

# Complex predicates in Nepali

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Types of complex predicates in Nepali

- Aim of this paper: introduction of the various semantics covered by one pattern of complex predication in Nepali.
- Structure: Stem plus converbal marker *-i* plus vector:  
V[lex]-cvb-(foc)-V[gram]-infl.
- Converbal, biclausal structure with two lexical verbs became monoclausal - PREVERB ('pole' in Pokharel (1999)) carries the basic lexical content and is a nonfinite (converbal) form; VECTOR comes from a closed class of (at least partially) grammaticalized verbs, carries all or part of the inflectional information that is otherwise found on monoverbal predicates ('coverb' in Maas (2004)). A focus particle and a topic particle can come between preverb and vector, but nothing more.
- Function: Modification or 'fine tuning' of the semantic orientation of a verb by means of another verb (Masica, 2001). Aktionsart or other semantic (modal, phasal) specification, valency alternation.
- Pervasive feature of the languages spoken in South Asia and the Himalayan region: in Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi/Urdu, Gujarati and Nepali (Pokharel, 1999; Nespital, 1997), in Tibeto-Burman languages, among them Modern Tibetan, Newari, Lahu (DeLancey, 1991; Kansakar, 2005; Matisoff, 1969). Also in Central Asia and mainland South-east Asia, often under different labels such as 'serial verbs' or 'resultative verbs' (Masica, 2001), '(explicator) compound verbs' (Pokharel, 1999; Matthews, 1998; Nespital, 1997).
- Most vectors clearly relatable to independent, lexical verbs. Other vectors occur less frequently and only with one or few verbs, lexicalized, not discussed here. The compounds themselves may take tense and aspectual categories.

- (1) a. *kisān-haru dhān rop-i-rah-ekā thī-e*  
farmer-PL paddy.NOM plant-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.PL AUX.PST-3NS  
'The farmers kept planting paddy.' (Matthews (1998) transl. slightly changed)
- b. *āmā-le sabai-lāi khānā pakā-i-di-nu bha-yo*  
mother-ERG all-DAT food.NOM cook-CVB-BEN-INF AUX.PST-3S  
'Mother prepared food for everyone.'

vector	basic function	lexical meaning
<i>jānu</i>	telic/completive	'go'
<i>rākhnu</i>	resultative/durative	'put, keep'
<i>saknu</i>	have already done	'succeed, finish'
<i>hālnu</i>	immediacy, certainty	'insert'
<i>rahanu</i>	durative	'stay, remain'
<i>dīnu</i>	benefactive/telic?	'give'
<i>hernu</i>	try	'look'
<i>ṭopālnu</i>	pretend	-
<i>baksanu</i>	royal honorific	-

## 1.2 A brief introduction to Nepali Aktionsart and its interaction with tense and aspect

- Aktionsart and aspect both refer to the temporal structure of a verb, one lexically, one by grammatical marking. Aktionsart is crucial to understand the impact of the vector verbs.
- Partly defined temporally, as e.g. proposed in Bickel (1996), and crosscut by other semantic features such as state/activity.
- One needs language-specific tests, often connected to compatibility with aspect or certain adverbials, e.g. 'fast, vigorously, in X time', to distinguish Aktionsarten (problematic if aspect has not been analyzed, and vice versa, circularity of definitions).
- Example: definition of the progressive by the non-applicability to stative verbs and vice versa (Van Valin, 2005, 35), (Comrie, 1976, 35ff). But one has to understand the range of the progressive marker at first, to do this.
- The stative category and progressives in Nepali: Candidates for stative are verbs of emotion or cognition and verbs expressing a state, location or possession. The (supposedly) stative verb *birāmī hunu* 'to be ill': the progressive aspect is possible, as the verb is ingressive-stative, it yields the meaning that the state is beginning (2a).
- If progr. is possible, it often yields deviating meanings, e.g. *jiunu* 'be alive': prog. marks that a state holds longer than expected (2b).

- (2) a. *birāmī hun-dai-cha*  
 ill be-PROG-3S.NPST  
 'He/she is getting ill.'
- b. *musā ahile pani jīū-dai-cha*  
 mouse.NOM now also be.alive-PROG-3S.NPST  
 'The mouse is still alive!'

