With this volume we wish to convey our congratulations to the Honorable Surya Bahadur Shakya upon his recent appointment by His Majesty, the King, as Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University. We extend our best wishes for a long and fruitful administration.

We also wish to express our deep appreciation to Dr. P. R. Sharma, Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies for his continued support and encouragement of the Institute's programs in linguistic research, of which this volume is one direct result.

The papers contained in this collection have one thing in common. They were all stimulated by a workshop led by Dr. Joseph Grimes of Cornell University. This workshop took place on the Kirtipur campus of Tribhuvan University for eight weeks during June, July and August of 1973. The main emphasis of the workshop was upon the structure of discourse and the majority of the papers written in the workshop dealt with various aspects of discourse found to be of special interest for languages of Nepal. Most of these papers are to appear in a volume on discourse edited by Dr. Grimes. We are grateful, however, to be able to include one paper on discourse in this collection, namely the paper by Leal dealing with the structure of introductions in Chitwan Tharu narratives. The remaining papers, though they deal with the analysis of linguistic structures at lower levels, are certainly of no less interest. The papers by Holzhausen, by Kotapish, and by Hale and Manandhar follow up in various ways
certain interesting developments by Grimes in the area of case and role. The paper by Toba makes use of networks in dealing with verb morphology.

The Grimes workshop was made possible by National Science Foundation Grant GS-3180A 1. We wish to express our appreciation to this agency and we offer this book as evidence that the grant was fruitfully invested.

We wish to thank our directors, Les Troyer and Dick Hugoniot for their enthusiastic support of this project in ways too numerous to mention. We are very grateful to Anna Holzhausen and Marilyn Rogelstad for volunteering to type the photo ready copy, and to Roma Mathieson for her willing and able contribution as proofreader. To the Managers of the University Press, Bob and Joan Critchfield, to the chief camera man, Samuel Sodemba, and to the chief press man, Bhajuman Tamang, we wish to offer our thanks for a very professional piece of work.

Austin Hale, Editor
Kirtipur
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The Khaling Verb

Ingrid Toba

This paper deals with the structure of the verb in Khaling. Verb forms consist of a stem with affixes. There are two different verb stems for each verb in Khaling, the infinitive stem and the finite stem. Given these two, all forms can be derived. For a detailed description of the way the stems are formed, see Section V.

There are two kinds of affixes that occur with verbs: suffixes and enclitics. Enclitics are relevant on the clause and sentence levels, whereas suffixes are relevant in the verb phrase. First we describe the suffixes since they are attached directly to the verb stem.

I. SUFFIXES

Suffixes fall into two groups, those that follow the infinitive stem of the verb, and those that follow the finite stem. Figure 1 shows the interrelationships of various affix systems following Halliday (1967), Winograd (1972), and Newman (ms.).

A. Finite Suffixes

Finite suffixes are attached to the finite stem of the verb. They precede the tense marker -t, which is followed in turn by the person marker (Section VI). First we list the aspect suffixes for non-stative verbs.

-ther is used to express habitual action in both past and non-past: maa-naa surilom taangaa hō-ther-te (and straight beam only bring-habitual-past-3-sg) 'and he always brought only a straight beam'. mo-ther-ev (be-animate-habitual-imperative) 'be here always!'
Figure 1. Simple verb phrase.
-de is used to describe an action witnessed by the speaker but not performed by him: wāylaam-ā u-cō kūr-de-te (wāylaam-agent her-child carry-witnessed-past-3sg) 'Wāylaam carried her child'. -de is used by a story teller even if the speaker is not an actual witness. In this case, it serves to give a fictitious effect of immediacy. In daily conversation, -de added to a verb stem expresses emphatic speech in exclamatory remarks like send-ey u-juttaa bhān-de-te (look-2sg-imperative its-shoes wear-witnessed-past-3sg) 'Look, he even wears shoes, I see!'

-pa is translocative. It is used to describe an action that is performed at a place different from the present location of the agent. ung-aa rās sing-pa-du (I-agent king ask-translocative-1sg) 'I go to ask the king'.

-khaa is completive: chyaa tung-khaa-taa (tea drink-completive-past-1sg) 'I finished (completely) drinking tea'. -khaa occurs only with the past tense marker -t.

The negative is indicated by a prefix mu-. Since this prefix is mutually exclusive with all the aspect suffixes, it is mentioned in connection with them. With mu- the form of the past tense suffix is -we rather than -te as with the other aspects.

The past tense suffix -t follows a nonstative stem immediately if there are no aspect suffixes present: ho-t-e (come-past-3sg) 'he came', hō-ther-t-e (come-habitual-past-3sg) 'he usually came'. In stative stems -t also marks the past tense: bhing-t-e (beautiful-past-3sg) 'it was beautiful'. Nonpast tense is not marked by an affix for nonstatives; for statives the nonpast suffix is -pā. bhang-pā (beautiful-result) 'beautiful'.

Person markers follow the stem immediately if there is no aspect or tense suffix: khīb-u (cook-1sg) 'I cook', pher-nu (sew-3pl) 'they sew'. Personal endings are listed in Figure 4 and discussed in Section VI. Agreement between person and number for subject as well as for object is indicated everywhere except third person singular. has-hām lāst-te-nu (man-plural arrive-past-3pl) 'people arrived', mām pāhp-su je-su (mother father-dual eat-dual) 'mother and father eat', ung-aa am bi-ngaa (I-agent give-he give-1sg) 'I give him'.

The imperative mood is indicated by the suffix -ey in singular, dual, and plural: mo-ey (be-animate-2sg-imperative) 'stay!' khū-ci-ey (go-dual-imperative) 'go!' reh-nu-ey (write-2pl-imperative) 'write!' The negative imperative is formed by prefixing the negative prefix mu- to the positive imperative: mu-thukt-ū-ey (negative-touch-2sg-imperative) 'don't touch!'

The impersonal suffix -si is added to the finite stem in evaluative questions and answers like wong-si nū o
(enter-impersonal good question) 'is it all right to enter?', jō-si mū-nū (eat-impersonal negative-good) 'it is not good to eat'.

B. **Infinitival Suffixes**

Infinitival suffixes are derivational and inflectional. Derivational suffixes are class changing while inflectional suffixes form dependent clauses.

There are three derivational suffixes. -ne is a nominal complement to auxiliaries. Added to the infinitive stem, -ne makes the infinitive form of the verb: *khwaan-ne 'go'. The infinitive form is used in combinations with a following auxiliary verb, as in *khwaan-ne matt-ū (go-infinitive is-3sg) 'he is due to go', jō-ne mū-nū (eat-infinitive negative-good) 'to eat is not good'. In these combinations, the infinitive is used like a noun. Compare the following two examples with the previous ones: waayaa-bi rō matt-ū (lowland-in paddy is-3sg) 'in the lowlands, wet rice ripens (is due)', ku mū-nū (water negative-good) 'water is not good'. The infinitive form is also used in questions like *rem-ne o (stand-infinitive question) 'should I stand?' The subject in this question is always the speaker himself. The uninflected infinitive stem without any suffix cannot occur freely, but must be connected with a suffix.

-de is a nominal suffix which makes instrumental and local nouns. Such nouns have the privilege of occurrence of morphologically simple nouns; that is, they take a specifying prefix or a directional suffix such as only nouns take otherwise: u-'thay-de-laa-kaa (its-pull-nominalizer-from) 'from the place where one pulls'. In this example, instrument and place are one and the same thing. Syntactically, verb stems to which -de has been added function like a relative clause when they modify a noun: mā bhaayaa-bi *khwaay-de lām mu-go-we (that place-in go-nominalizer road negative-be-past-negative) 'there was no road which led to that place'.

-pā is also a nominal suffix. Added to transitive verb stems it makes a noun that is the result of the verbal action: kham-ne (cook-infinitive), kham-pā (cook-result) 'cooked thing', kham-pā go-t-e (cook-result be-inanimate-past-3sg) 'it was something that was cooked'. Nouns formed with -pā can take the agent marker -ā, as in mu-koh-pā-ā yongbem mū-ne maskil matt-ū (negative-know-result-agent jew's-harp make-infinitive difficult be-3sg) 'for one who does not know how to make a jew's-harp, making one is difficult'.

Inflectional suffixes that go with infinitive stems refer to the temporal relationship of actions. The inflectional suffix -saa is used to express that the action of the
verb to which it is suffixed precedes another action which is closely related to it. ung-aa yu khap-saa jaa-ngaa (I-agent rice cook-preceding eat-lsg-goal) 'having cooked the rice, I eat it now'. Syntactically, verb forms with -saa are dependent on the main verb of the clause sentence, that is, they have the same subject as the main verb, but it is expressed only on the first verb of the sentence as a whole.

The inflectional suffix -to is used when the action of the verb to which it is suffixed is simultaneous with that of the next clause: phi-to phi-to rās-po kam-bi hō-i-pās-t-i (beg-simultaneous beg-simultaneous king-of house-in arrive-3dual-past) 'begging along, the two reached the king's house'. Verb forms with -to combine with other verbs like 'go' with a meaning similar to that of a continuative aspect as in mebe-naa kam car-to khwaayh-ki (after-that house pile-simultaneous go-lpl-inclusive) 'after that, go on piling up the house'. -to, like -saa, does not have a class changing effect on the verb to which it is suffixed, but maintains its verbal character. This is proved by the fact that in the example quoted, the object kam is identified by the absence of a case ending. Compare the simple verb car-ne: kam car-ki (house pile-lpl-inclusive) 'we pile the house up'. Here also the object kam is unmarked.

II. ENCLITICS

Enclitics are relevant on the clause and sentence levels (S. Toba ms). They are attached at the end of the inflected verb form.

-naa coordinate clauses, emphasizing the sequence of events or procedures: phūk-t-aa-naa jung-t-aa (rise-past-lsg-sequence eat-past-lsg) 'after I got up, I ate', dhō-ne ner-naa odi mü-ne matt-ū (engrave-infinitive finish-sequence thought do-infinitive is-3sg) 'after engraving is finished, one must think'.

-lo gives the temporal setting of events. Syntactically, -lo always stands in dependent clauses. In discourse, -lo is used in the initial sentence of a paragraph: del-kam-bi les-t-i-lo has-hām-ā cheng-t-e-nu (village-house-in arrive-when man-plural-agent insult-past-3pl) 'when the two arrived in the village houses, the people insulted them'.

-kho also stands in dependent clauses. It states the condition under which the action of the associated independent clause may or may not be performed: cāp-ki-kho ghōle din phlō-ki-kho yo nū (can-lpl-inclusive-if many day help-lpl-inclusive-if also good) 'if we can, it is all right if we help many days'.
III. COMPOUND STEM

There is a general pattern of compounding in which an uninflected verb stem is followed by one of a small number of compounding stems, or auxiliaries. The auxiliary is inflected in the usual way. The negative prefix precedes the uninflected verb stem.

The benefactive auxiliary sö combines with uninflected transitive verb stems: sām-ā u-gō-kolo pher-sā-t-e (Sherpa-agent its-clothes-with sew-benefactive-past-3sg) ‘the Sherpa sewed them onto the clothes for her (to her disadvantage)’. In the example the Sherpa sewed the shoes onto the clothes of the Yeti (the so-called ‘Abominable Snowman’) to whom he was married against his will. When they both climbed up a mountain, the Yeti slipped on a rock but could not take the shoes off and so the Sherpa was able to run away.

The reflexive auxiliary si indicates that an action is performed by the subject of the verb for his own benefit. si combines with both transitive and intransitive stems of any kind: ik gholē cem-si-kil (we much play-reflexive-1pl-inclusive) ‘we play a lot’, u-diche ung sar-si-ngaa (its-morning I wash-reflexive-1sg-goal) ‘in the morning I wash myself’. -si behaves anomalously in one respect: all persons except the second and third person singular and plural have the past tense -t following the reflexive suffix if -t occurs. In second and third person singular, however, -t follows the main verb stem instead of the auxiliary: ut ku-bi nām-t-e-si (camel water-in sink-past-3sg-reflexive) ‘the camel submerged itself in the water’. Second and third person plural do not have any reflexive suffix at all with the past marker -t: en cem-t-ā-nu (you play-past-2pl) ‘you played’.

IV. OTHER AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTIONS

The factitive-causative auxiliary maa and the progressive verb phrase are different from compound stems in that the negative prefix mu- precedes the inflected stem; that is, the negative is inserted between the first (=uninflected) stem and the second (=inflected) verb stem.

