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PAPERS  
ON  
DISCOURSE

JOSEPH E. GRIMES, EDITOR

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# Rhetorical Questions in Sunwar

Marlene Schulze

## Abstract

Rhetorical questions are used to organize discourse in Sunwar. The first of two discourse functions of rhetorical questions is topical, in which the question is used to state the theme of a complete discourse or of a major part of it. The object of these questions is to capture or recapture the hearer's attention. The second kind of question is characterizing, used to identify characters, items, locations, time, or reason, and to impress on the hearer some specific attribute of these. Rhetorical questions differ in grammatical form from questions requesting information. The functions in discourse of the two types contrast sharply.

This paper presents an initial study of rhetorical questions in Sunwar discourse.<sup>1</sup>

The complete rhetorical question construction is a unit consisting of a question part, a rhetorical question marker, and an answer.

Rhetorical questions have two distinctive uses in discourse. The first is topical, used to state a theme of a complete discourse or a part of it. Topical rhetorical questions are recognizable by their ability to form a discourse or a paragraph, and by the fact that their answer always has two or more parts that elaborate the theme.

The second kind of rhetorical question is characterizing. It is used to identify characters, items, location, time, or reason. Its position differs from that of the topical rhetorical question in that it occurs paragraph-medial. The answer part of the characterizing rhetorical question can be simple or complex. The complex

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<sup>1</sup>This paper was written during a workshop held in Kathmandu, Nepal, from June to August of 1973 under the direction of Dr. J. E. Grimes. The workshop was jointly sponsored by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies of Tribhuvan University. I would like to express my gratitude to Dora Bieri, my partner, for many discussions, and to Gyen Singh Sunwar for his excellent work as language helper.

The Sunwars live in eastern Nepal, in the Janakpur and Sagarmatha Zones. The 1961 Nepal Government Census Report lists the number of Sunwar speakers as 13,362. The language is referred to in the literature as Sunwar, Sunuwar, Sunwari, and Sunuwari. Grierson (1909,3:198ff) classifies Sunwar as a nonpronominalized Himalayan language of the Tibeto-Burman group. This classification is criticized by Schaefer (1955), who classifies Sunwar as a member of the Western branch of the East Himalayan section of the Bodic division of Sino-Tibetan. The dialect studied is spoken in the village Sabra, situated north of Ramechhap.

Sunwar phonemes are as follows: ph, th, thr (retroflex), kh, p, t, tr, k, b, d, dr, g, ts, dz, s, sh, h, m, n, ng, l, r, w, y, i, ii (long), e, ee, a, aa, u, uu, o, oo. High tone words are marked //, low tone words are unmarked (Bieri and Schulze 1971a, 1971b; Hale ed. 1973b, 4:26).

This paper has benefitted from a computer produced concordance of Sunwar texts processed at the University of Oklahoma in a programme supported by NSF grant GS-1605.

characterizing rhetorical question has a list of several identifications in its answer part; the simple characterizing rhetorical question is a single identification.

First, I contrast the rhetorical question with non-rhetorical requests for information. Next I describe the grammatical details of the rhetorical question form. Finally, I discuss further details of how the two types of rhetorical question are used in Sunwar discourse.

#### RHETORICAL QUESTIONS AND REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

The construction I call the question part of the rhetorical question does not function as a request for information. Rather it uses the same part of the grammatical apparatus that is also used in a request for information in order to catch the attention of the hearer. The attention of the hearer is drawn to a theme in the topical type; to a participant, item, location, time, or reason in the characterizing type.

The grammatical apparatus of a request for information has two forms in Sunwar. In the first, a question that elicits an answer of 'yes' or 'no' contains a verb stem with a question affix and rising intonation, symbolized by /?: *meko-m dzaw-a?* (he-agent eat=3singular-question-rise) 'Did he eat?' In the second form, a question that elicits information as an answer contains a question word, a verb with a question affix, and falling intonation, symbolized by /.: *'mar dzaw-a.* (what eat=3singular-question-fall) 'What did he eat?' The rhetorical question uses only the second form with a question word; a 'yes' or 'no' answer, therefore, cannot occur in a rhetorical question.<sup>2</sup>

The question part of the rhetorical question shares two characteristics with the information question just described: the question word and the falling intonation.<sup>3</sup> The intonation falls but is taken up immediately by the rhetorical question marker *deen-sha hana*. This falling intonation is symbolized by /,/. The verb stem, however, has the statement affix *-tu* instead of the question affix *-a* that signals a request for information:<sup>4</sup> *'mar dzap-tu, deen-sha hana,* (what eat=3singular-past-statement-fall, say=sequential condition,) 'What did he eat, so to speak?'