- **Ingressive:** Oriented towards initial boundary plus phase, e.g. 'get to know', 'get hurt', 'remain', testable e.g. with the reference of PST marking. All stative verbs that were checked could have ingressive-stative reading, e.g. the past forms of 'stink', *ganāyo* or 'remain', *rahyo*, refer to ongoing states (initial boundary crossed). The verb *cinnu* can be translated as 'know someone' or 'recognize/get to know someone'. Or cf. example (3): ingressive reading in (a) and phasal reading (limited time reference) in (b).

- (3) a. *dherai raksi khā-y-au bhane, chitto birāmi hun-ch-au*  
 much alcohol.NOM eat-PST-2S COND quickly ill become-NPST-2S  
 ‘If you drink too much liquor, you will get ill quickly.’  
 b. *u ek hapta (samma/ kolāgi) birāmi bha-y-o*  
 he one week (up.to/ for) ill be-PST-3S  
 ‘He was ill for one week.’

- In some theoretical proposals like Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin, 2005) or (Sasse, 1991) the stative category is defined by ‘no reference to temporal boundaries’. But as we saw above, time reference is possible for verbs that we intuitively would group under stative. Thus, for Nepali, the state/activity-distinction cannot be drawn from temporal criteria. The same point was made for Belhare (Bickel, 1996, 18).
- Stative-active distinction done by other factors, such as the compatibility with an adverb like *phurti sāth* ‘with force’. Statives: often the sole argument is an undergoer, the event requires ‘no effort to remain’ (Comrie, 1976, 49ff.).
- **Activity verbs:** may also include the initial boundary in their semantics. Past morphology on ingressive activity verbs may refer to the ongoing situation, e.g. the question *kahā hīdeko?* ‘Where are you going?’ has perfect tense marking, but present reference. In example (4), both the past and the nonpast clause can refer to the ongoing activity of weeping<sup>1</sup>, with (4a) referring to the initial boundary of the situation.<sup>2</sup>

- (4) a. *timi kina ro-y-au?*  
 you.NOM why cry-PST-2S  
 b. *timi kina run-ch-au?*  
 you.NOM why cry-NPST-2S  
 Both: ‘Why do you cry?’

- The preference for ingressive temporal structures may be part of a larger typological design, as (Masica, 2001, 252) points out the same property for Burmese and Thai verbs, and also Kiranti languages such as Belhare tend to exhibit this feature (Bickel, 1996, 142).
- **Telic verbs:** oriented towards terminal point (terminology following Sasse (1991)) gradually terminative and totally terminative (i.e. punctual, defined by the temporal identity of the initial and the terminal boundary of an event)<sup>3</sup>
- Gradually terminative, e.g. *kuhinu* ‘rot’ vs. punctual, e.g. *pugnu* ‘arrive’, have to be distinguished because vectors treat them differently, e.g. durative yields iterative reading when applied to verbs denoting punctual events.
- Other factors that might play a role for the vectors: the semantic roles of the verbal arguments, their inherent agentivity (or its absence), volitionality and their affectedness by the event.

<sup>1</sup>Both stems *ru* and *ro* belong to the same verb ‘cry’, the latter is a suppletive stem.

<sup>2</sup>It is not uncommon that verbs have more than one temporal structure, as also (Comrie, 1976, 36) points out with reference to English.

<sup>3</sup>Here, as Comrie (1976, 42) also points out, one might have to make a subdistinction between those that involve a change of state, like *bhaṭkinu* ‘collapse, crumble down’ and those that do not, e.g. *khoknu* ‘cough’.

- Summary: four basic distinctions relevant for the determination of the functions of the vectors (cf. Table).

Aktionsart	examples	tests
<b>ingressive-stative</b> •----(•)	<i>cinnu</i> ‘know/recognize’, <i>hunnu</i> ‘be/become’, <i>bānī basnu</i> ‘become a habit’, <i>rahanu</i> ‘remain, stay’	*vigorously, *forcefully
<b>(ingressive-)activity</b> (•)----•	<i>runu</i> ‘cry’, <i>boknu</i> ‘carry, lift up, take up’ <i>nācnu</i> ‘dance’, <i>khelnu</i> ‘play’	PST-infl. for NPST-ref. for [x time] in [x time] refers to •----
<b>gradually telic</b> ----•	<i>kuhinu</i> ‘rot’, <i>marnu</i> ‘die’ <i>phulnu</i> ‘bloom’	in [x time] refers to ----• DUR. refers to ----
<b>punctual</b> •	<i>pugnu</i> ‘arrive’, <i>paḍkanu</i> ‘explode’ <i>khoknu</i> ‘cough’, <i>bhaṭkanu</i> ‘collapse’	DUR refers to •••

