

Sememic and Grammatical Structures in Gurung (Nepal)

Warren W. Glover

**Sememic and Grammatical
Structures in Gurung (Nepal)**

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by

Warren William Glover

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Acknowledgments

This description is based on six years' study of the Gurung language, four and a half of which were spent in Nepal. For the purposes of exemplification I have drawn primarily on a collection of letters and a body of texts taperecorded and transcribed in Nepal, some of which were used for a computerized concordance of 46,000 morphemes (Glover and Glover 1970). The latter was produced under a joint project of the Oklahoma Research Institute and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, partially supported under contract OEC-0-9-097721-2778(014) with the Office of Education, US Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In places I have drawn on the intuitions my wife and I have formed about the language in speaking it in Nepal, but as we have not achieved native speaker competence in Gurung I have not felt able to use this as a major source of examples. The chief source of data has therefore been my closest friend and language assistant in Nepal, Mr. Deu Bahadur Gurung, a man in his late twenties. Many other Gurung people have also helped us learn their language - most of them are listed elsewhere (Glover 1970:131).

The writings of Mary Ruth Wise (1971), Joseph Grimes (1972b), and Robert Longacre (1972) have been the major stimuli in developing a somewhat eclectic approach. Special acknowledgement is due to Kenneth Pike for his innovation and development of the tagmemic model. With its integrated view of language as part of the whole of human behaviour and, in turn, of ordered creation, I find the model very congenial. Kenneth Pike, Austin Hale, and other colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics provided valuable stimulus during workshops in Nepal in 1969 and 1971-2.

In October 1970 I joined the Department of Linguistics within the Institute of Advanced Studies at the Australian National University, and acknowledge with gratitude the University's grant of a scholarship including generous provision for a field trip to Nepal. Professor Stephen Wurm, as head of the department, has given advice and assistance in many matters, and Drs. C. L. Voorhoeve and T. E. Dutton, as my principal supervisors, have offered valuable criticisms on my work. I have also benefited from comments by Miss Christine Kilham, a fellow student in the department, on portions of the study, and by the members of my examining committee, Prof. John T. Platt, Dr. E. R. Hope, and Mrs. Luise Hercus. If I have not implemented their suggestions fully the result is doubtless the poorer for it.

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My indebtedness to my wife, Jessie, is difficult to express adequately. She has provided (in addition to the oft taken for granted physical support, both in Nepal and in Canberra) opinions on Gurung structure, comments on drafts, and constant encouragement, which has all indeed proved essential to the completion of the thesis.

Finally, this work is dedicated to the glory of Jesus Christ. Were it not for His overruling love, my life would lack any real meaning, and would certainly not have been spent, even in part, in the study of linguistics in the lovely country of Nepal, nor would this thesis have been undertaken or completed.

SEMEMIC AND GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES IN GURUNG (NEPAL)

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Abstract

Gurung is a Sino-Tibetan language spoken in central Nepal. This tagmemic description of Gurung sketches the way meaning (sememic structure) is expressed in surface forms (grammatical structures).

Chapter 1 outlines the geographical location and linguistic classification of Gurung, reviews previous descriptive work on the language, and sets out the theoretical position underlying the description. The orientation is tagmemic, positing separate sememic and grammatical hierarchies. Sememic structure is a representation of the semantic content of a communication, which is expressed through the forms, or grammatical structures, of a particular language.

Chapter 2 defines four levels of sememic structure in terms of the types of relation operative at each level: participant roles at role level, attribution at increment level, logical connection of propositions at statement level, and the interaction of stimulus and response at response level.

Chapters 3 to 8 describe grammatical structure at the clause, phrase, word, sentence, paragraph, and discourse levels, respectively, of the grammatical hierarchy in Gurung. The description of grammatical structures notes the sememic relations encoded by particular grammatical forms.

An appendix includes three Gurung texts analyzed to show grammatical structure at paragraph and discourse levels.

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Abbreviations

Throughout this description abbreviations appear in upper case when employed in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, or when referring to language names, to slots or constructions on the DISCOURSE or PARAGRAPH levels, or sememic relations of the response level. They appear with upper case initial when referring to slots or constructions on the Sentence, Clause, or Phrase levels, or to roles or statement level relations. They appear in lower case when referring to slots or constructions at word level or below, or to sememic relations of the increment level, or to case-marked phrases.

Upper case letters used as speaker identifications are listed separately below.

a	agentive; apposi-	cmt	comitative
	tional; axis	comp	complement
ad	adjunct	conc	concurrent
aj	adjective; adjecti-	cond	conditional
	vizer	conf	conflict
ajr	adjective root	conss	concessional
ans	answer	cpd	compound
antith	antithesis	dat	dative
ar	axis-relator	dep	dependent
aux	auxiliary	des	descriptive
av	adverb(ial)	desid	desiderative
avl	available	di	discovery
avzr	adverbializer	dial	dialogue
b	base; benefactive	dlvs	derived loan verb stem
bro	brother	dpns	derived personal noun
bu	buildup		stem
c	coordinate; noninsti-	dtr	ditransitive
	gative cause	dub	dubitative
cj	conjunctive	e	elder
cl	classifier; clause	em	emphatic
cm	colour marker	enum	enumerative
cmp	comparative	er	ergative

ess	essive	ma	manner
et	eldest	mar	margin
ev	evaluation	med	mediation
ex	exclamation	n	Nepali; neutral; noun
exch	exchange	narr	narrative
excl	exclusive of addressee	nec	necessary
exl	existential	neg	negative
expl	explanatory	np	nonpast; noun phrase
expo	exposition	npr	proper noun
f	factitive	nr	noun root
fem	feminine	nuc	nucleus
fin	final comment	num	numeral
g	goal; Gurung	o	object; old
ge	gerund	p	patient; phrase
gen	genitive	pa	past
h	head	para	paragraph
ho	hortatory	paraph	paraphrase
hort	hortatory	per	personal
hund	hundred	perzr	personalizer
hy	hypothetical	peri	periphery
i	instrument	pfc	post-funeral ceremony
im	imperative	ph	past habitative
in	infinitive	pl	plural
incl	inclusive of addressee	plup	pluperfect
ind	independent	pr	protracted
interr	interrogative	pred	predicate
intr	introducer	prelim	preliminary
io	indirect object	pro	proposal
itr	intransitive	prob	probabilitative
l	link	proc	procedure; procedural
let	3rd person hortatory	pron	pronoun
li	locative-intransitive	prop	proposition
loc	locative	pu	purpose
ltr	locative-transitive	pr-so	problem-solving
m	modified; modifier	qe	question
		qo	quotative
		r	range

redup	reduplicative	src	source
ref	reference	stat	stative
rel	relative	su	surprise
rem	remark	sub	subject
res	result	t	temporal
reso	resolution	term	terminus
resp	response	tn	tentative
rp	repetitive	to	topic
rq	request	tr	transitive
s	sentence; source;	um	unmarked
	stem	ur	unreal
seq	sequence	v	verb
sim	simple	voc	vocative
sit	situation	vp	verb phrase
sp	specifier	vr	verb root
sp-c	countering speech	x	experiencer
sp-i	initiating speech	y	younger
sp-r	resolving speech	yt	youngest

Speaker identifications (and home village, and approximate age in 1971, of native speakers of Gurung):

- B Baidara Gurung, Ghacok, 66.
 D Deu Bahadur Gurung, Ghacok, 26.
 G Gau Suba Gurungsine, Rije, 50.
 H Mrs. Hindumaya Burgess, Thak, 26.
 J the author's wife.
 K Ras Kumari Gurungsini, Ghacok, 29.
 R Ram Phal Gurung, Ghacok, 35.
 S Ser Bahadur Gurung, Ghacok, 50.
 U Gunja Sing Gurung, Ghacok, 20
 W the author.
 X } hypothetical
 Y }

Guide to Orthography

In citing Gurung forms I use a practical text orthography which is a transliteration of the Devanagari script as applied to Gurung. Table 1 sets out the symbols used for segmental phonemes.

Consonants:

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Apico- alvsolar affricates	Velar	Glottal
Stops:						
vl. unasp.	p	t	ʈ	c	k	
vl. asp.	ph	t ^h	ʈ ^h	ch	k ^h	
vd.	b	d	ɖ	ʃ	g	
Spirants		s				h
Nasals	m	n			ŋ	
Lateral		l				
Flap		r				
Semivowels	w			y		

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	a	o

Table 1. Segmental phonemes.

Also contrastive are the suprasegmental features of:
 nasalization (symbolized by ,)
 breathiness (symbolized by x¹)

¹The positioning of x in the orthography represents my Gurung friends' preferences for the position of the Devanagari symbol ञ "h"; that is, preceding the vowel, and the consonants y, r, and w, except in the prefix ax-.

accent, or high tone (symbolized by ')

vowel length (symbolized by ·)

The symbols given represent unit phonemes, combinations of which interact to produce special phonetic realizations in the following cases:

(i) Geminate central vowel. The most commonly lengthened vowel is a, but there is considerable variation between speakers as to the quality of the geminate a. In the speech of my major informant, Deu Bahadur, the lengthened vowel was lower in articulatory position, in addition to being phonetically longer or, occasionally, rearticulated. In the speech of his wife, Ras Kumari, on the other hand, the lengthened vowel had the same mid central articulation, [ʌ], as the short vowel. The reason for this variation appears to be that the language is in transition from a five to a six vowel system. The adoption of a second central vowel, with lower articulatory position, is probably influenced by Nepali, which has two central vowels.²

(ii) Palatalization. The apico-alveolar affricates and fricative coalesce with a following y to become alveopalatal: syá·mgo [šá·mgo] 'billy', cyq [tšq] 'trap'. The same palatalizing process normally occurs before the front vowels i and e: jx|lgé [dž^hh|g^vé] 'rice straws', séba [šéba] 'to dance'. Word medially, however, it fluctuates: ba·je [ba·džé] ~ [ba·dzé] 'grandfather', and I have found three words where it never occurs: éx| [ts^h] 'undergrowth', é| [tsi] 'splinter', and é|ribá [s|ribÁ]

²The man's contrastive system is likely to dominate also because of the greater phonetic distance he establishes between the two syllable nuclei, thus enhancing the efficiency of the language as a signalling system. This would be in accord with the first principle of analogic change enunciated by Jerzy Kuryłowicz (1966:162):

'A bipartite morpheme tends to assimilate an isofunctional morpheme which consists uniquely of one of the two elements, that is to say, the compound morpheme replaces the simple morpheme.'

Thus, lam [lʌm] 'do', but la·m [D: |a·m] ~ [K: |ʌ·m] 'heat'.

'to spin thread (?)'.³

(iii) Aspiration of voiced stops. Before breathy vowels, voiced stops and affricates are aspirated: dx[[dʰ]ḥ] 'house', gxá· [gʰǎ·ḥ] 'wound', but the aspiration of the voiced segments is not independently contrastive, being conditioned by the breathy quality of the following vowel. Aspirated voiced stops are not separate phonemes in Gurung. In the same way, there is some phonetic breathiness of the semivowels y and w and the resonant r before breathy vowels - which is phonetic support for my informants' preference for writing the x symbolizing breathiness before these three segments when they occur prevocally: xya·bá [yʰǎ·ḥbʌ] 'to go', xr[[rʰ]ḥ] 'bamboo', xwǎ·bá [wʰǎ·ḥbʌ] 'to flatter', ɲxyó [ɲyʰǒḥ] 'we (inclusive)', pxré [prʰǎḥ] 'eight'.

The phonetically conditioned 'voiced aspiration' is quite distinct from the phonemically contrastive aspiration of voiceless segments before clear vowels: pi-f [pʰiʃ] 'was ashamed', phi-f [pʰiʃ] 'bore', pxl [pʰl] 'carrying basket'. In the basic form of roots aspirated voiceless stops do not precede breathy vowels. However, in the negative forms of verbs whose stems belong to the 'high clear' tone class,⁴ there is a morphophonemic 'spreading' of breathiness from the negative prefix to the stem (Glover and Glover 1972:30). If the latter has an initial voiceless

³ Because of the phonetic contrast, which is minimal contrast in the case of dxl with cxl [tʃ]ḥ] 'knee', I earlier (Glover 1969a:14) described the alveopalatal segments, wherever they occurred, as clusters of the apicoalveolar series with y. This led to an orthography too unwieldy for literacy purposes. An overwhelming economy in representation is achieved by writing the simple apicoalveolar symbols before front vowels and positing a phonetic rule which palatalizes the segments in that environment. The cost of this economy is that in any technical description an ad hoc marking (ǎ, ǎ) is required for the three exceptional words to show that they do not undergo the palatalizing rule before front vowels.

⁴ The intersection of the features of accent and

aspirated segment, the result is a combination of aspiration and breathiness in the one syllable: $k^h\dot{a}\cdot ba$ [$k^h\dot{a}\cdot b\Lambda$] 'to be able', $axk^h\dot{x}\dot{a}\cdot ba$ [$\lambda^h k^h\dot{x}\dot{a}\cdot hb\Lambda$] 'to be unable'.⁵

(iv) The phonemic sequence /k|/ is realized as a voiceless lateral fricative with palatal release, [\dot{x}^V]. It is represented in the orthography by a conventional $k^h|y$ (because my Gurung friends insist on this cluster as the nearest possible Devanagari approximation to the actual phonetic realization). The interpretation of the segment as phonemically /k|/ is based on considerations of symmetry, distribution, and comparative evidence from other Gurung dialects and from Tamang (Glover 1969a:26-7).

(v) Accent and breathiness interact to determine the pitch of syllables. Earlier I gave an item-arrangement treatment of the phenomenon (Glover 1969a:55-6), but the following rules seem more helpful. Roughly, a scheme of three pitch levels can be considered: high, mid, low. Mid is unmarked; voiced stop or affricate, or a breathy vowel, or both, in the initial syllable lower the pitch of the word; accent on a syllable cancels a previous lowering (restoring mid) or raises the pitch, of the accented syllable alone, to high in the absence of any previous lowering; a breathy accented syllable exhibits a low-to-mid pitch glide (symbolized [\dot{V}]): $mx\acute{a}$ [$m\acute{x}^h$] 'cow', $mx\acute{a}\cdot r\acute{a}$ [$m\acute{a}\cdot hr\Lambda$] 'gold', $dxaj\acute{u}ra$

breathiness defines four tone classes for monosyllables:

accent	+	-	+	-
breathiness	-	-	+	+
tone class	high	mid	rising	low
	clear	clear	breathy	breathy

⁵ It thus appears that Ramanujan and Masica (1968:570) are incorrect, from a phonological point of view, in their tentative classification of Gurung, along with Newari, in their group A, manifesting 'maximum utilization of aspiration, i.e. both voiced and voiceless, sometimes also with nasals, liquids, and semivowels'. Rather Gurung belongs in their group B, with 'aspiration in voiceless but not voiced stops', and it has in addition the contrastive feature of breathy vowel quality.

[dʰλdzurʌ] 'cane frames in cowshed roof', anéro [ʌnéro] 'darkness', boba· [bòbà·] 'to bring', be|a·udf [bè|à·ùd|] 'guava'.

(vi) Verb suffixes have morphophonemic variants (in length of the vowel a, and in accent) according to the tone class of the verb stem (Glover and Glover 1972:26ff.). The basic form of suffixes, without accent and with short a, occurs with stems of Group 1 (high clear) and Group 4 (low breathy): ná-ba 'to pain', txu-mála 'would have been necessary'. With stems of Group 3 (rising breathy), an accent is induced on the first syllable of the suffix: †xu-má|a 'would have sewn', ηxe-bá 'to spill'. With stems of Group 2 (mid clear), the vowel of the first syllable of the suffix is lengthened to a· if and only if (1) its basic form is a, and (2) the stem is monosyllabic: bo-ba· 'to bring', gəgr|d|·ba 'to twist', b|·d| 'said'. And an accent is induced on the first syllable of the suffix if and only if the stem does not begin with a voiced stop or affricate:⁶ ca|d|·bá 'to need', p|·bá· 'to give', ca-má|a 'would have eaten'.

If the stem is compound the accent of the suffix is governed by the second root of the compound, but the vowel is always short: †hə-bá· 'to put', b|·†hə-bá 'to name'; †xu-bá 'to sew', †xú·xya·-bá 'to finish sewing'.

⁶The rule for accents induced on the verb suffix by Group 2 stems is not fully clear to me. It appears that the accent appears on the second syllable, not the first, if the vowel of the first syllable is | and if there is a second syllable (or clitic): |a-|·mú 'have done', †a-| ró 'became, it is said'. Also, certain suffixes such as -|a 'pluperfect' do not accept the accent with Group 2 stems: mu-|a· 'was', mɾq-|a· 'saw', although it does take the accent with Group 3 stems: jxq-|á 'put'.

1 Introduction

This language is essentially a colloquial one, and there is practically no grammar at all. In Magarkura many of the words defy spelling, in Gurungkura they nearly all do.

G. W. P. Money (1918:24)

1.1 Geographical location. Gurung¹ is a language spoken in the central west of Nepal. According to the report of the 1961 Census of Nepal, 157,778 persons claimed Gurung as their mother tongue, of whom most (146,600) lived in the western hills, especially in the districts of Lamjung, Syangja, Kaski, Gorkha, Tanahun, and Dhading.

Outside Nepal Gurung communities exist in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, India, and at Gurkha Brigade posts of the Indian Army throughout India, and of the British Army in Hong Kong and Malaysia. However these communities do not in general use the Gurung language, replacing it with Nepali and major Indian languages. I have observed that Gurung children returning to Nepal from military posts can converse with their village relatives only in Nepali while the latter converse among themselves in Gurung. This fact may help to explain the discrepancy between the 1951 Census of India, reporting 25,556 speakers of Gurung (Gopalaswami 1954:12), and the 1961 Census of India, which enumerated

¹'Gurung' is the most common name for the language in the literature. Although Burton-Page (1955:111), following the usage of military manuals such as Money (1918), says 'Gurungkura is the Nepali name' for the language, my observation has been that in colloquial Nepali speech in western Nepal the Gurung language is also frequently referred to as *gurung bha'sa*. 'Gurung language', and educated Nepalese prefer this form. Gurung speakers themselves refer to their language as *tamy kxyúí* 'Gurung language'.

only 82 (Mitra 1964:154).² The latter figure probably represents the 'amalgamation of other mother tongues with Nepali' which language showed an increase in India of over 200% to some 570,000 in the decade 1951-61 (Mitra 1964:xiii). Konow (in Grierson 1967[1909]:182)³ noted already at that time that Gurungs outside Western Nepal tend 'to abandon their old dialect in favour of [Nepali]'.

Money (1918:iii) reports that there is considerable variation amongst Gurung dialects in lexicon, a fact which my informants emphatically endorse. However I am not aware of any available systematic treatment of the variation. The dialect treated in this thesis is that represented by Deu Bahadur Gurung (hereafter D) and his wife, Ras Kumari (hereafter K), both born and bred in the village of Ghacok, about six miles northwest of Pokhara, in Kaski district. There is some variation from speaker to speaker within the village, and more particularly from village to village. Variation is especially evident in the system of supra-segmentals, in the form of some verb affixes (such as -l ~ -dl ~ -jl 'past tense' and -mu ~ -my 'nonpast tense'), and in the degree of assimilation of loanwords from Hindi and Nepali. However the speech of D and K is representative of the majority of the village, and of what the Gurung people themselves designate as a single speech form used and understood, despite variations, in the western part of the language area (see maps, Figs. 1 and 2, on following pages, based on Pignède 1966:25-6, and used by permission of the publishers, Mouton & Co.). As this description is not concerned with minor dialectal variation I have, where necessary, regularized examples to conform with D's idiolect.

²Hugoniot (1970:64) reports Gurung as included on the 1956 Tribal Map of India (based on the 1951 Census), but the 1967 map, based on the 1961 Census, does not include Gurung in its list of tribes.

³Sten Konow was wholly responsible for Vol. III of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, covering Tibeto-Burman languages, although the whole work appears under Grierson's name.

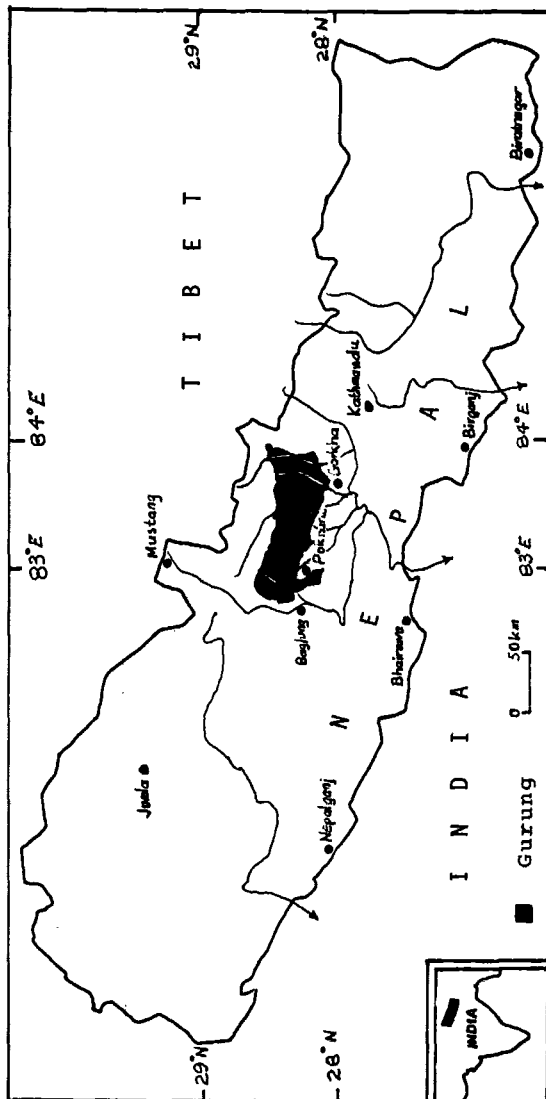


Fig. 1. Nepal and the location of the Gurung language (from Pignède 1966:25).

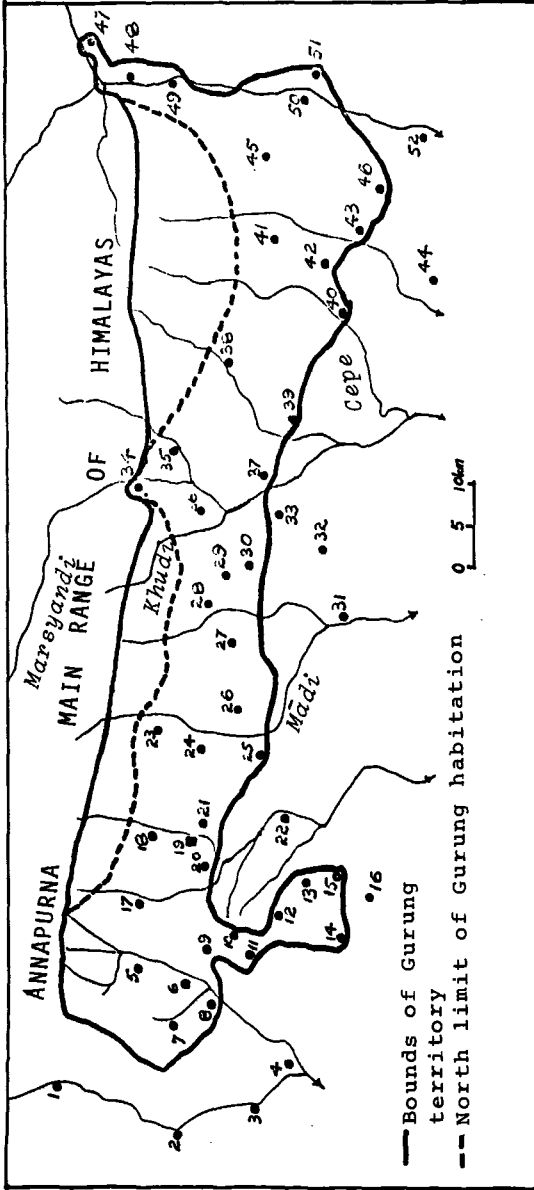


Fig. 2. GURUNG TERRITORY (from Pignède 1966:26)
KEY TO SELECTED VILLAGES

Where both Nepali and Gurung names are known for a village the latter is parenthesized.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------|
| 1 Dana | 12 Mukunpu | 23 Siklis (Ciklis) | 34 Jagat | 45 Laprak |
| 2 Beni | 13 Pumdi | 24 Thak | 35 Racok | 46 Garigaõ |
| 3 Baglung | 14 Sapat | 25 Khanwali | 36 Tiprung | 47 Ripce |
| 4 Kusma | 15 Mattikhã | 26 Yanjkot | 37 Taksar | 48 Phitam |
| 5 Ghandrung (Kõta) | 16 Nowakot | 27 paugaõ | 38 Taze | 49 Pangsing |
| 6 Mohoriya (Mohre) | 17 Sidĩ | 28 Bhuzũ | 39 Kupling | 50 Labu |
| 7 Cuikleh | 18 Dhipra | 29 Ghanpokhara | 40 Simle | 51 Dharat |
| 8 Kyãhprih | 19 Ghacok (Kaju) | 30 Ghalegaõ | 41 Dhãsira | 52 Arugat |
| 9 Lũhli | 20 Lacak (Labjwi) | 31 Sisaghat | 42 Dãdagaõ | |
| 10 Harpan | 21 Harpak | 32 Kuncha | 43 Takulot | |
| 11 Chitre | 22 Pokhara | 33 Lamjung | 44 Gorkha | |

The people of Ghacok claim that there are two dialects of Gurung, eastern and western, with a relation of unidirectional intelligibility. If they travel to the eastern part of the language area, beyond Lamjung, they cannot understand the Gurung speech there, they say, but they claim the people of Lamjung can understand the western dialect. The former statement is supported by reactions I observed in Ghacok to a tape of eastern Gurung speech, which listeners pronounced unintelligible. The tape of eastern Gurung and a primer published in the eastern dialect (Gurung 1971) indicate that the eastern dialect has assimilated Nepali loans more widely, a fact independently stated by my friends in Ghacok. It does not seem likely, however, that this factor would contribute to the non-intelligibility of the eastern dialect to western speakers travelling there, since the latter are generally bilingual in Nepali and (western) Gurung.

The most detailed ethnographic descriptions available of the Gurung people are by Pignède (1966) and Macfarlane (1972), whose studies were conducted primarily in the villages of Mohoriya and Thak respectively. The latter study deals particularly with demographic and economic aspects of Gurung village life. Kihara (1957:79-85), Leonard (Ministry of Defence 1965), and Bista (1972:75-85) devote brief chapters to the Gurung people, and a number of travelogues and general works on Nepal include passing references (Tuker 1957:271; Hagen 1961:67-8, Snellgrove 1963) or report Gurung legends (Northey 1937:9-10, Chemjong 1967). J. Glover (1972) has written on Gurung witchcraft beliefs, and the fear of spirits is also the subject of Silverstone and Miller's book (1964) for children.

1.2 Linguistic classification and comparison.

1.21 General classifications. In the *Linguistic Survey of India* Sten Konow noted that (Grierson 1967[1909]:10,12)

'on the whole, it is impossible to classify the Tibeto-Burman dialects satisfactorily'

but that a dialect chain can be traced, inter alia,

'from the Tibetan, through the Himalayan languages, into Bodo and further into Kuki-Chin. Those latter dialects then gradually merge into Burmese.'

Following Hodgson (1847), Konow divides the Himalayan languages (excluding Sherpa and other Bhotiæ dialects which he treats under Tibetan) into two groups, simple (or non-pronominalized) and complex (or pronominalized), depending on whether the subject pronoun is (redundantly) repeated as a verb suffix (p. 177). He placed (p. 274) Gurung, along with Māḡāri, Nēwārī, and Murmī, in the former group, and Rai and Limbu languages (except Sunwār) in the latter. Concerning Thāksya,⁴ Konow wrote (p. 406)

'Our information ... is very unsatisfactory. I am unable to decide whether the dialect belongs to the pronominalized or to the non-pronominalized class.'

He also remarks (p. 182) that

'Gurung is more closely related to Tibetan than are most Himalayan languages.'

Shafer (1955, 1966) divides Sino-Tibetan into 'six main divisions: Sinitic (Chinese), Daic (Thai), Bodic (Tibetan, etc.), Burmic (Burmese, etc.), Baric (Bodo, etc.), and Karenic (Karen)' (1966:1). He rejects the term Tibeto-Burman on the grounds that the Sino-Tibetan family does not divide into two sub-families, Tibeto-Burman and Chinese-Siamese. Rather, on the basis of a tally of vocabulary comparisons based on phonetic equations between the languages he regards Tibetan as 'genetically closer to Chinese than to Burmese' and Chinese as considerably closer to Tibetan than to Thai (1955:97).

⁴ Murmi and Thaksya, with various diacritic marks, are the names used by earlier writers for the languages now locally and officially called Tamang and Thakali respectively (Bista 1972, Taylor 1969:1, Hari 1969:1, His Majesty's Government 1966). Tucker (1957:271) says that the term Murmi covered all the Tamangs and some Lamas, but in fact there is no separate tribe called Lama. I suspect that the Lamas he refers to were actually a subgroup of Tamangs, the Buddhist priests. Bista (1972:58) reports that 'all non-Tamangs, when trying to be polite, use the flattering term 'Lama' for any Tamang individual.' The Gurung term for Tamang is lām-maḡ.

Shafer placed Gurung, Murmi, and Thāk̄sya in the Gurung Branch of the Bodish Section of the Bodic Division (1955:101).⁵

Voegelin and Voegelin (1965:3) describe Sino-Tibetan as a phylum containing nine families - Chinese, Kam-Thai, Miao-Yao, Burmese-Lolo, Karen, Bodo-Naga₁-Kachin, Naga₂-Chin, Gyarung-Mishmi, and Tibetan. Their last two families are jointly coextensive with Shafer's Bodic Division, but exclude his admittedly dubious Dzorgaish. However, the choice of a dividing line between the two families is curious: their Tibetan family comprises all but two Branches (Rgyarong and Gurung) of Shafer's Bodish Section, while their Gyarung-Mishmi family comprises those two Branches plus the other nine Sections of Shafer's Bodic Division (Voegelin and Voegelin 1965:33, Shafer 1955:100-2). Voegelin and Voegelin set up three groupings within their Gyarung-Mishmi family: a western complex, a pronominalized group, and a non-pronominalized group. Gurung and Murmi are included in the lastnamed, while Thāk̄ya (Thāk̄sya in Konow and Shafer, Thakāli in current usage in Nepal) is listed in the pronominalized group with a note echoing Konow's uncertainty on its classification. Voegelin and Voegelin seem to have relied on typological samenesses and differences in establishing their groupings (1965:35,52).

Lexicostatistical analysis supports Shafer's classification as against Konow's and Voegelin and Voegelin's. Using Swadesh 100-word lists, supplied mostly by members of the

⁵Shafer sought to establish a hierarchy of terms - family, division, section, branch, unit - to describe groupings of languages in a 'descending scale of importance' (1955:99). I prefer the system proposed by Swadesh (1954:326) where the terms used denote more or less absolute degrees of relationship of constituent languages (in terms of percentage of shared vocabulary), and, hence, the relative degree of inclusiveness of the terms. The terms Swadesh proposed, and the percentage of shared cognates based on his 200-word list appropriate to each term, are: macrophylum (less than 1%), mesophylum (1-4%), microphylum (4-12%), stock (12-36%), family (36-81%), and language (81-100%).

Summer Institute of Linguistics in Nepal, for thirtysix Sino-Tibetan languages I arrived at the relationships represented in the accompanying tree diagrams.⁶

In labelling groupings of languages I have modified Swadesh's definition of terms, following Wurm (1961) and others who have worked in Papua New Guinea, by setting the boundary between stock and family at 28% instead of 36%, and I have adjusted the percentages for equivalent time-depths⁷ to correspond to the apparently less mutable 100-word list which Swadesh proposed (1955) in place of his earlier 200-word list. The lower limit (of cognate percentage) figures for each term are, on the basis of the 100-word list: language (500 years) 86%; family (3000 years) 40%; stock (5000 years) 22%; microphylum (7500 years) 11%; mesophylum (10,000 years) 5%; macrophylum (more than 10,000 years) less than 5%. To gain flexibility in a hierarchy of terms I have also used the intermediate terms (with approximate boundary figures as shown) of subfamily (1500 years) 64%;

⁶The sources of the lists are given in Appendix 2. I noted, by inspection, what appeared as probable cognates and had the data processed by computer at the Australian National University, Canberra. In calculating percentages, loans from Nepali or other Indo-Aryan languages were excluded. Mr Robert Crago wrote the necessary computer programme. An earlier version of the classification, covering only ten languages, is included in Glover (1969a) and Hale and Pike (1970:II.23-6).

⁷Time depths are calculated on the assumption (from Swadesh 1954,1955) that a language retains 86% of the 100-word list over one millennium, but only 80.5% of the 200-word list. The time depth figures must be treated with caution, however, as there is evidence that rates of change are neither uniform across languages, in Swadesh's own data, nor constant within any one language, as evidenced by Pulleyblank (1972) for Chinese. Lexicostatistics gives only a rough first approximation to linguistic groupings: it is not a precision tool! However this does not gainsay the fact that the relative percentages of shared vocabulary within a set of languages provide a basis for initial hypotheses on classificatory groupings, which hypotheses can serve to suggest probably fruitful areas for detailed comparative study.

substock (4000 years) 30%; subphylum (6000 years) 16%.

The lexicostatistical analysis finds all the languages as members of a microphylum, called, after Shafer, the Bodic Microphylum (Fig. 3).⁸

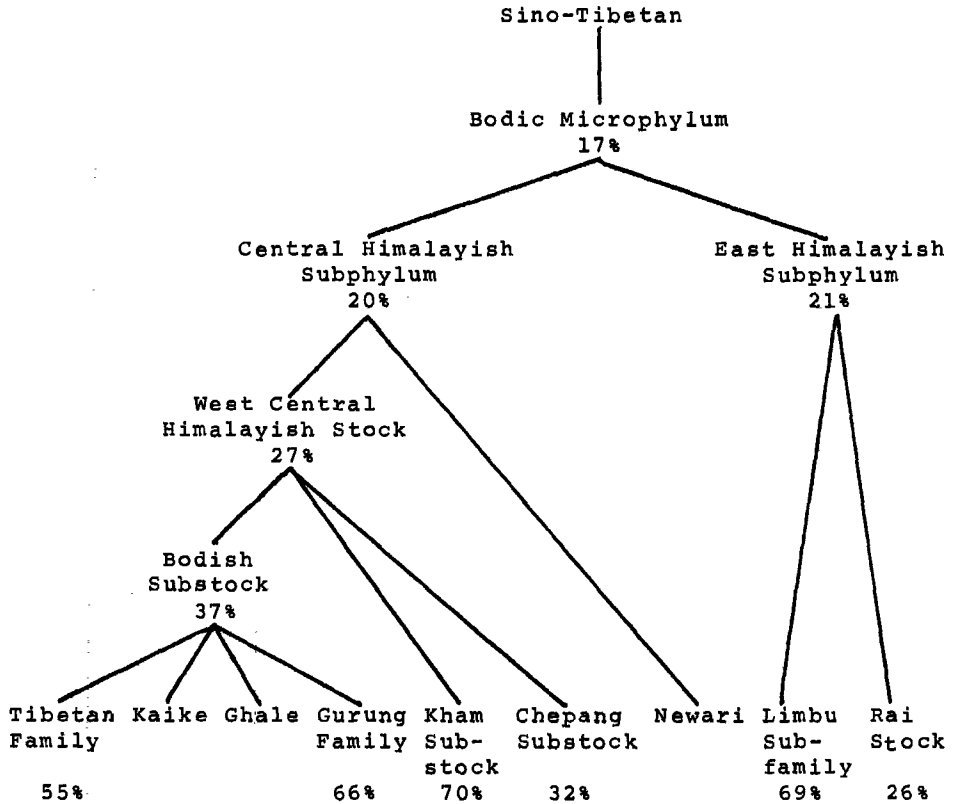


Fig. 3. The Bodic Microphylum

⁸ For each node in the diagrams of language relationships I have given a percentage figure representing the amount of shared vocabulary (of the Swadesh 100-word list) and, in most cases, a label to identify the grouping dominated by the node. The labels for the larger groupings are, as far as possible, in line with Shafer (1955). The labels I have coined are obviously of a tentative nature, but I offer them in the belief that they may form a useful framework for subsequent, more detailed, discussion of relationships between languages of Nepal.

In the Microphylum are two subphyla,⁹ Central Himalayish and East Himalayish, the latter comprising the Rai stock^{9a} (Fig. 4) and the Limbu Subfamily (Fig. 5). The Rai lists represent what the respective speakers identify as different languages, but the six Limbu lists are identified only by place names, as the speakers all claimed that they spoke the Limbu language.

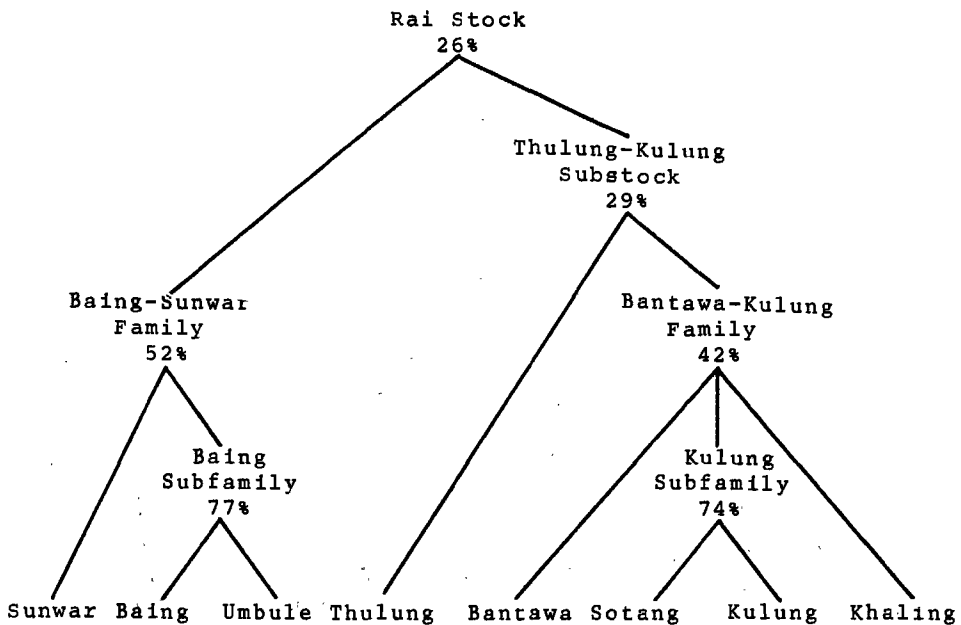


Fig. 4. Rai Stock.

⁹ The 17% figure linking the two subphyla is only an indicative typical figure. Percentages between particular languages range fairly widely, as is only to be expected of this level of separation, assuming random replacement of vocabulary items. For example, percentages between languages of the Gurung Family and the Rai Stock range from 10 to 20%.

^{9a} Sueyoshi Toba has kindly drawn to my attention that the names of Rai languages and dialects except Umbule are properly spelt without the final -e, an adjectival suffix.

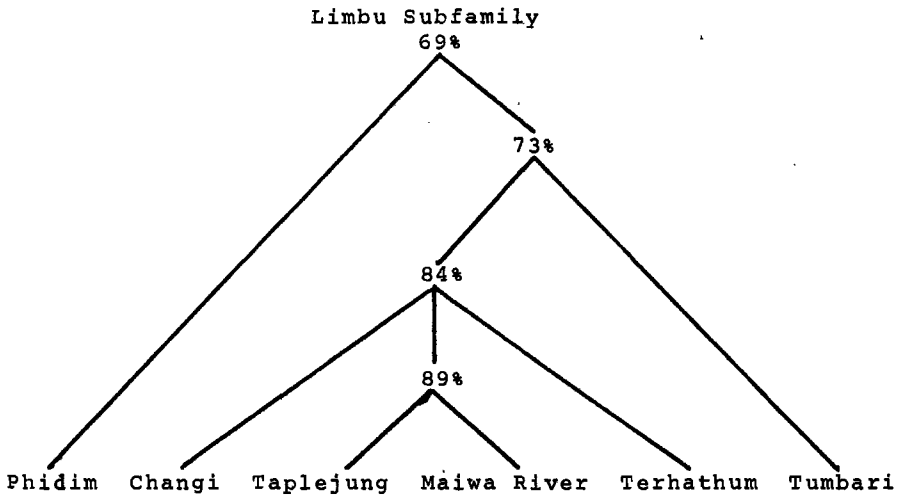


Fig. 5. Limbu Subfamily.

Within the Central Himalayish Subphylum is a language isolate, Newari,¹⁰ and the West Central Himalayish Stock. The Stock (cf. Shafer's Section of the same name) contains the Chepang Substock¹¹ (Fig. 6), the Kham Subfamily (Fig. 7), apparently not recorded by Shafer, and the Bodish Substock.

¹⁰Newari presents problems in classification, possibly because of Sanskrit influence during its long history of cultural contact with Indo-Aryan communities. Shafer (1955) regarded it as 'probably Bodic, possibly Burmic, certainly not Baric'. Cognate percentages with other languages of the Central Himalayish Subphylum mostly lie in the range 16 to 20%, with a few lower such as Maikot Kham at 13%, Taka-shera Kham and Eastern Tamang at 14%. Hence the figure of 20% shown in Fig. 3. But the cognate count with Chepang gives 26%. Chepang, and Kaike, give anomalously high cognate counts with other languages. I am unable to offer any explanation.

¹¹The Raji and Magar lists, within the Chepang Substock, have high proportions of Nepali loan words, 31 and 22 items respectively, which makes classification less sure as the exclusion of such large numbers of items may distort the cognate percentages.

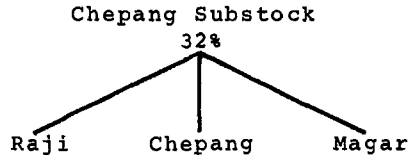


Fig. 6. Chepang Substock.

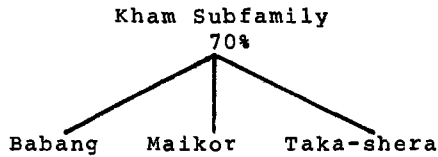


Fig. 7. Kham Subfamily.

The Bodish Substock (cf. Shafer's Bodish Section) contains the Tibetan Family (Fig. 8, cf. Shafer's Central Bodish Unit of the Bodish Branch) and the Gurung Family (Fig. 9, cf. Shafer's Gurung Branch), with Kaike and Ghale, both unrecorded by Shafer, intermediate between the two families. The maximum cognate percentages between languages of the subgroups within the Substock are shown in Table 2.

	Gurung	Ghale	Kaike
Ghale	45		
Kaike	39	35	
Tibetan	30	33	40

Table 2. Cognate percentages within the Bodish Substock.

The Gurung Family is represented in my data by (western)

Gurung,¹² Thakali, Manang, and East and West Tamang.

