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Peer reviewed

A Grammar of Dolakha Newar

By Carol Genetti

(Mouton Grammar Library 40)

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xviii + 595 pages

Reviewed by Austin Hale

1. Overview

A Grammar of Dolakha Newar is a comprehensive descriptive grammar written from a functional-typological perspective, a worthy sequel to Genetti 1994, which was the first major account of Dolakha Newar to be published in English. For more than two decades now, Genetti has been making important contributions to our understanding of Newar as it is spoken both in Kathmandu and in Dolakha. This massive new work excites high expectations. We are not disappointed.

Genetti's aim is to present Dolakhae in its own terms, capturing what she calls "the genius of the language". To the extent that the reviewer, as a student of Kathmandu Newar (Hale and Shrestha 2006) can judge, she has succeeded in this, especially in her treatment of clause combining in complex sentences. This book provides a rich source of data, sensitive analyses, and numerous starting points for further research.

Data for the description are drawn both from a large corpus of transcribed tape-recorded discourse and from elicited examples. The elicited examples are identified as such and are appropriately used to exemplify the structure of the phonological system and the lexicon, to fill out paradigms, and to test speakers' intuitions (p. 27).

We are introduced to the Dolakha speakers who have provided the data. We get not only names, but a good idea of their respective socio-linguistic biographies. Idiolectal variation has long been an interest of the author (cf. Genetti 1994:12) -- differences between speakers of which the speakers themselves are often not aware and which can sometimes be seen as the breeding ground for change.

Familiarity with formal linguistic theory is not presupposed. Technical terms are explained as they are introduced. The intended readership includes Dolakha speakers who, it is hoped, will follow up on this work "and take our understanding to a greater depth." (515). This is no empty sentiment. In fact, most of the earlier studies of the language have been published by Newar scholars: Indra Mali (1979), Prem Sayami (1986), Kashinath Tamot (1987), and Dr. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha (1989, 1993, 1998, 2000a, 2000b).

The work is accessible. It is also meticulous, detailed, and well-argued, taking account of possible alternative analyses wherever relevant.

The presentation is exemplary. Figures and tables are used to excellent advantage to summarize various systems. Displays of pitch and intensity support the analysis of stress in chapter 2. Pitch traces are given in the sections on phrasal accent and terminal pitch contours in chapter 3. Where relevant, examples are presented in both phonemic and prosodic transcription. Paradigms for each of the four verb stem classes are given in chapter 6, and throughout the book, verb stems are consistently cited in the form diagnostic of their stem classes.

Certain topics inevitably recur throughout the book, and the cross-references provided (to chapter, section, and subsection) are very helpful. Verso pages have chapter numbers and titles. Recto pages have section numbers and titles. This arrangement makes cross references a delight to use. The few misleading cross-references I have found are corrected under “5. Errata” below.

In addition to a useful index and a list of references there are four very helpful appendices: (A) a list of verbal affixes, (B) a discussion of the relation between the concept of word as defined in phonological terms and word as defined in grammatical terms, (C) a Dolakha Newar word list (with 1132 entries) and (D) an interlinear text with both phonemic and prosodic transcriptions.

2. Content

2.1. Context

Chapter 1, “Context,” identifies Newar as verb-final Indospheric Tibeto-Burman language which makes extensive use of participial clause chains interwoven with complement clauses, adverbial clauses and embedded quotes. Long, intricate sentences of this sort epitomize “the genius of Dolakhae”.

Possible genetic relations with Thangmi and Baram, as well as with the Central Himalayan languages need further exploration. Genetti (henceforth “G.”) reviews ideas regarding the origins of the ethnic group and gives a sketch of Newar culture. G. surveys the Newar dialect situation and identifies Doklakha and Tauthali as members of “Eastern Newar”.

We are given an introduction to the village of Dolakha: its location (145 kilometers east of Kathmandu), altitude (1700-1830 meters), population (5,645), and a synopsis of the history of the municipality.

2.2. Sound System

Chapter 2, “Segmental phonetics and phonology,” documents contrasts among vowels and consonants, describes their phonetic realizations, and their possible concatenations within syllables and words.

