Clause,

Sentence, and

Discourse Patterns

in selected languages of Nepal

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Part II, Clause

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Clause Patterns in Nepali

Churamani Bandhu

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The purpose of this paper is to present a portion of a
Tagmemic analysis of the clause types of Nepali. Section I pre-
sents formulae and examples of the basic contrastive types, to-
gether with a discussion of the markers of role and focus which
are important for the identification of these types. Section II
presents a summary of the inflectional system of the Nepali clause.
Section III presents a summary of the system of clause derivations
in Nepali. Each of these two latter sections contributes evidence
in support of the contrastive status of the basic clause types
presented in Section I. They also may be viewed as contributing
to a specification of the range of variation manifested within
the various clause types. A full Tagmemic description requires
an account of distribution on higher levels. This portion of the
description of the clause in Nepali has not been attempted within
the limits of this paper.

  I. BASIC PATTERNS

The basic contrastive clause patterns of Nepali may be
classified within a transitivity system defined in terms of the
sememic functions, actor, undergoer, and site. The possible
combinations of these functions define eight different clause
types as presented in Figure 1.

	Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
+Actor	Bi-Transitive	Transitive	Semi-Transitive	Intransitive
-Actor	Bi-Receptive	Receptive	Semi-Receptive	Eventive

Figure 1.   Transitivity matrix defined in terms of the three
sememic functions, actor, undergoer and site.

In addition to these three sememic functions, there is also
a verbal function which has proven useful in the description of
the clause patterns in Nepali. This function distinguishes two
major kinds of verbs, event verbs and state verbs. Event verbs
are those which can, without derivation, stand as part of a
chain of events within narrative discourse. Superimposing this
distinction upon the classification given in Figure 1 we arrive
at the sixteen cell matrix given in Figure 2. Clause type labels
in Figure 2 which are enclosed in parentheses are not inherently
contrastive clause types in Nepali according to our present
analysis.

	Bi-Transitive	Transitive	Semi-Transitive	Intransitive
Event	Bi-Receptive	Receptive	Semi-Receptive	Eventive
State	(BiStative)	(Stative)	(Semi-Stative)	(Descrip-tive)
	Bi-Attributive	Attributive	Semi-Attributive	(Circum-stantial)

Figure 2.   Full transitivity matrix, showing inherent
clause types in Nepali

The abbreviations for each clause type will consist simply of the
upper case letters in the labels within the cells of Figure 2.
BiTransitive is thus abbreviated as BT; SemiAttributive, SA;
Eventive, E; and so forth. Actor will be abbreviated, Act;
undergoer, Und; and site, Sit. For a key to abbreviations see
the appendix.

A.   Contrastive Clause Types

There are eleven clause types in Nepali, each of which has
at least one sub-type. In this section we give a formula for
each major sub-type of each clause type together with examples.
The formulae are given in a four-box format discussed elsewhere
in this volume. Each of the examples is given in a four-line
format. The first line is Nepali. The second is a modified
morpheme by morpheme translation, the third labels sememic func-
tions or roles. The fourth is the free English translation.

1.   BiTransitive

la. BiTransitive with Goal and Associative Site.

```
     S  | NP (Agt)       I0 | NP(Asc/Gol)      0 | NP (Umk)      P | VP
  +---+--------       +----+------------    +---+--------    +---+---
     Act |               Sit|               Und|              BT|
```

```
mxi-le  hxri-lai  kitap      di-e'
I-Agt   Hari-Gol  book Umk   give-pst 1 sg
Act     Sit       Und        BT
I gave Hari a book.

tes-le    mx-sitx   pxisa     li-io
he-Agt    I-Asc     money Umk take-pst 3 sg
Act       Sit       Umk       BT
He took money from me.

tes-le    guru-sxngx    hisab        pxd'h-io
He-Agt    teacher-Asc   mathematics  study-pst 3 sg
Act       Sit           Und          BT
He studied mathematics with his teacher.
```

   lb. BiTransitive with Locative Site.

```
   S  | NP(Agt)    R  | NP(Loc/Anl/Src)    O  | NP(+Gol)     P | VP
 +----+--------   +---+----------------  +---+---------    +---+---
   Act |            Sit|                   Und |             BT|
```

```
mxi-le    jhola-ma  kitap      hal-e'
I-Agt     bag-Loc   book Umk   put-pst 3 sg
Act       Sit       Und        BT
I put the book in a bag.
```

```
txi-le      khxlti-bat'x    pxisa       jhik-is
you-Agt     pocket-Src      money Umk   take out-pst 3 sg
Act         Sit             Und         BT
You took money out of your pocket.
```

```
tes-le      bhai-lai        mx-ka'      pxt'ha-io
he-Agt      brother-Gol     I-Anl       send-pst 3 sg
Act         Und             Sit         BT
He sent his brother to me.
```

    2. Transitive

```
     S  | NP(Agt)    O  | NP(Gol)    P | VP
     +-----+---------  +----+--------  +--+----
       Act |            Und |            T |
```

```
ram-le      hxri-lai   kut'-io
Ram-Agt     Hari-Gol   hit-pst 3 sg
Act         Und        T
Ram hit Hari.
```

```
tes-le      bhai-lai        maia'      gxr-io
he-Agt      brother-Gol     love       do-pst 3 sg
Act         Und             T
He loved his brother.
```

    2b. Transitive with Unmarked Object

```
     S  | NP(Agt)    O  | NP(Umk)    P | VP
     +---+---------  +----+--------  +-+----
       Act|            Und |           T |
```

```
mxi-le      bhat       kha-e'
I-Agt       rice Umk   eat-pst 1 sg
Act         Und        T
I ate rice.
```

```
mxi-le      kam        gxr-e'
I-Agt       work Umk   do-pst 1 sg
Act         Und        T
I did the work.
```

3.   SemiTransitive

3a.   SemiTransitive with Associative and Animate Locative

```
    S    | NP(Umk)    IO  | NP(Asc/AnL)    P  | VP
+----+--------    +---+------------    +--+----
    Act |              Sit |                    ST |
```

```
tio        mx-ka'    a-io
he Umk     I-AnL     come-pst 3 sg
Act        Sit       ST
He came to me.
```

```
tio        mx-sitx   d'xra-io
he Umk     I-Asc     be afraid of-pst 3 sg
Act        IO        ST
He became afraid of me.
```

```
    S    | NP(Umk)    R  | NP(Loc)    P  | VP
+---+--------    +---+--------    +--+----
    Act |             Sit |             ST |
```

```
tio        ghxr-x     gx-io.
he Umk     home-Loc   go-pst 3 sg
Act        Sit        ST
He went home.
```

```
tio        bhui'ma        bxs-io
he Umk     ground-Loc     sit-pst 3 sg
Act        Sit            ST
He sat on the ground.
```

```
tio        gau'-bat'x        a-io
he Umk     village-Src       come-pst 3 sg
Act        Sit               ST
He came from the village.
```

```
tio        bxjar-sxmmx    gx-io
he Umk     market-Des     go-pst 3 sg
Act        Sit            ST
He went to market.
```

```
tio        khola-tirx     gx-io
he Umk     river-Dir      go-pst 3 sg
Act        Sit            ST
He went towards the river.
```

3c.   SemiTransitive with Unmarked Site.

```
    S  | NP(Umk)     R | NP(Loc)     P | VP
    +---+--------    +---+--------    +--+----
     Act |           Sit |            ST |
```

```
tio        kat'hmand'u      gx-io
he Umk     Kathmandu Umk    go-pst 3 sg
Act        Sit              ST
He went to Kathmandu.
```

4. Intransitive

```
    S  | NP(Umk)     P | VP
    +---+--------    +--+----
     Act |            I |
```

```
tio        ha's-io
he Umk     laugh-pst 3 sg
Act        I
He laughed.
```

```
tio        to-io
he Umk     weep-pst 3 sg
Act        I
He wept.
```

5. BiReceptive

```
    IO | NP(Gol)     S  | NP(Umk)       P | VP
    +---+--------    +---+--------      +--+----
     Sit |            Und |              BR |
```

```
mx-lai     io jutta         mil-io
I-Gol      this shoe Umk    fit-pst 3 sg
Sit        Und              BR
This shoe came to fit me.
```

```
mx-lai     gorkha           ramro lag-io
I-Gol      Gorkha Umk       good  feel-pst 3 sg
Sit        Und              BR
I liked Gorkha.
```

5a.   BiReceptive with Complements.

```
    IO | NP(Gol)     S  | NP(Umk)       C | Adj     P | VP
    +---+--------    +---+--------      +---+----    +--+----
     Sit |            Und |              BR |          |
```

```
mx-lai     io bhari         gxrunggo  bhx-io
I-Gol      this load Umk    heavy     became-pst 3 sg
Sit        Und              BR
This load became heavy for me.
```

6. Receptive

```
    S    | NP (Umk)      P | VP
  +---+--------     +--+----
    Und |                R |
```

```
tio        jxnm-io
he Umk     birth-pst 3 sg
Und        R
He was born.
```

```
tio        bhoka-io
he Umk     become hungry-pst 3 sg
Und        R
He became hungry.
```

6a. Receptive with Complements

```
    S    | NP (Umk)      C | NP/Adj      P | V
  +---+--------     +--+-------     +--+---
    Und |                R |                |
```

```
tio        mxntri    bhx-io
he Umk     minister  become-pst 3 sg
Und        R
He became a minister.
```

```
ghxr           ramro     bxn-io
house Umk      good      be made-pst 3 sg
Und            R
The house is well made.
```

7. SemiReceptive
7a. SemiReceptive with Goal-marked Site.

```
    I0   | NP (Gol)      P | VP
  +---+--------     +--+----
    Sit |                SR |
```

```
mx-lai     cila-io
I-Gol      itch-pst 3 sg
Sit        SR
I itched.
```

7b.   SemiReceptive with Complements.

```
IO | NP(Gol)   C | NP/Adj    P | VP
+---+--------  +--+-------   +-+----
   Sit|           SR|
```

```
mx-lai    jad'o      bhx-io
I-Gol     cold       become-pst 3 sg
Sit       SR
It became cold for me.
```

```
mx-lai    bhok       lag-io
I-Gol     hunger     strike-pst 3 sg
Sit       SR
I became hungry.
```

```
mx-lai    mat            cxd'h-io
I-Gol     intoxication   climb-pst 3 sg
I became intoxicated.
```

7c.   SemiReceptive with Possessive Site and Complements.

```
IO | NP(Poss)   C | Nn     P | VP
+--+---------  +--+----   +--+--
   Sit|           SR|
```

```
mero      buddhi     a-io
I-Pos     wisdom     come-pst 3 sg
Sit       SR
I caught on, I got the idea.
```

```
mero      kxpal      dukh-io
I-Pos     head       ache-pst 3 sg
Sit       SR
My head ached.
```

8.   Eventive

```
C | Adj/Nn     P | VP
+--+------    +--+---
  E|             |
```

```
jado      bhx-io
cold      become-pst 3 sg
E
It became cold.
```

```
cor          lag-io
thief        stick-pst 3 sg
E
A theft occurred.
```

9.   BiAttributive
9a. BiAttributive with Goal, Associative and Possessive
     Site.

```
    IO | NP(Gol/Asc/Pos)   S | NP(Umk)     P | VP
   +---+----------------- +---+-------- +---+----
    Sit|                   Und|          BA |
```

```
mx-lai       t'hau'       chxi-nx
I-Gol        place Umk     is-neg
Sit          Und          BA
There is no room for me.
```

```
mx-sitx      kxlxm        chxi-nx
I-Asc        pen Umk       is-neg
Sit          Und          BA
I have no pen.
```

```
mero         saikxl       chxi-nx
I-Pos        bicycle Umk   is-neg
Sit          Und          BA
I have no bicycle.
```

```
mero         tin chora    chxn
I-Pos        three sons Umk are
Pos          Und          BA
I have three sons.
```

9b. BiAttributive with Locative Site.

```
    S | NP(Umk)     R | NP(Loc)        P | VP
   +---+-------- +---+-------- +---+----
    Und|          Sit|          BA |
```

```
ram          kat'hmand'u-ma        chx
Ram Umk      Kathmandu-Loc (ArL)   is
Und          Sit                   BA
Ram is in Kathmandu.
```

```
mx           iaha'        chu
I Umk        here         am
Und          Sit          BA
I am here.
```

```
gxi'd'a          nepal-ko junggxl-ma      hun-chxn
rhinos Umk       Nepal-of forest-ArL      generally are
Und              Sit                      BA
There are rhinos in the forests of Nepal.
```

10. Attributive

10a. Attributive with Adjectival Complement.

```
      S  | NP(Umk)    C | Adj      P | VP
    +----+--------   +--+---      +--+----
     Und |            A |
```

```
kxlxm       rato       chx
pen Umk     red        generally is
Und         A
The pen is red.
```

```
io ghxr                thulo      ho
this house Umk         big        is
Und                    A
This house is big.
```

```
mxhx               gulio          hun-chx
honey Umk          sweet          generally is
Und                A
Honey is sweet.
```

10b. Attributive with Nominal Complements.

```
      S  | NP(Umk)     C | NP      P | VP
    +---+--------     +--+--      +-+--
     Und |             A |
```

```
ram         mero sathi         ho
Ram Umk     my friend          is
Und         A
Ram is my friend.
```

```
mero kxlxm      io         ho
my pen Umk      this       is
Und             A
This is my pen.
```

11.   SemiAttributive

11a.   SemiAttributive with Goal Site.

```
IO | NP(Gol)     C | Adj/NP(Umk)     P | VP
+---+---------   +--+-------------   +-+---
   Sit|            SA|                 |
```

```
mx-lai     anxndx        chx
I-Gol      happiness     is
Sit        SA
I am happy.
```

```
mx-lai     niano·        chx
I-Gol      warm          is
Sit        SA
I am warm, I feel warm.
```

11b.   SemiAttributive with Locative Site.

```
R  | NP(Loc)     C | Adj     P | VP
+---+---------   +--+----    +-+---
   Sit|            SA|         |
```

```
iaha'      jad'o     chx
here       cold      is
Sit        SA
It is cold here.
```

B.   <u>Contrastive System</u>

1.   Role Markers

It should be clear from the examples given above that the relationship between markers (such as agent (Agt), associative (Asc), goal (Gol) and the like) and sememic functions or roles (such as actor, undergoer and site) is basic to the classification of clause patterns in Nepali. It should also be clear that the pairing of markers with functions differs from clause type to clause type. The sememic interpretation of a given marker depends upon the clause patterns in which it is found. The normal markers for the various sememic functions in each of the clause types in which the functions occur are summarized in Figures 3 through 5. Those cells in which the sememic function under consideration does not occur are marked by three hyphens.

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

Figure 3.   Normal actor markers in Nepali.   (Parenthesized
           markers are those in non-basic clause types.)

    Actor markers for the basic clause types of Figure 3 can be
illustrated as follows.   In the following examples, M stands for
markers, and R for roles.

```
I         tes-le    hxri-lai  kitap      di-io
     M    Agt       Gol       Umk        pst 3 sg
     R    Act       Sit       Und        BT
          He gave Hari a book.


T         tes-le    bhat      kha-io
     M    Agt       Umk       pst 3 sg
     R    Act       Und       T
          He ate rice.


ST        tio       ghxr-x    gx-io
     M    Umk       Loc       pst 3 sg
     R    Act       Sit       ST
          He went home.


I         tio       ha's-io
     M    Umk       pst 3 sg
     R    Act       I
          He laughed.
```

    In certain derived clauses of the stative set, the agent
marking of actors is optional.

```
S         tio bhat  khan-chx  or  tes-le  bhat  khan-chx
     M    Umk Umk   npst 3 sg     Agt     Umk   npst 3 sg
          He eats rice.              He eats rice.
```

Undergoer Markers

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

Figure 4.   Normal undergoer markers in Nepali.
            *Occurs with personal nouns and pronouns.
            **Occurs with Gol-marked sites.

    Undergoer markers for the basic clause types of Figure 4
can be illustrated as follows:

```
BT          tes-le    mx-lai    pxisa     di—io
     M      Agt       Gol       Umk       pst 3 sg
     R      Act       Sit       Und       BT
            He gave me money.

BT          tes-le    hxri-lai  jel-ma    hal-io
     M      Agt       Gol       ArL       pst 3 sg
     R      Act       Und       Sit       BT
            He put Hari in prison.

T           tes-le    bhat      kha-io
     M      Agt       Umk       pst 3 sg
     R      Act       Und       T
            He ate rice.

T           tes-le    bhai-lai  kut'-io
     M      Agt       Gol       pst 3 sg
     R      Act       Und       T
            He hit his brother.

BR          mx-lai    io ket'o  mxn pxr-io
     M      Gol       Umk       pst 3 sg
     R      Act       Und       BR
            I liked this boy.
```

```
R          tio        jxnm-io
    M      Umk        pst 3 sg
    R      Und        I
           He was born.

BA         ram-ka     tin chora      chxn
    M      Pos        Umk            npst 3 sg
    R      Sit        Und            BA
           Ram has three sons.

A          ram        mero sathi         ho
    M      Umk        Umk                npst 3 sg
    R      Und        A
           Ram is my friend.
```

Inanimate undergoers are not generally marked. When they are marked they are goal-marked.

BT Gol Asc AnL ArL Src	T ---	ST Asc AnL ArL Src Dir Des	I ---
BR Gol	R ---	SR Gol AnL ArL Pos	E ---
BS (---)*	S (---)	SS (---)*	D (---)
BA Gol Asc ArL Pos	A	SA Gol AnL ArL	C

Figure 5.   Normal site markers. *The site markers for the derived types BS and SS are the same as for their event counterparts BT and ST respectively.

In Nepali there are a number of different kinds of site,
each of which is marked in a different way. We will be con-
cerned here with eight of these: goal-site (Gol), associative-
site (Asc), source-site (Src), animate-locative site (AnL),
area location site (ArL), directional location site (Dir),
destination site (Des) and possessive-site (Pos), Goal-site,
associative-site, possessive-site and animate locative site are
always animate by contrast with location and directional sites
which may be either animate or inanimate.[2] The distribution
of the various kinds of sites over the various clause types is
shown in Figure 5.

```
BT        tes-le    mx-lai    kitap     di-io
    M     Agt       Gol       Umk       pst 3 sg
    R     Act       Sit       Und       BT
          He gave me a book.

BT        tes-le    mx-sitx   pxisa     li-io
    M     Agt       Asc       Umk       pst 3 sg
    R     Act       Sit       Und       BT
          He took money from me.

BT        tes-le    mx-ka'    pxisa     rakh-io
    M     Agt       AnL       Umk       pst 3 sg
    R     Act       Sit       Und       BT
          He kept his money with me.

BT        mxi-le    jhola-ma  kitap     hal-e'
    M     Agt       ArL       Umk       pst 3 sg
    R     Act       Sit       Und       BT
          I put the books in the bag.

BT        tes-le    guru-bat'x    sikchia   grxhxn gxr-io
    M     Agt       Src           Umk       pst 3 sg
    R     Act       Sit           Und       BT
          He got an education from his teacher.

ST        tio       mx-sitx   a-io
    M     Umk       Asc       pst 3 sg
    R     Und       Sit       ST
          He came to me.

ST        tio       mx-ka'    a-io
    M     Umk       AnL       pst 3 sg
    R     Und       Sit       ST
          He came to me.

ST        tio       bhui'-ma  bxs-io
    M     Umk       ArL       pst 3 sg
    R     Act       Sit       ST
          He sat on the floor.
```

```
ST          tio       gau'-bat'x     a-io
    M       Umk       Src            pst 3 sg
    R       Act       Sit            ST
            He came from the village.

ST          ram       bxjar-tira     gx-io
    M       Umk       Dir            pst 3 sg
    R       Act       Sit            ST
            Ram went towards the market.

ST          ram       ghxr-x     a-io
    M       Umk       Des        pst 3 sg
    R       Act       Sit        ST
            Ram came home.

BR          mx-lai    io ket'o  mxn pxr-io
    M       Gol       Umk        pst 3 sg
    R       Sit       Und        BR
            I became fond of this boy.

SR          mx-lai    cila-io
    M       Gol       pst 3 sg
    R       Sit       SR
            I itched.

SR          mx-ka'    jad'o      bhx-io
    M       AnL       Umk        pst 3 sg
    R       Sit       SR
            It became cold at my house.

SR          kot'ha-ma     jad'o      bhx-io
    M       ArL           Umk        pst 3 sg
    R       Sit           SR
            I became cold in the room.

SR          mero      hos        a-io
    M       Pos       Umk        pst 3 sg
    R       Sit       SR
            I became conscious.

BA          mx-lai    io bhari  gxrunggo   chx
    M       Gol       Umk                  npst
    R       Sit       Und        BA
            This load is heavy for me.
```

```
BA            mx-sitx    pxisa      chxi-nx
     M        Asc        Umk        npst-neg
     R        Sit        Und        BA
              I have no money.


BA            mero sathi            ram-ka'    chx
     M        Umk                   AnL        npst
     R        Und                   Sit        BA
              My friend is at Hari's place.


BA            kitap      ghxr-ma    chx
     M        Umk        ArL        npst
     R        Und        Sit
              The book is in the house.


BA            ram-ka     tin chora      chxn
     M        Pos        Umk            npst
     R        Sit        Und            BA
              Ram has three sons.


SA            mx-lai     sxncxi         chx
     M        Gol                       npst
     R        Sit        SA
              I am well.


SA            hxri-ka'   jad'o      chx
     M        AnL                   npst
     R        Sit        SA
              It's cold at Hari's place.


SA            kot'ha-ma            jad'o    chx
     M        ArL                           npst
     R        Sit                  SA
              It's cold in the room.
```

There are other locative sites in Nepali. These are mainly of three types: locative markers which occur with noun phrases such as

```
     mathi       as in   mec mathi 'on top of the bench'
     muni        as in   mec muni 'under the bench'
     bahirx      as in   ghxr bahirx 'outside the house'
     xgad'i      as in   ghxr xgad'i 'in front of the house'
     pxchad'i    as in   ghxr pxchad'i 'behind the house'
```

locative words which occur by themselves as site such as

mathi	as in	tio <u>mathi</u> gx-io 'He went up.'
bahirx	as in	tio <u>bahirx</u> gx-io 'He went out.'
xgad'i	as in	tio <u>xgad'i</u> gx-io 'He went ahead.'

and locative words which themselves take locative markers such as

| mastirx | as in | tio <u>mastirx</u> gx-io 'He went upwards.' |
| muntirx | as in | tio <u>muntirx</u> gx-io 'He went downwards.' |

2. Focus Markers

We have distinguished four kinds of focus in Nepali:
1) unmarked focus, 2) thematic focus, 3) information focus and
4) emphatic focus. The term unmarked focus is used to refer to
the inherent organization of the clause to which no focus mark-
ing has applied. In describing the grammatical organization
of clauses in unmarked focus, we will speak of grammatical
functions such as subject (S), object (O), indirect object (IO),
referent (R), complement (C), predicate (P) and peripheral
adjuncts (A). All of these functions are either directly or
indirectly marked in Nepali.

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

Figure 6. Role played by subjects in basic Nepali clauses.
*Roles played by the stative set are the same as
those played by the transitive set from which
they are derived. What was originally a subject
in BT will remain a subject in BS and so forth.

The presence of a subject in a Nepali clause is marked by
an agreement pattern in the verb.   This agreement pattern in-
volves person, number and gender.   There is also a ranking of
roles from among which the subject may be chosen.   Two possible
sememic functions have been observed for subjects: actor and
undergoer.   A clause which has an actor and an undergoer will
select the actor as subject.   A clause which has an undergoer
and no actor will select the undergoer as subject.   The sememic
function of subject in basic clauses is summarized in Figure 6.

These subject roles may be illustrated as follows.

```
BT        mxi-le    .hxri-lai   kitap      di-e'
          I-Agt      hxri-Gol   book Umk   give-pst 1 sg
          S          R          O          P
          Act        Sit        Und        BT
          I gave Hari a book.

T         tes-le    hxri-lai    kut'-io
          he-Agt    Hxri-Gol    hit-pst 3 sg
          S          O          P
          Act        Und.       T
          He hit Hari.

ST        ket'o     bxjar       gx-io
          boy Umk   market Umk .  go-pst 3 sg
          S          R          P
          Act        Sit        ST
          The boy went to the market.

I         tio    .  sut-io
          he Umk    sleep-pst 3 sg
          S·         P
          Act        I
          He slept.

BR        mx-lai    io jutta       mil-io
          .I-Gol    this· shoe Umk  fit-pst 3 sg
          IO         S          P
          Sit        Und        BR
          This shoe came to fit me.

R         bha'd'a   cuh-io
          pot Umk   leak-pst 3 sg
          S          P
          Und        R
          The pot leaked.
```

```
BA          mx-sitx     kxlxm       chx
            I-Asc       pen Umk     is
            R           S           P
            Sit         Und         BA
            I have a pen.

A           kxlxm       rato        chx
            pen Umk     red         is
            S           C           P
            Und         A
            The pen is red.
```

Objects occur only in BiTransitive and Transitive clauses. Normally an animate object is marked by the goal marker -lai and an inanimate object is unmarked. These object roles may be illustrated as follows.

```
BT          tes-le      cor-lai     jel-ma      hal-io
            he-Agt      thief-Gol   jail-ArL    put-pst 3 sg
            S           O           R           P
            Act         Und         Sit         BT
            He put the thief in prison.

BT          mxi-le      tes-lai     pxisa       di-e'
            I-Agt       he-Gol      money Umk   give-pst 1 sg
            S           IO          O           P
            Act         Sit         Und         BT
            I gave him money.

T           tes-le      bhai-lai    kut'-io
            he-Agt      brother-Gol hit-pst 3 sg
            S           O           P
            Act         Und         T
            He hit his brother.

T           tes-le      bhat        kha-io
            he-Agt      rice Umk    eat-pst 3 sg
            S           O           P
            Act         Und         T
            He ate rice.
```

Sites come in eight of the sixteen cells as shown in Figure 5. Generally speaking they are of two types: 1) indirect object types, which are marked by goal, associative and possessive markers and 2) locational types which are marked by the different locational markers. These sites have been already illustrated by the examples following Figure 5.

Normal Focus. We have observed above that roles such as actor, undergoer and site are marked in Nepali by a set of nominal affixes. In normal cases there is a certain pairing of roles (sememic functions) with focus (grammatical function). This normal pairing is given in Figure 7.

BT Act Und Sit S O {R IO}	T Act Und	ST Act Sit S {R IO}	I Act S
BR Sit Und IO S	R Und S	SR Sit IO	E
BS Sta Und Sit S O {IO R}	S Sta Und S O	SS Sta Sit S {R IO}	D Sta S
BA Sit Und {IO R} S	A Und S	SA Sit {IO R}	C

Figure 7.   Normal pairing of sememic functions and
             grammatical functions in Nepali.

Thematic Focus, Permutation. Thematic focus is a modification of normal focus. We have seen that there is a ranking of roles in normal focus which is reflected both in word order and in the affixes which occur within the verbal phrase. Since the agreement patterns which mark the subject result in the selection of a specific form of the verb even when the noun phrase which is subject is deleted, there will still be traces of the subject left behind in the verb. The clause types SR, E and SA constitute an exception to this statement. These clause types have no subjects and their verbs being impersonal can not be said to contain subject markers. Thematic focus does not involve a change of subject. It involves rather a change of word order. In normal focus the subject is also the theme, and stands in first position. In thematic focus, something other than the subject may be moved to first position and can become the theme. The possible permutations under thematic focus are shown in Figure 8.

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

Figure 8.   Possible permutations of roles under thematic
            focus.

The variant ordering of roles may be exemplified as follows.

BT   ram-le   hxri-lai kitap   di-io
           Act   Sit   Und   BT
           Ram gave Hari a book.

BT   hxri-lai ram-le   kitap   di-io
           Sit   Act   Und   BT
           (It was) to Hari (that) Ram gave a book.

BT   kitap   ram-le   hxri-lai di-io
           Und   Act   Sit   BT
           The book (was what) Ram gave to Hari.

Thematic focus, Deletion. Another method of choosing a
topic other than the subject is to delete the subject. When any
of the roles is expressed it is in focus, but when only the verb
phrase is expressed the event or state is in focus. The various
possible deletions related to thematic focus may be illustrated
as follows.

BT   tes-le   bhai-lai cit'hi   lekh-io
           Act   Sit   Und   BT
           He wrote a letter to his brother.

```
BT          bhai-lai  cit'hi      lekh-io
            Sit       Und         BT
            (He) wrote a letter to his brother.

BT          tes-le    cithi       lekh-io
            Act       Und         BT
            He wrote a letter (to his brother).

BT          cithi     lekh-io
            Und       BT
            (He) wrote a letter (to his brother).

BT          bhai-lai  lekh-io
            Sit    .  BT
            (He) wrote (a letter) to his brother.

BT          tes-le    lekh-io
            Act       BT
            He wrote (a letter to his brother).
```

Thematic Focus, Passive. Passive is another means of altering normal focus. There are two varieties of passive, both involving the deletion of the original subject. In the first variety, to which we shall refer as personal passive, the original object is made the subject of the passive and governs the verb with respect to number, gender and person. In the second variety, to which we shall refer as impersonal passive, there is no resulting subject selection or agreement pattern with the verb. The impersonal verb is always third person singular.

Personal passive may apply only to BiTransitive and Transitive clause types. It may be illustrated as follows.

```
Active          tes-le mx-lai kitap di-io
                He gave me a book.

Passive         mx-lai kitap di-i-io
                I was given a book.

Active          tes-le mx-lai kut'-io
                He hit me.

Passive         mx kut'-i-e'
                I was hit.
```

Impersonal passive may apply to a wider range of clause types. Impersonal passive involves deletion of the subject and the verb is always inflected for third person singular. This

kind of passive may be exemplified as follows.

Active	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' I gave a book to Hari.

Passive	hxri-lai kitap di-i-io The book was given to Hari (by me).

Active	mxi-le hxri-lai kut'-e' I hit Hari.

Passive	hxri-lai kut'-i-io Hari was hit (by me).

Active	mx ghxr-x gx-e' I went home.

Passive	ghxr-x gx-i-io (I) went home.

Active	mx sut-e' I slept.

Passive	sut-i-io (I) slept.

Information Focus, Given and New. Halliday, 1970: 162-4
distinguishes two kinds of information focus for English, given
and new. We think that the distinction between given and new
is relevant for Nepali as well.

A sentence which begins a discourse may consist entirely
of new information. In subsequent utterances, however, new in-
formation may be much more restricted. In non-initial utter-
ances within a discourse, two positions may be identified. The
normal position for theme is sentence-initial position. The
normal position for new information is the position immediately
preceding the verb. Where only one role precedes the verb, it
may function both as theme and as new information. The possible
distribution of roles over the focus functions, theme and new is
shown in Figure .9. The examples in the cells represent the the-
matic and information focus variants of the following clause.

hxri-le	mx-lai	kitap	di-io
Act	Sit	Und	BT
Hari gave me a book.			

New Information

		Act		Und			Sit	
Theme	Act	hxrile diio Act BT		hxrile kitap diio Act Und BT			hxrile mxlai diio Act Sit BT	
	Und	kitap hxrile diio Und Act BT		kitap diio Und BT			kitap mxlai diio Und Sit BT	
	Sit	mxlai hxrile diio Sit Act BT		mxlai kitap diio Sit Und BT			mxlai diio Sit BT	

Figure 9. Distribution of focus functions over the three primary sememic functions.

Second Member

First Member	-xi	nxi	tx	po	cai'
-xi	–	+	+	+	+
nxi	–	–	+	+	–
tx	+	+	–	+	–
po	–	–	+	–	–
cai'	+	+	+	+	–

Figure 10. Co-occurrence of pairs of emphatic particles within a single clause.

Emphatic Focus, Particles. Another kind of focus, distinct from both thematic focus and information focus is that of emphatic focus. We mention here only one device used to bring about emphatic focus in Nepali, namely that of emphatic particles. The most common particles are -xi, nxi, tx, and po. Our discussion of these will in no way exhaust the shades of meaning they carry.

Generally a single particle will occur only once within a given clause. However, several different particles may at times occur together within a single clause. The possible pairings of emphatic particles is summarized in Figure 10.

The Particle, -xi. The particle, -xi, can be used to em-
phasize any clause constituent other than the predicate. There
are, however, phonological constraints upon the distribution of
-xi. It can be suffixed only to words which end in· a, x or o.
Following words which end in i, u and e, the particle nxi is used
instead. Though the examples given below are all indicative,
this particle occurs quite naturally in interrogative, imperative
and optative clauses as well.

    mxi-le hxri-lai kitab-xi di-e'
    It was a book that I gave to Hari (not something else).

    mxi-le bhat-xi kha-e'
    It was rice that I ate (not something else).

    tio ghxr-xi gx-io
    He went home (not somewhere else).

    te-xi ghxr-x gx-io
    It was he (and no one else) who went home.

    mx-lai gorkh-xi ramro lag-io
    It was Gorkha that I really liked.

    ghxr ramr-xi bxn-io
    The house is reasonably well made.

    mx-lai thau'-xi chxi-nx
    There is no room for me.

    The Particle, nxi. The emphatic particle, nxi occurs every-
where that -xi occurs, as well as after words ending in i, u and
e, where -xi does not occur. As has been indicated in Figure 10,
nxi also occurs following -xi.

    mxi-le hxri-lai kitap nxi di-e'
    It was a book that I gave Hari (and not something else).

    mxi-le bhat nxi kha-e'
    It was rice that I ate (and not something else).

    ghxr ramro nxi bxn-io
    The house is reasonably well made.

    When used with adjectives, nxi and -xi are not emphatic.
They serve rather to diminish or moderate the intensity of the
adjective, if it is not stressed. This may be illustrated in
terms of question-answer sequences such as the following.

Qu.   cia kxsto chx?
      How is the tea?

An.   mit'h-xi chx.
      (Oh,) it tastes fairly good.

Qu.   ghxr thulo chx?
      Is the house big?

An.   ghxr thulo nxi chx
      The house is reasonably big.

The Particle, tx. The particle, tx, may follow any clause constitutent including the predicate. The post-verbal use of tx is discussed in Section II, Inflected Patterns. This particle can also follow -xi, and nxi.

ram-le tx bhat kha-io
As for Ram he ate rice.

ram-le mxlai pxisa tx di-io
As for the money, yes, Ram did give it to me.

ram-xi tx ha's-io
As for Ram, he laughed.

kxlxm ramr-xi tx chx
As far as the pen is concerned, it is reasonably good.

The Particle, po. The particle, po, may follow any clause constitutent except the predicate. It implies a contradiction of an expectation or of a previous statement and is limited to indicative clauses. This particle can follow -xi and nxi and precede tx within a given clause.

tes-le mx-lai pxisa po di-io
Surprisingly enough, he gave me money.

tes-le mx-lai pxis-xi po di-io
Surprisingly he gave me money (and nothing else).

tes-le tx mx-lai pxisa nxi po di-io
He gave money (and nothing else) to me (and to no one else).

io kxlxm mero po tz
(Contrary to what you think) this pen is mine (not yours).