A request for information is not uttered unless a second person who hears and might be able to answer the question is present. A asks B: *meko-m 'mar dzaw-a.*

<sup>2</sup>Other languages apparently allow 'yes' or 'no' answers to a rhetorical question. Beekman (1972) indicates that Koine Greek allows a 'yes' or 'no' answer. Andrews (1972) reports a positive answer such as 'they do' or 'I would' to a rhetorical question in Otomi in the State of Mexico.

<sup>3</sup>The phonological pattern of the rhetorical question is: Question part (fall), rhetorical question marker (level), answer part (fall). The intonation pattern of the rhetorical question underlines the unity of the question part and the answer part uttered by one speaker. The corresponding intonation of a request for information is: A: question (fall). B: answer (fall). The request for information and its answer are uttered by two speakers and therefore have a pause of varying length between question and answer.

<sup>4</sup>The form of the question affix used in the verb phrase of a request for information depends on person, number, role (agent, patient, referent), and verb class.

(he=agent eat=3singular-question-fall)<sup>5</sup> 'What did he eat?' B answers: *bur khame dzap-tu*. (rice food eat=3singular-past-statement-fall) 'He ate rice.' The question part and the answer part of the rhetorical question, however, are uttered by the same person in the presence of a passive hearer:<sup>6</sup> *meko-m 'mar dzap-tu, deen-sha hana, bur khame dzap-tu*. (he=agent what eat=3singular-past-statement-fall, say=sequential condition, rice food eat=3singular-past-statement-fall) 'What did he eat, so to speak? He ate rice.'

In any rhetorical question, in order to present it as one unit, the question part and the answer part must be linked by *deen-sha hana* (say=sequential condition) 'so to speak'. *hana* is a condition marker which relates two clauses or sentences within a larger unit (Bieri ms). The combination *deen-sha hana* prohibits anyone other than the one who uttered the question part of the rhetorical question from uttering the answer part.

To pursue further the difference between a request for information and the reply to the request on the one hand, and the rhetorical question on the other, the information question and its answer form what Grimes (1975) calls a simple response pair related by a response predicate. The following text is an example of a request for information. A: *do 'pam-se*. (how do=3dual-question-fall) 'How did the two do?' B: *dzoy la-ta 'noole, minu biralo a dzatsa thook 'neek-tu, minu dor-sha, tohringa-m la-sha, oo-ta, minu biralo a paala la-sha, dzoy a tsayb 'nell 'saysh-sha gep-tu, minu 'noole pi-ta*. (leopard go=3singular-past afterwards, and cat its food stuff eat-up=3singular-past, and run=sequential, hole=local go=sequential, enter=3singular-past, and cat its turn go=sequential, leopard its young-ones all kill=sequential give=3singular-past, and afterwards come=3singular-past) 'The leopard went afterwards. He ate the cat's food. Having run, having gone to a hole, he entered (to hide himself). And in its turn the cat went (to the leopard's place) and killed all the young ones of the leopard. Then it (the cat) came home.'

Figure 1 represents the response pair. (The response itself is further organized in terms of the response relation; but this is peculiar to this example. The consequent part could be a collection of temporally or logically ordered events.)

If the example were a rhetorical question and not a request for information, its form would be: *minu nga mina 'noole do 'pam-taaks, deen-sha hana, dzoy la-ta*. . . . (and and then afterwards how do=3dual-past, say=sequential condition, leopard go=3singular-past. . . .) 'And then afterwards how did the two do, so to speak? The leopard went . . .' There is a rhetorical question link. The form of the answer is the same as in the first example; but it is not appropriate for it to be given by any other person than the one who asked the question.

<sup>5</sup>/- is used to separate affixes and glosses of affixes which have more than one gloss word for one affix. /=/ is used between stem and affix in the morpheme by morpheme gloss.

<sup>6</sup>Beekman (1972) analyzing the rhetorical question in Koine Greek says that a rhetorical question can be self-directed or other-directed. So far a self-directed rhetorical question has not been found in Sunwar.