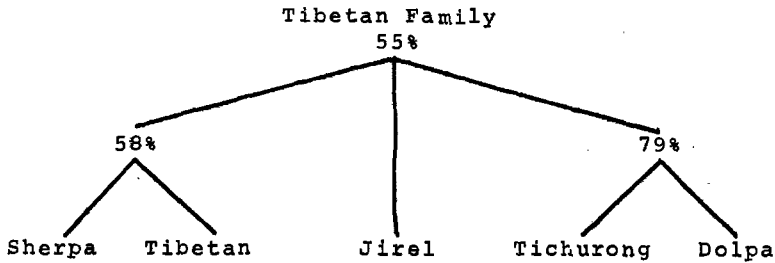


Fig. 8. Tibetan Family.

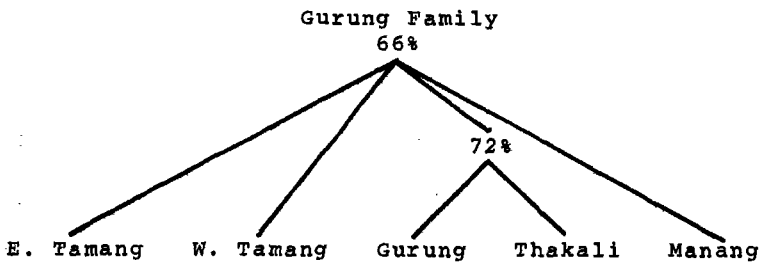


Fig. 9. Gurung Family.

1.22 Detailed comparisons. Shafer (1967:123-7) established a number of phonetic equations for Gurung, Tamang, and Thakali, illustrating the unity of his Gurung Branch (here called the Gurung Family) and its connection to Tibetan rather than Burmese. His work appears to be based entirely on Hodgson's and Konow's lists. Pittman and J. Glover (1970)

¹²Comparison of the Gurung list from Ghacok with lists supplied by Gurung Gurkha soldiers from three other villages throughout the western part of the Gurung area - Mohoriya, Majkateri (south of Pokhara), and Bhumlicok (toward Lamjung) - showed a common count of at least 90%.

used much fuller data on dialects of the same three languages to set up detailed phonetic equations for vowels, initial consonants, and the suprasegmental features of (in Gurung) breathiness and accent. They offered reconstructed forms for some 140 monosyllabic nouns and verb roots.

Pittman (1970) drew attention to parallels to the Gurung Family suprasegmentals in two other languages of the West Central Himalayish Stock, Sherpa and Chepang, and this work formed a basis for my typological comparison with the feature of register in Mon-Khmer languages (Glover 1971).

Hale (1970a, b) compared the phonological systems of Gurung, Western Tamang, Thakali, and four other languages of the Bodic Microphylum - Newari, Sherpa, Chepang, and Sunwar - and published word lists from the seven languages.

An overview of Sino-Tibetan reconstruction, with special attention to Tibeto-Burman (but not apparently citing any forms from languages of the Gurung Family) is provided by Benedict (1972).

1.3 Previous descriptions.¹³ Probably the first published material on the Gurung language is Hodgson (1847), a corrected and enlarged version being included in Hodgson (1971[1874]: II.29-36). He lists (1847:1237) ten 'races as they occur, in tolerably regular series, from west to east'. He correctly locates the Gurung west of the valley of Kathmandu, but has apparently erred in placing the Sunwar also west of the valley and north of the Gurung. Today the Sunwar inhabit the eastern hills (His Majesty's Government 1966) and there is no evidence in their permanent settlements there that they migrated from 200 miles to the northwest within the last century.

Hodgson appended twelve word lists for the ten races, (giving three - written Tibetan, spoken Tibetan, and Sherpa -

¹³Hugoniot (1970:64) gives the most recent and complete bibliography available on Gurung, and other languages of Nepal.

for his first 'race' of 'Cis-Himalayan Bhotias'), containing 194 vocabulary items for each (less lacunae). There is no distinction of retroflex versus dental stops, no treatment of tone, nor a consistent marking of vowel nasalization. Hodgson marked a length contrast on all vowels, but this is of doubtful validity phonologically. There is no indication for any of his lists what dialect is represented, and many of the items of the Gurung list are markedly different from the modern Ghacok dialect or, more generally, western Gurung. However, Hodgson's work remains a landmark, and served as the source for many who dealt with the area later but for whom Nepal was more or less inaccessible.¹⁴

Hunter (1868:18,19) notes that the materials available for his 'comparative dictionary' were of varying quality and, as a result, tone could not be represented and dental and retroflex stops are 'frequently confounded'.

Beames (1868) included in his 'purely elementary work', designed as a guide to the nonlinguist wishing to record local dialects, the first ten numerals in twentythree dialects of his Himalayic class, including Gurung and Murmi (Tamang). Like Hunter and Hodgson he fails to note the retroflexion of the stop in the forms Gurung tu Murmi dhu 'six'. His list differs somewhat from Hodgson's - his Gurung ku 'one' differs markedly from both Hodgson's kɾi, Hunter's kɾi, rɿ, and the Ghacok form gxrɿ [gʰrʰh] observable today. This aberrancy, together with his placing of Gurung, along with Murmi, in the eastern hills of Nepal (1868:6), suggests that Beames' informant was atypical, perhaps one who had emigrated to the east of Nepal in the wake of the Gurkha conquest in the 18th century.¹⁵

¹⁴ Much of his article is included practically verbatim, but without acknowledgement, in Vansittart (1894). His word lists formed the primary source for Hunter (1868), and his material was drawn on as late as Shafer (1967:124).

¹⁵ There are Gurung communities in eastern Nepal today, as at Rumjatar. However they have Nepali as mother tongue and no longer speak the Gurung language.

Brandreth (1878) offers a classification of the 'non-Aryan languages of India'. He divides Tibeto-Burman into over a dozen classes, placing Tibetan in Class II and, in Class III, Gurung, Murmi, Thaksya, Newar, Pahri, Magar, 'and all those languages of Nepal, which, like the Tibetan, are said to be of the simple type, the verb having no suffixes of number or person'.¹⁶ He further links Gurung and Murmi as 'very closely related' (but omits Thaksya). Regarding the languages of Nepal generally, and some other Tibeto-Burman classes, Brandreth states 'tones are generally of two kinds, described as the abrupt or short, and the pausing or heavy' (1878:10).

Konow's observations on Gurung and Murmi (Grierson 1967[1909]:182-96) were based on a written word and phrase list and a translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son supplied by the Nepalese Government office in Kathmandu. There is still no treatment of tone,¹⁷ and Konow notes (p. 182) that 'it is often difficult to decide whether a vowel is long or short, the spelling of the specimens being inconsistent'. However, the Devanagari medium of the specimens meant that the retroflexion of stops was indicated, as in the forms ʈu 'six' cited for both Gurung and Murmi (p. 254).

Konow attempts a latinate description of the morphology, but this is marred by the inadequacy of phonetic representation and by errors in translation. Thus he states (p. 185) for the Gurung 'verb substantive' that the 'third base is ta or tu in ... tab-mu , shall be; $\text{nga lā}^{\bar{a}}\text{a tum-mu}$, I should be'. In fact, these are quite distinct roots ta- 'be, become' and

¹⁶This statement is true of Gurung, but not of all the languages he lists. Newari, for example, has a system of person markers involving two terms, conjunct and disjunct, defined with respect to the discourse (Hale 1972b:3).

¹⁷In stating (p. 183) that 'tones and accents are probably the same as in other Nepal languages' Konow may have had in mind Brandreth's generalization (1878:10) cited above. Burton-Page (1955:111) ridiculed Konow's statement, but his own analysis in fact supported Brandreth.

txu- 'should, must', and the second of the examples cited is presumably (in Ghacok dialect) ŋa la-la txu-mu 'I should do', not 'I should be' which would be ŋa ta-l txu-mu.

Konow's work is instructive in pointing out links between Gurung and Tibetan, such as the final n on some pronoun forms, which he correctly identifies as an intensifying particle and suggests comparison with Tibetan nŋ (p. 185). However an error in this area is his identification of kurā 'word' with Tibetan sgra (p. 183). The former is not a Gurung word, but a borrowing from Nepali.

Money (1918:24-9) gives brief notes on the traditional parts of speech - nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc. - in Gurung, and includes some Gurung items in his word lists.

Burton-Page's study (1955) is, in contrast with earlier work, excellent in terms of phonetic accuracy. He analyzed a system of tone, contrastive with reference to the word, having two values, Tone-1 and Tone-2. In the terms of my analysis, the feature he described is breathiness, symbolized here by x. His Tone-1 is [- breathy] and Tone-2 [+ breathy]. It is curious that he failed to recognize also the feature here called accent, and symbolized '. Thus Burton-Page cites (in my orthography) ŋí 'seven' contrasting with ŋxí 'two' (ŋxí in Ghacok dialect), but missed ŋ| 'we (exclusive)'. Other minimal pairs establishing the significance of the feature of accent are ca 'vein', cá 'he'; kx| 'you', kxí 'thatch'; m| 'eye', m| 'name'; |xa·ba 'chase', |xa·bá 'shake'; tebá· 'pour into a vessel', téba 'take out'.

Burton-Page's second study (1955:117-9) deals with 'rhotacized' vowels, the phonetic realizations of Gurung forms cognate with Tibetan stop-plus-r clusters. The study is regarded by Miller (1969:437) as of great value 'since it involves an area of comparative phonology particularly important for the differentiation of many otherwise closely similar Tibetan dialects'. Phonemically, there is no contrast between these rhotacized sounds and the retroflexed stops of words borrowed from Nepali, and I am unable to separate the two series phonetically. Burton-Page states

that 'there is no aspirated member, *trh, of the rhotacized tr/'tr term in the system' (1955:119). However the word t̪ha·gu 'oldest son' is presumably inherited rather than borrowed, and if so serves as a counter-example to his statement, even though the retroflexed stop alternates with a dental in some dialects.¹⁸

Burton-Page's informant was from the village of Ghandrung, west of Ghacok, and I have noted a very few dialectal differences - most interestingly his pre 'eight'. For most Ghacok speakers the form is pxrɛ́, but I have encountered the nonbreathy pronunciation also. The doublet may explain the problem of tonal noncorrespondence with the Written Tibetan brgyad, to which Burton-Page refers (1955:119).

Pignède (1966:18-9) offers a system of transcription utilizing eight vowels, i, e, è, a, à, o, ò, u, with the possibility of vowel length and with nasalized forms of the five basic vowels, í, é, á, ó, and ú. However I cannot find in his work any words transcribed with the modified vowels, è, à, and ò, nor any utilizing vowel length except loan words from Nepali such as čyūra, bhūja (1966:89).

Work on the language under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, has included studies on the interrogative, indirect speech, and paragraph structure (J. Glover 1969, 1971a, b), and on the verb 'to be' (W. Glover 1969b), a phonemic summary (W. Glover 1969a), a discussion of the interpretation of semivowels (Hale and W. Glover 1970), an acoustic analysis of Gurung tone (Hinton 1970), translated Gurung texts (W. Glover 1970), a concordance of Gurung texts, with copies at Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, and the Australian National University, Canberra, (Glover and Glover 1970), a pedagogical guide to Gurung tone (Glover and Glover 1972), and a

¹⁸ Pignède (1966:280) transcribed the word thu-gu, linking it with Tibetan thu-bo, spelt thu-wo 'chief, senior, an elder brother' by Das (1951:577). My own check with a Mohoriya speaker revealed conscious alternation between t̪ha·gu and t̪ha·gu.

vocabulary of about 2000 items (W. Glover 1972).

1.4 The aim of the present study is to describe the sememic and grammatical structure of Gurung. This is done according to tagmemic theory as developed by Kenneth Pike, Robert Longacre, and others, but drawing also on the work of Joseph Grimes in discourse study. In Chapter 2 I describe the various levels of sememic structure posited for Gurung, and in Chapters 3 to 8 the levels of grammatical structure. The following concepts underlie the theoretical approach.

(1) Language, as part of human behaviour, is composed of emic units - segments of behaviour which are significant within the system to which they belong.

(2) To account for the empirical data of behaviour it is necessary, in describing an emic unit fully, to specify three nodes: (a) its contrastive features, which enable repetitions to be recognized as 'emically same [even though] physically different' (Pike 1967:44); (b) its range of variation in observed form; (c) its distribution relative to other units of behaviour.

(3) Language is hierarchically ordered. Thus Pike (1967:96) quotes Zipf (1935:12): 'Every act of behavior may be viewed as a complex of ever smaller acts, and as a component in ever larger complexes of action; we might well be in doubt as to the proper size to select as a unit.' The tagmemic solution to this doubt is to posit levels within a hierarchy and units on each level such that a complex large unit, on a high level of the hierarchy, can be examined at various lower levels in terms of the units on those levels.¹⁹ In the version of tagmemics adopted here three hierarchies

¹⁹ Normally the large unit may be accounted for completely in terms of units at any particular lower level, but there are exceptions, where a level of the hierarchy may be skipped. Thus in Rubbish! I don't believe a word of it. the exclamation Rubbish! is not part of any clause in the grammatical hierarchy of English. So, the utterance can not be completely described in terms of units of the clause level.

- phonology, grammar, and sememics - are posited. Semantic content is represented by the sememic hierarchy²⁰ and phonological form by the phonological hierarchy, but it is held that the interrelationships of meaning and sound cannot be adequately described without reference to syntactic organization, which is represented by the grammatical hierarchy. The three hierarchies show interlocking (that is,

²⁰Pike (1967:515,577-8,598-608) earlier posited a lexical hierarchy consisting of the meanings of the specific morphemes, clusters, words, phrases, clauses, etc., filling slots in the grammatical hierarchy. But he was not particularly happy with this approach and foreshadowed (1967:424n.1) the alternative which has since been developed as the sememic hierarchy, dealing with dramatis personae and situational roles in discourse (Pike 1964b; Forster 1964:44n). Wise (1971[1968]), Pike (1970), and Klammer (1971) called the newly developed hierarchy lexemic, but during a workshop in Nepal in 1971 Pike proposed changing the name from lexemic to sememic. The change emphasized the distinctness of the concept both from the lexical hierarchy he had described earlier, and from Longacre's lexical hierarchy.

Longacre (1964b) viewed as within the lexical hierarchy the lexical collocation-sets and patterns of sets revealed by the discourse analysis techniques of Harris (1952) in studies such as Longacre (1958) and Cowan (1965). Longacre more recently has rejected the notion of a lexical hierarchy and regards lexicon as 'largely non-hierarchical in nature' (1972:xiii). Instead, he has introduced a notion of 'deep grammar', itself comprised of levels.

I view Longacre's deep grammar as essentially the same as Pike's sememic hierarchy. Both terms denote the concept of a logical form underlying the utterance. The concept is similar in aim to the 'logical structure' posited by Frantz (1973) in his introductory treatment of generative semantics. McCawley (1971:285) speaks of 'semantic structure' as 'the level of linguistic structure to which logical rules of inference apply (so that it can appropriately be called 'logical structure')'. Fodor (1970:210) suggests that although we have no certainty that any one system of representing logical form is an adequate semantic representation 'a system of formal logic can serve as a very useful starting point in thinking about how to represent meaning in linguistic description'.

It appears to me that Pike's trimodal trihierarchical view, as currently understood, does not readily accommodate the collocation phenomena which Longacre has assigned to lexicon.

mutually conditioning) relationships between particular units on particular levels.²¹

(4) The etic/emic distinction is a crucial concept in the tagmemic claim that emic units must be recognized in language (see (1) above), but it is less easily discerned in the sememic and grammatical hierarchies than in phonology. Pike's comment (1967:38) that 'Units are different emically only when they elicit different responses from people acting within the system' is particularly applicable to phonology. It is not clear, however, how one measures or observes the native speaker's response to grammatical constructions regarded as emically different using a criterion (which I adopt in general) of two structural differences (Longacre 1964a). In the area of semantics, one finds that a particular language makes certain distinctions obvious, especially when they are obligatory in the morphology or syntax, but that another language does not highlight the same distinctions. Somewhat tentatively, therefore, I equate 'emic' with 'obvious'.²²

However, in the process of translation of a message from the first such language to the second, if one of these distinctions is crucial it can be expressed, albeit somewhat more clumsily than in the original.²³ Thus Chafe (1970:276)

²¹Pike (1967:566-80) outlined interlocking relationships for his original three hierarchies - grammatical, phonological, and lexical - and Wise (1971:212-7) illustrated mutual conditioning of grammatical, phonological, and lexemic (here 'sememic') units in Nomatsiguenga. Surface structure constraints within transformational-generative theory, such as those described by Perlmutter (1971) for Spanish pronouns, are viewed in tagmemic theory as grammatical conditioning of sememic material.

²²Pike (1967:481) apparently equates 'emic' with 'structurally relevant and useful'.

²³Perhaps a rather extreme case arises when there is a basic difference in world view between two cultures. Margaret Bain (1972) has argued that European concepts such as causality, and linearity of time, are quite foreign to the

notes that the Amerindian language Onandaga marks morphologically the distinctions of inclusive/exclusive 1st person in pronouns and dual/plural number in nouns, which distinctions are not obviously made in English. Thus Onandaga appears to have divided the semantic space more finely in these areas than has English. Chafe, however, does not feel that it is proved conclusively that English lacks the semantic distinctions. I would argue that English is capable, indeed, of expressing the distinctions, although they are normally neutralized in English sentences. Thus the pronoun we will be understood in English as respectively inclusive and exclusive of hearer in (1) and (2),

1. We haven't met before, have we?

2. We haven't met you before, have we?

quite independently of any knowledge of the fact that languages like Onandaga (and Gurung) mark the distinction morphologically. Again, dual number is expressible in English, but on phrase level (The two men or both parties) not word level. It does not seem possible to me, therefore, to set an absolute boundary between semantic (analogous to phonetic) and sememic (analogous to phonemic).

Instead, I use the terms semantic and sememic to mark the ends of a spectrum or scale of degrees of 'obviousness'. While it may be true that any human being is in principle capable of making any semantic distinction (any, that is, for which some human language gives syntactic evidence), he actually learns, and uses as a sememic grid, the particular set of semantic distinctions most obviously expressed in the language he speaks. In Chapter 2 I discuss what are the most clearly sememic distinctions in Gurung.

(5) The number of levels of organization within a hierarchy is determined by considerations of heuristic

Australian Aboriginal's world view, and that the discrepancy results in a failure of communication between European and Aboriginal. But she says that this failure can be overcome in any given instance, 'given time and goodwill'.

convenience.²⁴ The levels in the three hierarchies are not identical, but there are typical mappings between a particular level of one hierarchy and levels of another. In the phonological hierarchy in Gurung I described (Glover 1969a) levels of phoneme, syllable, word, and phrase, and I will not give major attention to phonological matters in this study. In the grammatical hierarchy I posit construction levels of word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse, and these are described in Chapters 3 to 8, beginning with the clause,²⁵ working down to word, and then from sentence to discourse. In the ssmemic hierarchy (Chapter 2) I adopt the four levels first posited by Longacre (1972:86) as 'deep structure levels or calculi':²⁶ increment, role, statement, and response, with role level being described first. Each

²⁴Grimes (1972b:132), in commenting on Longacre's use of a set of standard levels, ranging from morpheme to discourse, notes that there is 'considerable consistency from one language to another in terms of levels of organization'.

²⁵Bee (1973a:228) described the clause as 'the syntactic unit closest to the speaker's level of awareness'. Elson & Pickett (1962), Longacre (1964a), and Wise (1971), to name but a few, all start their studies at this level. In earlier drafts of this description I attempted starting with the highest level, discourse, but feel the present order is easiest for the reader.

²⁶Longacre's terms are actually Increment, Predicate, Statement, and Repartée Calculi. The term 'Calculus' is borrowed from formal logic, where the statement (or proposition, or sentence) calculus 'is limited to the structure of sentences in terms of component sentences', while the much more inclusive predicate calculus adds the concepts of 'terms, predicates, and quantifiers' (Stoll 1961:92). However Longacre (1972:51ff.) has found it necessary to call on these additional concepts (and others such as synonymy) in setting up his 'Statement Calculus' to treat interclausal relations. He then proposes restricting the 'Predicate Calculus' to the system of participant relationships expressed typically in clauses. Because of this rather radical alteration to the content of the logicians' terms, I do not follow Longacre in using 'calculus' but return to the more usual tagmemic term 'level', and renames his 'Predicate Calculus' role level. I rename his 'Repartée' as 'response' purely as a preference for English, rather than French, terms.

level is defined by the particular kind of relationship obtaining between units at that level.

2 Sememic Structure

In discussing the four levels of the sememic hierarchy in this chapter I utilize a conception of sememic structure as comprised of propositions, each consisting of a predicate¹ with zero or more arguments. The types of relationship operative at each level, and which thus define the level, are participant roles at role level (Sec. 2.1), attribution at increment level (Sec. 2.2), logical connection of propositions at statement level (Sec. 2.3), and the interaction of stimulus and response at response level (Sec. 2.4).

2.1 Role level. The roles express the small number of apparently universal ways in which the participants in an action or state relate as arguments to the lexical predicate expressing the action or state. Lexical predicates, in sememic structure, 'correspond more or less to the meanings of words' (Grimes 1972b:133), and characteristically take roles as arguments. Thus break is a lexical predicate in English with the roles Agent, Patient, and Instrument forming one of its possible role sets, as in A fireman broke the window with an axe. Lexical predicates can in principle be shown in the lexicon with their role set(s).

A number of linguists have made lists of the roles. The best known work is probably Fillmore's discussion (1968) of 'cases'. Kerr (1965) described 'case constellations' in an early tagmemic study of the concept, and Forster and Barnard (1968) used the notion, under the name of 'situational role',

¹This use of the term 'predicate' must not be confused with the clause level grammatical slot typically filled by a verb. A semantic predicate relates certain entities, called its arguments, in such a way as to result in a proposition. Grimes (1972b:225) allows for more than one predicate in a proposition, but I prefer a formulation which allows only a single predicate, to which all arguments relate.

in classifying Dibabawon verbs. More recently Langendoen (1970), Platt (1971), Frantz (1971), and Grimes (1972b) have proposed lists. Grimes notes that all the lists so far given differ somewhat and claims that continuing study of role systems is producing 'a convergence in the findings of different scholars', and that the set of role relationships is 'quite likely a property of all languages' (1972b:145).

The roles are an attempt to represent the underlying semantic relationships in a proposition. To emphasize the distinctness of the concept from that of surface structure markings I reserve the term 'role' for sememic relationships, and the term 'case' for grammatical markings. In general, distinct roles are posited where grammatical structures show contrast (in overt realization or in transformational potential) of two putative roles, or where two phrases with the same grammatical marking occur in the one clause. Thus Goal, in (1a),² and Source, in (1b), are distinguished by a contrast of grammatical form (-ri versus -u/é) correlated with the situational difference (Table 3 lists case particles)

- 1a. a·ma· pukhrú-ri xya·-f.
 mother Pokhara-to go-PA
 G

Mother went to Pokhara.

²Gurung examples are cited in this study with interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. Upper case letters in the gloss refer to abbreviations included in the list on p. xv. Space corresponds to word boundary, hyphen to morpheme boundary. Where a single Gurung morpheme requires two English words as gloss they are linked by an underline. Where a Gurung morpheme is broken by word space a single English gloss is given and the extended equivalence of the gloss is indicated by the spacing. Both these situations are illustrated in the following extract from (2b):

ca-f bírf ná·ni-d
 eat-CJ ET_daughter-ER

Relevant structural constituents are marked below the morpheme gloss. A sentence gloss is given below the examples, and any feature necessary in the English but omitted from the actual Gurung example, such as anaphorically deleted pronouns, is placed in parentheses, as in (4).

- b. a·ma· pukhrú-ulé xya·-f.
 mother Pokhara-from go-PA
 S

Mother went from Pokhara.

As an example of differing transformational potential distinguishing roles, the familiar do so substitution test (Fillmore 1968:31) has a Gurung counterpart which distinguishes Agent, in (2), from Experiencer, in (3), in that (3b) is unacceptable.

- 2a. surje-d kaə ca-f.
 Surje-ER rice eat-PA
 A

Surje ate rice.

- b. surje-d kaə ca-f birf ná·ni-d cha·n la-f.
 Surje-ER rice eat-CJ ET_daughter thus do-PA
 A A

Surje ate rice, and Eldest Daughter did so (too).

- 3a. surje-d dxú mró-|.
 Surje-ER tree see-PA
 X

Surje saw a tree.

- b. *surje-d dxú mró-| birf ná·ni-d cha·n la-f.
 Surje-ER tree see-CJ ET_daughter thus do-PA

And Agent and Instrument are distinguished in that both roles, with identical marking -d 'ergative', occur in (4).

4. ɣa-d cá-la| yo-d plə·|.
 me-ER him-DAT hand-ER strike-PA
 A P I

I struck him with (my) hand.

I adopt Grimes' description of roles and the following definitions are extracted from his discussion (1972b:146-62), except where I have explicitly noted a departure.

AGENT (A) marks the instigator of the action, the one who performs it. Typically this implies animateness, and animateness is perhaps imputed by the role to inanimate entities as in personifications: Fortune (A) smiled on her.

INSTRUMENT (I) represents something that is used inanimately to perform an action, as in He (A) cleared the yard with a rake (I).

NONINSTIGATIVE CAUSE (C) asserts a causal relation but denies both animateness and intent, and so is not coupled with Agent as is Instrument. Thus malaria (C) killed the girl and the girl died of malaria (C), where malaria is not being personified.

In Gurung, these three roles are normally realized identically with the ergative suffix -d. Agent and Instrument sometimes occur in the same clause, as in (4) above, and so need to be distinguished. Noninstigative cause appears distinguishable from Agent in that it excludes an Instrument, and also in that there is generally a close paraphrase with the source suffix -ulé 'from', as in (5b).³

- 5a. gəgyu-d tagara bo-ya--i.
 river-ER gatepost take-COM-PA
 C P

The river carried away the gatepost.

- b. gəgyu-ulé tagara bo-ya--i.
 river-from gatepost take-COM-PA
 C P

The river carried away the gatepost.

EXPERIENCER (X) is the role appropriate for perception and psychological involvement, as in I (X) think it's going to rain, or we (X) have heard a joyful sound. Grimes allows more than one role to be attached to a participant, as in I (AX) will think it over. Experiencer is distinguished from Agent (except when the roles are combined as in the last example), by the intent which is ascribed to Agent but not to Experiencer. In Gurung, as in English, this can be checked by the question cá-d tó la-í ? 'What did he do?'. For an Agent the answer is supplied by the statement questioned, but for an Experiencer the answer is tó-i ax-lá '(He) did nothing'.

PATIENT (P) tells who or what is affected by an action, whether as a change of state or a movement in space, as in

³Grimes (1972b:159) regarded the river carried away my hat as ambiguous as to the role of the river, Agent (personified) or Noninstigative cause (inanimate). I do not sense any such ambiguity in the Gurung example (5a).

the snowflake (P) fell, or the ice (P) melted.

NEUTRAL (N) is the role of 'an entity which is in no way affected by the action or state' (Platt 1971:78), as in John (AX) listened to the music (N). In Gurung (and English) Patient and Neutral are distinguished by the question cá-|a| tó ta-|? 'What happened to it?'. For a Patient the answer is supplied by the verb of the statement questioned - as it fell in the example the snowflake (P) fell - but if the participant's role is Neutral the answer to the test question is tó-| ax-tá 'Nothing happened'.⁴

GOAL (G) tells where an action is headed or where it ends up, as in the pusher (A) sold the junkie (G) some heroin (P), and the junkie (AG) bought some heroin (P) from the pusher.

In Gurung, as in English, the grammatical marking for a clause signalling purpose is often identical to the marking of the Goal, -r 'to':

6. ɲa hɔːjɪr la-bá-r bxaːráta-r xyáː-m.
me report do-GE-to India-to go-NP

I am going to India to report for duty.

However I regard the relation as belonging to the statement level of sememic structure (Sec. 2.33).⁵

SOURCE (S) tells where something that moves starts its motion from, as in we went to the lake (G) from the hotel (S),

⁴Grimes does not make this distinction a basis for separate roles. He extends the definition of Patient to include 'anything that is in a particular state' (1972b:150). He has suggested (1973) that the role of Patient is the same whether in a dynamic proposition, describing a process, or a static one, describing a state.

⁵Platt (1971:79) includes 'purpose of action or state' in his set of Grammatical Meanings, but Grimes regards purpose in English as a rhetorical predicate (linking propositions) and does not include it in his set of roles. However he notes (1972b:157) that John Austing posits a Telic role for Omie (Papua New Guinea), and that there is evidence for its existence in English sentences like he called to his wife (G) for coffee (Te). He has more recently suggested (1973:7) that coffee may be subsumed under Referent, an extension of the role of Range.

or the pusher (S) in the examples above under Goal.⁶

RANGE (R) refers to the area or field in which an action is carried out. It is not affected by the action, so contrasting with Patient, and contrasts with the clause peripheral setting (called 'outer locative' by Fillmore (1968:26n.) and Platt (1971:29ff.)), in that it is essential to the meaning of the predicate to which it is an adjunct. In many cases, as in they crossed the street (RN), Range may be indistinguishable from Neutral.⁷

BENEFACTIVE (B) identifies someone or something on whom an action has a secondary effect, either for good or ill. In Gurung, there is not, to my knowledge, any syntactic marking of Benefactive when it is combined with another role, as in Grimes' example a thief (AG) stole his things (P) from him (BS), so it is of dubious value to posit the role in such cases.⁸ However the role is necessary in Gurung in cases where no other role is present. Benefactive is then realized by a phrase with the postposition -e |xə'g|-r| 'for the sake of', as in (7).

⁶ Hope (1972:27), who adopts the definitions of Fillmore (1968), regards Source as being included in Locative as he lists the two Lisu postpositions wa 'to' and tsú 'from' as both associated with Locative. In 1970 Fillmore enlarged his list of cases to ten (Cook 1971b:12), including three spatial cases: Goal (to), Source (from), and Locative (at), which last Grimes has called Range.

⁷ Grimes (1972b:159) says: 'The most characteristic mark that distinguishes Range from Patient is that while the Patient typically is changed in form or position, Range is not affected in any parallel way.' But, as noted above (note 4), Grimes extends the definition of Patient to include things not changed, but existing in a state. I have not adopted this extension, but have followed Platt in positing a separate Neutral role.

⁸ Another case of combination with a second role arises from Platt's argument (1971:48-9) that Benefactive should include alienable possession, as in George gave Mary a book. In this example, Mary would have the roles of both Goal and Benefactive.

7. si-báe mxl-e lxa·gl-ri bxoǰ banidi-i.
die-AJ person-of sake-in feast make-PA
B

(They) made a feast for the dead person's sake.

FACTITIVE (F) is the relation of an action to its result, as in the glass (P) shattered into a thousand pieces (F). This includes expressions of extent when resulting from a process:

8. cá-maę pukhrú-r ŋxa-gaé ǰi-f.
that-PL Pokhara-in five-day stay-PA
A R F

They stayed in Pokhara five days.

2.2 The increment level was proposed by Longacre (1972:81) as the domain of operation of devices for adding various modifications or qualifications to terms of a predication. I will confine attention to argument terms. I regard modifications (such as of quality, possession, number) as belonging to the increment level when they are used to identify or qualify a term of a predication rather than being directly asserted as predicates themselves. Thus I regard the relation of big to man in (9) as an increment of size, but in (10) big is a predicate with man standing in the Neutral role to it.

9. the-báe mxl dxǰ-r khó-ǰ.
big-AJ person house-in enter-PA
A/The big man entered a/the house.⁹

10. dxǰ-r khó-bae mxl the-b mu.¹⁰
house-in enter-AJ person big-GE is
A/The man who entered a/the house is big.

⁹ Gurung sentences do not obligatorily distinguish the definiteness or indefiniteness of noun phrases, but may make definiteness explicit by a deictic such as cú 'this', or indefiniteness explicit by the numeral gxrǰ 'one'. Hence the alternative articles given in the English glosses of (9, 10, 9', 10').

¹⁰ The full form of the adjective in predicate position is the-bá'. Elision of a final -a before a consonant-initial word is common, but not invariable.

An increment level relation involves at least two terms, the head and one or more modifiers. It is related to a set of predications with predicates corresponding to the various modifiers of the increment relation, each with a single argument corresponding to the head. The incremented terms of (9) and (10), the initial noun phrase in each case, relate respectively to (9') and (10'):

9'. cú mxi t^he-b mu.
this person big-GE is
N

This man is big (or the big one).

10'. cú mxi dx[-r kh^o-ba.
this person house-in enter-GE
A G

This man is one (or the one) who entered the house.

I therefore see increment level relations as 'downgraded' versions of the corresponding predications - 'downgraded', that is, in the sense proposed by Leech (1969:26) to describe semantic embedding of a predication within a term as a modifier in that term.

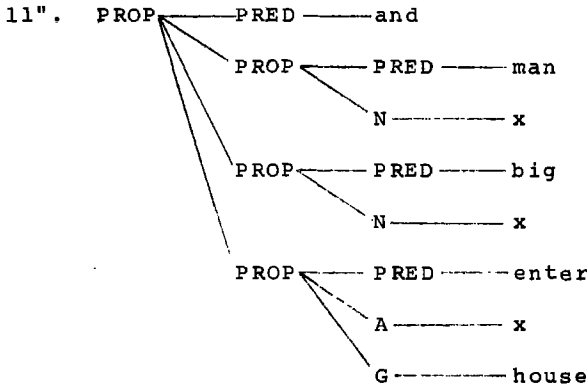
The increment level is treated as separate from the role level, though, in order to account for the fact that in a clause with semantically complex terms, only one of several propositions is directly asserted, and others are reduced in emphasis, becoming assumptions, or presuppositions, underlying the assertion. If no distinction of levels were made we would be unable to distinguish (9) and (10) in sememic structure. Thus, in the notation of symbolic logic (as set out in, for example, Thomason 1970), the logical structure of both (9) and (10) could be represented by (11).¹¹

11. ($\exists x$)(Px \wedge Qx \wedge Rx)

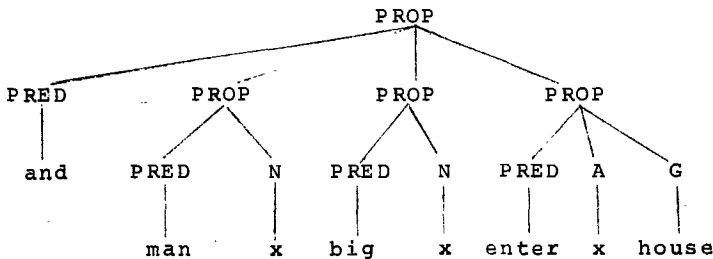
where P represents '___ is a man', Q represents '___ is big', and R represents '___ entered the house', and \exists is

¹¹ Thomason does not treat the unique existential quantifier \exists . James McCawley discussed its use to represent the definite article in his introductory course on logic at the Australian National University in the winter of 1973.

the unique existential quantifier.
 That is, (11) can be read as 'there exists a unique x such that x is a man, x is big, and x entered the house'. A tree diagram equivalent to (11), but ignoring the quantifier, is (11").¹²

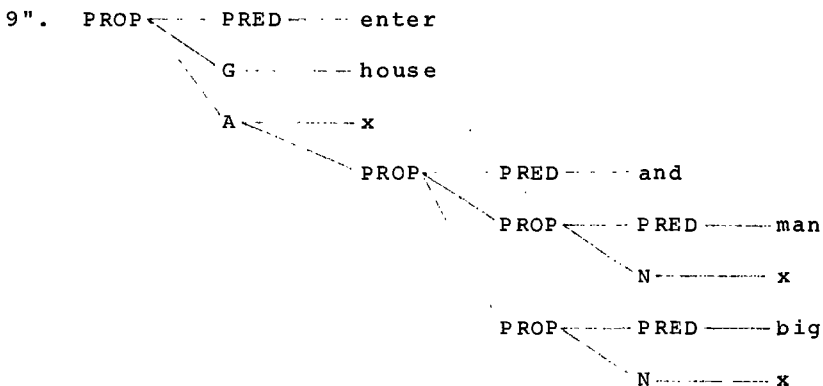


¹²In drawing tree diagrams to represent semantic structure I follow Frantz (1973) in showing propositions as consisting of a predicate with a number of arguments. Where the arguments are in a role relation to the predicates the role is treated as a category symbol in the tree, but rhetorical predicates, such as the conjunction 'and' in (11"), do not have arguments related to them in role relationships (Grimes 1972b:251), although they may have other relationships linking arguments to the predicate. (See, for example, the PROBLEM-SOLVING predicate in Sec. 2.4.) Following Frantz (1971) and Grimes (1972b) I use 'tipped' trees in place of the more common 'north-oriented' tree. In the north-oriented format (11") would be drawn:

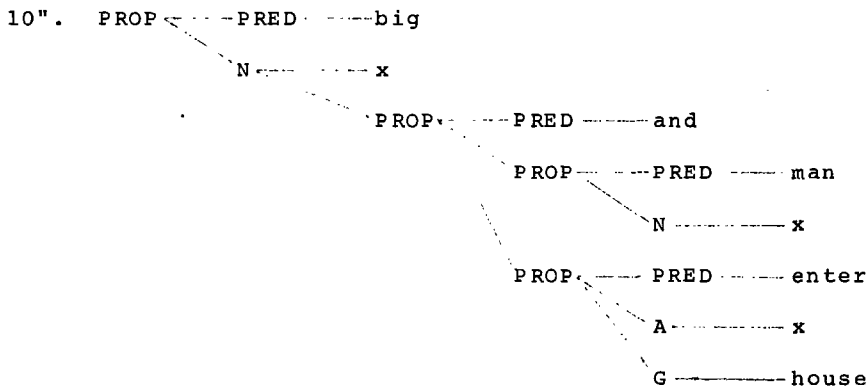


One advantage of the tipped tree (in which 'uppermost' corresponds to 'leftmost' in the north-oriented tree) is that within a proposition the predicate stands out, being on the same line as the PROP node.

Symbolic logic of this type does not represent the difference in emphasis between (9) and (10). Something of this difference can be represented by tree diagrams showing the assumed propositions (the presuppositions) as subordinate to the occurrence in the main proposition (the assertion) of the referential index for the term to which the presuppositions relate. (9) and (10) could be diagrammed then as (9") and (10") respectively.



The big man entered the house.



The man who entered the house is big.

The speaker clearly makes a decision as to which propositions he will treat as presuppositions and which he will select for assertion. These decisions relate to the speaker's point of departure, or viewpoint, and to his assumptions as to what the hearer already knows - the areas

that Grimes (1972b) has called respectively 'staging' and 'cohesion'. Not a great deal is understood as to how decisions in the areas of staging and cohesion interact with content structures like (11) to produce outputs such as (9) and (10). The details of this interaction are beyond the scope of this study, but I posit the increment level as an intermediate one, such that propositions which have been reduced to presuppositions are represented as incremented terms in the assertion.

Another motivation for establishing the increment level as distinct from the role level is that increment level clusters typically map onto word and phrase levels of the grammatical hierarchy. In Gurung, as in English, assertions are normally made by clause level structures, and presuppositions expressed by phrase level constructions, including the use of restrictive relative clauses as phrase level modifiers¹³ (Sec. 4.11).

The general association of the relation of modification with word and phrase level structures suggested to Longacre (1972:85) an affixing notation for increment level relations,

¹³This statement of course needs qualification if it is to encompass the effect of contrastive intonation. Thus, if in (9) big is made a centre of marked stress, which I represent using upper case, as in (a),

a. The BIG man entered the house.

the presuppositions are (i) that someone is big, and (ii) that someone else, who is not big, entered the house (or that it is not known who entered the house). The assertion is that, contrary to the second presupposition, it was the BIG man, not the small one, who entered the house. Thus marked stress adds presuppositions to a statement, often in order to contradict them in the assertion.

Still more complicated patterns of presupposition and assertion arise when more than one centre of marked stress is introduced:

b. The BIG man ENTERED the HOUSE.

But I will not pursue the problems associated with this type of contrastive intonation.

Assertion and presupposition are also reflected in surface structure in semantically complex lexical items, as shown in Fillmore's treatment (1971) of verbs of judging such blame and criticize.

and I adopt this convention also. The types of modification which are evident in Gurung in the arguments of propositions are qualification (q), possession (p), and number (n).¹⁴

(12) illustrates the use of the notation in interlinear analysis of examples, but I will not employ the affixes unless focussing on the increment level structure.

12. ṅá-e a·ma-d mxi p|xí-|ai xṛqsa-d t̃xu-báe
 me-of mother-ER person four-DAT self-ER sew-AJ
 p-A n-G q-P
- kwə pi-í.
 cloth give-PA
 PRED

My mother gave the four people the clothes she had sewn herself.

I have distinguished the three relations because of their different relevance to describing participants in a situation. Qualification notes attributes of a participant which help identify it, and is typically expressed by adjectives or Relative Clauses, such as xṛqsa-d t̃xu-báe '(which) she had sewn herself' in (12). Possession also helps identify a participant, but in the special way of stating a relation to another one or more participants, as ṅá-e 'my' in (12). Number specifies the quantity involved, only indirectly contributing to identification, and is typically expressed by cardinal numbers,^{14a} plural suffixes, or such adjectives as kwí 'some', ta·n 'all', and |xé 'many'.

2.3 The statement level describes the interrelations of propositions, including conjunction, disjunction, implication, paraphrase, and temporal connection. Such relations may be represented in the notation of the predicate calculus of

¹⁴Wise (1971:121) assigns these relations to the lexemic phrase level in her description of Nomatsiguenga.

^{14a}Ordinal numbers occur in Gurung only as loans, and very rarely. They are qualifiers, identifying the participant.

symbolic logic, with the following symbols:¹⁵

- a,b,...p Terms of predications, written to the right of the predicate symbol.
- x Variable in one term of a prediction.
- P,Q,R,S Predicates. When no terms are specified, the predicate symbol stands for the whole predication.
- ~P The negation of P, which may itself be either positive or negative.
- \bar{P} A predicate containing a negative in the verb phrase. The use of the symbol implies that the predicate P itself does not contain a negative in the verb phrase.
- a',P' Synonyms or situational equivalents of a, P.
- a",P" Antonyms or situational opposites of a, P.
- $P \supset Q$ P implies Q (implication).
- $P \wedge Q$ Both P and Q (conjunction).
- $P \nmid Q$ Either P or Q, but not both (exclusive disjunction).
- (x)Px Universally quantified variable: 'For all x, Px.'
- ([x)Px Existentially quantified variable: 'There exists an x such that Px.'
- (X) Presupposition parentheses - denote that the enclosed expression, being at least a predication, is a presupposition underlying the remainder of the expression.
- [X] Constituency brackets - square brackets signal constituent structure within an expression.
- \dot{P} An event involved in temporal succession.
- \underline{P} An activity or state involved in temporal succession.
- P. An event involved in temporal overlap.
- $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$ An activity or state involved in temporal overlap.

¹⁵The specification of statement level relations and definition of symbols are based largely on the general

gP	A relatively more generic predicate (than sP).
pP	An intended predicate.
sP	A relatively more specific predicate (than gP).
wP	A quotative predicate, denoting reported speech in the conjoined predication.

