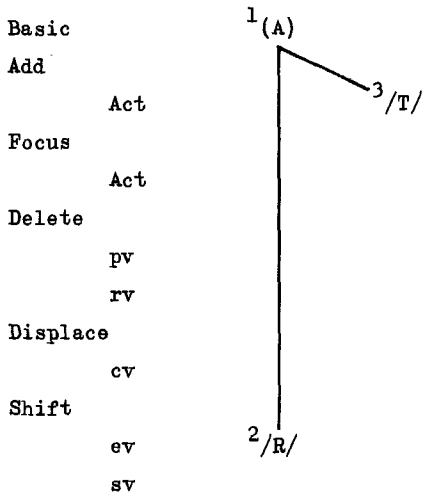


Figure 17. Derivations of an Attributive Clause.

Attributive Derivations.

1) (A) sedi soTa lok.
He is a cripple.

2) /R/ sedi soTa oi-la.
He became a cripple.

A sedi soTa oi ac-e.
He has become a cripple.

3) /T/ mapru ta-ke soTa ko-la.
God made him a cripple.

S mapru ta-ke soTa kor-i ac-e.
God has made him a cripple.

T* mapru ta-ke soTa kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to cripple him.

S mapru ta-ke soTa kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to cripple him.

Derivations of the DiAttributive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a DiAttributive Clause is given in Figure 18.

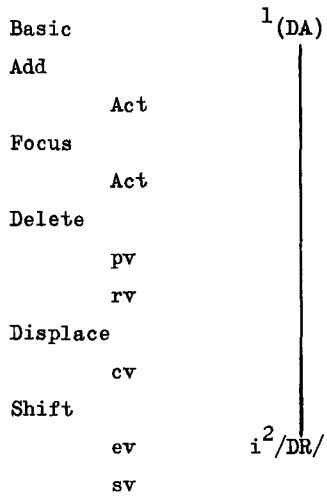


Figure 18. Derivations of a DiAttributive Clause.

1) (DA) gaD-e mac ac-ot.
There are fish in the river.

2) i/DR/ gaD-e mac oi-lai.
There appeared fish in the river.

DA gaD-e mac oi ac-ot.
There have appeared fish in the river.

Note: With inanimate Undergoers the derivational potential is nil.

Derivations of the SemiStative Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a SemiStative clause is given in Figure 19.

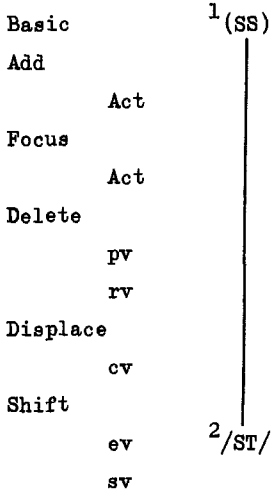


Figure 19. Derivations of a SemiStative Clause.

1) (SS) ram gor-e ac-e.
Ram is in the house.

2) /ST/ ram gor-e roi-la.
Ram stayed in the house.

/SS/ + +

DT aba ram-ke gor-e ru-ai-la.
The father caused Ram to stay in the house.

Note: With inanimate Statants the derivation potential is nil.

Derivations of the Stative Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a Stative clause is given in Figure 20.

1) (S) ram-ke mui zan-i.
I know Ram.

2) i/DR/ mo-ke ram zan-i oi-la.
Ram became known to me.

DA mo-ke ram zan-i oi ac-e.
Ram has become known to me.

Derivations of the Eventive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of an Eventive Clause is given in Figure 21.

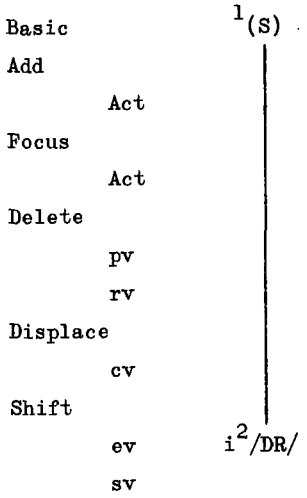


Figure 20. Derivations of a Stative Clause.