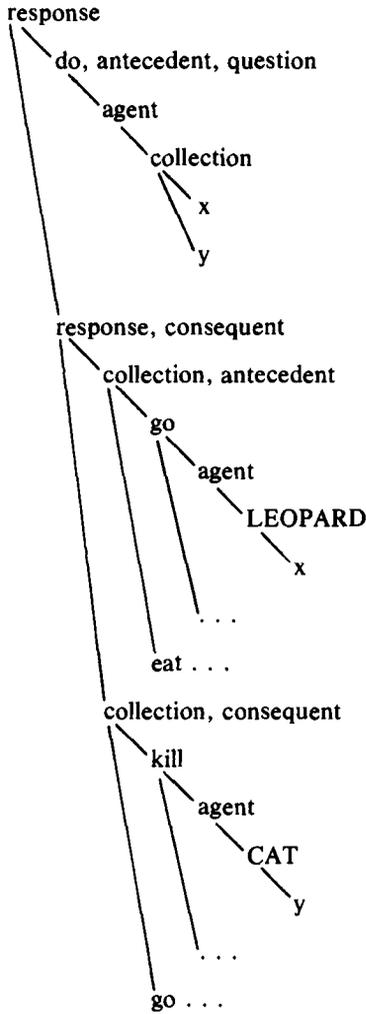


Figure 1. A request for information and the reply to it.

The abstract relation that underlies the rhetorical question is not a response. It is rather the general-specific relation between a covering statement and an elaboration of that statement (in the topical type). Both terms of the relation cover the same time span, which can be expressed as an open interval (a,b) as in Figure 2. The elaboration relation is encoded into speech by means of the rhetorical question form.

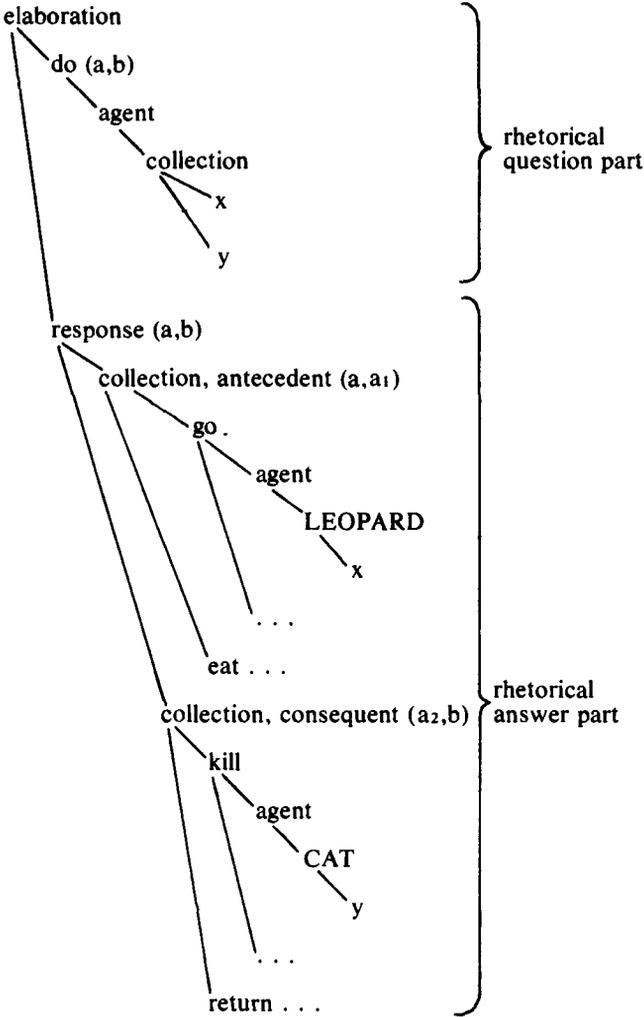


Figure 2. A general statement and its elaboration, expressed as a rhetorical question with its question and answer. Topical type.

A request for information may contain a repetition of the question word. The one who asks in this form expects an answer with two or more items. The following example demonstrates the repetition of a locative question word: *sunwar-puki 'te 'te 'baak-ma.* (Sunwar=plural **where where** live=3plural-question-fall) 'In what places did the Sunwars live?' The appropriate answer would be something like *sabra budzi-m 'baak-teekm.* (Sabra Budzi=local live=3plural-past-fall) 'They lived in Sabra and in Budzi.' If the answer to the question with a repeated question word will only

allow one item, *la* 'only' replaces other expected items. In the following example, the answer to the repeated question consists of one locality followed by *la* 'only', which replaces the expected group of localities: *sabra-m la 'baak-teekm*. (Sabra=local only live=3plural-past-fall) 'They lived only in Sabra.'

In a rhetorical question of which the question part contains a repetition of the question word, the answer must correspond to this repetition. The one who utters the rhetorical question knows, of course, what he is going to say in the answer, and does not repeat the question word unless he intends to list two or more items. The following example illustrates the repetition of the question word in a rhetorical question: *sunwar-puki 'te 'te 'baak-teekm, deen-sha hana, sabra budzi-m 'baak-teekm*. (Sunwar=plural where where live=3plural-past-fall, say=sequential condition, Sabra Budzi=local live=3plural-past-fall) 'In what places did the Sunwars live, so to speak? They lived in Sabra and in Budzi.'