The Particle, cai'. The particle, cai', functions both as classifier and as a focus device.

io cai' ghxr ramro chx
This particular house is good.

tes-le mx-lai tio cai' kitap di-e-nx
He did not give me that particular book.

xrko cai' mero sathi ho
The other one is my friend.

II. INFLECTED PATTERNS

A. Inflected Categories

Clause inflection in Nepali is taken as synonymous with verb phrase inflection. Verb phrase inflection may be viewed either from a grammatical or from a sememic point of view. From a sememic point of view we wish to explore those categories which relate the participants to the predication (person, number, gender, agreement, and honorific grade) and to focus (voice); those categories which identify the predication as a given kind of speech act (mood) with a given relation to actual occurrence (modality, including both modals and negation) at a given time (tense) with a given distribution over time (aspect) and with a given evaluation supplied by the speaker (editorials and attitudinals).

From a grammatical point of view we wish to add to these sememic categories any other category which is morphologically marked within the verb. For our present purposes this adds only the transitive addition to our list. Our discussion of the transitive addition (Ta) in this section is limited to a presentation of the verb morphology involved, since sememically we view the transitive addition as a derivation and not as an inflection.

Grammatically speaking, clause inflection may be described as the possible range of structures within the verb phrase (taking verb phrase in its narrow sense and not as synonymous with greater predicate). A schematic representation of verb phrase structure is presented in Figure 11.

Mood. Mood does not appear in Figure 11 as a constituent of the verb phrase. The selection of the constituents from Figure 11 which can actually occur in a given verb phrase, however, is dependent in part upon the mood of the clause. There are four moods in Nepali: declarative (or indicative), interrogative, optative, and imperative.
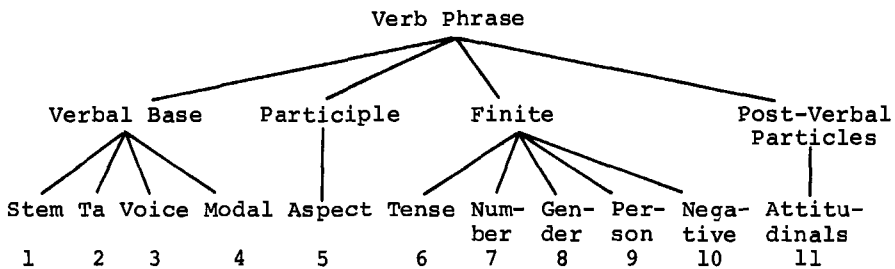
Verb Phrase

Verbal Base   Participle   Finite   Post-Verbal
                                                           Particles

Stem Ta Voice Modal Aspect Tense Num- Gen- Per- Nega- Attitu-
                                 ber der son tive dinals
  1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11

Figure 11.   Schematic representation of inflectional
              elements within the Nepali verb phrase.

Voice   There are two voices in Nepali, active and passive.
There are two kinds of passive, personal and impersonal. Passive
also involves derivation and will thus be discussed further in
Section III.

Modals   Modals may be identified grammatically as verbal
auxiliaries. Sememically they perform a modality function since
when they are added to a clause the clause ceases to be a posi-
tive assertion of an actual event. The meanings expressed are
those of permission, obligation, duration, willingness and the
like.   Those modals which allow the addition of roles will be
treated again in Section III.

Aspects and Finite Categories   These categories are typi-
cally expressed by portmanteau morphemes. Participles, which
express aspect when accompanied by auxiliaries, express both
tense and aspect when used alone. Due to the portmanteau nature
of the inflectional morphemes within these systems, we will make
heavy use of charts and paradigms within this section. Nega-
tives are grouped with finite categories in Figure 11 because
of the effect the negative morpheme has upon the other morphemes
associated with the finite categories. A given person and num-
ber will be expressed differently in negative verb phrases from
the way it is expressed in the corresponding positive verb
phrases.

B.   Inflectional System

In presenting the inflectional system of the Nepali verb
phrase, our discussion is organized to reflect the grammatical
surface structure of the Nepali clause. We begin in Section 1

with a paradigm of mood and the finite system. To this we add a
paradigm for the higher honorific grades. In Section 2 we move
out from this central core of verb phrase surface structure to
examine briefly the aspects and their associated copular con-
structions. In Section 3 we consider those modals which are
least likely to be considered complement verbs in Nepali. In
Section 4 we consider the negative paradigms for both normal
and higher honorific grades which are parallel to the positive
paradigm given in Section 1. Finally, in Section 5 we reach the
outer limit of our discussion with an illustrated tabulation of
post-verbal particles.

   1. Mood and Finite System

     There are four moods in Nepali: declarative, interrogative,
optative and imperative. The declarative and interrogative moods
allow inflection for all persons, numbers, genders and for three
tenses, past, non-past and conditional.[3] Neither the optative
nor the imperative inflect for tense and the imperative is re-
stricted to second person. Figure 12 summarizes the inflection-
al endings for mood and finite system within the normal and
familiar grades.

     Any clause can be inflected for declarative mood. However,
there are certain clauses which do not occur in the past tense.
Any clause which is in the declarative can be changed to the
interrogative just by adding a question word or question intona-
tion. The paradigm which follows is in the declarative.

    1 sg m,f   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                      I gave Hari a book.

    1 pl m,f   hami-hxru-le hxri-lai kita di-eu'
                      We gave Hari a book.

    2nor sg m   txi-le hxri-lai kitap di-is
                      You gave Hari a book.

    2nor pl m,f   timi-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-eu
                      You gave Hari a book.

    3nor sg m   tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io
                      He gave Hari a book.

    3nor sg h   tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i
                      She gave Hari a book.

Person	Number	Gender	Declarative/Interrogative Tense			Optative	Imperative*
			Past	Non-past	Conditional		
1	sg	m,f	-e'	-chu	-u'la	-u'	
	pl	m,f	-eu'	-chxu'	-xu'la	-xu'	
2nor	sg	m	-is	-chxs	-las	-es	∅
		f	-is	-ches	-lis	-es	∅
	pl	m,f	-eu	-chxu	-xula	-e	-O -x
2fam	sf	m	-eu	-chxu	-ula	-e	-u -x
		f	-eu	-cheu	-uli	-e	-u -x
	pl	m,f	-eu	-chxu	-ula	-e	-o -x
3nor	sg	m	-io	-chx	-la	-os	
		f	-i	-che	-li	-os	
	pl	m,f	-e	-chxn	-lan	-un	
3fam	sg	m	-e	-chxn	-lan	-un	
		f	-in	-chin	-lin	-un	
	pl	m,f	-e	-chxn	-lan	-un	

Figure 12.   Inflectional endings for mood and the finite
systems in Nepali. *The first form of the
imperative is used with verbal bases ending
in vowels and the second form, -x, is used
with those ending in consonants.

3nor pl m,f   tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-e
               They gave Hari a book.

3fam sg f   tin-le hxri-lai kitap di-in
               She gave Hari a book.

1 sg m,f   mx hxri-lai kitap din-chu
               I give Hari a book.

1 pl m,f   hami hxri-lai kitap din-chxu
               We give Hari a book.

2nor sg m,   tx' hxri-lai kitap din-chxs
               You give Hari a book.

2nor sg f   tx' hxri-lai kitap din-ches
You (f) give Hari a book.

2fam sg m   timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap din-chxu
You (pl) give Hari a book.

2fam sg f   timi hxri-lai kitap din-cheu
You (f) give Hari a book.

2fam pl m,f   timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap din-chxu
You give Hari a book.

3nor sg m   tio hxri-lai kitap din-chx
He gives Hari a book.

3nor sg f   tio hxri-lai kitap din-che
She gives Hari a book.

3nor pl m,f   tini-hxru hxri-lai kitap din-chxn
They give Hari a book.

Conditional

1 sg m,f   mx hxri-lai kitap diu'-la
I will give Hari a book.

1 pl m,f   hami hxri-lai kitap di-xu'la
We will give Hari a book.

2nor sg m   tx' hxri-lai kitap de-las
You will give Hari a book.

2nor sg f   tx' hxri-lai kitap de-lis
You (feminine) will give Hari a book.

2nor pl m,f   timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap de-ula
You (plural) will give Hari a book.

2fam sg m   'timi hxri-lai kitap de-ula
You will give Hari a book.

2fam sg f   timi hxri-lai kitap de-uli
You will give Hari a book.

2fam pl m,f   timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap de-ula
You will give Hari a book.

3nor sg m   tes-le hxri-lai kitap de-la
He will give Hari a book.

3nor sg f   tes-le hxri-lai kitap de-li
                She will give Hari a book.

3nor pl m,f   tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap de-lan
                tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-nxn
                They will give Hari a book.

3fam sg m   tin-le hxri-lai kitap de-lan
                He will give Hari a book.

3fam sg f   tin-le hxri-lai kitap de-lin
                She will give Hari a book.

3fam pl m,f   (Same as 3nor pl m,f)

Interrogative Mood

These declarative clauses can be changed to interrogative by adding a question word or a question intonation. Consider the following examples.

1 sg m,f   ke mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                Did I give Hari a book?

1 sg m,f   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                Did I give Hari a book?

Optative Mood

Any declarative clause can be changed to the optative mood by adding markers given in Figure 12, which are the same regardless of tense or gender.

1 sg   mx hxri-lai kitap di-u'?
                Should I give Hari a book?

1 pl   hami hxri-lai kitap de-xu'
                Let us give Hari a book.

2nor sg   txi-le hxri-lai kitap di-es
                It would be nice if you would give Hari
                a book.

2nor pl   timi-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-e
                It would be nice if you (pl) would give
                Hari a book.

2fam sg	timi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e It would be nice if you would give Hari a book.
2fam pl	timi-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-e It would be nice if you (pl) would give Hari a book.
3nor sg	tes-le hxri-lai kitap de-os It would be nice if he would give Hari a book.
3nor pl	tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap de-un It would be nice if they would give Hari a book.
3fam sg	tin-le hxri-lai kitap di-un It would be nice if he/she would give Hari a book.
3fam pl	(Same as 3nor pl)

Imperative Mood

Only BT, T, ST, I and R clauses occur in the imperative mood. The imperative is in second person and is the same in form regardless of gender.

2nor sg	hxri-lai kitap de-∅ de-∅ Give Hari a book!
2nor pl	hxri-lai kitap de-o Give Hari a book!
2fam sg	hxri-lai kitap de-u Give Hari a book!
2fam pl	(Same as 2nor pl)

The inflectional system for the honorific grades is different from that for the non-honorific grades.[4] Since the honorific grades are expressed by embedding, the verb of the original clause is put into the non-finite form by adding the nominalizer -nu to the verb and by adding the verb bhx-io for honorific 1 and -i bxksi for honorific 2. Figure 13 summarizes the inflectional system of the honorific grades in Nepali.

	Declarative/Interrogative			Optative	Imperative
Person	T e n s e				
	Past	Non-past	Conditional		
2hon 1	-nu bhx-io	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-la		-nu hos/ -nus/-nos
3hon 1	-nu bhx-io	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-la		-nu hos/ -nus/-nos
2hon 2	-i bxksi-io	-i bxksin-chx	-i bxksie-la		-i bxksi-ios
3hon 3	-i bxksi-io	-i bxksin-chx	-i bxksie-la		-i bxksi-ios

Figure 13.   Verbal inflection for honorific grades in
             Nepali.

In the honorific grades the optative form is not used as
an optative but rather an an imperative.   The possible honor-
ific forms are given below.

    2hon 1 sg   txpai'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io
                   You gave Hari a book.

    2hon 1 pl   txpai'-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io
                   You (pl) gave Hari a book.

    2hon 2 sg   hxjur-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bsks-io
                   You gave Hari a book.

    2hon 2 pl   hxjur-hxru-ke hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io
                   You (pl) gave Hari a book.

    3hon 1 sg   uha'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io
                   He gave Hari a book.

    3hon 1 pl   uha'-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io
                   They gave Hari a book.

    3hon 2 sg   bua-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io
                   Father gave Hari a book.

    3hon 2 pl   bua-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io
                   Father (and others) gave Hari a book.

2. Aspects and Copulas

The aspects have to do with the distribution of events or states of affairs in time. Certain of the aspects are expressed by means of a combination of aspect markers and copulas. Figure 14 shows the possible pairings of copulas with aspect markers. The letters in Figure 14 refer to the examples which follow.

	Past	Stative Non-Past	Conditional Speculative	Assertive	Cognitive	Generic
Copular uses	a	b	c	d	e	f
Auxiliary uses						
Progressive	g	h	i		j	
Perceptive			k	l	m	
Perfective	n	o	p	q	r	s
Intentional	t	u	v	w	x	

Figure 14.   Possible pairings of aspect markers with copulas in Nepali.

a.   kxlxm ramro thi-io
     The pen was good.

b.   kxlxm ramro chx
     The pen is good.

c.   kxlxm ramro ho-la
     The pen may be good.

d.   kxlxm ramro ho
     The pen is a good one.

e.   kxlxm ramro rxhechx
     The pen (turned out) to be a good one.

f.   esto kxlxm ramro hun-chx
     This kind of pen is generally good.

g. tio ja'dxi thi-io
    He was going.

h. tio ja'dxi chx
    He is going.

i. tio ja'dxi ho-la
    He may be going.

j. tio ja'dxi rxhechx
    It turned out that he was on the way.

k. tio ja'do ho-la
    He probably would go (if circumstances allowed).

l. tio ja'do ho
    He would have gone./He would go (if he gets the chance).

m. tio ja'do rxhechx
    (I found that) he used to go.

n. tio gx-eko thi-io
    He had gone.

o. tio gx-eko chx
    He has gone.

p. tio gx-eko ho-la
    He may have gone./He has probably gone.

q. tio gx-eko ho
    It is true that he has gone.

r. tio gx-eko rxhechx
    (I found that) he had gone.

s. tio gx-eko hun-chx
    He (generally) will have gone (by then).

t. tio ja-ne thi-io
    He would have gone.

u. tio ja-ne chx
    He will go.

v. tio ja-ne ho-la
    He might go.

w. tio ja-ne ho
    He is one who goes.

x. tio ja-ne·rxhechx
    I found that he will go.

   3. Modals[5]

     Modal verbs modify the assertion of the main verb. Modal
verbs in Nepali appear in general to involve embedding. We have
noted two kinds of embedding: that which induces double function
in certain noun phrases of the clause and that which does not.
We limit our discussion at this point to modal verbs which do not
induce double function. Figure 15 summarizes forms and functions
of this latter kind of modal verb.

Forms	Functions
-dxi gxr-	Continuative ('keep on')
-i chad'-	Obstinative ('do inspite of, anyway')
-i hal-	Immediative ('do right away')
-i rxhx-, -i rakh-	Durative ('keeps doing')
-i sxk-	Completive ('already did')
-nx cah-, -nx khoj-	Volitive ('desire to, want to')
-nx pa-	Opportunitive ('get to')
-nx sxk-	Ability ('able to')
-nx thal-	Inceptive ('begin to')
-ne gxr-	Habitual ('do habitually')

   Figure 15. Modal verbs in Nepali which do not induce
               double function.

Basic Form: tes-le mx-lai kitap di-io
                   He gave me a book.

Continuative: tio mx-lai kitap di'dxi gxr-chx
                   He keeps on giving me books.

Obstinative: tes-le kitap di-i chad'-io
                   He gave a book anyway.

Immediative: tes-le kitap di-i hal-io
                   He handed the book right over.

Durative: tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i rxhxn-chx
                   He keeps on giving books to Hari

                           tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i rakh-chx
                           He keeps on giving books to Hari.

Completive: tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i sxk-io
                           He has already given a book to Hari.

Volitive: tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx cah-io
                           He wanted to give Hari a book.

                           tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx khoj-io
                           He sought to give Hari a book.

Opportunitive: tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx pa-io
                           He got (an opportunity) to give Hari a book.

Ability: tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx sxk-io
                           He was able to give Hari a book.

Inceptive: tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx thal-io
                           He began to give Hari a book.

Habitual: ·   tio hxri-lai kitap di-ne gxr-chx
                           He gives Hari books (habitually).

    4.   Negation

    The negation of an event or a state is expressed by means
of a negative affix, -nx.   Once the negative has been chosen,
however, a whole new paradigm of forms for mood and the finite
system is required.   Figure 16 is thus the negative counterpart
of Figure 12.

    The sample of negative-positive pairs, which follows shows
the relation between Figures 12 and 16.

    1 sg m,f   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' (positive)
                    I gave Hari a book.

                    mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-i-nx (negative)
                    I did not give Hari a book.

    2nor sg m,f   txi'-le hxri-lai kitap di-is (positive)
                    You gave Hari a book.

                    txi'-le hxri-lai kitap di-i-nxs (negative)
                    You did not give Hari a book.

Person	Number	Gender	Declarative/Interrogative			Optative	Imperative*
			T e n s e				
			Past	Non-past	Conditional		
1	sg	m,f	-i-nx	-nx	-oi-nx	nx-V-u'	
	pl	m,f	-e-nx-u'	-nx-u'	-oi-nx-u'	nx-V-u'	
2nor	sg	m,f	-i-nx-s	-nx-s	-oi-nx-s	nx-V-es	nx-V
	pl	m,f	-e-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-o / -x
2fam	sg	m	-e-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-u / -x
		f	-i-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-u / -x
	pl	m,f	-e-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-o / -x
3nor	sg	m	-e-nx	-nx	-oi-nx	nx-V-os	
		f	-i-nx	-nx	-oi-nx	nx-V-os	
	pl	m,f	-e-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	
3fam	sg	m	-e-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	
		f	-i-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	
	pl	m,f	-e-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	

Figure 16.   Negative paradigm of mood and the finite system
in Nepali.   *In the optative and imperative
columns, V stands for 'verb stem'.   Verb stems
ending in vowels take the imperative suffix -o,
-u; those ending in consonants take the impera-
tive suffix -x.

3nor sg m   tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io (positive)
                 You gave Hari a book.

                 txi'-le hxri-lai kitap di-i-nxs (negative)
                 You did not give Hari a book.

Corresponding to Figure 13, there is also a high honorific
paradigm for the negative.   This paradigm is summarized in Fig-
ure 17.

Person	Declarative/Interrogative				Imperative
	Past	Non-past	Conditional	Optative	
2hon 1	-nu bhx-e-nx	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-oi-nx		nx-V-nu hos
3hon 1	-nu bhx-e-nx	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-oi-nx		nx-V-nu hos
2hon 2	-i bxksi-e-nx	-i bxksin-chx	-i bxksi-oi-nx		nx-V-i bxksi-ios
3hon 2	-i bxksi-e-nx	-i bxksin-chx	-i bxksi-oi-nx		nx-V-i bxksi-ios

Figure 17.   Negative inflection for honorific grades.

The sample of the positive-negative pairs which follows shows the relation between Figures 13 and 17.

2hon 1 sg   txpai'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-e-nx
                (negative)
                You did not give Hari a book.

                txpai'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io
                (positive)
                You gave Hari a book.

2hon 2 sg   hxjur-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io
                (positive)
                You gave Hari a book.

                hxjur-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-e-nx
                (negative)
                You did not give Hari a book.

It should be noted that negation is possible both within the finite system and within the aspect system. Where both systems are negated the semantic result is positive as may be illustrated by the following examples.

tio ghxr-x gx-eko ho
It is true that he has gone home.

tio ghxr-x gx-eko hoi-nx
It is not true that he has gone home.

tio ghxr-x nx-gx-eko hoi-nx
It is not true that he has not gone home.

5. Post Verbal Particles

Particles which follow the verbal phrase are referred to as post verbal particles. Included here are various particles expressing affirmation, interrogation, disclaimer, speculation, and the like. All of these function in one way or another to mark the attitude of the speaker. They may in general occur with all clause types with the exception that there is a persuasive particle which occurs only with imperative clauses and therefore can not occur with clause types for which there is no imperative, such as E and S clauses. Figure 18 lists the post verbal particles under consideration here.

		Declarative	Interrogative	Optative	Imperative
Question intonation			g		
Alternative question	ki		h		
Tag questions	rx		i		
Content questions	hx'		j		
Affirmative tag	hx ki	a			
Intensifier	ni	b		l	q
Assertive	hxi	c		m	r
Disclaimer	re	d		n	s
Emphatic	tx		k	o	t
Persuasive	nx			p	u
Speculative	hola	e			
Supposition	kiare	f			

Figure 18.   Forms and functions of the post verbal particles.

Declarative examples

a. To affirm a statement   tes-le hxri-lai kitap
                                 di-io hx-ki?
                                 He gave Hari a book, did
                                 he not?

b. To intensify an assertion   tes-le hxri-lai kitap
                                 di-io ni.
                                 He gave Hari a book, you
                                 know.

c. To affirm a statement

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io hxi.
He gave Hari a book,
right?

d. To disclaim responsibility

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io re.
He is said to have given
Hari a book.

e. To mark a speculation

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io ho-la
He may have given Hari a
book.

f. To express an assumption

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io kiare
I think that he gave Hari
a book.

Interrogative examples

g. To interrogate (with high
    rising intonation)

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io?
Did he give Hari a book?

h. In alternative questions

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io ki?
Did he give Hari a book
or didn't he?

i. To elicit confirmation

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io rx?
He didn't really give
Hari a book, did he?

j. In content questions

tes-le hxri-lai ke di-io
hx'?
What did he give Hari?

k. To focus on a state or event

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io tx?
Did he give Hari a book?
(He should have.)

Optative examples

l. To intensify

hxri-lai kitap di-es ni
You really ought to give
Hari a book, you know.

m. To strengthen a request   hxri-lai kitap di-es <u>hxi</u>.
                                     Give Hari a book, O.K.?

n. To disclaim responsibility   tes-le hxri-lai kitap
                                     de-os <u>re</u> .
                                     Someone thinks it would
                                     be nice if he gave Hari a
                                     book.

o. To focus on a predicate   tio ghxr-x ja-os <u>tx</u>
                                     In that case, let him go
                                     home.

p. To focus on a predicate   tio ghxr-x ja-os <u>nx</u>
                                     Let him go home.

Imperative examples

q. To strengthen a command   cit'hi khxsal <u>ni</u>
                                     You really ought to mail
                                     this letter, you know.

r. To strengthen a request   bholi a-u <u>hxi</u>
                                     Do come tomorrow.

s. To disclaim responsibility   ghxr-x ja <u>re</u>
                                     Someone said you should
                                     go home.

t. To focus on a predicate   eta ai-jx <u>tx</u>
                                     Do come here!

u. To persuade   eta ai-jx <u>nx</u>
                                     Do come here!

III. <u>DERIVED</u> <u>PATTERNS</u>

Associated with every basic contrastive pattern is a set of
derived variants which are related to the basic pattern by deriv-
ational rules. The purpose of this section is to explore the de-
rived variants of basic patterns in Nepali. In Section A, Deriv-
ational Rules, we discuss informally a number of the rules by
means of which basic patterns are mapped onto their respective
ranges of derived variants. In Section B, Derivational System,
we present constraints upon the derivational histories of de-
rived clauses and illustrate the derivational process.

A. Derivational Rules

Derivational rules are of two kinds, those that are non-contrastive in that they optionally delete various clause constituents without introducing further distinctive meanings, and those that are contrastive in that they change the basic structure in some way. Non-contrastive derivations in general express the minus option of a plus-minus constitutent. Contrastive derivations change the structure of a clause in ways other than optional deletion. There are no obligatory derivations. All derivational rules apply optionally. We consider first the non-contrastive derivational rules.

1. Non-Contrastive Derivations

We consider here three non-contrastive derivations: actor deletion, undergoer deletion, and site deletion. Since a clause is not basic unless it has its full complement of nuclear roles, the minus option of optional nuclear roles is expressed as a non-contrastive deletion. Actor deletion may be illustrated in terms of sentences like the following.

BT	Basic	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io He gave Hari a book.
	nAd	hxri-lai kitap di-io (He) gave Hari a book.
T	Basic	tes-le mx-lai kut'-io He hit me.
	nAd	mx-lai kut'-io (He) hit me.
ST	Basic	tio ghxr-x gx-io He went home.
	nAd	ghxr-x gx-io (He) went home.
I	Basic	tio ha's-io He laughed.
	nAd	ha's-io (He) laughed.

Actors, when present in a clause pattern, are generally also subjects in Nepali. For this reason, deleted actors are often at least partly recoverable in terms of the agreement pat-

terns marked in the verb. Actor deletion can also be accomplished by means of a contrastive derivation, the passive. Two varieties of passive, personal and impersonal are discussed in the following section.

Undergoer deletion may be illustrated as follows.

BT   Basic   hxri-le mx-lai kitap di-io
                 Hari gave me a book.

      nUd   hxri-le mx-lai di-io
                 Hari gave (it) to me.

T   Basic   tes-le hxri-lai kut'-io
                 He hit Hari.

                 tes-le kut'-io
                 He hit (him).

BR   Basic   mx-lai io jutta mil-io
                 This shoe came to fit me.

      nUd   mx-lai mil-io
                 (It) came to fit me.

R   Basic   tio birami bhx-io
                 He became ill.

      nUd   birami bhx-io
                 (He) became ill.

BA   Basic   mx-sitx pxisa chx
                 I have some money (with me).

      nUd   mx-sitx chx
                 (It) is with me. I have (it).

When undergoers are deleted in Nepali, they often leave traces behind which indicate that they are present in the underlying patterns. In BiTransitive and Transitive clauses, the agent marking of the actor is one such trace. Actors in Nepali are agent marked only in patterns that also have undergoers. In BiReceptive, Receptive, BiAttributive and Attributive clauses the undergoer is subject and thus leaves its trace in the form of an agreement pattern in the verb.

Site deletion may be illustrated as follows.

BT   Basic   tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io
                 He gave Hari a book.

       nSd   tes-le kitap di-io
                  He gave a book (to someone).

ST   Basic   tio ghxr-x gx-io
                  He went home.

       nSd   tio gx-io
                  He went.

BR   Basic   mx-lai io jutta mil-io
                  This shoe came to fit me.

       nSd   io jutta mil-io
                  This shoe came to fit (me).

SR   Basic   mx-lai joro a-io
                  I had an attack of fever.

       nSd   joro a-io
                  Fever came.

BA   Basic   mx-sitx kxlxm chxi-nx
                  I have no pen (with me).

       nSd   kxlxm chxi-nx
                  There is no pen.

SA   Basic   bhitrx jad'o chx
                  It is cold inside.

       nSd   jad'o chx
                  It is cold.

     When sites are deleted in Nepali no apparent trace is left
behind since sites do not become subjects. In some senses sites
may be less nuclear than actors and undergoers.

     2. Contrastive Derivation

     Contrastive derivational rules in Nepali change the struc-
ture of basic clause patterns by (1) adding new roles, (2) de-
leting roles, (3) embedding one clause within another structure,
and (4) shifting a clause from one discourse category (such as
event) to another (such as state)[6]. Rule a is an addition rule.
Rules b through e are embedding rules which add a role. Rules f
and g are deletion rules. Rules h through n are embedding rules.
Rules o and p are shifting rules.

a. Transitive addition, thematic vowel a (Ta). This rule
applies primarily to clauses with verbs, the stems of which end
in consonants. In most cases it adds the vowel a to the stem.
To some verbs -al is added. There are also some verb stems with
the vowel x to which this rule may apply by shifting x to a.
The effect of this rule is to allow the addition to the clause of
an actor which is also an agent-marked subject. The fact that
this addition is accompanied by verbal marking is evidence of the
contrastive nature of this derivation.

BT   Basic   tes-le mx-lai eut'a kxtha bhxn-io
              He told me a story.

     Ta   hxri-le tes-lai eut'a kxtha bhxn-a-io
              Hari caused him to tell a story.

T   Basic   tes-le bhat kha-io
              He ate rice.

     Ta   mxi-le tes-lai bhat khu-a-e'
              I had him eat rice (I fed him).

ST   Basic   mx bhui'-ma bxs-e'
              I sat on the ground.

     Ta   tes-le mx-lai bhui'-ma bxs-al-io
              He seated me on the ground.

I   Basic   mx ha's-e'
              I laughed.

     Ta   tes-le mx-lai hx's-a-io
              He made me laugh.

BR   Basic   mx-lai io jutta mil-io
              The shoe came to fit me.

     Ta   hxri-le mx-lai io jutta mil-a-io
              Hari made the shoe fit me.

R   Basic   kxmij suk-io
              The shirt dried.

     Ta   tes-le kxmij suk-a-io
              He dried the shirt.

SR   Basic   mx-lai bhok lag-io
              I became hungry.

        Ta   ex-le mx-lai bhok lxg-a-io
                    It gave me an appetite.

E   Basic   pani pxr-io
                    It rained.

        Ta   es-le pani par-io
                    It made it rain.

        b. Transitive embedding, gxra- / bxna suppletion (Ts).
This rule applies only to the Receptive set of patterns (BR, R,
SR, E). Furthermore, it applies only to those Receptive set of
patterns which have the sequence, complement followed by the verb,
bhx-. This rule replaces bhx- with gxra- or bxna-, and adds an
actor which also functions as agent-marked subject.

BR   Basic   mx-lai bhari gxrungo bhx-io
                    The load became heavy for me.

        Ts   es-le mx-lai io bhari gxrungo bxn-a-io
                    This made the load heavy for me.

R   Basic   tio raja bhx-io
                    He became king.

        Ts   jxnta-le es-lai raja bxn-a-e
                    The people made him king.

SR   Basic   mx-lai jad'o bhx-io
                    I felt cold.

        Ts   es-le mx-lai jad'o gxra-io
                    It made me cold.

        c. Transitive embedding, -ne gxra- / -ne bxna- insertion (Ti).
This rule applies to all event patterns (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R, SR,
E). The verb is marked by the insertion of -ne gxra- or -ne bxna-
between the stem and finite ending. Some verbs allow the insertion
of -nx hal- or -nx lxga- as well. A new actor is added which is
also the agent-marked subject.

BT   Basic   hxri-le bakxs-ma kitap hal-io
                    Hari put the book in the box.

        Ti   tes-le hxri-lai bakxs-ma kitap halne gxra-io
                    He made Hari one who puts books in boxes.

```
T     Basic    hxri-le bhat kha-io
               Hari ate rice.

      Ti       tes-le hxri-lai khat kha-ne gxra-io
               He made Hari one who eats rice.
               (He made Hari a rice-eater).

ST    Basic    hxri ghxr-x gx-io
               Hari went home.

      Ti       tes-le hxri-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxra-io
               He made Hari one who goes home.

I     Basic    hxri ha's-io
               Hari laughed.

      Ti       tes-le hxri-lai ha's-ne gxra-io
               He made Hari one who laughs.

BR    Basic    mx-lai io ghxr mxn pxr-io
               I liked this house.

      Ti       tes-le mx-lai io ghxr mxn pxr-ne gxra-io
               He made me one who likes this house.

R     Basic    hxri mxntri bhx-io
               Hari became a minister.

      Ti       tes-le hxri-lai mxntri hu-ne bxna-io
               He made Hari one who has become a minister.

SR    Basic    hxri-lai cila-io
               Hari itched.

      Ti       tes-le hxri-lai cila-une gxra-io
               He made Hari one who itches.

E     Basic    pani pxr-io
               It rained.

      Ti       tes-le pani pxr-ne gxra-io
               He made it rain.
```

   d. <u>Causative embedding, -nx lxga- insertion</u> (Cv). This
rule applies to the major rule set (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb
is marked by the insertion of -nx lxga- between the stem and finite
ending. A new actor, which is also agent-marked subject, is added.

BT   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                I gave Hari a book.

      Cv   tes-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx lxga-io
                He caused me to give Hari a book.

T   Basic   tes-le hxri-lai kut'io
                He hit Hari.

      Cv   mxi-le tes-lai hxri-lai kut'-nx lxga-e'
                I caused him to hit Hari.

ST   Basic   hxri ghxr-x gx-io
                Hari went home.

      Cv   mxi-le hxri-lai ghxr-x ja-nx lxga-e'
                I caused Hari to go home.

I   Basic   hxri ha's-io
                Hari laughed.

      Cv   mxi-le hxri-lai ha's-nx laga-e'
                I caused Hari to laugh.

R   Basic   tio mxntri bhx-io
                He became a minister.

      Cv   mxi-le tes-lai mxntri hu-nx lxga-e'
                I caused him to become a minister.

This rule does not apply to all types of Receptive clauses.

    e. Permissive embedding, -nx di- insertion (Prm). This
rule has as its normal domain of application the major rule set
of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by the inser-
tion of -nx di- between the stem and the finite ending. A new
actor, agent-marked subject is added.

BT   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai eut'a cit'hi lekh-e'
                I wrote a letter to Hari.

      Prm   tes-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) eut'a cithi lekh-nx
                di-io
                He allowed me to write Hari a letter.

T   Basic   mxi-le d'hoka khol-e'
                I opened the door.

```
        Prm        tes-le mx-lai d'hoka khol-nx di-io
                   He allowed me to open the door.

ST      Basic      mx rukh-ma cxd'h-e'
                   I climbed up on the tree.

        Prm        tes-le mx-lai rukh-ma cxd'h-nx di-io
                   He allowed me to climb up the tree.

I       Basic      mx sut-e'
                   I slept.

        Prm        tes-le mx-lai sut-nx di-io
                   He allowed me to sleep.

R       Basic      tio mxntri bhx-io
                   He became a minister.

        Prm        tini-hxri-le tes-lai mxntri hu-nx di-e
                   They allowed him to become a minister.
```

The permissive rule may also apply in the same way to cer-
tain other clause patterns but these show certain peculiarities
of meaning and may be viewed as sememically irregular deriva-
tions. Consider the following imperative permissive construc-
tions.

```
BR      Basic      mx-lai io jutta mil-io
                   This shoe fit me.

        Prm        mx-lai io jutta milnx de
                   Two senses:  First let's see if the shoe fits.
                                So what if the shoe fits?

SR      Basic      mx-lai cila-io
                   I itched.

        Prm        mx-lai cila-unx de
                   Two senses:  So what if I itch?
                                First let it itch - wait and see if
                                it itches me.

E       Basic      pani pxr-io
                   It rained.

        Prm        pani pxrnx de
                   Two senses:  First let it rain - wait until it
                                rains.
                                So what if it rains?
```

f. **Personal passive deletion, -i insertion (PPsv)**. The personal passive rule applies only to BiTransitive and Transitive clause patterns. The verb is marked by the insertion of -i between the stem and finite ending. The original subject (actor) is deleted and the undergoer becomes the new subject, governing the finite form of the verb.

```
BT   Basic     tes-le mx-lai jel-ma hal-io
               He put me in prison.

     PPsv      mx jel-ma hal-i-e'
               I was put in prison.

T    Basic     tes-le tx'-lai kut'-io
               He hit you.

     PPsv      tx' kut'-i-is
               You were hit.
```

g. **Impersonal passive deletion, -i insertion (IPsv)**. The impersonal passive applies to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by the insertion of -i between the stem and the finite ending. The original subject (whether actor or undergoer) is deleted. The function of subject is not re-assigned. The resultant derived pattern may be considered subject less. The finite form of verb is impersonal (third person singular masculine).

```
BT   Basic     tes-le mx-lai jel-ma hal-io
               He put me in prison.

     IPsv      mx-lai jel-ma hal-i-io
               I was put in prison.

T    Basic     tes-le tx'-lai kut-io
               He hit you.

     IPsv      tx'-lai kut'-i-io
               You were hit.

ST   Basic     mx ghxr-x gx-e'
               I went home.

     IPsv      ghxr-x gx-i-io
               (I) went home.
```

I   Basic   mx ha's-e'
               I laughed.