The factitive auxiliary -maa is used frequently with assimilated verbs from Nepali: ung-aa kam baaney-maa-ngaa (I-agent house make-do-1sg) ‘I make a house’ from Nepali banaunu. The past marker -t follows the factitive stem: baaney mung-t-aa (make do-past-1sg) ‘I made’. -maa is also used with Khaling stems: ung-aa in sey-maa-ngaa (I-agent you see-make-1sg) ‘I show you’. The Khaling stem may also be a noun as in lel maa-ngaa (song make-1sg) ‘I sing’; but in that case maa is a main verb rather than the auxiliary.
The causative auxiliary _mu_ is used with all kinds of verb stems: _ung-aa aaca_ _aa rep-mud-u_ (I-agent baby stand-causative-lsg) 'I stand the baby up'. The past marker _-t_ follows the inflected form: _rep-mu-t-aa_ (stand-causative-past-lsg) 'I stood it up', _kwaab-mu-t-aa_ (cover-causative-past-lsg) 'I covered'.

The progressive verb phrase consists of two parts. The first, _-tong_, is added to the finite verb stem but does not carry any other ending. The second part is 'be' (animate) and carries the inflectional ending. This compound has been observed only in finite verb forms with personal endings. It is used in past and non-past: _aa-po kam baaney-mu-ne-po-laagi lung khwaal-tong mu-ngaa_ (my-possessive house make-do-infinitive-of-for stone carry-progress be-animate-past lsg) 'I am carrying stones to make my house'. _sew-ham å cyuraa pay-tong mo-t-nu_ (blacksmith-plural-agent flattened rice pound-progressive be-animate-past-3pl) 'the blacksmiths were pounding flattened rice'. The progressive construction is very similar in composition to the construction of an adjective and a form of 'to be': _ong bubum gu_ (snow white be-inanimate-3sg) 'snow is white', _aaca yaahki mu_ (baby small be-animate-3sg) 'the baby is small'.

V. VERB STEM ALTERNATIONS

We distinguish five classes of verb stems in Khaling. They depend on the final consonant of the base and differ in regard to morphophonemic changes that take place between the base form and the various stem forms. As the base for verbs in dictionary entries we suggest a form from which both the finite forms and the infinitive form may be derived.

Derivation employs elision and assimilation rules. These rules specify changes of base-final consonants or clusters. In some instances the base vowel is also changed along with changes in the consonant.

The following is a brief description of how each of the five classes forms its infinitive stem.

1. A base-final cluster of two stops elides and assimilates.
2. A base-final cluster of nasal and stop elides the stop and vocalizes the nasal to _v_ unless the nasal is _m_ or the vowel is _u_.
3. A single base-final anterior (non-velar) resonant remains unchanged but the vowel changes.
4. A single base-final anterior stop changes into a nasal and the vowel changes.
5. A single base-final non-anterior sonant elides and the vowel becomes a back vowel.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Finite Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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Figure 2. Khaling verb classes.

Figure 2 shows first the base form from which both the infinitive and the finite forms are derived. In the second column is the infinitive stem, in the third the finite stem which underlies most of the finite forms except the plural forms of first and second person; they take the infinitive stem as their base.

A. Formation of the Infinitive Stem

In stating rules to form the infinitive stem the elision rules have to be applied first, and then the assimilation rules. m is always a stable consonant. ɡ is a stem
boundary. Figure 3 shows sample derivations of infinitives. Rule numbers refer to the following rules:

Rule 1. Elision of C₂: The second of two stem final consonants drops in the infinitive form.

Rule 2. Elision of velars: Single velar consonants at the end of a stem drop in the infinitive.

Rule 3. Lenition of consonants: Stem final nasals after unrounded vowels become y in the infinitive, and stem final stops become nasals at the same point of articulation after any vowel.

Rule 4. Change of vowels: Stem final vowels change to u in the infinitive. Before a stem final resonant, ɔ changes to ɯaa, and all high vowels change to ə.

These rules account for most infinitives and for most finite stems in the first and second persons plural. There are, however, exceptions that remain to be fully traced out. Figure 3 shows the effect of these rules on stems of all five kinds. The first column shows the base form, then follow the columns for each of the rules. The column to the right shows the infinitive forms.

B. Formation of the Finite Stem

The finite stem does not differ much from the base. With few exceptions, stem final voiceless consonants are voiced intervocalically, as shown in Figure 2, and vowels are unchanged.

C. Formation of the Finite Forms

In general, singular and dual forms are derived from the finite stem, and plural forms from the infinitive stem. This means that in the case of plurals the finite affixes of aspect, tense, and mood are added to the infinitive stem. In either case the vowel of the suffix may affect the stem vowel by umlauting, and the consonants between them may be affected by assimilation, cluster reduction, intervocalic voicing, and other processes that are still not fully specified. There are more irregularities in the finite forms than in the nonfinite ones.

VI. PERSONAL ENDINGS

There are two sets of personal endings in Khaling verb
Inflection. They differ as to whether the subject is the agent in an action or not. They both show agreement in person and number with the subject. For second person, the personal endings also indicate the mood, that is, indicative or interrogative vs. imperative. Figure 4 gives the personal endings of Khaling verbs, and Figure 5 illustrates some of the morphophonemic changes on the stems they go with.

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Figure 3. Sample derivations of infinitives.
<table>
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<th>Person</th>
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<th>Nonagentive</th>
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<td>-ngaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>-su</td>
<td>-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exclusive</td>
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<td>(interrogative)</td>
<td>(imperative)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>dual</td>
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<td>-yi</td>
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<td>plural</td>
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<td>-ni</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3rd</strong> person</td>
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<tr>
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**Figure 4.** Personal verb endings.
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<th>ldu.excl.</th>
<th>lpl.incl.</th>
<th>lpl.excl.</th>
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<td>jö-yu</td>
<td>jö-ki</td>
<td>jö-kaa</td>
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</table>

Figure 5. Sample paradigm for first person
REFERENCES


Newman, Bonnie. ms. The Longuda verb.


Toba, Sueyoshi. ms. Participant focus in Khaling narratives.


FOOTNOTES

1Khaling is a language of the East Himalayish section of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Shafer 1966). It is spoken by approximately 12,000 people in the Solu Khumbu and Khotang districts of Sagarmatha Zone in Eastern Nepal.

Khaling phonemes are stops p t k, ph th kh, b d j (palatal) g, bh dh jh gh, fricatives s h, liquids r l, nasals m n ng, semivowels w y, front unrounded vowels i e ä, front rounded vowels ü ö, central vowel aa, and back vowels u o a. Khaling has two contrastive phonemic tones, high and low. High tone is symbolized with ' in front of a word.

This paper was written at a field workshop held in 1973 at Tribhuvan University under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and partially funded by NSF grant GS-3180A#1. I would like to acknowledge the guidance and help of Dr. Joseph E. Grimes in writing this paper. My husband, Sueyoshi Toba, also gave many valuable suggestions.

2The reflexive and factitive auxiliary construction does not have agentive agreement with the subject in first person singular, but substitutes a nonagentive agreement with the free pronoun.

3The focus marker i- has to stand in any clause involving the hearer (=second person) as an agent or patient participant and in any clause involving the speaker as patient
participant. i- also has to stand in questions directed to
the hearer. i- does not stand in the imperative mood.
Kulunge Rai Clause Types

Anna Holzhausen

I. **INTRODUCTION**

Kulung\(^1\) clauses may be classified according to the different semantic roles they manifest. This paper attempts to describe the role frames and how they correspond to categories in the surface structure. The idea of using role relations goes back to Fillmore (1968). I am following the development of role theory outlined by Grimes (in press).

A preliminary explanation of some surface forms may be helpful. The head of any noun phrase, its main noun or pronoun, is in one of three surface cases, **ergative**, **neutral**, or ablative. The case system in Kulung belongs to the common type called **ergative** (Hockett 1958). In it, the subject of a transitive clause receives a special marker, the ergative, while the subject of an intransitive clause is not ergative, but is identical with the object of a transitive clause. I am calling the non-ergative case neutral since it is also used in locative constructions. One postposition, -ka 'from', is singled out as an ablative case marker because it is unique in expressing source relationships.

The head of an ergative noun phrase is marked by the suffix -a, while a neutral noun phrase has no special suffix.\(^2\) The rarely used explicit plural markers for ergative and neutral appear to be -ca and -ci respectively. Ablative -ka is added to a locative construction, in which the form of the noun head is like the neutral case, and a locative postposition follows the noun, as in khim-pi (home-at) 'at home'; khim-pi-ka (home-at-from) 'from home'.

The ergative pronouns are konga or ko 'I' (konga is more formal), ana 'you sg.', ngkxsä 'he', kaca 'we du. incl.', kaska 'we du. excl.', keya 'we pl. incl.', keka 'we pl. excl.', anca 'you du.', anna 'you pl.', and ngkxsca 'they'. The corresponding neutral pronouns are kong, an, ngkx, kas, kaska, key, keka, anci, anni, and kxs.
Verb endings that establish cross reference with the subject are divided into transitive and intransitive endings. There are also bitransitive endings that establish cross reference with subject and indirect object simultaneously. The transitive suffixes, which parallel the use of the ergative case as subject, are (in the order of the pronoun list above) -o, -x, -x, -cu, -cuka, -am, -amka, -cu, -num, and -aci, in the present tense. The corresponding intransitive suffixes, which parallel the use of the neutral case as subject, are -o, -x, -x, -ci, -cika, -yx, -yaka, -ci, -ni, and -x. The bitransitive suffixes for present indicative are shown in Figure 1. Unacceptable combinations such as 'we give it to me' are indicated by a dash. Different suffix sets have been found for other tenses and modes; but they are not pertinent here.

![Neutral Indirect Object Diagram]

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**Figure 1.** Bitransitive verb suffixes, present indicative, with corresponding free pronouns.
Semantic roles used in classifying clause types are agent (A, the performer of an action), patient (P, the person or thing that is acted upon), former state (F, the place where the action originates or the original state of the patient), latter state (L, the place toward which the action is moving or the final state of the patient), range (R, the place where the action is actually performed), vehicle (V, the means of conveying the patient), and referent (Rf, any other role which is essential to the meaning of the predicate). A combined role such as agent-patient means that one person fills both roles simultaneously. Two additional roles are not used for classification, as they may be added without changing the clause type. They are instrument (I, the means of performing the action), which has been observed in genitive-motion and agentive-process clauses, and benefactive (B, the person for whom an action is performed), which has been observed in verbal-process, agentive-process, and speech clauses. Grimes's role force (the inanimate performer of an action) does not occur as a clause level role, but as an adjunct clause, as in nam cowa komej har khata (sun shines shirt dry becomes) 'the sun dries the shirt'.

In most clause types the only obligatory element is the predicate. Any role or combination of roles may be deleted. In some cases the deletion is obviously anaphoric, as the missing roles can be recovered from the immediate context, as in o-khim khato kikana khato-na (my-house I-go then I-go-saying) 'I go home. Then having gone, ...' In the second clause, the latter state of 'go' is deleted, but the first clause shows that it is 'home'. In other instances the deleted element may be deduced from the context of the whole narrative or from the larger context of general knowledge, as in an ban-te (you come-imperative) 'you come!' In the context, a teacher is calling a pupil forward, and the obvious latter state is 'here'. For clauses in which the deletion is not clearly anaphoric, a new surface clause typemitting the deleted elements may be set up, but the basic semantic type, with which this paper is concerned, is not altered.

The exceptions to the rule that only the predicate is obligatory are the position, existence, sensation, and terminal process clause types. In the position and existence clauses any element may be deleted if there is enough information left to make the meaning clear. In the sensation clause only the patient, which represents the feeling or motion, is obligatory. The terminal process clause, on the other hand, requires all of its defining roles to be present plus the verb khat- 'become'.

The peripheral elements which may be present in a clause are instrumental, benefactive, manner, locative (setting, not range), and temporal phrases, initial connectors such as kikana 'and then', subordinating particles, and modals. The instrumental appears to be restricted to clauses with an agent as subject and the benefactive to clauses in
which the predicate expresses some kind of action. The other peripheral elements have no apparent restrictions of occurrence.

The general word order for all clause types is subject, object (where it applies), and predicate. The verb comes last. When the verb is not the whole predicate, the predicate complement immediately precedes it. Peripheral elements are scattered in various positions ranging from before the subject to just before the predicate, except subordinating particles and modals, which occur last. Nuclear elements, except the predicate, occasionally change position for thematic reasons. Peripheral elements do so more often. These shifts of position, however, are of no concern here.

In the following description the clause types are listed in the order of four major groups based on the assignment of roles to the subject position: agent-patient as subject (group A), agent as subject (group B), patient as subject (group C), and neither agent nor patient as subject (group D). For this general scheme I have drawn on ideas from Hettick (ms.) and Borgman (ms.).

