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VOLUME 6:

ASPECTS OF NEPALI GRAMMAR

Edited by Carol Genetti

Dept. of Linguistics
University of California, Santa Barbara

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First and foremost, our deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Min Bahadur Bista, who served as our informant for the Field Methods course during the 1993-94 academic year, and who continues to give us the benefit of his knowledge and intuition. Dr. Bista proved to be an ideal linguistic informant, bringing multiple levels of insight to the task. In addition to his intuitions as a native speaker about subtle semantic and pragmatic distinctions, he proved to be knowledgeable about the historical development of his language, and also had a keen awareness of subtle sociolinguistic distinctions. In addition to these qualities, the class benefitted greatly from his patience, his sense of humor, his enthusiasm about his native language and country, and his willingness to work at odd hours and on weekends, despite his own busy academic schedule and full family life. On this last note, we would also like to extend our gratitude to his family, particularly to Mrs. Rajeswari Bista, who was always helpful and supportive of our efforts.

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.

We would also like to express our appreciation to two other scholars who participated fully in our course. Dr. Arthur Schwartz was ever an interested participant, and contributed his experience and knowledge of language through many insightful comments. Ms. Dagmar Jung, a visiting scholar from Germany, also participated actively, worked with the consultant regularly, and provided the class with glossed and translated texts.

sabaylaay haamro dhanyawaat dinchāw!
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AXL</td>
<td>auxiliary linker (-i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be1</td>
<td>copula <em>hunu</em> w/ initial <em>h</em>- in present tense</td>
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<td>benefactive</td>
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<td>COMM</td>
<td>commitative</td>
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<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
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<td>CP</td>
<td>conjunctive participle (-era)</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal</td>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
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<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID</td>
<td>hearsay evidential particle (re)</td>
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<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FS</td>
<td>false start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future 1 (-ne-cha)</td>
</tr>
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<td>FUT2</td>
<td>future 2 (-laa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>high-grade honorific</td>
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<td>imperative</td>
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<td>INF</td>
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<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>imperfective participle (-ne)</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>mid-grade honorific</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer (-na)</td>
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<tr>
<td>onom.</td>
<td>onomotapoeia</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
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<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Perfective participle (-eko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>Perfective participle 2 (-e)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Privative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive (aspectual -day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>Progressive (aspectual -day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSTHAB</td>
<td>Past habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Simultaneous participle (-daa, -day)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations of Text Names**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Text Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lo</td>
<td>Lobhi Kukur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>Kickanne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh</td>
<td>Kharab keTo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>Haa ~ so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al</td>
<td>Alsi Maanche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>Kwaa ~ ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi</td>
<td>Bidesi</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bh</td>
<td>Bhut ko Kathaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>Paraasr Risi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tx1,2...</td>
<td>Unpublished text collected in class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 forth 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)  
\begin{align*}
   p & \{p\} & t & \{t\} & t & \{T\} & ts & \{c\} & k & \{k\} \\
   p^h & \{ph\} & t^h & \{th\} & t^h & \{Th\} & ts^h & \{ch\} & k^h & \{kh\} \\
   b & \{b\} & d & \{d\} & d & \{D\} & dz & \{j\} & g & \{g\} \\
   b & \{bh\} & d & \{dh\} & d & \{Dh\} & dz & \{jh\} & g & \{gh\}
\end{align*}

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' | chaa-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   | n   | \{N\} |
    | velar       | \n  | \{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.
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}     r²  {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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ɪ {i}</th>
<th>ɪ̄ {ī}</th>
<th>u {u}</th>
<th>ū {ū}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e {e}</td>
<td>ē {ē}</td>
<td>o {o}</td>
<td>ō {ō}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a {aa}</td>
<td>ā {aā}</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā {ā}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>khip</th>
<th>'safety pin'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khep</td>
<td>'trip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khap</td>
<td>'tolerate, bear pain' (imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khaap</td>
<td>'overlap' (imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khop</td>
<td>'vaccination'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khup</td>
<td>'very'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pairs which contrast the oral and nasal phonemes include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>baas</th>
<th>'shelter'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uTh</td>
<td>'stand' (imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awlo</td>
<td>'malaria'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hī̄ saa</td>
<td>'animal sacrifice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baā s</td>
<td>'bamboo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ū T</td>
<td>'camel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aw̄ lo</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hisaap</td>
<td>'account, reckoning'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ghum-chu</td>
<td>ghum-ē</td>
<td>ghum-ūlāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ghum-chaw ~</td>
<td>ghum-yaw ~</td>
<td>ghum-aw ~ laa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,m,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-chas</td>
<td>ghum-is</td>
<td>ghum-laas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,f,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-ches</td>
<td>ghum-is</td>
<td>ghum-lis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,m, MGH</td>
<td>ghum-chaw</td>
<td>ghum-yaw</td>
<td>ghum-awlāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,f, MGH</td>
<td>ghum-chew</td>
<td>ghum-yaw</td>
<td>ghum-awli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,p,m/f, MGH</td>
<td>ghum-chaw</td>
<td>ghum-yaw</td>
<td>ghum-awlāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,m,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-chə</td>
<td>ghum-yo</td>
<td>ghum-laa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,f,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-che</td>
<td>ghum-i</td>
<td>ghum-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,m, MGH</td>
<td>ghum-chan</td>
<td>ghum-e</td>
<td>ghum-lāan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,f, MGH</td>
<td>ghum-chin</td>
<td>ghum-in</td>
<td>ghum-līn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,p,m/f, MGH</td>
<td>ghum-chan</td>
<td>ghum-e</td>
<td>ghum-lāan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HGH</td>
<td>ghum-nuhuncha</td>
<td>ghum-nubhayo</td>
<td>ghum-nuholaā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ghum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LGH</td>
<td>ghum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH</td>
<td>ghum-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HGH</td>
<td>ghum-nuhos / ghum-nus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ghum-dayna</td>
<td>ghum-ina</td>
<td>na-ghum-ʊlaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ghum-daynaw ~</td>
<td>ghum-enaw ~</td>
<td>na-ghum-aw ~ laa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,m,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-daynas</td>
<td>ghum-inas</td>
<td>na-ghum-laas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,f,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-daynes/-dinas</td>
<td>ghum-ines</td>
<td>na-ghum-lis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,m,MGH</td>
<td>ghum-daynaw</td>
<td>ghum-enaw</td>
<td>na-ghum-awlaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,s,f,MGH</td>
<td>ghum-dinew</td>
<td>ghum-inaw</td>
<td>na-ghum-awli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,p,m/f,MGH</td>
<td>ghum-daynaw</td>
<td>ghum-enaw</td>
<td>na-ghum-awlaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,m,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-dayna</td>
<td>ghum-ena</td>
<td>na-ghum-laa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,f,LGH</td>
<td>ghum-dayne/-dine</td>
<td>ghum-ina/-ine</td>
<td>na-ghum-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,m,MGH</td>
<td>ghum-daynan</td>
<td>ghum-enan</td>
<td>na-ghum-laan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,s,f,MGH</td>
<td>ghum-daynin/dinan</td>
<td>ghum-inan</td>
<td>na-ghum-lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,p,m/f,MGH</td>
<td>ghum-daynan</td>
<td>ghum-enan</td>
<td>na-ghum-laan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HGH</td>
<td>ghum-nuhūdayna</td>
<td>ghum-nubhaena</td>
<td>na-ghum-nuhola</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imperative**

