On the morphological status of casemarkers in Dolakha Newari

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-- Enclisis is thus neither true suffixation nor juxtaposition of independent elements. It has the external characteristics of the former..., the inner feeling of the latter.

E. Sapir (1930:70)

0. Introduction

In Dolakha Newari, the following casemarkers are in a paradigmatic relationship:[1]

(1)	na/n	ergative / instrumental
	ta	dative
	ku	locative
	ke	allative
	lān	ablative

These casemarkers always occur following noun phrases (N"), a distribution which suggests that they may fall into one of two morphological categories. If they stand as free words, they may be considered to be postpositions; if they are phonologically bound, they may be considered to be clitics (Klavans 1985). However, a third possibility also exists in Dolakha, which is that they are nominal suffixes. This possibility arises out of the fact that the vast majority of noun phrases end in a noun, resulting in adjacency between noun and casemarker in most cases. These casemarkers are underlined in the following examples in order to indicate a neutral stance as to their morphological status:[2]

[2] All examples are taken from narrative or conversational discourse unless otherwise noted. Abbreviated glosses whose meanings are not obvious are: PH past habitual; NR1 nominalizer/relativizer 1; NR2 nominalizer/relativizer 2; ASS speaker assertion; PART participle; IMP

(2) sivaji n̥ jõ-i sāt
Sivaji ERG catch-INF as.soon.as
'As soon as Sivaji caught her...'

(3) thi-mā khicā ta̱ gulpunuŋ thõsi kõsa-pen
one-CL dog DAT never meat bone-PL

 na-i ma-bi-u ka
 eat-INF NEG-give-3PH ASS
 '(They) never used to give the dog meat or bones to eat.'

(4) parāsar risi ta̱ kho pār tar-eŋ-an bi-u[3]
Parasar Risi DAT river side cross-do-PART give-IMP
'Help Parasar Risi cross to the other side of the river.'

(5) thau bichyāunā ku̱ apsoc yeŋ-an
REFL bed LOC regret do-PART
'While (sitting) on his bed feeling regretful...'

(6) ji wā rājā ke̱ tuŋ ū-i
1s TOP king ALL EMPH go-1FUT
'I will go to a king.'

(7) uku lā̱n moti jar-ai ju ju sā~ lā̱n
here ABL pearl fall-3sPR be(NR1) be(PH) hair ABL
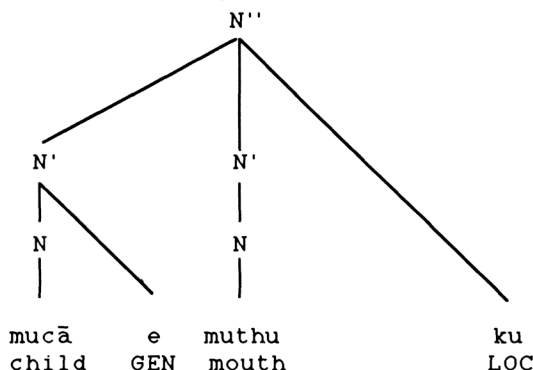'Pearls used to fall from here, from her hair.'

In addition to these morphemes, there also exists the genitive
casemarker *e*. This morpheme differs distributionally from those mentioned
previously in that it links a dependent possessor and its head. Therefore it is
noun phrase internal (following N'):

(8) mucā e̱ muthu ku̱ dudu on-a
child GEN mouth LOC milk go-3sPST
'The milk went into the child's mouth.'

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imperative; TOP topic; EVID evidential; PRTC discourse particle; EMPH emphatic; CL numeral
classifier. For more information and a complete list of abbreviations, see Genetti 1990.
[3] The dative is used to mark syntactic objects which can be recipients of ditransitive verbs or
patients of monotransitive verbs which have been previously mentioned in the discourse
(Genetti 1993). It is also used to mark some subjects under very restricted conditions. I have
chosen to continue glossing this case as dative as this follows common practice in South Asian
linguistics.