II. CLAUSE TYPES

A. Agent-patient as Subject

1. Motion Clause

The predicate of a motion clause is a verb such as khat- 'go', wong- 'enter', or yu- 'come down'. It takes intransitive endings. The role frame for the motion clause is A-P F L (agent-patient, former state, latter state). The agent-patient is the subject of the clause and appears in the neutral case. Former and latter state are both locative constructions, the former state having the ablative marker -ka, as in bangau-to-ka m-deca keka bulsika (Bangau-at-from that morning we-neutral ran-intransitive) 'we ran from Bangau that morning'. Latter state may be a neutral noun phrase referring to a place either by itself or followed by one of several locative postpositions such as -pi 'in' or sxmma 'up to', as in espa kong ngkx-pi to (yesterday I here-to came-intransitive) 'I came here yesterday'. When a vehicle is used, it has the ablative form, as in kxlkxtta-sxmma rel-pi-ka khateka (Calcutta-up-to rail-by we-went-intransitive) 'we went by rail to Calcutta'.

An adjunct purpose clause often precedes the verb. In the purpose clause the verb is an infinitive ending in -s (as opposed to -m or -f infinitives, which have other functions). Its subject is omitted, but other clause constituents may occur, like the object in sepa moph khos khatika
(at-night shaman to-see we-went-intransitive) 'at night we went to see the shaman'. Surprisingly, when the verb of the purpose clause is transitive, the subject of the main motion clause may take the ergative case, as in ko raika tams khato (I-ergative paddy to-make I-go-intransitive) 'I go to make a rice paddy'. The main clause alone would be kong khato (I-neutral I-go-intransitive) 'I go'.

2. Stationary Action Clause

The predicate of a stationary action clause is a verb such as ges- 'laugh', silba- 'dance', or un- 'scratch'. It takes intransitive endings. A-P (agent-patient) is its only role. It is the subject and occurs in the neutral case. Some examples are nici mis silbae (two people dance-intransitive) 'two people dance' and kong camloyo (I sing-intransitive) 'I sing'.

B. Agent as Subject

1. Agentive Motion Clause

The predicate of an agentive motion clause is a verb such as ta- 'bring', khatdit- 'spill', or khus- 'hold up', indicating that an agent moves a patient to a new place. The three subtypes of agentive motion clauses are acquisition, transfer, and conveyance clauses. In all three, the agent is the subject and in the ergative case; the patient is the direct object in the neutral case; former and latter state, where they occur independently, are respectively ablative and neutral locatives; and the verb takes transitive endings.

Acquisition clauses have the role frame A-L P F (agent-latter state, patient, former state). The ablative former state is illustrated in sotang-pu-ka bam-kai thuka (Sotang-at-from buckwheat-greens she-brought-transitive) 'she brought buckwheat greens from Sotang'. The double role of agent-latter state means that the agent acquires the patient: ko phengga khaps (I-ergative jacket put-on-transitive) 'I put on the jacket'.

Transfer clauses have the role frame A F P L (agent, former state, patient, latter state). They focus on the new location of the patient. Former state may combine with agent (A-P) or may be a separate role. It is combined with agent in this example from a Greek myth read in school and later retold by a schoolboy: endruklesxn-a ng-kher-pu pxt-thi kharpitha (Androcles-ergative his-wound-on cloth tied-transitive) 'Androcles tied a cloth on his wound'. It is a separate role in ik mana ser kasxm thal-pi-ka m-than yum cuiye (one mana rice bronze dish-in-from his-worship-place to-put must-modal) 'he must put one mana of rice from the bronze dish onto his worship place'.
One verb in this class, khem- 'sell', may take a referent role with postposition -pi 'for', as in ana dei-pi khema-ye (you-ergative how-much-for you-sell-transitive-question) 'for how much will you sell it?'

Speech clauses are a special subclass of transfer clauses, the main distinction being restrictions on the patient. The predicate of a speech clause is lo- 'say', pika- 'say', or txt- 'ask'. The roles are A-F P L (agent-former state, patient, latter state). The agent as source is the subject of the clause and occurs in ergative case. The patient is the message, and consists of quoted material. The latter state is the person spoken to. The verb takes transitive endings. Very often there are two speech verbs, one on each side of the quotation. They may be identical, as in kuspa-a lxtve, am dhxn-mal detxi tuvx lams, lxtve (thief-ergative said-transitive, your wealth-things however-much there-is look-for-imperative, said-transitive) 'The thief said, "However many treasures and things you have, look for them."' Or the two speech verbs may be different, as in khx bela-pi khx rodu-a pika-th, ... lxtvena (that time-at that Rai-ergative said-transitive, ... having-said-transitive) 'At that time the Rai said, ...' When only one speech verb occurs, it comes after the quoted material, as in kenan kong limbu pika (then I Limbu he-said-transitive) 'Then he said, "I am a Limbu."' The latter state is the person spoken to, and appears in the neutral case: khx kuspa khungkx bura mis lxtve, kong okhim darjiling ... lxtve (that thief-ergative that old man said, me my-house Darjeeling ... said) 'the thief said to the old man, "My house is in Darjeeling ..."'.

Conveyance clauses have the role frame A-V P (agent-vehicle, patient) or A V P (agent, vehicle, patient). The focus is on the action, and the agent remains with the patient during conveyance, as in odola o-long to dxrono (now my-foot move I-can't-modal) 'now I can't move my foot'. With some verbs in this class a former state may also occur, as in kika mx-pa-ka khurthena (then there-at-from carried-having) 'then having carried it from there, ...'. When a separate vehicle is used, it has the ablative form, as in ko sep-pi-ka gas kuro (I-ergative basket-in-from grass I-carry-transitive) 'I carry grass in a basket'. This has the same form as the vehicle used in motion clauses.

2. Agentive Process Clause

The predicate of an agentive process clause is a verb such as det- 'chop', co- 'eat', or sep- 'wash', indicating that the agent changes the patient in some way. The basic role frame is A P (agent, patient). The agent is the subject, occurring in the ergative case. The patient is the direct object, in the neutral case. The verb has transitive endings. One might say that the type of patient separates agentive process clauses into three subtypes, somewhat
analogous to the three subtypes of agentive motion clauses. In the first, the patient is the former state: A P-F, as in ciis dungamka (tea we-drink-transitive) 'we drink tea'. Tea is the material worked upon. It is present before the action is performed, but not afterwards. In the second subtype, the patient is the latter state: A P-L, as in konga gundiri buyo (I-ergative mat I-make-transitive) 'I am making a mat'. The mat is present only after the action is completed. In the third, the patient is both former and latter state: A P-F-L, as in reliya dupte (radio turn-on-imperative) 'turn on the radio!' The radio is present before, during, and after the action. The second subtype (A P-L) may take a separate former state marked with the suffix -mi 'of' to indicate the material of which the patient is made: A (F) P-L, as in goda hatthi kera phxrsi puri-mi bane-mxici (horse elephant banana pumpkin cucumber-of he-makes-transitive) 'he makes horses and elephants out of bananas, pumpkins, and cucumbers'.

Since the three subtypes are identical in surface structure except for one former state role in the A (F) P-L variety, it is probably not worth while to separate the three types, unless one wants to emphasize the analogy with the agentive motion types.

An instrument in the ergative case frequently occurs with agentive process clauses, as in domsom-a lukspa bhxxyx (loom-ergative skirt-neutral you-make-transitive) 'you make a skirt with a loom'.

3. Bitransitive Clause

The predicate of a bitransitive clause is a verb such as pi- 'give', yx- 'feed', cami- 'cause to write', or khur-mi- 'cause to carry'. There is a causative meaning element implicit or explicit in all bitransitive predicates. It is implicit in inherent bitransitives such as pi- and yx-, which mean 'cause to have' and 'cause to eat'. It is explicit in derived bitransitives such as khurmi- and cami- which are based on khur- 'carry' and cam- 'write', with a causative suffix -mi. All verbs in this clause type take the special bitransitive suffixes indicative both subject and indirect object, as shown in Figure 1.

The role frame for bitransitive is A L P (agent, latter state, patient). The agent is the subject, in ergative case. The latter state is the indirect object, or person who is caused to perform the action, in neutral case. The patient is the direct object, or thing that is acted upon, also in neutral case.

An example of the inherent bitransitive is ko an piling pi-en (I-ergative you pencil give-I-you) 'I (A) give you (L) a pencil (P)'. An example of the derived
bitransitive is ana ase kitap ko-mi-o (you-ergative who book see-cause-you-who) 'to whom (L) are you (A) showing the book (P)?'

C. Patient as Subject

1. Position Clause

The predicate of a position clause is a verb such as tu-/cu- 'live, stay, sit, visit' or hum- 'wait'. It takes intransitive endings. The role frame is P R (patient, range). The patient, which is being located somewhere, occurs as the subject of the clause, in neutral case. The range is a locative element telling where the patient is. It may have postpositions such as -pa 'in, at', -pi 'in, inside', or none at all: solu-pa dui bxrsa kong tuo (Solu-in two years I stayed-intransitive) 'I stayed in Solu two years', mekto di ar ophis reica (up-there D. R. office turns-out-to-be) 'the Recruiting Department Office turns out to be up there'.

It was previously stated that no constituent of the position clause is obligatory, but that there must be enough information present to make the meaning clear. This is illustrated in l-- p-- d--mi m-khim laispi dilli bajar (L-- P-- D--of his-house in-front-of Dilli Bazaar) 'Dilli Bazaar is in front of L. P. D.'s house'. tueka (we-stayed-intransitive) 'we stayed'. The first example has no verb; the second has only a verb. The second can be demonstrated to be a position clause from the context. bangau khateka-na tueka txxrx bangau-pa sarxnan cungla (Bangau we-having-gone we-stayed but Bangau-in very cold) 'having gone to Bangau, we stayed [in Bangau]. But it was very cold in Bangau'.

2. Process Clause

There are two types of process clause, similar in semantic content but different enough in surface structure to be completely separate types. The first type, the verbal process clause, may be focusing on the process itself, while the second type, the terminal process clause, may be focusing on the end state of the process. In both types the single role is P (patient), functioning as the subject in neutral case.

In a verbal process clause, there is a simple verb which takes intransitive endings, as in cyyxmma sia (fly died-intransitive) 'the fly died'. With one verb, tuk- 'hurt', the subject can be a person: kong tuko (I hurt-intransitive) 'I'm sick'. It can also be a body part, as in q-lum tuke (my-stomach hurts-intransitive) 'my stomach hurts', or a person plus a body part, as in an ui tuke (you what hurts-intransitive) 'where do you hurt?'
The main verb of the terminal process clause, khat-'become', agrees with the subject and takes intransitive endings. It may be preceded by either a stative clause or a sensation clause. An example of the former is o-pilsing bigar cuwa khata (my-pencil damage was became-intransitive) 'my pencil got broken', and of the latter, kong o-culi khatė (me my-anger becomes-intransitive) 'I get angry'.

3. Stative Clause

The predicate of a stative clause is a noun or adjective describing the patient in some way. The only role it takes is P (patient), a noun phrase functioning as the subject in neutral case, or occasionally, a nominalized clause with an -m infinitive. The verb is tu-/cu- 'be' or dat- 'be seen', which take intransitive endings, or reica 'turn out to be', an uninflected borrowing. The verb is often deleted.

Some examples of an adjective as the predicate are wamₐmer pokpa tuie (hen's tail erect is-intransitive) 'the hen's tail is erect', sarx khaim caip na reica (very-to-go-unpleasant focus turned-out-to-be) 'it turned out to be very unpleasant to go'. Some examples of a noun as the predicate are keka so laispini iskulyang tuika (we also before students were-intransitive) 'we also used to be students', ese aitabar cutti (today Sunday holiday) 'today is Sunday holiday' with verb deleted. Where a time element is added to the verb, the meaning is 'become', as in khikha mis chokka cuwathe-na (then men surprised were-having) 'then the men having become surprised ...

4. Existence Clause

The predicate of the existence clause is the verb tu-/cu- 'exist, happen'. The role frame is simply P (patient), which is the subject and occurs in neutral case. A subtype with R (range) is discussed below. The verb, when it is not deleted, takes intransitive endings. It agrees with the subject if it is positive, but the person marker is dropped in the negative, as in ampa amma tuie-yo man-tu-yo? (your-father your-mother are-intransitive-question not-are-question) 'are your father and mother [existing, alive]?' uo cuwa (what was-intransitive) 'what happened?' For evidence that any element may be deleted, compare ehoi nukkksi rel (hey down-there rail) 'hey, there's a train down there!' and mantu (negative-be) 'there are none'. The first example has no verb and the second has only a verb.

A special class of existence clause expresses possession. This clause type requires R (range) as well as P (patient). The patient, the thing possessed, is the subject of the clause, in the neutral case. It may or may not have a possessive prefix such as o- 'my'. The range, the possessor,
is a plain neutral noun, a locative with -pi 'at', or a possessive with -mi 'of', as in kong o-toma tuie (me my-wife is-intransitive) 'I have a wife', am-pi sep tuie-yo (you-at basket is-intransitive-question) 'do you have a basket?' o-mi o-topi tuie (my-of my-hat is-intransitive) 'I have a hat'.

