CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study attempts to examine the clause combining in Western Tamang (ISO code [tdg]) within the framework of the functional-typological grammar developed mainly in Givón (2001) and complemented by Foley and Van Valin (1984), Lehmann (1988), Payne (1997), Cristofaro (2003), Haspelmath (2004) and Dixon (2009). Clause combining is generally referred to as a morphosyntactic phenomenon traditionally involving two main processes, viz., subordination and co-ordination (Foley and Van Valin, 1984:241-242). Functionally, clause combining is defined as a process simply forming a functional-syntactic continuum to show the degree of clause integration: most integrated to least integrated (Givón, 2001). Formally, clause combining may be defined as multi-verb constructions in the language (Payne, 1997:305). Lehmann (1988) defines clause combining as a relation of dependency controlled mostly by a verbal form, finite or non-finite, including nominalized clauses. Payne (1997) notes that this continuum or the degree of dependency of clauses is assumed to begin with one clause representing the high degree of grammatical integration to two separate clauses showing no degree of grammatical integration. Natural languages exhibit different types of complex expressions such as serial verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, converbal clauses (i.e., clause chains), relative clauses and coordination as forming the continuum in between the highest and the least degree of grammatical integration.

No attempt has yet been made to provide a fuller analysis and description of the complex expressions in Western Tamang from formal and functional perspectives (See Review of literature in 1.4). The main goal of this study is to analyze the various morphosyntactic strategies employed to form different types of complex constructions (i.e., subordinate and coordinate) in the dialect.

Tamang is a safe/vigorous Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 1, 35.311 of a total of 1,539,830 ethnic Tamang, most of them living in central Nepal particularly

the hilly areas around the Kathmandu valley (CBS, 2012).[1] It is natively referred to as *tamang tam* (*tamang* 'Tamang, an ethnic group' and *tam* 'language'). Tamang in general has been classified as one of the members of the Gurung-Tamang cluster of West Bodish sub-section of the Bodish section of Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family (Eppele et al. 2012). Eppele et al. (2012) presents five distinct languages /dialects of Tamang, viz., Northwestern Tamang, Eastern Tamang, Western Tamang, Eastern Gorkha Tamang and Southwestern Tamang. Figure 1.1 presents the position of Tamang and their major dialects among the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal (based on Bradley 1997 / 2002).
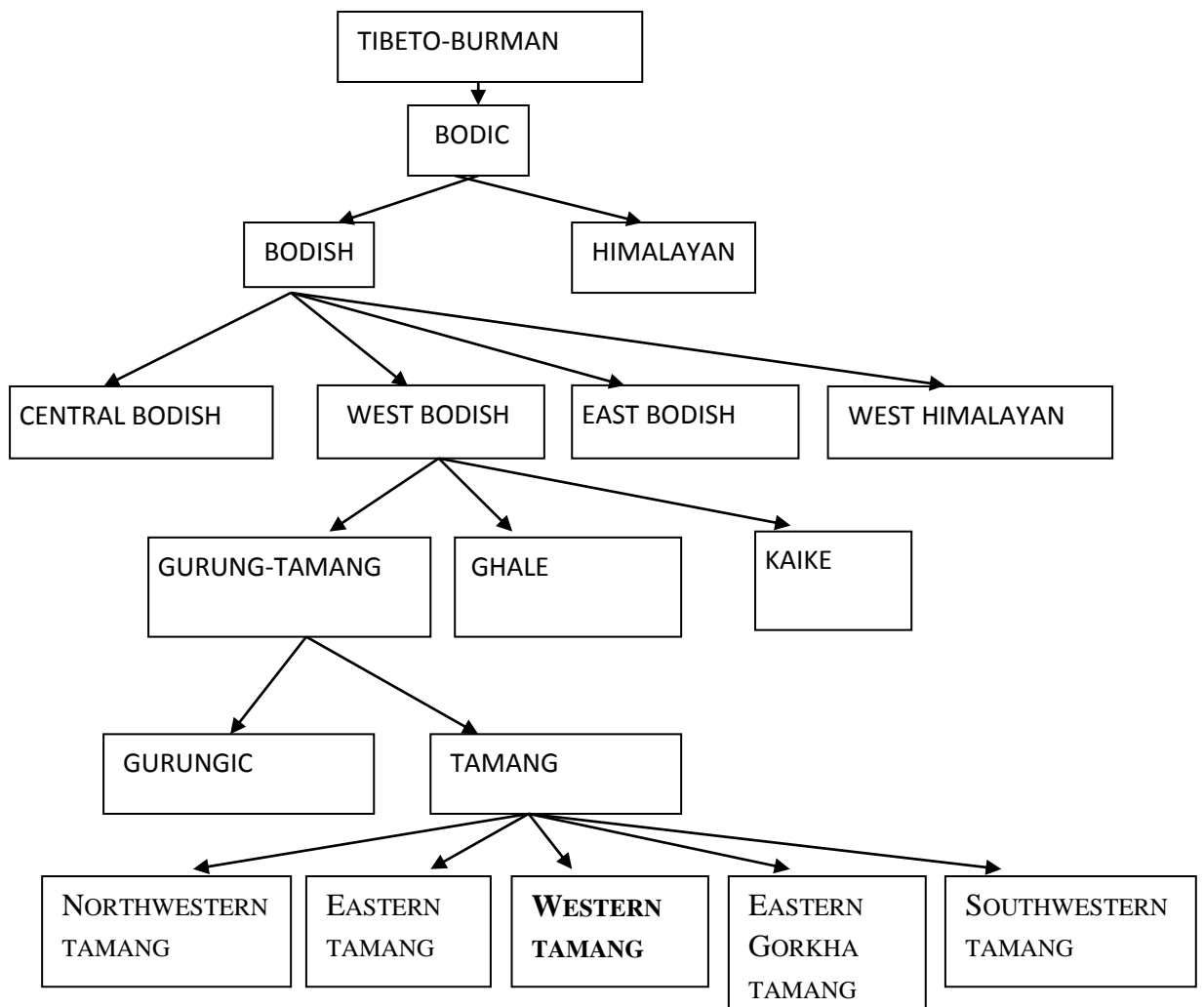

Figure 1.1: Position of Tamang and its major dialects among the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal

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[1] It is to be noted that Eppele et al. (2012) has provided ISO code to each major dialects of Tamang as if they are distinct languages. However, this study treats Western Tamang as one of the major dialects of Tamang.

Western Tamang is used orally by all generations. It is not only being learned by children as their first language but also is effectively used in written form in some parts of the community (Regmi, 2013). It is alternatively known as Murmi and Sain.[2] It is spoken by 323,000 speakers estimated in 2000. The speakers of this dialect are increasing gradually. It is reported that mostly the speakers are found monolingual below school age or over 60 years of age. This dialect is manly spoken in Bagmati and Narayani Zones. In Bagmati Zone, it is spoken in west Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Dhading districts, northeastern Sindhupalchok District, Bhote Namlan, Bhote Chaur, west bank of Trishuli River towards Budhi Gandaki River. In Narayani Zone, it is mainly spoken in northwestern Makwanpur District, Phakel, Chakhel, Khulekhani, Markhu, Tistung, Palung; northern Kathmandu, Jhor, Thoka, Gagal Phedi (Eppele et al., 2012). There are two sub-dialects of Western Tamang, viz., Northwestern sub-dialect (Spoken in Dhading and Rasuwa) and, Southwestern sub-dialect (spoken mainly in Trisuli area of Nuwakot.[3] According to Eppele et al. (2012) Western Tamang is an ergative and tonal dialect with SOV as the basic word order, 24 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes, postpositions, noun head both initial and final, genitives after noun and relatives before nouns. This dialect lacks classes or genders. It has two prefixes and eleven suffixes at the maximum. It lacks passive voice and indicates clause constituents by word order. This dialect is used at home, with friends and performing rites and rituals. However, at work and education, they also used Nepali, the language of wider education. This dialect is used by the people of all ages. At present, especially, younger boys and girls use Nepali due to education in Nepali. In this speech community, the literacy rate in Nepali is estimated as 25%−75%. Eppele et al. (2012) notes that this dialect is availed with some poetry, magazines, newspapers, radio programs, videos and dictionary. In writing this dialect, mainly Devanagari script is used. Tibetan script is also used in writing this dialect. This speech community is known by the ethnonym, Murmi by the Lepcha and Sain by the Newar. This speech community is traditionally engaged in agriculture. Traditionally, this speech community follows Buddhism.

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[2] Previously, Tamang was classified as one of the members of the TGTH along with Gurung, Manange and Magar Kaike languages of Bodish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family (Regmi, 2013).
[3] Lexical similarity between Trisuli dialect and Rasuwa dialect has been estimated as 82%−83% (Eppele et al., 2012). The dialect enjoys the developing level of language vitality.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Generally, clause combining is considerably less well-studied in Tamang. There exist somewhat fuller descriptions of clause combining from formal and functional perspectives in Dhankute Tamang (Poudel, 2006) and Eastern Tamang (Lee, 2011). Tylor (1973) has tried to analyze clauses in Western Tamang within the tagmemic framework. Chalise (1999) has analyzed some aspects of the clauses in Western Tamang within the descriptive model.

No fuller description of clause combining is available, till the date, from the formal and functional perspectives, in Western dialect. Thus, to analyze the forms and functions of different types of simple and complex constructions (i.e., subordinate and coordinate clauses) in Western Tamang from formal and functional perspective is the major problem of the study. The specific problems of the study are as follows:

a) What types of simple clauses does Western Tamang exhibit?

b) What types of complex constructions (i.e., subordinate and coordinate clauses) are there in Western Tamang?

c) What types of morphosyntactic strategies are employed to form complex constructions in Western Tamang?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the forms and functions of different types of complex constructions (i.e., subordinate and coordinate clauses) in Western Tamang from formal and functional perspectives. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

a) To identify and analyze the simple clauses in Western Tamang;

b) To look at the types of complex constructions (i.e., subordinate and coordinate clauses) in the dialect; and

c) To analyze the morphosyntactic strategies employed to form different types of complex constructions in Western Tamang?

1.4 Review of literature

There are a few attempts made to analyze the clauses (i.e., simple and complex constructions) in different dialects of Tamang with different approaches of linguistic description. The important works include Tylor (1973), Kanskar (1998), Chalise (1999), Varenkamp (2003), Poudel (2006), Lee (2011), Eppele et al. (2012),

Yonjan (Tamang) (2014), Rai (2014) and Poudel (2015). In this study, these works are reviewed in chronological order.

Tylor (1973) provides a preliminary analysis of clause pattern in Tamang. The analysis is based on the data collected from the native speakers residing in the villages of Sahugaon, the then Tupche Gaon Panchayat, Nuwakot District. It has employed a Tagmemic approach, mainly proposed in Pike (1967) to the identification and description of clause patterns in Tamang. It has classified the clause patterns exhibited by Tamang into three major categories, viz., basic patterns, inflected patterns and derived patterns. In terms of transitivity system, which is defined by the three primary roles, viz., actor, undergoer and site, Tamang presents two sets of basic clauses: receptive set and transitive set. Sememically, a receptive set of clauses include eventive, semi-receptive, receptive and bi-receptive whereas transitive set comprises intransitive, semi-transitive, transitive and bi-transitive clauses. It has clearly analyzed the roles of actor, undergoer and site in these types of clauses in Tamang. It has discussed the inflected patterns as consisting of a number of verbal modifications broadly categorized into mood, tense, aspect, modality and editorials. There are eleven types mood, viz., declarative, interrogative, imperative, desiderative, hortative, permissive, dubative, conditional, intentive, anticipatory/optative and concessive. There are four tenses which occur in Tamang: Present -*pa*, simple past -*tsi* or *nem*, perfect past -*pala* and future -*sye* or -*la*. There are six types of aspects: continuous, habitual, durative, inceptive, incessant, sequential and concurrent. It has discussed three rules, viz., deletion rules, shift rules, and embedding rules for deriving derived patterns from the inherent patterns in Tamang. No doubt, simple clauses in Tamang have been exhaustively examined; however, the complex constructions have received only a cursory treatment in this study.

Kansakar (1999) highlights many phonological, morphological and syntactic features which Newar and Tamnag share in common. It notes that Tamang has SOV as the basic clause structure with limited variations induced by pragmatic features like topicalization and focusing. The verb of the non-finite participial clause is marked by -*si*. In Tamang, the verb *ni-jo-ro* 'said' or 'having said' with the indirect marker -*ro* functions as the complementizer. It is noted that there is no syntactic distinction between relativized and non-relaivized clause in Tamang.

Chalise (1999), based on the data collected from Bom Tang village in Nuwakot, attempts to analyze, employing a descriptive model, the strategies used for clause combining in Western Tamang.[4] This study has functionally classified combined clauses into two major categories, viz., adverbial clauses and nominalized clauses. The adverbial clauses include conditional, concessive and temporal. The verbs of the conditional clauses are suffixed by *-sam* where as the verb of the concessive clauses are marked by the suffix *-le* which is immediately followed by *eno* 'also'. They are both non-finite clauses. The temporal clauses are further sub-classified into sequential and temporal clauses. The verb stems of the sequential and concurrent clauses are suffixed by *-dzim/ -tsim* and *-ma*, respectively in this dialect. This study, in terms of forms, has classified the nominalizers into three categories, viz., *-pa/ba*, *-pala/bala*, and *-sje*. They are all suffixed to the root of the verb making non-finite clauses. Further, it notes that the nominalized clauses can function as the subject and object of the matrix clause as well as the noun modifier in this dialect. The infinitive clause is also formed by nominalization. The purposive marking *-ri* is suffixed to the nominalized form of the verb. It also discusses the whole sentence nominalization phenomenon in Tamang. This study does not provide a fuller description of all the types of the complex constructions including coordination in Western Tamang.