2.31 Conjunction. In the relation of conjunction the component predications are simply linked together to make a joint assertion. Two types of conjunction in Gurung are (1) general collection,¹⁶ and (2) partitive contrast, distinguished by constraints on the composition of the component predications.

(1) General collection is symbolized as

13. $P \wedge Q \wedge \dots \wedge S$

In natural language, though not in formal logic, propositions are conjoinable only when they are understood as expressing particular instances of a general assertion.¹⁷ Thus (14) gives details supporting the general assertion that 'Living in the city has many advantages'.

14. be|e |[-bae sáe ca-l yq-mú, swa·llé chyq·-báe
 very tasty-AJ thing eat-IN AVL-NP extremely good-AJ
 P Q
 kwə khi-l yq-mú, ta·n khixyo basa-rí xya·-lá yq-mú.
 cloth wear-IN AVL-NP all place bus-in go-IN AVL-NP
 R

(One) gets to eat very nice food, (one) gets to wear extremely good clothes, (one) can go everywhere by bus.

(2) Partitive contrast is a special case of conjunction which describes a situation by expressing contrasting features

taxonomy given by Longacre (1972:52-90), although I have adopted some notational conventions from Thomason (1970).

¹⁶The term 'collection' is used by Grimes (1972b:264).

¹⁷I am indebted to James McCawley for bringing this constraint on conjoining to my attention, in his seminars at ANU in the (southern) winter of 1973. Longacre expresses a constraint in terms of predications needing to belong to the same semantic domain, and notes that an ad hoc domain may be defined for this purpose by a specific discourse (1972:90).

of different aspects of the situation. The component predications partition different conceptual spaces, correlating part with part. (15) gives two alternative formulations of partitive contrast:

15a. Pam \wedge Pbn \wedge ... \wedge Pdp

b. Pa \wedge Qb \wedge ... \wedge Sd

where a, b, ... d and m, n, ... p are sets of terms drawn from different conceptual spaces, and P, Q, ... S a set of predicates, with the members of each set being individually distinct in reference.

(15a) represents the case where the same predicate is used, as in the English example (16) (where English anaphorically deletes the repeated verb):

16. I eat porridge for breakfast, sandwiches for lunch, and pie for dinner.

(15b) represents cases such as the Gurung example (17), where the predicates are different (but conjoinable in the sense discussed above in that they all describe the results of a drunken feast), and the pronouns kwí ... kwí ... kwí ... 'some ... some ... some ...' denote various sets of people in the village.

17. kwí pá· nxl-l blrf gxyǎ· kha·gu ró-my, kwí
 some wine intoxicate-CJ road about lie-NP some
 Pa Qb
 rwí-my, kwí khíyl ky phir-na ró-ri-my.
 vomit-NP some faeces urine upon-EM lie-stay-NP
 Rc

Some, being intoxicated with wine, are lying around the roads, some are vomiting, some stay lying even on faeces and urine.

The examples cited so far illustrate conjunction manifested at the grammatical level of sentence. At the phrase level, Co-ordinate Phrases are a manifestation of the sememic relation of conjunction:¹⁸

¹⁸I am conscious of the problems associated with a mechanism of conjunction reduction, evident in deriving sentences such as (18) and the related 'He and his secretary

18. cá neró khf-e sajb [k^ha-lá.].
 that and self-of secretary come-PLUP
 P ^ Q

He and his secretary [had come].

At discourse level, the relation of conjunction may be seen as that connecting, for example, POINTS in a HORTATORY DISCOURSE.¹⁹ A conveniently brief example is provided by a speech in the fable of the Horse Owner and the Oil Press Owner, given here as (19) (a full translation of the fable, of which this extract comes in sentences 64-67, is given in Sec. 2.4).

19. (POINT 1) ax-nx{. chín gxrí t̥i-d. cyugú thírí
 not-be moment one stay-IM little
 P

t̥ə. matr̥é.
 matter only

- (POINT 2) jxa·-lé, cú-r ax-kh̥á-ri-d.
 thus-from this-to not-come-CN-IM

xr̥əgo-lé-n t̥ə. la-b-da.
 distant-from-EM matter do-GE-EM

(POINT 1) No! Stay a moment. It's only a small matter.

(POINT 2) Also, don't come here. We'll consult from a distance.

The sememic relation of conjunction is, then, mapped onto different grammatical levels, with different realizations of the link at the various levels: phrasal conjunction (such as neró 'and') at phrase level, parataxis at sentence level,

had both come', 'He and his secretary had come together', 'He and his secretary had come separately', and 'He had come with his secretary'. But the co-ordinate phrase is obviously a manifestation of the relation of conjunction, regardless of whether one derives (18) from the two propositions 'he had come' and 'his secretary had come' by conjunction reduction, or derives the co-ordinate phrase directly as a conjunction ('collection') of terms.

¹⁹ See p. xv for the use of upper case in symbols to signal grammatical levels.

and paragraph introducer (jxa·lé 'then; also') at discourse level.

2.32 Disjunction. The relation of exclusive disjunction expresses the choice of one and only one from the set of arguments:

20. P ‡ Q ‡ ... ‡ S

In Gurung exclusive disjunction is expressed at sentence level by the conjunctions u 'or' and kf ... kf ... 'either ... or ...', and at phrase level by nonfinal intonation between terms of an Alternative Phrase (sec.4.12):

21. pallá pallá-bae khixyo-r-na u, a·rkó khixyo-r
before before-AJ place-in-EM or other place-to
P Q

sa·rdi-nyú?
move-STAT

(Are they) in the same place as before, or have (they) moved to another place?

22. pho-lo, cxe-ixo, ba·roqa ixo nxqri khéb
deer-year bird-year twelve year within which
P Q R
ixo-ne prf kxr|-my, [cá |xo-r-na cxú-m.]
year-with match-NP that year-in-EM perform-NP

The deer year, the bird year, (or) whichever year in the twelve years (it) matches with, [that is the year (they) perform (the ceremony).]

2.33 Implication. There are several types of implicational relations, depending on whether the relation is asserted (in Condition Sentences) or presupposed but denied (in Concession Sentences), and on whether the premiss is hypothetical, factual, or contrafactual. In Gurung Concession Sentences there is also a distinction between a definite premiss and an indefinite (or universally quantified) premiss. The resulting matrix of relations is shown in Fig. 10, where the numbers in the body of the matrix refer to the numbered paragraphs in this subsection discussing and exemplifying each type.

Status of premiss	Implicational relation		
	asserted = Condition	presupposed but denied = Concession	
		Definite	Indefinite
Hypothetical	1	2	3
Factual	4	5	6
Contrafactual	7	8	9

Fig. 10. Implicational relations.

(1) The relation of Condition with Hypothetical Premiss asserts an implicational link between a premiss and an outcome, independent of the factual status of either proposition. It is represented simply as (23), and is exemplified in (24).

23. $P \supset Q$

where P is the premiss and Q the outcome.

24. *činiyá· mīxa a·sara pə·c gate ru|-dú bliyə·*
chiniya rice Asar five day plant-if
 P

a·soja pacis gate jare m[-m.
Asoj 25 day about ripen-NP
 Q

If (one) transplants chiniya rice on 5 Asar (it)
 ripens about 25 Asoj.

(2) Concession relations express the idea of frustration of an expectancy chain, which may be symbolized as (25), for the case of Concession with Hypothetical, Definite Premiss.

25. $(P \supset Q) \wedge R \wedge [R \supset \sim(P \supset Q)] \wedge \sim Q \wedge S$

where P is the premiss, from which one would presuppose an outcome Q, but in fact a blocking circumstance R frustrates the expected outcome (and produces $\sim Q$), and a surrogate outcome S is the result.²⁰

²⁰ Longacre (1972:69) represents the relation as

An example of Concession with Hypothetical, Definite Premiss is (26), where P is 'a woman marries', Q is 'a woman does not inherit', R is 'a woman is an only child', and S is 'a woman inherits'.

26. biya· |a-se qsa yq-mú.
wedding do-even_if inheritance AVL-NP
P S

[Normally a woman does not inherit if she marries, but] [since in this case the particular woman is an only child] even if (she) marries (she) receives the inheritance.

(3) Concession relations may have a universal quantifier in the premiss, producing a premiss which is indefinite for the value of some term, represented in (27) by the variable x.

27. $(\sim(x)[Px \supset \sim Q]) \wedge R \wedge [R \supset (x)[Px \supset \sim Q]] \wedge \sim Q \wedge S$
The presupposition may be formulated, with exact semantic equivalence, using the existential quantifier:

$(\exists x)[Px \supset Q]$ 'For some x, Px implies Q'.

This is closer to the normal English construction, as shown in the sentence gloss for (28): 'Normally one expects to have to travel some places on foot'. I have employed the formulation using a negative with the universal quantifier because it is a closer formal equivalent to the Gurung phrasing. In (28) the indefinite term in the premiss is the Goal k'hanf 'where' of the predicate xyá'- 'go', P is 'you go to x', Q is 'you have to walk', R is 'the bus service in the city is good', and S 'you can go by bus'.

(note 20, contd.):

$(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge R \wedge \sim Q \wedge S$

I have omitted the term P, because in this case the premiss is hypothetical, and I have added the constituent $[R \supset \sim[P \supset Q]]$ to make explicit the blocking function of R: 'R implies the falsity of $[P \supset Q]$ '. In Gurung texts the blocking circumstance and the surrogate outcome are not usually explicit in the sentence, although they may be in respectively preceding and following sentences. In the glosses of examples in this section I show in square brackets the presupposition and other implicit elements of the expectancy chain.

28. kʰanʰ xyá·-ná bíle ya· basa-rí xyá·-l yq-mú.
 where go-even_if also bus-in go-IN AVL-NP
 (x)Px S

[Normally one expects to have to travel some places, on foot, but] [because the bus service in the city is good,] wherever (you) go, (you) can go by bus.

(4) The second row of the matrix in Fig. 10 differs from the first in that the premiss P is asserted as being factual. The relation of Condition with Factual Premiss is what Longacre (1972:73) has called Efficient Cause, and may be represented as (29),²¹ as exemplified by (30).

29. $P \wedge Q \wedge [P \supset Q]$

30. mágl ɲxí sae-l txu-seró ixé khárja ta-bá·.
 buffalo two kill-IN NEC-since much expense be-GE
 P Q

Since (one) must kill two buffalo, much expense is involved.

The relation of Final Cause (purpose) perhaps also belongs in the same cell of the matrix - Condition with Factual Premiss. The difference from Efficient Cause is that the outcome Q is not stated as factual, but rather the intention that Q come to pass is asserted (and symbolized as pQ). I therefore represent Final Cause as (31),²¹ of which (32) is an example.

31. $P \wedge pQ \wedge [P \supset Q]$

32. pallá rajistari la-bá·, mxwí gxrí mu-yá· ta-máia.
 before register do-GE rupee one be-if OK-PH
 pQ P

Before, in order to register (a letter), if there was a rupee's worth (of stamps), it was sufficient.

²¹Longacre's representation of Efficient and Final Cause differs somewhat from (29) and (31) respectively. He omits the term Q from Efficient Cause, but I include it because I feel the sentence explicitly asserts the factual nature of the outcome as well as of the premiss. Longacre's representation of Final Cause is (1972:73)

$$P \wedge [P \supset pQ]$$

but I feel that the sentences assert both the intentionary predicate pQ and the implicational relation $[P \supset Q]$.

(5) The relation of Concession with Factual, Definite Premiss is symbolized in (33) and exemplified in (34).

33. $(P \supset Q) \wedge R \wedge [R \supset \sim(P \supset Q)] \wedge \sim Q \wedge S \wedge P$

34. bira·mi ta-ná· bile cyq-d mṛq-d no
 sickness happen-even_tho YT_son-ER field-in weed
 P S

sywí-la·
 pull-PLUP

[Normally, people don't work if they're sick, but] [because of the pressure of work in that month], even though (he) was sick, Youngest Son had been weeding in the fields.

(6) Similarly, the relation of Concession with Factual Indefinite Premiss may be represented in (35):

35. $(\sim(x)[Px \supset \sim Q]) \wedge R \wedge [R \supset (x)[Px \supset \sim Q]] \wedge \sim Q \wedge S \wedge (x)Px$

In (36) P is 'one does x', Q is 'one can resolve a dispute', R is 'their positions were incompatible', and S is 'their words came to nothing'.

36. khaf la-se cá-maq khíb-né mṛ·bá-e tṛ·
 how do-even_tho that-PL O_man-with O_woman-of word
 (x)Px S

tól ax-tá.
 what not-happen

[Normally, if one tries everything one can resolve a dispute, but] [because their positions were incompatible], even though (they) tried everything, the old man and the old woman's words came to nothing.²²

(7) The third row of the matrix in Fig. 10 differs from

²² (36) is ambiguous as it stands between the Factual and Hypothetical subtypes of the Concession relation, precisely because the morphological contrast between 'past tense' (which gives a Factual subtype) and 'nonpast tense' (which gives a Hypothetical subtype) is neutralized in the negative. In both tenses the verb suffix is zero. But the context in which (36) occurs in a narrative discourse in the corpus eliminates the ambiguity, since the narrative is in past time. In context, then, the zero suffix signals the Factual subtype.

the first in that the premiss P is asserted as being contrafactual, and so a term $\sim P$ is added. The relation of Condition with Contrafactual Premiss may be represented as (37), and is exemplified in (38).²³

37. $[P \supset Q] \wedge \sim P$

38. mxaina-r ðer sae p|-yq̄. ca-b negó kwə kh|-bá.
 month-in 1.5 HUND give-if eat-GE with cloth wear-GE
 P Q

xyu-mála.
 suffice-UR

If (he) had given (me) 150 (rupees) a month, (it) would have been sufficient for food and clothing, [but he didn't give me Rs. 150 a month].

(8) The relation of Concession with Contrafactual, Definite Premiss is symbolized in (39) and exemplified in (40).

39. $(P \supset Q) \wedge R \wedge [R \supset \sim[P \supset Q]] \wedge \sim Q \wedge S \wedge \sim P$

40. cá dln, dasmi bi-l birf, cxáé ax-khyá.-na bile
 that day Dasmi say-CJ tika not-apply-even_if
 P

ya., pri-mála.
 also taboo-UR
 S

[One might expect that if you don't wear a tika you are not affected by the taboo, but] [because the taboo is strict in our area] even if (you) had not worn a tika on that day called Dasmi, (you) would still be bound by the taboo, [and you wore a tika anyway].

(9) The relation of Concession with Contrafactual, Indefinite Premiss is symbolized in (41) and exemplified in (42), which is minimally contrastive with (36) above in employing the verb suffix -mála 'unreal'.

41. $(\sim(x)[Px \supset \sim Q]) \wedge R \wedge [R \supset (x)[Px \supset \sim Q]] \wedge \sim Q \wedge S \wedge \sim(x)Px$

²³I believe Longacre (1972:66) is mistaken in formulating Condition with a Contrafactual Premiss as

$\sim P \wedge [\sim P \supset \sim Q]$

(38) does not assert, or deny, the truth of 'If he had not given me Rs. 150 a month, I would not have had sufficient for food and clothing'.

42. kʰaf la-se cá-maə khʰib-nó mə·bá-e t̚ə.
 how do-even_if that-PL O_man-with O_woman-of word
 (x)Px S
 tó! ax-tá-mala.
 what not-happen-UR

[Normally, if one tries everything one can resolve a dispute, but] [because their positions were incompatible] even if (they) had tried everything the old man and the old woman's words would have come to nothing, [and they did not try everything anyway].

Implication relations are most frequently encountered at the level of sentence in the grammatical hierarchy, it seems, as the above examples illustrate. But at paragraph level the REASON and RESULT tagmemes of EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS are generally linked to the TEXT (or EXHORTATION in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS) by an implicational relation. Thus (43) is a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH with tagmemes EXHORTATION, REINFORCEMENT, REASON, REINFORCEMENT (Sec. 7.25).

43. (EXHOR) t̚ə!-dú! [(REINF) togó ax-cá-d!]
 wait-IM now not-eat-IM
 Q
 (REASON) ɲa phalaná phalaná khʰixyo-r-bae mxi-ne prf
 me certain certain place-in-AJ person-with
 P
 t̚xo-! t̚xu-m. [(REINF) cá mxi-ne prf t̚xo-mu,
 meet-IN NEC+NP that person-with meet-NP
 da-!-! b!rf ca-b-ga.]
 then-CJ eat-GE-EM
 (EXHOR) Wait! [(REINF) Don't eat (me) now!]
 (REASON) I have to meet a man in such and such a
 place. [(REINF) (I) will meet that man, and then
 (you) can do the eating.]

2.34 Paraphrase relations have arguments in dominant and subordinate roles, with the subordinate argument supporting or supplementing the dominant one. I designate as the dominant argument the assertion which intuitively appears more central and essential to the message being communicated.

In most cases what I feel to be the dominant argument appears first in grammatical structure, but in Negated Antonym paraphrase the dominant argument follows the subordinate one, giving the effect of a climax. The four kinds of paraphrase evident in Gurung are Equivalence, Generic-Specific, Amplification, and Negated Antonym.²⁴

In Equivalence paraphrase the second argument supports the first by rephrasing, and may be represented by (44), with (45) as a typical example, in which P' is '___ speaks sharply', an equivalent of '___ says short words', which is P.²⁵ The common term a is the Agent, not mentioned explicitly in this Gurung sentence.

44. Pa \wedge P'a

45. khqyq khqyq tʃ-jɪ ŋxɪ-jɪ bi-my, cargó pɔ-my.
sometimes one-CL two-CL say-NP sharp speak-NP
Pa P'a

Sometimes (he) says short words, (he) speaks sharply.

The second argument of Generic-Specific paraphrase supports the point of the first by substituting a more specific predicate or phrase. It is symbolized in (46).

46. gPa \wedge sPa

The relation of Generic-Specific is exemplified between the clauses of a Paraphrase Sentence in (47), and between the two Heads of an Appositional Noun Phrase in (48).

²⁴ Longacre (1972:57-61) includes in addition three other kinds of paraphrase in his general taxonomy: Specific-Generic ('They dug up Assyrian ruins, they spent that season excavating'), Contraction ('We'll bury the fish in the ashes, we'll hide it'), and Summary ('John works at the sawmill; Jim at the repair shop; and Al at the printshop - that's what they're doing'). Grimes (1972b:257-61) describes seven supporting predicates, but the set only partially overlaps with Longacre's seven varieties of paraphrase.

²⁵ The Gurung expression tʃ-jɪ ŋxɪ-jɪ means something like 'in monosyllables', as of an angry person's speech lacking the polite turns of phrase. Compare the English idiom he was very short with me.

47. tǝ· ta-í bɪrɪ, 'q, ta-m sɪdɪ' bi-l bɪrɪ, ...
 word happen-CJ yes OK-NP certainly say-CJ
 gPa sPa

After having a conversation, after saying 'Yes, OK', ...

48. bxa·í cyq-bá·, y|-báe cú-r yú-ba, ...
 Y_BRO YT-GE before-AJ this-to come-GE
 gPa sPa

Youngest Brother, (the one who) came here on a previous (occasion), ...

The relation of Amplification paraphrase differs from Generic-Specific paraphrase in that the second argument formally adds detail to the first while retaining the same verb in predicate position, instead of replacing it with a more specific expression. In the symbolization (49) the repeated term a represents the term common to the two propositions. In (50) this is the Agent cá-maɣ-d 'they', which is however anaphorically deleted from the second clause in surface structure.

49. Pa A Pab

50. cá-maɣ-d p|-í, cxamɪ-lal p|-dɪ.
 that-PL-ER give-PA daughter-DAT give-PA
 Pa Pab

They gave, gave the daughter (in marriage).

Amplification paraphrase may also be realized by an Appositional Noun Phrase, as in (51).

51. cá cxamɪrɪ, cá phalaná cxamɪrɪ, ...
 that woman that particular woman
 Pa Pab

That woman, that particular woman, that is, ...

In Negated Antonym paraphrase the subordinate argument supports the dominant, positive one by negating the opposite. Stylistically, the negation precedes the assertion which it supports. The logical relation may be represented as in (52).

52. Pa A [Pa" ≠ P'a"]

where a and a" are antonyms.

(53) is an example of the Negated Antonym paraphrase realized in an Antithetical Sentence, and (54) in an Inversion Sentence. (Grammatical sentence types are discussed in Sec. 6.3).

53. pxali-d pxra-lá· ax-txu, basa-rf xya·-lá yq-mý.
 foot-ER walk-IN not-NEC bus-in go-IN AVL-NP
 P̄a P'a"

It isn't necessary to walk, (you) can go by bus.

54. [ñf-e khol toia·-rf ná·s ia-wa·-f.] mxl-d
 we-of district-in damage do-EM-PA person-ER
 P̄a

ax-ñx|-ná· gl, gəgyu-di.
 not-be-DI EM Seti-ER
 Pa"

[Damage was done in our district.] Not by men, (but)
 by the Seti River.

2.35 Temporal connection includes the relations between events or states which succeed one another in time, and events or states which overlap in time.²⁶ The overlap relations observed in Gurung involve a continuous activity or state P as a temporal setting for either a coterminous activity or state Q, as represented in (55) and exemplified in (56), or for a punctiliar event Q, as represented in (57) and exemplified in (58).

55. P ^ Q

56. kwf mxl ađi-phir ři-si, ñxyo-ia.
 some person landing-upon sit-CJ watch-PLUP
P Q

Some people were sitting upstairs and watching.

57. P ^ Q.

58. ña cá-maq-ne ba·lu ři-na ři-n phéri choró
 me that-PL-with stay-PR stay-PR again disenchantment
P Q.

ñxə·-l.
 stick-PA

Staying there with them I got fed up.

²⁶Grimes (1972b:266) argues that it is unnecessary to treat temporal connection, whether sequence or simultaneity, as a separate relation because the connection between events can be represented purely as conjunction ('collection' in Grimes' terms) but with a time index associated with each event to mark its location and duration in a time continuum (Litteral 1972). But because of the marked difference in (surface) grammatical structure between the relations of conjunction and temporal connection I follow Longacre (1972) in treating them separately.

In the relations of temporal succession there is evidence in Gurung for the distinction within the main predication²⁷ of an event (punctiliar) from an activity or state (covering a span of time). I have found no syntactic evidence to distinguish event from span in the subordinate predication, so I represent it as an event, P, in the symbolizations below. The event-event sequence is symbolized in (59) and exemplified in (60).

59. P ^ Q

60. kəgá pxro-l khə̌-bae todon khiba-f ya.
 fragment grind-IN finish-AJ instant O_{man}-EM also
 P Q

tə̌-kha-f.
 arrive-come-PA

Just as the grinding of the fragments was finished the old man arrived.

The event-span sequence is symbolized in (61) and exemplified in (62).

61. P ^ Q

62. bya· la-f birf khañ t̄l-mú?
 wedding do-CJ where live-NP
 P Q

After (they) are married where do (they) live?

In the corpus, the most common order is for the temporally

²⁷In contrast with paraphrase relations (Sec. 2.34), it appears that in temporal connection the main predication is generally the second clause in grammatical structure. The temporal relations are generally expressed by complex sentences, and under normal intonation conditions the event expressed by a main clause is given some prominence over the event expressed in the subordinate clause. In Gurung, this correlation may be due to the fact that the main clause normally comes in sentence-final position, which is the position where one expects to find a concentration of new information (Grimes 1972b:305ff.). However it seems to me related rather to the fact noted by Longacre (1968:I.109-10), that in temporally linked paragraphs, such as narrative, the peak comes late, as a climax, whereas in hortatory and explanatory paragraphs the peak comes early, 'much like the topic sentence of traditional rhetoric'.

I Henry IV, Act V, 3, 14-18, is cited by Klammer (1971:171) to illustrate the use of countering speeches in dialogue.³⁰

64.

<u>Hotspur</u> O Douglas, hadst thou fought at Holmedon thus, I never had triumph'd upon a Scot.	REM
<u>Douglas</u> All's done, all's won. Here breathless lies the King.	REM
<u>Hotspur</u> Where?	QE
<u>Douglas</u> Here.	ANS

I follow Longacre (1968) in notation for the response level, in indicating the sememic function of a portion of discourse in parentheses after the label for the grammatical slot. Thus the four speeches in (64) could be represented in a composite notation as SP-I(REM), SP-C(REM), SP-C(QE), and SP-R(ANS), where SP-I is an INITIATING SPEECH, SP-C a COUNTERING SPEECH, and SP-R a RESOLVING SPEECH, supplying the appropriate response to the preceding speech (see Section 7.3 and the text 'Marriage Customs' in Appendix A).

Longacre's treatment of response in dialogue was limited in its mapping to the grammatical level of paragraph, but I include also within response level the type of problem-solving relation evident in the structure of fables, as one type of discourse. An example is the story of the Horse Owner and the Oil Press Owner, which is given in

³⁰ Klammer continues the example to include a postposed margin in the paragraph, a Terminating Speech expressing Dissatisfaction, but I am concerned here with the nucleus of the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, which reveals the relations of sememic interaction.

English translation on the following pages. (The vernacular story appears, with translation, in Glover 1970:25-33.) Following the story is a tree diagram, (65), of the sememic structure, showing recursive embedding of the predicate of PROBLEM-SOLVING (PRO-SO). The predicate has four arguments: an optional SITUATION (SIT), and obligatory CONFLICT (CONF), MEDIATION (MED), and RESOLUTION (RESO).³¹

The analysis represented in (65) is supported by the fact that the proposed constituents frequently commence with *jxa·lé* 'then', and I have underlined this particle wherever it occurs in the text. *jxa·lé* comprises two morphemes 'thus-from', and its literal meaning is 'after that', as a connective marking temporal sequence. The occurrences in sentences 6, 8, 9, 17, 64, 73, and 75 have the function of temporal connection without marking what I have identified as sememic constituents. The particle's function as a discourse connective appears to be an extension of its temporal function, and is seen clearly in sentence 66 of the text where it connects the two POINTS of a HORTATORY DISCOURSE ('Stay a moment' and 'Don't come here') without any temporal significance at all. The occurrences in sentences 11, 45, and 100 similarly connect constituents without temporal function. The remaining occurrences of *jxa·lé* (in sentences 19, 20, 26, 28, 50, 76, 77, 78, and 94) appear to combine the functions of temporal sequence and introduction of a sememic constituent.

A further support for the analysis is the fact that each occurrence of the PROBLEM-SOLVING predicate implies a definite

³¹ Wise (1971:152) posited Situation, Conflict, Mediation, and Resolution as units in the structure of climactic lexemic chapters, which occur in Nomatsiguenga myths. (She posited chapter as a level intermediate between paragraph and discourse in the lexemic hierarchy.) One difference in the treatment adopted here is that I make more use of recursive embedding of the PROBLEM-SOLVING predicate than is evident with Wise's lexemic chapters. Grimes (1972b:256) has noted that a response pattern is evident in the structure of fairy tales and of much scientific writing.

set of participants in the roles of villain, victim, and mediator, as set out in Fig. 11 on page 59.³²

The Horse Owner and the Oil Press Owner

1. Once upon a time a certain man went travelling around the country riding on a horse. 2. Going and going, he travelled everywhere.

3. But, one day, as he was walking along, night fell. 4. Looking all around there he saw in one place an oil press. 5. Seeing the oil press he tethered his horse to the press, in the night. 6. Then he went to seek a place where he could sleep, lodge, and eat. 8. Then he walked in the village asking for lodging. 9. Then he obtained lodging. 10. He stayed at the lodging place. 11. Then throughout that night the horse was tethered at the oil press, though.

12. But early the next morning the oil press owner came along. 13. 'Oho! My oil press has given birth to a horse,' he said. 14. 'From now on I will be a horse rider. 15. I have obtained a horse. 16. My oil press has borne a horse.' 17. Then the oil press owner took the horse away, to his own house. 18. A moment after that the horse owner came along. 19. Then the horse owner said 'Where has my horse gone?'

20. Then he returned to the village to seek his horse. 21. 'Last night I left my horse tethered right here, at this oil press. 22. Now where has it gone?' he said. 23. He went to enquire in the village. 24. When he said, 'I left my horse tethered at the oil press in such and such a place, but this morning when I went there it wasn't there. Who took it?', the villagers said 'You will have to ask the owner of the oil press.' 25. The horse owner said, 'Where is the oil press owner's house?' 26. Then the villagers took the horse owner to the house of the oil press owner. 27. He said, 'I had tethered my horse at your oil press. Where has it gone?'

28. Then, when the horse owner spoke thus, the oil press owner said, 'Rubbish! It isn't your horse, it is the horse to which my oil press gave birth. 29. It isn't the

³²Wise (1971:150) notes that the characterization of a particular set of participants in the roles of villain, victim, and mediator is a feature of lexemic chapters in Nomatsiguenga.

one you left tethered. 30. Who would ever leave a horse tethered in a spot where nothing was, where nobody lived? 31. It is the horse my mill gave birth to. 32. It is indeed mine. 33. Henceforth it is not yours, it is mine.'

34. The horse owner said, 'No! Whose oil press would ever give birth to a horse? 35. They don't give birth. 36. This horse is mine. 37. I have travelled around such and such places and come here. 38. As I came here night fell. 39. So, I left the horse tethered here and went to the village to seek lodging. 40. Now, when I come in the morning, I find the horse with you. 41. This horse is mine.'

42. 'No! It is not yours! 43. It is the horse my oil press gave birth to. 44. It is mine,' said the oil press owner.

45. Then, as they were going on and on in this way, a three-day council was held. 46. The village leaders, the elders, assembled and held a council. 47. They held a council for three days. 48. Then (da) the council did not break up. 49. Nobody was able to dissolve the council.

50. Then as they were doing this a certain old jackal, with a painful discharging eye, came along there. 51. He came along with a rooster gripped in his mouth. 52. 'Hey, jackal, stay there a minute. 53. We will ask you a small matter.' said those men.

54. The jackal replied, 'Yes, if I stay here you people will grab the fowl in my mouth, take it away, and eat it, won't you? 55. I'm not staying, not me, I'm going!'

56. The men in the council said, 'We won't do anything to your fowl. 57. We will ask you only a small matter. 58. We have a law suit before us here. 59. We will ask you only a small matter.'

60. 'No! If you snatch away my fowl, what then? 61. I have at home a wife who has just had a baby. 62. I must take this fowl home. 63. Having taken it home I must give it to my wife to eat,' said the jackal.

64. Then other men in the council said, 'No! Stay a moment. 65. It's only a small matter. 66. Then, don't come here. 67. We'll consult from a distance.'

68. 'If that's what you say, wait on,' said the jackal. 69. 'I will take this fowl and leave at my house. 70. Then (da) I will singe it, cook vegetables, and feed my wife rice. 71. Then (da) when I have completed all the arrangements I will come back. 72. You people, stay on right here,' he said.

73. Then the jackal went home and put the fowl there.
74. He took it home, singed the fowl, and discarded the feathers.
75. Then he cooked the vegetables, boiled rice, and gave it to the new mother to eat.

76. Then, when he had fixed everything up, the jackal came back.
77. Then he said, 'What are you asking?'

78. The men said:

'The horse owner said, "I travelled all round and have come, visiting various villages. 79. When I came to this place, though, when I came to this place yesterday night fell. 80. I could not find any place to tether my horse. 81. I had left it tethered to this oil press. 82. This morning when I came, I found that the owner of the oil press had taken my horse away. 83. When I said, 'Why have you taken my horse?' he said 'It is not your horse. It is the one my oil press gave birth to, last night. It is not the one you brought and tethered.'"

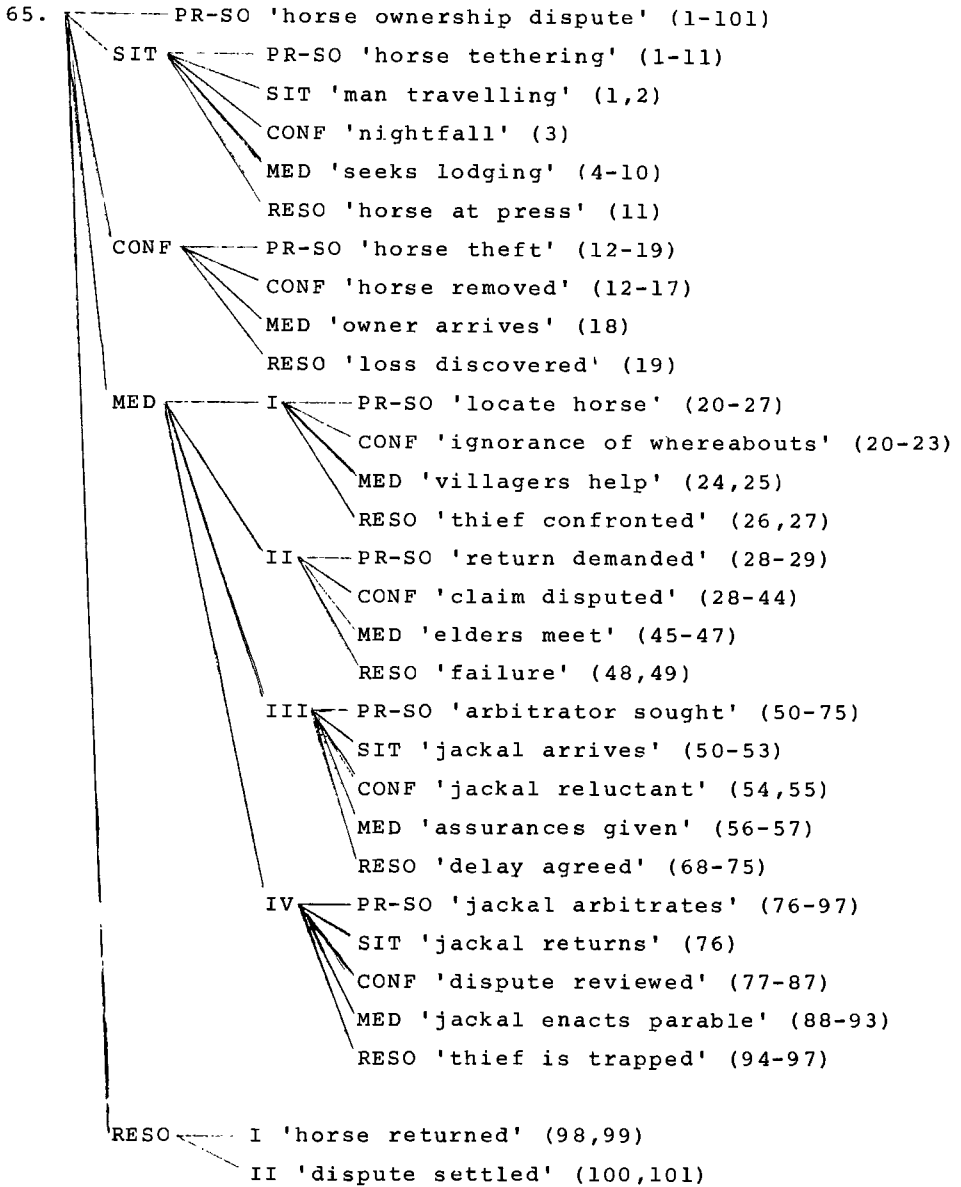
84. 'In reply the owner of the oil press said "No! Would one tether a horse in a place where there was nothing? 85. It is the one my oil press gave birth to. 86. Last night there was nothing there; now in the morning when I come there is a horse, indeed. 87. My oil press has given birth to a horse, I find, during last night."'

88. Then the jackal wandered away a moment and came back. 89. Again the jackal wiped his eye. 90. 'Hey, jackal!' 91. 'Yes,' he said. 92. 'What has happened to your eye?' 93. The jackal said, 'Oho, where is the ocean or lake of water in which fire burns? While the fish are biting and biting my eye hurts.'

94. Then the oil press owner said (it was the oil press owner who had asked the jackal before) 'Rubbish, you are mixed up! 95. In what lake of water, or ocean, would a fire burn?'

96. The jackal said, 'Really! You are the mixed up one. 97. Whose oil press ever gives birth to a horse? 98. This horse belongs to that man. 99. Give it to that man.'

100. Then the jackal definitively dissolved the council. 101. The council was completed indeed, from that day.



Sememic structure (response level) of text HM.

Predicate	Sent.	Villain	Victim	Mediator
ownership dispute	1-101	Pressowner	Horseowner	Jackal
horse tethering	1-11	Night	Horse	Horseowner
horse theft	12-19	Pressowner	Horse	Horseowner (?)
locate horse	20-27	Pressowner (?)	Horseowner	Villagers
return demanded	28-49	Pressowner	Horseowner	Elders
arbitrator sought	50-75	Fear	Jackal	Elders
jackal arbitrates	76-97	Pressowner	Horseowner	Jackal

Fig. 11. Cast of various PR-SO predicates in text HM.

Some of the cast participants are not obvious, and in fact it seems somewhat unconvincing to include inanimate entities such as 'Night' and 'Fear'. I am not able at this point to state precise correlations of the posited PROBLEM-SOLVING predicates with (surface) grammatical structures; the analysis is suggestive only of what seems to be a natural feature of much story organization, perhaps common across languages (and cultures) as diverse as Gurung and Nomatsiguenga.

Perhaps further study of various genre of discourse will reveal other patterns of interaction relations which belong within the response level, in addition, that is, to Longacre's dialogue set and the PROBLEM-SOLVING predicate.

3 Clause Level

The grammatical clause in Gurung is defined here, following Trail (1970:33), as 'a group of phrases centered around a verb phrase. It is minimally represented by the verb phrase alone.' Clauses typically express sememic relations of the role level (Sec. 2.1) and, by extension, I include as clauses groups of phrases which express role level relations but lack a verb phrase, as in the case of equational clauses with deleted copula. In this chapter, after considering the feasibility and purpose of classification of patterns (Sec. 3.1), I describe basic grammatical clause patterns, with the sememic roles manifested in these contrastive patterns (Sec. 3.2). Lastly, some devices by which the speaker realizes staging decisions, that is, decisions on what parts of an utterance will be made prominent, are described in Sec. 3.3.

3.1 On classifying clause patterns. Grammatical structure of clauses is defined by the surface marking and ordering of clause constituents in a particular language, and is the type of structure treated in standard tagmemic textbooks such as Longacre (1964a). It has proved to be a very direct method for beginning analysis of data in an unfamiliar language, and the effective plan such analysis gives to initial fieldwork is a great strength of tagmemics. A taxonomic approach has been characteristic of tagmemics, and is defended strongly by Longacre (1964a:10ff.), who argues for a grammatical description 'in which patterns are thrown into bold relief'. The point of this, in practical terms, is that a nonnative analyst approaching a language can make rapid headway in learning and assimilating the language if he has available for memorizing a small inventory of patterns which outline the language structure. Just such an inventory has been readily discoverable from the study of grammatical structure by procedures such as those codified by Longacre,

where the significant patterns discovered are called syntagmemes.

Some recent work in tagmemics, however, has moved away from cataloguing patterns. For example, Platt (1971) does not mention syntagmemes at all. The reason appears to be that the study of sememic structure reveals such a variety of pattern that the inventory becomes much too large for practicable assimilation in the language learner's memory. Thus Platt associates with each of several English predicate fillers a set of implications of presumably language-universal role relationships (Grammatical Meanings, or GMs, in his usage), and notes the constraints on manifestation of these GMs in various language-particular syntactic slots such as Subject or Object (Grammatical Forms, or GFs, in Platt's terms). The predicate fillers he examines fall into thirty sets, distinguished mostly by their GM implications, although appeal to syntactic constraints is required to separate some sets such as kill versus murder (1971:90). And Platt does not claim to have exhausted the variety of English predicate fillers.

In a Fillmorean framework, Hope (1972) classified Lisu verbs into eighteen sets by their obligatory roles ('cases' in the terminology of Fillmore and Hope), and most of these sets of verbs further subdivide if optional roles are considered as well. Thus classification of predicate fillers by role sets (Platt's 'GM implications', Fillmore's 'case frames') leads to a number of classes (each class representing a sememic pattern) larger than is fruitful for practical mnemonic use. This does not deny the usefulness of discovering the role set associated with an individual predicate filler, and the necessity of recording such information in the lexicon of a generative grammar, but the number of different role sets likely to occur in a language is large enough 'to suggest that classification alone is not an end in itself' (Grimes 1972b:191).

One attempt to grapple with this diversity of sememic pattern developed during Pike's 1971-2 workshop in Nepal.

Pike suggested, in conversation, that the use of matrices in language description is necessitated by a well-known psychological limit on human conceptual equipment, namely that the brain has difficulty in grasping more than about seven unrelated items.¹ When the number of terms in a system goes much beyond seven, as when a taxonomy of clause types describes scores of types, we tend to lose control of the system. Pike suggests that control can be restored if the numerous terms are arranged in a meaningful way in a multidimensional matrix. When the required dimensions are discovered, the brain has only to store the dimensions, much fewer in number than the terms located in the body of the matrix.² So the analytical goal is the discovery of the sememic dimensions.

Hale (1971a) produced a chart of 'sememic predicate function' which set up four binary variables, giving a total of sixteen terms to exhaust the conceptual space - $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 = 16$. One variable is event versus state (interpreted widely to include any nonevent)³ and the other

¹Thus Yngve (1960:452) refers to a 'span of immediate memory of seven plus or minus two'. Yngve seeks to apply this limit in a different area, positing that the span of immediate memory is relevant to a limitation on 'depth' of structure in a particular sentence. Chomsky (1965:197-8) rejects Yngve's hypothesis on 'depth'.

²I assume that Pike is referring to a subconscious organization of structure, not a conscious synthetic procedure of the language learner in uttering sentences. My experience is that the most important thing in gaining fluency in a second language is the assimilation of surface patterns, through deliberate drilling. It is the patterns as wholes which are important, not the dimensions of a matrix in which the patterns may be arrayed. Matrix concepts are useful for the analyst preparing language textbooks, especially as they underlie substitution and expansion drills (Brend 1967, Stahlke and Brend 1967).

³Grimes (1972b:chs.3,4) describes the distinction of event versus nonevent as empirically useful in discourse analysis, and correlated with tense, aspect, or mood distinctions in many languages.

three have been called (Schöttelndreyer 1972:4) 'primary roles, Actor, Undergoer, and Referent [called Site in Hale 1972a]. ... Each of these roles may be viewed as corresponding to a set of case relations.' The 'primary roles' appear, then, to be an attempt to incorporate the insights of case grammar into a taxonomic approach, keeping the latter within bounds by severely limiting the number of variables. The approach was largely intended to facilitate typological comparison of a number of grammatical systems, and so Hale has posited 'a limited inventory of putative universal roles in terms of which languages may be comparably described and rather directly compared' (1972a:3). The transitivity system derived from the three primary roles, doubled by the feature of event versus state, is shown in matrix form in Fig. 12.

	Und + Sit	Und	Sit		
Event	+ Act	DiTran- sitive	Transi- tive	SemiTran- sitive	Intransitive
	- Act	DiRecep- tive	Recep- tive	SemiRecep- tive	Eventive
State	+ Act	DiStative	Stative	SemiStative	Descriptive
	- Act	DiAttri- butive	Attri- butive	SemiAttri- butive	Circumstantial

Fig. 12. Hale's transitivity matrix (1972a:7).

