

国立国語研究所学術情報リポジトリ

Mermaid construction in Kathmandu Newar

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2020-03-18 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15084/00002668

Mermaid construction in Kathmandu Newar

Kazuyuki Kiryu
The University of Mimasaka

1. Introduction
2. Initial illustration
3. Profile of the language
4. Types of clauses and sentences
 - 4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses/sentences
 - 4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses
 - 4.2.1 Adnominal clauses
 - 4.2.1.1 Introductory notes
 - 4.2.1.2 Internal and external adnominal clauses
 - 4.2.1.3 Complement clauses with the nominalizer =*gu*
 - 4.2.2 Adverbial clauses
5. Mermaid construction
 - 5.1 Introductory notes
 - 5.2 Noun-type MMC
 - 5.2.1 'Noun' slot
 - 5.2.2 Predicate of the 'Clause'
 - 5.2.3 'Copula'
 - 5.2.4 Subject of the 'Clause'
 - 5.2.5 Sentencehood of the 'Clause'
 - 5.2.6 Modification of the 'Noun'
 - 5.3 Enclitic-type MMC: nominalizer =*gu* (inanimate)
 - 5.3.1 Introductory notes
 - 5.3.2 'Copula'
 - 5.3.3 Subject
 - 5.3.4 Predicate of the 'Clause'
 - 5.3.5 Sentencehood of the 'Clause'
 - 5.3.5.1 Introductory notes
 - 5.3.5.2 Verb-predicate clauses
 - 5.3.5.3 Adjective-predicate clauses
 - 5.3.5.4 Noun-predicate clauses
 - 5.3.6 Use in adverbial clauses
 - 5.3.7 Discourse functions
 - 5.3.7.1 Making a strong assertion as a concluding remark
 - 5.3.7.2 Background information
 - 5.3.7.3 MMC in interrogative sentences
6. Noun-predicate sentences with the nominalizer =*mha*/=*pī*:
7. Semantics/pragmatics and etymology
8. Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions
9. Summary and concluding remarks

1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') has the following three properties.

- (a) It has the structure shown in (1).
- (b) The subject of the 'Clause' and the 'Noun' are not co-referential.
- (c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

- (1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):
[Clause] Noun Copula.

Newar has two types of the MMC: the noun type and the enclitic type. Neither is a prototypical MMC.

In the noun type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu* (inanimate) and the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, destiny, lot, luck', and this MMC has something like an epistemic meaning that concerns fate, destiny, lot or luck. Under certain conditions, the intransitive subject ('S') and the transitive subject ('A') must occur in the genitive case, and not in the absolutive case and the ergative case, respectively.

In the enclitic type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu* (inanimate) (without any noun). The S occurs in the absolutive case, and the A in the ergative case. This MMC has three discourse functions: (i) to make a strong assertion, and (ii) to state a presupposed fact. (iii) In interrogative sentences, this MMC has a tone of interrogation or keen interest.

In addition, there is a construction that involves the enclitic nominalizer =*mha* (animate singular) (cognate with the noun *mha* 'body') or =*pī* (animate plural). It is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate is a nominalized clause. It expresses 'one who does ...'. The subject must occur in the absolutive case even when the verb in the nominalized clause is a transitive verb.

2. Initial illustration

An example of the noun type is (2), and one example of the enclitic type is (3).

- (2) [rām=ā: ta:mi=mha manu:=yā chē: jyā
Ram=ERG rich=NMLZ man=GEN house.LOC work
yā-e da-i]=gu bhāgya kha:
do-INF get.to-FD=NMLZ luck COP.NFND
LT: 'That Ram gets to do the work at a rich person's house is
good luck.'
FT: It is lucky that Ram will get to work at a rich person's house.

- (3) [mhiga: jī: ma:ma: nay-ā]=gu kha:
 yesterday 1SG.ERG dumpling eat-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
 LT: It is true that I ate some dumplings yesterday.
 FT: 'Yesterday I ate some dumplings.'

3. Profile of the language

[1] Outline

The Newar language is a member of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is spoken mainly in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal and also in other towns and villages all over the country. It is officially called 'Nepāl Bhāṣā', and its self-denomination is *newā: bhāe:*.

According to the National Census 2001, the total population of Newars is about 1,200,000 and the number of Newar speakers is 825,458.

The Newar language discussed in this chapter is the dialect spoken in the metropolitan areas of Kathmandu and Patan cities. In what follows I simply use the term 'Newar' to refer to this variety.

[2] Phonology

The following phonemes can be set up: vowels /a [ə], a:, ā, ā:, ā [a], ā:, ā, ā:, ,i, i:, ī, ī:, u, u:, ū, ū:, e, ae [e:], āē, āe [æ:], āē, ai, āi, āī, āī, au, āu, aū, āū/ and consonants /k, kh, g, gh, c [ts], ch [tsʰ], j [dz/dʒ], jh, t, th, d, dh, n, nh, p, ph, b, bh, m, mh, y, hy, r, l, lh, w, hw, s, h/. The *h* before *y* and *w* and the *h* after other consonants represent aspiration with voiceless consonants and breathiness with voiced consonants. Tone, pitch and stress are not distinctive.

[3] Morphology

Newar is agglutinating in most cases, except the verb conjugation, which is often fusional. There is only one prefix, the negation marker *ma-*, and other bound morphemes are suffixes or enclitics.

[4] Nouns and cases

Newar has the following cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, dative, locative, comitative, allative and ablative. The ergative may indicate an agent in transitive clauses/sentences (i.e. 'A'), an instrument, or a source/starting point. The absolutive case marker is zero, while other cases are generally shown by enclitics. The case system is basically of the ergative-absolutive type: the ergative case for the A and the absolutive case for the S and the object. However, case marking is not syntactically motivated but semantically motivated (Kiryu 2007).

Newar has a rich system of numeral classifiers.

Number distinction is obligatory with animate nouns: singular (zero) and plural (indicated by one of the two plural suffixes). Bare inanimate nouns are neutral with respect to number. (See Kiryu 2009b.)

[5] Verbs

There are five classes of verbs (Hale 1986; Hale & Shrestha 2006). See Table 1.

Table 1. Classes and conjugation of verbs

	Class I 'get.up'	Class II 'do'	Class III 'eat'	Class IV 'turn'	Class V 'play'
<i>Dictionary forms</i>	<i>dane</i>	<i>yāye</i>	<i>naye</i>	<i>hile</i>	<i>mhit</i>
<i>Finite Forms</i>					
future/irrealis conjunct (FC)	<i>dan-e</i>	<i>yā-e</i>	<i>na-e</i>	<i>hil-e</i>	<i>mhit-e</i>
future/irrealis disjunct (FD)	<i>dan-i:</i>	<i>yā-i</i>	<i>na-i</i>	<i>hil-i:</i>	<i>mhit-i:</i>
nonfuture/realis conjunct (NFC)	<i>dan-ā</i>	<i>yān-ā</i>	<i>nay-ā</i>	<i>hil-ā</i>	<i>mhit-ā</i>
nonfuture/realis perfective disjunct (NFPD)	<i>dan-a</i>	<i>yāt-a</i>	<i>nal-a</i>	<i>hil-a</i>	<i>mhit-ala</i>
nonfuture neutral disjunct (NFND)	<i>dā:</i>	<i>yā:</i>	<i>na:</i>	<i>hyu:</i>	<i>mhit-u:</i>
imperative (IMP)	<i>dā</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>hyu</i>	<i>mhit-u</i>
<i>Nonfinite Forms</i>					
infinitive (INF)	<i>dan-e</i>	<i>yā-e</i>	<i>na-e</i>	<i>hil-e</i>	<i>mhit-e</i>
concatenated (CM)	<i>dan-ā</i>	<i>yān-ā</i>	<i>nay-ā</i>	<i>hil-ā</i>	<i>mhit-ā</i>
conjunctive (CP)	<i>dan-ā:</i>	<i>yān-ā:</i>	<i>nay-ā:</i>	<i>hil-ā:</i>	<i>mhit-ā:</i>
purposive (PURP)	<i>dā:</i>	<i>yā:</i>	<i>na:</i>	<i>hyu:</i>	<i>mhit-a:</i>

Verbs conjugate for tense, aspect, modality and person. See Table 1.¹

Person marking system in Newar is different from that commonly found in European languages; it is called the “conjunct/disjunct” system (Hale 1980). In matrix clauses, conjunct forms are used when the subject is first person in affirmative or is second person in interrogative, as long as it reserves controllability and has recognition of the event happening.

The nonfuture neutral disjunct is often called the stative form. In this form, activity verbs express habitual situations, and state verbs express stative situations in the matrix clause. However, in nominalized clauses (discussed in 4.2) activity verbs in this form express only past perfective situations.

Concatenated forms, which are identical to the nonfuture conjunct forms, occur before some auxiliary verbs to form a verbal complex. Conjunctive forms are used for clause linkage. (See Hale and Shrestha 2006 for details.)

Verbs are negated in two ways. With the nonfuture/realis forms, negation mainly employs the negative prefix *ma-*. Compare (4) and (5). With future forms, the negative particle *makhu* follows the verb, e.g. (6).

- (4) *jī:* *jā* *nay-ā.*
 1SG.ERG cooked.rice eat-NFC
 ‘I ate rice.’

- (5) *jī:* *jā* *ma-nay-ā.*
 1SG.ERG cooked.rice NEG-eat-NFC
 ‘I didn’t eat rice.’
- (6) *jī:* *jā* *na-e* (*makhu*).
 1SG.ERG cooked.rice eat-NFC NEG
 ‘I will (not) eat rice.’

Newar has two copula verbs: *khaye* ‘equational’ and *juye* ‘inchoative’. Basically, *juye* has an inchoative meaning (‘become’), but it can have an equation meaning (‘be’) under limited circumstances (4.1-[2], -[3]). It may also be translated as ‘happen’, e.g. (40).

[6] Adjectives

Adjectives conjugate like verbs, but their negation involves not the prefix *ma-* but the negated inchoative copula *ma-ju:* (Kiryu 2011).

[7] Syntax

Basically Newar is a head-final language. A complement and an adjunct precede the head. The basic word order of an intransitive clause is SV, and that of a transitive clause is AOV.

A genitive NP, an adjective, a demonstrative and an adnominal clause precede a noun when they modify it. Numerals do not modify a noun directly. Numerals are always followed by a numeral classifier and form a quantifier phrase. The quantifier phrase may precede or follow the head noun.

There are two types of grammatical marking. In noun-modification, the genitive marker and adnominal markers are attached to the dependent. The adnominal markers agree with the head noun in terms of animacy and number (see Section 4.2), and the grammatical relations of arguments to the verb appear on arguments. They are dependent-marking. On the other hand, the verb-subject agreement is a head-marking type, with the person of the subject marked on the verb (the conjunct/disjunct dichotomy; see Section 3.2).

Newar is a configurational language but the order of S, A, O and other elements is rather free, while the predicate almost always comes after the arguments and adjuncts. Although the grammatical notion of subject is rather elusive in Kathmandu Newar, the subject of a clause can be identified by the subject-verb agreement and the reflexive-binding (see 5.3.5.3). Any element in a clause may be omitted as long as they are understood by discourse inference.

[8] Written tradition

Newar is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages that have a long history of written tradition, and the third oldest next to Tibetan and Burmese. The oldest manuscript was written in 1114 A.D (Malla 1990). Traditionally the language would be written in some variants of Newar scripts. Although the traditional scripts are still in use for special purposes, Newar nowadays is mostly written in the devanāgarī script, which is used in Sanskrit, Hindi and Nepali.

Some of the data to illustrate the MMCs in Kathmandu Newar are elicited and the others are taken from written sources such as magazines, textbooks, newspapers, and weblogs.²

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Clauses/sentences in Newar can be classified into three types, as follows.

[1] Verb-predicate clause/sentences

Examples include (7) (intransitive) and (4) to (6) (transitive).

- (7) *gitā wal-a.*
 Gita come-NFPD
 'Gita came.'