      IPsv   ha's-i-io
               (I) laughed.

R   Basic   mx birami bhx-e'
               I became ill.

      IPsv   birami bhx-i-io
               (I) became ill.

　　　h. Must modal embedding, -nx pxr- / -nu pxr- insertion (Mm).
Must modal embedding may apply to the major rule set of patterns
(BT, T, ST, I, R). This rule may also apply to BR, SR, and E
clause types but these show certain peculiarities of meaning and
may be viewed as sememically irregular derivations. When this rule
is applied, the verb is marked by the insertion of -nx pxr- or -nu
pxr- between the stem and the finite ending. Since the resultant
pattern is impersonal, the verb form is always third person singu-
lar. The original subject becomes the new referent-site of the
derived clause and is marked either by -lai or by -le. The resul-
tant derived clause is often ambiguous.

BT   Basic   pulis-le tes-lai jel-ma hal-io
               The police put him in prison.

      Mm   pulis-le tes-lai jel-ma hal-nx pxr-io
               The police had to put him in prison
               (or, The police ought to put him in prison).

T   Basic   mxi-le tes-lai kut'-e'
               I hit him.

      Mm   mxi-le/-lai tes-lai kut'-nu pxr-io
               I had to hit him
               (or, I ought to hit him).

ST   Basic   tio ghxr-x gx-io
               He went home.

      Mm   tes-le/-lai ghxr-x ja-nu pxr-io
               He had to go home
               (or, He ought to go home).

I   Basic   tio ha's-io
               He laughed.

                       tes-le ha's-nu pxr-io
                       He had to laugh
                       (or, He ought to laugh).

R   Basic   mx mxntri bhx-e'
                      I became a minister.

      Mm   mxi-le/mx-lai mxntri hu-nu pxr-io
                       I had to become a minister
                       (or, He ought to become a minister).

   i. Desiderative embedding, -nx mxn lag- insertion (Dsd).
Desiderative embedding may apply to the major rule set of pat-
terns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by the insertion
of -nx mxn lag- between the verb stem and finite ending. Since
the resultant pattern is impersonal, tense, aspect, and negation
are the only variables within aspect and finite complex. The
original subject becomes the site of the derived pattern and is
marked by -lai.

BT   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                      I gave Hari a book.

      Dsd   mx-lai hxri-lai kitap di-nx mxn lag-io
                       I wanted to give Hari a book
                       (or, I got the urge to give Hari a book).

T   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai kut'-e'
                       I hit Hari

      Dsd   mx-lai hxri-lai kut'nx mxn lag-io
                       I wanted to hit Hari
                       (I got the urge to hit Hari.)

ST   Basic   mx bxjar gx-e'
                      I went to market.

      Dsd   mx-lai bxjar ja-nx mxn lag-io
                       I wanted to go to market.
                       (I got the urge to go to market.)

I   Basic   mx ro-e'
                      I wept.

      Dsd   mx-lai ru-nx mxn lag-io
                       I wanted to weep.
                       (I got the urge to cry.)

R   Basic   mx mxntri bhx-e'
              I became a minister.

     Dsd   mx-lai mxntri hu-nx mxn lag-io
              I want to be a minister.
              (I got the urge to become a minister.)

     j. Receptive embedding, -ne bhx- insertion (Rcp). Receptive
embedding may apply to any event pattern (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R,
SR, I). The verb is marked by the insertion of -ne bhx- between
the verbal stem and the finite ending. The actor of the under-
lying clause is reinterpreted as the subject-undergoer of bhx-.
The remainder of the underlying clause is embedded as the comple-
ment of bhx-.

BT   Basic   tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io
              He will give Hari a book.

     Rcp   tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-ne bhx-io
              He became one of those who will give Hari a book.

T   Basic   mxi-le bhat kha-e'
              I ate rice.

     Rcp   mxi-le bhat kha-ne bhx-e'
              I became one of those who will eat rice.

ST   Basic   tio mx-ka' a-io
              He came to me.

     Rcp   tio mx-ka' au-ne bhx-io
              He became one of those who will come to me.

I   Basic   tio ha's-io
              He laughed.

     Rcp   tio ha's-ne bhx-io
              He became one who will laugh.

BR   Basic   mx-lai io jutta mil-io
              The shoe came to fit me.

     Rcp   The shoe became one that will fit me.

R   Basic   bha'd'a cuhi-io
              The pot leaked.

     Rcp   bha'd'a cuhi-ne bhx-io
              The pot has become a leaky one.

SR   Basic   mx-lai kxpal dukh-io
               My head ached.

     Rcp   mx-lai kxpal dukh-ne bhx-io
               My head has become an aching one.

E   Basic   pani pxr-io
               It rained.

     Rcp   pani pxrne bhx-io
               (The day) has become a rainy one.
               /Conditions have become such as to induce precipi-
               tation.

    k. Obligative embedding, -nu + auxiliary (Obl). Obligative
embedding may apply to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST,
I, R). The verb is marked by -nu followed by an auxiliary. The
original subject becomes a site and may be marked either by -le
or -lai. The remainder of the original becomes an embedded un-
dergoer. The resultant clause is impersonal.

BT   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai cit'hi lekh-e'
               I wrote Hari a letter.

     Obl   mxi-le/-lai hxri-lai cit'hi lekh-nu chx
               I should write Hari a letter.

T   Basic   mxi-le bhat kha-e'
               I ate rice.

     Obl   mxi-le/-lai bhat kha-nu chx
               I ought to eat rice.

ST   Basic   mx ghxr-x .gx-e'
               I went home.

     Obl   mxi-le/-lai ghxr-x ja-nu chx
               I should go home.

I   Basic   mx ha's-e'
               I laughed.

     Obl   mx-lai/-le ha's-nu chx
               I should laugh.

R   Basic   mx raja bhx-e'
               I became a king.

     Obl   mx-lai/-le raja hu-nu chx
               I ought to be a king.

1. <u>Approbative</u> <u>embedding</u>, <u>-nx hun-chx</u> (Apb). Approbative
embedding may apply to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST,
I, R). The verb is marked by <u>-nx hun-chx</u>. SemiTransitive and
Intransitive clauses to which this rule applies are optionally
allowed to have agent marked actors which are otherwise not al-
lowed. The whole embedded clause becomes an undergoer.

BT   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                  I gave Hari a book.

     Apb   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap dinx hun-chx
                  It is all right if I give Hari a book.

T   Basic   mxi-le kxlxm ki-ne'
                  I bought a pen.

     Apb   mxi-le kxlxm kin-nx hun-chx
                  It is all right if I buy a pen.

ST   Basic   mx ghxr-x gx-e'
                  I went home.

     Apb   mx ghxr-x ja-nx hun-chx
                  It is all right if I go home.

I   Basic   mx ha's-e'
                  I laughed.

     Apb   mxi-le ha's-nx hun-chx
                  It is all right if I laugh.

R   Basic   mx raja bhx-e'
                  I became a king.

     Apb   mxi-le raja hu-nx hun-chx
                  It is all right if I become a king.

m. <u>Impersonal</u> <u>stative</u>, <u>-eko chx</u> (IStv). Attributive em-
bedding may apply to BiTransitive and Transitive clause types
and in first and second persons only. The embedded clause be-
comes an undergoer.

BT   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                  I gave Hari a book.

     IStv   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko chx
                  I have given Hari a book.

T   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap die'
                I hit Hari.

      IStv   mxi-le hxri-lai kut'-eko chx
                I have hit Hari.

     n. <u>Affirmative embedding -eko ho (Aff)</u>. Affirmative embed-
ding may apply to any event pattern (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R, SR, E).
The embedded clause becomes an undergoer.

BT   Basic   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
                I gave Hari a book.

      Aff   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko ho
                It is true that I have given Hari a book.

T   Basic   mxi-le luga dho-e'
                I washed clothes.

      Aff   mxi-le luga dho-eko ho
                It is true that I have washed clothes.

ST   Basic   tx' ghxr-x gx-is
                You went home.

      Aff   tx' ghxr-x gx-eko ho
                It is true that you have gone home.

I   Basic   tx' ha's-is
                You laughed.

      Aff   tx' ha's-eko ho
                It is true that you laughed.

BR   Basic   mx-lai io ghxr phap-io
                The house became favourable to me.

      Aff   mx-lai io ghxr phap-eko ho
                It is true that this house has become favourable
                to me.

R   Basic   tio mxntri bhx-io
                He became a minister.

      Aff   tio mxntri bhx-eko ho
                It is true that he has become a minister.

SR   Basic   mx-lai joro a-io
              I got a fever.

     Aff   mx-lai joro a-eko ho
              It´is true that I have got a fever.

E   Basic   pani pxr-io
              It rained.

     Aff   pani pxr-eko ho
              It is true that ·it rained.

o. Personal stative -eko chx/eki-chx (PStv). Stativiza-
tion may apply to any event pattern (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R, SR, E).·
It differs from impersonal stative in that the subject of the un-
derlying clause remains the subject of the derived clause and
governs the finite form of the verb.

BT   Basic   mxi-le tiari-lai kitap di-e'
              The girl gave me a book.

     PStv   mxi-le Hari-lai kitap di-eko chu
              The girl has given me a book.

T   Basic   txi'-le bhat kha-is
              You ate rice.

     PStv   txi'-le bhat kha-eko chxs
              You have eaten rice.

ST   Basic   tio ket'i bxjar gx-i
              The girl has gone to the market.

     PStv   tio ket'i bxjar gx-eki chx
              The girl has gone to the market.

I   Basic   tio ket'i ro-i
              The girl wept.

     PStv   tio ket'i ro-eki chx
              The girl has wept.

BR   Basic   mx-lai io ghxr mxn pxr-io
              I liked this house.

     PStv   mx-lai io ghxr mxn-xr-eko chx
              I have liked this house.

R   Basic   tio bud'ho bhx-io
               He became old.

      PStv   tio bud'ho bhx-eko chx
               He has become old.

SR   Basic   mx-lai bhok lag-io
               I became hungry.

      PStv   mx-lai bhok lag-eko chx
               I have become hungry.

E   Basic   pani pxr-io
               It rained.

      PStv   pani pxr-eko chx
               It has rained.

     p. Eventivization shift bhx- replacement (Evt). Eventivi-
zation may apply to any state pattern (BA, A, SA, C) which has a
copular verb. The copular verb is replaced by bhx- when this
rule applies. The subject of the underlying clause remains the
subject of the derived clause, governing the finite form of the
verb.

BA   Basic   mx-lai io bhari gxrunggo hun-chx
               This load is heavy for me.

      Evt   mx-lai io bhari gxrunggo bhx-io
               The load became heavy for me.

A   Basic   kxmij sxpha chx
               The shirt is clean.

      Evt   kxmij sxpha bhx-io
               The shirt became clean.

SA   Basic   mx-lai sxnco chx
               I am well.

      Evt   mx-lai sxnco bhx-io
               I became well.

B. Derivational System

     In terms of the descriptive apparatus employed, the deriva-
tional system involves the rules given above, a derivational matrix
such as is given in Figure 19, and a table of derivational con-
straints such as is given in Figure 20. These three items together
define the limits on the derivation of any given basic clause.

1. Derivational matrix.

The derivational matrix consists of labeled columns, labeled rows and labeled cells. The column labels are abbreviations for the names of derivational rules. The cell labels are abbreviations for the names of derived clause types which result from the application of a given rule to a given clause type. Thus, if we apply the affirmative embedding (n. Aff) to a BiTransitive clause (BT) we get a derived clause which is Attributive (A). An empty cell indicates that the rule concerned can not apply to the clause types concerned within this derivational system.

	BT	T	ST	I	BR	R	SR	E	BA	A	SA
a. Ta	BT	BT	BT	T	BT	T	T	T			
b. Ts					BT	T	T	T			
c. Ti	BT	BT	BT	T	BT	T	T	T			
d. Cv	BT	BT	BT	T		T					
e. Prm	BT	BT	BT	T		T					
f. PPsv	BR	R									
g. IPsv	BR	R	SR	E		E					
h. Mm	BR	BR	BR	BR		BR					
i. Dsd	BR	BR	BR	BR		BR					
j. Rcp	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R			
k. Obl	BA	BA	BA	BA		BA					
l. Apb	BA	BA	BA	BA		BA					
m. IStv	A	A									
n. Aff	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A			
o. PStv	BS	S	SS	D	BA	A	SA	C			
p. Evt									BR	R	SR

Figure 19.   Derivational matrix of Nepali clauses.

To illustrate how the descriptive apparatus may be used in an informal way to define a derivational history, consider the following example.

ST   tio ghxr-x gx-io
      He went home.

if the following rule has applied	to the following clause type(s)	the following regular rules are blocked
any rule	any type	a
e. Prm	BR, R, SR, R	a,b,c,d,f,g,i,j,k,l,m,n,o
f. PPsv	any type	a,d,e,h,i
g. IPsv	any type	a,d,e,f
h. Mm	any type	b,d,e,f,g,i,k,l
i. Dsd	any type	a,b,d,e,f,g,k,l
j. Rcp	any type	a,c,d,f

Figure 20.   Constraints on the application of rules in the second and succeeding cycles through the derivational matrix.

This is a basic SemiTransitive clause to which no derivational rules have applied. It is well formed. Any further derivation is optional. If we wish to obtain a further derivation we enter Figure 19 at the column headed ST. We are free to apply any rule which has a labeled cell in the column headed ST. Where a cell is empty, the corresponding rule does not apply. If we apply rule c. Ti, the resultant derivational variant will be BiTransitive:

(STc)   BT siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxra-io
         Shyam made him go home.

The designation (STc) BT which precedes the examples above is a representation of the derivational history of the clause. It states that the clause is a derived BiTransitive clause which came from an inherent basic SemiTransitive clause by the application of rule c.

Having applied rule c to the basic ST clause and having gotten the derived BT clause given above we now leave Figure 19. The derived clause is well formed. The derivation can stop at this point. If we wish to obtain a further derivation we must consult Figure 20 to determine what restrictions, if any, must be imposed upon any further derivation. In addition to what is specified in

Figure 20 there is the general constraints that no rule can be
applied twice within a single derivation. Consulting Figure 20
we see that rule a can apply only within the first cycle and
is thus excluded from applying to (STc) BT. Rule b applies
only to clauses with the verb bhx- and thus cannot apply to our
derived BT. Rule c has already applied once, thus can not apply
again. Rule l appears to be allowed. We enter column BT and
move to the cell in the row headed by rule l Apb and find that
the application of this rule will yield a derived clause such as
the following.

    (STcl) BA siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxrau-nx hun-chx
           It's all right if Shyam makes him go home.

    The derivational history is summarized as (STcl) BA. Rules
c and l are applied in the order to a basic SemiTransitive clause
to produce a derived BiAttributive clause. From Figure 20 we
see that the rule l is terminal. No further rules can apply.
This brief example should serve to introduce the notation for
derivational histories that is used in the following two sec-
tions. In Section 2 we illustrate a number of first cycle de-
rivations. In Section 3 we illustrate a number of derivations
of the second and subsequent cycles in Nepali.

    2. Derivations of the First Cycle

BT   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
             I gave Hari a book.

(BTa)   BT   siam-le mxlai (hxri-lai) kitap dila-io
             Shyam caused me to give Hari a book.

(BTc)   BT   siam-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-ne gxra-io
             Shyam made me one who gives Hari a book.

(BTd)   BT   siam-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx lxga-io
             Shyam caused me to give Hari a book.

(BTe)   BT   siam-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx di-io
             Shyam allowed me to give Hari a book.

(BTg)   BR   hxri-lai kitap di-i-io
             Hari was given a book.

(BTh)   BR   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu pxr-io
             I had to give Hari a book.

(BTh)   BR   mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nu pxr-io
             I had to give Hari a book.

(BTi)   BR   mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx man lag-io
              I wanted to give Hari a book.

(BTj)   R   mx hxri-lai kitap di-ne bhx-e'
              I became one who gives Hari a book.

(BTk)   BA   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu chx
              I have to give Hari a book.

(BTl)   BA   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx hun-chx
              It is all right if I give Hari a book.

(BTm)   A   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko chx
              I have given Hari a book.

(BTn)   A   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko ho
              It is true that I have given Hari a book.

(BTo)   BS   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko chu
              I have given Hari a book.

T   tes-le mx-lai kut'-io
              He hit me.

(Ta)   BT   siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-a-io
              Shyam made him hit me.

(Tc)   BT   siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-ne gxra-io
              Shyam made him hit me.

(Td)   BT   siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'nx laga-io
              Shyam caused him to hit me.

(Te)   BT   siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-nx di-io
              Shyam allowed him to hit me.

(Tf)   R   mx kut'-i-e'
              I was hit.

(Tg)   R   mx-lai kut'-i-io
              I was hit.

(Th)   BR   tes-le mx-lai kut'-nu pxr-io
              tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-nu pxr-io
              He had to hit me.

(Ti)   BR   tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'nx mxn lag-io
              He wanted to hit me.

(Tj)   R   tes-le mx-lai kut'ne bhx-io
                It became sure that he will hit me.

(Tk)   BA   tes-le mx-lai kut'nx chx
                He has to hit me.

(Tl)   BA   tes-le mx-lai kut'nx hun-chx
                It is all right if he hits me.

(Tn)   A   tes-le mx-lai kut'-eko ho
                It is true that he has hit me.

(To)   S   tes-le mx-lai kut'-eko chx
                He has hit me.

ST   tio ghxr-x gx-io
                He went home.

(STc)   BT   siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxra-io
                Shyam made him go home.

(STd)   BT   siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nx laga-io
                Shyam caused him to go home.

(STe)   BT   siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nx di-io
                Shyam allowed him to go home.

(STg)   SR   ghxr-x gx-i-io
                (I) went home.

(STh)   BR   tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nu pxr-io
                He had to go home.

(STi)   BR   tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nx mxn lag-io
                He wanted to go home.

(STj)   R   tio ghxr-x ja-ne bhx-io
                It became sure that he will go home.

(STk)   BA   tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nu chx
                He has to go home.

(STl)   BA   tio ghxr-x ja-nx hun-chx
                It is all right if he goes home.

(STn)   A   tio ghxr-x gx-eko ho
                It is true that he had gone home.

(STo)   SS   tio ghxr-x gx-eko chx
                 He has gone home.

I   mx ha's-e'
                 I laughed.

(Ia)   T   tes-le mx-lai hx's-a-io
                 He made me laugh.

(Ic)   T   tes-le mx-lai ha's-ne gxra-io
                 He made me one who laughs.

(Id)   T   tes-le mx-lai ha's-nx lxga-io
                 He caused me to laugh.

(Ie)   T   tes-le mx-lai ha's-nx di-io
                 He allowed me to laugh.

(Ig)   E   ha's-i-io
                 (I) laughed.

(Ih)   BR   mx-lai ha's-nu pxr-io
                 I had to laugh.

(Ii)   BR   mx-lai ha's-nx mxn lag-io
                 I wanted to laugh.

(Ij)   R   mx ha's-ne bhx-e'
                 I became one who laughs.

(Ik)   BA   mx-lai ha's-nu chx
                 I have to laugh.

(Il)   BA   mxi-le ha's-nx hun-chx
                 It is all right if I laugh.

(In)   A   mx ha's-eko ho
                 It is true that I have laughed.

(Io)   D   mx ha's-eko chu
                 I have laughed.

BR   mx-lai io jutta mil-io
                 The shoe came. to fit me.

(BRa)   BT   tes-le mx-lai io jutta mil-a-io
                 He made this shoe fit me.

(BRc)   BT   tes-le mx-lai io jutta mil-ne gxra-io
                  He made this shoe fit me.

(BRj)   R   mx-lai io jutta mil-ne bhx-io
                  It became sure that this shoe will fit me.

(BRn)   A   mx-lai io jutta mil-eko ho
                  It is true that this shoe has come to fit me.

(BRo)   BA   mx-lai io jutta mil-eko chx
                  This shoe has come to fit me.

R   mx mxntri bhx-e'
                  I became a minister.

(Rb)   T   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-io
                  He made me a minister.

(Rc)   T   tes-le mx-lai mxntri hu-ne bxna-io
                  He made me one who becomes a minister.

(Rd)   T   tes-le mx-lai mxntri hu-nx lxga-io
                  He caused me to be a minister.

(Rg)   E   mxntri bhx-i-io
                  (I) became a minister.

(Rh)   BR   mx-lai mxntri hu-nx pxr-io
                  I had to be a minister.

(Ri)   BR   mx-lai mxntri hu-nx mxn lag-io
                  I wanted to be a minister.

(Rj)   R   mx mxntri hu-nx bhx-e'
                  I became one who becomes a minister.

(Rk)   BA   mx-lai mxntri hu-nu chx
                  I have to be a minister.

(Rl)   A   mx mxntri hu-nx hun-chx
                  It is all right if I become a minister.

(Rn)   A   mx mxntri bhx-eko ho
                  It is true that I have become a minister.

(Ro)   A   mx mxntri bhx-eko chu
                  I have become a minister.

R   bhat pak-io
                    The rice is cooked.

(Ra)   T   tes-le bhat pxka-io
                    He cooked rice.

(Rc)   T   tes-le bhat pak-ne gxra-io
                    He made the rice cook.

(Rh)   BR   bhat pak-nu pxr-io
                    Rice had to be cooked.

(Rj)   R   bhat pak-ne bhx-io
                    It became sure that the rice has to be cooked.

(Rk)   A   bhat pak-nu chx
                    Rice has to be cooked.

(Rn)   A   bhat pak-eko ho
                    It is true that the rice has been cooked.

(Rn)   A   bhat pak-eko chx
                    Rice has been cooked.

SR   mx-lai cila-io
                    I itched.

(SRb)   T   es-le mx-lai cilau-nx hal-io
                    It made me itch.

(SRc)   T   es-le mx-lai cilau-ne gxra-io
                    It made me itch.
                    Let it itch.

(SRj)   R   mx-lai cilau-ne bhx-io
                    It became sure that I will itch.

(SRn)   A   mx-lai cila-eko ho
                    It is true that I have itched.

(SRo)   SA   mx-lai cila-eko chx
                    I have itched.

E   pani pxr-io
                    It rained.

(Ea)   T   deuta-le pani par-io
                     The god made it rain.

(Ec)   T   hami-le pani pxr-ne gxra-eu'
                     We caused that it be made to rain.

(Ej)   R   pani pxr-ne bhx-io
                     It became sure that it will rain.

(El)   A   pani pxr-eko ho
                     It is. true that it had rained.

(Em)   C   pani pxreko chx
                     It has rained.

        Derivations of BA, A, and SA clause types.

        BiAttributive, Attributive, and SemiAttributive clauses are
not further derived. When these clauses are eventivized by p. Evt
rule they become BiReceptive, Receptive, and SemiReceptive clauses
respectively and have very much the same derivational potential as
the inherent types which have <u>bhx-io</u> as copula and nouns or adjec-
tives as complements.

BA   mx-lai io jutta t'hikkx hun-chx
                     This shoe fits me.

(BAp)   BR   mx-lai io jutta thikkx bhx-io
                     This shoe came to fit me.

A   kxlxm rato chx
                     The pen is red.

(Ap)   R   kxlxm rato bhx-io
                     The pen became red.

SA   mx-lai jad'o hun-chx
                     I feel cold.

(SAp)   SR   mx-lai jad'o bhx-io
                     I felt cold.

3.   Derivations of Subsequent Cycles

In order to illustrate derivations of the second and subsequent cycles we will pick up one of the clauses already derived from an inherent pattern and will show further derivational possi-·bilities of this clause.

(Rb)   T   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-io
                   He made me a minister.

(Rbc)   BT   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxra-io
                   Hari made him one who makes me a minister.

(Rbd)   BT   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-nx lxga-io
                   Hari caused him to make me a minister.

(Rbe)   BT   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-nx di-io
                   Hari allowed him to make me a minister.

(Rbf)   R   mx mxntri bxna-i-e'
                   I was made a minister.

(Rbg)   R   mx-lai mxntri bxna-i-io
                   I was made a minister.

(Rbh)   BR   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaunu pxr-io
                   He had to make me a minister.

(Rbi)   BR   tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaunx mxn lag-io
                   He wanted to make me a minister.

(Rbj)   R   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaune bhx-io
                   It became sure that he will make me a minister.

(Rbk)   BA   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaunu chx
                   He has to make me a minister.

(Rbl)   BA   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaunx hun-chx
                   It is all right if he makes me a minister.

(Rbn)   BA   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-io
                   He made me a minister.

(Rbc)   S   tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-eko chx
                   He has made me a minister.

Further derivation of Rbc

(Rbc)   BT   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxra-io
                Hari made him one who makes me a minister.

(Rbcd)   BT   siam-le hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne
                gxrau-nx lxga-io
                Shyam caused Hari to make him one who makes me a
                minister.

(Rbce)   BT   siam-le hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-nx
                di-io
                Shyam allowed Hari to make him one who makes me a
                minister.

(Rbcg)   BT   tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxra-i-io
                He was made one who makes me a minister.

(Rbch)   BR   hxri-le/lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne
                gxraunu pxr-io
                Hari had to make him one who makes me a minister.

(Rbci)   BR   hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxraunx
                mxn lag-io
                Hari wanted to make him one who makes me a minis-
                ter.

(Rbcj)   R   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxrau-ne
                bhx-io
                It became sure that Hari will make him one who
                makes me a minister.

(Rbck)   BA   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxrau-nu
                chx
                Hari has to make him one who makes me a minister.

(Rbcl)   BA   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxraunx
                hun-chx
                It is all right if Hari makes him one who makes
                me a minister.

(Rbcn)   BA   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxra-eko ho
                It is true that Hari has made him one who makes me
                a minister.

(Rbco)   BS   hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxra-eko chx
                Hari has made him one who makes me a minister.

    Further derivation of Rbcd

(Rbcd)   BT   siam-le hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune
                gxrau-nx laga-io
                Shyam caused Hari to make him one who makes me a
                minister.

(Rbcde)   BT   ram-le siam-lai (hxri-lai/tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri
                bxnau-ne gxrau-nx lxgaunx di-io
                Ram allowed Shyam to cause Hari to make him one
                who makes me a minister.

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FOOTNOTES

[1]This work was carried out pursuant to an agreement of co-
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Nepali is the national language and lingua franca of Nepal. The dialect under consideration is that of the author, who comes from a village of the Palpa district of Nepal. This paper has benefited from a computer concordance of spoken Nepali which was processed at the University of Oklahoma under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

The transcription scheme used for the representation of the Nepali examples in this paper is summarized in the following table. A single quote following a consonant indicates that the consonant in question is 'retroflex' or backed. A single quote following a vowel indicates that the vowel in question is nasalized. The symbol x is used for the central vowel. The diagraph ng represents the velar nasal consonant.

```
p     t     t'     c     k
ph    th    t'h    ch    kh
b     d     d'     j     g
bh    dh    d'h    jh    gh
m     n                  ng
      s                       h
      l     r
```

oral vowels			nasal vowels		
i		u	i'		u'
e	x	o	e'	x'	o'
	a			a'	

[2]Site of an embedded BiReceptive clause can be marked by -le, which is normally an actor marker. Consider the following examples.

```
mxi-le/-lai ghxr-x ja-nu par-io
I had to go home.
```

         mxi-le hxri-lai kut'-nu pxr-io
         I had to hit Hari.

   3The conditional inflection has been included here for
morphological reasons to show the paradigm of the verb. Tradi-
tional grammarians think that this inflection is used for the
future tense. But the data of spoken Nepali show that this form
of the verb is rarely used for future time and in most cases the
simple present tense form is used to denote simple future tense.

   4Honorific 1 and Honorific 2 constructions may be viewed as
derivations as well. This is the lexical choice which governs
the verbal phrase structure. If -i bxksi- is chosen the pronoun
always should be hxjur but if -nu bhx-io is chosen the most com-
mon is txpai' but hxjur is also possible.

   5Modals are tentatively summarized here. Since modals are
expressed by way of embedding, those modals which help to change
the role system of a clause will be dealt with in the section on
derivation. Some of the modals given here also change their role
system optionally. Consider the following examples.

         tio/tes-le ghxr-x ja-nx pa-e-nx
         He did not get to go home.

         tio/tes-le ghxr-x ja-nx khoj-io
         He wanted to go home.

   In these examples the unmarked actors are the subjects of
the verb 'go' but the agent-marked actors are the subjects of the
verbs 'get to go' and 'want to go'.

   6There is another rule, which can be called an altering rule.
The altering rule alters the relation of the roles and the gram-
matical catagories into which they fall. In Nepali, the under-
goers of Transitive, Receptive, and Attributive clauses are
changed to sites. Consider the following examples.

    T   tes-le mx-lai her-io
         He looked at me.

    ST   tes-le bhui'-ma her-io
         He looked at the ground.

    R   mx sxnco bhx-e'
         I became well.

SR   mx-lai sxnco bhx-io
      It became well (with respect to me).

A   mx ramro chu
      I am well.

SA   mx-lai ramro chx
      It is well (with respect to me).

APPENDIX

Abbreviations

A	attributive (box 4 feature)
A	adjuncts (box 1 feature)
Act	actor
Adj	adjective
Ad	actor deletion
Aff	affirmative
Agr	agreement
Agt	agent
AnL	animate location
ArL	areal location
Apb	aprobative
Asc	associative
BA	BiAttributive
BT	BiTransitive
BR	BiReceptive
C	Circumstantial (box 4 feature)
C	complement (box 1 feature)
Cv	causativizing rule
D	Descriptive
Des	destination
Dir	directional
Dsd	desiderative rule
E	Eventive
Evt	eventivizing rule
f	feminine
fam	familiar
Gol	goal
hon	honorific grade
Ins	instrument
IO	indirect object
IPsv	impersonal passive

Istv	impersonal stative
Loc	locative
m	masculine
Mm	must modal
nAd	non-contrastive actor deletion
Nagr	non-agreement
neg	negative
Nn	noun
nor	normal
NP	noun phrase
npst	non-past
nSa	non-contrastive site deletion
nUd	non-contrastive undergoer deletion
O	object
obl	obligation
p	predicate
pl	plural
P	predicate
Pos	possessive
PPsv	personal passive
pst	past tense
PStv	personal stative rule
Prm	permissive
R	Receptive (box 4 feature)
R	referent (box 1 feature)
Rcp	receptive embedding
S	stative (box 4 feature)
S	subject (box 1 feature)
SA	SemiAttributive
Sd	site deletion
sg	singular
Sit	site
Src	source
SS	SemiStative
ST	SemiTransitive
Sta	statant
T	Transitive
Ta	transitive addition
Ti	transitive insertation
Ts	transitive suppletion
Tv	transitivizing rule
Und	undergoer
Umk	unmarked
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person

Clause Patterns in Tamang

Doreen Taylor

CONTENTS

I.   INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

Figure 1. Consonants in Tamang.

```
              i                               u

                    e                 o

                          a
```

Figure 2. Vowels in Tamang.

```
c              =  (ts) affricate
capital T      =  (t) retroflexed consonant
v              =  short vowel
```

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

Figure 3. Orthographic transcription.

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

II. <u>BASIC</u> <u>PATTERNS</u>

A. <u>The</u> <u>Contrastive</u> <u>System</u>

1. The Role Marker System

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

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

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

		Semi-		Bi-
Receptive set	Eventive	Receptive	Receptive	Receptive
Transitive set	Intran- sitive	Semi- Transitive	Transitive	Bi- Transitive

Figure 4.   Transitivity system.

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

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

		Sit	Und	Und + Sit
State Sta	Circum- stantial	Semi- Attributive	Attributive	Bi- Attributive
	Descrip- tive	Semi- Stative	Stative	Bi- Stative
Event Act	Eventive	Semi- Receptive	Receptive	Bi- Receptive
	Intran- sitive	Semi- Transitive	Transitive	Bi- Transitive

Figure 5. Full transitivity system.

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

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

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

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

Normal Actor Markers.

```
I        the nyi-ci.          or          the-ce nyi-ci.
   M     Umk P                        M   Agt    P
   R    ·Act Evt                      R   Act    Evt
         He went.                         He went.

ST       tamra-ce gahsying-Ti Duhn-ci.
   M     Agt      Loc        P
   R     Act      Sit        Evt
         The bean plant climbed up the stick.

T        the-ce ken ca-ci.
   M     Agt    Umk P
   R     Act    Und Evt
         He ate rice.

BT       the-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
   M     Agt    Gol    Umk      P
   R     Act    Sit    Und      Evt
         He gave the book to father.
```

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

Figure 7.   Normal undergoer markers for animate
            undergoers.

Normal Undergoer Markers (animate).

```
A        'uhcu miih cho-pa.
   M     Umk       P
   R     Und       State
         That man is fat.

BA       'uhcu miih-ta nga pep-pa.
   M     Gol          Umk P
   R     Sit          Und State
         I am shy of that man.
```

```
R         apa ching-ci.
    M     Umk P
    R     Und Evt
          Father awoke.

BR        syet nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
    M     Umk  Gol     P
    R     Und  Sit     Evt
          I caught lice.

T         the-ce naki-ta 'to-ci.
    M     Agt    Gol     P
    R     Act    Und     Evt
          He hit the dog.

T         the-ce naki cyaa-ci.
    M     Agt    Umk  P
    R     Act    Und  Evt
          I saw the dog.

BT        the-ce 'kola 'bahcaar-Ti pit-ci.
    M     Agt    Umk   Loc       P
    R     Act    Und   Sit       Evt
          He sent the child to the bazaar.
```

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

Figure 8.   Normal undergoer markers for inanimate
            undergoers.