Varenkamp (2003) is a comprehensive study of the functions of *-ba* morpheme in Central Eastern Tamang, a major dialect of Tamang. It is mainly spoken in the district of Kavre, western Sindhu Palchowk, eastern Nuwakot, etc. In this dialect, the suffix marker *-ba* also functions as nominalizer. The verbs suffixed with -ba functions as a nominal or as word or part of a phrase that somehow modifies the head noun of a clause. The verbs suffixed with *-ba* are also used extensively as a part of predicate. The verb with the suffix *-ba* form is used for citation form in the lexicon. It is also suffixed to the verb to form purposive and complement clauses. In the verb complex, such morpheme may provide the sense of different aspects and modality in this dialect.

Poudel (2006) presents a comprehensive grammatical description of Dhankute Tamang. It deals with clause combining in detail. In Dhankute Tamang, there are two types of complex clauses: subordinate and coordinate clauses. There are two types of subordinate claues, viz., finite and non-finite. In Dhankute Tamang, the finite

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[4] Basically, it is the study of morpho-syntax of Tamang verbs.

subordinate clauses include comparative, content and adverbial clauses. Relative, infinitive, purposive and converbal clauses are non-finite subordinate clauses. It divides the coordination of clauses into two types: basic and non-basic. Basic coordination includes seven types of elements, viz., coordinators, reducibility to one element, order change, likeness of class and fusion, open endedness, range of occurrence and marking by coordinators. Non-basic coordination contains discontinuity, bound ellipsis and restructuring.

In Dhankute Tamang, the comparative subordinator is *raN-ba* 'like-NMLZ' whereas *ki* (i.e., borrowed from Nepali) 'that ' is used as a complement subordinator. The nominal affiexed by the locative case marker *-ri* and *khaima* 'when' are used as subordinators in locational and temporal adverbial clauses in Dhankute Tamang. Relative clauses are non-finite subordinate claues. They are formed with the verb suffixed by the nominalizer *-ba*. This nominalizer is also used to indicate equi-subject of verbal or sentential complement. In other words, the same morpheme functions as infinitive marker in Dhankute Tamang. The clauses with the verbs suffiexed by *-bari/pari* are used as purposive clauses. In this dialect, the sequential and simultaneous converbs are marked by *-si* and *-sei*, respectively. This study notes that *tʰen* and *wa* 'or' are the coordinators. The coordinator *tʰen* is approximately used for 'and' and 'but'. This study gives less attention to the functions of subordinate and coordinate clauses. Moreover, it lacks the description of the degree of dependency of such clauses.

Lee (2011) describes simple and complex clauses in Central-Eastern Tamang primiraly spoken in the district of Kavre within the framework developed in Payne (1997), Givón (2001) and Kroeger (2005. There are two dialects of Eastern Tamang: Central-Eastern and Outer-Eastern Tamang. This study mainly classifies the basic clauses in terms of internal structure: claues with verbal predicates and non-verbal predicates. There are three types of basic declarative clauses with with verbal predicates, viz., intransitive, transitive and ditransitive. The basic constituent order of intransitive clauses is SV. Such clause describes a property, state, or situation. A transitive verb requires an object. The basic constituent order in transitive clauses is SOV. A ditransitive verb requires two objects. The constituent order in basic ditransitive clauses is SOOV with the subject in ergative case, the primary object (the theme) in absolutive case, and the secondary object (the recipient) in dative case. This

dialect presents the clauses whose semantic predicate is not a verb. Some clauses with non-verbal predicates have a copula verb which is marked by non-past tense marker -*la* and past tense marker -*ba* . There are basically four types of simple clauses with non-verbal predicates. They include attributive clauses, equative clauses, locative clauses and existential clauses. The attributive clauses, in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective, are indicted by the copula *mu*. It is optional (but preferred) in non-past tense in normal conversation but obligatory in the past tense. The equative clauses, in which the main semantic content is expressed by a noun, are indicted by the copula *hin*. It is optional (but preferred) in non-past tense in normal conversation but obligatory in the past tense. In this dialect, the locative clauses are indicated by the copula *mu*. It is obligatory in both non-past and past tense. In this type clause, a noun phrase is followed by a postpositional phrase (PP) with a locative case marker -*ri*. Similarly, the existential clauses are constructed with the copula *mu* preceded by a noun phrase.

Tamang is a head-final language. The basic word order is SOV. A simple NP consists of a head noun and optional modifiers. Most of the modifiers precede the head noun which they modify. The verb forms with the nominalizer -*ba* are used as the citation form in the lexicon. Verb forms with the nominalizer -*ba* are used to form a relative clause. Relative clauses precede the head noun which they modify. The suffix -*ba* marks complement clauses which serve as the complement of a verb. In purpose clauses, the nominalizer -*ba* and the locative case marker -*ri* always occur together attached to the verb root of the nominalized clause. To express the purpose, they are used as a frozen form -*bari* 'in order to'. Reason clauses are formed by attaching the enclitic *selama* 'because' to a verb root. Conditional clauses are formed by attaching the enclitic -*sam* to a verb in this dialect. This dialect usually uses subordinating morphemes with lexical content to mark adverbial clauses. Subordinating morphemes include enclitics and independent words. Temporal adverbial clauses are formed by attaching the temporal enclitic -*ma* 'when', -*mahents^he* 'after' and -*maits^hjam* 'as soon as' to a verb root. In this dialect, two clauses of equal grammatical status are connected with the conjunction *otts^he* 'and', *tara* 'but', and *ki* 'or'. This dialect has a clause-chaining structure, but does not have serial verb constructions.

Eppele et al. (2012) provides the profile of each major dialects of Tamang, viz., Northwestern Tamang, Eastern Tamang, Western Tamang, Eastern Gorkha Tamang

and Southwestern Tamang, including alternative names, estimated speakers, monolingualism/ bilingualism, speaking areas, vitality level, updated classification, identification of the dialects, preliminary lexical similarity percentages among the dialects and their sub-dialects, typological (phonological, morphological and syntactic) features, domains of language use, language resources and writing system.

Yonjan (2014) is a study of clause combining in Eastern dialect of Tamang within the framework developed by Payne (1997), Whaley (1997), Givón (2001) and Haspelmath (2004). This study is based on the primary data, elicited and corpus data, collected from the native speakers of Dewpur village of Kavre Palanchok district. In this dialect, subordination and coordination are the major types of clause combining processes. There are both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. The subordinate clauses may be further classified into complement clause, adverbial clause and relative clause. There are two types of complement clauses: subject complement and object complement.   The verbs of both complement clauses are marked by nominalizer *-ba* in this dialect. The adverbial clauses include temporal, location, reason, conditional, concessive, infinitival, purposive and converbal clauses. The temporal clauses are indicated by *ŋatsʰa* and *haima*. The locational clauses are marked by   the interrogative pronoun *hanaŋ.* The verbs of the reason clauses are marked by the suffix *-ba* whereas the verbs of the conditional clauses are marked by the suffix *-sam*. In this dialect, the verbs of the infinitival clauses are marked by the suffix *-ba* and the verb of purposive clauses are suffixed by the morpheme *-bari*. In this dialect, verbs of the simultaneous converbal clauses are marked by the suffix *-nan* and the verbs of the sequential clauses are suffixed by the morpheme *-si*. It makes use of a native subordinator *anim* 'and' for conjunction. For disjunction, adversative conjunction and exclusion, it uses *ki/wa* 'or', *tara* 'but' and *bahek* 'except', respectively. This study, though based on corpus data, is mainly focused on the analysis of the processes rather than the analysis of the typology of the clauses in terms of forms and functions in the dialect. This study is mainly based on Lee (2011) for description and analysis.

Rai (2014), based on the data collected from the native speaker of Dewpur village of Kabhre Palanchok, analyzes the relative clauses in Tamang from the formal and functional perspectives. This is mainly based on Payne (1997) and Givón (2001). In this dialect, *-ba* functions as a relativizor. This dialect has both restrictive ans non-

restrictive relative clauses. It exhibits pronominal as well as headless relative clauses. It makes use of gap as well as pronoun retention strategy in the relative clauses. It notes that subjects, objects, oblique argument, adjuncts and possessors can be relativized in this dialect.

Poudel (2015) is an attempt to analyze the strategies of the derivational nominalization and the clausal nominalization from the formal and functional perspectives. This study is primarily based on the language spoken in the villages, namely; Gajuri, Nange, Mahadevsthan and Talti of Dhading district. It has analyzed complement clauses, relative clauses, reason clauses, purposive clauses and time adverbial clauses in Tamang. The nominalizers *-pa* and *-ba* constructions fulfill a vast number of grammatical functions deriving from more than one source.

To sum up, the previous works related to the clauses in other dialects have helped, to some extent, to understand the simple and complex clauses in the Western dialect. The works in clauses in Western dialect, viz., Tylor (1973) and Chalise(1999) do not provide a fuller description from the formal and functional perspectives. Thus, a fuller and comprehensive analysis is required to understand forms and functions of different types of complex constructions in Western Tamang.

1.5 Research methodology

1.5.1 Field study area

In Section 1.1, we have already mentioned that Western Tamang broadly sub-categorized into two sub-dialects, generally known as Rasuwa and Trisuli sub-dialects, is spoken in different areas of Bagmati and Narayani Zones. In this study, to be very precise, we have analyzed the clause combining processes of the form of speech referred to as Trisuli variety. Map1 presents the area where Western Tamang, especially, Trisuli variety, is spoken.

Map 1.1: .The area where Western Tamang, especially, Trisuli sub-dialect, is spoken

1.5.2 Theoretical background

The theoretical framework, as mentioned earlier in Section 1.1, on which this linguistic description of clause combining is based is the functional-typological grammar (henceforth, FTG) mainly developed by T. Givón (2001). This grammar assumes language as a formal system and a means of human communication and the forms are created, governed, constrained, acquired and used in the service of communicative functions. Moreover, it assumes that formal system of the language needs to be interpreted in terms of its essentially communicative character (See Chapter 2 for details).

1.5.3 Presentation and analysis

In this study, sufficient examples,   mainly comprising made-up (elicited) sentences and cross-checked with the patterns found in naturally occurring in discourse, provided. Each example, first, is transcribed by using standard IPA phonetic symbols. Secondly, each word is broken into morphemes. Thirdly, each morpheme is provided interlinear morpheme translations (glosses) by using conveniently accessible list of

abbreviations and symbols.[5] Fourthly, each example or text is provided free translation in English.

1.6 Significance of the study

From the review of literature so far made it is clear that no attempt has been made to analyze clause combining from the formal and functional perspectives in Western Tamang. The morpho-syntactic analysis of clause combining in the Western Tamang would certainly contribute to understanding new phenomenon in Western Tamang and other related languages. This study may provide the basic foundation for the further study of the morphosyntactic aspects in the dialect. It may be useful for the local community for preparing materials for multilingual education in the dialect.

1.7 Limitations of the study

This study has the following limitations:

   a) This study has used mainly elicited data for the analysis of clause combining processes in Western Tamang.

   b) The data for this study is exclusively based on the form of speech spoken in Trisuli area, popularly known as Trisuli sub-dialect of Western Tamang.

   c) This study presents a description of the processes of clause combining of Western Tamang, mainly Trisuli dialect without making any comparison even with Rasuwa sub-dialect of Western Tamang.

   d) Clause combining can be studied from the point of view of syntax, semantics and discourse. However, we will limit the scope of our discussion within syntax and semantics.

   e) Thus, it only employs the main insights of Functional-Typological grammar for the description of the clause combining processes in Western Tamang.

   f) The functional approach treats subordination and coordination as forming a continuum. This study, for the convenience of analysis and presentation, has treated subordination and coordination in different chapters. This study does not attempt to provide linguistic information on phonology, morphology of Western Tamang as it is beyond the scope of this study.

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[5] We have used the Leipzig glossing rules: conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and list of standard abbreviations while glossing the morphemes in the text.

1.8 Organization of the study

This study is organized into six chapters. This study, based on primary data, is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the subject matter of Western Tamang. It also presents statement of the problems, objectives of the study, review of literature, research methodology, significance of the study, limitations of the study and organization of the study. Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical framework employed in the study. In chapter 3, we discuss simple clauses in Western Tamang. Similarly, chapter 4 looks at different types of subordinate clauses in the dialect. In chapter 5, we examine coordinate clauses in Western Tamang. Chapter 6 summarizes the major findings and presents a conclusion of the study. The appendix presents a sample text of Western Tamang.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Outline

The main goal of this chapter is to briefly discuss the theoretical framework employed in the analysis and description of the complex constructions Western Tamang. As mentioned in Sections 1.1 and 1.5, the theoretical framework is primarily built on the basic assumptions on the nature of language and grammar made by the functional-typological grammar (henceforth, FTG) in Givón (2001) including complex constructions (i.e., clause conjunction and subordination) as discourse pragmatic codes. Secondarily, it is built on the insights about complex constructions developed by other functional linguists, namely; Lehmann (1988), Payne (1997), Cristofaro (2003), Haspelmath (2004), Blühdorn (2008) and Dixon (2009). This chapter consists of three sections. Section 2.1 discusses the basic assumptions made by the functional-typological grammar about language and grammar in Givòn (2001). In section 2.2, we deal with the framework for description complex constructions presented by Givòn (2001) and other related functional-topologists. Section 2.3 summarizes focusing on the strengths of the framework proposed for the linguistic analysis and description of complex constructions in Western Tamang.

2.1 Language and grammar

Givón (2001) embraces a functional approach to the nature of language and a typological approach to grammar. It firmly asserts that structures without functions are senseless, and functions without structures are downright are lame. It admits that typological diversity of the structures exhibited by the languages of the world can be insightfully accounted for in terms of both adaptive motivation and explicit account of the more formal aspects of syntactic structure, viz., constituency, hierarchy, grammatical relations, clause union and syntactic control. We discuss the basic assumptions on the nature of language and grammar made by the functional-typological grammar in Givón (2001) as follows:

2.1.1 Language and its functions

From a functional perspective, language is function and it is the function which determines the forms of language. In other words, there exists correlation or isomorphism between form and function. This approach, believing in performance,

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tries to investigate how language is used and seeks to explain the nature of language in functional terms. It firmly believes the forms of language are determined by function it has evolved to serve.

