CASE AND ROLE IN NEWARI

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This brief paper represents an attempt to answer just one question: What are the major pairings of semantic role and morphological case in the clause structure of Newari? The same question could be asked differently. What deep structure relationships are signalled by each of the various case endings and in which contexts do these occur? How are the roles of deep or conceptual structure mapped onto the morphological cases of surface structure in Newari?

In Section 1 we introduce the six morphological cases which are of primary importance in the study of semantic role. In Section 2 we examine the pairings of case and role that occur within the actor complex. In Section 3 we consider those of the site complex and in Section 4 we look at those pairings which belong to the undergoer complex. We presuppose an acquaintance with the system of roles presented in Chapter 8 of Grimes (1975) and with the system of role complexes presented in Hale, 1973.

1. Any analysis of clause structure in Newari must deal in one way or another with six morphological cases. We use the term, case, to refer to the morphological forms of noun phrases. Following Grimes (1975) we reserve the term, role, for the deeper semantic relations which Fillmore and others refer to as case relations.

The cases of Newari which are central to the description of the clause are the following: the nominative (consisting of the uninflected stem), the ergative (consisting either of the uninflected stem followed by n̄ḡ or of the oblique stem followed by or ending in a long nasal vowel), the dative (consisting of the uninflected stem followed by
yāta), the comitative (consisting of the uninflected stem followed by yāke), the locative (consisting of the oblique stem followed by -e or of the oblique stem with a lengthened final i), and the genitive (consisting of the uninflected stem followed by yā). These case names will be used exclusively with reference to specific morphological forms. A sample of the morphological forms to which these labels refer is given in Figure 1.

The ergative and locative forms often preserve stem final consonants which have been lost in the nominative form, though even these consonants may soon be lost. The ergative form, celā, for example is on its way to obsolescence and is being replaced by cyaa nā. The form mē nā now occurs alongside the ergative, mā. The all-purpose ergative, nā, is paralleled by the locative, lae (or khae in Shaktapur) for those speakers who have lost the oblique stem forms of various nouns. For further details on noun morphology see Hale, 1971.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>child</th>
<th>slave</th>
<th>mother</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>he</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>macā</td>
<td>cyaa</td>
<td>mē</td>
<td>jī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>macā yāta</td>
<td>cyaa nā</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>jī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>macā yāke</td>
<td>cyaa yāke</td>
<td>mējī</td>
<td>jītaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>macā yā</td>
<td>cyaa yāke</td>
<td>mējī</td>
<td>jīke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>macā yā</td>
<td>cyaa yā</td>
<td>mējī</td>
<td>jī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shop</th>
<th>book</th>
<th>water</th>
<th>shoe</th>
<th>insect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>pasaa</td>
<td>saphuu</td>
<td>laa</td>
<td>lākākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>pasalā</td>
<td>saphuu</td>
<td>laa</td>
<td>lākākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>pasaa yāta</td>
<td>saphuu yāta</td>
<td>laa yāta</td>
<td>lākākā yāta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>pasalāe</td>
<td>saphuu</td>
<td>laa yā</td>
<td>lākāmae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pasaa yā</td>
<td>saphuu yā</td>
<td>laa yā</td>
<td>lākākā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. SAMPLES OF MORPHOLOGICAL CASE FORMS IN NEWARI

2. These six case forms operate within three functional complexes in surface structure. We distinguish an actor complex, a site complex, and an undergoer complex. Consider first the actor complex.

Within the actor complex we distinguish three distinct roles, agent, instrument, and patient (experiencer). The only roles in Newari that have agreement patterns with the verb are the agent and patient roles of the actor complex.²
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The form of the agent is determined not only by its underlying role but also by the clause type in which it occurs. Agents are nominative in intransitive and semitransitive clauses.\(^4\)

(1) wa dana
(2) wa thana wala

He got up.
He came here.

But are ergative in transitive and bitransitive clauses:

(3) wæ jə nala
(4) wæ jitaə saphuu bila

He ate rice.
He gave me a book.

Instruments are relatively limited in their occurrence but are ergative wherever they do occur.\(^5\)

(5) wæ lhaatə nala
(6) wæ tutə cula
(7) wæ mihaa khana

He ate with (his) hands.
He stood on (his) legs.
He saw with (his) eyes.

Patients within the actor complex are even more limited than instruments, occurring only with a relatively small number of verbs of sense or cognition in which the actor is an experiencer. Such patients are also ergative. A number of these verbs are impersonal.

(8) jə wa khə sīla
(9) jə saa tāla
(10) jə karma khana

I came to know that fact.
I heard the sound.
I underwent the rituals incumbent upon a man during his lifetime.

Where an actor is simultaneously cast as an experiencer or as one who chooses to have the experience of performing a given act, the genitive form replaces the nominative or ergative form.

(11) wæ jitaə khicə kena
     wayə jitaə khicə kena

He showed me the dog.
He was quite happy to show me the dog.

(12) wa khwala
     wayə khwala

He wept.
He chose to weep.

(13) wa siməe gala
     wayə siməe gala

He sat up in the tree.
He chose to have the experience of sitting in a tree.

Agents differ from both patient and instruments within the actor complex in that agents can be cast as genitive experiencers but patients and instruments cannot.

Agents and patients of the actor complex, but not instruments, can appear in the dative form when they occur in embedded structures which induce double function.
(14) wag ja nala
   waya mameq waita ja
   nakala
   He ate rice.
   His mother fed him with rice (caused
   him to eat rice).
(15) wag nagu khana
    waita jii nagu khanka
    He saw the star.
    I made him see the star.
(16) wag jigu kha slla
    jii waita jigu kha sllka
    He came to know my secret.
    I made my secret known to him.

In Example 14, waita is a dative form in double function. It is both a
site with respect to the causative construction and an actor with respect
to the verb, nala 'eat'.

The choice of case forms within the actor complex may be summarised
as in Figure 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Conditions on the choice of case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>In intransitive and semitransitive clause types.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>In transitive and bitransitive clause types.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>In choice-experiencer derivatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>In certain embeddings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>In transitive (stative) clause types.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>In certain embeddings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. PAIRINGS OF ROLES AND CASES WITHIN THE NEWARI ACTOR
COMPLEX

3. Consider now the site complex. The site complex consists of
constituents which in other languages have been called indirect objects
and inner locatives. We consider here only those sites which are
marked by the six primary morphological cases listed above. Though many
other forms occur, the major kinds of site are represented by the
primary morphological cases.

Within the site complex we distinguish three kinds of roles. There
are sources to which we assign the role, former. There are goals to