## 2 Vectors with reference to the temporal structure of an event

### 2.1 The vector *jānu* ‘go’

- Very restricted marker, applying to some motion verbs and some telic verbs involving an irreversable change of state. Orientation towards an endpoint is so strong that interruption makes no sense, e.g. something fell down, but was caught before reaching the ground, in such contexts the vector *jānu* would not make sense.
- Not combinable with activity verbs such as *khelnu* ‘play’ or *nācnu* ‘dance’, not productively combined with transitive verbs (the attempt to construct a complex predicate with activities only yields a converbial and hence biclausal reading, e.g. ‘played and went away’).
- Spatial orientation: event is directed away from the deictic centre in the speech situation.
- Some lexicalized instances.
- With motion verbs, the vector is still very close to its lexical meaning ‘go’, as it denotes a self-induced movement away from the deictic centre: in (5c) and (5d), the thing moved is closer to an undergoer that has no control over the movement, rendering the clause semantically inappropriate (only for motion verbs).
- except for motion verbs, only unaccusative verbs are combined with the vector (unaccusativity does not play a role for the other vectors)

- (5) a. *bhyāguṭo uphr-i-ga-yo*  
frog.NOM jump-CVB-TEL-3S.PST  
‘The frog jumped away.’

- b. *sarpa* *nisk-i-ga-yo*  
snake.NOM move.out-CVB-TEL-PST.3S  
'The snake got out (and away).'
- c. \**dhuwa* *nisk-i-ga-yo*  
smoke.NOM move.out-CVB-TEL-PST.3S  
Intended: 'The smoke emerged.'
- d. \**ḍhungā* *ḍub-i-ga-yo*  
stone.NOM sink-CVB-TEL-PST.3S  
Intended: 'The stone sank away.'

- Irreversibility of a crossed boundary: example (6a) could not be used if the speaker had in mind that the person should come back soon. In (6b) and (6c), we see the application to verbs denoting an irreversible change of state.

- (6)
- a. *yahā* *baṭā* *ga-i-jā*  
here from go-CVB-TEL.IMP  
'Get out of here!'
  - b. *biralo* *mar-i-ga-yo*  
cat.NOM die-CVB-TEL-PST.3S  
'The cat died.'
  - c. *ghar* *bhaṭk-i-ga-yo*  
cat.NOM collapse-CVB-TEL-PST.3S  
'The house collapsed.'

- Lexicalized instances: These combinations do not occur productively in other tense/aspect/mode inflections, and they are phonologically reduced. In (7a), a regular form should be *āijā*. In (7b), the short form *bhaigo* can also be used instead. The only transitive example found so far is (7c).

- (7)
- a. *ā-i-ja*  
come-CVB-TEL.IMP  
'Come!'
  - b. *bha-i-ga-yo*  
become-CVB-TEL-PST.3S  
'OK./It's over./It's alright.'
  - c. *juṭhā* *bhāḍa* *lā-i-ja*  
impure pot.NOM take.away-CVB-TEL.IMP  
'Take away the dirty pot.'

- In some eastern dialects of Nepali that are under the influence of Tibeto-Burman languages, the vector *jānu* is used much more frequently, and with less restrictions on the nature of the lexical bases.

## 2.2 The vector *rākhnu* 'put, keep'

- Resultative and durative component (glossed RES and DUR respectively), depending on the lexical base it is combined with.

- Both semantic facets already contained in the lexical meaning ‘put/ keep’.<sup>4</sup>
- With all verbs that contain a phase in their structure (all except punctual), it focuses/ extends the duration, often with the meaning ‘last too long’. With punctual, it yields iterative reading (functional overlap of *rākhnu* with the durative marker *rahanu*).
- Impressionistically, *rahanu* is rather used with unaccusative verbs than *rākhnu*, but this is not an exclusive rule.

- (8) a. *bas-i-rākh!*  
sit-CVB-DUR.IMP  
‘Stay seated!’
- b. *khā-i-rākh, ma bhare āun-chu*  
eat-CVB-DUR.IMP, I later.today come-1S.NPST  
‘Keep eating, I come later.’

- But not all cases are durative, cf. (9) below for the resultative component of *rākhnu*. In example (9a), the result of the accomplishment ‘come’ is highlighted, implying that the situation brought about by the change does still hold. In contrast to this, the ‘pure’ durative with *rahanu* in example (9b) extends the ongoing situation change, before the terminal point.