It is clear that this approach to sememic function is quite distinct from that of Fillmore (1968) and others, such as Langendoen (1970), Platt (1971), Frantz (1971), and Grimes (1972b), whose studies differ in detail but are similar in general outline. The difference of Hale's approach is conditioned, at least in part, by his objective of typological comparison.

In the first place, the definition of the primary roles is quite broad. Especially is this true of the Referent (or Site) which includes notions of animate source, possessor, and beneficiary as well as inanimate source, location, and goal. This leads to the classifying together in one cell of the transitivity matrix sentences which seem quite different in other languages. Thus Schöttelndreyer (1972:81) describes the Sherpa sentences (1) and (2) as both Diattributive (that is, State, + Und + Ref/Sit in Fig. 12).

1. nye 'daldzaalaa den Tuk din 'wye.
 my friend-Goal carpet six seven-Umk is
 Ref Und State

My friend has six or seven carpets.

2. kayul chakumq 'nanglaa 'wye.
 cup shelf in-Goal is
 Und Ref State

The cup is on the shelf.

In Sherpa the only formal difference between the two patterns is the relative order of the Referent (Goal-marked by suffix -laa) and the Undergoer (unmarked), a difference which, Schöttelndreyer points out (1972:44), is correlated with the animate/inanimate distinction of the two Referents. The data is thus formally accounted for, but one feels that the roles of possessor and location should be distinguished as such to account for syntactic differences in languages such as English.⁴

Secondly, Hale suggests (1972a:3) that 'one of the functions of embedding in natural languages is that of preventing the formation of a clause with a higher degree of transitivity than DiTransitive [+ Act, + Und, + Sit]'. While it is true that the vast majority of clauses encountered have no more than three overt roles, exceptions arise. An example

⁴In terms of Fillmore's early set of cases (1968), the two roles would be Dative and Locative. But in some recent work (Grimes 1973, Frantz 1973) the roles would in fact be combined, at least for certain purposes, in a role called Referential or Range.

from Platt (1971:103-4) illustrates the problem of deciding to which participant the primary role of Referent would be assigned - presumably to Black & Co. in (3), to Lucy in (4), but to what in (5)?

3. Sam bought a book from Black & Co.

4. Sam bought a book for Lucy.

5. Sam bought Lucy a book from Black & Co.

Fillmore assumes (1968:24) that 'no case category occurs more than once' in a particular proposition,⁵ but this obviously cannot apply to the 'primary roles' as each covers a number of different cases. Note the different candidates (underlined) for the role of Actor in (6), (7), and (8).

6. The needle jabbed my eye.

7. Janine jabbed my eye.

8. Janine jabbed my eye with her needle.

Once multiple manifestations of a primary role are admitted the neatness of Hale's matrix of sememic function (Fig. 12) is destroyed.

Thirdly, Hale assumes that the three primary roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site are universal, but it is evident from his examples that equivalent messages are assigned different contrastive patterns of roles (that is, different boxes in the transitivity matrix of Fig. 12) in different languages. Thus he regards the Newari example (9) as SemiReceptive, but says that its English gloss (10) is not.

9. Myra:ya: tya:nhwla
Site Event

10. Myra came to feel tired.

He cites (11) as an English example of SemiReceptive (1972a:4).

11. It got hot in the room.

⁵ However Langendoen (1970:121-2) recognizes situations where one or more roles of the role structure of a predicate must be expressed by sets of two or more members: Patient in (a) and Goal in (b).

a. The train and the bus collided.

b. Christ distributed the loaves to his disciples.

So, the system with only three roles, and the event/state dichotomy, clearly represents a language-particular form, not a presumed language-universal set of role relationships.

I do not dispute the usefulness of Hale's transitivity scheme as a contribution to typological comparison in grammar (Hale 1972a, 1973). However, consideration of the various attempts at sememic cataloguing indicates that no classification of sememic clause patterns is likely to be at the same time (a) easily manageable in terms of producing a conveniently small set of patterns; (b) able to limit roles to not-more-than-once appearance in a proposition; (c) intuitively satisfying in its representation of individual examples in terms of a non-language-particular conception of semantic units.

In view of the difficulties described I refrain from making another attempt at cataloguing sememic patterns. In the words of Joseph Grimes (1972b:193):

Linguistics has a long history of classifying surface grammatical patterns. It therefore comes as a mild surprise to some to find that the classification of the semantic categories that stand behind surface patterns is many times more complex, so much so that it ceases to be useful.

The data presented in this chapter are intended, therefore, to be illustrative only, not exhaustive, of the sememic patterns expressed in Gurung clauses.

3.2 Grammatical structure of clauses. Study of the grammatical structure of the clause involves identification of units in the structure (clause-level tagmemes) and of clause constructions (syntagmemes). The manifestation of tagmemes involves the selection of particular relational markers (the case particles) on noun phrases within the clause, the ordering of the noun phrases, and the distributional variants of the clauses.

The main case particles in Gurung are the set of postpositions (some of them clitics) listed in Table 3 along with the case labels which are used to represent a noun phrase marked with the particular particle in formulas and examples.

Case	Particle	Gloss	
Benefactive (BEN)	-e xa'giri	'for'	
Comitative (CMT)	-ne, -ne prf, -ne ba·lu, mane	'with'	
Comparative (CMP)	-bxandá	'than'	
Dative (DAT)	-la	'DAT'	
Ergative (ER)	-d(i)	'ER'	
Genitive (GEN)	-e, -l(a)	'of'	
Locative (LOC)	llll, llqdí	'after; behind'	
"	"	nxori	'inside; within'
"	"	osó	'before; in front of'
"	"	phiri	'upon'
"	"	-r(i)	'in; to; at'
"	"	sammá·	'up to; until'
"	"	-ydí	'toward'
Source (SRC)	-lé, -llé, -ylé	'from (spatial)'	
"	"	seró	'since; from (temporal)'
Thematic (THM)	-d , -m, -la	'topic (TO)'	
Unmarked (UM)	ø	-	

Table 3. Case particles.

Ordering of tagmemes in a Gurung clause is a function of the speaker's focus of attention. For any given clause there is a normal order, which I call (following Schöttelndreyer 1972:32) unmarked focus. I define as Subject the nuclear tagmeme⁶ which occurs first in the clause under

⁶The concept of 'nuclear tagmeme' is traditional in tagmemics for referring to a tagmeme in the essential, characteristic, part of a pattern. The concept follows from the conviction that emically contrastive patterns occur in a language, as set out for Gurung clauses in Table 4 below. A nuclear tagmeme is diagnostic of its pattern (syntagmeme),

the condition of unmarked focus.⁷ In classifying clause constructions I will utilize in addition the slots of Predicate (the verb with auxiliaries, or a copula with predicative noun or adjective), Object (the undergoer of the action, if distinct from the Subject), Locative (the place at which or to which the action is oriented), and Indirect Object (the nuclear participant secondarily involved in the action.)⁸

and the definitions of 'nuclear tagmeme' and 'emic syntagmeme' are interdependent (Longacre 1964a:51). Cook (1971a:5) sees a parallel of the nuclear/peripheral dichotomy of tagmemes in grammatical structure with deep structure (sememic) roles which are 'divided into essential and non-essential, depending upon whether they belong to the defining case frame of the verb'.

⁷The subject, so defined, is not necessarily the first constituent of the clause. The latter is, in text, frequently some other nuclear tagmeme which has been fronted for emphasis, or a nonnuclear introducer particle or temporal setting.

Lyons (1968:344) mentions (but states as inadequate for a full treatment of 'subject') a 'three-way distinction of "psychological" subject (the topic), "grammatical" subject (in surface structure) and "logical" subject (in deep structure)'. His 'logical' subject apparently refers to what I have described as the sememic role of Agent, being the initiator of the action. As for his 'grammatical' subject, there is in Gurung no crossreferencing of the subject in the verb morphology, either in person or number, and, as the case-marking system is nominative-ergative, there is no uniform marking in transitive and intransitive clauses of the participant which would be marked as subject in nominative-accusative languages such as English. There appears therefore no basis for defining a 'grammatical' subject (in Lyons' terms) in Gurung. [The same can be said of Lisu, and no doubt of many other Sino-Tibetan languages. In Lisu, there seems no basis for the notion of subject even in deep structure, according, that is, to the model of Chomsky (1965). Hope (1972:7) stated as questionable 'the relevance of the notions subject and object to the empirical facts of Lisu'.]

The definition of Subject given in the text is rather the 'psychological' subject, or topic, which is defined by Hockett (1958:20) as the first constituent: 'the speaker announces a topic and then says something about it.' In Gurung, as in the Chinese examples Hockett cited, it is common for the topic (Subject) to be deleted in noninitial utterances in discourse.

⁸Anderson (1971:103) argues that the dative case (which

The various contrastive clause constructions have distributional variants - independent, subordinate, and gerund - according to their place of occurrence in a sentence. The clause variants are formally distinguished by the verb suffixes (Sec. 5.1). An independent clause can comprise a sentence nucleus, while a subordinate clause occurs as a sentence margin (Sec. 6.1). A Gerund Clause occurs mainly embedded in a clause-level or phrase-level slot, although the gerund form is also used as a sentence nucleus. In (12) the Gerund Clause fills the Subject slot.

12. [egxa·rá· gate mritú ba·n |xaudi-my,] cá-r
 eleven day death ban apply-NP that-on
 T:LOC

pxrɔ kú-ba ax-tá.
 shed move-GE not-OK
 S:gerCl Pred:itrVP

[On the eleventh day a deadly ban applies;] moving
 sheds on that (day) is not right.

A very common occurrence of the Gerund Clause is as the axis of a Relative Clause in the Modifier slot of Modified Noun Phrases (Sec. 4.11). The Relative Clause consists of a Gerund Clause (ending in -ba) together with the genitive case particle -e, giving the combined verb suffix -bae, which I have glossed in examples singly as 'adjectivizer (AJ)', as in (13) and (14).

13. kaɔ xyo-bae cala·n
 rice cook-AJ custom
 M:RelCl H:n

method (by which they) cook rice

14. xrɔsa xrɔsa-é mrɔ-r-bae mxa·rsi mɔxa
 self self-of field-in-AJ marsi rice
 M:RelCl M:AdjP H:n

marsi rice (which is) in (their) own fields

typically manifests Indirect Object) is a variant of the locative case. I have distinguished them in Gurung because they have formally distinct case-markings and are selected by different verbs.

The nuclear formulae of seven basic contrastive clause patterns are shown in Table 4, using a notation adapted from that suggested by Pike to represent both grammatical and sememic constituents in a construction. Each tagmeme of the construction is represented theoretically by an array of nine boxes, of which the first six are shown in Fig. 13 with labels suggested by Hale (1972a:2).

	Function	Systemic class	Item
Grammatical	1. Focus	2. Category	3. Citation
Sememic	4. Role	5. Concept	6. Gloss

Fig. 13. Grammatical and sememic features of a tagmeme
(from Hale 1972a:2).

But only boxes 1 and 2, corresponding to the traditional tagmemic 'function slot' and 'filler class', are required to identify grammaticotagmemes and are employed in the formulae of Table 4. The sememic roles of box 4 have also been added in Table 4 to show the interrelation of sememic and grammatical structure at clause level.⁹ The seven clause constructions fall into three groups according to the number of nuclear noun phrases in the construction: two one-place, three two-place, and two three-place constructions.

⁹Pike's notation also included a third row, with boxes 7, 8, and 9, to represent phonological function, class, and item (Pike 1970, Klammer 1971). The abbreviated array of only three boxes used in Table 4 uses essentially the same approach as Becker (1967:6), Platt (1971:5), and Franklin (1971:3), although these authors employ differing terminology. They mention also a fourth aspect of 'lexical meaning' (Becker) or 'semantic category' (Franklin), corresponding to Hale's 'sememic class (= concept)', but I have not seen any satisfying treatment of this notion.

One-place patterns:

1. Intransitive clause = +

Sub	UM
A, X, P,	
N, F	

 +

Pred	itr VP
------	--------
2. Descriptive clause = +

Sub	UM
N, P	

 +

Pred	des VP
------	--------

Two-place patterns:

3. Transitive clause = +

Sub	ER
A, C,	
AX	

 +

O	UM, DAT
N, P,	
F	

 +

Pred	tr VP
------	-------
4. Loc-Intrans clause = +

Sub	UM
A, P	

 +

Loc	CMT, LOC
R, G	

 +

Pred	li VP
------	-------
5. Existential clause = +

Sub	LOC, DAT
R, X	

 +

O	UM
N	

 +

Pred	exl VP
------	--------

Three-place patterns:

6. Ditransitive clause = +

Sub	ER
A, C	

 +

IO	DAT
G, GX	

 +

O	UM
F, P, N	

 +

Pred	dtr VP
------	--------
7. Loc-Trans clause = +

Sub	ER
A, C	

 +

O	UM, DAT
P	

 +

Loc	LOC
G	

 +

Pred	ltr VP
------	--------

Table 4. Grammatical clause patterns.¹⁰

¹⁰ Abbreviations are listed starting page xv. Symbols in box 2 (such as UM, ER ...) refer to noun phrases with the indicated case marking, as listed in Table 3.

The two one-place constructions, Intransitive and Descriptive, differ in the form of predicate: an intransitive verb versus an essive verb plus complement.¹¹ The complement may be an adjective or a noun phrase, and the complement noun phrase may serve in either an identificational relation to the subject or a classificatory relation.¹² The following examples illustrate different roles (box 4) manifested in the various slots (box 1) for each of the seven contrastive patterns.

(1) Intransitive Clauses may have Subject as Agent, in (15), as Experiencer, in (16), as Patient, in (17), as Neutral, in (18), or as Factive, in (19).¹³

15. mǎ·bǎ asǒ rǐ-l tǝu-mu.
 O_{woman} before arise-IN NEC-NP
 Sub_A:UM Ma:av Pred:itrVP

The old woman will have to get up first.

16. kwǐ mxǐ saǒ tǒ-bǎ.
 some men mind happy-GE
 Sub_X:UM Pred:itrVP

Some men (were) happy.

17. nǎ· cyugú cyugú cae-ǐ.
 rain little little ease-PA
 Sub_P:UM Ma:AdP Pred:itrVP

The rain eased a little.

18. mxwǐ gxrǐ sé pandrá paisá· caidi-m.
 rupee one and fifteen pice needed-NP
 Sub_N:UM Pred:itrVP

One rupee fifteen pice is needed.

¹¹ Essive verbs are the three roots mu-, ta-, and -ǒx{ which render the English copula be (Glover 1969b).

¹² Hope (1972:26-7) posits two cases, Transitive and Essive, to accommodate such a distinction in predicate nominals. I have not found strong syntactic evidence in Gurung for the distinction and so have not posited these as roles.

¹³ The examples include nonnuclear clause level tagmemes such as Manner (Ma) and Temporal (T), which are shown without

19. tlyá· sq-gaé ta-dí, ...
 today three-day happen-PA
 T:t Sub_F:UM Pred:itrVP

Today it has been three days, ...

(2) Descriptive Clauses may have Subject as Neutral, in (20), or as Patient, in (21), and Predicate filled by copula plus adjective, in (20-21), noun in identificational relation, in (22), or noun in classificatory relation, in (23).

20. cá khiba m̄·bá sá·ron garib mu·ná·.
 that O_{man} O_{woman} extremely poor be-DI
 Sub_N:UM Pred:desVP

That old man and old woman were extremely poor.

21. khiba m̄·bá phódə ta-seró
 O_{man} O_{woman} starving become-since
 Sub_P:UM Pred:desVP

Because the old man and the old woman starved ...

22. gəgyu bi·ba· pxro nxo-rbae ta·rgya kyú ya·.
 Seti call-GE cliff below-of white water is
 Sub_N:UM Pred:desVP

The Seti River is the white water below the cliff.

23. tlyá· chyá·-báe joga athabá din mu.
 today good-AJ time or day is
 Sub_N:UM Pred:desVP

Today is a good time, an auspicious day.

The three two-place constructions, Transitive, Loc-Intransitive, and Existential, contrast, firstly, in their Predicate fillers, being nonessive verbs for the first two and the essive verbs *ta-* and *mu-* for the Existential; and secondly, in the case-marking on the Subject - ergative for the Transitive Clause, unmarked for the Loc-Intransitive, and dative or locative for the Existential clause. The Loc-Intransitive and Transitive Clauses further contrast in the function and marking of the second nuclear slot: a

sememic roles subscripted to the grammatical slot, as is the case for nuclear tagmemes.

Locative, marked with locative, source, or comitative, versus an Object, which is either unmarked (if inanimate) or marked as dative (if animate). A subset of Loc-Intransitive clauses, those which have a verb of motion as Predicate filler, optionally include a Source slot and a Purpose slot,¹⁴ as in (31) and (32). The points of contrast of the three two-place constructions are summarized in Fig. 14.

	Predicate filler	Subject marking	2nd slot
Transitive	nonessive	ergative	Object
Loc-Intrans	nonessive	unmarked	Locative
Existential	essive	dative or locative	Object

Fig. 14. Contrasts of two-place clause patterns.

(3) Transitive Clauses may have Subject as Agent, in (24), as Noninstigative cause, in (25), or Agent-Experiencer, in (26), and Object as Patient, inanimate as in (24), or animate as in (25), as Neutral, in (26), or as Factitive, in (27).

24. *ŋa-dl chadá bo-la.*
 me-ER umbrella take-PLUP
 Sub_A:ER O_p:UM Pred:trVP

I had taken an umbrella.

25. *cá mxl-jau-|ai bele nq'-d pq'-|.*
 that person-PL-DAT much rain-ER soak-PA
 O_p:DAT Ma:av Sub_C:ER Pred:trVP

Those people really got soaked by the rain.¹⁵

¹⁴Purpose is treated as sememically a relation of the statement level (Sec. 2.33), but grammatically it may act as a clause-level tagmeme.

¹⁵The inversion of order in this clause, with the Subject in noninitial position, is a consequence of the speaker's

26. ɲxyó-d cá ka.gadá ɲxyo-m.
 we_INCL that paper look_at-NP
 Sub_{AX}:ER O_N:UM Pred:trVP

We will look at that paper.

27. kwí-ri pujá· bomwə-d la-m.
 temple-in worship Brahmin-ER do-NP
 Loc:LOC O_P:UM Sub_A:ER Pred:trVP

In the temple the worship is done by the Brahmins.

(4) A Loc-Intransitive Clause may have Subject as Agent, in (28), or as Patient, in (29), and Locative as Range, in (28), or as Goal, in (29), where the Locative is deleted as recoverable from the cultural context (Grimes 1972b:196),¹⁶ and in (30).

28. kwí gxyǰ· kha.gu ró-mu, ...
 some road near lie_down-NP
 Sub_A:UM Loc_R:LOC Pred:liVP

Some lie down near the path, ...

29. cá txi-ri beseri ná· yú-la.
 that time-in much rain descend-PLUP
 T:LOC Ma:av Sub_P:UM Pred:liVP

At that stage it was raining heavily.

30. ɲí dxí-r sammá-n t̥hya.ká-n xya-ʔ.
 we_EXCL house-to until-EM exact-EM go-PA
 Sub_A:UM Loc_G:LOC Ma:av Pred:liVP

We went right up to (our) house.

Motion Clauses, as a subtype of Loc-Intransitive, may have optionally expressed Source slot, as in (31), and a Purpose slot, as in (32).

focus of attention in the discourse. In the narrative the preceding sentence was kwí mxí-dl chadá ax-bo-na· 'some people had not brought umbrellas'. The anaphoric phrase cá mxí-jau 'those people' therefore comes first in the example.

¹⁶I posit the (deleted) Locative because any motion from place to place involves direction, and because it is possible to supply the implied 'to the ground' for the Goal of the rain although it is probably deleted under normal circumstances in most, if not all, human languages.

31. kyal píru-lé phéri pudlí sađak xya--báe
 there level-from again Putali Sadak go-AJ
 Src_G:SRC Intr:intr Loc_G:LOC

ṭha·đó gxyđ·-y xya·-f.
 perpendicular road-toward go-PA
 Pred:liVP

From over there, again (I) went along the road at right angles, which goes to Putali Sadak.

32. phéri ŋl gra·una-r thu-mađ-lai txo-ba-r
 again we_EXCL airport-to friend-PL-DAT meet-GE-to
 Intr:intr Sub_A:UM Loc_G:LOC Pu:puCL

yú-l.
 come_down-PA
 Pred:liVP

Then we came down to the airport to meet friends.

(5) Existential Clauses may have Subject as Range (with locative marking), in (33), or as Experiencer (with dative marking), in (34), and Object as Neutral, in (33).

33. bxə·đó-ri kxə ŋxa·đó mu-ná.
 pot-in bread five-CL be-DI
 Sub_R:LOC O_N:UM Pred:exlVP

The pot had five pieces of bread in it.

34. ŋa-lal lxé dxuk^ha ta-f.
 me-DAT much difficulty be-PA
 Sub_X:DAT O_N:UM Pred:exlVP

I had much difficulty.¹⁷

The two three-place constructions, Ditransitive and Loc-Transitive, contrast in the normal position of the Object relative to the third term: it follows the Indirect Object, which is filled by a dative phrase, in the Ditransitive Clause, and it precedes the Locative, which is filled by a locative phrase, in the Loc-Transitive Clause. Correlated with this are the facts (a) that the referent of the phrase

¹⁷With an abstract noun such as dxuk^ha 'difficulty' and the verb ta- 'exist, happen, befall, elapse, be' it is not clear if the role is Patient, Neutral, or even Factitive.

filling the Indirect Object slot is animate, normally personal, whereas the referent of the phrase filling the Locative slot is inanimate, and (b) the phrases filling the Locative and Indirect Object slots are formally distinguished by their case-marking postpositions.

(6) Ditransitive Clauses may have Subject as Noninstigative cause, in (35), or as Agent, in (36-7); Indirect Object as Goal, in (35-6), or as Goal-Experiencer, in (37); and Object as Factitive, in (35), as Patient, in (36), or as Neutral, in (37).

35. kyú-di ŋl-lal lɣé ná·s la-wa·-f.
 water-ER we-DAT much damage do-EM-PA
 Sub_C:ER IO_G:DAT O_F:UM Pred:dtrVP

The water did us a lot of damage.

36. ŋa-d kxí-lal [səd ŋxí ŋxí bɪrɪd|-brɛ]
 me-ER you-DAT week two two skip-RP
 Sub_A:ER IO_G:DAT
 ŋxí-bo sɔ́-bo cɪtʰf pí-bx|-brɛ la-lá.
 two-CL three-CL letter send-give-RP do-PLUP
 O_P:UM Pred:dtrVP

I sent two or three letters to you [at two week intervals].

37. cá-e pxanxə·g-dý ŋa-d karna-lal
 that-of tomorrow-next me-ER Karna-DAT
 T:mNP Sub_A:ER IO_{GX}:DAT

kajú nɔ́·sa ý|-l.
 Ghacok village show-PA
 O_N:UM Pred:dtrVP

The next day I showed Karna Ghacok village.

(7) Loc-Transitive Clauses may have Subject as Agent, in (38), or as Noninstigative cause, in (39); Object as Patient, in (38-9); and Locative as Goal, in (38-9). In (39) the Locative is not overtly expressed but is implicit as cú-r 'here' in the verb bxwl- 'bring'.

38. nǎ·sa-r-bae mxi jaga-di cá khib né mǎ·bá
 village-in-AJ person PL-ER that O_man and O_woman
 Sub_A:ER O_P:DAT

ladi gxa·ǎá-r bo-xya·-í.
 DAT cremation_place-to take-go-PA
 Loc_G:LOC Pred:ltrVP

The people of the village took the old man and the old woman to the place of cremation.

39. bana·-r-báe sǎ dxy-jaú ta·n gǎgyu-d nó·bxwi-lá.
 forest-in-AJ wood plant-PL all Seti-ER carry-bring-PLUP
 O_P:UM Sub_C:ER Pred:ltrVP

Trees from the forest, all were brought down (here) by the Seti River.

Like Loc-Intransitive Clauses, Loc-Transitive Clauses also have a motion subtype. The role of Source is obligatorily added to the sememic role set when the predicate expresses translational motion (that is, motion from place to place), although either Goal or Source may be deleted from the (surface) grammatical structure of the clause as being implicit in the predicate, (as, for example, the predicate 'bring' implies a Goal 'here' in (39)), recoverable from the wider context (as in a narrative of travel where the Source of a clause is often the Goal of the preceding motion and, if so, need not be stated), or irrelevant to the speaker's purpose. (40) illustrates an explicit Source, with the Goal, 'home', implicit in the narrative situation.

40. ti-gaé cá khib mǎ·bá-di nǎ·sa-ylé kǎgá
 one-day that O_man O_woman-ER village-from fragments
 T:NP_m Sub_A:ER Src_S:SRC O_P:UM

bxa·í.
 bring-PA
 Pred:ltrVP

One day that old man and old woman brought rice fragments (home) from the village.

3.3 The staging system. 'Staging' is Grimes' term (1972b: 327ff.) for the aspect of linguistic structure whereby units of discourse are presented by the speaker from a particular

perspective. In this section I discuss various grammatical devices for realizing staging decisions - word order, particles marking topic or prominence, and deletion and afterthoughts.

3.31 Word order in Gurung appears to be an expression of decisions on staging - the speaker's perspective on the state or event described. In Gurung, as in Sherpa (Schöttelndreyer 1972:31-47), there is an unmarked, or 'normal', mapping from participant roles to word order, governed by the two factors of role ranking and animateness of the participant. A marked order results from the influence of a special orientation of the speaker's interest. In the unmarked order, shown in the formulae in Table 4, page 74, the effect of participant role is indirect, being channelled through the case-marking system.¹⁸ The ranking of case-marked phrases which determines their order in clauses unmarked for staging is:

41. ER SRC (UM DAT) LOC

That is, ergative outranks source, which outranks unmarked and dative, which outrank locative. I do not have clear evidence for separating the unmarked and dative cases in the ranking scale, and so show them as a group within parentheses. The following examples illustrate the case ranking (41).

Ergative before dative:

42. ṅa-d kxi-lai ax-cá-syo.
me-ER you-DAT not-eat-EM
Sub_A:ER O_p:DAT Pred:trVP

I won't eat you!

Ergative before unmarked:

43. aḡḡá-d chá·b t̥hauḡl-f.
office-ER stamp affix-PA
Sub_A:ER O_p:UM Pred:ltrVP

The office affixed a stamp (to the document).

¹⁸ Compare Grimes' statement for English (1972b:339): 'The unmarked mapping that relates the Agent role (when present; otherwise some other role) to subject, which in turn is related to topic via the modal system, is called the active voice.'

Ergative before source before unmarked:

44. η l kh**h**ib né m**ə**·bá-d**i** n**ə**·sa-**u**lé cha·-**l**e
 we O_man and O_woman-ER village-from thus-AV
 Sub_A:ER Src_S:SRC Ma:av

k**ə**gá mx**æ**-bxa-l**á**.
 fragments seek-bring-PLUP
 O_P:UM Pred:ltrVP

We old folks thus obtained rice fragments from the village.

Unmarked before locative:

45. m**i**xas**í** η x**ə**-r p**ə**·-m**y**.
 rice milk-in soak-NF
 O_P:UM Loc_R:LOC Pred:ltrVP

(They) soak the rice in milk.

Superimposed on the ranking of (41) is the priority of animate participants over inanimate, which readjusts the order as illustrated in examples (46-7).

Animate dative before inanimate ergative:

46. ch**ad**á ax-bo-b**á**é mx**l**-l**al** beseri n**ə**·-**d**
 umbrella not-take-AJ person-DAT much rain-ER
 O_P:DAT S_C:ER

η l**h**rúka**le** p**ə**·-**l**.
 completely soak-PA
 Ma:av Pred:trVP

The people who didn't take umbrellas got completely soaked by the heavy rain.

Animate dative before inanimate unmarked:¹⁹

47. m**r**y-l**al** sol**o**q p**l**-**l**.
 king-DAT salute give-PA
 IO_G:DAT O_P:UM Pred:dtrVP

(The guard) gave the king a salute.

¹⁹In (41) UM and DAT are parenthesized as being of the same rank, because I have no clear evidence to establish a priority between them with all animate or all inanimate participants. In practice, the dative participant is usually animate, and therefore takes priority over an inanimate unmarked.

In addition to these factors, which I regard as producing the unmarked staging pattern, the speaker's orientation of interest has an important, though less well understood, influence. Thus the relatively high ranking of Source in the left-to-right ordering of (41) apparently reflects a tendency for motion clauses to take the starting-point of the motion described as the clause's 'point of departure' (Halliday 1967:212). In (48), which is taken from a travel narrative, the Source is shifted to the front even of the animate participant manifesting Agent.

48. kuná· gxa·dá·-ulé kwí ɟera-dun xya·-mý.²⁰
 Kunanghat-from some Dera Dun go-NP
 Src_S:SRC S_A:UM Loc_G:LOC Pred:liVP

From Kunanghat some go to Dera Dun.

In questions and imperatives the orientation of the clause is particularly toward the hearer, as a response is requested.²¹ Thus if the second person pronoun kxí 'you' is expressed in an imperative (a device which gives special emphasis to the command) it is usually placed first, as in (49).

²⁰The Locative slot in (48) lacks the locative suffix, as a result of an optional rule which deletes the suffix from place names marking the Goal of a motion verb. In (a) the rule has not applied; in (b), like (48), it has.

- a. pukhrú-r yú-brə |a-m.
 Pokhara-to come_down-RP do-NP
 Loc_G:LOC Pred:liVP
- He keeps coming down to Pokhara.
- b. kxí pukhrú yú-ba bhandá a·só ...
 you Pokhara come_down-GE than
 Sub_A:ER Loc_G:LOC Pred:liVP

Before you came down to Pokhara ...

²¹Evidence from Sherpa supports this contention in that the conjunct forms of verbs occur with only first person Actors in the declarative mode and only second person Actors in the interrogative mode (Schöttelndreyer 1972:16). Conjunct forms in Newari verbs are distributed similarly (Hale, pers. com.). The conjunct-disjunct distinction is not a feature of Gurung verb morphology.

49. kx| -d tól ax-bi-le t| -q| -d.
 you-ER anything not-say-AV stay-stay-IM
 Sub_A:ER Ma:avCl Pred:liVP

You remain (there) silent!

In (50) the phrase involving the second person pronoun, even though not as the Subject, is placed first.

50. kx| -e cxamí nǎ -e cxa -|al p| -n.
 you-of daughter me-of son-DAT give-IM
 O_P:UM IO_G:DAT Pred:dtrVP

Give your daughter to my son.

It is difficult, however, to account for the contrasting word order of the ergative and dative cases in (51) and (52), both of which are questions which occurred from the one speaker as opening utterances of consecutive paragraphs in a dialogue.

51. surje máe a'ba -d-ám kx| -|al ax -chyǎ' -bae tǎ.
 Surje of father-ER-TO you-DAT not-good-AJ word
 S_A:ER IO_G:DAT O_F:UM

bi -m [u ax -bi?]
 say-NP or not
 Pred:dtrVP

Does Surje's father speak harsh words to you [or not?]

52. kx| -|al cá -maq -d-ám khǒyǒ khǒyǒ cxá thǔ -l
 you-DAT that-PL-ER-TO sometimes tea drink-IN
 IO_X:DAT Sub_A:ER T:t O_P:UM

bx[-m [u ax -bx{?]
 give-NP or not
 Pred:dtrVP

Do they give you tea to drink sometimes [or not?]²²

It would appear that in (51) the speaker is focussing on the

²² (52) is a permissive construction, perhaps pedantically translatable as 'Do they allow you (the privilege) sometimes of drinking tea or not?' The permissive construction is expressed by an Infinitival Verb Phrase, which is phonologically and grammatically a close-knit unit (Sec. 4.22). From the viewpoint of clause patterns, however, the Predicate filler is the auxiliary bx[- 'give', the pattern is Ditransitive, and the Object is filled by the embedded infinitival clause cxá thǔ -l '(you) drink tea'.

54. kxi bẋandá cyq-bá· mu-lai. kxi-di untis
 you than young-GE be-PROB you-TO twentynine
 barsa ta-í.
 year become-PA
 (Speaking to I:) He is probably younger than you.
 (Turning to W:) You are twentynine.²³
55. pailá, bẋalú a·bá-e kaq mxyq-í. "oho, cú-m
 first bear father-of rice taste-PA oh this-TO
 lála mu-ná·." bí-l. jxa·lé, bẋalú a·má-e kaq
 hot be-DI say-PA then bear mother-of rice
 mxyq-í. "oho, cú-m ɣyú-ba, ax-lxí-m mu-ná·."
 taste-PA oh this-TO cold-GE not-tasty-GE be-DI
 bí-l. jxa·lé, bẋalú jxajá-e kaq mxyq-í. "oho,
 say-PA then bear baby-of rice taste-PA oh
 cú-m í-m mu-ná·." bí-l bírí, jamman cwa-í.
 this-TO tasty-GE be-DI say-CJ all eat-PA
 First (she) tasted Father Bear's rice. 'Oh, this is
 hot,' (she) said. Then (she) tasted Mother Bear's
 rice. 'Oh, this is cold, not nice,' (she) said.
 Then (she) tasted Baby Bear's rice. 'Oh, this is
 tasty,' (she) said and ate it all up.
56. X: kxi kadí barsa yú-l?
 you how_many year come_down-PA
 Y: ɣa-m untis barsa yú-l.
 me-TO twentynine year come_down-PA
 X: How old are you? Y: As for me, I am twentynine.

The topic particles -la and -di occur only on noun phrases or pronouns,²⁴ but the particle -m is distributed

²³ Examples involving speeches by, or to, more than one person utilize single letter abbreviations to designate individual speakers, as listed with the published texts (Glover 1970:131) for data from the recorded corpus, or X and Y for hypothetical examples such as (56). J and W represent my wife and myself respectively, but all other designated participants have native speaker competence in Gurung.

²⁴ There are homophonous morphemes occurring as verb suffixes, though: '-la 'pluperfect (PLUP)', -di 'past (PA)', and -dí 'emphatic (EM)'.

behaviour of Surje's father, a new participant in the discourse at this point, while in (52) he is focussing rather on the addressee's privileges, although the Agent *cá-maę-d-ám* 'they' still carries the 'contrastive topic' marking particle (see following subsection). So this explanation remains a conjecture.

3.32 Topic-marking particles. Gurung discourse, especially dialogue, is liberally sprinkled with a number of emphatic particles, mostly clitics suffixed to nouns, pronouns, temporals, locatives, or verbs. Most of these I can describe only as 'emphatic particle (EM)', giving prominence to the particular lexical item. However, a subset, the three particles *-(a)m*, *-la*, and *-d|*, overtly mark sentence topic. The item so marked may be new in context, or already mentioned in the preceding sentences, but in either case the particles appear to indicate 'change of topic'. The three particles are not mutually substitutable in all contexts. Semantically, *-la* simply focusses attention on a new topic, as in (53), *-d|* carries the implication of singling out the topic from a group, as in (54), and *-(a)m* conveys the idea of contrast with other possible fillers of the slot, as in (55-6). But I gloss all three simply 'topic (TO)'.

53. *kwí mxí-la taga·ra ba·ya·-i. kwí mxí-la*
 some person-TO post take-EM-PA some person-TO
labú ba·ri ba·ya·-i. kwí mxí-la dxa|-mró
 radish garden take-EM-PA some person-TO house-field
ba·ya·-i. kwí mxí-la ba·ra-r-báe sađá· xra·ne
 take-EM-PA some person-TO garden-in-AJ stake trellis
pħargu ta·n nó ba·ya·-i.
 pole all carry take-EM-PA

As for some people, (the river) took gateposts. For some, (it) took (their) radish gardens. For some, (it) took (their) backyard gardens. For some, (it) carried away stakes, trellises, poles, and all.

quite widely. In (57) it highlights a gerund expression, which is functioning as an independent clause giving an unexpected answer to a question, and in (58) it highlights an unusual state of affairs, expressed in a subordinate clause. In both instances the notion of contrast with alternate fillers of the slot, namely the expected answer, or expected state of affairs, is clearly present.

57. W: togó-n pukhrú-ri {t̥ yq-m u ax-yó?
now-EM Pokhara-in brick AVL-NP or not-AVL

I: yq-bá-m. yq-mú, mxq·gú mu.
AVL-GE-TO AVL-NP expensive be

W: Are bricks available in Pokhara now or not?

I: Certainly (they're) available. Available, (but) expensive.

58. ka· thú-seró-m phéri cá pa·rie pha·-b
dry cut-since-TO again that rationed burn-GE

ma-ná-gon.
be-DI-EM

Since (they) are cutting dry (wood) [in contrast with the usual practice of felling green timber], that (wood) will indeed have to be burnt with restraint.

But there are some examples where the glossing of -m as 'contrastive topic' appears quite unsatisfactory, especially where it occurs more than once in the one sentence, as in (59-60). It appears here to be indistinguishable semantically from other 'emphatic particles'. I am unable to account for the semantic variation from its other instances.

59. hindústhá·na-r xya·-seró-m hindí ba·d-am
India-to go-since-TO Hindi language-TO

chale-n xra-m-au.
naturally-EM know-NP-EM

Since (we) go to India (we) just naturally learn the Hindi language [i.e. without special intent or training].

60. koló mxaina txu-l-báe ólq· cá-r ne-sl,
child month six-CL-AJ infant that-at bed-CJ

ba·lu ró-ba-m la-m-am.
together sleep-GE-TO do-NP-TO

A child, an infant of six months, having been bedded down there, was sleeping together (with the woman).

3.33 Emphatic particles. In English, prominence of a particular lexical item in a clause is often signalled by intonation, as in Grimes' example (1972b:306). MY puppy is black, where the intonational prominence of MY (represented by upper case letters) marks the item which the speaker regards as most informative (as in a contrast with, for example, a preceding Your puppy is brown).²⁵ In Gurung, prominence may likewise be signalled by exceptionally high stress, as in (61), where I have underlined the highly stressed syllable.

61. oho cú-m lá|a mu-ná.
oh this-TO hot be-DI
Oh, as for this, it is HOT.

But prominence is most commonly signalled in Gurung by the use of 'emphatic particles', which may be attached to practically any desired word of the clause. The common emphatic particles are, with nouns, -l, -n, ga, and ya', and, with verbs or adjectives, -lɔ́, -dl, -gon, -on, and -au. In (62) prominence is realized in the first clause by pronounced stress, and in the second and fourth clauses by emphatic clitics. The fourth clause is an example of the frequent use of ga (or its alternant ya) to supply a positive form for the equative verb -ŋxɔ́, but the particle forms always carry the notion of prominence in addition to equation.

62. ax-ŋxɔ́. kx|l-lɔ́. ax-ŋxɔ́. ŋá-e kula-d
not-be you-of-EM not-be me-of o l_press-ER
ph|bá gxoqá. ŋa-l ga.
bear-AJ horse me-of EM
Nó! (It) is not YOURS. (It is) the horse my oil
press gave birth to. (It is) MINE.²⁶

²⁵ Grimes regards matters of information flow in discourse as 'cohesion', an area distinct from the speaker's perspective, which he calls 'staging', and which includes prominence (1972b:295). It is difficult in practice to delimit staging and cohesion, and I do not attempt the distinction in this description of Gurung data.

²⁶ In predicate position the possessive is -l(a). The form -bá is a fast speech reduction of the full -báe 'adjectivizer'.

-ya· and -wa· as verb stem formatives are also glossed 'emphatic (EM)'. They appear to intensify the lexical content of the verb. Thus in (55) above, cwa·- (= ca 'eat' + wa· 'EM') means 'eat up completely', and in (63) ba-ya·- emphasizes the act of taking (since the objects taken - a cooking pot and firewood - are cumbersome to carry).

63. kyú a·dxú-r bo-m. kxaya·-i ba-ya·-mu,
 water source-to take-NP pot-EM take-EM-NP
 s[-l ba-ya·-my.
 wood-EM take-EM-NP

(You) take (them) to the tap. A COOKING POT (you) take, (and) FIREWOOD (you) take.

The forms -gon, -on, and -au are added to a regular verb suffix to make the utterance more forceful. -on occurs with -d|, -j|, and -mala, giving -don, in (64), -jon, and -malon; -au occurs with -la and -mu, giving -lau and -mau, in (65); and -gon occurs with -l, in (66), and -na.

64. U: sama·n-jaú k|-d|. J: tó k|-{? U: xrqs-|al
 goods-PL buy-PA what buy-PA self-DAT
 tó tó cald|-mú, sama·n-jaú k|-d-ón.
 what what needed-NP goods-PL buy-PA-EM
 U: (We) bought goods. J: What did (you) buy?
 U: Whatever one needed, (those) goods one bought indeed.
65. H: ax-sxé-bae kh|xyo jarə, D: tara tlyá· sé-m-au.
 not-know-AJ place about but today know-NP-EM
 H: Round places (you) don't know ...
 D (interrupting): But now (I) DO know (my way around).
66. K: tel nəsá-ri xyo-l, thə-|. G: tel nəsá-ri
 last night-in cook-PA put-PA last night-in
 xyo-l-gon woche.
 cook-PA-EM indeed
 K: (I) cooked (it) last night, (and) kept (it).
 G: Last night (you) cooked (it), indeed.

3.34 Deletion and afterthoughts. The opposite of prominence is 'de-emphasis', which is achieved in Gurung by deletion. Compared with English, for example, the deletion possibilities in a Gurung clause appear quite wide-ranging. In glossing

examples, therefore, it is often necessary to supply in English constituents (in parentheses) which have been deleted in Gurung, either as contextually recoverable, as in (67), or as irrelevant to the speaker's purpose, as in (68).

67. a·rgó, kwí-la, kwí a·muyú cxamiri mxaf ta-mú.
 other some-TO some man woman love happen-NP
 jxa·lé, 'cá cxamiri, cá phalaná cxamiri, ŋa-lai
 then that woman that particular woman me-DAT
 xri-bx[-n, a·ba·, 'bi-l birí, kha-maq a·ba·-lai
 beg-give-IM father say-CJ self-of father-DAT
 kul-mú. kul-si, jxa·lé bya· ta-m.
 send-NP send-CJ then wedding happen-NP.

Another (custom), in the case of some (people), some fellow falls in love with a girl. Then (he) says (to his father), 'That girl, that particular girl, ask for her for me, Father.' And he sends his father (to the girl's parents). (The boy) sends (his father) and then there is a wedding.

68. phéri a·rkó t̄ə·, camíri kol-máq-lai pallé
 again other matter girl child-PL-DAT first
 phi-f birí sq-gáq-ma· cyugú thírí t̄ha·d̄é bxođó
 bear-CJ three-day-in small swaddling_clothes
 p[-m.
 give-NP

Again another matter - when (a mother) has a baby daughter, at three days (she) gives (her) swaddling clothes (to wear).