- LGH na-ghum
- MGH na-ghuma
- HGH na-ghumnuhos / na-ghumnus
ghum-nu 'to walk around; to travel' Past Habitual Paradigm

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

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.
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'.

(15)  

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

---

5 We 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 casemaker -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.
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-enay
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) **Kx**
    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:
Then he churned the buttermilk, etc., and took out the ghee.

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):

And the tiger ate all of Raame’s livestock.

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
jii 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.
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:

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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 rah-e-cha.**
    suddenly one day Matri-ERG Pandub-DAT touch-PASS-PP
    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) \[ \text{[tyo goThaalo [[dyu~so bhari gaaybastu li-era],\text{CL.CH}[\text{caraaw}],\text{ADV.CL-na}} \text{ jaane]} \]

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) \[ \text{[dyu~so bhari gaaybastu [li-era],\text{CL.CH}} \text{ caraaw],\text{ADV.CL-na}} \]

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

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.

References


Appendix: Some References on Nepali Linguistics

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On Dative ‘Subject’ Constructions in Nepali

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1 Introduction

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
pas-yo.
3L.DAT much-EMPH thirst feel-3smL.PST and one village-LOC
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

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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 EXPERENCER 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)
\text{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)
\text{ani uslaay bhok pani laag-eko thi-yo, ....}
then 3L.OAT hunger also feel-PP be2.3smL.PST
‘Then, he was starving, ....’

(5) \text{malaay raksi laag-yo.}
1s.DAT wine feel-3smL.PST
‘I am intoxicated.’

(6) \text{malaay jaaDo laag-eko cha.}
1s.DAT cold feel-PP be2.3smL
‘I am cold.’

(7) \text{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 thaaaha
3L.DAT Nepal-GEN about many thing knowledge
thi-ena nepaal-ko sanskriti thaaaha
be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST Nepal-GEN culture knowledge
thi-ena bhaasa thaaaha 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 ahiile samma tyo kathaa-ko samjhanaa cha.
3M.DAT now up.to DIST.L story-GEN memory be2.3smL
‘She still rememrs 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 choraa-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

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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, e.g., 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. **khabar sun-era ma chakka par-e-.**
   news hear-CP 1s amazement happen-1sm.PST

   b. **khabar 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 (e.g., *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 (e.g., in imperative constructions), only the Direct counterpart is acceptable. When the denoted events are more likely to be understood as nonvolitional (e.g., ‘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.**  
   Is.DAT shyness feel-3smL.PR

b. **ma lajaaw chu.**  
   Is .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) (AI)  
**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.’
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 kathaa* ‘interesting story’. Furthermore, in these constructions, the DATIVE case on the EXPERIENCER may alternate with the BENEFATIVE case -ko laagi when the verb is a copula *hu-nu*.

In (38), all lectures 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 BENEFATIVE case, as shown in (39).

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 BENEFATIVE. 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)
\[
\text{us-laay jyaad-ay tirkhaa laag-yo, ra yoTaa gaaw--maa pas-yo.}
\]

3L.DAT much-EMPH thirst feel-3smL.PST and one village-LOC 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 *khaaneekuraa* ‘food’:

(41) (Hari 1973:19)
\[
\text{ani tyo baagh-le bhan-yo, aba raajaa bha-e pachi malaay khaaneekuraa caahin-cha.}
\]

then DIST.L tiger-ERG say-3smL.PST now king become.PST-PP2 after ls.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.

52
(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 thaaaha**
3L.DAT Nepal-GEN about many thing knowledge
**thi-ena nepaal-ko sanskriti thaaaha**
be.PST-NEG.3smL.PST Nepal-GEN culture knowledge
**thi-ena bhaasaa thaaaha 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.*
uslaay kaam gar-na man laag-dayna-thiyo.
3L.DAT work do-NOM desire feel-NEG-3smL.PSTHAB
'He did not like to work.'

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’.

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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-norninalization**: ne-norninalizations 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)

animalaay 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.'
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 histrical story-DAT is 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 honorific grade. What controls verb agreement in DSCs is a SOURCE NP as shown in the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(i) malaay dheray kathaa-haru thaahaa cha/*chan.} \\
\text{Is.DAT many story-PL knowledge be2.3smU*be2.3pM} \\
\text{'I know many stories.'} \\
\text{Note, however, that the SOURCE in this case can optionally take an OBLIQUE case marking, while the SOURCE NPs which control verb agreement can not take any case marking.} \\
\text{(ii) uslaay dheray kuraa-ko baaremaa thaahaa cha.} \\
\text{3L.DAT many thing-GEN about knowledge be2.3smL} \\
\text{'He knows many things.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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-vo/*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 story-ABL many thing knowledge

   **bha-vo/*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’.

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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-chay.
1s.DAT REF.GEN.EMPH car need-3smL.PR
‘I need my own car.’

c. malaay aaphno des-ko baaremaa dheray kathaa-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.  
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) (AI)

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

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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 baai rah-ek.  
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) (Al) uslaay kaam gar-na man laag-dayna-thiyo.
3LDAT 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. 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 (1985).