It is interesting to see the differences between Dolakha and Kathmandu Newar. The contrast between dental and retroflex consonants found in Dolakha is missing in Kathmandu. The contrast between breathy and clear consonants, which is robust in Kathmandu has mostly been lost in Dolakha. In Kathmandu final consonants have been lost with compensatory lengthening of the final vowel. In Dolakha final consonants have been retained and there is no length contrast in the vowel system. Negative, prohibitive and optative prefixes have a vowel harmony relationship with the vowel of the verb stem in Dolakha. Kathmandu verbal prefixes are not involved in vowel harmony.

Kathmandu and Dolakha present the analyst with very similar problems in determining the contrastive status of glides before mid vowels.

Word stress is presented in terms of patterns of pitch and intensity over words pronounced in isolation. Whether these patterns are to be seen as lexical stress or as intonation is left open.

Chapter 3, “Prosody,” focuses on accent and intonation. An intonation unit may consist of a single word, an entire clause or even an entire complex sentence. An

intonation unit will have a phrasal accent (either normal or emphatic) and one of four possible terminal pitch contours. A primary use is identified for each of the terminal contours. Falling terminal contours are prosodic markers of finality. Level terminal contours are used to signal embedded speech. Rising terminal contours are anticipatory, indicating that more is to come. Rise-fall terminal contours are exclamatory.

2.3. Lexical Classes

The central concern of chapters 4-10 is to define lexical classes according to their phonological, morphological and syntactic properties.

Chapter 4, “Nouns and noun morphology”: Nouns and pronouns are distinguished from verbs and adjectives by the fact that they need no derivational morphology in order to serve as arguments of a verb.

Compounding, derivational suffixation, lexicalization of headless relative clauses and borrowing are all ways to incorporate new nouns into the language. The final section gives a detailed account of each of the morphological categories related to nouns: Number, Case, and Individuation/Extension, all of which are marked by morphological clitics.

Chapter 5, “Personal pronouns, interrogatives, indefinites, and demon-stratives,” deals with pronouns together with a range of related forms that function in the domain of deixis and anaphoric reference. Pronoun paradigms are supplied in tables, as are lists of interrogatives and demonstratives. Honorifics appear to be restricted to second person pronouns in Dolakha, unlike Kathmandu which also has honorific third person pronouns .

Chapter 6, “Verbs and verb morphology,” provides a detailed account of verb morphology, including separate negative paradigms for each stem class. Dolakha has verb stem classes that parallel four of the five classes found in Kathmandu. Like Kathmandu, the verb stem final is diagnostic of the class, and determines the inflectional paradigm.

Unlike Kathmandu, where verbs have conjunct/disjunct inflection governed by the intentionality of the actor and the epistemic source of information (Hargreaves 1991, 2005), the finite verb in Dolakha agrees with the subject in person and number. Interestingly, Dolakha verbs sometimes “disagree” with their subjects. Where an act is non-volitional, verbs with first person subjects may (though rarely) be inflected for third person (172).

Chapter 7, “Adjectivals,” distinguishes between adjectival verbs and simple adjectives.

Adjectival verbs can be nominalized, negated, and can take at least some finite inflection. Suffixed with the relativizing clitic, NR1, they can modify noun heads attributively. Suffixed with the individuating clitic = (*u*)ri they can function as noun heads. Suffixed with NR1, they can serve as copula complements

Simple adjectives can modify noun heads attributively but do not inflect for verbal categories. They can be made referential with the clitic = (*u*)ri. They can function as predicates in copula complement position with or without the copular verb *khyaj*.

Chapter 8, “Quantifiers,” describes both a decimal and a duodecimal numeral system for Dolakha Newar along with its numeral classifier system. This is the first time a duodecimal number system has been described for a Newar-related language. Duodecimal forms are attested only for the numbers 40 and above. and are based on the

form *-thāi* ‘place’. The form for ‘forty’ is *ne-ni-nis-thāi* [twenty-twenty-two-place]. The form for ‘fifty’ is *ne-ni-nis-thāi-o-j(h)i-gur* [twenty-twenty-two-place and ten]. G. has also discovered a duodecimal system in the closely related Tautali dialect. The Tautali system is based on the morpheme *-bāgal* ‘group’. Forty in Tautali is *nis-bāgal* [two-group]

Chapter 9, “Adverbials,” distinguishes two classes of adverbs: 1) lexical adverbs and 2) intensifiers. Intensifiers may occur within the noun phrase as quantifiers, or as adjective intensifiers. Lexical adverbs, by contrast, never inflect and never occur within a noun phrase. Three classes of adverbs are distinguished: temporal, locational, and manner. Adverbs that specify time settings tend to occur at the beginning of a clause or immediately following the subject. Other adverbs tend to occur directly before the verb.