5. Sensation Clause

The predicate of a sensation clause is either lx- 'feel' or si- 'feel', with intransitive endings. The role frame is P R (patient, range). The patient, which represents the feeling or emotion, is the subject of the clause in the neutral case, either plain or with a possessive marker, as in kong wxmma siyo (I thirst feel-intransitive) 'I'm thirsty', ng-khim lx-theho (his-fear feel-past) 'he was afraid'. The range, the person who feels something, is a simple noun phrase in the neutral case, as in kumar ngxim lxì (Kumar shyness feels) 'Kumar [name of a child] is shy'.

The sensation clause resembles both position and existence clauses, but it differs from the existence clause in the form of the range and the predicates it may take, and from the position clause in that the patient of the sensation clause is obligatory.

6. Mental Activity Clause

The predicate of the mental activity clause is a verb of thinking or perception such as les- 'know', minu- 'remember', or kho- 'look, see', with transitive endings. There are two role frames, but the surface structures are identical, so they are considered one clause type. They are: A-P R (agent-patient, range) and P R (patient, range), or in a combined symbol, (A)-P R. The range represents the field of perception. The agent-patient has control over the mental activity, so that an imperative makes sense, as in minuwa (remember-transitive-imperative) 'remember!' and ngkxp khong-te rafxyl (here look-transitive-imperative rifle) 'Look at this rifle!' The patient, on the other hand, is a passive receiver of a perception and is not in control, as in ko lam chetono (I way don't-know-transitive) 'I don't know the way', ko roti nxto (I bread like-transitive) 'I like bread'.

When the agent-patient is the performer of the mental activity, it is normal to have the subject of the clause in the ergative case. Passive mental activity, however, takes the same form; this is the only situation in which a patient takes the ergative. The range is the direct object, in neutral case. The verb takes transitive endings. With some verbs the range may be an embedded clause, as in lukspa bxm ko lesono (skirt to-make I-don't-know-transitive) 'I don't know how to make a skirt'. With les- the predicate of the embedded clause is a nominalized infinitive. With min-
'think' the embedded clause, like a quotation, can be any-
thing. khim-pi-ka kong bhartui khato mino-na (house-at-from
I join I-go I-think-having) "when I thought, "I'll go away
from home and join ..."'

D. Neither Agent nor Patient as Subject

1. Weather Clause

The weather clause has no subject. The only role is R
(range), a locative phrase with or without a postposition.
The predicate is an attribute such as garam 'hot' or ceng-
cang 'clear'. The verbs tu-/cu- 'be', with intransitive
endings, or reica 'turn out to be', an uninflected borrow-
ing, may occur, as in cengcang tui (clear was-intransitive)
'it was clear' and txxr xklatta-pu sarx garam reica (but
Calcutta-in very hot if-turned-out-to-be) 'but it turned out
to be very hot in Calcutta'.

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FOOTNOTES

1Kulung, or Kulunge Rai, belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. According to Grierson (1909) it is one of the Khambu dialects in the eastern subgroup of complex pronominalized Himalayan languages. The speakers themselves refer to their language as kulu ring 'language of the valley'.

The language is spoken in the Solu Khumbu District along the upper parts of the Hongu River, a tributary of the Dudh Kosi, and in the Sankuwa Sabha District along the Sanangkuwa River, a tributary of the Arun, both in East Nepal. The main area of Kulung is the Hongu Valley with a total of ten villages and approximately 8000 to 10,000 speakers. No information is available at this time on the number of villages and speakers in the Sanangkuwa Valley. Sotang, the language spoken in the lower parts of the Hongu Valley, is mutually intelligible with Kulung, and can safely be regarded as a dialect of Kulung.

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2According to a partially completed phonemic analysis of the Kulung language, the phonemes are as follows: simple stops and affricates p, t, c [ts], k; their voiced counterparts b, d, j, g; the aspirated form of all of these, ph, th, ch, kh, bh, dh, jh, gh; sibilants s, z, and h; nasals m, n, and ng (velar nasal); and continuants r, l, w, and y. The vowels are i, e, a, x (schwa), o, and u. No in-depth study of the pitch/stress system of Kulung has been undertaken so far.

3Grimes (in press) discusses how the agent of a clause embedded in a causative construction has its role shifted as far as relation to surface form is concerned by a transformation known as consolidation.
Darai Cases

Sharon Kotapish

The case system of Darai\(^1\) requires that seven underlying semantic roles and five surface cases be distinguished and their patterns of matching traced. The semantic roles are defined in the terms set forth by Grimes (in press).

I. DARAI CASE SYSTEM

The first semantic role is agent, the typically animate instigator of an action. The second is force, an inanimate instigator of an action which acts with no idea of purpose. This role and agent are mutually exclusive. The third semantic role is instrument, the tool the agent uses. It is also incompatible with the force role. The fourth semantic role is patient, anything that is in a particular state or that undergoes a process. The fifth and sixth semantic roles, source and goal, relate to motions. Source refers to the location of the beginning of a motion and goal to the location of the end of a motion. The seventh semantic role is that of range, which refers to the path traversed in an expression of motion and also to a static location in an expression of position. Grimes's vehicle and benefactive roles, and his process counterparts of source, goal, and range, do not form the basis for distinctions in the surface case system.

A. Agent, Force, and Patient as Subject

The semantic roles of agent, force, and patient are expressed in the nominative surface case when any of them occurs without being distinguished from the others. The nominative case has no inflection. When an agent or force is the subject of an intransitive clause, it is in the nominative case\(^2\): goraa ayla (horse-nominative case) 'the horse (agent-patient) came' and baataas aait (wind-nominative...
comes) 'wind (force) comes'. When the patient is the sub-
of an intransitive clause it is also in the nominative case:
goRaa morla (horse-nomitive died) 'the horse (patient) died' denotes a process involving a patient and denotes a state the patient is in.

The subject, either agent or force, of a transitive clause is in the ergative surface case. The ergative has the inflection -i (\text{-ei} if the noun ends in a consonant). Two examples are goRaai ghaas khayla (horse-ergative leaves-accusative ate) 'the horse (agent) ate leaves (patient)' and baataasei chaani uReit (wind-ergative roof-accusative takes-off) 'the wind (force) takes off the roof (patient)'.

The ergative inflection is used both when a grammatical object is present in the clause and when the object is semantically relevant but is omitted from the clause because it is understood from the situation or the preceding context, as in goRaai khayla (horse-ergative ate) 'the horse (agent) ate (the sort of thing that a horse usually eats)', where the patient is absent because it is predictable.

B. Instrument

The semantic role of instrument is also in the ergative surface case. The instrument always follows an agent that is subject and is therefore the second ergative in the clause: haame saabanei lugaa dhoitaair (we-ergative soap-ergative clothes-accusative wash) 'we (agent) wash clothes (patient) with soap (instrument)'.

C. Patient

The semantic role of patient is in the accusative surface case when the patient is not the subject. All nouns except kinship terms have no inflection in the accusative. Kinship terms, however, have the inflection -ke. They are therefore telltales of the case; other nouns in the accusative are indistinguishable from nominatives. Typically the patient is the object of a transitive verb: may paysaa ledia (I-ergative money-accusative took) 'I took money' and may mera bwaake ledia (I-ergative my father-accusative took) 'I took my father'.

D. Locative

Before discussing the three semantic roles which take the locative surface case, the locative case in general will be explained, since its forms are the most complex of the five cases. The locative case goes with locative nouns or
Noun phrases. An animate locative noun has the inflection -ke: may chiti mera uyaake paataala (I-ergative letter-accusative my mother-locative sent) 'I sent a letter to my mother'. An inanimate noun has the inflection -aya (-ya if the noun ends in a vowel): may baakaasaya bastam (I-nominative box-locative sit) 'I sit on the box'. The locative suffix -(a)ya may be replaced by the suffix -i: may ghari bastam (I-nominative house-locative sit) 'I sit in the house'. The suffix -i has a much more limited use than that of -(a)ya, but the constraints governing it have not yet been determined. If an animate being is treated as inanimate, it takes the -(a)ya or -i inflection: may mera bwaaya bastam (I-nominative my father-locative sit) 'I sit on my father (on top of his body, for example)'. A locative phrase is made of a noun plus -ka 'of' plus a postposition. The suffix -ka represents the fifth surface case, the genitive, which never expresses role relationships directly, but only indicates that the construction whose elements it joins is embedded in some other construction. An example of the locative phrase is may baakaaska upar bastam (I-nominative box-of top sit) 'I sit on top of the box'. The locative suffixes -(a)ya or -i do not occur on locative phrases. Such a phrase is equivalent to a locative case form, but is more explicit as to the location or direction involved.

1. Goal

The semantic role of goal, when it is not combined with agent, is expressed in the locative surface case. It may be expressed as a locative noun: uwaai kitaap baakaasaya raakla (he-ergative book-accusative box-locative put) 'he (agent-source) put the book (patient) on the box (goal)'. It may also be expressed as a locative phrase: may kitaap baakaaska upar raakla (I-ergative book-accusative box-of top put) 'I (agent-source) put the book (patient) on top of the box (goal)'. The goal may also be an adverb: may kitaap uchi raakla (I-ergative book-accusative there put) 'I (agent-source) put the book (patient) there (goal)'.

If the goal is animate it takes the inflection -ke: may ghaas gaaike dela (I-ergative leaves-accusative cow-locative gave) 'I (agent-source) gave leaves (patient) to the cow (goal)'. If a clause with an animate goal has a kinship term or personal pronoun in the accusative case, for which the case marker also is -ke, the locative then takes the inflection -kaa to distinguish it from accusative -ke: may mera chaaimke ikra uyaakaa paataala (I-ergative my daughter-accusative her mother-animate-goal sent) 'I (agent-source) sent my daughter (patient) to her mother (goal)'. If the locative retained the inflection -ke, it would not be possible to tell which was locative and which was accusative. If the patient is a personal pronoun and also the agent, hence the subject, an animate goal also takes the inflection -kaa: may mera uyaakaa jaytam (I-nominative my mother-locative go) 'I (agent-patient) go to my mother (goal)'.

Deviations form the normal locative forms are governed by specific verbs. The goals, whether animate or inanimate, of the verbs dandaake 'hit' and laathaaake 'kick' must have the suffix -ke if the goal is expressed by a noun: uwaa\textsuperscript{i} baakaaske dankaala (he-ergative box-locative hit) 'he (agent) hit the box (goal)'. The -ke suffix does not go on adverbs or locative phrases, however, even with those verbs. For the verbs jaa\textsuperscript{i}ke 'go' and paataa\textsuperscript{i}ke 'send' the locative suffix is optional for an inanimate locative noun: may pipaltaa\textsuperscript{r}(aya) jayt\textsuperscript{m} (I-nominative Pipalt\textsuperscript{a}r-(locative)go) 'I (agent-patient) go to Pipalt\textsuperscript{a}r (goal)'.

2. Range

The semantic role of range is also expressed by the locative surface case: onen pipaltaa\textsuperscript{ra}aya ghar baana\textsuperscript{a}la (they-ergative Pipalt\textsuperscript{a}r-locative house-accusative built) 'they (agent) built a house (patient) in Pipalt\textsuperscript{a}r (range)'. The range may also be expressed by a locative phrase: onen daaRaaka upar ghar baana\textsuperscript{a}la (they-ergative hill-of top house-accusative built) 'they (agent) built a house (patient) on top of the hill (range)'. The range may also be an adverb: onen uchi ghar baana\textsuperscript{a}la (they-ergative there house-accusative built) 'they (agent) built a house (patient) there (range)'.

A special characteristic of the verbs de\textsuperscript{kike} 'see' and cha\textsuperscript{a}ike 'look' is that their range is in the accusative case: uwaa\textsuperscript{i} ghar dek\textsuperscript{la} (he-ergative house-accusative saw) 'he (patient) saw the house (range)' and uwaa\textsuperscript{i} mera bwaak\textsuperscript{e} chaala (he-ergative my father-accusative looked-at) 'he (agent-patient) looked at my father (range)'.

3. Source

The semantic role of source, when it is not combined with agent, is always a locative in surface structure with the ablative postposition maaTe 'from': ghark\textsuperscript{a} maaTe uwaa jay\textsuperscript{la} (house-of from he-nominative went) 'he (agent-patient) went from the house (source)'.

Table 1 shows the correspondence between underlying semantic roles and surface cases. Table 2 shows the inflection used for each surface case.