Repetition of the question word is peculiar to the characterizing rhetorical question, since the answer to the topical rhetorical question is always multiple anyway.

#### GRAMMAR OF THE RHETORICAL QUESTION

The question part of a rhetorical question consists of a question word and a verb in statement form. The topical type of rhetorical question uses the question words '*mar* 'what?', '*do* 'how?', '*dopa* 'how do?', and '*mardee* 'why?' together with the verb to form a covering statement for the elaboration of a theme. The characterizing type uses the question words '*gena* 'when?' for time, '*te* 'where?' for locality, '*su* 'who?' for participants, '*dodeeb* 'what does it look like?', '*mar* 'what?', and '*do* 'how?' for items, together with the verb, to form a covering statement for identification. The question words '*dopa* 'how do?', '*dodeeb* 'what does it look like?', and '*mardee* 'why?' have not been observed repeated. The others can be repeated under the conditions described above.

The verb of the question part of the topical rhetorical question has to be lexically general or inclusive enough to allow specific elaboration of it in the answer part. The topical type of rhetorical question frequently uses the very general verb '*pa-tsa* (do=infinite) 'do' in its question part. '*pa-tsa* allows a wide range of elaboration. Another possibility of covering the elaborated answer is by the use of the question word '*dopa* 'how is it done?' followed by a less inclusive verb than 'do', such as for example '*khrum-tsa* (plant=infinite) 'plant', which allows an elaboration along the line of planting procedures. 'Why' questions use specific verbs which describe the action for which the reason is to be stated. The characterizing rhetorical question uses preferably '*baak-tsa* (be=infinite) 'be' and '*dum-tsa* (become=infinite) 'become' in its question part.

The answer part of the topical rhetorical question contains at least two sentences. The verbs of the answer part have to be lexically less inclusive, or more specific, than the word of the question part is. A highly inclusive verb like '*pa-tsa* (do=infinite) 'do' cannot occur in the answer part.

The answer part of the simple characterizing rhetorical question is restricted to one single sentence. The complex characterizing rhetorical question can have as many sentences in its answer part as there are identifications. The same verb used in the question part can occur in the answer part.

The answer part has to correspond to what has been asked for in the question part. If, for example, locality is asked for, the answer part must specify locality: *minu meko mulathotse 'te gyar=teekm, deen=sha hana, kaping=nga tahr kantsa khiin-m gyar=teekm.* (and this year where gamble=3plural-past, say=sequential condition, **Kaping=of Tahr Kantsa house=local gamble=3plural-past**) 'And this year where did they gamble, so to speak? They gambled in Kaping, in the house of Tahr Kantsa.'

Person, number, and tense of the main verbs are identical in the question and answer part. There is one exception to this rule, however; in a topical rhetorical question, the question part can contain a verb with a dual affix. In this case, the answer part will elaborate a theme with two participants. Each one is treated as a single person. The verb affixes will be third person singular in the answer part. The tense of the rhetorical question corresponds to the tense of the discourse of which the rhetorical question is a part. All forms of first and third person singular, dual, and plural can occur in rhetorical questions. Second person forms do not occur.

#### RHETORICAL QUESTIONS IN THE DISCOURSE

The rhetorical question plays an important role in Sunwar discourse. A topical rhetorical question, for instance, is used to make the hearer of a narrative aware of the fact that although the story has reached a point of despair, there is a way out of the problem, and the solution the speaker is about to give is not the most ordinary one. The main use of topical rhetorical questions is to capture or recapture the hearer's attention.

The characterizing rhetorical question is used to impress on the hearer some specific attribute of a participant, a place, a certain time, an item, or an event. This identification is valid for the rest of the discourse.

Other Tibeto-Burman languages like Jirel and Sherpa apparently use rhetorical questions in ways similar to Sunwar (Esther Strahm and Burkhard Schöttelndreyer, personal communication). The less closely related Kham, however, uses the rhetorical question to introduce an evaluation of items or of participants in such a way as to suspend the action at critical points in the story. The following Kham example contributed by David Watters illustrates it: 'A man meets a leopard by surprise and gets into a fight with him. He shouts to his friend: "Quick! Bring a knife and kill this thing!"' At this point the narrator says: 'For fear he had climbed a tree; what knife would his friend bring him? (he was up in the tree).' Labov and Waletzky (1967) speak about evaluation sentences in a similar situation. Carl DuBois (1973) states that the rhetorical question of Sarangani Manobo is used only as identification, at the point in a narrative when a group of participants splits up. The different places where the newly distinguished participants are will be identified by means of a rhetorical question. He considers the rhetorical question a subtype of identification sentences;

but it is clearly not used for identification in the same way as the Sunwar characterizing rhetorical question.

