CHAPTER-II

Finite and Non-Finite Clause Structure in Nepali

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses finite and non-finite clause structure in Nepali. In §2.1 we discuss the basic typological overview of Nepali. In §2.1.1 we have discussed word order, in 2.1.2 §Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) feature and in §2.1.3 we have shown agreement in detail. In §2.1.4 we have looked Nepali case markers and in §2.2 - §2.3 finite and non-finite clause types in Nepali are discussed where infinitival, relative, nominalized, intransitive, transitive, types of clause are analyzed in detail. In § 2.4 negation in a finite and non-finite clause is examined. §2.5 concludes with an overview of the clause structure of Nepali.

2.1 Typological Features of Nepali

The basic typological features of Nepali are:

(i)   Nepali has a SOV word order. It is a verb final language.

(ii)   Nepali verbs constitute Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) features.

(iii) Nepali shows agreement in person, number and gender.

(iv)   Nepali is a pro drop language.

(v)   It has split ergativity.

2.1.1 Word order of Nepali

The basic word order of Nepali is SOV. The subject occurs in the clause initial position followed by the direct object and the verb occurs in the clause final position as shown in (11):

(11)   razu   sut-j-o   (SV)

       raju   sleep-PST-3P.SG.M

       "Raju slept."

(12) mɑ   bhat   khan-ch-u   (SOV)

    I   rice   eat-PRES-1P.SG

    "I eat rice."

(13) mɑi-le   razu-lai   poisa   di-j-e   (SOV)

    I-ERG   razu-DAT   money   give-PST-3P.SG

    "I gave money to Raju."

Although the canonical word order of Nepali is SOV, the language shows free word order. It is possible to have OVS, OSV, SVO, VSO, VOS word order as shown in (14a-14e) without changing the meaning of the construction. Lohani (1999:20) states that word order in Nepali is relatively free. According to Pokhrel (1989:92), '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'. In both SN as well as AN, we see this flexible word order. Mostly the flexible word order pattern is visible in colloquial form. In written forms like poetic expressions or any fictional description such flexibility of word order is observed. But apart from SOV word order, the other orders are mostly valid in discourses. Regmi (2003:104) discusses an example where he argues that the SOV word order for a native speaker is basic which is pragmatically neutral. Where as in case of OSV word order, it is pragmatically marked.

(14a) bhat   khan-ch-u   mɑ   (OVS)

     rice   eat-PRES-1P.SG   I

     "I eat rice."

(b)   bhat   mɑ   khan-ch-u   (OSV)

     rice   I   eat-PRES-1P.SG

     "I eat rice."

(c)   mɑ   khan-ch-u   bhat   (SVO)

I   eat-PRES-1P.SG   rice

"I eat rice."

(d)   khan-ch-u   mɑ   bhat   (VSO)

        eat-PRES-1P.SG   I   rice

        "I eat rice."

(e)   khan-ch-u   bhat   mɑ   (VOS)

        eat-PRES-1P.SG   rice   I

        "I eat rice."

2.1.2 Tense, Aspect and Mood in Nepali

Verbs are generally the most complex kind of structures as they show different features which make the language more interesting to study and analyze. Bickford (1998:27) argues that verbal morphology involves more grammatical meanings than noun morphology. Therefore, to understand such intricate mechanism of any verbal feature the study of verbal morphology is very crucial. In this section we will look into tense and agreement system in Nepali in general. Since the research is based on the Assam variety of Nepali, analysis of the verbal morphology of Nepali is imperative.

2.1.2.1 Tense

SN has three tense forms: present, past and future. The present tense marker is **-ch**, past tense marker is **-j** and **-ne** is the future tense marker.

(15)   mɑ   kitap-heru   pɑrh-ch-u   **Present**

        I   book-PL   read-PRES-1P.SG

        "I read books."

(16) hami-le   kitap-heru   pɑrh-j-im   **Past**

     we-ERG   book-PL   read-PRES-1P.SG

     "We read books."

(17) pinaki-le   kitap-heru   pɑrh-ne.ch-in   **Future**

     pinaki-ERG   book-PL   read-FUT.PRES-3P.SG.F

     "Pinaki will read books."

Adhikari (1993:131) argues that although this **-ne** marker is considered as future tense
marker in Standard Nepali but it cannot be completely differentiated from the present tense
–ch from future. According to him -**ne.ch** is a present tense form. He claims that Nepali
has past versus non-past tense system.

Nepali speakers of Assam normally don't use the future tense marker **-ne**. Instead they use
an adverb of time to indicate future time and the verb takes the present tense form **-ch**. Let
us see an example from AN in (18) below. Since AN does not have a future tense form, a
temporal adverb is used to indicate future time not tense. This is one major difference
between SN and AN tense system.

(18) pinaki-le   bʰoli   kitap-heru   pɑrh-ch-in

     pinaki-ERG   tomorrow   book-PL   read-PRES-3P.SG.F

     "Pinaki will read the books tomorrow."