- (9) a. *chorā ā-i-rākh-eko cha*  
SON.NOM come-CVB-RES-PFV.PTCP AUX.3S.NPST  
‘The son has come (and is still there).’
- b. *chorā ā-i-rah-eko cha*  
SON.NOM come-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP AUX.3S.NPST  
‘The son is coming.’

- Number might also play a role in the choice of resultative vs. durative interpretation of *rākhnu*. Compare example (10) with (9) above. Verbs with similar semantics yield different meanings with *rākhnu*, because iterativity (in (10) below) is only possible with nonsingular subjects.

- (10) a. *senā-haru rāt.bhari pug-i-rākh-eka chan*  
army-NS night.whole arrive-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.NS BE.3NS.NPST  
‘Armies keep arriving the whole night.’
- b. *paṭakā-haru paṭk-i-rākh-eka thi-e*  
rocket-NS.NOM explode-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.NS AUX.PST-3NS.PST  
‘The firecrackers kept exploding.’

- However, with another telic verb, *laḍnu* ‘fall’, we get the resultative interpretation again: the result of the event does still apply, as illustrated in example (11), regardless of the number of the subject.

<sup>4</sup>Kansakar (2005) points out the same two grammaticalization paths for the corresponding Newari verb *tal-*. This Tibeto-Burman language, originally spoken in the Kathmandu valley, was in contact with Nepali for centuries, and both languages show many structural parallels.

- (11) a. *khem laḍ-i-rākh-yo*  
 Khem.NOM fall-CVB-RES-3S.PST  
 ‘Khem has fallen (and is not yet on his feet again).’  
 b. *buḥhi-haru bhuĩ-mā laḍ-i-rākh-eka thi-e*  
 old.woman-NS.NOM ground-LOC fall-CVB-RES-PFV.PTCP.NS be.PST-NS.PST  
 ‘The old women had fallen (and kept laying) on the ground.’

- In example (12), the resultative interpretation is chosen because the result of this event is crucial for the story. After recognizing the bag, the dogs start to tear it into pieces to get the meat inside.<sup>5</sup>

- (12) a. *kukkur-harū-le thailo dekh-i-rākh-ekā thi-e*  
 dog-NS-ERG bag.NOM see-CVB-RES-PFV.PTCP.NS AUX.PST-3NS.PST  
 ‘The dogs had seen the bag.’ [kukkurlāi māsu paīco]

- With gradually terminative verbs however, the vector applies to the period before the terminal boundary, again in parallel to the durative *rahanu*. The vector cannot attach to *die* when the S argument is human.

- (13) *sāga mar-i-rākh-eko thiyo, tara pheri palā-yo*  
 spinach.NOM die-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP AUX.PST-3S.PST but again sprout-3s.pst  
 ‘The spinach was dying (e.g. due to drought), but it got green again.’

- Experiencer verbs, mostly ingressive-stative, are also compatible with the vector *rākhnu*, mostly in a durative reading. There are different experiencer constructions, some with the subject in the nominative (cf. (14a)), some in the ergative (cf. and (14b)), some in the dative (cf. and (14c) and (14d)). The case assignment does not play a role for the application of the durative, that refers to experiencer states (or activities) that last longer than expected.

- (14) a. *yi dulāhi sadhai lajā-i-rākh-eki chin*  
 this new.wife.NOM always feel.shy-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.F AUX.NPST.F  
 ‘This young wife always feels shy.’  
 b. *mai-le āsā gar-i-rākh-eki chu*  
 1S-ERG hope do-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.F AUX.1S.NPST  
 ‘I keep hoping.’  
 c. *ma-lāi [rāmro upahār liā-i-din-cha bhanne] āsā*  
 1S-DAT good present.NOM bring-CVB-BEN-3S.NPST COMP hope  
*lāg-i-rākh-eko cha*  
 attach-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP AUX.3S  
 ‘I keep on hoping that he brings me a nice present.’

<sup>5</sup>One might think that this could also be a durative example, referring to the successive events of seeing, carried out by the individual dogs. Clauses with singular subjects however, which are equally possible, exclude this reading, e.g. *birālole musa dekhirākheko thiyo* ‘The cat had noticed the mouse’.

- d. *tini-haru=sanḡa bas-dā ma-lāi ghin lāḡ-i-rākh-eko*  
 3-NS=COM live-IPFV.CVB 1S-DAT disgust attach-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP  
*thi-yo*  
 AUX.PST-3S.PST  
 ‘While living with them, I constantly felt disgusted.’