There are two primary functions of human language, viz., representation of knowledge and communication of knowledge (Givón, 2001). In other words, human language is a system which consists of two sub-systems: the cognitive representation system and communicative coding system. The first system consists of three concentrically-linked components: the conceptual lexicon, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse. The conceptual lexicons/concepts ('words') are combined into propositional information ('clauses') about states or events. Such states or events may be related to either external physical universe, internal-mental universe or social-cultural universe. They may be related to the combinations of such universes. Figure 2.1 presents the components of human cognitive representation system.

HUMAN COGNITIVE REPRESENTATION SYSTEM
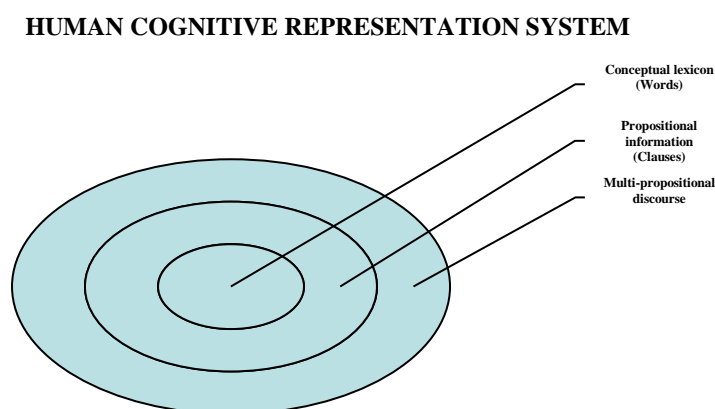
Figure 2.1: Human cognitive representation system (Givón, 2001:42)

Figure 2.1 shows the combinatorial relations of lexical concepts, propositional information and multi-propositional discourse.

The second system, i.e., communicative coding system further consists of two components: peripheral sensory-motor codes and the grammatical code. In human language, peripheral sensory motor codes speech perception and speech production, related to phonetics, phonology and neurology. The grammatical code further consists of primary grammatical codes and discourse-pragmatic codes. FTG defines grammar as a human information processor, i.e., code. It is much more abstract and complex

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code than the sensory motor codes of lexicon. There are four major primary grammatical coding devices: morphology, intonation, rhythmics and sequential order of words and morphemes.

The clauses are coded by grammar Givón (2001:13).[1] In this approach, complex constructions, i.e., clause conjunction and subordination including grammatical roles, definiteness and reference, anaphora, pronoun, and agreement, tense, aspect, modality and negation, de-transitive voices, topicalization, focus and contrast, relativization and speech acts as shown in Figure 2.2 code discourse pragmatics. Figure 2.2 presents coding instruments of the communicative coding system reorganized in Regmi (2013) based on (Givón, 2001:11-3).

COMMUNICATIVE CODING SYSTEM

PERIPHERAL SENSORY-MOTOR CODES:
PHONETICS
PHONOLOGY AND NEUROLOGY

GRAMMATICAL CODES:

PRIMARY GRAMMATICAL CODES:
MORPHOLOGY
INTONATION
RHYTHMICS
ORDER OF WORDS OR MORPHEMES

DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC CODES:
GRAMMATICAL ROLES
DEFINITENESS AND REFERENCE
ANAPHORA, PRONOUN AND AGREEMENT
TENSE, ASPECT, MODALITY AND NEGATION
DE-TRANSITIVE VOICE
TOPICALIZATION
FOCUS AND CONTRAST
RELATIVIZATION
SPEECH ACTS
CLAUSE CONJUNCTION AND SUBORDINATION

Figure 2.2: Coding instruments of the communicative coding system (Givón, 2001:11-3)

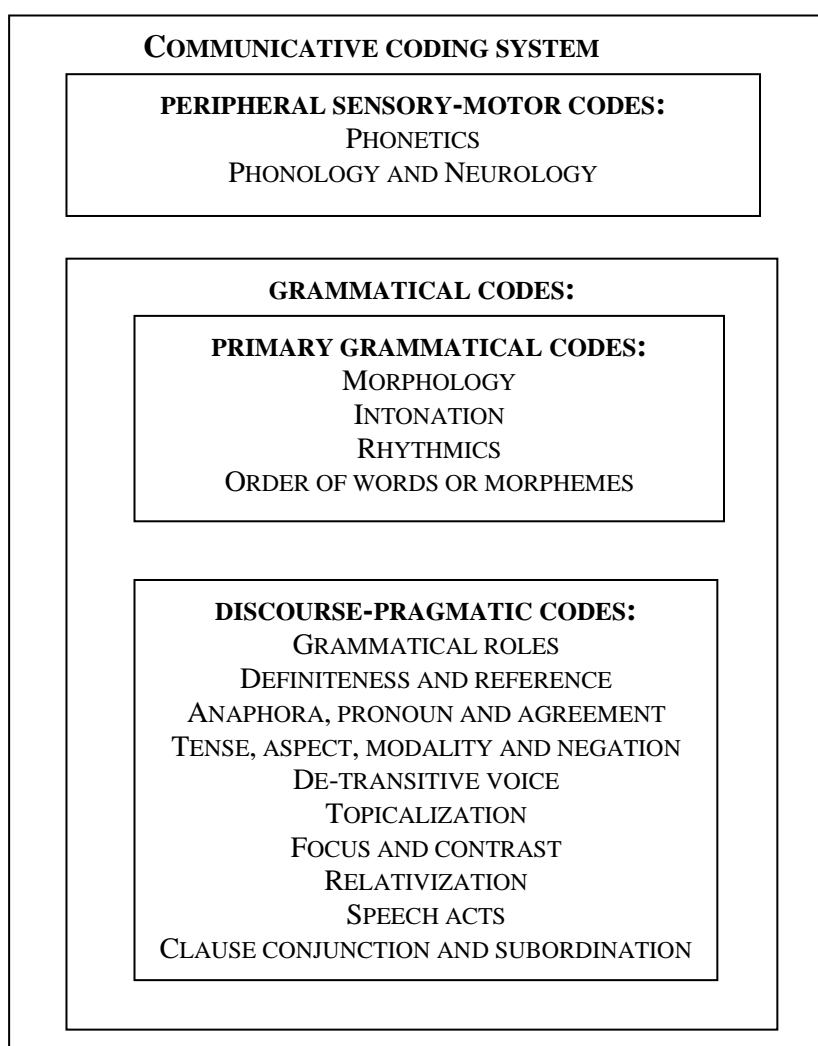[1] In this model, both the propositional semantics and discourse pragmatics are simultaneously coded by grammar. Moreover, grammar largely deals the coherence relations between the propositional clauses and their wider discourse context (Givón, 2001:13).

Figure 2.2 shows that discourse-pragmatic codes apply in multi-propositional discourse component of human cognitive representative system where combined clauses are coded with grammar. Such clauses provide multi-propositional information.[2]

2.1.2 Grammar

FTG assumes that there is a strong association between functional, typological and diachronic aspects in grammar. There is grammatical diversity of the structures. Such structures can be insightfully described from a functionalist perspective. This approach studies grammatical typology as the diachronic process of grammaticalization. The diversity in structures in languages are the results of evolution. In grammar, form-function isomorphism competes with economic motivation (Givón, 2001). It is assumed that languages can code the same functional domain by more than one structural means. However, the diversity of structural types that may code the same domain is surprisingly constrained, seldom exceeding 5-7 major types (Givón, 2001). The diversity is constrained by adaptive factors, viz., cultural, communicative, developmental, neurological, or biological. Languages may differ typologically in two ways. Languages may code the same functional domain by different structural means and language may differ in the way they organize grammar-coded functional domains. Functionally, grammar, like all biologically based systems, is adaptively motivated. Thus, in principle, grammar is non-arbitrary.

To sum up, FTG is a theoretical framework of linguistic description and analysis. The main goal of this framework is to study the diversity of the structural means of affecting the same communicative functions from formal and functional perspectives. The basic methodology of FTG consists of defining the domain of the grammatical categories functionally and independently of language specific structures; defining the diversity of the structural types that encode the domain in the language under consideration; exploring the new structural types in the language; and trying to explain why some forms pair consistently with some functions than other functions (Regmi, 2007). In other words, the functional-typological grammar has adopted a middle path following both formal and functional perspectives in the analysis of the grammatical constructions.

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[2] In this framework of grammar, syntactic constructions (clause types) are taken as the focal point of grammatical description and various types of clauses or construction are taken as grammatical coding instruments that signal discourse pragmatic functions.

2.2 Complex constructions

As mentioned in Section 1.1, clause combining normally involves two basic processes, viz., coordination and subordination.

Lehmann (1988:221) notes that subordination is related to dependency. Lehmann (1988:184) notes that a subordinate clause is downgraded to a particular constituent within a main clause. Secondly, a clause may vary in syntactic relation to the main clause. Lehmann (1988:189) further notes that the syntactic level is lower "the more tightly the subordinate clause is integrated into the main clause." Thirdly, a subordinate clause may lose the properties of a clause to different degrees. Lehmann (1988:197) again notes, "When it is reduced to a maximum degree, it increasingly acquires nominal properties, both internally and in its distribution."

Payne (1997: 307) organizes complex constructions into to six general types of multiple verb constructions: (i) serial verbs (ii) complement clauses (iii) adverbial clauses (iv) clause chains (v) relative clauses (vi) coordination. He notes that the earlier ones represent the highest degree of grammatical integration between two verbs, whereas the later ones represent the lowest degree of grammatical integration. In other words, these multi-verb constructions are arranged in terms of a continuum in as shown in Figure 2.3.

One clause	Serial verbs	Adverbial clauses	Clause chains	Relative clauses	Coordin-ation	Two separate clauses

High degree of grammatical integration   No grammatical integration
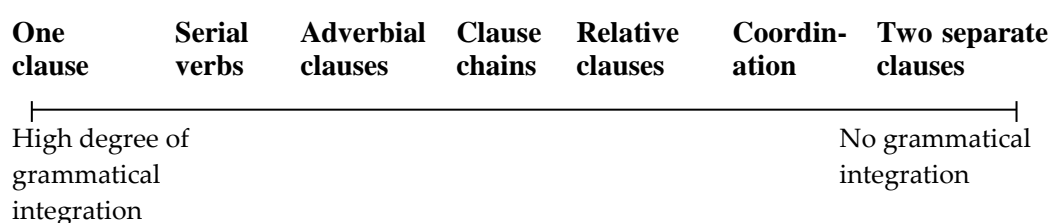
Figure 2.3: Continuum of multi-verb constructions

Figure 2.3 shows that there is a single clause with a high degree of grammatical integration in one extreme while there are two separate clauses with no grammatical integration in the other.

Givón (2001b:327) describes subordination and coordination clauses as dependent vis-à-vis their main clauses, and independent main clauses respectively. He notes, "Binary distinction between subordinate (dependent) and coordination (independent) clauses is woefully untenable." Givón (2001b: 329) states, "…syntactic devices… that signal the stronger dependence of subordinate/ adverbial and coordinate/chained

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clauses- but to a smaller degree in different ratios." Rather, he argues that there is a continuum of complex clauses ranging from most dependent to least dependent. Figure 2.4 presents the continuum of inter-clausal dependency in complex constructions.

Most dependent ('semantic')

Verbal complements

Subordinate/adverbial clauses

Coordinate/chained clauses

Least dependent ('pragmatic')
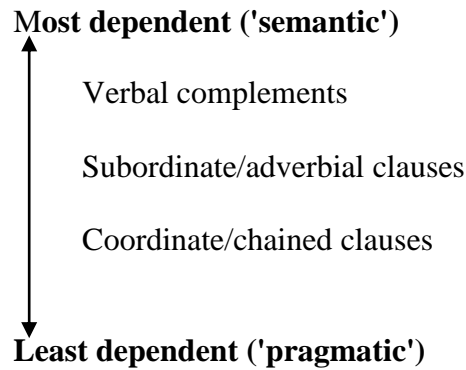
Figure 2.4: A continuum of inter-clausal dependency (Givón 2001b:328)

Cristofaro (2003:22) notes that the traditional morphosyntactic criteria are not sufficient to distinguish between subordination and coordination. She has examined different proposals grouping them into the continuum approach and the conceptual approach. The continuum approach suggests that the clause linkage types should be defined in terms of mutually independent and freely combinable features. They form a more or less articulated continuum. In contrast to the continuum approach, the conceptual approach presents a sharp distinction between the conceptual (semantic, pragmatic, cognitive) level and the morphosyntactic level. It treats subordination as the result of particular conceptual situations rather than a morphosyntactic phenomenon. Conceptual features represent a cross-cutting parameter with respect to morphosyntactic features.

Haspelmath (2004:1) notes "… coordinating constructions can be identified on the basis of their symmetry: A construction [A B] is considered coordinate if the two parts A and B have the same status … whereas it is not coordinate if it is asymmetrical and one of the parts is clearly more salient or important, while the other part is in some sense subordinate." He further notes that a coordinating construction consists of two or more coordinands, i.e. coordinated phrases. Their coordinate status may be indicated by coordinators, i.e. particles like *and*, *or* and *but* in English. He classifies coordination in to two types on the basis of the number of coordinators in the coordinate construction: syndetic and asyndetic. A coordinating construction is called syndetic if it contains one or mere coordinators whereas if the construction

lacks coordinators or it employs simple juxtaposition, the coordination is called asyndetic.

