CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES
CNAS, TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY

Vol. 16, No. 2
July 1989

ORDER OF MEANINGFUL CONSTITUENTS IN NEPALI*

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1. Introduction

Nepali is the national language of the kingdom of Nepal which is stretched east—west on the southern slope of the Himalayas. It is one of the Indo—Aryan Languages. Some of the syntactic features like ergativity are closer to the Western group of New Indo Aryan languages like Hindi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Panjabi, and Urdu, while some other grammatical and phonological features take Nepali closer to the Eastern group of NIA Languages like Bihari, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, and E— Hindi (cf. Emeneau 1956,1965,1980; Southworth 1974; Masica 1976; Pray 1976; Kacru 1982; Panddharipande 1982; Zograph 1981a; 1982b; Zakharyin 1982). Nepali is spoken in the contact area of Tibeto—Burman and North Indo—Aryan Languages. Thus there are traits of grammatical convergence between Nepali and some of the Tibeto—Burman languages (cf. Bendix 1974).

2. Scope

This paper covers the serialization rules ranging from morphomes to sentences. X—Bar Theory (Chomsky 1970, Jackendoff 1977), Government and Binding (Chomsky 1981), Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1983; Perlmutter and Rosen 1984), Topicalization (Charles Li and Thompson 1976; Lehmann 1976; Keenan 1976; Hyman and Zimmer 1976; Kooij 1984; Gueron 1984; Junghare 1985), and Stylistic Permutatior (Anderson 1983) Areal and typological issues (Masica 1974, 1976; Verma 1976; Emeneau 1980; Junghare 1985) and Language Universals (Greenberg 1966, 1972,1974,1975,1978; Lehman 1973; Vennemann 1974; Hawkins 1979,1981,1984, Comrie 1983); will be taken as models of analysis.

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* This paper is written under the supervision of Prof. P. Dasgupta.

3. Literature Survey

According to Dixitacharya (1913:151—1) the unmarked orders are Subject — Other Cases like instrumental — Object— Verb; Genitive — Noun and that emphasis and prosody fluctuate the order of the constituents. Dahal (1974:538—41) and Sthapit (1978:183—90) have also dealt word order of Nepali but nobody has as yet treated word order of Nepali in the form of rules. Earlier treatment is more or less classificatory rather than generative.

4. X—Bar Generalizations of Nepali Word Order: (See also Radford 1988; Dasgupta 1989).

Rule: NEPALI IS A HEAD—RIGHT LANGUAGE.

(cf. Vennemann 1974; Hawkins 1984).

4.1 This rule states that Complement, modifier and adjunct precede the Head in a construction. This rule makes Nepali a left—branching language.

COMPLEMENT—HEAD

A. Subordinate Clause-Main Clause: (cf. Downing 1978; Kacru1980;1986).

1. ta^{n} Ais bhane / malAi bheTchas.
   you came if me you—meet
   'If you came, you will meet me.'

2. bhAt pAkyo bhanera/ usle sunAyo.
   rice cookked saying he told
   'He told that rice was cooked.'

3. jahA^{n} jAnchas jA. (Where you—go go)
   'Go where you like.'

4. kina Aena, thAha chaina.
   why din't— come know is—not.
   'I don't know why he didn't come'

5. timi Au^{n}dA malAi khusi lAgcha.
   you when—come me happy feel
   'I feel happy when you come.'

6. jo jAndaina uhi dher bolcha.
who does not—know he too— much talks
'He who does not know talks too much'.

B. NP—VP:

Verb phrase is the head of the sentence and NP is its Compement. Thus in Nepali Object—NP precedes the V—Predicate.

7. dud—bhAt khAnu (milk—rice to—eat)
'to eat rice with milk'

8. dAju—le bhAi—lAi kuT—yo.
elder brother—ERG younger brother—DAT/ACC beat— past.
'The elder brother beat the younger brother'.

Under this generalization VP is the Head and Subject-NP is the Complement of VP. Thus Object precedes the verb and Subject precedes the Predicate-Phrase.