(69) (Wallace 1985b:125)

a. sitaa / *sitaa-le ru-na thaal-in.
   Sita / Sita-ERG cry-NOM start-3stM.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.
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.

(70)  
\[
\text{mayle maasu khaa-na thaal-e- / laag-e-}.
\]

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)  
\[
\text{(Ki)}
\]

ra usko baaw-laay usko sarir-ko baaremaa swaasthya-ko baaremaa

and 3LGEN father-DAT 3LGEN 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)  
\[
\text{malaay uni man par-na } \text{thaal-in / laag-in.}
\]

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 ‘EQUI’ 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-.  
   Is.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-3stM.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 Is.DAT Is.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-.  
   Is Is.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
Is.ERG Raam-DAT DIST.L man
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~.
Is.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

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\(^{11}\) 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 Is.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 ciij 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 summerizes the behaviors of EXPERIENCER, SOURCE, and SENSATION
NPs in Nepali DSCs in terms of the subject properties discussed in the previous sections.

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

Table 1: Subject properties in DSCs

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. 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. 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. 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.

\[\text{15 The fact that word order goes along with the behavior properties in the split is in fact functionally motivated (see 5.2 below).}\]

\[\text{16 The term ‘topic’ is used here to mean ‘what is talked about’}.\]
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. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Given</th>
<th>Identifiable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXPERIENCER</td>
<td>100% (30/30)</td>
<td>76.7% (23/30)</td>
<td>93.3% (28/30)</td>
<td>100% (30/30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>20% (3/15)</td>
<td>0% (0/15)</td>
<td>33.3% (5/15)</td>
<td>26.7% (4/15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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\(^{17}\) 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 (e.g., 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DS Predicate</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Structural type</th>
<th>Case for Source</th>
<th>Direct Counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### A. Physical sensations/conditions
- bhok laag-nu
- cilaaw-nu
- coT laag-nu
- jaaDo laag-nu
- nidraa laag-nu/par-nu
- raksi laag-nu
- thakaay laag-nu
- tirkhaa laag-nu

#### B. Sickness
- awlo laag-nu
- dukh-nu
- jaro hu-nu/aaw-nu
- khoki laag-nu
- rughaa laag-nu

#### C. Psychological states
- aananda hu-nu
- aascaria laag-nu
- acamma laag-nu
- chakka laag-nu
- cintaa hu-nu
- Dar laag-nu/hu-nu
- garba laag-nu
- haa~so laag-nu
- irsyaa laag-nu
- kasto kasto laag-nu
- khusi laag-nu
- laaj laag-nu

---

(bhokaaw-nu
-thaak-nu
tirkhaaw-nu
-chokka par-nu
-Daraaw-nu (-dekhi/sita)
garba gar-nu (-dekhi)
haa~s-nu
irsyaa gar-nu (-ko)
khusi hu-nu
lajaaw-nu)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Word(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pir par-nu</td>
<td>worry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-dekhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ris uTh-nu/aaw-nu</td>
<td>get angry</td>
<td>1, 5</td>
<td>-dekhī/sītā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangkāa laag-nu</td>
<td>suspect</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-māa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāram laag-nu</td>
<td>feel nervous</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāram laag-nu</td>
<td>feel ashamed</td>
<td>1, (5)</td>
<td>(aaphāy-sītā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukhā hu-nu</td>
<td>be happy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udaas laag-nu</td>
<td>be sad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**D. Conscious states**

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<tr>
<td>bhram hu-nu</td>
<td>have false idea</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyaan hu-nu</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaanakaari hu-nu</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō baaremaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruci laag-nu/hu-nu</td>
<td>be interested in</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-māa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samjhanāa aaw-nu/hu-nu</td>
<td>remember</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaahaa hu-nu</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>4, 6</td>
<td>jaan-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaad aaw-nu</td>
<td>remember</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**E. Desire/needs**

<table>
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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Word(s)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aabasyaktāa hu-nu</td>
<td>need</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aasaah hu-nu</td>
<td>hope</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caahi-nu</td>
<td>need</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>caaha-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icchyyāa hu-nu</td>
<td>have desire</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaa-co hu-nu</td>
<td>need</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lobh laag-nu</td>
<td>become greedy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man laag-nu</td>
<td>want to</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>caaha-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man par-nu</td>
<td>like (to)</td>
<td>4, 6</td>
<td>man paar-nū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rahar laag-nu/hu-nu</td>
<td>have desire, be interested</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F. Happenings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Word(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)ber/Dhilo hu-nu</td>
<td>be late</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu-nu</td>
<td>happen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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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)
\[
\text{mayle/*ma kaam gar-e-}~\text{1s.ERG/*1s work do-1s.PST}
\]
'I did the work'

(2) (Wallace 1985: 37)
\[
\text{mayle/*ma kaam gar-eko thi-e-}~\text{1s.ERG/*1s work do-PERF be.PST-1s.PST}
\]
'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)
\[
\text{ma/mayle kaam gar-chu}~\text{1s/1s.ERG work do-1s.PR}
\]
'I do the work'

(4) (Wallace 1985: 37)
\[
\text{ma/mayle kaam gar-day-chu}~\text{1s/1s.ERG work do-PROG-1s.PR}
\]
'I am doing the work'

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

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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{-i} (word-finally and before vowels and semivowels) or \textit{-in} (before consonants) to the verb root of any verb, thus changing its valence. For example, the active transitive verb \textit{gar-cha} 'does' is made passive in \textit{gar-in-cha} 'is done' and \textit{gar-i-yo} 'was done'. It is also possible to add this suffix to some

\textsuperscript{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, *(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 *(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 \textit{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 \textit{i(n)} construction that appears to change the meaning and valence of the verb.

I hypothesize that the \textit{i(n)} construction in Nepali fulfills the function of agent demotion or agent downgrading very clearly. There is then reason to suspect that the \textit{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

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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

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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'
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).
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.