[2] Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences

Newar has two copula verbs: *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' (see 3-[5]). In adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, *khaye* is not used, and only *juye* is used.

When *juye* 'inchoative' occurs in the nonfuture neutral disjunct form *ju:*, which is stative (see 3-[5]), it functions as an equational copula, e.g. (8). This copula is not obligatory, but when it exists, it implies (i) 'in comparison to others' or (ii) 'judged by the speaker's experience'; see (8). However, for negation, it is obligatory, as in (9).

- (8) *thwa jyā thāku (ju:).*
 this job difficult COP.NFND
 'This job is difficult (compared to others or from experience).'
- (9) *thwa jyā thāku ma-ju:*
 this job difficult NEG-COP.NFND
 'This job is not difficult.'

When *juye* occurs in other forms, which are dynamic, it signals a change of state, i.e. 'inchoative', e.g. (10). In the inchoative sense, its omission is not possible.

- (10) *thwa jyā thāku jul-a.*
 this job difficult COP-NFPD
 'This job has become/became difficult.'

[3] Noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Both *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' can be used.

(a) *khaye* 'equational'

Generally *khaye* is not obligatory; see (11). However, for negation, it is obligatory; see (12).

- (11) *gitā dāktar (kha:).*
Gita doctor (COP.NFND)
'Gita is a doctor (indeed).'
- (12) *gitā dāktar ma-khu.*
Gita doctor NEG-COP.NFND
'Gita is not a doctor.'

In an affirmative clause/sentence, the copula verb *khaye* is assertive. In fact, *khaye* is also used as a lexical verb meaning 'be true'. The strong assertive nuance comes from this fact. When *khaye* is not omitted, (11) may be literally translated as 'It is true that Gita is a doctor' or 'It is the case that Gita is a doctor'.

(b) *juye* 'inchoative'

With a noun predicate, *juye* may occur, e.g. (13). However, its nonfuture neutral disjunct form may not be used; see (13).

- (13) *gitā dāktar jul-a/*ju:.*
Gita doctor COP-NFPD/COP.NFND
Gita became a doctor/*Gita is a doctor.

There is a special use of *juye* as an equational copula in noun predicate sentences: *juye* may be used instead of *kha:* when the sentence signals a surprising fact or background information introduced into the discourse. In this function, it occurs in the expression *juy-ā cwan-a* 'COP-CM CONT-NFPD', as in (14). The copula is followed by the continuous auxiliary.

- (14) *wa lā taskā: sā:=gu nasā*
that EMPH very be.tasty.NFND=NMLZ food
juy-ā cwan-a.
COP-CM CONT-NFPD
LT: 'That one has become very tasty food.'
FT: 'To his surprise, that was very tasty food.'

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

We shall examine adnominal clauses ('ACs') in 4.2.1. Three nominalizers are employed in the formation of ACs. One of them can be used as a complementizer, and it is useful to look at this use (4.2.2), before

considering the formation of adverbial clauses (4.2.3).

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 *Introductory notes.* Newar has three enclitic nominalizers. They agree with the head noun with respect to animacy and number (Malla 1985; Hale and Shrestha 2006).

- (a) =*mha* animate singular ('ANIM SG')
- (b) =*pĩ:* animate plural ('ANIM PL')
- (c) =*gu* inanimate ('INAN')

=*mha* and =*pĩ:* are only used to head adnominal phrases or clauses while =*gu* can function as a complementizer as well as an adnominal marker. =*mha* is cognate with the noun *mha* 'body'. It is also used as a classifier that denotes animate beings. Although the origins of the other two enclitic nominalizers are not clear, =*pĩ:* is cognate with the plural suffix -*pĩ:* (e.g. (52)), and =*gu* seems to be cognate with the generic inanimate classifier =*gu:*, for their case declensions in ergative and locative are identical.

When a noun, adjective or verb modifies a noun, the modifier must be followed by one of the nominalizers above. (The nominalizer agrees with the head noun with respect to animacy and number.) I will briefly illustrate this point.

When a noun modifies another noun, the modifying noun is obligatorily followed by the genitive =*yā*, but the genitive marked modifying noun phrase (i.e. *rām*=*yā* and *asā*:=*yā*) may further take a nominalizer to its right, as in (15)-(16). The nominalizer is optional, and this is shown by means of parentheses.

- (15) *rām*=*yā*(=*gu*) *kipā*
Ram=GEN(=NMLZ) picture
'Ram's photo'
- (16) *asā*:*-twā*:=*yā*(=*mha*) *pāsā*
Asan-locality=GEN(=NMLZ) friend
'a friend in Asan'

In contrast, when an adjective modifies a noun, a nominalizer is obligatory.

- (17) *thāku*=*gu* *iyā*
difficult=NMLZ job
'a difficult job'
- (18) *ci:dhika*:=*mha* *khicā*
Ram=NMLZ picture
'a small dog'

- (19) *ci:dhika:=pĩ:* *masta*
 Ram=NMLZ children
 ‘small children’

4.2.1.2 *Internal and external adnominal clauses.* The three nominalizers discussed in 4.2.1.1 are also used to form adnominal clauses (‘ACs’) (or, relative clauses). ACs in Newar can be classified as follows: (i) internal ACs, (ii) external ACs, and (iii) headless ACs. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.)

In the examples below, the AC is shown with square brackets.

[1] Internal ACs

Relativization is possible on all of the positions on Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) accessibility hierarchy, except the object of comparison. Examples include (i) subject: (20), (ii) direct object: (21), (iii) indirect object: (22), (iv) oblique object: (23), (v) possessor or genitive: (24).

- (20) [*masta=e=ta* *khã* *kã:=mha*]
 children=GEN=DAT story narrate.NFND=NMLZ
sar
 male.teacher
 ‘the teacher who narrated a story to the children’
- (21) [*sar=ã:* *masta=e=ta* *kã:=gu*]
 male.teacher=ERG children=GEN=DAT narrate.NFND=NMLZ
khã
 story
 ‘the story that the teacher narrated to the children’
- (22) [*sar=ã:* *khã* *kã:=pĩ:*] *masta*
 male.teacher=ERG story narrate.NFND=NMLZ children
 ‘the children to whom the teacher narrated a story’
- (23) [*jĩ:* *citti* *cway-ã=gu*] *kalam*
 1SG letter live-NFC=NMLZ pen
 ‘the pen with which I wrote a letter’
- (24) [*pau* *syã:=gu*] *chẽ*
 roof be.broken.NFND=NMLZ house
 ‘a house whose roof is broken’

The verb in a nominalized clause is almost fully finite, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. As noted in 3-[5],

there are two nonfuture disjunct forms: perfective and neutral (Table 1). In nominalized clauses, only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can appear, and the nonfuture perfective disjunct form cannot occur. In this context, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form has the meaning of the nonfuture perfective disjunct (except for intransitive verbs of change of state), e.g.:

- (25) [*rām=ã: nyā:=gu/*nyāt-a=gu*] *saphu:*
 Ram=ERG buy.NFND=NMLZ/*buy-NFPD=NMLZ book
 ‘the book that Ram bought’

[2] External ACs

Newar also allows external ACs to some extent, e.g.:³

- (26) [*macā khway-ā cwã:=gu*] *sa: wa:*
 child cry-CM CONT.NFND=NMLZ voice come.NFND
 LT: ‘The sound of child’s crying comes.’
 FT: ‘I hear a child crying.’
- (27) [*ipī: phyatun-ā cwã:=gu*] *khawa=e ji*
 3PL sit-CM CONT.NFND=NMLZ left=LOC 1SG
phyatun-ā.
 sit-NFC
 LT: ‘I sat to the left of where they are sitting.’
 FT: ‘I sat next to them on the left where they sat.’
- (28) [*nhya: wae-k-e*
 drowsiness come.INF-CAUS-INF
ma-jyu:=gu khã
 NEG-be.okay.NFND=NMLZ story
 LT: ‘a talk of not being okay to let drowsiness to come’
 FT: ‘a talk during which you should not fall asleep’

As mentioned above, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In (26), for example, the head noun *sa:* ‘voice’ does not correspond to any argument or adjunct of the AC. The voice is understood as an outcome of the child’s crying. In an external AC, the AC and the head noun are correlated through a pragmatic construal between the two. The cause-effect relationship is one of such pragmatic construals that enable the external adnominal clause to be interpreted.

[3] Headless ACs

ACs may occur without the head noun. The nominalizer in a headless AC bears a case marker like a regular noun.⁴ The assumed heads are understood from the context.

- (29) [*kwapa=e cwā:=pī:]=sā: la:=yāta*
 Bhaktapur=LOC live.NFND=NMLZ=ERG water
nā: dhā=i.
 sewage say=FD
 ‘People living in Bhaktapur say *nā:* [, which means sewage in Patan dialect] for water.’ (An interview with Sham Dangol)
- (30) [*likka cwā:=guli]=i twātha: du.*
 nearby stay.NFND=NMLZ=LOC step exist.NFND
 ‘There are stairs near the place where he was.’

See Section 6 for headless ACs in the noun-predicate position.

4.2.1.3 *Complement clauses with the nominalizer =gu.* The inanimate nominalizer =*gu* also functions like a complementizer to head a complement clause.

Verbs of cognition (*khane* ‘see’, *swaye* ‘look, watch’) and verbs of mental process (*lumane* ‘remember’, *lwa:mane* ‘forget’) can take a =*gu* nominalized clause in the ‘Complement’ slot, e.g.:

- (31) *cha-mā ta:-mā=gu simā=e ā:gur jwāējwāē*
 one-CLF big-CLF=NMLZ tree=LOC grape heavily.laden
say-ā cwā:=gu khan-a. (Sweet Grapes)
 be.borne-CM CONT=NMLZ see-NFPD
 ‘[The jackal] saw that the tree was heavily laden with grapes.’
- (32) *tara kāe=yā=ta kwathā=e kun-ā*
 but son=GEN=DAT room=LOC lock.up-CM
ta:=gu lwa:-he-man-e
 keep.NFND=NMLZ forget-EMPH-STEM-INF
*dhūk-ala.*⁵ (Original Asti)
 PRF-NFPD
 ‘[He] had even forgotten that he had locked up his son in the room.’

Phasal verbs, which indicate a phase of internal aspectual development, (*suru yāye* ‘start’, *twa:te* ‘stop’), too, can take a nominalized clause as the complement. The verb of the nominalized clause is not finite, but occurs in the infinitive form.

- (33) *macā: ākha: bwan-e=gu suru yāt-a.*
 child.ERG letter read-INF=NMLZ starting do-NFPD
 ‘The child started studying.’

- (34) *macã: ākha: bwan-e=gu twa:t-ala.*
 child.ERG letter read-INF=NMLZ stop-NFPD
 ‘The child stopped studying.’

In the following example, the nominalized clause, which is bracketed, functions rather like an adverbial clause.

- (35) *wã: lã [tuti syã:=gu]=yã=ta*
 3SG.ERG EMPH leg hurt.NFND=NMLZ=GEN=DAT
wãstã he ma-yã:-se wal-a.
 concern EMPH NEG-do.NFND-ADV come-NFPD
 ‘He came without caring about his leg hurting.’

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

The inanimate nominalizer =*gu* and some nouns are involved in forming some adverbial clauses. All the finite verb forms except the nonfuture perfective disjunct form can come before the nominalizer =*gu*. The ergative form of =*gu*, i.e. *gulĩ:*, is used to introduce a causal clause, e.g. (36).

- (36) *wã wa:=gulĩ: lã pyãt-a.*
 rain come.NFND=NMLZ.ERG road get.wet-NFPD
 ‘As it rained, the road got wet.’

There are at least three subordinators — all enclitics — which derive from nouns.

The relative locational noun *nhyã:* ‘front’ is used to index a temporal relation. The verb that comes before *nhyã:* occurs only in the infinitive form, e.g. (37).