Chapter 10, “Particles and clitics of individuation and extension,” looks at three loosely paradigmatic sets.

One set consists of morphemes that highlight their hosts in various ways. The particle, *wā* ‘as for’, highlights its host as a topic; the particle, *tuŋ*, as focused new information; the particle, *jukun* ‘only’, as an exclusive referent; the individuating clitic, = (*u*)*ri* as the member of a group. The extensive clitic, = (*u*)*ŋ*, highlights the group to which its host belongs.

A second set consists of some seven clause-initial particles which express interpropositional relations across sentence boundaries. The only Newar particle in this set is *āle* ‘then’. It may be used to mark the onset of a new episode. It may also be used to summarize the result of preceding events. In dialogue it often occurs at the end of a turn.

A third set consists of sentence-final particles used to mark questions (*rā*), to strengthen assertions (*ka*), to mitigate assertions (*jeu*), to mark hearsay (*hā*), and to elicit agreement (*nā*).

2.4. Noun-Phrase Structure

Chapter 11, “Noun-phrase structure”: Noun phrases manifest a wide range of variation. Noun phrase constituents can be conjoined. Relative clauses and genitive noun phrases can be embedded.

The normal order of constituents within the noun phrase is

Demonstrative Q Genitive Relative Clause Adjective Q Noun Q.

Each constituent of the noun phrase is optional including the noun head.

A quantifier may occur in any one of the positions marked with “Q”. G. finds it difficult to give a unified account of the post-head quantifier position. For Kathmandu Newar, the post-head position can be viewed as the default position for quantifiers (Hale & Shrestha 2006:124). If this holds for Dolakha, post-head position would be for quantifiers that are not in focus.

Appositions and Lists are accounted for as sequences of discrete noun phrases.

2.5. Clause Structure

Chapter 12, “Clause types,” is a discussion of the six major clause types, defined in terms of their core arguments: Copular, Verbless (a variant of Copular), Intransitive, Dative-Experiencer (a Nepali calque construction), Transitive, and Ditransitive.

Chapter 13, “Grammatical relations,” deals with subjects and objects. The subject relation in Dolakhae is more robust than the subject relation in Kathmandu Newar. Four kinds of subject properties are presented: (1) Finite verbs agree with subjects for person honorific status and number. The ergative A of a transitive or ditransitive clause, the absolutive S of an intransitive clause or the absolutive CS of a copular clause, all control the form of the finite verb. (2) Realis relative clauses with gapped subjects have verbs inflected with the NR1 relativizer. Realis relative clauses with gapped non-subjects inflect with NR2. Irrealis relative clauses inflect with NR3. (3) Subjects of infinitival complements are targets of raising. (4) Only subjects can be antecedents of reflexives.

Dative-experiencer clauses share two of the four subject properties. Relative clauses with gapped dative-experiencers require NR1. Dative-experiencers can serve as antecedents for reflexives.

Chapter 14, “Constituent order”: The language is verb-final. The basic order of constituents is A(R)OV. Topics tend to get fronted. Focused arguments tend to occur immediately before the verb. Arguments that are recoverable from context, or are unknown or unimportant tend to be omitted. Most clauses in discourse have one argument or less.

In sentences with interwoven clauses it is often hard to tell which clause a given argument belongs to. The key unit of discourse structuring is seen not as the clause but as the sentence. The sentence-final verb string is treated as a unit, a complex verb phrase. G. would prefer to characterize this as argument sharing within the sentence rather than as low referential density.

Chapter 15, “Clause-level syntactic constructions,” presents various ways in which basic clause structures can be modified.