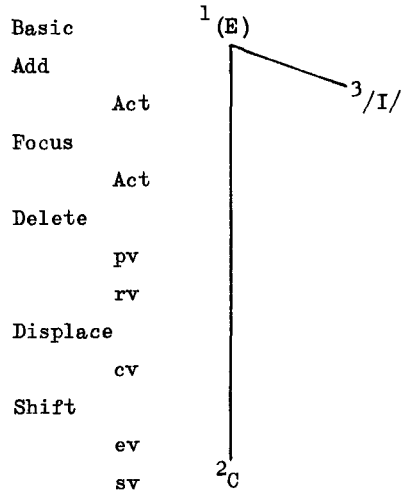


Figure 21. Derivations of an Eventive Clause

Eventive Derivations.

1) (E) sakal pai-la.
It dawned.

2) C sakal pai ac-e.
It has dawned.

3) /I/ mapru sakal ko-la.
God made it dawn.

D mapru sakal kor-i ac-e.
God has made it dawn.

I* mapru sakal kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to make it dawn.

D mapru sakal kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to make it dawn.

Derivations of the SemiReceptive Clause Pattern with Animate Site. The derivation potential of a SemiReceptive Clause is given in Figure 22.

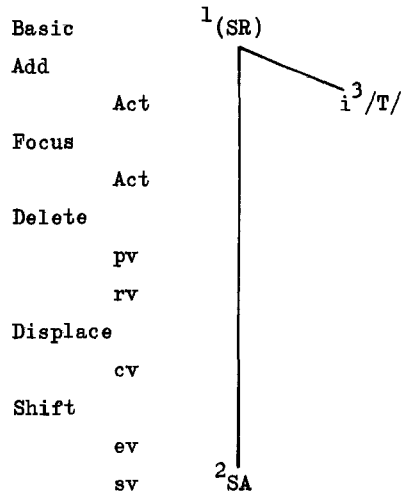


Figure 22. Derivations of a SemiReceptive Clause with Animate Site.

SemiReceptive Derivations.

1) (SR) mo-ke porson oi-la.
I had a vision.

2) SA mo-ke porson oi ac-e.
I have had a vision.

3) i/T/ mapru mo-ke porson ko-la.
God gave me a vision.

S mapru mo-ke porson kor-i ac-e.
God has given me a vision.

T* mapru mo-ke porson kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to give me a vision.

S mapru mo-ke porson kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to give me a vision.

Derivations of the SemiReceptive Clause Pattern with Inanimate Site. The derivation potential of a SemiReceptive Clause with inanimate Site is given in Figure 23.

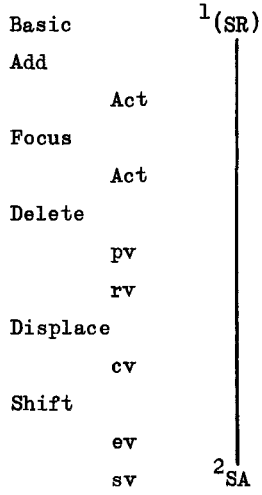


Figure 23. Derivations of a SemiReceptive Clause with inanimate Site.

SemiReceptive Derivations.

1) (SR) nonir peTe pila oi-la.
The girl became pregnant.

2) SA nonir peTe pila oi ac-e.
The girl has become pregnant.

Derivations of the Receptive Clause Pattern with animate Undergoer and Predicate Extension. The derivation potential of a Receptive Clause with animate Undergoer and Predicate Extension is given in Figure 24.