Normal Undergoer Markers (inanimate).

```
A         the-la syaahma 'char mu-pa.
    M     Umk            P
    R     Und            State
          Her skirt is new.

BA        'uhcu gyaah nga-ta jehppa mu-pa.
    M     Umk         Gol    P
    R     Und         Sit    State
          That garment is big for me.
```

```
R          'dihm ruhl-ci.
     M     Umk    P
     R     Und    Evt
           The house fell down.

BR         nga-ta 'ki phii-ci.
     M     Gol    Umk P
     R     Sit    Und Evt
           I am thirsty.

T          the-ce 'sanga 'to-ci.
     M     Agt    Umk    P
     R     Act    Und    Evt
           He beat the millet.

BT         the-ce apa-ta wahre pin-ci.
     M     Agt    Gol    Umk   P
     R     Act    Sit    Und   Evt
           He gave the sickle to father.
```

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

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

Normal Goal Site Markers (animate).

```
BA         'uhcu naki-ta 'kola long-pa.
     M     Gol          Umk   P
     R     Sit          Und   State
           The child is afraid of that dog.

BA         'uhcu miih-ta jah 'nyiih mu-pa.
     M     Gol          Umk        P
     R     Sit          Und        State
           That man has two sons.

           or     M     'uhcu miih-la jah 'nyiih mu-pa.
                         Gen          Umk        P
                  R      Sit          Und        State
                         That man has two sons.
```

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

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

Normal Goal Site Markers (inanimate).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Normal Association Sites.

```
BA        the-teng wahre mu-pa.
    M     Asc      Umk   P
    R     Sit      Und   State
          He has a sickle (with him).

BA        'ee-la bahr nga-la-teng mu-pa.
    M     Umk         Asc         P
    R     Und         Sit         State
          Your basket is with mine (my basket).

ST        the-ce nga-teng bahng-ci.
    M     Agt    Asc      P
    R     Act    Sit      Evt
          He abused me.
```

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

Figure 11. Normal inanimate locative-site markers.

Normal Locative Sites.

```
BA        nyi 'cu sawang namsa-ri 'saaThi ghar mu-pala.
    M     Loc                     Umk         P
    R     Sit                     Und         State
          In this our village of Sahu, there were sixty houses.

BR        the pre loh-ri nah-ci.
    M     Umk Loc        P
    R     Und Sit        Evt
          He was born in the year of the monkey.

ST        apa-ce 'sunaap-Ti Daa-ci.
    M     Agt    Loc        P
    R     Act    Sit        Evt
          Father won the election.
```

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

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

Figure 12.   Normal inanimate source-site markers.

Normal Source Sites.

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

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

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

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

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

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

```
ST        nye gahng-Ti kret-ci.
     M    Agt Loc      P
     R    Act Sit      Evt
          I climbed the hill. _

T         nye ken ca-ci.
     M    Agt Umk P
     R    Act Und Evt
          I ate rice.

BT        nye apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
     M    Agt Gol      Umk      P
     R    Act Sit      Und      Evt
          I gave the book to father.
```

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

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

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

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

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

'dihm duhngTi ('dihm-ki duhngTi)   below the house
'dihm pherang ('dihm-ki pherang)   above the house
'dihm pitcyor ('dihm-ki pitcyor)   outside the house

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

choo 'dihm-ki asenTi mupa.   The rope is under the house.
     'dihm 'nyiih-i guhngTi   between the two houses

Those in which the site is not genitive in form:

choo 'dihm-nahng mupa.   The rope is inside the house.

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

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

and those occurring with inanimate sites:

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

3.   The Focus Marker System in Tamang

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

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

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

Figure 13. Role of the subject.

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

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

BA   'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
        S   REF   P
        Und   Sit   State
        The child is in the house.

R   naki syi-ci.
        S   P
        Und Evt
        The dog died.

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

I   'kola kraa-ci.
        S   P
        Act   Evt
        The child cried.

ST   the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
        S   REF   P
        Act   Sit   Evt
        He climbed the hill.

T   kon-ce ken ca-ci.
        S   O   P
        Act   Und Evt
        Kon ate rice.

BT   apa-ce ale 'mrang-Ti pit-ci.
        S   O   REF   P
        Act   Und Sit   Evt
        Father sent young brother to the garden.

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

Normal Order:

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

Topicalised Tika:

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

Normal Order:

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

Topicalised <u>Kainla</u>:

> <u>kainla-ki</u> <u>'santaan-mi</u> nga.
> I am a descendent of Kainla.

Normal Order:

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

Topicalised <u>Chuti</u>:

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

Normal Order:

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

Topicalised <u>tall</u>:

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

Normal Order:

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

Topicalised Undergoer:

> <u>ken-mi</u> the-ce-no ca-ci.
> For sure he ate <u>the</u> <u>rice</u>.

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

> **Emphatic Focus by Emphatic Particle.** Emphatic particles are

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

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

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

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

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

            baTi pin-ci.
            light give-pst

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

```
             'char mu-pa.
             new    be-pres
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

cen   'kha-nem-'<u>te</u>.
leopard come-pst-emp
The leopard <u>indeed</u> came.

-<u>no</u>. This particle has been found to occur only with predi-
cates in independent clauses, and has the meaning of 'indeed',
for example:

syi-pa-i-la   Tanga   'som som-pa-i-la   Tanga
die-Nm-Gen-Gen half-rupee three alive-Nm-Gen-Gen half-rupee
The custom of placing one and a half rupee both for the

'som 'juuh-pa-i pe   sehng-pala-<u>no</u>.
three put-Nm-Gen custom do-pst-emp
dead and the living has <u>indeed</u> been carried out.

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

'ee 'kha-pa-<u>syihm</u>.
you come-pres-emp
<u>And so</u> you come!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B.   Systemic Contrast.

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

     1.   General Contrasts.

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

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

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

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

State vs Event.

A-set	R-set and T-set
a) -stativising	a) +stativising
b) +eventivising	b) -eventivising
c) Stative tense states something is in a state.	c) Eventive tense shows that something happened at some point in past time.

Examples illustrating stative verbs:

Stative Tense	Eventive Tense
the khrem-pala. He was hungry.	the khren-ci. He hungered.
nga-la yaa behr-pa. My hand is cold.	nga-la yaa behr-ci. My hand (became) cold.
'cu jehppa mu-pa. This is big.	'cu jehppa ta-ci. This became big.
'cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik mupa. This door is all right for the house.	'cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik ta-ci. This door became (was made) all right for the house.

Examples illustrating eventive verbs:

Eventive Tense	Stative Tense
the-ce syaahma 'raa-ci. She wove a skirt.	the-ce syaahma 'raa-pa. She weaves a skirt.
the-ce 'makai ca-ci. He ate corn.	the-ce 'makai ca-pa. He eats corn.
the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci. He climbed the hill.	the-ce gahng-Ti krep-pa. He climbs the hill.
the 'mrang-Ti nyi-ci. He went to the garden.	the 'mrang-Ti nyi-pa. He goes to the garden.
d) Inherent verb, mu- 'is' indicates being in a state.	d) Eventivised mu-ci indicates 'doubt, disbelief'.
the-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa. Her skirt is old.	naa the-la syaahma bohkta mu-ci. Maybe her skirt is old.

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

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

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

e) Eventivised yihn-ci indi-
cates 'probability'.

   Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   Consider the following examples:

yahl ta-ci.
It became light.

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

'uhcu char ta-ci.
It became new.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   A-set

   R-set

a) -stativising
b) +eventivising

a) +stativising
b) -eventivising

c) Answer to the question,
   "What is it like?"

c) Answers to the question,
   "What happened to it?"

d) A difference in derivational potential. Compare A-set tree
   diagrams (Figures 21 and 22) with R-set tree diagrams (Figures
   19 and 20).

e) Contrasts involving the modal verb ta- 'become' listed above
   apply here also.

   Consider the following example:

'dehrem nyesyi ta-ci.   naki 'syi-sye ta-ci.
It is now evening.   The dog will die soon.

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

T-set   R-set

a) Reciprocal action possible.   a) Reciprocal action not
                                            possible.

b) +Benefactive   b) -Benefactive

c) Permissive causes double   c) Permissive does not cause
   function.   double function.

d) Modal verb ta- 'become' indi-   d) Modal verb ta- 'become'
   cates 'action decided upon',   indicates 'something can
   or 'action now able to be   now happen', or 'some-
   carried out, happened to'.   thing is about to happen'.

   Consider the following examples:

apa 'yu-sye ta-ci.   'glahp 'syi-sye ta-ci.
Father has decided to come   The ox will die now.
down.

the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pa   'dehrem apa ching-sye
ta-ci.   ta-ci.
Now he is able to plant the   Now father will wake up.
radishes in the garden.

the-ce ken ca-pa ta-ci.   nga-ta 'ee-i 'serngo
He is now able to eat.   'khoo-sye ta-ci.
                                         Now I will catch your
                                         cold.

nga-ce apa-teng khatu ta-ci.   'ahngka tai-pa ta-ci.
I happened to meet father.   The branch is about to
                                         fall.

e) Modal verb 'syee- 'know' indi-   e) Modal verb 'syee- 'know'
   cates 'knows how to do some-   indicates 'it seems, it
   thing'.   looks as though'.

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

   Consider the following examples:

the-ce 'raa-pa 'syee-pa.   the ching-pa 'syee-pa.
She knows how to weave.   It looks as though he is
                                        waking up.

tamra gahsying-Ti Duhm-pa   the-ta gahte gyoohne
'syee-pa.   'serngo 'khoo-pa
The bean plant knows how to   'syee-pa.
climb up the stick.   How quickly she seems to
                                        have caught a cold.

   2. Specific Contrasts.

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

Number of nuclear roles.
     one role: A, R, I
     two roles: BA, BR, ST, T
     three roles: BT
Have actors.
     I, ST, T, BT
Animate undergoer marked as goal in unmarked focus.
     T, BT, A
Clause has an undergoer as object.
     T, BT
Clause has a site as an indirect object.
     BT, BR, BA
Clause has animate or inanimate actors.
     ST, T, BT
Clause takes normal imperative.
     I, ST, T, BT
Actor is subject in unmarked focus.
     I, ST, T, BT
Undergoer is subject in unmarked focus.
     A, BA, R, BR
Clauses requiring an actor with modal verbs buht- 'complete',
'maih- 'inceptive', ta- 'become'.
     BA only.
Clauses not requiring an actor with modal verbs.
     I, T, BT

   C. Contrastive Types.

   Commencing with the BiTransitive clause all contrastive

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

BiTransitive Clause Type.

    a) with Goal-Site.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

    b) with Locative-Site.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Transitive Clause Type.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SemiTransitive Clause Type.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Intransitive Clause Type.

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

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

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

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

```
cen 'kha-nem.
The leopard came.
```

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

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

b) Non-motion directed clauses.

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

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

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

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

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

the-ce nyet-ci.
He laughed.

the-ce kring-ci.
He cried out.

'maki nya-ci.
The buffalo bellowed.

BiReceptive Clause Type.

a) with Goal-Site.

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

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

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

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

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

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

b) with Locative-Site.

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

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

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

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

Receptive Clause Type.

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

the 'syi-ci.
Und Evt
He died.

apa ching-ci.
Father awoke.

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

'dihm ruhl-ci.
The house fell down.

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

'ki khar-ci.
The water dried up.

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

'glihng 'nyuuh-ci.
The snow melted.

byuhrwa 'nyuhl-ci.
The plant withered.

roro 'kram-ci.
The fruit rotted.

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

tiplik plik-ci.
Lightning flashed.

BiAttributive Clause Type.
(for sub-classes see <u>Derived</u> <u>Patterns</u>, Section IV. B.)

a) with Goal- or Genitive-Site.

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

Class (a)

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

Class (b)

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

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

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

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

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

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

b) with Locative-Site.

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

Class (c)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Class (a)

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

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

the bleku mu-pa.
He is lazy.

the rahku mu-pa.
He is intelligent.

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

Class (b)

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

bahr lih-pa.
The basket is heavy.

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

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

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

nga 'ki phii-pa.
I am thirsty.

the 'khang-pa.
He is cold.

wahre 'chyar-pa.
The sickle is sharp.

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

Equative sub-type of the Attributive Clause Type.

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

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

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

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

III. INFLECTED PATTERNS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A.   The Verbal Phrase - Surface Structure.
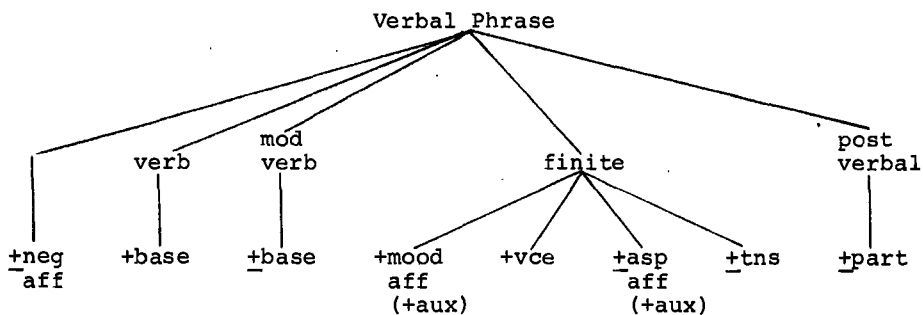
Figure 14. The structure of the verb phrase in Tamang.

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

1.   Nuclear Elements in the Verb Phrase

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

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

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

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

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

BiTransitive plus Intransitive.

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

Transitive plus Intransitive.

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

SemiTransitive plus Intransitive.

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

Receptive plus Intransitive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ama-ce ken <u>yokta la</u>-pa.
Mother cooks the food.

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

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

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

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

the-la syaahma <u>'char mu</u>-pa.
Her skirt is new.

'uhcu 'dihm <u>jehppa mu</u>-pa.
That house is big.

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples with -wai:

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

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

Consider the following examples with -cyo:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

'yu!   'byohng-'yu!
Come down!   Please come down!

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

Speaker included:

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

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

Speaker excluded:

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

With -khai.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With -ke/-i-'le.

syee-ke!
Let's go!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

With -ke/-i-bih.

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

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

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

With -ke/-i-'le.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

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

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

Consider the following examples:

Verb with no honourific counterpart.

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

Verbs with an honourific counterpart.

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

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

Verbs with the honourific morpheme -jeht- included.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'uhcu dahpprang-ce 'ki mren-na-le 'thung-cim bahn-Ti
That crow having drank until he was satisfied went

    yahr-ci ro.
    into the forest.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Present Tense -pa.

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

Past Perfect Tense -pala.

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

Future Tense -sye and -la.

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

Simple Past -ci and -nem.

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

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

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

```
mu-        'be'
chee-      'prepare'
```

2. Non-nuclear Elements in the Verbal Phrase.

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

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

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

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

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

b) The following illustrate the use of the negative verb <u>'are</u>:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B. The Verbal Phrase Illustrated by Paradigm.

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

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

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

IV. DERIVED PATTERNS.

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

R	gaahkre breh-ci.	The waterpot leaked.
T	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na la-ci.	Kon caused the waterpot to leak.

S	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na
	    la-pala.
		Kon has caused the waterpot
		    to leak.

A	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na
	    la-pala yihm-pa.
		It is true that Kon caused the
		    waterpot to leak.

A. Derivational Rules.

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

1. Deletion Rules.

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

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

The deletion rules may be illustrated by the following:

Undergoer Deletion (Ud)

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

R   naki 'syi-ci.
    The dog died.

Ud E   'syi-ci.
        (Something or someone) died.

BR 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
    I caught a cold.

Ud SR nga-ta-eeno 'khoo-nem.
        I also caught (the cold).

Site Deletion (sd)

BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
    Grandmother enjoys going walking.

Sd A   korpa-ri chuu-pa.
        It is pleasant (for someone) to go walking.

BR 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
    I caught a cold.

Sd R   'serngo 'khoo-nem.
        (Someone) caught a cold.

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

Sd T   the-ce 'kitaap pin-ci.
        He gave (someone) a book.

2. Shift Rules.

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

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

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

Ev R   the-la syaahma bohkta ta-ci.
        Her skirt became old.

BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
    Grandmother enjoys going walking.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sv   BS   the-ce nga-ta 'kitaap pim-pala.
          He has given me a book.

     T   the-ce ken ca-ci.
          He ate rice.

Sv   S   the-ce ken oa-pala.
          He has eaten rice.

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

Sv   SS   the-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala.
          He has climbed the hill.

     I   the nyi-ci.
          He went.

Sv   D   the nyi-pala.
          He has gone.

     BR   'amparu sa-ri tai-ci.
          The guava dropped on the ground.

SV   BA   'amparu sa-ri tai-pala.
          The guava has dropped on the ground.

     R   'naki 'syi-ci.
          The dog died.

Sv   A   'naki 'syi-pala.
          The dog has died.

     3.   Embedding Rules.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cv   T   kon-ce nga-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-na la-ci.
         Kon made me give father a book.

      T   nga-ce ken ca-ci.
         I ate rice.

Cv   T   kon-ce nga-ce ken ca-na la-ci.
         Kon made me eat rice.

      ST nga-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
         I climbed the hill.

Cv   T   kon-ce nga-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-ci.
         Kon made me climb the hill.

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

Cv   T   kon-ce tamra gahsying-Ti Duhn-na la-ci.
         Kon caused the bean plant to climb the stick.

      I   nga nyi-ci.
         I went.

Cv   T   kon-ce nga-ta nyi-na la-ci.
         Kon made me go.

      BR nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
         I caught a cold.

Cv   T   kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-ci.
         Kon caused me to catch a cold.

      R   naki 'syi-ci.
         The dog died.

Cv   T   kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-ci.
         Kon caused the dog to die.

      BA ama-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
         It is pleasant for mother to go for a walk.

Cv   T   kon-ce ama-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-ci.
         Kon caused it to be pleasant for mother to go for a walk.

```
  ·A    byuhrwa no-pa.
        The plant is tall.

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

Permissive. Permissive (Pm):

This rule may be applied to all basic clause types other than BR and BA.
- a) add the verb 'pung- 'hit' to the clause.
- b) where the actor of the basic clause is animate, replace the agentive -ce by the goal marker -ta.
- c) add an actor.

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

Consider the following examples:

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

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

    I    the nyi-ci.
         He went.

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

    R    naki 'syi-ci.
         The dog died.

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

        A   naule 'khang-pa.
             Naule is cold.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

        I   naule nyi-ci.
             Naule went.

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

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

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

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

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

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

| | T | the-ce ken ca-ci.
He ate the rice.

| M1 | R | the-ce ken ca-buht-ci.
He already ate the rice.

| | BR | nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
I caught a cold.

| M1 | R | nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-'yam-ci.
I expected to catch a cold.

| | BA | nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
I enjoy going for a walk.

| M1 | R | nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-ci.
I expected to enjoy going for a walk
(but it was not very pleasant).

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

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

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

M1   R   the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pa syee-ci.
         He knew how to plant radishes in the garden.

     BR   'uhcu roro sa-ri tai-ci.   '
          That fruit dropped on the ground.

M1   R   'uhcu roro sa-ri tai-pa 'maih-ci.
         That fruit is about to fall on the ground.

     A   naule syim-pa.
          Naule is cool.

M1   R   naule syim-pa 'kham-ci.
         Naule was able to become cool.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

    BT   the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-ci.
         She poured water into the waterpot.

Fv   A   the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-'ri-pa mu-pa.
         (The fact is) she is pouring water into the waterpot.

         the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-pala mu-pa.
         She has poured water into the waterpot (it is a fact).

         the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-sye mu-pa.
         She will pour water into the waterpot (the fact is
         certain).

    T   the-ce ken ca-ci.
         He ate rice.

Fv   A   the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.
         He has eaten rice (it is a fact).

         the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pala.
         He had eaten rice.   (He was in the state of having
         eaten rice.)

    R   naki 'syi-ci.
         The dog died.

Fv   A   naki 'syi-pala mu-pa.
         (It is a fact) the dog has died.   (It is dead.)

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

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

    BT   kon-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-ci.
         Kon sent the child to the garden.

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

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

Fv   A   Ques: kon-ce ken ca-'ri-pa yihm-pa?
                 Is Kon really eating rice?

         Ans: kon-ce ken ca-'ri-pa yihm-pa.
                 It is true that Kon is eating rice.

     R   the sim-ci.
         He is resting.

Fv   A   Ques: the sim-'Ti-pa yihm-pa?
                 Is he really resting?

         Ans: the sim-'Ti-pa yihm-pa.
                 He's really resting.

B.   Derivational Patterns.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1_{BT}

Delete

Ud

Sd 2_T

Shift

Ev

Embed

Cv 7_T

Pm 10_T 13_T

Bv 16_{BT}

Ml 19_R 20_R

Shift

Sv 3_S 5_{BS} 8_S 11_S 14_S 17_{BS} 21_A 23_{BS}

Embed

Fv 4_A 6_A 9_A 12_A 15_A 18_A 22_A 24_A
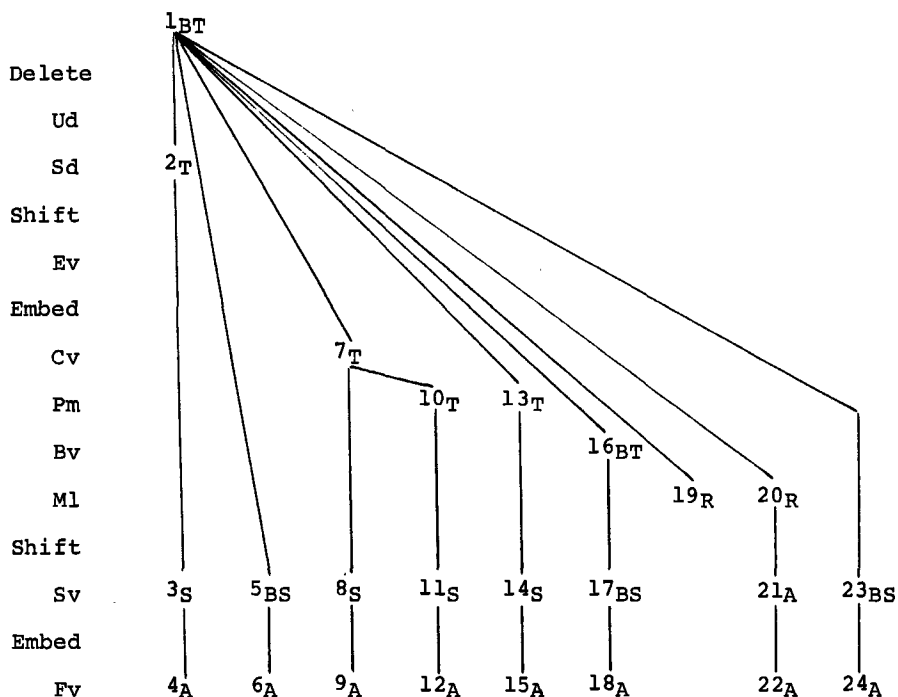
Figure 15.   Derivations of a BiTransitive clause.

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

1.BT   naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-ci.
       Naule sent the child to the garden.

2.T   naule-ce 'kola 'pit-ci.
       Naule sent the child.

3.S   naule-ce 'kola 'pip-pala.
       Naule has sent the child.

4.A   naule-ce 'kola 'pip-pala mu-pa.
       Naule has sent the child (fact).

5.BS   naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala.
       Naule has sent the child to the garden.

6.A   naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala mu-pa.
       Naule has sent the child to the garden (fact).

7.T   kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-ci.
      Kon caused Naule to send the child to the garden.

8.S   kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-pala.
      Kon has caused Naule to send the child to the garden.

9.A   kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has caused Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).

10.T kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-ci.
      Kon allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to the
      garden.

11.S kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-pala.
      Kon has allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to
      the garden.

12.A kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-pala
      mu-pa.
      Kon has allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to
      the garden (fact).

13.T kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-ci.
      Kon let Naule send the child to the garden.

14.S kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-pala.
      Kon has allowed Naule to send the child to the garden.

15.A kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has allowed Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).

16.BT naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pin-ci.
      Naule sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit.

17.BS naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pim-pala.
      Naule has sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit.

18.A naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pim-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit
      (fact).

19.R naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-ci.
      Naule needed to send the child to the garden.

20.R 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-ci.
      You needed to send the child to the garden.

21.A 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala.
      You ought to have sent the child to the garden.

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

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

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

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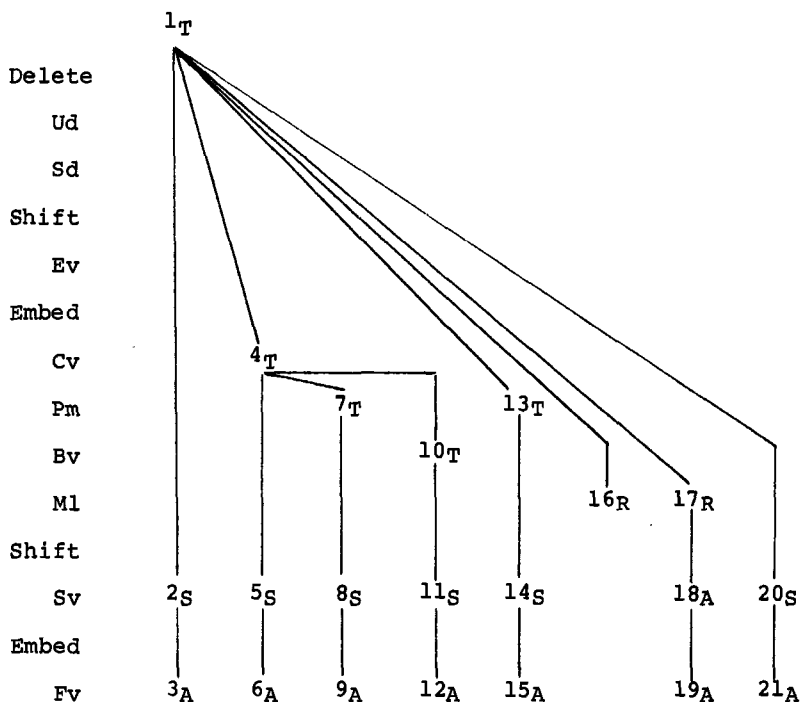
Figure 16. Derivations of a Transitive clause.

   The following examples illustrate the derivations of a
Transitive clause.

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

2.S   kon-ce ken ca-pala.
      Kon has eaten rice.

3.A   kon-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has eaten rice (fact).

4.T   naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-ci.
      Naule caused Kon to eat rice.

5.S   naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pala.
      Naule has caused Kon to eat rice.

6.A   naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (fact).

7.T   naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-ci.
      Naule allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice.

8.S   naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-pala.
      Naule has allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice.

9.A   naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice (fact).

10.T naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pin-ci.
      Naule caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit).

11.S naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pim-pala.
      Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit).

12.A naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pim-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit--fact).

13.T naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-ci.
      Naule allowed Kon to eat rice.

14.S naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-pala.
      Naule has allowed Kon to eat rice.

15.A naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has allowed Kon to eat rice (fact).

16.R nga ken ca-thoo-ci.
      I needed to eat rice.

17.R 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-ci.
      You needed to eat rice.

18.A 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
      You ought to have eaten rice.

19.A 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
      You ought to have eaten rice (fact).

20.S kon-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
      Kon ought to have eaten rice.

21.A kon-ce ken ca-thoo-pala mu-pa.
      Kon ought to have eaten rice (fact).

    <u>Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Pattern</u>. Derivations
of the SemiTransitive clause pattern are given in Figure 17.
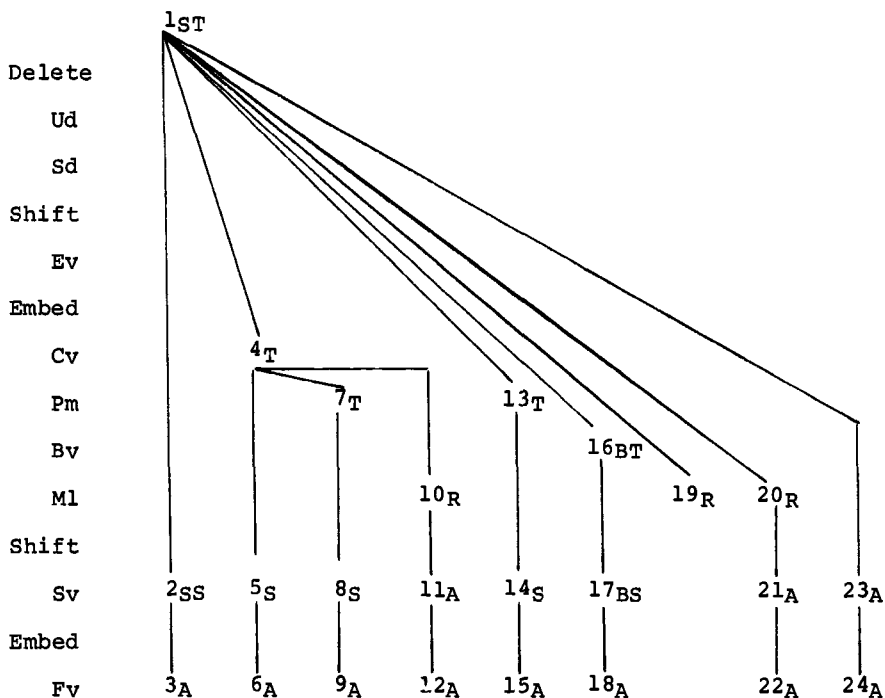
Figure 17.   Derivations of a SemiTransitive clause.

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

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

2.SS kon-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala.
      Kon has climbed the hill.

3.A   kon-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has climbed the hill (fact).

4.T   naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-ci.
      Naule caused Kon to climb the hill.

5.S   naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-pala.
      Naule has caused Kon to climb the hill.

6.A   naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has caused Kon to climb the hill (fact).

7.T   naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-ci.
      Naule let me cause Kon to climb the hill.

8.S   naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-pala.
      Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to climb the hill.

9.A   naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to climb the hill (fact).

10.R kon-ce tamra-ta gahsying-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-ci.
      Kon needed to make the bean plant climb up the stick.

11.A kon-ce tamra-ta gahsying-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-pala.
      Kon should have caused the bean plant to climb up the stick.

12.A kon-ce tamra-ta gahsying-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-pala mu-pa.
      Kon should have caused the bean plant to climb up the
      stick (fact).

13.T naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-ci.
      Naule let Kon climb the hill.

14.S naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-pala.
      Naule has allowed Kon to climb the hill.

15.A naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has allowed Kon to climb the hill (fact).

16.BT kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pin-ci.
      Kon climbed the hill for Naule.

17.BS kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pim-pala.
      Kon has climbed the hill for Naule.

18.A kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pim-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has climbed the hill for Naule (fact).

19.R   nga gahng-Ti kret-thoo-ci.
       I needed to climb the hill.

20.R   'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-ci.
       You needed to climb the hill.

21.A   'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala.
       You should have climbed the hill.

22.A   'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala mu-pa.
       You should have climbed the hill (fact).

23.A   kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala.
       Kon should have climbed the hill.

24.A   kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala mu-pa.
       Kon should have climbed the hill (fact).

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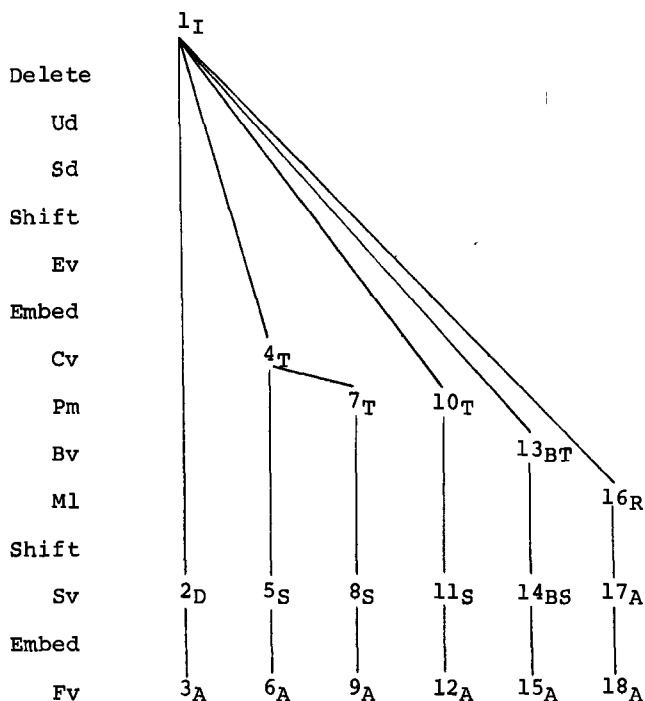
Figure 18.   Derivations of an Intransitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of an Intransitive clause.

1.I   kon nyi-ci.   or   kon-ce nyi-ci.
      Kon went.   Kon went.

2.D   kon nyi-pala.   or   kon-ce nyi-pala.
      Kon has gone.   Kon has gone.

3.A   kon nyi-pala mu-pa.   or   kon-ce nyi-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has gone (fact).   Kon has gone (fact).

4.T   naule-ce kon nyi-na la-ci.
      Naule caused Kon to go.

5.S   naule-ce kon nyi-na la-pala.
      Naule has caused Kon to go.

6.A   naule-ce kon nyi-na la-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has caused Kon to go (fact).

7.T   naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-ci.
      Naule allowed me to cause Kon to go.

8.S   naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-pala.
      Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to go.

9.A   naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to go (fact).

10.T naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-ci.
      Naule allowed Kon to go.

11.S naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-pala.
      Naule has allowed Kon to go.

12.A naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Naule has allowed Kon to go (fact).

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

14.BS kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri pim-pala.
      Kon has gone for Naule.

15.A kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri pim-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has gone for Naule (fact).

16.R kon nyi-thoo-ci.
      Kon needed to go.

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

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

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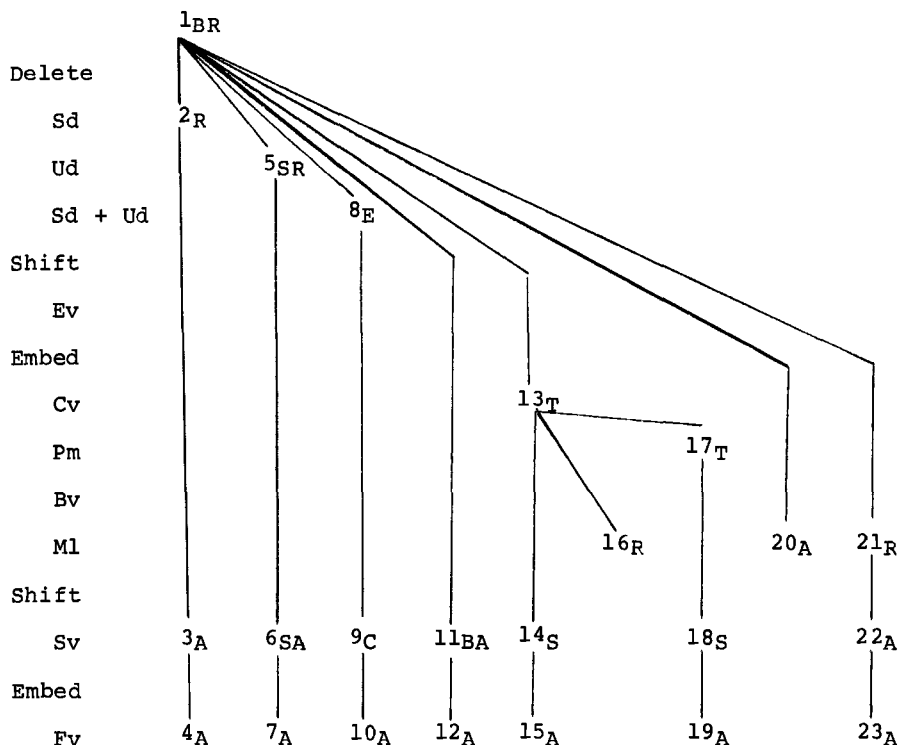
Figure 19.   Derivations of a BiReceptive clause.