2.1.2.2 Aspect

Aspect indicates the internal temporal structure of events in relation to its context. Nepali
has two aspects: perfect and progressive. The perfect markers in Nepali are **-ko**, **-ki** and **-
ka.** The perfect marker **–ko** (masculine) and **-ka** (feminine) occurs when the subject is in
the singular form. The perfect marker **–ki** occurs when the subject is in plural. The
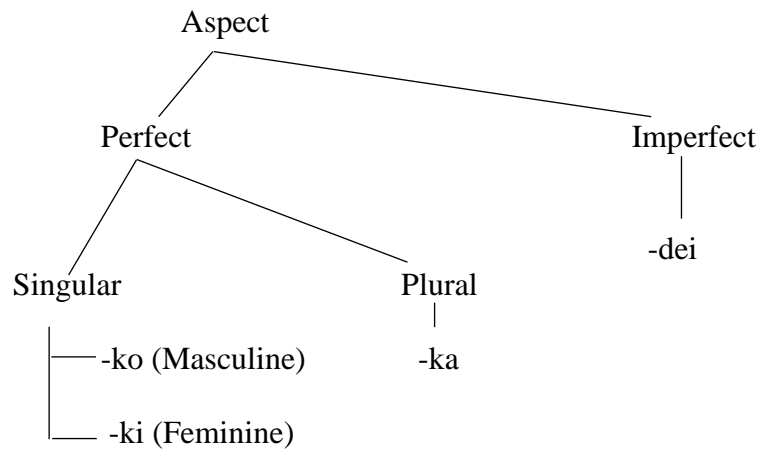imperfective marker in Nepali is **-dei.**