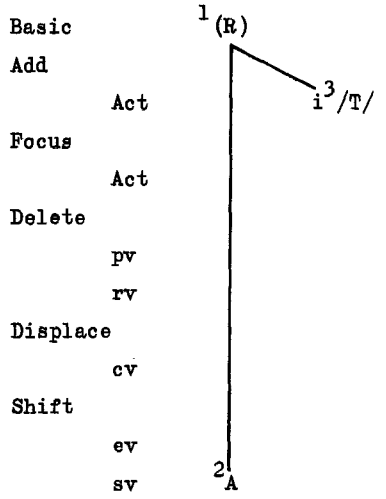


Figure 24. Derivations of a Receptive Clause with animate Undergoer and Predicate Extension.

Receptive Derivations.

1) (R) sedi bama oi-la.
He became amazed.

2) A sedi bama oi ac-e.
He has become amazed.

3) i/T/ ram ta-ke bama ko-la.
Ram amazed him.

S ram ta-ke bama kor-i ac-e.
Ram has amazed him.

T* pratap ta-ke bama kor-ai-la.
Pratap caused (someone) to amaze him.

S pratap ta-ke bama kor-ai ac-e.
Pratap has caused (someone) to amaze him.

Derivations of the Receptive Clause Pattern with animate Undergoer but without Predicate Extension. The derivation potential of a Receptive Clause with animate Undergoer but without Predicate Extension is given in Figure 25.

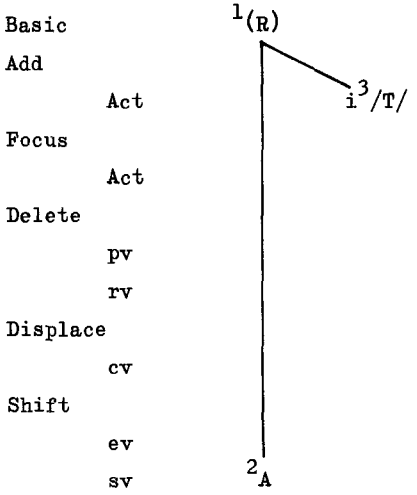


Figure 25. Derivations of a Receptive Clause with animate Undergoer but without Predicate Extension.

Receptive Derivation.

1) (R) Dokra mo-la.
The old man died.

2) A Dokra mor-i ac-e.
The old man has died.

3) i/T/ bag Dokra-ke mor-ai-la.
The tiger killed the old man.

S bag Dokra-ke mor-ai ac-e.
The tiger has killed the old man.

Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a DiReceptive Clause is given in Figure 26.

DiReceptive Derivations.

1) (DR) seli Dongr-e az-la.
The goat got lost in the mountains.

2) DA seli Dongr-e az-i ac-e.
The goat has gotten lost in the mountains.

3) i/DT/ goRu seli Dongr-e az-ai-la.
The shepherd caused the goat to get lost in the mountains.

DS goRu seli Dongr-e az-ai ac-e.
The shepherd has caused the goat to get lost in the mountains.

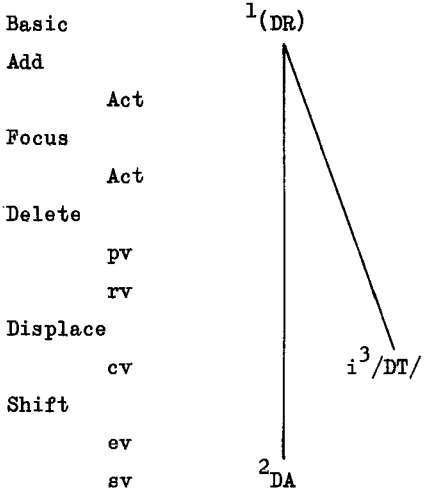


Figure 26. Derivations of a DiReceptive Clause.

Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of an Intransitive Clause is given in Figure 27.

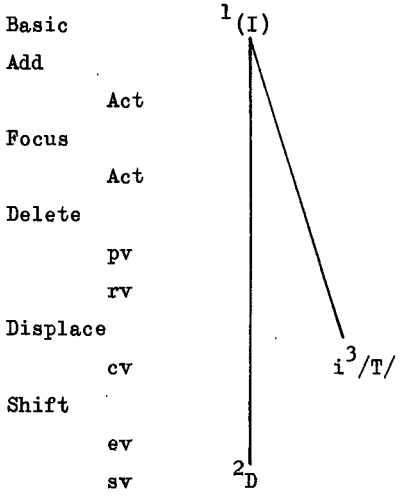


Figure 27. Derivations of an Intransitive Clause.