C. Noun-Postposition:

9. ghar-mA (house-in) 'in the house.'
10. ghar-bhitra (house-inside) 'inside the house.'
11. didi-kahAn (elder sister-at) 'at the elder sister's place.'
12. ban-tira (forest-towards) 'towards the forest.'
13. chAnA-mAthi (roof-on) 'on the roof.'
14. chAnA-mAthi-ko (on the roof-of) 'of the roof.'
15. us-ko (he-of) 'his.'
16. kisAn-lAi (farmer-to) 'to the farmer.'
17. rookh-bATa (tree-from) 'with the pen.'
18. kalam-le (pen-with) 'with the pen.'
19. mai-le (I-oblique-ERG) 'I.' (cf. Dasgupta 1989:4)
20. uskA-lAgi (his-for) 'for him.'
21. AitabAr-dekhi (Sunday-from) 'from Sunday.'
22. DAlA-mA (basket-in) 'in the basket.'
23. ma-nera (I-near) 'near me.'
24. ghar-samma (house-to) 'to the house' (limitative position)

D. Main Verb-Vector (in Compound verbs):

25. bol-i diyo (speak give-past) 'he spoke for somebody.'
26. bol-i her-yo (speak look-past) 'he tried to speak.'
27. bol-i choD-yo (speak leave-past) 'he spoke deliberately.'

28. bol-i hAlyo (speak put-past)
'he could not do without speaking.'

E. Main Verb-Aux:

29. Mai-le terA-lAgi boli die-ko chu.
I-ERG you-for speak-give- am
'I have spoken for you.'
30. u paDh-dai thi-yo (he read-ing was) 'he was reading.'
31. gai-saknu-bhae-ko thi-yo (go-finish-been-was)
'had gone.'

F. Numerical-Classifier:

32. ek koso (kerA) (one-classifier (banana))
33. ek poTi (lasun) (one classifier garlic))
34. ek (palTa, tAli, khep, coTi, bAji) (hernu)
one-classifier- to look 'to look once.'

G. Root/Stem-Suffix:

35. paDh-ne (read-er) 'reader.'
36. rAmr(o)-ari (fine-ly) 'well.'
37. paDh-A (read-causative) 'teach.'
38. paDhA-i (teach- {nominal, passivizer} -suffix)
'teaching'
39. paDhAi-eko (teaching-past participle) 'taught.'

H. V'' (Indirect Object-V' (Direct Object-Verb)):

40. hanumAn-le sitA-lAi au^{n}Thi die
Hanuman-ERG Sita-DAT ring gave.
'Hanuman gave Sita the ring.' (cf. Sedlak 1975)

4.2 Nepali is a marker-right language. But this generalization can also be merged into the Head-right rule because marker is the head of the marker phrase according the the recent generalizations of the GB-theory (cf. Chomsky 1981; Dasgupta 1985, 1989).

I. Sentence-Marker:

41. u Au^{n}-cha (he-comes).
42. u Au^{n}cha holA/kyAra (he comes maybe).
43. u Au^{n}cha ra? (he-comes-doubtful question marker).
44. u Au^{n}cha *ta/ni* (focus markers).

45. keTo birAmi cha are.
boy sick is they-say.
'They say the boy is sick.'

J. **Complement Clause-Complementizer:**

46. tapAi^{n}-lAi sancei holA bhanne (AsA cha)
you-ACC/DAT OK maybe CO^{M}P (hope is)
'I hope you are OK.'

47. pAni paryo bhane (ma Au^{n}dina)
water fell if I don't-come
'I don't come if it rains.'

48. paisA chaina bhanera (phikri lAgcha)
money is-not COMP (sorry feels)
'I am sorry for being without money.'

K. **XP-Marker:** (cf. Chomsky 1986; Radford 1988)

49. dAju mAtra (elder brother-only)
50. dAju pani (elder-brother-also)
51. dAju samet (elder brother-including)
'including elder brother.'
52. ((((lAl bahAdur) bhanne) mAnche) sa^{n}ga)
name named man -with
'with the person named Lal Bahadur.'
53. ghar jasto (house-like) 'like a house.'
((Standard-Marker) Noun).

