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Edited by Carol Genetti

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Thanks are also due to Dr. Laura Crain, a scholar of Nepali linguistics who contributed to the class both her collection of literature on Nepali linguistics and the narratives which she had collected and transcribed during the course of her work on Nepali. In addition, she was always available for discussion of grammatical issues and kindly read and commented on many of the enclosed papers.

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sabaylaay haamro dhanyawaat dinchāw!

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
AXL	auxiliary linker (-i)
be1	copula <i>hunu</i> w/ initial <i>h-</i> in present tense
be2	copula <i>hunu</i> w/ initial <i>ch-</i> in present tense
BEN	benefactive
COMM	committative
COMP	complementizer
CP	conjunctive participle (-era)
DAT	dative
DIST	distal
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EVID	hearsay evidential particle (<i>re</i>)
EXCL	exclamation
f	feminine
FS	false start
FUT	future 1 (- <i>ne-cha</i>)
FUT2	future 2 (- <i>laa</i>)
GEN	genitive
H	high-grade honorific
HES	hesitation
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive (- <i>nu</i>)
INST	instrumental
IP	imperfective participle (- <i>ne</i>)
L	low-grade honorific
LOC	locative
m	masculine
M	mid-grade honorific
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer (- <i>na</i>)
onom.	onomotapoeia
p	plural
PASS	passive
PL	plural

PP	perfective participle (<i>-eko</i>)
PP2	perfective participle 2 (<i>-e</i>)
PR	present
PRIV	privative
PROG	progressive (aspectual <i>-day</i>)
PROX	proximate
PRT	particle
PSTHAB	past habitual
QT	quantifier
REDUP	reduplication
REF	reflexive
s	singular
SP	simultaneous participle (<i>-daa, -day</i>)

Abbreviations of Text Names

Lo	Lobhi Kukur
Ki	Kickanne
Kh	Kharab keTo
Ha	Haa ~ so
Al	Alsi Maanche
Kw	Kwaa ~ ti
Bi	Bidesi
Bh	Bhut ko Kathaa
Pa	Paraasar Risi
Tx1,2...	Unpublished text collected in class

Introduction (with a Sketch of Nepali Grammar)

Carol Genetti
University of California, Santa Barbara

0.0 Introduction

This volume contains four analytical papers and a collection of narrative texts on Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language which is the national language of the country of Nepal. The papers and most of the texts are the direct result of a graduate course in Field Methods at UCSB over the 1992-1993 academic year.

The informant for this course was Dr. Min Bahadur Bista, at the time a Ph.D. student studying educational policy. Dr. Bista is originally from Pyuthan, a village located in the hills of western Nepal. Dr. Bista moved to the capital of Kathmandu in order to pursue his education at the age of 14, then came to Santa Barbara as a Fulbright Scholar in the fall of 1991. Dr. Bista is well-known as a modern poet in his native country. He speaks Hindi, as well as Nepali and English.

There are four papers (besides this introduction) in the current volume. Ichihashi-Nakayama explores properties of "dative subject" constructions in Nepali. Her paper includes semantic and syntactic categorization of the constructions, and a detailed examination of which NPs in the construction exhibit subject properties. She concludes that

while the dative-marked argument has the largest number of subject properties, these properties are all "behavior properties" with essentially discourse functions, suggesting that dative "subjects" might best be thought of as topics. The second paper in the volume, by Elise Kärkkäinen, explores the *i(n)* passive construction. She shows that the *i(n)* construction may be found forming two morphosyntactically distinct passives: the prototypical passive and the impersonal passive, the latter being very common in discourse and the former being quite rare. The third paper by Nicholas Kibre explores the morphological and syntactic properties of constructions formed by the juxtaposition of nouns with the verb *gar-nu* 'to do', 'to make'. While these constructions display both semantic and idiosyncratic characteristics which are similar to properties of compounds, Kibre gives morphological and syntactic evidence that demonstrates that in actuality these constructions are not compounds. He suggests an expansion of our notion of "derivation" to include the derivation of "lexical items" as well as the derivation of words. The fourth paper by Keith Slater examines the distribution of the two sequential participles *daa* and *day*. While these have generally been considered in the literature as variations of a single morpheme, Slater convincingly argues that they are in fact syntactically distinct. His paper examines both syntactic and functional properties of a number of constructions utilizing these morphemes.

The papers included are all written within a functional/typological framework, hence do not seek to explain linguistic phenomena in terms of formal models of grammar. Instead, it is assumed that the ultimate goal of linguistics is to understand the relationship between linguistic constructions and their communicative functions in natural language. This approach thus places a strong reliance on naturally produced discourse, especially narrative

and conversation. Quantitative studies are seen as especially important in revealing the actual distribution of a given linguistic form. In addition, attested phenomena are examined within their typological contexts in order to provide insights both from and into the study of language universals.

The data for the papers primarily consist of elicitation notes collected in the course of the Field Methods class, and texts either collected in the class or supplied from elsewhere (see below). Previous articles on Nepali linguistics were also used and may be cited. Examples from texts will be marked as such in the papers, with the name of the text given on the line preceding the example. Those examples taken from elicitation sessions will not have a source marked.

Most of the texts which were collected over the course of the year have been included in the present volume. Several have been excluded as they were deemed inappropriate for publication (when examples are taken from these, they will be cited simply as Text (TX) 1, 2 etc.). Two additional texts to be found here are "Bhut ko Kathaa" which was collected in Nepal by Dr. Laura Crain, and which she kindly provided to us in a glossed and translated format, and the text entitled "Paraasar Risi", which I collected in Nepal in 1989, and which was primarily glossed and translated by Jim Reed. In addition to these materials, the collection of narratives in Hari (1973), and Guruprasad Mainali's short story "Naaso", which is provided in glossed and translated form in Acharya (1991), were also used as data and may be cited in the papers. Transcription and glosses in the latter works have been modified to match our own as necessary.

As we proceeded through the course, numerous issues revolving around the correct representation and glossing of morphemes were discussed. Any one system will by nature be inadequate as language is more complex than a simple linear joining of forms and meanings. We make no claims as to the primacy of our system; it is simply one way of representing our knowledge of Nepali grammar and our understanding of the nature of language at this time. We have strived for consistency across the contributors to this volume, however some discrepancies have inevitably slipped past. The list of abbreviations may be found on page iv.

This introduction will provide general background information about Nepali and a brief overview of some of the basic grammatical structures. Section 1.0 presents the geographic situation of the language and recent census figures on numbers of speakers. Section 2.0 discusses issues of genetic affiliation, language contact and dialectal variation. Section 3.0 provides a brief overview of some of the basic grammatical structures of the language: 3.1 presents the phonemic inventory and orthography; 3.2 is concerned with basic nominal morphology; 3.3 presents numerous aspects dealing with verb morphology, including discussion of both finite and non-finite verb forms and the construction of complex verbal predicates; 3.4 gives very brief discussions of several features of Nepali syntax; and 3.5 concludes the paper with a summary of some of the typological features of the language. The grammatical overview falls far short of being a full description of the language; its primary function is to provide background information for people unfamiliar with Nepali grammar in order to aid their understanding of the papers and texts.

Appended to this paper is a bibliography of some of the works in Nepalese linguistics which have been written in English. A quite extensive bibliography is provided by Aggarwal (1991) to which the reader is referred for a more complete listing.

1.0 Geographic situation

Nepali, also referred to as Gorkhali, is an Indo-Aryan language. It is spoken not only throughout Nepal, but is also found in large numbers in Northern India (particularly in the Darjeeling area), Sikkim, and Bhutan. According to a 1991 census, the number of Nepali speakers in Nepal is approximately 9,300,000 (HMG Central Bureau of Statistics 1993). It is unclear whether this number indicates native speakers of the language only, or whether it also includes the many speakers of other languages that learned Nepali as a second language for use as a lingua franca. While many languages of Nepal unfortunately will face extinction over the coming decades, the number of Nepali speakers is likely to continue to grow as the population of Nepal expands, and as speakers of other languages favor teaching Nepali to their children in order to increase their chances of obtaining an education and socioeconomic success.

Nepal is a country of great geographic and ethnic diversity. Approximately the size of California, Nepal stretches along the Himalayan mountain range between India and Tibet. There are three primary geographic bands that run the length of Nepal. The southernmost is the Tarai, a sub-tropical jungle with a very low elevation, slightly above sea level. To the north of this is the second band, which contains ranges of steep hills carved by deep channels of swiftly flowing rivers and interspersed with small, fertile valleys. The largest of these is

the politically-important Kathmandu Valley, which is home to the capital Kathmandu, and to the old Newar cities of Patan and Bhaktapur. The third geographic band is the Himalayan mountain range, which lies along the northern border with Tibet.

The many natural boundaries which result from the geographic makeup of Nepal have resulted in numerous linguistic boundaries as well. There are probably over 100 languages spoken in this country. The 1991 census gives information on only 32 languages (HMG Central Bureau of Statistics 1993). That study is problematic, however, in that it counts as a single language several groups that are made up of more than one distinct language. The most notable example of this is the Rai/Kiranti group, treated as a single language in the census, but which clearly constitutes an entire language family, with several obvious subgroups, and possibly as many as eighty distinct members (Hansson 1991). The languages of Nepal are primarily of either Indo-Aryan or Tibeto-Burman stock, with the Indo-Aryan languages tending to be located in the Tarai region along the border with India, and the Tibeto-Burman languages being found throughout the hills and high Himalayas. Nepali, as the national language and lingua franca, is spoken throughout.

2.0 Genetic affiliation, language contact and dialectal variation

The genetic subgrouping of the Indo-Aryan languages is problematic. The reasons for this are summarized by Massica:

"A *Stammbaum* represents historical linguistic reality with minimal distortion in a situation where the diverging branches lose contact with one another and remain thus, because of geographical or longstanding political separation. If they remain in contact, or come into contact again (through further migrations, or assimilation of

intervening peoples), the effects of mutual borrowing may greatly obscure the relationships, or make it difficult to construct a *Stammbaum* at all.

This is preeminently the case with Indo-Aryan, which has developed primarily in an area with few internal natural barriers, where unstable political units have often not coincided with linguistic units, and where significant internal migrations have taken place. The resulting dialectal continuum thus creates problems for NIA subclassification..." (1991:446)

Due to these problems, the genetic positioning of Nepali within the Indo-Aryan family is unclear. It has been grouped in three classifications with Garhwali and Kumauni (sometimes referred to as "Pahari" languages; lit. 'of the hills'); in a fourth with Pahari, Hindi, Punjabi, Rajasthani and Gujarati; in a fifth with Central Pahari, Rajasthani, Hindi and Bihari; and in a sixth with Pahari, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Lahnda and Sindhi (Massica 1991:451-456).

As the passage by Massica points out, one of the problems in determining genetic affiliation is the affect of language contact. Contact influence can leave its traces both on the lexicon and on the grammar of a language, and Nepali, being in contact with so many languages, is no exception. In terms of the lexicon, loan words from Sanskrit, Hindi and English may be found in great numbers. Loans from Tibeto-Burman languages, most notably Newari (the primary language of the Kathmandu Valley prior to the unification of Nepal), are primarily place names, foods and cultural items. These are much smaller in number and were probably borrowed many centuries in the past.

The possibility of language contact with Tibeto-Burman languages leaving its trace on the grammar of Nepali is discussed in Genetti (1994), which demonstrates the collapse of the verbal categories of number and gender in informal registers of Nepali. Since very few Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal have number agreement, and none have gender agreement, it is certainly possible that the collapse of the categories was fueled by substratum

influence. In this particular case, language-internal factors may also have played a role; the reader is referred to Genetti (1994) for discussion.

As with all living languages, the Nepali language is not a single, unchangeable entity produced in the same way by all speakers. On the contrary, there are countless varieties of Nepali based on both geographic and social factors. What has come to be recognized as "standard Nepali" is the literary register of the Kathmandu dialect. This dialect is the primary language of the national radio, television and print medias; and is taught in schools as "correct Nepali". However, in informal speech, such as conversation, many Nepali speakers make different grammatical and lexical choices, such that the grammar in evidence in such natural data differs at times significantly from that derived through sentence elicitation. An example of this is gender agreement in genitives. A speaker who in elicitation always produces genitive morphemes which agree in gender with the possessed noun (i.e. *sikhaa-ko daay* 'Sikha's brother'; *sikhaa-ki didi* 'Sikha's sister') may use the masculine form with a feminine possessed noun in conversation (*sikhaa-ko didi*). Generally speakers are surprised when this type of difference is pointed out to them in their own speech.

In addition to register-based differences evident in the speech of a single individual, there are many differences between speakers. These differences may be due in part to geographic varieties; Acharya (1991) cites three broad dialectal divisions within Nepal (Eastern, Central and Western), and states that the Darjeeling dialect of West Bengal is separate again. But even within speakers from the same geographic area, from the same city or neighborhood (even from the same family), there is some phonological and grammatical

variation. In the current context, this is especially obvious in the comparison of grammaticality judgements across informants, leading to quite different analyses of a single morphosyntactic subsystem of the language (see the paper by Kärkkäinen for exemplification and discussion of this point). These differences should not be attributed to either informant being incorrect, but should instead be seen as the natural result of a language with only a recent history of standardization. While standardization has made speakers aware of, for example, the prescribed gender agreement patterns in genitives, it has not extended so far as delimiting precisely the grammar of dative subject constructions, or even the "proper" distribution of the ergative morpheme. Such variation must be acknowledged for a full understanding of the language. This is clearly a ripe area of investigation for studies of language variation and change.

3.0 A brief sketch of Nepali grammar

Since a complete grammatical sketch of Nepali grammar far exceeds the scope of the this volume, the current overview will highlight only those areas of Nepali phonology, morphology and syntax which provide the necessary background for basic understanding of the papers and texts. It is designed for the reader who is unfamiliar with Nepali grammatical structure. In particular, this paper will present the phonemic inventory and orthography, will provide an outline of the basic nominal and verbal morphology, and will give a very brief overview of a few syntactic facts which may be helpful to know when analyzing the texts. For more complete reference materials on Nepali grammar the reader is referred to Aggarwal (1991) and the other works cited in this bibliography.

3.1 Phonemic inventory and orthography

3.1.1 Consonants

The full inventory of Nepali stops and affricates is given below. Each phoneme is first represented in IPA, then is followed by the orthographic representation adopted for this volume, given in curly brackets.

(1)	p	{p}	t	{t}	ʈ	{T}	ts	{c}	k	{k}
	p ^h	{ph}	t ^h	{th}	ʈ ^h	{Th}	ts ^h	{ch}	k ^h	{kh}
	b	{b}	d	{d}	ɖ	{D}	dz	{j}	g	{g}
	b ^h	{bh}	d ^h	{dh}	ɖ ^h	{Dh}	dz ^h	{jh}	g ^h	{gh}

From this chart one can see that there are four series of stops: voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and breathy voiced. Stops occur at the bilabial, dental, retroflex and velar places of articulation. There is a parallel series of alveolar affricates. These affricates are laminal in pronunciation, thus sound closer to the palato-alveolar affricates of English than to the sequence [ts]. They are placed in the chart as palatals, following their standard treatment in South Asian linguistics and their alphabetic positioning in the Devanagari writing system.

The dental and retroflex stops are all apical, hence the distinction is more difficult to hear than in some languages. Indeed accurate transcription of this distinction was a problem never entirely surmounted in the Field Methods class. All forms containing coronal stops have been cross-checked with the informant and with Nepali dictionaries to insure accuracy in this volume.

The following wordlist illustrates these consonants. While giving a minimal pair to confirm the phonemic status of each combination of consonants is beyond the scope of the present paper, the list is intended to illustrate the primary distinctions between series.¹

(2)	parsi	'day after tomorrow'	pharsi	'squash; pumpkin'
	baaTa	'from'	bhaaTaa	'strip of bamboo'
	taal	'lake'	daal	'cooked lentils'
	Dhaal	'sword'	haaT	'market'
	haat	'hand'	haaD	'bone'
	Dunggaa	'boat'	Dhunggaa	'stone'
	maathi	'above'	laaThi	'stick'
	jaraa	'root'	caraa	'bird'
	caa ~ yaa	'dandruff'	caa ~ yaa	'shadow'
	jaal	'net'	jhaal	'support for vines'
	lek	'mountain'	lekh	'article'
	gaa ~ j	'root'	ghaa ~ s	'grass'

Nepali has four nasal consonants, as follows:

(3)	bilabial	m	{m}
	dental	n	{n}
	retroflex	ɳ	{N}
	velar	ŋ	{ng}

The retroflex nasal is quite rare, being found primarily in Sanskrit loan words. The velar nasal has restricted distribution in that it occurs word-initially in only a handful of words, many of them onomatopoeic. A sample of words with these sounds is given below:

¹ The data in this paper are taken from elicited class notes and unpublished class papers unless otherwise noted.

(4)	naamlo	'trumpline'	naanglo	'winnowing tray'
	dhaam	'pilgrimage'	dhaan	'uncooked rice'
	naap	'measure, standard'	maaph	'forgiveness'
	biNaa	'musical instrument'	binaa	'without'

While the inventory of stops and nasals is well represented over multiple places of articulation, all other consonant types are quite limited. Specifically, Nepali has two fricatives, two liquids and two glides:

(5)	s	{s}	h	{h}
	l	{l}	r ²	{r}
	j	{y}	w	{w}

The phoneme /h/ is often, but not always, pronounced with a breathy articulation. While some words seem to be consistently breathy and others consistently voiceless, other words seem to have free variation between the two. No contrasts or conditioning environments have been found. The informant seemed unaware of the phonetic distinction we were making while trying to understand the distribution of allophones. /h/ does not occur in word-final position.

Words illustrating these consonants are as follows:

(6)	sun	'gold'	hun	'be' (3p)
	raaj	'kingdom'	laaj	'shame'
	yahaa ~	'here'	wahaa ~	'there'

3.1.2 Vowels

² For typographic convenience, we use this symbol to indicate a retroflex flap.

Nepali has twelve phonemic vowels, six oral and six nasal:³

(7)	i {i}	ĩ {i~}	u {u}	ũ {u~}
	e {e}	ẽ {e~}	o {o}	õ {o~}
	a {aa}	ã {aa~}	ʌ {a}	ʌ̃ {a~}

A wonderful minimal set for the six oral phonemes is provided by Acharya (1991:31):

(8)	khip	'safety pin'
	khep	'trip'
	khap	'tolerate, bear pain' (imperative)
	khaap	'overlap' (imperative)
	khop	'vaccination'
	khup	'very'

Pairs which contrast the oral and nasal phonemes include:

(9)	baas	'shelter'	baa ~ s	'bamboo'
	uTh	'stand' (imperative)	u ~ T	'camel'
	awlo	'malaria'	aw ~ lo	'finger'
	hi ~ saa	'animal sacrifice'	hisaap	'account, reckoning'

3.2 Basic Nominal Morphology

The inflectional categories relevant to the Nepali noun include gender, number and case.

Nepali exhibits what Massica (1991:221) has labelled an "attenuated gender system", meaning that it only reflects sexual gender of animate nouns; all inanimate nouns are grammatically masculine. Only a small number of Nepali nouns show overt morphological

³ There is actually considerable allophonic variation in the vowels which will not be represented here.

differentiation for gender, i.e. *choro* 'son', *chori* 'daughter'. However the gender distinctions are maintained elsewhere in the grammar, primarily in the inflection of nominal modifiers (adjectives, pronouns, demonstratives) and verb agreement.

Plural number in Nepali is optionally marked with the suffix *-haru*; in elicited speech our informant was consistent in using the suffix in plural contexts. The semantics of *-haru* indicate more than simple plurality; *-haru* often has a collective sense, referring to a group of objects associated with that denoted by the noun:

- (10) phalphul-haru 'fruit and things like fruit'
manoj-haru 'Manoj and his family'
aamaa-haru 'mother and other relatives in her house'

Nepali has an extensive casemarking system. Casemarkers appear to be morphological clitics as opposed to being nominal suffixes or independent postpositions, however this has not been fully determined. The cases in Nepali can be divided into core cases and peripheral cases. The core cases are used to casemark primary grammatical relations in the clause. Subjects of transitive clauses are obligatorily marked with the ergative *-le* in perfective contexts and are occasionally marked with it in imperfective contexts; they may also appear unmarked in imperfective contexts. Subjects of intransitive clauses are generally unmarked (the primary exception being dative subject constructions, see Ichihashi-Nakayama (this volume)). Objects may be unmarked or marked with the dative *-laay*. The exact factors which condition the occurrence of *-le* and *-laay* are quite varied. Kärkkäinen (this volume) discusses these issues in some detail and provides exemplification.

Nepali also has a wide number of peripheral casemarkers which mark arguments external to the predication of the verb. These include the locative *maa*, the ablative *baaTa*, the instrumental *le* (syncretic with the ergative), the commitative *sangga* and the genitive *ko/kaa/ki* (which inflects for gender and number).

3.3 Basic Verbal Morphology

3.3.1 The Finite Verb

The Nepali finite verb inflects for the person, number, gender and honorific status of the subject. The category person is represented by a simple first versus second versus third person split. Number is singular versus plural; gender masculine versus feminine. The honorific levels distinguish a three-way system: low-grade (L), used primarily for servants, children, animals and those one does not respect; mid-grade (M), used for social equals; and high-grade (H), used for teachers, elders, and others of higher social status or whom one holds in respect. Among high-grade forms, no distinction is made for second versus third person; first person subjects are never referred to as high-grade.

In addition to the above categories which are based on properties of the subject, the verb also inflects for four simple tenses: past habitual, past, present and future. (Combining verbs with copulas and auxiliaries results in a number of further tense and aspectual distinctions; these are discussed in 3.4). The final verbal category is negation.

Verbal morphology in Nepali is often more fusional than agglutinative. While in many verb forms it is possible to isolate separate formatives which are clearly associated with a particular meaning, other cases present complications for morphological analysis. For

these reasons, a complete morphological breakdown of the verb morphology is not given here.

Nepali verbs may be divided into inflectional stem classes; the details of each class are beyond the scope of the present work, but may be found in works cited in the bibliography. The following paradigm lists all the finite forms for the verb *ghum-nu* 'to walk around; to travel':

ghum-nu 'to walk around; to travel' Affirmative Paradigm⁴

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>
1s	ghum-chu	ghum-ē	ghum-ūlaa
1p	ghum-chaw ~	ghum-yaw ~	ghum-aw ~ laa
2,s,m,LGH	ghum-chas	ghum-is	ghum-laas
2,s,f,LGH	ghum-ches	ghum-is	ghum-lis
2,s,m,MGH	ghum-chaw	ghum-yaw	ghum-awlaa
2,s,f,MGH	ghum-chew	ghum-yaw	ghum-awli
2,p,m/f,MGH	ghum-chaw	ghum-yaw	ghum-awlaa
3,s,m,LGH	ghum-cha	ghum-yo	ghum-laa
3,s,f,LGH	ghum-che	ghum-i	ghum-li
3,s,m,MGH	ghum-chan	ghum-e	ghum-laan
3,s,f,MGH	ghum-chin	ghum-in	ghum-lin
3,p,m/f,MGH	ghum-chan	ghum-e	ghum-laan
HGH	ghum-nuhuncha	ghum-nubhayo	ghum-nuholaa
	<u>Imperative</u>		
LGH	ghum		
MGH	ghum-a		
HGH	ghum-nuhos / ghum-nus		

⁴Due to formatting considerations, the past habitual negative and affirmative paradigms are presented following the negative paradigms.

ghum-nu 'to walk around; to travel' Negative Paradigm

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Future</u>
1s	ghum-dayna	ghum-ina	na-ghum-ūlaa
1p	ghum-daynaw ~	ghum-enaw ~	na-ghum-aw ~ laa
2,s,m,LGH	ghum-daynas	ghum-inas	na-ghum-laas
2,s,f,LGH	ghum-daynes/-dinas	ghum-ines	na-ghum-lis
2,s,m,MGH	ghum-daynaw	ghum-enaw	na-ghum-awlaa
2,s,f,MGH	ghum-dinew	ghum-inaw	na-ghum-awli
2,p,m/f,MGH	ghum-daynaw	ghum-enaw	na-ghum-awlaa
3,s,m,LGH	ghum-dayna	ghum-ena	na-ghum-laa
3,s,f,LGH	ghum-dayne/-dine	ghum-ina/-ine	na-ghum-li
3,s,m,MGH	ghum-daynan	ghum-enan	na-ghum-laan
3,s,f,MGH	ghum-daynin/dinan	ghum-inan	na-ghum-lin
3,p,m/f,MGH	ghum-daynan	ghum-enan	na-ghum-laan
HGH	ghum-nuhūdayna	ghum-nubhaena	na-ghum-nuholaa
	<u>Imperative</u>		
LGH	na-ghum		
MGH	na-ghuma		
HGH	na-ghumnuhos / na-ghumnus		

ghum-nu 'to walk around; to travel' Past Habitual Paradigm

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1s (m/f)	ghum-the ~	ghum-daynathe ~ / ghum-dinathe ~
1p	ghum-thyaw ~	ghum-daynathyaw ~
2,s,m,LGH	ghum-this	ghum-daynathis
2,s,f,LGH	ghum-this	ghum-daynathis
2,s,m,MGH	ghum-thyaw	ghum-daynathyaw
2,s,f,MGH	ghum-thyaw	ghum-daynathyaw
2,p,m/f,MGH	ghum-thyaw	ghum-daynathyaw
3,s,m,LGH	ghum-thyo	ghum-daynathyo
3,s,f,LGH	ghum-thi	ghum-daynathi
3,s,m,MGH	ghum-the	ghum-daynathe
3,s,f,MGH	ghum-thin	ghum-daynathin
3,p,m/f,MGH	ghum-the	ghum-daynathe
HGH	ghum-nuhunthyo	ghum-nuhundaynathyo ghum-nuhunnathyo

3.3.2 The copula

The Nepali copula *hu-nu* is morphologically more complex than the simple verb. A full paradigm will not be given here. An interesting point to mention however, is that in the present the copula splits into two contrastive paradigms: the one with initial *ch-* (glossed as be2) is used roughly in attributive and locational contexts, while that with initial *h-* (glossed be1) is used roughly in equational and existential contexts:

- (11) **ma ghar-maa chu ~**
 1s house-LOC be2.3smL
 I am at the house.
- (12) **tyo lugaa raamro cha.**
 DIST.L clothes good be2.3smL
 That is a nice piece of clothing.

- (13) **tyo bay~si ho.**
 DIST.L buffalo be1.3smL
 That is a water buffalo.
- (14) **tyaahaa ~ bas-ne ek-janaa maanche ho.**
 there live-IP one-QT man be1.3smL
 There is a man who lives there.

These two paradigms collapse in the past habitual, past and future tenses, as well as in the high-grade honorific forms. In these cases a single paradigm is found regardless of the morphosyntactic environment.

3.3.3 *The simple non-finite verb*

This section will illustrate the morphologically simple non-finite verb forms. These include the infinitive, the nominalizer, a form labelled as an "auxiliary linker", and five participles. While we have worked to assign labels that most closely resemble the overall functions of these morphemes, most of them actually are used in a variety of morphosyntactic environments, and other labels may also be appropriate.

3.3.3.1 The infinitive (glossed INF). The infinitive in Nepali is *-nu*. Some of its uses include citation forms (i.e. *ghum-nu* 'to walk around; travel', *hu-nu* 'to travel'), the formation of the high-grade honorific forms (*ghum-nubhayo*), and serving as the complement of the verb *par-nu* 'to be necessary'.⁵

- (15) **timi aaw-nu par-cha**
 2M come-INF must-3smL.PR
 You must come.

⁵We have analyzed these examples as a complement-taking verb with an infinitive complement. In standard Nepali spelling, the two are commonly written together, so this syntactic construction may be moving toward a morphological one.

3.3.3.2 *The nominalizer* (glossed NOM). The non-finite suffix *-na* functions in Nepali as a nominalizer. While some of the other morphemes labelled here as participles may also have nominalizing functions, *-na* most clearly forms elements which fit into nominal slots in the syntax.

The suffix *-na* is used to form purpose clauses, and in this usage may optionally be followed by the casemarker *-laay*:

- (16) Kh
u sadhay gaay baakhraa caraaw-na jangal-maa jaa-ne
 3sL always cow goat graze-NOM jungle-LOC go-IP
gar-thyo
 do-3smL.PSTHAB

He always used to go to the jungle to graze cows and goats.

- (17) **aspatal pug-na-laay baaTo thoray bhae pani**
 hospital arrive-NOM-DAT road small be.PST-PP2 also
kalpanaa anek kuraa soc-day ga-in⁶
 Kalpanaa several thought think-SP go.PST-3sfM.PST

In order to arrive at the hospital, although the road was small, Kalpanaa went thinking several things.

The nominalizer is also used to refer to an action, as for example in attributive sentences:

- (18) **khaa-na ramaaylo cha**
 eat-NOM fun be2.3smL
 It's fun to eat.

⁶ This example was taken from a popular novel, entitled "Sister Kalpanaa", by Yudhir Thaapaa.

This morpheme also occurs on complement clauses with a wide range of complement-taking verbs, including those in the following list:

- (19) caaha-nu 'to want'
 suru gar-nu 'to begin'
 kosis gar-nu 'to try'
 puraa gar-nu 'to complete'
 sak-nu 'to finish'; 'to be able'
 sidhyaaw-nu 'to finish'
 man par-nu 'to like'
 jaan-nu 'to know how'
 lagaaw-nu 'to cause'
 di-nu 'to give'
 laag-nu 'to start'
 khoj-nu 'to try'

Some textual examples of these verbs with complements in *-na* include:

- (20) Bh
aaphu-laay thakaay laag-era sut-na laag-i rah-e-cha.
 REF-DAT tired feel-CP sleep-NOM start-AXL stay-PP2-3smL
 He himself felt tired and was about to sleep.
- (21) Ki
u ghanTaw~ samma saathi-haru sangga khel-na na-ga-era
 3L hours until friend-PL COMM play-NOM NEG-go-CP
bas-era samaya bitaaw-na caahan-thyo.
 sit-CP time spend-NOM want-3smL.PSTHAB
 He would want to spend time by sitting all alone for hours without going to play with his friends.
- (22) Ki
usle usko baaw-aamaa-ko agaaDi tyo -- tyo
 3L.ERG 3L.GEN father-mother-GEN in.front DIST.L DIST.L
keTi-laay bolaaw-na sak-dayna-thyo.
 girl-DAT invite-NOM able-NEG-3smL.PSTHAB
 He was not able to invite the girl in front of his parents.

- (23) Lo
 ra uni-haru pani tyo mar-eko janaawar khaa-na khoj-e.
 and 3L.ERG-PL also DIST.L die-PP animal eat-NOMtry-3pM.PST
 And they also tried to eat that dead animal.

3.3.3.3 *The participles.* Of the five forms glossed as "participle", two are used primarily in the formation of relative clauses, two are found most often in adverbial subordinate clauses, and one is used exclusively in forming clause chains.

The perfective participle *-eko* (glossed PP) and the imperfective participle *-ne* (glossed IP) are in partial paradigmatic alternation, in that they are both used in the formation of relative clauses. Both morphemes are also found forming morphologically complex tense/aspect distinctions.

In the formation of relative clauses, the perfective participle *-eko* is generally used when the action denoted by the relative clause is perfective in aspect; the imperfective participle *-ne* is used otherwise:

- (24) hi ~ jo aa-eko maanche
 yesterday come-PP man
 The man who came yesterday
- (25) bholi aaw-ne maanche
 tomorrow come-IP man
 The man who will come tomorrow.

The fact that the distribution of the participles is based on an aspectual, as opposed to a tense distinction, can be seen in the following example, in which a past imperfective relative clause verb is suffixed with the morpheme *-ne*. (The past habitual here is formed periphrastically with the verb 'do' functioning as an auxiliary.)

- (26) **khaa-ne gar-i-ne roTi**
 eat-IP do-PASS-IP bread
 The bread we used to eat.

However, when a perfective relative clause verb co-occurs with a stative main clause predicate, the imperfective participle may be used in the formation of the relative clause. According to our consultant, in the following sentence both *-eko* and *-ne* are appropriate:

- (27) **hi~jo aaw-ne / aa-eko maanche mero bhaay ho**
 yesterday come-IP come-PP man 1sGEN y.brother be1.3smL
 The man who came yesterday is my brother.

An additional function of *-eko* is that it is used to form causal adverbial clauses when followed by the ergative/instrumental morpheme *-le*:

- (28) **Lo**
tara tyo kukur dheray baliyo bha-eko-le
 but DIST.L dog very strong be.PST-PP-INST

aru kukur-haru-laay khaa-na di-ena.
 other dog-PL-DAT eat-NOM give-NEG.3smL.PST
 But, because the dog was very strong, he did not let other dogs eat.

On the other hand, *-ne* is used in some complement constructions, particularly with the main verbs *aasaa gar-nu* 'hope', *yojanaa gar-nu*, *kuraa gar-nu* 'talk', *banaaw-nu* 'make' and *arumati di-nu* 'permit'. An example is:

- (29) **DaakTar hu-ne aasaa gar-chu**
 doctor be1-IP hope do-1s.PR
 I hope to be a doctor.
 I have a hope that I will become a doctor.

A second perfective participle (glossed as PP2) is the morpheme *-e*, which appears to be a historical etymon in *-eko* (the *-ko* is clearly derived from the genitive morpheme, as seen from its gender agreement patterns). The distribution of *-e* is much more limited, being primarily used in the construction of adverbial subordinate clauses. Some examples of this morpheme are the following:

- (30) Kh
tara sun-e taapani tyeslaay uni-haru-le waastaa
 but hear-PP2 although DIST.L.DAT 3M-PL-ERG care

gar-enan.

do-NEG.3p.PST

But although they heard (him), they didn't care about that.

- (31) Bh
ani tyo khoTo-maa aago laag-e pachi besmaari bal-cha.
 then DIST.L pitch-LOC fire touch-PP2 after strongly burn-3msL.PR
 Then after he touched the fire to the pitch, (the ghost) strongly flames up.

The second perfect participle is also used in the construction of the "narrative past" paradigm, discussed in 3.4.

The simultaneous participles *-daa* and *-day* (glossed as SP) are used to form adverbial subordinate clauses. Their distribution and the differences between them are the subject of the paper by Slater (this volume); the reader is referred there for further information.

The conjunctive participle *-era* (glossed CP) is used in clause chaining constructions. While clause chains linked with this suffix may indicate events with temporal overlap, it is more common for these constructions to indicate sequential actions:

(32) Bh
 ani tyo mahi-sahi paar-era ghu jhik-ne
 then DIST.L buttermilk-REDUP churn-CP ghee take.out-IP
 Then he churned the buttermilk, etc., and took out the ghee.

(33) Kw
 yoTaa gahiro bhaa ~ Do-maa tel haal-era tataa-in-cha
 one deep pot-LOC oil put-CP heat-PASS-3smL.PR
 Oil is put into a deep pot and heated.

All non-final clauses in clause chains are non-finite, and take their tense/aspect values from the marking of the final clause. For a full study of the syntactic and discourse properties of this construction, see Crain (1992).

3.3.3.4 *The "auxiliary linker"* (glossed AXL). A final non-finite verbal suffix to be discussed is *-i* which we have labelled as an "auxiliary linker" as it is found in many constructions in which a main verb is followed by an auxiliary verb, creating a complex verbal predicate. Auxiliary verbs which follow this morpheme include the common auxiliaries *di-nu* 'give' (which has a benefactive/malefactive function, among other things) and *raha-nu* 'to remain, wait, stay' (which creates the progressive aspect):

(34) Kh
 ra baagh-le raame-ko sampuNa gaay-baakhraa-haru
 and tiger-ERG Raame-GEN all cow-goat-PL

khaa-i di-yo
 eat-AXL give-3smL.PST

And the tiger ate all of Raame's livestock.

(35) Bh
 aaphu-laay thakaay laag-era sut-na laag-i rah-e-cha
 REF-DAT tired feel-CP sleep-NOM start-AXL stay-PP2-3smL
 He himself felt tired and started to sleep.

A number of other verbs may also be used as auxiliaries. Full discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper.

3.4 Complex verbal predicates

Along with the four way tense/aspect distinction coded in the inflection of the simple finite verb, Nepali grammar allows for the marking of additional distinctions through the construction of complex verbal predicates. These predicates are generally constructed in one of two ways: by combining a participial form of the main verb with a copula, or by placing a verbal auxiliary after the main verb.

The construction of perfect aspect falls into the former category. It is formed by suffixing the main verb with the perfect participle *-eko* and following it with the appropriate form of *hu-nu*. By changing the tense inflection of *hu-nu*, the tense of the perfect construction also changes. The following examples illustrate the past perfect (36), the present perfect (37) and the future perfect (38). The latter is often most felicitously formed with the auxiliary *sak-nu* 'be able', which lends an additional perfect sense and is often translated as 'already':

- (36) **Kh bhare tyaa ~ pug-daa ta baagh aa-eko thi-ena.**
however there arrive-SP EMPH tiger come-PP be.PST-NEG3smL
However, when they arrived there the tiger hadn't come.
- (37) **ma tyo kaam sidhi-eko chayna.**
1s DIST.L work finish-PP be2.NEG.1s
I have not finished that work.
- (38) **aTh baje mayle khaa-i sak-eko hū-laa.**
eight o'clock 1sERG eat-AXL able-PP be-1s.FUT2
At eight o'clock I will have already eaten.

A similar construction, but using the second perfect participle, codes a past tense with an evidential distinction. While reporting on a series of events with the simple past tense implies that the speaker was a witness to the events, the construction utilizing the second perfect participle and the copula implies that the speaker is reporting on something that he or she did not witness, but learned of second hand. This construction often co-occurs with the sentence-final particle *re*, which also indicates hearsay evidence. This second past tense is used frequently in the narrative "Bhut-ko Kathaa" included in this volume. An example from that text follows (following Nepali orthography, the copula will be written as one word with the verb):

- (39) BH
jiu bhari bhutlaa bhutla-y bha-eko maanche
 body full wool wool-EMPH be.PST-PP man

aa-e-cha re.
 come-PP2-3smL PRT
 Then a man came with wool all over his body (they say).

A second future tense is created by suffixing the present form of the copula in *ch-* onto the imperfective participle. The exact difference between the two futures is not entirely clear, but our consultant's intuition was that in positive contexts, the future in *-laa* is more informal and indicates a stronger degree of commitment than that formed with *-ne-ch-*. In negative contexts, the *-laa* future implies a stronger sense of a coming contingent event, and again indicates more will on the part of the speaker.

- (40) **ma ta hajurlaay kahile pani birsa-ne-chayna⁷**
 1s EMPH 2HON.DAT when also forget-IP-be2.NEG.1s
 I will never forget you.

It is interesting to note that the imperfective and perfective participles can also occur in sentence final position without the final copula. In these cases, the aspect of the clause is simply perfective or imperfective. These constructions could either be analyzed as reductions of the participle + copula form, or they could be seen as innovations on the tense/aspect paradigm. These final participles are found most commonly in informal contexts. The following sentences were recorded in a natural conversation between three Nepalese in 1990:

- (41) **kaThmanDu-ma-i bihaa bha-eko**
 Kathmandu-LOC-EMPH wedding do-PP
 She was married in Kathmandu.

- (42) **ani chori cahi~ asti kahile dwi caar paa~ch mahina**
 then daughter EMPH before when two four five months

jati agaaDi aa-eko.
 about before come-PP

Then the daughter before --when?-- (she) came about two, four, five months ago.

Examples of the imperfective participle in sentence-final position are plentiful in the story "Bhut-ko Kathaa", where, once the remote past is established as a tense reference, they have a past habitual reading:

⁷ This example was taken from the popular novel "Sister Kalpanaa" by Yudhir Thaapaa.

- (43) Bh
 ani sadhay tyo goThaalo dyu ~so bhari
 then always DIST.L herdsman daily full
- gaaybastu li-era caraaw-na jaa-ne.
 cattle take-CP graze-NOM go-IP

Then the herdsman always took the cattle and went to graze them.

In conversation, however, the context can lend a future tense reading to this imperfective verb form, as in the following example, taken from recorded naturally occurring conversation:

- (44) tapaay ~ bholi nay jaa-ne?
 2H tomorrow EMPH go-IP
 You are going tomorrow?

In addition to those complex verbal predicates formed by combining participles and copulas, a number of predicates are constructed by placing a verbal auxiliary after a non-finite main verb. Due to the limited scope of the current paper, only a few examples will be given.

A number of auxiliary verbs may follow the main verb suffixed by the auxiliary linker *-i*. Examples with the auxiliaries *di-nu* 'give' and *raha-nu* 'stay' were given above (34-35).

Another construction of this sort forms the 'already' perfect with *sak-nu* 'be able':

- (45) mayle khaa-i sak-e~.
 1s.ERG eat-AXL able-1sPST
 I have already eaten.

Note that this construction is distinct from the one in which *sak-nu* is the main verb taking a verbal complement (suffixed by the nominalizer):

- (46) **mayle khaa-na sak-e~**
 1s.ERG eat-NOM able-1sPST
 I was able to eat.

It is also common to find auxiliary verbs which follow a main verb suffixed with a participle. One of the most common auxiliaries of this type is *rah-e-cha*, the narrative past form of *raha-nu* 'remain, wait, stay'. When following the past participle the resulting meaning translates roughly as "it turns out that" or "it happened that":

- (47) **Pa**
mukh andhyaaro gar-era bas-nubhaeko rah-e-cha.
 face dark do-CP stay-H.PP stay-PP2-3smL
 And it happened that he sat making his face dark (with a dark expression).

- (48) **Pa**
pyaaTTa ek din maatri-le paanDub-laay chu-i-eko
 suddenly one day Matri-ERG Pandub-DAT touch-PASS-PP
rah-e-cha.
 stay-PP2-3smL
 Suddenly one day it happened that Pandub was touched by Matri.

Another construction of this sort uses the verb *gar-nu* 'do' as an auxiliary; it follows the main verb suffixed by the imperfective participle *-ne*. The result is a second habitual construction which contrasts semantically with the morphological past habitual, present and future tenses (the latter two can render habitual readings in certain contexts). The periphrastic construction with *gar-nu* indicates that the habitual action occurred repeatedly

but only occasionally or on an irregular basis; the morphological past habitual, present and future tenses indicate a regular habitual event:

- (49) **mayle maasu khaa ~ -the ~**
1s.ERG meat eat-1s.PSTHAB
I used to eat meat (regularly).
- (50) **mayle maasu khaa-ne gar-the ~**
1s.ERG meat eat-IP do-1s.PSTHAB
I used to eat meat on occasion.
- (51) **syaam haami kahaa ~ aawn-cha.**
Shyaam 1p place come-3smL.PR
Shyaam comes to our house (often).
- (52) **syaam haami kahaa ~ aaw-ne gar-cha**
Shyaam 1p place come-IP do-3smL.PR
Shyaam comes to our house (occasionally).
- (53) **usko choraa-chori kahile pani maasu khaa ~ -dayna.**
3sGEN son-daughter when also meat eat-NEG.3smL.PR
His children never eat meat.
- haamro ta maasu khaa-ne gar-chan.**
1pGEN EMPH meat eat-IP do-3p.PR
Ours, on the other hand, eat meat occasionally.