There are two kinds of causative: a suppletive variety (*gyāt-* ‘fear’, *khyāt-* ‘scare’), and a causative formed with the derivational suffix *-ker*.

There is an applicative (benefactive/malefactive) construction formed using the versatile verb *bir* ‘give’ as an auxiliary.

Also dealt with in this chapter are the non-declarative forms, (imperatives, prohibitives, optatives, hortatives and interrogatives), reflexives and reciprocals, negation, as well as comparatives and superlatives.

2.6. Tense and Aspect

Chapter 16, “Tense and aspect” In Dolakhae tense is marked by verb inflection and aspect is signaled by auxiliary verbs.

Tense: Where Kathmandu has a two-tense system for conjunct forms (past -- nonpast) and three-tense system for disjunct forms (past perfective -- imperfective -- nonpast), Dolakhae has a four-tense system for all persons and numbers (future -- present -- past -- past anterior). The interplay of tenses is illustrated in a narrative text.

Aspect. Auxiliaries are used to mark aspect. Six constructions are presented: (1) Continuous: Participial + *con-* ‘stay’, (2) Extended state / Perfect aspect: Participial + *tar-* ‘put’, (3) Completive / Sequential: Infinitive + *d(h)on(ker)-* ‘finish’, (4) Intended action: Infinitive + *ten-*; Infinitive + *-rai* ‘be about to’, (5) Inception: Infinitive + *suru yet-* ‘start’, (6) Cessation: Infinitive + *twārtar* ‘stop’

Three conditions apply to auxiliaries: (a) Nothing can intervene between verb and auxiliary. (b) If there is negation it must be on the auxiliary. The lexical verb cannot be

negated independently. (c) The lexical verb and the auxiliary are under a single intonation contour. However, even when these conditions are satisfied, we are still confronted with ambiguous examples for auxiliaries that follow participial forms.

- (73) *jana hākhena dhũ=n ithi yeŋ-an coŋ-gu*
 1SGEN front tiger=ERG this.manner do-PART stay-NR1
ju-en con-a
 be-PART stay-3SPST

‘It turns out that the tiger was in front of me, doing like this.’ (374)¹

The form *coŋ-gu* in Example (73) can be analyzed either (1) as two clauses, ‘the tiger was in front of me doing like this’, or (2) as a single clause, ‘the tiger was doing like this in front of me.’ Cases like this, where both interpretations are semantically valid, are considered to be “bistructural”, instantiating two structures simultaneously. It is this bistructural property that provides the environment in which a verb such as *con-* ‘stay’ can be grammaticalized and reanalyzed as a continuous auxiliary.

2.7. Clause Combining

Four types of construction are described: nominalization, complementation, the participial construction, and adverbial clauses.

Chapter 17, “Nominalization and related structures,” presents Dolakha Newar as a classic case of “Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization” as defined by Bickel (1999). Nominalization in Dolakha is clausal nominalization, having to do not with the creation of derived nouns that function as noun phrase heads, but rather with the creation of clausal constructions such as (1) relative clauses, (2) nominal complements, (3) verbal complements, and (4) non-embedded nominalizations.

For Dolakhae, grouping these four constructions is justified by the fact that they share a common set of verbal suffixes, glossed as ‘NR’ (nominalizer/relativizer): NR1 (*-gu ~ -ku ~ -u*), NR2 (*-e ~ -a*), and NR3 (*-iuri*). A central concern of this chapter is to describe the distribution of these nominalizers.

The system appears to be in flux, shifting from a system controlled by person-marking to a system governed by various parameters of transitivity. Part of the complexity is that nominalization plays out differently in each of four major constructions.

Chapter 18, “Complementation”: G. distinguishes between complementation structures (clauses functioning as complements of complement-taking predicates (CTPs)) and complementation strategies that occur with verbs that in other languages would be CTPs, but which in Dolakha turn out to be auxiliaries. There are four verbs in Dolakha that take infinitival complements as subjects: *jir-* ‘be appropriate’, *mal-* ‘be necessary’, *bir-* ‘give; permit’, and *yer-* ‘want to’. Example (22) illustrates a complementation structure with *jir-* ‘be appropriate’.

