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A Correlation between Vocabulary Learning and the Amount of their Repetition in the Textbooks

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Abstract

Vocabulary occupies an important position mostly in the second/foreign language teaching-learning programmes. Vocabulary achievement of the learners can be evaluated in different ways. In this connection only a limited number of studies have been carried out to establish the relationship between vocabulary learning and their recurrent number in textbooks. This paper presents the result of a mini-research carried out to measure the relationship between the repetitions of the vocabulary items in the school level English textbooks and the rate or the percentage of learning achievement.

Generally it is assumed that the higher the degree of text repetition, the better the learning and the retention of vocabulary items. Text repetition because vocabulary should ideally occur in a larger stretch of text which provides them a meaningful context or situation, and they are not presented in isolation. But there are not sufficient research findings to support this claim. Palmberg (1987) in his pilot study finds "...a relationship between learning and the amount of vocabulary repetition in course books"( 207-8). Similarly Kachru (1962) states that seven times or more repeated words in the textbook were known to most of the Indian English learners whereas the words encountered only once or twice were unknown to most of them. Contrary to this Saragi et al. (1978) found that about sixteen times of encounter was needed to recognise a word for most of the learners.

This literature review shows that Palmberg without any concrete findings, simply confirms the hypothesis. But Kachru emphasises that seven times or more repeated words are easily known. On the other hand Saragi et al. state that sixteen times of encounter is required for the learners in order to recognize a word perfectly. The claims of the latter two findings stated by using the terms know and recognize respectively do not however specify what type of learning it is. We do not know whether the learning stands for the students' ability to tell the meaning of the vocabulary items and use them whenever they wish or it stands for their ability to decode their meaning wherever they encounter those items.

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol-17, pp.1-5
This scanty literature, though slightly vague, encouraged the writer to conduct a mini-research on the school level learners to test these claims. As a result, in April 1996 a research was conducted among the grade IX students of 8 government schools of three different districts (Dhankuta, Jhapa, and Kathmandu) of Nepal. Among of those schools selected, 4 did not have any section in the class, 3 had 2 sections each and one had 3. So the population consisted of 13 classes in total from which 683 students participated in the test.

Altogether 12 vocabulary items - 6 verbs, 2 verbal collocations, 4 phrasal verbs - from *English Reader* for grade IX (old textbook) were included in the research though 10 of them have already occurred in the previous grades. The amount of their textbook repetition is presented in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>I. Vocabulary items</th>
<th>II. # FO</th>
<th>III. Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>borrow</td>
<td>5 (+5)</td>
<td>VII - (+ IX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>cover</td>
<td>7 (+1)</td>
<td>VII - (+ IX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>disguise</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>draw</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>IV-VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>furnish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>listen</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>IV-VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Collocations</td>
<td>69 (+10)</td>
<td>V- (+ IX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>look at</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>V-VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Phrasal verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>get off</td>
<td>5 (+3)</td>
<td>VI- (+ IX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>get on</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>VI-VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>get up</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>VI-VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>look after</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>VI-VIII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# FO = Frequency of occurrence

This table presents the frequencies of occurrences of each of these 12 items from grade IV through IX. For example, *look at* (No. 7) occurred 69 times.
from grades V through VIII textbooks and recurs ten times in IX, on the other hand furnish did not occur before, it occurs for the first time in grade IX.

Generally vocabulary learning means to be able to pronounce it correctly, to express and understand its meaning (in terms of synonyms, L4 equivalents, definitions), to deploy it in sentences, and to recall and use it in conversations or texts. Although all the 12 items were included in testing students' ability to pronounce them, to express their meaning and to use them in sentences, this paper is the analysis of the meaning test only.

In the meaning test the students were asked to supply the meanings of isolated items, they could supply only the L4 equivalents of those 12 items. Table 2 is the statistics of the meaning test. Table 1 exhibits that the most frequent item in 5 textbooks (grades V through IX) is to look at. This item is repeated 79 times [T] and it has the highest meaning respondent percentage (rp) in 7 classes although the ratio of percentage varies from 50.00 to 17.5 (Table 2), and the second highest rp in 2 classes (37.7 and 15.3, Table 2). Similarly the second frequent item to get up (65 T) (Table 1) has the highest rp in two classes 16.1, 10.5 (Table 2) and the second highest in seven classes – from 43.7 to 18.9 (Table 2). On the other hand the least frequent item in 4 textbooks (V – VIII), to look for (16 T) (Table 1) has a low rp in 8 classes – from 5.1 to 2.3 and 3 classes do not have any respondent at all (Table 2). Likewise, the least frequent item in 2 textbooks (VI – VII) to get on (4T – Table 1) has the lowest rp in 7 classes – from 7.2 to 1.4 and 4 classes do not have any respondents (Table 2). To furnish has no respondent (Table 2) and not surprisingly because this is the only item with a single occurrence in grade IX (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>XI</th>
<th>XII</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>look at</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look for</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get on</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furnish</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*S = School; +T.A. = Total attendance; @ V. I. = Vocabulary item

The result confirms the hypothesis that the higher the recurrence, the better the understanding. However, two related facts can be derived from the Table 2.
Firstly, if the repetition is recent, well focused and occurs in consecutive lessons, less than 10 times text repetition can yield good result because to disguise which occurs 7 times (Table 1) in consecutive lessons of grade IX has the highest rp in 2 classes - 47.5 and 10.3 (Table 3). Similarly, to get off which occurs 5 times between grades VI and VII and recur three times in the taught lessons in grade IX (Table 1) has the highest rp in two classes – 35.2 and 25.6 (Table 3).

Table 3
The vocabulary items with the highest and the lowest rps in the 13 classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>V.I. # with highest rp</th>
<th>V.I. with lowest rps in th 13 classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>disguise (10.2)</td>
<td>borrow (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>look at (17.5)</td>
<td>look after, look for (1.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A</td>
<td>disguise (47.5)</td>
<td>get on (1.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B</td>
<td>look at (35.5)</td>
<td>get on (1.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3C</td>
<td>get off (35.2)</td>
<td>get on (1.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4A</td>
<td>look at (17.90)</td>
<td>borrow, look after, look for (2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4B</td>
<td>get up (10.5)</td>
<td>borrow (1.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5A</td>
<td>look at (46.2)</td>
<td>borrow (7.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B</td>
<td>look at (25.6)</td>
<td>borrow (5.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6A</td>
<td>get off (25.6)</td>
<td>borrow (2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td>look at (22.2)</td>
<td>get off, get on, look for (3.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>look at (50.0)</td>
<td>get on, look after, look for (3.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>get up (16.1)</td>
<td>borrow, get off, look after, look for (3.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, Table 2 shows that in spite of the same text repetition in all classes, their rps vary from each other as look at has the highest rp of 50 in school 7 and the lowest. 1.4 in 1, get up has the highest rp 43.7 in 7 and the lowest 5.8 in 1. listen and draw have the highest rp (27.7) in 5A and the lowest in 4B (2.3) and 3C (4.4) respectively, disguise has the highest rp in 3A (47.5) and the lowest in 6B (5.5), get off has the highest rp in 3 schools – 1,2,3. This variation of rps from school to school implies that text repetition is not the only factor for the understanding of the vocabulary items and the retention of meaning.

This fact is further strengthened by the result that in all these schools – except 5A and 5B – one or two vocabulary items have below 5% respondents and in school 1 four items, in 2, 3B and 3C three items each, and in 6A two items do not have even a single respondent (Table 2). However 5A and 5B were different from other classes because none of the vocabulary items there has less than 5%
respondents. This means that even the least frequent items are attended carefully in this school.

This analysis shows that the high frequency of occurrence of a vocabulary item in the text alone cannot guarantee a better understanding unless and until it is paired with careful attention. If a vocabulary item recurs in recent and consecutive lessons and is focussed, even a moderate repetition (about 10 times) can produce the intended effect which can yield a good percentage of respondents.

To conclude, this mini study exhibits only one, that too, the lowest level of learning (recognizing the item with the help of L1 concept) a vocabulary item. However these findings can be helpful to further the study of this nature.

References


Complex Predicates in Bote: An Overview
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This paper attempts to present an outline of Complex Predicates (henceforth CP) in Bote language within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG). This paper will not examine the CPs in detail but endeavor to make a survey of the kinds of CPs found in this language. Because of limitation of space, I would like to avoid the definition and theoretical concept about the complex predicates. The technical terms used in this paper are in the line of Alshai (1997), Mohan (1994), Lohani (1999), and Prasain (1999). This is a summary of my MA thesis (Prasain, 1999) developed as a self-contained paper. The paper is divided into three sections, the first one deals with morphological complex predicates, second one with verbal complex predicates and third one with non-verbal complex predicates. And finally, conclusions is drawn.

1. Morphological Complex Predicates (Causativization)
Morphological causativization, in Bote, is like other South Asian languages, that is, suffixation of a causative morpheme, here `<α>`, to the non-causative verb form resulting into a causative stem. This formation of the causative verb brings various changes in a-structure and s-structure with respect to its non-causative counterpart.

1.1 Complex Predicate Formation
In Bote, the following things have been identified:

i. predicate can be derived from base form morphologically which may be called either transitivization or causativization.

ii. for both processes the incomplete predicate, of which a-structure is underspecified, is the morpheme `<α>` and

iii. in the process a-structures of both predicates shares one argument on composition.

1.2 Argument Structure and Syntactic Function
The argument structure of the causative morpheme `<α>` (which is incomplete) is underspecified and is represented by Po, meaning the position can be filled by any predicate. On composition, a-structure of embedded predicate, which is fully specified, fulfills the vacant position. The a-structure of causative morpheme is given as (4).

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol-17, pp. 6-27.
(4)  \[-\alpha: \text{'cause': } \langle [P-A] \quad [P-P] \quad P^* \langle \ldots \ldots \rangle \quad [\ldots \ldots ] \rangle \]

SUBJ \quad OBJ

Taking the argument into consideration the external argument, that is the logical subject of the least embedded predicate, maps onto the subject function. The mapping for object function will be cleared in the following discussion.

1.2.1 Structures with Intransitive Predicate

(5)  \(a \ _{gagro} \quad p^b u^T \cdot ik\)

water-vase-N break-P3s

'The water-vase broke.'

The argument structure of (5) is presented as in (6).

(6)  \(a \ _{p^b u^T} \cdot \text{break} \quad \langle [P-P] \rangle\)

When this a-structure is embedded in (4) we obtain the structure (7), and the resultant construction formed from this process shown is in (8).

(7)  \(a \ _{p^b u^T-a} \cdot \text{cause': } \langle [P-A] \quad [P-P] \quad p^b u^T \cdot \langle [P-P] \rangle \rangle \)

SUBJ \quad OBJ

(8)  \(a \ _{ram-\_gagro} \quad p^b u^T \cdot a\cdot ik\)

Ram-E water-vase break-CAUS-P3s

'Ram broke the water vase.'

On causativization, the argument of the base predicate, which is logical subject, loses its status as an external argument when the predicate is embedded in another a-structure, which is of causative morpheme \(<\alpha>\). This argument semantically identifies with the internal argument of the causative predicate and maps onto direct function. For the construction already has subject function fulfilled, the causee behaves like an object function.
1.2.2 Structures with Transitive Predicates

1.2.2.1 Structures with Object Causee

(9)  moŋ giŋ suŋ-in
     l-E song-N listen-P1s
     'I listened a song.'

The argument structures of this construction sketched in (10).

(10) ag th
     suŋ- : listen ( [P-A] [P-P] )

When this a-structures is embedded in (4), we get (11)

(11) ag th
     suŋ-a : cause ( [P-A] [P-P] )

Here, (+) indicates whether object is marked or not by <ke>. The syntactic realization in surface structure of (11) is exemplified (12).

b. moŋ bɔɔa-ke giŋ suŋ-a-in
     l-E child-D song-N listen-P1s
     'I caused the child listen a song.'

In this type of structure also, the external argument the causee maps onto subject function. And the external argument of embedded predicate that identifies semantically with the internal argument of the causative predicate which maps onto object functions. The another internal argument also maps onto object function. But the former marks with Dative case. If both objects are marked, the word order identifies the functions of the arguments.

1.2.2.2 Structures with Oblique Causee

(13)  ræm-í dɪlɔi-ke piʔ-ik
     Ram-E wife-DAT beat-P3s
     'Ram beat the wife.'