The structure of the locative noun phrase in (8) is as follows:

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                        N''
                      ╱    ╲
                   ╱         ╲
                ╱              ╲
            N'              N'   ╲
           ╱╲               │     ╲
          N  ╲              N      ╲
          │    ╲            │        ╲
          │      ╲          │          ╲
       mucā        e      muthu          ku
       child      GEN     mouth          LOC
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The genitive differs from the other casemarkers (with the exception of the allative, see below) in never occuring phrase-finally, except in cases where the head noun is omitted; in these cases the identity of the head is always clear and the genitive phrase clearly retains its function as a modifier:

(9) lita meguri mi   e   ŋyen-ju
    next other   man   GEN   ask-3sPST
    'Next, he asked the other man's (question).'

On the other hand, the remaining casemarkers never occur phrase-internally unless included in a relative clause:

(10) ām [kho e   dāti ku coŋ-a]$_{rel}$ mi ta nāplat-cu
     that river GEN middle LOC stay-NR2   man DAT meet-3sPST
     'He met that man who was in the middle of the river.'

According to informants in elicitation, the noun phrase without the relativizing verb, *kho e dāti ku mi*, is ungrammatical, and this is borne out in my textual data. Therefore it appears that only the genitive may occur phrase-internally as a modifier of a head noun.

A deviation from this pattern is found with the allative casemarker *ke*, which is flexible in its positioning. When it occurs following a noun phrase it indicates a human goal as in (6), but it can also occur phrase-internally (following N'), indicating possession and location simultaneously. This use of the allative is contrasted with the genitive in the following elicited pair:

(11) ām e   sarchi dyābā dam[4]
    3s   GEN 100   rupee   have
    'He has a hundred rupees.'

(12) ām ke   sarchi dyābā dam
    3s   ALL 100   rupee   have
    'He has a hundred rupees on him (with him right now).'

This morpheme may co-occur with the ablative *l ā n*, as in the following example:

(13) māji   ke   lān sampati kār-ju
    boatman ALL ABL   wealth   take-3sPST
    'He took the wealth from that which the boatman had with him.'

While the co-occurrence of the allative and ablative in example (13) would seem to contradict the statement made above that the two are in a paradigmatic relationship, it is clear that the allative is functioning in this example in its possessive sense, as opposed to its strictly locational sense of human goal. The syntactic structure of this noun phrase is as follows:
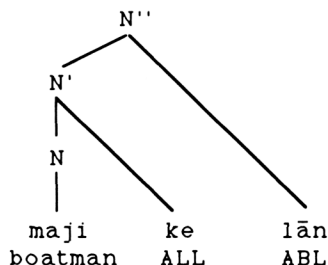
The two morphemes are thus occurring in different structural environments and hence are not paradigmatic in this case. Instead, the flexibility of the allative's positioning between phrase-internal on the one hand and phrase-external on the other, results in its forming a paradigmatic relationship with the genitive in the former case, and with the casemarkers listed in (1) in the latter. For expository purposes I will refer to the phrase-final casemarkers as

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[4] The structure of possessive phrases in Newari is arguably NP V, with the possessor syntactically represented as a modifier of the possessed. Thus these translate literally as "his one hundred rupees exist" and "his one hundred rupees which are with him exist" respectively.

Set 1, and the phrase-internal casemarkers as Set 2. The allative belongs to both sets.

The doubling of casemarkers is also found with the genitive, as in the following example:

(14) jogi e ku then-ju
     yogi GEN LOC arrive-3sPST
     'He arrived at the yogi's place.'

Note that this doubling does not rule out the possibility that all casemarkers are nominal suffixes, as the root of the host will always be a noun.

This paper aims to explore the various issues surrounding the morphological status of these morphemes. Section 1 will give a general discussion of the differences between affixes, clitics and words. Section 2 will present distributional facts which conclusively argue that Set 1 morphemes cannot be analyzed as nominal suffixes. Section 3 will consider evidence which bears on the question of whether Set 1 casemarkers are clitics or postpositions. A number of issues arise in this regard, especially concerning paradigmatic regularity, aspects of grammatical change, and syntactic assumptions about noun phrases and adpositional phrases. Section 4 considers the status of Set 2 morphemes. Section 5 discusses the case of the morpheme *nāpa* which can function as a casemarker but also occurs as an independent adverb. Section 6 considers the status of case-inflected pronouns. Section 7 concludes the paper.