E. Benefactive

If a noun is the benefactive of a verb, it has the inflection -ke whether it is animate or inanimate: may kitaap\textsuperscript{k}ke paysaa del\textsuperscript{a}la (I-ergative book-for-benefactive money gave) 'I gave money for the book', may mera bwaak\textsuperscript{e} bhaat paakaala (I-ergative my father-benefactive rice cooked) 'I
cooked rice for my father'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Role</th>
<th>Surface Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent, Force, Patient</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as subject of intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent, Force as subject of</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patient as object</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>Locative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>Locative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>(Locative phrase with</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ablative postposition)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Relationship between semantic role and surface case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surface Case</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-(e)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ø, -ke (kinship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ke (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kāa (animate with -ke accusative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-(a)ya, -i (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø (with certain verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Surface case inflections.

III. POSSESSED NOUNS

The possessor of a possessed noun is identified either by a possessive pronoun preceding the noun, as in ikra bwaak (his-father-possessed-3rd-sg) 'his father', or by a noun with the genitive suffix -ka preceding the noun, as in manika bwaak (little-girl-genitive father-possessed-3rd-sg)
'the little girl's father'.

Cross reference between the possessed noun and its possessor is shown by adding a suffix to the possessed noun which agrees in person and in number with the possessor as shown in Table 3: tera bwaar (your father-possessed-2nd-sg) 'your father', onenka bwaakaan (their father-possessed-3rd-pl) 'their father', naanika bwaak (little-girl-of father-possessed-3rd-sg) 'the little girl's father'.

If the noun ends in a consonant, the consonant initial suffixes are preceded by e: ikra gharek (his house-possessed-3rd-sg) 'his house'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>Ø or -(e)m</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>-(e)r</td>
<td>-(e)u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>-(e)k</td>
<td>-(e)kaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Cross reference suffixes on possessed nouns by person-number category of the possessor.

The first person singular possessor-possessed cross reference suffix can be either zero or -m. The suffix -m is explicitly singular and is used to distinguish 'my' unambiguously from 'our'; compare mera gaai (my cow-possessed-1st) 'my cow' and mera gaaim (my cow-possessed-1st-sg) 'my cow (not ours)'. Normal first person cross reference involves no suffix and does not distinguish a singular possessor from a plural one.

The possessor-possessed cross reference suffix can be used without the possessor being mentioned if it is clear who the possessor is. For example, in naming a part of someone's body the possessor does not have to be mentioned in order for the third singular cross reference suffix to be put on the noun: aakik, naaknok, muhuk (eye, nose, mouth-possessed-3rd-sg) '(his) eye, nose, mouth'.

Table 3 gives the possessor-possessed cross reference suffixes as they occur by themselves. They may also be combined with case suffixes. If a case has no inflection, like nominative and accusative (non-kinship), the cross reference suffix is added directly to the noun.

In the ergative case the ergative suffix -(e)i precedes the cross reference suffix. Furthermore, with the ergative ending -(e)i the third person singular -k becomes -ng: ikra bwaasing (his father-ergative-possessed-3rd-sg) 'his father' and the third person plural -kaan becomes -ngkaan: onenka daajuingkaan (their older-brother-ergative-possessed-3rd-pl)
'their older brother'.

When an ergative noun has the second person plural cross reference -u, the -i of the ergative suffix becomes -y: teura bwaa-i-u becomes teura bwaayu (your father-ergative-possessed-2nd-pl) 'your (plural) father'.

The cross reference suffixes precede the locative -ke suffix required with the verbs dankaaike 'hit' and laathaake 'kick': uwaai tera gaairke dankala (he-ergative your cow-locative-possessed-2nd-sg hit) 'he (agent) hit your cow (goal)'. If both the cross reference suffix and the -ke suffix are present on a noun, a transitional suffix -hV (h plus a nonhigh vowel, described later) can be inserted before the cross reference suffix: uwaai tera gaaerkerke dankala (he-ergative your cow-possessed-2nd-sg-transition-locative hit) 'he hit your cow'.

Kinship terms require cross reference suffixes because they are obligatorily possessed. The transitional suffix -hV is also obligatory with them if they have the accusative suffix -ke, except for the first person singular: may tera bwaakaarke bokikut ledia (I-ergative your father-possessed-2nd-sg-transition-accusative carried) 'I carried your father'. The transitional suffix -hV is also obligatory for kinship terms in the locative case with the suffixes -ke and -kaa: uwaai kitaap onenka uyaakaanka dela (he-ergative book-accusative their mother-possessed-3rd-pl-transition-locative gave) 'he gave a book to their mother'.

The nonhigh vowel following the h in the transitional suffix is determined by the final vowel of the noun, which may change when -hV is attached to it. Final aa, a, e, and o remain the same when -hV is attached and the vowel following the h is the same as the final vowel of the stem: bwaaka 'father', maacha 'fish', gunehe 'skirt', and jaatoho 'grinder'. Final i and u change to e and o preceding -hV and the vowel following the h is the same as the vowel preceding it: didi becomes didehe 'older sister' and daaju becomes daajohu 'older brother'. If the noun ends in a consonant the transitional suffix is -ohe: kitaapehe 'book'.

If a noun is possessed and has the cross reference marker, and at the same time is a possessor of something, so that it takes the genitive suffix -ka, the transitional suffix -hV can occur before the cross reference marker: tera uyaakaarke sharek (your mother-possessed-2nd-sg-transition house-possessed-3rd-sg) 'your mother's house'. The transitional suffix -hV is obligatory for kinship terms that are both possessed and genitive and optional for all other nouns. The transitional suffix does not occur if the noun does not have the possessor-possessed cross reference suffix.

The third person singular cross reference -k is reduced
preceding another suffix that begins with -k: ikra bwaak-k-ke becomes ikra bwaake (his father-possessed-3rd-sg-accusative) 'his father'.

If a locative noun that is not animate has a possessor-possessed cross reference suffix, the -i form of the locative suffix must be used and the cross reference suffix follows the -i: may tera gharir bastam (I-nominative your house-locative-possessed-2nd-sg sit) 'I sit in your house'. The first person plural cross reference inflection is zero; and for this form the -aya does not change to -i: uwaai haamro gharaya basit (he-ergative our house-locative-possessed-1st-pl sits) 'he sits in our house'.

The third person singular and plural forms become -ng and -ngkaan following -i, just as in the ergative case: ikra gharin (his house-locative-possessed-3rd-sg) 'in his house' and onenka gharin gkaan (their house-locative-possessed-3rd-pl) 'in their house'.

III. FOCUS

Focus on a particular role element of a clause may be indicated by adding the enclitic -ke. The focus enclitic -ke occurs as the final inflection on nouns of any surface case. It is not to be confused with the -ke forms of the accusative and locative, because it can cooccur with them, and because it is not restricted to animate forms. It may also be attached to the postposition of a locative phrase or to an adverb. In the nominative case the agent can be in focus: ikra bwaake jayla (his father-nominative-possessed-3rd-sg-focus went) 'his father was the one who went' (the third person singular cross reference -k reduces preceding -ke). In the ergative case the agent can be in focus: ikra bwaalake pec dela (his father-ergative-possessed-3rd-sg-focus onions gave) 'it was his father who gave onions'. The patient as subject can also be in focus: gaaik morla (cow-nominative-focus died) 'it was the cow that died'. The instrument can take the focus suffix: may bhakundaike gilas putala (I ball-instrument-focus glass broke) 'it was a ball I broke the glass with'. A patient as object can have the focus suffix: may pecke ledla (I onions-accusative-focus took) 'it was onions I took'. Even a kinship term as patient, which takes the accusative suffix -ke, can take the focus suffix -ke: may mera bwaakeke ledla (I my father-accusative-focus took) 'it was my father that I took'. All focus forms of the locative--locative noun, locative phrase, and adverb--may take the focus suffix. It can occur on all inflections of the locative noun: following -aya, may gharayake bastam (I house-locative-focus sit) 'in the house I sit' and following -i, may gharike kaam karlaara (I house-locative-focus work do) 'in the house I work'. Locative nouns accompanying verbs that prefer zero inflection can
also have the focus suffix: may gharke jaytam (I house-locative-focus go) 'to the house I go'. Locatives accompanying the verbs dankaaike 'hit' and laathaaike 'kick' which require the -ke suffix on nouns can also have the focus suffix -ke: may baakaaskeke dankaala (I-ergative box-locative-focus hit)'it was the box I hit'. A locative phrase can have the focus suffix: may gharke maaTeke ayla (I house-of from-focus came) 'it was the house I came from'. An adverb may have the focus suffix: may uchike jaytam (I there-focus go) 'it is there that I go'.

The focus enclitic -ke can also be added to nouns with the possessor-possessed cross reference suffix. It follows the cross reference suffix: may tera gharirke jayla (I your house-locative-possessed-2nd-sg-focus went) 'it was to your house I went'. Focal -ke thus applies to all roles and surface cases.

IV. PRONOUNS

Tables 4, 5, and 6 list all personal pronouns, showing which are used for each surface case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st singular</td>
<td>ma or may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st plural</td>
<td>haame or haamen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd singular</td>
<td>tay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd plural</td>
<td>tahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd singular</td>
<td>uwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd plural</td>
<td>onen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Nominative-ergative pronouns.

The nominative and ergative pronouns are the same except for the third person singular, which is uwa for the nominative, as in uwa jayla (he-nominative went) 'he went', and uwaai for the ergative, as in uwaai bhaat khayla (he-ergative rice-accusative ate) 'he ate rice'. The two forms listed for the first person singular and first person plural are governed by constraints which have not yet been determined.

The accusative and locative pronouns are the same. The first and second person singular and teraaike have the shortened forms meke and teke, which are used
interchangeably with the longer forms. The first person singular has a third form, meraamke, which is used to emphasize 'me' over any other person just like -m with a possessed noun: meraamke bikut diuk (me-locative biscuit give) 'give me (not any one else) a biscuit'.

1st singular  meraaike, meke, or meraamke
1st plural  haamraaike
2nd singular  teraaike or teke
2nd plural  teuraaike
3rd singular  ikraaike (proximal)
               ukraaike (distal)
3rd plural  onenke

Table 5. Accusative-locative pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Narrow</th>
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<td>1st plural</td>
<td>haamro</td>
<td>haamrei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>teurei</td>
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<td>ikrei (proximal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ukra</td>
<td>ukrei (distal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd plural</td>
<td>onenka</td>
<td>onenkai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Possessive pronouns.

The possessive pronouns have two sets. The general set is the one normally used. The narrow set puts special emphasis on the possessor and distinguishes him from all other possible possessors: terei kitaap milo baadaai (your-possessive-emphatic book dirty is) 'your book (nobody else's) is dirty'.

The possessive and accusative-locative pronouns differentiate proximal from distal for the third person singular. If the person is near ikraaike is used, and if the person is far away ukraaike is used. The distinction is made on relative grounds rather than by actual distance.

The focus enclitic -ke may be attached to nominative-ergative pronouns, as in onenke jayla (they-nominative-focus-
REFERENCES


FOOTNOTES

1 The name of the language described in this paper is Darai, which is the only known name in current usage in Nepal. It is in the Indo-Aryan language family and shares 69 per cent cognates with Nepali according to a survey taken by Richard Hugoniot and Kent Gordon of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1971. Darai is spoken in Tanahu and Palpa of the Western Hills and in Chitwan and Nawalpur of the Central Inner Terai in Nepal. There are 1,645 speakers of Darai according to the 1971 Nepal census. This paper was written during a workshop organized by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies, Tribhuvan University, and partially funded by the National Science Foundation grant GS-3180A#1. It was held in Kathmandu, Nepal, during June, July, and August of 1973. I wish to express my appreciation to Joseph E. Grimes for his interest and help in writing this paper, and also to Mr. Korkhe Bahadur Darai for providing the language data essential to this analysis.
FOOTNOTES (cont'd)

2 The phonological system of Darai has the following system of consonants: voiceless unaspirated stops p, t, T [ʈ], c, and k; voiceless aspirated stops ph, th, Th [ʈʰ], ch, and kh; voiced unaspirated stops b, d, D [ɖ], j, and q; voiced aspirated stops bh, dh, Dh [ɖh], jh, and gh; nasals m, n, and ng; fricatives s and l; lateral l; tap r; flap R [ɾ]; and approximants w and y. There are six vowels: i, e, aa [a], a [ə], o, and u.

3 When the ergative or locative inflection -i is attached to a noun ending in a vowel plus i, the final i of the noun becomes y as in mera chaaiim which becomes mera chaayim (my daughter-ergative-possessed-1st-sg) 'my daughter'.

4 The only exception found has been the words for 'son' and 'daughter', which must have the -m suffix on all forms, as in mera chaawom (my son-nominative-possessed-1st-sg) 'my son' and mera chaaim (my daughter-nominative-possessed-1st-sg) 'my daughter'.
Case and Role in Newari

Austin Hale
Summer Institute of Linguistics

Thakurlal Manandhar
Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies

This brief paper represents an attempt to answer just one question: What are the major pairings of semantic role and morphological case in the clause structure of Newari? The same question could be asked differently. What deep structure relationships are signalled by each of the various case endings and in which contexts do these occur? How are the roles of deep or conceptual structure mapped onto the morphological cases of surface structure in Newari?