The argument structure of this construction is as (14)

(14) ag pt
     piʔ- : beat ( [P-A] [P-P] )

When this a-structure is embedded in (4) we get (15)
Predicate Composition and Category Structure

Morphological complex predicate is formed in the lexicon combining a causative affix <-a> and a verb stem. This composition is hierarchical in that the predicates are in structural sisterhood relations which are immediately dominated by the more embedded non-terminal node (of causative verb stem). That is to say, the morphemes are organized into the binary branching structure as shown in (17). The dotted line refers to a-argument structure of the morpheme.

1.2.3 Predicate Composition and Category Structure

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(15)  

\[
piT-a \quad \langle [P-A] [P-P] \rangle
\]

\[
\text{cause} \quad \langle [P-A] [P-P] \rangle
\]

The realization in the surface structure is exemplified in (16).

(16)  

\[\text{h}ar-i \quad \langle \text{ram-b}^{h} \rangle \quad \text{dulai-ke} \quad \piiT-\text{a}-\text{ik}\]

Hari-E Ram-OBLQ wife-D beat-CAUS-P3s

'Hari caused the wife to be beaten (by Ram),'

In this structure, the argument, other than the agent of the base predicate, identifies with the patient of the causative predicate, the external argument of the base maps onto oblique function marked by <-b^{h}>, and this argument, however, is optional, and not in general conversation.

The PRED value of the entire verb stem, that of the highest node in the tree, is composed of the PRED values of its daughter nodes.

Category structure of such CPs can be explained with respect to coordination and separability. Coordination is a syntactic process in which a phrase structure node immediately dominates two or more phrase structure nodes in such a way that the category statuses of both mother and daughters are the same. And separability is the inclusion of some extra material between the parts of a unit. If the composition is in lexic and it means that the incapability of coordinate of neither type of morphemes and inseparability by extra material. In Bote, though
the arguments with common case marker (post-position) can be conjoined cueing
the statuses of these postpositions as independent words. causative morphemes can
not be conjoined. It will be clear from the ungrammaticality of (18).
(17)  * sita-i bocce-ke | k'ar- ra ro-1-a-ik
Sita-E child-D [eat and weep]-CAUS-P3s
'Sita caused the child eat and weep (Assumed meaning).'

2 Verbal Complex Predicates
This section includes three types, namely syntactic causative
construction, permissive construction and compound verb.

2.1 Syntactic Causative Complex Predicate
In Bote, besides morphological causatives, there is another type of
causativization, viz., syntactic causative which is formed from the concatenation of
intransitive form marked by <-e>, of the base verb (both uncausativizable and
causativizable) and a verb laga- 'adhere'. The verb laga- is an independent verb,
but in this process of causativization, it acts as causative vector and is equivalent to
the causative morpheme <-e> in morphological causativization. Unlike
morphological causativization, the derived structure differs in control of the causative
over the action performed by the causee. The causativization here is directive and
mediative. The argument structure of incomplete predicate laga- is, like that
of morphological causative morpheme <-e>, is given in (19). Existence of P*
represents the underspecified a-structure.
(19)

\[
\text{explode pt} \\
\text{causa} \quad \text{P-A} \quad \text{P-P} \quad \text{P*} \quad \text{OBJ} \\
\text{SUBJ} \\
\]

Though some of the verbs in Bote do not undergo morphological
causativization verbs generally undergo both morphological causativization and
syntactic causativization processes. This set includes those verbs which already
have <-e> form in their structure. These verbs can be causativized by laga.
Because of semantic reason that the singular argument these verbs take in their
undrived structure are not agent, they are uncausativizable by morphological
means.

2.1.1 Argument Structure and Syntactic Function
This section includes causativization of uncausativizable verbs,
causativization of morphologically causativizable verbs, causativization of
morphologically causativized verbs and double causation.
2.1.1 Causativization of Uncausativizable Verbs

(20) *beca cicia-ik*
    child-N cry-P3s
    'The child cried.'

The a-structure of this construction (20) is given as in (21).

(21)\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{beca} \\
\text{cicia-ik} \\
\hline
\text{P-A} \\
\text{P-P} \\
\text{P-P} \\
\hline
\text{SUBJ} \\
\text{OBJ} \\
\end{array}
\]

(22)\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{cicia-e laga-} \\
\text{cause} \\
\hline
\text{P-A} \\
\text{P-P} \\
\hline
\text{SUBJ} \\
\text{OBJ} \\
\end{array}
\]

The realization of this a-structure of (22) can be exemplified as in (23).

(23)\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ram-i} \\
\text{beca-ke cicia-ik} \\
\hline
\text{Ram-E child-D cry-INF cause-P3s} \\
\text{Ram caused the boy cry.} \\
\text{Ram caused the boy cry.} \\
\text{The argument of the base construction (21) is mapped onto the object function in the derived construction (22) and the object is marked with Dative marker.}
\end{array}
\]

2.1.1.2 Causativization of Morphologically Causativizable Verbs

(24)\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ram-i} \\
\text{kalam kin-ik} \\
\hline
\text{Ram-E pen-N buy-P3s} \\
\text{Ram bought a pen.} \\
\text{The causative derivative of this construction is as (23) & (24).}
\end{array}
\]

(25)\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{maa ram-ke kalam kin-e} \\
\text{I-E Ram-D pen-N buy-INF cause-P3s} \\
\text{'I caused Ram buy a pen.'}
\end{array}
\]

(26)\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{hari-t (mao -l/) ram-ke kalam kin-e} \\
\text{Hari-E I-ABL Ram-D pen-N buy-INF cause-P3s} \\
\text{'Hari caused Ram buy a pen by (me).'}
\end{array}
\]

In the first causative, the argument of the base construction (24) is mapped onto the object function with Dative marker in the derived construction (25). But in causative construction (26), the internal argument which semantically
identified as the agent in (25) has mapped onto the oblique function which is optional. If the argument of base predicate other than external argument maps onto the object function of the derived construction, then the agent of base predicate maps onto the oblique function.

2.1.1.3 Causativization of Morphological Causitized Predicate and Double Causatives

(27) a. ram-én b'at k'w-a-i
   Ram-E rice-N eat-P3s
   'Ram ate rice.'
   b. sita-én ram-ke b'at k'w-a-i
   Sita-E Ram-D rice-N eat-CAUS-P3s
   'Sita caused Ram eat rice.'
   c. moš sita-ke ram-ke b'at k'w-a-e laša-i
   l-E Sita-D Ram-D rice-N eat-CAUS-INF cause-P3s
   'I caused Sita cause Ram eat rice.'

(28) a. bocca ro-i
   child weep-P3s
   'The child wept.'
   b. ram-én bocca-ke ru-wa-i
   Ram-E child-D weep-CAUS-P3s
   'Ram caused the child weep.'
   c. ama-én bocca-ke ro-e laša-i
   mother-E child-D weep-INF cause-P3s
   'The father caused the mother cause the child to weep.'
   d. bua-én ama-ke bocca-ke ru-wa-e laša-i
   father-E mother-D child-D weep-CAUS-INF cause-P3s
   'The father caused the mother cause the child to weep.'
   e. sita-én b'áya-ke bocca-ke ro-e laša-e laša-i
   Sita-E brother-D child-D weep-INF cause-INF cause-P3s
   'Sita caused brother cause sister weep.'

(29) a. ram-én b'áya-ke pič-i
   Ram-E brother-D beat-P3s
   'Ram beat the brother'
   b. sita-én (ram-b') b'áya-ke pič-a-i
   Sita-E Ram-OBLQ brother-D beat-CAUS-P3s
   'Sita caused the brother be beaten by Ram'
   c. hari-én sita-ke b'áya-ke pič-a-e laša-i
   Hari-E Sita-D brother-D beat-CAUS-INF cause-P3s
   'Hari caused Sita cause sister be beaten (by somebody).'
Hence the pattern of double causativization is similar: new agent is added and agent of the basic predicate becomes subject to causee marked by Dative. The thing to be noted is that in the morphological causativisation process, once a predicate get causativized, the process is no more productive. But in syntactic causativization, it is productive and theoretically unlimited unless pragmatics interferes.

The a-structure of this secondary derivation can be given as (30)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|}
\text{cause} & \langle \text{[P-A]} \rangle & \text{[P-P]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|}
\text{ag} & \text{pt} & \text{ag} \text{pt} \\
\end{array}
\]

N.B. The subscripts in angular brackets means stages of derivations: primary, secondary, etc.

\^ First derivation may be morphological syntactic but the subsequent are all syntactic.

2.1.2 Constituent Structure

Unlike morphological causative complex predicate, periphrastic causative complex predicate in Bote is formed in syntax by putting together two phrase structure nodes. The facts form conjoining and separability support this claim.

1. Conjoining

\[(31)\]

a. sita-\text{\text{-}} \text{ram-ke } \text{pandi} [\text{[\text{jama-\text{-e}}} \text{]} \text{ra} [\text{[\text{pagal-\text{-e}}} \text{]} \text{]} \text{laga-ik}

Sita-\text{E} Ram-D water-N freeze-INF and melt-INF cause-P\text{3s}

'Sita caused Ram to freeze and melt water.'

b. sita-\text{\text{-}} \text{ram-ke} \text{[pandi jama-\text{-e}] ro [dudh umal-\text{-e}]} \text{laga-ik}

Sita-\text{E} Ram-D water-N freeze-INF and milk boil-INF cause-P\text{3s}

'Sita caused Ram to freeze water and to boil milk.'

c. sita-\text{\text{-}} \text{[\text{aithe-ke ro-e}]} \text{ro [purna-ke h\text{\text{-e}}\text{\text{-e}]} \text{laga-ik}

Sita-\text{E} Aite-D weep-INF and Purna-D laugh-INF cause-P\text{3s}

'Sita caused Aite weep and Purna laugh.'

d. sita-\text{\text{-}} \text{[\text{aithe-ke ro-e}]} \text{ro [gita-\text{\text{-i}} purna-ke h\text{\text{-e}}\text{\text{-e}]} \text{laga-ik}

Sita-\text{E} Aite-D weep-INF and Gita-\text{E} Purna-D laugh-INF cause-P\text{3s}

'Sita caused Aite weep and Gita caused Purna laugh.'

Here, in the periphrastic causative construction, two embedded predicates (31a), embedded predicates with incorporated noun (non-causee) (31b), embedded predicates with causee (31c) and embedded predicates with causee and causee (31d) can be conjoined. Thus, the incomplete predicate in causativization bears an independent phrase structure node. That is to say, complexity is formed in the syntax rather than in the lexicon. Hence c-structure includes two sister nodes one headed by causative predicate and another by the embedded predicate.
2. Separability

(32)  
   a. siti-ı ama-ke b'at poka-e laga-ik  
       Sita-E mother-D rice cook-CAUS-INF cause-P3s  
       'Sita caused mother cook the rice.'
   b. bhat poka-ı sita-ı ama-ke laga-ik  
       bhat poka-ı sita-ı ama-ke laga-ik  
       'Sita surely caused mother cook the rice.'
       The constituents of the construction (32) are freely scrambled (33a-c) without meaning lose and, in (33d) an extra material is inserted without causing any ungrammaticality. Thus, CP and the host both are Phrasal category.

2.2 Permissive Complex Predicates

In Bote, the permissive construction is formed by the concatenation of infinitival form of verb, marked with <-<|-> of a main and a light verb deh- 'give'. The light verb here carries only the permissive meaning (deh- 'let') and the rest of the other meaning is bleached.

2.2.1 A-structure and Syntactic Function

This permissive predicate (deh- 'let') is also underspecified in a-structure. The empty slot in the a-structure is filled by embedding some fully-specified a-structure of a base predicate.

The schematic representation of a-structure of matrix predicate is given in (34). Existence of P* represents the underspecified a-structure.

(34)  
   deh-  : let  \[ \{ P-A \ | \ [P-P] \ P^* \ ( \ldots \ | \ ) \ldots \} \]
   SUBJ  OBJ

The filling of vacant slot can be illustrated by embedding the a-structure of the base construction.

(35)  
   ram-ı  b'at k'a-ik  
       Ram-E rice cat-P3s  
       'Ram ate rice.'