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

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg NP</td>
<td>55 (65.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl NP (or several NPs)</td>
<td>14 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg + -laay</td>
<td>13 (15.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No explicit patient</td>
<td>2 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 bheTTaaincha 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 masala-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

masala-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 masala-haru raakh-in-cha ra
oil heat-PASS-PP2 after spice-PL put-PASS-3smL.PR and

masala-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 kwaa~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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>True passive</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impersonal passive</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiguous(^6)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.** Proportions of different types of i(m) 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). 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 praayajas'o 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.
Now I will mainly tell how paddy is harvested in my village.

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.).

The first nine days our goddess is worshipped.'

'The first day of that is called "flower pot establishing."'

'We first put grass in and worship it.'
It is worth noting that quite a few of the animate referents were also of this general kind (e.g. *kukurlaay puja ga rincha* 'the dog is worshipped). Only two human referents were quite specific, such as *tyo keTî* '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td>progr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg NPs</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl NPs &amp; -laay marked NPs</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No patient NP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72 (84.7%)</td>
<td>12 (14.1%)</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 3s$m$L 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 - \textit{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.
References


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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun + gar-nu</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anurod gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to request&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aayojana gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to organize&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baani gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to make a habit of&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bancit gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to deprive&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandaa gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to realize&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaapaar gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to do business&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicaar gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to decide, to think&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihe gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to marry&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramaan gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to visit&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to thresh&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukha gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to have troubles&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galti gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to make a mistake&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GhosaNaa gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to declare&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haasil gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to achieve&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hataar gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to hurry&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JhagaDaag gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to quarrel&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaam gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatam gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to destroy, finish&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khoji gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to search&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosis gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to try&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuraa gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to talk&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladaay gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to fight&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maayaa gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to love&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahasus gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to realize&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naas gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to destroy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nene gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to decide&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NerNayo gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to decide&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokari gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to serve&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paar gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to cross&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paas gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to pass (a test)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paksapaat gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to show favoritism&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pariog gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to test&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phon gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to phone&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragati gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to make progress&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramaanit gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to prove&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prastut gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to present&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to love&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pujaa gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to worship&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rekhdekh gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to supervise&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rtiidaan gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to have intercourse&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saasan gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to rule&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahi gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to sign&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salla gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to hold counsel&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambodhan gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to address&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samparka gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to contact&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santos gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to be satisfied&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snaan gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to bathe&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suru gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to begin&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swikaar gar-nu</td>
<td>&quot;to accept&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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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."

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 unacceptable\(^2\); 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 *sru*, 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

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

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

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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* is 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
   "At that time I worked for a project (called...)"

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

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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)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{yo} & \text{peT} & \text{caa~y} & \text{ni} & \text{haamro... kehi} & \text{kaam} & \text{pani} \\
\text{PROX.L} & \text{stomach} & \text{EMP} & \text{EMP} & \text{1p.GEN} & \text{some} & \text{work} & \text{also}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{gar~dayna}
\]

\[
\text{do} & \text{NEG.3smL.PR}
\]

"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)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{timile} & \text{kaam} & \text{gar~i} & \text{rah~ekaa} & \text{chaynaw,}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{2M.ERG} & \text{work} & \text{do} & \text{AXL} & \text{stay} & \text{PP.P} & \text{be.NEG.2pM.PR}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{timile} & \text{gar~i} & \text{rah~ekaa} & \text{chan}.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{3M.ERG} & \text{do} & \text{AXL} & \text{stay} & \text{PP.P} & \text{be.3pM.PR}
\end{array}
\]

"You're not working, they are."

(5) (elicited)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{timile} & \text{uslaay} & \text{phon} & \text{gar~ne~chaynaw,}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{2M.ERG} & \text{3L.ERG} & \text{phone} & \text{do} & \text{FUT1} & \text{NEG.2pM.PR}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{mayle} & \text{gar~ne~chu}.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{1s.ERG} & \text{do} & \text{FUT1} & \text{1s.PR}
\end{array}
\]

"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)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{uni~haru} & \text{jhagaDaa} & \text{ra} & \text{ladaay} & \text{gar~e}.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{3M PL} & \text{quarrel and fight} & \text{do} & \text{3M.PST}
\end{array}
\]

"They quarrelled and fought."

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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)

usahaan... 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.
"It began a new practice of direct rule."

"In this village we had to do development work about drinking water, about education, about agriculture, about different subjects."

"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) (Al)
usle kalpanaa gar-eko-le
3L.ERG imagination do PP ERG
"because he daydreamed"

(16) (Bi)
kahilekaahi nepali 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".

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(19) (Al)
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
1sERG 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 aytthaasik 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."
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 netrito 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 unnai-k 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- 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- e.
    PROX.P theory PL proof do PASS 3pM.PST
    "The theories were proven."

(32) (elicited)
    ma mero haakim- dwaaraa samparka gar- e~.
    1s 1s.GEN boss by contact do PASS 3pM.PST
    "I was contacted by my boss."

(33) (elicited)
    ghar- haru naas gar- 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)

\[
\text{tyo aaymaay- le gilaas raakh- eko Tebal puraano cha.}
\]
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 idiosyncracy, 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.
List of Works Cited


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 ~ v 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!*

¹I would like to thank Carol Genetti for invaluable comments on earlier versions of this paper. Thanks are also due to Sandra Thompson and to the members of the Field Methods class: Kumiko Ichihashi, Dagmar Jung, Elise Kärkkäinen, and Nick Kibre. None of these individuals should be held responsible for my misuse of their advice.
(2) (Elicited)
\textbf{ma ghur-day sut-chu}
I snore-DAY sleep-1s.PR
\textit{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 \textit{daa} and \textit{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.