1. On affixes, clitics and words

The question of how clitics differ from affixes and words has often been left open in linguistics, leading to a range of definitions which attribute different, and often contradictory, properties to the class "clitic". An excellent overview of the variety of definitions and approaches to this issue can be found in Klavans 1982. Part of the reason for this indeterminacy is that clitics share some of the phonological, morphological and lexical properties of affixes, and some of the properties of words. Which properties are shared varies on a language-particular basis, thus it is difficult to find necessary and sufficient conditions for the categorization of morphemes as clitics. However, a number of properties which clitics might or might not share with words and affixes have been identified, and these may be used as diagnostics for the morphological status of morphemes on a language-particular basis. Especially useful in this regard is a series of articles published in the early 1980s (Klavans 1982, Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Klavans 1985, Zwicky 1985), upon which much of the following discussion is based.

Affixes are bound to their hosts, together forming a single phonological word. They have restricted distribution in that they can only occur with a subset of words in a language, generally a single lexical class. Affixes cannot occur independently in the absence of an appropriate host. In addition, there are often arbitrary paradigmatic gaps and morphological and semantic idiosyncracies found with affixes (Zwicky and Pullum 1983).

Clitics are similar to affixes in being phonologically bound, forming a single phonological word with their hosts (Zwicky 1985). Klavans (1985) defines clitics as being morphemes which apply to whole phrases, as opposed to affixes which apply to words only. From this it follows that in most cases clitics differ from affixes in having broader distribution; hosts can be members of a wide number of lexical classes, and there are generally not restrictions on distribution within those classes. In addition, clitics tend not to show the idiosyncratic morphological and semantic behavior associated with affixes.

Postpositions are words, which are phonologically independent and have a relatively free distribution. Words but not clitics may occur in isolation. Words may exhibit free order with respect to other words, whereas clitics are restricted in terms of their ordering (Zwicky 1985). .

From these criteria we can see that clitics form an intermediate category between dependent affixes and independent words. They are similar to affixes in their morphological dependence on a host and consequent phonological behavior. They are similar to words in being used in the formation of phrases, and in therefore having broader distribution with few idiosyncratic properties. The distribution of clitics is stated succinctly in phrasal terms, the distribution of affixes, in lexical terms.

2. Set 1 Casemarkers: Arguments against affixation

2.1. Conjunction in NPs. In cases where there is more than one participant expressed via conjunction within a single NP, the casemarkers can be found either on both elements of the conjunct, or following the final element only:

(15) āme mā   n̠   ho dāi   n̠   hātiŋ pāp
     his mother ERG and e.brother ERG nothing sin

     yeŋ-a ma-kha-u ju-en   con-a
     do-NR2 NEG-be-NR1 happen-PART stay-3sPST
     'It turns out that his mother and elder brother were not committing sin.'

(16) ām boburi o   māuri n̠=ri   nichi salāhā yet-ai
     that father and mother ERG=TOP one.day confer do-3sPR
     'The father and mother one day conferred.'

This evidence argues against these morphemes as being nominal suffixes, since in (16) the casemarker is clearly phrase-final. Syntactically, (15) consists of two constituents conjoined at the N" level, whereas in (16), the constituents conjoin at the N' level, forming a single N" constituent.

2.2. Positioning after numerals. While it is true that in most noun phrases in Dolakha the noun is phrase-final, exceptions to this pattern can be found where numeral classifier phrases are involved. The standard position for the numeral classifier phrase is preceding the noun:

(17) **thi-gur   maŋgal   rājā   e**   des   **ku**
     one-CL   Mongol   king   GEN   country LOC

     so-mā   titā   keh   da-u   hā
     three-CL e.sister y.sister have-PH   EVID
     'In the country of a Mongol king, there were three sisters.'