A topical rhetorical question in Sunwar states the theme of a complete discourse or of a part of it. Its question part states the theme in general form, whereas the answer part is a detailed elaboration of the theme. In a complete discourse, the topical rhetorical question states and elaborates the main theme; in a part of a discourse it states and elaborates a part of the main theme. The main theme is either an event or an explanation.

Sunwar can develop a complete discourse in the form of a topical rhetorical question. The discourse type which most frequently makes use of this is the procedural discourse. The topic of the procedure is stated in the question part of the topical rhetorical question. In the answer part, the procedure is elaborated in sequential steps of processes. The example presents a topical rhetorical question as a whole discourse: 1. *siibi ke-sho-nu, dopa ke-tsa 'malb, deen-sha hana, 'ngoynti pyedz masnu pa kyor-tsa 'malb.* 2. *mekele siibi mur-tsa 'malb.* 3. *minu siibi a khosh-le khe-tsa 'malb.* 4. *minu karay kaa-sha itska tel luuk-tsa 'malb.* 5. *minu pyedz sup-sha, tsinka kiik 'payk-tsa 'malb.* 6. *minu siibi sup-sha, itska wal-tsa 'malb.* 7. *mekele bwaakku luuk-sha, hiiiksi sup-tsa 'malb.* 8. *minu thampa bruyk 'payk-tsa 'malb.* 9. *minu siibi brook-b.* (1. beans cook=impersonal-imperative-simultaneous, how cook=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative, say=sequential condition, first onion small do cut=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 2. and-then beans wash=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 3. and beans its ends=from peel=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 4. and pot heat=sequential little oil pour=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 5. and onion add=sequential, moment burn cause=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 6. and beans add=sequential, little fry=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 7. and then water pour=sequential, salt season=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 8. and very-much boil=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 9. consequently beans be-tasty=stative-nonpast.) '1. While cooking beans, how must they be cooked? First, the onions must be cut small. 2. Next, the beans must be washed. 3. And the ends of the beans must be peeled off. 4. And having heated the pot, a little oil must be poured into it. 5. And having added the onion, it has to be burned for a moment. 6. And having added the beans, they must be fried a little. 7. Next having poured water in, salt must be added. 8. And it has to be caused to boil much. 9. Consequently the beans are tasty.' The very general term *ke-tsa* (cook=infinite) 'cook' used in the question part of the topical rhetorical question covers eight different specifications, all belonging to the cooking process, in the answer part. These are *kyor* 'cut', *mur* 'wash', *khe* 'peel', *luuk* 'pour', *kiik 'payk* 'cause to burn', *wal* 'fry', *sup* 'season', *bruyk 'payk* 'cause to boil'. The answer part of the topical rhetorical question of the above example consists of three sequential steps marked as *'ngoynti* 'first', *mekele* 'next', *mekele* 'next'. The last sentence states what will result if the beans are cooked in just the way explained.

The following is an example of a topical rhetorical question forming a paragraph within a narrative: *'noole-da 'mar 'paa-me 'baakt-ne, deen-sha hana, minu meko khiin-nga muru-mi biralo-kaa tsaak-sha nga mina, meko yits 'nelle bwa 'pa-da 'baakt. minu shush yits 'neek-mi 'baakt biralo-mi. 'noole itska koy'la 'liik-ma 'baakt.*

(afterwards-emphasis what do=3plural-remote-past-reported, say=sequential condition, and that house=of people=agent cat=one bring=sequential and then, that rat all eat cause=3plural-remote-past. and many rats eat-up=3plural-undergoer-remote-past cat=agent. afterwards little some=only be-left=3plural-remote-past.) 'Afterwards, what did they do, so to speak? The people of the house brought in a cat and caused it to eat all the rats. And the cat ate up a lot of the rats. Afterwards only a few were left.'

The main theme of the fable from which the above example is taken is that problems can be solved only by action and not by talk alone. The truth of it is illustrated by the problem people had with rats, in which the people solved their problem by action: '*pa* 'do'. In this story the topical rhetorical question gives the solution for the people. For the rats, however, it is the complication itself. Their problem is never solved.