A speaker may reverse his decision to de-emphasize a participant, and include it in a tag position, that is, following the Predicate of the clause. Thus, a fairly common phenomenon in the corpus is the afterthought, a noun phrase occurring after the Predicate to which it stands in a role relationship, although in a normal, well-formed Gurung clause the Predicate comes in clause-final position. There is usually a sharp intonational break separating the afterthought from the clause, and it is apparent that the afterthought is a clause constituent which is initially deleted, but which the speaker later decides must be included to avoid misunderstanding. No restriction is evident on the

sememic role of the afterthought within the clause - it is in Agent role in (69), Source in (70), and Range in (71).

69. 'tlyá· chyá·-báe joga athabá dín mu,' bí-l,
today good-AJ occasion or day be say-PA

jalsi-maę-di.

astrologer-PL-ER

'Today is an auspicious occasion or day,' (they)
said, the astrologers (did).

70. kwę jaga k[-bxa-dí, pukhrú-le. dal bya· la-f
cloth PL buy-bring-PA Pokhara-from then wedding do-P
(The boy's father) got the clothes, from Pokhara (he
got them). Then (they) held the wedding.

71. jxa·lé phulpadi dina-ri, phul-padi tę-my, kwi-ri.
then Phulpati day-on flower-leaf show-NP temple-in
Then, on Phulpati, (we) display the flowers and leaves,
in the temple (we display them).

4 Phrase Level

The grammatical level of phrase is defined in Gurung as a group of words, or a single word potentially expandable into a group, which, not being a clause, nevertheless shows relations of internal interdependence of constituents, such as 'head-modifier, linkage of elements, or relation of an element to the clause by means of an overt relator' (Longacre 1964a:74). Phrase level constructions are relevant to sememic structure in that they are the means of specifying elements of propositions, whether the participants or the predicate. In this chapter I describe phrases according to their external distribution: noun phrases (Sec. 4.1), verb phrases (Sec. 4.2), and modifier phrases (Sec. 4.3).

4.1 Noun phrases. In general, as noted in Sec. 3.2, a clause participant is represented by an Axis-relator Phrase with a case-marking particle (as listed in Table 3, page 70) filling the Relator slot. The formula for an Axis-relator Noun Phrase is (1),¹ which shows the obligatory Axis slot filled by a Modified Noun Phrase (Sec. 4.11), a Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (Sec. 4.12), or an Appositional Noun Phrase (Sec. 4.13).

$$1. \text{ NP}_{ar} = + \text{ Axis } + \text{ Relator}$$

NP _m	<u>case</u>
NP _a	
NP _c	

Subtypes of the Axis-relator Noun Phrase are defined by

¹Underlining of a filler class label within a formula denotes a terminal class, that is, a class the members of which are morphemes not subanalyzed in this description. Grammatical labels, including those of terminal classes, are listed, with a page reference, in Appendix C.

the particular case particle which occurs, since this determines the distribution of the subtype. Thus (2) contains an ergative Noun Phrase and a dative Noun Phrase, and (3) contains a genitive Noun Phrase. The three phrases have filling the Axis slot respectively a Modified Noun Phrase, an Appositional Noun Phrase, and a Co-ordinate Noun phrase.

2. kwí mxl- d kajú nǎ·s-thə-maę, ɳǎ-e
 some person- ER Ghacok village-dweller-PL me-of
 A:NP_m R:ER A:NP_a

thu-maę- lai [haudf-l.]
 friend-PL- DAT scold-PA
 R:DAT

Some people [scolded] Ghacok people, my friends.

3. kh|b né mǎ·bǎ- e [tǎ·]
 O_man with O_woman- of word
 A:NP_c R:GEN

[the words] of the old man and the old woman

4.11 Modified Noun Phrase. The formula for a Modified Noun Phrase is (4):²

4. NP_m = ± Specifier ± Modifier² ± Head ± Number
- | | | | |
|---------|----------|--------------------|-----------------|
| pronoun | | noun | <u>loan num</u> |
| genNP | AdjunctP | NP _a | NumberP |
| | RelCl | NP _c | <u>plural</u> |
| | | NP _{expl} | |

That is, a Modified Noun Phrase consists of an optional Specifier slot, filled by a pronoun or genitive Noun Phrase; an optional one or two Modifier slots, filled by an Adjunct Phrase or a Relative Clause; an optional Head slot, filled by a noun, Appositional Noun Phrase, Co-ordinate Noun Phrase, or an Explanatory Noun Phrase (Sec. 4.14); and an

²A superscript numeral on a tagmeme, as in (4), indicates the number of times the tagmeme may occur in the construction.

optional Number slot, filled by a loan numeral, a Number Phrase, or a plural marker. Examples illustrating the various fillers follow.

5. cá mxi sǝ-bra
that person three-hundred
Sp:pron H:n Num:NumP
those three hundred people
6. cá pxra-bǝe mxi jaga
that walk-AJ person PL
Sp:pron M:RelCl H:n Num:plural
those walking people (= sentries)
7. kxe-maǝ kajú-thǝ- máǝ
you-PL Ghacok-dweller-PL
Sp:pron H:n Num:plural
you people of Ghacok
8. dx|-r-bǝe ax-ǝhyǝ'-bae gara· gadi
house-in-AJ not-good-AJ influences
M:RelCl M:RelCl H:n
the evil influences in the house
9. kwí sa·rón garib mxi- máǝ
some extremely poor person-PL
Sp:pron M:AdjunctP H:n Num:plural
10. ŋí-e ŋǝ·sa, aḥabá khol ʔola·,
we-of village that_is district
Sp:genNP H:NP expl
our village, that is, district,

Certain restrictions and qualifications need to be stated to the formula (4):

a) In the corpus it is very rare to find two Modifiers in a phrase, as in (8), and uncommon even to encounter a Specifier with a Modifier, as in (6,9,10).

b) The Number tagmeme precedes the Head, instead of following it, if either of the fillers of Number or Head is a loanword from Nepali, as exemplified in (11) for the Head, (12) for the Number, and (13) for both.

11. pǝxi-jyú ŋxa-jyú barsa
four-ten five-ten year
Num:NumP_c H:n
forty or fifty years

12. ba·roḡa |xo
 twelve year
 Num:loan_num H:n
 twelve years³
13. das baje
 ten o'clock
 Num:loan_num H:n
 ten o'clock

c) In a very few cases the Modifier, when manifested by an adjective, follows the Head instead of preceding it.⁴

14. mxl |xé-d [che-m].
 person many-ER hold-NP
 H:n M:AdP
 Many people [hold (it)].
15. bxa·f cyḡ-bá·
 Y_BRO YT-GE
 H:n M:AdP
 youngest brother

d) The Head tagmeme of a Head-modifier phrase is normally treated as obligatory (Elson & Pickett 1962:104), but allowing the Head of the Modified Noun Phrase to be optional, as in (4), enables the formula to cover groups of words which clearly act distributionally like other Modified Noun Phrases but which do not contain a Head noun. Because the noun can be recovered from the context, linguistic and/or cultural, I regard these phrases sememically as having a Head which has been deleted in grammatical structure. The Deleted Head Noun Phrase most obviously, and most frequently in a conversational corpus, covers the deictic pronouns 'this' and 'that' in the Specifier slot, as in (16).

³ |xo 'year' is the indigenous Gurung term, but is only used now in religious contexts, in connection with the twelve-year cycle derived from Tibet. The Nepali loans barsa or sá·f 'year' are used in all other contexts.

⁴ Earlier descriptions, such as Grierson (1967[1909]), describe the adjective as following the noun, but this is not generally the case, except for numerals, in my data. In (14-5) the filler is shown as AdP - the adjective is a minimal Adjunct Phrase.

16. K: cú-d [kyw|-bá· a·?] J: [ax-ŋx[.] cǎ-d
 this-ER serve-GE TN not-be that-ER
 Sp:pron Sp:pron
 [ole-bá.]
 stir-GE

K: This (implement) [is for serving out, is it?]

J: [No.] That [is for stirring.]

I have not, however, discovered any Deleted Head Noun Phrase with a genitive Noun Phrase filling the Specifier slot as would parallel the English (17).

17. Bob's key is in the house. Take mine/John's/here.

A Modifier slot alone, filled by Adjunct Phrase, in (18-9), or Relative Clause, in (20), can constitute Deleted Head Noun Phrases:

18. [a·rgó rú, kǎ] mlq-gya· [jxq-mú, kǎ] p|-gya·
 other thread either black-CM put-NP or green-CM
 M:AdP M:AdP

[jxq-mú.]
 put-NP

[(As for) other threads, either (they) weave in] black, [or (they) weave in] green.

19. [kwę-jaú bxwl-d-ón, cxagana. ŋa-d-ám] |xé [ax-bxwǎ.]
 cloth-PL bring-PA-EM thus me-ER-TO much not-bring
 M:AdP

[(We) brought clothes, like that. As for me, I didn't bring] much.

When a Modifier slot filled by a Relative Clause is not followed by the Head noun the genitive case particle -e is often deleted from the adjectivizing ending -bae (see Sec. 3.2, page 69), leaving the gerund form -ba, as with cyq-ba· and yú-ba in (20). Thus the phrase y|-báe cú-r yú-ba in (20) is identical in meaning to (21), where the Head nouns are restored.

20. [bxa·ǎ cyq-bá·,] y|-báe cú-r yú-ba,
 Y_BRO YT-GE before-AJ this-to come_down-GE
 M:RelCl

[the youngest brother,] (the one who) came down here on an earlier (occasion)

21. y|-báe dina-rí cú-r yú-bae mxí
 before-AJ day-on this-to come_down-AJ person
 M:RelCl H:n []
 M:RelCl H:n
 the person who came down here on an earlier day⁵

Likewise a Number slot alone, filled by a Number Phrase as in (22), (which is drawn from the fable of the Old Man and the Old Woman squabbling over five loaves of bread), or by a loan numeral, as in (23), can stand for a full phrase.

22. só [ŋa ca-mú,] ŋxí [kxí ca-d.]
 three me eat-NP two you eat-IM
 Num:NumP Num:NumP

Three (loaves) [I will eat; you eat] two (loaves).

23. [besa· bele mxə·gó. mxaina-r] đer sae [ax-xyú.]
 grain very costly month-in 1.5 HUND not-suffice
 Num:loan_num

[Grain is very expensive. (Even)] 150 (rupees) [a month is insufficient.]

4.12 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase. The formula for a Co-ordinate Noun Phrase is (24):

24. NP_c = + Head ± Headⁿ ± Link + Head
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|
| pron | NP _m | [negó] | pron |
| NP _m | NP _a | | NP _m |
| NP _a | <u>npr</u> | | NP _a |
| <u>npr</u> | | | <u>npr</u> |

That is, a Co-ordinate Noun Phrase conjoins an indefinite number, (n+2), of Noun Phrases (Modified or Appositional) or proper nouns, including up to two pronouns, with the sememic constraint that each Head must have a distinct referent. The final Head is optionally preceded by a Link, filled by a member of the class [negó], which comprises ne, neró, negó, and nebáe 'with'. The Link is less commonly present when there are more than two Heads in the construction, as in (28).

⁵The two lines of grammatical analysis are necessary to show the two Modified Noun Phrases, one embedded in the other.

25. cá negó kh[-e sa]jib [k^ha-la·].
 that with self-of secretary come-PLUP
 H:pron Link:[negó] H:NP_m

He and his secretary [had come].

(26) comes in a discussion of how shamans learn their rituals, by imitating, the same as people learn songs.

26. cá-mæ paju-mæ khé-b negó ŋi a·ru mxi
 that-PL shaman-PL study-GE with we other people
 H:NP_m Link:[negó] H:NP_m

kxwé pr[-ba [gxr|-ná·].
 song sing-GE one-EM

Those shamans' (way) of learning and we other people's (way) of singing [(are) identical].

27. karna· ne ŋa
 Karna with me
 H:npr Link:[negó] H:pron

Karna and I

28. khe-mæ, a·ba·, p^xrə-syó-mæ a·ba·, a·ma·,
 self-PL father youth-FEM-of father mother
 H:pron H:NP_a H:NP_m

ŋa, bya·ulo-mæ axgx[- ta-si, [xya·-lá·]
 me groom-of ET_BRO be-CJ go-PLUP
 H:NP_a

Those, (and) the father, the bride's father that is, (and) the mother, (and) I, being the groom's eldest brother, [had gone].

A separate grammatical type is the Emphatic Co-ordinate Noun Phrase, which contrasts with the Co-ordinate Noun Phrase in that it is obligatorily limited to two Heads, it has two obligatory Links, and the Link fillers are restricted to the class [nen], which has only two members, -ne and nen 'both ... and ...'. The same member of the class must appear in both Link slots in the formula (29).

29. NP_{emc} = + Head + Link + Head + Link
 | NP_m | [nen] | NP_m | [nen]

(30) and (31) exemplify the two members of the class.

30. cə nen mxi nen [ba·lu xya·-f].
 tiger with person with together go-PA
 H:NP_m Link:[nen] H:NP_m Link:[nen]

Both tiger and man [went off together].

31. gxri- né ŋx|- né [pó-na pó-n
 one with two with speak-PR speak-PR
 H:NP_m Link:[nen] H:NP_m Link:[nen]

[xé xra-m.]
 much know-NP

[While keeping on speaking] both one (word) and
 two (words) [(you) learn a lot.]

A variant of the Co-ordinate Noun Phrase is the Alternative Phrase, which concatenates a series of items, separated by nonfinal pause intonation, to express the sememic relation of exclusive disjunction (Sec. 2.32). The grammatical formula is the same as (24) except for the absence of any overt link. (32) is an example (repeated from example (22) of Sec. 2.32).

32. pho-ɬo, cxə-ɬxo, ba·roɟa ɬxo nxqri khab
 deer-year bird-year twelve year within which
 H:NP_m H:NP_m H:NP_m

ɬxo-ne prf kxri-my, [cá ɬxo-r-na cxú-m.]
 year-with match-NP that year-in-EM perform-NP

The deer year, the bird year, (or) whichever year in
 the twelve years (it) matches with, [that is the year
 (they) perform (the ceremony).]⁶

⁶I view the expression ba·roɟa ɬxo nxqri khab ɬxo-ne prf kxri-my 'within the twelve years whichever year (it) matches with' in (32) as being in Gurung, and in English, a transform of the regular Modified Noun Phrase in (a):

- a. ba·roɟa ɬxo nxqri kxri-bae ɬxo
 twelve year within match-AJ year
 M:RelCl H:n

the year (it) matches (with) within the twelve years

The transform of (a) to the form in (32) is necessitated by the universal quantifier khab 'which(ever)', which links the phrase to the following clause within an Equivalence Sentence (Sec. 6.34).

Superficially it seems it may be necessary to posit a further variant of the Alternative Phrase, with overt link u 'or', as in formula (33), to handle examples like (34).

$$33. \text{NP}_{alt} = + \text{Head} + \text{Link} + \text{Head}$$

NP _m	u	NP _m
-----------------	---	-----------------

$$34. \text{[k}^h\text{ab karna} \cdot \text{bxa} \cdot \text{dur?]} \text{ tam}^y\text{-m}^a\text{q}^? \text{ u} \quad \text{l}^a\text{m}\text{-ma}^q\text{?}$$

which Karna Bahadur	Gurung-PL or	Tamang-PL
	H:NP _m	Link:u H:NP _m

[Which Karna Bahadur?] The Gurung or the Tamang?

However the vast majority of occurrences of the disjunctive particle u 'or' in the data are in clear cases of sentence disjunction, giving an Alternation Sentence (Sec. 6.36). I prefer then to posit disjunction with u only on Sentence level (in contrast with conjunction with [negó] 'with' which occurs only on Phrase level), and to account for examples like (34) as the result of deletion of the verbs from the disjunct clauses. (34) is thus equivalent to (35) except that the essive verbs have been deleted.

$$35. \text{tam}^y\text{-m}^a\text{q}^? \text{ mu} \text{ u} \quad \text{l}^a\text{m}\text{-ma}^q \text{ mu?}$$

Gurung-PL	be or	Tamang-PL	be
Base:desCl	Link:u	Base:desCl	

Is (he) the Gurung or is (he) the Tamang?

4.13 Appositional Noun Phrase. The formula for an Appositional Noun Phrase is (36).

$$36. \text{NP}_a = + \text{Head} + \text{Head} \pm \text{Head}^n$$

pronoun	NP _m	NP _m
NP _m		
npr		

That is, an Appositional Noun Phrase consists of two or more Head slots, filled by Modified Noun Phrases or, for the first Head, a pronoun or proper noun. The construction is characterized sememically by the fact that the various phrases filling the Head slots must have the same referent, and phonologically by an obligatory intonational juncture after each nonfinal Head, and a drop in voice and increase in speed of utterance for the subsequent Head. It contrasts

grammatically with the Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (Sec. 4.12) in the obligatory absence of any overt link. The identity of referent is made explicit in (37) by the adding of ta-si 'being' to the second Head.⁷

37. ṅa, bya·ulo-máe axgx[ta-si, ...
 me groom-of ET_BRO be-CJ
 H:pron H:NP_m

I, being the groom's eldest brother, ...

38. cá examiri, cá phalaná examiri, ...
 that woman that particular woman
 H:NP_m H:NP_m

that woman, that particular woman (that is), ...

39. surje, ṅá-e cxa, ...
 Surje me-of son
 H:npr H:NP_m

Surje, my son, ...

40. tiyá, buda·ba·ra·pā·c gate, ...
 today Wednesday five day_of_month
 H:NP_m H:NP_m H:NP_m

today, Wednesday, the fifth, ...

4.14 The Explanatory Noun Phrase is sememically a variant of the Appositional Noun Phrase, but with overt link athabá 'that is' and just two Heads (with the same referent):⁸

- | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|--------|--------|-----------------|
| 41. NP _{expl} | = | + Head | + Link | + Head |
| NP _m | | athabá | | NP _m |
| Cl | | | | Cl |

The second Head explains the first by substituting a less

⁷The Appositional Noun Phrase construction is the natural Gurung equivalent of a nonrestrictive relative clause. (37) could be glossed 'I, who am the groom's eldest brother, ...'

⁸In one example in the corpus, in the speech of an old man whose Gurung speech is heavily influenced by Nepali, athabá is apparently used in its Nepali sense of disjunctive 'or', equivalent to Gurung u, but the context of the example is confused.

bound phonologically and semantically. The noun superficially appears to stand in an Object relation to the Predicate, but it is constrained always to be next to the Predicate, and the Subject of the verb does not take the ergative case marking as would be so in a normal transitive clause - see examples (49-51).

46. [cú mxi] tamy-máə ax-ŋx[.
 this person Gurung-PL not-be
 Comp:NP_m H:v_{ess}

[This person] is not a Gurung.

47. [abwí, beia·udí] sa·rón the-bá mu-|a·.
 indeed guava extremely big-GE be-PLUP
 Comp:AdP H:v_{ess}

[Indeed! The guavas] were extremely big.

48. [kxi] unantis barsa ta-í.
 you twentynine year become-PA
 Comp:NP_m H:v_{ess}

[You] are twentynine years old.

49. [kh|ba] bxó nxa-i.
 O_{man} strength rest-PA
 Comp:n H:v

[The old man] rested.

50. [ŋa] saə kxo-i.⁹
 me mind agree-PA
 Comp:n H:v

[I] am agreeable.

51. [r[í-maə] bya· |a-í.
 sister-PL wedding do-PA
 Comp:n H:v

[The sisters] married.

4.22 Infinitival Verb Phrase. The formula for an Infinitival Verb Phrase is (52):

52. VP_{in} = + Infinitive + Auxiliary
 | verb infinitive | verb auxiliary

⁹kxo- normally means 'understand', but the complement phrase saə kxo- means 'be agreeable, be content'.

The class of auxiliary verbs includes *khǭ-ba* 'to be possible; to be finished', *txu-ba* 'to be necessary', *ta-bá* 'to be OK, fitting', *bx|-bá* 'to permit (lit. to give)', and *la-bá* 'to cause (lit. to make, do)'. Semantically, *la-bá* and *bx|-bá* have an Agent which is not a participant of the main proposition. (The main proposition's predicate is realized in grammatical structure by the infinitive.) The Agent of the main proposition then is realized in surface structure as a dative-marked Indirect Object,¹⁰ *mx|-maq-lal* 'to people' in (53), and *ŋ|-lasl* 'to us' in (54).¹¹

53. *cá mx|-maq-lal thē-l la-bá.*
 that person-PL-DAT hear-IN cause-GE
 O:UM IO:DAT Pred:dtrVP
 In:v_{in} Aux:v_{aux}

Those (orders)(the officer) tells people [Lit. causes people to hear].

54. *ŋ|-lasl kxǭ, se cyurá, ... ca-l bx|-ǎ.*
 we-DAT bread meat rice_flakes eat-IN permit-PA
 IO:DAT O:UM Pred:dtrVP
 In:v_{in} Aux:v_{aux}

(They) gave us bread, meat, rice flakes, ... to eat [Lit. permitted us to eat ...].

Subject to this qualification regarding the reassignment of the Agent of the main proposition to the Indirect Object slot, just in the case when the auxiliary has a separate Agent, the case-marking of participant phrases in the clause is determined by the predicate of the main proposition, not by the auxiliary. Thus (55) and (56) differ only by the case-marking on the pronoun; unmarked Subject in (55) for the verb *ró-* 'sleep', and ergative Subject in (56) for the

¹⁰Grimes (1972b:147,201) suggests that a transformation of 'proposition consolidation', the name suggested by Frantz (1971), applies to coalesce auxiliary predicates with the base predicates they dominate, and to reassign the Agent of the base predicate to another category.

¹¹The two lines of grammatical analysis in (53) and (54) relate to the clause and the verb phrase respectively.

verb ró- 'weave', which is transitive.

55. ηa ró-la· ax-k^hxǎ́.
 me sleep-IN not-possible
 Sub:UM Pred:itrVP

I can not sleep [Lit. For me to sleep is not possible].

56. ηǎ-d ró-la· ax-k^hxǎ́.
 me-ER weave-IN not-possible
 Sub:ER Pred:trVP

I can not weave [Lit. For me to weave (it) is not possible].

The filler of the Infinitive slot may not have the negative prefix attached. Whenever a negative Infinitive would be produced an alternative construction is employed. Thus (57) is acceptable, as is (58) with the negative Auxiliary, but (59) is unacceptable and has to be rephrased as (60), which is a Sequence Sentence (Sec. 6.38).

57. [ɡxa·ná] bǎ-l ta-m.
 jewellery bring-IN OK-NP
 In:v_{in} Aux:v_{aux}

It is OK to bring [jewellery].

58. [ɡxa·ná] bxa-lǎ́· ax-tǎ́.
 jewellery bring-IN not-OK
 In:v_{in} Aux:v_{aux}

It is not OK to bring [jewellery].

- *59. ɡxa·ná ax-bxa-lǎ́· ax-tǎ́.
 jewellery not-bring-IN not-OK

60. ɡxa·ná ax-bxa-l ax-tǎ́.
 jewellery not-bring-CJ not-OK
 Margin Base

(You) haven't brought jewellery and (it) is not OK.

4.23 The Desiderative Verb Phrase is quite special in form employing only ηxǎ́-ba 'to desire'¹² as auxiliary.

¹²Literally, ηxǎ́-ba means 'to adhere, stick', and hence 'to feel; desire'. The root la'g- has a similar set of literal and metaphorical meanings in Nepali and other Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi and Lamani (Trail 1970:202).

61. VP_{desid} = + Stem + Auxiliary
- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| reduplicated | <u>ηxq̣'-</u> |
| verb stem | |

The reduplication of the stem follows the rules:

- (a) only the last syllable of the stem is reduplicated, as in (62), although most stems are monosyllabic anyway;
- (b) the initial nasal or voiceless stop of the syllable to be reduplicated becomes the homorganic voiced stop, as in (63-4);
- (c) the reduplicated syllable is accented if the original is not, unaccented if the original is accented, as in (65).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>62. gxumdf-dl ηxq̣'-m
wander-wander want-NP
Stem:s_{redup} Aux:ηxq̣'--</p> <p>wants to wander</p> | <p>63. mrq̣-bdǭ ηxq̣'-m
see-see want-NP
Stem:s_{redup} Aux:ηxq̣'--</p> <p>wants to see</p> |
| <p>64. ca-já ηxq̣'-m
eat-eat want-NP
Stem:s_{redup} Aux:ηxq̣'--</p> <p>wants to eat</p> | <p>65. ró-ro ηxq̣'-m
sleep-sleep want-NP
Stem:s_{redup} Aux:ηxq̣'--</p> <p>wants to sleep</p> |

4.3 Modifier Phrases.

4.31 Adjunct Phrase. The formula for an Adjunct Phrase is:

66. AdP = ± Modifier + Head
- | | |
|----------------------------|----|
| <u>degree</u> | aj |
| <u>aj</u> _{redup} | av |
| cmpP | |

That is, an Adjunct Phrase consists of an optional Modifier slot filled by a comparative phrase (a variant of the Axis-relator phrase - Sec. 4.1), an adverb of degree (Sec. 5.92), or a reduplicative adjective; and an obligatory Head filled by an adjective or an adverb. There are two subtypes of the Adjunct Phrase, called Adjective Phrase and Adverb Phrase, which differ in distribution potential, and in the lexical fillers of the Head slot. The Adjective Phrase, with Head slot filled by an adjective, occurs in the Modifier slot of a Modified Noun Phrase, and in the Complement slot of a Complement Verb Phrase, while the Adverb Phrase, with adverb in the Head slot, occurs in the Manner slot of a Clause. The

terms 'adjective' and 'adverb' are defined for Gurung by this distributional distinction. Occurrence of a reduplicative adjective in the Modifier slot of the Adjunct Phrase is limited to the case when the Head is filled by the same lexical item, as in (67-8), and has an intensifying force.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------|-----|---------------|------|
| 67. | cyugú | cyugú | 68. | lxé | lxé |
| | little | little | | much | much |
| | M:aj | H:aj | | M:aj | H:aj |
| | redup | | | redup | |
| | very little | | | lots and lots | |

lxé and cyugú are the only members noted so far of the class of reduplicative adjectives.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-----------|-----|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 69. | té | chya·-bá· | 70. | khub | swa·-le [sé-]]. |
| | a_little | good-GE | | extremely fine-AV | dance-PA |
| | M:degree | H:aj | | M:degree | H:av |
| | a little bit good | | | [(He) danced] extremely well. | |

(71-2) illustrate comparative phrases filling the Modifier slot:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--------|---------|--------|
| 71. | cú | bxandá | the-bá· | |
| | this | than | big-GE | |
| | M:cmpP | | H:aj | |
| | bigger than this | | | |
| 72. | bya· | la-bá· | bxandá | osó |
| | wedding | do-GE | than | before |
| | M:cmpP | | | H:av |
| | before getting married | | | |

4.32 Number Phrase. The formula for a Number Phrase, covering indigenous numbers up to 9,999, is (73).

73. NumP = ± (Thousand ± Count) ± Link +
 | hájar | num | sé
 ± (± Count + Hundred) ± Link ± (± Count + Ten) +
 | num | pxrá | sé | num | cyú
 ± Link ± (Unit)
 | sé | num

That is, a Number Phrase consists of expressions for Thousands, Hundreds, Tens, and Units, all optional, but separated by Links. It is not possible to show in a formula like (73) when

the Links are inserted, but the rule is that they be inserted only to separate the expressions parenthesized in the formula, and they are not always obligatory even then, as shown in (75) where the first Link is parenthesized to show optionality.

The class of numerals (num) contains $\eta x\acute{\iota}$, 'two', $s\acute{o}$, 'three', $plx\acute{\iota}$, 'four', $\eta x\acute{a}$, 'five', $\ddot{\iota}u$, 'six', $\eta\acute{\iota}$, 'seven', $pxr\acute{e}$, 'eight', and $k\acute{u}$, 'nine'. In addition $gxr\acute{\iota}$ 'one' is a possible filler of the Count slot in the Thousands expression, and of the Unit slot.

74. $plx\acute{\iota}$ - $jy\acute{u}$ ¹³ $s\acute{e}$ $\eta x\acute{a}$
 four- ten and five
 Count:num Ten:cyú Link:sé Unit:num

fortyfive

75. $h\acute{a}jar$ $\eta x\acute{\iota}$ ($s\acute{e}$) $\eta xa-br\acute{a}$ ¹³ $s\acute{e}$ $s\acute{o}$
 thousand two and five-hundred and three
 Link:sé Link:sé

Two thousand five hundred and three

Number Phrases may be co-ordinated together like Noun Phrases (Sec. 4.12), but only to produce the Alternative Phrase variant, as in (76).

76. $plx\acute{\iota}$ - $jy\acute{u}$ ηxa - $jy\acute{u}$ [barsa]
 four-ten five-ten year
 H:NumP H:NumP

forty (or) fifty [years]

¹³cyú and p $xr\acute{e}$ become - $jy\acute{u}$ and - $br\acute{a}$ in compounds.

5 Word Structure and Stem Classes

In this chapter I outline the major classes of stems in Gurung, and describe morphological structure in the relevant sections. On the basis of inflectional criteria verbs are distinguished as a class, and other stems are classified on distributional grounds as pronouns, nouns, adjectives, numerals, postpositions, conjunctions, emphatics, adverbs, and temporals.

5.1 Verbs. Verb stems are characterized by the properties: (a) they take suffixes to mark aspect-mood, subordinator, or gerund; (b) they take the negative prefix ax-, (c) their suffixes have morphophonemic variants according to the tone class of the verb stem, as detailed in the 'Guide to Orthography' (page xix).

Syntactically, verb stems are classified as intransitive (itr), essive (ess), transitive (tr), locative-intransitive (li), existential (exl), ditransitive (dtr), or locative-transitive (ltr) according to the grammatical clause patterns in which they can occur (see Table 4 in Section 3.2). The subclassification is not watertight in that some verbs can occur in more than one clause pattern. For example, the stem mu- 'be' occurs both in existential patterns, as in (1), and as the essive in descriptive verb phrases, as in (2). (These examples are repeated from Sec. 3.2.)

1. bxə·dó-ri kxə ɲxa-dó mu-ná.
 pot-in bread five-CL be-DI
 Sub_R:LOC O_N:UM Pred:exlVP

The pot had five pieces of bread in it.

2. cá k'iba mə·bá sa·rón garib mu-ná.
 that O_Nman O_Nwoman extremely poor be-DI
 Sub_N:UM Pred:desVP

That old man and old woman were extremely poor.

The formula for verb structure is:

3. v = ± negative + stem + suffix
- | | | |
|-----|------|---------------------|
| ax- | vr | aspect-mood |
| | cvs | <u>subordinator</u> |
| | dlvs | <u>-ba</u> |

The filler of the stem slot may be either a single verb root (vr), as in (4), or a compound verb stem, (cvs), composed of two verb roots in sequence, as in (5), or a derived loan verb stem (dlvs).

4. p̥i- dú biyā.
 give- if
 stem:vr suffix:subordinator
 if (he) gives/gave
5. ax- bi-th̥ɛ- lase
 not- say-put- DUB
 neg: stem:cvs suffix:aspect-mood
 (he) probably did/will not name (him)

The formula for a compound verb stem is:

6. cvs = + core₁ + core₂
- | | |
|----|----|
| vr | vr |
|----|----|

Many compound stems have ri- as second stem, as in (7-8), where it adds a continuative sense to the verb.

7. [kh̥|xyo gxr̥i-r̥i mx̥é m̥ə·bá gxr̥i] r̥ɛ- ri- [na.]
 place one-in cow O_woman one graze- stay- DI
 core₁:vr core₂:vr

[In one place (they) discovered an old cow] grazing.

8. [bxakh̥ár ŋx̥e] th̥ɥ- ri- [b̥áe kol-m̥áɛ]
 just_recently milk drink- stay- AJ child-PL
 core₁:vr core₂:vr

[children just recently weaned from] drinking [milk]

When the stem in the first core slot is ʈi- 'stay, remain' the second stem is more frequently ɖi- than ri-, as in (9).

9. [kx̥l-d t̥ó| ax-bi-|e] ʈi- ɖi- [d.]
 you-TO what not-say-AV stay- stay IM
 core₁:vr core₂:vr

[You, then,] remain there [silent].

I therefore posit that the continuative ri- is derived from

the root ʃ|- 'stay', with the ʃ changing to r in nonretroflex environments.¹

The derived loan verb stems (dlvs) have a formative -dl attached to the borrowed Nepali root: N bira·u- G birl-dl- 'omit'; N caha- G cal-dl- 'need'; N ghum- G gxum-dl- 'wander'. The formula for the derived stem is:

$$10. \text{ dlvs} = + \text{ core} \quad + \text{ deriv} \\ \quad \quad \quad | \text{ loan root} \quad | \text{ -dl}$$

The internal structure of derived loan stems is noted only in this section. Elsewhere in this study the derived stem is glossed as a single morpheme.

A number of stems occur with the gerund suffix -ba, and follow the same morphophonemic rules as verbs, but they do not occur with the full range of verb suffixes, and they are distributed syntactically as adjectives, and so I treat them as such (Sec. 5.4). swa·-bá· 'pleasant' and chyá·-bá· 'good' accept the negative prefix, giving ax-swá·-ba 'unpleasant' and ax-chyá·-ba 'bad', but others of the class, such as nú-ba 'high, tall', and mó-ba 'low, short', do not even accept the negative.

As fillers of the suffix slot in (3), the aspect-mood forms, listed in Table 5, mark independent clauses, the subordinator forms, listed in Table 6, mark subordinate clauses, and the -ba suffix marks a Gerund Clause (see Sec. 3.2, page 72). The forms in Table 6 are exemplified in the discussion of multiclausal sentences (Sec. 6.3), as the crossreferences in the table to relevant subsections show. A discussion of the aspect-mood suffixes (Table 5) follows here.

¹Another occurrence of r|- is in imperative forms, giving a softening, or extra polite, effect:

- a. kxe-maḡ xya·-r|-d ó, ḡa lill kha-m.
you-PL go-stay-IM RQ me after come-NP

Don't be offended - you folk go on ahead, I'll come later.

It is not clear that this use can be related to the putative source of ʃ|- 'stay'.

The forms in Table 5, labelled 'aspect-mood', are in fact portmanteau of a number of categories, including tense and position in the sentence. Table 5 lists separately the indicative and hortatory forms. The former may be used in either declarative or interrogative sentences; the latter in sentences expressing a command or desire.

Form	Gloss	Abbr.	Example
INDICATIVE			
-m	nonpast (final)	NP	(11-2)
-mu/-mɣ	nonpast (nonfinal)	NP	(11-2)
-i/-ɪ	past (final)	PA	(13-4)
-di/-ɟi	past (nonfinal)	PA	(14)
-ŋŋyɥ̃/-ɪmu	state	STAT	(15-7)
-na/-lɛ̃	discovery	DI	(18-20)
-la/-lu	pluperfect	PLUP	(21-3)
-e	questioning	QE	(24-5)
-lase	dubitative	DUB	(26)
-mala	unreal	UR	(27)
-mala	past habituitive	PH	(28-9)
-man/-maen	probabilitative	PROB	(30)
-ba	gerund	GE	(31-3)
HORTATORY			
-le	1st person plural	HO	(34-5)
-d/-n/-sɪ	2nd person (final)	IM	(36-8)
-du/-nu	2nd person (nonfinal)	IM	(36)
-rge	3rd person	LET	(39-40)

Table 5. Aspect-mood suffixes.

Form	Gloss	Abbr.	Subsection
-se/-na bile	even if		6.37
-yǝ·	if		6.37
-l(birf), -si	after	CJ	6.38
-seró	since		6.37
-bae todon	immediately	AJ+instant	6.37
-ma ... -m	protracted	PR	6.37
-na ... -n	protracted	PR	6.37
-maǎ	while	PR+AV	6.37
-l(a·)	infinitive	IN	4.22

Table 6. Subordinator suffixes.

The final and nonfinal forms of nonpast and past indicative in Table 5 refer to a stylistic preference for the choice of form depending on the position in higher-level units, probably to be identified as paragraphs (page 154). I am not able to state the rule which expresses this stylistic preference. The explanation in terms of final/nonfinal position was offered by Deu Bahadur, and is supported by examples like (11) but countered by examples like (12). Both (11) and (12) were uttered by the one speaker in the same conversation.

11. U: ǰluʈi mu-yǎ·, ǰluʈi ʈi-mó. ǰluʈi ax-xre-yǎ·,
 duty be-if duty stay-NP duty not-be-if
- jamman ró-m. J: ... U: ǰ. mxw|sa-r ǰxyo-m,
 all sleep-NP yes night-in watch-NP
- senima·-mi. J: ... U: ǰ. hindústhá·n-e phíllim
 cinema-EM yes India-of film
- kha-mú. khǝyǝ khǝyǝ gorkha·li kha-m. 'ma·itǝǰxár'
 come-NP sometimes Nepali come-NP Maitighar
- kha-ǎá·. J: ...
 come-PLUP

U: If (you) have duty, (you) stay on duty. If there's no duty (you) all go to sleep. J: ...

U: Yes. (We) watch at night, the cinema. J: ...

U: Yes. Films of India come around. Sometimes Nepali (films) come. 'Maitighar' came. J: ...

12. U: hindí kxywí-m |u-l-lá· txu-m. tóndori
 Hindi-language-TO learn-IN-EM NEC-NP everything
 hindí kxywí-r-ná ta-mú. J: ...
 Hindi language-TO-EM be-NP
 U: (We) have to learn Hindi. Everything is in Hindi.
 J: ...

The forms ʈi-mú and kʰa-mú in (11) and ta-mú in (12) illustrate the fluctuation of the nasal and oral vowels in the 'nonfinal nonpast' form. There does not appear to be any conditioning factor for the nasalization, and in the 963 occurrences of the morpheme in the concordance texts 466 have oral and 497 nasal vowels. The nasal/oral distinction of the 'final past' form -j/-l is, however, clearly conditioned by the nasality of the preceding vowel, as evidenced in (13).

13. pailá bxa-lú a·bá-e kaḡ mxyḡ-|. 'oho cú-m
 first bear father-of rice taste-PA oh this-TO
 lála mu-ná·, ' bi-i.
 hot be-DI say-PA
 First (she) tasted Father Bear's rice. 'Oh, this is
 hot!' (she) said.

The 'final past' -l, and 'nonfinal past' -di, are illustrated in (14).²

14. jxa·lé cá-r ʈi-na ʈi-n, pḡ·c batti-di,
 then that-at stay-PR stay-PR five strike-PA
 ḡxe kḷ-báe txi txu-di, cá ka·ran, ḡa dxḷ-r
 milk get-AJ time NEC-PA that reason me home-to
 kʰa-f.
 come-PA
 Then, (as I was) staying there a long time, (it)
 struck five, (and) it was time to get the milk, so
 I came home.

The form -ḡḡyú 'state' marks a continuing state

²The form -jḷ, listed in Table 5 as 'nonfinal past', occurs only in the speech of older people, and appears to represent a more conservative dialect than that of D and K. The same older speakers tend to use -syḡ· in place of D and K's -yḡ· 'if', and -sḷ in place of D and K's -i 'conjunctive participle'.

resulting from the action, and so is often translatable by the English perfect.

15. togó sammá· kaə ax-cá-ḡḡyú.
now until rice not-eat-STAT
(I) haven't eaten rice yet.

16. phéri xyo-l thə-ḡḡyú, ax-khá-do.
again cook-PA put-STAT not-come-EM
Again (I) cooked (his rice) and put (it ready), (but he) didn't come!

-imu is synonymous with -ḡḡyú, but is probably two morphemes: -l 'past' + mu 'be'.

17. kxí bya· |a-í xwá·? |a-í-mu u ax-lá-l-mu?
you wedding do-PA QE do-PA-be or not-do-PA-be
You're married, aren't you? Married or not?

The form -na 'discovery' indicates a state that the speaker has discovered, often with an overtone of surprise, as in (18).

18. oho, khab kha-í, ḡá-e dx|-rí? ḡá-e kaə
who come-PA me-of house-in me-of rice
mxyq-wə·-na.
taste-EM-DI
Oho! Who has come, into my house? (They) have tasted my rice, I see!

-lə· is a stylistic variant of -na, as in (19), which was declared by D synonymous with the same sentence with -na.

19. makan sfḡ, phéri, kalkada-ulé kha-lə·,
Makan Sing again Calcutta-from come-DI
Makan Sing arrived, back from Calcutta!

The form -na also occurs in the initial APERTURE of a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE (Sec. 8.1), describing, as it were, the state of things on the stage discovered when the curtain rises:

20. pallé ... cha·-bae ḡá·sa gxri-rí, khíb né mə·bá
first thus-AJ village one-in O_{man} with O_{woman}
ḡx[mu-ná·.
two be-DI

Once upon a time ... in a certain village there was an old man and an old woman.

The 'pluperfect' form *-la* is used for events in a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE which took place prior to events in the main story of the narrative, which are marked with the plain 'past' forms *-i/-j/-di*:

21. 'dxe^ó kxə ca-d,' bi-i. kxə jamman ŋxa-d^ó
 now bread eat-IM say-PA bread all five-CL
 matr^é mu-la.
 only be-PLUP

'Now eat the bread,' (she) said. In all, there were only five loaves.

In the speech of G and H, from more eastern villages, *-lu* is an alternative coexisting with *-la* 'pluperfect':

22. G: lskula ma-s^tara mu-lu ... 'bomwə' bi-lu.
 school teacher be-PLUP Brahmin say-PLUP
 ŋa-di, 'mxwə-pxru-maə ŋxə-maén,' bi-la.
 me-ER Brahmin-Chetri-PL be-PROB say-PLUP
 bi-na-ga.
 say-DI-EM

G: There was a school teacher (here). ... 'A Brahmin,' (I) said. I said, '(He) is probably a Brahmin-Chetri', (I) said indeed.

The variation of *-lu* and *-la* appears to be related to stylistic factors I cannot at present account for, though it may be that *-lu* is another emphatic form, similar to *-lau* = *-la* + *-au* (Sec. 3.33). Speakers native to Ghacok use the *-lu* form particularly in 1st person response, as in (23).

23. X: kxɪ k^hanɪ xya-lá? Y: ŋa puk^hrú xya-lú.
 you where go-PLUP me Pokhara go-PLUP
 X: Where had you gone? Y: I went to Pokhara.

The 'questioning' form *-e* occurs only in nonpolar interrogatives (content questions) and suggests that the answer is difficult to give. Thus in (24) it is used in a rhetorical question reinforcing the statement 'I don't know'.

24. H: txoba mu-la· u momq· mu-la·
male be-PLUP or female be-PLUP
D: túsi-dí, txoba, momq·, tó mu-e.
dunno-EM male female what be-QE
H: Was (it) a male, or was (it) a female?
D: Search me! Male, female, what could (it) have been?
25. D: nq·s-thq-maq-lá s[khab khabá-i khandí
villages-dwell-PL-TO wood who who-TO where
thó-e? I: nq·sa-r s[ax-thxó ti-d]-ma.
fell-QE village-in wood not-fell one-year-in
D: As for the villagers, who can be felling timber
where? I: (They) are not felling timber in the
village, this year.

While the 'questioning' form -e is used in questions to convey doubt, the 'dubitative' -lase conveys doubt in statements, as in (26).³

26. W: cá klda·bá, masina ba·rerá, mrq-[u?
that book Masina about see-PA or
D: ax-mrô-lasé.
not-see-DUB
W: Has (he) seen the book about Masina or (not)?
D: (He) probably hasn't seen (it).