However, the opposite order is also attested, as illustrated in the following clause, which followed the preceding example in the same narrative, just three sentences later:

(18) **titā   keh   so-mā   n**   khā lā-en   con-hin   na
     e.sister y.sister three-CL ERG talk   talk-PART stay-3pPST PRTC
     'The three sisters were talking.'

Crucial to our analysis is the positioning of the ergative morpheme after the numeral, and not after the noun. From this it follows that this morpheme cannot be a suffix with its distribution restricted to the lexical class of noun. Instead it applies to the noun phrase as a whole, following the final element. Hence it must be a postposition or a clitic.

2.3. Casemarkers in headless NPs. It is occasionally the case in Dolakha that the head noun of a noun phrase is omitted, leaving only dependents to constitute the phrase. When this happens, the casemarker remains, following the final dependent element. The element may be a numeral classifier phrase, a demonstrative, or a relative clause:

(19) **so-mā   ta-ŋ**   māji   n   yeŋ-an
     three-CL DAT=EMPH boatman   ERG bring-PART
     'The boatman brought the three of the them...'

(20) o   **ta-ŋ**   chār   yeŋ-an   bi-u
     this   DAT=EMPH   sprinkle   do-PART   give-IMP
     'Sprinkle this one (with amrit).'

(21) [rājā **ke**   ū-i   ha-ku]$_{rel}$ **ta** thau tuŋ
     king   ALL   go-1FUT   say-NR1   DAT REFL   EMPH
     hār-ju   hā
     bring-3sPST   EVID
     'He himself brought the one who said "I will go to the king".'

Note that in the last example, the casemarker follows a verb which is suffixed with the relativizer labelled NR1. In Genetti (1990), I argue that relative clauses are not syntactic nominalizations in Dolakha. Thus in this example the casemarker clearly follows a verb inflected to indicate its role in a relative clause, and does not follow a noun.

From this data we clearly see that when a noun is omitted, the casemarker remains. This independence of casemarker and noun clearly argues against an affixal analysis. We must now determine whether the casemarkers are clitics or postpositions.

3. Clitics versus postpositions

3.1. Phonological dependence of the ergative/instrumental. The ergative/instrumental casemarker has two allomorphs, /n/, which occurs after vowels, and /na/, which occurs after consonants:

(22) kehẽ   n
     y.sister   ERG

     jāŋgal   na
     bird   ERG

This type of alternation is never found occurring between adjacent morphemes which are unambiguously independent words. This phonological dependence is clear evidence that the ergative/instrumental is a clitic, as opposed to a postposition.

The question remains whether, based on the assignment of the ergative/instrumental to the morphological class clitic, all of the Set 1 casemarkers should also hold this assignment. One could argue that since these casemarkers are in a paradigmatic relationship, they all must have the same morphological status. This follows from the basic structuralist assumption that paradigmatic alternants fill the same morphological slot.

On the other hand, more recent work on the historical development of morphological and phonological structure shows that paradigmatic elements may undergo change independently and not necessarily as unified sets (e.g., Benveniste 1968, Bybee 1985, Lichtenberk 1991, Genetti 1991). Thus it could be that only one of the casemarkers has cliticized to the noun phrase, and that others remain as independent words. Further arguments are available which show that all members of Set 1 are morphological clitics.

3.2 On the notions "noun phrase" and "adpositional phrase". Within the strict structure-driven framework of transformational-generative grammar, noun phrases and adpositional phrases constitute two separate constituent types and hold different syntactic relations within the clause.

In Dolakha, subjects and objects may occur either without casemarking, or they may be casemarked by the ergative or dative respectively. For the sake of argument, if we assume that all casemarkers are postpositions, a strict syntactic framework would require that subjects and objects have different syntactic realizations, either as postpositional phrases, or as noun phrases. Since this result is undesirable, as there is no evidence for this syntactic distinction outside of the presence of the casemarker, the analysis of casemarkers as clitics is to be preferred, as clitics do not change the phrase type of their host. Based on this type of argumentation, the Dolakha dative should be considered a clitic along with the ergative.