- (37) *ji lihã: wa-e=nhyã: rãm wal-a.*
 1SG back come-INF=before Ram come-NFPD
 ‘Before I came back, Ram came.’

The sense of ‘when’ in English is expressed by *balae*, which is originally a noun plus the locative marker. This is now grammaticalized as a subordinator, meaning ‘when’. The verb that comes before *balae* inflects almost fully finitely, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. (This is exactly the case with the inanimate nominalizer =*gu* (4.2.1.2).)

- (38) *wã wa-i=balae pihã: wan-e mate.*
 rain come-FD=when out go-INF NEG.IMP
 ‘When it rains, don’t go outside.’

Hale and Shrestha (2006) discuss the use of the noun that means ‘place’, *thāe*, as a subordinator.

- (39) *jhi:=sā:* *chu:ṭ* *biy-ā* *ta:=thāe* *mālsāmān*
 1PL.ERG discount give-CM PRF.NFND=place goods
nyān-ā *cwan-ā*.
 buy-CM CONT-NFC (Hale and Shrestha 2006: 217)
 ‘We were buying the goods at the place where the discount is given.’

The noun *thāe* is in the unmarked form and heads the subordinate clause without a nominalizer.

The nominalization of a clause requires a nominalizer: ACs (4.2.1.2) and complement clauses (4.2.1.3). As seen above, in some of the adverbial clauses, the subordinate marker derives from a noun. These adverbial clauses look similar to ACs (‘AC + noun’). However, there is one important difference. Namely, in ACs, the verb has to be accompanied by a nominalizer. In contrast, at least in the case of =*balae* ‘when’ and =*thāe* ‘place’, the verb in these adverbial clauses is not accompanied by a nominalizer. It inflects almost fully finitely, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form.

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

Newar has two types of the mermaid construction (‘MMC’): the noun type (5.2) and the enclitic type (5.3). Neither conforms to the prototype of the MMC (see Section 1).

5.2 Noun-type MMC

We shall look at the ‘Noun’ slot (5.2.1), the predicate of the ‘Clause’ (5.2.2), the ‘Copula’ (5.2.3), and the subject of the ‘Clause’ (5.2.4).

5.2.1 ‘Noun’ slot

Only one noun is attested: *bhāgya*, e.g. (2). The noun *bhāgya* was borrowed from Sanskrit and means ‘fate, lot, destiny, luck’. In examples such as (40), it is better translated as ‘good luck’. The part that would correspond to the ‘Clause’ of the MMC is shown with square brackets. The subject of the ‘Clause’ is in bold face.

- (40) [***rām=yā*** *sarkār=yā* *jyā* *yā-e*
 Ram=GEN government=GEN work do-INF

da-i]=gu *bhāgya* *jul-a.*
 get.to-FD=NMLZ luck COP-NPD
 LT: 'Luck such that Ram will get to do the work at the government
 has happened.'
 FT: 'Luckily Ram will get to work at the government.'

In (40), the copula *juye* 'inchoative' can be translated as 'happen', as shown above.

(41) [*kwa-jāt=yā* *manu:-ta=e* *tha-jāt=yā*
 lower-caste=GEN man-PL=GEN higher-caste=GEN
 manu:-ta *pākhē:* *niyantran=ae* *cwan-e*
 man-PL from domination=LOC live-INF
 mā:]]=gu *bhāgya* *juy-ā* *cwan-a.*
 need.NFND=NMLZ destiny COP-CM CONT-NFND
 LT: 'That lower-caste people must stay under the domination
 from the higher-caste people is becoming destiny.'
 FT: Lower-caste people are destined to be dominated by
 higher-caste people.

It has been difficult to elicit examples of the MMC with the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, destiny, lot, luck', and, my database yields just a few examples thereof. For example, (41) was obtained in elicitation. It is a direct translation of a Japanese MMC whose noun is *unmee* 'fate'. (See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.2-[8]).) The following discussion of this MMC is based on the limited data available.

In terms of meaning, this MMC has something like an epistemic meaning that concerns fate, destiny, lot or luck.

5.2.2 Predicate of the 'Clause'

[1] Modal auxiliary verb

It appears that the predicate of the 'Clause' may not be a simple verb but that it must contain a modal auxiliary verb, in addition to the main verb. For example, the predicate contains *dai* (possibility/opportunity) in (2) and (40), and the *mā:* (necessity/obligation/inevitability) in (41). The modal auxiliary verb may not be omitted. This seems to be related to the semantics of the noun *bhāgya*. Namely, one's fate or luck is out of human control and the sense of non-controllability needs to be expressed.

[2] Nominalizer

The predicate of the 'Clause' (to be precise, the modal auxiliary verb) must be followed by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu* (INAN) (cf. 4.2.1.1).

It is possible to say that this MMC has the structure shown in (42), in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *bhāgya* and that the nominalizer =*gu* is inside the 'Clause'. (The square brackets indicate the 'Clause'.) However, concerning the enclitic-type MMC (5.3), I have

adopted the view that the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by =*gu*, i.e. =*gu* occurs outside the ‘Clause’. In view of this, in the noun-type MMC, too, I regard =*gu* is as part of the ‘Noun’. That is, this MMC has the structure shown in (43).

(42) [... Verb=*gu*] *bhāgya* Copula

(43) [... Verb]=*gu* *bhāgya* Copula

[3] Inflection of the predicate of the ‘Clause’

The modal auxiliary in the predicate is in a finite form. It inflects fully finitely. For example, the modal auxiliary verb is in the future disjunct form in (40), and the nonfuture neutral disjunct form in (41).

5.2.3 ‘Copula’

Both copula verbs are attested in the ‘Copula’ slot. Examples include (i) *khaye* (equational): (2), and (ii) *juye* (inchoative): (40), (41), (44).

The copula verb may be followed by an auxiliary verb, e.g. *cwan-a* ‘CONT-NFND’ in (44).

In some cases, *juyā cwana* ‘COP-CM CONT-NFND’ has to be used or is strongly preferred, e.g.:

- (44) [*waeka:=yā jyal=ae si: mā:]=gu bhāgya*
 3HON=GEN jail=LOC die.INF need.NFND=NMLZ fate
juy-a cwan-a.
 COP-CM CONT-NFPD
 LT: ‘The fate that he/she must die in jail is/was taking place.’
 FT: ‘The person was destined to die in the jail.’

In this sentence, *juyā cwana* is much more natural than *kha:*.

5.2.4 Subject of the ‘Clause’

In Newar generally, the A occurs in the ergative case, e.g. (4) to (6), while the S occurs in the absolutive case (phonologically zero), e.g. (7). Furthermore, the A and the S can occur in the genitive case when the sentence expresses a generic situation.⁶ Examples follow: (45) (the S) and (46) (the A).

- (45) *thau:=yā masta=e swa-dā pya-dā nisē:*
 today=GEN children=GEN three-year four-year since
sku:l=ae wan-e mā: (Elohan)
 school=LOC go-INF must.NFND
 ‘Children today must go to school when they become three or four years old.’
- (46) *newā:-ta=e cāhī: dakwāsiyā newā: bhāe*
 Newar-PL=GEN CNTR all Newar language

lhā-i, nhāpā̃=nisē̃:. (An interview with Shyam Dangol)
 speak-FD before=since
 ‘Newars all speak Newar, since a long time ago.’

In (45) and (46), the subject is in the genitive form. It can also appear in the absolutive form, e.g. (47) and in the ergative form, e.g. (48), respectively. Nonetheless, in a generic context it is more natural to use the genitive form. In such sentences, the genitive subject functions as the topic of the sentence that describes a generic or habitual situation.

- (47) *thaū̃:=yā masta swa-dā pya-dā nisē̃:*
 today=GEN children three-year four-year since
sku:l=ae wan-e mā̃:
 school=LOC go-INF must.NFND
 ‘Children today must go to school when they become three or four years old.’
- (48) *newā̃:-ta cāhī̃: dakwasiyā̃ newā̃: bhāe*
 Newar-PL CNTR all Newar language
lhā-i, nhāpā̃=nisē̃:
 speak-FD before=since
 ‘Newars all speak Newar, since before.’

We shall now look at the subject of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC.

When the ‘Copula’ of the MMC is the inchoative copula verb *juye* ‘become’, the genitive subject is the only choice, whether the situation is generic/habitual or not; the absolutive subject and the ergative subject are not acceptable. Examples include the following. The S: (41) (‘lower-caste=GEN man-PL=GEN’), (44) (‘3HON=GEN’). The A: (40) (‘Ram=GEN’).

When the ‘Copula’ is the equative copula *khaye* ‘be’, the genitive subject is not the only possibility. The A may be either in the ergative case, e.g. (2) (‘Ram=ERG’), or in the genitive case, e.g. (49).

- (49) [*rām=yā: ta:mi=mha manu:=yā chē: jyā*
 Ram=GEN rich=NMLZ man=GEN house.LOC work
yā-e da-i]=gu bhāgya kha:
 do-INF get.to-FD=NMLZ luck COP.NFND
 LT: ‘That Ram gets to do the work at a rich person’s house is good luck.’
 FT: It is lucky that Ram will get to work at a rich person’s house.

As noted above, in non-MMC sentences, when the situation described is generic or habitual, the subject (S or A) can alternate with the genitive

subject. In this MMC, when the ‘Copula’ is the equative copula *khaye*, the subject can be in the genitive. In this case the genitive subject seems to function as the topic of the sentence. When the ‘Copula’ is the inchoative copula *juye*, the genitive subject is the only choice. Again, the genitive subject seems to function as the topic of the sentence. At this stage of research, it is not clear why the genitive is the only choice in the case of the inchoative copula *juye*, e.g. (41), (44).

5.2.5 Sentencehood of the ‘Clause’

We now enquire whether the ‘Clause’ can be used by itself as a sentence. Recall first that the predicate (to be precise, the modal auxiliary verb) of the ‘Clause’ is finite. That is, as far as the inflection of the predicate is concerned, the ‘Clause’ should be able to stand on its own as a sentence. The crucial issue is the case marking of the subject.

As seen in 5.2.4, in a generic or habitual context the genitive subject can alternate with the ergative subject (for the A) or the absolutive subject (for the S). The same applies to the MMC, although when the ‘Copula’ is *juye*, the genitive subject is the only choice. In such instances, the ‘Clause’ with the genitive subject can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare the following.

(a) MMC

(a-1) S: (41) (‘lower-caste=GEN man-PL=GEN’), (44) (‘3HON=GEN’).

(a-2) A: (40) (‘Ram=GEN’), (49) (‘Ram=GEN’)

(b) non-MMC

(b-1) S: (45) (‘today=GEN children=GEN’), (50) (‘3HON=GEN’).

(b-2) A: (48) (‘Newar-PL=GEN’).

When the subject of the ‘Clause’ is not in the genitive case, that is, when the A is in the ergative case or when the S is in the absolutive case, the ‘Clause’ can stand as a sentence on its own. Compare the following.

(a) MMC

(a-1) S: (52) (‘1SG.ABS’).

(a-2) A: (2) (‘Ram=ERG’).

(b) non-MMC

(b-1) S: (7) (‘Gita=ABS’).

(b-2) A: (51) (‘Ram=ERG’).

Examples follow.

(50) *waeka:=yā jyal=ae si: māl-a.*
 3HON=GEN jail=LOC die.INF need.NFPD

‘The person was destined to die in the jail.’

(51) *rām=ā: ta:mi=mha manu:=yā chē: jyā*
 Ram=ERG rich=NMLZ man=GEN house.LOC work

yā-e da-i
do-INF get.to-FD

'Ram will get to do the work at a rich person's house.'

5.2.6 Modification of the 'Noun'

In the MMC of Japanese, nouns used in the 'Noun' slot cannot be accompanied by a modifier (such as an adjective, a demonstrative or the like) (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.6.4). In this respect, they have lost their nounhood and they are grammaticalized.

In the noun-type MMC in Newar, the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, lot, destiny, luck' used in the 'Noun' slot can be modified. In this respect, it retains its nounhood and it is not grammaticalized. There are at least three examples in which the 'Noun' is modified by a modifier: an adjective in two examples and a pronoun in the genitive case in the third example.