- It is not surprising to find complex predicates with the resultative reading of *rākhnu* as participles, modifying nouns.

- (15) a. *taiyār pār-i-rākh-eko churā*  
 ready cause.to.be-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP razor  
 ‘the razor which has been prepared’ [jnyānbāṭa phāidā]
- b. *ḡub-i-rākh-eko ḡhuḡḡā*  
 drown.itr-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP stone  
 ‘the drowned stone’

To sum up, the vector *rākhnu* has a lot in common with the other durative vector *rahanu* (etym. connection), but some verbs behave differently.

### 2.3 The vector *saknu* ‘finish, be able’

- Indicates that an event happened faster or earlier than expected, as expressed by the adverb ‘already’ in English.
- Telic, highlighting the terminal point of a situation or a situation change. With activities and telic verbs, this change is the final boundary of the event, illustrated by the sentences in example (16).

- (16) a. *ma khel-i-sak-ē*  
 1S.NOM play-CVB-TEL-1S.PST  
 ‘I already finished playing.’
- b. *bas ā-i-sak-yo*  
 bus.NOM come-CVB-TEL-3S.PST  
 ‘The bus already came.’
- c. *biruwā umr-i-sak-eko cha*  
 plant.NOM grow-CVB-TEL-PFV.PTCP AUX.3S.NPST  
 ‘The small plant has already grown.’
- d. *ma=pani ek-coṭi euṭi-ko phandā-mā par-i-sak-eko*  
 1S=ADD one-time one[F]-GEN trickery-LOC fall-CVB-TEL-PVF.PTCP  
*thi-ē*  
 AUX.PST-1S  
 ‘I was also already cheated by one (woman).’ [sipāhī]

- If an event is interrupted, the telic vector cannot be used, for instance if water that was supposed to be flowing down into the field was blocked half-way by a stone, one could not give an affirmative answer to a question like in (17).

- (17) *pānī jhar-i-sak-eko cha?*  
 water.NOM flow.down-CVB-TEL-PFV.PTCP AUX.3S.NPST

‘Did the water flow down already?’

- Ingressive-stative verbs: initial boundary is highlighted, illustrated by example (18).

- (18) a. *āmā birāmī bha-i-sak-in*  
 mother.NOM ill become-CVB-TEL-3S.F.PST  
 ‘Mother already became ill.’  
 b. *ghām lāg-i-sak-yo*  
 sun apply-CVB-TEL-3S.PST  
 ‘The sun is already shining.’

- The vector *saknu* is mostly used with past reference, but also in irrealis situations, for instance in questions and imperatives (cf. example (19)).

- (19) a. *dasain-mā ā-i-sak-nu-huncha?*  
 hindu.festival-at come-CVB-TEL-POL.AUX  
 ‘Do you come already on Dasain?’  
 b. *sombār ā-i-sak-nus-na*  
 Monday come-CVB-TEL-POL.IMP-PTCL  
 ‘Please come already on Monday.’

- It is also possible to have habituality (expressed by the simple present) have scope over the vector, as in example (20). This sentence refers to a series of telic events that happen regularly during a certain period.

- (20) *ājabholi ghām cha baje lāg-i-sak-cha*  
 thesedays sun six o'clock apply-CVB-TEL-3S  
 ‘Thesedays it gets warm already at six o'clock.’

## 2.4 The vector *hālnu* ‘insert’

- *hālnu* (lit. ‘insert’) also conveys a telic sense, oriented towards a boundary in such a way that an interruption of the process is not possible, as illustrated by example (21).

- (21) \**sāga mar-i-hāl-eko thi-yo, tara pheri palā-yo*  
 spinach.NOM die-CVB-TEL-PFV.PTCP AUX.PST-3S.PST but again sprout-3s.pst  
 Intended: ‘The spinach was dying quickly (e.g. due to drought), but it got green again (after the rain).’

- It adds immediacy and certainty to the lexical verb, to the extent that one cannot change the situation, or even that the situation is unfavourable, as all examples in (22) illustrate.

- (22) a. *ke gar-nu, lugā phohor bha-i-hāl-cha*  
 what do-INF, clothes.NOM dirty become-CVB-TEL-3S.PST  
 ‘What to do, the clothes will definitely get dirty.’  
 b. *kānchā laḍ-i-hāl-yo, natra jit-ne thi-yo*  
 youngest.male.NOM fall-CVB-TEL-3S.PST otherwise win-PTCP AUX.PST-3S.PST  
 ‘Kancha fell down, otherwise he would have won.’