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

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

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

3.A   'serngo 'khoo-pala.
       (Someone) has caught (your) cold.

4.A   'serngo 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
       (Someone) has caught (your) cold (fact).

5.SR   nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
       I caught (the cold).

6.SA   nga-ta 'khoo-pala.
       I have caught (a cold).

7.A   nga-ta 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
       I have caught (a cold--fact).

8.E   'khoo-nem-'te.
       (Someone) indeed caught (a cold).

9.C   'khoo-pala-'te.
       (Someone) has indeed caught (a cold).

10.A   'khoo-pala mu-pa-'te.
       (Someone) has indeed caught (a cold--fact).

11.BA 'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-pala.
       I have caught your cold.

12.A   'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
       I have caught your cold (fact).

13.T   kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-ci.
       Kon caused me to catch a cold.

14.S   kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-pala.
       Kon has caused me to catch a cold.

15.A   kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-pala mu-pa.
       Kon has caused me to catch a cold (fact).

16.R   kon-ce syet nga-ta 'khoo-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
       It became possible for Kon to cause me to become
       infested with lice.

17.T   kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-ci.
       Kon allowed Naule to cause me to become infested
       with lice.

18.S   kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-pala.
       Kon has allowed Naule to cause me to become infested
       with lice.

19.A kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
      Kon has allowed Naule to cause me to become infested with
      lice (fact).

20.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-pa 'kham-pa.
      It is possible for me to be infested by your lice.

21.R 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buht-ci.
      I have caught all your lice (they have finished moving
      to me).

22.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buhp-pala.
      I have already become infested with your lice (they have
      finished moving to me).

23.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buhp-pala mu-pa.
      I have already become infested with your lice (they have
      finished moving to me--fact).

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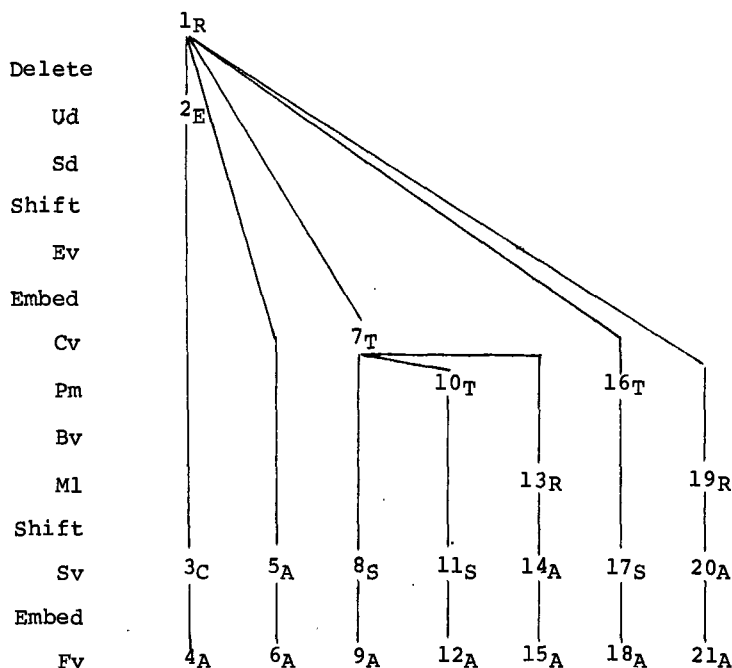
Figure 20. Derivations of a Receptive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a
Receptive clause.

1.R   naki 'syi-ci.
       The dog died.

2.E   'syi-ci.
       (It) died.

3.C   'syi-pala-'te.
       (It) has died.

4.A   'syi-pala mu-pa-'te.
       (It) has died (fact).

5.A   naki 'syi-pala.
       The dog has died.

6.A   naki 'syi-pala mu-pa.
       The dog has died (fact).

7.T   kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-ci.
       Kon caused the dog to die.

8.S   kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pala.
       Kon has caused the dog to die.

9.A   kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pala mu-pa.
       Kon has caused the dog to die (fact).

10.T   naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-ci.
       Naule allowed Kon to cause the dog to die.

11.S   naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-pala.
       Naule has allowed Kon to cause the dog to die.

12.A   naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
       Naule has allowed Kon to cause the dog to die (fact).

13.R   kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
       It became possible for Kon to cause the dog to die.

14.A   kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-pala.
       Kon was able to cause the dog to die.

15.A   kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
       Kon was able to cause the dog to die (fact).

16.T   kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-ci.
       Kon allowed the dog to die.

17.S   kon-ce naki 'syi-'syi-'pung-pala.
       Kon has allowed the dog to die.

18.A   kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-pala mu-pa.
       Kon has allowed the dog to die (fact).

19.R   naki 'syi-'yam-ci.
       The dog is about ready to die.

20.A   naki 'syi-'yam-pala.
       The dog was about to die.

21.A   naki 'syi-'yam-pala mu-pa.
       The dog was about to die (fact).

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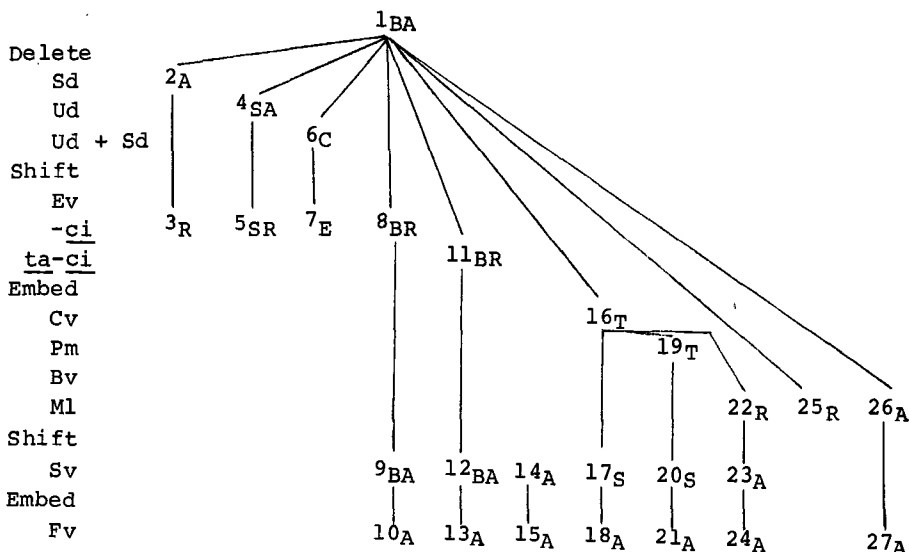
Figure 21.   Derivations of a BiAttributive clause.

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

1.BA   nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
  (a) I am twelve years old.

  (b) mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
      It is pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

   (c) 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
        The child is in the house.

2.A   korpa-ri chuu-pa.
       Going for a walk is pleasant (for someone).

       'kola mu-pa.
       The child is (somewhere).

3.R   korpa-ri chuu-ci.
       Going for a walk was pleasant.

4.SA   mam-ta chuu-pa.
       It is pleasant for grandmother (to do something).

       'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
       (Someone) is in the house.

5.SR   mam-ta chuu-ci.
       It was pleasant for grandmother (to do something).

6.C   chuu-pa.
       Pleasant (something is pleasant for someone).

       mu-pa.
       Is (someone is somewhere).

7.E   chuu-ci.
       Was pleasant (something was pleasant for someone).

8.BR   mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-ci.
       It became pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

9.BA   mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala.
       It was pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

10.A   mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala mu-pa.
       It was pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk (fact).

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

12.BA nga-ce baara barsa ta-pala.
       I have become twelve years old.

13.A   nga-ce baara barsa ta-pala mu-pa.
       I have become twelve years old (fact).

14.A   'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pala.
       The child is in the house.

'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-pala.
The child has come to be in the house.

15.A   'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-pala mu-pa.
       The child has come to be in the house (fact).

16.T   kon-ce mam-ta kropa-ri chuu-na la-ci.
       Kon caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for
       a walk.

       kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-ci.
       Kon caused the child to be in the house.

17.S   kon-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-pala.
       Kon has caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go
       for a walk.

       kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-pala.
       Kon has caused the child to be in the house.

18.A   kon-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-pala mu-pa.
       Kon has caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go
       for a walk (fact).

       kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-pala mu-pa.
       Kon has caused the child to be in the house (fact).

19.T   naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-ci.
       Naule allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for
       grandmother to go for a walk.

       naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-ci.
       Naule allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house.

20.S   naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-pala.
       Naule has allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for
       grandmother to go for a walk.

       naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-pala.
       Naule has allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house.

21.A   naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
       Naule has allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for
       grandmother to go for a walk (fact).

       naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
       Naule has allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the
       house (fact).

22.R   naule-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-thoo-ci.
       Naule needed to make it pleasant for grandmother to go
       for a walk.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following examples illustrate the derivations of an
Attributive clause.

1.A nga-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa.
 (a) My skirt is old.

 (b) naule 'khang-pa.
     Naule is cold.

2.C bohkta mu-pa.
     (It) is old.

     'khang-pa.
     (Someone) is cold.

3.E 'khang-ci.
     (Someone) became cold.

4.E bohkta ta-ci.
     (Something) became old.

5.R naule 'khang-ci.
     Naule became cold.
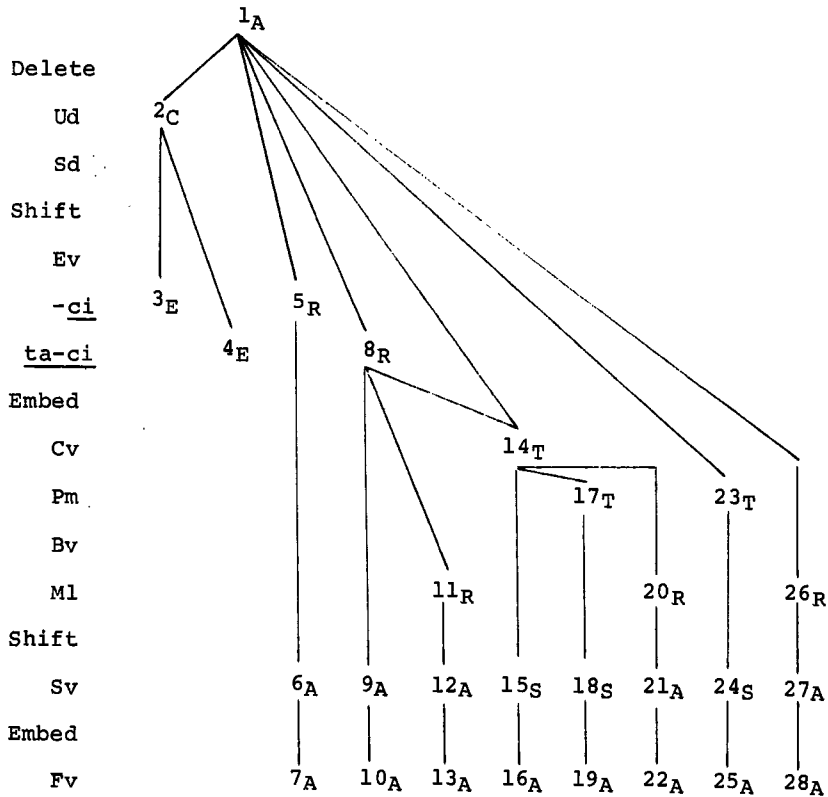
Figure 22. Derivations of an Attributive clause.

6.A naule 'khang-pala.
     Naule was cold.

7.A naule 'khang-pala mu-pa.
     Naule was cold (fact).

8.R nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-ci.
     My skirt became old.

9.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-pala.
     My skirt has become old.

10.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-pala mu-pa.
      My skirt has become old (fact).

11.R   nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buht-ci.
       My skirt already became old (is worn out).

12.A   nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buhp-pala.
       My skirt has already become old.

13.A   nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buhp-pala mu-pa.
       My skirt has already become old (fact).

14.T   ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-ci.
       Mother caused my skirt to become old (wear out).

       kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-ci.
       Kon caused Naule to become cold.

15.S   ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pala.
       Mother has caused my skirt to become old.

       kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pala.
       Kon has caused Naule to become cold.

16.A   ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pala mu-pa.
       Mother has caused my skirt to become old (fact).

       kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pala mu-pa.
       Kon has caused Naule to become cold (fact).

17.T   ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-ci.
       Mother allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old.

       nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-ci.
       I allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold.

18.S   ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-pala.
       Mother has allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old.

       nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-pala.
       I have allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold.

19.A   ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
       Mother has allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become
       old (fact).

       nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
       I have allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold (fact).

20.R   ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pa kham-ci.
       It became possible for mother to cause my skirt to become
       old.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V.   DEPENDENT PATTERNS

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

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

The Dependent Nominal Clause.   The dependent nominal clause

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

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

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

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

The matrix above may be illustrated by the following examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We have seen from the above that when a clause becomes nominalised it may then function in the axis slot of an axis-relator construction[3]. By the various relator affixes the clause is then distributed as a filler of slots on the phrase, clause or sentence level. The relator affix -i occurs only with a clause nominalised by -pa or -sye to form a relative clause construction. The dependent relative clause fills an attributive slot in the noun phrase, which may then become a filler of a slot on clause or sentence level. On the clause level the relative clause (embedded in the noun phrase) may fill all slots except reason and manner.

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

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

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

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

The above matrix may be illustrated by the following exam-
ples:

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

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

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

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

It occurs as filler of the reason slot.

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

It occurs as filler of the instrument slot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It functions as filler of the purpose slot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It functions as filler of the object slot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following examples illustrate the types given above:

Dependent Sequential Clause relator, -teng.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Dependent Anticipatory Clause Relator, -la bih.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -ri.

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

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

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

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -nyehnsye.

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

The Dependent Concurrent Clause Relator, 'samma.

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

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

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

The Dependent Sequential Participial Clause.

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

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

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

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

The Dependent Concurrent Participial Clause occurring with -ma.

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

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

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

The Dependent Concurrent Participial Clause occurring with -mam.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Dependent Subjunctive Participial Clause.

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

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

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

APPENDIX <u>A</u>:   <u>Abbreviations</u>.

A	Attributive (Box 4 label)
Act	actor
Accom / Acc	accompaniment
advbl	adverbial
Aff	affix
Agt	agent
anim	animate
Ans	Answer
Asc	association
Asp	aspect
Att	attributive (Box 1 label)
Aux	auxiliary
BA	BiAttributive
BR	BiReceptive
BS	BiStative
BT	BiTransitive
C	Circumstantial
Cl	clause
conj	conjunctive
cont	continuous
Cpl	complement
D	Descriptive
Em / emp	emphatic
Evt	event
Gen	genitive
ger	gerund
Gol	goal
hes	hesitation
I	Intransitive (Box 4 label), Instrument (Box 1 label)
inan	inanimate
Inst	instrument
IO	indirect object
L / Loc	locative
M	manner
Mod	modal
Neg	negative
NL	Nepali loan verb
NM	nominal
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	predicate
part	particle
PEX	predicate extension
pl	plural
Pp	past participle
pres	present
Ps	purpose
pst	past
pt_1	simple past tense
pt_2	past perfect tense
pt_3	immediate past tense

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

APPENDIX B: Text.

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed

```
    1.  tiyung    neyung                'kola-ri       syipatangpa
        last year year before last childhood-at Syipatangpa

teng nga 'bhatau 'asausa kyor  'bhohrlo 'gohra-ri       'Ti-pa //
and  I   Bhadra  Ashwin  about Bhorlo   cattleshed-at stay-pres

2.  nyeshi-ri-m     'nyiih-no  paalo-'le      yokta la-cim
    evening-at-emp we two-emp by turn-advbl (cook food)-conj

ca-pa     syihm 'nyiih-no  'tangku 'thung-pa //  3.  tor mor
eat-pres and   we two-emp tobacco drink-pres         up down

baat           la-pa    khimce    kor-pa    la-cim muhna-i 'nau
conversation do-pres neighbour walk-pres do-conj night-of nine

'das bace     kyor-ki  'Tem-Ti 'nyiih-no  'nuu-pa //  4.   the-caanyi
ten  o'clock about-of time-at we two-emp rest-pres         he-emp

'duhngTi 'nuu-pa    nga-caanyi pherang 'khyang-Ti 'khyang joh-ri
beneath  rest-pres I-emp       above   bed-on     bed     top-on

'nuu-pa //  5.   the-m  'nuu-pa-saat-mi        bhuhsukka mehr-pa
rest-pres        he-emp rest-pres-as soon-emp completely sleep-pres
```

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

```
nga-mi  'nuu-cim-eno    'yam-ta-m         phasak phasak 'a-mehr-
I-emp   rest-conj-also a moment-for-emp (restless)    Neg-sleep-

pa //  6.  'tii-ret muhna 'cyam syor-pa-m      'cyam 'pung-pa-ri
pres       one-time night urine take-pres-emp (urinate)-pres-purp

nyi-ci 'nam 'phusphusle    yu-ri-pala //      7.  'bhatau-ki
go-pt1 rain softly drizzle come down-cont-pt2      Bhadra-of

behlo-ri 'nam 'phusphusle    yu-ri-pa-rim //          8.  nga
time-at  rain softly drizzle come down-cont-pres-fact     I

cyam 'pung-cim nga-m 'pheeri-m 'nuu-ci //  9.  syipatangpa-
(urinate) -conj I-emp again-emp rest-pt1       Syipatangpa-

caanyi-ce-m 'a-chor // 10.  'pheeri nga-m 'kyongle       'nuu-
emp-Agt-emp Neg-know        then   I-emp (legs straight) rest-

ri-pala    ah  'gahte-eno    mehr-pa    'a-'kham // 11.  'meh-
cont-pt2 hes how much-also sleep-pres Neg-able          cow-

ce mor-ce    'meh-ce 'yahm-ce 'yahm-no    na   rap-pa    'phii
Agt down-from cow-Agt (again and again)-emp nose blow-pres phii

'phii-bih    na   rap-pa // 12.  ra-'maah-eno kang rap-pa //
phii-advbl  nose blow-pres       goat-pl-also foot beat-pres

13.  'meh-'maah-caanyi-eno 'meh-'maah-caanyi na   rap-pa
     cow-pl-emp-also        cow-pl-emp        nose blow-pres

ra-'maah-caanyi-eno kang rap-pa //  14.  hohl-la-cim       nga-
goat-pl-emp-also    foot beat-pres       like that-do-conj I-

caanyi-m 'meh-ta cyaa-cim      'meh-ta 'pang-pa // 15.  'meh-mi
emp-emp  cow-to  look at-conj cow-to  say-pres          cow-emp

'yahm-ce 'yahm-no    nga-la 'ket thee-pa    teng-mi    'jhehn
(again and again)-emp I-of   voice hear-pres after-emp (all the

     bahng-ce     phu phu-bih   na   rap-pa // 16.  hohl-la-
more) strength-Inst phu phu-advbl nose blow-pres       like that-do-

mam   nga-m 'pheeri 'meh-ta cyaa-pala-m      'meh-caanyi mor-ce
while I-emp again   cow-to  look at-pt2-emp cow-emp      below-from

ngohn-cim            phu phu-le   na   rap-ti-pa-rim       kra
look other way-conj phu phu-advbl nose blow-cont-pres-fact head

'lihp-Ti-pa-rim //   17.  'pheeri nga-eno mor-ce       cyaa-
shake-cont-pres-fact      then   I-also  down-towards look at-
```

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

```
pala-m    'huhcu 'coori-ka cen       'gohng-ri-pa-rim //  18.  nga
pt2-emp that   near-emp  leopard sit-cont-pres-fact           I

reeh-cim     nga kring-pala-mi    cen-ce       nga-ta cyaa-pa //
rise up-conj I   cry out-pt2-emp leopard-Agt I-to   look at-pres

19.  nga-i kutto-'maah-ri 'lii-'maah-ri-m cen-ki      'mii-ki
     I-of  chest-pl-at    fact-pl-on-emp leopard-of eye-of

Tak   yohbaati-la rahng-le     'kha-pa //  20.  nga-ce kring-
gleam torch-of    (like)-advbl come-pres        I-Agt  cry out-

pa //  21.  cen-caanyi nga 'kola-'maah-ki sor    thee-cim 'ket
pres        leopard-emp I   child-pl-of    voice hear-conj voice

thee-cim  the-caanyi-m 'patai-'a-'ti-nale    cyaa-pa //
hear-conj it-emp-emp   agreeable-Neg-NL-advbl look at-pres

22.  hohl-la-cim         'bahl la 'bahl the 'dooh-cim
     like that-do-conj (at last)       it  turn around-conj

'yahr-ci //  23.  duhng-ki 'gahra-ri lapu   'jahng-pala mu-pala //
go-pt1            below-of field-at  radish sow-pt2      be-pt2

24.  the 'dooh-cim         'yahr-pa-saat-cem    'pheeri nga-ce-m
     it  turn around-conj go-pres-(as soon as) then    I-Agt-emp

syipatangpa-ta ching-ci //  25.  syipatangpa-ta 'khol 'khol
Syipatangpa-to wake up-pt1       Syipatangpa-to (here and there)

'sik 'sik-le                    ching-cim     the reeh-pa-saat-
(this side, that side)-advbl wake up-conj he  rise up-pres-

cem          'pheeri-m 'nyiih-no 'sying bah-cim    me   phut-
(as soon as) then-emp  we two-emp wood  bring-conj fire light-

cim 'Ti-ci //  26.  nga-ce syipatangpa-ta 'pang-ci nga-ce
conj sit-pt1        I-Agt  Syipatangpa-to say-pt1  I-Agt

kring-pa       'ee-ce thee-cyo //  27.  syipatangpa-ce 'pang-ci
cry out-pres you-Agt hear-qm            Syipatangpa-Agt say-pt1

nga-ce 'a-thee //  28.  'tinyi gohra   'chyoo-ri cen      'kha-cim
I-Agt  Neg-hear         today  cowshed side-at  leopard come-conj

cen       'gohng-Ti-pala //  29.  'meh-ce na   rap-cim   nga-ce
leopard sit-pres-pt2              cow-Agt nose blow-conj I-Agt
```

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Free Translation.

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

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

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

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FOOTNOTES.

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

[2]See _Sentence patterns in Tamang_, by Fay Everitt, in R.
Trail, 1972, Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse.

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

A Survey of Clause Patterns [1]

Austin Hale and David Watters

CONTENTS

One of our goals in the work which led to the writing of
this report was that of exploring the sememic structure of the
clause in a variety of languages spoken in Nepal. We had origi-
nally hoped to publish each clause description in full but limi-
tations of space have not allowed us to do this. We had also
hoped to develop a more detailed heuristic strategy for clause
analysis based upon our experience in a variety of languages but
limitations of time have not permitted this. This introductory
article consists of a brief heuristic sketch followed by a typo-
logical survey. For an introduction to the basic approach, see
the introduction to Part I of this volume.

I.   STRATEGY: A SEMEMIC APPROACH TO CLAUSE PATTERNS.

In field heuristic, the Tagmemically oriented linguist typi-
cally starts his analysis of clause structure with a preliminary
identification of grammatical functions such as subject, object,
indirect object, and predicate. This has proven useful in a wide
variety of languages and this paper is not intended as a rejec-
tion of the subject-object approach to clause analysis. With
Pike's development of the 9-box tagmeme, however, an alternative
first step in field heuristic has become available. One may now
begin his analysis of clause structure with the preliminary iden-
tification of sememic functions such as actor, undergoer, site
and predicate. Our experience with these approaches would indi-
cate that both the grammatical and the sememic functions are
marked to some degree in surface structure, but that languages
differ considerably from one another as to which of the two sys-
tems is more accessible in the early stages of clause analysis.
In certain Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal we have found that
the sememic functions were relatively more accessible for early
analysis than were the grammatical. The purpose of this section
is to share what we have found useful in approaching sememic
structure at an early stage of the analysis.

The development which this paper sketches grew out of the
conviction that the brunt of the burden of label making in Tag-
memic descriptions of clause structure should not ultimately
fall upon the field worker any more than it does in phonology.
In phonology one is no longer required to invent labels for pho-
netic articulations. Once one has identified a sound, one is
able to draw upon a ready inventory of labels which the etics of

phonology affords him. In phonology the invention of labels is
not the major task in the early stages of the analysis that it
generally still appears to be in a Tagmemic approach to grammati-
cal and sememic structures. What seems to be lacking is an etics
in which the possible range and types of elementary functions,
classes and systems involved in description of grammatical and
sememic structures at various levels are specified in advance for
all natural languages. The major question behind this study is
the question as to whether or not the construction of such a sys-
tem can now be fruitfully attempted in terms of the 9-box tagmeme.
Our answer thus far is a cautious yes. The results of this in-
vestigation constitute a tentative and embryonic contribution to
a universal etics of one aspect of clause structure.

     The construction of a universal etic of sememic and gramma-
tical structures is no small task. We therefore attempted to
find one part of the total task that could be developed far enough
to illustrate what such an etic might look like. For this pur-
pose we limited ourselves to the investigation of the sememic re-
lationships between nouns and verbs, or between arguments and
predicates within simple independent clauses. This relationship
was given the label, sememic predicate function, and we set to
work.

     The question to which we first addressed ourselves was,
'What is the optimal minimum set of sememic relationships be-
tween nouns and verbs required for an etic classification of
clause nuclei?' One obvious place to go for help in answering
such a question was to the studies of case and role relations
which have been so effectively exploited in the work of Fillmore,
Anderson, and others. Although these materials proved very help-
ful as a starting point, the logic of the 9-box tagmeme soon
forced us to posit basic relations somewhat different from those
commonly known as roles or cases. The nuclear relationships we
were interested in were viewed initially as those which strictly
subcategorize verbs. To start with, then, the limits of the
clause nucleus paralleled those of the proposition of case gram-
mar in at least one important respect. It was soon obvious, how-
ever, that many of the things which might be said to subcategor-
ize a verb were not relational, and that these non-relational sub-
categorizing features (such as animate and inanimate) would have
to be factored out of sememic predicate function if our etic was
to succeed. Consequently, our notion of strict subcategorization
began to diverge from that of case grammar. Furthermore, we soon
saw that not everything which is normally viewed as subcategori-
zing verbs in case grammar does so independently of other sub-

categorizing relations.   Evidence of dependency among subcate-
gorizing roles led us to group roles into role complexes.   This
had the effect of narrowing the range of sememic functions re-
cognized as nuclear to the clause to just three: actor, under-
goer, and site, in addition to that of sememic predicate.

Our initial question led simultaneously to another question:
'What etic classification of clause nuclei does the optimal set
of sememic relations produce?'   We started by constructing a
tree in which there was a terminal branch for each of the possi-
ble combinations (subsets) of our three-role complexes.   The
answer to this came in the form of a classificatory tree of
clause types similar to that represented in Figure 1.
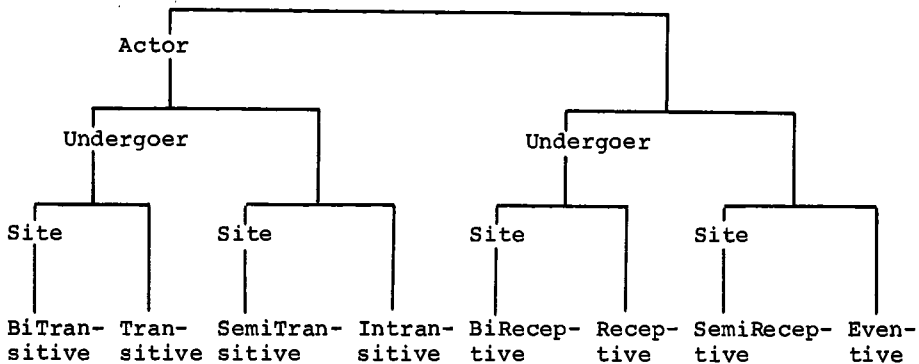
Figure 1.   Basic etic classification of clause nuclei.

The labels at the ends of the branches are proposed as a univer-
sal inventory of etic clause types each of which occupies a dis-
tinctive position on a scale of transitivity which extends
roughly from BiTransitive (highest degree of transitivity) to
Eventive (lowest degree of transitivity).   The tree in Figure 1
exhausts its conceptual universe by means of binary choices with
respect to features which are symmetrical to the system and in-
dependent of one another.   As a result, the tree in Figure 1 can
be represented as a dimensional array or matrix as in Figure 2.

```
        Undergoer +
        and Site   Undergoer   Site
        ┌───────────┬───────────┬───────────┬───────────┐
 Actor  │    BT     │    T      │    ST     │    I      │
        ├───────────┼───────────┼───────────┼───────────┤
        │    BR     │    R      │    SR     │    E      │
        └───────────┴───────────┴───────────┴───────────┘
```

Figure 2.   Transitivity system as a dimensional array.

Each of these types can be tentatively illustrated in English.

```
BT    He gave me a book.        BR    The shoe fit me.
      A  P    S  U                    U          P   S

T     He destroyed the book.    R     He died.
      A  P              U              U  P

ST    He went home.             SR    It was hot in the room.
      A  P    S                        P          S

I     He wept.                  E     It rained.
      A  P                              P
```

Each of these etic types may eventually be developed to in-
clude a large number of etic sub-types. In addition, certain
discourse motivated distinctions, such as the distinction be-
tween state and event, have proved useful in the description of
clause derivations, and these have given rise to additional etic
trees identical in form to that found in Figure 1.

This highly preliminary etics of clause types has served as
a starting point in clause analysis. It is a relatively easy
matter to find surface clauses corresponding to each of the
eight types given in Figures 1 and 2. The analytic problem is
to determine which of these types correspond to basic contras-
tive clause types in a given language. In approaching this
analytic problem we have made use of a number of working hypo-
theses which we will now consider.

A. Working Hypotheses

Contrast and variation. A contrastive clause type is viewed
as a paradigm of clauses linked by derivational rules. One mem-

ber of this paradigm is taken to be the basic member of the type. The other members of the paradigm are viewed as derived variants of the type.   A given paradigm will have numerous examples. Within a given example of a paradigm, all variants will share the same verb.   (Same is interpreted as including all members of suppletive verbs thus the verbal forms be, is, am, are, was, were could all occur in a single paradigm without violating the 'same verb' constraint.)   A contrastive clause type is thus exemplified as a set of variant clauses which are related to one another by rule and which share the same verb.   (At this point our notion of contrastive clause type may prove to be quite similar to Hiż's transformational battery.)

Contrast is defined primarily among the basic members of the respective types.   The primary contrasts among major clause types are those involving actors, undergoers and sites.   Secondary contrasts among major clause types involve other considerations, such as contrasts of derivational potential which may be seen by comparing the paradigms associated with the various major clause types.

Characteristics of the basic member of a clause type paradigm.   If contrast among clause types is primarily to be defined in terms of the role structure of the basic members of the major contrastive clause types, the selection of the basic member of a paradigm becomes a rather pivotal analytic decision. What considerations enter into the selection of the basic member of a paradigm?

First of all, the basic member of a given paradigm is assumed to be rather directly represented by occurrent forms which are grammatical independent clauses.   It is abstract to the extent that it may be defined as a point in a rule-defined paradigm. It is concrete to the extent that specific surface structure clauses will be referred to as direct representations of the basic form, or simply, as basic forms.

The basic form of a paradigm will have its full complement of nuclear roles, with a simple, unmarked verb.

1.   John ate.
2.   The porridge was all eaten.
3.   John ate all the porridge.
4.   John ate all the porridge from an old crock in the dining room.
5.   Bill had John eat all his porridge for him from an old crock.

Example 1 entails at least that John ate something, and Example 2
entails at least that someone did the eating. That neither 1 nor
2 has its full complement of roles may be seen from Example 3.
Example 3 has an actor, John, an undergoer, all the porridge, and
thus may be classified as Transitive (T). In Example (4) we have
two different kinds of locative specifications, one which may be
interpreted either as a reduced relative clause modifying old
crock or as a peripheral locative modifying the whole proposition,
and another which functions as a site of source. The site, from
an old crock relates specifically to the porridge as a moving ob-
ject, and not to the whole predication. It strictly subcategor-
izes the verb since there are many verbs which do not accept
sites of source. The verb eat in English differs from its trans-
lation equivalent in Newari since the verb nala 'ate' in Newari
rejects site. Example 4 is interpreted as having an actor,
John, an undergoer, porridge, and a site, from an old crock and
is thus BiTransitive (BT). No special verbal marking has been
introduced to support any of the three roles, thus, since (4) has
a fuller complement of nuclear roles than any of the preceding
examples it is considered more basic. In Example (2) the verb
was not simple. It was a marked passive (was ... eaten). This
marking allowed some role other than that of actor to be chosen
as subject. Verbal markings of this sort constitute additional
evidence that (2) is not the basic member of the paradigm. The
verb in Example (5) is also marked. The marking (had ... eat)
functions as a kind of causative benefactive construction which
supports some additional roles. It supports the role of Bill as
actor and the role of undergoer, on account of which John ap-
pears in double function. Example (5) clearly has a fuller com-
plement of nuclear roles than (4). The fact that the verb had
to be specially marked in order to allow (or support) the addi-
tional roles, however, rules (5) out as a candidate for the
status of basic member of the paradigm. The markings indicate
that these roles are not a part of the basic form, but are added
by derivation. What constitutes marking may differ from lang-
uage to language, but we have found that causatives, permissives,
and benefactives involve verbal markings in the languages of
Nepal, and that these markings support additional roles which are
not allowed to occur with the basic form alone.

The basic form of a paradigm will manifest a minimum of
skewing between focus and role. One of the characteristics of
nuclear constituents of simple clauses is that a number of dif-
ferent pairings between focus relations (subject, object, in-
direct object, locative referent) and role relations (actor, un-
dergoer, site) may occur within the paradigm for a single major

type.   In the languages studied thus far there appears to be a
ranking of role relations which may be used to determine the nor-
mal pairing of focus and role for a given clause type.   Clauses
which have actors generally pair actors with subjects, under-
goers with objects, and sites with indirect objects and bound lo-
cative referents.   In many languages, clause types which lack
actors will pair undergoers with subjects.   Languages appear to
differ as to whether sites pair with subjects.   This ranking is
observable even within a paradigm for a single type.