Figure 2

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                        Aspect
                       /      \
                  Perfect      Imperfect
                  /     \           |
            Singular    Plural     -dei
              |           |
       |----- -ko (Masculine)   -ka
       |
       |----- -ki (Feminine)
```

Figure 2: Aspects in Nepali

2.1.2.2.1 Perfect Aspect

In (19-22) we have some examples showing the perfect aspect:

(19) u   office   gɑ-ko   ch-ɑ

      he   office   go-PERF   EXIST.PRES-3P.SG.M

      "He has gone to office."

(20) u   office   gɑ-ko   thi-j-o

      he   office   go-PERF   EXIST-PST-3P.SG.M

      "He had gone to office."

(21) rima   office   gɑ-ki   thi-j-in

      rima   office   go-PERF   EXIST-PST-3P.SG.F

      "Rima had gone to office."

(22) unheru   office   gɑ-ka   ch-ɑn

      they   office   go-PERF   EXIST.PRES-3P.PL

      "They have gone to office."

As seen in the examples (19-22), the main verb *ga* 'go' becomes a non-finite verb when the perfect marker **–ko** in (19-20), **-ki** (21), and **-ka** (22) suffixes to it. For realization of tense and agreement marker the existential **ch** and its suppletive form **thi** is obligatorily present. The existential **ch** and its suppletive form **thi** are in free form, while the present tense marker **–ch** in §2.1.2.1 is in bound form. The existential **ch** and the present tense marker **-ch** are polysemous. In examples (10,14,15,18) the present tense marker **–ch** is overtly present. However, in (19-22) the present tense marker **–ch** is not overt in the existential construction indicating that the present tense marker is obligatorily overt with lexical verb constructions and not with the existential verb construction.

2.1.2.2.1 Progressive Aspect

In (23-25), the progressive marker **–dei** suffixes to the main verb *kha* 'eat' in (23-24) and *a* 'come' in (25). The existential **ch** and its suppleted form **thi** takes the tense and agreement feature.

For example:

(23) rɑnzɑn   nɑrikol   kha-dei   ch-ɑ

ranjan   coconut   eat-PROG   EXIST.PRES-3P.SG.M

"Ranjan is eating coconut."

(24) prijɑnka   tɑrkari   kha-dei   thi-j-in

priyanka   curry   eat-PROG   EXIST-PST-3P.SG.F

"Priyanka was eating curry."

(25) sidhu   pɑrsi   au-dei   ch-ɑ

sidhu   day after tomorrow   come-PROG   EXIST.PRES-3P.SG.M

"Sidhu will be coming the day after tomorrow."

In Nepali, the progressive marker **-dei** occurs with all the tense forms. Table 2 shows the aspectual markers in the language. In §2.1.2.1 we have already discussed that SN has **-ne** as future tense marker whereas in AN, a temporal adverb is used to indicate future time.

However, in future progressive construction as shown in (25) the structure is same for both SN and AN. We assume that this might be one of the possible reasons of Adhikari's (1993:131) claim that SN has only past versus non-past tense system.

Table 2

Aspect	Aspect Marker		
	M	**F**	**Plural**
Perfect (PRESENT)	-ko	-ki	-ka
Perfect (PAST)	-ko	-ki	-ka
Progressive (PRESENT)	-dei	dei	dei
Progressive (PAST)	-dei	dei	dei
Progressive (FUTURE)	-dei	dei	dei

Table 2: Aspect markers in Nepali

2.1.2.3 Mood

Mood is a verbal device which shows the attitude of the speaker towards any situation. In SN there are modal verbs referring to ability, necessity, probability and there is an optative mood too. In AN, modal verbs refer to the mood of ability, necessity and probability. In Nepali a modal verb construction is a complex construction where the modal verb occurs in the main clause and the main verb in the infinitival form is a complement of the modal. Let us see an example of modal verb in AN.

(26a) u   au-nɑ   sɑk-ch-ɑ

      he   come-INF   may-PRES-3P.SG.M

Lit: 'he to come may.'

    "He may come."

In (26a), we see an example of the modal verb *sak* 'can' expressing probability. In (26a) we have a complex clause. The main clause comprises the subject *u* 'he' and the modal verb *sak* 'can' in (S1) the embedded clause and (S2) the infinitival clause does not have an overt subject. In such construction the subject of the main clause *u* 'he' functions as an antecedent for the subject in the embedded clause.

(26b) [u   sɑkchɑ]

(26bc) [u   [aunɑ]   sɑkchɑ]

        S1   S2

2.1.2.3.1 Ability

To express ability Nepali uses the modal auxiliary verb *sak* 'can' (see example 27,28). In (27), the main verb *gar* 'do' and in (28) the main verb *hin* 'walk' are in the infinitival form. The infinitival embedded clause is the complement of the modal verb *sak* 'can'.

(27) mɑ   jo   kam   gɑr-nɑ   sɑk-ch-u

      I   this   work   do-INF   can-PRES-1P.SG

Lit: 'I to do can this work.'

        "I can do this work."

(28) timi   eklei   hin-nɑ   sɑk-ch-eu

      you.SG   alone   walk-INF   can-PRES-2P

Lit: 'You to walk can alone.'

        "You can walk alone."

2.1.2.3.2 Necessity

To indicate necessity, the modal verb *par* 'need/must' is used in Nepali. This construction is also similar with the examples (26, 27, 28). Unlike in (27-28), the agreement in the modal verb in (29-31) takes the third person agreement **–ɑ** by default.

(29) timheru chitto hospital za-nu   pɑr-ch-ɑ

      you.PL   fast   hospital go-INF   need-PRES-3P.SG

Lit: 'You to go need to the hospital fast.'

      "You need to go to the hospital fast."

(30) hami   pɑdh-nu   pɑr-ch-ɑ

      we   read-INF   must-PRES-3P.SG

Lit: 'We to study must.'

      "We must study."

(31) u   pɑd-nu   pɑr-ch-ɑ

      he   read-INF   must-PRES-3P.SG

Lit: 'He to study must'.

      "He must study."

2.1.2.3.3 Probability

In Nepali, the mood of probability is also indicated by the modal verb *sak* 'can' which also indicates the mood of ability.