¹ To facilitate comparison, examples are cited with their original numbering. Page numbers are given following the free translation.

- (22) [*chin mucā=ta lokhu ton-ke-ŋ*]_{NP-S} *jir-a*
 2SERG child=DAT water drink-CAUS-INF appropriate-3SPST
 ‘It is appropriate for you to make the child drink water.’ (419)

In (22) we have two clauses. The clause in square brackets serves as subject of the CTP, *jir-* ‘be appropriate’. If *chin* ‘2SERG’ had been the subject of a verbal complex in which *jir-* served as an auxiliary we would have expected the verb to agree with *chin* ‘2SERG’.

Example (28) illustrates a complementation strategy.

- (28) *upsin* [*kā-i mwāl-ai*]_{V.COMPLEX}
 3pERG take-INF try-3SPR
 ‘They try to take it.’

In (28) we have a single clause in which *mwāl-* ‘try’ serves as an auxiliary to the lexical verb *kār-* ‘take’. The verbal complex inflects as a unit, agreeing with *upsin* ‘3pERG’.

Five different kinds of complement structures are described, and two different complementation strategies. The chapter ends with a table which classifies verbs (CTPs) into eight groups with indications as to the structures and strategies in which each verb can participate. The twelve verbs that can serve as auxiliaries following the infinitival form of a lexical verb are listed in Table 38, groups 6 and 8.

Chapter 19, “The participial construction,” is presented as one of the features that gives Dolakhae its unique personality. The construction, exemplified in (3), is an instance of what is variously known as the “conjunctive participle” or the “Asian converb” construction.

- (3) *āmun jā na-en ye-eu ka*
 3SERG rice eat-PART come-3FUT ASS
 ‘He will eat his meal and come back.’ (430)

The participial construction consists of one or more participial verbs or clauses in concatenation with a final verb. Though a participial construction is both distributionally and morphologically dependent upon the final clause, it is not viewed as “subordinate” to the final clause. The final clause is not viewed as a “main clause” or “host” for the participial construction. Finite inflection at sentence level is analogous to case and number marking in the noun phrase -- both occur in final position and have scope over the whole construction.

Two levels are distinguished: (1) the clause (a predicate with all its arguments) and (2) the verb phrase (a clause minus its subject). Joining verb phrases in a participial construction may create a complex verb phrase which takes a single subject. Arguments and adjuncts can be arguments at the level of either the simple or the complex verb phrase. The level of the constituent will determine its scope. (454) Subjects, objects, and adverbials can all be grammatically related to multiple predicates.

Participial constructions can be independently negated, but they are not marked for person, number, tense, illocutionary force or interpositional relationship. Participials are interpreted as having the tense which is marked on the final verb. Thus in (3) the non-final clause is understood as future. Non-final clauses containing new information will share illocutionary force with a final imperative or a final yes/no question except where the information in the non-final clause is presupposed. In this case the imperative or interrogative force will be restricted to the final clause.

Interpropositional relationships are inferred from context. In (3) we have a sequential relationship. In (32) the non-final may be understood as manner, though sequence is also possible.

- (32) *āle ekdam khwāl khīga-ke danḍa tīret-cu*
 then very face dark-CAUS.PART fine pay-3SPST
 ‘Then he paid his fine, making his face dark (i.e. scowling).’ (443)

In (34) a causal relationship may be inferred.

- (34) *simā=ku pharsi ar-ai ma-ju-en kota jut-a*
 tree=LOC pumpkin stable-BV NEG-be-PART down fall-3SPST
 ‘Because the pumpkin was unstable on the tree, it fell down.’ (443)

Participial clauses do not function as nominal arguments, nominal modifiers, or as complements of the following verb or clause.

The constraints imposed by the construction all have to do with ordering. Modifying clauses must precede modified clauses. Clauses in temporal sequence must occur in chronological order. Subjects in a string of non-final clauses can only hold grammatical relations with predicates that follow them. There is no “rightward case assignment” within a clause chain.