3.5 Some aspects of Nepali syntax

3.5.1 Word order

Nepali is a verb final language, although discourse particles and occasional postposed arguments may be found after the sentence-final verb. When asking for sentences in elicitation, the unmarked order appears to be subject-object-verb. In narrative and conversational texts, however, the order of constituents varies greatly and there is not a large statistical preference for one order as basic. A full study of Nepali syntax in discourse has

yet to be completed; only then can the principles that underlie word order in Nepali be fully elucidated.

3.5.2 Grammatical relations

In many syntactic constructions, there is clear evidence for subject and object grammatical relations in Nepali (see the contributions to this volume by Kärkkäinen and Ichihashi-Nakayama for discussion of previous work on the on the subject grammatical relation). In some constructions, however, the morphological and syntactic properties which identify these relations are split between more than one NP. Detailed explorations of these issues may be found in the enclosed papers by Kärkkäinen, Ichihashi-Nakayama and Kibre.

3.5.3 Complex sentences

Nepali allows for sentences with complex, multi-clausal structures. Relative, adverbial, and complement clauses combine with clause chains to produce multiple layers of embedding and conjunction.

A relatively simple example of complexity is found in the following sentence:

- (54) Bh
ani sadhay tyo goThaalo dyu ~ so bhari
then always DIST.L herdsman daily full

gaaybastu li-era caraaw-na jaa-ne.
cattle take-CP graze-NOM go-IP
Then always that herdsman always took the cattle and went to graze them.

The verb *caraaw-nu* 'graze' is suffixed by the nominalizer, indicating a purpose adverbial clause. However, the subordinate adverbial status does not only extend to *caraaw-nu* but

also to the previous clause with which it forms a chain (indicated by the conjunctive participial suffix *-era*). One representation of the structure may be the following:

(55) [tyo goThaalo [[dyu ~ so bhari gaaybastu li-era]_{CL.CH}[caraaw]_{ADV.CL}-na jaane]

It is clear that the NP *tyo goThaalo* is the subject of the main verb, as it lacks the casemarking which would be required if it was part of either of the transitive clauses of the clause chains. The clause chain consists of two linked clauses which are in turn embedded in an adverbial subordinate structure. While *dyu ~ so bhari* and *gaaybastu* are represented here as part of the first clause in the clause chain, they could alternatively be construed as constituents of the second chain, leaving only the verb *li-era* in the first clause:

(56) [dyu ~ so bhari gaaybastu [li-era]_{CL.CH} caraaw]_{ADV.CL}-na

While this analysis may seem implausible to readers unfamiliar with clause-chaining languages, there are numerous examples which indicate that such structures must be allowed in the syntax. My current intention is not to argue for one structure over another, only to point out some of the complexities involved in the analysis of complex sentences.

An additional complication to the problem of multiple combined clauses, is the frequent use of quotative clauses, especially in narrative. One quotative complementizer is *bhan-era*, morphologically the conjunctive participial form of the verb 'say'. Sometimes this verb functions only as a complementizer, being followed by another cognition or utterance verb (57), and sometimes it functions doubly as a complementizer and as a verb in a clause chain (58):

- (57) Bh
tyo maanche-le "malaay kere tyo-- tyo ghu
 that man-ERG 1sDAT PRT FS DIST.L ghee

ghas-de. malaay ekdam thakaay laa cha.
 rub-give(IMP.L) 1sDAT very tired feel(PP) be2.3smL

jiu dukh-i rah-e-cha." bhan-era bhan-e-cha.
 body ache-AXL stay-PP2-3smL say-CP say-PP2-3smL

The man said "Rub that ghee on me. I'm extremely tired. My body is aching. Rub on that ghee."

- (58) Pa
"ta ~ laay bas-nu din-na din-na" bhan-era
 2sL.DAT stay-INF give-1sNEG give-1sNEG say-CP

duryodhaan-le dukhaa di-yo.
 Duryodhaan-ERG trouble give-3smL.PST

Saying "I won't let you stay", Duryodhaan gave them trouble.

Note that in the former of these examples, the embedded direct quote contains three complete sentences; the entire quote is still contained within the main clause however, being preceded by the subject and followed by the verb. The prolific embedding of quoted material thus contributes additional complexity to the syntactic structure of sentences.

3.6 Summary of primary typological characteristics

It is hoped that this short introduction to Nepali grammar has given the reader an overview sufficient for the assessment of the enclosed papers and the analysis of the texts. Undoubtedly it has raised many more questions than it has answered. While a large number of excellent scholars have made significant headway into elucidating the linguistic analysis of this language, much work remains to be done.

The basic typological characteristics of Nepali which have been discussed in this introduction are the following:

(59) Phonology:

- Four series of stops, including aspiration and breathy voice.
- Distinction between dental and retroflex consonants.
- Distinction between oral and nasal vowels.

Nominal morphology:

- 3-way ergative-like casemarking system, with aspectual split.
- Casemarkers come after the noun.
- Plural marking optional, more general semantically.

Verbal morphology:

- Complex synthetic paradigms.
- Inflects for person, number, gender, honorific status, tense, and negation.
- Multiple non-finite verb forms.
- Complex verbal predicates are common.
- Use of lexical verbs as auxiliaries.

Syntax:

- Verb-final word order.
- Subject/object grammatical relations (w/ complications).
- Complex sentences with multiple interacting subordination strategies.
- Clause chains.
- Extensive use of embedded quoted material.

These features -- and many others (i.e. the dative subject construction; see Ichihashi-Nakayama this volume) -- are characteristic of the South Asian linguistic area, and thus reflect both the geographic situation and the genetic inheritance of the language.

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On Dative ‘Subject’ Constructions in Nepali

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1 Introduction¹

South Asia has been known as an area where contiguous languages, regardless of their genetic relationships, share similar linguistic features. One of the convergence features which define the ‘Indian linguistic area’ is a type of expressions often called ‘Dative Subject’ or ‘Experiencer Subject’ constructions (Masica 1976, Verma and Mohanan 1990). The DATIVE SUBJECT construction (DSC) typically expresses a physical, psychological, or emotional state of the ‘logical’ subject, the EXPERIENCER, which is assigned a DATIVE or other oblique case, as illustrated by the following Nepali examples.

- (1) (Hari 1973:16)
us-laay jyaad-ay tirkhaa laag-yo, ra yoTaa gaaw~-maa
3L.DAT much-EMPH thirst feel-3smL.PST and one village-LOC
pas-yo.
enter-3smL.PST
‘He was very thirsty, and entered a village.’
- (2) (Ki)
tyo keTaa-laay ekaanta man par-thyo.
DIST.L boy-DAT loneliness desire happen-3smL.PSTHAB
‘The boy used to like loneliness.’

The DSCs in South Asian languages (and in other languages such as North Russian and Icelandic) have stimulated research into various semantic and syntactic issues in the theory of language (eg., Verma and Mohanan 1990). Among the issues which are most frequently debated are i) semantic (and pragmatic) functions of the constructions, and ii) the grammatical status of the dative-marked noun phrases. This paper addresses these issues of DSCs using the data from Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Nepal, India and Bhutan. Particularly the second issue will be discussed in depth. I will argue that, once we recognize the different natures of ‘subject

¹ I would like to thank Carol Genetti and Toshihide Nakayama for their comments, suggestions, and encouragement.

properties' (Keenan 1976), the claim that the dative-marked EXPERIENCER is a subject based on its 'subject-like' behaviors is no longer valid.

The Nepali data presented in this paper are from texts collected by the students of Field Methods class at UCSB (1992-1993) and Laura Crain (most of which are included in this volume), and those published in Hari (1973). Due to the nature of the study, an extensive number of elicited examples have been collected and will also be used in the following discussion. The textual data will be specified for their sources as described in Genetti in this volume, while those which are unspecified for their sources are meant to be elicited data.

2 Semantics of DATIVE SUBJECT Constructions in Nepali

2. 1 Semantic domains of Nepali DATIVE SUBJECT constructions

DSCs in Nepali can be categorized into the following six semantic classes according to the type of events they express (cf., Wallace 1985a).

A. Physical Sensations and Conditions

This class of DSCs expresses a physical sensation or state such as 'being hungry', 'being tired', 'being cold', etc. Examples (3) through (7) below, as well as (1) above, fall into this category.

(3) (Bh)
aaphu-laay thakaay laag-era sut-na laag-i rah-e-cha.
 REF-DAT tiredness feel-CP sleep-NOM start-AXL stay-PP2-3smL.PR
'He himself feels tired and is about to sleep.'

(4) (Lo)
ani uslaay bhok pani laag-eko thi-yo,
 then 3L.DAT hunger also feel-PP be.PST-3smL.PST
'Then, he was starving,'

(5) **malaay raksi laag-yo.**
 1s.DAT wine feel-3smL.PST
'I am intoxicated.'

(6) **malaay jaaDo laag-eko cha.**
 1s.DAT cold feel-PP be2.3smL
'I am cold.'

(7) **malaay haat-maa cilaa-yo.**
 1s.DAT hand-LOC itch-3smL.PST
'I feel itch on my hand.'

B. Sickness

In the following examples, DSCs state that an EXPERIENCER has some kind of physical discomfort.

- (8) **unlaay awlo laag-eko cha.**
3M.DAT malaria feel-PP be2.3smL
'He got malaria.'
- (9) **raam-laay Taawko dukh-eko thi-yo.**
Raam-DAT head ache-PP be.PST-3smL.PST
'Raam had a headache.'
- (10) **malaay khoki laag-eko cha.**
1s.DAT cough feel-PP be2.3smL
'I have a cough.'
- (11) **malaay jaro aa-yo.**
1s.DAT fever come-3smL.PST
'I have fever.'

C. Psychological States

DSCs often describe EXPERIENCER's emotional or psychological state as shown in (12) through (15) below.

- (12) (Hari 1973:14)
baabu aa-eko dekh-era choraa-chori-haru-laay jiaad-ay
father come-PP see-CP son-daughter-PL-DAT much-EMPH
khusi laag-yo
happy feel-3smL.PST
'Seeing their father had come, his sons and daughters were very happy'
- (13) (Hari 1973:21)
ani malaay aascaria laag-yo.
and 1s.DAT astonishment feel-3smL.PST
'I was astonished.'
- (14) (Hari 1973:21)
baagh-laay ris uTh-yo.
tiger-DAT anger rise-3smL.PST
'The tiger became furious.'
- (15) (Ki)
etaa baaw-aamaa-laay usko sarir-ko baaremaa
on.the.other.hand father-mother-DAT 3L.GEN body-GEN about
saaray cintaa bha-yo.
very anxiety become.PST-3smL.PST
'On the other hand, (his) parents were very anxious about his body.'

D. Conscious States

Consciousness, such as ‘knowing’, ‘remembering’ can be expressed by DSCs.

- (16) (Bi)
... **uslaay nepaal-ko baarema dheray kuraa thaahaa**
3L.DAT Nepal-GEN about many thing knowledge
thi-ena nepaal-ko sanskriti thaahaa
be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST Nepal-GEN culture knowledge
thi-ena bhaasaa thaahaa thi-ena.
be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST language knowledge be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST
*‘... he didn’t know much about Nepal, didn’t know the culture of Nepal,
didn’t know the language.’*
- (17) **unlaay ahile samma tyo kathaa-ko samjhanaa cha.**
3M.DAT now up.to DIST.L story-GEN memory be2.3smL
‘She still remembers that story.’
- (18) **malaay sichaa-maa ruci cha.**
1s.DAT education-LOC interest be2.3smL
‘I am interested in education.’

E. Desire and Needs

DSCs also express EXPERIENCER’s desire, preference, or need.

- (19) (Tx 3)
malaay moTarsaaykal sik-na saaray rahar laag-eko thi-yo.
1s.DAT motorbike learn-NOM very desire feel-PP be.PST-3smL.PST
‘I had a keen desire to learn to drive a motorbike.’
- (20) (Tx 3)
unlaay bhan-e~ ki malaay yoTaa laaysens chaahin-cha.
3M.DAT say-1sm.PST COMP 1s.DAT one license need-3smL.PR
‘I said to him that I needed a license.’
- (21) (Ki)
uslaay tyo keTi man par-yo.
3L.DAT DIST.L girl desire happen-3smL.PST
‘He liked that girl.’

F. Happenings

DSCs are used to describe external circumstances or uncontrollable events.

- (22) (Ki)
... **aaphno chora-laay ke bha-yo....**
REF.GEN son-DAT what become.PST-3smL.PST
‘...what was happening to their son’
- (23) **malaay (a)ber/Dhilo bha-yo.**
1s.DAT late become.PST-3smL.PST
‘I am late.’

The semantic range of Nepali DSCs is similar to those found in other South Asian languages (cf., Masica 1991, Abbi 1990, Sridhar 1979, McAlpin 1976, Klaiman 1980). Unlike those in some other South Asian languages, however, DSCs in Nepali cannot express inalienable possession including kinship relations (cf., Sridhar, McAlpin), habitual or continuing action (cf., Abbi) or the event of receiving (cf., Masica).²

As seen in the previous examples, the EXPERIENCER noun phrases in Nepali DSCs are marked by the DATIVE *-laay*.³ Besides the EXPERIENCER in DSCs, *-laay* marks RECIPIENT as illustrated in the following example:⁴

- (24) **raam-le raaj-laay kitaab di-yo.**
 Raam-ERG Raaj-DAT book give-3smL.PST
 'Raam gave a book to Raaj.'

The semantic connection between RECIPIENT and EXPERIENCER (and PATIENT) has been widely recognized in terms of their passive participation in the denoted event (eg., 'Addressee' role in Kibrik 1985). All states and events expressed by DSCs in Nepali (semantic class A through F) are more or less non-volitional and uncontrollable. The EXPERIENCER in such states and events can be considered as a 'recipient' of a certain experience. The DATIVE marking of EXPERIENCER in Nepali DSCs then seems to be semantically motivated.

2. 2 DATIVE SUBJECT predicates

The Appendix contains a listing, which is by no means exhaustive, of 'DATIVE SUBJECT predicates' (cf., Klaiman 1980) in Nepali, categorized according to the semantic classes discussed in the previous section. The DATIVE SUBJECT predicate (DS predicate) consists of a SENSATION

² As in other South Asian languages, the notion of obligation or compulsion can be expressed by DSCs in Nepali. The DATIVE marking for EXPERIENCER (the one who is compelled to do something), however, may alternate with NOMINATIVE or ERGATIVE (depending on transitivity and tense/aspect of the verb) without changing the form of the predicate (cf., Masica 1990). For this reason, I will exclude obligational constructions from consideration in the following discussions of DSCs.

³ In a few DSCs in my data, the EXPERIENCER can be marked by the GENITIVE *-ko*. In some other South Asian languages (eg., Bengali), the EXPERIENCER in DSCs is marked by the GENITIVE, which suggests a possible historical reason for those cases in Nepali (cf., Kachru 1990).

⁴ *-laay* also marks direct objects in Nepali. The appearance of *-laay* on direct objects, however, is subject to several semantic and pragmatic conditions. See discussion in Kärkkäinen in this volume.

noun, which expresses the content of experience, and a verb. The term ‘predicate’ is used loosely here; by this term I do not assert any syntactic status of the SENSATION noun, eg., direct object.

As observed in the listing, DS predicates consist of a very limited set of verbs. The verbs are *hu-nu* ‘be/become’, *laag-nu* ‘feel’, *aaw-nu* ‘come’, *uTh-nu* ‘rise’, *par-nu* ‘happen’ as well as *cilaaw-nu* ‘itch’, *dukh-nu* ‘ache’, and *caahi-nu* ‘need’. Except for the last three verbs, these verbs are semantically rather general and may express various experiential events combined with different SENSATION nouns.

Among the verbs used in DSCs, the most dominant one is *laag-nu* ‘feel’. The second most dominant verb is *hu-nu* ‘be/become’. While *laag-nu* tends to be found in the DSCs of the semantic classes A (physical sensations/conditions), B (sickness) and C (psychological states), *hu-nu* is mostly found in the classes D (conscious states) and F (happenings). The constructions with *laag-nu* seem to express a physical or psychological process rather than a state. A physical or psychological state then tends to be expressed as a result of such a process using past tense or present perfective aspect as in the following examples.

(25) **malaay bhok laag-eko cha.**
 1s.DAT hunger feel-PP be2.3smL
 ‘I am hungry.’

(26) **malaay udaas laag-yo.**
 1s.DAT sorrow feel-3smL.PST
 ‘I am sad.’

On the other hand, the situations described with *hu-nu* tend to be time-stable. The following pair of examples may serve to illustrate the difference between *laag-nu* and *hu-nu* in terms of the time-stability of the events they express:

(27) **malaay khusi laag-yo.**
 1s.DAT happiness feel-3smL.PST
 ‘I am happy (at particular moment).’

(28) **malaay sukha cha.**
 1s.DAT happiness be2.3smL
 ‘I am happy (= I am a happy man).’

The example (27) with *laag-nu* would be used, for example, when ‘I’ receive a nice present, while (28) with *hu-nu* would be used in situations such as when ‘I’ am contented with the life with

successful children and a lot of money. In my data, some of the SENSATION nouns (eg., *Dar* ‘fear’, *ruci* ‘interest’) appeared either with *laag-nu* or with *hu-nu* verbs. Although the precise semantic difference accompanying the alternation of the verb is yet to be investigated, it is predicted that the difference has something to do with the time-stability of the expressed experiences.

2. 3 Dative vs. Direct constructions

It has been pointed out that DSCs may have their ‘Direct counterparts’ (Klaiman 1980). A ‘Direct’ construction expresses the similar meaning to that of the corresponding DSC, but shows the ‘ordinary’ case marking pattern where the EXPERIENCER is marked with NOMINATIVE (zero) or ERGATIVE and the noun phrase expressing the stimuli of the experience (= SOURCE) may be marked by DATIVE (depending on transitivity, tense/aspect, or any other relevant parameters). Those Direct counterparts are listed in the Appendix next to the corresponding DS predicates. In the following examples, (a) illustrates a Direct construction, while (b) is the corresponding DSC.

- (29) a. **ma sarmaaw--chu.**
 1s shame-1sm.PR
 ‘I shame myself.’
- b. **malaay saram laag-cha.**
 1s.DAT shame feel-3smL.PR
 ‘I feel shamed.’
- (30) a. **khobar sun-era ma chakka par-e~.**
 news hear-CP 1s amazement happen-1sm.PST
- b. **khobar sun-era malaay chakka laag-yo.**
 1s.DAT feel-3smL.PST
 ‘I was surprised by the news.’
- (31) a. **ma raam-laay man paar-chu.**
 1s Raam-DAT desire cause.to.happen-1s.PR
- b. **malaay raam man par-cha.**
 1s.DAT Raam desire happen-3smL.PR
 ‘I like Raam.’

The verbs of some Direct constructions are the causative-derived verbs based on the SENSATION nouns in the corresponding DSCs (plus the causative morpheme *-aaw*: eg., *bhokaaw-nu* ‘get hungry’ < *bhok* ‘hunger’, *risaaw-nu* ‘get angry’ < *ris* ‘anger’). Other Direct constructions use more active verbs (such as *gar-nu* ‘do’ or *paar-nu* ‘cause to happen’) than those

used in the corresponding DSCs (eg., *garba gar-nu* < *garba laag-nu* ‘be proud’, *man paar-nu* < *man par-nu* ‘like’).

Klaiman (1980, 1986) claims that Direct constructions are not exactly alternatives to the corresponding DSCs in Bengali (eastern Indo-Aryan language). According to her, the difference between Direct and Dative constructions is in volitionality assumed on the part of the EXPERIENCER; DSCs express a nonvolitional event, while the Direct counterparts describe activities with the volitional participation of the EXPERIENCER. The claim is supported by the observations of various contexts which are closely related to the notion of volitionality. In the contexts where a volitional activity is indicated (eg., in imperative constructions), only the Direct counterpart is acceptable. When the denoted events are more likely to be understood as nonvolitional (eg., ‘breaking one’s leg’ as opposed to ‘breaking fast’), on the other hand, DSCs are preferred over the Direct counterparts. The distribution of Direct counterparts also supports her claim. In Bengali, the DSCs expressing events which can never be conceived as volitional, such as being hungry, tend to lack their Direct counterparts.

Klaiman’s claim was considered to be too strong by Abbi (1990) and Masica (1991). Based on the observation that Direct constructions could also describe non-volitional situations, Abbi states that the difference between Direct and Dative constructions cannot be ascribed only to the volitionality parameter. Abbi instead proposes another parameter ‘focus’; in DSCs the focus is on the PATIENT (the stimuli of the experience; our SOURCE), while in Direct constructions the focus is on the EXPERIENCER. Unfortunately, Abbi does not elaborate this claim any further nor present any evidence for the claim. Masica proposes that the Direct vs. Indirect (Dative) contrasts are not volitional vs. non-volitional, but in fact neutral (unmarked for volitionality) vs. non-volitional.

The distribution of Direct counterparts in Nepali seems to suggest that the difference between DSCs and their Direct counterparts is in the degree of (non)volitionality they could express. Although a few of the physical sensations and conditions which are typically nonvolitional events may be expressed by some Direct constructions, the DSCs in this semantic

class tend to lack Direct counterparts. The DSCs in the semantic class ‘sickness’ and ‘happenings’ totally lack Direct counterparts. Direct constructions, although they may express some degree of nonvolitionality, do not seem to be able to express extremely nonvolitional situations, such as being sick and being affected by certain external circumstances.

The following example may provide us with another perspective for seeing the contrast between Dative and Direct constructions.

- (32) a. **malaay laaj laag-cha.**
 1s.DAT shyness feel-3smL.PR
 b. **ma lajaaw~-chu.**
 1s be.shy-1sm.PR
‘I feel shy.’

According to our consultant, (32a) describes the situation such as that ‘I’ made some mistake in front of everybody and feel embarrassed. On the other hand, (32b) describes ‘my’ inherent nature of being shy. The Dative construction expresses an experience somehow triggered by an ‘external’ factor, while the Direct construction expresses an ‘internally’ grown experience.

In the Nepali texts examined for this study, there are 10 cases where Direct, instead of Dative, constructions are used. Kachru (1990), based on the examination of textual data in Hindi, claims that the choice of either a Direct or a Dative construction reflects the speaker’s perspective towards the expressed event; the choice of Dative construction signals the speaker’s perspective of “the subject’s [EXPERIENCER’s] lack of control and reduced responsibility for the event” (p. 69).

The following examples from our texts express the event of ‘being angry’, but (33) is a Dative construction while (34) is a Direct construction.

- (33) (Hari 1973: 21)
baagh-laay ris uTh-yo.
 tiger-DAT anger rise-3smL.PST
‘The tiger became furious.’
- (34) (A1)
ettikay-maa so~c-daa so~c-day usko kalpanaa-maa u ekdam risaa-yo.
 meantime-LOC think-SP think-SP 3L.GEN imagination-LOC 3L very.much
 angry-3smL.PST
‘In the meantime, while he was daydreaming, he got angry.’

(33) is found in the story called ‘The Tiger King’. In this story, a tiger decides to become king of the jungle and tells the animals of the jungle to sacrifice themselves to him. A rabbit, having a plan to kill the tiger to protect himself and other animals, tells the tiger that he saw another king who was bigger and more fearsome than the tiger and who said the tiger was only his servant. Listening to this, the tiger became furious....

(34) is in the story about a lazy man who used to sit and have different kinds of daydreams. One day, he daydreams about having a wife and a child. In the daydream, he has a fight with his wife and gets angry....

It is hard to see if there is any difference between (33) and (34) in terms of the degree of control or responsibility attributed to the EXPERIENCER. The precise semantic and/or pragmatic factors which determine the use of either a Dative or Direct construction in Nepali need to be further investigated.

3 Syntactic Configurations of DATIVE SUBJECT Constructions

3. 1 EXPERIENCER, SOURCE and SENSATION NPs in DSCs

A DSC by definition has a noun phrase referring to the EXPERIENCER marked by the DATIVE *-laay*. In addition, a DSC may have a SENSATION noun expressing the content of the experience, and/or a SOURCE noun phrase specifying the stimuli for the experience. SENSATION nouns are always zero marked, while SOURCE NPs are often marked by one of the OBLIQUE cases. In (35), for example, DATIVE-marked *malaay* is an EXPERIENCER, zero-marked *sangkaa* ‘suspicion’ is a SENSATION noun, and LOCATIVE-marked *uni-haru* ‘they’ is a SOURCE of this construction.

(35) **malaay uni-haru-maa sangkaa laag-cha.**
 1s.DAT 3M-PL-LOC suspicion feel-3smL.PR
 ‘I suspect them.’

There are examples, such as (36) and (37) below, which appear to be DSCs.

(36) (Hari 1973:15)
yo misri bhandaa malaay ta timi-haru miTho laag-chaw.
 PROX.L sugar than 1s.DAT PRT 2M-PL tasty feel-2pM.PR
 ‘But you seem nicer to me than this sugar.’

- (37) **tyo bhaasara malaay ramaaylo laag-yo.**
 DIST.L lecture 1s.DAT intersting feel-3smL.PST
'The talk was intersting to me.'

In (36) and (37), the nouns marked with the DATIVE case seem to refer to an EXPERIENCER in the sense that their referents experience certain psychological sensations in the expressed events. *timi-haru* 'you (pl.)' in (36) and *tyo bhaasara* 'the talk' in (37) can be considered as SOURCE nouns which stimulate those psychological responses. In these examples, however, the words expressing 'sensation' are in fact adjectives; *miTho* and *ramaaylo* can modify the following nouns as in *miTho tarkaari* 'tasty vegetable' and *ramaaylo katha* 'interesting story'. Furthermore, in these constructions, the DATIVE case on the EXPERIENCER may alternate with the BENEFACTIVE case *-ko laagi* when the verb is a copula *hu-nu*.

- (38) **sabay bhaasara malaay / mero-laagi ramaaylaa thi-e.**
 all lecture 1s.DAT / 1s.GEN-BEN interesting be.PST-3pM.PST
'All talks were interesting to me.'

In DSCs where 'sensation' is expressed by a noun, on the other hand, the DATIVE case on the EXPERIENCER cannot alternate with the BENEFACTIVE case, as shown in (39).

- (39) **malaay / *mero-laagi tyo katha-maa ruci thi-yo.**
 1s.DAT / *1s.GEN-BEN DIST.L story-LOC interest be.PST-3smL.PST
'The talk was interesting to me.'

The constructions, such as (36) and (37), with the following properties are not considered as DSCs in this study: a) the word expressing a 'sensation' is an adjective, and b) the case on the EXPERIENCER alternates between DATIVE and BENEFACTIVE. An adjective usually cannot assume a grammatical relation to the verb or be assigned a case. By excluding the constructions with an adjectival 'sensation' from the consideration, I can limit the range of possible structures of DSCs and give the word expressing 'sensation' the same possibility to assume a syntactic role as the other NPs in the constructions.

3. 2 Structural types of DATIVE SUBJECT constructions in Nepali

In terms of their structural configurations, Nepali DSCs can be classified into six structural types. These six structural types are characterized in terms of i) the occurrence of a SENSATION NP, ii) the occurrence of a SOURCE NP, and iii) case marking on a SOURCE NP. Most of the DSCs

in Nepali are of the structural types 1 or 5, while the memberships of types 2, 3, and 4 are rather small.

Type 1) SENSATION NP + verb

The first type of DSC has a SENSATION NP, but the semantics of the constructions do not require a SOURCE NP. (40) is an example of this type where *tirkhaa* ‘thirst’ expresses SENSATION:

- (40) (Hari 1973:16)
us-laay ज्याद-अय तिरुहाा लाग-यो, रा योTaa गाव~-माा
 3L.DAT much-EMPH thirst feel-3smL.PST and one village-LOC
पास-यो.
 enter-3smL.PST
‘He was very thirsty, and entered a village.’

Type 2) SOURCE NP + verb

On the contrary, this type of DSC takes a SOURCE NP but no SENSATION NP. While the verbs which appear in other types of DSCs tend to bear a general and relatively weak lexical meaning (eg., *laag-nu* ‘feel’, *hu-nu* ‘be/become’), the verbs used in this type (and the next type) seem to have a rather solid lexical meaning (eg., *dukh-nu* ‘ache’, *caahi-nu* ‘need’) which more or less incorporates the notion of ‘sensation’. In (41) below, the verb *caahi-nu* appears with the SOURCE NP *khaanekuraa* ‘food’:

- (41) (Hari 1973:19)
ani tyo baagh-le bhan-yo, aba raajaa bha-e pachi
 then DIST.L tiger-ERG say-3smL.PST now king become.PST-PP2 after
malaay khaanekuraa caahin-cha.
 1s.DAT food need-3smL.PR
‘And the tiger said, “Now that I am king, I want food....”

Type 3) SOURCE NP-OBL + verb

A SOURCE NP is often marked with GENITIVE or other OBLIQUE cases (see type 5 also). The third type of DSC takes a marked-SOURCE but still no SENSATION noun. In my data, *cilaaw-nu* ‘itch’ is the only verb which appears in this type of the construction. In (42) below, the verb appears with the SOURCE NP *haat* ‘hand’ in the LOCATIVE case expressing the location of the sensation.

- (42) **malaay haat-maa cilaa-yo.**
 1s.DAT hand-LOC itch-3smL.PST
'I feel itch on my hand.'

Type 4) SOURCE NP + SENSATION NP + verb

This type of DSC has both SOURCE and SENSATION NPs, and the SOURCE NP is unmarked. In (43) the repeated examples of the SENSATION NP *thaahaa* 'knowledge' appear with the SOURCE NPs, *nepaal-ko baarema dheray kuraa* 'many things about Nepal', etc. The SENSATION NP *man* 'desire' appears with the SOURCE NP *tyo keTi* 'that girl' in (44).

- (43) (Bi)
 ... **uslaay nepaal-ko baarema dheray kuraa thaahaa**
 3L.DAT Nepal-GEN about many thing knowledge
thi-ena nepaal-ko sanskriti thaahaa
 be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST Nepal-GEN culture knowledge
thi-ena bhaasaa thaahaa thi-ena.
 be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST language knowledge be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST
'... he didn't know much about Nepal, didn't know the culture of Nepal, didn't know the language.'

- (44) (Ki)
uslaay tyo keTi man par-yo.
 3L.DAT DIST.L girl desire happen.3smL.PST
'He liked that girl.'

Type 5) SOURCE NP-OBL + SENSATION NP + verb

This type of DSC also has both SOURCE and SENSATION NPs. Unlike the previous type, the SOURCE NP appears with a GENITIVE or OBLIQUE case marking. The construction in (45) has the SOURCE NP *meraa baccaa-haru* 'my children' marked by the GENITIVE *-ko* and the SENSATION noun *garba* 'pride'.

- (45) **malaay meraa baccaa-haru-ko garba laag-cha**
 1s.DAT 1s.GENp child-CL-GEN pride feel-3smL.PR
'I am proud of my children.'

Type 6) SOURCE complement clause + SENSATION NP + verb

There are some cases in my data in which the notion of 'source' is expressed by a complement clause. The complement clauses are introduced either by a non-finite form of the (complement) verbs, specifically *-na* or *-ne*, or by the complementizer *ki*.

- (46) (A1)
uslaay kaam gar-na man laag-dayna-thiyo.
 3L.DAT work do-NOM desire feel-NEG-3smL.PSTHAB
 'He did not like to work.'
- (47) **malaay aasaa cha ki u aaw-ne-cha.**
 1s.DAT hope be2.3smL COMP 3L come-FUT-3smL
 'I hope that he will come.'

The question as to whether the complement clauses act as (SOURCE) NPs or whether they are part of the SENSATION NPs, is yet to be answered and beyond the scope of this paper. Once the syntactic status of the complement clauses becomes clear, this type of DSC may merge with one of the other types discussed above. This type of DSC, therefore, will be excluded from the following considerations.

4 'Subjecthood' in Nepali DATIVE SUBJECT Constructions

DSCs have raised a challenge to certain grammatical theories mainly due to the fact that the surface case of the 'logical subject' in DSCs, the NP which would be translated as a subject in languages like English, is a case typically used for non-subjects. Identifying a 'subject' in DSCs or identifying a grammatical relation of the DATIVE (or OBLIQUE) marked EXPERIENCER has been a major task of the research dealing with this construction. In those attempts, a set of presupposed 'subject properties' (cf., Keenan 1976) is most commonly employed as a tool to locate the 'subject' relation. In this section I follow others by examining 'subject properties' in Nepali DSCs. The results will show that 'subject properties' are shared by the different NPs in Nepali DSCs. Given similar results, my predecessors have tended to search for formal explanation for this 'split' of 'subject properties'. Instead, I will propose a functional explanation for the 'split', which makes us reconsider using 'subject properties' as a universal definition of 'subject'.

4. 1 'Subject properties' in Nepali

Wallace (1985a) identifies the following eleven (morpho)syntactic properties which are attributed only to subject NPs in Nepali 'basic clauses'.⁵

⁵ By 'basic clauses' he means the pragmatically unmarked clauses with active nonderived verbs and nominative subjects. Wallace examined another syntactic property, *eko*-nominalization, but found that this process applies to objects as well as subjects.

- 1) word order: subject appears as an initial constituent of a clause;
- 2) verb agreement: only subject controls verb agreement in person, number, and gender;
- 3) case assignment: subject always has a potential to be zero-case marked;
- 4) reflexivization: only subject controls reflexivization;
- 5) conjunctive participle control: only subject can control the subject (zero anaphora) of the conjunctive participial clause;
- 6) EQUI control: only subject may be the controller of the subject position of the non-finite complement;
- 7) conjunction reduction: subject may be deleted from conjunctive participial clauses when coreferential to the subject in the matrix clause;
- 8) EQUI deletion: only subject may be deleted in the non-finite complement;
- 9) subject-raising: only subject may be raised to the subject of matrix clause;
- 10) object-raising: only subject may be raised to object status of the matrix clause; and
- 11) ne-nominalization: *ne*-nominalizations only refer to the subject.

Wallace further examines NPs in some ‘non-basic clauses’ (dative-subject clauses, obligational clauses, passive clauses, and ergative clauses) in terms of these properties. The following sections are basically to confirm what he observed in Nepali DSCs using my own data. In some cases, there are discrepancies between what he found and what my data show. Some of the properties are questioned as reliable criteria for the subjecthood in Nepali.

4. 2 Subject properties in DATIVE SUBJECT constructions

4. 2. 1 Word order

In DSCs EXPERIENCER NPs tend to come before SENSATION NPs (such as *aascaria* ‘astonishment’ in (48) or *man* ‘desire’ in (49)) and SOURCE NPs (such as *tyo keTi* ‘that girl’ in (49)) as shown in (48) and (49).

- (48) (Hari 1973:21)
ani malaay aascaria laag-yo.
 and 1s.DAT astonishment feel-3smL.PST
 ‘I was astonished.’
- (49) (Ki)
uslaay tyo keTi man par-yo.
 3L.DAT DIST.L girl desire happen-3smL.PST
 ‘He liked that girl.’

According to Wallace (1985a), one of the properties of subjects in Nepali is to appear as an initial constituent of a clause. It seems true in the following elicited examples:

- (50) a. **ma rah-u~laa.**
 1s stay-1sm.FUT2
 ‘I will stay.’

- b. **uni-haru gaaw~-maa ga-e.**
 3M-PL village-LOC go.PST-3pM.PST
 'They went to the village.'
- c. **ma bhaat khaa-ne-chu~.**
 1s rice eat-FUT-1sm
 'I will eat rice.'

In the natural discourse data, however, subject NPs do not always appear as an initial argument as illustrated in the following example:

- (51) (Tx 2)
tyo madhe yoTaa aytihaasik kathaa-laay ma yahaa~ prastut
 DIST.L among one historical story-DAT 1s here present
gar-chu.
 do-1sm.NPST
 'Among those, I present a historical story here.'

In (51), the subject *ma* 'I' follows the object *yoTaa aytihaasik kathaa* 'a historical story'. If (51) is considered 'pragmatically marked', the word order in (51) may not be qualified to indicate the property of 'basic subjects' in Wallace's terms (cf., footnote 5). The extent to which word order correlates with pragmatic factors in Nepali is yet to be investigated (cf., Payne (ed.) 1992). Word order should be considered, then, as evidence for subjecthood in a rather limited way. As far as decontextualized elicited data are concerned, subjects appear clause initially, and so do EXPERIENCER NPs in DSCs.

4. 2. 2 Verb agreement

A verb in Nepali agrees with subject in person, number, gender and honoric grade.⁶

What controls verb agreement in DSCs is a SOURCE NP as shown in the following examples:⁷

⁶ Variation of agreement, however, has been reported in spoken narrative data (Genetti to appear).

⁷ There appears to be one exception to this generalization. When a DSC has *thaahaa hu-nu* 'know' as a DS predicate, the verb does not agree with the SOURCE NP:

- (i) **malaay dheray kathaa-haru thaahaa cha/*chan.**
 1s.DAT many story-PL knowledge be2.3smL/*be2.3pM
 'I know many stories.'

Note, however, that the SOURCE in this case can optionally take an OBLIQUE case marking, while the SOURCE NPs which control verb agreement can not take any case marking.

- (ii) **uslaay dheray kuraa-ko baaremaa thaahaa cha.**
 3L.DAT many thing-GEN about knowledge be2.3smL
 'He knows many things.'

The ability of being case marked of the SOURCE NP may explain the inability of controlling verb agreement in this case (cf., examples in (53)).

- (52) a. **malaay timi-haru man par-chaw.**
 1s.DAT 2M-PL desire happen-2pM
 'I like you guys.'
- b. **malaay i kathaa-haru man par-chan.**
 1s.DAT PROX.L story-PL desire happen-3pM.PR
 'I like these stories.'
- c. **malaay timri baahine man par-chin.**
 1s.DAT 2M.GENf sister desire happen-3sfM.PR
 'I like your sister.'
- d. **malaay timro aamaa man par-nuhuncha.**
 1s.DAT 2M.GEN mother desire happen-H.PR
 'I like your mother.'
- e. **malaay dwi yoTaa sirak-haru caahin-chan.**
 1s.DAT two one quilt-PL need-3pM.PR
 'I need two blankets.'

When a SOURCE NP carries a case marker (i.e., structural types 3 and 5), however, it cannot control verb agreement.

- (53) a. **malaay mero dubay haat-maa cilaa-yo/*e.**
 1s.DAT 1s.GEN both hand-LOC itch-3smL.PST/*3pM.PST
 'I feel itch in my both hands.'
- b. **unlaay dheray-janaa-ko samjhanaa cha/*chan.**
 3M.DAT many-QT-GEN memory be2.3smL/*3pM
 'She remembers many people.'
- c. **malaay dheray kuraa-haru-maa ruci laag-cha/*chan.**
 1s.DAT many story-PL-LOC interest feel-3smL/*3pM
 'I am interested in many things.'

An EXPERIENCER NP never controls verb agreement in my data:

- (54) **haamilaay yo kathaa-baaTa dheray kuraa thaahaa**
 1p.DAT PROX.L story-ABL many thing knowledge
bha-yo/*yaw~.
 become-3smL.PST/*1p.PST
 'We learned many things from this story.'

When a verb cannot agree with a SOURCE NP, that is, when DSCs lack SOURCE NPs (type 1) or SOURCE NPs are case marked (types 3 and 5; see above), a verb takes a third person singular masculine low grade form. In types 1 and 5, it is not clear if a verb agrees with another NP in the

construction, a SENSATION NP, because SENSATION nouns refer to abstract cognitive or physical processes and are grammatically treated as third person, singular, masculine, and low grade.⁸

In Hindi, a language which has a grammatical gender system, SENSATION NPs in DSCs overtly control verb agreement (Wallace 1985a:134). We could assume that SENSATION NPs in Nepali DSCs also control verb agreement although there is no positive evidence for it. In type 4 of Nepali DSCs, however, it is clear that a verb agrees with the (unmarked) SOURCE NP but not with the SENSATION NP (see examples in (52) above). Based on this observation, Wallace (1985a:134) argues that it is more plausible to assume that SENSATION NPs are ignored for the purposes of verb agreement all together than to assume they are ignored only in some contexts (DSCs type 4). The argument, however, seems to be based on the assumption that all DSCs have similar syntactic structures. If we allow different structural types of DSCs to have different syntactic structures, it would be no problem to assume that SENSATION NPs control verb agreement, that is, behave like subjects, in some types of DSCs, but do not in other types of DSCs.

In sum, unmarked SOURCE NPs control verb agreement while case-marked SOURCE NPs and EXPERIENCER NPs do not control agreement. There is no evidence to decide if SENSATION NPs in the structural types 1 and 5 control verb agreement or not.

4. 2. 3 Case assignment

Wallace (1985a) claims that subjects of basic clauses always have the potential to be zero-marked. As shown in the previous examples, EXPERIENCER NPs in Nepali DSCs are marked by the DATIVE case. SOURCE NPs in the structural types 2 and 4 and SENSATION NPs are always zero-marked, hence show the property of 'subject'.

⁸ When more than one SENSATION nouns are conjoined, they do not trigger the 'plural' agreement:

- (i) **malaay thakaay ra bhok laag-eko cha/*chan.**
1s.DAT tiredness and hunger feel-PERF be2.3smL/*be2.3pM
'I am tired and hungry.'

It is to be confirmed if conjoined abstract nouns are treated as 'plural' or not in Nepali. If so, then the example above is evidence against the claim that SENSATION NPs control the verb agreement.

4. 2. 4 Reflexivization

Based on the data obtained so far, it seems that only subject can be coreferential with a reflexive (possessive) pronoun *aaph(n)*-. For example, in (55) below, the place ‘he’ (= subject) asked ‘the girl’ (= object) to come to is not her room but his room.

- (55) (Ki)
tesle usle raati-maa tyo keTi-laay aaphno koThaa-maa
 3L.ERG 3L.ERG night-LOC DIST.L girl-DAT REF.GEN room-LOC
aaw bhan-yo.
 come say-3smL.PST
*‘He asked that girl to come to his (*her) room at night.’*

In DSCs, EXPERIENCER NPs can be coreferential with the reflexive (possessive) pronoun as illustrated in the following examples:

- (56) a. **malaay aaph-laay thakaay laag-yo.**
 1s.DAT REF-DAT tiredness feel-3smL.PST
‘I myself got tired.’
- b. **malaay aaphnay gaaDi caahin-cha.**
 1s.DAT REF.GEN.EMPH car need-3smL.PR
‘I need my own car.’
- c. **malaay aaphno des-ko baaremaa dheray katha-haru**
 1s.DAT REF.GEN country-GEN about many story-PL
thaahaa cha.
 knowledge be2.3smL
‘I know many stories about my own country.’
- d. **malaay raam ra aaphni bahini man par-chan.**
 1s.DAT Raam and REF.GENf sister desire happen-3pM.PR
‘I like Raam and my (not Raam’s) sister.’