[1] Adjective

In the two examples available, the adjective employed is *ta:dhā:* 'big'.

- (52) *wae:ka:-pī: nāya: wa upādhyacha*
3HON-PL president and vice-president
ju:=balaē [ji nā: duja: taka ju-i
become.NFND=when 1SG too member upto COP-INF
du=gu ta:dhā:]=gu bhāgya kha:.
get.to.NFND=NL big=NMLZ luck COP.NFND
LT: 'That I, too, got to be a member when they became the president
and the vice-president, is big luck.'
FT: 'Very luckily, I, too, get to be a member when they became the
president and the vice-president.' (Webpage data)
- (53) *yashodharā, [ajyā:=gu des=yā mahārāni:*
Yashodhara like.this=NMLZ country=GEN queen
ju-i da-i]=gu chā:=gu ta:dhā:=gu
COP-INF get.to-FD=NMLZ 2SG=NMLZ big=NMLZ
bhāgya kha:.
fate COP.NFND
LT: 'Yashodhara, that you got to become the queen of a country
like this is big fate.'
FT: 'Yashodhara, it is your great fate that you get to
become the queen of a country like this.' (Yasodhara)

[2] Genitive pronoun

The only example available is (54). Compare it with (49).

- (54) [*rām=yā sarkār=yā jyā yā-e*
Ram=GEN government=GEN work do-INF

da-i]=gu wā=yā bhāgya jul-a.
 get.to-FD=NMLZ 3SG=GEN luck COP-NPD

LT: 'That Ram_i will get to do the work at the government has become his_i luck.'

FT: It is lucky to Ram_i that he_i will get to work at the government.

According to the consultant with whom I checked the above examples, both (54) and (49) sound natural, but (54) shows more clearly whose luck it is. It is possible to interpret (49) as implying that Ram's getting to work at the government is lucky to someone else.

5.3 Enclitic type: nominalizer =gu (inanimate)

5.3.1 Introductory notes

Newar has three enclitic nominalizers: =*mha* (ANIM SG), =*pī:* (ANIM PL), and =*gu* (INAN) (cf. 4.2.1.1). The animate nominalizers are only used to head adnominal phrases or clauses while the inanimate nominalizer can function as a complementizer as well as an adnominal marker. They agree with the head noun with respect to animacy and number; see (17) to (19).

=*gu* (INAN) can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (cf. (1)). In this use, it does not agree with any noun. In fact, it lacks any head noun that it can agree with.

=*mha* (ANIM SG) and =*pī:* (ANIM PL) cannot occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Though they can occur in a similar construction, this construction is best regarded as a noun-predicate sentence/clause whose predicate is a headless AC. It will be discussed separately, in Section 6.

As just noted, in this MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu*. That is, this MMC has the structure shown in (55).

(55) [... Verb]=*gu* Copula

Examples of this MMC include (3) and the following. (The portion that corresponds to the 'Clause' is shown with square brackets.)

(56) *ae pāsā, thana jhāsā:, thana jhāsā:.*
 hey friend here come.HON.IMP here come.HON.IMP
 [jī: chi=ta: sa:t=ā]=*gu* kha: (Elohan)
 1SG.ERG 2SG=DAT call-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
 'Hi, my friend! Come here please, come here please. I called you.'

This MMC is very similar to the variety of the Japanese MMC that has the enclitic =*no* in the 'Noun' slot. =*no* may be considered a nominalizer, although it may also be regarded as the genitive case marker, a non-content noun or a complementizer (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.4).

The most frequent type of clause in the MMC is a verb-predicate clause,

e.g. (56). Nonetheless, it may be an adjective-clause or a noun-predicate clause. These types of clauses will be discussed in 5.3.5.2 to 5.3.5.4.

5.3.2 'Copula'

Both *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' can occur in the 'Copula' slot.

[1] *khaye* 'equational'

When *khaye* occurs in the 'Copula' slot, more often than not it occurs in the nonfuture neutral disjunct form *kha:*, e.g. (56). Other forms of *khaye*, except conjunct forms, are also possible, for instance, the nonfuture perfective disjunct form, *khata*, as in (57). (This is an intransitive sentence. The ergative case indicates, not an agent in a transitive sentence, but a source (to be precise, the source of information).)

- (57) [sākhyā=yā hisab=ā: thwa lakhaū:
 statistics=GEN calculation=ERG this hundreds.of.thousands
 bidyārthi phel ju:] =gu khat-a.
 student fail COP.NFND=NMLZ COP-NFPD
 'According to the statistics, it turned out to be the case that these
 hundreds of thousands of students had failed.'
 (www.nepalmandal.com)

[2] *juye* 'inchoative'

The inchoative copula *juye* can be used in noun-predicate clauses/sentences. In this use, it has an inchoative meaning ('become'), not an equational meaning ('be'), e.g. (13), except for the exceptional use noted shortly.

When *juye* is used in this MMC, the sentence implies that the situation is decided. Hence it can carry a sense of strong promise, as in (58), where a mother, seeing her son reluctant to say what he wants, is urging him to say what it is, and is making a promise.

- (58) [jī nhyā=gu dhā:=sā bi:] =gu
 1SG.ERG any=NMLZ say.NFND=though give.FC=NMLZ
 jul-a.
 COP-NFPD
 LT: 'It happened that I will give whatever you say.'
 FT: 'I will never fail to give you whatever you ask.'

When *juye* is in the nonfuture disjunct form, i.e. *jula*, this MMC indicates that the event depicted in the nominalized clause is a newly established situation due to other factors.

- (59) [cā:hyu:wān-e=ta dhyabā māli:] =gu jul-a.
 travel-INF=DAT money need.FD=NMLZ COP-NFPD
 LT: 'That I need some money for traveling happened.'
 FT: 'I eventually needed some money for traveling.'

As noted in 4.1-[3], the copula *juye* ‘inchoative’ may function as an equational copula (‘be’) when it occurs in the periphrastic form *juy-ā cwan-a* ‘COP-CM CONT-NFPD’, e.g. (14). This form often stands in the ‘Copula’ slot of this MMC. The main function is to introduce background information.

- (60) [*cha-gu:* *des=ae* *rāmanāgār* *nā:=gu*
 one-CLF country=LOC Ramanagar name=NMLZ
gā: *du]=gu* *juy-ā* *cwan-a.*
 village exist.NFND=NMLZ COP-CM CONT-NFPD
 ‘It so happened that a village named Ramanagar existed in
 a country.’ (Elohan)

All of the examples of this MMC given above are affirmative sentences. The ‘Copula’ of this MMC can be negated only when it is the equational copula. This negation employs the negation prefix *ma-*. Examples include (61) and (62). However, it is not possible to negate the ‘Copula’ *juye* in any forms.

- (61) [*bā=yā=ke* *nā:* *dhyabā du]=gu*
 father=GEN=LOC too money exist.NFND=NMLZ
ma-khu.
 NEG-COP.NFND
 ‘It was not the case that his father had any money.’
- (62) *ā:* [*jimi=ke* *pasa:* *wan-e=gu* *i:*
 now 1PL.EXCL.GEN=LOC shop go-INF=NMLZ time
nā: *du]=gu* *ma-khut-a.*
 too exist.NFND=NMLZ NEG-COP-NFPD
 ‘Now it is not the case anymore that we have time to go shopping.’

5.3.3 Subject

We shall first deal with the properties of the subject ([1]), followed by the case marking of the subject ([2]).

[1] Subject properties

Thus far I have often used the terms ‘subject’, ‘transitive subject’ (‘A’), and ‘intransitive subject’ (S) without characterizing them. Here I propose to characterize the subject in Newar on syntactic grounds. Namely, the prototypical subject has the following properties:

- (63) Prototypical subject in Newar
 a. The reflexive pronoun *tha:* is controlled by the closest subject.
 b. The subject agrees with an honorific auxiliary verb.

Each of the ‘transitive subject’ in the ergative case and the ‘intransitive

subject' in the absolutive case possesses these two properties. That is, they are prototypical subject in terms of (63).

(a) Reflexive pronoun

Consider the following examples.

- (64) *rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *chē:*
 Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ house.LOC
khan-a.
 see-NFPD
 'Ram_i saw Gita_j in his_i/*her_j house.'
- (65) *rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *ghari*
 Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ watch
syān-a *dhakā:* *dhāl-a.*
 be.broken-NFPD QUOT say-NFPD
 'Ram_i told Gita_j that his_i/*her_j watch got broken.'
- (66) *rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *wa* *tha:=gu*
 Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT 3SG REFL=NMLZ
chē: *thyan-a* *dhakā:* *dhāl-a.*
 house.LOC arrive-NFPD QUOT say-NFPD
 a. 'Ram_i told Gita_j that he_i arrived at his_i/*j own house.'
 b. 'Ram_i told Gita_j that he_j arrived at his_i/*j own house.'
 c. 'Ram told Gita_i that she_i arrived at her_i own house.'
 d. 'Ram told Gita_i that she_j arrived at her_i/*j own house.'

In (66), there are two subjects: one in the matrix clause and the other in the quoted clause. The reflexive pronoun can only be controlled by the closest subject in the sentence.

This is also the case with the subject of this MMC. Compare the following sentences. The entire sentence (not just the matrix clause or the quoted clause) constitutes an instance of this MMC.

- (67) [*rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *chē:*
 Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ house.LOC
khā:]=gu *kha:.*
 see-NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
 'Ram_i saw Gita_j at his_i/*her_j own house.'
- (68) [*rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *ghari*
 Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ watch
syān-a *dhakā:* *dhā:]=gu* *kha:.*
 break-NFND=NMLZ QUOT say.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
 'Ram_i told Gita_j that his_i/*her_j watch got broken.'

- (69) [rām=ã: gitā=yā=ta wa tha:=gu
 Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT 3SG REFL=NMLZ
 chē: thyan-a dhakā: dhā:]=gu
 house.LOC arrive-NFPD QUOT say.NFND=NMLZ
 kha:
 COP.NFND
 a. ‘Ram_i told Gita_j that he_i arrived at his_{i/*j} own house.’
 b. ‘Ram_i told Gita that he_j arrived at his_{*i/j} own house.’
 c. ‘Ram told Gita_i that she_i arrived at her_i own house.’
 d. ‘Ram told Gita_i that she_j arrived at her_{*i/j} own house.’

(b) Honorific auxiliary verb

The subject of a clause agrees with an honorific verb when it is a human or a god.

- (70) sār khwathā=e di:
 teacher room=LOC stay.HON-NFND
 ‘The teacher is in the room.’
 (71) bhagabān bijyāt-a.
 God come.HON-NFPD
 ‘God has come.’

If the verb of a clause is volitional, it may further take an honorific auxiliary verb, and this auxiliary verb agrees with the subject, e.g. (72). Non-subject participants do not agree with the honorific auxiliary verb; see (73).

- (72) sār=ã: bidyārthi=pī:=ta dhay-ā dil-a.
 teacher=ERG student-PL=DAT say-CM HON-NFPD
 ‘The teacher told (it to) the students.’
 (73) *bidyārthi=pī:=sã: sar=yā=ta dhay-ā dil-a.
 student-PL=ERG teacher=GET=DAT say-CM HON-NFPD
 ‘The students told (it) to the teacher.’

This is also the case with the subject of the MMC, as follows.

- (74) [sar=ã: bidyārthi-pī:=ta dhay-ā dyu:]=gu
 teacher=ERG student=PL=DAT say-CM HON.NFND=NMLZ
 kha:
 COP.NFND
 ‘The teacher told (it) to the students.’
 (75) *[bidyārthi-pī:=sã: sar=yā=ta dhay-ā
 student-PL=ERG teacher=GEN=DAT say-CM

dyu.]=gu *kha.:*
HON.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
‘The students told (it) to the teacher.’