In Section 1 we introduce the six morphological cases which are of primary importance in the study of semantic role. In Section 2 we examine the pairings of case and role that occur within the actor complex. In Section 3 we consider those of the site complex and in Section 4 we look at those pairings which belong to the undergoer complex. We presuppose an acquaintance with the system of roles presented in Chapter 8 of Grimes (in press) and with the system of role complexes presented in Hale, 1973.

1. Any analysis of clause structure in Newari must deal in one way or another with six morphological cases. We use the term case, to refer to the morphological forms of noun phrases. Following Grimes (in press) we reserve the term role, for the deeper semantic relations which Fillmore and others refer to as case relations.

The cases of Newari which are central to the description of the clause are the following: the nominative (consisting of the uninflected stem), the ergative (consisting either of
the uninflected stem followed by naa or of the oblique stem
followed by or ending in a long nasal vowel), the dative
(consisting of the uninflected stem followed by yāta), the
comitative (consisting of the uninflected stem followed by
yēke), the locative (consisting of the oblique stem followed
by -e of or the oblique stem with a lengthened final i), and
the genitive (consisting of the uninflected stem followed by
yā). These case names will be used exclusively with ref-
erence to specific morphological forms. A sample of the
morphological forms to which these labels refer is given in
Figure 1.

The ergative and locative forms often preserve stem final
consonants which have been lost in the nominative form, though
even these consonants may soon be lost. The ergative form,
celaa, for example is on its way to obsolescence and is being
replaced by cyaa naa. The form māa naa now occurs along side
the ergative, māmā. The all-purpose ergative, naa, is par-
alleled by the locative, lae (or khae in Bhaktapur) for those
speakers who have lost the oblique stem forms of various nouns.
For further details on noun morphology see Hale, 1971.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>slave</th>
<th>mother</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>he</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>cyaa</td>
<td>māā</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>nan</td>
<td>jii</td>
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<td>māā yāta</td>
<td>jītaaa</td>
<td>waita</td>
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<td>cyaa yāke</td>
<td>māā yāke</td>
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<td>waike</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>cyaa yā</td>
<td>māā yā</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>wayā</td>
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shop book water shoe insect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Comitative</th>
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<td>laa yā</td>
<td>lākāā yā</td>
<td>kii yā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Samples of morphological case forms in Newari
2. These six case forms operate within three functional complexes in surface structure. We distinguish an actor complex, a site complex, and an undergoer complex. Consider first the actor complex.

Within the actor complex we distinguish three distinct roles, agent, instrument, and patient (experiencer). The only roles in Newari that have agreement patterns with the verb are the agent and patient roles of the actor complex. ³

The form of the agent is determined not only by its underlying role but also by the clause type in which it occurs. Agents are nominative in intransitive and semitransitive clauses.

(1) wa dana  He got up.
(2) wa thana wala  He came here.

but are ergative in transitive and bitransitive clauses.

(3) waa jā nala  He ate rice.
(4) waa jitaas saphuu bila  He gave me a book.

Instruments are relatively limited in their occurrence but are ergative wherever they do occur.

(5) waa lhāātii nala  He ate with his hands.
(6) waa tutii cula  He stood on (his) legs.
(7) waa mikhāā khana  He saw with his eyes.

Patients within the actor complex are even more limited than instruments, occurring only with a relatively small number of verbs of sense or cognition in which the actor is an experiencer. Such patients are also ergative. A number of these verbs are impersonal.

(8) jīj wa khā sila  I came to know that fact.
(9) jīj saa tāla  I heard the sound.
(10) jīj karma khana  I underwent the rituals incumbent upon a man during his life time.

Where an actor is simultaneously cast as an experiencer or as one who chooses to have the experience of performing a given act, the genitive form replaces the nominative or ergative form.
(11) waa jita rhicā kena He showed me the dog.
    wayā jita rhicā kena He was quite nappy to show me the dog.

(12) wa khwala He wept.
    wayā khwala He chose to weep.

(13) wa simaē gala He sat up in the tree.
    wayā simaē gala He chose to have the experience of sitting in a tree.

Agents differ from both patient and instruments within the actor complex in that agents can be cast as genitive experiencers but patients and instruments cannot.

Agents and patients of the actor complex, but not instruments, can appear in the dative form when they occur in embedded structures which induce double function.

(14) waa ja nala He ate rice.
    Wayā māmaa waita ja His mother fed him with rice (caused him to eat rice).
    nakala

(15) waa nagu khana He saw the star.
    waita jiī nagu khanka I made him see the star.

(16) waa jigu khā sila He came to know my secret.
    jiī waita jigu khā I made my secret known to him.
    siika

In Example 14, waita is a dative form in double function. It is both a site with respect to the causative construction and an actor with respect to the verb, nala 'eat'.

The choice of case forms within the actor complex may be summarized as in Figure 2.

3. Consider now the site complex. The site complex consists of constituents which in other languages have been called indirect objects and inner locatives. We consider here only those sites which are marked by the six primary morphological cases listed above. Though many other forms occur, the major kinds of site are represented by the primary morphological cases.
Figure 2. Pairings of roles and cases within the Newari actor complex.

Within the site complex we distinguish three kinds of roles. There are sources to which we assign the role, former. There are goals to which we assign the role, latter. There are locations or limits of extent to which we assign the role, range. Each of these roles is realized in terms of two morphological cases, one for sentient beings and the other for insentient beings. The site complex differs from the actor complex in that the choice of case forms is dictated mostly in terms of clause function and only to a limited extent in terms of constructional constraints which stem from a choice of clause types.

Sentient latters (goals) appear in the dative case in Newari.

(17) waa jita a saph uu bila He gave a book to me.

(18) waa jita a cithi cwala He wrote a letter to me.

(19) waita jwa r wala He got a high fever (a high fever came to him).

Sentient ranges (limit of extent, effect) likewise appear in the dative.

(20) jita a laa gaa The water is sufficient for me.
(21) waita jyā du There is work for him.
(22) waita thwa saphuu jyuu The book is suitable for him.
(23) waita thwa saphuu jhyātu The book is heavy for him.

Sentient latters (goals) and ranges (limit of extent, effect) appear in the genitive case when they double as experiencers or possessors, but only in clause types which lack actors.

(24) wayā laa gāā He has enough water.
(25) wayā jyā du He has work.
(26) wayā thwa saphuu jyuu hā He says the book is suitable.
(27) wayā thwa saphuu jhyatu hā He says the book is heavy.
(28) wayā jwar wala He suffered an attack of fever.

With certain verbs there are sentient ranges (limit of effect) which appear in the genitive (add not in the dative) due to their inherent experiencer or possessor relationship with the verb.

(29) Mīrā yā jyā thāku hā Mira says the work is difficult.
(30) Mīrā yā tyānhula Mira became tired.
(31) wayā kāe chamha du He has a son.

Ranges which are sentient locations and formers which are sentient sources are both marked by the comitative case.

(32) wāa jike saphuu nyāta He bought a book from me.
(33) wāa jike thwa khā nena He asked me about this matter.
(34) wāa jike dhebā phwana He begged money from me.
(35) wāa jike dhebā kāla He took money from me.
(36) jike saphuu du I possess some books.
(37) wāa jike dhebā khana He saw money in my possession.
Formers which are insentient sources are marked by ergative forms.

(38) wāa dhampa lāa thila  He got water from the jar.
(39) wāa jitaa chee pitina  He chased me out of the house.
(40) wa simāa kwa bēta  He jumped down from the tree.
(41) wayā mikhāa khwabi wala  Tears came from his eyes.

Ranges which are insentient locations and latters which are insentient goals are both marked by the locative case form.

(42) wayā mikhāe picaa wala  A secretion came into his eye.
(43) wāa jitaa lhaaatae dāla  He struck me on the arm.
(44) wāa darājae saphuu tala  He put the book on the shelf.
(45) kebae khicā chamha du  There is a dog in the garden.

With certain verbs, ranges which are insentient locations and latters which are insentient goals are expressed by the locative when physical location is to be made prominent and by the nominative where the action as a whole is more prominent than the physical location involved.

(46) wa chee wana  He went home (locative).
(47) wa chee wana  He went home (nominative).

The choice of case forms within the site complex is summarized in Figure 3. An alternative representation in matrix form in which the columns are headed by role names and the rows by the features, sentient effect, sentient location, and insentient location is given in Figure 4.

4. Consider finally the undergoer complex. The undergoer complex consists of constituents which have been grouped together in other languages under the heading of direct object. The undergoer complex includes patients which are physically affected such as the following.

(48) wāa jike maça kāla  He took the child from me.
(49) wāa jitaa saphuu bila  He gave me the book.
(50) wāa jigu jhirka dāa pula  He paid me my ten rupees.
Role Case Conditions on the choice of case

Latter

Dative Sentient goal sites.
Genitive Sentient goal sites which are also experiencers or possessors.
Locative Insentient goal sites.
Nominative Insentient goal sites with certain verbs, location not in focus.

Range

Dative Sentient or insentient limit of extent, effect.
Genitive Sentient limits of extent, effect which are also experiencers or possessors.
Comitative Sentient location.
Locative Insentient location.
Nominative Insentient location with certain verbs, location not in focus.

Former

Comitative Sentient sources.
Ergative Insentient sources.

Figure 3. Pairings of roles and cases within the Newari site complex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latter</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Former</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentient effect</td>
<td></td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentient location</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insentient location</td>
<td>Locative / Nominative</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4. Matrix representation of the relation between case and role within the Newari site complex.
(51) wāa jītaa jā thula She cooked me some rice.
(52) wāa jītaa cithi cwala He wrote me a letter.

The undergoer complex also includes patients which are abnormal, and which thus cannot be physically affected, but rather are brought into force, or into existence in some sense, and are therefore abstractly or metaphorically affected.

(53) wāa jītaa bāa tala He imposed a fine on me.
(54) wāa jītaa chaguu khā kāna He told me something.

The undergoer complex also includes ranges which contrast with the ranges of the site complex in not being locational and which contrast with the patients of the undergoer complex in that they are neither physically nor metaphorically affected.

(55) wāa jike dhebā khana He saw some money in my possession.
(56) wāa bākhā nena He listened to the story.

There is a contrast in surface form between patient and range of the undergoer complex which relates to personal pronouns. In the absence of dative sites, personal pronouns which are patients of transitive set clauses can occur only in the dative.

(57) wāa jītaa dāla He beat me.
(58) wāa jītaa bwaab bila He scolded me.
(59) wāa jītaa heekala He deceived me / humored me.
(60) wāa jītaa thwana He cheated me.
(61) wāa jītaa sena He instructed me.

Personal pronouns which are ranges can occur in either the dative or the nominative. The use of the dative serves to bring the pronoun into focal prominence within the clause. The nominative form is nonfocal.

(62) wāa jītaa luman kala He remembered me (focal).
(63) wāa ji luman kala He remembered me (nonfocal).
(64) wāa jītaa lwaa manka la He forgot me (focal).
(65) wāa ji lwaamanka la He forgot me (nonfocal).
(66) wāa jītaa khana  He saw me (focal).
(67) wāa ji khana  He caught sight of me (nonfocal).

The choice of case forms for patients within the undergoer complex which are not personal pronouns may be described as follows. If there is no dative site, if the undergoer is sentient and focal, and if it occurs in a clause type of the transitive or stative set, then the undergoer is dative. Otherwise it is nominative.

For a patient to occur in the dative case it must be sentient, focal, and an undergoer of a bitransitive, transitive, or stative clause type which has no dative goal-site. In the following clauses, the choice of the dative or the nominative form for the patient depends upon the degree to which the subjugation of a patient to an action or state is prominent or focal.

(68) wāa sala gala  He rode the horse (neutral focus upon the act as a whole).
(69) wāa sala yāta gala  He rode the horse (subjected him to being ridden, patient relation is focal).
(70) khā khyā!  Scare the hens away (focus is upon the act as a whole or perhaps even upon some grain that the hens are not to eat)!
(71) khā yāta khyā!  Scare the hens away (patient relation is focal)!

Patients which occur in receptive, bireceptive, attributive, or biattributive clause types can be nominative but not dative.

(72) wa sita  He died.
(73) wayā macā bula  She delivered a child.

(Example 73 is ambiguous. It could also be glossed, 'His (or her) child was born.') Patients which are sentient can be nominative but not dative. It is not possible to make the patient relation of sentient undergoers prominent by use of the dative.

(74) wāa lāsā dāla  He beat the mattress.
Insentient objects appear in the dative only within the range role of the site complex (limit of extent, effect).