Intransitive Derivations.

1) (I) bag ankar-la.
The tiger growled.

2) D bag ankr-i ac-e.
The tiger has growled.

3) i/T/ lok bag-ke ankr-ai-lai.
The people caused the tiger to growl.

S lok bag-ke ankr-ai ac-e.
The people have caused the tiger to growl.

Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern with Predicate Extension. The derivation potential of an Intransitive Clause with Predicate Extension is given in Figure 28.

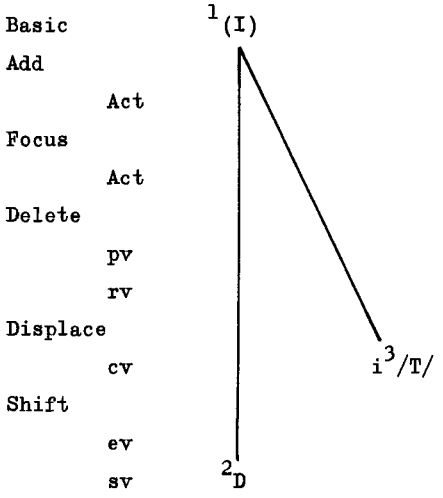


Figure 28. Derivations of an Intransitive Clause with Predicate Extension.

Intransitive Derivations.

1) (I) ram bisram ko-la.
Ram took a rest.

2) D ram bisram kor-i ac-e.
Ram has taken a rest.

3) i/T/**pratap ram-ke bisram kor-ai-la.
Pratap caused Ram to take a rest.

S pratap ram-ke bisram kor-ai ac-e.
Pratap has caused Ram to take a rest.

I pratap bisram kor-i oi-la.
Pratap took a rest for himself.

D pratap bisram kor-i oi ac-e.
Pratap has taken a rest for himself.

**Note that the following derivation pattern applies only to Transitive Clauses with Animate Undergoer Orientation. See Figure 32.

Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a SemiTransitive Clause is given in Figure 29.

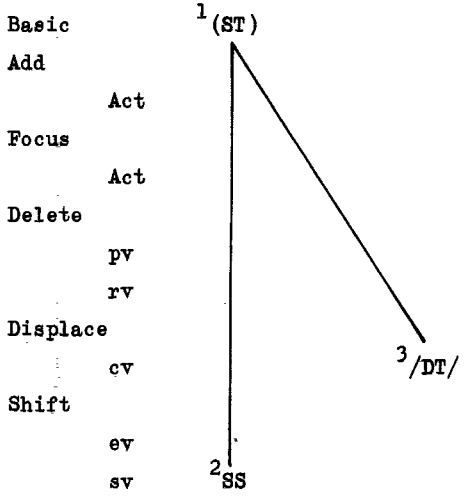


Figure 29. Derivations of a SemiTransitive Clause.

SemiTransitive Derivation.

1) (ST) makRi goc-e sog-la.
The monkey climbed the tree.

2) SS makRi goc-e sog-i ac-e.
The monkey has climbed the tree.

3) /DT/ bag makRi-ke goc-e sog-ai-la.
The tiger caused the monkey to climb the tree.

DS bag makRi-ke goc-e sog-ai ac-e.
The tiger has caused the monkey to climb the tree.

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern with Actor Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Actor Orientation is given in Figure 30.