(56d) shows that the reflexive cannot refer to the SOURCE NP ‘Raam’. Since reflexives in Nepali almost exclusively refer to human (or animate) referents, it is not possible to see if SENSATION NPs, which by definition do not refer to humans, could be coreferential with reflexives or not.

4. 2. 5 Conjunctive Participial clauses

A conjunctive participle (CP) form of a verb (stem + *-era*) indicates action anterior to that of the main verb (Wallace 1985a:64-5). CP and main clauses typically share the same subject.⁹ Wallace identifies two separate ‘subject properties’ concerning CP clauses, namely that only subject can control the subject reference for CP clauses, and that only subject may be deleted from a CP clause when it is coreferential to the matrix subject. His claims, however, are based on the assumption that, when CP and main clauses have the same subject, the overt subject is always that of the main clause. This assumption has been shown to be untrue by Crain (1992) with examples similar to the following:

- (57) (A1)
usle man-maa naanaa kisim-kaa tarka-haru kalpanaa-haru gar-era
3L.ERG heart-LOC different kind-GENp debate-PL imagination-PL do-CP
bas-thyo.
sit-3smL.PSTHAB
‘He used to sit having different kinds of daydreams.’

In (57), since the subject *usle* is marked as the subject of a transitive verb (ERGATIVE case), it must be the subject of the CP clause (with the transitive verb ‘do’) but not that of the matrix clause (with the intransitive verb ‘sit’). That is, the subject of the main clause is not always the one which ‘controls’ the coreferential subject. The distinction between controlling and being controlled in terms of the status of clauses (matrix vs. subordinate) therefore is no longer relevant. An important aspect of the subject property involved here is to act as a ‘pivot’ for clause chaining. Subjects may be deleted when they are coreferential to the subjects of other clauses connected by CP.

When EXPERIENCER NPs in DSCs are coreferential with the subjects of other clauses connected by CP, either the EXPERIENCER NPs (as in examples (58) through (60)) or the other coreferential subjects (as in examples (61) through (64)) may be deleted, which indicates that the EXPERIENCER NPs function like ‘subjects’ of DSCs. In (58), for example, the EXPERIENCER, the one who was tired, is ‘the herdsman’, and it is deleted (there is no DATIVE *tyo gaThaalo*) because

⁹ Crain (1992) found that 88% of CP clauses in her narrative texts had the same subject as their main clauses.

the other clauses have the same referent as their subjects. In (61), the subject of the main clause is deleted because it refers to the same referent as the EXPERIENCER, *aaphu* '(him)self'.

- (58) (Bh)
ani ek din ta tyo goThaalo tyastay belukaa phark-era
 then one day PRT that herdsman like.that evening return-CP
aa-era thakaay laag-era bas-i rah-eko.
 come-CP tiredness feel-CP sit-AXL stay-PP
'Then one day the herdsman returning that same evening felt tired and was sitting down.'
- (59) **uni man par-era, usle unlaay aaphno ghar-maa bolaa-yo.**
 3M desire happen-CP 3L.ERG 3M.DAT REFL.GEN house-LOC call-3smL.PST
'Liking her, he invited her to his house.'
- (60) **paani caahi-era u nadi tira ga-yo.**
 water need-CP 3L river toward go.PST-3smL.PST
'Needing water, he went to the river.'
- (61) (Bh)
aaphu-laay thakaay laag-era sut-na laag-i rah-e-cha.
 self-DAT tiredness feel-CP sleep-NOM start-AXL stay-PP2-3smL.PR
'He himself feels tired and is about to sleep.'
- (62) **pahaad dekh-era malaay dheray kuraa-haru-ko aasaa laag-yo.**
 mountain see-CP 1s.DAT many thing-PL-GEN hope feel-3smL.PST
'Looking at the mountain, I hoped many things.'
- (63) **uslaay dekh-era unlaay aaphnu logne-ko yaad aa-yo.**
 3L.DAT see-CP 3M.DAT REF.GEN husband-GEN memory come-3smL.PST
'Seeing him reminds her of her own husband.'
- (64) **unlaay dekh-era raam-laay uni man par-na thaal-in.**
 3M.DAT see-CP Raam-DAT 3M desire happen-NOM start-3sfM.PST
'Seeing her, Raam started to like her.'

Wallace (1985a:141) cites examples such as (65) below (his (33b)) in which an unmarked SOURCE NP may be deleted when it is coreferential to the subject of the main clause:

- (65) **bhaay-laay man na-par-era syaam haamraa ghar aaw-ne-chayna.**
 brother-DAT desire NEG-happen-CP Shyam 1p.GENp house come-FUT- NEG.3smL
'Brother not liking him, Shyam won't come to our house.'

Based on these examples, Wallace concludes that unmarked SOURCE NPs also show the subject property. This conclusion, however, may be questionable. First, for the situation expressed in (65), our consultant seems to prefer (66) with the more explicit expression of 'reason':

- (66) **bhaay-laay man na-par-ne bhaekole**
 -IP because

It is not clear at this stage of investigation if his preference of (66) over (65) is due to the deletion of the SOURCE NP in the CP clause or due to the use of CP itself for the expressed situation. Second, Wallace (p.86-7) recognizes that direct objects in basic clauses may be marginally deleted in CP clauses when coreferential with the matrix subject. Direct objects, however, may not be overt while other coreferential subjects are deleted. Since it seems that the same constraint applies to SOURCE NPs (unlike EXPERIENCER NPs as shown in (61) through (64)), the behavior of SOURCE NPs exemplified in (65) may merely suggest the ‘objecthood’, but not the ‘subjecthood’, of SOURCE NPs .

4. 2. 6 EQUI control

Wallace (1985a, b) considers certain verbs which take a non-finite complement clause as EQUI triggers. Subjects of those EQUI triggers can control the subject reference of the embedded non-finite verb. When DS predicates take a non-finite complement clause (structural type 6), an EXPERIENCER NP is the one which controls (= is coreferential to) the subject referent of the complement clause. In (67) below, for example, the EXPERIENCER ‘he’ is also the subject referent of *kaam gar-nu* ‘to work’. Similarly, the EXPERIENCER ‘I’ in (68) is also the subject referent of *sik-nu* ‘to learn’.

(67) (A1)
uslaay kaam gar-na man laag-dayna-thiyo.
 3L.DAT work do-NOM desire feel-NEG-3smL.PSTHAB
 ‘He did not like to work.’

(68) (Tx 3)
malaay moTarsaaykal sik-na saaray rahar laag-eko thi-yo.
 1s.DAT motorbike learn-NOM very desire feel-PP be.PST-3smL.PST
 ‘I had a keen desire to learn to drive a motorbike.’

4. 2. 7 EQUI deletion / Subject-raising

According to Wallace (1985a, b), there are two kinds of constructions which include an embedded infinitive complement clause: the constructions with EQUI triggers such as *thaal-nu* ‘to start’ and *khoj-nu* ‘to try’, and those with the ‘subject-raising’ trigger *laag-nu* ‘to begin’. He seems to differentiate two kinds of constructions based on the difference in the transitivity of the

triggering verbs and the case marking pattern of the matrix subject. The EQUI triggers in question are by themselves transitive verbs, while the ‘subject-raising’ trigger *laag-nu* is intransitive. The case marking of the matrix subject in EQUI constructions is determined by the transitivity of the complement verb, while the case of the matrix subject in subject-raising constructions is always unmarked (1985a:62).

This distinction between EQUI and subject-raising constructions leads to two separate subject properties; i) the subject of the embedded infinitive complements may be deleted in EQUI constructions and ii) the subject of the embedded infinitive complements may be raised to the subject of the matrix clause in subject-raising constructions.¹⁰ The former claim on a subject property is based on the assumption that the overt subject in EQUI constructions is always the matrix clause subject which controls the subject reference of the embedded complement. This assumption, however, does not seem to be supported by the following examples in Wallace (1985b).

- (69) (Wallace 1985b:125)
- a. **sitaa / *sitaa-le ru-na thaal-in.**
 Sita / Sita-ERG cry-NOM start-3sfM.PST
 ‘Sita started to cry.’
 - b. **raam-le / *raam kaam gar-na thaal-yo.**
 Ram-ERG / Ram work do-NOM start-3smL.PST
 ‘Ram started to do the work.’

In (69a) with the intransitive complement verb *ru-nu* ‘to cry’, the overt subject *sitaa* cannot take an ERGATIVE marking despite the fact that the matrix verb *thaal-nu* is transitive. The subject is marked by the ERGATIVE only when the complement verb is transitive as in (69b). As Wallace himself observes (1985a, b), the case of the subject seems to be determined by the transitivity of the complement verb. It would be more plausible then to assume that the overt subject is in fact the subject of the ‘complement’ clause.

This may also be true in what Wallace calls ‘subject-raising’ constructions. Despite what Wallace argues, our consultant does not seem to see any difference between the constructions with

¹⁰ For the distinct formal representations of these two processes, see Wallace 1985a, 1987.

thaal-nu (Wallace's EQUI trigger) and those with *laag-nu* (subject-raising trigger). The matrix subject of the construction with *laag-nu* may be ERGATIVE when the complement verb is transitive:

- (70) **mayle maasu khaa-na thaal-e~ / laag-e~.**
 1s.ERG meat eat-NOM start-1sm.PST / begin-1sm.PST
 'I began to eat meat.'

The verbs such as *thaal-nu* and *laag-nu* do not appear to be either EQUI or subject-raising triggers. There is no reason to assume that they form a higher clause with its own argument structure. They rather function like supporting or auxiliary verbs and form verbal complexes with the preceding non-finite verbs. The non-finite verbs, which are in fact the main or base verbs, then determine the argument structure of the whole construction. If this is the case, those constructions with non-finite verbs followed by *thaal-nu* or *laag-nu* do not hold two subject positions (matrix and complement), and the 'subject properties' assuming the two subject positions are no longer in effect.

When DSCs appear with the verbs like *thaal-nu* and *laag-nu*, the overt subjects are always in DATIVE case as shown in the following examples.

- (71) (Ki)
ra usko baaw-laay usko sarir-ko baaremaa swaasthya-ko baaremaa
 and 3L.GEN father-DAT 3L.GEN body-GEN about health-GEN about
saaray cintaa hu-na thaal-yo.
 very anxiety be1-NOM begin-3smL.PST
 'And his father began to worry very much about his body, about his health.'
- (72) **malaay uni man par-na thaal-in / laag-in.**
 1s.DAT 3M desire happen-NOM start-3sfM.PST / begin-3sfM.PST
 'I began to like her.'

Wallace (1985a) argues that the EXPERIENCER NPs do not show the subject property because they are not 'deleted'. According to our analysis that the verbs like *thaal-nu* and *laag-nu* function merely as a supporting verb, however, the DATIVE marking on the EXPERIENCER NPs is expected since (71) and (72) are basically DSCs. Wallace further argues that the NPs, such as *uni* in (72), must be treated as the subject of the matrix clause (and that the coreferential SOURCE NPs are deleted) since they control the verb agreement. According to our analysis again, the verb

agreement pattern in (72) is not at all surprising. As shown in 4.2.2, what controls the verb agreement in DSCs is a SOURCE NP like *uni* in (72).

As discussed above, since Wallace's analyses of the constructions in question as 'EQU' or 'subject-raising' themselves can be questioned, the 'subject properties' he claims based on those analyses will be excluded from consideration in this study.

4. 2. 8 Object-raising

The subjects of the embedded clauses may be raised to objects of the matrix clauses with certain verbs (Wallace 1985a:89-93). In the (a) sentences of (73) through (75) below, the EXPERIENCER NPs are raised to the objects of the matrix clauses with the verbs *dekh-nu* 'to see' or *banaaw-nu* 'to make'. The objecthood of the EXPERIENCER NPs is shown by the fact that they can be passivized as in the corresponding (b) sentences.

- (73) a. **mayle raam-laay ris uTh-eko dekh-e~.**
 1s.ERG Raam-DAT anger rise-PP see-1sm.PST
 'I saw Raam getting angry.'
- b. **raam-laay ris uTh-eko dekh-i-yo.**
 Raam-DAT anger rise-PP see-PASS-3smL.PST
 'Raam was seen getting angry.'
- (74) a. **raaj-le raam-laay ris uTh-ne banaa-in.**
 Raaj-ERG Raam-DAT anger rise-IP make-3sfM.PST
 'Raaj made Raam angry.'
- b. **raam-laay ris uTh-ne banaa-i-yo.**
 Raam-DAT anger rise-IP make-PASS-3smL.PST
 'Raam was made angry.'
- (75) a. **tyo keTaa-le malaay mero choraa-ko samjhanaa laag-ne**
 DIST.L boy-ERG 1s.DAT 1s.GEN son-GEN memory feel-IP
banaawn-cha.
 make-3smL.PR
 'The boy makes me remember my son.'
- b. **ma mero choraa-ko samjhanaa laag-ne banaa-i-e~.**
 1s 1s.GEN son-GEN memory feel-IP make-PASS-1sm.PST
 'I was made to remember my son.'

The other NPs in DSCs besides EXPERIENCER NPs may not be raised to the object position of the matrix clauses. Neither SOURCE or SENSATION NPs can take *-laay* case marking which could be assigned to object:

- (76) **raaj-le raam-laay ris / *ris-laay uTh-ne banaa-in.**
 Raaj-ERG Raam-DAT anger / anger-DAT rise-IP make-3sfM.PST
 'Raaj made Raam angry.'
- (77) (Wallace 1985a:147)
mayle raam-laay tyo maanche / *tyo maanche-laay man
 1s.ERG Raam-DAT DIST.L man -DAT desire
na-par-eko dekh-e~.
 NEG-happen-PP see-1sm.PST
 'I saw that that man wasn't liked by Ram.'

The following examples from Wallace (1985a) further support the claim that the SOURCE NPs are not raised to the matrix object.

- (78) (Wallace 1985a:147)
***mayle bhaay-laay aaphno guru man na-par-eko dekh-e~.**
 1s.DAT brother-DAT REF.GEN teacher desire NEG-happen-PP see-1sm.PST
 'I saw that my teacher wasn't liked by brother.'
- (79) (Wallace 1985a:147)
***bhaay-laay guru man na-par-eko dekh-i-e.**
 brother-DAT teacher desire NEG-happen-PP see-PASS-3smM.PST
 'The teacher appeared not to be liked by brother.'

If the SOURCE NP *guru* 'own teacher' were raised to the matrix object, the reflexive *aaphno* modifying *guru* would refer to the matrix subject 'I' in (78)¹¹, and *guru* could be the subject of the passive and control verb agreement (mid honorific grade) in (79). In terms of the 'object-raising' property, therefore, only EXPERIENCER NPs of DSCs seem to behave like 'subject'.

4. 2. 9 *ne*-nominalization

According to Wallace (1985a:93-4), the clauses nominalized by the verbal suffix *-ne* may only refer to their subject referents.¹² In the following examples, the nominalized DSCs refer to

¹¹ Although Wallace does not make it explicit, it is assumed that the sentence would be acceptable to mean 'I saw that brother did not like his teacher.' (cf., Section 4.2.4)

¹² *-ne* clauses also function as relative clauses (Matthews 1984:160). When a head noun of a relative clause refers to a generic referent, such as *maanche* 'man, person', the head noun may be left unexpressed even when it refers to the object in the relative clause:

- (i) **usle mayle cin-ne (maanche)-haru-laay bolaa-yo.**
 3L.ERG 1s.ERG recognize-IP (man)-PL-DAT call-3smL.PST
 'He invited those I know.'

It is not clear at this stage of investigation if the nominalized clauses discussed here should also be analyzed as such 'headless' relative clauses. If they are, then the referents of those headless relative clauses are not necessarily limited to subjects as shown in (i) above.

the EXPERIENCER NPs. Notice that the nominal morphemes, such as a plural marker *-haru* and a DATIVE marker *-laay*, directly follow the *-ne* clauses.

(80) **sangit-maa ruci hu-ne-haru aa-e.**
 music-LOC interest be1-IP-PL come-3pM.PST
'Those who are interested in music came.'

(81) **mayle dheray kathaa thaahaa hu-ne-laay bheT-ne-chu~.**
 1s.ERG many story knowledge be1-IP-DAT see-FUT-1sm
'I will meet the one who knows many stories.'

The nominalized DSCs cannot refer to SOURCE NPs. In (82) below, the head noun *cij* 'thing' is required following the *-ne* clause in order to refer to the SOURCE.

(82) **mayle uslaay man par-ne cij kin-ne-chu~.**
 1s.ERG 3L.DAT desire happen-IP thing buy-FUT-1s
'I will buy the one he likes.'

4. 3 Summary of the subject properties in DSCs

The following table summarizes the behaviors of EXPERIENCER, SOURCE, and SENSATION NPs in Nepali DSCs in terms of the subject properties discussed in the previous sections.

	EXPERIENCER	SOURCE	SENSATION
agreement	X	O (type 2,4)	O? (type 1,5)
case	X	O (type 2,4)	O
word order	O	X	X
reflex. control	O	X	-
CP	O	X?	-
EQUI control	O	-	-
object-raising	O	X	X
<i>ne</i> -nominalization	O	X	-

Table 1: Subject properties in DSCs¹³

Table 1 shows that the subject properties are split between the different NPs in DSCs. Most of the properties (word order, reflexive control, CP coreference, EQUI control, object-raising, and *ne*-nominalization) are associated with EXPERIENCER NPs. EXPERIENCER NPs, however, do

¹³ 'O' means that the NPs show the property, while 'X' means that they don't. '-' indicates either that the property in question is not applicable or that no data have been obtained to determine the result.

not show the subject properties of verb agreement and case marking. These two properties instead go to (certain) SOURCE and/or SENSATION NPs.

The behaviors of SOURCE and SENSATION NPs are varied depending on the structural types they appear in. SOURCE NPs are zero-marked and control verb agreement in the structural types 2 and 4, but not in the other types. SENSATION NPs are unmarked in all structural types, and could be considered to control verb agreement (third person singular low grade) only when SOURCE NPs are either absent or in an OBLIQUE case (in structural types 1 and 5).

4. 4 Subject properties and syntactic structures of DSCs

Wallace (1985a) proposes the dichotomy of Nepali DSCs based on the occurrence of a SOURCE NP; DSCs which take SOURCE NPs (our structural types 2, 3, 4, and 5) are categorized as ‘transitive’, while those which do not take SOURCE NPs (our type 1) are ‘intransitive’. In his data, this dichotomy is formally supported by the different behaviors of two categories in terms of some syntactic properties. He claims that i) EXPERIENCER NPs can control the subject reference of CP clauses only in ‘intransitive’ DSCs, ii) only ‘intransitive’ DSCs can appear with the ‘subject-raising’ verb *laag-nu*, and iii) EXPERIENCER NPs can be referred to only by nominalized ‘intransitive’ DSCs but not by nominalized ‘transitive’ DSCs. Such constraints, however, are not observed in my data. As shown in examples (62) through (64), EXPERIENCER NPs in ‘transitive’ DSCs do control the coreferential subjects of the other clauses connected by CP. The example (72) shows that *laag-nu* can follow the ‘transitive’ DSC with *man par-nu*. Finally, both examples (80) and (81) include the nominalized ‘transitive’ DSCs referring to the EXPERIENCERS. Wallace’s dichotomy, therefore, does not appear to show any correlation with the syntactic behaviors of DSCs.

The observations of subject properties suggest different syntactic categorizations of Nepali DSCs. As summarized in the previous section, while EXPERIENCER NPs show the same syntactic behaviors in all structural types of DSCs, SOURCE and SENSATION NPs display different behaviors depending on the structural types of DSCs. Their behaviors in verb agreement and case marking group the structural types 2 and 4 together as opposed to types 1 and 5.

In the structural types 2 and 4, SOURCE NPs are zero-marked and act like subjects in controlling verb agreement. The syntactic status of SENSATION NPs in these types of DSCs is not yet clear, but the existence (type 4) and the non-existence (type 2) of SENSATION NPs do not seem to affect the syntactic behaviors of the DSCs. I hypothesize that the DSCs of structural types 2 and 4 share similar ‘syntactic (argument) frames’ like the one below:

DSC syntactic frame I (= structural types 2 and 4)

EXPERIENCER NP - DAT	SOURCE NP	(SENSATION NP)	DS Predicate
<subject properties>	<subject properties>		

In the structural types 1 and 5, SOURCE NPs either do not appear or do not show any subject properties. Instead, SENSATION NPs can be considered to behave like subjects in being unmarked and controlling verb agreement. It is hypothesized that the DSCs of the structural types 1 and 5 share a ‘syntactic frame’ like the one below. The marked SOURCE NP, which is not recognized by any syntactic processes in question, is assumed to be either a part of the SENSATION NP (modifying the SENSATION NP) or an OBLIQUE.

DSC syntactic frame II (= structural types 1 and 5)

EXPERIENCER NP - DAT	(SOURCE NP - GEN/OBL)	SENSATION NP	DS Predicate
<subject properties>		<subject properties>	

It was assumed that the inconsistency in the syntactic behaviors of SOURCE and SENSATION NPs suggests the difference in syntactic frames of various types of Nepali DSCs. Further syntactic investigations on, for example, constituent structures of the constructions, need to be done in order to examine the validity of the syntactic categorization proposed here and to reveal more detailed syntactic structures of each type of the constructions.¹⁴ It seems true that Nepali DSCs are syntactically heterogeneous constructions. The syntactic difference, however, may not be due to the mere existence of SOURCE NPs as suggested by Wallace (1985a), but rather to the syntactic status of SOURCE NPs.

¹⁴ There is one more structural type of DSCs, type 3, exemplified by only one DS predicate *cilaaw-nu* ‘to itch’ in my data. In this type of the construction, a SOURCE NP takes an OBLIQUE case and shows no subject property as in the type 5. The DSC of this type, however, lacks a SENSATION NP, and no NP shows the subject properties in terms of verb agreement and case marking.

5 The Split of ‘Subject Properties’

5. 1 The split pattern of subject properties

In Section 4.3, it has been observed that the subject properties are split between the different NPs in Nepali DSCs. Two of the properties in question are shown by SOURCE and/or SENSATION NPs, while other properties are shown by EXPERIENCER NPs. At the end of his influential paper, Keenan (1976) categorizes the subject properties he identifies into three categories: ‘coding’, ‘behavior (and control)’, and ‘semantic’ properties. The properties presented by SOURCE/SENSATION NPs, namely, verb agreement and case marking, are among Keenan’s coding properties, while those presented by EXPERIENCER NPs can be all included in his behavior properties, except word order which is categorized as a coding property by Keenan.¹⁵ That is, the split pattern of the subject properties in Nepali DSCs can be roughly characterized by the distinction between coding and behavior properties.

5. 2 Motivation for the split of subject properties

The coding properties (verb agreement and case marking) are concerned with the morphosyntactic processes. Those morphosyntactic processes are part of the grammatical system of a language and are rather mechanic. The phenomena involved in the behavior properties, on the other hand, are discourse-functional in nature, revolving around ‘topic’ maintenance.¹⁶ They all have something to do with keeping a track of the referent inside the clause as well as outside the clause. Although Keenan (1976) categorizes it as one of the coding properties, word order also tends to be correlated to discourse factors which include ‘topic’ or ‘theme’ (cf., Payne, ed. 1992). Therefore, there is a functional ground to categorize word order with the behavior properties. The characterization of the behavior properties (including word order) as properties concerning the notion of ‘topic’ provides an explanation for the association of those properties to EXPERIENCER NPs in DSCs.

¹⁵ The fact that word order goes along with the behavior properties in the split is in fact functionally motivated (see 5.2 below).

¹⁶ The term ‘topic’ is used here to mean ‘what is talked about’.

Thompson (1990), in her study of so-called ‘dative shift’ in English, introduces the notion of ‘topicworthiness’ defined as ‘the likelihood of a noun phrase being the topic of discussion’ (p.241). The degree of topicworthiness can be measured by several properties including animacy, pronominality, identifiability, and ‘activation state’ (cf., Chafe 1987). A noun phrase is considered more topicworthy if it is a pronoun and the referent is animate, identifiable (to the addressee) and already introduced in the previous discourse (= ‘given’).

The examination of those properties in Nepali DSCs shows that EXPERIENCER NPs tend to be more topicworthy than the other NPs in the constructions. My textual data contains 30 occurrences of the DSCs in 12 texts. The EXPERIENCER and SOURCE NPs in those DSCs are coded in terms of animacy, pronominality, identifiability, and activation state properties.¹⁷ The SENSATION NPs (28 tokens) are not coded for any of those properties since they are by definition non-referential and not relevant to those properties, which are basically for referential NPs. Being irrelevant to the topicworthiness properties, the SENSATION NPs in the DSCs are judged to be least topicworthy. As shown in Table 2, the EXPERIENCER NPs tend strongly to be animate (100%), pronominal (76.7%)¹⁸, given (93.3%) and identifiable (100%), while the SOURCE NPs are much lower in topicworthiness in all properties.

	Animate	Pronoun	Given	Identifiable
EXPERIENCER	100% (30/30)	76.7% (23/30)	93.3% (28/30)	100% (30/30)
SOURCE	20% (3/15)	0% (0/15)	33.3% (5/15)	26.7% (4/15)

Table 2: TOPICWORTHINESS of EXPERIENCER and SOURCE NPs

It has been shown that EXPERIENCER NPs in Nepali DSCs are more topicworthy, that is, EXPERIENCER NPs are more likely to be a ‘topic’, than the other NPs in the constructions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the behavior properties, the properties for a ‘topic’, are associated with EXPERIENCER NPs but not with the other NPs in Nepali DSCs. That is, high

¹⁷ The NPs coded here include the ‘zero anaphoras’ as well as the overt NPs.

¹⁸ The ‘zero anaphoras’ were counted as pronouns based on the assumption that ‘zeros’ represent the extreme reduction of full nouns.

topicworthiness of EXPERIENCER NPs in DSCs motivate their association with the behavior properties.

6 Conclusion

It has been demonstrated in this paper that the subject properties in Nepali DSCs are split over the different NPs in the constructions. The similar split patterns have been observed in other South Asian languages as well (eg., Abbi 1990, Kachru 1990, Sridhar 1976, 1979). Given the split, the researchers have reached various conclusions regarding ‘subjecthood’ in DSCs. Following Keenan’s (1976) characterization of ‘subject’ as a cluster concept, Sridhar (1976) claims that EXPERIENCER and nominative NPs differ in the degree of ‘subjecthood’ in Kannada and that the latter is ‘more subject-like’ than the former. Sridhar (1979) later argues that EXPERIENCER NPs are underlying subjects to which all the subject-relevant transformation rules apply before a relation-changing rule derives nominative NPs as surface subjects. Abbi (1990) concludes that EXPERIENCER NPs should be considered the subjects of DSCs because they exhibit the majority of subject properties.

Although their analyses and conclusions are different from one another, those studies seem to share a basic assumption about ‘subject’ and ‘subject properties’: the ‘subject properties’ are associated to certain NPs *because* they are ‘subjects’. Based on this theoretical assumption, it is necessary for them to analyze EXPERIENCER NPs as ‘subjects’ in one way or another if the NPs exhibit even some of the ‘subject properties’.

This very assumption, however, seems questionable, once we recognize the different natures of the ‘subject properties’. Among the properties which are commonly identified as ‘subject properties’, the behavior properties can be characterized as discourse-functional. What is referred to by the behavior properties is the notion of ‘topic’. The frequent association between the behavior properties and ‘subject’ are only the secondary result of the common amalgamation between ‘subject’ and ‘topic’ (cf., Comrie 1989, Andrews 1985). The status of the behavior properties as a part of the ‘universal subject properties’ (Keenan 1976) is warranted only to the extent that ‘subject’ is a ‘topic’ as well. In Nepali DSCs, the examination of the ‘topicworthiness’

properties show that EXPERIENCER NPs are more likely a 'topic' than the other NPs are. The association between the behavior properties and EXPERIENCER NPs therefore seems to be motivated by the notion of 'topic' but not necessarily by the notion of 'subject'.

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Appendix: Dative Subject Predicates in Nepali

<u>DS Predicate</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Structural type</u>	<u>Case for Source</u>	<u>Direct Counterpart</u>
A. Physical sensations/conditions				
bhok laag-nu	be hungry	1		bhokaaw-nu
cilaaw-nu	itch	3	-maa	
coT laag-nu	get hurt	1		
jaaDo laag-nu	be cold	1		
nidraa laag-nu/par-nu	feel/fall asleep	1		
raksi laag-nu	be intoxicated	1		
thakaay laag-nu	be tired	1		thaa-k-nu
tirkhaa laag-nu	be thirsty	1		tirkhaaw-nu
B. Sickness				
awlo laag-nu	get malaria	1		
dukh-nu	have an ache	2		
jaro hu-nu/aaw-nu	have fever	1		
khoki laag-nu	have a cough	1		
rughaa laag-nu	have a cold	1		
C. Psychological states				
aananda hu-nu	feel happy	1		
aascaria laag-nu	be astonished	1		
acamma laag-nu	be astonished	1		
chakka laag-nu	be surprised	1		chokka par-nu
cintaa hu-nu	worry	5	-ko baaremaa	
Dar laag-nu/hu-nu	be afraid	1, 5	(person)-ko/dekhi, (kuraa)-maa	Daraaw-nu (-dekhi/sita)
garba laag-nu	be proud	5	-ko	garba gar-nu (-dekhi)
haa~so laag-nu	laugh (feel funny)	1		haa~s-nu
irsyaa laag-nu	be jealous	5	-ko/dekhi	irsyaa gar-nu (-ko)
kasto kasto laag-nu	feel confused	1		
khusi laag-nu	be happy	1		khusi hu-nu
laaj laag-nu	feel shy, feel embarrassed	1, (5)	(aaphay-sita)	lajaaw-nu

pir par-nu	worry	5	-dekhi	
ris uTh-nu/aaw-nu	get angry	1, 5	-dekhi/sita	risaaw-nu
sangkaa laag-nu	suspect	5	-maa	
saram laag-nu	feel nervous	5	-ko	
saram laag-nu	feel ashamed	1, (5)	(aaphay-sita)	
sukha hu-nu	be happy	1		sukhi hu-nu
udaas laag-nu	be sad	1		
D. Conscious states				
bhram hu-nu	have false idea	5	-ko	
gyaan hu-nu	know	5	-ko	
jaanakaari hu-nu	know	5	-ko baaremaa	
ruci laag-nu/hu-nu	be interested in	5	-maa	ruci raakh-nu (-maa)
samjhanaa aaw-nu/hu-nu	remember	5	-ko	samjha-nu
thaahaa hu-nu	know	4, 6		jaan-nu
yaad aaw-nu	remember	5	-ko	
E. Desire/needs				
aabasyaktaa hu-nu	need	5	-ko	
aasaa hu-nu	hope	5	-ko	aasaa gar-nu (-ko)
caahi-nu	need	2		caaha-nu
icchayaa hu-nu	have desire	6		
kaa~co hu-nu	need	5	-ko	
lobh laag-nu	become greedy	1		
man laag-nu	want to	6		caaha-nu
man par-nu	like (to)	4, 6		man paar-nu
rahar laag-nu/hu-nu	have desire, be interested	6		
F. Happenings				
(a)ber/Dhilo hu-nu	be late	1		
hu-nu	happen	1		

On the *i(n)* Construction in Nepali

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1. Introduction

The present paper is a study of a finite verb construction in Nepali which has commonly been considered a morphological passive.¹ This construction is formed by adding the suffix *i(n)* to a verb root, which changes the meaning of the verb to passive: *ma dekh-e* ~ 'I saw' vs. *ma dekh-i-e* ~ 'I was seen'. It has been claimed that there are indeed two different types of passives that this form is used for, a true prototypical passive and an impersonal passive construction (Wallace 1985). However, a study of such forms in actual naturally-occurring discourse shows that this is not the case, but that the *i(n)* form is used fairly consistently for one type of function only, a function which does not conform nicely to the existing syntactic or functional definitions of passives. Using discourse data as a source of syntactic examples and by drawing on function in addition to morpho-syntactic form, this paper attempts to clarify the status of this construction in Nepali and take issue with what kind of passive it is.

¹ I wish to thank Carol Genetti, Wally Chafe, Laurie Crain, Jack Du Bois and Sandy Thompson for their extensive and helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. This study has benefited greatly from these comments, but the responsibility for taking note of them rests solely on me.

2. Grammatical structure of Nepali

Nepali belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family (Verma 1992). In this section, I will present some principal points of the grammatical structure of the language, concentrating on the core arguments A, or agent-like participant in a transitive clause, S, or the single argument of an intransitive clause, and O, or the patient-like participant in a transitive clause (cf. Dixon 1979). The treatment here is based largely on Wallace (1985: 23-48) and Ichihashi (1993). Finally, some arguments in favor of a subject category in Nepali are presented.

2.1. Core arguments

Noun phrases in Nepali may show gender and number. Wallace (1985) claims that even though there is no system of grammatical gender, all nouns representing female human beings are considered feminine for purposes of agreement, while all other nouns are considered masculine. Verb forms in Nepali indicate aspect, tense, affirmation or negation, and agreement with the subject of the clause in person, number, gender and honorific grade.

Grammatical relationships are shown by postpositions. There are two core case markers, *-le* (agentive/ergative) and *-laay* (dative).² In general, A is marked by the case suffix *-le* while S must be left unmarked. There is then reason to suspect that, since A and S

² *-le* is also used for the instrumental case, and *-laay* is used for benefactives.

are marked differently, Nepali may have an ergative case marking system. However, as Wallace (1985) shows, there is a clear split in the system in that A is marked by *-le* only in the perfective tenses, while in nonperfective tenses it may be marked variably. Thus, *-le* is required in the simple past, present perfect, past perfect, narrative present and past, and future perfect. Examples of two of these are as follows:

(1) (Wallace 1985: 37)
mayle/*ma kaam gar-e ~ (simple past)
 1s.ERG/*1s work do-1s.PST
'I did the work'

(2) (Wallace 1985: 37)
mayle/*ma kaam gar-eko thi-e ~ (past perfect)
 1s.ERG/*1s work do-PERF be.PST-1s.PST
'I had done the work'

The use of *-le* is variable in the following non-past tenses, which are imperfective in aspect: simple present, present imperfective, simple future, future imperfective, future presumptive, injunctive. Examples of two of these are given in the following:

(3) (Wallace 1985: 37)
ma/mayle kaam gar-chu (simple present)
 1s/1s.ERG work do-1s.PR
'I do the work'

(4) (Wallace 1985: 37)
ma/mayle kaam gar-day-chu (present imperfective)
 1s/1s.ERG work do-PROG-1s.PR
'I am doing the work'

Finally, according to Wallace, *-le* is completely excluded from two imperfective past tenses, past habitual and past imperfective.

(5) (Wallace 1985: 37)
ma/*mayle kaam gar-the ~ (past habitual)
 1s/*1s.ERG work do-1s.PSTHAB
'I used to do the work'

Wallace (1985: 35) states that there has been little agreement among the linguists who have studied the contexts in which *-le* appears or the motivations for its appearance in nonperfective tenses. Wallace himself claims that there are historical, dialectal, social and pragmatic factors involved in the distribution of *-le*. He suggests that apart from transitivity and tense and aspect, which are the key factors in determining whether *-le* is used to mark A, there are perhaps pragmatic factors, such as avoidance of ambiguity and emphasis, within the discourse context of the sentence that may play a role. Thus, we can find *-le* in the non-past tenses to avoid ambiguity in cases where both A and O are in the same person, number and gender:

(6) (Wallace 1985: 39)
raam-le dhobi dekh-cha
 ram-ERG launderer see-3smL.PR
'Ram sees the launderer'

Here, since the word order in Nepali is "to some degree variable" (Wallace 1985: 39), A is marked with *-le*, while O is unmarked (or could actually be marked by *-laay*, cf. below). Ichihashi (1993: 2) suggests that the ergative marking on A in a non-past tense may play a discourse role, sometimes suggesting more certainty, for example.

Wallace concludes that since there is variation from *le*-full to variable-*le* to non-*le* in the tense system for finite verbs, there is no point in trying to write into the syntax precise parameters for the variable-*le*. Since the use of the ergative marker *-le* may in the non-past

tenses be conditioned by pragmatics and discourse factors, a conclusion can be drawn that the grammatical system of Nepali is not a regular and prototypical ergative one. This makes it possibly less problematic to argue for a passive in the language (but cf. Shibatani 1988: 2 and Keenan 1985: 248, according to whom it is possible for prototypical ergative languages to have passives, too).

O in Nepali is marked differently from S, so there is no morphological absolutive case in the grammatical system of this language. O is marked by the dative *-laay* according to the following rules, as suggested by Wallace (1985: 25). Firstly, all referential direct object NPs, i.e. names, pronouns whose antecedents are persons, etc., must be marked by the dative *-laay*.

(7) (Wallace 1985: 26)
raam-le sitaa-laay dekh-yo
 raam-ERG sitaa-DAT see-3smL.PST
 'Ram saw Sita'

(8) (Wallace 1985: 26)
raam-le uslaay cin-eko cha
 ram-ERG 3L.DAT know-PERF be2.3smL
 'Ram has recognized him'

Secondly, all nonreferential but human direct object NPs may be marked by *-laay* or zero.

(9) (Ichihashi 1993: 3-4)
mayle maanche maar-e ~
 1s.ERG man kill-1s.PST
 'I killed a man (who is unknown to the hearer)'

mayle tyo maanche-laay maar-e ~
 1s.ERG DIST.L man-DAT kill-1s.PST
 'I killed that man'

Wallace's term 'nonreferential' is not accurate, nor does he specify under which conditions -*laay* or zero marking may occur here. It seems that his term 'referential' encompasses and could be replaced by 'identifiable' and 'specific'. According to Du Bois and Thompson (in preparation: 6-7), an identifiable NP is one whose referent the speaker assumes the listener can identify. This is clearly the case with referents of proper names and personal pronouns. Moreover, proper names and personal pronouns are clearly also specific, i.e. they name an entity (Du Bois and Thompson in preparation: 35). However, human referents that are not in the form of proper names or personal pronouns but are identifiable (and very likely also specific) may still be marked by *-laay*, as in the second example in (9) above. Thirdly, Wallace further states that all direct object NPs may be marked by *-laay* to indicate emphasis or definiteness; this rule is then in effect an extension of the second rule above, with the addition of non-human animate referents and inanimate referents that may also be marked by *-laay* when emphasized.

(10) (Wallace 1985: 26)
mayle yo kitaab-laay caah-e~
 1s.ERG PROX.L book-DAT want-1s.PST
 'I wanted this book'

(11) (Ichihashi 1993: 4)
(mayle) raato gaay-laay maar-e~
 1s.ERG red cow-DAT kill-1s.PST
 'I killed the red cow'
 (according to Ichihashi, some kind of contrast to other cows is involved here)

Fourthly, all inanimate direct object NPs are otherwise unmarked.

(12) (Wallace 1985: 26)
raam-le ciThi lekh-yo
raam-ERG letter write-3smL.PST
'Ram wrote a letter'

This is in agreement with Ichihashi's finding that inanimate referents cannot on the whole be marked by *-laay* even when the referent is identifiable or somehow specific; there has to be some contrast to other referents involved.

(13) (Ichihashi 1993: 4)
timile bhaat/*bhaat-laay khaa-yaw
2M.ERG rice eat-2pM.PST
'you ate the rice (that was here)'

In sum, Ichihashi (1993: 5) observes that the semantic animacy features and pragmatic properties of O interact with each other in its case marking. This seems true, but more research is obviously needed on the pragmatic aspects. The problem with Wallace's treatment is that his term 'referential' does not capture the pragmatic (information flow) properties closely enough, and the resulting rules appear rather random and confusing.

2.2. *Is there a subject in Nepali?*

Since case-marking on A is different from that on S, which is formally unmarked, we can say that there is no morphological 'subject' category in Nepali. However, there are other criteria that show that there is a syntactic 'subject' category. Wallace (1985: 72-96) shows that in 'basic clauses' subject NPs are treated alike by 12 syntactic or morphological

processes, while direct objects and other NPs are treated differently by these same processes.³ Thus, word order, verb agreement, case assignment, reflexivization, conjunctive participle control, EQUI control, conjunction reduction, EQUI deletion, subject-raising, object-raising, and two types of nominalizations are all controlled by subject only (with the exception of one of the nominalizations, which may refer to both subject and object). To the extent that basic clauses can be considered representative of the structure of the language, there is then evidence that Nepali has a subject category. But the extent to which passive clauses can be considered to have a subject, i.e. the extent to which the object of an active clause is promoted to subject in passives in Nepali, will be a central issue in the following treatment.

3. Research hypothesis

A fairly widely held view is that Nepali has a morphological passive and that there is no periphrastic passive in the language (Verma 1992, Wallace 1985, Pandharipande 1979). The passive verb is formed by adding the suffix *-i* (word-finally and before vowels and semivowels) or *-in* (before consonants) to the verb root of any verb, thus changing its valence. For example, the active transitive verb *gar-cha* 'does' is made passive in *gar-in-cha* 'is done' and *gar-i-yo* 'was done'. It is also possible to add this suffix to some

³ By 'basic clauses' he means pragmatically unmarked main or nonfinite clauses, which have an active nonderived verb form. The subjects in these clauses are generally case-marked nominative, i.e. intransitive clause subjects (which are always unmarked) and transitive clause subjects in the nonpast tenses (which have the potential to be zero-marked).

intransitive verb roots, such as *pugnu* 'to arrive', *puginu* 'to be reached' and *marnu* 'die', *marinu* (translation unclear) (Wallace 1985: 197, Matthews 1984: 105). Such inflected verb forms are often referred to as 'I-stem' verbs (Matthews 1984: 103). They have the full range of tenses and participles, but according to Matthews it is in general only the infinitive, 3rd person forms and certain participles that are used in discourse.

Even though only one morpheme, *i(n)*, is used for passivizing a verb, there have in fact been claims that there are two different morphological passives, a 'true passive' and an 'impersonal' construction in the language (the term 'impersonal construction' being used by Wallace and Verma for example). Confusingly, many studies deal with one or the other but seldom address both types explicitly. For example, Verma does not distinguish between true passives and impersonals, but considers Nepali to have only the latter construction.

There is thus a consensus in the literature that the *i(n)* construction is morphologically a passive of some kind. Whether it is also a passive syntactically and functionally depends on our definition of passive. There have been attempts to give a universal characterization of passives in terms of grammatical relations (cf. Relational Grammar). According to such a strictly syntactic view, passive is a 'promotional' phenomenon, involving a promotion of the active clause object NP to subject in the passive clause. This in turn is accompanied by a demotion of the active clause subject, so that it only gets mentioned in an oblique case if at all in the passive clause. Passive is thus seen as a relational concept, relating an active clause to a passive clause, rather than just a derivational morphological process.

But such a strictly formal approach has been criticized because it really only includes prototypical cases of passives. Shibatani (1988: 3) and Comrie (1988: 13) draw attention to

the fact that **impersonal passives**, which are fairly common cross-linguistically, are not included in these definitions, which essentially presuppose that O is the full grammatical subject of the passive construction. Since the issue of impersonal passives is very important for my study, I will briefly explain how this term is understood here.