Another form of topical rhetorical question elaborates a reason. The clause following the rhetorical question marker is not the first elaboration of the theme, as it would be in an elaboration of an event, but it sets the scene for the reason. The following is an example of a topical rhetorical question elaborating a reason as its theme: *minu gopuki-mi eko bii-ke tiwar, 'maysh-sha 'mardee 'pay-niki, deen-sha hana, gopuki roy 'pa-ka-nu, 'beek-tsa kenga 'ngoynti kana bii 'miilu 'gyayk-tsa 'malb. minu meko mur ma-'beek-th hana, meko bii woysh-sha dum-b. minu meko bii 'miilu 'gyaysh-sho-nu, 'beek-sha nga mina, 'la-tik laan-mi theeb khola 'baak-b-ne. minu meko khola-mi shook-ne ma-tsap-b-ne muru. minu nga mina eko bii 'miilu 'gyaysh-sho-nu, meko bii pawre-sha nga mina, shook-b-ne.* (and we=agent this cow=for worship call=sequential why do=1plural-exclusive-nonpast, say=sequential condition, we illness do=1plural-simultaneous, die=infinitive more first time cow tail grip=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. and that man negative-die=without condition, that cow put=sequential become=3singular-nonpast. and that cow tail grip=impersonal-simultaneous, die sequential and then, go=nominalizer way=local big river be=3singular-nonpast. and that river=local cross=auxiliary-relator negative-be-able=3singular-reported man. and and then this cow tail grip=impersonal-simultaneous, that swim=sequential and then cross=3singular-nonpast-reported.) 'Why do we perform the so-called cow worship, so to speak? While we are sick, before dying, a cow's tail has to be gripped. If the man does not die (after that), it is all right to put the cow into the shed. And having gripped the cow's tail, having died, on the way will be a big river. A man cannot cross the river. While gripping the cow's tail, swimming, the cow will bring him over.'

The characterizing rhetorical question is used to identify participants, items, time, location, or reasons. This type of rhetorical question tends to occur in the setting part of a discourse or a paragraph. The following is an example of a rhetorical question that characterizes a participant occurring in the setting of a discourse: *meko tsihiin 'mar dzat-nga 'baak-maakt-ne, deen-sha hana, gurung 'baak-maakt-ne.* (that however what caste=of be=3singular-remote-past-reported, say=sequential condition, Gurung be=3singular-remote-past-reported.) 'That man, however, what caste was he, so to speak? He was a Gurung.' The question part introduces the character in general. The answer part attributes the quality of being a Gurung. The man,

introduced as a Gurung, is the main participant of that discourse. In the sentence following the rhetorical question, the participant is once again referred to as 'one of the Gurungs', and after that he is referred to by third person pronouns, once by 'that hunter', and once by 'that man', never again by the name of his caste. Once a narrator has used a characterizing rhetorical question to attribute a quality to a character, that attribute belongs to the participant like a label. The hearer is supposed to remember throughout the story that this man is a Gurung because it makes his actions intelligible.

The following is an example of a characterizing rhetorical question used in explanatory discourse to identify items. The question word is repeated and the answer is a list of items. The explanatory discourse describes a harvest ceremony and the speaker comes to a point where he has to tell the hearer which kinds of grain this harvest ceremony has to be performed for. There are a number of crops which require the ceremony if the farmer is to be safe and not be killed by angry spirits: *minu gopuk ayn-ke nowgi 'mar 'mar-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb, deen-sha hana, gopuk ayn-ke bur-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb. 'tsirs-ke 'pa-tsa ma-malb. kyoodz-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb. tserb-ke 'pa-tsa ma-malb. makay-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb. mekele are mare-ke 'pa-tsa ma-malb gopuk ayn-ke nowgi.* (and us=for harvest-ceremony what what=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative, say=sequential condition, we us=for rice=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. millet=for do=auxiliary-relator negative-impersonal imperative. barley=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. wheat=for do=auxiliary-relator negative-impersonal-imperative. maize=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. and-then other not=for do=auxiliary-relator negative-impersonal-imperative we us=for harvest-ceremony.) 'And for what things do we have to perform the harvest ceremony, so to speak? We have to do it for rice. For millet, it must not be done. For barley, it must be done. For wheat, it must not be done. For maize, it must be done. And then for all other grains the harvest ceremony must not be done; this is our harvest ceremony.' The grains which need the ceremony are arranged in such a way that those grains which do not need the ceremony occur paired with them.

The following is an example of a characterizing rhetorical question identifying time. *minu gopuk ayn-ke bur nowgi gena 'pay-niki, deen-sha hana, sahuna-m khrum-sha nga mina 'noole kaatika-m bur nowgi 'pay-nik.* (and us=for rice harvest-ceremony when do=1plural-exclusive-nonpast, say=sequential condition, July=temporal plant=sequential and then afterwards October=temporal rice harvest-ceremony do=1plural-exclusive-nonpast.) 'When do we perform the rice harvest ceremony, so to speak? Having planted in July, then afterwards in October, we will perform the rice harvest ceremony.'