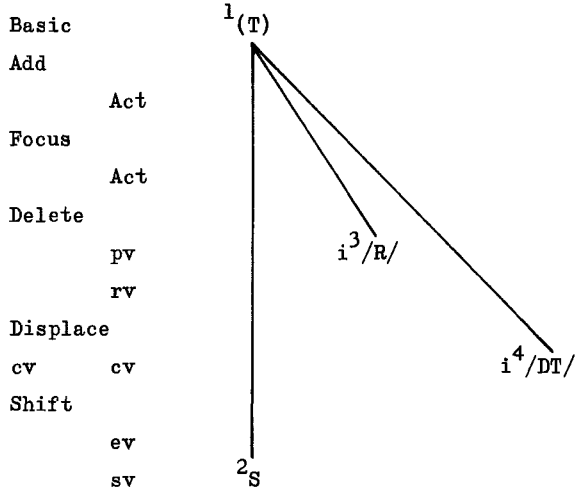


Figure 30. Derivation of a Transitive Clause with Actor Orientation.

Transitive Derivations.

1) (T) ram pani Dunk-la.
Ram drank water.

2) S ram pani Dunk-i ac-e.
Ram has drunk water.

3) i/R/ pani Dunk-i oi-la.
The water was drunk.

A pani Dunk-i oi ac-e.
The water has been drunk.

4) i/DT/ mui ram-ke pani Dunk-ai-la.
I caused Ram to drink water.

DS mui ram-ke pani Dunk-ai ac-e.
I have caused Ram to drink water.

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern with Undergoer Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Undergoer Orientation is given in Figure 31.

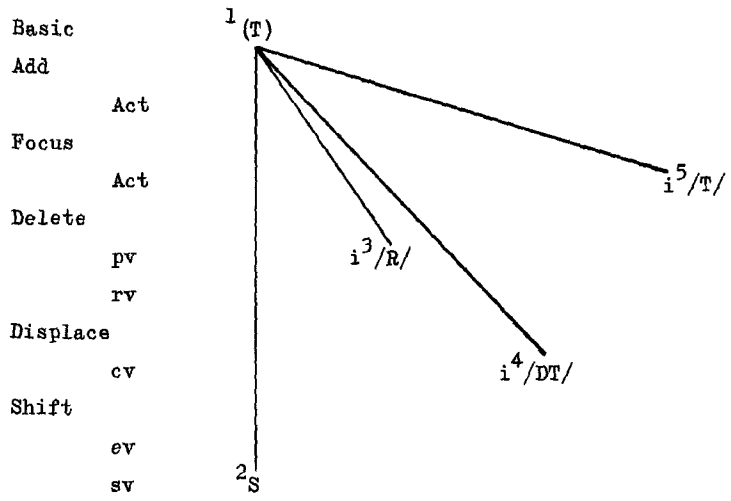


Figure 31. Derivation of a Transitive Clause with Undergoer Orientation.

Transitive Derivations.

1) (T) ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

2) S ram kal kun-i ac-e.
Ram has dug a hole.

3) i/R/ kal kun-i oi-la.
The hole got dug.

A kal kun-i oi ac-e.
The hole has gotten dug.

4) i/DT/ pratap ram-ke kal kun-ai-la.
Pratap caused Ram to dig a hole.

DS pratap ram-ke kal kun-ai ac-e.
Pratap has caused Ram to dig a hole.

5) /T/ ram kal kun-i oi-la.
Ram dug a hole for himself.

S ram kal kun-i oi ac-e.
Ram has dug a hole for himself.

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern with Animate Undergoer Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Animate Undergoer Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Animate Undergoer Orientation is given in Figure 32.

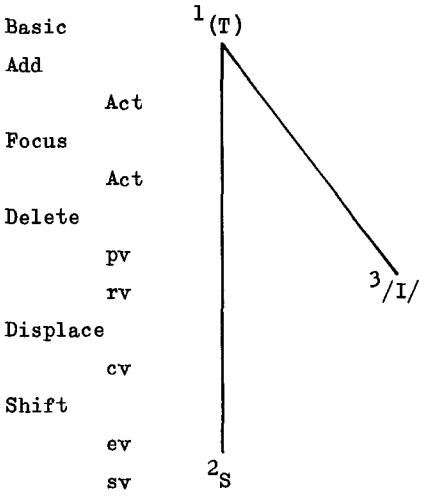


Figure 32. Derivation of a Transitive Clause with Animate Undergoer Orientation.