The a-structure of this construction (35) is given as in (36).
(36) \( k'\alpha \cdot \) : cat \( ([P-A] [P-P]) \)
When this a-structure is embedded in (32) we get a-structure of derived
construction as in (37).
(37) \( k'\alpha \cdot \text{di} : \) let \( ([P-A] [P-P] k'\alpha ([P-A] [P-P])) \)
\( \text{OBJ} \text{OBJ} \)
\( (+\text{DAT}) \)
The a-structures (37) can be exemplified by (38) in surface realization.
(38) \( \text{sita-} \text{ram-ke} b^\text{\(h\)}\text{ai} k'\alpha \cdot \text{deh-ik} \)
Sita-E Ram-D rice eat-INF let-P3s
'Sita let Ram eat rice.'
Like the complex predicate above discussed, the argument of the base
construction (35) which is semantically an agent has mapped onto the object
function of the derived construction (38) and marked with Dative. But the new
agent is the permitter and the argument in the object function of the derived
construction is the permittee.
2.2.2 Constituent Structure
a. Conjoining and Separability
(39) a. \( \text{ram-}\text{sita-ke} \) \( ([k'\alpha \cdot] \text{ra} \text{bis-e} \text{deh-ik}) \)
Ram-E Sita-D eat-INF and sit-INF let-P3s
'Ram let Sita eat and stay.'
b. \( \text{ram-}\text{[sita-ke} k'\alpha \cdot \text{ra} \text{[gita-ke bis-e]} \text{deh-ik} \)
Ram-E Sita-D eat-INF and Gita-D sit-INF let-P3s
'Ram let Sita eat and Gita sit.'
(40) \( \text{ram-}\text{sita-ke} k'\alpha \cdot \text{pakki\(p\)oni deh-ik} \)
Ram-E Sita-D eat-INF surely also let-P3s
'Ram certainly lets me speak.'
b. Topicalization
Here, example (38) is taken for topicalization of light verb and the host,
they are exemplified as in (41a) and (41b).
(41) a. \( \text{deh-ik sita-} \text{ram-ke} b^\text{\(h\)}\text{ai} k'\alpha \cdot \) (Permissive meaning is retained)
b. \( \text{*kha-} \text{e sita-} \text{ram-ke} b^\text{\(h\)}\text{ai deh-ik} \) (Permissive meaning is lost)
Conjoining (39a, b) and Separability (40) and topicalization of light verb in (41a) prove that permissive CP is phrasal category. As in causative CP, the host in permissive CP is the lexical category.

2.3 Compound Verb

Only two types of compound verbs are discussed here for the present purpose, they are absolutive forms of the main verbs plus two light verbs deh- 'give' and mog- 'beg'.

2.3.1 deh- 'give'

It is assumed that the light verb deh- forms benefactive construction in the combination with main verb (especially with absolutive form ). But the referent who the benefactor is varies in different construction. It may be due to the semantic role of the participant, but it can be understood in the context it is used. It may the fact that the benefactor is not always necessary to be present. Thanks to the reanalysis process of the sentence that from the given construction, an equivalent with same semantic content, it can be reconstructed so as to reflect the identification of the benefactor and its function with respect to other functions.

In (42a), the benefactor or recipient is clearly hari 'Hari' because if the construction without di in (42b) is doubtful that agent ram 'Ram' has bought a pen for recipient hari but whether he has given it to Hari or is not sure. But this type of confusion is not in (40a).

(42)

a. ram-i hari-ke kalam kini-deh-ik
   Ram-E Hari-D pen buy-ABS give-P3s
   'Ram bought a pen for Hari.'

b. ? ram-i hari-ke kalam kina-ik
   Ram-E Hari-D pen buy-P3s
   'Ram bought Hari a pen.'

a. Unclear benefactor

In (43), there are two benefactive constructions, the first one is clear in that the benefactor is none other than Yogi but in the second case, the benefactor is not identified clearly. The construction does not show the benefactive construction in the surface and the event occurred is not so transparent. But sense of whole discourse appears that the benefactors are those boatmen who took the Yogi across the river.

(43) E'ola-ma y'at la'ab dast E'eri, ek din e'to jogi a-ik, la jogi
   river-L place-N made-CONJP sit-DUR while, one day one Yogi NOM come-P3s, EMP Yogi -
   a-ik, ak'tai E'ola helai-deh
   EMP Yogi come-P3s, EMP Yogi look
   kahikan E'ola helai-deh-swai
   EMP Yogi come-P3s, EMP Yogi across-ABS give-Pr say-CONJP river-N across-ABS give-P3s
   yogi kahikan la tahuri-ki yua-lecau, tay'an-i luj no-letai kahikan kaha-wat.
   Yogi say-P3s, EMP you-P3-E what take-Pr, they-E some NEG take-P3s say-CONJP say-P3s
b. **When new benefactor is considered in the a-structure**

Some time a new benefactor remains underlined to be understood. In (44a) the argument in the subject function is semantically an agent but not benefactor. In (44b) the argument of the base predicate remains intact but some underlined argument is added which maps onto the object function if the sentence is reconstructed with benefactor as in (44c) with another benefactive marked with 

\[-\text{logit}\]. The argument of the base construction has mapped onto the object function, here in (44c), the argument of the base construction has not changed the thematic role but a new benefactor is added in the derived construction which maps onto object function.

\[(44)\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ram-i } ciTT^i \text{i } pa\tilde{D}^i-i-k \\
& \text{'Ram-E letter-N read-P3s}' \\
& \text{'Ram read a letter.'} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ram-i } ciTT^i \text{i } pa\tilde{D}^i-t-deh-i-k \\
& \text{'Ram-E letter-N read-ABS-give-P3s}' \\
& \text{'Ram read a letter (for someone).'} \\
\text{c. } & \text{ram-i sita-ke-lahi ciTT^i \text{i } pa\tilde{D}^i-t-deh-i-k} \\
& \text{'Ram-E Sita-D letter-N read-ABS-give-P3s}' \\
& \text{'Ram read a letter for Sita.'} \\
\end{align*}\]

c. **Reflexive Benefactive**

This phrase means the restriction in the sense of arguments, i.e., the argument that have already appeared in the a-structure of the simple verb.

\[(45)\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ram } sis\text{-an } b\tilde{A}r-ga-i-k \\
& \text{'Ram-NOM Sita-COM market go-P3s}' \\
& \text{'Ram went to market with Sita.'} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ram } sita-ko sa\tilde{A}Th \text{ la\text{\text{-}}kan } b\tilde{A}r-ga \text{ goi-deh-i-k} \\
& \text{'Ram-NOM Sita-G company adhere-CONJP market-N go-ABS-give-P3s}' \\
& \text{'Ram went to market accompanying Sita (to please Sita)'} \\
\text{c. } & \text{ram } sakh\text{-an } sa\tilde{A}Th \text{ la\text{\text{-}}kan } \text{ dey } goi-deh-i-k \\
& \text{'Ram-NOM friend-P1-G company adhere-CONJP foreign-N go-ABS-give-P3s}' \\
& \text{'Ram went to foreign country accompanying friends (to please friends or someone else).'} \\
\end{align*}\]

In (45a), that 'going of Ram' is neutral. But in compounding, in (45b), it is to 'Sita' whereas in (45c), the referent of benefactor is dependent on the context of discourse, whether it is 'friends' or someone else.
d. Unexpected events

The simple vs. compound verb in (46a) and (46b) make the point clear that the former event is incidental and unestimated, but the latter is neutral. These sorts of phenomena of the 'compound' verb make the analysis of the compound verbs problematic to assign status of the complex a-structure.

(46) a. batasi i patahan uDa-ik
    wind-E leaf-PI fly-P3s
    'The wind flew the leaves.'

b. batasi i patahan uDat-deh-ik
    wind-E leaf-PI fly-ABS-give-P3s
    'The wind flew the leaves.'

2.3.2 mag- 'beg'

In Bote, the number of compound verb with the light verb mag- is limited. The basic meaning of simple verb mag in simple sense is that 'to ask someone to get something in his/her possession'. In the a-structure, as a main verb, it takes ab agent, a theme, and a source. The construction with this light verb is 'requestive' unlike the verb deh-. The a-structure of compound verb is different as in (47) and (48).

(47) a. ram-i jangle-b’i daura an-ik
    Ram-E forest-ABL firewood bring-P3s
    'Ram brought the firewood form the forest.'

b. sita-i ram-sin jangle-b’i daura ani-mag-ik
    Sita-E Ram-LOC forest-ABL firewood-N bring-ABS-beg-P3s
    'Sita requested Ram to bring firewood from the forest. (either Ram was willing to bring or Sita was unable to bring).'

(48) a. ram-i sita-ke aphno kura kaha-ik
    Ram-E Sita-D REFLE matter tell-P3s
    'Ram, told Sita his, matter.'

b. ram-i hari-b’i sita-ke ap’no kura kahi-mag-ik
    Ram,E Hari-OBLQ Sita-D REFLE matter tell-ABS-beg-P3s
    'Ram, requested Hari that Hari told his, matter to Sita.'

It is clear from the examples that the agent of base construction (48a) becomes oblique agent in derived constructions (48c) and something is asked to do on request from a new agent.

3 Nominal Complex Predicate (N + V)

Nominal Complex Predicates are formed, in Bote, simply by the concatenation of a noun (host) and a verb (light verb) causing the complexity in a-
structure and s-structure of the derived construction. This phenomenon, in Bote, will be clear from the discussion below.

Let us observe the examples (49a-c). In (49a), verb a- ‘come’ is intransitive and has taken an argument in subject position and locative case for destination. In (49b), gar- ‘do’ is transitive verb and has taken two arguments in subject and object positions. In (47c), verb deh- ‘give’ is ditransitive verb and has taken three arguments in subject, direct object and indirect object positions.

Thus, the mentioned verbs in (49a-c), a- ‘come’, gar- ‘do’ and deh- ‘give’, have taken arguments and assigned 0-roles to the role players according to their lexical properties which are their basic characteristic features. So, the N+V sequences in (49a-c) do not form the complex predicates, they are simplex in both syntactic and semantic structures.

(49)

a. aite ɣar-ma a-ik
   Aite house-l. come-P3s
   ‘Aite came home’

b. ram-i hisab gar-ik
   Ram-E maths do-P3s
   ‘Ram did maths’

c. sita-i gita-ke kalam deh-ik
   Sita-E Gita-D pen give-P3s
   ‘Sita gave Gita a pen’

Compare the structures of sentences in (49 & 50). In (49a), we can see that there is a comer ‘Aite’ in nominative case and destination ɣar ‘house’ in locative case whereas in (50a), the comer is yad ‘memory’ and the destination is not location rather it is expericner in dative case. There is also a third argument git ‘song’ which is licensed by noun yad ‘memory’. Thus, in the N+V sequence, yad ‘memory’ has contributed in the semantic and syntactic structures.

In (49b), we have the docr ‘Ram’ in ergative case, and the done thing hisab ‘maths’ in accusative case whereas in (50b), the done thing is the act of relying b’arosa ‘reliance’. But (50b) has, in contrast to (49b), a third argument ‘Hari’ in locative/dative case. This argument has not been assigned by the verb gar- ‘do’ because it is bi-valent. Thus, it is clear that argument ‘Hari’ is assigned by noun b’arosa ‘reliance’. So, there is combined contribution of the sequence b’arosa gar ‘to rely’ in the formation of the clause structure.

Similarly, (49c), contains the giver ‘Sita’, givee ‘Gita’ and given thing ‘pen’ in ergative, dative and accusative cases respectively. In (50c), the giver is ‘Sita’, the givee is ‘Gita’ and given thing attention, exactly like in (50c). However, givee or recipient generally receives dative case, e.g. gita-ke in (49c). But the
givee in (50c) is in locative case with marking -ma. Thus, this argument with locative case is not assigned by the verb deh- ‘give’. The verb deh- ‘give’ with noun d’yan ‘attention’ has taken locative case argument git ‘song’ where attention has been paid. Thus, here, the locative case argument is the contribution of both nominal host d’yan ‘attention’ and light verb deh- ‘give’.