(75) thuki vāta jī jī dhebā  bī bhunā “I have already paid money for this.”

(76) thuki vāta chu yāe tēnā? “What are you going to do about this matter?”

With certain verbs a certain amount of prominence can be gained by substituting a locative range of the site complex for a nominative insentient patient of the undergoer complex.

(77) waa lāsāe dāla “He beat upon the mattress.”

The choice of case forms within the undergoer complex is summarized in Figure 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Conditions on the choice of case (Any single numbered set of conditions suffices to allow a mapping)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>1. No dative site; BT, T, or S clause; personal pronoun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. No dative site; BT, T, or S clause; sentient noun; patient relation is focal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>1. Dative site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. BR, R, BA, or A clause type.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Patient relation is nonfocal for a sentient noun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Insentient noun.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Range      | Dative | 1. No dative site; BT, T, or S clause; personal pronoun or sentient noun; range relation is focal. |
|            |        | 2. BR, R, BA, or A clause type.                                                                      |
|            | Nominative | 1. Dative site.                                                                                     |
|            |        | 2. BR, R, BA, or A clause type.                                                                      |
|            |        | 3. Range relation is nonfocal.                                                                      |
|            |        | 4. Insentient noun.                                                                                 |

Figure 5. Pairings of roles and cases within the Newari undergoer complex.
In Figure 6 we summarize the relationships of semantic role to surface case in Newari. Figure 6 has the names of the various cases as the headings of its columns, the names of the semantic roles as the headings of its rows, and an indication of the sememic complex and function in the cells. Empty cells represent pairings which have not been found and which presumably do not belong to the system. The relevance of the three functional complexes, actor, undergoer, and site, should not be difficult to see, given the rather complex mapping relations between role and case in Newari that are pictured here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Actor-Ex-</td>
<td>Actor-embedded</td>
<td>Actor-embedded</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ST,I</td>
<td>BT,T</td>
<td>periencer</td>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Site</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
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<td></td>
<td>T-Set</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statant S</td>
<td>Undergoer</td>
<td>Undergoer</td>
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<td>focal</td>
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<td>focal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Former</td>
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<td>Site</td>
<td>Site</td>
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<td>insentient</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>Range</td>
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<td>Site</td>
<td>Site Goal</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>unaffected</td>
<td>unaffected</td>
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<td>Undergoer</td>
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<td>unaffected</td>
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<td>Latter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Site Goal</td>
<td>Site Goal</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>sentient</td>
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<td>Site</td>
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<td>Site</td>
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<td>insentient</td>
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<td>insentient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Site Goal</td>
<td>Site Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6. Pairings of semantic role with morphological case within the clause in Newari.
Footnotes

1 Newari is a Tibeto Burman language spoken by approximately 400,000, over half of whom live in Kathmandu Valley. The theoretical framework of this paper incorporates both the deep structure roles of Grimes (in press) and the role complexes of Hale, 1973. The transcription scheme for Newari consonants here employed uses the stops, p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, k, kh, g, gh; the affricates, c, ch, j, jh; the nasals, m, mh, n, nh, ñ [ŋ]; the liquids, l, lh, r, rh; the fricatives, s, h; and the glides w, and y. The vocalic nuclei of Newari include the short vowels, i, e, ā, a, and u; the long vowels, ii, ee, āā, aa, and uu; the complex nuclei ae [ɛ] and āe [æ]; and the diphthongs, āi, āu, ai, au, and ui. For each of the oral nuclei listed here there is a corresponding nasal nucleus. Nasality is indicated by a subscript hook: i, e, etc.

We wish to thank Mr. David Watters, Professor Kenneth L. Pike, and Dr. Joseph E. Grimes for stimulating discussions on grammar in general and Mrs. U. Kolver for discussions of Newari in particular that have proved helpful and enlightening. The stimulation we enjoyed from Pike came in a workshop conducted pursuant to contract No. OEC-0-9-097721-2778(014) with the Institute of International Studies, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Our contact with Grimes was made possible by NSF grant GS-3180A 1. We wish to express our deep appreciation to both of these agencies. None of those who have helped us is to be blamed for any defects of presentation or fact that may be found herein. It is quite unlikely that any of them would have put things together quite the way that we have.

2 The case marker constitutes the last element of the noun phrase in Newari. It may follow the noun directly as in saphuu 'book', saphulii 'in the book', saphulii 'from the book'. If a quantifier follows the noun, the case marker will follow the quantifier as in saphuu cha-guu 'one book', saphuu cha-gulii 'in one book', saphuu cha-gulii 'from one book'. The case marker will attach to a pronoun, a determiner, or even an adjective provided only that the element in question occurs at the end of the noun phrase. For this reason we refer to case as a morphological form of a noun phrase rather than as the morphological form of a noun or pronoun. The case labels, nominative, ergative, dative, comitative, locative, and genitive used in this paper correspond respectively to the terms, unmarked, agent-marked, goal-marked, associative, locative, and genitive used in Hale, 1973.
There are two possible agreement patterns, a conjunct pattern in which the actor is inflectionally identified in the verb as the speaker in indicative sentences:

ji ana wana I went there.

or as the hearer in the interrogative:

cha gana wana Where did you go?

and a disjunct pattern in which the actor is viewed as distinct from the speaker in indicative sentences:

wa ana wana He went there.

wa gana wana? Where did he go?

Where the actor is not viewed as identical with either the first person of the indicative or with the second person of the interrogative, only the disjunct inflection can occur in the finite verb of a simple clause. With first person actors in the indicative, however, either a conjunct or a disjunct form can occur depending upon whether the speaker wishes to identify himself as the conscious actor as he would in

ji ana wana I went there.

or as an unconscious or involuntary actor viewed by the speaker temporarily as having the status of a third person as in

ji ana wana I went there (inadvertently or as a third person).

In questions, this kind of shift in agreement pattern is used to mark a rhetorical question.

ji ana wana lā? Ma wana rae! Did I go there? Certainly not!

It should also be mentioned that there are impersonal verbs which can occur only in the disjunct form as the finite verb of a simple clause.

The names for the various clause types are taken from Hale, 1973. In that work, clause types are defined in terms of the predicate categories, state and event, and in terms of the role complexes, actor, undergoer, and site. Bitransitive (BT) clauses have actors, undergoers, and sites and are events. Transitive clauses (T) have actors and undergoers and are events. Semitransitive (ST) clauses have actors and
mites and are events. Intransitive (I) clauses have actors and are events. These four clause types constitute the transitive set (T-set) of clause types. Parallel to this are three other sets of clause types, the receptive set (R-set) consisting of the types, bireceptive (BR) (undergoer, site, event), receptive (R) (undergoer, event), semireceptive (SR) (site, event), and eventive (E) (event); the stative set (S-set) consisting of the types, bistative (BS) (statant, undergoer, site, state), stative (S) (statant, undergoer, state), semistative (SS) (statant, site, state); and descriptive (D) (statant, state); and the attributive set (A-set) consisting of the types, biattributive (BA) (undergoer, site, state), attributive (A) (undergoer, state), semiattributive (SA) (site, state), and circumstantial (state).

5 The instrumental role is somewhat marginal in Newari. It is certainly by no means the case that instruments can be used naturally wherever an agent can occur. There seem to be relatively few instances in which an instrument surfaces as an ergative noun phrase within an independent clause. We do have examples such as those given here but the more general pattern for the expression of the instrumental is that of the conjunctive clause.

\[
\text{wāa bepāār ṣānāa dhebā muna} \quad \text{He accumulated money by doing business.}
\]

\[
\text{jhangaa pāpu sankāā bwala} \quad \text{The bird flew by moving its wings.}
\]

6 The terms, indirect object and inner locative, are here viewed as names of grammatical functions in contrast to the term, site, which is viewed as the name of a sememic function. Similarly, the terms, subject and object, are grammatical functions in contrast to the terms, actor and undergoer, which are sememic functions. Languages differ according to whether grammatical function or sememic function is more accessible to beginning analysis. In Newari, sememic function is much easier to work with than grammatical function at early stages of the analysis.

7 For an illustration of an insentient range (limit of extent, effect) which is dative, see Examples 75 and 76 below.
References


Chitwan Tharu
Narrative Introductions

William M. Leal

Summer Institute of Linguistics

Tharu narratives may be divided into three sections; introduction, body and coda. I am concerned here with the nature and structure of the introduction.

The first clause of the introduction gives the initial nuclear location (W. Leal, in press), the place around which participants are oriented. This first clause also gives either a time referent or introduces a participant. For instance, (P&M) \textit{ek same-maa eguDaas pokharaa rahali/} (one occasion-on one lake existed/) 'On a certain occasion there was a certain lake.'; (HCl) \textit{ek sahar-maa eguDaas raajaa rahali/} (one city-in one king existed/) 'In a certain city there was a certain king.' In these two introductory clauses, a lake and a city are introduced. The first example gives a time referent (\textit{ek same-maa} 'on a certain occasion'), the second introduces a participant (\textit{eguDaas raajaa} 'a certain king').

The beginning of the body signals the end of the introduction. The first clause in the body is from the transitive set (BT, T, ST, I; see Hale 1973), the actor of which is taken from those participants introduced in the introduction. For example, (HCl) \textit{biswaa mintra-ji kailaas-se aili/} (tester tester-honorific heaven-from came/) 'The tester came from heaven.' \textit{aili} 'came' is a Semi-Transitive (ST) verb. (K3Q) \textit{raajaa lagali kahe, "..."/} (king began say, "..."/) 'The king began saying, "..."' \textit{kahe} 'say' is a Bi-Transitive (BT) verb.

In the introduction, then, the clauses are not taken from the transitive set. This is because the function of the introduction in the narrative as a whole is to give such information as is necessary to establish the setting and background of the story. To include background actions
necessary to the understanding of the story, clauses which would normally be in the transitive set are instead given in their corresponding stative set form, using rahali 'existed' or hali 'was, were' as auxiliary verbs. rahali is glossed 'existed' and hali is glossed 'was, were' but I have been unable to find much difference in meaning between them. rahali is much more commonly employed and seems to be used to indicate that the action of the main verb was happening before the story began and is continuing at the time the story begins. For example, (HCl) phakhir dakh k bhu khaa-ke bahut daani karai rahali/ (beggars troubled-people hungry people-to much generosity do existed/) 'He was very generous to beggars and to those who were troubled or hungry.' Here, the actor (King Hari Chandra) was in the habit of being generous before the story began, a practice he was continuing when the story opened. However, my language helpers assure me that hali and rahali can be used interchangeably with no difference in meaning.

Clauses in the introduction may also be in the receptive set (BR, R, SR, E). For instance, (J&C) u ladi-k wohi paaraa dekhal u gidaar/ (that river-of further side saw that jackal/) 'The jackal saw that river's further side.' dekhal 'saw' is a Bi-Receptive (BR) verb with u gidaar 'the jackal' as an undergoer and u ladi-k wohi paaraa 'that river's further side' as a site.

For further examples of the kinds of clauses found in the introduction, consult the appendix which gives the introductions as well as the first clause of the body for seven narratives.

When explanatory information about some entity cannot be contained in one sentence, additional sentences are used in a topic-comment relationship, the first sentence specifying the topic and the rest being the comment. The described entity, which is the topic, is usually reduced in these additional sentences. For instance, (JMO) u gidaar-k kathi duk bheli/ na khareke wakar ruchai na pieke ruchai/ na khareke na pieke manail hali/ saat raat saat din bhol hali/ dubaraalil hali/ (that jackal-of what trouble became/ neither eating his available nor drinking available/ neither eating nor drinking sick existed/ seven nights seven days become existed/ skinny existed/) 'That jackal was so troubled. There was nothing either to eat or drink. Not eating or drinking, he became sick. He became skinny.' The jackal is being described in these five sentences. In the second sentence, u gidaar 'that jackal' is reduced to wakar 'his' and in the rest of the sentences, no explicit mention is made of him.

Introductions exhibit an internal cohesive structure (see Grimes, in press). With certain exceptions, each clause is explicitly linked to the material preceding. The
most common way is by means of the demonstrative pronoun u 'that': (J&C) ek jilla-maa eguDaa gidaar rahali/ u jilla-maa eguDaa uNT rahali/ u gidaar bhuke mare rahali/ (one district-in one jackal existed/ that district-in one camel existed/ that jackal hunger die existed/) 'In a certain district there was a certain jackal. In that district there was a certain camel. That jackal was dying of hunger.' In the second sentence, u links jilla 'district' in that sentence with jilla in the first sentence. In the third sentence, u links gidaar 'jackal' in that sentence to gidaar in the first sentence. Any participant or place referred to after being introduced is linked back to its introduction.