However, it is not clear that the strict syntactic division between noun phrase and postpositional phrase based on degree of morphological fusion is defensible. It seems quite possible that even in a language where casemarkers are arguably separate words, one may not want to consider casemarked noun phrases as adpositional phrases, hence as members of a separate constituent type from non-casemarked noun phrases. This issue requires language-particular empirical verification, which I am not in a position to provide. I bring up this issue to indicate the possible weakness in the argument based on the assumption that postpositions create separate constituent types.

3.3. Casemarkers never occur independently. In Dolakha casemarkers are always found directly following some noun phrase element, and never occur independently. Note that in English, prepositions can be "stranded", as in *the person he gave the money to*, which is evidence for the morphological independence of the casemarker and the noun phrase, hence the lexical status of English prepositions. In Dolakha, structures of this type are impossible. In the formation of relative clauses, the noun phrase in the relative clause which is coreferential to the head noun must be omitted, and this omission necessarily includes the casemarker:

(23) āmun   dyābā bi-e   mi
     he(ERG) money give-NR2 person
     'The person he gave the money to.'

It is not possible for the dative casemarker ta to remain in the relative clause. This is evidence that casemarkers are morphologically dependent on noun phrases, hence are "phrasal affixes", or clitics.

3.4 Summary of the evidence for Set 1 morphemes as clitics. The Set 1 morphemes are not affixes. Since these morphemes may occur only once in conjoined noun phrases, after numeral classifier phrases following nouns, and after a wide variety of elements in headless noun phrases, their distribution is wider than the single lexical class of noun. Instead, the distribution of these morphemes is most accurately described in phrasal terms.

Strong evidence of phonological boundedness is available for only one of the Set 1 morphemes, the ergative/instrumental. Thus the clitic status of this morpheme is unambiguous. For the remaining members, there is no clear evidence of phonological dependence. This does not mean, however, that these morphemes are necessarily independent; not all bound morphemes undergo phonological processes. If we follow structuralist assumptions about paradigmatic regularity, these morphemes may all be considered bound, hence we would have a class of clitic casemarkers in a paradigmatic relationship. Additional evidence based on distribution favors this analysis. Set 1 morphemes cannot occur independently and must be directly adjacent to some noun phrase element. These facts indicate morphological dependency, a feature shared by affixes and clitics to the exclusion of independent words. Set 1 morphemes are thus morphologically dependent, but have phrasal distribution. They are clitics.

The fact that only the ergative/instrumental has developed idiosyncratic phonological behavior, falls out naturally from its frequency in natural discourse (as more frequent morphemes undergo phonological change at a faster rate than less frequent morphemes, see, e.g. Bybee to appear, Lichtenberk 1991:55-56). The weakness of the initial nasal consonant may also play a role, as most other Set 1 morphemes begin with stronger voiceless stops.

4.0 Set 2 Casemarkers

Following the above discussion it will be relatively simple to illustrate that the Set 2 casemarkers are also clitics. The genitive e will be discussed first, as it occurs with overwhelmingly greater frequency than does the allative.

To rule out the possibility that the genitive is a nominal suffix, example (24) shows that it may occur once following two conjoined N' constituents:

(24) parāsar risi ho makche ganda e̲ ritidān
Paraasar Risi   and Makche Ganda   GEN intercourse

jur -a
happen-3sPST
'Paraasar Risi and Makche Ganda had sex. (Lit., 'sexual intercourse occurred').

If the genitive were a nominal suffix, we would expect it to affix to both conjuncts.

Example (25) shows that the genitive may also occur after headless N' constituents:

(25) nis-mā e̲=ŋ   byāhā ma-ju   ni ju.
two-CL   GEN-EMPH wedding NEG-be(NR1) yet be(PH)
'Neither of the two's weddings had occurred yet.'

Here the genitive follows a numeral classifier phrase in a headless N', and has no noun to be suffixed to. Therefore the genitive should not be considered a nominal suffix.