Ambiguity and the grammaticalization of auxiliaries. Dolakha has three versatile verbs that may function either as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries: *con-* ‘sit, stay,’ continuous aspect, *tar-* ‘put, keep,’ perfect aspect, *bir-* ‘give,’ applicative auxiliary. Just as the infinitive was seen to be the form linking verbs to a small set of auxiliaries in chapter 18, so here the participle is seen to be the linking form to a different set of auxiliaries as in (9) and (11).

Ambiguity may arise when these verbs follow a participial form. In this position we may have either a main verb in the participial form followed by an auxiliary as in (11) or a participial clause followed by a lexical verb as in (12). In addition to the clear cases, there are ambiguous cases like (14).

- (11) *“janta kho pār tār yeṅ-an bi-u” hat-cu hā*
 1sDAT river across cross do-PART give-IMP say-3SPST EVID
 ‘He said: “Ferry me across the river.”’ (Not ‘cross and give’) (433)
- (12) *āpen=ri jaṅgal=ku oṅ-an coṅ-gu hā*
 3p=IND jungle=3PA go-PART stay-PA EVID
 ‘They went and lived in the jungle.’ (434)
- (14) *hirā=e jā hā-en bi-u*
 diamond=GEN rice bring-PART give-IMP
 ‘Bring and give him the diamond rice.’ OR
 ‘Bring the diamond rice for him.’ (434)

Examples like (14) are “bistructural”. On one reading (14) is biclausal, having two lexical verbs. On the other reading it is monoclausal, having a verb followed by a benefactive auxiliary. This kind of ambiguity may well have facilitated the grammaticalization of verbs such as *bir-* ‘give’ as auxiliaries.

Chapter 20, “Adverbial clauses,” focuses primarily on non-finite adverbial clauses with clause-final relational markers. By contrast with a participial clause, a non-finite adverbial clause has a suffixed marker that identifies a specific relationship with the following clause. An excellent overview of the nine relational markers, their glosses and the form of the verb to which they attach is given in the form of a table. Drawing on earlier work (Genetti 1991) the historical development of certain of these markers is reviewed.

Six types of adverbial clauses are described and exemplified: conditional, concessive, temporal, purposive, causal, and simulative.

Since adverbial clauses mark interpositional relations explicitly, they do not have the functional range of participial clauses. Adverbial clauses do not combine easily into long chains.

On the other hand, adverbial clauses share with participial clauses the property of being distributionally and morphologically dependent upon a following clause but not subordinate to it. They are also very similar with respect to the interpretation of pronominal arguments and zero anaphora, the scope of negation, the scope of illocutionary force, and constraints on focusability or the positioning of the clause. These similarities lead to the conclusion that both adverbial and participial clauses should be considered “Asian converbs” in the sense of Bickel 1998.

2.8. The Sentence

Chapter 21, “The sentence: Prosodic and syntactic structuring,” presents the sentence as the “central unit of syntactic and discourse structuring.” (485) This chapter builds upon insights from the chapters on prosody (Ch. 3) and clause combining (Ch. 17-20) to capture much of the uniqueness of the Dolakhae sentence. Special attention is given to the embedding of quotations, to the intertwining of hierarchical embedding and linear sequencing strategies for clause combining, and to the interaction of syntax and prosody.

The syntactic sentence is defined as a coherent syntactic unit with exactly one non-embedded finite verb. (486) Also to be viewed as sentences are non-embedded nominalizations (with no finite verb), and correlative constructions (with two finite verbs). A description of the correlative construction is given here, since it is quite different from the kinds of clause combining dealt with in chapters 17-20.

The prosodic sentence is defined as a macro-unit having any number of units with continuing intonation followed by one unit with final intonation. (504)

Embedding Quotations: Quoted speech occurs frequently in Dolakhae narrative, and a good analysis of what goes on requires insights both from syntax and prosody. In the process of producing a narrative a speaker takes on different “voices”. Before the story begins, or as parenthetical asides during the narration he uses his own voice. The first shift is to the voice of the narrator, commonly marked by a conventional opening line such as ‘In a certain country there lived . . .,’ where those introduced are major participants in the story. From there the shift to the voice of one or another of the characters in the story is often syntactically unmarked and must be inferred from changes in temporal, personal or spatial deixis, or from prosodic marking such as an intonation break before the direct quote, or by delivering the quote in a way that mimics the character’s delivery. Interlinear

examples with both phonemic and prosodic transcription are given. Tracking with these shifts of “voice” require the hearer to attend both to syntax and to prosody.