(50)  
a. aite-ke git yad a-ik  
Aite-D song-ACC memory-N come-P3s  
‘Aite remembered the song’

b. ram-i hari-ke ma b’arosa gar-ik  
Ram-E Hari-D/L reliance-N do-Pt  
‘Ram relied on Hari’

c. sita-i kal’a-ma d’yan deh-ik  
Sita-E Story-L attention-N give-P3s  
‘Sita paid attention to the story’

Thus, the nouns in N+V sequences in (50), yad ‘memory’, b’arosa ‘reliance’ and d’yan ‘attention’ have shown the capacity of being predicates. These nouns while associating with light verbs a- ‘come’, gôr- ‘do’ and deh- ‘give’ have been able to contribute in the semantic structures of the clauses. Therefore, the N+V sequences above yad a- ‘to remember’, b’arosa gar- ‘to rely’ and d’yan deh- ‘to pay attention’ are uncontroversibly complex predicates.

3.1 The Category Structure of Complex Predicate

3.1.1 The Nominal as Part of the Verbal Constituent: Scrambling

In Bote, all the constituents of a simple clause may scrambled freely which do not involve complex predicates. Examples illustrated in (51) are taken here to show the free scrambling in the construction without complex predicates.

(51)  
sita-i gita-ke kalam deh-ik  
Sita-E Gita-D pen give-P3s  
‘Sita gave Gita a pen’

Some of the possible word orders of (51) are given in (52). In (52), the nominal immediately preceding the verb in the unmarked order in (51) need not be necessarily appear in the immediately pre-verbal position.

(52)  
a. sita-i kalam gita-ke deh-ik  
b. gita-ke sita-i kalam deh-ik  
c. sita-i gita-ke deh-ik kalam

In example (53), nominal plus light verb of the complex predicate move together freely just like in (52).

(53)  
a. d’yan deh-ik sita-i kal’a-ma  
b. sita-i d’yan deh-ik kal’a-ma
c. kat'a-ma sita-ti d'yan deh-ik

The nominal within the CP, however, is not as much free as to non-complex. They do not seem to be acceptable to the native speaker when spoken to him as shown by the ungrammaticality of (52).

(54) a.* sita-ti d'yan kat'a-ma deh-ik
    b.* d'yan sita-ti deh-ik kat'a-ma
    c.* kat'a-ma d'yan sita-ti deh-ik

The fact in (54) shows that the constituents of the CPs do not really go for random scrambling. The nominal host and light verb try to maintain the verbal constituent structure and in combination form a categorial structure.

3.1.2 A CP as a Phrasal Category: Topicalization

A topic in Bote occurs clause initially. Even though the light verb in a CP cannot be scrambled but it can be topicalized. The light verb in the CP in (55) may be displaced from the CP to the clause initial position in (56). This kind of displacement to the clause initial position or topicalization of the light verb generally produces specific discourse effect.

(55) ram-ti bahun-ke gai dan gar-ik
    Ram-E priest-D cow donation-N do-P3s
    'Ram donated a cow to the priest'

(56) gar-ik ram-ti bahun-ke gai dan
    do-P3s Ram-E priest-D cow donation-N
    'Ram donated a cow to the priest'

By lexical integrity hypothesis, which disallows sub-constituents of a lexical unit undergoing syntactic movement, the N and the V of a CP cannot constitute a lexical unit. That is, it is not a categorial word. If all X' categories are lexical units, then the CP is not an X' category but phrasal category.

3.1.3 The Nominal as a Lexical Category

It is noted that the light verb in CP can be topicalised, but the nominal host can not be topicalised. When the nominal host of example (55) is fronted clause initially, it produces an ungrammatical sentence as in (57). Thus, we can say that the nominal host in a CP is lexical category.

(57) * dan ram-ti bahun-ke gai gar-ik
    Donation-N Ram-E priest-D cow do-P3s
    'Ram donated the priest a cow'

3.1.4 Predicatehood in Complex Predicates

3.1.4.1 The Nominal Host as an Independent Predicate

The nominal host is an independent predicate as shown in (58a) and (58b). In (58a), the verb a 'come' takes two arguments, one comer 'Aite' and a
destination ghar 'house'. But in (58b), the argument git 'song' is assigned by nominal host not by the verb a 'come'. Thus, N of the CP is a predicate.

(58) a. aite g'al a-ik
    Aite house come-P3s
    'Aite came home'

b. aite-ke git yad a-ik
    Aite-D song memory-N come-P3s
    'Aite remembered the song'

3.1.4.2 The Argumenthood of the Nominal Host

It has already been shown in earlier sections that CP is a phrasal category and functions as a single predicate. But under the passivization process, verb agrees with the nominal host internal to the CP, this phenomenon shows an apparent paradox to the status of the CP as a single unit.

Passivization

The argument status of the nominal host is endorsed by the fact that it may undergo passivization. The passivization of ordinary sentences in Bote are shown (59b).

(59) a. ram-i mac'o mar-ik
    Ram-E fish kill-P3s
    'Ram caught a fish' [lit. Ram killed fish]

b. mac'o mar-th-ik
    Fish kill-PASS-P3s
    'Fish is caught'

The object mache 'fish' shows an OBJ-SUBJ alternation in the active and passive pair. Now, let's see the CP-internal nominal mēdēr in (60a), and its passive counterparts in (60b).

(60) a. ram-i hari-ke mēdēr gae-ik
    Ram-E Hari-D help-N do-P3s
    'Ram helped Hari'

b. hari-ke mēdat gae-th-ik
    Hari-D help do-PASS-P3s
    'Hari was helped'

In (60b), hari-ke is not the subject of the sentence. We must therefore conclude that the nominal mēdēr 'help' is the subject of the passivized sentence. This sort of behaviour of the nominal host internal to CP indicates that the nominal host is an argument.
3.2 Adjectival Complex Predicates

Some light verbs in Bote form CP with adjectives. They are: lag- 'adhere',
gor- 'do', par- 'befall', par- 'make', hok- 'be', d'or- 'keep', etc. The individual
states of these verbs have been discussed in the section for nominal CP. Some
attested adjectival CPs are listed below with their tentative meanings.

a. lag-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ramaini lag-e</td>
<td>'to feel happy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'usi lag-e</td>
<td>'to feel happy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alt-i lag-e</td>
<td>'to feel oneself idol'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goro lag-e</td>
<td>'to feel something complicated'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| namro lag-e  | 'to feel nice.'             | etc.

(61) maraii ram-ko luga namro lag-ik

I-D Ram-D cloth nice-Aj adhere-P3s
'I felt the Ram's cloth is nice.'

b. gor- 'do'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afar gar-e</td>
<td>'to show the not obeying the assigned task.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alchi gar-e</td>
<td>'to behave as lazy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sap'a gar-e</td>
<td>'to clean'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| band gar-e  | 'to close.'                                                              | etc.

(62) sita-i kol'a sap'a gar-ik

Sita-E room-N clean-A do-P3s
'Sita cleaned the room.'

(63) ram kam-ma alt-i gar-tai

Ram-NOM work-L idle do-P3s
'Ram acted lazily on work.'

c. par- 'befall'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T'ikka par-e</td>
<td>'to appear ostensible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghoti par-e</td>
<td>'to lie prone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| acamum par-e | 'be become surprise'                                                    | etc.

(64) ram ghar jae T'ikka par-ik

Ram-NOM house-L go-INF right befall-P3s
'Ram is ready to go home.'

d. par- 'make'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niras par-e</td>
<td>'to make hopeless'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| T'ikka par-e | 'to make right'                                                         | etc.

(65) hari-i sita-ke niras par-ik

Hari-E Sita-D hopeless make-P3s
'Hari made Sita hopeless.'
c. hok^b^ - 'become''
   band hok^b^-e 'to be closed'
   namro hok^b^-e 'to be nice.'

(66) u^e-b^i jangal Oae baT b^eNd hok^b^-ik
    there-ABL forest-L go-INF way closed become-P3s
    'The way to go to forest was closed.'

hok^b^ - being an auxiliary and complement verb, makes sometimes CP identification problematic. The main intuition in this is whether the adjectival element modifies or complements the subjects, or becomes the part of the CP. Stress and melody pattern in speech can identify this actual use.

f. d'ar^ - 'keep'

(67) a. ram-i tap'^no dokan banda d'ar-ik
    Ram-E REFL-G shop-N close keep-P3s
    'Ram kept his shop closed.'

3.2.3 Complex Predicatehood

3.2.3.1 The Predicatehood of Adjectival host.

In (68a) and (68b), the light verb is same whereas the hosts have been changed because of which there is change in the thematic role assignment to the arguments. Thus, the adjectival host has the predicatehood.

(68) a. sita-i kol'a sap'a gar-ik,
    Sita-E room-N clean-Aj do-P3s
    'Sita cleaned the room.'

b. ram
    kam-ma alchi gar-tai
    Ram-NOM work-L idle do-nP3s
    'Ram acts lazily on work.'

3.2.3.2 Predicatehood of Light Verb

In (67) and (68), the adjectival host are the same, there is change only in the light verbs, which has caused the difference in thematic role assignment. Thus, it proves that the light verbs also have their predicatehood in the CP formation.

(69) doktar-i ram-ke t'ik par-ik
    doctor-E Ram-D right make-P3s
    'Doctor made me right.'

(70) toro kuraa marai t'ik log-ik
    you-G talk-N I-D right adhere-P3s
    'I felt your talk correct.'
3.2.4 Constituent Structure

3.2.4.1. The Adjectival as Part of Verbal Constituent: Scrambling

I have taken (67) for this purpose. The alternate word orders are given in (71). The whole CP can be scrambled as in (71a-d), but adjectival host internal to CP cannot be separated form the CP as in (71e-h). Thus, we can say that the adjectival is the verbal constituent.

(71) a. ram-ĩ ap’no dokan banda d’ar-ik
b. ram-ĩ banda d’ar-ik ap’no dokan
c. ap’no dokan banda d’ar-ik ram-ĩ
d. banda d’ar-ik ram-ĩ ap’no dokan
e. *ram-ĩ banda ap’no dokan d’ar-ik
f. *ram-ĩ d’ar-ik ap’no dokan banda
g. *apno dokan banda ram-ĩ d’ar-ik
h. *ram-ĩ ap’no banda dokan d’ar-ik

3.2.4.2 The CP as a Phrasal Category

Let us take the example (67). In this, the light verb can be topicalized as in (72).

(72) d’ar-ik ram-ĩ ap’no dokan banda

But the adjectival internal to the CP cannot be topicalized as in (72).

(73) *banda ram-ĩ ap’no dokan d’ar-ik

With respect to these two phenomena, it can be said that the light verb of the CP is a Phrasal Category and the adjectival host internal to the CP is a lexical category. Lexical integrity hypothesis also prohibits syntactic reordering of constituent elements of a lexical item.

3.3 Adverbial Complex Predicates

In Bote, small set of verbs attest in composition with some adverbs to form Complex Predicate like other non-verbal CPs.

Some of light verbs for Adverbial CP formation in Bote are log- 'adhere', par- 'befall', par- 'make', hok- 'become', ja- 'go', phal- 'throw', and g'al- 'put into', etc. Some examples of Adverbial CPs are given below.

a. log- 'adhere'
   k’ask’as lage 'to feel 'eager' to express or know something or on something'
   chakka lage 'to feel 'surprise' (because of something)

(74) marhāi okhro kara-ma k’ask’as log-ik
I-D his-G talk-L. 'Eager to adhere-P3s
'Ward his talk fell at me.'
26 / Complex Predicates ...

(75) marhakı toro kuraa suńikan chakka lag-ık
    I-D you-G talk-N hear-CONJP 'surprise' adhere-P3s
    'I was surprised on your talk.'

b. par- 'befall'
   čakka pār-e 'to fall surprised'
   čiThika pār-e 'to be attracting by making up'

This verb verbalizes many manner words that often express the manner of action or situation when no agent is considered to involve.

(76) mōro kurā-f Ram čakka pār-ık
    I-G talk-E Ram surprise befall-P3s
    'Surprise befall at Ram because of may talk.'

c. gar- 'do'

Like par- this verb also verbalizes some manner of action, meaning of thus formed CP is some event occurred itself with that manner or occurs habitually in that way.

Onomatopoeic words and words of onomatopoetic origins can be verbalized by gōr-, e.g. jwarrō gōr-e

d. pār- 'make'

(77) mōro b'āya badmos hok'ikan marhakı d'urakka par-i-sok-ık
    I-G brother naughty be-CONJP I-D 'annoyingly' make-ABS-finish-P3s
    'My brother being naughty made me to much annoyed.'

e. hok'- 'become' also verbalizes some manner of actions

4. Conclusion

Bote language is rich in complex predicates. Morphological complex predicate is formed in the lexicon and syntactic complex predicate is in the syntax. It is clear that the complexity formation is at a-structure in morphological causative construction, syntactic causative construction, permissive construction and compound verbs where as complexity formation in nominal complex predicate is in s-structure in which both nominal host and light verbs contribute.