(32) azɑ   police   au-nu   sɑk-ch-ɑ

      today   police   come-INF   may-PRES-3P.SG

Lit: 'Police to come may today.'

      "Police may come today."

(33) u   skul   za-nu   sɑk-ch-ɑ

      he   school   go-INF   may-PRES-3P.SG

Lit: 'He to go may to school.'

      "He may go to school."

2.1.2.3.4 Optative

Poudel (2005:70) shows an example of optative mood in SN. Normally in AN, the optative mood is not used. The modal *bhaes* 'may' indicates optative mood in SN. Let us see an example:

(34) ta   ramro   choro   bhaes

you   good   son   MOD

"May you be a good son."   Poudel (2005:70)

2.1.3 Agreement in Nepali

The Nepali agreement system shows agreement for person, number and gender. The agreement markers for present and past tense are different. They differ with reference to the honorific markers too. The agreement markers for affirmative and negative sentences are also dissimilar. In this section we have also shown the agreement system of affirmative sentence and for negative sentences we have shown them in §2.4.

2.1.3.1 Agreement in Present Tense

Agreement in the verb indicates about the subject of a sentence. In Nepali, agreement marker suffixes with the verb. The agreement markers in present tense are discussed below with examples:

(i) Agreement in 1ˢᵗ person

The first person agreement marker for singular number is **–u** and for plural number we have the marker **–um** in AN. In Chapter 1, §1.2.3 we have shown that the first person plural marker in SN is **-ɑu**. The speakers of AN use this **-ɑu** marker in formal situations only. Let us see the examples of 1ˢᵗ person agreement in AN.

(35a) mɑ   cricket   khel-ch-**u**

I   cricket   play-PRES-1P.SG

"I play cricket."

(b)   hami   cricket   khel-ch-**um**

        we   cricket   play-PRES-1P.PL

        "We play cricket."

(ii) Agreement in 2nd Person

The second person agreement markers in singular number varies depending on the honorific markers. In most of the Indo-Aryan languages, the second person have three variants as in Hindi we have **tu** (LH), **tum** (MH) and **aap** (HH) which are used by speakers to address an individual in informal, casual or formal set up. This phenomenon is observed in Assamese, Bengali and other Indic languages. Similarly, Nepali too has three variants for the second person as shown in Table 3. The honorific feature is fused with the agreement marker in Nepali. In the example (35a,35b) we see that the agreement marker **-es** fuses person, number and honorificity together. In (36e) we see the **nu-hun** indicates the high honorificity in present tense.

Table 3

Person	Singular	Plural
1st Person	mɑ	hami
2nd Person (LH)	tɑ	timheru
2nd Person (MH)	timi	timheru
2rd Person (HH)	tɑpai	tɑpaiheru
3rd Person (M)	u	unheru
3rd Person (F)	uni	unheru

Table 3: Pronouns in Nepali

From examples (36a-36c) we see the agreement marker for low honorific construction is **–es**, for mid-honorific construction the agreement marker is **-eu** and for high honorific construction the agreement marker is **-ɑ**. In second person high honorific construction as shown in (36c), the imperative marker **-nu** and honorific marker **-hun** suffixes with the verb.

(36a) tɑ   cricket   khel-ch-**es**   (Low Honorific)

      you   cricket   play-PRES-2P.SG.LH

      "You play cricket."

(b)   timi   cricket   khel-ch-**eu**   (Mid Honorific)

      you   cricket   play-PRES-3P.MH

      "You play cricket."

(c)   tapai cricket   khel-nu-hun-ch-**ɑ**   (High Honorific)

      you   cricket   play-IMP-Honf-PRES-2P.HH

      "You play cricket."

In second person plural construction the agreement marker **–eu** is used for both low honorific and mid honorific constructions. For example:

(d)   timheru   cricket   khel-ch-**eu**

      you.PL   cricket   play-PRES-2P.PL

      "You play cricket."

The second person plural construction with high honorificity has the same agreement marker **-ɑ** which is used for singular construction. For example:

(e)   tɑpaiheru   cricket   khel-nu-hun-ch-**ɑ**

      you.PL   cricket   play-IMP-Honf-PRES-2P.HH

      "You play cricket."

(iii) Agreement in 3ʳᵈ person

The agreement marker in third person depends on number, gender and honorificity. Let us see the examples given below.

Singular Number Low Honorific Masculine Gender

(37a)　u　　　cricket　　　khel-ch-**ɑ**

　　　　he　　　cricket　　　play-PRES-3P.SG.M.LH

　　　　"He plays cricket."

Singular Number Low Honorific Feminine Gender

(b)　u　　　cricket　　　khel-ch-**e**

　　　she　　　cricket　　　play-PRES-3P.SG.F.LH

　　　"She plays cricket."

Singular Number Mid Honorific Masculine Gender

(c)　u　　　cricket　　　khel-ch-**ɑn**

　　　he　　　cricket　　　play-PRES-3P.SG.M.MH

　　　"He plays cricket."

Singular Number Mid Honorific Feminine Gender

(d)　u　　　cricket　　　khel-ch-**in**

　　　she　　　cricket　　　play-PRES-3P.SG.F.MH

　　　"She plays cricket."

The agreement marker for third person singular number in high honorific construction is –**ɑ** for both masculine and feminine gender. For example:

Singular Number High Honorific

(e)　u　　　cricket　　　khel-nu-hun-ch-**ɑ**

　　　he　　　cricket　　　play-IMP-Honf-PRES-3P.HH

　　　"He plays cricket."

In third person the agreement marker for plural number is **-ɑn**. There is no gender or honorific distinction seen in the third person plural agreement marker.

(f) unheru cricket khel-ch-ɑ**n**

they cricket play-PRES-3P.PL

"They play cricket."

2.1.3.2 Agreement in Past Tense

The agreement markers for past tense in Nepali differs from the present tense agreement markers. In this section we have shown the agreement markers for past tense in details.

(i) Agreement in 1st person