L. **Focus Marking Particles (Enclitics):**

54. ma ghara jAnchu (I-home-go) 'I go home.'
55. ma *ta* ghara jAnchu.
56. ma ghara *ta* jAnchu.
57. ma ghara jAnchu *ta*.
(*ta* focus marker)
58. rAm-le bhAi-lAi kuTyo
Ram-ERG younger brother-ACC beat-past
'Ram beat his younger brother.'
59. rAm-le *po* bhAi-lAi ku-Tyo.
60. rAm-le bhAi-lAi *po* kuT-yo.
61. rAm-le bhAi-lAi kuT-yo *po*.

M. **Other Markers:**

62. guru-ji (teacher-respect marker)
63. tyo-gadhA (he-donkey) (abusive classifier)
64. mAlikni sAheb (mistress-madam).

4.3 **Modifier - Head:**

A. **Adjectival-Noun:**

65. yo cìThi (this-letter).
66. purAnu ghar (old-house).
67. Thuli bhAuju (elder-elder brother's wife) 'Sister-in-law.'

B. **Adverbial-Adjectival:**

68. sArei rAmro (very-beautiful).
69. alikati kAlo (slightly black).
70. ekdam kacci (very faulty).

C. **Addressee-Address** (Heine 1975)

71. bidyA didi (Vidya-elder sister).
72. mAstar sAheb (teacher-sir).
73. rAjendra mAmA (Rajendra-mother's brother).

D. **Numeral Phrase-Noun:** (cf. Pokharel 1988)

74. tin kosA kerA (three-CL banana).
75. tin kesrA suntalA (three-CL orange).
76. tin ghogA makai (three-CL maize).

E. **Genitive-Noun:**

77. tapAi^{n}ko paisA (your money).
78. meri mAyalu (my beloved).
79. tero Tauko (your head)

F. **Modifier Clause-Noun:**

80. cineko mAnche (recognised person).
81. malAi mAgne keTo (me-demanding-boy) 'the boy who wants me to marry.'
82. sutiraheko bAgh (sleeping tiger).

G. **Adverb-Verb:**

83. bistArei bolnu (slowly to-speak) 'to speak slowly.'
84. agADi basnu (on the front-to sit) 'to sit on the front.'

85. kudera Aunu (running-gerundive to-come)
'to come running.'

86. khapAkhap khAnu (onomatop to-eat) 'to eat without a stop.'

87. kina Ais (why-you came)
'why did you come?'

Some Anomalous Evidence:

H. **Chronological Order:**

88. banduk paDke pachi/carA uDe.
gun firing after birds flew.
'Birds flew after the firing of the gun.'

89. Tyo ciyA khAera/iskul gayo.
he tea after-eating/school went.
'He went to school after drinking tea.'

I. **Given Name-Family Name** (cf. Heine 1975):

90. mAdhab pokhrel.

91. gopAl barAl.

J. **Higher Numeral + Units + Tens** (Heins 1975).

91. tin sae chabis = 326 (three-hundred-six-twenty).
'three hundred and twenty six.'

5. **GB-Generalizations** (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1986; Lasnik and Uriagereka 1988)

5.1 **Antecedent-Reflexive Anaphora:**

92. jiyA-Ur-rahamAn ra sekh hasinA ek-arkA-lAi
Jiya-Ur-Rehman and Seikh Hasina one-another ACC
khalanayak samjhi-rehekA chan.
villain thinking-continue are.
'Each of Jia-Ur-Rehaman and Seikh Hasina is considering the other a villain.'

93. hAmi-le ek-arkA-lAi cinenau^{n}.
we-ERG one-another-ACC didn't recognise.
'We could not identify each other.'

5.2 **Antecendent-Proforms:**

The S or S-bar containing antecedent precedes the bound proforms.