- c. *aba ma timi-lāi piṭ-i-hāl-chu*  
 now 1s.NOM 2s-DAT beat-CVB-TEL-1s.NPST  
 ‘Now I will beat you (there is no way out).’
- d. *tir-i-hāl-nu parcha*  
 pay-CVB-TEL-INF HAVE.TO  
 ‘We definitely/immediately have to pay.’

- If something happens suddenly or untimely early, also *hālnu* will be used. With gradually terminative verbs, the application is sometimes unsuccessful, as in example (23b), where alternatively *kuhisakeko* was proposed by a native speaker. We have no explanation yet for what reason example (23a) is fine and (23b) is not, as both constitute gradually terminative events that equally have the potential to proceed slower or faster.

- (23) a. *belā bha-eko chaina, tara mero kapāl*  
 time become-PFV.PTCP AUX.NEG, but my hair.NOM  
*phul-i-hāl-eko cha*  
 bloom-CVB-TEL-PFV.PTCP AUX.3s.NPST  
 ‘My hair got white before time.’
- b. \**kaṭahar kuh-i-hāl-eko rahecha*  
 jackfruit.NOM rot-CVB-TEL-PFV.PTCP MIR  
 Intended: ‘Oh, the jackfruit is rotten already!’

- Combined with ingressive-stative verbs, the vector verb applies to the initial boundary, as illustrated in example (24).

- (24) a. *curoṭ khāne bānī bas-i-hāl-yo*  
 cigarette eat-PTCP habit sit-CVB-TEL-3s.PST  
 ‘Smoking became a habit fast.’
- b. *keti-ko avasthā dekh-era, ma-lāi māyā lāg-i-hāl-yo*  
 girl-GEN condition see-CVB 1s-DAT pity/love attach-CVB-TEL-3s.PST  
 ‘Seeing the condition of the girl, I immediately/ inevitably felt pity for her.’

- But in contrast to *saknu*, *hālnu* also applies to the initial boundary of activity verbs.

- (25) *git sunera, phucce nāc-i-hāl-yo*  
 song hear-CVB nick.name dance-CVB-TEL-3s.PST  
 ‘Hearing the song, Phucce inevitably started dancing.’

- The combination with a habitual reading is also possible with *hālnu*, as example (26) shows.

- (26) *hāmī tarāi-mā hū-dā, bihāna-i ghām*  
 wENOM plains-LOC be-IPFV.CVB morning-FOC sun  
*lāg-i-hāl-thyo*  
 apply-CVB-TEL-AUX.HAB.3s.PST  
 ‘When we were in the plains, it used to get sunny in the early morning.’

## 2.5 The durative vector *rahanu*

- Lexical source of this vector is *rahanu* ‘stay, remain’.
- The distinction between durative, continuous and progressive cannot always be drawn straightforwardly. (Comrie, 1976, 32ff) classifies the progressive as one type of imperfective, being characterized by ‘nonstativity and continuous meaning’. The vector *rahanu* however even applies to stative lexical verbs (cf. example (27)), so that we can exclude a progressive interpretation of this marker.

- (27) a. *sab-ai-ko hr:daya-mā deś-prem-ko bīu*  
 all-FOC-GEN heart-LOC country-love-GEN seed.NOM  
*rah-i-rah-eko hun-cha*  
 remain-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP BE-3S  
 ‘In everyone’s heart the seed of patriotism remains/is kept.’
- b. *ma-lāī nindrā lāg-i-rah-eko thi-yo*  
 1S-DAT fatigue.NOM apply-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP be.PST-3S  
 ‘I kept feeling tired.’

- Two more examples nicely illustrate events that last longer than expected or wished.

- (28) a. *ahile pani pāhunā rah-i-rah-eko cha*  
 now also guest.NOM stay-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.AUX.3S  
 ‘Even now the guest is staying here.’
- b. *jatti saphā gare pani, madānima ghiu*  
 how.much.REL clear make.PTCP ADD.FOC churning.stick clarified.butter  
*rah-i-raha-ncha!*  
 stay-CVB-DUR-3S.NPST  
 ‘How much one ever cleans it, the butter remains at the churning stick.’

- Functionally overlapping with the durative reading of *rākhnu*, referring to an ongoing activity.