Transitive Derivation.

1) T ram to-ke kurai-la.
Ram shaved you.

2) S ram to-ke kurai ac-e.
Ram has shaved you.

3) /I/ ram kurai oi-la.
Ram shaved himself.

D ram kurai oi ac-e.
Ram has shaved himself.

Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern with Goal-marked Site. The derivation potential of a DiTransitive Clause with Goal-marked Undergoer is given in Figure 33.

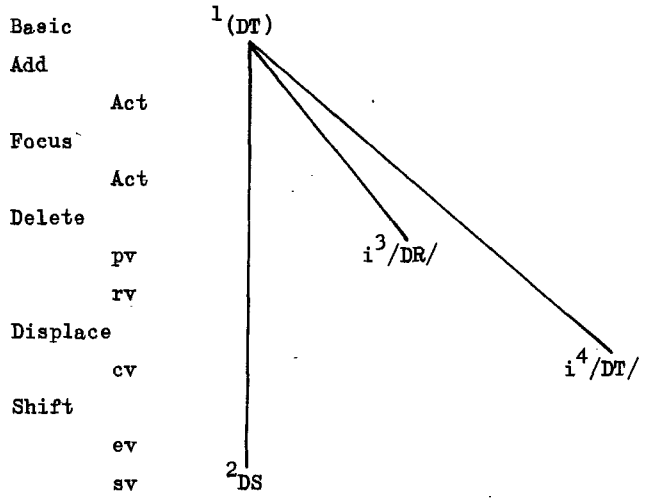


Figure 33. Derivation of a DiTransitive Clause with Goal-marked Site.

DiTransitive Derivation.

1) (DT) ram pratap-ke pol de-la.
Ram gave fruit to Pratap.

2) DS ram pratap-ke pol de ac-e.
Ram has given fruit to Pratap.

3) i/DR/ pol pratap-ke de oi-la.
Fruit was given to Pratap.

DA pol pratap-ke de oi ac-e.
Fruit has been given to Pratap.

4) i/DT/ razu pratap-ke pol di-ai-la.
Razu caused (someone) to give fruit to Pratap.

DS razu pratap-ke pol di-ai ac-e.
Razu has caused (someone) to give fruit to Pratap.

Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern with dummy causatives. The derivation potential of a DiTransitive Clause with dummy causative is given in Figure 34.

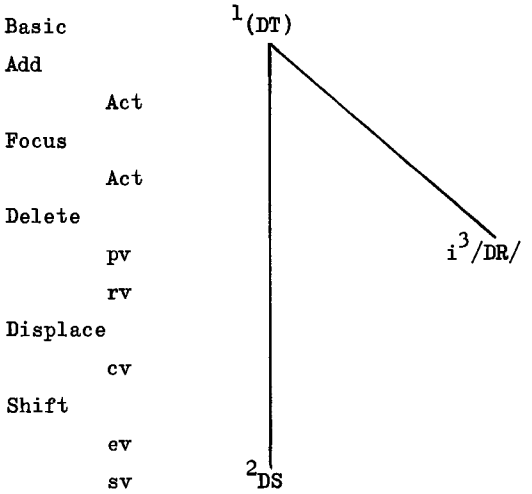


Figure 34. Derivation of a DiTransitive Clause with dummy causative.

DiTransitive Derivations.

1) (DT) ram kot beDa-i pakai-la.
Ram applied fertilizer on the paddy.

2) DS ram kot beDa-i pakai ac-e.
Ram has applied fertilizer on the paddy.

3) i/DR/ kot beDa-i pakai oi-la.
Fertilizer was applied to the paddy.

DA kot beDa-i pakai oi ac-e.
Fertilizer has been applied to the paddy.

Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern with Inanimate Actor. The derivation potential of a DiTransitive Clause with Inanimate Actor is given in Figure 35.

DiTransitive Derivations.

1) (DT) basu pratap-ke patna ne-la.
The bus took Pratap to the city.