He classifies coordination into three types semantically: conjunction (= conjunctive coordination, 'and' coordination), disjunction (=disjunctive coordination, 'or' coordination), and adversative coordination ('but' coordination). Haspelmath (2004:10) notes that the coordinators 'and' and 'or' can link a diverse range of categories: noun phrases, verb phrases, clauses, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases, and others. The coordinator 'but' links only clauses. He further points out that many languages have category-sensitive coordinating constructions. Haspelmath (2004:34) defines the term coordination as syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements.

Blühdorn (2008:59) notes that there is hierarchical and non-hierarchical connection in language. He further states there is no sharp dichotomic distinction between these two types of connections. Blühdorn (2008:61) further notes that clause combining can be studied from the point of view of syntax, semantics and discourse. Languages have various kinds of sentences between these two extremes. Some clauses are dependent whereas other clauses are least dependent. The notions of 'coordination' and different topics which come under 'subordination' such as relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses have their distinct position in the continuum in terms of their dependency.

Dixon (2009) aims to examine the different grammatical means that languages employ to represent a general set of semantic relations between clauses. Dixon (2009:2) presents different means of clause combining in English. These means span a number of types of semantic linking such as cause, result and purpose i.e. adverbial clauses. Table 2.1 presents semantic types of clause linking (Dixon 2009: 2).

Table 2.1 Semantic types of clause linking (Dixon 2009: 2)

	Linking type	exemplified by markers in English, with information whether each marks supporting clause (SC) or focal clause (FC)
I	Temporal	
	Temporal succession	and, then, and then [all FC]
	Relative time	after, before, when, since, until, while [all SC]
	Conditional	if [SC] (. . . then [FC])
II	Consequence	
	Cause	because [SC], therefore [FC]
	Result	(and) so [FC]
	Purpose	in order that, (in order) (for) to [both FC]
III	Possible consequence	in case, lest [SC]
IV	Addition	
	Unordered addition	and [no SC/FC distinction]
	Same-event addition	and, moreover [both FC]
	Elaboration	<apposition> [2nd clause is FC]
	Contrast	but [FC], although [SC]
V	Alternatives	
	Disjunction	or [no SC/FC distinction]
	Rejection	instead of [SC]
	Suggestion	rather than [SC]
VI	Manner	
	Real	like, in the way that [both SC]
	Hypothetical	as if (, like) [both SC]

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, we briefly discussed the theoretical framework used for the analysis and description of clause combining in Western Tamang. This framework is suitable for this purpose because it treats language as function which shapes the structures in language. There are two primary functions of human language, viz., representation of knowledge and communication of knowledge (Givón, 2001). FTG defines grammar as a human information processor, i.e., code. There are two types of grammatical

codes: primary grammatical codes and discourse-pragmatic codes. Complex constructions (i.e., clause conjunction and subordination) are also coding devices which codes discourse pragmatics at multi-propositional level. FTG strongly believes that languages may code the same functional domain by different structural means and language may differ in the way they organize grammar-coded functional domains. This framework, mainly following the continuum approach taken by Lehmann (1988), Payne (1997), Givón (2001), Cristofaro (2003:22) as well as the insights taken from Blühdorn (2008:59) and Dixon (2009), analyzes complex constructions formally and functionally in Western Tamang.

CHAPTER 3

SIMPLE CLAUSES

3.0   Outline

This chapter deals with different types of simple clauses in Western Tamang. By simple clauses, we mean the main, declarative, affirmative and active clause which serves as the reference point for grammatical description (Givón, 2001:105).   We categorize simple clauses in terms of two broad criteria: internal structure and speech acts distinction.   There are basically two types of simple clauses in terms of their internal structure, viz., non-verbal predicate and verbal predicate simple clause (Dryer, 2007). In terms of speech act distinctions in syntax, Western Tamang makes the distinction between declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative clauses/sentences.[1]

This chapter consists of three sections. Section 3.1 discusses the types of simple clauses in terms of internal structure in Western Tamang. In section 3.2, we describe the various types of simple clauses in terms of speech act distinctions in the language. Section 3.3 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Types of simple clauses in terms of internal structure

Broadly, there are two types of simple clauses in Western Tamang in terms of internal structure, viz., non-verbal predicate simple clauses and verbal predicate simple clauses. They are briefly discussed as follows

3.1.1 Non-verbal predicate simple clauses

There are three types of simple clauses with non-verbal predicates, viz., adjectival predicate, nominal predicate and locative predicate simple clauses (Dryer, 2007). In Western Tamang, all three of the predicate clauses occur with the copula verbs.[2] The basic constituent order in such copular clauses is: subject (SUB) predicate (PRD) and COPULA (COP). We discuss the simple clauses with non-verbal predicates as follows:

(a) Adjectival predicate clauses

In Western Tamang, the predicates which express the adjectival meaning do not exhibit the grammatical properties as other verbs. Thus, the adjectival predicates in

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[1] Such clauses may be taken as other sentence types in Western Tamang.
[2] It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the copula in Western Tamang separately.

Western Tamang are non-verbal. The adjectival predicates occur only with the existential copula, *mula* as in (1).

(1) a. *mandzuŋla dza dzjaba mula*

     mandzuŋ-la   dza   dzja-ba   mu-la

     Manjung-GEN   son   good-NMLZ   COP:EXIST-NPST

     'Munjung's son is good.'

b. *ŋala dim dziba mula*

     ŋa-la   dim   dzi-ba   mu-la

     1SG- GEN   house   small-NMLZ   COP:EXIST- NPST

     'My house is small.'

In example (1a) *dzjaba* 'good' and in (1b) *dziba* 'small' are adjectives which are used as the adjectival predicates with the existential copula, *mula* 'be at, exist'. In both examples (1a-b), the subject occurs clause-initially and the copula occurs clause-finally. The adjectival predicates precede the copula in Western Tamang.

(b) Nominal predicate clauses

The nominal predicate simple clauses in Western Tamang employ both the existential (i.e., *mula*) and equational copula (i.e., *hinla*) as in (2).

(2) a. *tʰela dim dzjaba mula*

     [tʰe-la]SUB   διμ   [dzja-ba]PRD   mu-la

     3SG-GEN   house   good- NMLZ   COP:EXIST-NPST

     'His house is good.'

b. *ŋala min məndzuŋ hinla*

     [ŋa-la   min]SUB   [məndzuŋ]PRD   hin-la

     1SG-GEN   name   Manjung   COP:EQUT-NPST

     'My name is Manjung.'

In examples (2a) the predicate '*dzja-ba*' and in (2b) '*məndzung*' are the nominal predicates. These nominals fill the complement slots in both clauses and follow the subjects and precede the copulas. The copulas relate subject with the complements. Figure 3.1 presents a syntactic characterization of the copular clause in (2b) by the phrase structure (PS) tree diagram.

Figure 3.1: The phrase structure (PS) tree diagram

Figure 3.1 presents the constituents and their hierarchical relations of the copular clause in (2b). In this tree diagram, the nominal predicate is a constituent of the verb phrase (VP), other being copula (COP). Such predicates follow the subject which is directly dominated by S and precede the copula.

(c) Locative predicate clauses

In Western Tamang, we also find locative predicate clauses. Such predicates are coded by postpositions. Such postpositions may be referred to as the postpositional phrases (PP).[3] Since, such clauses employ the existential copula, *mula* 'be at, exist' as in (3).

(3) a. *ŋala dim nuwakoti mula*

[ŋa-la   dim]~SUB~   [nuwakot-ri]~PRD~   mu-la

1SG-GEN   house   Nuwakot-LOC   COP: EXIST-NPST

'My house is in Nuwakot.'

b. *namtsari dzeppa dim mula*

[namtsa-ri]~PRD~   [dzep-pa   dim]~SUB~   mu-la

village-LOC   big-NMLZ   house   EXIST:COP-NPST

'There was a big house in the village.'

In examples (3a) the proper noun *nuwakot* 'Nuwakot' and in (3b) *namtsa* 'village', both are suffixed by the locative morphemes *-ri*, respectively. Figure 3.2 presents a

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[3] The clauses with such phrases overlap with the existential clauses in Western Tamang.

phrase structure (PS) tree diagram for the syntactic characterization of the copular clause in (3a).