- (29) a. *hāmī-harū agāḍi baṛh-i-rah-ekā thi-yaū*  
 we-NS forward increase-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.NS AUX.PST-1NS.PST  
 ‘We kept heading forward.’ [sipāhi]
- b. *didī birāmī bha-i-rah-eko cha*  
 sister.NOM ill be/become-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP AUX.3S  
 ‘The elder sister keeps being ill.’

- With gradually terminative (telic) verbs, the phase before the terminal point that is highlighted. The telic event has a longer duration when the vector is attached to the lexical verb, but the terminal point can still be avoided by an interruption ((30b)).

- (30) a. *andhakār pani chiṭa-i chiṭa-i tala-tira jhar-i-rah-eko*  
 darkness also quickly-FOC quickly-FOC down-ALL sink-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP  
*thi-yo*  
 AUX.PST-3S.PST  
 ‘Also, darkness kept sinking down quickly.’ [sipāhi]

- b. *sāga mar-i-rah-eko thiyo, tara pheri palā-yo*  
 spinach.NOM die-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP AUX.PST-3S.PST but again sprout-3s.pst  
 ‘The spinach was dying (e.g. due to drought), but it got green again.’

- Attached to punctual verbs, the durative yields iterative reading.

- (31) a. *paṭakā-haru paḍk-i-rah-eka thi-e*  
 rocket-NS.NOM explode-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP.NS AUX.PST-3NS.PST  
 ‘The firecrackers kept exploding.’  
 b. *chaṭyaṇ par-i-rah-eko cha*  
 thunder fall-CVB-DUR-PFV.PTCP 3S.NPST  
 ‘It kept thundering.’

- The only difference to *rākhnu* is that nothing but the durative reading is possible, while with *rākhnu*, sometimes resultative interpretations were possible.
- The verb *rahanu* is also the historical source for the mirative marker *rahecha*. A possible explanation is the parallel between durative and mirative, both expressing that some event is proceeds contrary to the expectation of the speaker.

- (32) *tyas murdā-ko sāthmā hajār rupaiyā rahecha*  
 that.OBL corpse-GEN with one.thousand rupee be.MIR  
 ‘There were, to his surprise, one thousand rupees with that corpse.’ [upadeś]

The durative can be inflected for other imperfective categories like the habitual (cf. (33a)), but the combination with the progressive sounds odd, and was not found in our texts as well (cf. (33b)).

- (33) a. *bhijekā birālā-haru jastā bha-e-ra bas-i-raha-nthyaū,*  
 soaked.NS cat-PL like be.CVB sit-CVB-DUR-HAB.PST.1NS,  
*(śahar-ko ghar samjh-era run-thyaū)*  
 city-GEN house remember-CVB cry-HAB.PST.1NS  
 ‘We used to sit there like soaked kitten, (remembering the city, we used to cry).’  
 b. \**jhagaḍa bha-i-raha-ndai-cha*  
 quarrel be-CVB-DUR-PROG-3S.NPST  
 Intended: ‘The quarreling goes on.’

### 3 Vectors not related to Aktionsarten

#### 3.1 The vector *dinu*

- This vector has the two interpretations benefactive and what we call ‘event with an affected participant’, (glossed BEN and BEN2 here).
- The benefactive adds a benefactee argument to the verbal valency (34a). This argument can be marked by the dative *-lāī*, or by the postpositions *-nimti/ -lāgī* ‘for’, as in example

(34b). This derivation, however, does not transform intransitives to full-fledged transitive verbs, as the complex predicate resulting from the derivation still does not allow an ergative on the subject (cf. (34c)).

- The majority of lexical verbs that combine with *dinu* are transitive verbs. In our sample, only nine out of 100 verbs are purely intransitive.

- (34)
- a. *āmā-le sabai-lāi khānā pakā-i-di-nu-bha-yo*  
 mother-ERG all-DAT food.NOM cook-PFV.CVB-BEN-INF-AUX.HON-3SG.PST  
 ‘Mother prepared food for everyone.’
- b. *kamal hāmro nimti nāc-i-di-yo*  
 Kamal.NOM we.GEN for dance-CVB-BEN-3S.PST  
 ‘Kamal danced for us.’
- c. *dāi>(\*le) mero lāgī bajār ga-i-di-yo*  
 brother-(ERG) my for market.NOM go-CVB-BEN-3S.PST  
 ‘My brother went to the market for me.’