2) DS basu pratap-ke patna ne ac-e.
The bus has taken Pratap to the city.

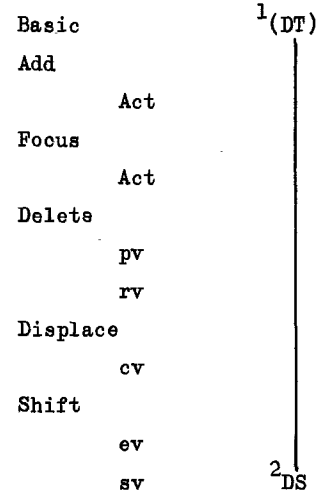


Figure 35. Derivation of a DiTransitive Clause with Inanimate Actor.

E. Dependent Patterns.

Here we present a brief description of some commonly found dependent clauses and their distribution in the grammatical hierarchy. In Figure 36 the clause form plus its distribution is shown. The vertical dimension shows the form of the verb of the clause plus or minus other relators. The horizontal dimension indicates the distribution of the clause in either phrase, clause or sentence level slots. Following the matrix examples are given of the dependent clauses in the order in which they are seen in the vertical dimension of the matrix. The outline, however, corresponds to the horizontal dimension as it proceeds from left to right. Each example shows not only the dependent clause, but also the complete context in which it is functioning.

Note: The numbers 1 through 6 at the top of the matrix stand for the following:

1. Conditional/Temporal Dependent Clauses
2. Attributive Dependent Clauses
3. Reason Dependent Clauses
4. -ba-ka Dependent Clauses (Purpose, Subject and Temporal-Sequence Dependent Clauses)
5. Temporal-Sequence Dependent Clauses
6. Temporal Dependent Clauses.

Distribution / Affix/Relator	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.1 vs. + -le	X					
1.2 vs. + -la ale	X					
1.3 vs. + -bar ale	X					
2.1 vs. + -la		X				
2.2 vs. + -er		X				
3 vs. + -la-ke			X			
4.1 vs. + -ba-ke				X		
4.2 vs. + -ba-ke				X		
4.3 vs. + -ba-ke				X		
5.1 vs. + -i kor-i					X	
5.2 vs. + -la ze					X	
5.3 vs. + -bar-ni					X	
6 vs. + -la poce						X

Figure 36. Distribution of Dependent Patterns.

Examples of Dependent Clauses.

1. Conditional/Temporal Dependent Clauses.

These clauses fill the conditional margin in Condition-Result sentences.

1.1 vs. + -le

mui oso kai-le bol oi-li.
When I ate madicine, I became well.

amu e dese roi-le bol ac-e.
It is good for us if we stay in this country.

tui mo-ke koi-le mui to-ke de-bi.
If you tell me, I'll give (it) to you.

dui aT oi-le e paiti sar-i zai-si.
When two weeks have gone, this work will be completed.

1.2 vs. + -la ale

mui oso kai-li ale bol oi-bi.
If I eat medicine, I'll become well.

sedi to-ke mar-la ale tui odr-i zi-bar.
If he hits you, you will fall.

1.3 vs. + -bar ale

mui oso kai-bar ale bol oi-ti.
If I would eat medicine, I would become well.

tui gor band-bar ale toke Dabu de-bi.
If you will build a house, I will give you the money.

2. Attributive Dependent Clauses.

These clauses fill the attributive slot in noun phrases as shown in the examples below.

2.1 vs. + -la.

It seems to make little difference whether the noun modified is human or non-human.

mui kai-la oso mui bol oi-li.
Ths medicine which I ate made me well.

e lok ko-la paiti bol ac-e.
The work that these people did is good.

se ai-la lok ramor gore ga-lai.
Those people who came went to Ram's house.

e gor band-la lok bin gang oni ai-lai.
These people who built this house came from another village.

2.2 vs. + -er.

So far the only vsrb taking this form is the verb ace 'to be.'

tomor gore ac-er pila bol pul gunt-si.
The boy who is in your house binds flowers well.