[2] Case marking

Case marking of the subject in the main does not differ between independent sentences and this MMC. The A is in the ergative in independent sentences, e.g. (4) to (6) (‘Gita.ERG’), and this MMC, e.g. (56) (‘1SG.ERG’). The S is in the absolutive case in independent sentences, e.g. (7) (‘Gita’) and this MMC, e.g. (57) (‘student’).

5.3.4 Predicate of the ‘Clause’

The predicate of the ‘Clause’ of this MMC is followed by the inanimate nominalizer =*gu*, like the predicate of ACs. The same restriction imposed on the predicate of ACs (4.2.1.2-[1]) applies to the predicate of this MMC. The restriction is the following. The verb is almost fully finite, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. It can be in the neutral disjunct form.

The predicate of the ‘Clause’ of this MMC differs from that of independent sentences in the following two respects.

(a) Independent sentences may be declarative, imperative or interrogative. However, the ‘Clause’ of this MMC (and that of any MMC for that matter) can only be ‘declarative-like’. Imperative-like and interrogative-like clauses may not occur in the MMC.

(b) Sentence-final discourse particles, such as *kā* (informative assertion) and *nhi* (confirmation), do not occur in the ‘Clause’. The ‘Clause’ does not occupy the sentence-final position.

The predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be negated, e.g. (76).

(76) *mhiga:* *jimi=sā.:* *aelā:* *ma-twan-ā=gu*
yesterday 1PL=ERG liquor NEG-drink-NFC=NMLZ
kha.:
COP.NFND
‘We didn’t drink any liquor yesterday.’

As illustrated in 5.3.2, the ‘Copula’ of this MMC can be negated when it is the equational copula *khaye*, e.g. (61) and (62). It is possible to negate both the predicate of the ‘Clause’ and the ‘Copula’, e.g. (77).

(77) *chan=ta* *jī:* *biswās* *ma-yān-ā=gu*
2SG=DAT 1SG.ERG belief NEG-do-NFC=NMLZ
ma-khu. (Elohan)
NEG-COP.NFND
‘It is not the case that I don’t believe in you.’

5.3.5 Sentencehood of the 'Clause'

5.3.5.1 *Introductory notes.* We now enquire whether the 'Clause' of this MMC can be used by itself as a sentence.

Very roughly speaking, it is not incorrect to say that the 'Clause' of this MMC can stand on its own as a sentence. For example, compare the 'Clause' of (3) with (78), and similarly (56) with (79).

- (78) *mhiga:* *jĩ:* *ma:ma:* *nay-ā.*
yesterday 1SG.ERG dumpling eat-NFC
'Yesterday I ate some dumplings.'
- (79) *jĩ:* *chi=ta:* *sa:t=ā.*
1SG.ERG 2SG=DAT call-NFC
'I called you.'

Indeed, the propositional meaning of, e.g., the 'Clause' of (3) and that of the corresponding independent sentence, i.e. (78), do not differ. However, there are certain complications.

First, the verb in independent sentences may occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. However, as just noted, that in the 'Clause' of this MMC cannot.

Second, the 'Clause' of the MMC and that of the corresponding independent sentence may differ in meaning. This will be discussed in 5.3.5.2.

Third, this MMC has a discourse effect different from that of the corresponding independent sentence. This will be discussed in 5.3.7.

We shall now look at the three types of clause that can occur in the 'Clause' — verb-predicate clauses (5.3.5.2), adjective-predicate clauses (5.3.5.3), and noun-predicate clauses (5.3.5.4) — paying attention to the sentencehood of the 'Clause'.

5.3.5.2 *Verb-predicate clauses.* As noted above, the 'Clause' may be used by itself as a sentence. However, they may differ in meaning. This difference is seen both in the conjunct series and the disjunct series (cf. Table 1). Selected examples follow.

[1] Disjunct series

(a) Nonfuture neutral disjunct form and nonfuture perfective disjunct form

As shown in Table 1, there are two nonfuture disjunct forms with respect to aspect: perfective and neutral. The nonfuture perfective disjunct form expresses a perfective situation, and the nonfuture neutral disjunct form expresses mainly a habitual (with action verbs, which express on-going situations with the continuous auxiliary verb *cwane*) or stative (with state verbs, which express resultant state with the continuous auxiliary verb *cwane*) situation but in a certain context a perfective situation. In nominalized clauses, the nonfuture perfective disjunct may not occur

syntactically at all (see (80) and (81)), and only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can be used (see (82) and (83)). In this context, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form has the meaning of the nonfuture perfective disjunct form.

- (80) *[*syān-a=gu*] *ghari*
 be.broken-NFPD=NMLZ watch
 ‘the watch that broke’
- (81) *[*rām=ā: nyāt-a=gu*] *saphu:*
 Ram=ERG buy-NFPD=NMLZ book
 ‘the book Ram bought’
- (82) [*syā:=gu*] *ghari*
 be.broken.NFND=NMLZ watch
 ‘the watch that broke/is broken’
- (83) [*rām=ā: nyā:=gu*] *saphu:*
 Ram=ERG buy-NFND=NMLZ book
 ‘the book Ram bought’

The interpretation of the nonfuture neutral disjunct form varies depending on the type of the verb. When it is a state verb, the meaning is either perfective or stative in a nominalized clause, e.g. (82). When it is an action verb, only a perfective reading is possible, and a habitual meaning is not obtained, e.g. (83).

Semantically, the nominalized clause in (82) corresponds to the independent sentences in (84) and (85), and that in (83) corresponds to the independent sentence in (86), in which the verb is in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form.

- (84) *ghari* *syān-a.*
 watch be.broken-NFPD
 ‘The watch that broke.’
- (85) *ghari* *syā:.*
 watch be.broken.NFND
 ‘The watch is broken.’
- (86) *rām=ā: saphu: nyāt-a.*
 Ram=ERG book buy-NFPD
 ‘Ram bought a book.’

The same restriction applies to this MMC. That is, the nonfuture perfective disjunct may not occur at all, and only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can be used. In this context, when the verb is a stative verb,

the nonfuture neutral disjunct form in the ‘Clause’ of the MMC can be stative or perfective. Consider the following example of a state verb in (87) with (84) and (85).

- (87) *ghari syã:=gu kha:.*
 watch be.broken.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
 ‘The watch broke/is broken.’

On the other hand, when the verb is a dynamic verb, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form in the ‘Clause’ of the MMC cannot be habitual but only perfective. Consider the following examples of an action verb.

- (88) *wã: aelã: twã:.*
 3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFND
 ‘He drinks liquor.’
- (89) *wã: aelã: twan-a.*
 3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFPD
 ‘He drank some liquor.’
- (90) [*wã: aelã: twã:] =gu kha:.*
 3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
 ‘He drank some liquor.’

Outside the MMC, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form of an action verb is interpreted as present habitual (cf. 3-[5]) — if interpreted out of context — e.g. (88). The nonfuture perfective disjunct form has a past perfective meaning, e.g. (89). In the ‘Clause’ of this MMC, the nonfuture perfective disjunct form may not occur at all, and only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can be used. In this context, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form has the meaning of the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. That is, it is not interpreted as present habitual but exclusively interpreted as past perfective. See (90). In other words, the ‘Clause’ of (90) has the meaning of (89), not that of (88).

(b) Future disjunct form (FD)

Outside the MMC, the future disjunct form is generally interpreted as future, although a habitual interpretation is possible.

- (91) *wã: aelã: twan-i:.*
 3SG.ERG liquor drink.FD
 ‘He will drink/drinks liquor.’

When the future disjunct form is used in the ‘Clause’ of this MMC, it describes a present habitual situation.

- (92) [wã: aelã: twan-i:]=gu kha:
 3SG.ERG liquor drink.FD=NMLZ COP.NFND
 'He drinks liquor.'

The independent sentences (88) and (91) have a present habitual meaning. However, they differ in that the future disjunct form (i.e. (91)) implies higher frequency than the nonfuture neutral disjunct form (i.e. (88)). This holds true in independent sentences. However, in the 'Clause' (and in nominalized clauses generally), the nonfuture neutral disjunct form is exclusively interpreted as indexing a past situation, as in (90).

[2] Conjunct series

(a) Future conjunct

A future conjunct verb is interpreted only as modal when it occurs without the nominalizer =*gu*, e.g. (93). When it occurs with =*gu*, it is interpreted either as a future plan or as a habitual action, e.g. (94) (an instance of this MMC).

- (93) *ji sutha=e cha bajae dan-e.*
 1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-FC
 'I will get up at six in the morning.'
- (94) [*ji sutha=e cha bajae dan-e*]=*gu*
 1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-FC=NMLZ
 (*kha:*).
 COP.NFND
 'I get up/am going to get up at six in the morning.'

(b) Nonfuture conjunct

A nonfuture conjunct verb is interpreted, if without any context, as past perfective, e.g. (95), but can be interpreted as nonfuture habitual if there is a frequency adverb, e.g. (96).

- (95) *ji sutha=e cha bajae dan-ã.*
 1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-NFC
 'I got up at six in the morning.'
- (96) *ji gabalẽ:gablẽ: sutha=e cha bajae*
 1SG sometimes morning=LOC six o'clock
dan-ã.
 get.up-NFC
 'I sometimes get/got up at six in the morning.'

However, when a nonfuture conjunct verb occurs in a nominalized clause, it

is only interpreted as past perfective, not as habitual, even when there is a frequency adverb. This constraint holds with this MMC as well, e.g. (97).

- (97) *ji* (*gabalē:gablē:*) *sutha=e* *cha* *bajae*
 1SG (sometimes) morning=LOC six o'clock
dan-ā=gu.
 get.up-NFC
 'I sometimes got up at six in the morning.'

In a nominalized clause or the 'Clause' of the MMC, the habitual meaning is expressed only by the future conjunct form, e.g. (94).

In sum, a verb-predicate clause used as the 'Clause' of this MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. However, there may be a semantic difference between the 'Clause' and the corresponding sentence with respect to the interpretation of tense and aspect.

5.3.5.3 *Adjective-predicate clauses.* As noted in 4.1-[2], adjective-predicate clauses/sentences may contain the copula *jyue* 'inchoative', but not the copula *khaye* 'equational'. Adjective-predicate clauses used in the 'Clause' slot of this MMC have the same properties as those they do in independent sentences, except for the following two respects, which concerns the copula *jyue* 'inchoative'.

[1] Non-omissibility

In independent adjective-predicate sentences, the copula *jyue* may be omitted, e.g. (8). However, in the 'Clause', the copula *jyue* may not be omitted. Consider (98), an instance of this MMC. If the copula in the 'Clause' is deleted, we will obtain (99).

- (98) [*thwa jyā taskā: thāku ju:*]=*gu* *kha:*
 this job very difficult COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
 'It is the case that this job has become very difficult.'
 (99) *thwa jyā taskā: thāku=gu* *kha:*
 this job very difficult=NMLZ COP.NFND
 'This job is a very difficult one.'

However, (99) cannot be considered to be an MMC. The omission of the copula *ju:* changes the entire sentence structure to a headless AC, meaning 'This job is a very difficult one'. As discussed in 4.2, when adjectival predicate clauses modify a noun, a nominalizer must follow the adjective, and it must agree the head noun. In the above example, *thāku=gu kha:* looks like an MMC, but this is a headless AC, whose head is the subject of the 'Clause' (i.e. this job).

In ACs, the nominalizer must agree with the head noun. In a headless AC, the nominalizer agrees with the covert head. The covert head in (99) is

inanimate. The inanimate nominalizer agrees with the head. However, in the following example, if the copula *ju:* is omitted, the inanimate nominalizer will not be licensed because the covert head is understood to be animate.

- (100) *thwa misā taskā: dayālu *(ju:)=gu*
 this woman very kind COP.NFND=NMLZ
kha:.
 COP.NFND
 ‘This woman *is/became very kind.’

This sentence would be acceptable as a headless AC only when the nominalizer was replaced with the animate singular nominalizer =*mha*. Likewise, it is better considered that (99) is not an MMC but a headless adnominal clause.