The example of a characterizing rhetorical question which identifies a locality is taken from an explanatory discourse describing a feast which is especially famous as a time for gambling. In the characterizing rhetorical question, the locality for the gambling is specified: *minu meko mulathotse 'te gyar-teekm, deen-sha hana, kapingnga tahr kantsa khiin-m gyar-teekm.* (and this year where gamble=3plural-past, say=sequential condition, Kaping=of Tahr Kantsa house=local gamble=3plural-past.) 'And this year, where did they gamble, so to speak? They gambled in Kaping in the

house of Tahr Kantsa.' The locality of gambling is never mentioned again. Once the place has been introduced by means of a characterizing rhetorical question, the hearer is supposed to know that anything connected with gambling took place at Tahr Kantsa's house.

The characterizing rhetorical question identifying a reason is illustrated in the following example: *muru-m miish 'niikshi 'mardee tsaak-nim, deen-sha hana, koy-m 'ngoynti-nga miishe-m taw ma-thi-thu, tami taw thi-tsa-kali tsaak-nim. minu koy-m tsihiin khiin-m tami taw 'baak-sha yo miishmur daak-sha tsaak-nim. minu koy-m tsihiin kheet baari shush dum-sha, nga mina kaam 'pa-tsa-kali tsaak-nim.* (man=agent wife two why take=3plural-nonpast, say=sequential condition, some=agent first=of wife=agent son negative-give-birth=without, daughter son give-birth=infinite-purpose take=3plural-nonpast. and some=agent however house=local daughter son be=sequential also wife love=sequential take=3plural-nonpast. and some=agent however irrigated-field field many become=sequential, and then work do=infinite-purpose take=3plural-nonpast.) 'A man, why does he take two wives, so to speak? Some have no son from the first wife; they take another for giving birth to daughters and sons. And some, even if there are children in the house, love a woman and take her. And some, having many fields, take a wife for doing the work.' This example states three reasons why someone might take another wife. Each reason is explained in one sentence. The question word of the question part is not repeated, however, as one would expect from the complex answer to the question part. 'mardee 'why' is an exception to the repetition rule. The verb of the question part is repeated in each reason stated in the answer part. This kind of rhetorical question occurs discourse-initially, as a part of the setting, but it does not form a discourse.

#### APPENDIX

The following is an explanatory discourse which uses rhetorical questions. In sentence 1 a characterizing rhetorical question identifies time in the discourse setting. Sentences 6 to 8 form a topical rhetorical question that elaborates a reason as its theme. Sentences 9 to 14 form a characterizing rhetorical question whose answer is a list of items to be identified. Sentences 15 to 17 form a topical rhetorical question that elaborates the steps of a procedure.

1. *gopuk ayn-ke bur nowgi 'pa-ka-nu, gena 'pay-niki, deen-sha hana, sahuna-m khrum-sha nga min, 'noole kaatika-m bur nowgi 'pay-nik.*

2. *minu bur nowgi 'pa-ka-nu, 'nak bur riik-dish-sha nga mina tsaak-sha nga mina, tsu-sha bessa pidar pa kyeki bur dza-tsa 'malb. 3. minu 'ngoynti tsihiin meko nowgi 'pa-sho deen-mim.*

4. *minu eko nowgi 'pa-sha nga mina, 'noole bur riik-sha nga mina kheeta-m khala bane-nik. 5. khala bane-sha nga mina, meko khala-mi bur tsaak-sha, tup-sha uy uy paati laysh-sha nga min, gish muuri dum-ba-m, puuk-sha nga mina, khiin tsaak-nik.*

6. *minu gopuk ayn-ke bur nowgi 'pa-ka-nu, 'mardee 'pay-nik, deen-sha hana, minu ma-'pa-sha wala-m tay-b, deen-nim. 7. eko bur nowgi 'pa-sho-nu wal-kali*

'noynti ma-ge-thu dza-sha hana wala-m mur roy pa 'pay-nim. 8. gopuk ayn purka-puki-mi eko thiti pi-sho 'baak-teekm.

9. minu gopuk ayn-ke nowgi 'mar 'mar-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb, deen-sha hana, gopuk ayn-ke bur-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb. 10. 'tsirs-ke 'pa-tsa ma-malb. 11. kyoodz-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb. 12. tserb-ke 'pa-tsa ma-malb. 13. makay-ke 'pa-tsa 'malb. 14. mekele aru 'mare-ke 'pa-tsa ma-malb gopuk ayn-ke nowgi.

15. eko nowgi 'pa-ka-nu, do 'pay-nik, **deen-sha hana** gopuk ayn-ke yaabre laaga deen-sho kaa 'baak-b. 16. minu meko 'nak mii-sho baali meker tsaak-sha nga mina pidar pa 'heek-nik. 17. minu mekerere tuhp 'tso-sha nga mina besa besa 'say-nga purka-puki ankali pidar 'pay-nik.