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                                S
                  ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
               SUB/NP                         VP
            ┌─────┴─────┐              ┌────────┴────────┐
          DET           N            PRD               COP
           │            │             │                 │
           │            │            PP                 │
           │            │        ┌────┴───┐             │
           │            │       NP        P             │
           │            │        │        │             │
         ŋala          dim    nuwakot    -ri          mula
```
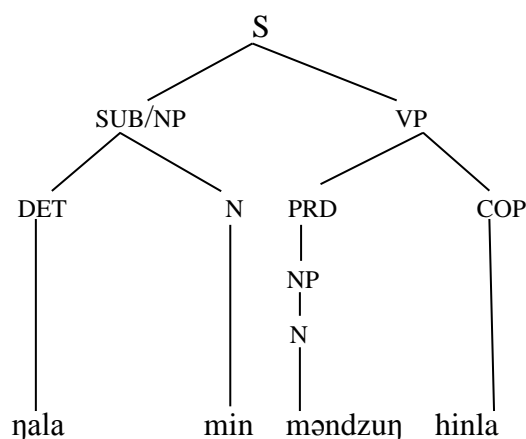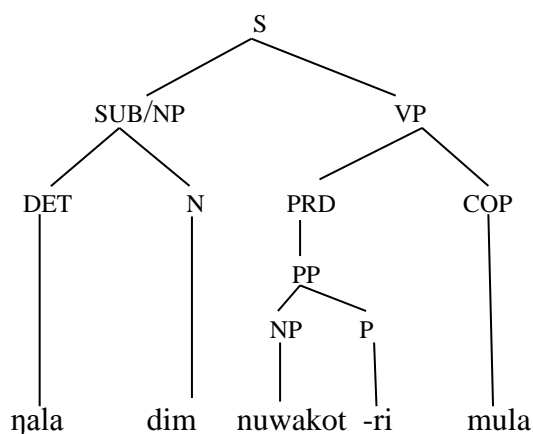
Figure 3.2: The phrase structure (PS) tree diagram

Figure 3.2 (PS tree diagram) presents the constituents and their hierarchical relations of the copular clause in (3a). In this tree diagram, the locative predicate, structurally, the postpositional phrase (PP), in which the head is the postposition, occurs pre-verbally (i.e., copula verb).

3.1.2 Verbal predicate simple clauses

Western Tamang presents two types of verbal predicate simple clauses, viz., intransitive and transitive clauses in terms of the argument structure of the verbs. In intransitive clauses, the predicates take a single argument. In transitive clauses, the predicates take on two (or more) arguments. Normally, the simple intransitive predicates take a single argument whereas a simple transitive predicate takes two arguments, one as subject and another as direct object. Givón (2001) notes that intransitive predicates can also take an indirect object.[4] Such type of indirect object can also be taken by the transitive predicates as well in Western Tamang.

In terms of the number of arguments assigned by different categories of the verb, Western Tamang presents four types of verbal predicate clauses. Table 3.1 presents the types of verbal predicate clauses in terms of the argument structure of the verbs in Western Tamang.

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[4] However, such indirect object syntactically differs from the indirect object taken usually by the transitive predicates.   The indirect objects taken by the intransitive predicates are simply adjuncts which are marked by postpositions.

Table 3.1: Verbal predicate clauses in terms of the argument structure of the verbs in Western Tamang

	Clause types	**INTRANSITIVE**	**TRANSITIVE**
1.	SIMPLE	NP$_{SUB}$ V	NP$_{SUB}$ NP$_{DO}$V
2.	WITH INDIRECT OBJECT	NP$_{SUB}$ PP/NP$_{IO}$ V	NP$_{SUB}$ NP$_{DO}$ PP/NP$_{IO}$ V

Table 3.1 presents four types of verbal predicate clauses in Western Tamang, viz., intransitive clauses, simple transitive clauses, intransitive clauses with indirect object and transitive clauses with indirect objects. We briefly discuss them as follows:

(a) Simple intransitive clauses

In a simple intransitive clause in Western Tamang, the predicate takes a single argument, i.e., the subject. It consists of a noun phrase in the absolutive case as in (4).

(4) a. *radzala dzeppa dim mubala ro*

    [radza-la dzep-pa dim]$_{SUB}$ [mu-ba-la] $_{PRD}$ ro

    king-GEN big-NMLZ house COP:EXIST-NMLZ-GEN REP

    'The king had a big house', it is said.

  b. *radza səndoki mubala ro*

    [radza]$_{SUB}$ [səndoki]$_{PRD}$ mu-ba-la   ro

    king   benevolent COP:EXIST-NMLZ-GEN REP

    'The king was benevolent', it is said.

  c. *ram ɲetstsi*

    [ram]$_{SUB}$ [ɲets-tsi]$_{PRD}$

    3SG   laugh-PST

    'Ram laughed.'

In examples (4a-c) the predicates are intransitive. Such predicates in Western Tamang take usually a single argument as the subject in the absolutive case, i.e., zero-marked.

(b) Simple transitive clauses

In a simple transitive clause, the verbal predicate takes two arguments. The first argument in form of noun phrase occurs normally clause initially. This argument functions as the subject of the clause. This argument is obligatorily coded in the ergative case. The second argument in the form of noun phrase occurs pre-verbally.

This is also coded in the absolute case, zero-marked. In other words, the simple transitive clause consists of the subject followed by the direct object and the verb clause finally as in (5).

(5) a. *ŋala dzadze ken tsadzi*

    [ŋa-la   dza-dze]_{SUB}   [ken]_{DO}   tsa-dzi

    1SG-GEN   son-ERG   rice   eat-PST

    'My son ate rice.'

    b. *ramdze pukʰri setstsi*

    [ram-dze]_{SUB}   [pukʰri]_{DO}   sets-tsi

    ram-ERG   snake   kill- PST

    'Ram killed a snake.'

In examples (5a-b) the arguments as the subjects are marked by the ergative suffix -*dze* and the arguments as the direct objects are zero-marked.

(c) Simple intransitive clauses with an indirect object

In a simple intransitive clause, the verbal predicate also takes two arguments, one as the subject occurring clause initially in the form of subject coded in the absolutive case, and another occurring pre-verbally and coded by a postposition in Western Tamang as in (6).

(6) a. *ram dimri □iba mula*

    [ram]_{SUB}   [dim-ri]_{IO/PP}   [□i-ba]_{PRD}   mu-la

    Ram   house-LOC   live-NMLZ   COP: EXIST-NPST

    'Ram lives at home.'

    b. *ŋadze dinri woen sjalba mula*

    [ŋa-dze]_{SUB}   [din-ri]_{IO/PP}   woen   [sjal-ba]_{PRD}   mu-la

    1SG-ERG   day-LOC   cloth   wash- NMLZ   COP: EXIST-NPST

    'I wash cloths in the day. '

In examples (6a-b) the arguments as the indirect objects are coded by the locative postpositions, i.e., -*ri*. Such arguments as the direct objects occur pre-verbally.

(d) Transitive clauses with an indirect object

In Western Tamang, a verbal predicate may take three arguments: subject, indirect object and direct object as in (7).

(7) a. *ramdze dzada kələm pidzi*

[ram-dze]SUB   [dza-da]IO   [kələm]DO   [pi-dzi]PRD

ram-ERG   son-DAT   pen   give-PST

'Ram gave a pen to the son.'

b. *ramdze tsʰokanri kitab tʰendzi*

[ram-dze]SUB   [tsʰokan-ri]IO/PP   [kitab]DO   tʰen-dzi]PRD

ram-ERG   table-LOC   book   put-PST

'Ram put the book on the table.'

In examples (7a-b), the arguments assuming the subject roles are placed clause-initially. Such arguments are obligatorily coded in the ergative case. The argument, in example (7a), which assumes the role of indirect object is coded by the dative case. Similarly, in example (7b), the indirect object, which is an adjunct, is marked by a postposition. It is clear that the argument which assumes the role of direct object occurs pre-verbally is coded in the absolutive case, zero-marked as in (7a-b). Moreover, the basic order of the constituents in the clause as seen in (7a-b) is: SUB IO/PP DO V in Western Tamang.

3.2 Types of simple clauses in terms of speech act distinctions

There are mainly four types of simple clauses in terms of speech act distinctions in Western Tamang. They include declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative clauses/sentences.   Such sentences differ from one another functionally and structurally. We briefly discuss them as follows:

3.2.1 Declarative sentences

In Western Tamang, the declarative sentences are typically used to make statements. Such sentences contain a finite verb. SOV is the basic order in such sentences as in

(8).

(8) a. *ramdze ken tsadzi*

ram-dze   ken   tsa-dzi

Ram-ERG   rice   eat-PST

'Ram ate rice.'

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b.   *sita dim kʰadzi*

   sita   dim   kʰa-dzi

   Sita   house   come-PST

   'Sita came home.'

3.2.2 Interrogative sentences

In Western Tamang, there are four types of interrogative sentences: polar or 'yes/no, disjunctive questions, neutral questions and constituent interrogatives. Such sentences are typically used to ask questions. They are discussed as follows:

(a) Polar interrogatives

In Western Tamang, the polar interrogative or 'yes/no questions' are formed by placing a rising intonation at end of the clause as in (9).

(9)   *ela dza seŋba↑*

   e-la   dza   seŋ-ba

   2SG-GEN   son   have-NMLZ

   'Do you have a son?'

(b) Disjunctive questions

The disjunctive questions are used to display the choice of usually two alternatives. Usually between the two disjuncts, there is a conjunction borrowed from the contact language, Nepali. The verbal constituent of the first clause is accompanied by the rising intonation whereas the verb in the second clause, prefixed by the negative morpheme *a-*, is accompanied by the falling intonation as in (10).

(10)   a.   *e ŋisje ki aŋi*

      e   ŋi-sje   ki   a-ŋi

      2SG   go-NMLZ   or   NEG-go

      'Do you go or not?'

   b.   *e ken tsasje ki atsa*

      e   ken   tsa-sje   a-tsa

      2SG   rice   eat-NMLZ   NEG-eat

      'You eat rice or not?'

    c.   *nam təidzi ki atəi*

        nam   tǝi-dzi   ki   a-tǝi

        2SG   fall-PST   or   NEG-fall

        'Did Rain fall down or not?'

(c) Neutral questions

The neutral questions refer to those with no presupposition on the part of the addresser. In a neutral question, the verb is preceded by the negative particle. Such question also carries the falling intonation as in (11).

    (11)   a.   *e aŋi↑*

                e   a-ŋi

                2SG   NEG-go

                'You do not go?'

        b.   *e ken atsa↑*

                e   ken   a-tsa

                2SG   rice   NEG-eat

                'You do not eat?'

(d) Constituent interrogatives

In Western Tamang, the constituent interrogatives, or parametric questions, are formed by replacing a questioned constituent with interrogative pronouns. Such pronouns are placed usually immediately before the verbs. Western Tamang has a large inventory of interrogative pronouns which may replace various constituents. When referring to human beings, such pronouns can replace the core constituents of the clause, viz., subjects (both ergative and non-ergative) and the direct object in Western Tamang as in (12).[5]

    (12)   a.   *tʰeda kʰaldze setstsi*

                tʰe-da   kʰal-dze   sets-tsi

                3SG-DAT   who-ERG   kill-PST

                'Who killed him?'

        b.   *eda kʰaldze tsʰektsi*

                e-da   kʰal-dze   tsʰek-tsi

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[5] In Western Tamang, the past tense is marked by -tsi/-dzi. The suffix -tsi is used after voiceless sound.

        2SG-DAT   who-ERG   beat-PST

        'Who beat you?'

When questioning the non-human animate or inanimate core constituents, Western Tamang affixes the dative marker *-da* to the interrogative pronoun 'what' as in (13).

(13)   *tʰeje tada setstsi*

        tʰe-dze   ta-da   sets-tsi

        3SG-ERG   what-DAT   kill-PST

        'What did he kill?'

While questioning the postpositional human constituents of the clause, the anti-dative form *kʰal-da* 'who-DAT' is used as in (14).

(14)   *ramdze kələm kʰalda pindzi*

        ram-dze   kələm   kʰal-da   pin-dzi

        ram-ERG   pen   who-DAT   give-PST

        'Who did Ram give the pen to?'

Postpositional non-core constituents can also be questioned as in (15) again using *ta* 'what' supplied with any case inflection required by the postposition in question.

(15)   *ramdze kələm kʰadiN jaNdzi*

        ram-dze   kələm   kʰa-diN   jaN-dzi

        ram-ERG   pen   who-ABL   receive-PST

        'Who did Ram receive the pen from?'

Various types of the modifiers of the noun phrases can be questioned such as a possessor: *kʰaləi* 'whose', a cardinal number or quantifier: *gəde* 'how much/many' an ordinal numeral: 'how' as in (16).

(16)   a.   *kʰalai min məndzuŋ hinla*

           kʰalai   min   məndzuŋ   hin-la

           whose   name   Manjung   COP:EQUAT-NMLZ

           'Whose name is Manjung?'

       b.   *gəde mʰi kʰadzi*

           gəde   mʰi   kʰa-dzi

           How many man   come-PST

ˈHow many people came?'

    c.   *e gəde bərsə tadzi*

        e   gəde   bərsə   ta-dzi

        2SG   how many   year   do-PST

        'How old are you?'

Various types of adverbials can be questioned by using interrogative pronouns in Western Tamang. For questioning temporal or locative adverbials, *kʰema* 'when' and *kʰanəri* 'where' are used, respectively, as in (17).

    (17)   a.   *sita kʰema kʰadzi*

                sita   kʰema   kʰa-dzi

                Sita   when   come-PST

                'When did Sita come?'

        b.   *ja kʰanəri ŋidzi*

                ja   kʰanəri   ŋi-dzi

                son   where   go-PST

                'Where did son go?'

In examples (17a-b) the interrogative pronouns do not move unlike in English from its place. This situation is called *wh-in-situ.*

3.2.3 Imperative sentences

The verbs of the imperative sentences are marked morphologically. The root of the verb is suffixed by *-o/-u* and *-ko* as in (18).[6]

    (18)   a.   *sehNo*

                sehN-o

                do-IMP

                'Do it.'

        b.   *⧠iu*

                ⧠i-u

                sit-IMP

                'Sit.'

---

[6] Taylor (1973:118) notes that *-o* occurs following closed syllables, *-u* occurs following short open syllables having vowels i, e, a and o, and *-ko* occur following long open syllables.

c.   *nako*

   na-ko

   carry-IMP

   'Carry it.'

d.   *e dzəgəl aNiu*

   e   dzəgəl   a-Ni-u

   2SG   jungle   NEG-go-IMP

   'Don't go to jungle.'

3.2.4 Optative sentences

 In Western Tamang, the optative mood is marked morphologically by a suffix- *təu/o*.
This marker is directly attached to the root verb in Western Tamang as in (19).

(19)   a.   *e pastəu*

   e   pas-təu

   2SG   pass-OPT

   'May you pass (exam)!'

b.   *edze hjako ⬜aNa kamaitəu*

   e-dze   hjako   ⬜aNa   kamai-təu

   2SG-ERG   much   money   earn-OPT

   'May you earn much money!'

3.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed simple clauses in terms of two broad criteria: internal
structure and speech acts distinction in Western Tamang. In terms of their internal
structure there are basically two types of simple clauses, viz., non-verbal predicate
and verbal predicate simple clause. In terms of speech act distinctions in syntax,
Western Tamang makes the distinction between declarative, interrogative, imperative
and optative clauses/sentences. There are three types of simple clauses with non-
verbal predicates, viz., adjectival predicate, nominal predicate and locative predicate
simple clauses. In Western Tamang, all three of the predicate clauses occur with the

copula verbs. The adjectival predicates occur only with the existential copula, i.e., mula. In such clause, the subject occurs clause-initially and the copula occurs clause-finally. The nominal predicate simple clauses employ both the existential (i.e., *mula*) and equational copula (i.e., *hinla*). In Western Tamang, the locative predicate clauses are coded by postpositions. Such clauses make use of the existential copula, *mula*.

There are four types of verbal predicate clauses, viz., intransitive clauses, simple transitive clauses, intransitive clauses with indirect object and transitive clauses with indirect objects. In a simple intransitive clause, the predicate takes a single argument, i.e., the subject in the absolutive case. In a simple transitive clause, subject in ergative case is followed by the direct object in the absolutive case. The verb occurs clause finally. Similarly, in a simple intransitive clause, the verbal predicate also takes two arguments, one as the subject coded in the absolutive case, and another occurring pre-verbally and coded by a postposition. In Western Tamang, a verbal predicate may take three arguments: subject, indirect object and direct object. SOV is the basic order in declarative sentences in Western Tamang.