\textbf{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 knowlege 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 *daal/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)

\[ ma \ \text{pasal-maa} \ \text{ga-era} \ \text{caamal kin-era} \ \text{ghar-maa} \ \text{aa-era} \ \text{bhaat pakaa-era} \]
\[ 1s \ \text{store-LOC} \ \text{go-PST-CP} \ \text{rice} \ \text{buy-CP} \ \text{house-LOC} \ \text{come-CP} \ \text{rice} \ \text{cook-CP} \]
\[ \text{pADh-na} \ \text{bas-e} \]
\[ \text{read-NOM} \ \text{sit-Is.PST} \]
\[ \text{I went to the store, bought rice, came home, cooked rice, and sat down to read.} \]

The recurring suffix \textit{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 \textit{base}~‘sit’, which bears these finite markings. The pronoun \textit{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 \textit{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 unchallengable 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)
\[
\text{kophi khaa---daa mero jibro pol-yo}
\]
coffee eat-DAA 1s.GEN tongue burn-3smL.PST
\text{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)

\textit{kophi khaa--daa kheri mero jibro pol-yo}

\textit{coffee eat-DAA when 1s.GEN tongue burn-3smL.PST}

\textit{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:
While eating rice, I found a rock (in the rice).

Sometimes he used to make mistakes while speaking Nepali, many times he used to make mistakes.

When mountain climbing they serve as guides and as carriers, and they bring goods from Kathmandu or take goods from here to Kathmandu.

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

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 lyaaawne '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 *doo* AS A LINKER OF SEPARATE EVENTS

In each of examples (11)-(15), it is clear that the predicate bearing the *doo* 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 *doo*-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 *caDdoo*, ‘when climbing’. This could be an instance of different subjects, or perhaps the impersonality of the *doo*-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 *doo*-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 *doo*-clauses and their linked finite predicates seem, then, to make up about one-half of the total occurrences of *doo*-clauses.

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

Thus:

(16) (Elicited)

\[
\text{chaana baaTa khas-doo usko ghu} \sim \text{Daa bhaa} \sim \text{c-i-yo}
\]

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 postponing 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)
\(\text{yo pakaa} \sim \text{w-daa sab-bhandaa pahile g} \text{DaaguDi-laay ek haptaa}\)
\(\text{PROX.L cook-DAA all-than first bean-DAT one week}\)

\(\text{bhandaa laamo samaye samma bijaa} \sim \text{in-cha}\)
\(\text{than long time until soak-PASS-3smL.PR}\)
When (one is) cooking this, first of all the beans are soaked for over a week.

(20) = (14) (Kh 11)
\(\text{bhare tyaa} \sim \text{pug-daa ta baagh aa-eko thi-ena}\)
\(\text{however there arrive-DAA EMPH tiger come-PP be.PST-NEG.2sm}\)
However, when they arrived there, the tiger had not come.

(21) (Pa 24)
\(\text{maajhiko chori baalako baalak-ay bha-era bas-daa}\)
\(\text{ferryman daughter child child-EMPH be.PST-CP stay-DAA}\)

\(\text{bas-daa bas-daa ani ek din raajaa santanu hunuhunthyo}\)
\(\text{stay-DAA stay-DAA then one day Raajaa Santanu be.H.PST}\)
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):

\[ (22) = (4) \text{(Ku 19)} \]
\[
\text{tesayle dheray lobhi ban-daa kheri aaphu sangga bha-eko cij pani}
\]
therefore very greedy become-DAA when REFL COMM be.PST-PP thing also

\[
gumaaaw-nu par-da-cha
\]
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.

\[ (23) \text{ cf. (14) & (20) (Elicited)} \]
\[
\text{bhare tyaa-~ pung-daa ta kheri baagh aa-eko thi-ena}
\]
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.

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

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)
\texttt{baccaaa samaa - w-day meri srimaati-le khaana pakaa-in}
baby hold-DAY 1s.GENF wife.ERG dinner cook-3sfM.PST
\textit{Holding the baby, my wife cooked dinner.}

(25) (Acharya 1991:212)
\texttt{subhadraa-le aa - su jhaar-day bhan-in}
S.-ERG tear shed-DAY say-3sfM.PST
\textit{Shedding tears, Subhadraa said:}

(26) (Elicited)
\texttt{jati jati ma khaa - -day gaa-e - teti teti mayle}
the.more 1s eat-DAY go-1s.PST the more 1s.ERG
\texttt{dhungaa bheTTaa - w-day gaa-e -}
rocks find-DAY go-1s.PST
\textit{The more I kept eating, the more I kept finding rocks.}

(27) (Elicited)
\texttt{ma khaa - -day hi - D-day gar-e -}
1s eat-DAY walk-DAY do-1s.PST
\textit{I walked and ate at the same time.}

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

3.1 THE SYNTACTIC STATUS OF \textit{day}-MARKED VERBS

The syntax of \textit{day}-marked verbs is very different from that of verbs with \textit{daa}.

Whereas the latter clearly constitute dependent clauses, the status of verbs with \textit{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: \( S O_1 V_1 V_2 (O_2) \).

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’.

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*I 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.*

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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
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
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 coTe usle baagh aa-vo baagh aa-vo**

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).
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-AVL put-3sm.L.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

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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 preceeding 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)
\begin{verbatim}
sikaar khel-na jaa ~ daa jaa ~ daa kheri ani dropati paa-era
\end{verbatim}
hunt play-NOM go-DAA go-DAA when then Dropati acquire-CP

*While he was hunting, then he "acquired" 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.
References


Lobhi Kukur (Lo)

1. This is a story of a greedy dog.

2. The title of this story is 'Greedy Dog'.

3. Once, one dog went out in search of food.

4. He was walking.

5. While walking, he found a dead animal on the path.

6. Then he was starving.

7. And he began to eat that dead animal.

8. When he was eating the animal, many other dogs arrived there.

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1 Recorded, transcribed (with the assistance of Min Bista), and glossed by Kumiko Ichihashi-Nakayama.
And they also tried to eat that dead animal.

But, because the dog was very strong, he did not let other dogs eat (the animal).

He did not even let (them) come close to it (=the animal).

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.

While going, he had to cross a river on his way.

When he had arrived in the middle of the river, he looked into the water.

As he looked into the water, he saw another dog holding a piece of meat in his mouth and looking at him.
He thought, that piece of meat is very nice and he should get that piece of meat from the other dog by snatching it.

In the meantime, he tried to get that dog's meat by attacking him.

But as he had tried to get that meat, he dropped the piece of meat which was in his mouth.

And his piece of meat flowed away in the water.

And in fact what he had seen in the water was not another dog but his own reflection.