But the complex predicate formation is not clear in the case of adjectival and adverbial complex predicates. This needs further investigation.

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABL-</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>L-</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS-</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag-</td>
<td>agent</td>
<td>NEG-</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aj-</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>NOM-</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS-</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>nP-</td>
<td>Non-Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM-</td>
<td>Commitative</td>
<td>OBJ-</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


Thapalya, B.R. (2045 BS) Bote Jaatiko Parichaya (Bote People: An Introduction)

Verbal Affixation in Kumal

Bhim Lal Gautam
Tribhuvan University

Kumal is one of the languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan sub-group of Indo-European family. This is a language spoken by a minority people called Kumal, and also one that has been described only a little. Because of their socio-economic condition and the heavy influence of surrounding languages, the Kumals are losing out on the use of their language. They have been narrowing down the domin of the language use. Further that not all the Kumal people use their language. The language use has been limited only within their home and within the group where all the members on speak and understood it. Though the language loyalty is in rapidly decreasing order, it is not time yet to declare it lying on the verge of extinction, since there are still quite a number of people know their language.

The people who speak the language seem not able to control the infiltration of Nepali words into their language. Quite a large number of words are appeared to be borrowed from Nepali and these words replaced the native ones. However, they have retained the grammatical words, and so the grammar can be said Kumal grammar. Sharma (2043 BS) Gautam (2000) and Parajuli (2000) are only the work done so far in this language. This paper is a part of my MA thesis, Gautam (2000). It attempts to describe a part of verbal morphology of the language, namely verbal affixation.

1. General Affixation Process

1.1 Infinitizer (INF)

i. \(<-/>\) is suffixed to the verb ending in vowels

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kha} + i &= \text{khai} & \text{to eat} \\
\text{ja/ga} + i &= \text{ja/gai} & \text{to go} \\
\text{pa} + i &= \text{pai} & \text{to get} \\
\text{cha} + i &= \text{chai} & \text{to cover the roof} \\
\text{a} + i &= \text{ai} & \text{to come} \\
\text{bha} + i &= \text{bhai} & \text{to be} \\
\text{la} + i &= \text{lai} & \text{to take} \\
\text{khi} + i &= \text{khi} & \text{to be reduced}
\end{align*}
\]

a. \(\text{mā} \text{ bhat kha-i pār-la}\)

I-E rice eat-INF befall-NPT1S

'I have to eat rice.'

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol-17, pp., 28-35.
b. *unoihr-le bhat kha-i-lam*
   they-E rice eat-INF-PST3P1
   'They ate rice.'

ii. *<ai>* is suffixed to the verb ending in consonant in which it is used as causative verb.

   *bun + ai = bunai- 'sow'
   ban + ai = banai- 'tie'
   cin + ai = cinai- 'make know'
   sâc + ai = sâcai- 'save'
   uTh + ai = uThai- 'stand'
   mag + ai = magai- 'beg'
   Dhog + ai = Dhogai- 'bow'
   bag + ai = bagai- 'flow'

a. *hari-le ram-ke bhat kha-i lag-ai-la*
   Hari-E Ram-D rice eat-INF fall-CAUS-NPT3S
   'Hari made Ram eat rice.'

b. *sita-le ram-ke cin-ai bat*?
   Sita-E Ram-D know-CAUS be NPT3S
   'Sita cause Ram know.'

1.2 progressive marker *<tat>*

*<tat>* is suffixed to the verb stem to convey the progressive meaning in Kumal.

   *khaiz + tat = khaitat* 'eating'
   *gai + tat = goitat* 'going'
   *mar + tat = martat* 'dying'
   *kin + tat = kintat* 'buying'
   *hin + tat = hintat* 'walking'

a. *timâhr garth hakh-tat*?
   You poor be-PROG-NPT3S
   'You are becoming poor.'

b. *hamre katha kha-tat-i*
   we.E story say-PROG-NPT3P1
   'We are telling a story.'

1.3 Negative Markers *<ni>* and *<jin>*

Negative markers are always prefixed to the verb stem. Even if two or more verbs are concatenated, the negativizer precedes the verb stem. *<ni>* and
<jim> are negativizing particles in Kumal language. The particle jim- always precedes imperative form of the verb stem.

- **baT = ni-baT** 'is not'
- **rañi = ni-rañi** 'was not'
- **sui = ni-sui** 'don't sleep'
- **ja = jim-ja** 'don't go' (imperative)
- **kheñ = jim-kheñ** 'don't play' (imperative)
- **bol - jin-bol** 'don't speak' (imperative)

**a. ram, bhañ jin-kha !**
Ram, rice NEG-eat IMP
'Ram, don't eat rice !'

**b. jin bhag !**
NEG run away IMP
'Don't run away !'

**c. rabiñ, rati jin-kha**
Ravi, bread NEG-eat IMP
'Ravi, don't eat bread.'

**d. jawai, jin-jow-o !**
son-in-law, NEG-go-IMPf
'Son-in-law, don't go !'

But **ni-** precedes the verb stem in all sentences for general negation except imperatives.

**a. ram-le bhañ ni-khañ-l**
Ram-E rice NEG-eat-PST3S
'Ram did not eat rice.'

**b. yo koTha svañ ni-baT**
this room small NEG-be.NPT3S
'This room is not small.'

**c. mëñ hiñö rati ni-sui-nu**
l-E yesterday night NEG-sleep-PST1S
'I did not sleep last night.'

**d. ke u-le eñari ni-khò-las**
QPRT he-E sweet potato NEG-eat-PST3S
'Did not he eat sweet potato ?'
1.4 Durative Marker <thāni>

In Kumal <thāni>, a durative marker is suffixed to the verb stem. It bears the meaning 'while doing something or while being engaged doing something.' For example:

- boli-rakh-thāni    'while speaking'
- au-thāni           'while coming'
- naci-rakh-thāni    'while dancing'
- khai-rakh-thāni    'while eating'

1. Ram-le ba'to-ma au-thāni evta bāgh dekh-ol
   Ram-E way-L come-DUR one tiger see-PST3S
   'Ram saw a tiger while he was coming along the way.'
2. mā bhat khai-thāni evta Dholga bhet-ol
   I-E rice eat-DUR one stone find-PST1S
   'I found a stone while I was eating rice.'
3. ba'to-ma au-thāni kuringhaT-ma gaDk-ko taver paDk-ol
   road-L come-DUR KuringhaT-L bus-G tyre puncture-PST3S
   'While coming, the tyre of the bus was punctured at KuringhaT.'

1.5 Conjugational suffixes

Besides various types of affixes, a large number of suffixes are attached to the verb stem corresponding to person, number and honorificity in various tenses. The suffixes are presented in the table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past Singular</th>
<th>Past Plural</th>
<th>Non-past Singular</th>
<th>Non-past Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd (non-honorific)</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd honorific</td>
<td>-lan</td>
<td>-lan</td>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd (non-honorific)</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-lan</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd honorific</td>
<td>-lan</td>
<td>-lan</td>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>-lo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, the verb ja: 'go' has following forms in non-past tense.

- ja-nu
- ja-le
- ja-lo
2 Morphophonemic Processes

In Kumal language, verb stems ending with different segments behave variously, they undergo certain modification while undergoing the affixation process. It is mainly because of the vowel and consonant that appear at the stem final position. Morphophonemic behaviour during affixation process in the stems with vowel final are considerably complex in nature than the consonant final stems. Some of the morphophonemic processes in this language are presented below:

2.1 Diphthongization

In this process, the vowel a changes into ai when it is followed by the suffixes <-nu>, <-le> <-la>, <-li>, <-lan>. But it does not change when it is followed by the vectors like rah, sak or par.

/ai/ → /ai/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kha-</th>
<th>khai-nu</th>
<th>'to eat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khai-le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khai-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khai-lan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kha-</th>
<th>khai-rah-lak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khai-sak-lak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khai-par</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. mā hbat khai par-la
   1-E rice eat have-NPT1S
   'I have to eat rice.'

b. mā-le hbat khai-nu
   1-E rice eat-PST1S
   'I ate rice.'

c. tuhure hbat khai-lan
   you h rice eat-PST2Sh
   'You ate rice.'

d. mai hijo hbat khai-rah-lak ra-nu
   1-E yesterday rice eat-remain-PERF be-PST1S
   'I was eating rice yesterday.'
Sometimes vowels change into diphthongs when <-tat> (progressive marker) is added in the vowel final verb stem. For instance,

\[ ja + tat = gaitat \] 'going'
\[ a + tat = autat \] 'coming'
\[ ro + tat = routat \] 'weeping'
\[ dho + tat = dhoutat \] 'washing'
\[ kha + tat = khoutat \] 'eating'

a. \[ sasur \- hajur-le rakṣi pūt-tat \? \]
father-in-law you-E alcohol drink-PROG-NPT2S
'Father-in-law, are you drinking wine?'

b. \[ tināḥar ghar go-rakh-tat-\? \]
they house go-PERF-PROG-NPT3PI
'They are going to home.'

c. \[ tāi kan gar-tat \? \]
you work do-PROG-NPT2S
'Are you working?'

2.2 Ablauting

Some verb roots are changed in derivation by ablauting process, e.g.,

\[ mar \rightarrow mar \] (a to a)
\[ par \rightarrow par \] (a to a)
\[ khul \rightarrow khol \] (u to o)
\[ de \rightarrow di \] (e to i)

a. \[ sarpa khet-\( m \)a marāi \]
snake field-L die PST3S
'The snake died in the field.'

b. \[ ran-\( m \)e sarpa marāi \]
Ram-E snake kill PST3S
'Ram killed a snake.'

c. \[ timor-\( k \)e kura man par-\( l \)a \? \]
you-D what matter heart befall-NPT2PI
'What matters do you like?'

d. \[ krishna-\( m \)e hari-\( m \)e ghar aūnā par-\( l \)a \]
Krishna-E Hari-D house come befall.CAUS-NPT3S
'Krishna causes Hari come home.'

From the data given above, we can say that /al/ \rightarrow /al/ modification occurs when the verb stem is transitivized or causativized.
2.3 Affixation

The causative marker "-ai" is suffixed to the verb stem to obtain the notion of causative in Kumal language.

a. *mela-ma sito dherai hōs-al*
   fair-L sita much laugh-PST3S
   'Sita laughed much in the fair.'

b. *mela-ma sito-le ram-ke dherai hōs-ai-l*
   fair-L Sita-E Ram-D much laugh-CAUS-PST3S
   'Sita caused Ram laugh at the fair.'

2.4 Deletion

Sometimes, main verb and auxiliary verb combine together and form an alternative form dropping some of their parts, which can be considered as deletion. For instance,

\[
\begin{align*}
gai + baT &= g0T \\
gai + baT + e &= g0Te \\
\end{align*}
\]

a. *tā ghore \( (gai + baT) \) g0Te*
   you house go.be.PST2S
   'Did you go home?'

b. *u bhat pokai-ke lag-lat*
   he rice cook-PROS begin-be.NPT3S
   'He is about to cook rice.'

3 Conclusion

Kumal language has various types of morphological processes. Its verbal affixation process is very productive like other Indo-Aryan languages. Besides conjugational suffixes it has other various affixes like progressive marker, negative marker, causative marker, etc. which are unique to other. Within morphophonemic process diphthongization, ablauting, affixation and deletion are found commonly.

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>φ-zero element</th>
<th>IDN-Identificational (Aux)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-First Person</td>
<td>IMP- Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Second Person</td>
<td>INF-Infinitival Participle ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Third Person</td>
<td>NPT- Non-past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS- Causative</td>
<td>L-Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ- Conjunctive Participle ending</td>
<td>NEG-Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D- Dative</td>
<td>PST-Past Tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DUR- Durative Participle ending
E-Ergative
EXIS- Existential (Aux)
h-honorific

PART-Participle
Pl-Plural
PROG-Progressive Aspect
S-Singular

Signs
dot(.)-Inflection
dash(.-)- Suffix break

References
Morphological Causativization and Anticausativization in Magar

Bhim Narayan Regmi

1 Introduction

Magar is one of the national languages of Nepal. It is a language within TB language family and is spoken by 430,264 people as their mother tongue according to the Census Report 1991. Large number of speakers are found in the western hilly region. The language appears to have highly complex process of causativization in comparison to other TB languages in this area. This paper is an attempt to present the description the morphology of causativization and anticausativization in this language. The dialect studied is for the analysis Syangja dialect.¹

Morphological causativization in this language includes affixation of a morpheme, or other morphophonological process. The process increases the verbal valency in the sentence describes the situation of cause and effect or causation. Anticausativization is an opposite process. It is an addition of morpheme but which indicates a decrease in verbal valency in the sentence describes a resultative the non-causative situation.