There are four types of interrogative sentences: polar or 'yes/no, disjunctive questions, neutral questions and constituent interrogatives. The constituent interrogatives, or parametric questions, are formed by replacing a questioned constituent with interrogative pronouns.

CHAPTER 4

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

4.0 Outline

In this chapter, we analyze subordinate clauses in Western Tamang. In this dialect, subordinate clauses presents a relation of dependency as discussed in Lehmann (1988), Payne (1997) and Givón (2001). In Western Tamang, such relation is controlled mostly by a verbal form, finite or non-finite or nominalized clauses. Western Tamang exhibits five types of subordinate clauses or relations. Such clauses are generally referred to as complex constructions. They include serial verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and converbal clauses.

This chapter consists of six sections. In section 4.1, we deal with the serial verb constructions in Western Tamang. Section 4.2 examines complement clauses in this dialect. In section 4.3, we discuss different types of adverbial clauses whereas in section 4.4, we examine relative clauses in Western Tamang. Section 4.5 deals with converbal constructions in the dialect. Section 4.6 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

4.1 Serial verb constructions

Serial verbs have been defined in terms of both formal and functional properties (Aikhenvald (2006:1-68). Formally, a serial verb construction consists of a sequence of verbs. Such sequence of verbs forms a single clause. This type of sequence of verb is overtly marked neither for the subordinate nor for the coordinate relations. Such clauses are uttered with a single intonation as a single clause sharing the same subject arguments. Functionally, such a sequence of verbs acts together as a single predicate (conceptualized as a single event).

Payne (1997:307) notes that a serial verb construction, prototypically, consisting of two or more verb roots which neither form a compound nor they are the members of separate clauses. Such construction is uttered with a single intonation as a single clause. The second verb in the series does not have independent tense/aspect marking. Payne (1997:307) further notes that serial verb constructions are present in all types of languages, viz., isolating, agglutinating and fusional. Western Tamang is an agglutinating language. In this dialect, unlike Creole languages and the languages

spoken in West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea, we do not find prototypical type of   serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald, 2006:1-68). Prototypical types of   serial verb constructions are generally found in the isolating languages. Western Tamang   has a less prototypical type of serial verb constructions as in (1).

(1)   a.   *tʰetse tsadzi nidzi*

      tʰe-tse   tsa-dzi   ni-dzi

      3SG-ERG   eat-PST   go-PST

      'He remained idle.' [Literal: "He ate and went."]

b.   *ŋatse tsaamjaŋ tʰuŋamjaŋ jaŋnəjaŋ*

      ŋa-tse   tsa-a-mjaŋ   tʰuŋ-a-mjaŋ   jaŋ-nə-jaŋ

      1SG-ERG   eat-NEG-INF   drink-NEG-INF   get-also-INF

      'I have got nothing (for living).' [Literal: "I have nothing to eat and drink."]

In examples (1a-b), the serial verbs consist of a sequence of verbs. In example (1a), the verbs *tsadzi* and *nidzi* and in (1b), the verbs *tʰuŋamjaŋ* and *jaŋnəjaŋ* form a sequence of verbs forming a single clause. They are overtly marked neither for the subordinate nor for the coordinate relations.   Such clauses are uttered in Western Tamang with a single intonation. They share the same subject arguments as a single clause, i.e., *tʰetse* '3SG-ERG′ *ŋatse* '1SG-ERG' in example (1a) and (1b), respectively. Functionally, they act together as a single predicate (conceptualized as a single event).

In contrary to the definition that the second verb in the series does not have independent tense/aspect marking, in Western Tamang, the second verb in *nidzi* in example (1b) is marked for past tense and the second verb *jaŋnəjaŋ* in (1b) is marked for infinitive. However, it is to be noted here that semantically they act as a single predicate in both examples. Even though, the examples (1a-b) do not fully satisfy the defining properties of the serial verb construction, following Payne (1997), we can assume them as less-prototypical serial verbs representing the highest degree of grammatical integration in Western Tamang.

4.2 Complement clauses

Generally, complement clause is defined as a type of subordinate clause that functions as the subject, direct object, or prepositional object of a verb. The main function of a complement clause is to complete the meaning of a noun or verb in a sentence. Complement clauses are generally introduced by subordinating conjunctions (also known as complementizers) and contain the typical elements of clauses: a verb (always), a subject (usually), and direct and indirect objects (sometimes). Complement clauses are usually defined on the basis of syntactic criteria such as embedding, i.e. the fact that the complement clause functions as an argument of the matrix clause. A complement clause, in other words, may be defined as is a notional sentence or predication that is an argument of a predicate. Following is an example.

(3) I'm surprised *that you like it.*

In example (3) the clause '*that you like it* ' is a finite complement clause (i.e., an embedded clause) and 'that' is a subordinating conjunction which is also known as complementizer in English.

Unlike in English, in Western Tamang, complement clauses are non-finite. Such clauses are subordinate clauses functioning either subject or direct object of the main clause. Thus, functionally, there are two types of complement clauses in Western Tamang. They are discussed as follows:

4.2.1 Subject complement clause

The subject complement clause is an embedded subordinate clause in Western Tamang. It occurs in initial position of the matrix clause as in (2).

(2) a. *dza pas sobala ŋada kʰusi tadzi*

  dza   pas   so-ba-la   ŋa-da   kʰusi   ta-dzi

  son   pass   become-NMLZ-GEN   1SG-DAT   happy   occur-PST

  'That the son passed (the exam) made me happy.'

  b. *dza akʰabala ŋada tsinta tadzi*

  dza   a-kʰa-ba-la   ŋa-da

  son   NEG-arrive-NMLZ-GEN   1SG-DAT

  tsinta   ta-dzi

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<div align="center">unhappy   occur-PST</div>

<div align="center">'That the son did not arrive made me unhappy.'</div>

In examples (2a-b), the verbs of the subject complement clauses are in non-finite form. In example (2a), the verb of the complement clause *pas* 'pass' and in (2b) the verb of the complement clause *kʰa* 'arrive', which is prefixed by a negative marker *a-* , are suffixed by the nominalizer *-ba* followed by the genitive marker *-la*. The main function of such non-finite forms of the verbs is to indicate the absence of tense in the clause. The secondary function of such non-finite forms is to function as subordinators (i.e., complementizer) in such clause. The complement clause in example (2a) can be presented as in (3).

(3)   [[dza pas sobala]   ŋada kʰusi tadzi]

        ← Complement →

      ←————————— Main clause —————————→

Example (3) shows that the subject complement clause in Western Tamang, which is embedded in the main clause, can occur only in the clause initial position.

4.2.2 Object complement clause

In Western Tamang, like subject complement clauses, the object complement clauses can occur only in the initial position of the matrix clause as in (4).

(4)   *Nadze mʰidʰugu kʰa-ba mledzi*

    Na-dze   mʰi-dʰugu   kʰa-ba   mle-dzi

    1SG-ERG   men-PL   come-NMLZ   forget-PST

    'I forgot that people were coming.'

In example (4) the complement clause is functioning as the object of a matrix clause. The object of the matrix verb *mle* 'forget' in (4) is a complement clause which ends with *kʰa-ba* 'come-NMLZ'.

The example in (4) can be presented as in (5) in order to show the dependency relation between the complement clause and the main clause.

(5)   [[Na-dze [mʰidʰugu kʰa-ba]   mle-dzi]

<div align="center">39</div>

In example (5) the object complement clause with the nonfinite form of the verb is embedded in the matrix clause.

4.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are syntactically defined as subordinate/ dependent clauses which are used to modify a verb, an adjective, or another adverb in the main clause. Such adverb clauses are combined/ embedded by employing different morpho-syntactic strategies in Western Tamang. The main function such adverbial clauses is to tell when, where, why, how, to what extent, or how much about the word they modify.[1] Adverbial clauses are categorized into several groups/types in terms of the functions actions or senses of their subordinators in Western Tamang. They include time adverbial, location adverbial, manner adverbial, purpose adverbial, reason adverbial, concessive adverbial and conditional adverbial. They are discussed as follows:

4.3.1 Time adverbial clause

In Western Tamang, in order to indicate when something happens by referring to a period or point of time, or to another event, lexical adverbs of time such as *ŋondze* 'before', *liptse* 'after', *kʰema* 'when' are employed. The time adverbial clause uses non-finite form of the verb. Such clauses are embedded with the main clause by using lexical time adverbs and except for stylistic use, normally, time adverbial clauses are placed before the main clause as in (6).

(6) *ŋa jamburi dzuba paŋ ŋondze nuwakotri tiba mula*

ŋa	jambu-ri	dzu-ba	paŋ	ŋondze
1SG	Kathmandu-LOC	come-NMLZ	than	before
nuwakot-ri	ti-ba	mu-la		
Nuwakot-LOC	live-NMLZ	be-NPST		

'I lived in Nuwakot before I came to Kathmandu.'

In example (6) *ŋondze* 'before' is used to combine the non-finite clause with the matrix clause.

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[1] Adverbial clauses are also defined as functioning mainly as adjuncts or disjuncts, which parts also perform in a sentence as adverbial phrases or as adverbial prepositional phrases (Greenbaum and Quirk,1990).

4.3.2 Place adverbial clause

In order to indicate the location or position of something, Western Tamang uses lexical adverb of place, i.e., *kʰanə* 'where'. The same form is also used as an interrogative pronoun in the dialect. This adverb is normally marked by a locative suffix *-ri* in Western Tamang as in (7).

(7) *e kʰanəri ŋiba ŋa ino hudzuri ŋiba*

e	kʰanə-ri	ŋi-ba	ŋa	ino
2SG	where-LOC	go-NMLZ	1SG	also
hudzu-ri	ŋi-ba			
there-LOC	go-NMLZ			

'I go where you go.'

In example (7), the place adverbial clause with non-finite form (i.e., nominalized form) is combined with the main clause by the lexical adverb of time, i.e., *kʰanə* 'where'. Such clauses occur in the front of the main clause. It is to be noted that the 'main clause' has indeed, an infinite form, i.e., nominalized form. This clause has been reduced to a maximum degree. Thus, it has acquired nominal properties, both internally and in its distribution as pointed out by Lehmann (1988:197).

4.3.3 Manner adverbial clause

A manner adverbial clause is a subordinate clause which is used to indicate someone's behavior or the way something is done. In Western Tamang, such clauses are non finite clauses. The manner is indicated by the lexical word *syappa* 'as if, as same as' as in (8).

(8) *eta sjerŋə sjappa raŋba tam paŋba paŋdzi*

e-ta	sjer-ŋə	sjap-pa	raŋ-ba
3SG-DAT	common cold-INF	as if-NMLZ	do-NMLZ
tam	paŋ-ba	paŋ-dzi	
speech	say-NMLZ	speak-PST	

'He spoke as he was suffering from common cold.'

In example (8), the manner adverb *sjappa* occurs in the complex of the clause itself.

4.3.4 Purpose adverbial clause

Schmidtke-Bode (2009:1) defines purpose clauses as "… part of complex sentence constructions which encode that one verbal situation, that of the matrix clause, is performed with the intention of bringing about another situation, that of the purpose clause." Schmidtke-Bode provides the following examples from English in order to clarify the nature of the purpose adverbial clauses.

(9)   a.   Maria went to the bakery [*in order to get some croissants*].

       b.   Brendan put the bike into the garage [*so that it would not get wet in the rain*].

       c.   I brought a book [*for Aaron to read on the plane*].

In examples (9a-c) the clauses within square brackets represent purpose clauses in English. In Western Tamang, in order to indicate the purpose of an action, the verb of the subordinate clause is suffixed by the morpheme *-tibri*. This is a complex morpheme consisting of purpose morpheme and the locative morpheme. The clause with the verb form suffixed by this morpheme becomes a non-finite clause. In Western Tamang, it functions as a device   combining purpose adverbial clause with the main clause as in (10).

(10)   *ŋa taŋa kəmaitibri hjako kam sjeŋba*

      ŋa   taŋa   kəmai-tibri   hjako

      1SG   money   earn-PURP   lot

      kam   sjeŋ-ba

      work   do-NMLZ

      'I worked hard to earn money.'

In example (10), the purpose adverbial clause is placed in the front of the main clause.

4.3.5 Reason adverbial clause

Generally, a reason adverbial clause indicates why the particular action of the verb is taken. To indicate the reason for something, the clause with non-finite form of the verb suffixed by the morpheme *-dzim* is used in Western Tamang as in (11).

(11)   a.   *ŋadze sjorino ken tsapala bele kʰəremdzim*

           ŋa-dze   syo-ri-no   ken   tsa-pala

           1SG-ERG   early-LOC-NMLZ   rice   eat-NMLZ

           bele   kʰərem-dzim

	lot of	hungry-SEQ	

'I ate rice early because I was hungry.'

b. *tila ŋa kʰaamjam kra nadzim*

tila	ŋa	kʰa	a-mjam
yesterday	1SG	come	NEG-could
kra	na-dzim		
head	pain-SEQ		

'I could not come yesterday because I had a headache.'

In example (11a-b), the verbs suffixed by *-dzim* function as subordinators in Western Tamang. In Western Tamang, the main function of the morpheme *-dzim* is to indicate the sequentiality of the events in the clause as in (12).

(12) *diniri ino kam dzinləi paŋba muba tadzim*

di-ni-ri	ino	kam	dzinləi	paŋ-ba
day-NMLZ-LOC	also	work	before	do-NMLZ
muna	ta-dzim			
night	finish-SEQ			

'The night fell after the work was finished.'

In example (12), the clause with the verb form suffixed by the morpheme *-dzim* indicate that   the event expressed in the clause happened before another event happened.

4.3.6 Concession adverbial clause

In English, adverb clauses of concession are introduced by subordinating conjunctions although, though, even though, even if, while and whereas. The adverbial clauses of concession are used to show a contrast between two ideas in a sentence.

In Western Tamang, we can make two statements, one of which contrasts with the other. For this purpose, we use a non-finite clause with the verb suffixed by the morpheme *-lenə* in this dialect as in (13).