   6.   Bill read the book to John.

In Example (6) there is an actor, Bill, which is also subject.
There is an undergoer, the book, which is also object.   There is
a site, to John, which is also indirect object.   The verb is un-
marked, making this a candidate example of normal pairing.

   7.   The book was read to John by Bill.
   8.   John was read to from the book by Bill.

Examples (7) and (8) show different pairings.   In (7) the under-
goer is subject and in (8) the site is subject.   The passive
marking on the verbs involved exclude these as candidate exam-
ples of normal pairings of focus and role.   The pairings invol-
ved are derived pairings, and represent skewing of focus and
role with respect to the normal pairing.   For English we take
it as a working hypothesis that in the basic form of simple
clauses actors are normally subjects.   It is quite possible that
normal pairings for basic members may differ from language to
language.   Evidence for this would come from verbal markings and
other derivational characteristics of clauses as defined by the
total system for a given language.

   Certain verbs in English appear to fit more than one basic
patterns, in that they allow a variety of subject pairings with
an unmarked verb.

   9.   John broke the bottle.
   10.   The bottle broke.
   11.   John read the book.
   12.   The book read well.

In Example (9) we have actor paired with subject, and in Example
(10) we have the undergoer paired with subject.   In both cases
we have an unmarked verb.   Both may be considered basic forms,
(9) being Transitive and (10) being Receptive.   If this phenom-

enon were sufficiently general we could incorporate (10) into the
basic pattern of (9), but not on the basis of focus-role skew-
ing.   The basis in that case would simply be that (9) has a fuller
complement of nuclear roles than does (10).   In patterns which
have undergoers but no actors, the subject-undergoer pairing is
quite normal within the languages we have studied.

The basic form of a paradigm will conform to a general pat-
tern of regular markings.   As the analysis proceeds there will be
systematic reasons for preferring one form as the basic member of
a clause type paradigm over another form.   The attempt to illus-
trate this working hypothesis may be more helpful if we indicate
briefly some ways in which languages differ as to their basic
marking systems.

Languages may eventually be classified into two groups on
the basis of their surface structure marking systems: On the one
hand there are languages whose surface markers are primarily
grammatical.   Such languages might be referred to as 'subject-
object' languages.   On the other hand there are languages whose
surface markers are primarily sememic.   Such languages might be
referred to as 'actor-undergoer' languages.   From this point of
view English is likely to be a subject-object language and Newari
is more likely to be an actor-undergoer language.

Consider first the English marker system.   The surface mark-
ers of English include word order, case forms of personal pro-
nouns, and person and number agreement with the verb.   If we con-
sider only the basic members of the various clause types, the
subject appears in preverbal position, it governs the person and
number form of the finite verb and if it is a personal pronoun it
will be in what might be called the nominative form.   The object
appears in postverbal position and if it is a personal pronoun it
will be in what might be called the objective or accusative form.
Indirect objects or locative referents are generally marked by
prepositions in the basic form, though there are exceptions to
this in the receptive set of clause types.   The basic form of
subject and object marking is uniform throughout the set of
clause types, and is clearly what is most immediately marked by
the surface forms.   The sememic relations of actor, undergoer and
site are specifiable only indirectly in terms of these grammatical
markings.   This can be seen in terms of the following examples.

BT   13.   John gave a book to Bill.
T   14.   Bill used the book.
ST   15.   John went to market.

```
I     16.  He slept.
BR    17.  The shoe fit him.
R     18.  The milk turned sour.
SR    19.  It got hot in the room.
E     20.  It rained.
```

These examples are intended as examples of basic members of
their respective clause types. In each example the first posi-
tion is occupied by the subject. If there is an object it imme-
diately follows the verb. Wherever a personal pronoun may be
substituted for the subject it will be nominative in form (He
gave a book to Bill, etc.). Subjects govern their verbs in per-
son and number (He goes to market, but I go to market, etc.).
Within certain clause types there now appear to be subtypes which
differ from one another in their basic pairings of subject, ob-
ject, and referent with actor, undergoer, and site. In these
cases the pairing which is normal appears to be controlled by the
verb. Within the BiReceptive pattern, for example, we have at
least two kinds of subject pairings.

```
BR    21.  The man received the prize.
           He broke his collar bone.
      22.  The roof blew off the house.
           The book got into the wrong stack.
```

In (21) the subject is site. In (22) the subject is undergoer.

    Examples (19) and (20) suggest another observation. Eng-
lish requires that the subject of a sentence be nominative in
form. A SemiReceptive clause has only one nuclear sememic role,
that of site. An inanimate site in English is normally marked
with a preposition, in contrast to the nominative form which is
normal for subjects. Sites marked with prepositions cannot be
subjects, yet English requires that a sentence have a subject.
To satisfy this requirement, it is inserted in (19). Similarly
an Eventive clause has no nuclear roles associated with it. Yet
English requires of all independent clauses that they have a
subject in first position governing the verb. Thus the it in
(20) has a grammatical function but no sememic function. It can-
not be replaced by a noun or personal pronoun.

    The surface markers which appear in Examples (13) through
(20) are largely invariant throughout all sememic types. The
subject marking (first position, nominative form, concord with
the verb) is the same regardless of the sememic role that it

plays. In the transitive set (13) through (16), the subject is
the actor. In (17) and (18), the subject is the undergoer. In
(19) and (20) the subject plays no sememic role whatever. Simi-
larly, the object marking is invariant throughout the examples
regardless of sememic function. Object marking in basic form
involves postverbal position and accusative form for personal
pronouns. In (13) and (14), the object has the sememic function
of undergoer, but in (17) it has the function of site.

     English thus differs from languages such as Newari in that
in English the surface markings of the basic members of a clause
type paradigm correlate with subjects and objects, whereas in
Newari they tend to correlate more directly with actors, under-
goers and sites. Consider the following examples.

```
BT   23.  Waą jitaa saphuu bila
          S   IO    O      P
          Act Sit   Und    P
          He  to me book   gave
          He gave a book to me.


T    24.  Waą lāsā      dāla
          S   O         P
          Act Und       P
          He  mattress beat
          He beat the mattress.


ST   25.  Wa  cheę     cwana
          S   R        P
          Act Sit      P
          He  at home stayed
          He stayed at home.


I    26.  Wa  dana
          S   P
          Act P
          He  got up
          He got up.


BR   27.  Jitaa wa lākąą       jila
          IO       Obj         P
          Sit      Und         P
          to me those shoes    fit
          Those shoes came to fit me.
```

```
R    28.  Wa  khwāe̦ jula
          Obj P
          Und P
          He  deaf  became
          He became deaf.

SR   29.  Wayā tyānhula
          Obj  P
          Sit  P
          He    became tired
          He became tired.
```

Newari lacks an Eventive clause type.

In contrasting Newari with English it should first be noted
that Newari clauses do not appear to require the presence of a
subject. Examples (25) through (27) appear to be subjectless,
containing no noun phrase which controls or has concord with the
verb. Certain derivations which are quite natural in Newari but
are impossible in English also serve nicely to illustrate this
difference. In (30) the subject has been deleted from a BiTran-
sitive clause and has not been replaced.

```
     30.  Jitaa saphuu bila
          to me book    gave
          I was given a book/A book was given to me.
```

The English equivalents require that the deleted subject be re-
placed in some way and for this purpose the English passive is
a most convenient device. While Newari has no such passive mark-
ing, English has no clause such as (31).

```
     31.  *Gave me a book.
```

In Newari simple clauses the verb is governed by an actor.
If no actor is present, the verb is impersonal. If verbal con-
cord marks the subject in Newari, only actors are subjects. The
function of subject is either much less central in Newari gram-
mar than in English grammar or else its markings are far more
elusive. Sememic roles, however, are consistently marked in
Newari, though the marking of a given role depends upon the
clause type in which it occurs. Actors are agent-marked in pat-
terns which have undergoers; otherwise actors are unmarked. Ani-
mate undergoers in clause patterns which have actors have goal-
marked forms generally for pronouns except when the site is goal-

marked.   Inanimate undergoers are typically unmarked as are under-
goers in general in clause types which do not have actors.   There
are six basic sememic types of site which fall into four marked
groups as shown in Figure 3.


```
                    Source    Location    Goal
                 ┌─────────────────────────┬───────────────┐
     Animate     │        yāke             │  yātā / yā     │
                 ├──────────┬──────────────┴───────────────┤
     Inanimate   │ naa      │        -e / -i                │
                 └──────────┴───────────────────────────────┘
```


Figure 3.   Basic site markers in Newari.

B.   Heuristic Strategy

     This section represents a very tentative, rudimentary out-
line of one strategy of research which promises to be helpful in
the study of clause patterns from this point of view.

     Tentative chart of basic patterns.   Start work by gathering
simple basic clauses, attempting in every case to work from the
forms found in text or in the corpus to the basic member of the
clause type paradigm.   The derived forms from which one worked
back to the basic member should be preserved as well, since this
will be of use later in work on derivations.   The basic members
should be placed on a chart similar to that of Figure 1 or Fig-
ure 2.   In the work leading to this report, a fuller chart con-
sisting of sixteen cells was used, in which we distinguished be-
tween inherently stative and inherently eventive clause types.
Such a chart may be seen in Section I of C. Bandhu's paper,
Clause patterns in Nepali elsewhere in this part.   In practice,
each cell of the chart was a separate sheet or series of sheets.

     Sorting of candidate basic members according to the tenta-
tive chart of basic patterns was done on the basis of a semantic
feel for the notions, actor, undergoer, and site on the one hand
and according to the formal markers that accompany these sememic
functions, whether on nouns or on verbs, on the other.

     Role marker chart.   Taking the tentative chart of basic pat-
terns, one next attempts to determine the logic underlying the
role marker system.   In doing this, one attempts to answer two

sets of questions.

a)   Within each cell on the chart, how are the roles dis-
tinguished from each other according to their markers? What set
of markers marks actors? What set of markers marks undergoers?
What set of markers marks sites? Is there an overlap of markers
between any two roles? Does this overlap result in ambiguity, or
can it be resolved in terms of other, cooccurrent markers? If
the latter, what rules can be used in approaching each cell on the
chart to determine the roles given the markers? Given the roles,
what rules do I need to determine the correct markers?

b)   Between each pair of cells on the chart, to what extent
can one predict the appropriate cell, given the markers? In
which pairs of cells does one find clauses with identical role
markings? What evidence is there for contrast between the cells
in these cases?

Focus marker chart.   The examples entered in the role marker
chart are now transferred to a chart in which the rows and col-
umns are labeled with grammatical function labels rather than
with sememic function labels. (Again, in actual practice, each
cell would probably be a separate sheet.) The following would be
a possible focus marker chart.

```
              Object
              Site        Object      Site
            +-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+
  Subject   |           |           |           |           |
            |           |           |           |           |
            |           |           |           |           |
            +-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+
```

Figure 4.   Focus marker chart.

Repeat the two sets of questions suggested for role markers, but
ask them with reference to focus markers.

Search for candidate derivations.   The evidence for contrast
among basic clause patterns has by now gone through three passes.
The first one was a strictly impressionistic pass based upon a
feel for the notions, actor, undergoer, and site. The second
pass resulted in the re-assignment of clauses to types where
necessary to make sense of the role marker system. The third

pass reclassified all the clauses in terms of their grammatical function markings. The evidence for contrast will not be complete, however, until derivational evidence has been adequately accounted for. The derived forms associated with the basic members within any given cell can be used to construct a derivational paradigm for the clause type. The range of derivations given in the various clause papers in this volume may be taken as suggestive of what might be looked for in the derivational system of a language. Certain derivations may apply to certain inherent types and not to others, or they may apply in one way to one set of types and in another way to another set. This kind of difference among sets of clause types counts as evidence for the contrastive status of the respective clause types.

Study each derivation which provides a relatively general way of moving clauses from one cell of the transitivity system to another by examining all the different instances in which it applies. Formulate a rule to cover it which includes a statement of the range of structures to which it may apply, the structural changes that it effects, and the transitivity type to which the resultant derived clause belongs as a derived type. Once the rules have been formulated, a derivational matrix such as that given in Figure 19 of C. Bandhu, Clause patterns in Nepali can be constructed. Such a matrix needs to be checked out for all types and for any number of possible cyclical applications of the derivational rules. Constraints upon the application of rules may be built into the rules themselves where this is not dependent upon information about the derivational history. Constraints which are conditioned upon the derivational history of a clause are best represented in terms of a chart similar to that given in Figure 20 of C. Bandhu, Clause patterns in Nepali.

Finalize the choice of basic contrastive types and tabulate contrasts. For a tabulation of contrasts which are commonly encountered in the languages of this report see Section II.E. below. For a tabulation for a single language see Watters, Clause patterns in Kham in Part I of this report.

II.   TYPOLOGY: A BRIEF SURVEY OF CLAUSE PATTERNS.

This discussion of clause typology is restricted mainly to three areas of clause structure: the marking of sememic function (role markers), the marking of grammatical function (focus markers), and derivational markings. It ends with a listing of

recurrent contrasts among clause types found in languages of the area.

A. Actor-Undergoer Languages and Subject-Object Languages.

It is a standard tagmemic assumption that all languages are to be described both in terms of grammatical functions such as subject and object and in terms of sememic functions such as actor and undergoer.[2] It does not seem to be the case, however, that all languages make equal use of grammatical function and sememic function in the organization of their surface forms. Indeed, languages appear to differ greatly from one another as to whether their surface structures are more easily approached in terms of sememic function or grammatical function, or both. At one extreme we may distinguish a set of languages which we will refer to as subject-object languages from languages at another extreme which we will refer to as actor-undergoer languages.[3] For some languages the notion of subject will be an important one for the description of surface structures and for other languages it will not be so important. We will be suggesting that these two sets of languages make use of different sets of primary relations in the organization of their surface structures. In mapping deep structure onto surface structure in English one will wish to make use of the notion of subject at least in surface structure. In Newari, however, the notion of subject is not very useful and may well be replaced by the notion of actor. Since much of what we will have to say in this section revolves around the differences between subject-object languages and actor-undergoer languages, it may be appropriate to contrast the notion of subject in English (a subject-object language) with the notion of subject in Newari (an actor-undergoer language).

English. One might ask the question, 'How can one identify the surface subject of a sentence in English without formal reference to deep structure?' In answering such a question one might propose a number of tests for subject-hood. Indeed, for a subject-object language a large number of different tests can usually be devised, whereas this may not be possible for an actor-undergoer language.

In a simple basic clause of English the subject precedes the verb, is nominative in form and participates in an agreement pattern of person and number with the verb. Thus we have sentences such as

        32.   He is buying her a wig.
        33.   You are buying her a wig.
        34.   I am buying her a wig.

in which the subjects, he, you, and I, are nominative, precede
the verb, and agree with their respective verbs in person and
number. If these three surface characteristics (case form, word
order, and agreement) are taken as tests of subject-hood in
English, it should be noted that the tests apply correctly only
as a given sentence is related to a paradigm of forms. To show
agreement, one must change the subject for person or number or
both (and possibly the tense of the verb as well) in order to
determine whether a change in a noun governs a concomitant
change in the verb. In order to show number agreement, the
paradigm above must be augmented at least with the following.

        35.   They are buying her a wig.

To test for case form, one must be able to relate a given form,
I, to a paradigm which includes a contrasting form, me. The test
which looks at the preverbal position of the subject would not at
first glance appear to require reference to a paradigm, but the
fact is that subjects do not always occur in preverbal position.
Subjects in English occur before the verb only at certain points
within the paradigm. In (36) the subject occurs between two

        36.   Has he bought her a wig?

elements of the verb phrase. The position test is helpful in
identifying the surface subject of (36) only if it is phrased so
as to take advantage of the relationship between the position of
a subject within a sentence and the position of a sentence with-
in its paradigm. A subject in English can be identified by ob-
serving what happens to it as one moves from point to point with-
in a paradigm. By observing what happens, a large number of cor-
relations involving surface subjects in English can be noted and
such correlations can be rephrased as tests for subject-hood in
English. That this is true is evidence that subject is a rela-
tionship which is highly relevant for the surface organization
of English sentences.

        Halliday has suggested (1967:213) that one of the primary
functions of the subject in English is that of signalling mood.
In imperative sentences the subject may be deleted.

        37.   Buy her a wig!

In yes-no questions and in content questions in which the question word is not the subject there is an inversion of the tense element relative to the position of the subject.

> 38. Did he buy her a wig?
> 39. What did he buy her?

The deletion of subject in (37) helps to signal imperative mood. The inversions in (38) and (39) help to signal interrogative mood. Where the subject is a question word it receives special treatment. Inversion either does not occur or is undone in some way.

> 40. Who bought her a wig?

In nominalizations such as (41) and (42) the subject also receives special treatment.

> 41. For him to buy her a wig...
> 42. His buying her a wig...

The subject of the corresponding simple sentence,

> 43. He bought her a wig.

becomes a _for_-phrase in (41) and a possessive in (42). As one continues to observe what happens to a subject as one moves through such a paradigm in English one becomes aware of the fact that there is a very large set of characteristics associated with the notion of surface subject in English. To describe the notion 'subject in English' one can make use of a large portion of the grammar of English.[4] Viewed in the perspective of the total paradigm, subjects in English are undoubtedly unique (i.e. they differ from objects, indirect objects, predicates and all other grammatical functions) with respect to word order possibilities, agreement constraints, and the like.[5]

Newari. The notion of subject in Newari is a very elusive one. It is not only difficult to identify surface subjects in a variety of clause types, but it is doubtful if subject is required at all in an adequate account of the organization of the surface structure of Newari sentences. In Newari the verb agrees to a limited extent with its actor. Typically, in independent declarative sentences the conjunct form of the verb indicates that the actor and the speaker are the same. In independent interrogative sentences the conjunct form indicates that the actor

and the hearer are the same. Otherwise the disjunct form is
used.

    44. Ji wa-yā.   I came.   (-yā is conjunct)
    45. Cha wa-la.   You came. (-la is disjunct)
    46. Wa wa-la.   He came.
    47. Cha wa-yā lā?   Did you come?

Where there is no actor there is no agreement and only the dis-
junct form of the finite verb occurs.

    48. Ji taa cā-la.   I became angry. (-la is disjunct)
    49. Ji nhāpā lā-ta·   I happened to be (there) first.
                            (-ta is disjunct)
    50. Ji bepārae dyā-ta· I suffered loss in business.

If the subject is to be thought of as that noun phrase which in
some way controls the inflectional form of the verb, then only
sentences with actors will have subjects and the definition of
subject will be that of actor as well.

    The subject in English, as has been pointed out above, has
an important function with respect to the mood system. It is
involved in the inversion of the tense element in questions and
in the special deletions allowed in imperatives. Again, mood in-
volvement appears to be limited to the actor in Newari. The
rules for the assignment of conjunct and disjunct forms depends
upon mood, as has been illustrated above. Otherwise, both alter-
native questions and content questions are adequately marked by
question words without any subject related inversions or special
deletion possibilities.

    51. Su wa-la?   Who came? (su is the content ques-
                            tion word, 'who')
    52. Wa wa-la lā?   Did he come?   (lā is the alterna-
                            tive question word)

With regard to the imperative, the actor is limited to second
person and is optionally deletable as in English, but in Newari
the deletion of actors is possible in general regardless of mood.

    53. Wa thana wa-la.   He came here.
    54. Thana wa-la.   (Someone) came here.
    55. Cha thana wā!   You come here!
    56. Thana wā!   Come here!

Mood in Newari appears to be of little help in distinguishing subjects from actors. If we say that subjects and actors are defined in the same way for Newari then there will be subjectless verbs (hence subjectless sentences) since not all verbs take actors. If we accept this, then Newari is not a subject-object language in the sense that English is, since for English one can argue quite convincingly that all sentences (in the normal sense of sentence) have subjects.

The identification of the actor as subject in Newari has in its favor two things: 1) the actor alone governs the inflection of the finite verb and 2) the actor is marginally involved in the Newari mood system. A third point in its favor should also be mentioned: the actor is the unmarked theme of a clause. When present, the actor stands first among the nuclear constituents of the clause. However, if the notion subject in Newari really does amount simply to that of actor and nothing more, the notion of subject probably isn't needed at all. The functions which a subject performs in English are simply performed by a variety of things in Newari, and most of these things would not be things we would call a subject in any language.

In attempting to provide some kind of independent status for the notion of subject in Newari, one might choose to pursue some other characterization of subject. Two possibilities suggest themselves: 1) subject is the unmarked theme, or 2) subject is the nominative noun phrase (i.e. the one lacking a morphological case affix or postposition) associated with the verb. Each of these two approaches is incompatible with the view that subject is actor and nothing more. Each is also incompatible with the other. Under either of the two latter views, a relatively large proportion of verbs in Newari can be viewed as having subjects. Either of these definitions can be made to work within a framework which requires that there be a subject, and that for most clauses there be an answer to the question 'What is the subject of this clause?' What we lack at present is any kind of independent motivation for adopting either of these two views. It is not yet clear that there is any particular reason why the notion subject as defined along either of these two lines is needed in a description of Newari. Referring to subject defined in either of these two ways might never simplify a rule or allow us to capture a generalization which would otherwise be lost. Further research may provide motivation for the notion of subject in Newari. So far we seem to be able to do quite well without it. For reasons such as these we view English as a subject-object language and Newari as an actor-undergoer language.

B.   Sememic Function Markers.

Just as languages differ in the extent to which their sur-
face structures are organized in terms of grammatical functions
such as subject and object, so languages also differ in the ex-
tent to which their surface structures are organized in terms of
sememic functions such as actor and undergoer. In languages
such as Newari and Kham the surface markings of sememic functions
are easily accessible to beginning analysis. This is implied in
our classification of Kham and Newari as actor-undergoer lan-
guages. In languages such as Kham and English, the surface mark-
ings of grammatical functions are easily accessible to beginning
analysis, which is implied in our classification of Kham and Eng-
lish as subject-object languages. Thus Kham differs both from
English and from Newari in that in Kham both sets of markers are
easily accessible to beginning analysis.

Since all the languages of this report have at least some
surface markings of actors, undergoers and sites, we have under-
taken to make a preliminary study of role markers. We have
found that the way in which a given role is marked often differs
from cell to cell of the transitivity matrix. For example, the
actor of an Intransitive clause will in general be marked differ-
ently from the actor of a Transitive clause, and the undergoer of
a Transitive clause will in general be marked differently from
the undergoer of a Receptive clause.[6] As it often turns out, the
actor marker not only marks a given noun phrase as the actor, but
it also signals the presence of an undergoer elsewhere in the
pattern.

One of the most surprising results of the preliminary study
was the close similarity of distribution and function of the role
markers across the languages investigated, in spite of the fact
that the phonological shapes of the markers involved were quite
diverse. The syntactic similarities led to an impression of re-
latedness that the phonological forms themselves would not have
suggested.

1.   Actor Markers.

Three basic patterns for the actor marker have emerged. In
one pattern, Transitive and BiTransitive actors are marked by an
agentive suffix, whereas the Intransitive and SemiTransitive ac-
tors are unmarked. The agentive suffix marks the underlying
pattern, not just the surface variant. Actors are agent marked
in the BiTransitive and Transitive patterns even when the under-

goer is omitted. This pattern applies to all persons and all tenses.

BT Agt	T Agt	ST Umk	I Umk
BR ---	R ---	SR ---	E ---

Figure 5.   Actor markers, pattern 1. Applies to all person, all tenses. The pattern includes two languages: Chepang (which has the agent marker -?i) and Newari (which has the agent marker -naa in alternation with a lengthened, nasalized version of the stem final vowel, -aa, -ii, -ãã, etc.).

Pattern 1 can be illustrated for Chepang as follows.[7]

BT   ?ow?may?-?i paanday-kaay hlaa-naa-n-i waa?
     they-Agt   shaman-Gol   handed   bird
     They handed the shaman a bird.

T   paanday-?i waa? saat-na-w
     shaman-Agt bird killed
     The shaman killed the bird.

ST   ngaa glanh-taang lanh-naa-ng
     I   tree-Loc   climbed
     I climbed the tree.

I   ?aamaa-?aapaa ryaa?-naa-ca
     parents   cried
     The parents cried.

Examples (23) through (26) in Section I of this paper illustrate this pattern for Newari.

   A second pattern which is quite similar to the first in its distribution of agent markers across clause types differs from the first in that the agentive suffix occurs only in certain tenses, or only in certain persons, or only in certain combina-

tions of person and tense.

BT Agt Umk	T Agt Umk	ST Umk	I Umk
BR ---	R ---	SR ---	E ---

Figure 6. Actor markers, pattern 2. The actor markings in
BT and T types occur only with certain tenses,
certain persons, or with certain combinations of
tense and person.

Pattern 2 has three subtypes which are distinguished from one
another according to the factors that determine the choice of
actor markers in the BT and T patterns. Type A is tense sensi-
tive and includes Magar and Nepali. In Nepali (which has the
agent marker, -le,) the actor is optionally marked in the non-
past tenses. Thus, while we get[8]

BT   mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
     I-Agt Hari-Gol book gave
     I gave Hari a book.

we also get

BS   mx hxri-lai kitap diu'-la
     I Hari-Gol book will give
     I will give Hari a book.

In Magar (which has the agent marker, -i,) the actor is unmarked
in future tense. With the past tense verb form the agent marker
is often optional, but when omitted, a different aspect is in-
volved.[9]

T   ase-i cyu-ke sat-a
     he-Agt dog-Gol killed
     He killed a dog.

S   ase cyu-ke sat-a
     he dog-Gol killed
     He killed dogs (near past, repeated action).

Type B is person sensitive and is represented by Kham and Sunwar.   In Kham (which has the agent marker, -e,) only third person actors are agent marked. First and second person actors are unmarked.10

T   no-e   no-lay poh-ke-o
      he-Agt he-Gol hit
      He hit him.

T   nga: no-lay nga-poh-ke
      I   he-Gol hit
      I hit him.

In Sunwar (which has the agent marker, -m), first and second person singular actors are unmarked. Singular actors of the third person and dual and plural actors of all persons are agent-marked.11

T   go mere-kali 'tup-ta
      I there-Gol beat
      I hit him (the one who was there).

T   go-puki-m mere-kali 'tup-taka
      I-pl-Agt   there-Gol beat
      We beat him (the one who was there).

Type C is sensitive both to tense and to person. In Jirel and Sherpa, actors associated with verbs which are future in tense and conjunct in person are unmarked. Actors in these two languages are otherwise generally agent marked. (Conjunct person is generally associated with first person in independent declarative clauses but with second person in independent interrogative clauses.) The following clauses illustrate this pattern for Sherpa.12

T   nye   do   tekin
      I (Agt) stone lifted (past conjunct)
      I lifted a stone.

T   'ti-ki do   teksung
      he-Agt stone lifted (past disjunct)
      He lifted a stone.

T   khyor-e do   teksung
      you-Agt stone lifted (past disjunct)
      You lifted a stone.

S   nga do   dekin
     I   stone will lift (future conjunct)
     I will lift a stone.

S   khyor-e do   dekiwi
     you-Agt stone will lift (future disjunct)
     You will lift a stone.

S   'ti-ki do   dekiwi
     he-Agt stone will lift (future disjunct)
     He will lift a stone.

For inherent stative verbs in Sherpa the system manifests a
peculiar inflectional flip. The actor keeps its agent marking
but the verb is disjunct in form.

S   nye   'khyore min   jekiwi
     I(Agt) your name   forget (future disjunct)
     I'll forget your name.

The pattern in Jirel is similar as is illustrated by the fol-
lowing.[13]

T   nye   'the-la 'du-bap
     I (Agt) he-Gol hit
     I hit him.

S   'nga 'the-la 'dung-go
     I   he-Gol hit
     I will hit him.

S   khu-iq 'the-la 'dung-go
     you-Agt he-Gol hit
     You will hit him.

S   'the-ki 'the-la 'dung-go
     he-Agt he-Gol hit
     He will hit him.

     A third pattern exists which differs from the first two in
having agent marked actors for I and ST patterns as well as for
T and BT patterns under certain circumstances.

```
+----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
| BT             | T              | ST             | I              |
|       Agt      |       Agt      |       Agt      |       Agt      |
|       Umk      |       Umk      |       Umk      |       Umk      |
+----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
| BR             | R              | SR             | E              |
|       ---      |       ---      |       ---      |       ---      |
+----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
```

Figure 7.   Actor markers, pattern 3.   The permitted actor
            markings for a given clause type is determined
            by the tense of the verb.

Pattern 3 applies to Tamang, which has the agent marker,
-ce.   In non-event tenses an actor may either be agent marked or
unmarked, the decision as to whether or not to mark the actor
being, apparently, a choice determined by discourse considera-
tions.   In the event tenses, actors in the patterns, BT, T, and
ST, are obligatorily agent-marked and actors in the I pattern are
optionally agent-marked.[14]

ST   the(-ce) namsa-ri   nyi-ci
     he(Agt) village-Gol went
     He went to the village.

BT   the-ce hucu kola bacaar-Ti pit-ci
     he-Agt this child market-Gol sent
     He sent the child to market.

   2.   Undergoer and Goal-Site Markers.

For the languages of this report it is generally the case
that undergoer markers also function as goal-site markers, though
a given clause will generally have only one such marker.[15]   Thus,
in BiTransitive clauses the site may be goal-marked and the un-
dergoer unmarked, or the site may be locative marked and the un-
dergoer goal-marked but site and undergoer in general cannot both
be goal marked.

Three basic patterns of goal marking have emerged.   In one
pattern, represented by Chepang, either the site or the under-
goer of any BiTransitive clause may be goal-marked.   Thus, with
the verb 'give' we may have either

BT   ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co?-kaay? baahman-ka?taang bay??aakaan
      he-Agt child-Gol   Brahman-Loc   gave
      He gave his child to the Brahman.

or we may have

BT   ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co? baahman-kaay? bay??aakaan
      he-Agt child   Brahman-Gol   gave
      He gave his child to the Brahman.

Similarly, with the verb 'send' we may have either

BT   ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co? baahman-kaay? hlok?aakaan
      he-Agt child   Brahman-Gol   sent
      He sent his child to the Brahman.

or we may have

BT   ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co?-kaay? baahman-ka?taang hlok?aakaan
      he-Agt child-Gol   Brahman-Loc   sent
      He sent his child to the Brahman.

In Chepang the position of the goal marker is not uniquely deter-
mined by the verb. One may choose to assign the goal marker to
the undergoer or to the site. This choice is a meaningful one in
terms of discourse related considerations.

       The second major pattern is represented by Kham, Jirel, and
Newari in which two classes of BiTransitive verbs may be distin-
guished. One class consists of verbs like 'give' for which the
site must be goal-marked. The other consists of verbs like
'send' for which the undergoer is optionally goal-marked and the
site is locative. In these languages the choice of verb deter-
mines the position of the goal marker. Thus in Kham we have
clauses such as

BT   no-e   nga-lay o-za: pxrin,-na-ke-o
      he-Agt I-Gol   his-son send-1sU-pst-3sA

in which the choice of the verb 'send' dictates that the goal
marker, if present, occur on the undergoer. This restriction
rules out the possibility of interpreting this clause to mean 'He
sent his son to me' and allows only the interpretation 'He sent
me as his son.'

A third pattern, represented by Sunwar, may be viewed as something of an intermediate type between Chepang and Kham. With one class of verbs in Sunwar there is a systematic ambiguity between change of location and transfer of property. This ambiguity is resolved by the use of goal markers and locative markers. The verb 'send' in the sense of change of location has a locative-marked site and a goal-marked undergoer.

BT   meko-m al-kali   brahman-atsewam soyktaawa
     he-Agt child-Gol Brahman-Loc   sent
     He sent the child to the Brahman.

In the sense of 'transfer of property' the verb 'send' has an unmarked undergoer and a goal-marked site.

BT   meko-m al   brahman-kali soyktaawa
     he-Agt Child Brahman-Gol   sent
     He sent the child to the Brahman (to be married off).

Thus far we have been concerned with the placement of the goal marker within a given clause. We have attempted to indicate the major conditions which determine whether the goal marker occurs on the undergoer or on the site. We concern ourselves now with a further complication of goal marking in the undergoer. When a goal marker is assigned to the site, the goal marker always occurs. When conditions are such as to allow the goal marker to occur on the undergoer, however, the goal marker does not always occur. In the languages of this report the site is hardly ever unmarked. If it is not goal-marked it will be locative-marked. The undergoer, however, may be either goal marked or unmarked. Our problem is to determine the conditions under which the undergoer will be goal marked and how they differ from conditions which call for an unmarked undergoer.

In certain languages a goal marker identifies a given undergoer as a member of the primary cast of participants. In other languages it appears to indicate unexpectedness in the relationship between the predicate and its undergoer. Where goal marking is used to identify the primary cast of participants, it is not at all unusual that the primary cast changes in the course of a narrative. One primary participant may lose goal marking in favor of another participant. Goal marking may be viewed as a kind of focus on participants.

In all of the languages studied, pronominal undergoers and undergoers which are proper nouns are nearly always goal marked

(though there are some idioms in Newari which form exceptions
to this statement). This tendency may be related to the ten-
dency to limit the use of pronouns and proper nouns to primary
participants.

In languages such as Chepang in which there is a certain
freedom in the placement of the goal marker, the placement of
the goal marker may be a device for focussing upon a primary
participant. In languages such as Jirel, Kham, and Sunwar in
which the choice of a verb may determine the placement of the
goal marker, there are often alternative verbs which allow al-
ternative placement of the goal marker, and thus focus upon a
primary participant can be achieved by the choice of a verb
which allows focus upon the desired role.

3. Locative Site Markers.

There is a curious, possibly coincidental relationship be-
tween the classification of a given language as a subject-object
language or an actor-undergoer language on the one hand, and the
relationships expressed in the suffixes which serve as locative
site markers in that language on the other. This relationship
is most clearly seen by contrasting Kham (a subject-object lan-
guage) with Jirel (an actor-undergoer language). Affixual lo-
cative site markers in Kham specify a location relative to the
affixed noun, much in the manner of English prepositions. The
following is a sample.

```
nga jyahn.-da  nga-bake        I went to the forest.
I   forest-to  I-went

nga jyahn.-lx  nga-bake        I went into the forest.
nga jyahn.-ngx nga-bake        I went around in the forest.
nga jyahn.-kin nga-bake        I went away from the forest.
```

In Jirel, on the other hand, the affixual locative site markers
specify a location relative to the speaker. At least five dif-
rerent specifications are possible. We illustrate three.

```
'the 'goTe-ma   gal-sung       He went to the shed down below.
he   shed-below went

'the 'goTe-ne gal-sung         He went to the shed up above.
'the 'goTe-pa gal-sung         He went to the shed across
                               (from the speaker).
```

That the actor went to the shed in these examples from Jirel is
understood as part of the meaning of the verb.