Morphological process of causativization is productive. Including this, and other process of causativization also found in Magar. A small number of suffixes play a vital role in the processes of causativization and anticausativization depending upon structure and source of the root. \(<\text{tak})\>, \(<\text{sak})\>, \(<\text{ak})\>, \(<\text{k})\>, \(<\text{t})\>, \(<\text{s})\>, \(<\text{i})\>, \(<\text{ok})\>, \(<\text{uk})\>\) and \(<\text{uk})\>\) arc the suffixes. \(<\text{tak})\>\) is the basic form and all the rest suffixes are allomorphs derived by the morphophonemic processes, viz., spirantization, deletion and vowel harmony.

Syntactic or periphrastic process of causativization is also active in the language. \(<\text{bir'm})\>\) and \(<\text{k'as})\>\) are the auxiliary roots for syntactic causativization. However, this process is not discussed here.

2 Causativization

2.1 First Causativization

The Magar roots² can be classified into two groups: native and borrowed. The process of morphological first causativization differs slightly in these two groups.

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol-17, pp. 36-50.
2.1.1 Native Roots

Native roots are original of the language. Causative stems are formed from these roots by followed immediately causative suffix.

Native roots are further classified into vowel final and consonant final roots.

2.1.1.1 Vowel Final Roots

Vowel final roots can be classified into six classes in terms of the suffix they take.

2.1.1.1.1 Class 1

Roots of this class take «-tak» as causative suffix. The pairs of these roots and causative stems are as in (1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. d'ir (Tr.)</td>
<td>d'i-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. d'kho- (Tr.)</td>
<td>d'kho-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>believe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ar'e- (Tr.)</td>
<td>ar'e-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bake, warm cloths</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. de'h- (Tr.)</td>
<td>de'h-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say, tell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. g'o'ya-(Tr.)</td>
<td>g'o'ya-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. č'd'- (Tr.)</td>
<td>č'd'-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pierce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. jo-(Tr.)</td>
<td>jo-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn, blame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. g'o'd'- (Tr.)</td>
<td>g'o'd'-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. ar'ju- (Tr.)</td>
<td>ar'ju-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrash, massage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. cuh- (Intr.)</td>
<td>cuh-tak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some roots are intermediate of class 1 and class 2 roots since they take either «-tak» or «-ak» alternatively. They are as in (2).
Morphological Causativization...

Noncausative

(2).

\( p^a - \) (Tr.)
learn
\( l^o - \) (Tr.)
throw

Causative

\( p^a - tak- \) or \( p^a - ak- \)

\( l^o - tak- \) or \( l^o - ak- \)

2.1.1.1.2 Class 2

Roots of this class take \(<ak>\) suffix as causative marker. They are as in

(3).

Noncausative

\( gu^h - \) (Intr.)
stoop

\( hu^h - \) (Intr.)
bark

Causative

\( gu^h - ak- \)

\( hu^h - ak- \)

The illustrations (2) and (3) show a tendency to delete \( /l/ \) from \(<tak>\) after breathy vowels other than high front vowels, which seems natural (see also (4)b). But it can’t be explained as a rule, since \(<tak>\) is also taken in the same environment (see (1)).

2.1.1.1.3 Class 3

Roots of this class take \(<k>\) as causative marker. Here \(<k>\) is remainder from the suffix \(<tak>\) after deletion of \( /l/ \) and \( /ai/ \). These all roots are found intransitive. They are as in (4).

Intransitive

(4).

a. \( c^h - oyr - ya - \)
go around, visit

\( hoy^h - a - \)
tremble

b. \( p^o - odo - ^h - \)
explode

\( b^h - a - \)
separate, divide

\( rd^h - \)
come from above

\( r^h - a - \)
sink

Causative

\( c^h - oyr - ya - k - \)

\( hoy^h - a - k - \)

\( p^o - odo - k - \)

\( b^h - a - k - \)

\( ra - k - \)

\( r^h - a - k - \)

In (4)b above breathiness of the root final vowel is lost after causativization. It is another difference between (3) and (4)b since it is retained in (3).
2.1.1.4 **Class 4**
Roots belonging to this class take `<sak>` as causative marker. It is derived from `<tak>` by the process of spirantization. It also is not a regular process, since `<tak>` is found in the same environment (see (1)). They are as in (5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mu-</em> (Intr.)</td>
<td><em>mu-sak-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.5 **Class 5**
Roots belonging to this class take `<s>` as causative marker. It is derived from `<tak>` through `<sak>` deleting `<ak>`. It is also idiosyncratic, since `<tak>` is also found in the same environment. They are as in (6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>w’a-</em> (Intr.)</td>
<td><em>w’a-s-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.6 **Class 6**
Roots belonging to this class take `<r>` as causative marker. It is derived from `<tak>` deleting `/akl/`. It is also idiosyncratic, since `<tak>`, `<k>` and `<ak>` are also found in the same environment. They are as in (7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>so-</em> (Intr.)</td>
<td><em>so-r-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rise, wake up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.2 **Consonant Final Roots**
Consonant final roots are divided into two classes in accordance with the existence of vowel harmony. Vowel harmony is active in class 2 but not in class 1.

2.1.1.2.1 **Class 1**
Roots within this class have `/η/` and non-sonorant phonemes `/pl, tl, kl, sl/` at final position and take `<ak>` as causative marker by deleting `/tl/` from `<tak>`, the basic causative marker. These are as in (8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kηp-</em> (Tr.)</td>
<td><em>kηp-ak-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gαp-</em> (Tr.)</td>
<td><em>gαp-ak-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take liquid out from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gαp-</em> (Tr.)</td>
<td><em>gαp-ak-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take liquid out from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2.1.1.2.2 Class 2

Roots belonging to this class have sonorant phonemes except /η/ at the final position and they take <-ik>, <-ek>, <-ak>, <-ok> and <-ak> depending upon the vowels in the root. This is due to the process of vowel harmony which changes the suffix <-ak> harmonizing with the vowel in the root, after deleting /η/ from <-etk>.

This class is further divided into two sub-classes depending upon whether the vowel harmony is complete or partial.

### 2.1.1.2.2.1 Class 2a

This subclass consists of those roots where complete vowel harmony takes place. These are as follows:
Noncausative

(9) cʰim- (Intr.) soak
sinʰ- (Intr.) accommodate
piḷʰ- (Intr.) enter, go through

bɪr- (Intr.) be sour

The following roots take alternative suffixes <-ik> and <-ak> as in (10).

Noncausative

(10) jɪm- (Tr.) catch
gɪn- (Tr.) ask

(11) cʰem- (Tr.) husk
en- (Intr.) quarrel
mel- (Tr.) swallow
kʰer- (Intr.) run

The following roots take <-ek> or <-ak> alternatively as in (12).

Noncausative

(12) em- (Tr.) sieve
eḷʰ- (Tr.) serve

(13) ban- (Tr.) finish
kai- (Intr.) climb
tar- (Tr.) check, hunder

Causative

(9) cʰim-ik-

sinʰ-ik-

piḷʰ-ik-

bɪr-ik-

Causative

jɪm-ik- or jɪm-ak-
gɪn-ik- or gɪn-ak-

Causative

Causative

em-ek- or em-ak-
eḷʰ-ek- or eḷʰ-ak-

ban-ak-
kai-ak-
tar-ak-

The following roots show dissimilation instead of assimilation. This can be explained with two ways: 1. they take suffixes <-ak> and /a/ in the suffix
dissimilates /a/ in the root as /ɛ/ by the process of regressive distant dissimilation and they take <-ok> assimilating with /a/ in the root then the following /a/ dissimilates preceding /a/ by the same process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(14)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan- (Intr.)</td>
<td>gɛn-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be startled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɛl- (Intr.)</td>
<td>jɛl-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be warm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(15)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jum'- (Intr.)</td>
<td>jum'-ok-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flame up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ol- (Tr.)</td>
<td>k'ol-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open, put off</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'or- (Tr.)</td>
<td>j'or-ok-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow, salute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following roots take <-ok> or <-ak> alternatively as in (16).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(16)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pum- (Tr)</td>
<td>pom-ok- or pom-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don- (Tr.)</td>
<td>don-ok- or don-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(17)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'um- (Tr.)</td>
<td>d'um-uk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pluck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dum'- (Tr.)</td>
<td>dum'-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dun- (Intr.)</td>
<td>dun-ok-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dim, milk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunh'- (Intr.)</td>
<td>tunh-uk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be short</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ul- (Intr.)</td>
<td>b'ul-uk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be late</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jur- (Intr.)</td>
<td>jur-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following roots take <-uk> or <-ok> alternatively as in (18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(18)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'um- (Intr.)</td>
<td>g'um-uk- or g'um-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hul- (Tr.)</td>
<td>hul-uk- or hul-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.2.2.2 Class 2b

This subclass consists of those roots where partial vowel harmony takes place. These are as follows:

Noncausative

(19) *ri*′n- (Intr.)
    wake up
    *bi*′l- (Tr.)
    The following root takes <ok> or <ak> alternatively as in (20).

Noncausative

(20) *so*′r- (Tr.)
    season
    *so*′r-ok- or *so*′r-ak-

Noncausative

(21) *tu*′n- (Tr.)
    close
    *tu*′n-uk- or *tu*′n-ak

Causative

All roots take <ak> suffix.

Noncausative

(22) *citl*′im- (Intr.)
    be black
    *cil*′im- (Tr.)
    blink
    *gerei- (Intr.)
    decay, rot
    *deam- (Tr.)
    clean vessel etc.
    *furum- (Tr.)
    collect, concentrate

Causative

2.1.2 Borrowed Roots

Magar borrows roots from Nepali, but not any inflected forms of the verb.
The suffix <di> is added to these roots which functions as nativizer. The borrowed root or the stem with the <di> suffix is supposed to be transitive. Thus, <di> is the transitive marker as well as nativizer (see also 3.2).

The process of causativization in general occurs taking the root as starting point in the native verbs, but it starts from the stem in the borrowed roots. The causative suffix follows the nativizer in the borrowed verbs, where nativized stem ends with /i/. These stems and the causative stems are in pairs as follows:

Transitive

(23) bar-di-
    fence

Causative
### 2.2 Second Causativization

Morphologically, morpho-lexically or lexically causativized first causative stems take \(<-\text{ak}>\) and \(<-\text{ik}>\) suffixes to form second causative stem depending upon the structure of the causative root or stem. This is the morphological process of second causativization in Magar. The noncausative stem, first causative stem and second causative stem are as in (24)-(28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>First causative</th>
<th>Second causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syas- (Intr.)</td>
<td>arc(^b)d(-)</td>
<td>arc(^b)d(^b)-tak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu(^m)- (Intr.)</td>
<td>ar(^l)d(^l)-</td>
<td>ar(^l)a(^b)-tak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so- (Intr.)</td>
<td>so-t(-)</td>
<td>so-t-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(^s)es- (Intr.)</td>
<td>ket(-)</td>
<td>ket-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d(^s)i- (Tr.)</td>
<td>d(^b)i-tak(-)</td>
<td>d(^b)i-tak-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuse</td>
<td>hu(^b)-ak(-)</td>
<td>hu(^b)-ak-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark</td>
<td>k(^l)ip- (Tr.)</td>
<td>k(^l)ip-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>separate</td>
<td>b(^h)a(^l)-</td>
<td>b(^h)a(^l)-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>mu-sak(-)</td>
<td>mu-sak-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soak</td>
<td>c(^h)im- (Tr.)</td>
<td>c(^h)im-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarrel</td>
<td>en- (Intr.)</td>
<td>en-ek(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finish</td>
<td>ban- (Tr.)</td>
<td>ban-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be warm</td>
<td>j(^l)a- (Intr.)</td>
<td>j(^l)a-ak(-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These roots have no anticausatives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noncausative</th>
<th>First causative</th>
<th>Second causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(29) so- (Intr.)</td>
<td>so-t-</td>
<td>so-t-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so-t-ak-ak-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rise, get up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w(^h)a- (Intr.)</td>
<td>w(^h)a-s-</td>
<td>w(^h)a-s-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w(^h)a-s-ak-ak-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graze</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(30) syas (Intr.)</td>
<td>arc(^h)a-</td>
<td>arc(^h)a-tak-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arc(^h)a-tak-ak-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graze</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kes- (Intr.)</td>
<td>ket-</td>
<td>ket-ak-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ket-ak-ak-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Third Causativization

The first causative stems which have phonemes other than /k/ at final are causativized thirdly by further morphological process. Third causative suffix is \(<-ak\> which follows the second causative stem. The noncausative root, first causative stem, second causative stem and third causative stem are as follows:
3 Anticausativization

Anticausativization is active but differently in native and borrowed roots in Magar.