Turning to the issue of clitic versus postposition, the genitive, like the Set 1 casemarkers, never occurs unless directly adjacent to some element of a noun phrase. It cannot occur independently, so appears to be a clitic. Phonotactic evidence may also be relevant in this case. If the genitive is to be an independent word, then it is the only non-pronominal word in the language to consist of a single vowel. On the other hand, there are numerous suffixes in the language which have the simple shape V (Genetti 1990). Thus the shape of this morpheme also suggests that it is phonologically bound.

Regarding the allative, it should first be noted that the use of the allative as a Set 2 morpheme is quite rare. I do not have many examples which argue for its morphological status in this position. I believe that this use of the allative may be relatively new, and is perhaps a calque on the identical Nepali construction, which contrasts ko (GEN) and saŋga (ASSOC) for the same semantic distinctions in possession. All of my examples of the Set 1 allative were produced by younger speakers who are bilingual in Nepali. If we assume that this construction is relatively new in the language, it seems safe to assume that this morpheme has not had the time to develop into a full affix in the Set 2 position. It also seems unlikely that a clitic in one position, when used in a new but similar environment, would be morphologically less bound than in the original construction. This would go against general trends of grammaticalization, a process in which morphemes become increasingly bound morphologically (Lehmann 1985, Traugott and Heine 1991, Heine and Reh 1984, Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer 1991). Thus, although the data on this morpheme are

scarce, it appears to be a clitic when used in Set 2, hence has the same morphological status as when used in Set 1.

5.0 On the associative nāpa

There is another morpheme which functions in part as an associative casemarker and which has been listed as a paradigmatic alternant of the Set 1 morphemes (Genetti 1988, 1990). The morpheme is nāpa, and it functions both to mark associative case, and as an adverbial meaning 'together':

(26) Associative
    ām nāpa tuŋ jyān bi-u[5]
    3s ASSOC EMPH life give-NR1
    'the one who gave his life with her'

(27) Associative
    dũ nāpa guli   laḍanta yet-ki?
    tiger ASSOC how.many fight   do-1sPST
    'How many tigers did I fight with?'

(28) Adverb
    nāpa tuŋ ũ-i
    together EMPH go-1FUT
    'We'll go together.'

(29) Adverb
    dāju kījā nis-mā nāpa coŋ-an
    e.bro y.bro two-CL   together stay-PART
    'The two brothers staying together...'

While one may be tempted to consider nāpa to have grammaticalized from a lexical adverb to a cliticized nominal casemarker, there is clear evidence that the morphosyntactic behavior of nāpa is quite variable and differs significantly from that of Set 1 affixes. I will argue that nāpa still retains its behavior as a separate lexical item, and is not a morphological clitic.

To begin with, while nāpa, when functioning as a casemarker, often follows a bare noun or pronoun as in (26-27), this is not the only morphological environment where it occurs. It may also follow a pronoun in genitive case, as exemplified here[6]:

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[5] This example is syntactically a headless relative clause.
[6] None of my examples from text show nāpa occurring with full nouns in genitive case. I am uncertain at this time if such a construction is possible.

(30) chana n̄āp̣ạ tuŋ   sir-i
     2sGEN ASSOC EMPH die-1FUT
     'I will die with you.'

(31) ām ẹ   n̄āp̣ạ ū-i
     3s GEN ASSOC go-1FUT
     'I will go with him.'

Thus n̄āp̣ạ optionally governs the genitive case of the preceding pronoun. While a relationship of morphological government often holds between heads and dependents, it is certainly atypical, if not unheard of, for a clitic to govern the morphological form of its host. On the other hand, adpositions do frequently govern the case of their dependent nouns (Nichols 1986).

   Another argument against analyzing n̄āp̣ạ as a clitic comes from the fact that it can be "stranded" in a relative clause:

(32) [n̄āp̣ạ oŋ-gu]rel sāŋat
     ASSOC go-NR1   friend
     'The friend he went with'

In this example, n̄āp̣ạ functions as a casemarker and not as an adverbial. This analysis is clear because by definition, the head noun of a relative clause must be coreferential with a logical argument within it. If n̄āp̣ạ were functioning as an adverbial in the relative clause, the only logical argument of the verb 'go' would be a plural subject, thus translating as "they went together". sāŋat 'friend', which appears as the head noun, would have no possible role. The only possible clause to allow sāŋat as a logical argument would be (ām) s⁻ aŋat n̄āp̣ạ on-a '(He) went with his friend', a sentence in which n̄āp̣ạ functions as a casemarker, as opposed to an adverbial.