The first person agreement marker for singular number is –**e** and for plural number we have the marker –**im** in AN. The examples (38a-38b) shows the first person agreement markers in AN.

(38a) mɑi-le cricket khel-j-**e**

I-ERG cricket play-PST-1P.SG

"I played cricket."

(b) hami-le cricket khel-j-**im**

we-ERG cricket play-PST-1P.PL

"We played cricket."

(ii) Agreement in 2nd Person

The second person agreement markers in singular number varies depending on the honorific markers. From examples (39a-39c) we see the agreement marker for low honorific construction is –**is**. The agreement marker for singular number mid-honorific constructions in both present and past tense is –**eu**. For high honorific construction the agreement marker is –**o**. In second person high honorific construction as shown in (39c), the imperative marker –**nu** and honorific marker -**bhɑ** suffixes with the verb.

(39a) tɑi-le cricket khel-j-**is** (Low Honorific)

you-ERG   cricket   play-PST-2P.SG.LH

"You played cricket."

(b)   timi-le   cricket   khel-j-**eu**   (Mid Honorific)

you-ERG   cricket   play-PST-3P.MH

"You played cricket."

(c)   tɑpai-le   cricket   khel-nu-bhɑ-j-**o**   (High Honorific)

you-ERG   cricket   play-IMP-Honf-PST-2P.HH

"You played cricket."

In second person plural construction the agreement marker **–eu** is used for both low honorific and mid honorific constructions. The agreement marker **–eu** is used in both present and past tense. Let us see an example of the agreement marker **–eu**, which is same for the low and mid honorific in plural construction.

(d)   timher-le   cricket   khel-j-**eu**

you.PL-ERG   cricket   play-PST-2P.PL

"You played cricket."

The second person plural construction with high honorificity has the same agreement marker **–o** which is used for second person singular construction with high honorificity.

(e)   tɑpaiheru-le   cricket   khel-nu-bhɑ-j-**o**

you.PL-ERG   cricket   play-IMP-Honf-PST-2P.HH

"You played cricket."

(iii) Agreement in 3ʳᵈ person

The agreement marker in third person depends on number, gender and honorificity. In this section we have shown the agreement markers for third person with adequate examples in (40a-40h).

Singular Number Low Honorific Masculine Gender

 (40a)   u-le   cricket   khel-j-**o**

          he-ERG   cricket   play-PST-3P.SG.M.LH

          "He played cricket."

Singular Number Low Honorific Feminine Gender

  (b)   u-le   cricket   khel-j-**i**

         she-ERG   cricket   play-PST-3P.SG.F.LH

         "She played cricket."

Singular Number Mid Honorific Masculine Gender

  (c)   u-le   cricket   khel-j-**e**

        he   cricket   play-PST-3P.SG.M.MH

          "He played cricket."

Singular Number Mid Honorific Feminine Gender

  (d) u-le   cricket khel-j-**in**

        she-ERG   cricket play-PST-3P.SG.F.MH

        "She played cricket."

The agreement marker for third person singular number in high honorific construction is **–o**. The agreement marker **–o** is used for both masculine and feminine gender. For example:

(e) u-le   cricket   khel-nu-bhɑ-j-**o**

     he-ERG   cricket   play-IMP-Honf-PST-3P.HH

     "He played cricket."

(f) mata-le   cricket   khel-nu-bhɑ-j-**o**

     mother-ERG   cricket   play-IMP-Honf-PST-3P.HH

     "Mother played cricket."

In third person the agreement marker for plural number, low and mid honorificity is –**e**. There is no gender distinction seen in the third person plural construction.

(g) unheru-le   cricket   khel-j-**e**

     they-ERG   cricket   play-PST-3P.PL

     "They play cricket."

For high honorific construction, the agreement marker for third person in plural form, we have –**o**. In such construction we see the subject pronoun *waha*. In example (h) we have shown the example.

(h)   wahaheru-le   cricket   khel-nu-bhɑ-j-**o**

      you.PL-ERG   cricket   play-IMP-Honf-PST-2P.HH

      "You played cricket."

From the above examples (35-40) we have seen agreement markers in present and past tense. As mentioned in § 2.1.2.1 there is no future tense marker in AN, the present tense agreement markers are used to indicate action in the future time. Let us see the tables given below.

Table 4

Person	Present Tense Singular	Present Tense Plural	Past Tense Singular	Past Tense Plural
1st	-u	-um	-e	-im
2nd L.H	-es	-eu	-is	-eu
M.H	-eu	-eu	-eu	-eu
H.H	-ɑ	-ɑ	-o	-o

Table 4: Agreement in Person and Number

Table 5

Person	Present Tense Singular		Present Tense Plural		Past Tense Singular		Past Tense Plural	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
3rd L.H	-ɑ	-e	-ɑn	-ɑn	-o	-i	-e	-e
M.H	-ɑn	-in	-ɑn	-ɑn	-e	-in	-e	-e
H.H	-ɑ	-ɑ	-ɑn	-ɑn	-o	-o	-o	-o

Table 5: Agreement in Person, Number and Gender

2.1.4 Case in Nepali

Nepali has split ergativity.[i] The criteria for ergative case in AN is similar to SN. The Nepali case markers are *–le, -lai*, *-bata/-bada*, *-ma*, *-ko –tira, -lagi.* The core case markers in Nepali are ergative *-le*, accusative *-lai* and dative *-lai* which are marked on the subject, direct object and indirect object NPs. The case marker *–le* can be an ergative case as well as instrumental and benefactive case marker. The case marker *–lai* can occur as accusative and dative case marker. This indicates Nepali shows syncretism in case marking. The

ablative case *–bata* is used in SN whereas *–bada* is used in AN. In Table 6 below we have shown the cases and case markers in Nepali.

Table 6

Cases	Case Markers
Nominative	Θ
Ergative	-le
Accusative	-lai
Dative	-lai
Instrumental	-le
Ablative	-bata / bɑdɑ
Locative	-ma
Genitive	-ko
Allative	-tirɑ
Benefactive	-lagi/ -le
Commitative	-sita/-sɑngɑ

Table 6: Case and Case markers in Nepali

2.1.4.1 Ergative Case in Nepali