3.1 Native roots

Magar roots with /a/ final can be anticausativized by <-k> as anticausative marker. In this process breathiness of /a/ is also lost. These roots and their anticausative stems in pair are as in (31).

Transitive Anticausative

(31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Anticausative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta^-</td>
<td>ta-k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηα^-</td>
<td>ηα-k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b^hαρα^-</td>
<td>b^hαρα-k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηρ^-</td>
<td>ηρ-k-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the morphemes <-k> also functions as a causative marker with some roots in the language (see (4)).

3.2 Borrowed Roots

These roots take nativizer-transitive suffix <-di> (see also (23)) and form basic stem. Then <-s> is added to form anticausative stem. The stems with anticausative stem in pair are as in (32).

Transitive Anticausative

(32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Anticausative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b^hαρα^-</td>
<td>b^hαρα-di-s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the morpheme <s> is also found as causative marker with some native roots (see (6)).

Anticausative marker <s> appears to be closer to passive marker <cis> in its form and meaning, both are suffixes also. But, those roots which can be anticausativized can be passivized and those roots which cannot be anticausativized can also be passivized. It proves that there is no overlapping between anticausative and passive processes.

4 Reduplication of the Same Suffix <ak>

In the process of causativization the causative suffix <ak> can occur twice in its maximum limit in the first and the second causative stems or in the second and the third causative stems. In this situation <ak> follows <ak> as a first and a second causative suffix, or a second and a third causative suffix or it creates a string (see second and third columns of some of the (25)b and third and fourth column of (29) and (30)).

5 Different Functions of the Same Suffix

Some causative or anticausative suffixes have several functions in the language. They are as follows:

<ak> functions as first causative suffix when it follows noncausative root (see (1) and (23)), and it functions as second causative suffix when it follows first causative root (see (24)).

<ak> functions as first causative suffix when it follows non-causative root (see second column of (2),(3),(8),(10),(12),(13),(14),(18),(20) and (22)). It functions as second causative suffix when it follows first causative stem (see third column of (25),(27) and (28)). It functions as third causative suffix when it follows second causative stem (see fourth column of (29) and (30)).

<iak> functions as first causative suffix when it follows noncausative root (see second column of (9),(10) and (19)), and it functions as second causative suffix when it follows first causative root (see third column of (26)).

<k> functions as first causative suffix when it follows intransitive noncausative root (see second column of (4)a and(4)b) and it functions
as anticausative suffix when it follows transitive (or causative) root (see second column of (31)).

<-s> functions as first causative suffix when it follows native root (see (6)), and it functions as anticausative suffix when it follows borrowed stem (see (32)).

6 Distribution of Causative Suffixes

<-tak>, <-sak>, <-ak>, <-ik>, <-ek>, <-ok>, <-uk>, <-k>, <-t> and <-s> occur as first causative suffixes with noncausative roots. <-ak> occurs as second causative suffix with the first causative stems except the stems formed from /k/ final root. <-tak>, <-sak> and <-ak> function as second causative suffix with lexical causative roots. <-ak> occurs as third causative suffix with lexical causative roots and /s/ and /t/ final first causative stems. The distribution is as in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Causative</th>
<th>Second Causative</th>
<th>Third Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-tak&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-sak&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ik&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ek&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ak&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;-ak&gt;³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ok&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-uk&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-k&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-t&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;-ak&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-s&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Lexical        | <-tak>         | <-sak>         |
|                |                | <-ak>          |

7 Morphophonemics in Causativization

Morphophonemics is active in the process of causativization somewhere in root and somewhere in suffix.

Vowel reduction: /a/ in the root changes into /ə/ in the process of causativization (see (14)).

Deaspiration: Root final vowel loses its aspiration in the process of causativization and anticausativization (see (4)b and (32)).

Spirantization: The basic causative suffix <-tak> changes into <-sak> in the process of causativization (see (5)).
Deletion: The basic causative suffix <-tak> changes into <-ak>, <-k>, and <-s>; and <-sak> changes into <-g> in the process of causativization.

Deletion + vowel harmony: The basic causative suffix <-tak> changes into <-ik>, <-ek>, <-ak>, <-ok> and <-uk> in the process of causativization (see (2.1.1.2.2)).

8 Similar Treatment for Causative and Anticausative

(4b) shows just opposite to (24) taking the same morpheme to form causative stem. It shows that Magar equally treats both sides from the pivot whether it is causative side or anticausative side. Even if breathiness is supposed to be developed from velar fricative, it is found that the despirantization is frequent process for both causativization and anticausativization, and (32) and (4b) can be grouped within one head.

9 Conclusion

Findings of the study are summarized as follows:

Both transitive and intransitive verbs are causativized in Magar.

<-tak>, <-sak>, <-ak>, <-ik>, <-ek>, <-ok>, <-uk>, <-k>, <-s>, and <-k> are the suffixes as morphological means for causativization and anticausativization in the language. All these suffixes can be considered the variants of <-tak>, the basic causative suffix, conditioned by phonemic, morphophonemic and idiosyncratic lexical properties. <-tak>, <-ak>, <-sak>, <-ik>, <-ek>, <-ok>, and <-uk> are chosen with the vowel final roots. <-ik>, <-ek>, <-ak>, <-ok>, and <-uk> are chosen by the sonorant consonant final roots except /ŋ/. And <-ak> is chosen with the rest of the consonant final roots.

Magar has first, second and third morphological causatives.

All the suffixes can form first causative. <-tak>, <-ak>, <-ik>, <-ek>, <-ok>, and <-uk> can also form second causative when they follow first causative root. <-ok> can also form third causative but occurs only once with <-k> final root or stem. Thus, most of the causative suffixes have more than one function as causative suffix.

<-k> and <-s> function as causative suffixes as well as anticausative suffixes. In such a case the language shows the similar treatment for causative and anticausative processes.
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Notes
* This paper is based on my MA dissertation.
1 The data was volunteered by Mrs. Nandi Kumari Thapa of Chhangchhangdi-7, Syangja.
2 The verb roots are identified by deleting the suffix <-a> from third person, singular, non-honorific, past form of a verb and the result would be same as the process of deleting <-kc>, the infinitive marker.
3 except with k final roots.

This fact is further strengthened by the result that in all these schools – except 5A and 5B – one or two vocabulary items have below 5% respondents and in school 1 four items, in 2, 3B and 3C three items each, and in 6A two items do not have even a single respondent (Table 2). However 5A and 5B were different from other classes because none of the vocabulary items there has less than 5%.
A Critical Evaluation of Traditional Grammars

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In an attempt to appraise the traditional grammars, we come across several comments about them, from both negative and positive sides: the negative side highlighting the weaknesses found in the theoretical assumptions, descriptions and techniques of analysis, and the positive side dealing with the contribution brought about by them in the study of languages. Therefore, before trying to make an attempt for the judgement of traditional grammar, it seems reasonable to discuss some of the comments on both sides of the issue.

First of all, traditional grammars have been criticized on the ground that there is a lack of proper understanding in them between the aspects of form and meaning of language description. This criticism points out the weakness in the theoretical assumptions held by these grammars. These grammars have been accused of being unable to understand the fact that in any language grammar is essentially the formal aspect of it, and the aspect of meaning is to be treated by a separate area: semantics. There are several instances "to show that grammatical distinctions are not semantic ones" (Palmer, 1983:34) and, "there is no one-to-one correspondence" between the two (ibid.). Traditional grammars have wrongly associated the grammatical category of number with semantic category of counting and grammatical gender with biological sex, without considering the distinction between form and meaning. To follow these grammars very strictly, we may derive a false conclusion that in English "wheat" is "one" whereas "oats" is "more than one" (ibid.). The fact is that the matter of the presence of "-s" inflection in "oats" and its absence in "wheat" is grammatical concept of plurality in English, but that of "one" and "more than one" is the universal concept of counting. These two concepts do not necessarily have one-to-one correspondence in all cases. So is the case discussed here.

Because of the unnecessary greater importance attached to the meaning aspect of language, the grammarians followed notional terms and criteria to define parts of speech, without considering the formal features of words and the potential syntactic functions of them in larger units--the phrase or sentence. Thus, in giving the definitions of word classes, they depended on the partial characteristics of words, not on comprehensive criteria. We can exemplify the wrongly defined parts of speech from J.C. Nesfield's grammar, in which noun is defined as "a word used for naming anything" (Palmer, 1983:38). One can question the validity of this statement by referring to a word such as "red", which is a word used for naming the quality of a particular colour: Is "red" a noun? Similarly, Nesfield's definition of verb as "a word used for saying something about something else" (ibid.,55) is

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also considered to be a vague and unsatisfactory statement (because all the words
in a language are used for saying something about something else, we must
categorize all the words in a language into the category of the verb if we follow
this definition very strictly. Are we in a position to do so?). These definitions are
notional, and in this case the treatment is not comprehensive. By giving the
"imprecise" treatment of "parts of speech" as such, traditional grammars have been
criticized to have misled many teachers and students still today.

If we go through the Greco-Roman tradition of grammar, we can notice a
misconception regarding the importance of written language over the spoken form
of it—right from the Alexandrian period of Greek grammar (around the third
century B.C.). They held the belief that written form of language is the primary
form and it should be the subject of analysis for grammarians and the content of
teaching for school teachers. In the name of preserving language from being
corrupted in the hands of "unlettered" people, the Greek grammarians developed
the essence of grammar in a misleading way, which was transmitted and further
perpetuated in the form of prescriptive grammar manuals, and similar approach to
the teaching of grammar presented for centuries. We can notice the influence of
such kind of misconception even these days in the published grammar books of
several languages. The Alexandrian period of grammatical development in Greek
is found to have been criticized for their work of establishing the tradition of this
misconception. John Lyons, for example, has criticized this approach as "classical
fallacy" (Lyons, 1968:9).

Another weakness we can identify in the traditional grammars of many
languages is that they have a tendency of copying not only the general assumptions
but also the details of another language in which the tradition of writing grammar
is believed to be "richer" or "longer". Old English grammars, for example, are
criticized in that they have given eight parts of speech in an attempt to classify the
words: noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, preposition, conjunction, adverb and
interjection. "The number of parts of speech in the traditional grammars seems to
be quite arbitrary. Why eight? Probably because Dionysius Thrax had eight."  
(Palmer, 1983:56). In the Greco-Roman tradition, we find a tendency among
Roman scholars to copy the terms and distinctions as well as definitions from the
Greek grammars which had been worked out earlier. Priscian and Donatus (around
400-500 A.D.) had utilized the same model of description in Latin as it was
worked out by Thrax in the Greek language in "Techne Grammatike" hundreds of
years ago. The influence of "Techne" remained in European tradition of grammar
for about 13 centuries (from the second century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D.)
(Luitel, 1998:121-23). In old grammars of English we can find the influence of
Latin grammar to a great extent. No doubt, in the development of grammar of any
language some sort of influence of the grammar of an other language can be considered natural. But it seems unwise to adopt the grammatical framework designed for another language to the extent of neglecting the independent identity of the concerned language in which grammatical analysis is to be worked out. From this standpoint, we find that in traditional grammars there is a tendency to impose the framework of the description of another language (which is considered the 'prosperous' or 'superior' language in grammar and literature), without considering the difference between the concerned languages. Such a tendency is to be criticized.