There is some variation in the literature on what types of constructions are included under this rubric. According to a definition by Keenan (1985: 247), impersonal subject constructions refer to cases where languages like English use third person plural subjects (cf. *they*) that do not refer to any specific group of individuals. On the other hand, Keenan refers to impersonal passives that are formed from intransitive verbs; they lack any NPs and are therefore *subjectless* (1985: 273). As we have seen, such constructions are also possible in Nepali (cf. also example 18 below). A third characterization of impersonal passives appears to be passives that *do not allow agents* to be expressed even if transitive clauses are passivized, as in Finnish and Turkish (Shibatani 1985: 831). Yet another characterization is passives that involve transitive clauses with *no promotion of a patient*, as e.g. in Hindi and Ute (Shibatani 1988; cf. also Givón 1990: 581 on Ute, where the patient NP of the passive retains the same case-marking it had in the active). In the present study, impersonal passives refer to:

- (a) subjectless passives formed of intransitive verbs, and
- (b) passives of transitive verbs with no promotion of the active clause object to subject of passive clause

Some more functional definitions of passives have been put forward recently that take into account the functions that passives appear to have cross-linguistically. Generally,

passives have been suggested to be topicalization constructions of some kind. Thus, Keenan (1985) characterizes passives as foregrounding constructions similar to topicalizations like *Beans I like* and left-dislocations in English (apart from that, he mostly deals with basic, and prototypical, passives cross-linguistically). Similarly, Givón (1990: 564-572) claims passives to involve a demotion or, pragmatically speaking, *downgrading of the agent* of the action, because the agent is unknown or unrecoverable, generically-predictable or stereotypical, universal, or unimportant in the discourse. On the other hand, some non-agent referent is interpreted as the most topical in the clause, and this participant is *promoted to subject*. Syntactically this promotion may be more or less complete, i.e. it may range from cases where the non-agent preserves its non-subject (typically direct object) case in the active clause (most researchers would then say that there is no promotion at all in such cases), to those that display the case marking of a prototypical subject of the active clause. Thirdly, the verb phrase of the active clause, prototypically showing a bounded, fast-changing, agent-initiated process, tends to be reframed in the passive as a *resulting state*. There is thus a stativization in the passive clause that is manifested above all in the use of the auxiliary verb 'be' as the main verb in the passive constructions of many languages (cf. English), and in the use of a less-finite verb form (adjectival, participial, perfect or nominal forms; cf. English again). According to Givón, such stativization is very common in passive constructions that involve the syntactic promotion of a non-agent to grammatical subjecthood.

Another functional definition is proposed by Shibatani (1985), who claims that too much emphasis has been put on the 'promotional' aspect of passives. According to him, the basic and primary pragmatic function of passives is, instead, *agent demotion*, or '*agent*

defocusing', as he calls it. Under this rubric he wants to include phenomena like absence of mention of an agent, mention of an agent in a non-prominent syntactic slot, blurring of the identity of an agent by the use of plural forms, and indirect reference to an agent by the use of an oblique case. He argues (and here he finds support in Keenan 1985) that passives generally do not express agents overtly: there are languages that completely prohibit the expression of an agent in a passive clause, while even languages that allow agents in passives generally avoid expressing them (Keenan 1985: 831). Shibatani then proposes a prototype approach to passives. Passives of intransitives, passives without promotion, and the like are passives *to the extent* that they share the function of defocusing of an agent (1985: 837). He then clearly sets this pragmatic function as the primary criterion of passives. In addition, he outlines certain other characteristics of the passive prototype. Morphologically, passives involve an extra morpheme. Syntactically, the agent is not encoded and the patient becomes the subject of the passive clause. Also, the valence of the predicate is reduced by one from the corresponding active predicate. Semantically, both agent and patient are in the semantic frame, even though syntactically the clause is intransitive, and finally it is the subject that is affected.

It is possible to criticize the idea of agent defocusing as too general a function to really accurately characterize passives. It also does not seem intuitively correct to think that when speakers launch into a passive clause, they have a certain active agent in mind that they try to demote or downgrade; more likely than not, they are trying to convey something directly that does not involve agents in the first place but, rather, a foregrounding of patients. (This in actual fact amounts to criticizing the relational approach to passives, which

presupposes that there is always some active clause that underlies a passive clause.) But the idea of a passive prototype is useful in that it allows passives to be more or less passivelike and also includes impersonal passives of different types.

Givón's functional definition of passives and Shibatani's prototype theory of passives essentially share the same elements. They both acknowledge the demotion or downgrading of the agent as one important function of passives (even though Shibatani clearly thinks it is more important than Givón does). In my study, I will use this pragmatic function as a criterion for the passiveness of the *i(n)* construction in Nepali. As for syntactic criteria, I will look at whether there is a promotion of the active object to passive subject, whether the agent is expressed, and whether there is a stativization of the predicate. Morphologically, I will simply acknowledge that there is an extra morpheme in the *i(n)* construction that appears to change the meaning and valence of the verb.

I hypothesize that the *i(n)* construction in Nepali fulfills the function of agent demotion or agent downgrading very clearly. There is then reason to suspect that the *i(n)* construction is a passive, maybe even a prototypical one. However, the central syntactic question that was the focus of much earlier research on passives, i.e. whether the object in the active clause is promoted to grammatical subject in the passive clause, remains largely an open question in Nepali, because in most cases in discourse data it is simply not possible to tell. In the cases that it is possible to tell, there is no syntactic promotion. The other syntactic criteria are more clear-cut, however. Agents are virtually never expressed syntactically in my discourse data. The verb forms are fully finite, with no 'be' or non-finite form of verb involved in the formation of finite forms (even though it is possible to form

passive forms of infinitives and participial forms in Nepali). There is therefore clearly no stativization of the clause, i.e. no reframing of an active process into a resulting state. The syntactic criteria of (non-)promotion and (non-)stativization then point towards a view that the *i(n)* construction is not a prototypical passive. I will argue that it is an impersonal passive, and moreover one that has specialized towards expressing one discourse function.

The *i(n)* construction shows a very uniform profile in terms of certain morpho-syntactic, semantic and discourse features. To begin with, patients in these clauses show certain clusters of characteristics not commonly thought of as typical or necessary properties of patients in prototypical passive clauses. In particular, the patients in passive clauses in Nepali discourse are overwhelmingly inanimate and general 3rd person NPs. Another differentiating feature is the verb phrase, which is virtually always in the 3rd person singular masculine low grade honorific form. The verb phrase is also not stative-resultative, but rather imperfective and habitual in nature. This is all evidence that the *i(n)* construction in Nepali is an impersonal passive that has become grammaticized to making a generalized predication or denoting habitual action.

In the following, I will present the research data of my study in Section 4. In Section 5, I present some earlier syntactic and functional approaches to the *i(n)* construction in Nepali, and this is followed by my own results and a discussion of these results in view of the definition of passive in Sections 6 and 7.

4. Research data

As noted earlier, there is considerable confusion over whether there are one or two passive constructions in Nepali. When trying to elicit clauses from my consultant, it was usually not difficult to get examples of both types, the true passive and the impersonal construction, but when he gave spontaneous discourse data such as personal histories or fables, he fairly consistently used one variety only. Also, when I was eliciting clauses with various obliques (e.g. locatives or associatives) in the surface subject position of the passive clause, my consultant found them extremely unnatural, especially if they involved an expressed agent. In my consultant's opinion we were stretching the language to its limits, and he claimed that the corresponding active sentences would be far more natural. Yet, Givón (1990: 593-595) presents such examples as representative of passive in Nepali (with always an expressed agent in an oblique phrase). Also the fact that Nepali is spoken in an area of extensive language contact with speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages, which has resulted in great variation in verb agreement, for example (cf. Genetti: to appear), makes it rather questionable to base all analysis of the *i(n)* construction on elicited examples from one consultant. I therefore decided to use examples from real discourse as primary source of data, but make use of the consultant's knowledge of his own language in interpreting them.

Givón's (1990: 572) general prediction about the low text-frequency of passives is borne out by the Nepali data. Out of a total of 23 texts, seven did not contain any *i(n)* constructions and were discarded from later analysis. The database in the present study therefore consists of 3 conversations (all from Hari 1973, a collection of conversations,

narratives and procedural texts originally spoken and then transcribed), 12 fairly short spoken narratives (both from the Hari texts and stories elicited from a consultant at University of California, Santa Barbara) and one long written narrative (the Naaso story transliterated by Acharya 1991), in all 16 texts.

The database consists of 907 sentences⁴. In all, 99 occurrences of the *i(n)* construction were found. Thus, the proportion of passive constructions (both finite and non-finite) of all sentences in the whole corpus is 10.9%. If we just count the proportion of passive sentences (which may then contain more than one passive verb form), the figure is a little lower, 10.4%. Of the texts, some contained a considerably higher proportion of passive sentences, notably Durga Puja (conversation but with a "procedural" topic of how a particular festival is celebrated) 34.1%, Rice Harvesting (procedural text) 34.5%, Tihaar (procedural text, again celebration of a festivity) 40.7% and Kwaa ~ Ti 82.4% (procedural text, cooking instructions for a dish called *kwaa ~ Ti*). Passives are clearly more frequent in procedural non-human-oriented discourse, as also observed by Givón (1990: 572). As for the other texts in the database, passive sentences generally only constituted much less than 10% of all sentences.

Of all the 99 occurrences, 86 finite forms were chosen for closer analysis. The 13 examples that were left out of consideration consisted of infinitival and participial forms, plus a couple of complex cases where the *i(n)* morpheme occurred on a modal verb (where the

⁴ The unit of transcription differs somewhat in the different data sources, but since the most common unit was sentence (rather than clause), I counted the number of sentences. Very often sentences and clauses coincided, but often sentences also contained more than one clause, and the number of clauses would actually be higher than 907.

passive meaning nevertheless appeared to be on the main verb rather than on the auxiliary).

5. The syntax of the *i(n)* construction in Nepali

In the following, I will present some results and at times conflicting data from two earlier studies concerning the syntax of the two types of passive constructions, true and impersonal passive, namely those by Wallace 1985 and Givón 1990.

5.1. *Agent-demotion and object promotion*

When transitive verb roots are passivized, in general the resulting construction is claimed to agree in gender, number, and person with the surface subject of the passive clause, i.e. it is a true passive (Wallace 1985: 197-205). The patient is promoted to grammatical subject, which appears in the same non-case-marked form as the subject in the active (intransitive) clause (i.e. without *-le* marking).

(14) (Wallace 1985: 198)

ma dekh-i-e ~
1s see-PASS-1s.PST
'I was seen'

(15) (Wallace 1985: 198)

ghar-haru naas gar-i-e
house-PL destruction do-PASS-3pM.PST
'the houses were destroyed'

Impersonal constructions according to Wallace are also formed with *i(n)*. They differ

from true passives in that the verb does not agree with the patient NP but appears in the neutral 3rd singular masculine low grade honorific form, henceforth abbreviated 3smL. The patient NP in such constructions retains its active case marking, i.e. it is marked in the same way as the direct object of the corresponding active sentence.

(16) (Wallace 1985: 199)
raam-le malaay dekh-yo (active)
 raam-ERG 1s.DAT see-3smL.PST
'Raam saw me'

(Wallace 1985: 198)
malaay dekh-i-yo (impersonal)
 1s.DAT see-PASS-3smL.PST
'I was seen'

(17) (Wallace 1985: 199)
baRhi-le ghar-haru naas gar-yo (active)
 flood-ERG house-PL destruction do-3smL.PST
'the flood destroyed the houses'

(Wallace 1985: 198)
ghar-haru naas gar-i-yo (impersonal)
 house-PL destruction do-PASS-3smL.PST
'the houses were destroyed'

The term 'impersonal' is apparently used by Wallace for this construction regardless of verbal transitivity. He also calls the passive verbs formed from intransitive verbs 'impersonal', claiming that such subjectless passives only occur in the neutral 3smL form.

(18) (Wallace 1985: 197)
klaas-maa dheray haa ~ s-i-yo
 class-LOC much laugh-PASS-3smL.PST
'there was much laughter in the class'

(19) (Wallace 1985: 198)
maasu khaa-na-le moTaa-in-cha
 meat eat-NOM-ERG become.fat-PASS-3smL.PR
'one gets fat by eating meat'

In both true passives and impersonal constructions, Nepali allows an agent phrase in an oblique case, formed with *-dwaaraa* 'by, through' or *-baaTa* 'from'. An agent can be present in passive clauses formed of both intransitive (20) and transitive verbs (21, 22):

(20) (elicited)
haami-haru baaTa bas samaat-na-laay chiTo chiTo dagur-i-yo
 1p-PL from bus catch-NOM-DAT fast run-PASS-3smL.PST
'we ran fast in order to catch the bus'
 (lit. there was fast running by us...)

(21) (Wallace 1985: 202)
(raam-dwaaraa) sitaa prem gar-in-cha
 (Raam-through) Sita love do-PASS-3smL.PR
'Sita (fem.) is loved (by Raam)'

(22) (Wallace 1985: 200)
(raam-dwaaraa) sitaa dekh-i-in
 (Raam-through) Sita see-PASS-3sfM.PST
'Sita (fem.) was seen (by Raam)'

However, there appear to be limitations to the acceptability of agents. As we will see later, omission of agent is almost the norm in naturally occurring Nepali data.

In Nepali, then, it is the direct object of the active clause that appears in the surface subject position in the passive clauses. According to Givón (1990: 592-593), passive in Nepali can be considered non-promotional because the topic-of-passive, i.e. the patient NP, always retains its characteristic active-clause case marking. Yet he presents the Nepali passive as an instance of a partially promoting passive (1990: 588), apparently because in the

data he presents the patient NP sometimes controls verb agreement (cf. below). It is significant that Givón does not explicitly distinguish two passives and does not discuss true passives of the kind mentioned by Wallace, where promotion is complete and the patient always loses its case marking.

5.2. *Verb agreement*

Wallace is very explicit in saying that it is always the subject of the passive clause that controls verb agreement with the passive verb. However, in impersonal constructions, when there is a patient NP, no NP may control verb agreement (1985: 215-216).

- (23) (Wallace 1985: 216)
***sitaa-laay dekh-i-in**
Sita-DAT see-PASS-3sfM.PST
- sitaa-laay dekh-i-yo**
Sita-DAT see-PASS-3smL.PST
'Sita (fem.) was seen'

But in contrast to Wallace's claim, Givón states that there is in general a strong tendency in Nepali to neutralize verb agreement in the passive into the 3smL form when the subject NP is a "less topical oblique" such as a locative, a dative-benefactive, an associative etc., as opposed to being a patient (cf. here Section 4, however, where such subject NPs were claimed to be highly infrequent by my consultant). But in cases where the patient NP is marked by the dative *-laay* and the patient is human, it is the patient that assumes control of verb agreement (Givón 1985: 595-596).

(24) (Givón 1985: 596)
raaj-dwaaraa aavaa-laay hirka-i-y-in
Raj-by Ava-DAT hit-PASS-y-3sfM.PST
'Ava (*fem.*) was hit by Raj'

(25) (Givón 1985: 596)
aavaa-dwaaraa raaj-laay hirka-i-yo
Ava-by Raj-DAT hit-PASS-3smL.PST
'Raj (*masc.*) was hit by Ava'

Here we have a clear discrepancy between the two studies: in Wallace's view there is no possibility for a *-laay* marked patient to govern verb agreement in passives, while Givón thinks that when such patients are human, they in fact do govern verb agreement. My consultant found (24) and (25) possible sentences when he was offered them, but he never volunteered examples of this sort, in which the *-laay* marked patient controlled verb agreement. Thus his data seems more in line with Wallace's claims.

There are two possible explanations for the differing conceptions of verb agreement in Nepali passive clauses. One is that they are a reflection of the fairly complicated and varied picture of verb agreement in general in Nepali. Thus, Genetti (to appear) observes that gender and number (but not person) agreement in Nepali show considerable register-based variation. Since feminine forms of verbs are reserved for female animate referents only, they are inevitably less frequent than the masculine forms (the great majority of nouns being masculine). Also, plural is a marked category in terms of verb paradigms, because it is never distinguished in either the mid or high grade honorific forms. Consequently, there is a range from 90% agreement in gender and number in written Nepali, to 52% in narrative and only 9% in conversation (Genetti: to appear 8-12). Secondly, studies such as Wallace (1985) and Givón (1990) are not based on naturally-occurring discourse but mostly on elicited data

and informant intuitions on "correct" language use, and this may result in dramatically different results from those actually attested in connected discourse. The results of the present study do not offer any proof for Givón's claim that the *-laay* marked patient may control verb agreement, because of complete lack of feminine and plural *-laay* marked patients (these being the only cases where it is possible to tell whether there is agreement or not). What the data do show is that there is indeed a clear tendency for one form, the 3smL, to predominate in actual discourse.

5.3. Summary of syntactic features

Table 1 shows a summary of the structural differences suggested for the two constructions.

	'True passives'	'Impersonal passives'
Agent-demotion	- <i>dwaaraa</i> 'by, through' - <i>baaTa</i> 'from' (optional)	- <i>dwaaraa</i> 'by, through' - <i>baaTa</i> 'from' (optional)
Promotion of non-agent	full promotion: - loses case marking - PATIENT, DAT/BEN other?	no promotion: - case marking corresponds to active --> <i>-laay</i> or zero - PATIENT, DAT/BEN, ASSOCIATIVE, 'About', MANNER, VERBAL COMPLEMENT
Passive verb	- agrees with promoted NP	- no agreement, always 3rd singular masculine low grade

Table 1. Structural differences between true passives and impersonal passives.

6. Discussion of data

The most striking finding in the present study was that of the 86 occurrences of finite *i(n)* forms, 84 showed a 3smL form of the verb. Thus, there were only two occurrences of the alleged true passive (cf. examples below).

6.1. Patients

The following types of patients were found in the database.

3rd sg NP	55 (65.5%)
3rd pl NP (or several NPs)	14 (16.7%)
3rd sg + <u>-laay</u>	13 (15.5%)
No explicit patient	2 (2.4%)
<hr/>	
Total	84 (100%)

Table 2. Patient NPs of 3smL verb forms.

What we can see is that there are no 1st or 2nd but only 3rd person patients. It is interesting to consider the patients in light of the impersonal vs. passive distinction. In 65.5% of the cases the patient NP is singular and lacks case marking. In these cases it is often impossible to differentiate the impersonal passive from the true passive. This is because if the patient is an inanimate NP or a masculine noun or an animal, the verb form is

the same, the 3smL, in both types of passives (since only nouns denoting female human beings are considered feminine nouns in Nepali). In order to find out whether there are any feminine referents that could trigger verb agreement in the database, I analyzed the semantic class of the patient NPs in terms of human vs. inanimate, and within human patients in terms of feminine vs. masculine. The number of human patients turned out to be very small, four (4.4%) in all, while six (6.7%) referred to animals. By comparison, the number of inanimate referents was as high as 80 (88.9%).⁵ Of the four human referents, one was female and indeed triggered verb agreement. This example therefore constitutes a true passive:

(26) (Ki 14)

ra tyo keTi pani u prati aakarsit
and DIST.L girl also 3L toward attracted

bha-e-ko jasto dekh-i-i
become.PST-PP2-GEN as.if see-PASS-3sfL.PST

'And that girl also appeared to be attracted to him.'

The other 'true passive' example showed number agreement.

(27) (Hari 1973: 26)

haamro yo nepaal-maa dheray dheray
1p.PL.GEN PROX.L Nepal-LOC many many

⁵ The number of patients is actually higher than the number of verb forms (86), because sometimes there were more than one patient per verb form (on the other hand in two cases there was no explicit patient at all). Also, the total numbers of patients in the various counts presented here may show some variation because in each count some (different) inapplicable cases were discarded.

debi-haru-ko murti-haru bheTTaa-i-ekaa chan
 goddess-PL-GEN idol-PL find-PASS-PERF be2.3pM.PR
 'in our Nepal, many many idols of goddesses are found
 (lit. have been found)'

According to my consultant, this sentence implies that we do not find the idols all the time but maybe just one at a time, whereas with the 3smL form *bheTTaa*incha these idols would be thought of as one unit and the degree of certainty of finding idols is considered higher. The difference can then perhaps be explained, at least in part, by individual vs. collective reference, or a difference in degree of certainty. But it is worth noting that the singular vs. plural verb forms are considered alternants in this example. Further, in 14 (16.7%) cases in Table 2 we can see that the verb does not agree with the patient NP in number, since a 3rd person plural NP (and also cases where there are several singular NPs in the clause) still gets the 3smL verb form. In these cases we then clearly have an impersonal passive, i.e. there is no promotion as regards verb agreement. Also, in 13 examples (15.5%) where the *-laay* marked patient NP always shows the 3smL verb form, we appear to have an impersonal passive in that, possibly, there is no syntactic promotion in terms of case marking. However, if the *-laay* marked patient is an inanimate noun (as it most often is in the database), there may not be any clear or principled way to know when they are marked by *-laay* or not, since the *-laay* marking on inanimate O's in active clauses is to a large extent pragmatically conditioned (cf. Section 2.1.). They can be thus marked for emphasis or definiteness, usually involving a contrast of some kind. Compare the following example from Kwaa ~ Ti, where a *-laay* marked form alternates with the zero marked form.

(28) (Kw)

pakaaw-na suru gar-nu aghi masalaa-haru tayaar
cook-NOM beginning do-INF before spice-PL prepare

paar-in-cha

cause-PASS-3smL.PR

'Before the cooking begins, the spices are prepared.'

es-maa khaasgari pyaaj lasun chyaapi ra aru dheray
this-LOC especially onion garlic garlic.like.root and other very

masalaa-haru misaa-in-cha

spice-PL mix-PASS-3smL.PR

'In this, onion, garlic, a garlic-like root, and many other spices are mixed.'

yo pakaaw ~ -daa suru-maa yoTaa gahiro bhaa ~ Do-maa tel
PROX.L cook-SP beginning-LOC one deep pot-LOC oil

haal-era tataa ~ -in-cha

put-CP heat-PASS-3smL.PR

'While cooking this, in the beginning oil is put in a deep pot and heated.'

tel khaar-i-e pachi masalaa-haru raakh-in-cha ra
oil heat-PASS-PP2 after spice-PL put-PASS-3smL.PR and

masalaa-laay kehi che ~ N samma taar-in-cha

spice-DAT some moment until fry-PASS-3smL.PR

'After the oil gets heated up to a boil, the spices are put in and the spices are fried for a moment.'

According to my consultant (who produced this text), the *-laay* marking on the last occurrence of 'spices' (which strangely enough has lost its plural marking) has to do with the fact that he wanted to single out the spices as opposed to beans, which are the main ingredient of *kwaaw ~ Ti*. But he also said that the sentence would have been fine without the *-laay* marking. *-laay* marking on the patients in passives appears to be an independent phenomenon from passive sentences *per se*. Further proof for this can be seen in the fact that proper names and personal pronouns according to Wallace must appear in the *-laay*

marked form in the O slot of active clauses (cf. Section 2.1.) and when they appear as patient NPs in impersonal passives (Wallace 1985: 218). Yet he gives obvious counterexamples to this claim, as in example (21) of the present study, which again seems to indicate that the marking is not as rigid as he would have it, but conditioned by situational factors, etc.

Table 3 shows once more the percentages of true passives, clear impersonal passives and ambiguous cases in the data; here the *-laay* marked patients are treated as ambiguous cases.

True passive	2	(2.3%)
Impersonal passive	14	(16.3%)
Ambiguous ⁶	70	(81.4%)
<hr/>		
Total	86	(100.0%)

Table 3. Proportions of different types of *i(n)* constructions.

We can see that in a great majority of cases there is no way to differentiate between true and impersonal passives. Consequently, there does not seem to be any point in separating two groups, zero marked and *-laay* marked patients, in the present data. We can then feel justified in treating the various patient groups as just one (thus including plural, usually zero-marked, NPs as well), especially in the light of other evidence presented in the present study that they form a unified group.

The typical patient in the database, then, is an inanimate 3rd person NP, either plural or (most often) singular. I next looked at the patient NPs in more detail to see what was

⁶ The category 'ambiguous' includes the two cases with no explicit patient.

common to them in terms of their referentiality, and first distinguished between general and particular NPs. Generality involves the relation between a concept and an NP, and whether an NP names an entity or not: particular NPs do and general NPs do not (Du Bois and Thompson in preparation).⁷ General NPs are often used as representatives of a class, so that any member of the class will do as a representative of that class. In my data, general NPs turned out to be the overwhelming majority: 78 (90.7%) as opposed to 8 (9.3%) particular NPs. Such general NPs often occurred in a context where the patient was highly salient, and several (general) predications were made of it in a row. In the second sentence of the following example, the patient is general and salient to such a degree that it is actually deleted; the patient can be retrieved from the first sentence, *boT* '(rice) plant'. 'Paddy' in the last two sentences is any paddy, not some specific or particular paddy that the speaker has in mind.

(29) (Hari 1973: 37)

teraai-maa kas-ay-le boT-ko aadhaa-maa pani
 Terai-LOC some-EMP-ERG plant-GEN half-LOC also

kaaT-chan, kas-ay-le Tuppaa-maa ra kas-ay-le
 cut-3pM.PR some-EMP-ERG top-LOC and some-EMP-ERG

pheda-maa
 bottom-LOC

'In the Terai some cut the plants in half, some at the top, and some at the bottom.'

tara pahaad-maa praayajaso pheda-maa kaaT-in-cha.
 but hill-LOC generally bottom-LOC cut-PASS-3smL.PR
'But in the hills they generally cut at the bottom.'

⁷ According to Du Bois and Thompson, generality is a separate issue from 'generic', the latter term referring only to the special case where a general NP appears in subject position.

aba khaas gar-era mero gaaw ~ -maa *dhaan* kasari
now main do-CP 1s.GEN village-LOC paddy how

bhitriaa-in-cha, tyo ma bhan-chu
harvest-PASS-3smL.PR that 1s tell-be2.1p
'Now I will mainly tell how paddy is harvested in my village.'

(sentence in between has no *i(n)* forms)

tyaa ~ ta payle *dhaan* kaaT-in-cha ra
there at first paddy cut-PASS-3smL.PR and

ek duy din samma khet-maa sukaa-in-cha.
one two day up.to field-LOC dry-PASS-3smL.PR

'There the paddy is first cut and put to dry in the fields for two to three days.'

The use of general NPs in such sequences is a very usual pattern in the data, again seen in the following example. The patients *debiko pujaa* 'goddess's worship', *tesmaa paylo din* 'its first day' (referring to the first day of the festival Durga Pujaa) and *pujaa* 'worship' are all quite general in reference (in the sense that whenever the festival is celebrated, this is what happens during the first nine days etc.).

(30) (Hari 1973: 25)
haamro naw din-samma debi-ko pujaa gar-in-cha.
1p.PL.GEN nine day-up.to goddess-GEN worship do-PASS-3smL.PR
'The first nine days our goddess is worshipped.'

tes-maa paylo din ghaTa-sthaapanaa bhan-in-cha.
that-LOC first day flowerpot-establishing say-PASS-3smL.PR
'The first day of that is called "flower pot establishing."'

tes-maa paylaa ghaa ~ s-haru raakh-era pujaa gar-in-cha.
that-LOC first graas-PL put-CP worship do-PASS-3smL.PR
'We first put grass in and worship it.'
(better: 'by first putting grass in that [pot] worship is done')

It is worth noting that quite a few of the animate referents were also of this general kind (e.g. *kukurlaay pujaa garincha* 'the dog is worshipped). Only two human referents were quite specific, such as *tyo keTi* 'that girl' in (26) above.

6.2. Agents

The agent was marked with a *dwaaraa* 'by' phrase only once in the whole data.

(31) (Hari 1973: 48)

tapaay ~ -ko ghar-maa kas-le kheti gar-cha ta
 2H-GEN house-LOC who-ERG field.work do-be2.3smL.PR EMPH
 'And who in your family takes care of the fields?'

mero ghar-maa kheti daay-dwaaraa garaa-in-cha
 1s.GEN house-LOC field.work elder.brother-by do-PASS-3smL.PR
 'My elder brother does.'

Here the elder brother is a minor participant in the conversation, which at this point concerned the possibility of raising crops in the area that the speaker of the first clause comes from. The fact that the elder brother comes up in an oblique agent phrase appears to momentarily focus on this new referent, but the elder brother does not persist as topic in the discourse beyond the following clause (where he appears as subject of an active clause).

But usually in my data the referent of the agent was much less specific than that. In a great majority of cases again, 72 (88.9%), it was a very general group of people, such as all the people in Nepal, the Newars, etc., that had become established at some earlier point in the discourse. In other words, the agents were generically-predictable, universal or unimportant in the discourse (cf. Givón 1990). This is of course to be expected in non-

human-oriented procedural discourse where the focus is on what is done rather than who does it. As was seen, procedural texts were the ones with the most passives in my data. However, it was possible to narrow down the agent as somewhat more specific in 9 cases (11.1%), as in the following:

(32) (Tx 3)

ah tyo projekt-maa tyo bidesi projekt
 HES DIST.L project-LOC DIST.L foreign project

thi-yo ra tyehaa ~ kaam gar-ne ophisar-haru-laay
 be.PST-3smL.PST and there work do-IP officer-PL-DAT

ah moTarsaaykal bektigat prayog-kolaagi moTarsaaykal
 HES motorbike personal use-GEN.BEN motorbike

di-i-eko thi-yo
 give-PASS-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

*'In that project -- that was a foreign project and motorbikes --
 the officers who worked there were given motorbikes for personal use.'*

The agent who is giving the motorcycles is the foreign project, but still not a specified person or persons. Only in a couple of cases was the agent quite specific. The following is a rare instance where the agent is actually an individual, the tiger.

(33) (Hari 1973: 21)

ani tyo baagh-le bicaar gar-ena
 and DIST.L tiger-ERG thought do-NEG.3smL.PST

ki pokhari-maa mero chaayaa ~ dekh-in-cha
 COMP pond-LOC 1s.GEN shadow see-PASS-3smL.PR

*'Now that tiger did not realize that it was his own reflection
 that (he) was to see in the pond.'*

The typical case then is that passive agents are quite general compared to active clause

agents, which are generally individuated (cf. Givón 1990: 567). Moreover, agents are usually not expressed in an oblique phrase, even though in principle this is possible in Nepali.

6.3. *Verb phrase*

As we have seen, the claim made by Matthews (cf. Section 3) that of finite verb forms only 3rd person forms are generally used in Nepali is very much true of my data. Another striking finding in the data was that the verb phrase was overwhelmingly in the present tense (66 or 76.7%). Of the rest, the simple past showed up 10 times (mostly in Naaso, a written story that shows the past tense as the default), while there were a few occurrences of present and past perfect and some other types. This makes it possible to hypothesize that the default environment for the *i(n)* verb form is a present time predication indicating some common state of affairs, i.e. a generic predication. The fact that the *i(n)* construction was most frequent in procedural texts may account for this to a large degree; yet it is also true that a great many texts did not contain any instances of this construction at all, and that the tendency for it to cluster in procedural texts is simply an indication of the grammaticization process towards a general predication or habitual action (cf. below).

I therefore looked at some aspectual features of the situation described by the *i(n)* forms in the data. Table 4 shows the division into imperfective aspect, which in one way or another looks inside the temporal boundaries of the situation, and perfective, where the situation is viewed as a bounded whole (Comrie 1976). The results were grouped according

to the different types of patients to see if the tendencies are the same across these groups.

	Imperfective habitual	progr	Perfective	Total
3rd sg NPs	43	1	10	54
3rd pl NPs & <u>-laay</u> marked NPs	27		2	29
No patient NP	2			2
Total	72 (84.7%)	1	12 (14.1%)	85

Table 4. Imperfective vs. perfective aspect of verbs in the data.

As can be seen, there is an overall tendency in the data for the verb phrases to be imperfective and habitual (84.7%), whether we are dealing with 3rd singular or plural or *-laay* marked clauses. This has generally been the case in the examples cited so far, where the verbs phrases indicate an action that is habitually done.

Preliminary counts of other aspectual differentiations showed that the verbs in the data appeared to be primarily dynamic (in the sense that the situation will only continue if it is continually subject to a new input of energy), durative (the situation lasts for a certain period of time) and telic (it has built into it a terminal point) (Comrie 1976). No clear differences were observed across the patient groups. Thus, a typical predication in the data consists of a verb like *raakhnu* 'put', which is dynamic, telic and durative, and this verb is used in a situation where it is habitual rather than perfective.

7. Discussion

It appears from the present study that there is in effect only one *i(n)* construction that is prevalent in Nepali discourse. This claim is made possible by the findings concerning first of all the syntactic properties of patients, agents and verb phrases in the data, as some clear clusterings of properties and commonalities emerge. Thus, we saw that the prototypical patient in predications involving the *i(n)* construction is an inanimate 3rd person NP. In a majority of cases there is no way to differentiate between true passives and impersonal passives on the basis of verb agreement: with 3rd person singular NPs, whether non-case-marked or *-laay* marked, inanimate or masculine or animal nouns cannot be marked except with the 3smL verb form, no matter which type of passive they are considered to be an instance of. Only in a minority of cases in the database, i.e. with 3rd person plural patients, is it possible to say with certainty that the verb does not agree with the patient. Further, as the object-marking rules in Nepali seem primarily to have to do with the referentiality (notably identifiability and specificity), animacy, humanness, etc. of the NP, i.e. it is largely an independent phenomenon, case marking on the patient in passive clauses cannot act as a reliable indicator of whether there is promotion of the active clause object to passive clause subject. We may thus subsume *-laay*-marked and zero-marked patients into one group. Finally, agents in my data are overwhelmingly not expressed explicitly and no groupings therefore emerge in the data in this respect. All these findings make it infeasible to argue for the existence of two different constructions in the data, and we can then fairly safely claim that the bulk of our examples are representatives of one construction only (for exceptions, cf.

below).

The morphological form of this construction tells us that it is potentially a passive of some sort, since it is more complex than active verb forms (cf. Comrie 1988 for markedness features of passives). Syntactically, it can be used to passivize intransitive verbs: the few examples of passives of intransitives in the database also showed the 3smL verb form. Secondly, when it is used to passivize transitive clauses, it either does not involve promotion of the active object into grammatical subject of the passive clause (cf. plural patients), or the status of promotion is not clear (*-laay*-marked patients and zero-marked singular patients in the data). Furthermore, agents are hardly ever expressed syntactically in the data. There is also no stativization apparent in the passive clause. Pragmatically, this construction fulfills the criterion of agent demotion or downgrading very well. Now the only criteria that do not clearly speak in favor of a true prototypical passive are subject promotion and stativization of the passive clause, i.e. syntactic criteria (even though stativization is a semantic criterion as well as a syntactic one). Of these, subject promotion, when it can act as a differentiating criterion, points towards an impersonal passive. I therefore propose that the *i(n)* construction can be considered an instance of impersonal passive as defined in Section 3.

This construction fulfills some further requirements of passives in that it is a marked construction in the following respects (cf. Comrie 1988: 19-21). It is clearly less frequent than active constructions. Moreover, its discourse distribution is more restricted than is the case with unmarked (i.e. active) forms: it seems that there have to be good discourse reasons for speakers to use this construction. One of these reasons is the downgrading of the agent. However, something over and above the agent demoting function appears to be going on in

Nepali discourse. Since in a great majority of cases the *i(n)* construction is used for something quite general and non-specific, the 3smL verb form may have become conventionalized or grammaticized to the function of making a general predication or denoting habitual action.

Again we can find support for this claim in the types of patients, agents and verb phrases encountered. The syntactically coherent class of patients, 3rd person NPs, is uniform pragmatically in containing mostly inanimate nouns and simultaneously general nouns that represent a class. The verbs themselves contribute to the generalizing effect by being predominantly in the "timeless" present tense and for the most part indicating an imperfective habitual aspect. It is possible to see this specialization of the *i(n)* construction into the function of general predication or habitual action as a further sophistication of what passives can be used for - agent defocusing is only a first approximation of the range of possible functions!

This function of the impersonal *i(n)* construction then explains certain syntactic patterns and anomalies observed in the data. For example, it is in the nature of impersonal passives that there is no clear reference to any specific agent or group of individuals (the Nepali examples are often translated into English with the impersonal *they* or *you*; cf. Matthews 1984: 104). This explains why agents are hardly ever expressed by the oblique - *dwaaraa* 'by, through' in Nepali discourse, even though they in principle can be thus expressed. Secondly, the fact that there are no 1st and 2nd person patients in the *i(n)* forms in the data is in line with the tendency for patients to be largely inanimate in these impersonal constructions; 1st and 2nd person patients are obligatorily human, whereas 3rd

person patients may be human or inanimate. Also, 1st and 2nd person patients would inevitably be pronominal and they would encode the specific participants in a given discourse, and they are therefore not as likely (even though not impossible, cf. example 16) to occur in impersonal predications.

Yet there are two clear cases of true passives in the database, where the verb agrees with the patient NP in gender and number, and there is thus full promotion to subjecthood. One hypothesis that could be made from looking at these cases is the following. It may be that when the referent is specific and clearly refers to some individual that is identifiable in the discourse, the verb is more likely to agree with the patient in gender, number and person. This is the case in example (26), the only example of a female patient in the data. While the impersonal *i(n)* construction is used for the function of making a general predication of a general referent, the true passive may be a marked category reserved for some special discourse functions. This hypothesis finds some support in the fact that also the other example of a 'true passive' with plural agreement in (27) above could be explained in terms of individual (as opposed to collective) reference. That is, even though the referent was quite general, the speaker was able to highlight the individuals by using the plural form of the verb.

We have thus seen that if we look at real discourse data, the very confusing picture of what the Nepali passive is like becomes considerably more uniform. If we take not just a morpho-syntactic but also a pragmatic approach to a construction like the *i(n)* construction, it becomes clear that it shares so many features with basic passives in numerous languages that it would be arbitrary to call it something else than a passive of some kind.

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Noun + *gar-nu* Expressions in Nepali¹

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A large group of Nepali predicates consist of the verb *gar-nu*, "to do" or "to make", and an associated noun. The attached table is a (certainly partial) list of expressions following this pattern.

While similar expressions can be found in many languages, they seem to be especially productive in Nepali. Interestingly, a few of these expressions have English translations which also involve the verbs *make* and *do* plus a noun, and several more can be given alternative translations along these lines: *to make a declaration*, *to do work*, *to make a decision*, *to make a phone call*. This construction is interesting because it has both morphological and syntactic characteristics. In this paper I will argue that it has a function and certain other traits most typically associated with derivational morphology, but that its components, the noun and verb, retain their identity as separate words. This conclusion, if correct, suggests that the conception of derivation as a purely morphological process is incorrect.

The Derivational Function of the N+*gar-nu* Construction

Nepali N+*gar-nu* expressions superficially resemble a type of V+N compounding,

¹I would like to thank Carol Genetti and Laura Crain for invaluable comments on earlier versions of this paper, and our informant Min Bista for numerous valuable insights.

<p><i>anurod gar-nu</i>, "to request" <i>aayojanaa gar-nu</i>, "to organize" <i>baani gar-nu</i>, "to make a habit of" <i>bancit gar-nu</i>, "to deprive" <i>bandaa gar-nu</i>, "to realize" <i>beapaar gar-nu</i>, "to do business" <i>bicaar gar-nu</i>, "to decide, to think" <i>bihe gar-nu</i>, "to marry" <i>bramaaN gar-nu</i>, "to visit" <i>daa ~ y gar-nu</i>, "to thresh" <i>dukha gar-nu</i>, "to have troubles" <i>galti gar-nu</i>, "to make a mistake" <i>ghosaNaa gar-nu</i>, "to declare" <i>haasil gar-nu</i>, "to achieve" <i>hataar gar-nu</i>, "to hurry" <i>jhagaDaa gar-nu</i>, "to quarrel" <i>kaam gar-nu</i>, "to work" <i>khatam gar-nu</i>, "to destroy, finish" <i>khoji gar-nu</i>, "to search" <i>kosis gar-nu</i>, "to try" <i>kuraa gar-nu</i>, "to talk" <i>ladaay gar-nu</i>, "to fight" <i>maayaa gar-nu</i>, "to love" <i>mahasus gar-nu</i>, "to realize" <i>naas gar-nu</i>, "to destroy"</p>	<p><i>nene gar-nu</i>, "to decide" <i>nerNayo gar-nu</i>, "to decide" <i>nokari gar-nu</i>, "to serve" <i>paar gar-nu</i>, "to cross" <i>paas gar-nu</i>, "to pass (a test)" <i>paksapaat gar-nu</i>, "to show favoritism" <i>pariog gar-nu</i>, "to test" <i>phon gar-nu</i>, "to phone" <i>pragati gar-nu</i>, "to make progress" <i>pramaaNit gar-nu</i>, "to prove" <i>prastut gar-nu</i>, "to present" <i>prem gar-nu</i>, "to love" <i>pujaa gar-nu</i>, "to worship" <i>rekhdekh gar-nu</i>, "to supervise" <i>ritidaan gar-nu</i>, "to have intercourse" <i>saasan gar-nu</i>, "to rule" <i>sahi gar-nu</i>, "to sign" <i>sallaa gar-nu</i>, "to hold counsel" <i>sambodhan gar-nu</i>, "to address" <i>samparka gar-nu</i>, "to contact" <i>santos gar-nu</i>, "to be satisfied" <i>snaan gar-nu</i>, "to bathe" <i>suru gar-nu</i>, "to begin" <i>swikaar gar-nu</i>, "to accept"</p>
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Partial List of Noun + *gar-nu* Expressions

attested in a variety of languages, which has been termed noun incorporation. However, the semantics of the Nepali case differ from that usually associated with noun incorporation in significant ways. Nevertheless the idiosyncratic way in which these expressions are formed is more typical of morphological than syntactic combination, and I will suggest that *gar-nu*, while not really an example of compounding, has the typically morphological function of category-changing derivation.

Noun incorporation has been described as a morphological construction in which "an N stem is compounded with a V stem to yield a larger, derived V stem" (Mithun 1984:847), or

as a more analytic construction in which a noun and verb, though not phonologically bound, nevertheless function as one verbal unit (Mithun 1984). The pattern is marginally attested in English words such as *to babysit*, *to wordprocess*, and *to sideswipe*.

Like an ordinary object, incorporated nouns bear a specific semantic role such as instrument, location, or most commonly, as exemplified by the *berry* in English *to berrypick*, patient. They differ semantically from their non-incorporated counterparts in that they are de-individuated, and "qualify the verb" (Mithun 1984:849), rather than indicate a specific referent; thus they cannot usually be quantified or modified, as seen in the ungrammatical **I three babysat*. and **She a noisy babysat*. Structurally, this non-specificity is reflected by the fact that incorporated nouns do not bear grammatical relations. They are never marked for case, and are inaccessible to valence-changing operations; *he babysits* cannot be passivized into *baby is sat*. In some cases an additional NP is allowed as an object, as in *they sideswiped my Buick*, further demonstrating that the incorporated noun does not fill this grammatical role.