[2] *ju:* ‘nonfuture neutral disjunct’ for an inchoative meaning only

In independent adjective-predicate sentences, the nonfuture neutral disjunct of the inchoative copula is interpreted as equational, e.g. (8). However, when used in the ‘Clause’ (and in nominalized clauses generally), it is not interpreted as equational. It is interpreted as inchoative. This is shown in the English translations, e.g. (98), (100).

This is true not only with affirmative clauses/sentences but also with negative clauses/sentences. An adjective predicate is negated by attaching the negation prefix to the copula *ma-ju:*, e.g. (9), (101), (102). A negated adjective predicate has an equational meaning (‘be’) in adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (101). However, it has an inchoative meaning an inchoative meaning in the ‘Clause’, e.g. (102).

- (101) *thwa misā dayālu ma-ju:.*
 this woman kind NEG-COP.NFND
 ‘This woman is not kind.’
- (102) [*thwa misā dayālu ma-ju:*]=*gu* *kha:.*
 this woman kind NEG-COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
 ‘This woman once became unkind (but now is kind again).’

This shows that an adjective-clause used in the ‘Clause’ can be used by itself as a sentence, but that there is an aspectual difference between them.

5.3.5.4 *Noun-predicate clauses.* As noted in 4.1-[3], a noun-predicate sentence may have no copula verb (when it is an affirmative sentence), e.g. (11). In contrast, a noun-predicate sentence with no copula verb cannot occur in the ‘Clause’ of this MMC. See:

- (103) *[*rām dāktar*]=*gu* *kha:.*
 Ram doctor=NMLZ COP.NFND
 Intended meaning: ‘(It is the case that) Ram is a doctor.’

We shall comment on the uses of the two copula verbs in the ‘Clause’.

[1] *khaye* ‘equational’

kha: ‘equational’ can occur in a noun-predicate sentence. Its presence makes the sentence more assertive, since *kha:* is originally a verb meaning ‘to be true’. See (11) and (104).

- (104) *rām dāktar (kha:)*.
Ram doctor COP.NFND
‘Ram is a doctor (indeed).’

Noun-predicate clauses with *kha:* cannot appear in the ‘Clause’; see (105).

- (105) **[rām dāktar kha:] = gu kha:*.
Ram doctor COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
Intended meaning: ‘(It is the case that) Ram is a doctor.’

[2] *juye* ‘inchoative’

In noun-predicate sentences, *juye* can occur e.g. (13), (106). It has an inchoative meaning. (However, its neutral disjunct form cannot occur here.) It can occur in the ‘Clause’. Here, too, it has an inchoative meaning, not an equational meaning. See (107).

- (106) *rām dāktar jul-a*.
Ram doctor COP-NFPD
‘Ram has become/became a doctor.’
- (107) *[rām dāktar ju:] = gu kha:*.
Ram doctor COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
‘(It is the case that) Ram has become/became a doctor.’

Note that, in the ‘Clause’, noun-predicate clauses and adjective-predicate clauses share the same property: they must have the inchoative copula; and the copula has an inchoative meaning only, and lacks an equational meaning.

Noun-predicate clauses used in the ‘Clause’ can be used by themselves as independent sentences, but not as they stand. The independent sentence that corresponds to the ‘Clause’ of (107) must be (106). Since the nonfuture neutral disjunct form of the inchoative copula, i.e. *ju:*, cannot appear in a noun-predicate sentence (cf. (13)), the ‘Clause’ part in (107) cannot be an independent sentence as it stands. Since the meaning of the copula *ju:* in (107) is dynamic, the corresponding independent sentence will be only (106). This is because the nonperfective disjunct form of a verb cannot occur before the nominalizers, and the respective nonfuture neutral disjunct form is used instead in this case.

In sum, the sentencehood of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC where the ‘Noun’ is =*gu* (INAN) differs in degree among verb-predicate, adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses. The ‘Clause’ whose predicate is a verb is higher in the degree of sentencehood than the other two, and the ‘Clause’ whose predicate is an adjective is higher than that whose predicate is a noun.

5.3.6 Use in adverbial clauses

This MMC may occur in some adverbial clauses. However, there are some cases in which the copula *khaye* ‘equational’ is disfavored or rejected. In such cases, the copula verb *juye* ‘inchoative’ is in turn preferred. Examples follow.

[1] Temporal clauses that are headed by *balae* ‘when’, *nhya:* ‘before’ or *dhū:kā:* ‘after’

Generally this MMC is not natural. Nonetheless I found one example:

- (108) *ale* [*ni-thāe* *jaka* *bū* *wan-e*]=*gu*
 and two-CLF only paddy go-FC=NMLZ
ju:=*balae* *nhī:* *nhī:* *ni-mha*
 COP.NFND=when day.ERG day.ERG two-CLF
ni-mhā: *bū* *wan-ā* *cwan-e*
 two-CLF.ERG field go-CM stay-INF
mwā:l-a.

be.unnecessary-NFPD

‘And when it was the case that we went only to two paddies, it was no longer necessary for two of us to go there every day.’

(Stories in my memories)

In this example, the copula *ju:* does not carry the inchoative sense. It functions exactly like the equational copula *kha:*. It is not possible to replace *ju:* with *kha:* here.

[2] Causal clauses

Both *khaye* and *juye* are possible, but when there is no assertive tone, the copula *juye* is preferred, as in (109).

- (109) [*gū:lā=yā* *punhi* *kunhu* *han-i:*]=*gu*
 Gunla.month=GEN full.moon day respect-FD=NMLZ
ju:=*gūlī:* *thuki=yā=ta* *gū:punhi*
 COP.NFND=because this=GEN=DAT Gunpunhi
dhā:=gu *kha:* (Elohan)
 say.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND

‘Since they respect the day of the full moon in Gunla

(August-September), they call this day “Gunpunhi”.’

In this example, the copula *ju:* can be replaced with *kha:*, but *kha:* will sound emphatic, stressing that it is a fact. Without such a tone, the copula *ju:*

is unmarked; or it signals a change of state, hence the establishment of what is described in the MMC.

[3] Concessive clauses and concessive conditional clauses
 These clauses are headed by =*sã̃*:. Examples are (110) (concessive) and (111) (concessive conditional).

(110) [*rām kanhae wa-i*]=*gu* *kha*:=*sã̃*:,
 Ram tomorrow come-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND=though
jĩ: *wa=yā=ta* *nāplā-e makhu*.
 1SG.ERG 3SG=GEN=DAT meet-FC NEG
 ‘Though Ram is coming tomorrow, I will not see him.’

(111) [*rām kanhae wa-i*]=*gu* *ju*:=*sã̃*:,
 Ram tomorrow come-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND=though
wa=yā=ta *nāplā-e makhu*, *jĩ*:.
 3SG=GEN=DAT meet-FC NEG 1SG.ERG
 ‘Even if Ram is coming tomorrow, I will not see him.’

[4] Conditional clauses that are marked with =*sā̃*
 Either *ju*: or *kha*: may occur. In (112), the copula *kha*: occurs, but it can be replaced with *ju*: with no change in the meaning.⁷

(112) [*jĩ*: *chan=ta* *bwa*: *byu*:]=*gu*
 1SG 2SG=DAT scolding give.NFND=NMLZ
kha:=*sā̃* *cha* *gyā-i* *ale* *chu*
 COP.NFND=if 2SG be.frightened and what
thu-i *nã*: *makhu*. (Elohan)
 understand-FD too NEG
 ‘If it was the case that I had scolded you, you would have been frightened and would not have understood anything.’

We have seen that this MMC can occur in adverbial clauses.

5.3.7 Discourse functions

The enclitic-type MMC signals various functional purposes in discourse. There are two fundamental functions of the MMC, irrespective of whether it occurs with or without a copula: (i) to make a strong assertion (5.3.7.1); and (ii) to state a presupposed fact that is related to a topic in discourse (5.3.7.2). This MMC signals that the speaker presupposes that the situation stated in it is true. When it is used in an interrogative sentence, it bears a tone of interrogation whether what is stated is true or not, or the questioner’s keen interest (5.3.7.3).

5.3.7.1 Making a strong assertion as a concluding remark. This MMC is often used to put forward a strong assertion, especially when the speaker

gives a concluding remark based on the preceding context. In this function, the ‘Copula’ of the MMC may not be omitted.

The utterance in (113) was made after another speaker said that, as they had not learned Japanese since coming to Japan, they had found life more difficult. By using this MMC, the speaker asserts in a strong tone that what he thinks is no less than an indisputable fact.

- (113) *wa lā kha:, ukī: [chikipi=sā:*
 that EMPH be.true.NFND therefore 2PL.HON=ERG
jāpāni: bhāe bhacā sã: saek-e=gu
 Japanese language a.little though learn-INF=NMLZ
kuta: yān-ā di-i mā:]=gu kha:.
 effort do-CM HON-INF need.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
 ‘That’s indeed right. Therefore, you must make at least some effort
 to learn Japanese.’ (Newar Conversation)

Now consider the following example. In this story, Dārā, who used to be a sheep herdsman and has become a high ranking official, is suspected of embezzling tax, carrying it in a trunk, and one day the king tells him to open the trunk, only to find his old clothes in it. Then he explains why he always carries his old clothes in his trunk, uttering (114c). In this case, too, the speaker makes a strong assertion as a concluding remark.

- (114) a. *ji ā: nhyā=mha he ju:=sã:*
 1SG now any=NMLZ EMPH COP.NFND=though
nhāpā: ji cha-mha phaijwā: kha:.
 first 1SG one-CLF sheep.herdsman COP.NFND
 ‘Whatever I am now, I am primarily a sheep herdsman.’
- b. *thwa khā lwa:man-a=ki ji gabalē: he*
 this story forget-NFPD=if 1SG anytime EMPH
nyāya nisāph bi: pha-i-makhu.
 justice judgment give-INF can-FD-NEG
 ‘If I forgot this fact, I would not be able to make a logical
 judgment at any time.’
- c. *ukī: [jī: tha:=yā=ta thamhā:*
 so 1SG.ERG REFL=GEN=DAT REFL.ERG
lumāk-ā ta-e=ta he thwa wasa:
 remember-CM put-INF=DAT EMPH this clothes
nāpā: tay-ā juy-ā]=gu kha:.
 nearby put-CM travel-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
 ‘So I carry these clothes with me intentionally to remind me.’

A statement by this MMC must refer to an established fact. It is possible to question whether a certain proposition is true or not by using this MMC, e.g. (115). However, it is not possible to use this MMC in the assertive to express the speaker's recognition of a fact; see (116).

- (115) *lã pyān-ā cwan-a. [cān=ae wā*
road be.wet-CM CONT-NFPD night=LOC rain
wa:] =gu kha: lã?
come.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND Q
LT: 'The road is wet. Is it true that it rained during the night?'
FT: 'The road is wet. Did it rain during the night?'
- (116) *lã pyān-ā cwan-a. *[cān=ae wā*
road be.wet-CM CONT-NFPD night=LOC rain
wa:] =gu kha:.
come.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'The road is wet. It was the case that it rained during the night.'

The MMC in the above sentence is a concluding remark that is drawn by conjecture based on the fact that the road is wet. The proposition 'It rained during the night' is not guaranteed as a fact, so it is not natural to use this MMC here. However, adding the modal auxiliary verb *mā:*, which marks conjecture, will save the sentence, as follows.

- (117) *lã pyān-ā cwan-a. [cān=ae wā*
road wet-CM CONT-NFPD night=LOC rain
wa:] =gu kha-e mā:.
come.NFND=NMLZ COP-INF should.NFND
LT: 'The road is wet. It must have been the case that it
rained during the night'
FT: 'The road is wet. It must have rained during the night.'

5.3.7.2 *Background information.* The enclitic-type MMC is often used to supply background information: [1] introducing a statement that leads to the main theme of narrative, [2] providing additional explanatory information such as reason, evidence, etc., or [3] elaborating on a topic in detail.