   In Section 3.3, the inability for the Set 1 casemarkers to occur stranded in a relative clause in this manner was taken as evidence for morphological dependence, hence clitic status. In this case, since n̄āp̣ạ can occur independently and separated from the noun it modifies, it must be independent morphologically, hence a separate lexical item. The transparent connection between the casemarker and the adverb, along with the comparatively loose syntax of this morpheme in contrast to the Set 1 clitics, indicates that n̄āp̣ạ is in the process of grammaticalization. Parataxis is just beginning to gel into syntax and has not yet moved to morphology (Givón 1979).

6. Pronominal paradigms. The last issue to be discussed in regard to the morphological status of casemarkers is how to analyze case inflection on

pronouns.   Several pronominal paradigms are given here; for further information, see Genetti (1990):

(33) *First person*

	Singular	Plural Exclusive	Plural Inclusive
ABS	ji	isi	thiji
ERG	jin	issin	thijin
DAT	janta	ista	thijita
ALL	jaŋke	iske	thijike
GEN	jana	isi	thiji

Second person

	Singular	Plural
ABS	chi	chipen
ERG	chin	chipsin
DAT	chanta	chipista
ALL	chaŋke	chipiske
GEN	chana	chipe

Third person

	Singular	Plural
ABS	ām(u)	āpen
ERG	āmun	āpsin
DAT	āmta	āpista
ALL	āmke	āpiske
GEN	āme	āpe

It is clear from these paradigms that some of the inflected pronominal forms are phonologically equivalent to the unmarked (absolutive) form of the pronoun with the clitic casemarker, and that no idiosyncratic rules apply, for example we find:

(34) ji=n   [jin]   1sERG
     ām=e   [āme]   3sGEN
     thiji=ta   [thijita]   1pincDAT

The first person plural inclusive paradigm is especially transparent in its formation, the only deviant form being the genitive, where one would predict [thijie].

On the other hand, there are a number of pronouns where the occurring inflected form is not predictable by phonological rule applying to the unmarked form with a cliticized case marker, as in:

(35) ji=ta　　　[janta]　　1sDAT
　　 chipen=na　[chipsin]　2sERG
　　 isi=e　　　[isi]　　　1pexGEN

In fact, none of the pronominal genitive forms are predictable. It is clear that all of the pronouns with unpredictable surface forms should not be represented as pronouns with clitics, but as single-unit declined pronouns.

In cases where there is phonological identity between the attested form of an inflected pronoun and an unmarked pronoun with a clitic, either analysis is possible. Thus, the first singular ergative is adequately represented both as ji=n and as jin. In the former case, there is formal recognition of the similarity between the structure of the pronoun and the structure of noun plus clitic. In the latter case, one is treating jin as a paradigmatic alternant of jana, jaŋke etc.; thus analysing it as a single indivisible unit, but which still has a clear historical source. In the absence of any arguments which shed light on this issue one way or another, the decision of how to represent these forms must be made on purely theoretical grounds. In this case it seems that paradigmatic regularity leads to a simpler analysis, since all the pronouns are treated in a uniform manner, and again, a morphological division is not made simply on the grounds of whether or not a particular form has undergone phonological change.

7. Conclusions

We have seen that most casemarkers in Dolakha are morphological clitics. The exception to this generalization is the associative nāpa which has idiosyncratic morphosyntactic behavior indicative of early stages of grammaticalization. These clitics are similar to affixes in that they cannot occur independently and in that some of them exhibit phonological behavior indicative of bound morphemes. On the other hand, they have relatively free distribution in that they can cliticize to words of a large number of lexical classes, an attribute which gives them the character of independent words. It is clear then that we have in Dolakha a case of "enclisis" by Sapir's definition, in that these morphemes share the external characteristics of suffixation, while retaining the "inner feeling" of independent juxtaposition.

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