The semantics of the Nepali construction differs from that of noun incorporation in significant ways. First is the fact that only the single verb *gar-nu* is used, and that since the verb *gar-nu* has the semantically bleached meaning of 'do' or 'make', the nouns used with it cannot really be thought of as qualifying an action; rather, the nouns themselves provide almost all the meaningful content of the whole expression. On the other hand, whereas we have noted that the nouns most typically incorporated are ones which bear the roles of patient, theme, and instrument, those in the Nepali N+*gar-nu* expression are none of these. They more closely resemble what Chafe (1970) has termed a "complement", an object noun which "does not specify something that is in a state or that changes state. It completes or specifies more narrowly the

meaning of the verb."²

Nevertheless, the Nepali expressions have a number of idiosyncratic characteristics most often found in morphology.

One is the fact that some of the nouns involved, like the "cranberry morph" roots in words such as *affable* and *transmit*, cannot be used independently. Most of the nouns used in these constructions can function as heads of normal NP's: *mero anurod*, "my request", *raajaa-ko saasan*, "the king's rule", *kharaab baani*, "a bad habit", *kharaab nerNaya*, "a bad decision", but some of them cannot: **sahaar-ko naas*, and **sahaar-ko khatam*, which one might expect to mean "the destruction of the city", are unacceptable³; neither are **mero haasil* and **mero mahasus* grammatical translations for "my achievement" and "my realization".

In some other cases the noun does occur independently, but in a slightly different form from that used in the *gar-nu* expression. **tesko prastut* is not acceptable but *tesko prastuti*, "his presentation", is. Others associate with *gar-nu* in forms which are marginally or partially acceptable outside of this construction; in most contexts our informant prefers to translate "beginning" or "start" as *suruaat* rather than *suru*, and it seems that the latter is acceptable in some temporal expressions: "the beginning of the quarter" can be rendered *kwarTer-ko suruaat*, and not **kwarTer-ko suru*, although *kwarTer-ko suru-maa* is accepted for "in the beginning of the quarter". Idiosyncratic alternations such as these have parallels in morphology, such as the unpredictable truncation of *navigate* in *navigable*, but are unknown in syntax and impossible in

²As examples Chafe states that the objects of such VP's as *to sing the Star-Spangled banner* and *to play chess* are complements.

³But *khatam* is used independently to mean "finished" or "done", and is often used to mark the end of narratives. Carol Genetti (P.C.).

most formal syntactic theories⁴.

In light of these facts, it seems reasonable to think of *gar-nu* as a derivational affix which attaches to nouns and produces verbs. Considering that frequently compounded elements often grammaticize into derivational affixes (English *-like* seems to be a morpheme about halfway through this process), this construction's superficial resemblance to noun-incorporation would then seem quite natural. However, as will be discovered in the syntactic investigations below, this hypothesis runs afoul of the facts that *gar-nu* and an associated noun do *not* form a single word in terms of syntax, and that such nouns, quite unlike the classical incorporated noun discussed above, can head their own NP's and pass several tests for objecthood.

Syntactic Independence of Noun and Verb

Nouns associated with the verb *gar-nu* are almost always found immediately before it.

- (1) (Hari 1973:8)
ani tes maaanis- le bicaar gar-yo.
and DIST.L man ERG thought do-3smL.PST
"And that man thought..."
- (2) (Bi)
tes belaa- maa ma... ewTaa projekT- maa kaam gar- ne
DIST.L time LOC 1s one project LOC work do IP
gar- the ~ .
do 1s.PSTHAB
"At that time I worked for a project (called...)"

Certain elements are, however, allowed to intervene, such as the negative prefix *na-*, as seen

⁴Since Chomsky (1970) most generative theories have assumed some form of the Lexicalist Hypothesis, which has had various formulations but basically states that the only interaction between word-internal and sentence structure is in the paradigmatic marking of inflectional features. See Anderson (1992:84) for discussion.

in *kaam na-gar-era*, "not working". This suggests that the noun and *gar-nu* are not viewed as a unified compound verb stem, or at least that the construction has internal structure. Even more indicative of their independence is the fact that certain particles can come between them as well.

- (3) (Hari 1973:12)
 yo peT caa ~ y ni haamro... kehi kaam pani
 PROX.L stomach EMP EMP 1p.GEN some work also
 gar- dayna
 do NEG.3smL.PR
"This stomach of ours... does not do any work." Hari (1973:12)

Further evidence for the non-constituency of *gar-nu* and its associated nouns comes from the fact that in coordinated clauses, the latter may be deleted.

- (4) (elicited)
 timile kaam gar- i rah- ekaa chaynaw,
 2M.ERG work do AXL stay PP.P be.NEG.2pM.PR
 tinile gar- i rah- ekaa chan.
 3M.ERG do AXL stay PP.P be.3pM.PR
"You're not working, they are."

- (5) (elicited)
 timile uslaay phon gar- ne- chaynaw,
 2M.ERG 3L.ERG phone do FUT1 NEG.2pM.PR
 mayle gar- ne- chu.
 1s.ERG do FUT1 1s.PR
"You're not going to phone him, I will."

Similarly, if two predicates of this type are conjoined in a single clause, only one *gar-nu* is required.

- (6) (elicited)
 uni- haru jhagaDaa ra ladaay gar- e.
 3M PL quarrel and fight do 3M.PST
"They quarrelled and fought."

The Status of the Noun as Phrasal Head

Like incorporated nouns, those associated with *gar-nu* typically appear without deictics or modifiers, as in the examples below:

- (7) (Bi)
usle... kenya- maa bas- era kaam gar- eko thi- yo.
3L.ERG Kenya LOC live CP work do PP be.PST 3smL.PST
"He had lived and worked in... Kenya."

- (8) (Bi)
dheray coTi galti gar- thyo.
many time mistake do 3smL.PSTHAB
"He used to make mistakes a lot."

They are, however, sometimes quantified, particularly when the predicate refers to specific differentiable events.

- (9) (Al)
kalpanaa- haru gar- era bas- thyo.
imagination PL do CP sit 3smL.PSTHAB
"He used to sit having daydreams."

- (10) (Tx1)
tyo sampuNa neraNayo gar- i sak- e pachi
3L all decision do AXL finish 3smM.PST after
"after making all these decisions"

- (11) (elicited)
i dwi kaam- haru gar- na sajilo chayna.
PROX.p two work PL do NOM easy be.NEG.3smL.PR
"Doing these two jobs isn't easy."

Nouns associated with *gar-nu* may also be modified by genitives, adjectives, and relative clauses, as are *saasan*, *kaam* and *anurod* below.

- (12) (Tx1)
 tes- maa pratekcha saasan gar- ne paripant suru hu- na
 3L LOC direct rule do IP practice start be2 NOM
 ga- yo.
 go 3smL.PST
"It began a new practice of direct rule." (Tx1)

- (13) (Bi)
 tes gaa ~ w- maa haami- haru- le khaa- ne paani- ko
 PROX.L village LOC 1p PL ERG eat IP water GEN
 baaremaa, sichyaa- ko baaremaa, krisi- ko baaremaa
 about education GEN about agriculture GEN about
 bibhinna kuraa- ko baaremaa bikaas- ko kaam- haru
 different talk GEN about development GEN work PL
 gar- nu paar- da- thyo.
 do INF must LNK 3smL.PSTHAB
"In this village we had to do development work about drinking water, about education, about agriculture, about different subjects."

- (14) (elicited)
 maybe raamro na- maan- i- ne anurod gar- ina
 1s.ERG good NEG consider PASS IP request do NEG.1s.PST
"I did not make that request which would have been improper."

This is in marked contrast to true noun incorporation, whose nouns do not have specific referents and can neither be quantified (**We four babies-sat.*) nor modified (**I ripe berries-picked.*). These facts suggest that the nouns associated with *gar-nu* have not lost their complete identity, and are actually seen as the heads of NPs.

Grammatical Relations

The following sections attempt to determine whether nouns found in *gar-nu* expressions are syntactic objects. I will first review evidence from the case-marking on subjects of clauses which have an N+*gar-nu* expression for a predicate, which tends to suggest that they are objects. Next I will examine several expressions of this type which take an additional non-

subject noun phrase. Lastly, evidence from passives and relativization will be considered.

Transitivity and Case Marking

The Nepali case system provides a useful way to test whether nouns used in *gar-nu* expressions are considered objects. The dative *-laay*, which Pradhan (1982) reports is found on the objects of monotransitive verbs which are either animate or somehow personified, is never applied to these nouns, but the partially ergative basis of Nepali case does give us way of identifying transitive and intransitive predicates. Pradhan writes that a subject NP is marked as ergative (with the case suffix *-le*) if both of the following conditions are met:

1. The subject is the cause of the action. (i.e., in Fillmorean terms, it can be either a Cause or an Agent.)
2. The verb must be transitive.

When the subject of the clause is a human Agent, *one* of the following must also be true.

(Subjects referring to Causes are *le*-marked as long as the above two conditions are met.)

- 3a. The aspect of the clause is perfective.
- 3b. The predicate describes a single "transitory" event.
- 3c. The Agent is somehow focussed, as when it is in contrast to other potential Agents.

The clauses below all meet condition 1. and one of conditions 3a., 3b., or 3c., and their subjects are marked with *-le*.

- (15) (A1)
 usle kalpanaa gar- eko- le⁵
 3L.ERG imagination do PP ERG
"because he daydreamed"
- (16) (Bi)
 kahilekaahi~ nepaali bol- daa- kheri usle galti
 sometimes Nepali speak SP when 3L.ERG mistake
 gar- thyo.
 do 3L.PSTHAB
"Sometimes he used to make mistakes when speaking Nepali."
- (17) Hari (1973:19)
 ani ek din baagh- le bicaar gar- yo:
 then one day tiger ERG thought do 3smL.PST
 janggal- ko sabbhandaa Thulo ma hu~.
 jungle GEN most big 1s be1.1s.PR
"One day the tiger thought: I am biggest of all in the jungle."

In terms of case assignment, at least, the subjects of clauses containing noun + *gar-nu* expressions are treated as like those of ordinary transitive clauses, suggesting that the nouns involved are indeed objects.

Additional Object NP's

Numerous N+*gar-nu* combinations allow for an additional NP, one which is typically a patient. Several examples are given here. In such sentences the NP in question may either be caseless or marked with the dative *-laay* (as with other objects).

- (18) (Ti)
 tesayle gaay- laay pani hindu- haru pujaa gar- ne
 that's why cow DAT also Hindu PL worship do IP
 gar- chan.
 do 3pM.PR
"That's why the Hindus worship the cows."

⁵The first *-le* is the one of interest here. This one expresses the meaning "because".

- (19) (A1)
 usle yoTi raamri keTi bihe gar- ne- cha.
 3L.ERG one good girl marriage do FUT1 3smL.PR
"He would marry a pretty woman."
- (20) (Tx1)
 tyo cunaaw- maa... bhan- ne paarti- le bijae
 DIST.L election LOC... say IP party ERG victory
 haasil gar- yo.
 achievement do 3smL.PST
"In this election a party called ... won the victory." (Tx1)
- (21) (Tx2)
 dheray laamo duri paar gar- nu par- thyo.
 much long distance crossing do INF must 3smL.PSTHAB
"A long distance had to be passed." (Tx2)
- (22) Hari (1973:44)
 mayle tyaa ~ - baaTay es el si paas gar- eko- ni
 1s.ERG there ABL.EMPH S. L. C. pass do PP PRT
"(There) I passed the S.L.C. examination."
- (23) (Tx5)
 mayle ek- janaa nepaali- laay phon gar- ne preaas
 1s.ERG one QT Nepali DAT call do IP effort
 gar- e~.
 do 1s.PST
"I tried to phone a Nepali."
- (24) (Tx2)
 usko netritto- laay uni- haru- le swikaar gar- e.
 3L.GEN leadership DAT 3pM PL ERG acceptance do 3smM.PST
"They accepted his leadership."
- (25) (Tx2)
 tyo madhe, ewTaa aytihaasik katha- laay ma yehaa ~ prastut
 3L among one historical story DAT 1s here present
 gar- chu.
 do 1s.PR
"Among these, I present a historical story here."

- (26) *Hari (1973:10)*
ra kes- ay- laay paksapaat gar- enan
 and what EM DAT unequal do NEG.3pM.PST
"...and they did not show favoritism."

Pradhan has observed that in ditransitive predicates, "the rule of animacy is neutralized" in the use of *-laay*, and one of the objects (he terms it the indirect object) is automatically assigned the dative. This would suggest that, if *gar-nu*-associated nouns are viewed as objects, additional NP objects would automatically be dative. In the examples above, the inanimate objects *netritto* and *kathaa* are *laay*-marked, but *bijae*, *duri*, and *es el si*, are not. In consideration of this, and Ichihashi's (1993) conclusion that the use of the dative is partly discourse-based, *laay*-marking does not seem to offer conclusive evidence either for or against the status of nouns in *gar-nu* expressions as objects.

In some cases a clause containing a noun + *gar-nu* expression has an additional NP, the patient of the clause, which however is not treated as an object but instead a genitive dependent of the *gar-nu*-associated noun.

- (27) *Hari (1973:41)*
sabay maanis- haru unnati- ko khoji gar- day- chan.
 all people PL progress GEN search do PROG 3pM.PR
"...everyone is searching for progress."

- (28) (Tx2)
ti... maanis- haru- le ewTaa dawD- ko aayojanaa
 DIST.PL man PL ERG one race GEN organizing
gar- ekaa thie
 do PP.p be.3smM.PST
"The men... had organized a race."

In some cases, the patient NP is made a genitive dependent of the *gar-nu*-associated noun (see the examples with *unnati-ko khoji gar-nu* and *dawD-ko aayojanaa gar-nu* above), which in turn seems to be made the subject (it is difficult to be certain since they have no features for the verb to agree with).

Passivization

Clauses with *gar-nu* and an associated noun and an additional noun phrase can be passivized in two ways. In the first, the patient nominal advances to subject.

- (29) (elicited)
 sidaanta pramaaNit gar- i- yo.
 theory proof do PASS 3smL.PST
"The theory was proven."
- (30) (elicited)
 (raam- dwaaraa) sitaa prem gar- in- cha.
 Ram by Sita love do PASS 3smL.PR
"Sita is loved (by Ram)."

The subjecthood of these patient noun phrases is evidenced by examples such as the following, where they trigger verb agreement.

- (31) (elicited)
 i sidaanta- haru pramaaNit gar- i- e.
 PROX.P theory PL proof do PASS 3pM.PST
"The theories were proven."
- (32) (elicited)
 ma mero haakim- dwaaraa samparka gar- i- e~.
 1s 1s.GEN boss by contact do PASS 3pM.PST
"I was contacted by my boss."
- (33) (elicited)
 ghar- haru naas gar- i- e.
 house PL destruction do PASS 3pM.PST
"The houses were destroyed."

We have found that while non-objects can in principle advance to subject, examples are both rare and somewhat infelicitous to our informant. Clauses of the type reviewed here seem to be fairly natural, so it seems safe to conclude that the promoted noun phrases are, in fact, objects in the corresponding active sentences.

This is, notably, not the only way to passivize a sentence with noun + *gar-nu* construction.

are not simply part of the verb. It cannot, however, be taken as proof of their objecthood, since Nepali does allow relativization with *-eko* from non-objects, as seen in the example below.

- (38) (elicited)
tyo aaymaay- le gilaas raakh- eko Tebal puraano cha.
that woman ERG glass put PP table old be.3smL.PR
"The table on which the woman put the glass is old."

Conclusions

In their function and idiosyncrasy, noun + *gar-nu* expressions resemble derivational morphology, yet overwhelming evidence shows their structure to be syntactic. Whether the nouns involved are true objects remains an open question, but their status as heads of NP's is certain. This seeming contradiction suggests that the usual definition of derivation as a process which derives words from other words needs to be revised; rather, we should think of it as a process for deriving "lexical items", where such units are conceived as being either words or expressions. The verb *gar-nu* can be thought of as a device for deriving predicates from nouns.

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ON DIFFERENTIATING *daa* AND *day*¹

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0 PRELIMINARIES

GOALS AND SCOPE

In previous work on the rich Nepali system of non-finite verbal morphology, a few researchers have dealt with the suffixes *daa* and *day* (see especially Turnbull 1982, Matthews 1984, and Crain 1992). To date, however, little has been done to investigate what differences may exist between the two forms, which are exemplified in (1) and (2):

(1) (Hari 1973:10)

kinabhane jwaa ~ y aa ~ w-daa miTho khaana na-di-ne
because son.in.law come-DAA nice food NEG-give-IP

ghar-maa ma bas-dina
house-LOC 1s stay-1s.PR.NEG

Because I simply cannot live in a house where they do not give proper food to a son-in-law when he comes!

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(2) (Elicited)

ma **ghur-day** sut-chu

1s snore-DAY sleep-1s.PR

I snore while I sleep/ I sleep snoringly.

In this paper, it will be demonstrated that these two historically related forms are not, as some have thought, mere free variants of one another. Rather, distinct differences, both semantic and syntactic, will be shown to hold between them.

Section 1 of the paper examines the treatment of *daa* and *day* by linguists and the forms' morphological history, as well as introducing some issues related to their synchronic syntactic status. Sections 2 and 3, respectively, characterize prototypical uses of these two suffixes. Section 4 deals with some specialized constructions in which these two forms co-occur. Section 5 examines a common, pragmatically motivated repetition construction which accounts for a large number of occurrences of each of these morphemes in natural discourse. Finally, section 6 summarizes the most significant findings presented in this paper.

DATA

The data for this study comes from a number of sources. A collection of 25 oral texts constitute primary data. Of these texts, eleven were produced by Mr. Min Bista, a native speaker of Nepali who served as consultant for the UC Santa Barbara Linguistics Department Graduate Field Methods course, 1992-93. One of these is a procedural text; the rest are narrative. An additional narrative text ("Bhutko Kathaa", this volume) was collected and transcribed by Laura Crain. Another narrative ("Paraasar Risi", this volume) was provided by Jim Reed. The remaining eleven texts, which include two conversations, two procedural texts, and seven additional narratives, come from the published work of Hari

(1973). This body of texts will be collectively referred to as my corpus of "spoken" or "oral" texts hereafter.

Hari does not specify how her texts were collected, but they seem to have been transcribed from audiotape recordings. All but one of the other oral texts were also collected in this way. The sole exception was given to the linguist orally, in a sentence-by-sentence fashion, and was never recorded on audiotape.

In addition to the oral text data, I also make use of materials obtained from Mr. Min Bista in an elicitation setting during the course of the Field Methods class.

For comparison at various points, I make reference to one substantial written text, the short story *Naaso* 'Ward', which is reproduced and extensively analyzed in the work of Acharya (1991).

The spoken texts contain a total of 53 separate examples of constructions involving the suffixes *daa* and/or *day*.² The written text *Naaso* contains an additional 25 such examples. The examples in my field notes are slightly less numerous than the stars.

1 SOME BACKGROUND ISSUES

1.1 TREATMENT BY OTHER LINGUISTS

The two Nepali verbal suffixes *daa* and *day* have been considered by all scholars to

²Both *daa* and *day* have some functions which I treat as irrelevant to the discussion of this paper. Some such usages will be noted in passing, but not discussed in detail. Note that these other occurrences of *daa* and *day* have not been included in any of the item counts provided in this paper.

be variants of a single participial morpheme. This morpheme is used to create what has been labeled by some a "present" participle (Srivasta 1962:124; Wallace 1985:64). Others have considered it to be an "imperfect" (or "imperfective") participle (Turnbull 1982:92; Matthews 1984:124; Clark 1963:285; Masica 1991:234; Crain 1992:35).

Concerning the functional properties which differentiate *daa* from *day*, little has been written. Crain (1992:40, 53) notes only that some syntactic constructions call for one or the other of these forms exclusively. Turnbull (1982:92-93) depicts several related forms, among which these two suffixes are included; he distinguishes them only in a very limited way, however. Clark (1963:285) likewise recognizes *daa* and *day* as separate forms, but does not adequately characterize the two forms' distinctive functions.

The most detailed discussion of this issue known to me is that of Matthews (1984:224), where it is noted that *day* "is morphologically an emphatic form". Even this author, however, claims that in most cases *day* is "more or less the same as" *daa* (1984:225).

To my knowledge, no other authors have attempted to characterize the different environments in which *daa* and *day* appear.

1.2 MORPHOLOGICAL HISTORY

It is not surprising that previous scholars have identified *daa* and *day* as a single morpheme. Not only do these forms have similar functions; they also arise from the same source historically. Masica (1991:270) describes a reconstructed Indo-Aryan form, something like **ant*, which was used to indicate imperfectivity. This form has descendants

in many modern Indo-Aryan languages: for example, Gujarati *ta*, Punjabi *de*, and Hindi (among others) *te* (Abbi and Mishra 1987:4).

In addition to the clause-combining functions which will be described here, descendants of this form combine with an auxiliary in several languages to indicate progressive aspect. In Nepali, the form *day* to be discussed here is homophonous with the progressive aspect marker. Example (3) illustrates this function of *day*:

(3) (Elicited)
ma ahile bhaat khaa ~ -day chu ~
 1s now rice eat-PROG be2.1sm
I am eating now.

A third, closely-related function of Indo-Aryan **ant*'s descendants is that of expressing (again, together with an auxiliary) habitual or continuative aspect. For this function, Punjabi has *ndā*, Sindhi *andō*, and Bengali *te*, to name just a few of those mentioned by Masica (1991:384). In Nepali, this function seems to have been played by a form with the shape *da*, as in (4):

(4) (Ku 19)
tesayle dheray lobhi ban-daa kheri aaphu sangga bha-eko cij pani
 therefore very greedy become-DAA when REFL COMM be.PST-PP thing also
gumaaw-nu par-da-cha
 lose-INF may-DA-3smL.PR
Therefore, if one becomes very greedy, one may lose the thing one already possesses.

Although this form still exists in Nepali, Clark (1963:285) calls it "largely obsolescent," and it seems to have lost enough of its semantic character as to make its occasional appearance uncharacterizable, at least to me and my consultant. Further research is needed to clarify its synchronic function(s).

The phonemic alternation of *aa* with *ay* which we find in *daa* and *day* -- descendants

of the Indo-Aryan imperfective *ant -- is to my knowledge unique to Nepali. The phonological history of this innovation is clear. The ending -y is used in a number of situations in Nepali to create emphatic forms. Thus, we find the following pairs:

(5a) (Elicited)
ghar-maa cha
house-LOC be2.3smL
It's in the house.

(5b) (Elicited)
ghar-ma-y cha
house-LOC-EMPH be2.3smL
It's only in the house.

(6a) (Elicited)
aajaa aaw
today come.IMP
Come today!

(6b) (Elicited)
aaja-y aaw
today-EMPH come.IMP
Come today!

(7a) (Elicited)
u bhoko cha
3sL hungry be2.3smL
He is hungry.

(7b) (Elicited)
u bhoka-y cha
3sL hungry-EMPH be2.3smL
He is very hungry.

In each of examples (5)-(7), the (b) sentence is more emphatic in some fairly obvious way than the (a) sentence.

As Matthews (1984:224) observed in the quote given above, this emphatic marker is probably also the source of the *daa/day* alternation. What is interesting is that, in the paired

examples (5)-(7), the emphatic member is in each case clearly an optional, pragmatically motivated alternative. In the case of the verbal suffixes, however, we will see clear evidence that this otherwise optional distinction has become grammaticized, taking on a role in the Nepali system of temporal/aspectual distinctions.

1.3 SYNTACTIC STATUS

This section addresses the question of how best to describe *daa*-clauses syntactically. Arguments will be presented for the claim that *daa*-clauses are best considered dependent adverbial clauses, rather than clause chains, as some scholars have recently suggested. Since, as we will see in section 3, *day*-clauses are even less clause-like in a number of important ways than are *daa*-clauses, for purposes of this discussion the more clause-like *daa*-forms will be treated as representative of both types. Distinctions between *daa*-clauses and clause chains will also hold when *day* is involved.

Clause chains are typically considered to be structures in which two or more predicates are conjoined within a sentence such that only one predicate receives comprehensive finite marking, while marking on the other predicates so conjoined indicates that they depend upon the single finite predicate for such categories as tense, mood, and sometimes, grammatical subject. Specifically which of these categories are involved varies from language to language; Crain (1992:5) notes that the common thread is that a dependent verb in a chain construction "has less inflectional marking than a finite verb, and specifically does not include complete information about the subject."

These verbs without full finite marking are usually called "non-final", since most

chaining languages have verb-final syntax, and thus have the finite verb of a chain in last position. In many chaining languages a non-final verb bears a marker indicating explicitly whether its grammatical subject is the same as, or different from, that of the following verb (e.g. many languages of Papua New Guinea; see, among others, Longacre 1985 for examples). Such overt "switch reference" systems are not, however, present in all chaining languages (Crain 1992 cites South Asian languages as representing this class).

The following example illustrates clause chaining in Nepali which closely approximates the prototypical cases in the typological literature:

(8) (Elicited)

ma pasal-maa ga-era caamal kin-era ghar-maa aa-era bhaat pakaa-era
 1s store-LOC go.PST-CP rice buy-CP house-LOC come-CP rice cook-CP
paDh-na bas-e~
 read-NOM sit-1s.PST

I went to the store, bought rice, came home, cooked rice, and sat down to read.

The recurring suffix *era* expresses no inflectional information and bears essentially no semantic content. It serves simply to link the series of events sequentially, and makes each event dependent for tense and mood on the final verb *base~* 'sit', which bears these finite markings. The pronoun *ma* 'I', appearing in the first clause, makes clear from the outset what the grammatical subject of each of the five clauses is. However, this is not encoded by the verbal morphology on any of the non-final verbs; morphologically, then, all the non-final clauses are unspecified for the category of subject. These *era*-clauses seem to fall within the widely accepted definition of clause chaining.

Some authors make explicit an exclusion of clauses containing conjunctions from the class of clause chains. This exclusion is based on both syntactic and semantic concerns, as Myhill and Hibiya (1988:363) reveal:

Clause-chaining will here be defined as the use of non-finite forms not headed by a conjunction with temporal or circumstantial meaning. Clauses headed by dependent or independent forms meaning e.g. *before*, *after*, *if*, *when*, *because*, etc., are therefore considered not to constitute clause-chaining.

Payne (1991:253) points to a distinction which, while having syntactic consequences in many languages, is essentially semantic/pragmatic in nature:

This is one of the main differences between adverbial clauses and medial clauses: adverbial temporal clauses are presuppositions, i.e. they are presented as unchallengeable or taken for granted, whereas medial clauses are assertions (Givón 1987). This universal characterization of adverbial clauses is based purely on their function. In English, (and many other languages) this functional category is encoded in the grammar, i.e. adverbial clauses are introduced by "subordinating conjunctions" such as *before*, *because*, etc.

The lack of semantic contribution of *era* in the clauses of (8), above, as well as the lack of any lexical subordinators, suggest that according to these definitions as well, (8) is a good example of a clause chain.

Crain (1992:20) follows the suggestion of Wallace (1985:64-65) that *daa*-clauses should be treated as syntactically similar to *era*-constructions like the one presented above. However, *daa*-clauses turn out to differ from *era*-clauses in several critical syntactic ways. In comparison to (8), let us consider a construction involving *daa*:

(9) (Elicited)

kophi khaa ~-daa mero jibro pol-yo
coffee eat-DAA 1s.GEN tongue burn-3smL.PST
When I drank the coffee, my tongue burned.

Example (9) differs from constructions like (8) in a number of important ways. First, note the semantic contribution made by the morpheme *daa* itself. It is considerably richer than that of the purely grammatical form *era*; here, a clear temporal relation is indicated. Second, although the example alone does not make this explicit, it would not be possible for

(9) to contain additional *daa*-clauses. Due largely to the specific semantics of *daa*, conjoining more than two clauses in this way is not permitted. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is an optional explicit subordinator *kheri*, which occurs only with *daa*-clauses. Thus, (9) could just as well have been:

(10) (Elicited)

kophi khaa ~ -daa kheri mero jibro pol-yo
 coffee eat-DAA when 1s.GEN tongue burn-3smL.PST
When I drank the coffee, my tongue burned.

The important thing to note is that whether *kheri* appears or not has no other syntactic implications. That is, there is no independent syntactic reason for considering *daa kheri*-clauses to be any more subordinate, or adverbial, than are simple *daa*-clauses. (Further justification for this claim will be presented in 2.3, below.) Given this fact, and the fact that, as the translation reveals, *daa kheri* makes no significant semantic contrast with simple *daa*, I can find no reason to consider *daa*-clauses to be anything other than what *daa kheri*-clauses seem to be: subordinate adverbial temporal clauses.

2 THE MORPHEME *daa*

In this section I present and comment on a representative sample of the types of semantic and syntactic situations in which the simplest types of *daa*-constructions occur. Constructions involving both *daa* and *day*, as well as those in which a verb with either of these suffixes is repeated, will be shown in later sections to be somewhat different.

Let us begin with some examples:

(11) (Elicited)

bhaat khaa ~ -daa mayle dhungga paa-e ~
rice eat-DAA 1s.ERG rock find-1s.PST
While eating rice, I found a rock (in the rice).

(12) (Bi 19)

ah kahile kaa ~ hi nepaali bol-daa kheri usle galti
HES when where Nepali speak-DAA when 3sL.ERG mistake

gar-thyo dheray coTi galti gar-thyo
do-PSTHAB.3smL many time mistake do-PSTHAB.3smL
Sometimes he used to make mistakes while speaking Nepali, many times he used to make mistakes.

(13) (Hari 1973:47)

himaal caD-daa sardaar hun-ne kulli hun-ne ra kehi
mts.with.snow climb-DAA guide be-IP carrier be-IP and some

saamaan-haru kaaThmaanDu lyaaw-ne athabaa yahaa ~ baaTa laa-ne
good-PL Kathmandu bring-IP or here ABL take-IP
When mountain climbing they serve as guides and as carriers, and they bring goods from Kathmandu or take goods from here to Kathmandu.

(14) (Kh 11)

bhare tyaa ~ pug-daa ta baagh aa-eko thi-ena
however there arrive-DAA EMPH tiger come-PP be.PST-NEG.2smM
However, when they arrived there, the tiger had not come.

(15) = (10) (Elicited)

kophi khaa ~ -daa kheri mero jibro pol-yo
coffee eat-DAA when 1s.GEN tongue burn-3smL.PST
When I drank the coffee, my tongue burned.

2.1 TEMPORAL RELATIONS

As examples (11)-(15) show, there is a variety of temporal and aspectual relations which may be expressed by adverbial *daa*-clauses. In (11), a punctual predicate *paae ~* ‘found’ is localized within the temporal scope of another action *khaa ~ daa* ‘while (I was) eating’. A similar situation is presented by (12), except that here the predicate *garthyo* ‘used

to make' is marked as habitual, indicating that it occurred repeatedly within the scope of the action *boldaa* 'while (he was) speaking'.

In (13), *daa* simultaneously relates one dependent adverbial clause to the predicates of three separate clauses. Interestingly, these three predicates have different aspectual characters: *hune* 'be' is stative and simultaneous with *caDdaa* 'when climbing', while *lyaawne* 'bringing' and *laane* 'taking' are eventive, telic, and (apparently) recurrent, such that they express actions which take place repeatedly during the period of the climbing.³

A *daa*-clause can also relate the endpoint of a telic action to the non-occurrence of an event. This is the situation in (14), where the coming of the tiger has not happened at the time when the adverbial *pugdaa* 'when (they) arrived' occurs.

Finally, in (15), the temporal relationship between sipping and burning may be one of simultaneity, or perhaps of sequentiality, since one's tongue couldn't be burned until a sip was well underway. It is not immediately obvious which of these two descriptions of the temporal semantics of (15) is more satisfactory. As these examples have shown, *daa* covers a fairly wide range of temporal semantics, and it is perhaps likely that its mental representation is correspondingly somewhat general. The exact degree to which temporally related predicates overlap or do not overlap, are simultaneous or not, etc., is at issue to the degree that a choice must be made between *daa* and other available forms (notably *day*), but within the scope of *daa*'s usages, some variety of temporal and aspectual relations seem not to be distinguished.

³It will be noted that the verbs to which the *daa*-marked verb is related are not in this case finite. A few other such examples are known to me, involving both *daa* and *day*, but they are not numerous enough in my texts to permit generalizations.

2.2 *daa* AS A LINKER OF SEPARATE EVENTS

In each of examples (11)-(15), it is clear that the predicate bearing the *daa* suffix is considered a separate event, distinct from that of the finite predicate.

One test for this separate event status is whether the two predicates can have separate syntactic subjects. While the *daa*-clauses of (11) and (12) share the same subjects as their respective matrix verbs, examples (14) and (15) illustrate the occurrence of different subjects in similar constructions. The situation is not as clear for (13), since no overt subject is expressed for the verb *caDdaa*, ‘when climbing’. This could be an instance of different subjects, or perhaps the impersonality of the *daa*-clause means that the same- or different-subject question is simply not a valid one in this instance. In either case, it is clear that the two clauses do not have identical subjects.

In my spoken text data, of a total of 30 *daa*-clauses, 13 are same-subject constructions, while an identical number are different-subject constructions. The remaining four have been treated as irrelevant to this question, either because they are like (13), above, or because they are like (16) and (17), below. Different subjects for *daa*-clauses and their linked finite predicates seem, then, to make up about one-half of the total occurrences of *daa*-clauses.

The apparent frequency of different subject constructions with *daa*-clauses has enabled an extended sense of *daa* to develop. In some cases, *daa* has come to signal causation.

Thus:

(16) (Elicited)

chaana baaTa khas-daa usko ghu ~ Daa bhaa ~ c-i-yo
roof ABL fall-DAA 3sL.GEN knee break-PASS-3smL.PST
When he fell down from the roof, he broke his knee.

(17) (Elicited)

ta ~ yle gar-daa mero khuTTaa bhaa ~ c-i-yo
2L.ERG do-DAA 1s.GEN foot break-PASS-3smL.PST
Because of your doing, my foot broke.

A shift from temporal to causal semantics has been observed before (see, for example, Traugott 1988:409, 412), and it is not hard to see how this functional extension could have taken place. In (16), the falling is both temporally related to, and at the same time, the cause of breaking the leg. Originally, this latter relationship could simply have been left to the listener to infer; over time, speakers have apparently come to rely on such inferences regularly enough that *daa* has come to signal causation as an independent function. Traugott (1988:411) refers to this sort of process as "shift from a conversational implicature to a conventional one". Once the shift has gone far enough, we find examples like (17), where temporal relations are simply not expressed at all, and causation alone is indicated.

The functional shift involved here has also led to an interesting syntactic development. Example (18) is taken from a spoken text, and shows that the causal *daa* gains some syntactic freedom usually not afforded the temporal *daa*:

(18) (Ti 8)

kaaThmaanDu baaTa harek saal didi-haru baayni-haru
Kathmandu ABL each year older.sister-PL younger.sister-PL

bha-eko Thaa ~ w-maa pug-na malaay sambhab thi-ena
be.PST-PP place-LOC arrive-NOM 1s.DAT possible be.PST-3smL.NEG

kaam-le gar-daa kheri ra paDhaay-le gar-daa kheri
work-INST do-DAA when and study-INST do-DAA when

It was not possible for me to go each year from Kathmandu to the place where my sisters lived, because of my work and because of my studies.

In addition to the fact that (18) allows postposing of *daa*-clauses, notice that this sentence contains two such clauses, which was not permitted with temporal *daa*. The occurrence of

these two syntactic surprises here suggests that this causal sense of *daa* has split off from prototypical *daa*-clauses not only semantically, but also syntactically.

2.3 ON THE FUNCTION OF *kheri*

The appearance of *kheri* in each of the two *daa*-clauses of (18) demonstrates that this morpheme sometimes functions purely as a grammatical subordinator, without any possibility of the semantic sense of 'when' attached to it. This is not the normal situation for *kheri*, however, just as (18) is not the most common use of *daa* itself. In this section we will be concerned with the more typical situations in which *kheri* appears.

It was suggested in section 1.3 that the appearance of the overt subordinator *kheri* is completely optional in *daa*-clauses. In fact, the situation is considerably more complicated than simple optionality. In the following paragraphs we will examine some of the factors that seem relevant to the presence or absence of *kheri* when *daa* occurs.

In my spoken texts, the appearance of *kheri* in *daa*-clauses is slightly more frequent than its absence; *kheri* is present in 18 of 30 instances in which *daa* occurs. In elicitation situations, this independent subordinator is presented by my consultant as a completely optional element in all situations, its presence or absence determined only by stylistic considerations -- the use of *kheri* being more informal than its non-use. In fact, he was surprised at the other observations which I will describe below. Elicitation alone, then, would have failed to lead us to some significant facts about the distribution of *kheri* in *daa*-clauses.

As mentioned above, *kheri* is quite common in spoken texts. There are, however,

three situations in which *kheri* rarely occurs. These are: generalizing statements in which *daa* seems to signal a temporal relationship with semantic character something like the English ‘whenever’; constructions which include the emphasis particle *ta* (semantically roughly ‘but, however’); and constructions involving repetitions of a *daa*-marked predicate for emphasis, iteration, etc. Example (19) is of the first type, (20) is of the second, and (21) is of the third.

(19) (Kw 7)

yo pakaa ~ w-daa sab-bhandaa pahile geDaaguDi-laay ek haptaa
 PROX.L cook-DAA all-than first bean-DAT one week

bhandaa laamo samaye samma bijaa ~ -in-cha

than long time until soak-PASS-3smL.PR

When (one is) cooking this, first of all the beans are soaked for over a week.

(20) = (14) (Kh 11)

bhare tyaa ~ pug-daa ta baagh aa-eko thi-ena
 however there arrive-DAA EMPH tiger come-PP be.PST-NEG.2sm

However, when they arrived there, the tiger had not come.

(21) (Pa 24)

maajhiko chori baalako baalak-ay bha-era bas-daa
 ferryman daughter child child-EMPH be.PST-CP stay-DAA

bas-daa bas-daa ani ek din raajaa santanu hunuhunthyo

stay-DAA stay-DAA then one day Raajaa Santanu be.H.PST

While the ferryman’s daughter lived and lived and lived there as a teenager, then one day there was Raajaa Santanu.

Example (19) belongs to a subtype of generalizing predications, indicating a procedural ‘whenever’; three of the non-*kheri*-containing examples in my spoken texts are of this sort, all occurring in the same procedural text, which describes a type of food preparation.

There are also, however, generalizing occurrences of *daa* in which *kheri* does appear,

as in (22):

(22) = (4) (Ku 19)

tesayle dheray lobhi ban-daa kheri aaphu sangga bha-eko cij pani
therefore very greedy become-DAA when REFL COMM be.PST-PP thing also

gumaaw-nu par-da-cha

lose-INF may-DA-3smL.PR

Therefore, if one becomes very greedy, one may lose the thing one already possesses.

Likewise, it is also apparently permissible for *kheri* to occur together with the emphasis particle *ta*. No such example has yet come to light in spontaneous speech, but my consultant feels that it is possible to add *kheri* to (20), producing (23), and still have a grammatical, though perhaps slightly awkward, sentence.

(23) cf. (14) & (20) (Elicited)

bhare tyaa ~ pug-daa ta kheri baagh aa-eko thi-ena
however there arrive-DAA EMPH when tiger come-PP be.PST-NEG.2smM
However, when they arrived there, the tiger had not come.

Example (21) illustrates the repetition of the verb *basdaa* ‘while (she) stayed’. Such repetition of *daa*-marked predicates will be discussed in section 5. Here, we should note only that repetition of this type is quite common in spontaneous speech, and that, among the 12 such constructions present in my spoken text database, only once does *kheri* also appear.

Another significant fact about *kheri* should be noted: this form never occurs in any of the twelve *daa*-clauses in the written text *Naaso*. Clark (1963:289) suggests that *daa kheri*-clauses "are used very frequently in the spoken language, but tend to be less so in the written language." This seems to confirm my consultant’s observation that a difference in level of formality is also involved here.

Crain (1992:134) suggests that *daa kheri*-clauses differ from *daa*-clauses without *kheri* in another way: in the *daa kheri* situation, the two clauses so linked tend in Crain’s data

overwhelmingly to have different subjects (73% of occurrences), while in the plain *daa* type, 57% have the same subjects. In my spoken text data, however, precisely the opposite is true, and the percentages are even greater. In 13 of 16 instances (81%) of *daa kheri*-clauses, the linked clauses have the same subjects, while in all 10 instances (100%) of *daa*-clauses without *kheri*, different subjects occur. Table I summarizes the percentages of same subject occurrences for Crain's data and for my own, along with the corresponding numbers for the written text *Naaso*.

	Crain (1992:134)	Spoken texts	<i>Naaso</i>
<i>daa</i> -clauses	57%	0% (0/10)	42% (5/12)
<i>daa kheri</i> -clauses	27%	81% (13/16)	NA

TABLE I. Percentage of Same-subject Constructions

Crain's conclusions are based on a larger body of data than I have worked with, and her numbers are thus to be given serious credibility. However, the dramatic difference between my results and hers suggest that further research is needed to clarify this situation.

It seems, then, that variation in the appearance of *kheri* with *daa*-clauses, while not simply attributable to any one factor, may perhaps be significantly influenced by several factors. On the one hand, certain semantic generalizations were made above concerning *daa*-clauses in oral texts which do not seem to favor the appearance of *kheri* as strongly as do

others. On the other hand, the non-occurrence of *kheri* in the written text suggests that my consultant is right in claiming that stylistic considerations are also at work. It is quite possible that variation discovered by the third method of data collection, elicitation, may be due to an unconscious interplay of these factors (and others) in the consultant's reflective mental grammar. It may be of use to the field linguist to note that the three different types of data collection utilized here may yield conflicting generalizations about syntactic systems, particularly when a structural complex is subject to variation conditioned by several subtle factors.

2.4 SUMMARY OF SECTION 2

In this section we examined the range of uses of temporal adverbial *daa*-clauses. We saw that some variety of temporal relations could be indicated by this clause-combining form, and that clauses linked with *daa* are always considered to characterize separate events. An extended semantic sense of *daa*, that of causation, has developed, and we saw that this has had the consequence of allowing *daa*-clauses greater syntactic freedom when they are used for this function. Finally, we found that a range of stylistic and semantic factors seem to be relevant for describing occurrences of the subordinator *kheri*, which sometimes appears with *daa*-clauses.

3 THE MORPHEME *day*

In this section we will examine usages of *day* which are most closely related to the *daa*-clauses presented above. We will see that, even in their most similar occurrences, these

two suffixes perform distinctly different functions.

Once again, a few examples are in order:

(24) (Elicited)

baccaa samaa ~ w-day meri srimaati-le khaana pakaa-in
baby hold-DAY 1s.GENf wife.ERG dinner cook-3sfM.PST
Holding the baby, my wife cooked dinner.

(25) (Acharya 1991:212)

subhadraa-le aa ~ su jhaar-day bhan-in
S.-ERG tear shed-DAY say-3sfM.PST
Shedding tears, Subhadraa said:

(26) (Elicited)

jati jati ma khaa ~ -day gaa-e ~ teti teti mayle
the.more 1s eat-DAY go-1s.PST the more 1s.ERG

dhunggaa bheTTaa ~ w-day gaa-e ~
rocks find-DAY go-1s.PST
The more I kept eating, the more I kept finding rocks.