In place of u, the possessive pronoun wakar 'his, her' may be used. For instance, (HCl) ek sahar-maa eguDaa raajaa rahali/ wakar naau hari chandra rahali/ (one city-in one king existed/ his name Hari Chandra existed/) 'In a certain city there was a certain king. His name was Hari Chandra.' wakar 'his, her' is used in place of u raajaa-k 'that king's'.

With an exception noted below, all participants, locations and props (such things as boats, wells, etc.) must be introduced. Usually this introduction is explicit, involving a clause using rahali 'existed' or hali 'was'. If there is some relationship between the introduced entity and something or somebody already introduced, this relationship is noted in the introduction of the new entity. For example, (K3Q) ek sahar-maa euTaa raajaa rahali/ wakar tingooRaa raani rahali/ (one city-in one king existed/ his three queens existed/) 'In a certain city there was a certain king. He had three queens.' In the first sentence, the king is introduced, using rahali 'existed'. In the second sentence, the three queens are introduced, again using rahali 'existed'. Since the queens are the king's wives, this relationship is noted by means of waker 'his'. As another example, (P&M) u pokharaa-k lajike ek ban hali/ (that lake-of side one jungle was/) 'At the side of that lake there was a certain jungle.' The lake was previously introduced. The relationship of the lake to the jungle is expressed by u pokharaa-k lajike 'the side of that lake'.

Certain participants are what may be considered "global". A global participant is one which is assumed to be present for one reason or another. Deity, for instance, is always present whether actually involved in the story or not. Other participants may be present by assumed relationship to another participant. A king will always have subjects, for example. Global participants are not introduced explicitly, but participate without introduction. This is illustrated by the following example: (HCl) tab sab jaanaa-k thaah bheili/ hari chandra raajaa badDaa satiyaa daani badda/ tab biswaa mintra-ji-k thaah bheili/ (then all people-of knowledge became/ Hari Chandra king much holy generous is/ then tester tester-honorific-of knowledge became/) 'Then the people knew King Hari Chandra was very holy and generous. Then the
tester knew.' Since the story is about King Hari Chandra (who was previously introduced), it is assumed that he has subjects and they therefore are not specially introduced. Similarly, the tester, being deity, is not introduced. Since global participants are not introduced, there is no introduction to link back to and they are not referred to with u 'that'.

Another exception to this linkage system is that there is no use of u 'that' with proper names. For instance, (HC2) ek sahaar-maa raajaa hali/ u raajaa-k naaNu hari chandra rahali/ raajaa hari chandra .../ (one city-in king was/ that king-of name Hari Chandra existed/ king Hari Chandra .../) 'In a certain city there was a king. That king's name was Hari Chandra. King Hari Chandra ...' In the last sentence we have a reference to just 'King Hari Chandra', not 'that King Hari Chandra'.

This kind of linkage using u 'that' or waker 'his, her' is obligatory within the introduction but is generally optional in the rest of the narrative. Its absence or presence seems to correspond to that between the and that, respectively, in English, where that may be used in place of the to add focus to the referent. In Tharu, (JMO) u gidaar-ke Daul banaa deli/ Daul hakaik maaha tab iabe gidaraa bcharaa lagali kare, " ..."/ (that jackal-to good make gave/ good making after then now jackal thought began do, "..... ") "He made it good for that jackal. It having been made good, then the jackal now began thinking, " ... ".' In the first sentence, the reference to the gidaar 'jackal' is not preceded by u 'that'. u 'that', though optional elsewhere in the body, apparently must be used in the first reference to a participant or place after being introduced: (JMO) ta baagh khojai khojai khojai-ki eguDaa baan-maa baagh bhetali/ u baagh-waa-ke lagali kahe, " ... " (then tiger search search search-after one jungle-in tiger met/ that tiger-emphasis-to began say, "... ") 'Then having searched and searched and searched for a tiger, he found one in a certain jungle. He began to say to that tiger, " ... ".' The baagh 'tiger' is introduced in the first sentence, then referred to with u in the following sentence.
Appendix

The introduction for seven narratives are given below, along with the first sentence of the body. First the Tharu is given, then a literal translation, then a free translation. Following each title (which I have provided myself since Tharus evidently do not give formal titles to many of their stories) is a code, such as (JMO), which provides a convenient reference to the story.

1. Jackal makes an offering (JMO)

1ek ban-maa gidaar rahali/ 2u gidaar-k kathi duk bheli/
3na khaaeke wakar ruchai na pieke ruchai/ 4na khaaeke na pieke manail hali/ 5saat raat saat din bhel hali/ 6dubaraaili hali/
7tab u gidaar lagali kahe, " ... "/

1one jungle-in jackal existed/ 2that jackal-of what trouble became/ 3neither eating his available nor drinking available/ 4neither eating nor drinking sick existed/ 5seven nights seven days become existed/ 6skinny existed/

7then that jackal began say, " ... "/

1In a certain jungle there was a jackal. 2That jackal was so troubled. 3There was nothing either to eat or drink. 4Not eating or drinking, he became sick. 5Seven days and nights passed. 6He became skinny.

7Then that jackal began saying, " ... "

2. The testing of King Hari Chandra - Version I (HCl)

1ek sahar-maa eguDaa raajaa rahali/ 2wakar naau hari chandra rahali/ 3tab u raajaa baDaa satiyyaa baadi rahali/ 4daani rghali/ 5phakir dukhhaa bhukhaa-ke bahut daani karai rahali/ 6tab sab jaana-k thaaah bheli/ 7hari chandra raajaa baDaa satiyyaa daani baDia/ 8tab biswaa mintra-ji-k thaaah bheli/

9biswaa mintra-ji kailaas-se aili hari chandra raajaa-k sat tagawe/

1one city-in one king existed/ 2his name hari chandra existed/ 3then that king much holy existed/ 4generous
In a certain city there was a certain king. His name was Hari Chandra. That king was very holy. He was very generous to beggars and to those who were troubled or hungry. Then all the people knew. King Hari Chandra was very holy and generous. Then the tester knew.

The tester came from heaven to destroy King Hari Chandra's faith.

3. The testing of King Hari Chandra - Version II (HC2)

In a certain city there was a king. That king's name was Hari Chandra. King Hari Chandra was a very kind ruler over his own subjects and police. He was very generous to mendicants, beggars, those in trouble, those who were hungry, and Brahmans. King Hari Chandra was very holy.

On that occasion the tester came from heaven to earth to break Hari Chandra's faith.
4. The parrot and the myna (P&M)

1ek same-maa eguDaa pokharaa rahali/ 2u pokharaa-maa haaNs bakulaa kasadarìi saawari saharasq chakewaa pana buDiyaa chiTaì paani-k charai rahali/ 3u pokharaa-k lajike ek ban hali/ 4ta u ban-maa bahut charai phere rahali/

5lagal taahi same-maa jaabaDa dhudhui patharaa paani aili/

1one occasion-on lake existed/ 2that lake-in ducks ---*--- --- --- --- --- all water-of birds existed/

3that lake-of side one jungle was/ 4then that jungle-in many birds also excited/

5began that occasion-on big wind hail rain came/

On a certain occasion there was a certain lake. In that lake there were ducks ... --all kinds of water birds. At the side of that lake there was a certain jungle. In that jungle there were also many birds.

On that occasion a big wind, hail and rain came.

* The English names for these birds have not yet been ascertained.

5. A king and his three queens (K3Q)

1ek sahar-maa euTaa raajaa rahali/ 2wakar tingDaa raani rahali/ 3u raajaa-k tingDaa raani Hakaik maqhaa bahut bras bheli/ 4nì wakar eguDaa beTaa na beTi/ 5putra haino wakar paidaa/ 6tinu raani-k peT kokh-se haine hakhai/

7raajaa lagali kahe, " ... "/

1one-city-in one king existed/ 2his three queens existed/ 3that king-on three queens being after many years became/ 4neither his one son nor daughter/ 5child negative born/ 6three queens-of stomach womb-from negative is/

7king began say, " ... "/

In a certain city there was a certain king. He had three queens. After the king had the three queens many
years passed. 4 He had neither son nor daughter. 5 Children were not born to him. 6 The three queens were barren.

7 The king began saying, " ... "

6. **The jackal outwits the lion** (JOL)

1 ek ban-maa eguDaa singh rahali/ 2 u singh-waa u ban-k chijbij janaawar-ke bhasmaNKake rahali/
3 tab u ban-k janaawar sabh kachaheri miTin besali/

1 one jungle-in one lion existed/ 2 that lion-emphasis that jungle-of animals animals-to exterminating existed/
3 then that jungle-of animals plural meeting meeting convened/

1 In a certain jungle there was a certain lion. 2 That lion was exterminating all the jungle's animals.
3 Then the jungle's animals convened a meeting.

7. **The jackal and the camel cross the river for food** (J&C)

1 ek jilla-maa eguDaa gidaar rahali/ 2 u jilla-maa eguDaa uNT rahali/ 3 u gidaar bhunkhe mare rahali/ 4 saat din saat raat bhel/ 5 u baNiniu khaai pauli kahoahuN/ 6 hase u rapti egoda rahali/ 7 lade bahal/ 8 u ladi-k wohi paaraa dekhalu u gidaar/ 9 gaaie goro marl/ 10 hase uhowa pheri-k bari rahali/ 11 khet lagoli/
12 uNT-waa-ke lagali kahe, " ... "/

1 one district-in one jackal existed/ 2 that district-in one camel existed/ 3 that jackal hunger die existed/ 4 seven days seven nights became/ 5 that not eat available anywhere/ 6 then that river one existed/ 7 river flowed/ 8 that river-of further side saw that jackal/ 9 cows bulls died/ 10 then there again sugarcane-of field existed/ 11 field struck/
12 camel-emphasis-to began say, " ... "/

1 In a certain district there was a certain jackal. 2 In that district there was a certain camel. 3 That jackal was
dying of hunger. 4 Seven days and nights had passed. 5 There was nothing to eat anywhere. 6 There was a certain river. The river was flowing. 7 The jackal saw that river's further side. 8 Cows and bulls had died. 9 Also there were sugar cane fields. 10 There were fields.

12 Then he began to say to the camel, "..."

Footnotes

1 Chitwan Tharu is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by approximately 25,000 people, according to the 1971 Nepal census. It is located in the Chitwan district of southern Nepal. There are other Tharu languages; "Tharu" refers to a caste or ethnic group rather than a language as such. However, the term "Tharu" is used in this paper to refer to the Chitwan Tharu language.

Most of the texts on which this study was based were provided by Ram Kissan Rawat, a 25 year old man of the village of Devauli, Devauli Panchayat, Chitwan. Additional assistance was provided by Hatana Mahatu, a 16 year old man also of Devauli.

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2 According to the Tharu phonemic summary (D. Leal 1972), Tharu has the following phonemes: p t T (retroflex) c (alveopalatal affricate) k, ph th Th ch kh, b d D j g, bh dh Dh jh gh, m n ng [γ], mh ng nGh [γh], s, l r, lh rh, w y h; i u e o a [ə] aa [a]: All vowels except a may be nasalized. Nasalization is indicated by N following the vowel as in inIN. The major allophonic variation is between D and Dh, which phonetically are [r] and [rN] respectively word medially and finally, and [d] and [dN] respectively word initially. For an additional note on Tharu phonemics, see D. Leal (in press).
Since my study of Tharu verb morphology is not complete, morpheme breaks have not been indicated. The English gloss given is the one which corresponds most closely to the usage of the verb as inflected.

3 The codes in parentheses preceding each example refer to the text selection given in the appendix. For instance, (P&M) stands for "The parrot and the myna", the fourth selection in the appendix.

4 This does not, of course, mean that there is no difference between hali and rahali. An unsophisticated English speaker would probably be hard put to find any difference in meaning between, for instance, 'John broke the window' and 'The window was broken by John,' and he would probably claim there is no difference, despite the attention given to this phenomenon by linguists in recent years. The discovery of a distinction, if any, between hali and rahali will have to await some test other than direct interrogation of language helpers.

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David Hargrave and Margrit Hale

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In the main body of the bibliography the institutional affiliation of the authors is not given. The following affiliations deserve special mention. Churamani Bandhu, Department of Nepali, Tribhuvan University College; Ballabh Mani Dahal, Department of Nepali, Tribhuvan University College; James F. Fisher, University of Chicago, Deo Bahadur Gurung, language assistant, SIL; Lachman M. Khubchandani, Deccan College; Thakurlal Manandhar, Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University; Jagan Nath Maskey, language assistant, SIL; S. Ramani, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research; Johan Reinhard, University of Vienna; Iswaranand Srethacharya, Mahendra Ratna Public College and Saraswati College; and Karna Bahadur Tamang, language assistant, SIL. These affiliations are the ones that were in force during the dates of publication given for these authors. All other authors were members of SIL during the dates reflected by their publications.

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