(13) a. *ŋa gərib mulenə səttjetəm paŋdzim braba mula*

ŋa   gərib   mu-lenə   səttjetəm

1SG   poor   be-CONC   truth

paŋ-dzim   braba   mu-la

do-SEQ   talk   be-NPST

'I am honest although I am poor.'

      b. *e dzjaaleno ŋata sjemri ŋila*

e   dzja-a-lenə   ŋa-ta

3SG   beauty-NEG-CONC   1SG-DAT

sjem-ri   ŋi-la

like-LOC   occur-NPST

'I like her although she is not beautiful.'

In example (13a-b), the clause with the verb form suffixed by the morpheme *-lenə* makes the contrast with the statement made in another clause.

4.3.7 Conditional adverbial clause

Conditional adverbial clause is a type of adverbial clause that states a hypothesis or condition, real or imagined. A sentence containing one or more conditional clauses and a main clause (which expresses the result of the condition) is called a conditional sentence. In English, a conditional clause is most often introduced by the subordinating conjunction 'if'. Other conditional subordinators include unless, even if, provided that, on condition that, as long as, and in case of.

In order to indicate a possible or counterfactual situation and its consequences, Western Tamang makes use of the clause with the non-finite form of the verb marked by the suffix *-səm* in (14).

(14) a. *nam taisəm ŋa kʰaakəm*

nam   tai-səm   ŋa   kʰa-a-kəm

rain   fall-COND   1SG   come-NEG-ABLT

'I will not come if it rains.'

(b) *nam atəisəm ŋa kʰamba*

nam	a-təi-səm	ŋa	kʰam-ba
rain	NEG-fall-COND	1SG	come-NMLZ

'I will come if rains.'

In examples (14a-b) the conditional clauses occur at the beginning of complex sentences in Western Tamang.

Table 4.1 presents the synopsis of the types of the adverbial clauses in Western Tamang.

Table 4.1: Types of the adverbial clauses in Western Tamang

	Types	Functions	Subordinators in Western Tamang	Subordinators in English
1.	TIME	To indicate when something happens by referring to a period or point of time, or to another event	*ŋondze* 'before'	when, before, after, since, while, as, as long as, till, until, etc.
2.	PLACE	To indicate the location or position of something	*kʰanə* 'where'	where, wherever, anywhere, everywhere, etc.
3.	MANNER	To indicate someone's behavior or the way something is done	*sjappa* 'as if, as same as'	as, like, the way
4.	PURPOSE	To indicate the purpose of an action	*-tibri*	in order to, so that, in order that
5.	REASON	To indicate the reason for something	*-dzim*	because, since, as, given
6.	CONCESSION	To make two statements, one of which contrasts with the other or makes it seem surprising	*-lenə*	although, though, while
7.	CONDITION	To talk about a possible or counterfactual situation and its consequences	*-səm*	if, unless, lest

4.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause may be defined functionally and formally. Givón (2001:176) functionally defines a relative clause as a clause-size modifier embedded in the noun phrase. Subbarao (2012:263) formally defines a relative clause as a subordinate clause in which the embedded predicate may be [+finite] or [-finite]. In Western Tamang, there are two types of relative clauses: Externally headed relative clauses and relative-correlative clauses. They are briefly discussed as follows:

4.4.1   Externally headed relative clauses

The externally headed relative clause, in Western Tamang, is the [-finite] or non-finite type of relative clause. In this type of relative clause, 'null (covert) operator' or a 'gap' occurs in the embedded relative clause. Such clause is pre-nominal and the non-finite predicate of such clause is nominalized in Western Tamang. In other words, Western Tamang makes use of non-finite (i.e., nominalized) form of the verb as clause combining strategy as in (15).

(15)   a.   *dim sobi mi kʰadzi*

   [ɸ$_i$dim   so-bi]   mi$_i$ kʰa-dzi

   house   build-NMLZ   man   come-PST

   'The man who made house arrived.'

   b.   *ŋatse dzi tʰuŋbi mita tsʰektsi*

   ŋa-tse   [[ɸ$_i$ dzi   tʰuŋ-bi]   mi-ta$_i$ tsʰek-tsi

   1SG-ERG   alcohol   drink-NMLZ   man-DAT   beat-PST

   'I beat the man who drank alcohol.'

In examples (15a-b), the head nouns (i.e., in 15(a)   *mi* 'man' as the subject of the relative and in 15(b) *mita* 'man-DAT' as the object of the relative clause) which the relative clauses modify, occur outside the relative clauses. Thus, they are described as externally headed relative clauses. The verbs are suffixed by the nominalizer *-bi* in both examples. Thus, they are non-finite relative clauses. Besides, in examples (16a-b), there is a 'gap' which is indicated by a 'null (covert) operator' in the embedded relative clauses. The heads *mi* 'man' in (15a) and *mita* 'man-DAT' in (15b) in the matrix clauses have coindexed with a 'null (covert) operator'.

4.4.2 Relative-correlative clauses

Western Tamang also presents relative-correlative type of relative clause. Such type of relative clause is not common in the dialect. It may be simply innovation under the influence of the contact language, Nepali. Unlike Nepali, it makes use of interrogative pronouns for this purpose as in (16).

(16)   a.   *kʰajudze ge sodzi hodzudze sukka tala*

             kʰadzu-dze   ge   so-dzi   hodzu-dze   sukka   ta-la

             who-ERG   work   do-PST   that-ERG   happiness   get-NPST

             'One who works gets happiness.'

    b.   *kʰajuda ŋadze briba kalam pidzi hudzu ŋala dza hinla*

             kʰadzu-da   ŋa-dze   bri-ba   kalam   pi-dzi   hudzu   ŋa-la

             who-DAT   1SG-ERG   write-NMLZ   pen   give-PST   that   1SG-GEN

             dza   hin-la

             son   COP:EQUAT-NPST

             'The man whom I gave a pen is my son.'

In examples (16a-b) the relative-correlative clauses have finite embedded predicate. It means that the relative-correlative clauses are finite embedded clauses in Western Tamang.

4.5 Converbal clauses

Converbs are defined as non-finite verbs which are used to indicate adverbial subordination (Haspalmath, 1995). The clauses with converbs can occur in chaining constructions where they are stacked one after the other to advance the narration. In Western Tamang, there are two types of converbal clauses: sequential and simultaneous. The**y** are briefly discussed as follows**:**

4.5.1 Sequential converbal clause

Sequential converbs, which can be nested within a superordinate clause, are used mainly to describe sequential events. In Western Tamang, the verb of the sequential converbal clause is suffixed by *-dzim* as in (17).

(17)   a.   *ŋa ken tsadzim bəjar ŋidzi*

             ŋa   ken   tsa-dzim   bəjar   ŋi-dzi

             1SG   meal   eat- SEQ   market   go-PST

             'After having taken meal I went to the market.'

    b.   *ŋadze dimre ŋidzim ken tsadzi*

ŋa-dze	dim-re	ŋi-dzim	ken	tsa-dzi
1SG-ERG	house-LOC	go-SEQ	meal	eat-PST

'After having reached home I ate meal.'

In examples (17a-b), the clause with converbs (i.e., suffixed by *-dzim*) indicate the event which happened prior to the event expressed in the main clauses. In these clauses, the non-finite form of the verb has been employed as clause combining strategy in Western Tamang.

4.5.2   Simultaneous converbal clause

Simultaneous converb is also known by alternativel names in literature. They include immediate converbs, imminent converb, anterior converb, non-posterior converb, concessive converb, gradual converb and explicative converb. This converb appear in the chained clauses. In Western Tamang, the simultaneous converb is formed by the reduplication of the verb root as in (18a-b).

(18)   a.   *dza iskul biskut tsanatsana ŋidzi*

ja	iskul	biskut	tsana-tsana	ŋi-dzi
son	school	biscuits	eat-SIML	go-PST

'Eating biscuits, the son went to school.'

b.   *ŋatse brabra kju tʰuŋdzi*

ŋa-tse	bra-bra	kju	tʰuŋ-dzi
1SG-ERG	walk-SIML	water	drink-PST

'I drank water walking on.'

In the examples (18a-b) the simultaneous converb is formed by the reduplication of the verb root. In (18a) the verb root *tsana* 'eat' and in (18b) the verb root *bra* 'walk' have been reduplicated to mark the sequential converb in Western Tamang.

4.6. Summary

In this chapter, we analyzed various types of subordinate clauses and their combination in the Western Tamang. It exhibits five types of subordinate clauses or relations, viz., serial verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and converbal clauses. It does not have serial verb constructions as they are found in isolating languages. It means that Western Tamang   has a less prototypical type of serial verb construction. In Western Tamang, complement clauses

are non-finite. Such clauses are subordinate clauses functioning either subject or direct object of the main clause. There are seven types of adverbial clauses in terms of the functions actions or senses of their subordinators in Western Tamang. They include time adverbial, location adverbial, manner adverbial, purpose adverbial, reason adverbial, concessive adverbial and conditional adverbial. In Western Tamang, time adverbial clauses are indicated by lexical adverbs of time such as *ŋondze* ' before', *liptse* 'after', *kʰema* 'when' . The time adverbial clause uses non-finite form of the verb. Such clauses are embedded with the main clause by using lexical time adverbs. Such clauses are placed before the main clause. Western Tamang uses lexical adverb of place, i.e., *kʰanə* 'where' to indicate place adverbial clause. This adverb is normally marked by a locative suffix *-ri* in Western Tamang. In Western Tamang, the manner adverbial clause are non finite clauses indicated by the lexical word *sjappa* 'as if, as same. Such adverb occurs in the complex of the clause itself. In Western Tamang, in the purpose adverbial clause, the non-finite verb is suffixed by the morpheme *-tibri*. This is a complex morpheme consisting of purpose morpheme and the locative morpheme. In Western Tamang, the verb of the reason adverbial clause is suffixed by the morpheme *-dzim*. Western Tamang makes use of non-finite form of the verb suffixed by the morpheme *-lenə* for indicating the contrast between two statements. Western Tamang makes use of the clause with the non-finite form of the verb marked by the suffix *- səm* in order to indicate a possible or counterfactual situation and its consequences. In Western Tamang, there are two types of relative clauses: [+finite] or [-finite]. The [-finite] relative clause (i.e., externally headed relative clauses) in Western Tamang uses non-finite verb suffixed by nominalizer *-ba*. The [+finite] relative clauses are relative-correlative clauses having a finite verb. In this type of relative clause, Western Tamang makes use of interrogative pronouns as relativizers. In Western Tamang, there are two types of converbal clauses: sequential and simultaneous**.** In Western Tamang, the verb of the sequential converbal clause is suffixed by *-dzim.* Simultaneous converb is formed by the reduplication of the verb root in Western Tamang.

CHAPTER 5

COORDINATE CLAUSES

5.0 Outline

In this chapter, we deal with the coordinate clause in Western Tamang within the framework proposed by Haspelmath (2004). Semantically there are four types of coordinating constructions in this dialect: Conjunction, Adversative conjunction, Disjunction and exclusion. This chapter consists of five sections. In section 5.1, we look at conjunction in Western Tamang. Section 5.2 analyzes adversative conjunction in the dialect whereas in section 5.3 we deal with disjunction. Section 5.4 analyzes exclusion in Western Tamang. In section 5.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

5.1 Conjunction

Haspelmath (2004:10) describes this type of coordination as conjunctive coordination or 'and' coordination. This type of coordination is also called combinatory/additive coordination. In Western Tamang, conjunction is asyndetic type of coordination. In other words, the conjunction construction lacks coordinators. It employs simple juxtaposition as in (1).

(1)   a.   *dza dzame iskul ŋidzi*

            dza   dzame   iskul   ŋi-dzi

            son   daughter   school   go-PST

            'The son and daughter went to school.'

    b.   *dza dzame iskul ŋi□iba*

            dza   dzame   iskul   ŋi-□i-ba

            son   daughter   school   go-do-NMLZ

            'The son and daughter go to school.'

In examples (1a-b), there are two coordinands, i.e., coordinated phrases. These constructions are considered coordinate because both coordinated phrases have the same status. They are simply juxtaposed without any coordinators. In Western Tamang, juxtaposition as the coordination coordinates the noun phrases, verb phrases, clauses, adjective phrases and prepositional phrases.

5.2 Disjunction

The disjunction is also known as disjunctive coordination or 'or' coordination. Western Tamang lacks native coordinator for marking disjunction. It has borrowed the coordinator from Nepali, the language of wider communication in the area. Two clauses are simply joined with Nepali coordinator marker '*ki'* as in (2)

(2)   a.   *dza tsuri kʰasje ki ŋa hudzuri ŋipa*

dza	tsu-ri	kʰa-sje	ki	ŋa
son	here-LOC	come-NMLZ	or	1SG

hudzu-ri	ŋi-pa
there-LOC	go-NMLZ

'Either my son comes here or I go there.'

b.   *ki geŋ tsaba ki ken tsaba*

ki	geŋ	tsa-ba	ki	ken	tsa-ba
or	bread	eat-NMLZ	or	rice	eat-NMLZ

'Either I eat bread or rice.'

c.   *dza jaŋdze ki dzame jaŋdzi*

dza	jaŋ-dze	ki	dzame	jaŋ-dzi
son	birth-PST	or	daughter	birth-PST

'Either the son was born or the daughter was born.'

In examples (2a-c) two coordinands, i.e., coordinated phrases are coordinated by disjunctive coordination particle *ki* 'or' in Western Tamang. Unlike conjunction, disjunction is syndetic coordinating construction, i.e., it contains a coordinator. In other words, coordinating constructions in (2a-c) are mono-syndetic in Western Tamang.

5.3 Adversative coordination

The adversative coordination is also known as 'but' coordination. Western Tamang has its native adversative coordinator: *debe* 'but' as in (3a-b).

(3)   a.   *dza kʰadzi debe dzame akʰa*

dza	kʰa-dzi	debe	dzame	a-kʰa
son	come-PST	but	daughter	NEG-come

'The son came but the daughter did not.'

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b. *rʰa sijoŋ debe gja cʰoba*

rʰa	sijoŋ	debe	gja	cʰo-ba
goat	thin	but	sheep	fat-NMLZ

'The goat is thin but the sheep is fat.'

In examples (3a-b), two coordinants are liked by adversative coordinator: *debe*. It links only clauses, not noun phrases or verb phrases.

5.4 Exclusion

Western Tamang does not have a native coordinator to indicate exclusion. It has borrowed the coordinator from Nepali. The exclusion is indicated by Nepali exclusion marker *baek* 'except ' as in (4a-b).

(4) a. *ŋa ken baek □əinə atsa*

ŋa	ken	baek	□əinə	a-tsa
1SG	rice	except	nothing	NEG-eat

'Except rice I do not eat anything.'

b. *dzaje ken baek □əinə atsa*

dza-dze	ken	baek	□əinə	a-tsa
son-ERG	rice	expect	nothing	NEG-eat

'Except rice the son does not eat anything.'

In examples (4a-b), two coordinants are linked by exclusion coordinator: *baek*. It links only clauses, not noun phrases or verb phrases. Western Tamang permits coordination, namely, conjunction (p and q); adversative (p but q) disjunction (p or q); and exclusion (except p, not q).

5.5. Summary