Intertwined Embedding and Linear Sequencing: In chapters 17-20 four major clause combining strategies have been described. Two of these are embedding strategies, and two are linear sequencing strategies.

Nominalization/Relativization embeds clauses as noun modifiers or as noun phrases. Complementation embeds clauses as object arguments. With embedding like this hierarchical structure is built. Through the concatenation of participial constructions and adverbial clauses linear structure is built.

Nominalized/relativized clauses, and complement clauses can be embedded within participial and adverbial clauses. Participials and adverbials can be concatenated to nominalized/relativized clauses and to complement clauses. The potential for complexity in embedded quotes is illustrated by a lengthy sentence containing an entire dialogic conversation.

Syntax-prosody interactions: Interesting parallels between syntax and prosody can be observed, some of them due to the fact that Dolakhae is a verb-final language.

Sentence final marking: Finite suffixes mark the end of a syntactic sentence; terminal intonation contours mark the end of a prosodic sentence. (506)

Order of constituents: In a syntactic sentence, dependent, non-finite clauses precede the finite clause. In a prosodic sentence, units with continuing intonation precede units with final intonation. (507)

Embedding: Direct quotes are syntactically embedded as objects. (495) They are also prosodically embedded

Though speakers choose to maintain the parallels between syntax and prosody most of the time, for special purposes they may choose to produce mismatches. Speakers may introduce prosodic breaks in the middle of a syntactic sentence. (In (40) “//” = marked-rising terminal contour)

- (40) *pusata* $\hat{m}ain = e,$ //
Pusata month=GEN

barta $\hat{c}on-ŋasin,$ //
fast stay-when

‘When it was the fast of the month of Pusata ...’ (510)

The mismatch here establishes the month of Pusata as the point of reference for the following episode in the narrative.

There is also an example of a sequence of two syntactic sentences from a marriage negotiation that are treated prosodically as a single sentence:

- (41) *sampati* $\hat{m}a-da,$ /
wealth NEG-have

jin $\hat{m}a-bi-gu$ *chana* *bā = ta.* \\
1SERG NEG-give-1SPST 2SGEN father=DAT

‘She will not have wealth; I won’t give her to your father.’ (511)

(In (41), slash “/” represents a rising terminal contour” (continuing) and double backslash “\” is a high-falling terminal contour” (final)). The first clause in (41), *sampati ma-da* ‘She will not have wealth’. is syntactically a sentence, but it is marked prosodically as non-final. The continuing intonation prompts the addressee to infer a relationship between the two propositions. In this case the relationship is causal. This could have been done explicitly with an adverbial clause, *ma-da-e-lāgin* [NEG-exist-NR2-because] ‘because she will not have’. As it stands, however, the first clause is asserted. To replace the first clause with an adverbial clause would be to present it as presupposed information. Casting it as an assertion puts the speaker in a stronger negotiating position.

3. Summing up

This book should be required reading for anyone thinking of further research in any of the Newar dialects. The analysis is sound and is well illustrated from a rich natural corpus. Mother tongue consultants have been asked for their intuitive judgements, listened to carefully, and the results passed on to the reader. Alternative analyses and the reasons for preferring one over another abound. It contains a gold-mine of starting points for further investigation, hardly any of which have been mentioned in this review. This is a great contribution to Newar studies. It gives the reader the chance to participate in the process which led to the final draft. We are richer for its conclusions. The future of Newar studies is brighter for the fruitful open questions we are left with. Its typological awareness makes it an invaluable resource for typologists of the Tibeto-Burman Indosphere.

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5. Errata

5.1 References

The reference on page 13 to Hale and Manandhar (1980) should have been a reference to Manandhar (1986) and the following entry should be added to the References on page 573:

Manandhar, Thakur Lal
1986 *Newari-English Dictionary: Modern Language of the Kathmandu Valley*,
Ed. Dr. Anne Vergati. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

The reference on page 569, Genetti, Carol, *in press*, should be Genetti, Carol, **2006**. Compare with the reference on p. 408, and the entry for Dixon, 2006 on p. 567. The reference on page 509 also needs to be updated.