Therefore, if one becomes very greedy, s/he might lose the thing s/he already possesses. This is what we know from this story.
This is a very popular story in Kathmandu.

Once upon a time, there was a son of rich man.

He was a kind of boy who was very good and serious.

His age was about 22. 20 or 22.

That boy used to like loneliness.

He would want to spend time by sitting all alone for hours without going to play with his friends.

Sometimes, he would spend his time by going to the stream, by going to the river.

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1 Recorded, transcribed (with the assistance of Min Bista), and glossed by Kumiko Ichihashi-Nakayama.
Once, doing just that, he was walking along the Bagmati River.

He saw one beautiful girl.

The girl was very beautiful.

He liked that girl.

And he talked with that girl.

He liked that girl even more after he talked with her.

And that girl also looked like being attracted to him.

And they decided to meet at the stream in the evening almost everyday.
And they kept meeting for several days.

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.

He was not able to invite that girl in front of his parents.

He told the girl to come to his room at night.

And the more he became attracted to the girl, the more that boy began to become thinner.
His body went on becoming very thin.

He began to become emaciated.

And his father began to worry very much about his body, about his health.

And once, his parents called for a medicine man in order to find out what happened to their son.

And the boy was being attracted to the girl.

The girl would come to his room in the evening every day.

And (she) used to go (away) coming out of the room before the dawn.

He used to spend night with that girl.
On the other hand, (his) parents were very anxious about his body.

And after the medicine man was called, the medicine man began to study exorcisms and different kinds of things.

And, later, the medicine man talked to the boy in order to find out many things about that girl.

In the beginning, the boy didn't agree.

Afterwards, the medicine man told the boy to tie a cord, a small thread to that girl’s leg.

It was important to find out who that girl was.
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.

(He) tied a cord to the girl’s leg.

The girl did not notice (it).

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.

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.
And in this way, there is a myth known in Kathmandu that girls that died at a (young) age later become 'Kickanni' (female goast).
In one country, there was a boy named Raame.

His age was about nine or ten years.

Raame didn’t used to go to school.

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

Raame was the kind of boy who was cunning, joking and a little bit misleading.

While going to graze cows everyday, Raame used to tempt his friends.

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.
Then, when he shouted, saying 'A tiger came, a tiger came,' it could be heard by all the people of the village.

Then, the villagers were very frightened.

Because there was fear that the tiger could eat their cows and goats.

Then, having heard that, all the people of the village got there, running.

When they got there, however, the tiger had not come.

Only Raame had said 'A tiger came, a tiger came.' to fool them.

Then the men, the villagers, went back to their home being angry with him.
tesko kehi din pachi, raame pheri gaay caraaw-na janggal-maa
gae-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.

usko mijas saaray ThaTTaalu ra saaray haawDe khaal-ko
thi-yo.
be.PST-3smL.PST
His nature was a kind of very joking and very unreliable.

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.'

ani gaaw-le-haru-le tyo sun-e.
then villager-PL-ERG that hear-3pM.PST
Then the villagers heard that.

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.

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.

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.
But in fact, the tiger had come that day.

And the tiger ate all of Raame's cows and goats.

Raame ran and barely saved his own life.

The story ended right here.
Haa ~ so-ko Tukraa (Tu)

(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 bidhyaarthis haru bides maakay maatraa maa paDh-na
Nepal ABL student PLA foreign LOC great number LOC read NOM
jaan- chan.
go 2pM.PR

"Students go abroad from Nepal to study in large numbers."

(3) 
ek patak ewTaa keyTaa 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.
"In England, after working diligently in the laboratories, he made a small pill."

"After eating this pill a man's age would decrease tremendously."

"Even the aged would become young."

"But he had not tested the pill on anyone."

"He had tested it on animals."

"After making that pill,"

"Anyone did not say AXL without 3L.ERG PRT own father mother DAT"
"he decided to send the pill to his parents without telling anyone."

(14)
ra tyo cakki usle nepaal-maa paThaa- i di- yo.
"And he sent the pill to Nepal."

(15)
baa- aamaa-laay bhan- yo ki,
"He said to his parents that,"

(16)
yo cakki khaa- e pacci tapaa- y- harutanneri taruni bhan- na
"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 he continued his work, and after finishing,"

(18)
u nepaal phark- yo.
"he returned to Nepal."

(19)
nepaal phark- era,
"Returning to Nepal,"
"when he arrived at the airport he looked around the airport."

"And he didn’t see anyone there."

"He became a little upset because his parents didn’t come to receive him."

"He picked up his baggage."

"And he saw a young girl coming towards him carrying a baby."

"And the young girl said ‘hi dear, what’s up?’"
(26) usle tyo keTi- laay kayle pani dekh- eko thiena.
3L.ERG DIST.L.girl DAT when 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'?"

(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.L.girl ERG3L.DAT tighten CP cheek LOC one 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 kathaa bataaw- na thaal- i.
then 3L.ERG story describe NOM begin 3sfL.PST

"Then she began to tell a story."

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2The speaker considered the repetition of bhan-era bhan-i to have been an error.
"Dear, Because I took the pill you sent, my condition became like this."

"I took only half a pill because I didn't trust it."

"Because I ate only half the tablet I lost half my age."

"Because your father ate his pill and my half pill, he lost all his age and became a child."

"When he looked at her, his father was playing on the floor like a little child."
Alchi Maanche (Al)

(1)
yo kathaa- ko naam alchi maanche ho.
this story GEN name lazy person BE.3smL

"The Name of this story is the Lazy Man."

(2)
ekaa des- 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.
"He was an able-bodied kind of man."

"He was strong."

"But he didn’t like to work."

"He used to eat by going to the village, begging villagers for food and taking it to eat."

"He made his livelihood for years and years by begging."

"And by begging, he used to support himself."

"He didn’t have any relations."
(14) 
saano ghar thiyo, saano khetaari 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 khetaari- 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 LOC different kinds GEN.PL debate PL 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 LOC different kinds GEN.PL thing PL play CAUS CP enjoy IP
"He enjoyed himself daydreaming."