-mala has two distinct meanings, and so I posit two homophonous morphemes. The 'unreal' -mala occurs in the outcome clause (apodosis) of a hypothetical sentence, as in (27).

³ Because of the complementary distribution of the forms it would be possible to regard them as being suppletive forms of the same morpheme. In fact, in an earlier analysis (Glover 1969b) I did so, but erroneously attributed the selection of -e to the presence of the verb stem mu-, which hypothesis is disproved by examples like (25). Because further investigation may reveal data making clear the semantic difference between the two suffixes, and/or falsify the complementary distribution hypothesis that -lase occurs only in statements and -e only in content questions, I prefer at this stage to describe the two suffixes as belonging to separate morphemes.

27. mə·bá asó rí-yá·, ɲa só ca-mála, mə·bá
 O_woman before arise-if me three eat-UR O_woman
 ɲxí ca-mála.
 two eat-UR

If the old woman gets up first, I will eat three (loaves), the old woman will eat two.

The 'past habitative' -mála is illustrated in (28-9):

28. paíá rajistari la-bá·, mxwí gxrí mu-yá· ta-mála.
 first register do-GE rupee one be-if OK-PH

Before, for registering (a letter), if there was one rupee (in stamps) that used to be sufficient.

29. ba·jyu bxujyú-e paíó-ri láma-d
 grandfather grandmother-of turn-in lama-ER
 pae ax-cxu-mála.
 post_funeral_ceremony not-prepare-PH

In the time of our grandparents the lamas used not to prepare the post-funeral ceremony.

The 'probabilitative' suffix -man/-maen is similar semantically to -lase 'dubitative', but conveys a lesser degree of uncertainty.

30. dxí gxrí la-bá-r í-am íxé-n xya·-mán.
 house one make-GE-in brick-TO many-EM go-PROB

As for bricks, much (money) indeed probably will go (on them) in making a house.

When the 'gerund' suffix -ba is used in an independent clause, it is neutral with respect to tense or aspect distinctions, as in (31-3):

31. khab asó rí-mú, cá-dí ɲxí ca-bá·, khab llll
 who before rise-NP that-ER two eat-GE who after
 rí-mú, cá-dí só ca-bá·.
 rise-NP that-ER three eat-GE

Whoever gets up first, he will eat two; whoever gets up last, he will eat three.

32. tó la-bá·, íha·gú?
 what do-GE eldest_son

What is to be done, Eldest Son?

33. cha ta-má· kxé la-l txu-di, khé-la· ax-yó.
 thus happen-PR work do-IN NEC-PA study-IN not-AVL
 kxé la-bá·, mó thó-ba, phargu thó-ba, s[thó-ba,
 work do-GE cane cut-GE pole cut-GE wood cut-GE
 s[ka·r thu-bá·, ...
 wood dry chop-GE
 So, (I) had to work, and did not get to study.
 Working, cutting cane, cutting poles, cutting timber,
 chopping dry wood, ...

The 'hortatory' form -le normally signifies 1st person inclusive plural, as in (34), but occasionally it has a singular (or 1st person exclusive, maybe) force, as in (35):

34. kh|ba-d bi-di, 'dxeó ró-le'.
 O_{man}-ER say-PA now sleep-HO
 The old man said, 'Let's go to bed now'.
35. khab-afe ax-xre-ná·, baidá·ra-l mu-la· 'khó|,
 who-EM not-be-DI Baidara-EM be-PLUP well you-of
 ka·gadá nxyo-le, ' bi-l.
 paper look-HO say-PA
 Nobody was there, (except) Baidara. (He) said, 'Well,
 let (me) look at your paper.'

In the 2nd person hortatory, or 'imperative', forms the alternation of -d/-n is conditioned by the oral/nasal quality of the preceding stem vowel, as is the case with the 'final past' indicative forms -l/-| (see example (13) above):

36. cə-d xə· la-má·, 'thai-dú. togó ax-cá-d,
 tiger-ER snarl do-PR wait-IM now not-eat-IM
 bi-l.
 say-PA
 As the tiger snarled, (the man) said, 'Wait! Don't
 eat (me) now!'
37. na-lal cú khora-ulé té-bx[-n.
 me-DAT this trap-from release-give-IM
 Release me from this trap, please.⁴

⁴bx[- 'give' in a compound stem gives a benefactive sense with, in the imperative, a note of polite request.

The 'nonfinal' forms of the 2nd person hortatory, -du/-nu, are distributed similarly to the nonfinal indicative forms of the past, -di, and nonpast, -mu, (pages 117-8). Thus in (36) above -du occurs paragraph medial, and -d paragraph final.

The remaining 'imperative' form, -si, is used only occasionally, apparently as a gentle request form, as in (38); where the speaker was correcting an adult's mispronunciation.

38. 'khe-maé-na khrú-m' bi-si. 'kxi' bi-b-di.
 self-PL-EM wash-NP say-IM you say-GE-EM
 You should say 'khe-maé-na khrú-m'; (you) said 'kxi'.

The 3rd person hortatory form -rge expresses a wish, desire, or purpose.

39. pae la-báe maldab ya·, pae la-f birí si-báe mxí
 PFC do-AJ meaning EM PFC do-CJ die-AJ person
 sórgé phe-ne-rgé.
 heaven reach-go-LET

The reason for doing a post-funeral ceremony is so that, when (we) have done the ceremony, the person who has died will get to heaven.

40. 'saé ramaiió ta-rgé' bi-si, kxwé prí-my.
 mind pleasant become-LET say-CJ song sing-NP
 Saying, 'Let (our) minds be happy', (they) sing songs.

5.2 Pronouns form a closed class, shown in Table 7.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st exclusive	ŋa	ŋi
1st inclusive		ŋxyó
2nd	kxi	kxe-maé
3rd close	cú	cú-maé
3rd remote	cá	cá-maé

Table 7. Pronouns.

The plural pronouns are occasionally followed by

Jaga 'plural', which serves to emphasize the plural number:

41. cam'ri-e pha, karna·, cú-maḡ jaga, ta·n-au jaga, ...
 woman-of husband Karna this-PL PL all-EM PL
 the woman's husband, Karna, these ones, all of them
 indeed, ...

The most common 3rd person pronoun is the 'remote' form cá 'that'.

There are two reflexive pronouns, khí (with khe-maḡ as the possessive and plural form) and xrḡsa. The two forms are interchangeable in most contexts, as illustrated in (42-3).

- 42a. xrḡs bẏandá cyḡ-báe ja·da
 self than young-AJ caste

- b. khí bẏandá cyḡ-báe ja·da
 self than young-AJ caste

a more junior (= lower) caste than oneself

- 43a. cá khe-maḡ dx[kha-báe txi-ri p[ḡl-ri ḡl-f.
 that self-of house come-AJ time-in porch-on sit-PA

- b. cá xrḡsa-e dx[kha-báe txi-ri p[ḡl-ri ḡl-f.
 that self-of house come-AJ time-in porch-on sit-PA

She, at the time of coming to (her) own house, sat on the porch.

In other contexts, khí acts as an anaphoric 3rd person pronoun, perhaps with an overtone of respect, while xrḡsa acts as an indefinite 3rd person pronoun, 'one':

44. mxa·ga-r { *xrḡsa }
 Magh-in { khe-maḡ } bxa·ráda xyá·-b ro.
 that-PL India go-GE QO

They are going to India in Magh, they say.

45. { *khí-|a| }
 { xrḡs-|a| } tó tó caidi-mú sama·n-jaú k[·d-ón.
 one-DAT what what needed-NP goods-PL buy-PA-EM

Whatever was needed for oneself, (one) bought those goods indeed.

The difference is thus a matter of definiteness of the referent of the pronoun: definite for khí, indefinite for xrḡsa.

5.3 NOUNS. There is no morphological criterion common to all nouns in Gurung - they are defined distributionally, as the class filling the Head slot of Modified Noun Phrases (Sec. 4.11). Proper nouns (npr), however, reject all other slots in the Modified Noun Phrase, because a proper noun has a unique referent, sememically, being the name of an individual such as karna· 'Karna'. The same lexical item can of course function as a common noun, allowing other slots in the Modified Noun Phrase, precisely when there is no unique referent:

46. khab karna· bxa·dur?
 which Karna Bahadur
 Sp:pron H:n
 Which Karna Bahadur?

A subclass of nouns, 'count noun', is defined by potential of co-occurrence in the Modified Noun Phrase with a Number slot. A further subgroup of this class, namely 'personal noun', is defined by the potential of feminine suffixation, as in (47).

47. personal noun = + stem ± feminine
 |nr |-syo
 |dpns

The stem of a personal noun may be filled either by a noun root (nr) or a derived personal noun stem (dpns), which has the structure of (48):

48. dpns = + core + personalizer
 |n_{loc} | -th_q

The class of locative nouns filling the core slot consists only of village names plus the interrogative k^han- 'where', as in (49).

49. [ŋá-e a·ba·] kajú- th_q [tara pa|lé-ba]
 me-of father Ghacok- native but before-GE
 core:n_{loc} perzr:-th_q

k^han- th_q mu-i.
 where- native be-QE
 core:n_{loc} perzr:-th_q

[My father (was)] a native of Ghacok, [but (the ones) before (him)] - where could they have come from?

There are two plural markers, *-maə* and *jaga*, which often is reduced to *-jau*.⁵ Konow (in Grierson 1967[1909]:183) ascribed *maə* 'many' and *jaga* 'all' distinct glosses, but I have not been able to discover any such semantic distinction in Ghasok usage, although *jaga* is used synonymously with *ta'n* 'all', as an emphatic, as in (41) above. However, potential of occurrence with the two plural markers *jaga* and *-maə* divides Gurung nouns into four classes, as in Table 8.

Class	With <i>-maə</i>	With <i>jaga</i>
Personal	+	-
e.g. <i>kxrq-syo</i> headman-FEM	<i>kxrq-syo-maə</i> headman-FEM-PL	* <i>kxrq-syo jaga</i>
'headman's wife'	'headmen's wives'	
Animate nonpersonal	+	+
e.g. <i>thu</i> friend	<i>thu-maə</i> friend-PL	<i>thu jaga</i> friend PL
'friend'	'friends'	'friends'
Count inanimate	-	+
e.g. <i>dx[</i> house	* <i>dx[-maə</i>	<i>dx[jaga</i> house PL
'house'		'houses'
Mass	-	-
e.g. <i>kyú</i> water	* <i>kyú-maə</i>	* <i>kyú jaga</i>
'water'		

Table 8. Noun classes defined by plural markers.

⁵I regard *-maə* and *-jau* as suffixes rather than separate words on phonological grounds. Morphophonemic processes similar, but not, I think, identical, to those

Rather than set up four noun classes that would need to be listed in all formulae, I state the stem filler in (47) simply as 'noun root' and note the restriction informally (and in semantic terms): -maḡ occurs only with animate nouns, jaga occurs with both animate and inanimate nouns except for those animate nouns which may be suffixed for feminine gender.⁶

Plural number is not obligatorily marked in Gurung, even when the referent is plural in number, as in (50), which could signify that a single guest or a party has arrived.

50. p̄xrḡ k̄h̄a-f.
guest come-PA

Guest(s) have come.

51. ra c̄h̄a-bá-r xya-m.
goat shepherd-GE-to go-NP

(I) am going to shepherd the goats.

5.4 Adjectives. Adjectives fall into two classes by structure: simple (consisting only of a root), and derived (having the gerund suffix -ba). Derived adjectives have some very limited features of verbs, as described in Sec. 5.1. The two classes of adjectives are united by their characteristic distribution in the Head slot of Adjunct Phrases (Sec. 4.31) which are distributed in the Modifier slot of Modified Noun Phrases (Sec. 4.11) and in the Complement slot of Complement Verb Phrase (Sec. 4.21).

One subclass of simple adjectives contains the five indigenous colour terms: ta-r-gya 'white', mlq-gya 'black', ur-gya 'yellow', p|-gya 'green', and ol-gyá 'red'. They

described for verbs in the 'Guide to Orthography' condition the tone on noun suffixes, but not on jaga, which is thus a separate word.

⁶The restrictions could be formalized, for the purposes of the 'personal noun' formula, (47), and the Modified Noun Phrase formula in Sec. 4.11, by specifying every noun as [+ count][± animate][± personal]. Frantz (1971:35) shows the superiority of a syntactic feature approach over a multiplicity of subclasses.

share the 'colour marker' -gya· (with an accent in the case of ol-gyá·).⁷

5.5 Numerals. The closed class of indigenous numerals includes the set from ḡxǎ 'two' to kú 'nine' (listed in Sec. 4.32). ḡxrǎ 'one', cyú 'ten', pxrá 'hundred', and the loanword hájar 'thousand' (N hája·r) combine with the set in building indigenous Number Phrases (Sec. 4.32).

Borrowed Nepali numerals supplant the indigenous number expressions in various loan phrases, such as das bajə 'ten o'clock', in the range 'eleven' to 'nineteen',⁸ and in a number of other contexts, especially 25, 35, ...

5.6 Postpositions. Postpositions, or case-marking particles, are defined distributionally as the class filling the Relator slot of Axis-relator Noun Phrases (Sec. 4.1), and are listed in Table 3 of Section 3.2. Phonologically most of them are clitics, shown with hyphens in the table. Semantically, the class ranges from rather abstract relational markers such as -dǎ 'ergative' and -[aǎ 'dative' to concrete positional notions such as p^hǎrǎ 'upon' and osǎ 'in front of'. Some of the items in the class of postpositions are morphemically complex, such as (52),

52. -e [xa·gǎ]-rǎ
of sake-in
for

but they act as single lexical elements, as shown by the fact

⁷ It is possible that pǎ-gya· originally covered a wider range of colours, including many shades of blue, but today the loanword nǎra· 'blue', from Nepali nǎro, has for most purposes supplanted pǎ-gya· in that area. Similarly the borrowing of kǎǎrǎ 'brown', from Nepali kǎǎro, has restricted the semantic range of ur-gya· to, roughly, 'yellow'.

⁸ Burton-Page (1955:114) cites forms for 'twelve' and 'seventeen' (which he treated as an homophonous pair cupǎ), but I have been unable to obtain any indigenous number expression in the range 'eleven' to 'nineteen'.

that some of their component morphemes do not occur elsewhere. Thus |xə'gí is identified as a morpheme by analysis of (52), and because of its recognition as a borrowing (N |a'gí 'sake'), but in Gurung it occurs only in this expression. In treating (52) as a single element filling the Relator slot I avoid the analysis of (53) which would make the first immediate constituent cut after |xə'gí|- instead of, as shown, after ɲə-. The analysis shown is to be preferred because the expression -e |xə'giri 'for' is significant as a unit in clause structure, marking a participant.⁹

53. ɲá- e |xə'gí-ri
 me- of sake-in
 Axis:pronoun Relator:case
 for me

5.7 Conjunctions are defined as the class filling Link slots at phrase, sentence, paragraph, and discourse levels.¹⁰ Table 9 lists the common conjunctions, each with its relevant level - P(hrase), S(entence), Para(graph), Disc(ourse) - and subsection.

As with the postpositions, a number of the expressions listed as conjunctions are morphemically complex, and exhibit various internal structures. jxə'-lé 'there-from' is an Axis-relator phrase (Sec. 4.1); ax-ɲxí 'not-be' is a verb with negative prefix (Sec. 5.1); tále biyá 'why say-if', chá ta-sí 'thus happen-CJ', and chá ta-má 'thus happen-PR' are all subordinate clauses (Sec. 3.2). However I list them as conjunctions because they have the same function, of linkage, and because to list each of these various constructions as possible fillers of the Link slot would not generate the very limited number of lexical expressions actually used as Links.

⁹ English, of course, also has a number of morphemically complex relators: in front of, beside, before, behind.

¹⁰ Although the formulae for paragraphs and discourses do not show them explicitly, the linking particles are diagnostic of discourse and paragraph level constituents (Sec. 7.1).

Conjunction	Level	Section
-ne, neró, negó 'and'	P	4.12
... nen ... nen 'both ... and ...'	P	4.12
athabá 'or; that is'	P	4.14
sé 'and'	P	4.4
tara 'but'	S	6.35
... axηx[... 'not ... but ...'	S	6.35
tále biyā· 'because'	S	6.35
kí ... kí ... 'either ... or ...'	S	6.35
u 'or'	S	6.36
da·l, anl, jxa·lé 'then'	Para	7.1
jxa·lé phérí 'then again'	Disc	7.1
ch'a tasi 'that having been the case'	Para	7.21
ch'a tamá· 'that being the case'	Para	7.21

Table 9. Conjunctions at various levels.

5.8 Emphatic particles. In colloquial Gurung, especially in conversation, emphatic particles as listed in Section 3.3 occur frequently. It is very difficult to attach a meaning accurately to each member of the set, or to give a unified treatment, but I have glossed them throughout as 'emphatic (EM)' (Sec. 3.33), except for the cases where -m, -la, and -dl, glossed 'topic (TO)', signal change of topic (Section 3.32). They are probably all best regarded as clitics, in that they do not occur as free forms (although I have written ya and ga after word space in examples because of their predicate-like grammatical function). The particles are not suffixes, that is, word constituents, because they may attach to any word in a sentence to which emphasis is given, whether it be verb, noun, pronoun, or whatever.

5.9 Adverbs are a very heterogeneous class in traditional grammar. I recognize three classes in Gurung: manner adverbials (av), adverbs of degree (deg), and sentence adverbials (sa).

5.91 Manner adverbials (av) are defined as the fillers of the Manner slot in clauses. Some members of the class are morphemically simple, such as yúmnan 'quickly', but there is a productive adverbializer suffix -le, which generates manner adverbials according to the formula (54):

54. av =	+ core	+ adverbializer
	noun root	-le
	verb root	
	adjective root	

Examples of manner adverbials with the various fillers of the core slot are:

55. [ba·bu rá·m-e dx[-r] dera- le [ʈl-ŋyʈ].
 Babu Ram-of house-in lodging-AV stay-STAT
 core:nr avzr:-le
 [(He) is living in Babu Ram's house] as rented quarters.

56. [xrqsa-e dx[-r] syó- le [ʈl-l txu-m],
 self-of house-in separate-AV stay-IN NEC-NP
 core:vr avzr:-le
 cokhó- le [ʈl-l txu-m].
 pure-AV stay-IN NEC-NP
 core:ajr avzr:-le
 [(One) must stay in one's own house,] separately,
 untainted (by normal contacts).

There are many manner adverbials which end in the syllable -le but of which the stem does not occur elsewhere in the language, such as nújl-le 'slowly' and chen-le 'well' (though this is quite likely derived from chyā·-bá· 'good').

5.92 Adverbs of degree (deg) are fillers of the Modifier slot in Adjunct Phrases (Sec. 4.31). The class consists of té 'a little', bele 'very', beserl 'very', sa·rón 'extremely', khub 'extremely'.

5.93 Sentence adverbials (sa) are free forms modifying a whole sentence by expressing the speaker's attitude to the predication made. A similar function is fulfilled by some of the verb affixes signalling aspect-mood, listed in Table 5 (Sec. 5.1). (See the discussion of modality in

Sec. 6.22). Only two free form sentence adverbials have been identified: *kxrosxəná* 'honestly', and *mə·rí* 'indeed', as in (57-8).

57. *mə·rí cá nesá-ri chámadá cxya·-sɿ sɔ̄-kyo*
indeed that evening-in dagger grasp-CJ three-time
pr[-ma tulú bx]-ná ro.
strike-PR death give-DI QO
Indeed, that evening (she) took a dagger and, striking
(her) three times, murdered her.
58. *kxrosxəná ɳa-d syura· əx-txé.*
honestly me-ER lie not-utter
Honestly, I am not lying.

sa·yad 'perhaps' is possibly another member of the class, but it is a relatively unassimilated Nepali loanword, occurring only in speech heavily influenced by Nepali. The sense of uncertainty it conveys is expressed in natural Gurung by the verb suffixes *-man* 'probabilitative' or *-lase* 'dubitative'.

5.(10) Temporals (t) are a class of roots filling the Temporal slot of a clause:¹¹ *ɥ[m[·* 'day before yesterday', *telá·* 'yesterday', *tɿɣá·* 'today', *pxanxə·ga* 'tomorrow', *nú|ma·* 'day after tomorrow', *togó* 'now', *dxeró* 'now; henceforth'. Temporals may also fill the Axis slot of an Axis-relator Phrase with the postpositions *sammá·* 'until' or *seró* 'since':

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 59. <i>pxanxə·ga seró</i> | 60. <i>togó sammá·</i> |
| tomorrow since | now until |
| A:t R:seró | A:t R:sammá· |

With the suffix *-dú*, *pxanxəga* and *nú|ma·* shift their point of

¹¹The other common filler of Temporal slots in clauses are Axis-relator Phrases:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. <i>cá tx -ri</i> | b. <i>xya·-báe sá· a-ri</i> |
| that time-in | go-AJ year-in |
| then, at that time | last year |

reference to the time of the narrative:

61. pxanxə·g-dŷ
tomorrow-following
the next day

6 Sentence Level

6.1 Definition of a sentence. A sentence in Gurung, as a level of the grammatical hierarchy, is a stretch of speech, which contains one or more clauses, which has a final intonation pattern, and which can stand alone as an acceptable utterance.

The definition excludes, following Franklin (1971:102), nonclausal fragmentary portions of speech such as vocatives and exclamations which Bloomfield (1933:171) described as 'minor sentences'. His definition of minor sentences is apparently motivated at least in part by the view of sentence as the most inclusive linguistic unit, and the allied assumption that a text must be completely accounted for at the level of sentence. However I view sentence as an intermediate level in the grammatical hierarchy and so do not accept the requirement of total partitioning at the sentence level. Fragments which stand alone in dialogue such as exclamations (chya 'disgusting!'), vocatives (ó k^hiba 'Hey, old man!'), or responses (xwé 'yes [acknowledging a call]'), are roots or phrases, not sentences, filling discourse-level slots (Sec. 8.5).

Sentence is distinguished from clause firstly by the potential within a sentence of combinations of clauses in patterns that are not describable as clause-within-clause, such as Not by men was the damage done, but the river did it and Although time was short, we had to travel slowly. These compound and complex sentences encode sememic relations of the statement level (Sec. 2.3).¹ Secondly, sentences are

¹Blansitt (1970) denies that clause and sentence are two significant levels of description - he regards the data all as clauses, with recursive embedding as necessary. However this view requires that clause constructions, typically the domain of sememic relations of the role level (Sec. 2.1), incorporate also the radically different relations of the statement level.

distinguished by the presence, explicit or understood, of an independent clause. The sememically implicit independent clause may be deleted from the grammatical structure of a multiclausal sentence in cases where it is inferred from context, as is often the case in the response slot in dialogue: X: Can I have lunch now? Y: If you've washed your hands. Thirdly, sentence is distinguished from clause in that it has a mood associated with it, realized particularly by the intonation contour, and may also have a modality, marked by a clitic or sentence adverbial (Sec. 6.2).

At sentence level, as at other levels, the distinction of nucleus versus periphery is relevant to classification of types as the nucleus of a syntagme is the characteristic (contrastive) portion of the pattern, whereas the periphery includes tagmemes which occur indifferently with all types. A general formula for sentence is:

$$S = \pm \text{Periphery} + \text{Nucleus} + \text{Mood} \pm \text{Modality}$$

The formula may not represent the actual order in a sentence, though, as Periphery may come at the end (as with Final Comment or a postposed Vocative), Mood is marked chiefly by the suprasegmental feature of intonation, and Modality largely by portmanteau suffixes on the verb.

Sec. 6.2 takes up the features of Mood and Modality, Sec. 6.3 describes the various contrastive Nuclei of Gurung sentence types, and Sec. 6.4 discusses the tagmemes of the sentence Periphery.

6.2 Mood and modality are systems relating the lexical content of a sentence to the situational context in which it occurs.² Although writers such as Elson and Pickett

²Austin Hale described seven systems comprising a 'verbal link' whose function is to relate 'the verb stem a) to the rest of the clause, and b) to the context in which the clause occurs, both linguistic and situational (performative)' (1972b:1). I draw on Hale's discussion, but view the two systems of mood and modality as more relevant to the level of sentence than clause.

(1962:24) and Lyons (1968:307-9) have not distinguished separate systems in the area of mood and modality, I do so for Gurung because they are realized in partially distinct formal ways (mood by intonation, clause-level tagmemes, and verb suffixes, and modality by sentence adverbials, clitics such as *ro*, and also by verb suffixes). Also, a sentence must manifest a member of the mood system, but there may not be any overtly marked modality. Nevertheless, the two systems are interdependent, and the modalities described, in Sec. 6.22, apply only to sentences in the declarative mood.

6.21 Mood and intonation. The definition of sentence given above refers to final intonation. Four different final intonation patterns formally characterize the following four moods in Gurung, which are sememically identified with the performative shown after each in parentheses:

- a) declarative ('I hereby declare to you that ...')
- b) imperative ('I hereby command that ...')
- c) polar interrogative ('I hereby ask you to confirm whether ...')
- d) nonpolar interrogative ('I hereby ask you to inform me ...')

The four moods are distinguished formally also by the verb forms employed, by the choice of lexical items, and, by their external distribution - each occurring in contexts appropriate to the particular performative. The formal differences are illustrated in (1-4), manifesting respectively declarative, imperative, polar interrogative, and nonpolar interrogative.

1. cá-lal páisá. pɪ-ɪ.
 him-DAT money give-PA
 (I) gave him money.
2. cá-lal páisá. pɪ-n!
 him-DAT money give-IM
 Give him money!

- 3a. cá-lal páisá. p|-[xwá.?
 him-DAT money give-PA QE
 Did (you) give him money?
- b. cá-lal páisá. p|-[u ax-p[?
 him-DAT money give-PA or not-give
 Did (you) give him money or not?
- 4a. khab-lal páisá. p|-[?
 who-DAT money give-PA
 To whom did (you) give (the) money?
- b. cá-lal tó p|-[?
 him-DAT what give-PA
 What did (you) give him?

The grammatical and lexical differences form a background for discussing the intonational contrasts. The imperative mood, (2), employs the hortatory suffixes on the verb (Table 5, p. 116).

The polar interrogative, or 'Yes-No' question, (3), has following the predicate a question marker *xwá.*, *a.*, or *u*. *xwá.* occurs quite generally; *a.* has a somewhat more tentative or polite flavour than *xwá.* and is restricted phonologically in that it does not follow a vowel (and so could not be substituted in (3a) for *xwá.*); and *u* 'or' is restricted normally to follow positive forms of the verb, in which case it is often followed, as in (3b), by the negative form. Even though a sentence may lack any of the three markers it may still be marked as polar interrogative by the characteristic rising intonation on the final syllable.

The nonpolar interrogative, or content question, (4), has a question word in one of the clause level tagmemes. Interestingly, most of the question words share the phonological feature of an initial *k^h-* (compare the WH-series in English): *khab* 'who, whom; which', *khal-* 'how', *khanf* 'where', *khoyq* 'when', *khabála* 'whose', but also *tó* 'what' and *tále* 'why' (which is transparently derivable

from tó + -le [what + AV] 'by what').

Final intonation consists characteristically of a marked downdrift over the phonological phrase, but the nondeclarative moods exhibit a nucleus, or peak, of the intonation contour - the four moods contrast intonationally in the existence and placement of the nucleus. Under normal conditions the nucleus is found as follows: the declarative mood has no 'extra high' nucleus; the imperative mood has as its nucleus the predicate; the polar interrogative has as nucleus the interrogative particle or, if no particle occurs, the final syllable; the nonpolar interrogative has as nucleus the question word. Where the morpheme so designated for the imperative or nonpolar interrogative nucleus is polysyllabic the intonational peak occurs on the first syllable of the morpheme.

In discussing intonational contours it is necessary to recognize three independent but interacting processes. Firstly, within a word the pitch of a syllable is determined as phonetically high, mid, or low by the position of the syllable in the word, the presence of breathiness and/or accent, and the voicing of any word-initial stop (as outlined in the 'Guide to Orthography', p. xix). Secondly, associated with final intonation there is over a phonological phrase (and each of the utterances in (1-4) above is a single phonological phrase) a downdrift of all three phonetic levels, but with 'high' drifting more than 'mid', and 'mid' more than 'low', with the result that toward the end of the phonological phrase the three levels have been collapsed much closer together in pitch.³ Thirdly, the nucleus of a nondeclarative intonation contour carries an 'extra high' pitch in place of its lexically determined level. The

³One consequence of this collapsing of levels is that in a study of lexical pitch, such as described in Glover (1969a), frame sentences must be sought with several syllables following the substitution point before the juncture of the phonological phrase, to preserve a good range of phonetic difference between the three levels at the substitution point.

nucleus is, of course, 'extra high' not absolutely but relative to the particular place in the contour - that is, it is still subject to the phrasal downdrift associated with final intonation.

The above specification for the intonational nucleus is the normal, or unmarked,⁴ condition for each of the four moods, and is illustrated in examples (1-4) above. In marked variants any morpheme may be given special prominence, in which case the first syllable of that morpheme takes the intonational peak of 'extra high' pitch, together with lengthening and stress (Glover 1969a:36). The unmarked nucleus of a nondeclarative contour is then relatively less prominent, though it is still 'extra high' relative to its particular position in the phrase contour. Thus (5) is an unmarked nonpolar interrogative, with nucleus on the question word *kʰanf* 'where', while (6) is a marked variant with emphasis on *kxɿ* 'you'. As the nucleus of (6) *kxɿ* 'you', is lexically 'low' in pitch, but takes on 'extra high' pitch.

5. kxɿ kʰanf xya--f?

you where go-PA

Where did you go?

6. kxɿ-di kʰanf xya--f?

you-TO where go-PA

You, where did you go?

Mood is here regarded as appropriate to the sentence level, not the clause as proposed by Longacre (1967), because the intonational contour, which is the most characteristic

⁴In a paradigm of forms one form can usefully be regarded as the neutral, or unmarked, member when the other (marked) members of the paradigm can be derived from it by the addition of some feature - in this case the selection of a particular morpheme for special prominence. For English, paradigms, for each of three moods, of unmarked and marked theme and unmarked and marked intonation centres are given by Grimes (1972b:334-8), adapted from Halliday (1967).

feature of a particular mood, occurs only once on a sentence, namely on the final independent clause not following the interrogative particle *u*. Constituents following the determinant clause are low in pitch and intensity. Other clauses, or fragments less than grammatical clauses but partitioned as separate phonological phrases, are marked as nonfinal by an intonation contour rising on the last syllable (Glover 1969a:35). Hence mood, marked phonologically by final intonation contour and grammatically by forms of the independent verb, is a feature of sentence level, not clause level.

The qualification above, 'not following the interrogative particle *u*', refers to the fact that in polar interrogatives with *u* everything following the nucleus *u* trails off on low pitch and low intensity, as in (3b) above and (7). The unity of the intonation contour indicates that the whole sentence is treated as a polar interrogative, although of course (7) is not logically a polar choice.

7. kxi-m ka.t̪h̪ma.n̪du-r ʃl-b swa.-bá. u kajú-r
 you-TO Kathmandu-in stay-GE pleasant-GE or Ghacok-in
ʃl-b swa.-bá.?
 stay-GE pleasant-GE
 For you, is it pleasant to live in Kathmandu or
 pleasant to live in Ghacok?

6.22 Modality is defined here, following Hale (1972b), to include those markers in Gurung which indicate the non-actual nature of the action or state named (such as hypothetical, nonoccurring, or potential markers) and markers which indicate the speaker's commitment to the truth of the predication (such as indications of reported speech, uncertainty, or likelihood). Many of the verb suffixes described in Chapter 5 signal semantic features which fall into the modality system so defined. Thus *-man* signals the speaker's belief that what he says is probably true, *-lase*

that what he says is doubtful (though possible), -e that he makes no commitment at all to its truth, and -mala that the statement is hypothetical, and usually contrary to fact. These suffixes may be thought of as on a scale of truth-falsity, as also the sentence adverbials kxrosxəná 'honestly' and mə·rǎ 'indeed' (Sec. 5.93).

On the same scale, perhaps, is the clitic ro which is a device for indirect quotation (J. Glover 1971a:2), syntactically contrasting with the Margin for direct quotation bí-l only in the selection of pronouns:

8. k^he-maə nǎ·sa-r xyá·-m ro.
 3rd_reflexive-PL village-to go-NP QO
 (He/She/They) said (they) are going to their own village.
9. ŋǎ-e nǎ·sa-r xyá·-m bí-l.
 we-of village-to go-NP say-PA
 '(We) are going to our village,' (they) said.

The contrast between the two devices is also a matter of communicative function, however. The function of ro is to convey the information but to deny personal responsibility for the truth or falsity. The identity of the source is not in focus - it may be a named participant, as in the text from which (8) comes, or a general body of accepted belief, as in (10).

10. pae ax-lá-n sammá· ca-báe sáe mxae-ba-rǎ
 PFC not-do-IN until eat-AJ thing seek-GE-to
 pxra-m ro.
 walk-NP QO
 Until (one) does the post-funeral ceremony (the ghost) walks, seeking food, it is said.

Thus in (11) the bí-l form, identifying the source of the information, is used to strengthen a statement that has been questioned.

11. D: bɣardl ta-i ró.
enlistment happen-PA QO
W: bɣa·ráda-rf xya·-f xwá·?
India-to go-PA QE
D: lá·ure ta-i ró, má·ma-df bí-l.
soldier become-PA QO uncle-ER say-PA
D: (He) has enlisted, (they) say.
W: (He) went to India, did he?
D: (He) became a soldier, (they) say; Uncle said
(so).

Another modality scale evident in Gurung is that of 'surprise'. It was noted in Sec. 5.1 that the suffixes -na and -lɔ· 'discovery aspect' conveyed an overtone of surprise in the speaker's comment on something he has just discovered. The addition of a particle mæ heightens the note of surprise:

12. progya· nó-dl. da·l phl-f bɣrf sæ-wa·-lɔ· mæ.
bastard carry-PA then bear-CJ kill-EM-DI SU
(She) was carrying a bastard. Then, after giving
birth (she) killed (it), no less.
13. ɣywf-yú-l-au, da·l ɣl ax-xre-ná mæ, xya·-ná mæ.
ask-come-PLUP-EM then we not-be-DI SU go-DI SU
(He) did come down to ask, indeed, but found that we
were not (here), that (we) had gone.

6.3 Sentence types in Gurung. In classifying Gurung sentence nuclei by their grammatical structure I shall use the following criteria:⁵

a) Constituency of the nucleus. A simple sentence has in its nucleus a single Base slot (B) filled by an independent clause; compound sentences co-ordinate independent clauses in separate Bases; complex sentences subordinate clauses

⁵I am indebted to Ray Christmas for helpful comments in this area, based on his work in the 1971-2 Pike workshops in India and Nepal (Trail 1973). I have also drawn on Maria Hari's work on Nepali sentences (1972).

in Margin slots (Mar) to an independent clause in a Base slot.⁶

b) Method of linking clauses within compound sentences: overt conjunction, referentially identical particles, or parataxis. (Complex sentences are linked in only one way - by the particle suffixed to the subordinate clause.)

c) Potential for expansion beyond two clauses.

These three criteria lead to a taxonomic tree of eight grammatical sentence types (Fig. 15, page 147). Some of the types have a number of subtypes listed, differentiated according to the particular lexical conjunction employed as overt link, or according to constraints on the internal structure of component clauses in paratactically linked compound sentences. Concession and Condition Sentences (variants of the binary complex sentence) have further subvariants according to the internal structure of the apodosis clause, as shown in Fig. 16 (page 154).

The complex and compound sentences encode sememic relations of the statement level as shown in Table 10 (page 148), which gives references to the subsections in the discussion of the statement level relations in Sec. 2.3, and to examples in this section, many of which are repeated from Chapter 2.

⁶The notions of co-ordination in a compound sentence and subordination in a complex sentence are primary in Wise and Green's treatment (1971:270) of the surface structure of sentences in Palikur.

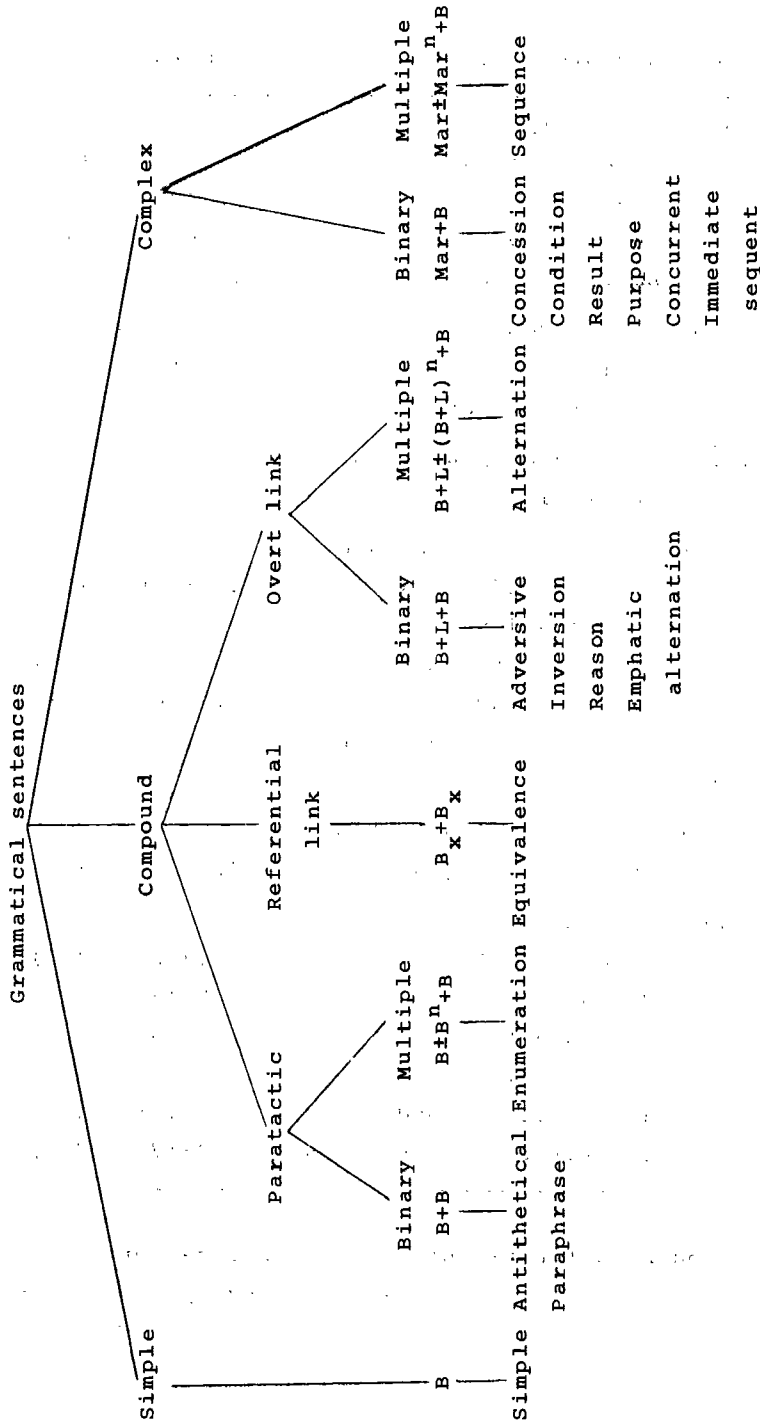


Fig. 15. Taxonomic tree of Gurung grammatical sentence types.

Grammatical type	Sememic relation	Section	Ex.
6.32 Binary Paratactic Compound Sentence			
Antithesis	Negated antonym	2.34	(16)
Paraphrase	Equivalence	2.34	(17)
	Generic-specific	2.34	(18)
	Amplification	2.34	(19)
6.33 Multiple Paratactic Compound Sentence			
Enumeration	Collection	2.31(1)	(21)
	Partitive contrast	2.31(2)	(22)
6.34 Referentially Linked Compound Sentence			
Equivalence	Indefinite condition	2.33(1)	(24)
6.35 Binary Conjoined Compound Sentence			
Adversive	Factual definite	2.33(5)	(26)
	concession		
Inversion	Negated antonym	2.34	(27)
Reason	Factual condition	2.33(4)	(28)
Emphatic alternation	Exclusive disjunction	2.32	(29)
6.36 Multiple Conjoined Compound Sentence			
Alternation	Exclusive disjunction	2.32	(31)
6.37 Binary Complex Sentence			
Concession	Hypothetical concession	2.33(2)	(33)
	Factual concession	2.33(5)	(34)
	Contrafactual	2.33(8)	(35)
	concession		
Condition	Hypothetical condition	2.33(1)	(36)
	Contrafactual condition	2.33(7)	(37)

Table 10. Encoding potential of multiclausal sentences
(contd. next page).

6.32 The Binary Paratactic Compound Sentence [B + B] has two Bases each filled by an independent clause,⁸ without any overt grammatical link but with the phonological link of nonfinal intonation on the first clause, final on the second. The formula (15), as with the remaining formulae and examples in this section, refers only to the Nucleus of the sentences:

$$15. \quad S_{\text{paratactic binary}} = + \text{Base}_1 \quad + \text{Base}_2 \\ \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad | \text{indCl} \quad \quad \quad | \text{indCl}$$

The two subtypes, Antithesis and Paraphrase, are distinguished in that the Predicate slot of one of the Bases of Antithesis, in (16), has a negative verb phrase which is a negated antonym of the Predicate in the other Base, while the Predicates of both Bases in a Paraphrase Sentence are filled by affirmative verb phrases, in (17-9).

16. pxall-d pxra-lá· ax-txu, basa-rí xya·-lá yq-mý.
 foot-ER walk-IN not-NEC bus-in go-IN AVL-NP
 Base₁:indCl Base₂:indCl

It isn't necessary to walk, (you) can go by bus.

17. khqyq khqyq tǃ-jǃ ŋxi-ji bí-my, cargó pǃ-mý.
 sometimes one-CL two-CL say-NP sharp speak-NP
 Base₁:indCl Base₂:indCl

Sometimes (he) says short words, (he) speaks sharply.

18. tǃ· ta-ǃ bírf, 'q, ta-m sídf, bí-ǃ bírf, ...
 word happen-CJ yes OK-NP certainly say-CJ
 Base₁:depCl Base₂:depCl

After having a conversation, after saying, 'Yes, OK', ...

19. cá-maq-d pǃ-ǃ, cxami-lai pǃ-dǃ.
 that-PL-ER give-PA daughter-DAT give-PA
 Base₁:indCl Base₂:indCl

They gave, gave the daughter (in marriage).

⁸If the compound sentence is itself embedded as a Margin in another sentence, as is the case in (18), the Bases actually have dependent clause marking.

6.33 The Multiple Paratactic Compound Sentence [B ± Bⁿ + B] consists of potentially more than two Bases, each filled by an independent clause, as in (20).

$$20. \quad S_{\text{paratactic multiple}} = + \text{Base}_1 \quad \pm \text{Base}_2^n \quad + \text{Base}_3$$

|
|
|

indCl
indCl
indCl

The one subtype, Enumeration, is exemplified in (21-2).