- In the second interpretation, a conscious, volitional ‘benefactor’ is not necessary, as shown in (35). The crucial condition is the affectedness of someone active in the discourse (not always benefactive). In this use of *dinu*, no arguments are added, and the case frame of the lexical verb will not be changed.
- Coding events with affected participants in the same way as benefactives is a common pattern in the South Asian/ Himalayan region, regardless of the language family. Other languages with that pattern are Santali (Neukom, 2001, 117ff), Maithili (Bickel et al., 1999) and Yakkha (own observations).

- (35)
- a. *asinā par-i-di-yo, hamro bārī bigr-yo*  
 hail.NOM fall-CVB-BEN2-3S.PST, now field.NOM be.destroyed-3S.PST  
 ‘Hail fell, and now everything is destroyed.’
- b. *paścim-ko pahār-le sūrya-lāi qhāk-i-di-eko huñale*  
 west-GEN mountain-ERG sun-DAT cover-CVB-BEN2-PFV.PTCP because  
 ‘As the western mountain had covered the sun, ...’ [sipāhī]

- Telic? Matthews (1998): *dinu* expresses a sudden or ‘final’ action.
- Telic marker, establishing the (initial) boundary of someone's affectedness by the event. Test: If a telic event is interrupted, the truth-value should be ‘no’, as the terminal boundary is not reached yet. This is the case in example (36a). The context is that a little rain fell, but not as much that it could destroy the field. Hence, the question is answered negatively, although it is true that it rained. In example (36b), the event is an ingressive-activity, and as soon as the initial boundary is crossed, someone is affected by the event.

- (36)
- a. *tapāĩ-ko bārī-mā pānī par-i-di-yo? - hoina.*  
 you-GEN field-LOC water fall-CVB-BEN2-3S.PST - no  
 ‘Did it rain into your field?/ Did the rain destroy your field?’ - ‘No.’
- b. *keṭāketi-haru gajyāṅ-gujunṅ gar-i-din-chan*  
 boy.girl-NS disorder make-CVB-BEN2-3NS.NPST  
 ‘The children make trouble/mess up things.’

### 3.2 The vectors *hernu*, *ṭopālnu* and *baksanu*

- *hernu*, literally ‘look’, is used to express the modal category ‘trying’. For instance, it is often used in an imperative to encourage someone to do something.

- (37) a. *yo khānā khā-i-her-nus*  
 this food.NOM eat-CVB-TRY-POL.IMP  
 ‘Try this food.’
- b. *yo kurtā lagā-i-her-nus*  
 this long.shirt.NOM put.on-CVB-TRY-POL.IMP  
 ‘Try on this kurta.’

- *ṭopālnu* has no independent lexical meaning. As a vector, it means ‘pretend’.

- (38) *ro-i-ṭopāl-eko mātrai*  
 cry-CVB-PRETEND-PRF only  
 ‘He only pretended to cry.’

- *baksanu* expresses the social category ‘royal’, and has/ had to be used with reference to members of the royal family, as shown in the example below.

- (39) *ā-i-baksa-nuhos*  
 come-CVB-ROYAL-POL.IMP  
 ‘Please come.’ (said to a royal)

## 4 Summary

- no purely phasal verbs, i.e. no verbs that prohibit reference to a boundary
- state/ activity verbs often ingressive, but activities are more oriented to phase and final boundary (do sth. from - until), while states are more oriented towards the initial boundary (all stative verbs are ingressive, no purely stative verbs found).
- Differences in telicity w.r.t. activity verbs: some highlight the initial boundary (*hālnu*), some highlight the final boundary (*saknu*).
- *rākhnu* and *rahanu* are very similar, except for the resultative component.
- The table below summarizes the five vector verbs that interact with the Aktionsarten of the lexical verbs.

Semantics and temporal structure of the vectors				
Aktionsart Vector	<b>ingressive-stative</b> •----(•)	<b>(ingressive-)activity</b> (•)----•	<b>gradually telic</b> ----•	<b>punctual</b> •
<i>jānu</i> [telic] [already]	n.a.	n.a.		
<i>saknu</i> [telic] [already]		•----•↓	----•↓	•↓
<i>hānu</i> [telic] [immediacy]	↓ •----			
<i>rākhnu</i> [resultative] [durative]		↓ •----•	(or DUR)	(or DUR)
<i>rahanu</i> [durative]			↓ ----•	↓ ↓ ↓ • • •

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