18. minu eko bur nowgi 'pa-sho tsihiin 'say-nga purka-puki an-kali ge-sho deen-nim. 19. minu gopuki-mi eko bur nowgi ma-pa-thu, mo dza-sha hana wala-m tay-b deen-nim.

(1. we us=for rice harvest-cermony do=1plural-simultaneous, when do=1plural-exclusive-non past, **say=sequential condition**, July=temporal plant=sequential and then, afterwards October-temporal rice harvest-ceremony do=1plural-exclusive-non-past.

2. and rice harvest-ceremony do=1plural-simultaneous, new rice cut=over-there-sequential and then bring=sequential and then, beat=sequential very-much ceremonial-prayer do raw rice eat=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 3. and first however that harvest-ceremony do=impersonal say=3plural-nonpast.

4. and this harvest-ceremony do=sequential and then, afterwards rice cut=sequential and then field=local flat-spot build=1plural-exclusive-nonpast. 5. flat-spot build=sequential and then, that flat-spot rice bring=sequential, beat=sequential so so measure take=sequential and then, how-many measure become=3singular-focus, measure=sequential and then, house bring=1plural-exclusive-nonpast.

6. and we us=for rice harvest-ceremony do=1plural-simultaneous, why do=1plural-exclusive-nonpast, **say=sequential condition**, and negative-do=sequential spirit=agent look=3singular-nonpast, say=3plural-nonpast. 7. this rice harvest-ceremony spirit=for first negative-give=without eat=sequential condition spirit=agent man sickness do cause=3plural-nonpast. 8. we us ancestor=plural-agent this rite bring=adverbializer be=3singular-past.

9. and we us=for harvest-ceremony what what=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative, **say=sequential condition**, we us=for rice=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 10. millet=for do=auxiliary-relator negative-impersonal-imperative. 11. barley=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 12. wheat=for do=auxiliary-relator negative-impersonal-imperative. 13. maize=for do=auxiliary-relator impersonal-imperative. 14. and-then other not=for do=auxiliary-relator negative-impersonal-imperative we us=for harvest-ceremony.

15. this harvest-ceremony do=1plural-simultaneous, how do=1plural-exclusive-nonpast, **say=sequential condition**, we us=for ancestor-shelf say=adverbializer one

be=3singular-nonpast. 16. and that new be-ripe=adjectivizer crop there bring=sequential and then ceremonial-prayer do swing=1plural-exclusive-nonpast. 17. and at-this-place incense burn=sequential and then very-much very-much old=of ancestor=plural them=for ceremonial-prayer do=1plural-exclusive-nonpast.

18. and this rice harvest-ceremony do=adverbializer however old=of ancestor=plural them=for give=adverbializer say=3plural-nonpast. 19. and we=agent this harvest-ceremony negative-do=without, like-this eat=sequential condition spirit=agent look=3singular-nonpast say=3plural-nonpast.)

1. Concerning the performance of the rice harvest ceremony, when do we perform it, so to speak? Having planted in July, then afterwards we perform the rice harvest ceremony in October.

2. And in performing the rice harvest ceremony, having cut the new rice, we bring it, and having threshed it and done ceremonial prayers, it must be eaten raw. 3. This first action is called the harvest ceremony.

4. Having done the harvest ceremony, having cut the rice, they will make a flat spot in the field. 5. Having made the flat spot, having brought the rice to the flat spot, having threshed it, having measured how many *paati* (a measure), so many *muuri* (1 *muuri* = 20 *paati*) it will be, they will bring it home.

6. Concerning the performance of the rice harvest ceremony, why do we do it, so to speak? If we do not do it, the spirits will see it, they say. 7. If we eat before performing the rice harvest ceremony, without giving first to the spirits, they will cause a man to be sick. 8. Our ancestors have left this rite to us.

9. And for what things do we have to perform the harvest ceremony, so to speak? We have to do it for rice. 10. For millet it must not be done. 11. For barley it must be done. 12. For wheat it must not be done. 13. For maize it must be done. 14. And then for all other grains the harvest ceremony must not be done; this is our harvest ceremony.

15. In performing the harvest ceremony, how do we do it, so to speak? We have a shelf to worship the ancestors. 16. To this place we bring the new crop, and with much ceremonial prayer we swing it before it. 17. Having burned incense at that place, we perform very very much ceremonial prayer to the ancestors.

18. This harvest ceremony has to be offered to the ancestors of old, they say. 19. If we do not perform the rice harvest ceremony the spirits will look at us, they say.