21. bele |[-bae sǎe ca-l yq-mǔ, swa·llé chyǎ·-bǎe
 very tasty-AJ thing eat-IN AVL-NP extremely good-AJ
 Base₁:indCl Base₂:indCl

kwǎ kh|-l yq-mǔ, ta·n kh|xyo basa-rf xya·-lá yq-mǔ.
 cloth wear-IN AVL-NP all place bus-in go-IN AVL-NP
 Base₃:indCl

(One) gets to eat very nice food, (one) gets to wear extremely good clothes, (one) can go everywhere by bus.

22. [ŋa-m] khǒyǒ se k|-bǎ·, khǒyǒ t̄xa· t̄xu jaga
 me-TO sometimes meat buy-GE sometimes vegetable PL
 Base₁:indCl Base₂:indCl

k|-bxa-bǎ khǒyǒ póst a·ph|s xya·-bǎ.
 buy-bring-GE sometimes post office go-GE
 Base₃:indCl

[As for me,] sometimes (I) get meat, sometimes (I) get vegetables, sometimes (I) go to the post office.

6.34 The Referentially Linked Compound Sentence [B_x + B_x] has two Bases filled by clauses with independent verb forms but with an indefinite particle in the clause filling the first Base and, in the clause filling the second Base, an anaphoric particle referring back to the indefinite particle. The concord of reference between the two clauses is symbolized in (23) by a subscripted x.

$$23. \quad S_{\text{ref}} = + \text{Base}_1 \quad + \text{Base}_2$$

|
|

indCl_x
indCl_x

The one subtype is the Equivalence Sentence (called such after Hari 1972:46):

Concession with *-na bife* or *-se* 'even if', in (33-5), Condition with *-yq̄* or *-du biyq̄* 'if', in (36-7), Result with *-seró* 'since', in (38), Purpose with *-bae [xa:giri]* 'for the sake of', in (39), Concurrent with *-ma* or *-malé* 'while', or the emphatic protracted forms *-ma ... -m* or *-na ... -n*, in (40), and Immediate Sequent with *-bae todon* 'instantly', in (41). Subvariants of Concession and Condition Sentences, marked by tenses in the apodosis (outcome) independent clause as shown in Fig. 16, express Hypothetical, Factual, or Contrafactual implicational relations (Fig. 10, page 44).⁹

	Tense in the apodosis		
	nonpast	past	unreal
Concession	(33)	(34)	(35)
Condition	(36)	-	(37)
Relation:	Hypothetical	Factual	Contrafactual

Fig. 16. Sememic relations of variants of Condition and Concession Sentences.

⁹ There is one lacuna in Fig. 16, because a Condition Sentence does not occur with past tense in the apodosis. Thus (a) is ungrammatical.

- *a. *ḡer sae p|-yq̄ xyu-l.*
1.5 HUND give-if suffice-PA

The sememic relation of Factual Condition is expressed either by a Result Sentence, (b), or by a Reason Sentence, (c).

- b. *ḡer sae p|-seró xyu-l.*
1.5 HUND give-since suffice-PA

Since (he) gave (me) 150 (rupees) it was sufficient.

- c. *palsá xyu-l tále bi-yq̄ ḡer sae p|-{.*
money suffice-PA why say-if 1.5 HUND give-PA

The money was sufficient because (he) gave (me) 150 (rupees).

33. blyá· la-se əsa yq-mý.
wedding do-even_if inheritance AVL-NP
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
Even if (she) marries (she) receives the inheritance.
34. bíra·ml ta-ná· bile cyq-d mrq-r
sickness happen-even_though YT_son-ER field-IN
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
no sywf-la.
weed pull-PLUP
Even though (he) was sick, Youngest Son had been weeding the fields.
35. cá dln, dasmi bl-l birf, cxaś ax-khyá·-na bile ya·,
that day Dasmi say-CJ tika not-apply-even_if also
Base:indCl Mar:depCl
prl-mála.¹⁰
taboo-UR
Even if (you) had not worn a tika (= a spot on forehead as a mark of having done a religious ceremony) on that day called Dasmi, (you) would still be bound by the taboo.
36. ciniyá· mīxa a·sara pə·c gate ru|-dú blyá· a·soja
chiniya rice Asar five day plant-if Asoj
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
pac|s gate jare m|-m.
25 day about ripen-NP
If (one) transplants chiniya rice on 5 Asar (it) ripens about 25 Asoj.
37. mxalna-r qer sae p|-yá· ca-b negó kwę
month-in 1.5 HUND give-if eat-GE with cloth
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
khl-bá· xyu-mála.
wear-GE suffice-UR
If (he) had given (me) 150 (rupees) a month, (it) would have been sufficient for food and clothing.

¹⁰In (35) the Margin is embedded within the Base, and its extent is indicated by the row of dots.

38. k^hé-la· ax-yó-seró əgrej^f ax-xra.
study-IN not-AVL-since English not-know
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
Since (I) did not get to study, (I) do not know English.
39. dasaq mxə·di-bae lxa·gi-ri, se l^xé l^xé k[-m^ú].
Dasain observe-AJ sake-in meat much much buy-NP
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
For observing Dasain (festival), (they) buy lots and lots of meat.
40. caɪdra ŋxá xya·-ma-lé, ŋa t̪ɥdikhéla-ri xya·-lá.
Cait five go-PR-AV me Tundikhel-to go-PLUP
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
As (the month) Cait was going five (= On 5 Cait), I went to the Tundikhel.¹¹
41. jxya·lgán-ɥlé té-bae todon phéri cá mxi-nen
jail-from release-AJ instant again that person-with
Mar:depCl Base:indCl
pha-r xya·-f.
husband-in go-PA
As soon as (she) was released from jail (she) eloped with that man.

6.38 The Multiple Complex Sentence [Mar ± Marⁿ + B] consists of potentially more than one Margin, each filled by a dependent clause, followed by a Base, filled by an independent clause:

42. S_{complex multiple} = + Margin ± Marginⁿ + Base
| depCl | depCl | indCl

The one subtype observed of this construction is the Sequence Sentence, in which the dependent clause is suffixed with conjunctive particles -i, -i birí, and -si.¹² The

¹¹I identify the form -malé as -ma 'protracted' + -le 'adverbial', but I am unable to account for the tones -malé instead of the form -mále one would expect from the morphotonemic rules.

¹²The forms function very much like the Nepali forms with suffix -era, called by Clark (1963:160) 'conjunctive participles'. Hari (1972:57) glosses the -era suffix as 'sequence action'.

Sequence Sentence encodes event-event temporal succession in (43), event-span temporal succession in the relation of Margin₁ to the Base in (44), state-state temporal overlap in the relation of Margin₂ to the Base in (44), and factual condition in (45), in which the reported speech in the Margin explains the action reported in the Base.

43. s[jaga jxq-[birf, yuma-e ba.nu jxq-[birf,
 wood PL put-CJ stone-of wall put-CJ
 Mar₁:depCl Mar₂:depCl

ca khib ne ma.ba-ladl, the-[birf, khro-
 that O_man with O_woman-DAT put-CJ burn-PA
 Base:indCl Mar₃:depCl

After putting the wood (in place), and putting the stone platform, and placing the old man and the old woman (there), (they) burned (them).

44. kwf mxl magala tha.na, re-r-bae dx[phiri,
 some person Mangal temple side-at-AJ house upon
 Base:indCl
 mxwf p[xf ba.li pho-si, adi-phir t[si, qxyo-la.
 rupee four fee pay-CJ landing-upon stay-CJ watch-PLUP
 Mar₁:depCl Mar₂:depCl

After paying a four rupee admission, some people were sitting upstairs and watching on the houses beside Mangal Temple.

45. kwf mxl 'noksan ta-f' bi-i birf kro-ba'.
 some person damage happen-PA say-CJ cry-GE
 Base:indCl Mar:depCl
 Saying, 'Damage has happened (to me),' some men wept.

6.4 The Sentence Periphery is shown as optional in the general formula for a sentence (Sec. 6.1), and consists of five tagmemes:

a) Exclamation (Ex) includes hed teri 'rubbish!', chya 'disgusting!', abwf 'amazing!', khol 'anyhow, nevertheless (with a shrug)'.

46. hed teri! [kxi-e gxoqa ax-qx[, ...]
 rubbish you-of horse not-be
 Ex:ex
 Rubbish! [It's not your horse ...]

47. *chya*, [kátti ax-*chyá*·-bae tã·.]
 disgusting how_much not-good-AJ word
 Ex:ex

Disgusting! What filthy talk (that is)!

b) Vocative (Voc) is filled by proper nouns or kinship terms used as terms of address, optionally preceded by a hailing call *lú, é, ó* 'Hey!'

48. *ó* *khíba*, [ri-d.]
 hey O_man arise-IM
 Voc:npr

Hey, old man, [get up.]

49. [cá *cxamri*, cá *phalaná* *cxamri*, *ŋa-lai*
 that girl that particular girl me-DAT
xri-bx[-n], a·ba·.
 beg-give-IM father
 Voc:npr

[That girl, that particular girl, ask for her for me,]
 Father.

c) Response (Resp) is filled by expressions such as *o* 'yes, I see', *ax-ŋx* (not-be) 'no', *ta-m*, *ta-m sidf* 'OK', *túsi*, *túsídf* 'I don't know', *xɣ* 'really! You don't say!' Response expressions frequently occur without any other sentence material, but they can also occur as sentence introducers:

50. *ax-ŋx*[, [*ŋa-d-ám*, *míxasi* *ti-mná* *mattré* *píbx[-la]*.]
 not-be me-ER-TO rice one-pint only send-PLUP
 Resp:resp

No, [I only sent one pint of rice.]

51. W: [*tále* *cha·-bá-ŋa?*] D: *túsídf*, [*tále* *ŋxe?*]
 why thus-GE-EM don't_know why be
 Resp:resp

W: [Why (is it) that way?] D: I don't know, [why is it?]

d) Sentence topic (To) is filled by a noun phrase with a topic-marking particle suffixed (Sec. 3.32). I treat the topic tagmeme as on sentence level when it is preposed, and separated from the following sentence by an intonation break. Otherwise, as in the examples in Sec. 3.32, it functions on clause level.

52. ɲa-m, ['kwɛ́ |xé ho ki¹³ cyugú-de,' bi-b-ga.]
 me-TO cloth much be or little-little say-GE-EM
 To:NP_{ar}

As for me, [(I) was saying, 'Are there a lot of clothes or just a little?']

53. cá-maɣ-la, [cxa cxam| tól ax-xre-ná.]
 that-PL-TO son daughter at_all not-be-DI
 To:NP_{ar}

As for them, [(they) had no sons or daughters.]

e) Final Comment (Fin) serves to terminate a topic, and is filled only by cxagana 'thus, like that'.

54. [khɔyɔ khɔyɔ mattré khi xris kha-báe txi-r ti-ji
 sometimes only self anger come-AJ time-in one-CL
 ɲxi-ji bi-my cargó pɔ́-my,] cxagana.
 two-CL say-NP sharp speak-NP like_that
 Fin:cxagana

[Only sometimes, when he is in a bad mood, does he say scolding things, (and) speak sharply,] that's all.

¹³The forms ho and ki are among the relatively few grammatical function words borrowed from Nepali. Such borrowings are more common in the speech of more eastern villages, as in (52) in the speech of G.

7 Paragraph Level

7.1 Levels beyond the sentence. In segmenting Gurung texts into constituents one encounters linguistic units larger than a sentence. I posit paragraph and discourse as two levels of organization beyond the sentence in the grammatical hierarchy of Gurung.¹

Paragraphs are recognized, and defined, by the fact that sentences in sequence exhibit linking mechanisms. The linking mechanisms in Gurung are of the three kinds Longacre (1968:I.55) described in general for Philippine languages:

¹Pike (1964a:129) asserts that 'beyond the sentence lie grammatical structures available to linguistic analysis, describable by technical procedures, and usable by the author for the generation of ... linguistic works'. Tagmemicists who have written on such structures include Wise (1971), Longacre (1968, 1972), and Reid (1970). These authors have posited paragraph and discourse as levels of grammatical structure beyond the sentence. My approach to paragraph and discourse analysis draws particularly on Longacre (1968).

Gleason (1968), who adapted Lamb's stratificational model for discourse study, does not discuss levels of organization of grammatical material but focusses on strata of structure: a 'semologic' structure containing Actions, Connections, Participants, and Roles, and a 'shallow' structure which includes the realizations of these elements and also features that are predictable from rules of the particular language, such as the relative use of nouns, pronouns, or zero in participant reference.

Grimes and Glock (1970) discuss also two kinds of structure, deep and surface, treating paragraphs and sentences as part of the surface grammar, and underlying semantics within deep structure. They note that repetition (or 'chaining', in Longacre's terminology) is characteristic of Saramaccan narrative paragraphs.

Hendricks (1972:89-90) observes that a similar distinction of two kinds of structure is made also by folklorists such as Dundes between a non-language-particular 'folkloristic' (or 'narrative') structure and the 'linguistic' structure studied for a particular language. The two kinds of structure are called in this study sememic and grammatical, but I am more concerned with the lower hierarchical levels - I am not in a position to describe sememic structures in Gurung on the grand scale of the analyses of folktales by Propp (1958) and Dundes (1963).

'(1) chaining [characteristic of NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS] - in which part of a sentence is recapitulated or explicitly referred to in the onset of the succeeding sentences; (2) parallelism [characteristic of EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS] - in which all or part of one sentence is paraphrased in the following sentence as a whole, or in some specific part of that sentence; and (3) repartée [characteristic of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS] - in which what is said by one speaker evokes something from (normally) another speaker(s).'

Sentences so linked form the nucleus of a paragraph, while the periphery of a paragraph includes preposed and postposed sentences which do not share in the linkage characteristic of the paragraph type, although they may link with the nucleus as a whole, as when a TERMINUS tagmeme summarizes the procedural sequence of the nucleus. Unlinked sentences also occur as parenthetical material in NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS in Gurung.

Paragraphs exhibit a unity of subject matter which probably reflects the organization of sememic material at this hierarchical level. In NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS this is a matter of the one participant being in focus throughout the paragraph, generally as initiator of actions; in EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS it is a unity of theme, as the one proposition is paraphrased and supported throughout; in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS the unity is conveyed by the closure of an utterance-response sequence.

Some introducer particles, particularly *jxa·lé phéri* 'then again' in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, mark a new paragraph. Other particles which optionally occur as sentence introducers, such as *jxa·lé* 'then' and *da·i* 'then' give support to paragraph identification in that they more commonly occur at what on other grounds appear paragraph boundaries, although they do sometimes occur to introduce paragraph-medial sentences.

A temporal phrase, with or without one of the introducer particles, is diagnostic of a paragraph beginning when it breaks the sequence of linked sentences. Such a phrase often marks a discontinuity in the flow of time in the discourse,

which is noted by Grimes (1972b:126) as generally an important principle for the partitioning of discourses.

'Final' and 'nonfinal' forms of the imperative and the nonpast and past indicative verb suffixes (Sec. 5.1) are stated by my informants to mark some completeness or incompleteness in a sentence, and their distribution loosely relates to occurrence final and nonfinal in paragraphs, as in the narrative portion in (2) below (except for the first two sentences which employ final forms). There are also examples, such as (1), where the 'nonfinal' form occurs utterance final (though this may have been due to an interruption!).

1. D: dxeró-m ró-le ó. cú-l khá·-kha-d[.
now-TO sleep-HO RQ this-EM finish-come-PA

W: khá·-].
finish-PA

D: Now it's time for bed. This is come to the end.

W: (It's) finished.

Although no one feature consistently and unambiguously marks paragraphs, the coincidence of various cues generally enables identification of paragraph boundaries. Thus in (2), the closing paragraph of a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, the mechanism of chaining is clearly illustrated, the paragraph begins with the introducer jxa·lé phér!, and there is a single participant filling the Subject slot throughout. Even in this example, though, where the chaining is unusually complete, not every noninitial BUILDUP (BU)² has a subordinate clause in the prenuclear margin giving an overt link (Longacre's 'Ground') for the new information (Longacre's 'Figure'). The repetition of lexical material from the Figure of one sentence to the Ground of the next is shown by the arrows in (2).

²BUILDUP tagmemes form the nucleus of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH (Sec. 7.22).

2. Ground Figure
'Horse Festival'

jxa·lé phéri Then again	dx[-r kha-f. (I) came home	BU ₁ :Sims
	sisf k[-]. (I) got the bottles	BU ₂ :Sims
	ŋxe k[-bá-r xya--df. (I) went to get the milk.	BU ₃ :Sims
ŋxe k[-] bíf Having got the milk	kha-df. (I) came.	BU ₄ :SeqS
ŋəsá-r, dx[-r kha-f In the evening, having come home	kaə ca-df. (I) ate rice	BU ₅ :SeqS
kaə ca-f Having eaten rice	chfn gxrí kú-dí. (I) sat for a while.	BU ₆ :SeqS
da·l Then	ro-đi-l. (I) went to bed.	BU ₇ :Sims

A NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH showing chaining linkage.

Discourse, in contrast with paragraph, is the largest unit of linguistic organization I have noted in Gurung (Chapter 8). It is posited as a level separate from paragraph because of more pronounced features of opening and closure, and because the internal structure of a discourse is fairly loose compared with the intraparagraph linkage mechanisms. Further, while discourses of a particular type - NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPLANATORY, HORTATORY, or CONVERSATIONAL - are composed largely of paragraphs of the

corresponding type they may include paragraphs of other types also, as when an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH expounds a PROCEDURE tagmeme in a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE (see paragraphs 5, 8, and 9 in the text 'How We Observe Dasain' in Appendix A).

Linguistic units above the sentence naturally divide into monologue versus dialogue, with monologue units of almost any level acting as fillers of tagmemes in dialogues. Sec. 7.2 describes monologue paragraph types, and Sec. 7.3 DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS.

7.2 Monologue paragraph types. Each of the four monologue paragraph types I posit in Gurung - NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPLANATORY, and HORTATORY - consists of a nucleus, which is distinctive for the type, as shown in Table 11, and peripheral tagmemes, which are in general shared by all or most of the types (Sec. 7.21).

Type	Nucleus	Section
NARR	± BUILDUP ₁ ± ... ± PARENS _i ... + BUILDUP _n	7.22
PROC	± STEP ₁ ± ... ± PARENS _i ± ... + STEP _n	7.23
EXPL	+ TEXT ± ANTITH ± EXPO ⁿ ± REASON ⁿ + ± RESULT	7.24
HORT	+ EXHOR ± REASON ± REINF ⁿ	7.25

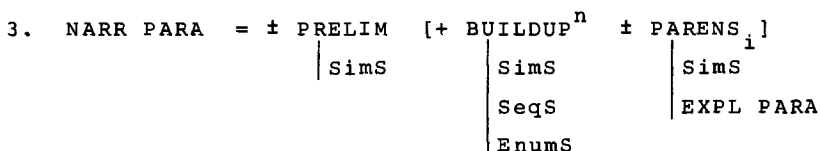
Table 11. Monologue paragraph nuclei.

In the formulae in this section nuclear tagmemes are enclosed in square brackets. Filler classes listed for tagmemes in the formulae are based on paragraphs analyzed in the data - they are not necessarily exhaustive of the variety of creative possibility in Gurung paragraphs.

7.21 Peripheral tagmemes in monologue paragraphs include PRELIMINARY, TERMINUS, and FOOTNOTE. The PRELIMINARY (PRELIM) typically introduces the subject of the paragraph, gives a preview of its content, or states relevant background; the TERMINUS gives a summary or closing comment, often with lexical parallels with the PRELIMINARY; the FOOTNOTE (so far noted only in an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH) is a device for adding detail on some point not in the mainstream of the paragraph (J. Glover 1971b:12). Thus in the text 'On Consulting Astrologers' (Appendix A) the first paragraph described the ceremony of eating new rice - and a FOOTNOTE was added on dates of planting and ripening of rice varieties.

The PRELIMINARY and TERMINUS tagmemes are distinguished from the nuclear tagmemes in that they refer to the nucleus as a whole, not to the adjacent sentences, and in that in NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS they 'provide non-sequential material, usually explanatory in nature, and are therefore considered to be peripheral to the paragraph structure' (Reid 1970:126). Linkage by anaphora is typical of the TERMINUS (as noted in Bontoc by Reid 1970:134). This is instanced in a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH in paragraph 6.1 of the text 'How We Observe Dasain' in Appendix A, where the TERMINUS is *jxa.lé cá khá.mų* 'Then that is finished.'; and in the example of an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH below, (8), by the phrases *cá ka.ran* 'for that reason', *cxau sama.n-jaú* 'that much of things', and *cxagana* 'thus'. I have not noted occurrences of TERMINUS tagmemes in NARRATIVE or HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

7.22 NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS have a structure as shown in (3).



The nuclear BUILDUP tagmemes express the chronological events leading to the one obligatory tagmeme, the final BUILDUP (BUILDUP_n), which is the climax of interest or rhetorical

goal towards which the paragraph is directed. The PARENS_i tagmeme follows BUILDUP_i (i can have any value from 1 to n) and serves sememically to explain or amplify BUILDUP_i.

An alternative analysis would be to treat each BUILDUP_i + PARENS_i sequence as itself a paragraph structure, presumably TEXT + EXPOSITION of an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. This analysis would be in accord with Longacre's application of the principle of recursion within paragraphs (1968:I.53): whenever two or more sentences within a paragraph 'seem to belong together this unity is indicative of an embedded paragraph'. Applied rigidly in the analysis of texts this principle leads to multiply embedded structures within paragraphs.

Against such an analysis, however, is the fact that the putative embedded paragraph would have very restricted structure - no periphery and, always and only, two nuclear tagmemes, TEXT and EXPOSITION. Rather than set up such a restricted embedded unit, and for practical clarity in presenting analyzed text, I posit the PARENS tagmeme as a constituent of the NARRATIVE (and PROCEDURAL) PARAGRAPHS.³ The PARENS tagmeme does not have the chaining linkage characteristic of BUILDUP tagmemes, the parenthetical comment may be overtly marked by the adversive conjunction, tara 'but' as in (4) (see next page), but not necessarily, as in the examples in the PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE in Appendix A.

The PRELIMINARY serves to tie the paragraph in to the wider context, as in (4) where it summarizes the preceding paragraph in the story.

³Longacre himself cites (1968:I.86) an ALTERNATIVE STEP tagmeme (one of the functions of the PARENS in Gurung) as a contrastive feature of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS in several Philippine languages. Wise (1971:78-9) posited a Parenthesis tagmeme in each of her grammatical paragraphs.

4. Ground Figure
 'Horse Festival'

jxa·lé, phérí, Then again	gxodá khél khá·-dl. the horse games finished		PRELIM: SimS
da·l Then	sa·lkála khél suru la·f. cycle games began.		BU ₁ :SimS
tara, But	əgrej́ gxrí mu·la·. there was an Englishman.	TEXT: SimS	PARENS ₁ : EXPL PARA
	aru tá·n nxepali mu·la·. The others were all Nepali.	EXPO: SimS	
	nxepali gxrí phós ta·f, əgrej́ segen ta·f. A Nepali came first, the Englishman came second.		BU _n :EnumS
tara But	cá-maq m ɲa-lal tha· ax-xré. his name is not known to me		PARENS _n : SimS

A NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

7.23 PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS are similar to NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS⁴ in their form of chaining linkage, and in building up to a climax of interest, STEP_n, which is the one obligatory tagmeme in the formula (5).

5. PROC PARA	= ± PRELIM	(+ STEP ⁿ	± PARENS ₁)	± TERM
	SimS	SimS	SimS	SimS
	ConCS	SeqS	EnumS	
	ConDS	EnumS	EXPL PARA	
		PurpS	PROC PARA	
		ResS		

However the two types differ in Gurung in that: a) the tense of the verb forms is past for NARRATIVE, as in (2) and (4), and nonpast for PROCEDURAL, as in (6) (see next page); b) a TERMINUS tagmeme may occur in the periphery of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS, as in paragraph 6.1 in the text 'How We Observe Dassain', but has not been noted in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS; and c) within the nucleus of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS there is more commonly the occurrence of PARENS tagmemes. The example (6) employs a Conditional Sentence as a PRELIMINARY, setting the scene (ignorance of weaving) for the paragraph. Then the sequence of asking for help, being shown, and weaving, leads to the goal of STEP_n of possessing skill.

⁴The similarities are marked in many languages. Jessie Glover on Gurung (1971b) and a number of writers on Philippine languages, such as Dibabawon (Barnard and Longacre 1968), have treated the two types as one.

6. Ground

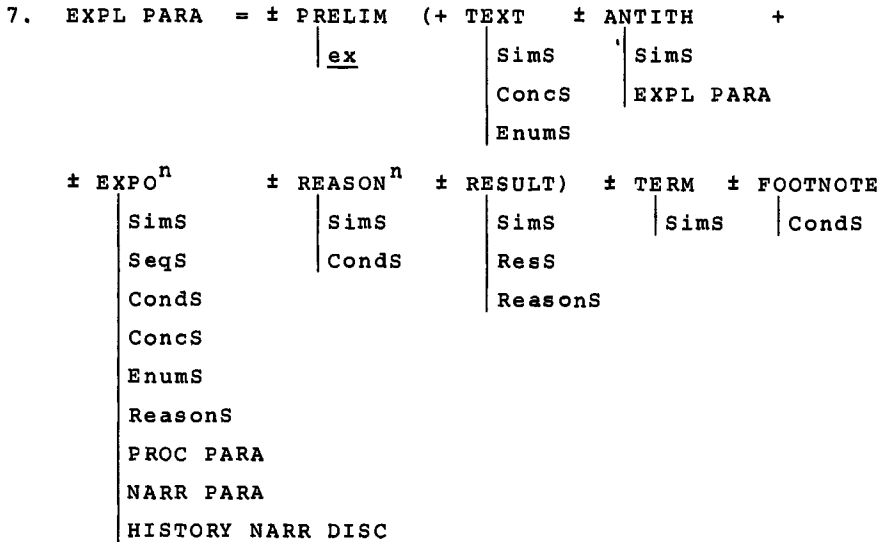
Figure

'Women's Work'

	ax-xra-biyə· cá xra-bae mxl-maə ne ba·lu ŋwɪ-m. If (you) don't know how (you) ask people who do.	PRELIM: Conds
	cá-mə-ne ba·lu, ŋa-d cú cha la-bá· ax-xra. ŋa-la lu-bx -n, bi-my. (You) say to them, 'I can't do this thus. Please teach me.'	STEP ₁ : Sims
	cá-maə xwɪ-bxa-mý. (You) bring them.	STEP ₂ : Sims
jxa·lé Then	ŋxyo-bx -mý. (they) look for you.	STEP ₃ : Sims
da·l Then	cá-maə-dí, cha la-d, cha la-d, bl-i, lu-bx -mý. they teach, saying 'Do thus, and thus'.	STEP ₄ : SeqS
jxa·lé Then	ró-m. (you) weave.	STEP ₅ : Sims
ró-my, da·l (You) weave (and) then,	cá-maə-d lu-bx -seró cyugú cyugú xra-m. since they taught (you), (you) know a little.	STEP _n : ResS

A PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH

7.24 EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS may be represented by the formula (7):



The one obligatory tagmeme, TEXT, states the theme proposition of the paragraph, which is supported by the other nuclear tagmemes. The EXPOSITION tagmeme(s) restates the theme proposition, in paraphrase or adding details, while the REASON and RESULT give respectively some perceived cause and consequence of the proposition. The linkage in the nucleus of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS is semantic parallelism, Figure to Figure in the case of TEXT and EXPOSITION, and (only occasionally explicitly) from Ground to Figure in the case of REASON and RESULT. In analyzing EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS I find Longacre's differentiation of a preposed Ground₁ and a postposed Ground₂ in component sentences useful. REASON tagmemes often have in Ground₁ an introducer such as ka·ran 'because', and RESULT tagmemes often have as filler a Reason Sentence, where the Ground₂ is linked by such an introducer, as in (8) (see next pages). However the introducer may not be explicit, as in (9) (see page 175) where the REASON tagmeme is filled by a Simple Sentence.

The ANTITHESIS tagmeme states an exception to the theme proposition of the TEXT. It may be expounded by an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH, as in (8).

8. 'On a Post-funeral Ceremony'

Ground₁

Figure

Ground₂

<p>pae la-seró Since (you) do a PFC</p>	<p>paisá· khárja ta-m. there is financial expenditure</p>			<p>TEXT: Results</p>
<p>tara But</p>	<p>kwí-la paisá· mīxa lxe khárja la-m, kwí-la paisá· mīxa lxe khárja ax-lá. some expend much rice and money, others do not.</p>		<p>TEXT: EnumS</p>	<p>ANTITH: EXPL PARA</p>
<p>ka·ran, khai-le bi-du biya·, Because, if (you) ask how (that is),</p>	<p>kwí mxi sa·rón pīxó-b ta-m. some people are extremely rich.</p>		<p>REASON: Conds</p>	
<p>cá mxi si-xya·- du biya· If those people die</p>	<p>mīxa mxwí paisá· lxe khárja ta-m, there is a lot of expenditure of rice and money,</p>	<p>ka·ran tále biya· cá mxi-la dxansampati lxe mu. because those people have great wealth.</p>	<p>RESULT: ReasonS</p>	

8. 'On a Post-funeral Ceremony' (contd.)


Ground₁

Figure

Ground₂

<p>cá ka·ran For that reason</p>	<p>lxé sáe khárja ta-m. there is an expenditure of many things.</p>		<p>TERM: SimS</p>
	<p>paísá· mǐxa lxé khárja ta-bá·, There is a lot of expenditure of money and rice.</p>	<p>tále biyá· mágl ɲx[sae-l txu-m, ra ɲx[sae-l txu-m, kxyú ɲx[sae-l txu-m. because (you) have to kill two buffalo, two goats, and two sheep.</p>	<p>EXPO: ReasonS</p>
	<p>mǐxa cyugú-de bi- ba·, ɲxi-syu mxuri caidi-m, khorsa·ni ɲxa-byó caidi-m. Rice, at the least, (you) need twenty muri (= 400 gal.), chilli, (you) need five gallons.</p>		<p>REASON₁: EnumS</p>

8. 'On a Post-funeral Ceremony' (contd.)

Ground ₁	Figure	Ground ₂	
<p>jxa·lé</p> <p>Then</p>	<p>koiá· parú sq·plxí de caidi-m, nxú sq·mná· pixi-mna· de caidi-m, chyugú ðer dxa·rné de caidi-m, besa·r nxí-mna· de caidi-m.</p> <p>buttermilk about three or four containers are needed, garlic about three or four pints, butter about 1.5 dharni (= 4 Kg.), and turmeric about two pints.</p>		<p>REASON₂: EnumS</p>
<p>jxa·lé, cxau sama·n- jaú jordi-l birí, Then, when (you) have as- sembled that much of things,</p>	<p>ca-báe sáe tariga cxagana.</p> <p>the accounting of foodstuffs is thus.</p>		<p>TERM: SeqS</p>

9. 'Horseman and the Oil Press Owner'

Ground₁

Figure

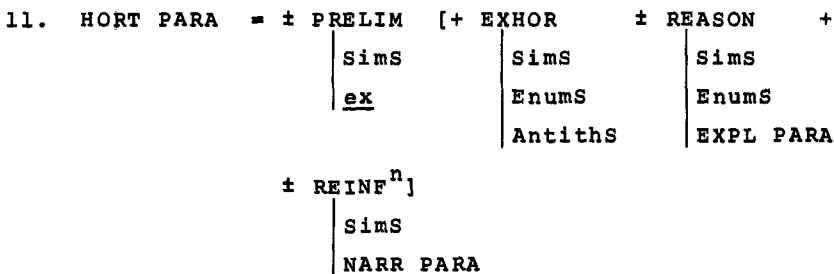
Ground₂

	khabá-e kula-d-af gxoǵá phi-m-ma. Whose oil press ever gives birth to a horse?	TEXT: Sims
	cú gxoǵá cá mxl-l ga. This horse is that person's.	RESULT: Sims

An EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.

EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS have a recapitulatory variant (J. Glover 1971b:13). The only examples so far noted come in fables, so they perhaps represent polished versions of rhetorical argument - or it may be that the heavy reliance on repetition (and raised voice) is simply a result of the weakness of the argument, in Gurung as in other cultures! The recapitulation gives a cyclic form to the argument, in which the tagmemes are repeated in the opposite order from their original occurrence, as in (10) (see next page).

7.25 HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS have the structure (11):



The only obligatory tagmeme is the EXHORTATION, which is always expounded by a sentence with at least one clause in the imperative mood. In most examples REASON is also present. The REINFORCEMENT tagmeme supports the EXHORTATION either by restatement of the imperative, or by adding detail, as in (12) (see page 177).

10. 'Horseman and the Oil Press Owner'

héd teri. Rubbish!		PRELIM: ex
kxi-e gxoḍá-na ax-ŋx[. (It) is not your horse!		TEXT: SimS
ŋá-e kula-d phi-báe gxoḍá ga. (It) is the horse my oil press gave birth to.		EXPO ₁ : SimS
kxi-d cyw[-thē-bá-na ax-ŋx[. You certainly did not tether (one) here.	TEXT: SimS	EXPO ₂ : EXPL PARA
khaba-d tói ax-xre-bá kh xyo-r-ai gxoḍá cyw[-thē-m-ma, mxl ax-ŋf-bae kh xyo-r-ai ya. Who would ever tether a horse in a place where there was nothing, in a place where nobody was staying.	EXPO: SimS	
ŋá-e kula-d phi-báe gxoḍá ga. (It) is the horse my oil press gave birth to.		Recap of EXPO ₁ : SimS
ŋa-l ta-l-jón, dxeró kxi-l ax-ŋx[. (It) is indeed mine, not yours henceforth.		Recap of TEXT: AntithS
ŋa-l ga. (It) is <u>mine</u> .		TERM: SimS

A recapitulatory EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.

12. 'Man and the Tiger'⁵

thal-dú. Wait!		EXHOR: SimS	
togó ax-cá-d. Don't eat (me) now.		REINF ₁ : SimS	
ɲa phalaná phalaná khixyo-r-bae mxi-ne prf txo-l txu-m. I have to meet with a person in such and such a place.		REASON: SimS	
	cá mxi-ne prf txo-mu. (I'll) meet that man.	BU ₁ : SimS	REINF ₂ : NARR PARA
da-i birf After that	ca-b ga. can be the eating.	BU _n : SeqS	

A HORTATORY PARAGRAPH.

When REASON is expounded by an embedded paragraph it may be permuted in front of the EXHORTATION, but it does not come first in the paragraph - a PRELIMINARY must then occur in order to precede the REASON, as in (13) (see next page).

⁵ Analysis of component sentences in terms of Ground and Figure does not appear relevant to HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS, because I have found no examples of sentence margins (the Ground) linking back to preceding sentences in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS - perhaps because of the scarcity of HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS in the data.

is the INITIATING SPEECH. Variant readings of (14) give SIMPLE and COMPLEX, RESOLVED and UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS. An EXCHANGE with or without a COUNTERING SPEECH is respectively a COMPLEX or SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, as in (15) and (16). The presence of a RESOLVING SPEECH gives a RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, as in (15) and (16), and absence gives an UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, as in (17).

15. 'Wedding Account'

<p>S: ɣa laɣé la-bá-ri idli xya--f. jxa·lé idlar hardi xya--dʹ, carjʹla-di tʃxo-l. In fighting I went to Italy. Then Hitler was defeated, Churchill conquered.</p>	<p>SP-I(REM): NARR PARA</p>
<p>W: belayad-ri xya--f u? Did (you) go to Britain?</p>	<p>SP-C(QE): Sims</p>
<p>S: belayad ax-xyá·, idli-ri (I) didn't go to Britain, (but) to Italy.</p>	<p>SP-R(ANS): AntithS</p>

A RESOLVED COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

16. 'Casual Conversation'

<p>H: kxɪ kadʹ barsa ta-f, tlyǵ·? How old are you, now?</p>	<p>SP-I(QE): Sims</p>
<p>D: caubɪs ta-f. (I) am twentyfour.</p>	<p>SP-R(ANS): Sims</p>

A RESOLVED SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

17. 'Wedding Account'

S: sa lá mala·i-r ta-f, kancha laúre ax-tá. Third Brother was in Malaya, Youngest Brother didn't become a soldier	SP-I(REM): EnumS
W: ax-tá? tále? (He) didn't? Why?	SP-C(QE): EXPL PARA
S: ax-xyá, laúra. (He) didn't go, to the military.	SP-C(REM): SimS

An UNRESOLVED COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS like (15) and (17), which have monologue material in the SP-C slot, are actually quite rare in the corpus. Much more frequently the SP-C is expounded by an EXCHANGE, which has the structure of a RESOLVED SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, embedded within the 'outer' (or matrix) DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, as in (18).

18. 'Casual Conversation'

W: kx d bi-t-ti. cá t̄̄· ba·rer bi-t-ti. You speak. Speak about that matter.	SP-I(PRO): HORT PARA
D: dasā ba·rer-i? About Dasain?	SP-I(QE): SimS
W: ̄. Yes.	SP-R(ANS): SimS
D: dasā ... Dasain ...	SP-R(RES): PROC DISC

A RESOLVED COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

(18) is in fact the dialogue introducing the description of Dasain given in Appendix A. In the extract on 'Marriage Customs' in Appendix A, paragraph 1.3 has a similar structure to (18). On Longacre's approach (1968:I.165ff.) the first three speeches of each of these examples would alone constitute a COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, as he considers the paragraph terminated once a RESOLVING SPEECH (SP-R) occurs. But such an analysis leaves the final speech hanging unconnected, which is obviously counterintuitive in the light of the final speech's response relation to the SP-I. I therefore modify Longacre's approach to the extent of allowing for embedded dialogue as RESOLVED EXCHANGES in the SP-C slot,⁷ as in (14).

COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS consist of two or more EXCHANGES on the same speech axis (that is, same speaker to same addressee) and on the same topic. All the nonfinal EXCHANGES must be RESOLVED, while the COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH itself is RESOLVED if and only if the final EXCHANGE, EXCH_n, is RESOLVED:

$$19. \text{ CPD DIAL PARA} = + \text{EXCH}^{n-1} + \text{EXCH}_n$$

$\left| \begin{array}{l} \text{EXCH} \\ \text{Resolved} \end{array} \right.$

$\left| \begin{array}{l} \text{EXCHANGE} \end{array} \right.$

The extract of a conversation on 'Marriage Customs' given in Appendix A is a RESOLVED COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, consisting of three EXCHANGES.

⁷Klammer (1971:210-4,301-3) notes that Longacre has not handled embedded dialogue, but his own discussion of examples from English is confined to instances where there is a 'shift in speech axis between the [embedded parenthetical paragraphs] and the main [paragraph]', not parenthetical dialogue on the same speech axis as the matrix, as in (18).

8 Discourse Level

In this chapter five discourse types (or genre) are classified according to internal structure - the feature mode (Sec. 1.4). Discourses are units of the highest level of the linguistic hierarchy, but tagmemic theory views language as behaviour, with verbal and nonverbal activity being a unified whole. Verbal activity must therefore be seen in its social setting, including as elements both the individuals involved as speaker(s) and hearer(s) and the cultural situation which they share. The social setting of discourses is therefore relevant in discussion of the distribution mode.

8.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE is characterized by the use of past tense forms and the centrality of a chronological sequence of events. Two types of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE may be called HISTORY¹ and FABLE, distinguished by the characteristic presence in FABLE of SUMMARY and MORAL tagmemes, which are absent from HISTORY, and by the fact that FABLES are built up sememically largely in terms of the sememic relation of PROBLEM-SOLVING (Sec. 2.4), while HISTORY is simply a collection of events in chronological sequence, and so encodes the relation of temporal sequence (Sec. 2.35). The grammatical structure of HISTORY is:

1. HISTORY	= ± APERTURE	+ EPISODE ⁿ	± CLOSURE
	NARR PARA	NARR PARA	NARR PARA
		EXPL PARA	

¹HISTORY is here used as a label for an anecdotal narrative of past events, including material of such ephemeral interest as what the narrator did on a certain occasion. As a label for this class of Gurung NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, the word does not have the analytical and interpretative connotations of scholarly study. A story which departs from chronological sequence by starting in medias res, like the section of the text 'On Consulting Astrologers' dealing with eating new rice, is treated not as a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, but as an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH where the HISTORY fills an EXPOSITION slot (page 171).

the sequence of events, using the 'past' suffixes -l/-dl, although further setting sections² may be interwoven, using the -na 'discovery' and -la 'pluperfect' suffixes, as in the first two of the eight EPISODES in the 'Horse Festival' text. CLOSURE is similar to the EPISODES in structure, being expounded by a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH with the 'past' suffixes, but returns attention to the main participant(s) introduced in the APERTURE, and signals closure of the discourse. Thus in the 'Horse Festival' text the CLOSURE (shown on page 164 in Sec. 7.1) relates the narrator's return home and end of the day. (An EPISODE in the same text, also filled by a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, is cited on page 168.)

FABLES proved rather difficult to obtain for the data corpus. I suspect that this was because I did not locate a recognized story-teller from the Gurung culture.³ The FABLES in the corpus were obtained by 'triggering' D's memory of the story of 'The Three Bears' (previously told him in Nepali) and asking for that story in Gurung and any similar ones he might know. The grammatical structure of the resultant stories is (3). FABLES are characterized in the corpus as being narratives in third person, past time, with the APERTURE normally employing the -na 'discovery aspect' forms to give background to the story (although in 'The Man and the Tiger' the first verb thɛ-la 'had placed' is pluperfect, not discovery aspect). Each FABLE, including the borrowed 'Three Bears', has in its first clause, in the first indefinite Noun Phrase, the adjective c'ha'-báe 'a certain'.

²Hale (1971b:9) distinguishes chaining which recalls a preceding event as a transitional setting for the next event in a narrative (see Sec. 7.1), and setting sections, consisting of whole sentences, which normally introduce new material.

³Wise (1971:212) reports that only recognized story-tellers would tell Nomatsiguenga myths, except that on one occasion a younger man when away from his village contributed a myth. The myth lacked certain characteristic features of those told by older men, and Wise concluded that it was therefore 'ungrammatical on the discourse level'.

Usually the phrase is part of the spatial setting for the story. Although *ch'a·-báe* functions as a Modifier within the Noun Phrase, in every case the Noun Phrase also contains the normal indefinite article (the numeral *gxrf* 'one'). On phrase level, therefore, *ch'a·-báe* is redundant; its function is on discourse level, to mark the FABLE genre.

3. FABLE =	+	APERTURE	+	EPISODE ⁿ	±	SUMMARY	+
		NARR PARA in		NARR		DIAL	
		discovery		PARA		PARA	
		aspect with					
		<i>ch'a·báe</i> on					
		first indefinite					
		Noun Phrase					
		± MORAL		± CLOSURE			
		Quots		Sims			

The FABLES in the corpus are also marked (except for the borrowed 'Three Bears') by a specialized temporal setting: *syomá syomá* 'once upon a time' or *pañie ... satté juga-ri* 'before ... in the Clean Time'.⁴ The opening sentence of the FABLE 'The Old Man and the Old Woman' (Glover 1970:11-6) is (4):

4. *pañie nxeba·l desa-ri satté juga-ri, ch'a·-báe nǎ·sa*
 before Nepal land-in clean age-in thus-AJ village
gxrf-ri kh'ib né mǎ·bá nǎx[mu-nǎ·.
 one-in O_man with O_woman two be-DI

Formerly, in the land of Nepal, in the Clean Time, in a certain village, there were two (people), an old man and an old woman.