Magar, Sherpa, and Tamang (actor-undergoer languages) all
tend toward the Jirel type of suffix marking in which the con-
cepts of motion to and from as opposed to location in a place
are understood as part of the meaning of the verb. This situa-
tion, involving a rather tight sememic bond between verb and site
is quite a natural characteristic of actor-undergoer languages.
Nepali and Sunwar (subject-object languages) tend toward the Kham
type of marking. The bond between verb and locative site tends
to be much looser in subject-object languages. A greater range
of different sites can be specified for any given verb, since the
site relation is not itself a part of the meaning of the verb.

Chepang appears to be a borderline case. At one stage in
its history, Chepang may have been quite similar to present-day
Sunwar in terms of subject marking. In its present stage of
development, however, it is not always possible to determine the
subject of a Chepang clause. The language, then, is not clearly
a subject-object language. It is interesting to note in this
connection that the locative markers in Chepang also fail to pat-
tern clearly with either group, but straddle the borderline be-
tween the two groups. Usually -taang in Chepang marks motion to
and -haang marks location at. In this respect Chepang patterns
like a subject-object language. There are some cases, however,
in which -taang refers to general location, and the two markers
are somewhat interchangeable. In this respect Chepang tends to
pattern like an actor-undergoer language.

4. Experiencers.

Another interesting difference among languages which appears
to correlate (perhaps coincidentally) with the subject-object
language actor-undergoer language distinction involves the sur-
face classification of underlying experiencers. Propositions
such as 'I am hungry', 'I itch', 'I am cold,' and the like are
expressed quite differently in actor-undergoer languages from the
way they are expressed in subject-object languages. Actor-under-
goer languages tend to make use of SemiAttributive or SemiRecep-
tive clause types in which the experiencer is marked as a site
(as a goal-site in Jirel, Magar, Sherpa, and as a goal site or
genitive site in Newari).

Thus in Sherpa we have

```
'tiki dzu-laa  phenokq
his   body-Gol itched
His body itched.
```

```
nga-laa lhwoq  laasung
I-Gol   hunger felt
I felt hungry.
```

```
nga-laa Tengge phoksung
I-Gol   cold   felt
I felt cold.
```

in Jirel we have

```
nga-la' twabaq lasung
I-Gol   hunger felt
I felt hungry.
```

in Magar we have

```
Mxylha-ke  jung-ha
Mailha-Gol cold
Mailha felt cold.
```

in Newari we have either

```
wa-yāta tyānhula
he-Gol  became tired
He became tired.
```

or we may have

```
wa-yā  tyānhula
he-Gen became tired
As for him, he became tired.
```

Subject-object languages, on the other hand mark the experiencer
as an undergoer in an Attributive or Receptive clause type. Thus
in Kham we have

```
nga: ngazyuhn.zya
I    cold
I am cold.
```

Interestingly, Nepali, which is basically a subject-object lan-
guage, has both patterns at this point.

    mxlai bhok   lag-io
    I-Gol hunger struck
    I became hungry.

    tio bhoka-io
    he became hungry
    He became hungry.

This is consistent with the fact that Nepali has personal and im-
personal forms for many of its constructions. The verb is never
marked for subject agreement in impersonal constructions. In
Nepali 'to me hunger struck' may be viewed as an impersonal form
of 'I became hungry,' for only the latter form has subject a-
greement patterns in the verb. In personal forms, Nepali pat-
terns as a subject-object language, and in impersonal forms it
patterns as an actor-undergoer language.

    Tamang, which we have viewed as an actor-undergoer language,
appears to have the subject-object pattern at this point.

    the 'khang-pa
    he is cold
    He is cold.

    Experiencer marking patterns are seen not only in SemiAttri-
butive and Attributive clause types. In Newari, for example,
given the clause

    Waa   ji-taa khicā kena
    He(Agt) I-Gol   dog   showed
    He showed the dog to me.

one may substitute a genitive site marker for the agent marker on
the actor. The result is the following

    Wa-yā   ji-taa khicā kena
    He-Gen   I-Gol   dog   showed
    He had the pleasure of showing the dog to me.

In Kham, a subject-object language, an experiencer is marked as
a subject in the stative set as well as in the attributive set,
as may be seen from clauses such as the following.

```
nga:    bukhi-da    ba ba  nga-ngxmsi-zya
I(Subj) (-complement ---)   I-enjoy-state tense
I enjoy going to the high pasture.
```

In Nepali the concept 'to enjoy' can be expressed either in a personal construction with the experiencer as subject

```
mx'     tia'   janx  mxn          pxrau'-chu
I(subj) there  going enjoyment falls (first person form)
I enjoy going there.
```

or in an impersonal construction with the experiencer as site.

```
mx'-lai tia'  janx  mxn          pxr-chx
I-Gol   there going enjoyment falls (impersonal form)
I enjoy going there.
```

It appears, then, that in actor-undergoer languages the primary consideration in the surface classification of underlying experiencers is that they pattern sememically as goals, whereas in subject-object languages the primary consideration is that they pattern grammatically as subjects.

   C. <u>Role</u> <u>Marking</u> <u>on</u> <u>Verbs</u>.

   All of the languages included in this report except Magar and Tamang have markers on the verb which identify actors and/or undergoers. In Jirel, Newari, and Sherpa, the only role marked in the verb is that of actor. Since only actors are involved, role marking in verbs occurs only in the transitive set of clause types (BT, T, ST, and I).

   <u>Conjunct-Disjunct</u> <u>Patterns</u>. The agreement pattern which exists between actors and their verbs in Newari, Jirel, and Sherpa is a rather simple one. In Newari there are six different forms of the finite verb: a conjunct and a disjunct form for each of three tense-aspects: past conjunct (PC), past disjunct (PD), stative conjunct (SC), stative disjunct (SD), future conjunct (FC), and future disjunct (FD). In Jirel and Sherpa there are four different forms: PC, PD, FC, and FD.

   In all three languages the normal agreement pattern in the declarative calls for conjunct forms with first person actors and disjunct forms with actors of all other persons. In the inter-

rogative, the normal pattern calls for the conjunct forms with
second person actors and disjunct forms with all other persons.

Person of the Actor:	Declarative	Interrogative
First	Conjunct	Disjunct
Second	Disjunct	Conjunct
Third	Disjunct	Disjunct

Figure 8.   Normal actor agreement patterns in Jirel, Newari,
and Sherpa.

The pattern in Figure 8 holds whether the actor is actually ex-
pressed within the clause or is deleted and understood.   In pat-
terns in which there is no actor at all either expressed or de-
leted, as in the patterns BR, R, SR, and E, the finite verb
occurs only in the disjunct form regardless of the person which
occurs in any of the roles of the clause.   Such patterns we will
refer to as impersonal, in contrast to the personal patterns in
which there is an actor.   In the following examples we illus-
trate the normal role markers of the verb as listed in Figure 8.

Newari:

Jị̄ị̄ saphuu khanā	I saw the book. (-ā is Past Conjunct)
Chạ̄ạ̄ saphuu khana	You saw the book. (-a is Past Disjunct)
Wạ̄ạ̄ saphuu khana	He saw the book.
Jị̄ị̄ saphuu khana lā?	Did I see the book?[16]
Chạ̄ạ̄ saphuu khanā lā?	Did you see the book?
Wạ̄ạ̄ saphuu khana lā?	Did he see the book?

Jirel:

'theki 'cyha 'sessungq (PD)	He killed a chicken.[17]
khuiq 'cyha 'settukq (PD)	You killed a chicken.
nye 'cyha 'setapq (PC)	I killed a chicken.
'theki 'cyha 'sessungq? (PD)	Did he kill a chicken?
khuiq 'cyha 'setapq? (PC)	Did you kill a chicken?

(First person interrogatives can be expressed only with

a tag question construction.)

<u>Sherpa</u>:

'tiki samaa so<u>sung</u> (PD)	He ate food.
khyore samaa so<u>sung</u> (PD)	You ate food.
nye samaa so<u>yin</u> (PC)	I ate food.
'tiki samaa so<u>sung</u>? (PD)	Did he eat food?
khyore samaa so<u>wu</u>? (PC)	Did you eat food?
nye samaa so<u>sung</u>? (PD)	Did I eat food?

<u>Pronominalized Patterns</u>. Chepang, Kham, and Sunwar have all been classified as pronominalized languages since their actors and their goal-marked roles (whether undergoer or site) are marked in the verb by means of affixes, some of which bear phonological resemblance to the free pronouns occurring respectively as actors, undergoers, and sites. These languages tend to be subject-object languages since the relations of subject and object are readily available to the surface structure, though Chepang is a borderline case in this respect. These languages are generally also actor-undergoer languages as well.

It seems advantageous to interpret the pronominal markers on the verb in Chepang, Kham, and Sunwar primarily as actor-undergoer markers and only secondarily as subject-object markers. If the subject-object relations were primary, we would expect the verbal markers to have constant reference to a given grammatical function. The active subject marker should, in such a case, be replaced in the passive by a marker which agrees with the new subject. Where actor-undergoer marking is primary, we would expect the verbal markers to have a constant reference to a given sememic function. What refers to the actor in the active should also refer to the actor in the passive and consequently no change of markers would be required. In Kham we find the latter pattern.

nga: nora-lay nga-ra-poh-ke
I   they-Gol I-them-hit-past (active)

nora-lay nga: nga-ra-poh-o
they-Gol I   I-them-hit-passive

The goal-marked item is the subject of the passive. The unmarked item is the subject of the active clause.

Kham marks the person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) and number (sing-

BT Act+Gol	S/T Act+Und	ST Act	D/I Act
BA/BR Und	A/R Und	SA/SR	C/E

Figure 9.   Roles marked in the Kham verb.

Sunwar marks a grammatical and a sememic feature in the Transitive and BiTransitive verbs. It marks the person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) and number (singular, dual, or plural) of an item which is in grammatical focus (either the actor or the goal-marked role, but not both), and the role which is played by that item. In the following examples the actor is in focus and the clause appears to be active in force.

BT   go meko-kali kitaab gee-ta
     I that-Gol   book   give-1st sg past actor
     I gave a book to him.

BT   go meko an-kali kitaab gee-ta-mi
     I them-to   book   give-1st sg past actor pl
     I gave a book to them.

In the second example the out-of-focus role is registered in the verb as a plural goal by means of the suffix, -mi. If the out-of-focus role had been dual instead of plural, the suffix would have been -si. Where the goal-marked role is in focus, the clause appears to be passive in force.

BT   meko-m aan-kali kitaab ge-ti
     he-Agt I-Gol   book   give-1st sg past goal
     I was given a book by him.

BT   meko-puki-m aan-kali kitaab ge-ti-mi
     he-pl-Agt   I-Gol   book   give-1st sg past goal-pl
     I was given a book by them.

The number of out-of-focus roles is indicated only where the role involved is dual or plural.

BT Act/Gol	T Act/Und	ST Act	I Act
BR Und	R Und	SR	E

Figure 10.   In-focus roles marked in the Sunwar verb.   In
             T and BT patterns only one role is marked.   The
             role chosen, whether actor or goal-marked role
             is also indicated by the verbal affix.

     The verbal role marking system in Chepang has close simi-
larities to the Sunwar system.   Like Sunwar, Chepang generally
marks a grammatical and a sememic feature in the Transitive and
BiTransitive verb.   By one marker the person and number of the
item in grammatical focus is registered in the verb.   The item in
focus can be either the actor or the goal-marked role, but not
both.   The role of the item in grammatical focus is registered in
the verb by means of a separate affix.   When the role of the item
in grammatical focus is that of actor, this fact is registered in
the verb by means of the suffix, -u.   When the role of the item
in grammatical focus is either the undergoer or the goal site,
this fact is registered in the verb by means of the suffix -taa.

     Where the roles eligible for grammatical focus are the same
with respect to person, one may choose to place one role or the
other in focus.   Where they differ in person, however, the place-
ment of focus is determined by a hierarchy in which non-third per-
son roles rank over third person roles and, within non-third person
roles, dual and plural roles rank over singular roles.

     ngi-?i ?ow?-kaay sing? waan?-naa-ng-s-u
     we-Agt he-Gol   wood bring-tense-1st-pl-actor focus
     We (not including you) bring him wood.

In this clause there is an actor, ngi-?i 'we-Agt', which is first
person and there is a goal-marked role, ?ow?-kaay 'he-Gol', which
is third person.   In such a clause grammatical focus can fall
only upon the actor, since first person outranks third.   The fact
that the actor is in focus is signalled by the suffix -u on the
verb.

When we reverse the situation and have a third person actor together with a goal-marked first person, the only possible assignment of grammatical focus is to the goal-marked role.

```
?ow?-?i ngi-kaay sing?  waan?-naa-taa-ng-i
he-Agt  we-Gol   wood   bring-tense-goal focus-1st-pl
He brought wood to us (not including you).
```

The fact that the goal-marked role is in focus is signalled by the suffix -taa on the verb.

In certain instances the person or number (but not both) of some out-of-focus role can be registered in the verb.

```
ngaa-?i ?ow?-nis-kaay sing?  waan?-naa-ng-c-u
I-Agt   he-dual-Gol   wood   bring-tense-1st-dual goal-actor
                                                  focus
I bring wood to those two.
```

Here the number of the out-of-focus goal-marked role is registered in the verb as dual by means of the suffix -c.

BT Act/Gol	T Act/Und	ST Act	I Act
BR Und	R Und	SR	E

Figure 11.   Roles marked in the Chepang verb. In T and BT clauses generally only one role is marked in the verb. The role marked is determined by a hierarchy in which non-third person roles rank over third person roles and, among non-third person roles, dual and plural roles rank over singular roles. Where the two roles are both third person, either may be chosen. The role chosen, whether actor or goal-marked is also indicated in the verb by means of a separate marker.

Subject Agreement Patterns. Nepali, which belongs to the
Indo-Aryan family of languages, is also a subject-object lan-
guage. Nepali marks one agreement pattern in the verb. There
is good reason to believe that the agreement in the Nepali verb
is subject agreement rather than actor agreement as is the case
with the Tibeto-Burman languages of this report. Agreement
patterns occur not only in the transitive set, but in the re-
ceptive and attributive sets as well. The verb agrees with the
subject in person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), number (singular and plural),
gender (masculine and feminine), and honorific grade (four
grades). Nepali also has impersonal forms in which there is no
subject agreement.

BT Act	T Act	ST Act	I Act
BR Und	R Und	SR	E

Figure 12.   Roles which have subject agreement with the
              verb in Nepali.

D.   Focus Marking.

Focus markers may be thought of in tagmemic terms as belong-
ing to the grammatical organization of a clause, that is, to box
1 of the 9-box tagmeme. They differ in this respect from role
markers which belong to the sememic organization of a clause
(box 4). In this paper we treat only two kinds of focus: un-
marked focus and thematic focus.

Unmarked Focus. Unmarked focus is that organization in
focus and attention which is inherent to a clause. It occurs in
clauses which have no special focus markings and have undergone
no special focus processes (such as permutation, deletion, or the
insertion of special particles). A description of a clause in un-
marked focus involves relational categories such as subject, ob-
ject, indirect object, referent, adjunct and predicate. As we
have indicated earlier, these relations appear to be less direct-

ly marked in actor-undergoer languages than they are in subject-object languages. Though focus marking is universal among the languages of this report, certain specific notions such as subject and object are exceedingly difficult to define for certain languages of this report.

We have taken the notion of subject to be equivalent to that of unmarked theme. Although it is easily possible to thematize anything other than the subject, a clause in which only nuclear items are present and to which no special thematization processes have applied will have its subject as theme. In this special instance in languages of this report the subject stands first in the clause and is what the rest of the clause is about. For the languages of this report, the roles played by the subject appear to be ranked in the order, actor, goal-marked site, undergoer, locative site. This ranking appears to mirror the natural word order of clauses in unmarked focus for most languages of the report. Thus, while subject selection can be described for most languages of this report in terms of a ranking of roles as in English, it does not involve either permutation from an underlying order or a change in case form as appears to be true of English from the point of view of case grammar.

Thematic Focus. Thematic focus brings attention to bear upon information which is relatively available in the context. Each clause has its starting point or theme which links the clause to the preceding context and from which the speaker proceeds to relate new information. It is this starting point which is placed under special attention in thematic focus.

We noted earlier that in unmarked focus the theme of a clause is equivalent to its subject. In thematic focus, however, it is quite possible to thematize some role other than the normal subject role. At this point a sharp contrast becomes apparent between actor-undergoer languages and subject-object languages. For purposes of illustration, we shall limit our comparison at this point to Newari and Kham (both languages of the Tibeto-Burman group).

In Newari, an actor-undergoer language, it is generally possible to thematize any role in the clause by the simple device of fronting. Take, for example, a typical BiTransitive clause with a goal site.

Waa jitaa khicā bila
Act Sit   Und
He gave me a dog.

Jitaa waa khicā bila
Sit   Act Und
I was given a dog by him.

Khicā waa jitaa bila
Und   Act Sit
A dog was given to me by him.

In this triplet, the first clause is saying something about waa, the one who gave the dog to me; the second clause is saying something about jitaa, the one to whom the dog was given; and the third clause is saying something about khicā, the thing given to me. The three clauses have different themes, and in instances such as this, one may even choose to say that the three clauses have different subjects. In doing so, however, one gains nothing more than another term to use in talking about theme. On this view the notion of subject is simply that of theme. There would be nothing independently true of subjects which would not at the same time also be true of themes. Theme appears to be an important grammatical function for Newari. The importance of subject as a grammatical function for Newari is not nearly as easy to see.

In Kham, a subject-object language, the theme of a clause and its subject are clearly distinguishable. It is possible to thematize any role (or virtually any peripheral item) in the clause. The subject of a given clause, on the other hand, can occur only on one of two roles in Transitive and BiTransitive clauses, and on only one role in each of the other clause patterns.

Starting with the assumption that in unmarked focus the subject of a clause is its theme, we find that we can define two subject types for Kham: active and passive. In active voice where all items are present in their unmarked order, the actor is theme, and is thus also subject. In passive voice where all items are present in their unmarked order, the undergoer or goal-marked site is theme (and thus also subject).

Marked focus can result from the application of deletions or permutations (or both) to either the unmarked active or the unmarked passive. Since subject and theme are defined independently of one another in Kham, it is possible to plot the various combinations of subject and theme with the roles of actor, undergoer, and site. These are summarized in Figure 13. A site in Kham cannot be a subject, but it can be a theme. The active norm is for the actor to be both subject and theme. In the following clause Ram is both subject and theme.

      rame ri:h ja:lx   ja:hkeo
      Ram water in the pot he put it
      Ram put water in the pot.

The passive norm is for the undergoer to be both subject and theme. In the following clause, <u>ri:h</u> 'water' is undergoer and is both subject and theme.

      ri:h ja:lx   rame oja:h.o
      water in the pot Ram put (passive)
      Water was put in the pot by Ram.

To get an actor as theme together with an undergoer which is subject, the clause has to be put into the passive and the subject-undergoer deleted as in the following. (The undergoer is still marked as subject in the verb.)

      rame oja:h.o
      Ram put (passive)
      It was put in by Ram.

Unfortunately, the English translation of this example fails to capture the thematic status of <u>Ram</u>. Similarly, deletions on the active form can be used to thematize the undergoer while retaining the actor as subject. (The actor is still marked as subject in the verb.)

      ri:h ja:hkeo
      water he-put-it
      He put water in. /Water he put in.

For further examples of thematic focus in Kham see Part I of this volume, pages 64 and following.

Role of the Subject

Role of the Theme	actor	undergoer	Site
actor	active norm	passive plus deletions	X
undergoer	active plus deletions	passive norm	X
site	active plus deletions and permutations	passive plus deletions or permutations	X

Figure 13. Possible combinations of subject roles and theme roles in Kham. Cells corresponding to possible combinations show the basic form (active or passive) together with any rules (deletion or permutation) required to arrive at the relevant form. Cells corresponding to impossible combinations are filled with 'X'.

In Chepang and Sunwar it is not yet clear how the subject relation should be defined. In Sunwar it is possible to place either the actor or the goal-marked role in grammatical focus by registering the person and number of the appropriate role in the verb. The same is true of Chepang where the two roles involved are both third person participants. Where the two roles involved are of different person, the placement of grammatical focus is determined by rule in terms of a ranking of persons. It is not clear whether the person marked in the verb should be considered a subject marker or not. We do not ordinarily think of a change of person as involving a change of subject. Changes in person marking in the verb do not require changes in word order as is required by the passive in Kham. In Sunwar the role marked in the verb is normally deleted from the clause whereas the roles not marked are usually not deleted. This suggests that the deleted and marked role may represent given information in Sunwar. These observations tend to suggest that Chepang and Sunwar may represent a third language grouping that is somewhere between the more typical actor-undergoer languages and the more typical subject-object languages.

E.   Derived Patterns.

Generally, a clause may be considered to be an inherent basic clause of some cell in the transitivity matrix when the following stipulations have been met.

1)   The predicate consists of a simple verb where no op-tional expansion of the finite system or derivational system has been exercised.

2)   All nuclear roles which subcategorize the verb are capable of realization as free forms. (Only those nuclear items which independently subcategorize the verb are taken into account in determining the in-herent type.)

Where these stipulations have not been met, the clause is viewed as derived. Derived types can in general be traced back to par-ent types which are basic. Basic types can generally be related to derived types by means of derivational rules. When a clause is derived it contrasts with the parent clause with respect to one or more of the following characteristics: 1) the set of nuclear roles with which it may occur, 2) the grammatical ar-rangement of these roles in relation to the grammatical func-tions of the clause, 3) the classification of the clause with respect to the discourse categories, state and event.

In the languages under study in this report we have dis-tinguished five basic types of rules corresponding to five basic kinds of operations performed by the rules upon the parent clause type.   There are rules that 1) add roles, 2) delete roles, 3) embed the parent clause within some other clause or to some other constituent, 4) shift the clause from one discourse cate-gory (such as state or event) to another, and 5) alter the re-lationship between boxes 1 and 4 (i.e., between the grammatical and the sememic functions of the clause).   The fifth operation has so far been found only in Kham.   We will discuss the lan-guages of this report in terms of the first four kinds of rules.

Addition Rules.   For the languages of this report, the addi-tion of a role to a basic clause can also be viewed as an embed-ding, at least from a sememic point of view.   The embeddings we treat here are those which are difficult to treat as embeddings from the point of view of grammatical surface structure.

Most of the languages show remnants of a system which may once have been a productive derivation whereby receptive or intransitive set clauses are transitivized. Benedict (1972) mentions at least three Tibeto-Burman systems in which verbal affixes are productive of "directives, causatives, or intensives." In the section, Tibeto-Burman prefixed *s- (1972:105) he states that "TB prefixed *s- in verb roots is directive, causative, or intensive. It plays a prominent role in Tibetan (s-), Gyarung, Kachin (ʃə- dźə-), and Nung (ʃə-), as well as in Lepcha (in the form of palatalization) and Burmese (in the form of aspiration or surdization of the initial); ... Prefixed *s- with verbs appears only sporadically elsewhere, ..."

In Kham, prefixed sx- is still a productive prefix by means of which receptive set verbs and Intransitive verbs can be derived to Transitive and BiTransitive types. This kind of derivation apparently does not result in grammatical embedding or double function of constituents. For example, the Receptive clause,

    ri:h boh-ke
    water spill-pst 3rd sg
    The water spilled.

can be derived into the Transitive cell by means of the prefix sx- as in the following example.

    noe ri:h sx-bo-ke-o
    he   water transitivizer-spill-past-3rd sg actor
    He spilled the water.

In Newari there is a similar pattern which, however, is no longer productive. There are pairs of verbs in which a Receptive or Intransitive verb has an initial voiced stop and its Transitive counterpart has an initial voiceless aspirated stop at approximately the same point of articulation. This situation is similar to what Benedict describes for present-day Burmese (1972: 105). Consider the following pairs.

duna	(he) sank	thuna	(he) immersed (it)
dena	(he) slept	thena	(he) put to sleep
bena	(it) came loose	phena	(he) loosened (it)
gyāta	(he) was afraid	khyāta	(he) frightened (someone)
guta	(it) was torn	khuta	(he) tore (it)

```
ta jyāta   (it) burst          ta chyāta (he) made (it)burst
kwa jita   (it) was decided    kwa chita (he) decided (it)
```

In Sunwar we find similar pairs of verbs:

```
brem-tsa        to be bent     prem-tsa  to bend (something)
                down                     down
'dook-tsa       to fall        'took-tsa to drop (something)
gyam-tsa        to get eras-   kyam-tsa  to erase (something)
                ed
dzeek-tsa       to get torn    tseek-tsa to tear (something)
dzam-tsa        to get lost    sam-tsa   to loose (something)
```

Benedict (1972:100-1) says "Suffixed *-t is clearly causa-
tive or directive in some instances, e.g. T ᵀbyed-pa 'open, sep-
arate' (tr.) 'bye-ba (intr.), T 'gyed-pa 'divide, disperse'
(tr.) 'gya-ba (intr.), ... Kachin also has causative suffixed
-t, e.g. K mədit 'moisten, wet, dip' mədi 'moist, wet'; ... The
Bahing-Vayu -t(o) suffix is exclusively of this type; cf. Bahing
ri-so 'laugh', ri-to 'laugh at'; Vayu khu 'steal', khut 'cause
to steal'; ..."

Magar reports pairs of verbs which reflect suffixed -t as
a causative or transitivizer.

```
cyas-       be torn            'cyat-     tear
ges-        play               'get-      amuse (someone)
kes-        move               'ket-      move (something)
so-         get up             'sot-      get (someone) up
armha       sound              'armhat-   play (an instrument)
chus        brush against      chut-      cause to brush a-
                                          gainst
```

Jirel and Sherpa report pairs of verbs in which the Recep-
tive or Semi-Transitive member of the pair has an aspirated
initial consonant and the Transitive or BiTransitive member of
the pair has the corresponding unaspirated initial consonant.[18]
Thus Jirel has

```
cho-sungq      become cooked  co-sungq   cook (something)
'cyhak-sungq   break          'cyak-sungq cause to break
'thos-sungq    get wounded    'tos-sungq cause to get
                                         wounded
then-sungq     go             ten-sungq  lead
```

```
'phos-sung      spill           'pos-sungq      cause to spill
'phes-sung      open            'pes-sungq      cause to open
'phap-sung      climb down      'pap-sungq      take down
```

and similar pairs can be listed for Sherpa.

```
khol-sung       boil            kol-sungq       boil (something)
phe-nok         be spilled      pe-nokq         pour out
'che-sung       get broken      ce-sungq        cut down
khaa-nok        get cracked     kaa-nokq        split
```

There are other patterns involved in this kind of pairing.
Jirel has one involving the voicing of the initial consonant.

```
'me barsung             The fire burnt.
'theki 'me parsungq     He lit the fire.
```

Sherpa has a similar example (z in Sherpa is voiceless: [š]) with
voiced and voiceless members just reversed.

```
maar zinok              The butter melted.
'tiki maar jinok        He melted the butter.
```

In nearly all of these pairings the transitive member has high
tone. This might possibly be a reflection of an earlier pre-
fixed s-.

Nepali, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages,
has a transitivizing rule which is still in function within a
large set of BiReceptive, Receptive, Intransitive, and SemiTran-
sitive clauses. The same rule also functions in quite a number
of Transitive clauses as well which might be an indication that
causative might be a better designation than transitivizing. Al-
though the rule has various morphological consequences, they all
involve the vowel a either as a suffix or as a replacement for
another vowel. The following examples illustrate pairs of ex-
amples making use of a in Nepali.

```
mil-        fit             mila-       make fit
pi-         drink           pia-        give to drink
kha-        eat             khua-       feed
uml-        boil            umal-       cause to boil
mxr-        die             mar-        kill
```

Deletion Rules. The languages of this report typically allow deletion of roles quite freely and without marking or registration of such deletion within the verb. This is quite in keeping with the fact that most of the languages of this report are actor-undergoer languages. It is perhaps significant that the languages which constitute the major exceptions to the free deletion characteristic are subject-object languages, namely, Kham and Nepali.

Kham registers a deleted role in the verb by means of the affix -si. The affix, -si may mark the deletion of an actor or of an undergoer, and a sequence of two (-si-si) marks the deletion of both. Thus we have

nga: ri:h   alx   nga-ja:h-ke
I (Act) water (Und) in here I-put-past active
I put water in here.

ri:h   alx   ja:h-si-ke
water (Und) in here put-deleted actor-past active
(I) put water in here.

alx   ja:h-si-si-ke
in here put-deleted actor-deleted undergoer-past active
In here is put-able (I did it).

Deletions marked by -si in Kham may produce a clause with a reflexive sense. A -si deletion may also change a basic transitive clause into a derived receptive. There are a number of other derivational processes involving -si in Kham, but the reflexive and the receptive derivations are of particular interest because of the apparent parallels we find in Sunwar and Magar.

Benedict (1972:97) notes that suffixed -s is "often reflexive in verb roots." Sunwar reports a verbal affix -s which marks the reflexive. As is true in Kham, the reflexive in Sunwar is effected by the obligatory deletion of an undergoer which is referentially identical to the actor. The result is a derivation from BT or T to ST or I. The reflexive in Sunwar can apparently occur only in a subclass of BT and T verbs which have a marker -t as part of the verb (which may be a reflection of the causative suffix -t found in TB roots (Benedict 1972:97). Thus Sunwar has

```
ama-m        al-kali   'tsiik-t-aak-w
mother-Agt   child-Gol wash-transitive-?-3d person actor
Mother washed the child.

ama       'tsiik-s-aak-w
mother    wash-reflexive-?-3d person actor
Mother washed herself.
```

in which a suffix -s replaces a suffix -t in reflexive derivations.

Magar reports a large number of Receptive and Intransitive verb stems which end in s. Some of these stems are members of pairs in which the Transitive counterpart ends in a stem-final t. The following is a small sample.

```
cyat-    tear                cyas    get torn
chut-    brush against       chus-   get brushed
get-     amuse (someone)     ges-    play
ket-     move (something)    kes-    move
```

The suffix -s is no longer productive as a receptivizing device for native Magar verbs. It is productive, however, in its combination with verbs borrowed into Magar from Nepali. Thus we have pairs such as the following.

```
bildi-     melt (something)      bildis-    get melted
dohori-    repeat (something)    dohoris-   get repeated
gijadi-    tease (someone)       gijadis-   feel teased
```

Although not much information is available on the language, there are indications that Chantel (a language closely related to the Gurung group of languages in terms of vocabulary) marks actor deletion in the verb by means of the affix -si as is done in Kham. For example, actor deleted adjectival forms are common in Chantel as in

```
sar-si-wa                           naku
kill-deleted actor-adjectivalizer   dog
The dog which was killed.
```

Chantel lies geographically between Gurung and Kham and may prove to be a link between the two languages.

In Nepali, actor deletion can be indicated by the addition of the affix -i to the verb stem. In Nepali, actor deletion is accompanied by a shift of the subject from actor to undergoer. For this reason, the rule has been called a (personal) passiviza- tion rule. There is also an impersonal passivization rule which yields a derived clause in which there are no subject agreement markers in the verb.

    tes-le mx-lai kut'-io
    he-Agt I-Gol hit-3rd sg
    He hit me.

Personal passive may operate upon this clause in deriving the following clause:

    mx kut'-i-e'
    I hit-deleted actor-1st sg
    I was hit (personal).

Alternatively, if impersonal passive applies, the following clause results:

    mx-lai kut'-i-io
    I-Gol hit-deleted actor-3rd sg
    I was hit (impersonal).

    Embedding Rules. The embedding of one clause within another is common in certain types of constructions such as those invol- ving modals, causatives, and permissives. Our use of the term 'embedding' may be somewhat unusual in that we use it not only in instances in which the verb of the main clause is a full verb in the grammatical sense, but we also use it where the 'verb' of the main clause is a causative affix which can be viewed as a sememic predicate but not as a grammatical verb. Where embedding occurs, the new (main, superordinate) predicate (whether a full verb in the grammatical sense or a sememic predicate manifested as an affix) imposes its own case frame upon the embedded clause, often forcing a re-interpretation of some or all of its roles. The predicate of the embedded clause often becomes part of the under- goer or of the complement of the new main predicate.

    Where the modal, causative, permissive or the like is a full grammatical verb it will often occur in simple independent clauses as well as in the more complex clauses involving em- bedding. The meanings of a verb in these two kinds of environ-

ment are often quite distinct. The verb bila 'give' in Newari
also occurs as a benefactive verb in complex clauses involving
embedding. The two meanings, while not unrelated, are surely
distinct. The causative verb, pxrin., in Kham is another exam-
ple. Where pxrin. occurs as the main verb of a simple independ-
ent clause its meaning is 'to send', and it governs the case
frame, actor, undergoer, locative site within the simple clause.
When pxrin. functions as a causative verb it no longer means
'to send' and it governs a different case frame, namely, actor,
goal-site, undergoer.[19] The contrast between pxrin. in its
literal sense and pxrin. in its causative sense can be seen
from the following two examples.

```
noe   oka:hlay  syakxri  kxy-na  pxrin.keo
he    his dog    meat      eat     he sent him
Act   Und            ----Loc-Sit----  Pred
He sent his dog to eat the meat.

noe   oka:hlay  syakxri  kxy-o   pxrin.keo
he    his dog    meat      eat     he caused him
Act   Gol-Sit    -----Und-----  Pred
He made his dog eat the meat.
```
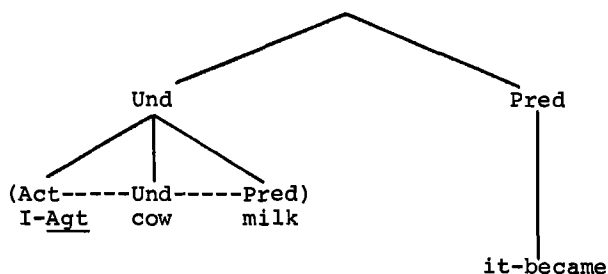
From this pair of examples we see that pxrin. 'send' can also
take an embedded clause, but that the form of the embedded clause
is distinct from that which occurs with the causative verb
pxrin.[20]

     We have observed two basic types of embedding in the lan-
guages of this report: simple embedding, in which the entire em-
bedded clause is re-interpreted as functioning within a single
role with respect to the new modal verb and complex embedding,
in which the embedded clause is re-interpreted into two parts,
the actor functioning in one role, and the rest of the clause
functioning in another role with respect to the modal verb.
These two kinds of embedding can be illustrated in terms of
schematic representations of the obligative embedding and the
causative embedding as it occurs in various languages of the re-
port.

     Obligative Embedding, Receptive Type: (The string of roles
enclosed in parentheses are the roles of the original underlying
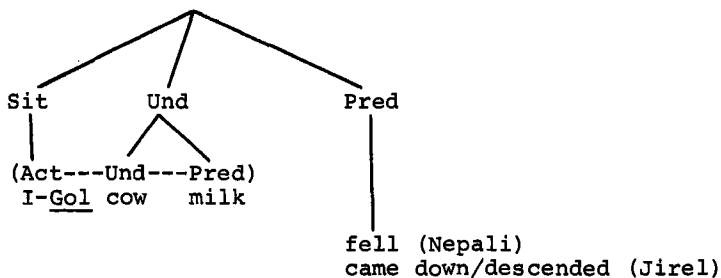clause as marked before embedding.)