(21)
yme maa ek din usle bihe megarne bihera ewTaa swaasniZZ
meantime LOC one day 3L.ERG marriage do IP marriage do CP one woman

lyaa-w-ne kura 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 keTii baaTa usko bihe hu-ne- cha.
and DIST.L girl ABL 3L.GEN marriage be- FUT1- 3smL.PR
tyo keTii baaTa usko ewTaa bacaa 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)
bacaa raamro hu-ne- cha.
child good be FUT1 3smL.PR

"(He) would have a pretty baby."

(25)
bacaa-laay usle khel- aaw- ne- cha,
child DAT 3L.ERG play CAUS FUT1 3smL.PR
"He would help the baby play, and his wife would take care of the baby,"

"and there would be a fight between the two of them."

"In the meantime, while he was daydreaming, he got angry."

"And he kicked a clay pot standing near him in the room."

"In that clay pot was a lot of saatu (roasted ground grain) that he had gotten by begging."

"ra usko swaasni-le bacca-laay, am, hurkaaw-ne cha, and 3L.GEN woman ERG child DAT HES care for FUT 3smL.PR"

(26)

"and dwi-janaa bic-maa saano saano jaagDaa hu-ne cha. and two HUM midst LOC small small fight be FUT 3smL.PR"

(27)

"ettikay-maa so-c-daa so-c-day usko kalpanaa-maa u ekdaam meantime LOC think NF think PRG 3L.GEN imagination LOC 3L too much"

"risaa-yo. get angry 3smL.PST"

(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"

(29)

"maaTo-ko bhaa~Do-maa usle maag-era lyaaaw-eko dheray saatu thiyo. earth GEN pot LOC 3L.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 L pot break IP"
"He kicked the clay pot so hard that the pot broke, spilling the saatu."

"Because of that all the saatu he'd gotten by begging was spilled and he didn't get to eat it."

"Thusly he was the one who was not even able to support himself."

"Because he actually daydreamed about supporting a wife and baby,"

"submerging himself in thought,"

"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 bisesgari 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.
In kwaa~Ti seven or more kinds of beans are mixed.

While cooking this, first of all the beans are soaked for over a week.

After they have been soaked in this way, very small sprouts begin to come out in the beans.

Before the cooking begins, the spices are prepared.

In this, onion, garlic, [another type of] onion, and many other spices are mixed.

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.
(1)  
aaja  bhandaa  aaja  bhandaa  karib  saat  barsa  agaaDi  ma  yoTaa  
today  than  today  than  about  seven  year  before  ls  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-k0  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)  
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].
Before going to Nepal, he had worked (living) in India, Bangladesh and Kenya.

He was a hard-working, honest man.

And when I got there, that job was different from the one I had done for a long time.

I had to plan for the education sector.

We used to work mostly in a village very far from Kathmandu.

DIST. L about Kathmandu ABL fifteen twenty mile far
par-thyo holaah.
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)
amaanche-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-enan.
electricity lamp be.PST-NEG.3sL.PST road be.PST-NEG.3sL.PST

There were no electric lamps and no roads.

(16)
haamilaaay nikay ber-samma ghanTaw ~ samma hi ~ D-nu
1p.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 baaremee 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.
He had just begun to speak the Nepali language.

Sometimes he used to make mistakes while speaking Nepali, many times he used to make mistakes.

Once, I remember when he had addressed a cow saying "the cow came [high grade honorific]."

Then I laughed a lot and the villagers laughed, too.

The possibility of this happening is great while you are learning someone's language.
In a certain place -- a place, that is -- in a place called "spring water", there was a man's herd.

Then in that herd a worker ... in that herd the person who attends the herd -- the herdsman lived.

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

He went to the forest and grazed them.

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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.
Then a man came with wool all over his body.

Then he came straight inside, "Oh, what have you started to do?" he asked.

Then "I started to sleep, I'm tired, I started to sleep" he said.

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

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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'.
Then he said "Well, ok", but now he thought.

"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.

Then after rubbing on the ghee he went back.

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 dekhii 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. "

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He said that and he ran away from there screaming and crying and screaming.

Then running away screaming, screaming he ran away from there.
"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?

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.

"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)".

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.

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.

ani selaa-e-cha re.
then extinguish-PP2-3smL EVID
Then he was extinguished.

siddh-yo.
finish-3smL.PST
It is finished.
Paraasar Risi (Pa)\textsuperscript{1}

(1)
\begin{verbatim}
paraasar risi hunuhunthyo.
paraasar risi be.H.PST
\end{verbatim}
There once was Paraasar Risi.

(2)
\begin{verbatim}
hoina?
be1.NEG.3smL.PR
\end{verbatim}
Wasn't there?

(3)
\begin{verbatim}
paraasar risi hunuhunthyo.
paraasar risi be.H.PST
\end{verbatim}
There was once Paraasar Risi.

(4)
\begin{verbatim}
ani paraasar risi,
then paraasar risi
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
yesto-i purswattam mahinaa-maa,
like.this-EMPH purswattam month-LOC
\end{verbatim}

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\textsuperscript{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 Paraasar 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.
"aha tirtha yaatra jaa-nu par-yo."
now pilgrimage journey go-INF must-3smL.PST
(And then), Paraasar Risi, like that in Purswwattam 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
Paraasar 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
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 embarrassed.

(20) ma ritidaan gar-dina.
1s intercourse do-NEG.1s.PR
I will not have intercourse."
"I am the ferryman's daughter who smells very much like fish."

"You are such a good Risi."

While she thus spoke, the Risi says, "Oh, today is a nice day."

"No, I'm embarrassed."

"Extremely embarrassed," she said, you know.

"If you are embarrassed, I will cover your embarrassment for you."
After he said that, this cloud, fog, all the clouds he brought together for her.

After Paraasar Risi collected them together, the ferryman's daughter and Paraasar Risi had intercourse.

After they had intercourse, one nice boy, Byaas, was born.
As soon as Byaas was born, Byaas said, that Byaas, right away he went right into asceticism.

After going into asceticism, Byaas, "If you have any trouble for some reason, remember me, okay, Mom," he said.

Okay, "she said.

Okay, "she said.
After she helped him cross the river, Paraasar Risi left; she returned, came to her own house, the ferryman's daughter.

While the ferryman's daughter continued to live there as a teenager.