Li (2007:1462-1482) discusses Nepali ergative case extensively. Nepali has split ergativity and the split is conditioned by tense and aspect in Nepali. In examples (41-45) we see that the ergative marker is optional in Nepali. This indicates that ergative case in Nepali is pragmatic unlike Hindi which is purely grammatical. Let us discuss the ergative case in Nepali in the lines of Li (2007:1462-1482).

(41) razu-le   sɑdei   phɑl   khan-ch-ɑ   (Optional)

       raju-ERG   always   fruit   eat-PRES-3P.SG

       "Raju always eats fruit."

(42) razu-le   pʰɑl   kha-dei-ch-ɑ   (Optional)

      raju-ERG   fruit   eat-PROG-PRES-3P.SG

      "Raju is eating fruit."

(43) razu-le   pʰɑl   kha-dei-thio   (Optional)

      raju-ERG   fruit   eat-PROG-PST.3P.SG.M

      "Raju was eating fruit."

(44) razu-le   sɑdei   pʰɑl   khan-thio   (Optional)

      raju-ERG   everyday   fruit   eat-PST.3P.SG.M

      "Raju always ate fruit."

(45) razu-le   bholi   pʰɑl   khan-ch-ɑ   (Optional)

      raju-ERG   tomorrow   fruit   eat-PRES-3P.SG

      "Tomorrow Raju will eat fruit."

(46) razu-le   pʰɑl   kha-j-o   (Obligatory)

      raju-ERG   fruit   eat-PST-3P.SG

      "Raju ate fruit."

(47) razu-le   pʰɑl   kha-eko-ch-ɑ   (Obligatory)

      raju-ERG   fruit   eat-PERF-PST.3P.SG

      "Raju has eaten fruit."

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(48)   razu-le   phɑl   kha-eko-thio   (Obligatory)

         raju-ERG   fruit   eat-PERF-PST.3P.SG.M

         "Raju had eaten fruit."

From the examples (41-48) we see the following conditions for the ergative case marker *–le:*

- For subjects [+animate} of transitive sentences, the ergative case is optional in simple present, present progressive, past progressive, past habitual, simple future.
- For subjects [+animate] of transitive sentences, the ergative case is obligatory in simple past, present perfect, past perfect.
- In intransitive sentences the ergative case may occur with some un-ergative verbs but not with un-accusative verbs.

2.1.4.2 Oblique Case Marking

The oblique arguments are optional in a language because they can be dropped from a sentence. In Nepali, the locative case marker **–ma**, ablative case marker **–bɑdɑ**, instrumental case marker **-le** are shown in examples (49-51) as oblique arguments.

(49) jo   kitap   mero   chouki-ma   ch-ɑ

      this   book   my   chair-LOC   EXIST.PRES-3P.SG

      "This book is in my chair."

(50) meri   buini-le   pita-bɑdɑ   poisa   log-j-i

      my   sister-ERG   father-ABL   money   take-PST-3P.SG.F

      "My sister took money from father."

 In (50) the oblique argument *pita* 'father' has the ablative case marker **–bɑdɑ** and *kam* 'work' has **–le**. These arguments are oblique because even if we drop them, it remains a meaningful sentence.

(51a) ziten   bholi   kam-le   Tezpur   zan-ch-ɑ

jiten   tomorrow   work-BENF   Tezpur   go-PRES-3P.SG.M

"jiten will go to Tezpur for some work."

(b) ziten-le   kɑtari-le   ɑmmɑk   kat-j-o

jiten-ERG   knife-INST   work-BENF   cut-PST-3P.SG.M

"Jiten cut the guava with the knife."

From (49-51b) we have seen that oblique arguments in Nepali are marked with case markers **–ma,** -**bɑdɑ, -le.** In the next section we see oblique arguments are also marked with post-positions.

2.1.5 Post-position in Nepali

Nepali is a postpositional language. In a postpositional phrase, the head of the phrase i.e. the postposition occurs after the noun phrase (NP). In the example (52-54) we have shown the use of postposition in Nepali. In (52-53), the post-position *sita/sanga* is marked by the commitative case. In AN *sita* postposition is used more frequently than *sanga.* Let us see some examples:

(52a) jo   kitap   mɑ   sɑngɑ   ch-ɑ   (SN/AN)

this   book   I   POSP   EXIST.PRES-3P.SG

"This book is with me."

(b)   jo   kitap   mɑ   sitɑ   ch-ɑ   (AN)

this   book   I   POSP   EXIST.PRES-3P.SG

"This book is with me."

(53) u   mɑ   sitɑ   a-j-o

     he   I   POSP   come-PST-3P.SG.M

     "He came with me."

(54) u   mero   pɑchi   bɑs-j-o

     he   my   POSP   sit-PST-3P.SG.M

     "He sat behind me."

2.2 Finite Clause in Nepali

In finite clauses the main verb carries tense and agreement markers as shown in the examples (55-57) where (55a-55b) is an intransitive, (56a-56b) is a mono transitive and (57a-57b) is a di-transitive construction.

(55a) mina   sut-j-i   Intransitive

      mina   sleep-PST-3P.SG.F

      "Mina slept"

(b)   ram   has-ch-ɑ

      ram   laugh-PRES-3P.SG.M

      "Ram laughs."

(56a) milɑn-le   kɑtɑr   kha-j-o   Transitive

      milan-ERG   jackfruit   eat-PST-3P.SG.M

      "Milan ate jackfruit"

(b)   sita   kavita   lekh-ch-e
      sita   poem   write-PRES-3P.SG.F

"Sita writes poem."

(57a)　mɑi-le　　tjo　　poisa　　sita-lai　　di-j-e　　　　　　　Ditransitive

　　　　I-ERG　　that　　money　　sita-DAT　　give-PST-1P.SG

　　　　"I gave the money to Sita."

(b)　timher-le　　　mero　chithi　sir-lai　　　pɑthau-ch-eu

　　　you.PL-ERG　my　　letter　sir-DAT　　send-PRES-3P.PL

　　　"You send my letter to sir."

Nepali complex clauses consist of a main or matrix clause and a subordinate clause. The subordinate clause is a complement of the main verb of the matrix clause. Both the verbs of the main and embedded clause are finite and this clause have a complementizer –*ki* 'that' which precedes the embedded clause as shown in (58-59).

(58)　mɑ-lai　　thaha-ch-ɑ　　　　ki　　timi　　masu　　khan-ch-eu

　　　I-DAT　　know-PRES-1P.SG　that　　you　　meat　　eat-PRES-3P.SG.F

　　　"I know that you eat meat."

(59)　mɑ-lai　　thaha-thi-j-o　　　　ki　　timi　　masu　　khan-ch-eu

　　　I-DAT　　know-be-PST-1P.SG　that　　you　　meat　　eat-PRES-3P.SG.F

　　　"I knew that you eat meat."

2.3 Non-Finite Clause in Nepali