94. (jijas-le roktA-roktei pani) (mAnis-le unlAi Terenan).
jesus-ERG in-spite-of-interruption/people ERG he-ACC disobeyed.
'People did not stop in spite of Jesus' interruption.'

95. (khala-nAyak nAyak-ke-i caritra-bhitra janman-cha)
villain hero-of-IMPH character-in is born
(tara bicarA nAyak ra khala-nAyak-ko cAkAculi kheli-
but poor-fellow whero and villain-of see-saw is-playing
rahancha
is
'A villain is born in the character of a hero, but the poor fellow is always playing a see-saw between a hero and a villain.'

96. (keTA-le tyahA^{n} kAm sodhe-pachi) (myAnejar-le us-lAi bhanecha)
boy-ERG the job asking-after) (manager-ERG he-ACC said.
'When the boy asked for a job, the manager told him.'

5.3 **Reflexive Anaphora:**
In an unmarked order the reflexive anaphora follows the coreferential NP.

97. harek din *mai*-le sanjaya drisTi-le *Aphu*-bhitra-ke-i
every day I-ERG Sanjaya-view-INSTRUMENTAL self-inside-of-IMPH
debAsur yuddha dekhi-rahanu-pare-ko cha.
gods and demon-fighting see-continue-non volition-is
'Every day with the sight of Sanjaya I am bound to see the conflict between gods and demons inside myself.'

98. (tyas aparicit-lAi jangali jantu-haru-le Thulo mahAtmA ThAnchan)
that stranger-ACC wild animal-pl. ERG great saint
(ThAnchan ra Aphnu netA cunchan).
think and self's leader appoint.
'The wild animals consider that stranger a great saint and appoint him their leader.'

Here the antecedent and reflexive anaphor are not within the same S or S-bar.

99. (mAnis-haru bistAr bistAr (e Aphnu Dhungo khasAldei) bhAge).
man-pl. slowly self's stone dropping escaped.
'Slowly the people dropped the stones and dispersed.'

In this example the reflexive anaphor within an S which is embedded in the main clause is c-commanded by the antecednt.

100. S' (e AphnA swAsni chorA-chori kuTtA) S (manis-le Aphu lAi
self's wife non-daughter to-beat/man-ERG self-ACC
bahAdur ThAncha)
brave thinks.
'Man considers himself brave while punishing his wife and children.'

In this example the anaphora is preceding the antecedent though being c-commanded by it.

101. Aphai^{n}-bhitra dekhnei nahune kurA Aphnei^{n} A^{n}khA-le
self-inside not-worth-seeing thing self's eyes-INSTRUM.
dekhi-sak-i-yo.
see-finish-PASSIVE-past.
'Forbidden and unexpected things are being noticed within myself.'

Here both the reflexive anaphora are unbound. That is they are pragmatically bound anaphora.

102. Aphu tiaa ga-i-yo (self-FOCUS go-PASSIVE-past)
'Now I am going.'

This reflexive *Aphu* seems to be a dummy-P, which is overt always in the absence of the impersonal passive, where the verb is neutral and does not agree with *Aphu* or any other NP. Pragmatically it always means I, the speaker.

6. Relational Grammar and Nepali word order:

Perlmutter and Postal (1983:3-29) give rules to predict word order of a language under the model of grammar. According to them if the basic order of constituents is fixed, then after the derivation of a sentence from one co-ordinate to another, the order of constituents in a particular stratum can be predicted. As an example they pose English where their rules are correctly predictable. But their rules are more relevant in the languages where there is relatively fixed order like in English, but their rules are not of any good to predict constituent order in languages like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, where there is relatively free word order (but cf. Staal 1967; Kuiper 1974). Constituent order in Nepali is closer to Sanskrit or Latin than to English. Thus Relational Grammar could not help to predict order of constituents in Nepali.

7. Alpha-Movement and Constituent order in Nepali:

In Nepali Intra-Category order is fixed and Exra-Category order is free. In Sanskrit the Intra-category order was relatively fixed while the Extra-category order was relatively free.