FABLES frequently include a SUMMARY in the form of a dialogue between characters (as when the men in the council

⁴The Gurung people speak of four eras, of which we now live in the last. The first, 'the clean time', is described as a time when all creation was a harmony, and all animals, and even inanimate objects, had the power of speech. The stories are remarkably reminiscent of C. S. Lewis' picture of the newly created world in the tales of Narnia.

meeting review the case for the jackal's benefit in 'The Horse Owner and the Oil Press Owner', sentences 77-87 on page 59), and they regularly conclude with a direct quotation⁵ from one of the central characters which suggests, although very obliquely, the moral of the story. Thus the conclusion of 'The Old Man and the Old Woman' has the old man saying 'We went on and on, arguing and sitting, and we didn't know what was happening'. It implies the foolishness of arguing, in that this most deplored activity (in Gurung culture) led to the couple's death.⁶ Again, 'The Man and the Tiger' (Glover 1970:17-24) ends with the man's mocking words to the re-imprisoned tiger, "In gratitude, I will eat you," you said. "Eat up, big one!" This speech points up the turning of the tables on the ungrateful tiger, and so implies the moral. The indirectness of stating the moral may be conditioned by a cultural respect for the independence of the individual, which goes to the extent that it is difficult to find any examples of HORTATORY DISCOURSE, such as those described for several Philippine languages by Longacre (1968). Coercion of any kind is rare in Gurung society, and people do much as they please, especially men and boys.⁷

A further characteristic of the FABLE genre, perhaps universally (Dundes 1963, Propp 1958), is a violation of the constraints of normal human experience, in that animals talk, and dead people return to life.

⁵ Syntactically, the Quotative Sentence shown in (3) as a filler of MORAL is a Simple Sentence filled by a Ditransitive Clause with bi- 'say' in the Predicate slot. I do not regard Quotative Sentence as a separate emic type.

⁶ Ross Caughley (personal communication) tells me that the version of this tale told him by the Chepang of Nepal ends with the couple discovering that the food over which they have been arguing has gone bad during the protracted argument, a less drastic consequence than the death by starvation of the Gurung version.

⁷ Pignède (1966:218-9) notes Gurung boys' qualities of assurance and independence, and their readiness to refuse requests by adults.

8.2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is marked by primary use of the 'nonpast' verb suffixes, -m/-mu/-my, contrasting with the 'past' suffixes characteristic of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. This surface contrast correlates with the semantic one of projected time versus accomplished time. A structural formula for PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is:

$$5. \text{ PROC DISC} = \pm \text{ TITLE} + \text{ PROCEDURE}^n + \text{ FINIS}$$

Sims	PROC PARA	Sims
	EXPL PARA	Paraphs

The text 'How We Observe Dasain' in Appendix A is an example of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, exemplifying most of the exponents shown in (5). In the data corpus, TITLE is quite commonly absent from the actual monologue PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, but in context is supplied by the question which elicited the text. Thus a text on learning to weave, the first PROCEDURE of which consisted of the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH on page 170, was a response to the question (6).

6. a·ma·, bxujyú-maq, khab-dí |u-bx| -bá·?
 mother grandmother-PL who-ER teach-give-GE
 Mother, (or) grandmothers, (or) who teaches?

The FINIS tagmeme rounds off the DISCOURSE by referring back to the TITLE or to the PRELIMINARY of the first PROCEDURE (which acts in place of a TITLE if one is missing). Thus the text on learning to weave has a FINIS (7):

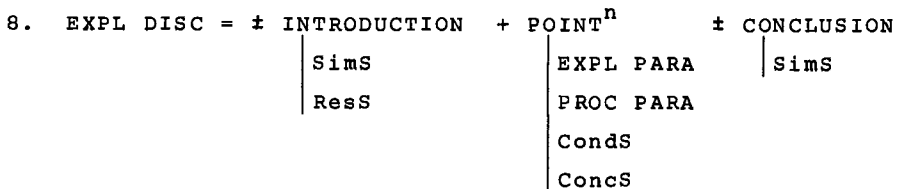
7. o cha-le-na cha la-na la-n ph'ri pxañq·
 oh thus-AV-EM thus do-PR do-PR again tomorrow
 li-ydí xqsa-d-na xra-xyá·-m xqsa-d-na
 after-towards self-ER-EM know-EM-NP self-ER-EM
 xra-mu dxeró.
 know-NP henceforth

In that way, keeping on doing thus, eventually one gets to know how, one knows how oneself.

The basic sememic relation encoded by PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is that of PROBLEM-SOLVING (Sec. 2.4). The CONFLICT (or problem) is stated or implied in the TITLE, the MEDIATION is realized by the PROCEDURES, and the RESOLUTION by the FINIS. Thus in a text on preparing to weave, the eliciting question was 'What things are needed for weaving cloth?', the

PROCEDURES of the PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE go through the necessary steps of preparation, and the FINIS is 'Then (you) begin weaving the cloth'. It may be noted that the PROBLEM-SOLVING predicate, by its very nature, implies also a relation of temporal sequence.

8.3 EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE is characterized by a succession of POINTS treating aspects of the subject, without any temporal sequence. Verb forms are 'nonpast'. The grammatical structure of EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE is:



Typically the POINT tagmemes are expounded by EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS, but PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS are common exponents in discourses describing customs, as in the text 'On Consulting Astrologers' in Appendix A. There are similarities between PROCEDURAL and EXPLANATORY DISCOURSES in that both have 'nonpast' verb forms and there is a similarity of fillers between the PROCEDURE and POINT tagmemes, but the two genre contrast in that PROCEDURAL involves temporal sequence and EXPLANATORY does not, and in that, correlated with this, noninitial PROCEDURES have a temporal expression or sequencing conjunction (such as *jxa·lé phéri* 'then again' or *da·l cá dina-ri* 'then on that day') as link, while noninitial POINTS have, mostly, *phéri a·rkó tq·* 'again another matter' or sometimes trivially different variants such as *jxa·lé a·rkó taríga* 'then another accounting'.

The CONCLUSION refers back to the main subject of the text, as stated in the INTRODUCTION. Thus in the text 'On a Post-funeral Ceremony' the INTRODUCTION is (9):

9. *ni tamy-máq-la si-xya·-seró pae la-l txu-m.*
 we Gurung-PL-TO die-EM-since PFC do-IN NEC-NP
 After we Gurungs die, (one) must do a post-funeral ceremony.

communication takes place, the INTRODUCTION and SIGNATURE tagmemes are obligatory in order to compensate for the loss by spelling out the performatives implicit in a face-to-face situation (writer and addressee identification and, usually, date of writing).

Gurung letters are a recent innovation culturally. Before the introduction of an orthography for Gurung letters were written only in the national language, Nepali. One consequence of this is that most of the letters in the corpus have the formal opening paragraph of addressee and writer identification and greetings in Nepali. Then follows a TRANSITION, a sentence in Nepali, *bisesh kura gurung bha·sa·ma· lek^h·chu* 'The important matters I will write in the Gurung language'. This phenomenon is an instance of the social setting in which the communication takes place governing the linguistic form. Likewise the concluding SIGNATURE (the name of the writer) is often put in Roman script instead of the Devanagari used for the rest of the letter - a sign of the prestige attaching to the Gurkha soldiers who have served in the British Army and learnt to write there, but only in Roman script.

The obligatory CONCLUSION is expounded by a somewhat formulaic HORTATORY DISCOURSE (Sec. 8.4), which usually says 'There's much more to say, but we'll talk when we meet. Write soon. If there are mistakes in this letter please pardon them.'

8.4 HORTATORY DISCOURSE is rare in Gurung in my observation. The only examples which are not embedded in other discourse are songs, where the form is very stylized. The songs I have been able to obtain are those sung at performances of the village dance troupe, sung by the performers and/or some spectators.⁹ They consist, most of them, of a chorus,

⁹ Bista (1972:83) mentions two types of traditional Gurung dance, sorathi and ghado, of which he notes that sorathi has fallen out of use. It seems that the dancing I observed in Ghacok is a recent cultural innovation - setting

And another thing, don't come here. (We'll) consult from a distance.

8.5 CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE may be simple, between just two people (or groups acting in concert), or compound, with more than two participants for at least part of the conversation. I will confine attention mainly to the simple conversation, or DIALOGUE DISCOURSE.¹¹ The grammatical structure of DIALOGUE DISCOURSE is:

13. DIAL DISC = + OPENING ±(+ TOPICⁿ + CLOSURE)
 | EXCHANGE | DIAL PARA | EXCHANGE

The optionality of the parenthesized expression allows the formula to cover (with the - reading) the situation where people meet and exchange greetings but do not continue the conversation (as on the trail). The OPENING, consisting of an exchange of greetings as exemplified in (14), and the CLOSURE, consisting of an exchange of leave-taking as in (15), are obligatory in the sense that their absence would be an infringement of cultural norms, constituting impoliteness.

- 14a. X: kha-f xwá·? Y: q, kha-f.
 come-PA QE yes come-PA
 X: (You've) come, have you? Y: Yes, (I've) come.
- b. X: mxa||a·l Y: q.
 second_brother yes
 X: Second Brother! Y: Yes.

¹¹ Except for Klammer's study of Shakespeare's I Henry IV (1971), most tagmemic studies of dialogue have taken as data the dialogue reported within a story. Thus Longacre's formulae for DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS (1968:I.160) included optional SETTING and CLOSURE tagmemes which do not report speech. However Longacre notes (1968:I.47) that DRAMATIC DISCOURSE (in Manobo), when lacking the peripheral tagmemes which reflect the narrator's viewpoint, has an effect 'similar to that of a tape-recorded conversation'. Wigglesworth (1971[1968]:109) describes this DRAMATIC DISCOURSE as a more direct and vivid way of telling a story than normal narrative. That is, the dialogue is a narrative device. But Gurung conversations, both actual taperecorded onss and a sample one composed by D, are discursive in nature, not narrative.

- 14c. X: kaḡ ca-í xwá·? Y: ca-í. or ax-cá-ḡḡyḡ.
 rice eat-PA QE eat-PA not-eat-STAT
 X: Have (you) eaten rice? Y: Yes. or No.
- 15a. X: xyá·-í tḡu-í. Y: ḡ.
 go-IN NEC-PA yes
 X: (I) must go. Y: O.K.
- b. D: dxeró-m xya·-lé ó, ḡha·gu a·. mxw|s ta-xya·-í.
 now-TO go-HO oh eldest_son TN night be-EM-PA
 S: ḡ, a·bjyḡ. xya·-lé cḡyó.
 yes uncle go-HO forward!
 D: Now we had better go, eh, son. It's got dark.
 S: Yes, uncle. Let's go, come on.

These exchanges, which mark clearly the commencement and conclusion of the DIALOGUE DISCOURSE, are both fairly empty and conventional in content, and appear to be concerned chiefly with performative information, such as may be paraphrased, for the OPENING, 'I see you here, and we are on speaking terms', and, for the CLOSURE, 'We will now conclude our conversation and part on good terms'.

Between the OPENING and CLOSURE the DIALOGUE DISCOURSE may include any number of TOPICS. Although there is often some semantic link between TOPICS, the shift from one topic to another is intuitively felt by the participants¹² and is formally marked in that the initiating utterance of the new TOPIC lacks any anaphoric reference to preceding material, or other link, such as is common between sentences within a TOPIC. The initiating utterance of a new TOPIC may employ however contrastive devices such as explicit or emphatic pronouns as in (16b,c,e). [(16) lists the initiating utterances of five consecutive TOPICS in a conversational

¹²I assert this from my own experience as a participant in Gurung conversations, and from the fact that recorded conversations in the corpus segment more or less easily into distinct TOPICS. Wise (1971:8-9) tested the intuitions of native speakers of Nomatsiguenga regarding higher level discourse constituents, and observed reactions which apparently confirmed 'the psychological reality of structures beyond the sentence'.

text.]

- 16a. H: caída dasaḡ khaí-le mxḡ·dī-m ro, má·ma·.
Caitra Dasain how-AV observe-NP QO uncle
bi-bx]-n-dī.
say-give-IM-EM
H: How do (you) observe Caitra Dasain, (he) says,
uncle. Please tell (us).
- b. D: kxí pukhrú khḡḡḡ xya·-lá.
you Pokhara when go-PLUP
D: When did you go to Pokhara?
- c. H: kxí khḡḡḡ yú-la, pukhrú-ílé?
you when come-PLUP Pokhara-from
H: When did you come, from Pokhara?
- d. W: nḡwḡ· jxajá mu xwá·?
cat baby be QE
W: Is there a kitten?
- e. H: ḡa-i nxeba·í ganj xya·-máḡere nema ḡxí-ḡyíḡ
me-EM Nepal Ganj go-while bird two-CL
bxa-lú.
bring-PLUP
H: When I went to Nepalganj I brought back two
birds.

Sememically, the stringing together of TOPICS in the body of the conversation is an instance of the statement level relation of conjunction (Sec. 2.31).

As for the border segments (OPENING and CLOSURE), the actual grammatical form is conditioned by numerous factors of the social setting, such as the relative status of the participants (affecting degree of respect or formality in the forms), their kinship relation (determining the choice of vocative expressions), whether the time is before or after rice-eating (selecting the appropriate answer to 'Have you eaten rice?'), and whether a person has come from uphill (yú-i xwá· 'You've come down, have you?') or elsewhere (kha-f xwá· 'You've come, have you?'). There is little freedom of choice for the speaker in the rather conventional phrases, and I assume that the sememic content is

correspondingly small,¹³ a matter of greeting and leave-taking respectively. The factors of the social setting could possibly be included in a performative-type predicate dominating the whole discourse.¹⁴ The form of the actual phrases would then be derived from the sememic content, (such as greeting or leave-taking) in the context of the particular 'social setting' predicate dominating the discourse. But an investigation of the nature of transformations effecting such a derivation is beyond the scope of this study.

¹³Gleason (1968:48) apparently also posits that the content of his semologic structure corresponds to whatever in an utterance is not predictable.

¹⁴Wise (1972:6) proposes that performatives be posited on a high level of the hierarchy rather than in every sentence of, say, a narrative text. Grimes discusses performatives (1972b:89ff.) but does not seem to incorporate them into his generative system.

Conclusion

Tagmemic theory has been developed chiefly in response to the need for techniques to aid nonnative analysts in the task of translating material, especially the Bible, into hitherto little known and relatively unstudied languages. Early tagmemics concentrated on the problem of helping the analyst organize data in a way that would aid his assimilation of the grammatical patterns of a language. The construction of an apparatus of traditional tagmemic formulae for the description of grammatical structures enables the analyst to grasp an outline of a language's syntax, and to check that his apparatus covers the data of a corpus. But for the purposes of understanding how a particular language functions to encode meaning, such an apparatus must be supplemented by a description of what semantic relations are highlighted by the language, and of how these relations, and others which may not be highlighted in the particular language, are expressed in its syntax. So, more recent trends in tagmemics have been toward formalizing sememic structure.

This study has applied tagmemic theory to a description of the two kinds of structure - sememic and grammatical - in Gurung, and the description will, it is expected, be a useful aid in the translation task, especially when the material to be translated has been supplied with an analysis of the propositional structure of the message in its original language.

Appendices

SAMPLE TEXTS

The texts cited are analyzed to reveal the structure at grammatical levels beyond the sentence, and also the sememic function of SPEECH tagmemes in the dialogue extract. The marginal numbers count sentences serially through each sample, and represent embedding of paragraphs within paragraphs by a decimal notation. When an embedded paragraph ends the number of the continuing embedding paragraph is repeated in the margin. Free translation is given at the boundary of each paragraph, whether embedded or not. The abbreviations used as morpheme glosses and in labelling constituents are included in the list on page xv.

1. How We Observe Dasain

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE (= TITLE, PROC₁₋₈, FINIS)

P S

1 1 TITLE: Sims dasaq ŋl tamy-maḡ-la, nxepa·li-la,
Dasain we Gurung-PL-TO Nepali-TO

dasaq ... asodá mxalna-r pardi-m.
Dasain Asod month-in fall-NP

Dasain, for us Gurungs, and Nepalis, falls in the month of Asod.

2 PROC₁:PROC PARA (= STEP_n)

2 STEP_n:SeqS da-i birf pallá, dasaq bẋandá asḡ,
then-CJ first Dasain than before

aysi dina-ri, jamra· thḡ-m, jxagú jamra·
new_moon day-on put-NP barley seedling
thḡ-my.
put-NP

Then, first, before Dasain, on the day of the new moon, (we) set seedlings, (we) set barley seedlings.

P S

- 3 PROC₂:PROC PARA (= STEP₁, STEP_n)
 3 STEP₁:Sims jxa·lé, phulpadi dina-ri, phulpadi
 then Phulpadi day-on flower_leaves
 4 tḡ-my, kwi-ri. STEP_n:SeqS phulpadi
 show-NP temple-in flower_leaves
 tḡ-i birí, ra jxajá sae-mú.
 show-CJ goat young kill-NP

Then, on Phulpadi, (we) display flowers and leaves, in the temple. After displaying the flowers and leaves (we) kill a kid.

- 4 PROC₃:PROC PARA (= STEP₁, STEP_n)
 5 STEP₁:Sims jxa·lé, astamí dina-ri, nḡ·s-thḡ-maeḡ
 then Astami day-on village-dwell-PL
 6 jamman, múgl sae-mú. STEP_n:Purps se lḡ lḡ
 all buffalo kill-NP meat much much
 k|-[birí, dasaeḡ mxḡ·dl-bae lxa·gi-ri, se lḡ
 get-CJ Dasain observe-AJ purpose-in meat much
 lḡ k|·mú.
 much get-NP

Then, on Astami (= eighth day), all the villagers kill buffalo. After getting lots of meat ... to observe Dasain (we) get lots of meat.

- 5 PROC₄:EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO₁₋₃)
 7 TEXT:Sims jxa·lé naumí dina-ri, cá astamí
 then Naumi day-on that Astami
 8 neḡá·-ri ka·lra·di la-m. EXPO₁:Sims kwi-ri
 evening-on Kalradi do-NP temple-in
 9 ra jxajá sae-mú. EXPO₂:ParaphS nḡ·s-thḡ-maeḡ,
 goat young kill-NP village-dwell-PL
 tamy-maeḡ, jamman, jxya·urḡ sé-mu, mxw|s-tiro
 Gurung-PL all folkdance dance-NP night-through
 10 sé-mu. EXPO₃:Enums se, pá·, ca-mú, thḡ-my.
 dance-NP meat wine eat-NR drink-NP

Then on Naumi (= ninth day), ... in the evening of that Astami day (we) do the Kalradi ceremony. In the temple (they) kill a kid. The villagers, the Gurungs, all dance folkdances, dancing throughout the night. (They) eat and drink meat and wine.

P S

- 6 PROC₅:PROC PARA (= STEP₁₋₂, PARENS₂, STEP_n, PARENS_n)
- 11 STEP₁:Sims jxa·lé pxanxaga nxa·ga-ri, xrqsa-e
 then tomorrow morning-in self-of
- dxl-r-bæe bxa·dó pujá·, durga pujá· la-mú.
 house-in-AJ dish offering Durga offering do-NP
- 12 STEP₂:SeqS jxa·lé, kaq ca-f b1rf, kwi-ri, ra·gú
 then rice eat-CJ temple-in bull
- thó-ba nxyo-ba-r: xyá·-m.
 cut-GE watch-GE-to go-NP

Then the next morning, (one) does the offering for the dishes of one's own house, the Durga offering. Then, after eating rice, (we) go to watch the beheading of a bull in the temple.

- 6.1 PARENS₂:PROC PARA (= PRELIM, STEP₁₋₂, STEP_n, TERM)
- 13 PRELIM:Sims kwi-ri, pujá·, bomwe-d la-m.
 temple-in offering Brahmin-ER do-NP
- 14 STEP₁:Sims pallá, kubindá· thó-m.
 first melon cut-NP
- 15 STEP₂:Sims jxa·lé, ra jxajá thó-m.
 then goat young cut-NP
- 16 STEP_n:Sims jxa·lé, muf ra·gú thó-m.
 then buffalo bull cut-NP
- 17 TERM:Sims jxa·lé, cá khá·-mu.
 then that finish-NP

In the temple, the offering is performed by the Brahmins. First (they) cut a melon. Then (they) behead a kid goat. Then (they) behead a bull buffalo. Then that is finished.

- 6 18 STEP_n:Sims jxa·lé cá-r-bæe nxyo-bæe mxl-jau
 then that-at-AJ watch-AJ person-PL
- jamman sa·rgl-mæe ná·sa-ra xyá·-m.
 all Sarki-of village-to go-NP

Then the people who are watching there all go to the village of the Sarkis (= leather worker caste).

P S

6.2 PARENS_n:EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)19 TEXT:SIMS sa·rgl-māe nā·sa-ri, tilf sae-mŋ.
Sarki-of village-in pig kill-NP20 EXPO:SeqS aba xro dx|-rf pujā· la-f birf,
now self house-in offering do-CJtilf sae-m.
pig kill-NP

In the Sarkis' village (people) kill pigs. Now (each one), having made an offering in his own house, kills a pig.

7 PROC₆:PROC PARA (= STEP₁₋₃, PARENS₃, STEP_n)21 STEP₁:SeqS jxa·le tilf sae-b ŋxyo-l khŋ·-l birf,
then pig kill-GE watch-IN finish-CJcā·r baje taīma-ri, xroa dx|-r kha-m.
four o'clock time-at self house-to come-NP22 STEP₂:EnumS jxa·lé kaq, se, pá·, thŋ-mŋ, ca-mŋ.
then rice meat wine drink-NP eat-NP23 STEP₃:SIMS jxa·lé, xra· kúdi mxaē-bā-r xyā·-m.
then ferris swing play-GE-to go-NP24 PARENS₃:EnumS kwf xra· kúdi mxaē-m, kwf laf
some ferris swing play-NP some long25 kúdi mxaē-m. STEP_n:SIMS jxa·lé cā mxw|s-tiro
swing play-NP then that night-throughkúdi mxaē-mŋ.
swing play-NP

Then after the watching of the killing of the pigs is finished, at four o'clock, (we) come to (our) own houses. Then (we) eat and drink rice, meat, and wine. Then (we) go to play on the ferris wheel. Some play on the ferris wheel, some play on the long swing. Then all night long (we) play on the ferris wheels and swings.

8 PROC₇:EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)26 TEXT:SIMS pxanxag-dŋ nxa·ga-ri, naŋ
tomorrow-following morning-in nine
baje, sā·de naŋ baje, a·th baje jare,
o'clock half nine o'clock eight o'clock about

P S

cxæé khyá·-m.
tika apply-NP

The next day in the morning, at around nine o'clock, or half past nine, or eight o'clock, (we) apply the tika (= dot on forehead of religious significance).

- 8.1 EXPO:PROC PARA (= STEP₁, PARENS₁, STEP_n, PARENS_n)
- 27 STEP₁:Sims mixasí ŋxe-r pǎ·-my.
rice milk-in soak-NP
- 28 PARENS₁:Sims kwí-la dal-r pǎ·-my.
some-TO curds-in soak-NP
- 29 STEP_n:Sims da·l cxaé khyá·-m.
then tika apply-NP
- 30 PARENS_n:Enums jamra· khyá·-my, cxaé khyá·-mu.
seedling apply-NP tika apply-NP

(We) soak rice in milk. Some soak (it) in curds. Then (we) apply a tika. (We) apply the seedlings, (and we) apply the tika.

- 9 PROC_g:EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)
- 31 TEXT:Sims da·l cá dina-ri, tx|tx|-m| pá· thǔ·my.
then that day-on day-day-EM wine drink-NP
- 32 EXPO:Enums kwí pá· nxl-l bírí gxyǎ· kha·gu
some wine intoxicate-CJ road about
rǒ·my, kwí rwí·my, kwí khlyi ky phir-na
lie-NP some vomit-NP some faeces urine upon-EM
rǒ·ri·my.
lie-stay-NP

Then on that day, (we) drink wine all day long. Some, being intoxicated with wine, are lying about the roads, some are vomiting, some stay lying on faeces and urine.

- 10 33 FINIS:Sims jxa·lé cá dina serǒ dasaq khǎ·-m.
then that day from Dasain finish-NP

Then from that day Dasain is finished.

2. On Consulting Astrologers

EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE (= POINT₁₋₆)

P S

1 POINT₁:EXPL PARA (= TEXT, REASON, EXPO, TERM, FOOTNOTE)1 TEXT:SimS tiyá·ŋi hindú jati-la mxa·rsi·
today we_EXCL Hindu caste-TO marsimíxa-e nowé ca-báe din mu-la.
rice-of firstfruits eat-AJ day be-PLUP2 REASON:SimS tara dina· dinu dinu ka·ran tiyá·
but stuttering . . reason todaychya·-báe joga aṭhabá din mu bi-i, jaisi-maq-di.
good-AJ occasion or day be say-PA astrologer-PL-ER

Today was the day when we Hindu castes eat the firstfruits of marsi rice. But, er, because (they) said today was an auspicious occasion, that is to say, day, the astrologers (did).

1.1 EXPO:HISTORY NARR DISC (= APERTURE, EP₁₋₄)1.11 APERTURE:NARR PARA (= BU_n)3 BU_n:SimS jaisi-maq-di uyá·n din ŋxyo-na.
astrologer-PL-ER previously day look-DI

Previously the astrologers had looked at the days.

1.12 EP₁:NARR PARA (= BU₁,BU_n)4 BU₁:SimS jxa·lé y[, xya·-báe egxa·ra· gate,
then before go-AJ eleven daya·ita·-ba·ra, nesá·ri kaṭwa·lé-lai 'nḡ·sa-r
Sun-day evening-in crier-DAT village-toṭha· pí-né. mxa·jur xya·-f birf gxaudf-d.
knowledge give-go middle go-CJ cry-IMbi-i, cá jaisi negó nḡ·sa-r-báe cib-maq-di.
say-PA that astrologer and village-in-AJ chief-PL-ER5 BU_n:SeqParaphS jxa·lé kaṭwa·lé nḡ·sa-é mxa·jur
then crier village-of middlekha·f birf gxaudf-i, 'pxanxə·ga ba·ra· gate
come-CJ cry-PA tomorrow twelve daysom·ba·ra mxa·rsi míxa-e puf k|·n ó·' bi-i birf
Mon-day marsi rice-of bunch get-IM RQ say-CJ

P S

gxaudf-l.
ary-PA

Then, before, last Sunday the eleventh, in the evening, (they) said to the crier, 'Go and give the word in the village. Go to the middle and cry (it).' the astrologers and village leaders (said). Then the crier came to the middle of the village and cried, (he) cried saying, 'Tomorrow, Monday the twelfth, get a bunch of marsi rice.'

1.13 EP₂:NARR PARA (= BU₁, BU_n)

- 6 BU₁:SeqEnums jxa.lé ba.ra gate som-ba.ra
then twelve day Mon-day
- nxə.ga-r-băe á.ṭha baje mxa.rsi mīxa ry|-băe
morning-in-AJ eight o'clock marsi rice plant-AJ
- dx|-r-băe mxi jaga, dx|-{ xṛsyo mxi
house-in-AJ person PL house-EM each person
- gxri gxri aba xṛsa xṛsa-é mrḷ xya.-f biri xṛsa
one one now self self-of field go-CJ self
- xṛsa-é mrḷ-r-bae mxa.rsi mīxa-e na. ṭf-na,
self-of field-in-AJ marsi rice-of head pluck-DI
- 7 cyḷḷi na. ṭf-na. BU_n:Seqs k|-{ biri
chrysanthemum head pluck-DI get-CJ
- xṛsa-é dx|-r kha-f biri xṛsa-é dx|-r-băe
self-of house-to come-CJ self-of house-in-AJ
- mūl txo-r mxa.rsi mīxa-e na. negḷ
main pillar-to marsi rice-of head with
- cyḷḷi-é na. phwl-thḡ-m.
chrysanthemum-of head tie-put-NP

Then in the morning of Monday the twelfth at eight o'clock the people of the households which planted marsi rice, from each household one person, went to their respective fields and plucked of their own field a head of marsi rice and a head of chrysanthemum. After getting (it) and coming to their own houses (they) tie onto the main pillar of their houses the head of marsi rice and the head of chrysanthemum.

P S

1.14 EP₃;NARR PARA (= BU₁, BU_n)

8 BU₁:Sims jxa.lé tóra. gate maḡela-ba.ra phéri
 then thirteen day Tues-day again
 kaṭwa.lé gxaudí-i bx|-|, jaisi negó cib-máq-di.
 crier cry-IN give-PA astrologer with chief-PL-ER

9 BU_n:SeqParaphS kaṭwa.lé phéri ná.sa mxá.jur
 crier again village middle

kha-f birí gxaudí-i, 'pxanxaga cauda. gate
 come-CJ cry-PA tomorrow fourteen day

buda-ba.ra nxá.ga-r-báe naú baje mxa.rsi mixa-e
 Wednes-day morning-of-AJ nine o'clock marsi rice-of
 nowé ca-bá..' bi-i.
 firstfruits eat-GE say-PA

Then, on Tuesday the thirteenth, (they) again let the crier cry out, the astrologers and leaders (did). The crier again came to the middle of the village and cried, saying 'Tomorrow, Wednesday the fourteenth, at nine o'clock in the morning (is) the eating of the firstfruits of marsi rice.'

1.15 EP₄:NARR PARA (= BU_n)

10 BU_n:Sims jxa.lé ta.n mxl tal nxá.ga-r-báe naú
 then all person this morning-in-AJ nine
 baje nowé ca-f.
 o'clock firstfruits eat-PA

Then everybody, this morning at nine o'clock, ate the firstfruits.

1 11 TERM:Sims ŋi tamy-máq calan cha-le mu.
 we_EXCL Gurung-PL custom thus-AV be

12 FOOTNOTE:Conds phéri a.rkó tq., mxa.rsi mixa negó
 again other word marsi rice with

ciniyá. mixa a.sara pā.c gate ry|-dú blyá. ciniyá.
 ciniya rice Asar five day plant-if ciniya

mixa a.soja pacis gate m[-m, mxa.rsi mixa
 rice Asoj twentyfive day ripen-NP marsi rice

ka.rṭika unantis gate, tis gate jare m[-m.
 Kartik twentynine day thirty day about ripen-NP

The custom of us Gurungs is thus. And another

P S

matter, if (you) plant marsi rice and ciniya rice on the fifth day of Asar the ciniya rice will ripen on the twentyfifth of Asoj, (and) the marsi rice on about the twenty ninth (or) thirtieth of Kartik.

2 POINT₂:EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO₁₋₂)

13 TEXT:Concs cha-ta-ma neré ni tamy-máq-la
thus-be-PR while we EXCL Gurung-PL-TO

dx[la-ma-lé chyá·-báe jog nxyo-m.
house make-PR-AV good-AJ occasion look-NP

14 EXPO₁:Concs 'din khabá-t nxyo-m?' bi-du blyá·,
day who-ER look-NP say-if

15 jalsi-maq-di. EXPO₂:Concs dx[jag
astrologer-PL-ER house foundation

jxó-ma-lé chyá·-báe jog nxyo-m.
place-PR-AV good-AJ occasion look-NP

That being the case, also, for us Gurungs, when (we) are building a house (one) must look for an auspicious occasion. If (you) should ask, 'Who looks for the day?' the astrologers (do). In placing the foundation of the house (one) looks for an auspicious occasion.

3 16 POINT₃:CondConcs phérí a·rkó tá·, khal-bá mu blyá·
again other word how-GE be if

pxrə la-ma-lé pxrə kú-ma-lé chyau pardl-llé kú-m.
shed make-PR-AV shed move-PR-AV thus fall-AV move-NP

Again another matter, however (things) may be, when building a shed, (or) moving a shed, (one) moves (it) under such obligations (i.e. of looking for an auspicious occasion).

4 17 POINT₄:Concs phérí a·rkó tá·, bya· la-ma-lé
again other word wedding make-PR-AV

ya· chyá·-báe din caidi-m.
also good-AJ day needed-NP

Again another matter, when (we) hold a wedding also, an auspicious day is needed.

P S

5 POINT₅:PROC PARA (= STEP₁₋₄, STEP_n)

- 18 STEP₁:SeqS phéri a·rkò tq·, camlri kol-máq-lai
again other word woman child-PL-DAT
pallé phi-f birf sq-gáq-ma· cyugú thirf t̃ha·dḡé
first bear-CJ three-day-in little ragged
- 19 bxoḡḡ pi-m. STEP₂:SeqS da-i birf cá t̃ha·dḡé
dress give-NP then-CJ that ragged
- 20 bxoḡḡ khi-má· khi-m. STEP₃:SeqS da·i lxo sḡ
dress wear-PR wear-PR then year three
plxf sammá· t̃ha·uni bxoḡḡ jaga khi-m.
four until ragged dress PL wear-NP
- 21 STEP₄:SimS jaisi-mane ba·lu din ḡxyo-m.
astrologer-with day look-NP
- 22 STEP_n:SimS jxa·lé ḡxywf colḡ pi-m.
then cape skirt give-NP

Again another matter, when girls are first born, within three days (we) give (them) a little ragged dress. Then (they) wear that ragged dress continually. And (they) wear ragged dresses up to three (or) four years of age. (We) look for a day, with the astrologer. Then (we) give (the girls) a cape and skirt.

6 POINT₆:PROC PARA (= PRELIM, STEP₁, STEP_n)

- 23 PRELIM:Concs jxa·lé a·rkò tq·, lá·ure-maq bxa·rata-r
then other word soldier-PL India-to
ḡa·jfi-r ta-bá-r xyá·-ma-lé phéri jaisi-mane
parade-to be-GE-to go-PR-AV again astrologer-with
- 24 chyá·-báe din ḡxyo-m. STEP₁:SeqS 'khab dina-r
good-AJ day look-NP which day-on
sa·idú la-i txu-m?' bi-i birf ḡywf-m.
departure make-IN NEC-NP say-CJ ask-NP
- 25 STEP_n:SeqS da-i birf jaisi-maq-di bi-bx[-m,
then-CJ astrologer-PL-ER say-give-NP
'phalaná· dina-r cxau baje t̃aima-r xyá·-i txu-m.'
certain day-on such o'clock time-at go-IN NEC-NP
bi-m.
say-NP

Then another matter, when soldiers are going

P S

back for duty (lit, to be on parade) in India, again (they) look for a good day with the astrologer. Saying 'What day must (I) make (my) departure?', (they) ask (him). Then the astrologers answer, 'On a particular day, at such and such a time, (you) must go.'

3. Marriage Customs

PORTION OF A CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE (= TOPIC)

1 TOPIC:COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (= EXCH₁₋₃)1.1 EXCH₁:SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (= SP-I, SP-R)

- 1 W: SP-I(QE):Conds camfri a·ma-d, 'ax-tá·, ax-tá·!
 woman mother-ER not-OK not-OK
 bí-du bilya· tó la-bá·.
 say-if what do-GE

W: If the woman's mother says, 'No, no, it's not right,' what is done?

1.11 R: SP-R(ANS):EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO, RESULT)

- 2,3 TEXT:SimS ax-tá·. EXPO:ParaphS ax-p{, ax-tá·.
 not-be not-give not-be
 4 RESULT:SimS a·rgó kh|xyo-r xyá·-m, phéri xri-ba-ri.
 other place-to go-NP again ask-GE-to

R: (It) doesn't happen. (They) don't give (the girl), (the wedding) doesn't happen. (The man) goes to another place, to ask again (for a bride).

1.2 EXCH₂:SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (= SP-I, SP-R)

- 5 W: SP-I(QE):Conds camfri a·ba· 'ta-m' bí-du bilya·,
 woman father OK-NP say-if
 a·ma· 'ax-tá·' bí-du bilya· tó la-bá·?
 mother not-OK say-if what do-GE

W: If the girl's father says 'O. K.,' (but) the mother says 'No', what is done?

P S

1.21 R: SP-R(ANS):PROC PARA (= STEP₁, STEP_n)

6 STEP₁:SeqS (with HORT PARA embedded in Object) liyd
after
khe-maq,
self-PL

O:HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REASON, REINF)

6.1,2 EXHOR:SimS 'cha· ax-bi-d-dii REASON:EnumS dx[
thus not-day-IM-EM house

swa·-bá· mu, a·myyú koló swa·-bá· mu.
fine-GE be man child fine-GE be

6.3 REINF:SimS p|-l txu-m.'
give-IN NEC-NP

7 bi-l, khi pha-d bi-mu. STEP_n:SimS jxa·lé mri
say-CJ own husband-ER say-NP then wife
ne-m.
obey-NP

R: Later, among themselves, (her) husband says,
'Don't speak like that! The house is fine, the young
man is fine. (We) must give (the girl).' Then the
wife obeys.

1.3 EXCH₃:COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARA (= SP-I, SP-C, SP-R)

8 W: SP-I(QE):SimS camfri camfri tó bi-m?
woman woman what say-NP

W: The woman, what does the woman say?

1.31 SP-C(QE):SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (= SP-I, SP-R)

9 R: SP-I(QE):SimS camfri-dl ... 'ax-tá·' bi-b a·?
woman-ER not-OK say-GE TN

10 W: SP-R(ANS):SimS q.
yes

R: The woman ... (if she) says 'No', you mean?

W: Yes.

11 R: SP-R(ANS):EnumS (with HORT PARA embedded in
Object of each clause) kwí-la,
some-TO

P S

O:HORT PARA (= PRELIM, REASON, EXHOR)

11.1 PRELIM:SimS "ax-tá·" b|·mu.
not-OK say-NP

REASON:EXPL PARA (= TEXT, ANTITH, RESULT)

11.2 TEXT:SimS aba camfri-d khe-máe a·ma-d,
now woman-ER self-of mother-ER

11.3 ax-p|·do. ANTITH:SimS na-di, p|·m-dó.
not-give-EM me-ER give-NP-EM

11.4 RESULT:ResS a·ma-d ax-p|·seró tó la-b-di.
mother-ER not-give-since what do-GE-EM

11.5 EXHOR:AntithS kxe-mae ga·r ax-mxadi-du, xyá·-d.'
you-PL anger not-loose-IM go-IM

b|·mu, kwf-la, pha-d ...
say-NP some-TO husband-ER

O:HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REINF, REASON)

11.6,7 EXHOR:SimS tó| ax-b|·d| REINF:SimS kx|·d
at_all not-say-IM you-ER

tó| ax-b|·le |·d|·d|
at_all not-say-AV stay-stay-IM

11.8 REASON:SimS p|·l txu-m.
give-IN NEC-NP

bi-yá·, phéri p|·m.
say-if again give-NP

R: In some cases (the father) says '(They) say "No". Now the girl (and) her mother will not give (consent). I certainly give (my consent). (But) since the mother will not give (consent) what is to be done! Don't you people be angry, (but) go.' In some cases the husband, if (he) says 'Don't say anything. You stay silent. (We) must give (our consent)', still gives (consent for the match).

WORD LIST SOURCES

The lexicostatistical calculations underlying the classification presented in Section 1.2 were based on word lists with up to 103 items each which are on file, and available on request in mimeographed form, at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kathmandu. Some of the lists have been published in Hale & Pike (1970), and others in Hale (1973).

In the Rai Stock, the Sunwar list was taken in the village of Sabra (No. 2 East), and supplied by Misses Dora Bieri and Marlene Schulze. The Baing, Umbule, Thulung, Sotang, Kulung, and Khaling lists were supplied by Mr. Burkhard Schöttelndreyer, and the Bantawa list by Mr. Charles Hanneman. The Limbu lists were all supplied also by Mr. Hanneman.

The Newari list represents Kathmandu speech, and was supplied by Mr. Jagan Nath Maskey with Dr. Austin Hale.

The Raji list was taken by Mr. Johan G. Reinhard, working with Mr. Man Bahadur Raji, of Ban Gaun village, Sheri Panchayat, Banke District, Bheri Anchal. The Magar list was taken by Mr. Gary Shepherd in Yancok village of Tanhu District, and the Chepang list by Mr. Ross Caughley, working with Mr. Bhobikan Chepang, of Maiserang village in Makwanpur District. The three Kham lists were taken in the villages of Maikot, Taka-shera, and Babang by Mr. David Watters.

The Sherpa list was supplied by Messrs. Ang Gelbu Sherpa and Ang Dami Sherpa, brothers, of Kerung village in Solukhumbu District, with Mr. Kent Gordon. The Tibetan list was extracted by Dr. Austin Hale from Bell's *English-Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary*, 2nd ed. The Jirel list was taken near Jiri (East No. 2) by Miss Esther Strahm. The Tichurong and Dolpa lists (labelled 'Tibetan' by the informants) were taken in the villages of Tarakot and Carkabhot respectively by Mr. David Watters in Dhaulagiri Anchal. The Kaike list was also taken in the same general

area by Mr. Watters, and the Ghale list by Mr. Larry Seaward in Barpak village (West No. 2?).

In the Gurung Family, the East Tamang list was taken by Mlle. Martine Mazodon in the village of Rishingo (East No. 1?), and the West Tamang list was supplied by Mr. Karna Bahadur Tamang of Sahugaon village, West No. 1, with Miss Doreen Taylor. The Thakali list represents the speech of people from the Thak Khola, and was taken in Kathmandu by Miss Maria Hari, and the Manang list was likewise taken by Mr. Charles Hanneman in Kathmandu, working with a speaker from the Manangbhot area. Gurung lists were supplied to me by Mr. Deu Bahadur Gurung of Ghacok village, Kaski District, Mr. Dan Prasad Gurung of Majkateri village, south of Pokhara, Mr. Thaman Singh Gurung of Mohoriya village (No. 4 West?), and Mr. Tek Bahadur Gurung of Bhumlicok village, near Lamjung.

INDEX OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS

The list includes grammatical and sememic labels. The listing for each term is not necessarily exhaustive: a major reference, such as a defining formula for a construction, is shown in bold type; other references note, for example, occurrences of the construction as a filler in other formulae, and crossreferences between sememic and grammatical structure. Upper and lower case labels are used according to the conventions on page xv, and labels for terminal classes are underlined.

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References

The following abbreviations are used:

- AL Anthropological Linguistics.
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- CUP Cambridge University Press.
- FoL Foundations of Language.
- GUM Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics.
Washington, DC: Georgetown University School of Languages and Linguistics.
- GUWP Languages and Linguistics Working Papers.
Washington, DC: Georgetown University School of Languages and Linguistics.
- IJAL International Journal of American Linguistics.
- JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
- JTU SLN Journal of the Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal - Special Linguistic Number.
- Lg. Language.
- MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- OL Oceanic Linguistics.
- PL Pacific Linguistics. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- SIL The Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- SIL PIRF SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields.
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