In Non-finite clauses the verb of an embedded clause does not have finite features namely, tense and agreement. Depending on the non-finite clause types the embedded clauses can take the following non-finite marker –**i** and –**eko**, the infinitival marker –**nu**, the durative marker –**da**. In (60) we have an infinitival clause and in (61) non-finite clause.

(60) mɑi-le   u-lai   bɑzar   za-nu   bhɑn-j-e

      I-ERG   he-ACC   market   go-INF   tell-PST-1P.SG

      "I told him to go to the market."

(61a) roj   cricket   khel-i   gɑ-j-o

      roi   cricket   play-NF   go-PST-3P.SG.M

      "Roy left after playing cricket."

  (b) roj   gɑ-j-o

      roj   go-PST-3P.SG.M

      "Roy went."

  (C) roj-le   cricket   khel-j-o
      roj-ERG   cricket   play-PST-3P.SG.M
      "Roy played cricket."

In (61a) we have shown the **–i** marker in a non-finite clause. If we break the sentence (61a) then we have (61b) and (61c), where the main verb *gɑ* 'sing' and *khel* 'play' are in finite form. Both the sentences are connected by the non-finite **–i** which functions as a gerund in the construction (61a).

We have **-eko** in a nominalized clause (62), **-i** and **-eko** in a relative clause (63) **-i** and **-da** in a durative clause (64).

(62) timi   a-eko-ma   ramro   lag-j-o

      you   come-NF-LOC   Good   feel-PST-1P.SG

      "It feels good that you have come"

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(63)   timro   cheu-ma   bɑs-i   rakh-eko   keto   mero   sijano   bhai   ho

you.GEN   near-LOC   sit-NF   stay-NF   boy   my   younger   brother   be.PRES

"The boy sitting near you is my younger brother."

(64)   mɑ   sut-i   rakh-dɑ   chor   ghɑr-ma   pɑs-j-o

I   sleep-NF   keep-DUR   thief   house-LOC   enter-PST.3P.SG

"The thief enters the house when I was sleeping."

2.4 Negation

A negative sentence is derived from the positive sentence by the negative marker **nɑ.** Depending on the sentence type the negative marker **nɑ** can prefix to a verb root or suffix to a verb root.

2.4.1 Negation and Imperative sentences
In Table 7 below, we have the negative marker **nɑ** prefixing to a verb root.

Table 7

Positive	Negative
bɑs 'sit'	nɑ-bɑs 'neg-sit'
kha 'eat'	nɑ-kha 'neg-eat'
sut 'sleep'	nɑ-sut 'neg-sleep'
de 'give'	nɑ-de 'neg-give'
man 'agree'	nɑ-man 'neg-agree'
lekh 'write'	nɑ-lekh 'neg-wite'
za 'go'	nɑ-za 'neg-go'
has 'smile'	nɑ-has 'neg-smile'
buz 'understand'	nɑ-buz 'neg-understand'
ubbi 'stand'	nɑ-ubbi 'neg-stand'

These negative verbs normally occur in imperative sentences having low honorificity. The subject can be dropped in such construction. Let us see the examples (65-67).

(65a) (tɑ)   bɑs
      you.LH   sit
      "Sit"

(65b) (tɑ)   nɑ-bɑs
      you.LH   NEG-sit
      "Do not sit"

(66a) (tɑ)   lekh
      you.LH   write
      "Write"

(66b) (tɑ)   nɑ-lekh
      you.LH   NEG-write
      "Do not write."

(67a) sita-lai   jo   kitap   di-nu
      sita-DAT   this   book   give-IMP
      "Give this book to Sita."

(b)   sita-lai   jo   kitap   nɑ-di-nu
      sita-DAT   this   book   NEG-give-IMP
      "Give this book to Sita."

2.4.2 Negation in Infinitival Clauses

In an infinitival construction the negative marker **nɑ-** precedes the verb as shown in Table 8 below.

Table 8

Positive		Negative
bɑs-nu	'to sit'	nɑ-bɑs-nu 'neg-sit-INF'
kha-nu	'to eat'	nɑ-kha-nu 'neg-eat-INF'
sut-nu	'to sleep'	nɑ-sut-nu 'neg-sleep-INF'
de-nu	'to give'	nɑ-de-nu 'neg-give-INF'
man-nu	'to agree'	nɑ-man-nu 'neg-agree-INF'
lekh-nu	'to write'	nɑ-lekh-nu 'neg-write-INF'

za-nu	'to go'	nɑ-za-nu 'neg-go-INF'
has-nu	'to smile'	nɑ-has-nu 'neg-smile-INF'
buz-nu	'to understand'	nɑ-buz-nu 'neg-understand-INF'
ubbi-nu	'to stand'	nɑ-ubbi-nu 'neg-stand-INF'

Table 8: Negation in infinitival construction

(68a) mɑi-le   pɑdum-lai   kɑbita   lekh-nu   bhɑn-j-e

I-ERG   padum-ACC   poem   write-INF   tell-PST-1P.SG

"I asked Padum to write a poem."

(b) mɑi-le   pɑdum-lai   kɑbita   nɑ-lekh-nu   bhɑn-j-e

I-ERG   padum-ACC   poem   NEG-write-INF   tell-PST-1P.SG

"I told Padum not to write a poem."

2.4.3 Negation in Non-Finite Clauses

This pattern of Neg-V is also applicable with the verbs in a non-finite construction. Whenever the non-finite marker *-i* attaches with a verb, the negative counterpart of such construction has the negative marker as a prefix. Let us see the Table 9 given below.

Table 9

Positive		Negative
bɑs-i	'sit-NF'	nɑ-bɑs-i 'neg-sit-NF'
kha-i	'eat-NF'	nɑ-kha-i 'neg-eat-NF'
sut-i	'sleep-NF'	nɑ-sut-i 'neg-sleep-NF'
di-i	'give-NF'	nɑ-di-i 'neg-give-NF'
man-i	'agree-NF'	nɑ-man-i 'neg-agree-NF'
lekh-i	'write-NF'	nɑ-lekh-i 'neg-write-NF'
go-i	'go-NF'	nɑ-go-i 'neg-go-NF'
has-i	'smile-NF'	nɑ-has-i 'neg-smile-NF'
buz-i	'understand-NF'	nɑ-buz-i 'neg-understand-NF'

ubbi-i 'stand-NF'	nɑ-ubbi-i 'neg-stand-NF'

Table 9: Negation in non-finite construction

(69a)   mɑ   khana   kha-i   ghɑrɑ   gɑ-j-e

       I   food   eat-NF   home   go-PST-1P.SG

      "I went home after eating food."

(b) mɑ   khana   nɑ-kha-i   ghɑrɑ   gɑ-j-e

      I   food   NEG-eat-NF   home   go-PST-1P.SG

      "I went home without eating food."

2.4.4 Negation in Finite Clauses

In the previous sections we have seen that in Nepali, the negative marker precedes the verb whenever the verb is in its base form, in infinitival and non-finite construction. But this Neg-V order gets reversed in case of negation of finite verbs. Let us see the examples given below:

(70a) mɑ   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-ch-u   **(Present Tense)**

      I   this   chair-LOC   sit-PRES-1P.SG

      "I sit in this chair."

(b) mɑ   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-dinɑ