3. Reason Dependent Clauses.

The form of the verb is the past tense, inflected for person-number plus the suffix -ke.

mui oso kai-li-ke mo-ke bol oi-la.
Because I ate medicine, I got well.

Dokra e gau: ga-la-ke se lok duiTa bolod de-lai.
Because the old man went into this village, those people gave him two bulls.

4. -ba-ke Dependent Clauses.

This form of dependent clause is the most versatile, being distributed in three different slots--Purpose, Subject, and Temporal-Sequence.

4.1 Purpose, vs. + -ba-ke.

mung kai-ba-ke paruamon ai-lai.
The pigeons came to eat the pulse.

sag bik-ba-ke amu aTe ga-lung.
We went to the market to sell vegetables.

4.2 Subject, vs. + -ba-ke.

ta-ke daru an-ba-ke besi kosTu ac-e.
Bringing home firewood is very difficult for him.

4.3 Temporal-Sequence, vs. + -ba-ke.

mui oso kai-ba-ke zor ga-la.
Having eaten the medicine, the fever went.

5. Temporal-Sequence.

This division includes three different forms of dependent clauses, all of which seem to mean roughly 'action-just-prior-to-another-action.'

5.1 vs. + -i kor-i.

This is a very frequently used means of expressing sequential action. The difference between this construction and the Conditional/Temporal construction with -le is not quite clear. It may be that this construction is focussing more on sequence whereas the -le construction focuses more on the time of the happening of the main verb.

mui oso kai kor-i bol oi-li.
Having eaten medicine, I became well.

se bag as-i kor-i tar pilamonke dud ku-ai-la.
That tiger having come, she fed her cubs milk.

5.2 vs. + -la ze.

As the form mentioned in 5.1 parallels the Conditional/Temporal construction with -le, so this form seems to parallel the Conditional-Temporal construction with -la ale. Note that in the following examples the gloss 'when' for ze is perfectly acceptable.

mui oso kai-li ze bol oi-li.
Having eaten medicine, I became well.

sedi mo-ke koi-la ze gore ga-la.
Having spoken to me, he went home.

5.3 vs. + -bar-ni.

This construction expresses immediate sequence.

mui oso kai-bar-ni bol oi-li.
As soon as I ate the medicine I became well.

bag dek-bar-ni bonde uTi ga-la.
As soon as the tiger looked around he went into the jungle.

6. Temporal.

This dependent clause seems to mean 'prior-action-to-the-independent-clause.' It has a more general temporal meaning than the Temporal-Sequential above. It is formed by suffixing to the verb stem the past tense form -la plus the free form poce 'after.'

kste din ga-la poce mui ar ai-bi.
After many days have passed, I'll come again.

goTek boros ga-la poce amu iti ai-bung.
After one year has gone, we'll come back here.

Abbreviations.

A/a	Attributive
abstr	abstract
Act	Actor
anim	animate
AP	Adjective Phrase
attrib	attributive
C/c	Circumstantial
concr	concrete

Cpl	complement
cv	causativizing
D	Descriptive
DA/da	DiAttributive
DR/dr	DiReceptive
DS	DiStative
DT/dt	DiTransitive
E/e	Eventive
ev	eventivizing
Evt	Event
Gol	Goal
hum	human
I/i	Intransitive
inanim	inanimate
IO	Indirect Object
Loc	locative
non-hum	non-human
NP	noun phrase
O	Object
P	Predicate
Pex	predicate extension
pv	passive
R/r	Receptive
Ref	Referent
S/s	Stative (Box 4/5 label)
S	Subject (Box 1 label)
SA/sa	SemiAttributive
Sit	Site
SR/sr	SemiReceptive
Src	source
SS/ss	SemiStative
ST/st	SemiTransitive
Sta	Statant
sv	stativizing
T/t	Transitive
Umk	unmarked
Und	Undergoer
VP	verb phrase
vs	verb stem
( )	inherent clause type

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