When the background information consists of more than one sentence, this MMC may be used sequentially, indicating that the sequence of MMCs constitutes a set of background information. The MMCs may have the 'Copula' (full-fledged MMCs) or omit it (copula-less MMCs), the presence of the copula *kha:* delivers a more assertive tone.'

[1] Introducing a statement for the main theme

In narratives, the first line of a story is usually a lead sentence, either a topic sentence or a sentence that supplies background information that is relevant to the topic. This MMC can be used to introduce background information at

the beginning of a story when the statement concerns a previous situation that no longer holds true at the time of the main story but that is relevant to it. The following sentence, which is taken from a story about clothes, is the first line of the passage. The MMC provides a piece of background information relevant to the main theme of the passage about the development of clothes.

- (118) [nhāpā nhāpā dhū, bhālu, sala, kisi thē:
 before before fox bear horse elephant like
 manu: nā: gū=ī he cwan=i:] =gu
 man too forest=LOC EMPH live-FD=NMLZ
 kha: (Elohan)
 COP.NFND
 ‘A long, long time ago, men used to live in forests like foxes,
 bears, horses and elephants.’

In this function, regardless of the tense in the ‘Clause’, the MMC implies that the situation presented in it no longer holds at the moment of speech. The verb is interpreted as past habitual in (118). The following example is an elicited sentence. The consultant says that the MMC signals that the proposition presented is no longer true and the sentence that follows may start with *tara* ‘but’.

- (119) [jī: yakwa khānji ākha: lumā:k-ā] =gu
 1SG.ERG many kanji character memorize-NFC=NMLZ
 kha:
 COP.NFND
 ‘(It is true that) I remembered a lot of kanji characters.’

The above sentence implies that now the speaker does not remember all of them. On the other hand, if the =gu kha: portion is removed to make an independent clause, this implication is canceled.

A copula-less MMC may also be used in this function, though such cases are not common. The following sentence is the first line of a story, which presents a background setting for what follows. The function is the same as the one of the full-fledged MMC: to introduce a new topic into discourse.

- (120) [jā:gal=yā sitha=e cha-mha manu: nhi=yā
 jungle=GEN border=LOC one-CLF man day=GEN
 nhithā: si miy-ā: ji:ban han-ā
 day.ERG garment sell-CP life join-CM

cwan-i:] = gu.

CONT-FD=NMLZ

‘On the edge of a jungle, a man was earning a living by selling garments from sunrise to sunset.’ (Elohan)

[2] Stating a reason as background information

Another use of this MMC is to state a reason as background information. The MMC in (121b) is stated as a reason for the event described in (121a).

(121) a. *juju, lāni wa me=pī: sakalē: bhacā*

king queen and other=NMLZ.PL all a.little

lipā jaka bijyā-e dhaigu āggyā

later only come.HON-INF QUOT instruction

ju: = gu

du.

happen.NFND=NMLZ exist.NFND

‘According to the king’s instruction, the king, the queen and the others will all come a little later.’

b. [*yuwarāj hajur=yā rājkumāri nāpa khālhbālhā*

prince Sir=GEN princess with talk

yā-e=ta awasar byu:] = gu kha:.

do-INF=DAT chance give.NFND=NMLZ

‘[The king] gave Your Majesty the Crown Prince a chance to talk with the princess.’

[3] Topic elaboration

In elaborating on a topic in discourse, a set of sequential MMCs may be used (Hale and Shrestha 2006). In such cases, they are often copula-less. In elaborating on a topic, specific events and states related to it are presented in sequential MMCs.⁸

The following example, which is taken from Hale and Shrestha (2006: 195), illustrates a case of elaboration of a topic.

(122) a. *cihriṃā: = mesyā punakhū: maī: cā mikhā*

stepmother=ERG Punakhun Mainca eye

bā-galā: he swa-e ma-ya:.

half-CLF.ERG EMPH look.at-INF NEG-like.NFND

‘The stepmother couldn’t stand the sight of Punakhun Mainca.’

b. *akī: [wā: nhesumhyāe = yā = ta*

so that.ERG stepdaughter=GEN=DAT

na-kē: syā-i] = gu.

eat-CAUS.INF.ERG kill-FD=NMLZ

‘So she would feed her stepdaughter very little.’

Lit.: ‘kill by feeding’

- c. *tha: mhyāe=yā=ta dhā:sā* * [*ghya: duru*
oneself daughter=GEN=DAT TOP ghee milk
lā tay-ā: jā nak-i]=gu.
meat put-CP rice feed-FD=NMLZ

‘As for her own daughter, she would feed her rice together with ghee, milk and meat.’

- d. [*sā:~sā: bhī:~bhī: dhā-kwa*
be.tasty.NFND-PL good.NFND-PL say-much
nak-i:]=gu.
feed-FD=NMLZ

‘She would feed her as much good tasty food as she would ask for.’

According to Hale and Shrestha, the sentence in (122a) states the stepmother’s antipathy for Punakhun Mainca in a verb-predicate clause. Then the series of copula-less MMCs follow it to develop the antipathy theme.

The MMC in the example above is copula-less. The MMC with the copula *khaye* is stronger in assertion (cf. 4.1-[3]). In the following examples, the MMC has the copula *kha:*, giving rise to a strong assertive tone.

- (123) a. “*bābu chā:!* [*kāsi: he bwā:-wan-e*
my.boy 2SG Kasi EMPH study.PURP-go-FC
dhay-ā]=gu kha: lā?”
say-FC=NMLZ COP.NFND Q
‘My boy, did you say that you will go to Kasi to study?’
- b. *cha-nhu cirimā-mhā: nyan-ā dil-a.*
one-day stepmother-AD ask-CM HON-NFPD
‘One day his stepmother asked him.’
- c. “*kha:, cirimā:!* [*ji kāsi: he wan-e*
yes stepmother 1SG Kasi.LOC EMPH go-FC
dhay-ā]=gu kha:
say-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
‘Yes, Mom! It is true that I said that I would go to Kasi.’
- d. *thana he bwan-e dhā:=sā*
here EMPH study-FC say.NFND=if
[*bwanekhuthi du]=gu ma-khu.*
school exist.NFND=NMLZ NEG-COP.NFND

LT: 'If I decide to study, it is not the case that there is a school here.'

FT: 'Even if I decide to study, there is no school here.'

- e. *chu yā-e? lā kharcā jaka*
 what do-FC road expense only
du=sā [gā:]=gu kha:. (Elohan)
 exist.NFND=if suffice.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND

LT: 'What do I do? It is sufficient if I have only travel expense.'

FT: 'What should I do? I only need travel expenses.'

- f. *wā: cirimā:=yā khwā: pulukka*
 3SG.ERG stepmother=GEN face in.a.glance
sway-ā: dhāl-a.
 look-CP say-NFPD

'He said, glancing at his stepmother's face.'

Asked by his stepmother in (123a), the child answers her by using the MMCs in (123c-f). In the sequence of the MMCs with the copula *kha:*, his answer is more assertive, implying his strong will to go to Kasi to study.

5.3.7.3 *MMC in interrogative clauses.* The enclitic-type MMC may be used in interrogative sentences. Asking a question employing this MMC gives rise to a tone of interrogation, or the questioner's keen interest. Compare:

- (124) *chu yān-ā?*
 what put-NFC
 'What did you do?'
 (125) [*chu yān-ā*]=*gu?*
 what put-NFC=NMLZ
 'What did you do?'
 (126) [*chu yān-ā*]=*gu kha:?*
 what put-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
 'What on earth did you do?'

All of the three patterns are possible: (124) independent sentence, (125) copula-less MMC and (126) full-fledged MMC. According to my consultants, (124) is the unmarked question. It is often used. (125), too, is often used, but it has a more intimate tone, and sometimes it is less polite. (126) has a strong tone of interrogation.

6. Noun-predicate sentences with the nominalizers =*mha*/=*pī*:

So far we have discussed two types of the MMC: the noun type (5.2) (see (127a)) and the enclitic type (5.3) (see (127b)).

- (127) a. [Clause]=*gu* *bhāgya* Copula
 b. [Clause]=*gu* Copula

As seen in 4.2.1.1, Newar has three nominalizers: =*gu* ‘INAN’, =*mha* (ANIM SG) and =*pī*: (ANIM PL). We examined the use of =*gu* ‘INAN’ in 5.2 and 5.3. The animate nominalizers =*mha* and =*pī*: can occur in a construction that looks similar to the MMC that involves the nominalizer =*gu* ‘inanimate’, discussed in 5.3. Its structure can be shown as follows.

- (128) Subject [... Verb]=*mha*/=*pī*: Copula

The ‘Verb’ is almost fully finite; all the finite forms occur except the nonfuture perfective disjunct. The portion ‘[... Verb]=*mha*/=*pī*:’ represents a nominalized clause. This construction expresses ‘one who does ...’. This is illustrated in (129) and (130). Curly brackets indicate the portion that may look like the ‘Clause’ of the MMC.

- (129) {*rām* [*yakwa aelā:* *twan-i:*]}=*mha* *kha:*
 Ram much liquor drink-FD=NMLZ COP.ND
 LT: ‘Ram is one who drinks a lot of liquor.’
 FT: ‘Ram drinks/used to drink a lot of liquor.’
- (130) {*deba-debi:* *dha-i=pī:* [*jhi:=gu*
 god-goddess say-FD=PL 1PL.INCL=NMLZ
raccha yā-i]}=*pī*: *kha:*
 protection do-FD=NMLZ COP.NPND
 LT: ‘Those who we call gods and goddesses do our protection.’
 FT: ‘Gods and Goddesses protect us.’

It may look as if these were instances of the MMC in which the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the nominalizer =*mha*/=*pī*:. However, this construction is best regarded not as an instance of the MMC, but as a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate is a nominalized clause (or a headless AC). There are two reasons for this.

- (a) The ‘Subject’ is syntactically outside the ‘Clause’ and it is the subject of the ‘Copula’, and not that of the ‘Verb’.
 (b) The nominalizer agrees with the covert animate head, which in turn refers to the ‘Subject’.

As is represented in (1), the MMC has the ‘Clause’, as a constituent distinct

from the ‘Noun’ and the ‘Copula’. That is, all the other elements but the ‘Noun’ and the ‘Copula’ are in the ‘Clause’ syntactically. Therefore, the ‘Clause’ can be used as an independent sentence as it stands. This is the case with the two types of MMC in (127), as discussed in 5.2.5 and 5.3.5.

Unlike the two types of MMCs in (127), what may look like the ‘Clause’ (shown with curly brackets) may not be used as an independent sentence.

In an independent sentence, if the verb is transitive, the subject must be in the ergative case; see (131) and (132).

- (131) *rām=ā: yakwa aelā: twan-i:.*
 Ram=ERG much liquor drink-FD
 ‘Ram drinks a lot of liquor.’
- (132) *deba-debi: dha-i=pī:=sā: jhi:=gu*
 god-goddess say-FD=PL=ERG 1PL.INCL=NMLZ
raccha yā-i.
 protection do-FD
 ‘Gods and Goddesses protects us.’

However, in (129) and (130), although the verb is transitive, the subject is in the absolutive form. This means that the ‘Subject’ of the construction in (128) always occurs in the absolutive case, irrespective of the case of the subject in the corresponding independent sentence. The following pair of examples confirms this point.

- (133) {*cha [atikā: buddhi du]*}=*mha kha:.*
 2SG much knowledge exist.NFND=NMLZ COP.ND
 LT: ‘You are who have much knowledge.’
 FT: ‘You have much knowledge.’
- (134) *cha=ke atikā: buddhi du.*
 2SG=LOC much knowledge exist.NFND=NMLZ
 LT: ‘Much knowledge is with you.’
 FT: ‘You have much knowledge.’