      I   this   chouki-LOC   sit-PRES.NEG.1P.SG

      "I do not sit in this chair."

(71a) hami   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-ch-um

      we   this   chair-LOC   sit-PRES-1P.PL

      "We sit in this chair."

(b)   hami   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-dinɑ-m

      we   this   chair-LOC   sit-PRES.NEG-1P.PL

      "We do not sit in this chair."

(72a)   tɑ   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-ch-es

        you.LH   this   chair-LOC   sit-PRES-3P.SG

        "You sit in this chair."

(b)   tɑ   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-deinɑ-s

      you.LH   this   chair-LOC   sit-PRES.NEG-3P.SG

      "You do not sit in this chair."

From the examples (70b, 71b, 72b) we can see that in present tense, whenever we negate a positive sentence the negative marker **nɑ** occurs as **dinɑ/deinɑ** and the present tense marker -**ch** also gets substituted. The agreement marker is suffixed with the negative marker -**nɑ** as seen in example (70b), (71b) and (72b).

Masica (1991:393) talks about the **-dinɑ/deinɑ** marker in Nepali. Masica (1991:393) argues that "the negative particle is used with an aspect stem different from the positive". Genetti (1994:15) states that Nepali verbal morphology is more fusional than agglutinating and this observation can be considered true in case of Nepali negation system. The -**dinɑ/deinɑ** marker has tense, honorificity fused with the negative marker in Nepali. There are certain verbs in Nepali like *kha* 'eat', *za* 'go', that can be negated by directly suffixing the negative marker with the verb but they are only colloquially more adequate. For example:

(73a)   mɑ   mewa   khan-ch-u

        I   papaya   eat-PRES-1P.SG

        "I eat papaya."

(b) mɑ mewa khan-nɑ

I papaya eat-NEG

"I do not eat papaya."

(74a) mɑ school zan-ch-u

I school go-PRES-1P.SG.M

"I go to school."

(b) mɑ school zan-nɑ

I school go-NEG

"I do not go to school."

The negative counterparts like *khann*ɑ*, zann*ɑ are colloquially used. This is only possible in first person singular number conjugation.

Matthews (1998:69) argues that -**din**ɑ also occurs as -**tin**ɑ in certain negative constructions. He (1998:69) points that when the verb ends in an unvoiced consonant sound, the negative marker -**tin**ɑ occurs instead of -**din**ɑ. For example, *hastina* 'I do not laugh', *muttina* 'I do not piss' etc. Although the environment of phoneme shows this free variation of t/d in Nepali negation, but the speakers uses -**din**ɑ widely than -**tin**ɑ.

The order of negation in past tense remains similar with the present tense as V-Neg. In past tense negative construction, the **in**ɑ**/en**ɑ marker has fused tense, agreement (gender), honorificity as shown in examples (75-76).

(75a) mɑ jo chouki-ma bɑs-j-e **(Past Tense)**

I this chair-LOC sit-PST-1P.SG

"I sat in this chair."

(b) mɑ jo chouki-ma bɑs-inɑ

| | I | this | chouki-LOC | sit-PST.NEG.1P.SG |

"I did not sit in this chair."

(76a) hami   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-j-im
      we   this   chair-LOC   sit-PST-1P.PL
      "We sat in this chair."

  (b) hami jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-inɑ-m
       we   this chair-LOC   sit-PST.NEG-1P.PL

      "We did not sit in this chair."

In some cases, the occurrence of the negative marker **-inɑ/-enɑ** substitutes the tense marker **-j** in Nepali. Moreover, the negative marker **-enɑ** suffixes with the verb only when

- the subject is third person, masculine, and in low honorificity.
- the subject is third person, plural.
- the subject is second person plural and in low or mid honorificity.

(77a) milɑn-le   tjo   kam   gɑr-j-o
      milan-ERG   that   work   do-PST-3P.SG.M
      "Milan did that work"

  (b) milɑn-le   tjo   kam   gɑr-enɑ
       milan-ERG   that   work   do-PST.NEG.3P.SG.M
       "Milan did not do that work."

(78a) mɑi-le   tjo   kam   gɑr-j-e
      I-ERG   that   work   do-PST-1P.SG
      "I did that work."

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(b)   mɑi-le   tjo   kam   gɑr-ina

I-ERG   that   work   do-PST.NEG.1P.SG

"I did not do that work."

From the above discussion we see that the negative marker in a present and past tense construction, fuses many information within it. In Chapter 1, we have already mentioned that the AN does not have any separate future tense marker like in SN. The insertion of an adverb in a present indefinite construction indicates future time in AN. In case of future time the negative marker is similar with the present tense construction as in (79) below:

(79a)   mɑ   bholi   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-ch-u   **(Future Time)**

I   tomorrow   this   chair-LOC   sit-PRES-1P.SG

"Tomorrow, I will sit in this chair."

(b)   mɑ   bholi   jo   chouki-ma   bɑs-dinɑ

I   tomorrow   this   chouki-LOC   sit-NEG.PRES.1P.SG

"Tomorrow, I will not sit in this chair."

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter investigates the basic typological features of Nepali which includes the verbal features of Nepali. This chapter also shows the finite and nonfinite clause types where the subordinate clause follows the matrix clause in finite construction. The detailed investigation of negation in finite as well as non-finite clause shows that negative marker **nɑ-** prefixes with a verb in non-finite clause and suffixes with a verb in finite clause. In Chapter (3) and (4), we have discussed negation in detail in Nepali Compound Verb and Serial Verb construction.

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[i] For details, see Li (2007), Li (2007), Chandra and Udaar (2015), Lindemann (2019)