5.2 Cross-references to sections

The first number in the crossreference refers to the chapter, following numbers to sections and subsections. Out of over 220 cross references in the text I found only 16 misleading or blind references.

On page	As printed	Should be
1	§1.5.5.5	§1.5.5
10	§1.4.4.5	§1.4.5
24	§4.4.4.2	§4.4.2
32	§2.1.1	§2.2.1.1
32	§2.1.2.3	§2.2.1.2.3
41	§2.1.2.3	§2.2.1.2.3
48	§2.1.2.5	§2.2.1.2.5
57	§2.4.4.1	§2.4.1
121	§4.4.2.2	§4.4.2.1
154	§6.7	§6.8
170	§6.3.1	§6.4.1
191	12.1	§12.1
276	§6.7.1	§6.8.1
287	§6.7.2	§6.8.2
330	§6.6.2	§6.7
502	§19.5.1	§19.5.3

5.3 Crossreferences to examples

The following crossreferences from the text to example sets need correction:

Page	As printed	Should be
109	Example (55)	Example (53)
109	Example (56)	Example (54)
109	Example (57)	Example (55)
109	Example (58)	Example (56)
109	Example (59)	Example (57)
115	example (81)	example (79)
115	In (81b)	In (79b)
149	given in (80)-(82)	given in (81)-(83)
152	As in (92),	As in (93),
152	given in (93)-(94)	given in (94)-(95)
173	in example (8)	in example (6)
396	Example (24)	Example (23)
396	Example (25)	Example (24)
503	example (30)	example (27)

5.4 Cited forms

I found very few typographic errors. A great virtue of this description is that G. has given the reader the means to correct most of the critical forms. There is an extensive word list, and there are many tables of paradigms to consult.

	As printed	Should be	Compare with
p. 101, Table 6	<i>=na, nasi</i>	<i>=na, =nasi</i>	Ex. 95, p. 118
p. 156, Table 14	<i>dāer-</i>	<i>dāker-</i>	App. C, p. 525
p. 187, Table 30, NR2	<i>ka-e</i>	<i>kā-e</i>	Table 23, p. 164
p. 187, Table 30, NR2	<i>wal-e</i>	<i>wāl-e</i>	Table 26, p. 166
p. 187, Table 30, NR1	<i>wal-gu</i>	<i>wāl-gu</i>	Table 26, p. 166
p. 198	<i>bṅkeṅ</i>	<i>bīṅkeṅ</i>	App. C, p. 524
p. 198	<i>=u(ri)</i>	<i>=(u)ri</i>	pp. 127, 239
p. 373	<i>tal-</i>	<i>tar-</i>	App. C, p. 536
p. 399	<i>juu-en con-a</i>	<i>ju-en con-a</i>	Exx. 34-9, p. 399

5.5 Miscellaneous

Typographic errors involving English words are few and easily corrected. I have not listed them here.

Page 124: “... *nāpa* ... requires *dative* case on a preceding pronoun ...” Examples 135 and 136 which follow show that this should read *genitive* case.

Page 518: Appendix A is missing the entry for *-iuri* Nominalizer/relativizer 3 NR3. (Cf. p. 390)

Page 353: “The standard of comparison is simply *replaced* by ...” should read something like “The standard of comparison is simply *modified* by ...”

Page 483, Last paragraph: “participial and *subordinate* clauses” should probably read “participial and *adverbial* clauses”.

Page 536: Three entries under “t” are transcribed with initial retroflex stops: *tuley* ‘until’; *tulke* ‘until, up to’; *tulle* ‘during’. Comparison with examples on p. 105 confirms the transcription as correct. These entries need to be moved to the “ṭ” section on page 537.

Page 537: Three entries under “t” have initial dental stops: *ton-* ‘drink; smoke’; *tor-* ‘rise (of sun, moon)’; *tōita* ‘drink (n.)’. Comparison with examples on pages 360 (drink) and 378 (rise) confirm the transcriptions. These entries need to be moved to the “ṭ” section on page 536.