(27) (Elicited)

ma khaa ~ -day hi ~ D-day gar-e ~
1s eat-DAY walk-DAY do-1s.PST
I walked and ate at the same time.

(28) = (2) (Elicited)

ma ghur-day sut-chu
1s snore-DAY sleep-1s.PR
I snore while I sleep/ I sleep snoringly.

3.1 THE SYNTACTIC STATUS OF *day*-MARKED VERBS

The syntax of *day*-marked verbs is very different from that of verbs with *daa*.

Whereas the latter clearly constitute dependent clauses, the status of verbs with *day* is not always so clear. Although in many cases they might also constitute dependent clauses, it is frequently just as inviting to treat them as derived adverbs. In this section we will examine evidence relevant to this issue.

As each of examples (24)-(28) illustrate, verbs with *day* share the same grammatical subject as the finite verbs on which they depend. This is true of every example of *day* that I have encountered. In this respect, these predicates are more tightly-bound syntactically to the finite verbs on which they depend than are the *daa*-marked verbs, since the latter may have independent grammatical subjects.

Examples (24) and (25) do show, however, that the *day*-marked verbs may take separate direct objects. The structure of (24) is this: $O_1 V_1 S O_2 V_2$ where O_1 is the object of V_1 and O_2 of V_2 . Here, we clearly have two clauses. Example (25) is of a similar type, although it has an embedded clause and I have not reproduced the object of the verb of saying, which immediately follows. Its structure is: $S O_1 V_1 V_2 (O_2)$.⁴

The structures of (26) and (27) are less transparent. In (26), *gaae~* 'went' is used with a grammaticized function as a marker of continuativeness, much like the English 'I went on eating'. Literally, the Nepali construction has the form 'I went eatingly, I went findingly', with the *day*-marked predicates acting as adverbials of manner. However, since the main verb *gaae~* is semantically bleached, and performs only a grammatical function, the *day* predicates constitute the entire semantic force of their respective verbal complexes. This function of *day* resembles the morphological progressive marker mentioned in section 1.2.

Example (27) offers yet another use of *day* -- two concurrent events are both marked with this suffix, and both are dependent on a single, semantically empty, finite verb *gare~* 'I did'. This example might be paraphrased 'I did walking and eating together'.

⁴I leave open the question of whether the S in each of these examples is shared by both verbs, or governs some sort of equi-deletion. Either description would nicely fit these syntactic facts.

Finally, (28) illustrates such tight bonding between *ghurday* ‘snoring(ly)’ and *sutchu* ‘I sleep’ that two possible translations arise. We may see this as two separate predications, and interpret it: ‘I snore when I sleep’. Equally good, however, is a single-clause reading: ‘I sleep snoringly’.

Notice that the *day*-verbs in the last three examples do not have any syntactic arguments other than the subjects they share with their finite verbs. In all of these cases, the status of *day* as a clause-combining form is somewhat in doubt, since there is little apparent syntactic reason to consider these verbs to constitute separate clauses.

An additional syntactic fact about *day* which distinguishes it from *daa* is that neither *kheri* nor any other overt subordinator may occur with *day*-marked predicates. This is another way in which *day*-verbs are clearly more tightly bound to the finite verbs on which they depend than are *daa*-verbs.

In some usages, then, *day* seems best treated as a clause-combining form which creates dependent adverbial clauses, just as its cousin *daa* does. However, in some instances we might be justified in claiming that *day* functions as a derivational morpheme, making lexical verbs into adverbs. It is not clear that a single syntactic description covering all occurrences of *day*-verbs could be formulated, or even that this would be desirable. The range of functions played by this morpheme is too diverse.

What is clear, however, is that the syntax of *day* encompasses a very different range than does that of *daa*, although there is some overlap between the two.

3.2 TEMPORAL RELATIONS

In all of the examples we have seen, *day* is used to relate two predicates which are seen to occur coextensively in time; the action of one occurs during the entire period of the action of the other. Consider once again example (28), which had two equally plausible English translations:

(28) = (2) (Elicited)
ma ghur-day sut-chu
1s snore-DAY sleep-1s.PR
I snore while I sleep/ I sleep snoringly.

In contrast, the *daa*-clause of (29) indicates that the snoring takes place at some point during the time of sleeping, but does not require that this is the whole period:

(29) (Elicited)
sut-daa ma ghur-chu
sleep-DAA 1s snore-1s.PR
When I sleep I snore.

In all of the examples (24)-(27), similar temporal semantics seem to hold. In (24) the speaker's wife held the baby the whole time she cooked dinner; Subhadraa, likewise, cried all the while she was saying something in (25); the walking and eating of (27) happened during the same stretch of time.

The situation in (26) has been discussed in some detail above. Note again that, although the finite verb *gaae* ~ 'I went' is semantically empty, the actions of eating and of finding are seen as continuing during the entire time of the 'going on'.

With respect to the temporal semantics of linked predicates, *day* is more restrictive than is *daa*. We saw above that somewhat of a range of temporal relations could hold between a *daa*-clause and its finite verb. However, *day* allows only one type of temporal

reading; predicates linked with this form must describe events which are completely coextensive in time.

3.3 ADDITIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN *day* AND *daa*

Two more points should be noted to round out our differentiation of *daa* and *day*.

First, while *daa* was shown above to have developed a sense indicating causation, *day* is never used for this function.

Second, a distributional note is in order. The reader may have noticed that none of the examples of *day* presented in this section are taken from spoken texts. This suffix certainly does occur in oral discourses, but in the majority of such cases in my data, it is involved in the sort of repetition constructions which will be described in section 5, below. In both elicitation and the written text *Naaso*, however, *day* quite commonly occurs as presented in this discussion. Once again, this suggests that stylistic considerations must be an important part of the description of these morphemes' distribution.

3.4 SUMMARY OF SECTION 3

In this section we saw that *day* behaves quite differently from *daa*. While predicates marked with *day* sometimes seem to constitute dependent clauses, it is often difficult to distinguish them from derived adverbs. Most importantly, verbs with *day* never have independent subjects, and never occur with any grammatical subordinator. Additionally, the temporal semantics of *day* were found to be quite restricted, such that this morpheme occurs in only those cases where two events are seen as temporally coextensive. Finally, we noted

that *day*'s appearances seem also to be significantly influenced by stylistic considerations.

The major goal of this paper is to illustrate that *daa* and *day* are different morphemes, with a different range of functions, and it is hoped that the discussion of sections 2 and 3 has been adequate for this purpose. In the following sections we will explore some additional functions of these two forms; it will be seen, however, that the basic distinctions outlined thus far remain consistent in further contexts, as well.

4 PARATAXIS

In this section we will consider combinations of the morphemes *daa* and *day* within a single construction, such as the following:

(30) (Elicited)

khaa ~ -day hi ~ D-day gar-daa mayle paysaa bheTTaa-e ~
eat-DAY walk-DAY do-DAA 1s.ERG money find-1s.PST
While eating and walking, I found some money.

The semantics of adding a *day*-verb (or two) with a *daa*-verb in that order, as in this example, are quite straightforward. In this situation, the meaning of the whole is simply the sum of the meanings of the parts. *Khaa ~ day* 'eating' and *hi ~ Dday* 'walking' are temporally coextensive with each other, and with the verb which they are dependent on, *gardaa* 'while doing.' This entire complex is then related temporally to the finite verb *paae ~* 'found' by means of the *daa* suffix; during the time I was doing both walking and eating, I found some money.

When *daa* and *day* co-occur in the opposite order, however, the combinatorial meaning is not simply additive. Rather, a construction is formed which plays a different role in the system of verbal temporal relations. Consider (31):

(31) (Elicited)

khaa ~ -daa khaa ~ -day u mar-yo
eat-DAA eat-DAY 3sL die-3smL.PST
He died while eating.

In addition to the difference in relative ordering of *daa* and *day*, this paratactic construction differs from the first type in that here, the same lexical verb stem must occur twice. In the earlier situation, different verb stems -- with different semantic and/or grammatical functions -- were called for.

In (31) the paratactic construction⁵ might appear to function in exactly the same way as does *daa* alone. In fact, in some situations (such as this one) either construction could be used. Clark (1963:288) suggests that the choice between them is "mainly one of personal preference," except that the paratactic construction cannot have the causal meaning that *daa*-clauses sometimes have, as we saw in (16)-(18). However, there are several other significant differences between the two. The paratactic construction may be differentiated from a simple *daa*-clause in four additional ways: it does not admit a sequential reading -- compare (15) and (31); it also does not admit a generalizing reading, such as we found in, for example, (19); it does not allow the occurrence of the subordinator *kheri*; and it does not allow overt expression of any direct arguments of its predicate.

This last observation warrants some further discussion. In (31), it would not have been possible to have an overt expression of a thing being eaten. As we saw above, however, it is possible with simple *daa*-clauses to have an expressed object; (32) reproduces (11):

⁵For ease of description, the terms "paratactic construction" and "parataxis" will hereafter be used to refer only to the combination of *daa* and *day* in that order.

(32) = (11) (Elicited)

bhaat khaa ~ -daa mayle dhungga paa-e ~
rice eat-DAA 1s.ERG rock find-1s.PST
While eating rice, I found a rock (in the rice).

Likewise, (31) would not permit the inclusion of an overt subject of the verb "eat".

This is not the case with *daa*, as (33) illustrates.

(33) (Kh 17)

kinabhane pahile coTi usle baagh aa-yo baagh aa-yo
because first time 3sL.ERG tiger come-3smL.PST tiger come-3smL.PST

bhan-daa kheri baagh baastab-maa aa-eko thi-ena
say-DAA when tiger fact-LOC come-PP be.PST-3smL.NEG
Because the first time he said "The tiger has come! The tiger has come!" the tiger in fact had not come.

However, although the paratactic construction does not allow an overt subject, it does not require that its subject be the same as that of the finite verb on which it is dependent. Rather, its subject is made clear by virtue of the fact that this construction is always employed to express an event previously mentioned in the discourse, the subject of which is therefore already known. In elicited, isolated examples such as (31), no prior referent is available, and the default assignment is to make the finite clause subject serve for the paratactic construction, as well; in any real discourse context, this is an unlikely situation.

An example of a paratactic construction having a different grammatical subject from that of its finite predicate partner is provided in (34).

(34) (Tx2)

dawD-daa dawD-day jaba **dawD-ko** aayojanaa **bha-yo** am **ani**
race-DAA race-DAY when race-GEN organize become-3smL.PST HES then

ek-janaa maanche suru dekhi na-dawD-era a **bic-maa** **maatray**
one-QT man begin from NEG-race-CP HES middle-LOC only

dawD-maa misi-na **aa-era** jaba **maanis-haru dawD-i**
race-LOC middle-NOM come-CP when man-PL race-AXL

rah-ekaa thi-e a **dheray maanis-haru** jaba **dawD-i**
stay-PPp be.PST-3pM HES many man-PL when race-AXL

rah-ekaa thi-e **bic-maa** **ti** **dawD-i** **rah-ekaa**
stay-PPp be.PST-3pM middle-LOC DIST.Lp race-AXL stay-PPp

maanis-haru-ko bic-maa **acaanak u** **misi-na** **aa-i** **pug-yo**
man-PL-GEN middle-LOC suddenly 3L middle-NOM come-AXL arrive-3smL.PST
While they were running, when the race got organized, then a man, without running from the beginning, joined the race just in the middle, when (other) men were running, many other men were running, in the middle of these running men all of a sudden he came in.

In this example, it is admittedly not entirely clear what the original speaker had in mind to follow the initial clause, but my consultant indicates that, although the grammar is "a little bit clumsy" due to the various hesitations and restarts, it is perfectly acceptable to combine the initial clause's subject "they" -- a referent clear, but not overtly specified, in the preceding context -- with the "man" who is the subject of the following clause.

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated ways in which paratactic constructions are to be distinguished from *daa*-clauses. Let us note also that these constructions can additionally be distinguished from simple occurrences of *day*. The paratactic constructions always involve an event seen as separate from that of the conjoined finite predicate, never allowing the sort of manner adverbial reading which we saw with *day*. Neither do these

constructions ever suggest temporal coextensivity, since they always serve to locate the event of the finite predicate at some point completely contained within the temporal scope of the clause containing the *daa* + *day* parataxis.

This construction, then, plays a role in the Nepali system of temporal/aspectual relationships which differentiates it from single occurrences of *daa* as well as from single occurrences of *day*.

5 REPETITION

The final type of construction which we will consider is one which might be labeled simple repetition. With this phenomenon, we move out of the realm of obligatory morphology and into one of optional, pragmatically determined speaker choices. Let us consider some examples.

(35) = (21) (Pa 24)

maajhiko chori baalako baalaka-y bha-era bas-daa
 ferryman daughter child child-EMPH be-CP stay-DAA

bas-daa bas-daa ani ek din raajaa santanu hunuhunthyo
 stay-DAA stay-DAA then one day Raajaa Santanu be.H.PST

While the ferryman's daughter lived and lived and lived there as a teenager, then one day there was Raajaa Santanu.

(36) (Hari 1973:28)

eso uso gar-daa gar-daa saat baj-i haal-cha
 this that do-DAA do-DAA seven strike-AXL put-3smL.PR

ani chiTo chiTo yahaa ~ aa-eko
 then quick quick here come-PP

While I was doing all of this it suddenly struck seven and I quickly came here.

(37) (Hari 1973:7)

mawri-ko maha-maa jhi ~ ghaa-ko khuTTaa Deb-day Deb-day ga-yo
bee-GEN honey-LOC fly-GEN leg sink-DAY sink-DAY go.PST-3smL
The legs of the fly gradually sank into the bee's honey.

(38) (Bh 38-39)

aba kasay-laay pani dhaaraapaani-ko bhut laag-dena
now someone-DAT also Springwater-GEN ghost possess.3mL.NEG.PR

bhan-day tyahaa ~ baaTa karaa ~ w-day ru ~ -day karaa ~ w-day
say-DAY there ABL cry.out-DAY cry-DAY cry.out-DAY

bhaag-e-cha re
run.away-PP2-3smL.PR EVID

Saying, "now no one will be possessed by the Springwater ghost anymore," he ran away from there screaming and crying and screaming.

What all of these examples share is an effect of durativity, iterativity, or some other intensification of the event expressed by the repeated lexical verb. In each case, a speaker has chosen to emphasize a particular predicate for pragmatic, context-bound reasons. In (35), the ferryman's daughter 'stayed and stayed and stayed'; in (36) the speaker repeatedly did this and that, over some prolonged period of time; (37) emphasizes the process of sinking; and (38) seems to indicate iterativity of the screaming and crying. These varying shades of meaning do not spring from different semantic implications of the process of repetition itself. Rather, they are the results of applying a single, general intensification process to lexical verbs which bear a variety of Aktionsarten.

The claim that this process of repetition is purely a pragmatic one, not involved in the set of obligatory aspectual distinctions of Nepali verbal morphology, is supported by this fact: although *daa*-clauses (as in section 2), *day*-clauses (as in section 3), and paratactic constructions (as in section 4) are all frequently produced in elicitation sessions (when the appropriate aspectual conditions obtain), I have never been given a repeated construction like

those of (35)-(38) in elicitation. In oral texts, however, such constructions are fairly common.

One reason for the absence of these pragmatically determined repetitions in isolated elicitation examples probably has to do with the fact that speakers often use them for a function that has been labeled "recapitulation" (Crain 1991:43). In this function, the repeated predicate characterizes an event which has been presented already in the discourse -- usually in the preceding sentence -- and prolongs that event. Let us consider an example with its immediate context:

(39) (Pa 57-58)

Thul-i aamaa paTTi-ko choraa bhisma ra aamaa paTTi
big-f mother side-GEN son Bhisma and mother side

sa ~ kaa gar-yo. sa ~ kaa gar-daa gar-daa gar-daa...
suspicion do-3smL.PST suspicion do-DAA do-DAA do-DAA

They suspected, on the one side, the son of the stepmother Bhisma, and on the other side the mother. While they went on and on and on suspecting...

While this situation is quite similar to that of the paratactic construction, which frequently also involves an event previously mentioned in the discourse, and sometimes also serves a recapitulative function, we must emphasize the fact that here, speakers choose to make a certain type of assertion about the continuation of the repeated predicate, while in the paratactic situation, the construction was called for obligatorily by the temporal relationship of two events.

Constraints limiting the occurrences of repeated predicates marked with *daa* and *day* seem to be identical to those described for the non-repeated instances in which these morphemes appear. That is, wherever *daa* is used, a repetition of *daa* is apparently also possible; likewise for *day*. As was mentioned in section 2.3, even with the overt

subordinator *kheri*, we may find a repeated *daa*-verb. This is illustrated in (40):

(40) (Pa 124)

sikaar khel-na jaa ~ -daa jaa ~ -daa kheri ani dropati paa-era
hunt play-NOM go-DAA go-DAA when then Dropati acquire-CP
While he was hunting, then he "aquired" Dropati.

Thus, the syntactic and semantic distinctions between *daa* and *day* which have been characterized throughout this paper remain consistent in this pragmatically motivated construction, as well.

6 SUMMARY OF THE PAPER

In this paper I have presented the claim that *daa* and *day* are not, as others have thought, mere variants of a single participial morpheme. Rather, I have attempted to show that these two suffixes are independent morphemes, with characterizably different functions, with respect to both their syntax and their role in the Nepali tense/aspect system. Combined paratactically in the order *daa* + *day*, these suffixes form a specialized construction which differs from each of them individually in both syntax and semantics. However, when the forms are combined in the opposite order their semantics (and syntax) are interpreted additively. Similarly, the pragmatically-motivated repetition constructions retain the syntax and semantics of the two forms in their independent occurrences.

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Lobhi Kukur (Lo)¹

(1)

yo yoTaa lobhi kukur-ko katha ho.
PROX.L one greedy dog-GEN story be.1.3smL

This is a story of a greedy dog.

(2)

yo katha-ko sirsak lobhi kukur ho.
PROX.L story-GEN title greedy dog be.1.3smL

The title of this story is 'Greedy Dog'.

(3)

ek coTi yoTaa kukur khaana-ko khoji-maa baahira nisk-yo.
one instance one dog food-GEN search-LOC outside come.out-3smL.PST

Once, one dog went out in search of food.

(4)

u hi-D-day gar-eko thi-yo.
3L walk-SP do-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

He was walking.

(5)

hi-D-day jaa--daa, usle baaTo-maa yoTaa mar-eko janaawar phelaapaar-yo.
walk-SP go-SP 3L.ERG path-LOC one die-PP animal find-3smL.PST

While walking, he found a dead animal on the path.

(6)

ani uslaay bhok pani laag-eko thi-yo.
then 3L.DAT hunger also feel-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

Then he was starving.

(7)

ra usle tyo mar-eko janaawar khaa-na suru gar-yo.
and 3L.ERG DIST.L die-PP animal eat-NOM beginning do-3smL.PST

And he began to eat that dead animal.

(8)

jaba usle janaawar khaa-i rah-eko thi-yo, tyahaa~ aru dheray
when 3L.ERG animal eat-AXL stay-PP be.PST-3smL.PST there other many

kukur-haru pani aa-i pug-e.
dog-PL also come-AXL arrive-3pM.PST

When he was eating the animal, many other dogs arrived there.

¹ Recorded, transcribed (with the assistance of Min Bista), and glossed by Kumiko Ichihashi-Nakayama.

(9)

ra uni-haru pani tyo mar-eko janaawar khaa-na khoj-e.
and 3M-PL also DIST.L die-PP animal eat-NOM attempt-3pM.PST

And they also tried to eat that dead animal.

(10)

tara tyo kukur dheray baliyo bha-eko-le aru kukur-haru-laay
but DIST.L dog very strong be.PST-PP-because other dog-PL-DAT

khaa-na di-ena.
eat-NOM give-NEG.3smL.PST

But, because the dog was very strong, he did not let other dogs eat (the animal).

(11)

tesko najik samma pani usle aaw-na di-ena.
3L.GEN near upto also 3L.ERG come-NOM give-NEG.3smL.PST

He did not even let (them) come close to it (=the animal).

(12)

(a) jaba usle khaa-era peT bhar-yo, ani janaawar-ko Thulo yoTaa
(HES) when 3L.ERG eat-CP stomach fill-3smL.PST then animal-GEN big one

maasu-ko Tukraa mukh-maa cyaa~p-yo ra tyahaa~ baaTa hi~D-yo.
meat-GEN piece mouth-LOC place-3smL.PST and there ABL walk-3smL.PST

When he filled his stomach by eating, then (he) put a big piece of meat of the animal in his mouth and left from there.

(13)

jaa~-daa jaa~-daa usle baaTo-maa yoTaa nadi tar-nu par-ne
go-SP go-SP 3L.ERG path-LOC one river cross-INF must-IP

thi-yo.
be.PST-3smL.PST

While going, he had to cross a river on his way.

(14)

jaba u nadi-ko bic-maa pug-eko thi-yo, usle (s) eso
when 3L river-GEN center-LOC arrive-PP be.PST-3smL.PST 3L.ERG (FS) like.this

paani-maa her-yo.
water-LOC look.at-3smL.PST

When he had arrived in the middle of the river, he looked into the water.

(15)

paani-maa her-daa kheri, yoTaa arko kukur-le mukh-maa maasu-ko
water-LOC look.at-SP when one another dog-ERG mouth-LOC meat-GEN

Tukraa cyaa~p-era (heri r) uslaay her-i rah-eko usle dekh-yo.
piece place-CP (FS) 3L.DAT look.at-AXL stay-PP 3L.ERG see-3smL.PST

As he looked into the water, he saw another dog holding a piece of meat in his mouth and looking at him.

(16)

usle so~c-yo tyo maasu-ko Tukraa nikay raamro cha
3L.ERG think-3smL.PST DIST.L meat-GEN piece very good be2.3smL
ra tyo arko kukur baaTa usle tyo maasu-ko Tukraa khos-era
and DIST.L another dog ABL 3L.ERG DIST.L meat-GEN piece snatch-CP
li-nu par-cha.
take-INF must-3smL.PR

He thought, that piece of meat is very nice and he should get that piece of meat from the other dog by snatching it.

(17)

etikay-maa u jhamT-era tyo kukur-ko maasu li-na khoj-yo.
this.much-LOC 3L attack-CP DIST.L dog-GEN meat take-NOM attempt-3smL.PST
In the meantime, he tried to get that dog's meat by attacking him.

(18)

tara jaba usle tyo maasu li-na khoj-eko thi-yo,
but when 3L.ERG DIST.L meat take-NOM attempt-PP be.PST-3smL.PST
usle aaphno mukh-maa rah-eko maasu-ko Tukraa khasaal-yo.
3L.ERG REF.GEN mouth-LOC sit-PP meat-GEN piece drop-3smL.PST
But as he had tried to get that meat, he dropped the piece of meat which was in his mouth.

(19)

ra usko maasu-ko Tukraa bag-era paani-maa ga-yo.
and 3L.GEN meat-GEN piece flow-CP water-LOC go.PST-3smL.PST
And his piece of meat flowed away in the water.

(20)

ra usle baastab-maa je paani-maa jun kukur dekh-eko
and 3L.ERG fact-LOC the.one.which water-LOC which dog see-PP
thi-yo, tyo arko kukur na-bha-era usko aaphnai
be.PST-3smL.PST DIST.L another dog NEG-be.PST-CP 3L.GEN REF.GEN.EMPH
chaa~yaa thi-yo.
shadow be.PST-3smL.PST

And in fact what he had seen in the water was not another dog but his own reflection.

(21)

tesayle dheray lobhi ban-daa kheri, aaphu sangga bha-eko cij pani
therefore very greedy become-SP when REF COMM be.PST-PP thing also
gumaaw-nu par-da cha bhan-ne kuraa haami es kathaa baaTa
lose-INF must-SP be2.3smL say-IP talk 1p this story ABL
thaahaa paaw~-chaw~.
knowledge acquire-1pm.PR

*Therefore, if one becomes very greedy, s/he might lose the thing s/he already possesses.
This is what we know from this story.*

Kickanni (Ki)¹

(1)

yo kathaa kaaThmaanDaw~-maa cal-ne kaaThmaanDaw~-maa
PROX.L story Kathmandu-LOC be.common-IP Kathmandu-LOC

saaray cal-ne priya kathaa ho.
very be.common-IP popular story be1.3smL

This is a very popular story in Kathmandu.

(2)

ek paTak kaaThmaanDaw~-maa yoTaa saahu-ko choraa thi-yo.
one time Kathmandu-LOC one rich.man-GEN son be.PST-3smL.PST

Once upon a time, there was a son of rich man.

(3)

tyo -- tyo saaray asal ra gambhir khaal-ko keTaa thi-yo.
DIST.L DIST.L very good and serious kind-GEN boy be.PST-3smL.PST

He was a kind of boy who was very good and serious.

(4)

usko umer karib baays bis-baays thi-yo.
3L.GEN age about twenty.two twenty-twenty.two be.PST-3smL.PST

His age was about 22 .. 20 or 22.

(5)

tyo keTaa-laay ekaanta man par-thyo.
DIST.L boy-DAT loneliness desire happen-3smL.PSTHAB

That boy used to like loneliness.

(6)

u ghanTaw~ samma saathi-haru sangga khel-na na-ga-era eklay eklay
3L hours upto friend-PL COMM play-NOM NEG-go.PST-CP alone alone

bas-era samaya bitaaw-na caahan-thyo.
sit-CP time spend-NOM want-3smL.PSTHAB

He would want to spend time by sitting all alone for hours without going to play with his friends.

(7)

u kahilekaahi~ kholaa-maa ga-era nadi-maa ga-era pani aaphno
3L sometimes stream-LOC go.PST-CP river-LOC go.PST-CP even REF.GEN

samaya bitaawn-thyo.
time spend-3smL.PSTHAB

Sometimes, he would spend his time by going to the stream, by going to the river.

¹ Recorded, transcribed (with the assistance of Min Bista), and glossed by Kumiko Ichihashi-Nakayama.

(8)
ek paTak u tesay gar-i baagmati nadi-ko aaspaas-maa hi-D-i
one time 3L like.that do-AXL Bagmati river-GEN vicinity-LOC walk-AXL
rah-eko thi-yo.
stay-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

Once, doing just that, he was walking along the Bagmati River.

(9)
usle yoTaa -- yoTi raamri keTi dekh-yo.
3L.ERG one one.f beautiful.f girl see-3smL.PST

He saw one beautiful girl.

(10)
keTi nikay raamri thi-i.
girl very beautiful.f be.PST-3sfL.PST

The girl was very beautiful.

(11)
uslaay tyo keTi man par-yo.
3L.DAT DIST.L girl desire happen-3smL.PST

He liked that girl.

(12)
ra u -- usle tyo keTi sangga kuraa gar-yo.
and 3L 3L.ERG DIST.L girl COMM talk do-3smL.PST

And he talked with that girl.

(13)
uslaay tyo keTi jhan man par-yo kuraa gar-i
3L.DAT DIST.L girl even.more desire happen-3smL.PST talk do-AXL
sak-e pachi.
finish-PP2 after

He liked that girl even more after he talked with her.

(14)
ra tyo keTi pani u prati aakarsit bha-eko jasto dekh-i-i.
and DIST.L girl also 3L toward attracted become.PST-PP as.if see-PASS-3sfL.PST

And that girl also looked like being attracted to him.

(15)
ra uni-haru-le dinahu jaso saa~jhapakha tyo kholaa-maa bheT-ne
and 3M-PL-ERG daily like evening.time DIST.L stream-LOC meet-IP
nirNaya gar-e.
decision do-3pM.PST

And they decided to meet at the stream in the evening almost everyday.

(16)
ra kai~yaw~ din samma uni-haru-le bheT-na -- bheT-i rah-e.
and several day upto 3M-PL-ERG meet-NOM meet-AXL stay-3pM.PST

And they kept meeting for several days.

(17)
pachi u tyo keTi sita esari prem-maa aakarsit (es) tyo
after 3L DIST.L girl COMM in.this.way love-LOC attracted (FS) DIST.L

keTi sangga esari aakarsit bha-yo, ki uslaay
girl COMM in.this.way attracted become.PST-3smL.PST COMP 3L.DAT

tyo na-bha-i na-hu-ne jasto hu-na thaal-yo.
DIST.L NEG-be.PST-AXL NEG-be-IP as.if become-NOM start-3smL.PST

Later he (became) so attracted to and fell in love with that girl ... (he) became so attracted to that girl that it started to be as if he could not exist without having her.

(18)
ra usle ghar-maa bolaaw-na thaal-yo.
and 3L.ERG house-LOC call-NOM start-3smL.PST

And he began to invite (her) to (his) house.

(19)
usle usko baaw-aamaa-ko agaaDi tyo -- tyo keTi-laay
3L.ERG 3L.GEN father-mother-GEN in.front DIST.L DIST.L girl-DAT

bolaaw-na sak-dayna-thyo.
call-NOM be.able.to-NEG-3smL.PSTHAB

He was not able to invite that girl in front of his parents.

(20)
tesle usle raati-maa tyo keTi-laay aaphno koThaa-maa aaw
3L.ERG 3L.ERG night-LOC DIST.L girl-DAT REF.GEN room-LOC come(IMP.L)

bhan-yo.
say-3smL.PST

He told the girl to come to his room at night.

(21)
ra yo keTi usko koThaa-maa aaw-na thaal-i.
and PROX.L girl 3L.GEN room-LOC come-NOM start-3sfL.PST

And the girl started to come to his room.

(22)
ra jati jati u keTi prati aakarsit hu--day ga-yo,
and as.much.as as.much.as 3L girl toward attracted become-SP go.PST-3smL.PST

teti teti tyo keTaa dublaaw-na thaal-yo.
that.much that.much DIST.L boy lose.weight-NOM start-3smL.PST

And the more he became attracted to the girl, the more that boy began to become thinner.

(23)
usko sarir ekdam dublaaw--day ga-yo.
3L.GEN body very.much lose.weight-SP go.PST-3smL.PST

His body went on becoming very thin.

(24)
u suk-day jaa-na thaal-yo.
3L become.emaciated-SP go-NOM start-3smL.PST

He began to become emaciated.

(25)
ra usko baaw-laay usko sarir-ko baaremaa swaasthya-ko baaremaa
and 3L.GEN father-DAT 3L.GEN body-GEN about health-GEN about
saaray cintaa hu-na thaal-yo.
very anxiety be-NOM start-3smL.PST

And his father began to worry very much about his body, about his health.

(26)
ra ek paTak usko baaw-aamaa-le guruwaa-laay yoTaa Dhaami-laay
and one time 3L.GEN father-mother-ERG medicine.man-DAT one shaman-DAT
aaphno choraa-laay ke bha-yo bhan-ne baaremaa
REF.GEN son-DAT what become.PST-3smL.PST say-IP about
thaahaa paaw-na-ko-laagi bolaa-e.
knowledge acquire-NOM-GEN-BEN call-3pM.PST

And once, his parents called for a medicine man in order to find out what happened to their son.

(27)
ra keTo keTi sangga aakarsit hu--day thi-yo.
and boy girl COMM attracted become-SP be.PST-3smL.PST

And the boy was being attracted to the girl.

(28)
keTi harek din saa--jha usko koThaa-maa aaw--thi.
girl every day evening 3L.GEN room-LOC come-3sfL.PSTHAB

The girl would come to his room in the evening every day.

(29)
ra bihaana hu-nu bhandaa agaaDi koThaa baaTa nisk-era
and morning become-INF than before room ABL come.out-CP
jaan-thi.
go-3sfL.PSTHAB

And (she) used to go (away) coming out of the room before the dawn.

(30)
raat usle tyo keTi sangga bitaaw-ne gar-thyo.
night 3L.ERG DIST.L girl COMM spend-IP do-3smL.PSTHAB

He used to spend night with that girl.

(31)

etaa baaw-aamaa-laay usko sarir-ko baaremaa saaray
on.the.other.hand father-mother-DAT 3L.GEN body-GEN about very

cintaa bha-yo.

anxiety become.PST-3smL.PST

On the other hand, (his) parents were very anxious about his body.

(32)

ra guruwaa-laay bolaa-i sak-e pachi guruwaa-le jhaarphuk-haru
and medicine.man-DAT call-AXL finish-PP2 after medicine.man-ERG exorcism-PL

bibhinna kisim-ko kuraa-haru adhyan gar-na thaal-e.

different kind-GEN thing-PL study do-NOM start-3smM.PST

And after the medicine man was called, the medicine man began to study exorcisms and different kinds of things.

(33)

ra pachi guruwaa-le tyo keTaa-laay tyo keTi-ko baaremaa
and after medicine.man-ERG DIST.L boy-DAT DIST.L girl-GEN about

dheray kuraa thaahaa paaw-na-ko-laagi bhan-e.

many thing knowledge acquire-NOM-GEN-BEN say-3smM.PST

And, later, the medicine man talked to the boy in order to find out many things about that girl.

(34)

suru-maa keTo-le maan-eko thi-ena.

beginning-LOC boy-ERG agree-PP be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST

In the beginning, the boy didn't agree.

(35)

pachi guruwaa-le tyo keTaa-laay tyo keTi-ko khuTTaa-maa
after medicine.man-ERG DIST.L boy-DAT DIST.L girl-GEN leg-LOC

yoTaa Dori yoTaa saano dhaago baan-na-ko-laagi -- baan-na lagaa-e.

one cord one small thread tie-NOM-GEN-BEN tie-NOM make-3smM.PST

Afterwards, the medicine man told the boy to tie a cord, a small thread to that girl's leg.

(36)

raati jaba -- tyo keTi ko ho bhan-ne baaremaa thaahaa
night when DIST.L girl who be1.3smL say-IP about knowledge

paaw-nu jaruri thi-yo.

acquire-INF important be.PST-3smL.PST

It was important to find out who that girl was.

(37)

ani tyo keTaa-le ebamritle jun din tyo keTi saa~jha tyahaa~
then DIST.L boy-ERG as.usual which day DIST.L girl evening there

usko koThaa-maa aa-i ani usle guruwaa-le
3L.GEN room-LOC come-3sfL.PST then 3L.ERG medicine.man-ERG

bhan-e anusaar usle yoTaa saano Dori baa~dh-yo.
say-PP2 according 3L.ERG one small cord tie-3smL.PST

And the boy, at the usual time when the girl came to his room in the evening, he tied up a small cord (to her) according to the medicine man's instruction.

(38)

keTi-ko khuTTaa-maa Dori baa~dh-yo.
girl-GEN leg-LOC cord tie-3smL.PST

(He) tied a cord to the girl's leg.

(39)

keTi-le thaahaa na-paaw-ne gar-i.
girl-ERG knowledge NEG-acquire-IP do-3sfL.PST

The girl did not notice (it).

(40)

ani bholipalTa uni-haru sab-janaa guruwaa ra sab paribaar mil-era
then next.day 3M-PL all-QT medicine.man and all family join-CP

tyo Dori-laay pachilaag-day Dori-ko pachilaag-day jaba uni-haru
DIST.L cord-DAT follow-SP cord-GEN follow-SP when 3M-PL

bihaana ga-e, taba her-daa ta Dori yoTaa saano haaD-maa
morning go.PST-3pM.PST then look.at-SP PRT cord one small bone-LOC

saano haDDi-ko Tukraa-maa baa~dh-i-eko thi-yo.
small bone-GEN piece-LOC tie-PASS-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

And next morning, when they, including the medicine man and all family members, went following the cord, then they found that the cord was tied up to a small piece of bone.

(41)

ra baastab-maa tyo saa~cci-ko yoTaa keTi na-bha-era tyo
and fact-LOC DIST.L reality-GEN one girl NEG-be.PST-CP DIST.L

Tol-maa tyo sahar-maa yoTaa kalilo umer-maa mar-eki yoTi
neighborhood-LOC DIST.L city-LOC one young age-LOC die-PPf one.f

keTi-ko haaD thi-yo.
girl-GEN bone be.PST-3smL.PST

And in fact, in stead of being a real girl, that was a bone of a girl of that neighborhood, of that city, who had died at a young age.

(42)

ra esari umer-may mar-ekaa keTi-haru pachi kickanni ban-chan
and in.this.way age-LOC.EMPH die-PPp girl-PL after Kickanni become-3pM.PR

bhan-ne kimbadanti kaaThmaanDaw~~maa paa-in-cha.
say-IP myth Kathmandu-LOC acquire-PASS-3smL.PR

And in this way, there is a myth known in Kathmandu that girls that died at a (young) age later become 'Kickanni' (female goast).

Kharaab KeTo (Kh)¹

(1)

ekaa des-maa raame bhan-ne yoTaa keTaa thi-yo.
 one country-LOC Raame say-IP one boy be.PST-3smL.PST

In one country, there was a boy named Raame.

(2)

tesko umer (ka) karib (a) naw~ das barsa-ko thi-yo.
 3L.GEN age (FS) about (HES) nine ten year-GEN be.PST-3smL.PST

His age was about nine or ten years.

(3)

raame iskul jaa~-dayn-thiyo.
 Raame school go-NEG-3smL.PSTHAB

Raame didn't used to go to school.

(4)

u sadhay gaay baakhraa caraaw-na janggal-maa jaa-ne gar-thyo.
 3L always cow goat graze-NOM jungle-LOC go-IP do-3smL.PSTHAB

He always used to go to the jungle to graze cows and goats.

(5)

raame saaray chaTTu ThaTTaalu ra ali ulkyaahaa khaal-ko
 Raame very cunning joking and a.little.bit misleading kind-GEN

keTaa thi-yo.
 boy be.PST-3smL.PST

Raame was the kind of boy who was cunning, joking and a little bit misleading.

(6)

sadhay gaay caraaw-na janggal-maa jaa~-daa kheri, raame-le aaphnaa
 always cow graze-NOM jungle-LOC go-SP when Raame-ERG REF.GEN

saathi-haru-laay bahakaaw-ne kaam gar-thyo.
 friend-PL-DAT tempt-IP work do-3smL.PSTHAB

While going to graze cows everyday, Raame used to tempt his friends.

(7)

ek din-ko kuraa ho raame-le gaay car-i rah-eko belaa-maa
 one day-GEN talk be1.3smL Raame-ERG cow graze-AXL sit-PP time-LOC

usle baagh aa-yo baagh aa-yo bhan-era
 3L.ERG tiger come-3smL.PST tiger come-3smL.PST say-CP

Thulo sor-maa karaa-yo.
 big voice-LOC shout-3smL.PST

One day, while the cows were grazing, Raame shouted, saying 'A tiger came, a tiger came.' in a loud voice.

¹ Recorded and transcribed in the Field Methods class (1992-3) at UCSB, and glossed by Kumiko Ichihashi-Nakayama.

(8)

ani gaaw~-kaa saaraa maanche-haru-le sun-ne gar-era baagh aa-yo
then village-GEN_p all man-PL-ERG hear-IP do -CP tiger come-3smL.PST
baagh aa-yo bhan-era karaa-yo.
tiger come-3smL.PST say-CP shout-3smL.PST

Then, when he shouted, saying 'A tiger came, a tiger came.', it could be heard by all the people of the village.

(9)

ani gaaw~le-haru nikkay tars-e.
then villager-PL very.much get.frightened-3pM.PST

Then, the villagers were very frightened.

(10)

kinabhane baagh-le uni-haru-ko gaay ra baakhraa-haru-laay khaa-ne
because tiger-ERG 3M-PL-GEN cow and goat-PL-DAT eat-IP

Dar thi-yo.
fear be.PST-3smL.PST

Because there was fear that the tiger could eat their cows and goats.

(11)

ani tyo sun-era saaraa gaaw~-ko maanche-haru tyahaa~ dawD-era
then that hear-CP all village-GEN man-PL there run-CP

pug-yo.
arrive-3smL.PST

Then, having heard that, all the people of the village got there, running.

(12)

bhare tyaa~ pug-daa ta baagh aa-eko thi-ena.
however there arrive-SP PRT tiger come-PP be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST

When they got there, however, the tiger had not come.

(13)

khaali raame-le aru-laay jhukkyaaw-na-ko-laagi baagh aa-yo
just Raame-ERG others-DAT make.a.fool.of-NOM-GEN-BEN tiger come-3smL.PST

baagh aa-yo bhan-eko thi-yo.
tiger come-3smL.PST say-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

Only Raame had said 'A tiger came, a tiger came.' to fool them.

(14)

ani sab maanis-haru gaaw~le-haru tyo sangga risaa-era aaphno
then all man-PL villager-PL DIST.L COMM get.angry-CP REF.GEN

ghara phark-e.
house return-3pM.PST

Then the men, the villagers, went back to their home being angry with him.

(15)

tesko kehi din pachi, raame pheri gaay caraaw-na janggal-maa
3L.GEN some day after Raame again cow graze-NOM jungle-LOC

ga-eko thi-yo.
go.PST-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

A few days after that, Raame had again gone to the jungle to graze the cows.

(16)

usko mijaas saaray ThaTTaalu ra saaray haawDe khaal-ko
3L.GEN nature very joking and very unreliable kind-GEN

thi-yo.
be.PST-3smL.PST

His nature was a kind of very joking and very unreliable.

(17)

ani usle pahile jastay pheri baagh aa-yo baagh aa-yo
then 3L.ERG before as.if.EMPH again tiger come-3smL.PST tiger come-3smL.PST

bhan-era bhan-yo.
say-CP say-3smL.PST

Then, like before, he again said 'A tiger came, a tiger came.'

(18)

ani gaaw~le-haru-le tyo sun-e.
then villager-PL-ERG that hear-3pM.PST

Then the villagers heard that.

(19)

tara sun-e taapani teslaay uni-haru-le waastaa gar-enan.
but hear-PP2 although 3L.DAT 3L-PL-ERG care do-NEG.3pM.PST

But although they heard him, they didn't care about it.

(20)

kinabhane pahile coTi usle baagh aa-yo baagh aa-yo
because before instance 3L.ERG tiger come-3smL.PST tiger come-3smL.PST

bhan-daa kheri, baagh baastab-maa aa-eko thi-ena.
say-SP when tiger fact-LOC come-PP be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST

Because the first time when he said 'A tiger came, a tiger came.', the tiger in fact had not come.

(21)

ani yo coTi gaaw~le-haru raame-le jhukkyaa-eko holaa
then this instance villager-PL Raame-ERG make.a.fool.of-PP be.3smL.FUT2

bhanThaan-era kunay pani gaaw~le-haru tyahaa~ pug-enan.
feel-CP any also villager-PL there arrive-NEG.3pM.PST

Then this time, the villagers felt that Raame might have fooled them, and none of them arrived there.

(22)

tara baastab-maa tyo din baagh aa-eko thi-yo.
but fact-LOC DIST.L day tiger come-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

But in fact, the tiger had come that day.

(23)

ra baagh-le raame-ko sampurNa gaay baakhraa-haru khaa-i di-yo.
and tiger-ERG Raame-GEN complete cow goat-PL eat-AXL give-3smL.PST

And the tiger ate all of Raame's cows and goats.

(24)

raame dawD-era balla balla aaphnu ज्यान bacaa-yo.
Raame run-CP barely barely REF.GEN life save-3smL.PST

Raame ran and barely saved his own life.