In this chapter, we discussed coordination as a syntactic construction in Western Tamang. There are four types of coordinating constructions, viz., conjunction, adversative conjunction, disjunction and exclusion. Western Tamang has native coordinator for adversative disjunction. It has borrowed coordinators from Nepali for disjunction and exclusion. The conjunction is indicated by juxtaposition in Western Tamang.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main goal of this study was to examine the clause combining in Western Tamang within the framework of the functional-typological grammar developed mainly by T. Givón (2001) and complemented by other functional linguists, namely; Foley and Van Valin, 1984), Lehmann (1988), Payne (1997), Cristofaro (2003), Haspelmath (2004) and Dixon (2009). Organized into six chapters, this study mainly tried to analyze simple clauses (i.e., as foundation for the analysis of complex constructions), subordinate clauses and coordinate clauses in Western Tamang.

In this chapter, we, first present the summary of the major findings of the study, then, we conclude by highlighting the prominent features of clause combining in Western Tamang. It consists of two sections. In section 6.1, we present a summary of the major findings of the study. In section 6.2, we conclude by highlighting the prominent features of clause combining in Western Tamang.

6.1 Major findings

We sum up the major findings of the study by grouping them into three categories, viz., general information about Western Tamang, simple clauses and complex constructions (i.e., coordinate and coordinate clauses) as follows:

(a) General information

General information includes the sociolinguistic situation, genetic affiliation and typological features of Western Tamang. Such information is presented as follows;

    a) Western Tamang is a dialect of Tamang. Tamang as a whole is a safe/vigorous Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 1, 35.311 of a total of 1,539,830 ethnic Tamang, most of them living in central Nepal particularly the hilly areas around the Kathmandu valley.

    b) Tamang in general has been classified as one of the members of the Gurung-Tamang cluster of West Bodish sub-section of the Bodish section of Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family.

    c) There are five distinct languages /dialects of Tamang, viz., Northwestern Tamang, Eastern Tamang, Western Tamang, Eastern Gorkha Tamang and Southwestern Tamang.

d) Western Tamang is alternatively known as Murmi and Sain. It is spoken by 323,000 speakers estimated in 2000.

e) The speakers of this dialect are increasing gradually. It is reported that mostly the speakers are found monolingual below school age or over 60 years of age.

f) Western Tamang is mainly spoken in Bagmati and Narayani Zones.

g) In Bagmati Zone, it is spoken in west Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Dhading districts, northeastern Sindhupalchok District, Bhote Namlan, Bhote Chaur, west bank of Trishuli River towards Budhi Gandaki River.

h) In Narayani Zone, it is mainly spoken in northwestern Makwanpur District, Phakel, Chakhel, Khulekhani, Markhu, Tistung, Palung; northern Kathmandu, Jhor, Thoka, Gagal Phedi (Eppele et al. 2012).

i) There are two sub-dialects of Western Tamang, viz., Northwestern sub-dialect (Spoken in Dhading and Rasuwa) and, Southwestern sub-dialect (spoken mainly in Trisuli area of Nuwakot.

j) Western Tamang is an ergative and tonal dialect with SOV as the basic word order, 24 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes, postpositions, noun head both initial and final, genitives after noun and relatives before nouns.

k) Western Tamang lacks classes or genders. In this dialect, content q-word occurs in the initial position of the clause. It has two prefixes and eleven suffixes at the maximum.

l) Western Tamang lacks passive voice and indicates clause constituents by word order.

m) Western Tamang is used at home, with friends and performing rites and rituals.

n) However, at work and education, Nepali is also used in this speech community.

o) Western Tamang is a safe/vigorous. It is used by the people of all ages. At present, especially, younger boys and girls use Nepali due to education in Nepali.

(b) Simple clauses

In Western Tamang, the simple clauses were categorized in terms of two broad criteria: internal structure and speech acts distinction. In terms of their internal structure there are basically two types of simple clauses, viz., non-verbal predicate

and verbal predicate simple clause. In terms of speech act distinctions in syntax, Western Tamang makes the distinction between declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative clauses/sentences. The major findings of the analysis of simple clauses are presented as follows:

a) There are three types of simple clauses with non-verbal predicates, viz., adjectival predicate, nominal predicate and locative predicate simple clauses.

b) In Western Tamang, all three of the predicate clauses occur with the copula verbs.

c) In Western Tamang, the adjectival predicates occur only with the existential copula, i.e., *mula*. In such clause, the subject occurs clause-initially and the copula occurs clause-finally.

d) The nominal predicate simple clauses in Western Tamang employ both the existential (i.e., *mula*) and equational copula (i.e., *hinla*).

e) In Western Tamang, the locative predicate clauses are coded by postpositions. Such clauses employ the existential copula, *mula*.

f) Western Tamang presents four types of verbal predicate clauses, viz., intransitive clauses, simple transitive clauses, intransitive clauses with indirect object and transitive clauses with indirect objects.

g) In a simple intransitive clause, the predicate takes a single argument, i.e., the subject in the absolutive case.

h) In a simple transitive clause, subject in ergative case is followed by the direct object in the absolutive case. The verb is placed clause-finally.

i) In a simple intransitive clause, the verbal predicate also takes two arguments, one as the subject coded in the absolutive case, and another occurring pre-verbally and coded by a postposition in Western Tamang.

j) In Western Tamang, a verbal predicate may take three arguments: subject, indirect object and direct object.

k) SOV is the basic order in declarative sentences in Western Tamang.

l) In Western Tamang, there are four types of interrogative sentences: polar or 'yes/no, disjunctive questions, neutral questions and constituent interrogatives.

m) In Western Tamang, the constituent interrogatives, or parametric questions, are formed by replacing a questioned constituent with interrogative pronouns.

(c) Complex constructions

We have analyzed subordinate and coordinate clauses as complex constructions in Western Tamang. The major findings are presented as follows:

a) Western Tamang exhibits five types of subordinate clauses or relations, viz., serial verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and converbal clauses.

b) Western Tamang has a less prototypical type of serial verb construction.

c) In Western Tamang, complement clauses are non-finite. Such clauses are subordinate clauses functioning either subject or direct object of the main clause.

d) There are seven types of adverbial clauses in terms of the functions actions or senses of their subordinators in Western Tamang. They include time adverbial, location adverbial, manner adverbial, purpose adverbial, reason adverbial, concessive adverbial and conditional adverbial.

e) In Western Tamang, time adverbial clauses are indicated by the lexical adverbs of time such as *ŋondze* ' before', *liptse* 'after', $k^h ema$ 'when' . The time adverbial clause uses non-finite form of the verb. Such clauses are embedded with the main clause by using lexical time adverbs. Such clauses are placed before the main clause.

f) Western Tamang uses lexical adverb of place, i.e., $k^h anə$ 'where' to indicate place adverbial clause. This adverb is normally marked by a locative suffix *-ri* in Western Tamang.

g) In Western Tamang, the manner adverbial clause are non finite clauses indicated by the lexical word *sjappa* 'as if, as same. Such adverb occurs in the complex of the clause itself.

h) In Western Tamang, in the purpose adverbial clause, the non-finite verb is suffixed by the morpheme *tibri*. This is a complex morpheme consisting of purpose morpheme and the locative morpheme.

i) In Western Tamang, the verb of the reason adverbial clause is b suffixed by the morpheme *-dzim*.

j) Western Tamang makes use of non-finite form of the verb suffixed by the morpheme *-lenə* for indicating the contrast between two statements.

k) Western Tamang makes use of the clause with the non-finite form of the verb marked by the suffix *-səm* in order to indicate a possible or counterfactual situation and its consequences.

l) In Western Tamang, there are two types of relative clauses: [+finite] or [-finite]. The [-finite] relative clause (i.e., Externally headed relative clauses) in Western Tamang uses non-finite verb suffixed by nominalizer *-ba*. The [+finite] relative clauses are relative-correlative clauses having a finite verb. In this type of relative clause, Western Tamang makes use of interrogative pronouns as relativizers.

m) In Western Tamang, there are two types of converbal clauses: sequential and simultaneous.

n) In Western Tamang, the verb of the sequential converbal clause is suffixed by *-dzim.*

o) Simultaneous converb is formed by the reduplication of the verb root in Western Tamang.

p) Semantically there are four types of coordinating constructions in this dialect: Conjunction, Adversative conjunction, Disjunction and exclusion.

q) In Western Tamang, conjunction is asyndetic type of coordination. It employs simple juxtaposition. It can link noun phrases, verb phrases, clauses, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases and others.

r) Western Tamang lacks native coordinator for marking disjunction. It has borrowed the coordinator from Nepali, the language of wider communication in the area. Two clauses are simply joined with Nepali coordinator marker '*ki'.*

s) The adversative coordination is also known as 'but' coordination. Western Tamang has its native adversative coordinator: *debe* 'but'.

t) Western Tamang does not have a native coordinator to indicate exclusion. It has borrowed the coordinator from Nepali. The exclusion is indicated by Nepali exclusion marker *baek* 'except '

6.2 Conclusion

Western Tamang is a major dialect of Tamang, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. It is a vigorous dialect. It involves two processes for clause combining: subordination and coordination. Subordination involves three kinds of clauses: serial verb construction, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and

converbal clauses. In subordination, Western Tamang uses non-finite form of the verb as a major strategy for clause combining. In coordination, except for conjunction and adversative conjunction, it uses coordinators borrowed from Nepali. It uses simple juxtaposition, an asyndetic coordination for conjunction.

To sum up, clause combining as a morpho-syntactic phenomenon in Western Tamang reveals typologically interesting characteristics which needs from a broad typological perspective.

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APPENDIX I: SAMPLE TEXT

Earthquake: An Experience

(Narrated by Mrs. Manjung Tamang)

(1)   *ŋa dimri mubala*

ŋa   dim-ri   mu-ba-la

1SG   house-LOC   live-NMLZ-GEN

'I was in the house.'

(2)   *dzəmmano mʰi dimre naŋdi mubəla*

dzəmmano   mʰi   dim-re   naŋ-di   mu-bə-la

All   family   house-LOC   in-LOC   do- NMLZ-GEN

'We, all family members, were in the house at that time.'

(3)   *saŋgul dzindzim pʰirlo ŋidzi*

saŋgul   dzin-dzim   pʰirlo   ŋi-dzi

earthquake   stop-SEQ   out   go-PST

'We went out after the earthquake stopped.'

(4)   *holajim paŋri ŋidzim □idzi*

hola-dzim   paŋ-ri   ŋi-dzim   □i-dzi

after-SEQ   ground-LOC   go-SEQ   live-PST

'After the earthquake, we lived in the ground.'

(5)   *hjakko loŋdzim*

hjakko   loŋ-dzim

much   afraid-SEQ

'We were very scared.'

(6)   *dimre kʰale ŋila □ila mindzi*

dim-re   kʰa-le   ŋi-la   □i-la   min-dzi

house-LOC   come-NMLZ   go-NMLZ   live-NMLZ   think-PST

'We had to think seriously about live in the house after the earthquake.'

(7)   *saŋgul ŋidzim somret ken bʰə☐iri tsadzi*

saŋgul   ŋi-dzim   som-ret   ken

earthquake   go-SEQ   three-ALL   meal

bʰə☐i-ri   tsa-dzi

hotel-LOC   eat-PST

'We took meals at the hotel for three days.'

(8)   *kʰema reri pʰəlaŋki tsautsau tsadzi*

kʰema   re-ri   pʰəlaŋki

sometimes   day-LOC   beaten rice

tsautsau   tsa-dzi

noodles   eat-PST

'Sometimes, we ate fast foods like noodles and beaten rice.'

(9)   *saŋgul ŋidzim liptse məhinaŋi paŋri ☐idzi*

saŋgul   ŋi-dzim   liptse   məhina-ŋi

earthquake   go-SEQ   after   month-two

paŋ-ri   ☐i-dzi

ground-LOC   live-PST

'After the earthquake we lived in the ground for three months.'

(10) *məhinaŋi liptse dimre ŋidzi*

məhina-ŋi   liptse   dim-re   ŋi-dzi

month-two   after   house-LOC   go-PST

'We came back to house after two months.'

(11) *dimnaŋ loŋ loŋdzim ☐idzi*

dim-naŋ   loŋ   loŋ-dzim   ☐i-dzi

house-INES   afraid   afraid-SEQ   live-PST

'We lived in the house with the fear.'

(12)   *liptse liptse golele sjem hartidzim ꓷidzi*

liptse	liptse	gole-le	sjem
after	after	slowly-ADV	think

harti-dzim	ꓷi-dzi
forget-SEQ	live-PST

'After some days, we forget the earth quake.'

(13)   *sjem gəde loŋba paŋdzim attidzim ꓷidzim*

sjem	gəde	loŋ-ba	paŋ-dzim
want	how	afraid-NMLZ	ground-SEQ

atti-dzim	ꓷi-dzim
afraid-SEQ	live-SEQ

'Now-a-days, we are not afraid of the earthquake.'

(14)   *saŋgul tini namsyoə nə kʰariba*

saŋgul	tini	namsyoə	nə	kʰa-ri-ba
earthquake	today	tomorrow	also	come-LOC-NMLZ

'The earthquake is coming every day.'

(15)   *dingi tələinə muari loŋ loŋdzim bitidzi*

din-gi	tələi-nə	mua-ri	loŋ
day-one	whole-also	night-LOC	afraid

loŋ-dzim	biti-dzi
afraid-SEQ	spend-PST

'We are suffering from earthquake in every night.'

(16)   *dzəmma mi siba məraŋdzim dim pʰuppəla məraŋdzim hjakko sjem*
         pridzim

dzəmma	mi	si-ba	məraŋ-dzim	dim
a lot of	man	die-NMLZ	see-SEQ	house

pri-dzim	phuppə-la	məraŋ-dzim	hjakko	syem
bad-SEQ	break-GEN	see-SEQ	much	want

'I did not like to see the men dying and houses falling down.'

(17)   *hodepa tala paŋdzim syemdze soda adibala*

hode-pa	tala		paŋ-dzim	syem-dze
this-NMLZ	incident		ask-SEQ	want-ERG

so-da	a-di-ba-la
think-GEN	NEG-do-NMLZ-GEN

'We had not expected that such a big incident would happen.'

(18)   *sjem kʰeke sotibala adapadzim*

sjem		kʰeke	soti-ba-la
want		think	think-GEN-NMLZ

a-da-pa-dzim
NEG-think-NMLZ-SEQ

'The incident was beyond our thought.'

(19)   *dim sobəri kaŋnale bəndi todzi nʰepəla jək□i kaŋbəla tʰam utodzi dzəmma*
        midzino semri soti todzi

dim	so-bə-ri	kaŋna-le	bən-di
house	build-OBLG-LOC	strong-NMLZ	jungle-PATH
to-dzi	nʰepə-la	jək-□i	kaŋ-bə-la
carry-PST	beam-GEN	foundation-LOC	strong-NMLZ-GEN
tʰam	uto-dzi	dzəmma	mi-dzi-no
pillar	gound-ALL	all	man-PST-also
sem-ri	so-ti	to-dzi	
heart-ALL	think-PST	make-PST	

'After this incident, all the people have to think about the ways of making the houses much stronger.'