Change of order in Nepali and most of the New Indo Aryan languages is a stylistic measure to superimpose extra meaning to the same set of constituents in a construction. Thus change in the underlying order is always coupled with the change in the intonational pattern.

There are Focus-marking particles as device to give Focus to a particular constituent in the language. Such Focus-marking particles together with the content words are always associated with word stress, whose correlates are extra length, loudness and pitch in a particular syllable. Sometimes such Focus-marking correlates are abreast with gemination. Thus constituent order and supresegmental or segmental phonology can be correlated, but the field is virgin and we are hopeful future research in the field will take this up. Intonation could also be a cue to distinguish marked and unmarked order.

With our rule of Intra-Category fixed order and Extra-Category free order we can deduce the following:

i. Order among term relations is relatively free (Kuiper 1974; but cf. Hock 1986; Meenakshi 1986).
ii. Order among adverbials is relatively free (Adverbials are the most irregular constitutents in this respect).
iii. Order among adjectivals is free.

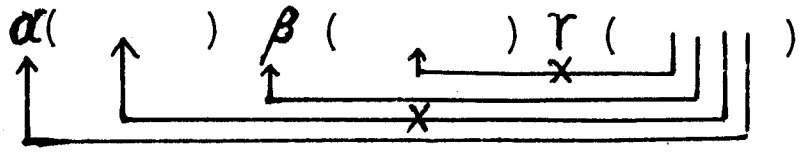
iv. Among Main Verbs there is chronological order in co-ordinating construction. If there is no such restriction they are also relatively free among themselves.

v. Unless otherwise specified NPs are also relatively free among themselves in concatenation or serialization.

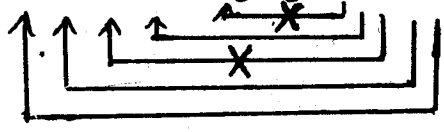
Because of the case-marking post-positions, constituent order does not help to determine case in Nepali as in Chinese and in English. Thus word-order in Nepali is nearly redundant with respect to case. It is the use of postpositions that makes the order in Nepali relatively free.

In spite of relatively free order only categorial movement is possible in Nepali, intrusion or insertion within a particular phrase or construction is nearly impossible.

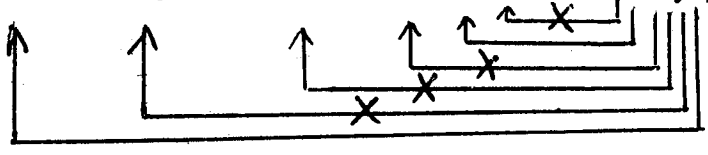
Adverbials seem to violate this rule, but even there within a locational phrase or a temporal phrase insertion is not permitted. Movement is allowed only at the boundary of a constituent. Thus:

104. 

105 Aja/ghar-mA/ek geDo *cAmal* pani/chaina.
Today/house-at/one-CL- rice also/is-not
'There is not a single grain of rice in the house today.'



106 ɟun belA/ghar-mA/cAmal/thiena//tesei belA/u/Ayo)



S(which-time/house-in/rice/was-not)S (that-time/he/came)
'He came at the time when there was no rice in the house.'

There is sort of pronominalization in the verb form of Sanskrit. e.g.

107. aham gacchAmi. tat gacchati.

This copy of the same consonant in Subject-Verb agreement is a residue of proto-language pronominalization. Due to this sort of

pronominal agreement in verb, in Sanskrit, Subject is not only pragmatically but also grammatically redundant. Thus first and second person Subjects are generally deleted. The same is the case with Nepali, where verb forms not only snow number and person as in Sanskrit but also sex and honor.

In alpha-movement like Topicalization and other stylistic permutations, each category takes a particular marked place with a special meaning. (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1986; Lasnik and Uriagereka 1988). And it is a very complicated job to discover the network of meaning.