(25)

(a) kathaa ettikay-maa sidhi-yo.
(HES) story right.here-LOC end-3smL.PST

The story ended right here.

Haa ~ so-ko Tukraa (Tu)¹

(1)

yo ewTaa saano haa ~ so-ko Tukraa ho.
prox.L one small laughter GEN piece be1.3smL

"This is a joke."

(2)

nepaal-baaTa bidhyaarhi- haru bides- maa nikay maatraa- maa paDh-na
Nepal ABL student PL foreign LOCgreat number LOCread NOM

jaan- chan.

go 2pM.PR

"Students go abroad from Nepal to study in large numbers."

(3)

ek patak ewTaa keTaa belaeth- maa paDh-na ga- yo.
one time one boy England LOC read NOM go 3smL.PST

"Once, a boy went to England to study."

(4)

tyo dheray calaak thiyo, bidwan thiyo.
3L very clever be.3smL.PST scholarly be.3smL.PST

"He was very clever, was very scholarly."

(5)

uslaay baaygyanig bhan- ne Thulo rahar thiyo.
smL.DAT scientist say IP big desire be.3smL.PST

"He had a great desire to be a scientist."

(6)

ra belaeth- maa aa- era u bisobidyaalaay- maa paDh- na thal- yo.
and England LOC come CP 3L university LOC read NOM begin 3smL.PST

"And he went to England, came to the university and began to study."

¹Collected and transcribed by Nicholas Kibre.

(7)

belath- maa, priogsaalaa- haru- maa kaam gar- daa gar- daa usle ewTaa saano
England LOC laboratory PL LOC work do NF do NF 3L.ERG one small

cakki banaa- yo.
pill make 3smL.PST

"In England, after working dilligently in the labaratories, he made a small pill."

(8)

tyo cakki khaa- e paci maanche- ko umer nikay ghaT- thyo.
DIST.L pill eat PP2 after person GENage great reduce 3sL.PSTHAB

"After eating this pill a man's age would decrease tremendously."

(9)

buDhaa buDhi- haru pani tanneri ban- the.
old man old woman PL also young person become 3pL.PSTHAB

"Even the aged would become young."

(10)

usko ra- tara usle tyo cakki kasay maathi pariog gar- nu thiena.
3L.GEN and but 3L.ERG DIST.L pill anyone on test do INF be.3smL.NEG.PST

"But he had not tested the pill on anyone."

(11)

janawaar-haru- maa pariog gar- eko thiyo.
animal PL LOCtest do PP be.3smL.PST

"He had tested it on animals."

(12)

tyo cakki banaa- e sak- e paci,
DIST.L pill make PP2 finish PP2 after

"After making that pill,"

(13)

kasay- laay na- bhan- i- kana usle caahi ~ aaphno baa- aamaa- laay
anyone DAT NEG say AXL without 3L.ERG PRT own father mother DAT

paThaa- i di- ne bicaar gar- yo.
send AXL give IP decision do 3smL.PST

"he decided to send the pill to his parents without telling anyone.

(14)

ra tyo cakki usle nepaal-maa paThaa- i di- yo.
and dist.L pill 3L.ERG Nepal LOC send AXL give 3smL.PST

"And he sent the pill to Nepal."

(15)

baa- aamaa-laay bhan- yo ki,
father mother DAT say 3smL.PST COMP

"He said to his parents that,"

(16)

yo cakki khaa- e pacci tapaa ~y- harutanneri taruni bhan- na
PROX.L pill eat PP2 after 2H PL young person young woman say NOM
hun-cha bhan- era bhan- yo.
be1 3smL.PR say CP say 3smL.PST

"after eating this pill you will be a young man and a young woman."

(17)

ra u aaphno kaam gar- yo ra paDhaa- i sak- e paci
and 3L REFL.GEN work do 3smL.PST and study AXL finish 3smM.PST after

"And he continued his work, and after finishing,"

(18)

u nepaal phark- yo.
3L Nepal return 3smL.PST

"he returned to Nepal."

(19)

nepaal phark- era,
Nepal return CP

"Returning to Nepal,"

(20)

jaba u erporT- maa pug- yo erporT- maa etaauti her- yo.
when 3L airport LOCarrive 3smL.PST airport LOCaround look 3smL.PST

"when he arrived at the airport he looked around the airport,"

(21)

tyahaa ~ usle kuhi pani dekh- ena.
there 3L.ERG anyone also see 3L.NEG.PST

"And he didn't see anyone there."

(22)

usle aaphn- aa baaw-aamaa malaay li- na aa- enan
3L.ERG REFL.GEN PL father-mother 1s.DAT take NOM come 3pM.NEG.PST

bhan-era usle caahi ~ ali pir gar- yo.
say CP 3L.ERG PRT little worry do 3smL.PST

"He became a little upset because his parents didn't come to receive him."

(23)

etaauti saamaan saamaan baagaj- haruusle li- yo.
around belongings belongings baggage PL 3L.ERG take 3smL.PST

"He picked up his baggage."

(24)

ra najikayewTaa tarunikeTi saano baccaa bok- era aa- i rah- eko usledekh- yo.
and near one young girl small child carry CP come AXLstand PP 3L see 3smL.PST

"And he saw a young girl coming towards him carrying a baby."

(25)

ra tyo taruni keTi- le haay baabu ke cha bhan-era bhan- i
and DIST.L.young girl ERGhi dear what be2.3smL say CP say 3sfL.PST

"And the young girl said 'hi dear, what's up?'"

(26)

usle tyo keTi- laay kayle pani dekh- eko thiena.
3L.ERG DIST.Lgirl DATwhen also see PP be.3smL.NEG.PST

"He had never seen the young woman before."

(27)

kasariesle baabubhan- era bhan- i. bhan- era bhan- i.
how 3L.ERG dear say CP say 3sfL.PST say CP say 3sfL.PST

"How come she said 'hi dear'?"²

(28)

ani timi-le malaay kasarichin- yaw.
then 2M ERG1s.DAT how know 2sM.PST

"Then, 'how did you know me?'"

(29)

tyo keTi- laay usle haTaaw-na khoj- yo,
DIST.L girl DAT 3L.ERG ignore NOM try 3smL.PST

"He just tried to ignore her."

(30)

tara tyo keTi- le uslaay khas- era gaalaa-maa ek thappaD haan- i.
but DIST.Lgirl ERG3L.DAT tighten CP cheek LOCone slap hit 3sfL.PST

"But that girl just slapped him on the cheek, really hard (khas-era)."

(31)

ani chin- daynaaaphnaa baa- aamaa laay pani bhan- era keTi- le bhan- i.
then know NEG own.PL father mother DAT also say CP girl ERG say 3sfL.PST

"Then the girl said, 'Don't you even know your parents?'"

(32)

ani usle kathaataaw- na thaal- i.
then 3L.ERG story describe NOM begin 3sfL.PST

"Then she began to tell a story."

²The speaker considered the repetition of *bhan-era bhan-i* to have been an error.

(33)

baabu, ta ~ yle paThaa- i di- eko cakki khaa eko hunaale mero yasto haalat
dear 2L.ERG send AXLgive PP pill eat PP because 1s.GEN thus condition

bha- yo
be 3smL.PST

"Dear, Because I took the pill you sent, my condition became like this."

(34)

mayle na- patyaa-eko na- patyaa-era aadhaa cakki maathra khaa- eki thie ~ .
1s.ERGNEGtrust PP NEGtrust CP half pill just eat PP.fbe.1s.PST

"I took only half a pill because I didn't trust it."

(35)

tyo aadhaa cakki maathra khaa- eko hunaale ma mero aadhaa umer ghaT- era
DIST.Lhalf pill just eat PP because 1s 1s.GEN half reduce CP 1s

taruni keTi maa- e ~ .
young girl become 1sM.PST

"Because I ate only half the tablet I lost half my age."

(36)

tero baaw-le usle usko puraa cakki ra malaay paThaa- eko aadhaa
2L.GEN father ERG3L.ERG 3L.GEN whole pill and 1s.DAT send PP half

samet khaa- eko hunaale usko umer pure ghaT- era u cayne baccaa bha-eko
includingeat PP because 3L.GEN age completelyreduceCP 3L PRT child be PP

cha bhan- era bhan- i.
be2.3smL say CP say 3sfL.PST

"Because your father ate his pill and my half pill, he lost all his age and became a child."

(37)

yaso her- daata baaw-ta saano keTaa keTi jasto saano baccaa jastobhan- era
thusly look NF father FOCUS small boy girl like small child like say CP

bhwi ~ - maa khel- i rah- eko thiyo.
floor LOCplay AXLstand PP be.3smL.PST

"When he looked at her, his father was playing on the floor like a little child."

Alchi Maanche (Al)¹

(1)

yo katha- ko naam alchi maanche ho.
this story GEN name lazy person BE.3smL

"The Name of this story is the Lazy Man."

(2)

ekaades- maa ewTaa maanis thiyo.
one country LOC one man BE.3smL.PST

"In a country, there was a man."

(3)

tes- ko naam gobinde thiyo.
3L GEN name NAME BE.3smL.PST

"His name was Gobinde"

(4)

gobinde saaray alchi khaal- ko maanche thiyo.
NAME very much lazy type GEN person BE.3smL.PST

"Gobinde was a very lazy kind of person."

(5)

u kaam gar- na jaa ~-dayna thiyo.
3L work do NOM go NEG BE.3smL.PST

"He didn't used to go to work."

(6)

us- laay kaam gar- na man laag- dayna thiyo.
3L DAT work do NOM enjoyment strike NEG BE.3smL.PST

"He didn't like to work."

¹Recorded and transcribed (with the help of Min Bista) by Nicholas Kibre.

(7)

u kaam gar- na sak- ne khaal- ko maanche thiyo
3L work do NOM finish IP type GEN person BE.3smL.PST

"He was an able-bodied kind of man."

(8)

u balyo thiyo.
3L strong BE.3smL.PST

"He was strong."

(9)

tara us- laay kaam gar- na man laag- dayna thiyo.
but 3L DAT work do NOM enjoyment strike NEG BE.3smL.PST

"But he didn't like to work."

(10)

usle gaa ~ w- maa ga- era gaa ~ wle- haru- sangga
3L.ERG village LOC go CP villager PL COM

maag-era liaa- era khaa- ne gar- thyo.
beg CP bring CP eat IP do 3smL.PSTHAB

"He used to eat by going to the village, begging villagers for food and taking it to eat."

(11)

usle barsa ~ w barsa ~ w samma pani maag-era- nay jibikaa calaa- eko thiyo.
3L.ERG years years until also beg CP PRT living run PP be.3smL.PST

"He made his livelihood for years and years by begging."

(12)

ra maag-era- nay usle aaphnu jyu paal- ne kaam gar- thyo.
and beg CP EMPH 3L.ERG REFL life support IP work do 3smL.PSTHAB

"And by begging, he used to support himself."

(13)

us- kaa aaphanta-haru kehi thienan.
3L GEN.PL relative PL some BE.3pM.NEG.PST

"He didn't have any relations."

(14)

saano ghar thiyo, saano khetbaari thiyo.
small house BE.3smL.PST small plot BE.3smL.PST

"(He) had a small house, (he) had a small plot of land."

(15)

tara u tyo khetbaari- maa u kaam gar- dayna- thyo.
but 3L DIST.L plot LOC3L work do NEG 3smL.PSTHAB

"But he didn't work on that plot."

(16)

kinabhane maag-ne usko pesaa jastay bha-eko thiyo.
because beg IP 3L.GEN occupation as if be PP BE.3smL.PST

"Because it was as if begging had become his occupation."

(17)

uslaay maag- era khaa- eko laagi sajilo laag thiyo.
3L.DAT beg CP eat PP BEN easy strike BE.3smL.PST

"He was comfortable eating by begging."

(18)

tara u alchi maatra hoyna, u bahulatThi khaal- ko pani thiyo.
but 3L lazy just be1.3smL.NEG.PST3L careless type GEN also be.3smL.PST

"He was not only lazy but careless as well."

(19)

usle man- maa naanaa kisim-kaa tarka-haru kalpanaa- haru gar-era
3L.ERG heart LOCdifferent kinds GEN.PL debatePL imagination PL do CP

bas- thyo.
sit 3smL.PST.HAB

"He used to sit having different kinds of daydreams."

(20)

man- maa naanaa kisim-kaa kuraa- haru khel- aa- era ramaaw- ne
heart LOCdifferent kinds GEN.PL thing PL play CAUS CP enjoy IP

gar- thyo.
do 3smL.PSTHAB

"He enjoyed himself daydreaming"

(21)

yaste- maa ek din usle bihe gar- ne bihe gar-era ewTaa swaasni
meantime LOC one day 3L.ERG marriage do IP marriage do CP one woman

lyaa~w-ne kuraa so~c-yo.
bring IP thing think 3smL.PST

"Meanwhile, one day, he thought about marriage and about having a wife."

(22)

usle so~c-yo ki usle ewTi raamri keTi bihe
3L.ERG think 3smL.PSTCOMP 3L.ERG one.F good.F girl marriage

gar- ne- cha.
do FUT1- 3smL.PR

"He thought that he would marry a pretty woman."

(23)

ra tyo keTi- baaTa usko bihe hu- ne- cha.
and DIST.L girl ABL 3L.GEN marriage be- FUT1- 3smL.PR

tyo keTi- baaTa usko ewTaa baccaa hu- ne- cha.
DIST.L girl ABL 3L.GEN one child be- FUT1 3smL.PR.

"(False start) from that woman he would have a child."

(24)

baccaa raamro hu- ne- cha.
child good be FUT1 3smL.PR

"(He) would have a pretty baby."

(25)

baccaa-laay usle khel- aaw- ne- cha,
child DAT 3L.ERG play CAUS FUT1 3smL.PR

ra usko swaasni- le baccaa-laay, am, hurkaaw- ne- cha,
and 3L.GEN woman ERGchild DAT HES care for FUT1 3smL.PR

"He would help the baby play, and his wife would take care of the baby,"

(26)

ra dwi- janaa bic- maa saano saano jaagDaa hu- ne- cha.
and two HUM midst LOCsmall small fight be- FUT1 3smL.PR

"and there would be a fight between the two of them."

(27)

ettikay- maa so~c-daa so~c-day usko kalpanaa- maa u ekdaam
meantime LOC think NF think PRG 3L.GEN imagination LOC3L too much

risaa- yo.
get angry 3smL.PST

"In the meantime, while he was daydreaming, he got angry."

(28)

ra usle Thulo joD- le usko koThaako najikay rah- eko maaTo-ko
and 3L.ERG big force INST 3L.GEN room GEN near stand PP earth GEN

bhaa~Do laat lihekaa- yo.
pot kick hit 3smL.PST

"And he kicked a clay pot standing near him in the room."

(29)

maaTo- ko bhaa~Do- maa usle maag-era lyaaw- eko dheray saatu thiyo.
earth GEN pot LOC3L.ERG beg CP bring PP much saatu be.3smL.PST

"In that clay pot was a lot of saatu (roasted ground grain) that he had gotten by begging."

(30)

ra usle eti joD- le tyo maaTo- ko bhaa~Do- laay haan-yo
and 3L.ERG such force INST DIST.L earth GEN pot DAT hit 3smL.PST

ki tyo saaraa saatu phokh- i- negar- i ra tyo bhaa~Do phut- ne
COMP DIST.L all saatu spill PASS IP do AXL and DIST.Lpot break IP

gar- i tyo laat haan- eko thiyo.
do AXLDIST.Lkick hit PP be.3smL.PST

"He kicked the clay pot so hard that the that pot broke, spilling the saatu."

(31)

usle ra tesle gaDaakheri usko sampuNa maag-era lyaa- eko saatu- haru
3L.ERG and 3L.INST because of 3L.GEN all beg CP bring PP saatu PL

phokh- i- na ga- yo, ra usle tyo khaa- na paa- ena.
spill PASS NOM go 3smL.PST and 3L.ERG 3L eat NOM get 3L.NEG.PST

"Because of that all the saatu he'd gotten by begging was spilled and he didn't get to eat it."

(32)

tesayle usle kalpanaa jas- le swaasni jas- le aaphu-laay ta
subsequently 3L.ERG imagination REL ERG woman REL ERG REFL DAT FOCUS

paal- na sak- eko thiena.
support NOM finish PP BE.3smL.NEG.PST

"Thusly he was the one who was not even able to support himself."

(33)

swaasni ra baccaa paal- ne, samma pani usle kalpanaa gar- eko- le.
woman and child support IP until also 3L.ERG imagination do PP ERG

"Because he actually daydreamed about supporting a wife and baby,"

(34)

kalpanaa- maa Dhub- eko- le
imagination LOC submerge PP ERG

"submerging himself in thought,"

(35)

usle aaphu- le maag-era lyaa- eko sampuNa khaa- ne kuraagum- aaw- na
3L.ERG REFL ERG beg CP bring PP all eat IP thing loose CAUS NOM

par- yo.
have to 3smL.PST

"he had come to loose all of the food that he had gotten by begging."

Kwaa ~ Ti (Kw)¹

(1)

kaaThmaanDaw ~ -kaa newaar-haru naanaaprakaar-kaa parikaar-haru
Kathmandu-GENp Newar-PL different.types-GENp dish-PL

pakaa-era khaanaa-maa dheray prasidda chan.
cook-CP food-LOC very famous be2.3p

The Newars of Kathmandu are very famous for cooking and eating different kinds of dishes.

(2)

kwaa ~ Ti uni-haru-ko yoTaa priya khaanaa ho.
kwaa ~ Ti 3M-PL-GEN one favorite food be1.3smL

'Kwaa ~ Ti' is one of their favorite dishes.

(3)

yo khaanaa bisegari hyu ~ d maahinaa-haru-maa khaa-in-cha.
PROX.L food especially winter month-PL-LOC eat-PASS-3smL.PR

This food is eaten especially in the winter months.

(4)

tara saal-maa ek din kwaa ~ Ti khaa-ne din hun-cha jun din
but year-LOC one day kwaa ~ Ti eat-IP day be-3smL.PR which day

praaya sabay newaar-haru-kaa ghar-maa kwaa ~ Ti pakaa-in-cha.
almost all Newar-PL-GENp house-LOC kwaa ~ Ti cook-PASS-3smL.PR

But there is a kwaa ~ Ti-eating day in a year on which kwaa ~ Ti is cooked in the houses of almost all Newars.

(5)

aba ma yo khaanaa pakaaw-ne tarikaa-ko baare-maa
now 1s PROX.L food cook-IP procedure-GEN about-LOC

bataaw ~ -day-chu.
describe-PROG-1s.PR

Now I am telling about the procedures of cooking this food.

¹ This text was elicited without a tape recorder, simply narrated and recorded in a sentence-by-sentence fashion. Collected, glossed and translated by Elise Kärkkäinen.

(6)

kwaa ~ Ti-maa saat waa baDhi kisim-kaa geDaaguDi-haru
kwaa ~ Ti-LOC seven or more kind-GENp bean-PL

milaa-i-eko hun-cha.
mix-PASS-PP be-3smL.PR

In kwaa ~ Ti seven or more kinds of beans are mixed.

(7)

yo pakaaw ~ -daa sab bhandaa pahile geDaaguDi-laay ek haapta
PROX.L cook-SP all than first bean-DAT one week

bhandaa laamo samaye samma bhijaa ~ -in-cha.
than long time until soak-PASS-3smL.PR

While cooking this, first of all the beans are soaked for over a week.

(8)

esari bhijaaw ~ -daa geDaaguDi-haru-maa saanaa-saanaa
in.this.way soak-SP bean-PL-LOC small-REDUP

Tusaa-haru palaa-ekaa hun-chan.
sprout-PL come.out-PPpl become-3pM.PR

After they have been soaked in this way, very small sprouts begin to come out in the beans.

(9)

pakaaw-na suru gar-nu aghi masalaa-haru tayaar paar-in-cha.
cook-NOM beginning do-INF before spice-PL prepare cause-PASS-3smL.PR

Before the cooking begins, the spices are prepared.

(10)

es-maa khaasgari pyaaj lasun chyaapi ra aru dheray
this-LOC especially onion garlic onion and other very

masalaa-haru misaa-in-cha.
spice-PL mix-PASS-3smL.PR

In this, onion, garlic, [another type of] onion, and many other spices are mixed.

(11)

yo pakaaw ~ -daa suru-maa yoTaa gahiro bhaa ~ Do-maa tel
PROX.L cook-SP beginning-LOC one deep pot-LOC oil

haal-era tataa-in-cha.
put-CP heat-PASS-3smL.PR

While cooking this, in the beginning oil is put in a deep pot and heated.

(12)

tel khaar-i-e pachi masalaa-haru raakh-in-cha ra
oil heat-PASS-PP2 after spice-PL put-PASS-3smL.PR and

masalaa-laay kehi che ~ N samma taar-in-cha.
spice-DAT some moment until fry-PASS-3smL.PR

After the oil gets heated up to a boil, the spices are put in and the spices are fried for a moment.

(13)

ani bijaa ~ -i-ekaa geDaaguDi-haru pani tes-ma-y raakh-era
then soak-PASS-PPp bean-PL also DIST.L-LOC-EMPH put-CP

kehi ber samma pakaa-in-cha.
some time.period until cook-PASS-3smL.PR

Then the soaked beans are cooked for some time by putting them in the same pot.

(14)

jaba geDaaguDi-haru bhut-i-era raato dekh-i-na thaal-chan
when bean-PL roast-PASS-CP red see-PASS-NOM begin-3p.PR

ani bhaa ~ Do-maa taato paani raakh-in-cha.
then pot-LOC hot water put-PASS-3smL.PR

When the beans begin to look red after being fried, then some hot water is put in the pot.

(15)

ani tes-laay geDaaguDi-haru naram nahunjel samma pakaa-in-cha.
then DIST.L-DAT bean-PL soft until until cook-PASS-3smL.PR

And that is cooked until the beans are soft.

(16)

esari kwaa ~ Ti tayaar paar-in-cha.
in.this.way kwaa ~ Ti prepare cause-PASS-3smL.PR

In this way kwaa ~ Ti is prepared.

(17)

kahilekaa ~ hi kwaa ~ Ti-maa boso ra raato maasu pani raakh-i-eko
sometimes kwaa ~ Ti-LOC fat and red meat also put-PASS-PP

hun-cha.
become-3smL.PR

Sometimes fat and red meat are also put in the kwaa ~ Ti.

Bidesi (Bi)¹

(1)

aaja bhandaa aaja bhandaa karib saat barsa agaaDi ma yoTaa
today than today than about seven year before 1s one

projekt-maa kaam gar-na ga-eko thi-e~.
project-LOC work do-NOM go.PST-PP be.PST-1s.PST
About seven years ago from today, I had gone to work in a project.

(2)

tyo projekt ah -ko naam [XXX] thi-yo.
DIST.L project HES GEN name [deleted] be.PST-3smL.PST
The name of that project was [XXX].

(3)

tesko sadar mukaam [XXX]-maa cha.
3s.GEN central station [deleted]-LOC be2.3smL
Its headquarters are in [XXX].

(4)

tes projekt-ko daayrekTar-ko naam [XXX XXX] thi-yo.
DIST.L project-GEN director-GEN name deleted be.PST-3smL.PST
The name of the director of the project was [XXX XXX].

(5)

[XXX XXX] amerikaa-ko maanis thi-yo.
[deleted] America-GEN man be.PST-3smL.PST
[XXX XXX] was an American.

(6)

u garib des-haru-maa ga-era kaam gar-na icchya
3L poor country-PL-LOC go.PST-CP work do-NOM wish

gar-thyo

do-3smL.PSTHAB

He would prefer to work by going to poor countries.

¹ This text was collected, transcribed, glossed and translated by Elise Kärkkäinen. Proper names have been removed and replaced by [XXX].

(7)

nepaal-maa jaa-nu bhandaa agaaDi usle india-maa baanglaades-maa
Nepal-LOC go-INF than before 3s.ERG India-LOC Bangladesh-LOC

ra kenya-maa bas-era kaam gar-eko thi-yo.
and Kenya-LOC live-CP work do-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

Before going to Nepal, he had worked (living) in India, Bangladesh and Kenya.

(8)

tyo saaray mehanati saaray imaandaar ah khaal-ko maanche
DIST.L very laborious very honest HES kind-GEN man

thi-yo.

be.PST-3smL.PST

He was a hard-working, honest man.

(9)

ra jaba ma tyehaa ~ gaa-e ~ tyo mayle pahile dekhi gar-eko
and when 1s there go-1s.PST DIST.L 1s.ERG before since do-PP

kaam bhandaa ali beglay khaal-ko kaam thi-yo.
work than a.little.bit different kind-GEN work be.PST-3smL.PST

And when I got there, that job was different from the one I had done for a long time.

(10)

malaay sichaa-ko kaam-ko baaremaa yojanaa gar-nu
1s.DAT education-GEN work-GEN about plan do-INF

par-thyo.

must-3smL.PSTHAB

I had to plan for the education sector.

(11)

ah ra haami-haru dherayjaso kaaThmaandu bhandaa dheray TaaDhaa-ko
HES and 1p-PL mostly Kathmandu than very far-GEN

gaaw ~ -maa kaam gar-thyaw ~ .
village-LOC work do-1p.PSTHAB

We used to work mostly in a village very far from Kathmandu.

(12)

tyo karib kaaThmaanDu baaTa pandra bis maayl TaaDhaa
DIST.L about Kathmandu ABL fifteen twenty mile far

par-thyo holaa.
have.to-3smL.PSTHAB maybe
That village must have been located fifteen to twenty miles from Kathmandu.

(13)
dheray Daa ~ Daa-kaa ~ Daa-haru kholaa-haru Thaaw ~ nikay ramaaylo
very hill-thorn-PL stream-PL place very.much enjoyable

thi-yo.
be.PST-3smL.PST
Because there were lots of hills and forests and streams, the place was very enjoyable.

(14)
maanचे-haru dheray garib thi-e iskul-haru thi-enan.
man-PL very poor be.PST-3pM.PST school-PL be.PST-NEG.3pM.PST
The people were very poor, and there were no schools.

(15)
bijuli batti thi-ena baaTo thi-ena.
electricity lamp be.PST-NEG.3sL.PST road be.PST-NEG.3sL.PST
There were no electric lamps and no roads.

(16)
haamilaay nikay ber-samma ghanTaw ~ samma hi ~ D-nu
lp.DAT very.much time.period-until hours until walk-INF

par-thyo.
must-3smL.PSTHAB
We had to walk for a long time and for hours.

(17)
tyo DaayrekTar sangga hi ~ D-na-ko-laagi am ramaaylo hun-thyo
DIST.L director COMM walk-NOM-GEN-BEN HES fun be-3smL.PSTHAB

kinabhane uslaay nepaal-ko baaremaa dheray kuraa
because 3L.DAT Nepal-GEN about very information

thaahaa thi-ena nepaal-ko sanskriti
know be.PST-NEG.3sL.PST Nepal-GEN culture

thaahaa thi-ena bhaasaa thaahaa thi-ena.
know be.PST-NEG.3sL.PST language know be.PST-NEG.3sL.PST
It used to be fun to walk around with that director because he didn't know much about Nepal, didn't know the culture of Nepal, didn't know the language.

(18)

usle bharkhar-bharkhar nepaali bhaasaa bol-na
3s.ERG just.now-REDUP Nepali language speak-NOM

sik-day-thyo.

learn-PROG-3smL.PSTHAB

He had just begun to speak the Nepali language.

(19)

ah kahile ka ~ hi nepaali bol-daa kheri usle galti gar-thyo
HES when where Nepali speak-SP time 3s.ERG mistake do-3smL.PSTHAB

dheray coTi galti gar-thyo.

very time mistake do-3smL.PSTHAB

Sometimes he used to make mistakes while speaking Nepali, many times he used to make mistakes.

(20)

ek coTi mayle samjhan-chu jaba usle gaay-laay ah
one time 1s.ERG remember-1s.PR when 3s.ERG cow-DAT HES

aawnu bhayo bhan-era sambodhan gar-eko thi-yo.

come.H.PST say-CP address do-PP be.PST-3smL.PST

Once, I remember when he had addressed a cow saying "the cow came [high grade honorific]".

(21)

ani ma nikay haa ~ s-era gaaw ~ -kaa maanche-haru pani nikay
then 1s very.much laugh-CP village-GENp man-PL also very.much

haa ~ s-e.

laugh-3pM.PST

Then I laughed a lot and the villagers laughed, too.

(22)

arkaa-ko bhaasaa sik-daa kheri esto hu-ne sambhaawonaa
someone-GEN language learn-SP time like.this be-IP possibility

dheray hun-cha.

very be-3smL.PR

The possibility of this happening is great while you are learning someone's language.

Bhut-ko Kathaa (Bh)¹

(1)

yoTaa Thaa ~ w-maa yoTaa Thaa ~ w matlab kere dhaaraa
 one place-LOC one place HES PRT spring

paani bhan-ne Thaa ~ w-maa cahi ~ yoTaa maanche-ko goTh
 water say-IP place-LOC EMPH one man-GEN herd

rah-e-cha re.
 stay-PP2-3msL EVID

In a certain place -- a place, that is -- in a place called "spring water", there was a man's herd.

(2)

ani tyo goTh-maa ... kaam gar-ne m- maanche ab- tyo
 then DIST.L herd-LOC work do-IP FS man now that

goTh-maa goTh kur-ne maanche goThaalo bas-thyo
 herd-LOC herd attend-IP man herdsman live-3smL.PSTHAB

re.
 EVID

Then in that herd a worker ... in that herd the person who attends the herd -- the herdsman lived.

(3)

ani sadhay tyo goThaalo dyu ~ so aba dyu ~ so bhari
 then always DIST.L herdsman daytime now daytime full

gaaybastu li-era tyo caraaw-na jaa-ne.
 cattle take-CP DIST.L graze-NOM go-IP

Then the herdsman always took the cattle and went to graze them all day.

(4)

jangal-maa jaa-ne caraaw-ne.
 forest-LOC go-IP graze-IP
He went to the forest and grazed them.

¹ Narrated by a young Chetri woman of Kathmandu, in the fall of 1988. Recorded, transcribed, translated and glossed by Laura Crain.

(5)

ani tyas pachi belukaa phark-era aau-ne.
then DIST.L after evening return-CP come-IP

Then after that he returned in the evening.

(6)

ani gaay-ko dudh-le mahi-sahi paar-ne.
then cow-GEN milk-INST buttermilk-REDUP churn-IP

Then he churned buttermilk (and other things like it) with the cow's milk.

(7)

ani ghiu banaaw-ne raakh-ne gar-th-yo re.
then ghee make-IP put-IP do-3smL.PSTHAB EVID

Then he used to make ghee and he would put it aside.

(8)

ani ek din ta--
then one day EMPH

ani ek din ta tyo goThaalo tyastay belukaa
then one day EMPH DIST.L herdsman like.that evening

phark-era aa-era thakaay laag-era bas-i rah-eko.
return-CP come-CP tired feel-CP sit-AXL stay-PP

Then one day -- then one day the herdsman returned that same evening and he felt tired and was sitting down.

(9)

ani tyo mahi-sahi paar-era ghiu jhik-ne.
then DIST.L buttermilk-REDUP churn-CP ghee take.out-IP

Then he churned the buttermilk (and related things) and took out the ghee.

(10)

ghiu jhik-era raakh-- raakh-era ani "sut-a ~ w" bhan-era
ghee take.out-CP FS put-CP then sleep-HORT say-CP

laag-era yoTaa gajab-ko maanche aa-e-cha re
start-CP one remarkable-GEN man come-PP2-3smL EVID

Thulo maanche.

big man

Removing the ghee and putting it aside, then he started to go to sleep and a remarkable man came, a big man.

(11)

ani bhutla-y bhutlaa jiu bhari bhutla-y bhutlaa
then wool-EMPH wool body full wool-EMPH wool

bha-eko maanche aa-e-cha re.
be.PST-PP man come-PP2-3smL EVID
Then a man came with wool all over his body.

(12)

ani tyo saraasar bhitra aa-era ta "e ta~ ke gar-na
then DIST.L directly inside come-CP EMPH "oh 2L what do-NOM

laag-eko" bhan-era sodh-e-cha re.
start-PP say-CP ask-PP2-3smL EVID
Then he came straight inside, "Oh, what have you started to do?" he asked.

(13)

ani "sut-na laa-ko thakaay laag-yo sut-na laa²"
then sleep-NOM start-PP tired feel-3msL.PST sleep-NOM start(PP)

bhan-e-cha re.
say-PP2-3smL EVID
Then "I started to sleep, I'm tired, I started to sleep" he said.

(14)

tyo maanche-le "malaay kere tyo-- tyo ghiu ghas-de
DIST.L man-ERG 1s.DAT PRT DIST.L DIST.L ghee rub-give(IMP.L)

malaay ekdam thakaay laa cha
1s.DAT very tired feel(PP) be2.3smL

jiu dukh-i rah-e-cha." bhan-era bhan-e-cha.
body ache-AXL stay-PP2-3smL say-CP say-PP2-3smL

The man said: "Rub that ghee on me. I'm extremely tired. My body is aching. Rub on that ghee".

² The past participle forms with -eko often have interesting allomorphs which are phonologically reduced. Both *laako* and *laa* are reportedly reductions of *laageko*. Parallel reductions are *dieko* ~ *dyaa* 'give' and *bhaaeko* ~ *bhaako* ~ *bhaa* 'be'.

(15)

ani "la huncha" bhan-era aba ule soc-e-cha.
then well ok say-CP now 3L.ERG think-PP2-3smL
Then he said "Well, ok", but now he thought.

(16)

"yo pakkay bhut ho yatro baDaamaa maanche.
this truly ghost be1.3smL this.great gentleman man

yo dhaaraa paani-ko bhut bhan-the
PROX.L spring water-GEN ghost say-3p.PSTHAB

yehi holaa" bhan-era soc-era ani m--
this.one be1.3smL.FUT2 say-CP think-CP then FS

tyo ghiu ghas-di-e-cha re ulaay.
DIST.L ghee rub-give-PP2-3smL EVID 3sL.DAT

"This gentleman like this is truly a ghost. They say there is a Springwater ghost. Maybe it is this one" he thought, then he rubbed the ghee on him.

(17)

ani ghiu ghas-di-e pachi tyo phark-era ga-e-cha re.
then ghee rub-give-PP2 after DIST.L return-CP go.PST-3smL EVID
Then after rubbing on the ghee he went back.

(18)

ani tyo ghiu ghas-eko palk-era ta bholi dekhi
then DIST.L ghee rub-PP have.habit-CP EMPH next.day from

pani pheri bholipalTa pani aa-e-cha re.
also again next.day also come-PP2-3smL EVID

Then he got in the habit of having ghee rubbed on him, and from the next he came again the next day.

(19)

pheri bholipalTa pani tyasari nay "ghiu ghas-de"
again next.day also like.that PRT ghee rub-give(IMP.L)

bhan-era lagaa-e-cha re.
say-CP make-PP2-3smL EVID

Again the next day also like that he said "Rub the ghee on" and he made him.

(20)

ani gar-daa gar-daa ta kati mahinaa bitisak-e re
then do-SP do-SP EMPH how.many month spend-PP2 EVID
Then doing that on and on, how many (so many) months were spent.

(21)

kati mahinaa samma sa ~ dhay aawn-cha re.
how.many months until always come-3smL.NPST EVID
For so many months he always comes.

(22)

aaphu-laay thakaay laag-era sut-na laag-i rah-e-cha.
REF-DAT tired feel-CP sleep-NOM start-AXL stay-PP2-3smL
He himself felt tired and was about to sleep.

(23)

u aawn-cha
3sL come-3smL.NPST
He comes.

(24)

"ghiu ghas-de" bhan-cha re.
ghee rub-give(IMP.L) say-3smL.PR EVID
He says "Rub on the ghee".

(25)

ani gar-daa gar-daa ta ulaay ta ekdam ris
then do-SP do-SP EMPH 3L.DAT EMPH very anger

uTh-e-cha re.
rise-PP2-3smL EVID
Then doing this on and on, he became extremely angry.

(26)

ani ek din ta u janggal-maa ga-era ani khoTo tyo
then one day EMPH 3L jungle-LOC go-CP then pitch DIST.L

sallaa-ko khoTo jammaa paar-era thupro paar-era li-era
pine-GEN pitch all make-CP much make-CP take-CP

aa-era ani tyo khoTo pagaal-e-cha re.
come-CP then DIST.L pitch melt-PP2-3smL EVID
Then one day he went to the forest and then pitch, he collected pitch from pines and got a whole lot of it and taking it and coming then he melted the pitch.

(27)

aago-maa pagaal-era ani Thikka paar-era raakh-e-cha re.
 fire-LOC melt-CP then ready make-CP put-PP2-3smL EVID
He melted it on a fire then made it ready and put it aside.

(28)

ani sa ~ dhay yasto tyas-- aa-era tyasari nay pheri
 then always like.this that come-CP like.that EMPH again

dorah-e-cha re tyahi~ kuraa
 repeat-PP2-3smL EVID that.very thing
Then he always came like this, and again he repeated that very thing like that.

(29)

"ghiu ghas-de" bhan-era ani tyas pachi "la" bhan-era
 ghee rub-give(IMP.L) say-CP then that after "ok" say-CP

besmaari tyo khoTo daldi-e-cha re.
 strongly DIST.L pitch rub-PP2-3smL EVID
"Rub the ghee on me" he said, then after that, he said "Ok" and and he firmly rubbed on the pitch.

(30)

ani dald-yaa ta tyo maanche ta tyo maanche-le ta
 then rub-PP EMPH DIST.L man EMPH DIST.L man-ERG EMPH

sa ~ dhay kere aago aagena-ko aago nikaal-era sa ~ dhay
 always PRT fire fireplace-GEN fire take.out-CP always

"kati-ko laag-yo ki laag-ena" bhan-era
 how.much-GEN stick-3smL.PST or stick-NEG.3smL.PST say-CP

her-thyo re.
 look-3smL.PSTHAB EVID

Then rubbing the man, the man used to always take out fire from the fireplace and would always look to see how much stuck or didn't stick.

(31)

ani tyo Thaa ~ w-maa bijuli thi-ena.
 then DIST.L place-LOC electricity be.PST-NEG.3smL

Then there was no electricity in that place.

(32)

tyo aago-le her-nu par-ne.
DIST.L fire-INST look-INF must-IP

He must look using that fire.

(33)

tyasari her-e re.
like.that look-3smM.PST EVID

He looked in that way.

(34)

ani usko paalo tyahi aago-le tyahaa ~ salka-i di-e-cha
then 3L.GEN turn that fire-INST there ignite-AXL give-PP2-3smL

re.

EVID

Then his revenge, with that fire he ignited him.

(35)

ani tyo khoTo-maa aago laag-e pachi besmaari bal-cha
then DIST.L pitch-LOC fire touch-PP2 after strongly burn-3msL.PR

Then after he touched the fire to the pitch, he strongly flames up.

(36)

ani hwaar-hwaar bal-e-cha re.
then onom.-REDUP burn-PP2-3smL EVID

Then the fire burned "hwaar-hwaar".

(37)

tyas pachi tyahaa ~ baaTa bhaag-e-cha re.
that after there ABL flee-PP2-3smL EVID

Then after that, he ran away from there.

(38)

"la haay aaja dekhi dhaaraa paani-ko bhut laag-dayna.
well EXCL today from spring water-GEN ghost possess-NEG.3smL.PR

aba kasay-laay pani dhaaraa paani-ko bhut laag-dayna."
now someone-DAT also spring water-GEN ghost possess-NEG.3smL.PR

"From today the Springwater ghost will not possess anyone. Now nobody will be possessed by the Springwater ghost."

(39)

bhan-day **tyahaa ~** **baaTa** **karaa ~ w-day** **ru ~ -day** **karaa ~ w-day**
say-SP there ABL cry.out-SP cry-SP cry.out-SP

bhag-e-cha **re.**
flee-PP2-3smL EVID

He said that and he ran away from there screaming and crying and screaming.

(40)

ani **bhaag-era** **tyahaa ~ -baaTa** **karaa ~ w-day** **karaa ~ w-day** **bhaag-e-cha**
then flee-CP there-ABL cry.out-SP cry.out-SP flee-PP2-3smL

re.
EVID

Then running away screaming, screaming he ran away from there.

(41)

bhaag-e-cha **re.**
flee-PP2-3smL EVID

And ran.

(42)

bhaag-e-cha **re.**
flee-PP2-3smL EVID

And ran.

(43)

bhaag-e-cha **re.**
flee-PP2-3smL EVID

And ran.

(44)

ani **tyas** **pachi** **paa:::ra** **ewTaa** **Daa ~ daa-ko** **phedi-maa** **cahi ~**
then that after faaar.away one hill-GEN base-LOC EMPH

ewTaa **khaDkeriraha** **bhan-ne** **Thaa ~ w** **thi-yo** **re.**
one KhaDkeriraha say-IP place be.PST-3smL.PST EVID

Then after that, far, far away at the base of a hill, there was a place called KhaDkeriraha.

(45)

ani **tyo** **khaDkeriraha-ko** **bhut-haru-le** **cahi ~ karaa-e-cha** **re.**
then DIST.L KhaDkeriraha-GEN ghost-PL-ERG EMPH cry.out-PP2-3smL EVID

Then the ghosts of Khadkeriraha cried out.

(46)

"khaDkeriraha-maa haamphaal" bhan-eko, hoina ho ki?
KhaDkeriraha-LOC jump(IMP.L) say-PP be1.NEG.3smL be1.3smL or
They said "Jump in KhaDkeri Pond", isn't that right?

(47)

khaDkeriraha-ko bhut-haru cahi~ karaa-e-cha re.
KhaDkeriraha-GEN ghost-PL EMPH cry.out-PP2-3smL EVID
The ghosts of Khadkeriraha cried out.

(48)

"kaali gandaagi-maa haamphaal haamphaal" bhan-e-cha re.
Kaali Gandaki-LOC jump(IMP.L) jump(IMP.L) say-PP2-3smL EVID
They said "Jump, jump in the Kaali Gandaaki (river)".

(49)

ani u cahi~ tyahi~ kaali gandaagi-maa haamphaal-e-cha re.
then 3L EMPH there Kaali Gandaki-LOC jump-PP2-3smL EVID
Then he jumped there in the Kaali Gandaki.

(50)

ani tyas pachi tyo bhut cahi~ haamphaal-e-cha re.
then DIST.L after DIST.L ghost EMPH jump-PP2-3smL EVID
Then after that the ghost jumped.

(51)

ani selaa-e-cha re.
then extinguish-PP2-3smL EVID
Then he was extinguished.

(52)

siddh-yo.
finish-3smL.PST
It is finished.

Paraasar Risi (Pa)¹

(1)

paraasar risi hunuhunthyo.
paraasar risi be.H.PST
There once was Parasar Risi.

(2)

hoina?
be1.NEG.3smL.PR
Wasn't there?

(3)

paraasar risi hunuhunthyo.
paraasar risi be.H.PST
There was once Parasar Risi.