Then one day there was Raajaa Santanu.

Again previous-GEN.f

Marriage do-PP.f god.f-GEN.f daughter
chooraa bhisnu hunuhunthyo.
son Visnu be.H.PST

Raja Sanatanu, there was from his first marriage to Ganaaa Debi a daughter, a son Visnu.

(38)
bhismaa--
bhismaa
Bhismaa--

(39)
pachi, later

u tapasyaa baaTa jit-eko hunaa-le,
3L asceticism from win-PP be-because

bhismaa <XXXXXXXXXX>.
bhismaa ***
Visnu later because he achieved success in asceticism he became Bhismaa Pitaamaahaa.

(40)
bhismaa thiyo.
bhismaa be.PST.3smL
He was Bhismaa.

(41)
bhismaa-le bhan-e ki,
bhismaa-ERG say-3M.PST COMP

ani sanatanu raajaa,
then santanu raajaa

asnaan gar-nu jaa~-daa-kheri,
bath do-INF go-SP-while

"oho.

oho
Bhismaa said -- then Raajaa Sanatanu while going to take a bath, "Oho.

(42)
kasto ebam parikaar-ko maachaa,
such also variety-GEN fish
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
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

desire feel-3smL.PR

ke aapad par-yo.
what trouble happen-3smL.PST
"Father, what is troubling you?

(50) ke kuraako baa-lyaap 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 bebaaari-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.
Then who are you going to marry, Father?” he said.

Over there I have seen her.

One ferryman’s daughter is beautiful.

“Oh, that’s nothing, I’ll ask for her, Father.”

There is no need for you to worry.

His son Bhismaa said this and then went to go ask for her.
"While going to ask for her, [her father said] "You stay at the house and inherit our wealth."

After I give you my daughter in marriage, there will be your first wife and your concubine.

So for that reason, my daughter and my grandson won't inherit anything."

I don't need any wealth.
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, Bhisma 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 agaadDi 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.
ek tyaagi brata,
one renouncement fast
ek pariwaar niyojan.
one family birth.control
Bhismaa both renounced all and had a vasectomy.

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,
mariage 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.

bihaa gar-i sak-e pachi,
mariage 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.

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 was given a new name Satyabati.

(76) From Satyabati, two sons called Citraangga and Bicitraangga were born.

(77) After their sons were born, they were married to two daughter-in-laws.

(78) To daughter-in-laws.

(79) Again
After both of them were married, what happened, Raajaa Sanatanu passed away.

(80) mar-i haal-yo, die-AXL put-3smL.PST

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 hola.
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,
suspension 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.
Bhismaa would not even touch his mother.

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.

"Oho! it seems that we had unnecessary doubts.

On the part of mother and older brother.

Finally
"In the end, brother, we have been sinful". So saying, Citraangga and Bicitraangga thought about this idea.

After thinking about this idea, "Oh Lord!

So from where can this sin be relieved -- our elder brother.

Now this Bhismaa is the most knowledgeable person.

We must ask him."
Having said this, they asked Bhismaa.

"Oho, who perpetrated this sin" he said, "Who? Who did it?"

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.
After they died, there was no one to control Raajaa Sanatanu's wealth.

"Then what should be done? Who will rule the kingdom?"

Who will sit on the throne?"

So saying, the people in the kingdom talked like this.

"How and what should I do.

I must make Bhismaa do it." When it was put to Bhismaa, he would not agree.
He doesn’t want a kingdom.

He won’t sit on the throne.

He’s an ascetic who won’t sit on the throne.

When they said "Now what should we do"

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.

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.
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
Your two younger brothers went to Kaa~si and both of them also died.

Both of their wives are widows.

To control this country,

There is no one left to sit on the throne."

Satyabati said.

To Byaas.

"Why must mother be so worried about only this much?"
bhan-yo.
say-3smL.PST
"We need an heir," she said.

"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".

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.

gai sak-e pachi,
go.PST-AXL finish-PP2 after
aa~kaa ciml-era ga-eko hunaa-le,
eye squirt-CP go.PST-PP be-because
aa~kaa-i kaano dhirta rastra janm-yo.
eye-EMPH one-eyed dhirta rastra be.born-3smL.PST
After she went, because she went with her eyes partially closed, one-eyed Dhirta Rastra was born.

dhirta rastra janm-i sak-e pachi,
dhirta rastra 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 rastra.  
dhirta rastra
Dhirta Rastra.

(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?"
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.
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

They weren’t able to sleep in the same bed.

(152)
tyasari bas-era,
that.way stay-CP

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
And they went and lived in Kaaṣi for a long time, "Now what to do."

(155)
bhan-daakheri,
say-SP-while

haam-laay santaan caahi-yo,
1p-DAT offspring need-3smL.PST

bhan-era,
say-CP

dwi janaa-ko sallaa bho.
two QT-GEN confer be.PST.3smL
Saying this, they conferred saying "We need heirs."

(156)
sallaa 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 confering, 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.
And after this, after Arjun was born, "That's enough for you."

"Your sister also needs heirs."

And she said "okay", and also to Maitri "You also chant mantras and will get children."
After calling Aswini Kumar then Sahakul and Nahakul were born.

Then raising and raising these children, staying in Kaa-si a while, suddenly one day, Maitri happened to touch Pandub.

As soon as she touched him, Pandub died.

There was a curse on him.
After Pandub died, she said, "Sister, I am going to do 'sati'.

(172)
ma sati jaan-chu.
1s sati go-1s.PR

After Pandub died, she said, "Sister, I am going to do 'sati'.

(173)
samjhi-nus".
remember-IMP.H

Remember.

(174)
bhan-e pachi,
say-PP2 after

I'm going to do 'sati' with my husband, these five sons, Sister, treat them like your own sons.
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.

And in a place called Indra Prastha they stayed.

Even though they stayed there, Duryodhaan gave them much trouble, saying "I won’t let you stay here."

When they were staying in Indra Prastha there was one skillful at hunting.
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.
Then, after he made the fish fall down, they married Dropati to him, to Arjun.

After having married her to Arjun "I..." they brought her and Dropati stayed and
considered the five of them to be her husbands.

Dropati did.

Up to this point, enough.