Example 106 shows that within an S-bar even at the boundary there cannot be any movement of the constituent from other S-bar, however, in the sentence initial position it is permitted. Following Li and Thomps on (1976:457–89), Nepali can be classed as the language having the charcteristics of both Topic-prominent and Subject-prominent languages. Dravidian languages are more Topic-prominent than Indo-Aryan (Junghare 1985:181-98). The general characteristics of Topic-prominent languages (Li and Thompson 1976) are as follows:

i. Lack or marginal occurrence of passivization. (characteristic of Subject-prominent languages)
ii. Lack or Dummy Subjcts (like 'it' in English).
iii. Verb-final languages.
iv. Basicness of Topic-Comment sentences.
v. Topic generally comes in the sentence-initial position; does not necessarily agree with the verb; it announces the Theme of the discourse; the Topic sets a spacial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.
vi. A great deal of word order variation, which creates the possibility for any constituent to become the Topic of the sentence.

"Word order in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian is, to a large extent determined by Topic-Comment relation rather than by grammatical relation. Topic-Comment structure seems to prevail in these languages. Postpositional noun phrases occupy the sentence intitial position when they are Topics, where as Subject noun phrases, when indefinite, occur somewhere else in the sentence..... In Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, Subject NP's that occur in the sentence-initial position, the position reserved for Topics, are mostly definite" (Junghare 1985).

Thus, though Nepali has characteristics of both the Topic-prominent and subject prominent languages, it is more Topic-prominent considering all the characteristics. This being the Verb final language of the unmarked order (tentatively):

Temp-Loc-S-DO-IO-V

and stylistically any category can either be prepoed or postposed as per the semantic information, all permutations of the phrase-categories are possible because of the Topic-prominence incorporated with the marked fluctuation of intonation pattern together with other suprasegmental and paralinguistic features. (ef. Crystal 1968; Bolinger 1968, 1972; Halliday 1967).

8. Application of Nepali rule in the order of South Asia:

As envisaged earlier Extra-Category order of South Asian languages is free. Deviation of marked order is incorporated with marked intonational patterns (cf. Li and Thompson 1978; Jhungare 1985).

So far as the X-bar generalizations of Intra-Category order is concerned the generalization of Head-right rule of Nepali can be applied to South Asian languages like Bengali , Telugu, Marathi, Oriya Hindi, Malayalam and Kannada. Only the languages of contact area and the Western group of Indo-Aryan showed some of the variations (in clause order). In Malayalam there is a marked tendency of avoiding complex sentences. In Sindhi complementizers precede the embedded clause. In Sindhi even comparative marker is found to precede the marker phrase and the embedded noun clause generally follows the main clause. The latter feature is found even in Gujarati and Bihari.

As Masica (1974, 1976) says the unmarked order of south Asian languages is SOV, there is predominance of dative subjects; the order of constituents is more rigid in sub-ordinate clauses: in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Santhali Subordinate clauses generally follow the main clause.

All the generalizations of Masica can be merged into the Head-right rule. Thus unless marked elsewhere South Asia is proposed to be generalized as the Head-right linguistic area.

Languages of South Asia especially Indo-Aryan and Dravidians are suffix prominent (ef. Cowgill 1966; Hawkins and Gilligan 1988). Even in Snskrit prefix ws not so productive as suffix. In all the Indian languages

epecially Indo-Aryan and Dravcidian families the productive prefixes are those morphemes or particles that derive the Head into negative. In most of the cases these prefixes are found to be borrowed from either Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic.

9. Language Universals and Nepali word order:

Nepali follows the word order universals (4, 13, 14, 18, 20, 22, 24, 27, and 41) of Greenberg (1966:73-113) and implicational universals of Hawkins (1979:618-48) which are mainly based on Greenberg (1966). All the mentioned universals relavant to Nepali and the languages of South Asia can be merged into the proposed Nepali X-bar generalization.

10. Conclustion:

The rules generating constiuent order in Nepali is characteristic of South Asian order of meaningful constituents though there may be language-specific minor variations. The rules of word order of South Asia proosed in the context of Nepali in this paper is inferred to be used by parallelism of the constituent order of the region as deduced in this paper will be hoped to be useful in cross-linguistic studies like language teaching and translation.

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