(4)

ani paraasar risi,
then paraasar risi

yesto-i purswattam mahinaa-maa,
like.this-EMPH purswattam month-LOC

¹ I would like to thank Carol Genetti for providing me with the opportunity to transcribe this text with her and Min Bista in Spring, 1993, and for her extensive help in editing both the glosses and translations of such a long text. I must also thank all the members of Prof. Genetti's Nepali Field Methods class that worked diligently on deciphering the grammar of Nepali and provided the basic transcription system and glossing conventions adopted in this text, as well as allowing me to sit in on many classes and contribute to the discussions when it was possible. Finally, I thank Min Bista for his wealth of patience in helping transcribe this and other Nepali texts.

The Parasaar narrative was told by a middle aged female speaker who is a resident of Dolakha, Nepal. It was recorded by Carol Genetti and Laura Crain in Dolakha, in January of 1988. It was transcribed in sessions with Min Bista and Carol Genetti in Spring, 1993, and glossed by the conventions worked out by the 1993 Nepali Field Methods class.

In addition, the Paraasar text has been broken into intonation units (IU) according to the basic principles outlined in Volume 4 of the Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics (1992), "Discourse Transcription" by DuBois, Schuetze-Coburn, Paolino, and Cumming. This system defines a unit of intonation as "...a stretch of speech occurring under a single unified intonation contour," drawing on prosodic cues of pitch, pause, length, and speed. Each intonation unit is placed on a separate line of the transcription; intonation units that cannot fit onto a single line are represented on two lines with the second line indented. DuBois et al (1992) outlines the identification of four categories of IUs: final (.), continuing (,), appeal (?), and truncation (--). The Paraasar narrative was segmented according to this system, and grouped into numbered prosodic "sentences" which begin following a final contour and end with a final contour. Stretches of the narrative which were difficult to hear were represented as "X"s in angled brackets (i.e. <XXXX>); each X indicates a separate syllable. The goal of this transcription is to present a text which would represent spoken Nepali as it is produced in intonation units.

"aba tirtha yaatra jaa-nu par-yo."
now pilgrimage journey go-INF must-3smL.PST

(And then), Paraasar Risi, like that in Purswattam month, "I must go on a pilgrimage."

(5)
bhan-era tirtha jaanubhaeko thiyo.
say-CP pilgrimage go.H.PP be.PST.3smL
He said and had gone on a pilgrimage.

(6)
paraasar risi.
paraasar risi
Parasar Risi.

(7)
tirtha jaa ~ -daa-kheri,
pilgrimage go-SP-while

ani kholaa tar-nu sak-inu ~ .
then river cross-INF can-NEG.HORT
While he was on his pilgrimage, he wasn't able to cross the river.

(8)
kholaa tar-nu na-sak-eko nay,
river cross-INF NEG-can-PP EMPH

ek janaa,
one QT

maajhi-ki chori,
ferryman-GEN.f daughter

macheri hunahunthyo.
macheri be.H.PST
Being unable to cross the river, there was a ferryman's daughter, Macheri.

(9)
ani macheri-le,
then macheri-ERG

maajhi-le bhan-e ki,
ferryman-ERG say-3M.PST COMP

"jaa chori,
go.IMP.L daughter

timi baalak chaw.
2M child be2.2M.PR

Then Macheri- the ferryman said, "Go daughter, you are still young."

(10)

wahaa ~ risi-ji -laay,
DIST.H risi-HON-DAT

paar tar-aa-i di-nu",
other.side cross-CAUS-AXL give-INF

bhan-era bhan-yo.
say-CP say-3smL.PST

"Help the Risi cross to the other side," he said.

(11)

ani "la ta" bhan-era,
then okay EMPH say-CP

chori baalak ga-era,
daughter child go.PST-CP

paar taar-nu ga-e-thyo.
other.side cross.CAUS-INF go.PST-PP2-3smL.PSTHAB

Then after saying, "Okay," the young daughter went there to help him cross the river.

(12)

paar taar-nu jaa ~ -daa-kheri,
other.side cross.CAUS-INF go-SP-while

ani wahaa ~ paraasar risi-le bhanubhayo ki,
then DIST.H paraasar risi-ERG say.H.PST COMP

"la,
okay

aajaa ta raamro din cha.
today EMPH good day be2.3smL.PR

While crossing, he, Paraasar Risi said, "Okay, today is a nice day."

(13)

timro ra mero ritidaan gar-nu par-yo".
2M.GEN and 1s.GEN intercourse do-INF must-3smL.PST
"You and I should have intercourse."

(14)

bhan-ne kuraa bhayo.
say-IP speech be.PST.3smL
This talk happened.

(15)

"hoina,
be1.NEG.3smL.PR

malaay ta laaj laag-cha.
1s.DAT EMPH shame feel-be2.3smL.PR
"No, I'm embarrassed."

(16)

ma jawaani pani hoina.
1s mature also be1.NEG.3smL.PR
I am not yet a woman.

(17)

ma keTaa keTi hu ~.
1s boy girl be1.1s.PR
I'm a child.

(18)

ma baalak hu ~.
1s child be1.1s.PR
I'm a kid.

(19)

ma yesto laaj laag-cha.
1s like.this shame feel-be2.3smL.PR
I am so embarased.

(20)

ma ritidaan gar-dina.
1s intercourse do-NEG.1s.PR
I will not have intercourse."

(21)

ma ekdam maachaa ganaaw-ne maajhi-ko chori hu ~.
1s very fish smell.bad-IP ferryman-GEN daughter be1.1s.PR
"I am the ferryman's daughter who smells very much like fish."

(22)

tapaay ~ yeti raamraa risi hunuhuncha".
2H such good risi be.H.PR
"You are such a good Risi."

(23)

bhan-daa-kheri,
say-SP-while

la,
okay

"aajaa raamro din cha".
today good day be2.3smL.PR
While she thus spoke, the Risi says, "Oh, today is a nice day."

(24)

"hoina,
be1.NEG.3smL.PR

malaay ta laaj laag-cha.
1s.DAT EMPH shame feel-be2.3smL.PR
"No, I'm embarrassed."

(25)

asaadhya laaj laag-cha" bhan-yo,
extremely shame feel-be2.3smL.PR say -3smL.PST

hagi.
you.know
Extremely embarrassed," she said, you know.

(26)

laala- laaj laag-cha bhan-e pachi,
FS shame feel-be2.3smL.PR say -PP2 after

"timro laaj ma chop-i di-u ~ laa".
2M.GEN shame 1s cover-AXL give-1s.FUT2
"If you are embarrassed, I will cover your embarrassment for you."

(27)

bhan-i sak-e pachi,
say-AXL can-PP2 after

yo baadal kuhiro,
PROX.L cloud fog

sappay baadal Thyaappa jammaa paar-i dinubhayo.
all cloud join.well all cause-AXL give.H.PST

After he said that, this cloud, fog, all the clouds he brought together for her.

(28)

paraasar risi jammaa paar-i di-i sak-e pachi,
paraasar risi all cause-AXL give-AXL can-PP2 after

maajhi-ki chori ra,
ferryman-GEN.f daughter and

wahaa ~ paraasar risi-ko,
DIST.H paraasar risi-GEN

ritidaan hunubhayo.
intercourse be.H.PST

After Paraasar Risi collected them together, the ferryman's daughter and Paraasar Risi had intercourse.

(29)

ritidaan bha-i sak-e pachi,
intercourse be.PST-AXL can-PP2 after

yoTaa raamro bacco,
one good boy

byaas-ji janmanubhayo.
byaas-HON be.born.H.PST

After they had intercourse, one nice boy, Byaas, was born.

(30)

byaas janm-i sak-e pachi,
byaas be.born-AXL finish-PP2 after

byaas-le bhan-e ki,
byaas-ERG say-3M.PST COMP

tyo **byaas** **utinkhera** **nay,**
DIST.L byaas right.away EMPH

u **tapasyaa-maa** **ga-i** **haal-yo.**
3L asceticism-LOC go.PST-AXL put-3smL.PST

As soon as Byaas was born, Byaas said, that Byaas, right away he went right into asceticism.

(31)

tapasyaa-maa **ga-i** **sak-e** **pachi,**
asceticism-LOC go.PST-AXL can-PP2 after

byaas-ji,
byaas-HON

"ani **timlaay,**
then 2M.DAT

kunay kaam-ko **aapad** **par-e** **dekhi** **malaay** **samjhaa-nu,**
any work-GEN trouble happen-PP2 since 1s.DAT remember-INF

hay **aamaa"** **bhan-e-thyo.**
okay mother say-PP2-3smL.PSTHAB

After going into asceticism, Byaas, "If you have any trouble for some reason, remember me, okay, Mom," he said.

(32)

"la.
okay
"Well

(33)

huncha" **bhan-yo.**
be.3smL.PR say-3smL.PST

Okay," she said.

(34)

u **pharkh-era,**
3L return-CP

kholaa **taar-era,**
river cross.CAUS-CP

paraasar risi ga-i sak-e pachi,
paraasar risi go.PST-AXL can-PP2 after

aaphna-i ghaar-maa aa-yo,
own-EMPH house-LOC come-3smL.PST

maajhi-ki chori.
ferryman-GEN.f daughter

After she helped him cross the river, Paraasar Risi left; she returned, came to her own house, the ferryman's daughter.

(35)

maajhi-ko chori baalako baalako-i bha-era,
ferryman-GEN daughter child child-EMPH be.PST.PST-CP

bas-daa bas-daa bas -daa.
stay-SP stay-SP stay-SP

While the ferryman's daughter continued to live there as a teenager.

(36)

ani ek din,
then one day

raajaa santanu hunuhunthyo.
raajaa santanu be.H.PST
Then one day there was Raajaa Santanu.

(37)

raajaa sanatanu,
raajaa santanu

ani,
then

usko cahi ~,
3L.GEN EMPH

pheri pahilaa-ki,
again previous-GEN.f

bihaa gar-eki ga ~ gaa debi-ki chori,
marriage do-PP.f ga ~ gaa god.f-GEN.f daughter

Thulo,
big

saano.
small

There are so many kinds of fish; big and small.

(43)

ebam parikaar-ko ga-yo".
also variety-GEN go.PST-3smL.PST
All kinds of fish went.

(44)

bhan-e dekhi,
say-PP2 since

"yo aamaa holaa,
PROX.L mother be.3smL.FUT2

yo baaw holaa,
PROX.L father be.3smL.FUT2

choraa holaa chori holaa,
son be.3smL.FUT2 daughter be.3smL.FUT2

jeThaa,
first

kaanchaa,
fourth

maaylaa,
second

saaylaa holaa".
third be.3smL.FUT2

After he said this "This must be the mother, this must be the father, this must be he son and the daughter. The first, second, third, forth, maybe.

(45)

bhan-dekhi,
say-since

"ma pani yesta-i bebahaari-maa bas-nu man laag-cha".
 1s also like.this-EMPH family.life-LOC stay-INF desire feel-3smL.PR
After saying this, "I also want to live in a family like this."

(46)
 bhan-era,
 say-CP

raajaa sanatanu-le bhanubhayo.
 raajaa santanu-ERG say.H.PST
So saying, Raajaa Sanatanu spoke.

(47)
 ani aa-era,
 then come-CP

aaphno khopi-maa,
 own room-LOC

aphsoc gar-era,
 regret do-CP

mukh andhyaaro gar-era,
 face darkened do-CP

basnubhaeko rah-e-cha,
 stay.H.PP stay-PP2-3smL.PR

raajaa sanatanu.
 raajaa santanu
And then he came and sat regretting in his own room, his face darkened and he was sitting there, Raajaa Sanatanu.

(48)
 ani choraa bhismaa aa-yo.
 then son bhismaa come-3smL.PST
And his son, Bhismaa came.

(49)
 "baa,
 father

ke aapad par-yo.
 what trouble happen-3smL.PST

"Father, what is troubling you?"

(50)

ke kuraa-ko baa-laay aapad par-yo,
what speech-GEN father-DAT trouble happen-3smL.PST

bhan-nus,"
say-IMP.H

bhan-yo.

say-3smL.PST

Please tell me what is troubling my father" he said.

(51)

hoina?

be1.NEG.3smL.PR

okay?

(52)

"arthok ta hoina.

anything EMPH be1.NEG.3smL.PR

"It's nothing."

(53)

ma bebahaari-maa,
1s family.life-LOC

dheray <X Newari Interlude X>.

very ***

In my family life I very [...]

(54)

dheray,

very

bisaya-maa ma bas-na man laag-yo",
subject-LOC 1s stay-NOM desire feel-3smL.PST

bhan-dekhin.

say-since.f

I want to live a life full of sexual and family experiences," he said.

(55)

"ani ko bihaa gar-ne ta baa",
then who marriage do-IP EMPH father

bhan-yo.

say-3smL.PST

Then who are you going to marry, Father?" he said.

(56)

"ti ~ dekh-yaa thi-e ~.
there see-PP be.PST-1s

Over there I have seen her.

(57)

yoTi maajhi-ki chori raamri".
one.f ferryman-GEN.f daughter good.f

One ferryman's daughter is beautiful.

(58)

"e tyo jaabaa ma maag-i haal-chu ni baa.
e DIST.L worthless 1s ask.for-AXL put-1s.PR PRT father

"Oh, that's nothing, I'll ask for her, Father."

(59)

tapaay ~ -le ke pir gar-nu par-yo ta".
2H-ERG what worry do -INF must-3smL.PST EMPH

There is no need for you to worry.

(60)

bhan-era,
say-CP

ani choraa,
then son

bhismaa-le,
bhismaa-ERG

maag-na ga-yo.
ask.for-NOM go.PST-3smL.PST

His son Bhismaa said this and then went to go ask for her.

(61)

maag-na jaa ~ -daa-kheri,
ask.for-NOM go-SP-while

"ta ~ ta ghaar-maa bas-era,
2L EMPH house-LOC stay-CP

sampati khaa-ne.
wealth eat -IP

While going to ask for her, [her father said] "You stay at the house and inherit our wealth.

(62)

mero chori bihaa gar-era di-e pachi ta,
1s.GEN daughter marriage do-CP give-PP2 after EMPH

pahilaa lyaa-eko bihaate ra lyaahaate huncha.
previous bring-PP wife and concubine be.3smL.PR

After I give you my daughter in marriage, there will be your first wife and your concubine.

(63)

ani tyas kaaran-le,
then DIST.L reason-NCAUS

mero chori-le cahi ~ sampati,
1s.GEN daughter-ERG EMPH wealth

naati-le cahi ~ sampati na-paaw-ne".
grandson-INST EMPH wealth NEG-receive-IP

So for that reason, my daughter and my grandson won't inherit anything."

(64)

"hoina.
be1.NEG.3smL.PR

"No.

(65)

malaay sampati nay caah-i-eko chayna.
1s.DAT wealth EMPH need-PASS-PP be2.NEG.3smL

I don't need any wealth.

(66)

yo raajya nay caah-i-eko chayna.
PROX.L kingdom EMPH need-PASS-PP be2.NEG.3smL

I don't need this kingdom.

(67)

tapaay ~-ko-i naati-laay,
2H-GEN-EMPH grandson-DAT

tapaay ~-ko-i chori-laay din-chu".
2H-GEN-EMPH daughter-DAT give-1s.PR
To your grandson and your daughter I will give it all. "

(68)

bhan-era,
say-CP

bhismaa-le bhan-yo.
bhismaa-ERG say -3smL.PST
So saying, Bhismaa spoke.

(69)

hoina.
be1.NEG.3smL.PR
"No.

(70)

tyasto kuraa maan -dina",
DIST.L speech agree-NEG.1s.PR

bhan-era "ma bhanda,
say-CP 1s than

saa ~ ci ma bhan-era",
true 1s say-CP

ani uni-haru-ko-i agaaDi nay,
then 3M-PL-GEN-EMPH before EMPH

pariwaar niyojan bhayo,
family birth.control be.PST.3smL

biSnu-ko.
Visnu-GEN

I don't agree with this talk. " I am right. " And right in front of the family he had a vasectomy.

(71)

ek **tyaagi** **brata,**
one renouncement fast

ek **pariwaar** **niyojan.**
one family birth.control

Bhismaa both renounced all and had a vasectomy.

(72)

usko-i **agaaDi** **bha-i** **sak -e** **pachi,**
3L.GEN-EMPH before be.PST-AXL finish-PP2 after

ani **maajhi-ki** **chori,**
then ferryman-GEN.f daughter

bihaa **gar-i** **di-yo,**
marriage do-AXL give-3smL.PST

santanu **raajaa-le** **bihaa** **gar-yo.**
santanu raajaa-ERG marriage do-3smL.PST

After having done this in front of them, the ferryman's daughter was given in marriage, and Raajaa Sanatanu was married.

(73)

bihaa **gar-i** **sak-e** **pachi,**
marriage do-AXL finish-PP2 after

ani **usko,**
then 3L.GEN

dwi-Taa **choraa** **citraangga** **bicitraangga** **janm-yo.**
two-QT son citraangga bicitraangga be.born-3smL.PST

After they were married, Citraangga and Bicitraangga were born.

(74)

tyas-ko **naw ~,**
DIST.L-GEN name

maajhi-ki **chori-ki** **naw ~,**
ferryman-GEN.f daughter-GEN.f name

machiganda **thiyo.**
machiganda be.PST.3smL

Her name, the ferryman's daughter's name was Machiganda.

(75)

machiganda baaTa,
machiganda from

satyabati raakh-yo,
satyabati put-3smL.PST

usko.

3L.GEN

Machiganda was given a new name Satyabati.

(76)

satyabati-le,
satyabati-ERG

ani dwi-Taa,
then two-QT

yoTaa citraangga bicitraangga bhan-ne choraa janm-yo.
one citraangga bicitraangga say-IP son be.born-3smL.PST
From Satyabati, two sons called Citraangga and Bicitraangga were born.

(77)

choraa janm-i sak-e pachi,
son be.born-AXL finish-PP2 after

dwi-Taa buhaari nay,
two-QT daughter.in.law EMPH

bihaa gar-e pani di-yo.
marriage do-PP2 also give-3smL.PST

After their sons were born, they were married to two daughter-in-laws.

(78)

buhaari-haru-laay.
daughter.in.law-PL-DAT
To daughter-in-laws.

(79)

dwi-Taa bihaa gar-i sak-e pachi,
two-QT marriage do-AXL finish-PP2 after

ani ke bhan-yo pheri,
then what say-3smL.PST again

la.
okay

sanatanu raajaa ta bit-i haal-yo.
santanu raajaa EMPH pass-AXL put-3smL.PST
After both of them were married, what happened, Raajaa Sanatanu passed away.

(80)
mar-i haal-yo,
die-AXL put-3smL.PST

santanu raajaa.
santanu raajaa
Raajaa Sanatanu died.

(81)
dwi-Taa choraa janm-i sak-e pachi.
two-QT son be.born-AXL finish-PP2 after
After his two sons were born.

(82)
ani e aba dwi-Taa choraa pani chan.
then e now two-QT son also be2.3M.PR
Now there were two sons.

(83)
santanu raajaa mar-i haal-yo.
santanu raajaa die-AXL put-3smL.PST
Raajaa Sanatanu died.

(84)
mar-i sak-e pachi,
die-AXL finish-PP2 after

yesto jawaani-maa choraa,
like.this mature-LOC son

buaa mar-yo.
father die-3smL.PST
After he died, the mature son (Bhismaa), his father died.

(85)
ani aamaa pani jawaani chan.
then mother also mature be2.3M.PR

And the mother was also young.

(86)

daay pani jawaani chan.
older.brother also mature be2.3M.PR
The older brother was also young.

(87)

"ini-haru raamro taal-ko ta hoina holaa.
3M-PL good behavior-GEN EMPH be1.NEG.3smL.PR maybe
"Maybe these people don't have good behavior" (said Citraangga and Bicitraangga.)

(88)

bhan-era,
say-CP

aaphay-le janm-aa-eko citraangga bicitraangga
self-ERG be.born-CAUS-PP citraangga bicitraangga

choraa-le sa ~ kaa gar-yo.
son-ERG suspicion do-3smL.PST

The sons who she herself had given birth to began to suspect her.

(89)

Thuli aamaa paTTi-ko choraa bhismaa ra,
big.f mother side-GEN son bhismaa and

aamaa paTTi sa ~ kaa gar-yo.
mother side suspicion do-3smL.PST

On the one hand they suspected the first wife's son Bhismaa, and on the other they suspected their mother.

(90)

sa ~ kaa gar-daa gar-daa gar-daa aakhiri,
suspicion do-SP do-SP do-SP finally

aamaa-laay suppay bha-eko arti-buddhi di-ne rah-e-cha.
mother-DAT all 3H.PST-PP lesson-wisdom give-IP stay-PP2-3smL.PR

bhismaa-le.

bhismaa-ERG

While they were suspecting, finally he gave his mother all of his wisdom.

(91)

aamaa-laay chu ~ -day na-chu-ne.
mother-DAT touch-EMPH NEG-touch-IP
Bhismaa would not even touch his mother.

(92)

ani aamaa khaaT-maa sut-i sak-e pachi,
then mother bed-LOC sleep-AXL finish-PP2 after

caTTa waDay di-era,
well blanket give-CP

aaphno bichawna-maa jaa-ne,
own bed-LOC go-IP

bhismaa.

bhismaa

Then after his mother went to sleep in bed, he nicely covered her with a blanket and Bhismaa went to sleep in his own bed.

(93)

"oho,
oho

na-chay-ne sa ~ kaa po gar-eko rah-e-cha,
NEG-need-IP suspicion PRT do -PP stay-PP2-3smL.PR

haami-le ta.
1p-ERG EMPH

"Oho! it seems that we had unnecessary doubts.

(94)

aamaa-ko daay-ko nimti.
mother-GEN older.brother-GEN sake

On the part of mother and older brother.

(95)

aakhir,
finally

haam-laay Thulo paap laag-laa daay",
1p-DAT big sin feel-3smL.FUT2 older.brother

bhan-era,
say-CP

citraangga bicitraangga-le man-maa citaa-yo.
citraangga bicitraangga-ERG mind-LOC think.about-3smL.PST
"In the end, brother, we have been sinful". So saying, Citraangga and Bicitraangga thought about this idea.

(96)
manmaa cita-i sak-e pachi,
idea think.about-AXL finish-PP2 after

"haare baagabaan.
oh God
After thinking about this idea, "Oh Lord!"

(97)
aba yo paap,
now PROX.L sin

kahaa ~ baaTa tar-in-cha,
where from relieve-PASS-3smL.PR

haamro daay.
1p.GEN older.brother
So from where can this sin be relieved -- our elder brother.

(98)
kun-laay sodh-ne.
which-DAT ask-IP
Whom should we ask?

(99)
aba sab bhanda jaan-ne sun-ne inay bhismaa hun.
now all than know-IP hear-IP 3M.EMPH bhismaa be.3M.PR
Now this Bhismaa is the most knowledgeable person.

(100)
inay-laay sodh-nu par-yo.
3M.EMPH-DAT ask -INF must-3smL.PST
We must ask him."

(101)

bhan-era,
say-CP

bhismaa-laay sodh-e.

bhismaa-DAT ask-3p.PST

Having said this, they asked Bhismaa.

(102)

sodh-i sak-e pachi,
ask-AXL finish-PP2 after

"oho,
oho

kosle gar-eko yo paap" bhan-daa,
who.ERG do-PP PROX.L sin say -SP

"khoi kalle gar-yo".

where who.ERG do -3smL.PST

After asking him, "Oho, who perpetrated this sin" he said, "Who? Who did it?"

(103)

bhan-era,
say-CP

ani uni-haru,
then 3M-PL

kaa ~ si-maa ga-era,
Banares-LOC go.PST-CP

dubay citraangga bicitraangga bhan-ne,
both citraangga bicitraangga say-IP

kaa ~ si-maa ga-era
Banares-LOC go.PST-CP

jal-era mar-yo.
self.immolate-CP die-3smL.PST

He said this, and they went to Kaa ~ si, both the people called Citraangga and Bicitraangga went to Kaa ~ si, lit themselves on fire and died.

(104)

mar-i sak-e pachi,
die-AXL finish-PP2 after

raajaa santanu-ko sampati thaam-ne chayna.
raajaa santanu-GEN wealth control-IP be2.NEG.3smL
After they died, there was no one to control Raajaa Sanatanu's wealth.

(105)

"ani ke gar-ne,
then what do-IP

yo raajaa kolle gar-cha.
PROX.L raajaa who.ERG do-be2.3smL.PR
"Then what should be done? Who will rule the kingdom?"

(106)

yo gaddi-maa ko bas -cha".
PROX.L throne-LOC who stay-be2.3smL.PR
Who will sit on the throne?"

(107)

bhan-ne,
say-IP

charchimeki-ko suppay-ko kuraa bhayo.
neighborhood-GEN all-GEN speech be.PST.3smL
So saying, the people in the kingdom talked like this.

(108)

"ani kasari ke gar-u~.
then how what do-HORT
"How and what should I do.

(109)

aba ehi bhismaa-laay gar-na lagaaw-nu par-cha",
now PROX.L bhismaa-DAT do -NOM cause-INF must-3smL.PR

bhan-daa bhismaa ta na-maan-ne.
say-SP bhismaa EMPH NEG-agree-IP
I must make Bhismaa do it." When it was put to Bhismaa, he would not agree.

(110)

uslaay raaje chayn-dayna.
3L.DAT kingdom need-NEG.3smL.PR
He doesn't want a kingdom.

(111)

gaddi-maa-i na-bas -ne.
throne-LOC-EMPH NEG-stay-IP
He won't sit on the throne.

(112)

u ta tyaagi brata hu-ne maanche,
3L EMPH renouncement fast be-IP man

bas-day bas-dayna.
stay-EMPH stay-NEG.3smL.PR
He's an ascetic who won't sit on the throne.

(113)

"aba ke gar-ne ta" bhan-daa-kheri.
now what do-IP EMPH say-SP-while
When they said "Now what should we do"

(114)

oho,
oho

kehi dukhaa par-daa-kheri u,
some trouble happen-SP-while 3s

choro pahile jaanm-eko,
son first born -PP

paraasar risi baaTa janm-eko cahi~,
paraasar risi from be.born-PP EMPH

byaas u pani uniharu dwi-janaa-laay maatra-i thaahaa cha.
byaas 3L also 3M.PL two-QT-DAT only-EMPH know be2.3smL.PR
Oho! While there was trouble, the son who was born first, the one born from Parasaar Risi, Byaas, there were only two people who knew about him.

(115)

aru kunay-laay thaahaa chayna.
other any-DAT know be2.NEG.3smL

No one else knew.

(116)

"tehi byaas-ji samjhaa-nu par-yo".
that byaas-HON remember-INF must-3smL.PST
"That Byaas must be remembered".

(117)

bhan-era,
say -CP

byaas samjh-yo.
byaas remember-3smL.PST
She said this and remembered Byaas.

(118)

"aamaa,
mother

ke aapad par-yo",
what trouble happen-3smL.PST

bhan-era,
say-CP

tehi satyaabatti-laay bhan-yo.
that satyaabatti-DAT say -3smL.PST
"Mother, what trouble has befallen," he said to this Satyabati.

(119)

bhan-e dekhi,
say-PP2 since

"her-a,
look-IMP.M

timro baa pani mar-yo.
2M.GEN father also die-3smL.PST
When he said this, "Look, your father has also died.

(120)

timro bhaay dwi-Taa pani,
2M.GEN younger.brother two-QT also

ahile kaa ~ si-maa ga-era,
now Banares-LOC go.PST-CP

dubay mar-yo.

both die-3smL.PST

Your two younger brothers went to Kaa ~ si and both of them also died.

(121)

buhaari-haru dubay bidhaawaani chan.
daughter.in.law-PL both widdows be2.3M.PR

Both of their wives are widows.

(122)

yo raajaa thaam-ne.
PROX.L raajaa control-IP

To control this country,

(123)

yo gaddi-maa bas-ne kohi chayna".
PROX.L throne-LOC stay-IP anyone be2.NEG.3smL

There is no one left to sit on the throne."

(124)

bhan-era,
say-CP

satyaabatti-le bhan-yo.
satyaabatti-ERG say-3smL.PST
Satyabati said.

(125)

byaas-ji-laay.
byaas-HON-DAT
To Byaas.

(126)

ani "etti-maa aamaa-le kina dhaanda maan-nu
then this.much-LOC mother-ERG why worry obey-INF

par-yo ta".
happen-3smL.PST EMPH

"Why must mother be so worried about only this much?"

(127)

<X> "santaan caahi-yo",
*** offspring need-3smL.PST

bhan-yo.

say-3smL.PST

"We need an heir," she said.

(128)

"lawta" **bhan-era,**
let's.do say -CP

"jaaw hay buhaari" **bhan-yo.**
go.IMP.M okay daughter.in.law say -3smL.PST
Saying "Let's do it", she said "Go, okay, daughter-in-law".

(129)

ani "jaaw hay buhaari" **bhan-e** **pachi,**
then go.IMP.M okay daughter.in.law say-PP2 after

ekdam **laaja-le** **eso** **mukh** **chop-era,**
very shame-INST like.this face cover-CP

jeThi **buhaari** **ga-yo.**
elder.f daughter.in.law go.PST-3smL.PST
After saying "Go, okay, daughter-in-law", hiding her face in great embarrassment, the elder daughter went.

(130)

ga-i **sak-e** **pachi,**
go.PST-AXL finish-PP2 after

aa ~ kaa **ciml-era** **ga-eko** **hunaa-le,**
eye squint-CP go.PST-PP be-because

aa ~ kaa-i **kaano** **dhirta** **raastra** **janm-yo.**
eye-EMPH one.eyed dhirta raastra be.born-3smL.PST
After she went, because she went with her eyes partially closed, one-eyed Dhirta Raastra was born.

(131)

dhirta **raastra** **janm-i** **sak-e** **pachi,**
dhirta raastra be.born-AXL finish-PP2 after

"law yoTaa kaano bhayo".

oh one one.eyed be.PST.3smL

After Dhirta Raastra was born, "Oh, this one became blind in one eye."

(132)

bhan-yo.

say-3smL.PST

they said.

(133)

ani pechi- pachi,

then FS after

arko cahi~ ,

other EMPH

buhaari paThaa-yo.

daughter.in.law send-3smL.PST

And then afterwards, the other daughter-in-law was sent.

(134)

arko cahi~ buhaari paThaa-i sak-e pachi,

other EMPH daughter.in.law send-AXL finish-PP2 after

tehi paanDub janm-yo.

that paandub be.born-3smL.PST

After sending the other daughter-in-law, that Pandub was born.

(135)

paanDub,

paandub

chirkaa chirkaa hu-ne paanDub janm-yo.

spot spot be-IP paandub be.born-3smL.PST

Pandub, spotted Pandub was born.

(136)

paanDub janm-i sak-e pachi,

paandub be.born-AXL finish-PP2 after

law,

oh

yoTaa paanDub janm-yo.
one paandub be.born-3smL.PST
After Pandub was born, oh, one Pandub was born.

(137)

ali na-raamro bha-yo.
a.little NEG-good be.PST-3smL
It was not so good.

(138)

ani tyas-pachi,
then DIST.L-after

nokari pani cha,
servant.f also be2.3smL.PR

ghartini.
house.servant
And then after this, there was also a servant from the Ghartini caste.

(139)

ghartini baaTa,
house.servant from

tyo pani paThaa-yo.
DIST.L also send-3smL.PST
That servant from the Ghartini caste was also sent.

(140)

ghartini pani paThaa-yo.
house.servant also send-3smL.PST
The house servant was also sent.

(141)

ghartini baaTa,
house.servant from

janm-eki pheri,
be.born-PP.f again

bidur janm-yo.
bidur be.born-3smL.PST
Born from the house servant, Bidur was also born.

(142)

aba ghartini paTTi,
now house.servant side

bidur-laay raaje di -u~.

bidur-DAT kingdom give-HORT

"Now we could give the kingdom to Bidur, a Ghartini.

(143)

nokari-ko choraa bha-yo.

servant.f-GEN son be.PST-3smL

He was the son of a servant.

(144)

eti paTTi,

this side

kaano bhayo.

one.eyed be.PST.3smL

On the other hand, he is blind in one eye.

(145)

dhirta raastra.

dhirta raastra

Dhirta Raastra.

(146)

"tehi paanDub-laay-nay raaje di-u~".

that paandub-DAT-EMPH kingdom give-HORT

So we could give the kingdom to that Pandub.

(147)

santanu raajaa-le.

santanu raajaa-ERG

Raajaa Sanatanu (did ?)."

(148)

tyas-laay raajya di-i sak-e pachi,

DIST.L-DAT kingdom give-AXL finish-PP2 after

"aba gar-ne ke ta".

now do-IP what EMPH

After giving him the kingdom. "Now what to do?"

(149)

bhan-era,
say -CP

ani,
then

uni-haru,
3M -PL

sikaar **khel-na,**
hunt play-NOM

jaa ~ -daa-kheri,
go-SP-while

mirga bhan-era **maar-daa-kheri cahi ~,**
deer say-CP kill-SP-while EMPH

tehi risi,
that risi

silinga **risi,**
silinga risi

phelaa **paar-yaa rah-e-cha,**
find cause-PP stay-PP2-3smL.PR

garbhiNi.
pregnant.one

Then when they went hunting, when they killed something, thinking it was a deer, they found that it was Silinga Risi in the form of a pregnant deer.

(150)

ani tehi risi cahi ~,
then that risi EMPH

saraap **par-eko,**
curse happen-PP

<XX> **silinga risi-ko saraap par-eko hunaa-le,**
*** silinga risi-GEN curse happen-PP be-because

uni-haru,
3M-PL

paanDub-ko ra,
paandub-GEN and

tehi swaasni caahi ~ ko,
that wife EMPH GEN

uni-haru dwi janaa-ko kunti-ko,
3M-PL two QT-GEN kunti-GEN

ritidaan bhaena.
intercourse be.PST.NEG.3smL

Then that risi put a curse on them. Because they had Silinga Risi's curse on them, they, Pandub and his wife Kunti, the two of them couldn't conceive a child.

(151)

yoTaa-i wachyaan-maa bas -nu bhaena,
one-EMPH bed-LOC stay-INF be.PST.NEG.3smL

uni-haru.
3M-PL

They weren't able to sleep in the same bed.

(152)

tyasari bas-era,
that.way stay-CP

uni-haru kaa ~ si ga-era bas -yaa thiyo.
3M-PL Banares go.PST-CP stay-PP be.PST.3smL

Living like that, they went to Kaa ~ si and stayed there.

(153)

dhirta raastra-ko santaan-le lakhet-era,
dhirta raastra-GEN offspring-ERG banish-CP

duryodhaan-le.
duryodhaan-ERG

Dhirta Raastra's child Duryodhan expelled them.

(154)

kaa ~ si-maa,
Banares-LOC

bas-daa bas-daa bas-daa,
stay-SP stay-SP stay-SP

ani,
then

aba gar-ne ke.
now do-IP what

And they went and lived in Kaa ~ si for a long time, "Now what to do."

(155)

bhan-daa-kheri,
say-SP-while

haam-laay santaan caahi-yo,
1p-DAT offspring need-3smL.PST

bhan-era,
say-CP

dwi janaa-ko salla bho.
two QT-GEN confer be.PST.3smL
Saying this, they conferred saying "We need heirs."

(156)

salla bha-i sak-e pachi,
confer be.PST-AXL finish-PP2 after

la,
okay

huncha ta,
be.3smL.PR EMPH

<X> bhan-yo.
*** say-3smL.PST
After conferring, they said "okay".

(157)

ani pahilaa,
then first

yudhisThir maahaa-raaj bolaawnubho.
yudhisThir great-king call.H.PST

And first they called YudhisThir Maahaaraaj.

(158)

yudhisThir maahaa-raaj bolaa-i.
yudhisThir great-king call-3sfL.PST
She called YudhisThir Maahaaraaj (to her).

(159)

ani yudhisThir maahaa-raaj janm-yo.
then yudhisThir great-king be.born-3smL.PST
And YudhisThir Maahaaraaj was born.

(160)

dharmaraaj paTTi,
dharmaraj side

dharmaraaj bolaa-era,
dharmaraj call-CP

yudhisThir janm-yo.
yudhisThir be.born-3smL.PST
From the side of Dharmaraj, they called Dharmaraj and YudhisThir was born.

(161)

pheri,
again

baayu bolaa-yo,
air.god call -3smL.PST

bhimsyen janm-yo.
bhimsyen be.born-3smL.PST
Again she called Baayu, and Bhimsen was born.

(162)

pheri indramaahaaraaj bolaa-yo,
again indramaahaaraaj call -3smL.PST

arjun janm-yo.
arjun be.born-3smL.PST
Again she called Indra Maahaaraaj, and Arjun was born.

(163)

ani tyas-pachi,
then DIST.L-after

arjun janm-i sak-e pachi,
arjun be.born-AXL finish-PP2 after

"timi-laay ta pug-yo.
2M-DAT EMPH enough-3smL.PST

And after this, after Arjun was born, "That's enough for you."

(164)

timro bahini-laay pani chaahin-cha".
2M.GEN younger.sister-DAT also need-3smL.PR

"Your sister also needs heirs."

(165)

bhan-era bhanubhayo.
say-CP say.H.PST

(?) said.

(166)

ani "la ta,
then okay EMPH

huncha" bhan-era,
be.3smL.PR say-CP

ani maatri-laay pani,
then maatri-DAT also

"la timi-le pani mantraa,
okay 2M-ERG also mantra

japa,
chant

santaan huncha".
offspring be.3smL.PR

And she said "okay", and also to Maitri "You also chant mantras and will get children."

(167)

bhan-era,
say-CP

aswini kumaar,
aswini kumaar

bolaa-i sak-e pachi,
call-AXL finish-PP2 after

ani sahakul nahakul janm-yo.
then sahakul nahakul be.born-3smL.PST
After calling Aswini Kumar then Sahakul and Nahakul were born.

(168)

ani tehi baccaa-haru khelaawn-day khelaawn-day
then that child -PL raise-SP raise-SP

kaa ~ si-maa-i bas-daa bas-daa bas-daa,
Banares-LOC-EMPH stay-SP stay-SP stay-SP

pyaaTTa ek din maatri-le,
suddenly one day maatri-ERG

paanDub-laay-nay chu-i-eko rah-e-cha.
paandub-DAT-EMPH touch-PASS-PP stay-PP2-3smL.PR
Then raising and raising these children, staying in Kaa ~ si a while, suddenly one day, Maitri happened to touch Pandub.

(169)

caTTa chu ~ -daa paanDub mar-i haal-yo.
well touch-SP paandub die-AXL put-3smL.PST
As soon as she touched him, Pandub died.

(170)

saraap par-i-yaa thiyo.
curse happen-PASS-PP be.PST.3smL
There was a curse on him.

(171)

paanDub mar-i sak-e pachi,
paandub die-AXL finish-PP2 after

ani "la ta,
then okay EMPH

didid,
older.sister

ma sati jaan-chu.
1s sati go-1s.PR

After Pandub died, she said, "Sister, I am going to do 'sati'.

(172)

ma sati jaan-chu,
1s sati go-1s.PR

jahaan sangga,
spouse COMM

yo pa ~ ch-ay goTaa choraa pani didi-le
PROX.L five-EMPH QT son also older.sister-ERG

aaphno-i choraa jasto gar-nus.
own-EMPH son like do-IMP.H

I'm going to do 'sati' with my husband, these five sons, Sister, treat them like your own sons.

(173)

samjhi-nus".
remember-IMP.H
Remember. "

(174)

bhan-e pachi,
say-PP2 after

pa ~ ch-ay goTaa syahaar gar-era,
five-EMPH QT care do-CP

aa-era,
come-CP

us-laay,
3L-DAT

hasTinaapur-maa ta thiena ghaar di-ena,
hasTinaapur-LOC EMPH be.PST.NEG.3smL house give-NEG.3smL.PST

duryodhaan-ko santaan,
duryodhaan-GEN offspring

dhirta **raastra-ko** **santaan-le** **di-ena,**
dhirta raastra-GEN offspring-ERG give-NEG.3smL.PST

duryodhaan haru-le.
duryodhaan PL-ERG

After she said it, caring for the five of them, she came but she didn't have a house in HasTinaapur. They didn't give her one. Duryodhaan's heirs, Dhirta Raastra's heirs didn't give her one, Duryodhaan's group.

(175)

ani **indraprastha** **bhan-ne** **thaw ~ -maa,**
then indraprastha say -IP place-LOC

uni-haru **bas-yo.**
3M-PL stay-3smL.PST

And in a place called Indra Prastha they stayed.

(176)

tehi **bas-era** **pani,**
that stay-CP also

"ta ~ laay **bas-nu** **di-nna** **di-nna",**
2L.DAT stay-INF give-NEG.1s.PR give-NEG.1s.PR

bhan-era,
say-CP

duryodhaan-le **dukhaa di-yo.**
duryodhaan-ERG trouble give-3smL.PST

Even though they stayed there, Duryodhaan gave them much trouble, saying "I won't let you stay here."

(177)

indraprastha-maa **bas-daa** **bas-daa** **pani,**
indraprastha-LOC stay-SP stay-SP also

ani **uni-haru-le,**
then 3M-PL-ERG

ekdam **sipaalu** **thiyo** **sikaar** **khel-na.**
very skillful be.PST.3smL hunt play-NOM

When they were staying in Indra Prastha there was one skillful at hunting.

(178)
arjun.
arjun
Arjun.

(179)
sikaar khel-na jaa ~ -daa jaa ~ -daa-kheri,
hunt play-NOM go-SP go-SP-while

ani dropati,
then dropati

paa-era,
acquire-CP

wahaa ~ dropur raajaa-ko chori,
DIST.H dropur raajaa-GEN daughter

dropati,
dropati

egya ~ gar-eko thaw ~ -maa,
ritual do-PP place-LOC

nisk-era,
emerge-CP

ani maathi her-era,
then up look-CP

baaN haan-ne,
arrow shoot-IP

tala paani-maa maachaa.
down water-LOC fish

While he was hunting he found Dropati, she was the daughter of King Durupath, Dropati, she came out of the place of rituals, and looking up, he shoots the arrow, below in the water, there were fish.

(180)
paani-maa kuwaa-maa maachaa cha.
water-LOC well-LOC fish be2.3smL.PR
In the water in a well there were fish.

di-yo,
give-3smL.PST

arjun-laay-nay.
arjun-DAT-EMPH

Then, after he made the fish fall down, they married Dropati to him, to Arjun.

(186)

arjun-laay bihaa gar-era di-i sak-e pachi,
arjun-DAT marriage do-CP give-AXL finish-PP2 after

mayle ani lyaa-era tyo pa ~ch-ay waTaa pati pani
1s.ERG then bring-CP DIST.L five-EMPH QT husband also

maan-era bas-yo.
agree-CP stay-3smL.PST

After having married her to Arjun "I..." they brought her and Dropati stayed and considered the five of them to be her husbands.

(187)

dropati-le.
dropati-ERG
Dropati did.

(188)

yahaa ~ samma pug-yo.
here up.to enough-3smL.PST
Up to this point, enough.