(134) is an example of the existential/possessor construction, where the possessor is marked with the locative case. In the =*mha kha:* construction (133), the possessor will never remain to be the locative but must occur in the absolutive. In this case as well, the ‘Subject’ must be in the absolutive case, although the possessor in the corresponding independent sentence occurs in the locative form.⁹

Now consider the nominalizers. In (129), the ‘Subject’ is ‘Ram’, and the nominalizer is =*mha* ‘ANIM SG’. In (130), the ‘Subject’ is ‘god-goddess’, and the nominalizer is =*pī:* ‘ANIM PL’. In (133), the ‘Subject’ is ‘2SG’, and the nominalizer =*mha* ‘ANIM SG’. The nominalizers all ‘agree’ with

the 'Subject'. To be precise, the nominalizer agrees with the covert head, which is coreferential with the 'Subject'. This, too, shows that the construction (128), e.g. (129), (130) and (133), contains a nominalized clause, or a headless AC, that agrees with the 'Subject'.

In contrast, the nominalizer in the enclitic-type MMC (see (127b)) is consistently =*gu* 'INAN', irrespective of the animacy or the number of the subject of the MMC. This shows that, in the enclitic-type MMC, =*gu* does not agree with any constituent. For example, consider the following sentences. The subject is shown in parentheses. (56) ('1SG.ERG'), (57) ('students'), (58) ('1SG.ERG'), and (60) ('village'). This provides evidence for the view that sentences such as (129), (130) and (133) should be distinguished from the enclitic-type MMC.

To sum up, we have seen evidence that (129), (130) and (133) are noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a nominalized clause or a headless AC, and that they should be distinguished from the enclitic-type MMC.

7. Semantics/pragmatics and etymology of the MMC

We shall briefly summarize the semantics/pragmatics of the two types of the MMC. It is convenient to include the noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a nominalized clause.

Table 2. Semantics/pragmatics and etymology of the MMC

etymology or cognate	meaning or use outside MMC	semantics/pragmatics of MMC
....	<i>bhāgya</i> 'fate, lot, luck'	epistemic: fate, destiny, lot, luck
classifier = <i>gu</i>	= <i>gu</i> (a) complementeizer, (b) nominalizer (INAN)	(a) strong assertion, (b) presupposed fact (c) question: tone of interrogation, keen interest
<i>mha</i> 'body'	= <i>mha</i> 'nominalizer' (ANIM SG)	'one who does ...'
plural - <i>pī</i> :	= <i>pī</i> : 'nominalizer' (ANIM PL)	'those who do ...'

8. Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

We shall compare the two types of the MMC with a few other constructions. The constructions compared are the following.

- (a) Verb-predicate sentences, as the representative of independent sentences (cf. 4.1)
- (b) Noun-type MMC (noun *bhāgya* ‘fate, destiny, lot, luck’) (cf. 5.2)
- (c) Enclitic-type MMC (nominalizer =*gu* (INAN)) (cf. 5.3)
- (d) Construction with the nominalizer =*mha* (ANIM SG)/=*pī*: (cf. 6)
- (e) Adnominal clauses (‘ACs’) (cf. 4.2.1).

Recall that the predicate of ACs is followed by the nominalizer =*gu* (ANIM).

This comparison will concern the following respects.

- (i) Morphology of the predicate
- (ii) Case of the transitive subject (‘A’)
- (iii) Case of the intransitive subject (‘S’)
- (iv) Sentencehood: Can the ‘Clause’ or the ‘underlined part’ be used as a sentence?

The result of the comparison is shown in Table 3. ‘NFPD’ indicates ‘nonfuture perfective disjunct’.

Table 3. Comparison of the MCC with other constructions

	predicate	S	A	sentencehood
(a) Verb-predicate sentence	fully finite	ABS, GEN	ERG, GEN	n.a.
(b) MMC: <i>bhāgya</i>	almost fully finite, but NFPD cannot occur	ABS, GEN	ERG, GEN	generally yes
(c) MMC: = <i>gu</i>	almost fully finite, but NFPD cannot occur	ABS	ERG	generally yes
(d) = <i>mha</i> /= <i>pī</i> :	almost fully finite, but NFPD cannot occur	ABS	ABS	not always yes
(e) AC (= <i>gu</i> /= <i>mha</i> /= <i>pī</i> .)	almost fully finite, but NFPD cannot occur	ABS	ERG	n.a.

The noun-type MMC is similar to verb-predicate sentences (not to ACs), at least in terms of the case of the S and the A. In contrast, the enclitic-type MMC is similar to ACs (not to verb-predicate sentences) regarding (i) the case of the S and the A, (ii) the morphology of the predicate, and also (iii) the use of the nominalizer =*gu*.

9. Summary and concluding remarks

Newar has two types of the MMC. In the noun-type, the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu* (INAN) and the noun *bhāgya* ‘fate, lot, destiny, luck’. This MMC has something like an epistemic meaning that concerns fate, destiny, lot or luck. Under certain conditions, the S and the A must occur in the genitive case, and not in the absolutive case and the ergative case, respectively. The noun *bhāgya* retains its nounhood in that it can be modified. This MMC is slightly more similar to verb-predicate sentences than to ACs.

In the enclitic-type of the MMC, the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu* (INAN). This MMC is not a prototypical MMC in that the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by an enclitic, and not a noun. The S occurs in the absolutive case, and the A in the ergative case. This MMC has three discourse functions: (i) to make a strong assertion, and (ii) to state a presupposed fact. (iii) In interrogative sentences, this MMC has a tone of interrogation or keen interest. This MMC is more similar to ACs, than to verb-predicate sentences.

In both types of the MMC, the ‘Clause’ can generally be used by itself. However, this is not always the case. In this respect, they are not prototypical MMCs.

In addition, there is a construction that involves the enclitic nominalizer =*mha* (ANIM SG) (cognate with the noun *mha* ‘body’) or =*pī*: (AINM PL). It is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate is a nominalized clause or a headless AC. It expresses ‘one who does ...’. The subject must occur in the absolutive case even when the verb in the nominalized clause is a transitive verb.

Abbreviations

A - transitive subject; ABS - absolutive case; AC - adnominal clause; AD - antideictic; ADV - adverbial marker; ANIM - animate; BEN - benefactive; CAUS - causative; CONT - continuous; CLF - classifier; CM - concatenation marker; CNTR - contrastive; COP - copula; CP - conjunctive participle; DAT - dative; EMPH - emphatic; ERG - ergative; EXCL - exclusive; FC - future conjunct; FD - future disjunct; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HON - honorific; IMP - imperative; INAN - inanimate; INCL - inclusive; INF - infinitive; INFM - informative; LOC - locative; LT - literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NFND - nonfuture

neutral disjunct; NEG - negation; NFC - nonfuture conjunct; NFPD - nonfuture perfective disjunct; NPST - nonpast; NMLZ - nominalizer; LOC - locative; PRF - Perfect; PL - plural; Q - question marker; QUOT - quotative; REFL - reflexive; S - intransitive subject; SG - singular; STEM – stem; TOP - topic.

Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely thank my Newar consultants, Mr. Manik Ratna Shakya, Ms. Ratā Shakya and Mr. Arun Shrestha, for their help with Newar data. I owe a lot to Tasaku Tsunoda (the editor of the volume) and Kamal P. Malla for their valuable comments and suggestions on my earlier draft. It goes without saying that I am responsible for all the remaining mistakes and failings in this article.

Notes

- 1 The dictionary forms are the literal transliteration of the devanāgarī exponents and only appear as the entry form in dictionaries. Dictionary forms are used to cite uninflected forms of verbs in this paper.
- 2 I elicited data from Mr. Manik Ratna Shakya, Ms. Rata Shakya, both from Patan, and Mr. Arun Shrestha, from Kathmandu. The source written materials are represented in parentheses with examples. They are: *Elohan*, monthly Newar magazines; *Newar Textbook*, an official school textbook of Newar Reader; *Newar Conversation*, a Newar conversation textbook written by Tej Ratna Kansakar, Tokyo: Research Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2002; *Original Asti*, a Newar story book; *Sweet Grapes*, a Newar story book; *My Memory*, a Newar essay book; *An Interview with Sham Dangol*: a recorded interview with Mr. Sham Dangol.
- 3 O'Rourke (2000) and Hale and Shrestha (2006) extensively discuss Newar ACs, but they do not recognize external ACs.
- 4 The locative form of the nominalizer =*gu* is *guli-i* as in (30).
- 5 When a compound verb, like *lwa:mane* in (32), is negated by the negative prefix *ma-* or emphasized by an emphatic particle *he*, the additional element is attached to the stem verb before the bound morpheme on the left. In the gloss, the left morpheme is given the sense of the compound verb, and the stem verb is labeled as STEM.
- 6 Hale and Shrestha discuss the alternation of regular cases with the genitive in non-generic contexts. They call the phenomenon as “genitive experiencer overlay”, analyzing the effect as “casting the agent as one who chooses to perform an action or as an agent who experiences the result of the action” (Hale and Shrestha 2006:174).
- 7 Although the subject of the MMC is the first person and the verb denotes an intentional action, the verb occurs in the disjunct form (here, neutral disjunct). This is because the sentence expresses a counter-factual situation, in which case the conjunct form will not be used.
- 8 Hale and Shrestha (2006: 195ff) discuss copula-less MCCs, which they call “finite nominal clauses”. I do not make a full reference to their discussion, but they also describe the function of the copula-less MMC as marking background materials,

illustrating examples of elaboration of a theme, laying plans and summarization of previous events. In such cases as well, the events and states expressed in the nominalized clauses are presupposed facts, as I discussed.

- 9 When the verb of the nominalized clause in (128) is an activity intransitive verb, the subject will be in the absolutive form. Therefore the portion that may look like the ‘Clause’ of the MMC (i.e. the ‘Subject’ [... Verb]) will be incidentally able to be an independent sentence.

(i) {*rām* [*yakwa* *khwa-i*]}=*mha* *kha*.
 Ram much cry-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND
 ‘Ram cries a lot.’

References

- Hale, Austin. 1980. Person markers: finite conjunct and disjunct forms in Newari. *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics*. Pacific Linguistics Series A, No. 53, 95-106. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Hale, Austin. 1986. User’s guide to the Newārī dictionary. In *Newārī-English Dictionary: Modern Language of the Kathmandu Valley*, Thākur Lāl Mānandhar (ed.), xxii-l. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
- Hale, Austin & Shrestha, Kedār. P. 2006. *Newār (Nepāl Bhāṣā)* [Languages of the World/Materials 256]. Muenchen: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(1): 63-99.
- Kiryu, Kazuyuki. 2007. Newaarugo ni okeru kaku to tadoosee (Case marking and transitivity in Newar). *Tadoosee no Tsuugengoteki Kenkyuu (Crosslinguistic Studies in Transitivity)*, Mie Tsunoda et al. (eds), 191-203. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.
- Kiryu, Kazuyuki. 2009. On the rise of the classifier system in Kathmandu Newar. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 75: 51-69. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Kiryu, Kazuyuki. 2011. A functional analysis of adjectives in Kathmandu Newār. In *Himalayan Languages and Linguistics: Studies in Phonology, Semantics, Morphology and Syntax* [Brill’s Tibetan Studies Library], Mark Turin & Bettina Zeisler (eds), 99-132. Leiden: Brill.
- Kölver, Ulrike. 1977. *Nominalization and lexicalization in modern Newari*. Köln: Universalienprojekt, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Köln.
- Malla, Kamal P. 1985. *The Newari Language: A Working Outline*. MONUMENT SERINDICA NO.14, Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Malla, Kamal P. 1990. The earliest dated document in Newari: The palmleaf from Ukū Bāhāh NS 235/AD 1114., *Kailash* 16: 15–25.
- O’Rourke, Mary Josephine. 2000. Relatively nominal: relativization in Kathmandu Nepāl Bhāṣā (Newārī). Unpublished M.A. thesis, La

Trobe University.

Teramura, Hideo. 1969. The syntax of noun modification in Japanese. *The Journal-Newsletter of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 6(1): 63-74.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. This volume-a. Mermaid construction: an introduction and summary.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. This volume-b. Mermaid construction in Modern Japanese.