Receptive Embedding: Kham

```
                                  /\
                                 /  \
                                /    \
                     Und                    Pred
                    /  |  \                    |
                   /   |   \                   |
            (Act-----Und-----Pred)             |
             I-Agt    cow    milk              |
                                               |
                                          it-became
```

I must milk the cow. Literally: That I milk the cow became.

Obligative Embedding, BiReceptive Type: (The string of
roles in parentheses is that of the underlying clause. In this
type the underlying actor is re-interpreted as a site and is
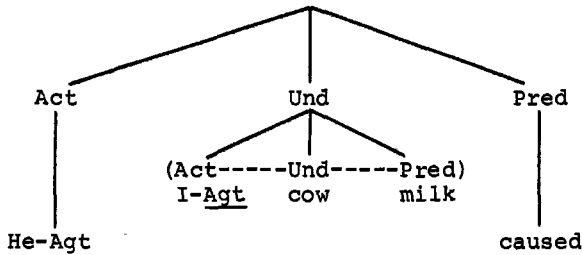goal-marked as a result of the embedding.)

BiReceptive Embedding: Jirel, Nepali

```
                          /\
                         /  \
                        /    \
        Sit        Und          Pred
         |        /  \            |
         |       /    \           |
    (Act---Und---Pred)            |
     I-Gol cow    milk            |
                                  |
                             fell (Nepali)
                             came down/descended (Jirel)
```

I must milk the cow. Literally: Milking the cow fell to
me/came down on me.

Causative Embedding, Transitive Type: (This type of embedding involves no change of markers in the roles of the underlying clause. The underlying clause as a whole becomes the undergoer of the causative clause.)
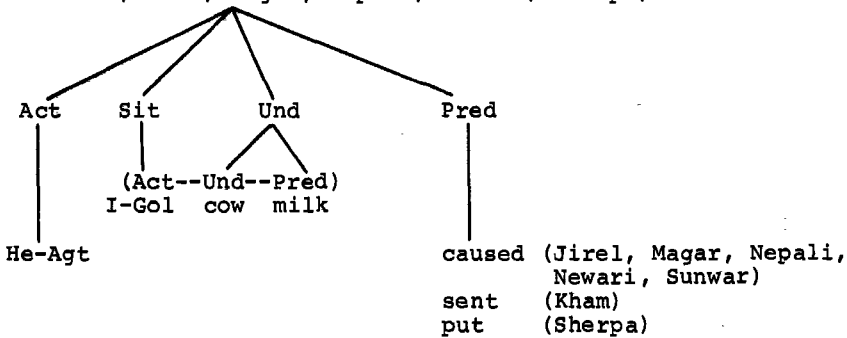
Transitive Embedding: Chepang, Tamang

```
                              /|\
                            /  |  \
                          /    |    \
                        /      |      \
                     Act      Und      Pred
                      |      / | \      |
                      |    /   |   \    |
                      | (Act-----Und-----Pred) |
                      |  I-Agt  cow   milk     |
                      |                        |
                   He-Agt                   caused
```

He made me milk the cow. Literally: I milked the cow, he caused it.

Causative Embedding, BiTransitive Type: (In this type of causative embedding the underlying actor is re-interpreted as a site and is goal-marked as a result of the embedding.)

BiTransitive Embedding:
Jirel, Kham, Magar, Nepali, Newari, Sherpa, Sunwar

```
                        /|\\
                      / | | \
                    /  |  |   \
                 Act  Sit Und   Pred
                  |    |   /\     |
                  |    | /   \    |
                  | (Act--Und--Pred) |
                  |  I-Gol cow milk  |
                  |                  |
               He-Agt              caused (Jirel, Magar, Nepali,
                                              Newari, Sunwar)
                                    sent   (Kham)
                                    put    (Sherpa)
```

He made me milk the cow.

Shifting Rules. For each of the languages of this report
the set of eventive verbs was much larger than the set of in-
herently stative verbs. On the other hand, the set of devices
for stativizing eventive verbs was also much larger than was the
set of devices for eventivizing inherently stative verbs. The
derivational system provides a balance for inherent lexical ma-
terial available to each of the languages studied.

Eventivization. All languages which have contrastive clause
types which belong to the stative set (BiStative, Stative, Semi-
Stative, or Descriptive) also have an eventivization of these
types into their respective transitive set types (BiTransitive,
Transitive, SemiTransitive, or Eventive) which consists of
changing the normal state tense to an event tense. The event
tense is the simple past which marks the chain of events cen-
tral to a narrative. Where the event tense is applied to inher-
ently stative clauses, however, the resultant meaning is not
quite parallel to the meaning of the same tense when applied to
an inherently eventive clause. Thus when a clause meaning

He knows how to read.

is changed into simple past, the resultant meaning is not

He knew how to read.

but is rather

He came to know (or learned) how to read.

This same device is used in Kham, Magar, and Sunwar in deriving
receptive-set clauses from attributive-set clauses. Descriptive
concepts such as 'big', 'cold', and 'heavy' are expressed as
lexical verbs which can be used as adjectives only after adjec-
tivalization. The normal tense for these adjective-like verbs
is the stative tense. A shift to the event tense results in
meanings such as 'became big', became cold', and 'became heavy'.

In these three languages, attributive-set clauses can also
be eventivized by way of a second derivational route, namely, by
adjectivalizing the verb and introducing a copula. The result
is similar to the English 'is big', is cold', and 'is heavy'.
These copular attributives can then be eventivized by replacing
the stative copula with an eventive copula yielding 'became big',
'became cold', and 'became heavy'.

In the other six languages of the report, attributive-set clauses are eventivized almost exclusively by means of this second kind of derivation, that is, by substitution of eventive copulas for stative copulas.

Stativization. An eventive verb form is one that is appropriate to the chain of events which constitutes the backbone of a narrative. Any derivation that yields a form not appropriate to the narrative backbone is viewed as a stativization. Included as stative are all forms which do not assert the actual occurrence of an event. All negatives are thus stative, as are imperatives, interrogatives, forms with modal verbs and the like. An adequate discussion of stativization in the languages of the report would require large portions of the clause papers for each of the languages involved and goes beyond the limits of this account. We limit our discussion to one such derivation which is similar in meaning to the English perfect.

A number of the languages of this report use a construction in which a form of the verb 'to be' is added to a non-finite form of the verb. Each of the following may be glossed 'I have gone' or more literally, 'I am in the state of having gone.'

Jirel	nga	gal-a	wotan
	I	go	is

Sherpa	nga	gal-N	'wye
	I	go	is

Kham	nga:	ba-dx	nga-le
	I	go	I-am

Nepali	mx	gx-eko	chu
	I	go	am

Sunwar	go	la-sho	'baakt
	I	go	is

Newari	ji	wanā-gu	du
	I	go	is

In Magar and Tamang, the same derivation is accomplished by means of an affix.

Magar   nga nung-ani
          I   gone-have

Tamang   nga nyi-pala
          I   gone-have

F.   Contrasts among Clause Patterns.

In working on the analysis of clause patterns in the individual languages, considerable time was expended in search of the contrasts among clause types in terms of which the system of types could be justified for the language under study. Since many of the kinds of contrasts found among clause types were shared by a number of the languages under study, we felt it
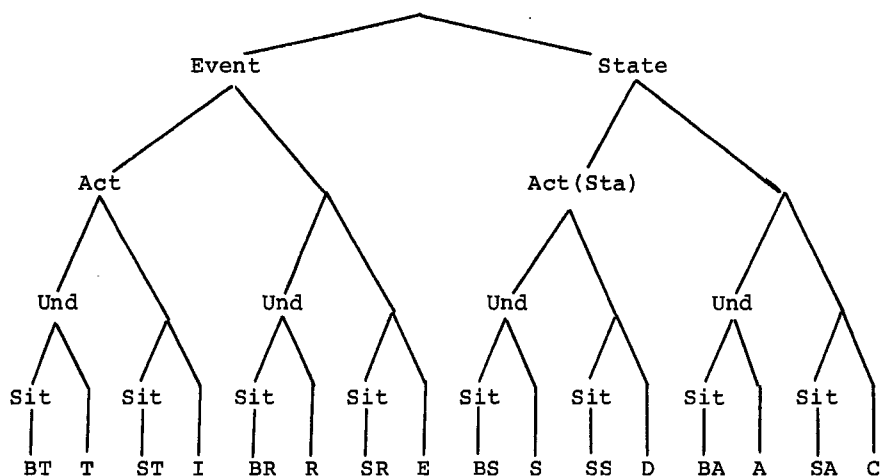
Figure 14.   Etic transitivity system.

might be of interest to list them briefly here in the hope that
those working within this approach on other languages might save
themselves some time in coming to a contrastive statement by
using this list as a preliminary search device. Our presenta-
tion is organized in terms of the following contrastive tree of
clause types. Though none of the languages in this study have
all of the clause types listed in the tree, the tree does pro-
vide a general frame of reference for the discussion of con-
trasts.

Within the tree of Figure 14, we will refer to various sets
of clause types. Names of individual clause types will be capi-
talized. Names of sets of clause types will not be capitalized.
We will speak of the event set as that which consists of the
clause types, BiTransitive (BT), Transitive (T), SemiTransitive
(ST), Intransitive (I), BiReceptive (BR), Receptive (R), Semi-
Receptive (SR), and Eventive (E). The term, event set may
designate that subset of the etic event set which consists of
the event clause types that are contrastive for a given language.
In opposition to the event set is the state set which consists
of the clause types, BiStative (BS), Stative (S), SemiStative
(SS), Descriptive (D), BiAttributive (BA), Attributive (A),
SemiAttributive (SA), and Circumstantial (C). The term state
set may likewise be used to refer to that subset of the state
set which is contrastive within a given language.

At the next lower level within the tree of Figure 14 we
distinguish four different sets, the transitive set (consisting
of BT, T, ST, and I), the receptive set (consisting of BR, R,
SR, and E), the stative set (consisting of BS, S, SS, and D) and
the attributive set (consisting of BA, A, SA, and C). Again,
each set name can be used to designate the subset of clause
types which are basic and contrastive for a given language.

1. Contrasts between State and Event.

Any deep-seated contrast between clause types or sets of
clause types should have many symptoms. One expression of a
deeper contrast between the event set and the state set is that
a given morpheme will have a somewhat different meaning when it
occurs in state set clauses from what it has when it occurs with
clauses belonging to the event set. In Kham, the present tense
marker, -zya, is one such morpheme. When it occurs with verbs of
the state set it conveys the meaning of static state.

nxhm khyo:-<u>zya</u>   The tumpline is long.   (Not:
                                    'is getting long.')

no syah syah ngxmsi-<u>zya</u>   He enjoys dancing.

When -<u>zya</u> occurs with verbs of the event set, it conveys the
meaning of dynamic or changing state.

nxhm khyu:-<u>zya</u>   The tumpline is getting worn
                                    out / is wearing out.

no syah-<u>zya</u>   He is dancing.

In Magar, the string -<u>cx le</u> carries the meaning of state
when it occurs with verbs of the state set.

mxylha dhes-<u>cx le</u>   Mailha is fat.

mxylha dhes-<u>cx-le</u>-a   Mailha was fat.

With verbs of the event set, -<u>cx le</u> carries the meaning of pro-
bability.

mxylha lhom-<u>cx le</u>   Mailha might grow up.
mxylha lhom-<u>cx le</u>-a   Mailha would have grown up.

In Tamang the modal verb <u>ta</u>- carries the meaning 'become'
when it occurs in a clause of the state set.

'uhcu char <u>ta</u>-ci   It became new.

When <u>ta</u>- occurs in a clause of the event set it carries the
meaning of imminent probability.

naki 'syi-sye <u>ta</u>-ci   The dog will soon die.

In Newari there is a past tense, which is basically event,
and a state form of the verb. Any verb can be inflected for
either form, but the semantic pattern accompanying these two
forms is quite different for state set verbs from what it is for
event set verbs. The state set pattern may be illustrated as
follows.

Jā buu.   The rice is/was well cooked.
                          (State form)

Jā buta.   The rice came to be well cooked.
                          (Eventive form)

Mirāyā jyā thāku.   The work is/was difficult for Mira.
                          (State form)

Mirāyā jyā thākula.   The work came to be difficult for
                          Mira.   (Eventive form)

Jitaa thwa kwathā jyu.   This room was/is good enough for
                          me.   (State form)

Jitaa thwa kwathā jula.   This room came to be good enough
                          for me.   (Event form)

The event set pattern may be illustrated as follows.

Waa lā pālā.   He cut the meat. (Event form)

Waa lā pāā.   He cuts meat (habitually).   (State
                          form)

Waa jā thula.   She cooked the rice. (Event form)

Waa jā thuu.   She cooks rice (habitually).
                          (State form)

Wa jyāe dyātā.   He suffered loss in business.
                          (Eventive form)

Wa jyāe dyāā.   He suffers loss in business (habit-
                          ually).   (State form)

In Newari the state form of a state set verb denotes a simple
state.   The state form of an event set verb denotes an habitual
action.   The event form of a state set verb denotes arrival in a
state.   The event form of an event set verb denotes a simple
event in past time.

    Another kind of difference between event set and state set
clauses has to do with the optional expansions that are allowed

with each.   Instrumental and manner adverbs appear to be re-
stricted to event set clauses.

2.   Contrasts between State and Event in Clauses which have
Actors/Statants.

We turn now to contrasts between the transitive set (BT, T,
ST, and I) and the stative set (BS, S, SS, and D).   Here again
we find a series of morphemes which are interpreted in one way
in the transitive set and in quite a different way in clauses
of the stative set.   In Kham, when the verbal affix -na occurs
with a verb of the stative set it carries the sense of internal
process.

nga: be:h jxy.o ngasxyn.-na-zya   I am getting to know/
                                     learning how to make a
                                     basket.

Where the affix, -na, is used in a clause of the transitive set,
the meaning is one of physical motion.

nga: be:h ngajxy-na-zya   I am going off to make
                          .   a basket.

In Jirel, the verbal affix, -kio, and in Sherpa, the ver-
bal affix -kiwi carries the meaning of present state when it
occurs in clauses of the stative set.

Jirel   'theki 'thela 'ngo syekioq   He recognizes him.

Sherpa   nye jangbulaa thongguwi   I see John.

In clauses of the transitive set this same affix carries the
meaning of future tense, disjunct.

Jirel   'theki setkioq   He will kill.

Sherpa   'tiki dekuwi   He will lift it.

Another kind of contrast which holds quite generally between
stative set clauses and transitive set clauses is a contrast of
mood.   Clauses of the transitive set occur quite naturally in the
imperative.   Clauses of the stative set either do not occur in
the imperative or if they do they occur in the imperative with
some specialized or idiomatic sense.

In Jirel and Sherpa, the verbs of the transitive set are personal in that they normally occur both in conjunct and disjunct forms. (For an explanation of these terms, see Section II.C. above.) The verbs of the stative set occur only in the disjunct form and are thus impersonal.

There are also differences in the kinds of derivations which can apply to the two sets. The set of modal verbs which can occur with stative set clauses is much more restricted than the set which can occur with transitive set clauses. Benefactive and causative constructions do not occur freely with stative set clauses whereas their occurrence with transitive set clauses is relatively free. In Kham, the passive voice occurs only with transitive set clauses. In Kham, the transitivizing affix sx- may be used to derive Transitive and BiTransitive clauses from Intransitive and SemiTransitive clauses respectively. It cannot be used to derive Stative clauses from Descriptive clauses. In other words, the affix operates only within clauses of the transitive set.

3. Contrasts between State and Event in Clauses having no Actors/Statants.

There are also a number of contrasts which normally separate clauses of the attributive set (BA, A, SA, and C) from clauses of the receptive set (BR, R, SR, and E). One example from Kham may be cited as typical of those morphemes which receive a different interpretation when they occur with clauses of one set from that which they receive when they occur with clauses of the other set. In Kham, when the construction -o take occurs with clauses of the receptive set, the verb is nominalized and the interpretation is roughly as follows.

khyu:-o take   The worn out one became chosen.

When the same construction occurs with clauses of the attributive set no nominalization takes place. Rather, the verb becomes the grammatical complement of the receptive verb take 'become', and the net result is a shift from state to event.

gyo:h-o take   It became large.

In Jirel and Sherpa there are formal tense markers in clauses of the receptive set. In clauses of the attributive set there are no such tense markers.

In Chepang, Jirel, Nepali, Newari, Sherpa, and Tamang, the attributive set contains a large number of adjectives which occur with copulas. The receptive set does not have constructions of this sort except as they are derived by the substitution of an event copula 'become' for the inherent state copula 'be' of the attributive set.

There are also differences between the receptive set and the attributive set with respect to the derivational rules which may apply. In Kham, there is a causative rule which applies to clauses of the attributive set but not to clauses of the receptive set. There is also a transitivization rule which applies to clauses of the receptive set but not to clauses of the attributive set. The causative rule derives transitive clauses from inherent clauses of the attributive set by use of the causative auxiliary, -o̱ ... j̱x̱y-.

    nga: nxhm khyo:-o̱ nga-j̱x̱y-ke   I made the tumpline long.
                                           (A---> T)

The transitive rule, on the other hand, derives transitive-set clauses from inherent clauses of the receptive set by use of the transitivizing affix s̱x̱-.

    nga: nxhm nag-s̱x̱-khyu:-ke   I wore the tumpline out.
                                           (R---> T)

Clauses of the attributive set thus contrast with clauses of the receptive set in Kham in terms of the kinds of processes which are available to them for transitive derivation.

Content questions which elicit a verb form as an answer tend also to show a contrast between clauses of the attributive set and those of the receptive set. Questions which elicit attributive set verb forms are generally phrased with copular proverbs as in 'What is it like?' whereas questions which elicit receptive set verb forms are generally constructed with eventive verbs as in 'What happened to it?', 'What became of it?'

4. Contrasts between Clauses with Actors and Clauses without Actors.

There are a number of contrasts which separate those sets which have actors (i.e., the transitive and stative sets) from those sets which have no actors (i.e., the receptive and attributive sets). One example from Magar may be cited as typical of those morphemes which receive a different interpretation when they occur with clauses of one set from that which it receives when they occur with clauses of the other. In Magar there is an auxiliary, -cx chan-, which carries the meaning 'decided to' in clauses which take actors

T   mxylha disya sat-cx chxn-a   Mailha decided to fish.

but which has the interpretation 'will certainly' in clauses which do not take actors.

R   mxkxy git-cx chan-a   The corn will certainly
                                       sprout.

Another contrast has to do with undergoer marking. In the languages of this report, undergoers are generally goal marked in clauses which also take actors. In clauses which do not take actors, undergoers cannot generally be goal-marked.

In Newari, only those verbs which occur with actors are personal. All other verbs are impersonal. (Impersonal verbs have only disjunct finite forms. Personal verbs have both conjunct and disjunct personal forms. See Section II.C. above.) In the pronominalized languages (Chepang, Kham, and Sunwar) there is a marker in the verb which agrees with the actor in person and number. This marker is present only in verbs which occur with actors. In Nepali, there is an agreement pattern both within the set of clauses which have actors and in the set which lacks actors but has undergoers. In clauses which have neither actors nor undergoers the agreement pattern is lacking. The contrast in Nepali between the set of clauses with actors and the set which lacks actors relates to the role played by the subject. In Nepali clauses with actors, the actor is subject and governs the verb for person, number, gender, and honorific grade. In Nepali clauses without actors but with undergoers the undergoer is subject and governs the verb for the same features as does the actor. Clauses lacking both actors and undergoers are subjectless and impersonal.

In Kham there are two different causative constructions, one of which is used with clauses that have actors, the other of which is used with clauses that lack actors.

noe zihm gyo:h-<u>o</u> <u>jxy</u>-keo	He <u>made</u> the house big.
noe ngalay zihm jxy-<u>o</u> <u>pxrin</u>.-nakeo	He <u>made</u> me build a <u>house.</u>

5.   <u>Contrasts</u> <u>between</u> <u>Event</u> <u>Clauses</u> <u>with</u> <u>and</u> <u>without</u> <u>Actors</u>.

There are a number of contrasts which separate the transitive set from the receptive set of clauses. In Kham, the construction -<u>o</u> <u>take</u> is interpreted as a modal verb meaning 'must' in clauses <u>of</u> <u>the</u> transitive set but as a marker of a kind of nominal embedding in the receptive set.

nga: zihm jxy-<u>o</u> <u>take</u>	I <u>must</u> build a house.
khyu:-<u>o</u> <u>take</u>	The worn out one <u>is</u> <u>the</u> <u>one</u> <u>which</u> became chosen.

Also in Kham, the modal verb, <u>pxyn</u>.- 'want', carries the meaning 'want' when it occurs in clauses <u>of</u> the transitive set but is interpreted to mean 'about to' in clauses of the receptive set.

noe zihm jxy-<u>o</u> <u>pxyn</u>.-zyao	He <u>wants</u> <u>to</u> build a house.
noe si-<u>o</u> <u>pxyn</u>.-zyao	He is <u>about</u> <u>to</u> die.

In Tamang, the modal verb, <u>'syee</u>- 'know', is interpreted to mean 'know how' when it occurs in clauses of the transitive set but is interpreted to mean 'seem' when it occurs in clauses of the receptive set.

thece 'raapa <u>'syee</u>-pa	She <u>knows</u> <u>how</u> to weave.
the chingpa <u>'syee</u>-pa	He <u>seems</u> <u>to</u> be waking up.

Another contrast quite general to the languages of this report relates to the use of the imperative. In general imperatives have their normal interpretation only with clauses of the transitive set. Where imperatives are possible with clauses of the imperative set they generally have a semantically irregular interpretation.

Jirel, Newari, and Sherpa have conjunct-disjunct agreement patterns in clauses of the transitive set but not in clauses of the receptive set.

In Kham the passive voice occurs with clauses of the transitive set but not with clauses of the receptive set.

In Kham, a single occurrence of the verbal affix -si marks actor deletion in the transitive set but undergoer deletion in clauses of the receptive set. In the transitive set the sequence -si-si is possible. It marks the deletion of both the actor and the undergoer. Such a sequence is not possible in clauses of the receptive set.

For Transitive and BiTransitive clauses in Kham there are three kinds of nominals that can be formed.

o-jxy-o	The one which he made
jxy-si-o	The one which was made
jxy-o	The one who made

For SemiTransitive and Intransitive clauses there are two kinds of nominals, but for Receptive clauses there is only one such nominal.

si-o	The one who died.

In Nepali, the verbal affix -i, which marks a passive from which an actor has been deleted, occurs only in the transitive set of clauses.

Content questions which elicit a verb form as an answer tend also to show a contrast between clauses of the transitive set and clauses of the receptive set. Questions which elicit transitive set forms have expressions which may be glossed 'What did he do?' whereas questions which elicit receptive set forms have expressions which may be glossed 'What happened to it/him?'

6.   Contrasts between State Clauses with and without
     Actors (Statants).

There are relatively few contrasts between the stative and
the attributive sets beyond those mentioned in Section 4.   In
Jirel and Sherpa, the tense markers, -kio and -kiwi occur with
clauses of the stative set but not in clauses of the attributive
set.

In Kham the causative does not occur with clauses of the
stative set but does occur with clauses of the attributive set.

G.   Patterning of Clause Types.

There appear at present to be three basic patterning of
clause types in terms of which all the systems of basic con-
trastive clause types can be described.   Pattern I can be de-
scribed as the result of the application of three constraints
upon the full transitivity matrix:

1)   There is at least one role per basic contrastive clause
     type.

2)   There are no statants (i.e., state actors).

3)   There is no contrastive site.

The first constraint rules out the Eventive and Circumstantial
patterns.   The second constraint rules out the whole stative
set.   The third constraint rules out BiTransitive, SemiTransi-
tive, BiReceptive, SemiReceptive, BiAttributive, and SemiAttri-
butive.   Pattern I is exemplified by Chepang and can be repre-
sented in terms of the following matrix.   One point of indeci-
sion in the Chepang analysis is whether or not the BiTransitive
type is independently contrastive.   If this is ultimately re-
cognized as a separate type, it may represent an entering wedge
for the contrastive status of site in general.

Pattern II differs from Pattern I in having eight contras-
tive clause types where Pattern I has four.   For each of the
types in Pattern I, Pattern II has one added type with a con-
trastive site.   Pattern II is exemplified by Tamang and can be
represented in terms of the following matrix.

	T		I
	R		
	A		

Figure 15.   Clause type Pattern I: Chepang.

BT	T	ST	I
BR	R		
BA	A		

Figure 16.   Clause type Pattern II: Tamang.

Kham and Sunwar may be described in relation to Pattern II.
Kham is simply Pattern II plus Stative and Descriptive.   Sunwar
is Pattern II plus SemiAttributive and Eventive.

Pattern III can be described as the result of the applica-
tion of two constraints upon the full transitivity matrix:

1)   There is at least one role per basic contrastive clause
type.

2)   There are no statants (i.e., state actors).

Pattern III is exemplified by Magar and can be represented in
terms of the following matrix.

The remaining languages of this report can be described in
relation to Pattern III.   Newari is Pattern III plus Stative.

BT	T	ST	I
BR	R	SR	
BA	A	SA	

Figure 17. Clause type Pattern III: Magar.

Nepali is Pattern III plus Eventive. Jirel is Pattern III plus
Stative and SemiStative. Sherpa is Pattern III plus Stative,
SemiStative, and Descriptive.

All the clause types in the transitivity matrix have been
required for the purpose of describing clause derivation. No
single language has more than thirteen of the sixteen possible
basic contrastive clause types. Thus far there are only two
cells in the transitivity matrix for which no language of the
report has an inherent basic clause type. We have found no
example of a contrastive BiStative clause, nor of a contrastive
Circumstantial clause.

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        of this volume.)

FOOTNOTES.

    [1]This paper grows out of a workshop held in Nepal during the
academic year 1971-72 under the project direction of Kenneth L.
Pike. Had it not been for the stimulation and encouragement of
Kenneth and Evelyn Pike, the approach described here and the re-
sults which have come from it might never have developed. It
should not be assumed, however, that they would agree with
everything presented here. We wish also to thank Joseph E.
Grimes for helpful comments on Section II.A.

    The analyses surveyed in this paper represent the work of
many people. We wish to express our appreciation to the follow-
ing individuals for stimulating discussion and for willingness
to share their findings: Burkhard Schottelndreyer (Sherpa),
Ross Caughley (Chepang), Dora Bieri and Marlene Schulze (Sunwar),
Doreen Taylor (Tamang), Gary Shepherd (Magar), Churamani Bandhu
(Nepali), Thakurlal Manandhar (Newari), Esther Strahm and Anita
Maibaum (Jirel), Kent Gordon (Dhangar), Jennifer Williams and
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Trail.

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2778 (014).

    [2]Though the particular systematization of actor and under-
goer given here is relatively new to tagmemics, the idea of

sememic functions as such is not entirely new. See, for example,
Pike, 1967:196, 219. ·Corresponding references can be found in
the preliminary edition of 1959. The influence of Fries, 1952,
in this development was undoubtedly important.

[3]Fillmore (1968:59) has commented on the difficulty of de-
fining the notion of subject in certain languages such as the
so-called ergative languages. The references cited by Fillmore
are not available to the writers, but from Fillmore's comments
we would judge that these references support our contention that
notions such as subject are not uniformly useful in the descrip-
tion of all languages of the world. The fact that they are not
makes them interesting from a typological point of view.

[4]We have limited our discussion to relationships that can be
seen in surface paradigms. Going deeper to case or role rela-
tionships in English, the notion of subject is associated with a
ranking of cases which determines the unmarked choice of subject
for a given clause. As Grimes points out (personal communica-
tion) this ranking is also operative in the marked choices of
subject associated with passive constructions. Passive simply
allows the choice of something other than an agent as subject.

[5]There are a great number of rules involving the subject
relation in English that we have not mentioned. Deletion in
certain dependent clauses, for example, is conditioned upon sub-
ject sharing. If a subject is deleted from the dependent clause
it is understood to be identical to the subject of the main
clause. Thus the oddity of

    Having rained, I went downtown to get some rice.

is related to the oddity of

    I rained

and the deleted giver of the book in

    Having given me a book, John felt generous.

is understood to be the subject of the main clause, namely, John.
Furthermore, even if there is no underlying role available to act
as subject in a given sentence, the grammar of English will pro-
vide one, thus preserving the subject patterning required in

English.   Thus the sentence

It is raining.

has a subject but this subject plays no semantic role in relation to the verb.   One does not ask

What's raining?

It is also clear that the subject relation in English is quite independent of any particular case or role relation (in contrast, as we shall see, to Newari).   Thus we have subjects which are agents,

He built the house.

subjects which are (moving) objects,

The tree fell.

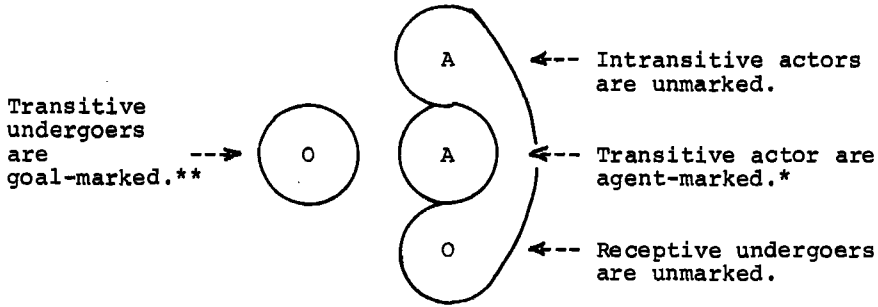subjects which are locations,

Kathmandu has an ideal climate.

subjects which are affected patients,

The house burned down.

and the like.   We wish to thank Joseph E. Grimes for pointing out the relevance of these observations to our argument.
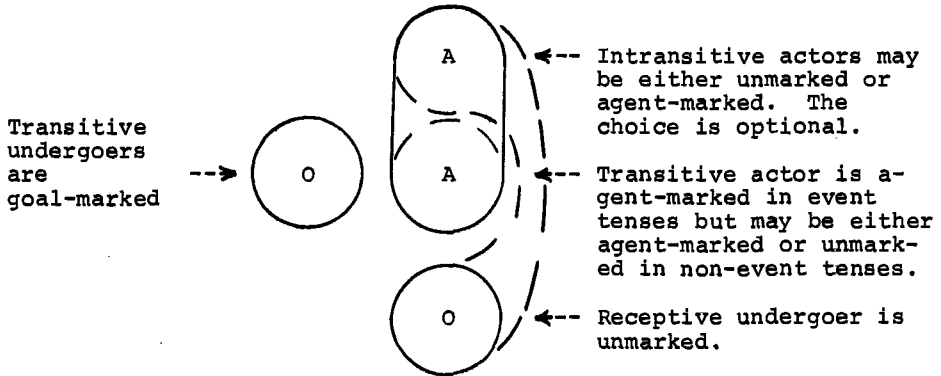
[6]In terms of Fillmore's discussion of Sapir's typology of pronoun forms, the most common pattern in the languages of this report is that of Takelma:

Transitive
undergoers
are
goal-marked.**

O

A ←-- Intransitive actors
are unmarked.

A ←-- Transitive actor are
agent-marked.*

O ←-- Receptive undergoers
are unmarked.

*In certain languages agent marking is limited to certain
combinations of tense and person. Where these combina-
tions do not obtain, actors are unmarked. This pattern
may possibly show a transition to Sapir's Paiute type.

**Goal-marking of undergoers is very often optional.
Where undergoers are pronouns, however, goal-marking is
almost universally obligatory.

Western Tamang is unusual among the languages represented here
and may actually be in transition between a Takelma type system
and some other type. Tamang's present configuration constitutes
a type which is not included among Sapir's types.

Transitive
undergoers
are
goal-marked

O

A ←-- Intransitive actors may
be either unmarked or
agent-marked. The
choice is optional.

A ←-- Transitive actor is a-
gent-marked in event
tenses but may be either
agent-marked or unmark-
ed in non-event tenses.

O ←-- Receptive undergoer is
unmarked.

[7]For the Chepang examples used in this paper we are indebted to Ross Caughley.

[8]The Nepali examples used in this paper are taken from Bandhu, 1973.

[9]For the Magar examples used in this paper we are indebted to Gary Shepherd.

[10]Watters, 1973, page 97.

[11]For the Sunwar examples used in this paper we are indebted to Dora Bieri and Marelene Schulze.

[12]For the Sherpa examples used in this paper we are indebted to Burkhard Schöttelndreyer. Many of them have been taken from Schöttelndreyer, 1972.

[13]For the Jirel examples used in this paper we are indebted to Esther Strahm and Anita Maibaum.

[14]For the Tamang examples used in this paper we are indebted to Doreen Taylor. Many of them have been taken from Taylor, 1973.

[15]Jirel constitutes an apparent contradiction of this statement. In Jirel, the goal marker is -la. It has two uses. It may be used to mark a locative site and it may be used to mark an undergoer. It is thus possible to have two occurrences of -la in a given clause.

    'the-ki phija-la 'sa-laq   'jyaksung
    he-Agt child-Gol ground-Loc put
    He put the child on the ground.

Under pronominalization, however, the two kinds of -la behave differently. The undergoer retains its goal marker but the locative construction is replaced by a locative pro-form.

    'the-ki 'the-la 'thern 'jyaksung
    he-Agt he-Gol there put
    He put him there.

[16]The past conjunct form actually does occur with first person actors in Newari questions, but the question is then rhetorical. Thus, a clause such as

Jii saphuu khanā lā?   Did I see the book?

is to be interpreted as a denial. It is another way of saying 'I certainly did not see the book.'

[17]The verbal affixes -sung and -tuk in Jirel are both past disjunct forms. The affix -sung conveys the meaning of certainty, visibility, and proximity; -tuk conveys the meaning of uncertainty, invisibility, and non-proximity.

[18]The voiced prefixes *b- or *d- of Benedict (1972: 104, 111) may possibly be reflected in these verb pairs of Jirel and Sherpa. Sprigg (1954:153 ff.) lists similar pairs for Lhasa Tibetan, without, however any reference to their historical development.

[19]In Watters, 1973, the causative pxrin. was also viewed as having the frame, actor, undergoer, locative site. Watters has changed his opinion at this point. The view presented here supercedes that of Watters 1973.

[20]Further support of this analysis is found in the fact that the goal marker, -lay is optional at the first of the two examples cited but obligatory in the second. Goal marking in Kham is in general obligatory with goal-sites but optional with undergoers. Thus, the phrase glossed 'his dog' is an undergoer in the first example, but a goal-site in the second.