In the question of methods of description also, we find a criticism labelled against traditional grammars. Traditional reference grammars are found to have been criticized on the ground of being "diffuse". "They often lack a coherent theoretical model or framework which has given them unity and shape" (Rai, 1993:25). As a result, most of them are found to be organized not in a logical way. Instead of following a logical and coherent framework of beginning with the general statement/assumption and gradually moving towards concrete exemplifications, illustrations or points of detail, they are organized in unsystematic ways. Moreover, these grammars are criticized on the ground that they have spent too much time in describing points of detail with lengthy explanations but they fail to give a precise account of the main idea in a clear cut manner (Ibid, 35).

To examine the arguments in favour of traditional grammars, we can not ignore the fact that they have made significant contribution in the study of language. The attempt of establishing and perpetuating the tradition of grammatical study was the main achievement brought about by the ancient Greek philosophers: Protagorus, Plato, Aristotle, Stoics and others in the west and Panini and his followers in the east. Excluding their contribution, the history of grammar remains incomplete. Although it is true to say that in several old grammars the definitions of terms are found inaccurate as we evaluate now, we should not be over-ambitious to the extent of expecting the utmost degree of perfection in any work once it appears firstly in the scene. This fact is applicable in the tradition of linguistic study as well. To evaluate these grammars from this perspective, the weaknesses, if any, of the old grammars are natural. Moreover, such weaknesses do not represent the grammarian's intention to describe grammar wrongly. Shortly to say, once we locate any sort of inadequacy in the treatment given by the old traditional grammar, we have no right to ignore their contribution in the study of grammar.

We can give several proofs in support of their contribution. Their contribution has still a great implication in the grammatical description nowadays.
For instance, the terms given by Greek grammmarian Thrax for word classes (noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, conjunction) (Robins, 1979:33-4), gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) (ibid, 35), case (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive or dative) (ibid.) and number (ibid.) are the products of Greek linguistic thought, which are still applicable for us. Not only in the question of defining grammatical terms and distinctions, but also in the methods of description we are indebted to the traditional grammars to a considerable extent. Besides, the great scholarly grammar books written in the past contain a great deal of material which has been exploited even nowadays in one way or the other.

In old English grammatical works like the one of Nesfield cited above, although we find some inadequacies as indicated, we can notice the attempt giving accurate definitions for some of the terms. Even though Nesfield's grammar is criticized in other points, it contains somehow accurate definitions of pronoun and adjective, which are found equally applicable even nowadays: "A pronoun is a word used instead of a noun" (Palmer, 1983:35), "an adjective is a word used to qualify a noun" (ibid.).

So far as the matter of holding misconception is concerned, we should not forget that even today there are several things misconceived among people in one way or the other, but people are ignorant about the faults inherent in those things. There is a tendency in the contemporary world not to speak about the faults of the present day affairs and to make each and every effort in disseminating the faults (if any) of the bygone days. To talk about grammar, even in the modern time there may be the matters conceived by the scholars in an improper way without being aware of the fact, which may or may not be revealed in the future. In such a position, why should we neglect this possibility and criticize only the traditional grammars? First of all, we should criticize and discourage this kind of attitude, and thereafter begin to examine the right as well as wrong sides of grammar (whether the traditional or modern or whatever). When we evaluate the traditional grammars on the basis of merit with the genuine spirit in this way, we are in a position not only to locate their faults, but also to reveal so many good points from them.

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An Analysis of Nepali Basic Clauses within TG Approach

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1 Introduction

In this paper, an attempt has been made to analyze standard Nepali clauses within Transformational Generative approach (henceforth TG). This approach has been effectively used to analyze other Indo-Aryan languages. Undoubtedly, this attempt is not a pioneering one since there are leading works: Southworth (1967), Regmi (1980), and Sharma (1980). However, we are motivated to argue that Nepali clauses should be analyzed within an appropriate model ofTG; and the analysis of Nepali clauses within NP—VP dichotomy seems only an 'unnecessary artifact'. Though it has been stated that word order in Nepali is extremely flexible (Abdulky, 1974), Nepali is neither a configurational (i.e. fixed word order) nor non-configurational (free word order) language. At the underlying level word order seems relatively fixed but at surface level the permutation of constituent elements within the clause with a change in meaning is possible to a great extent. Thus, in this paper we will analyze basic Nepali clauses in terms of a flat structure without a VP node. For this we will formulate essential categorial rules to give an account of fixed word order a phenomenon at the underlying level and design transformational rules to account for the permutation at the surface level.

2 Basic Clauses and Categorial Rules

The term 'Clause' in this paper is a simple sentence(s) which can be analyzed in terms of formal syntactic categories such as Noun Phrase (NP), Verb Phrase (VP), Adverbial Phrase (AP), Prepositional Phrase (PP), etc.; Nepali can be characterized as a semi-configurational language and the following basic clauses at the underlying level can be proposed in the light of the facts about Nepali data.

i. SV (Intrans) hari naaache (Hari dances).
ii. SOV (Monotrans) Svaam bhaat khaocha (Shyam eats rice).
iii. SCV (Intrans) sitaa asal che (Sita is good).
iv. SAV (Intrans) raam gharanaa cha (Ram is at home).
v. SOCV raamle sitaalai kharab Thaancha (Ram considers Sita wrong).
vi. SOOV (Dirtrans) raamle sitaalai kalam dayo (Ram gave Sita a pen).
vii. SAOV raamle Tebulamaa kitaab raakhyo (Ram put a book on the table).
viii. SOAV maalaai pokharaa raamro laagyo (I liked Pokhara).

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What we should clearly state that this is only a broad classification of Nepali clauses in terms of grammatical categories. However, there are basically two fundamental structural characteristics in Nepali basic clauses:

(i) At the underlying level there is a fixed order of each grammatical functions. Moreover, the type and grammaticality of clauses are determined by the selectional restrictions associated with particular category of the verbs.

(ii) At the surface level the grammatical functions have their free permutation within a clause to a great extent.

As we have already argued that Nepali basic clauses can better be characterized by a flat categorial structure without a VP node. This structure has successfully been adopted to analyze Japanese (Farmer, 1980) and Malayalam (Mohanan, 1981). The schematization of the flat categorial structure rule is:

\[ S \rightarrow NP^* V \]

which can be interpreted as expanding S (sentence) into any number of NP's (Noun Phrase), including null (Hale, 1979) and V (the verb) at the end. Let us try to analyze Nepali basic clauses utilizing this categorial rule.

\[ raamle sitaalaai kalam diyo (Ram gave sita a pen). \]

\[ \text{raamle sitaalaai kalam diyo (Ram gave sita a pen).} \]

It is possible to analyze Nepali clauses in terms of NP—VP configurational structure as follows:

\[ \text{raamle sitaalaai kalam diyo (Ram gave sita a pen).} \]
However, we are motivated to assume that this analysis is only 'unmotivated artifact' because it unnecessarily complicates the word order phenomenon in Nepali clauses. We have seen that only a sister constituent directly dominated by S is possible to be permuted. For example, in a prepositional phrase a preposition cannot occur before a noun in Nepali. Thus, only a prepositional phrase (PP) directly dominates by S can be permuted.

We can easily notice that Nepali basic clauses do utilize certain adverbial phrases as constituents of clauses. Thus, it is essential that we have to revise the flat structure rule, as:

\[ S \rightarrow \bar{X}^* \ V \]

This rule is interpreted as expanding S (Sentence) into any number of constituents at \( \bar{X} \) level (N, P, Adj, Adv) followed by a verb. Let us see how a basic clause can be analyzed utilizing the rule above stated.

\[ raam gharaa ma chha \]

\( \text{(Ram home at is)} \)

'Ram is at home.'

On the basis of the above analysis we can propose the following set of categorial rules to generate and analyze basic clauses in Nepali:

i. \( S \rightarrow \bar{X}^* \ V \)
ii. \( \bar{X}^* \rightarrow (NP)(NP)(AP)(Advp) \)
iii. \( AP \rightarrow (PP) \ (Adv) \)
iv. \( PP \rightarrow NP \ P \)

These categorial rules would be quite different in nature if Nepali clauses were analyzed in terms of NP VP configurational structure.

3 Permutation Phenomenon and Transformational Rules

We have already said that Nepali clauses reveal the permutation of elements within a clause to a great extent but with a change in meaning. In other words the permutation of elements generally triggers a change in the role of the
affected elements, making them either the topic or focus of the clauses. This role-oriented change in the underlying structures can be handled by postulating transformational rules like topicalization (T) and focussing (F). Let us consider the following illustration:

\[ \text{raam bhaat khaancha – SOV} \]

‘Ram eats rice.’

This is a transitive construction which can be executed in six possible arrangement of elements with the following semantic consequences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Permutation of Elements</th>
<th>Change in Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>Ram eats rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>As for Ram, he certainly eats rice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>It is Ram, as for eating, he does it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOS</td>
<td>It is rice, as for eating, which Ram eats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSV</td>
<td>As for rice, it is Ram, who eats it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVS</td>
<td>As for rice, Ram eats it, does not do any thing else.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above illustration is a preliminary glimpse of permutation phenomenon in a Nepali clause within a clause. However, it is clear that all six arrangements possess an identical status in logical context. In other words, the core meaning of all six arrangements remains the same. This phenomenon in Nepali basic clauses can better be handled with Move \( \alpha \) type of transformational rules.

i. Focussing (F)

ii. Topicalization (T)

These rules can better be incorporated in the categorial rules mentioned already.

i. \( S \rightarrow TS' \)

ii. \( S \rightarrow FS \)

iii. \( \{ T \} \rightarrow \tilde{X}^* \)

iv. \( S \rightarrow \tilde{X}^*V \)

v. \( \tilde{X}^* \rightarrow (NP)(NP)(AP)(AdjP) \)

vi. \( AP \rightarrow (PP) \rightarrow (Adv) \)

vii. \( PP \rightarrow PNP \)

The transformation rule of focusing moves an element at a time from its stipulated position to a focussed position, as in
This rule replaces an empty node immediately dominated by $S'$ by an element dominated by $S$. We can assume that one of the implications of variant order of elements is to make a focus.

The rule of topicalization moves an element from a stipulated position to an empty node immediately dominated by $S''$, as

The variant order of elements which we observe in Nepali clauses is also to make a topicalized element. In this way, we can assume that permutation phenomenon in Nepali clauses can be handled by formulating transformational rules like focussing and topicalization.

4 Conclusion

A further investigation should be made as to which model would be appropriate to analyze Nepali clauses—configurational model or a flat structure model, however we are motivated to state that Nepali clauses can better be analyzed in terms of a flat structure rather than in terms of NP VP dichotomy. Furthermore, Nepali basic clauses can be accommodated with a set of categorial rules and variant clauses can be handled with move $\alpha$ type transformation rules.
Topicalization and focusing, what is noteworthy is that specific characteristics of Nepali clauses should be taken into consideration before analyzing them.

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A Climate in which Translation can Prosper

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Abstract

Translating is an age-old activity. It has existed and proliferated over the centuries together with the original authorship or creation. Many languages in Nepal (mostly Nepali and Nepal Bhasa) have a large body of literature in translation—now termed as Literature-3. But until recently, the activity has continued to grow chaotically without any systematic plan or principle. For most of those who have contributed substantially to the development of this discipline, the term TRANSLATION has stood merely for the activity of rendering texts from one language to another. It is carried out, therefore, crudely, and mostly for the labour of love. More than this, theoretically speaking, translation (now Literature-3) should incorporate into it the records of its history, criticism, theory, and techniques together. During the recent years, however, being underpinned by University Departments, the Royal Nepal Academy as well as some private institutions, translation (TRANSLATION) has started taking a clear direction. This paper is an attempt to present an overview of recent activities that have started steering translation towards the right direction in Nepal.

In my Doctoral Dissertation produced four years ago, that is in 1997, I had summed up a sub-unit on THE SITUATION OF TRANSLATION IN NEPAL that translation was surviving here in a bleak situation. Due to the absence of translation prizes, awards and fellowships, translators are always discouraged. The University Departments have not offered any course on translation, no institutional support is accorded to it and there is no forum of translators, yet we have a glorious history of translating. Not only did I point at these problems, I (Bhattarai 1997: 15) also put forward my opinions for the improvement of the situation thus:

The only solution to all problems mentioned here is to revive under Royal Nepal Academy the defunct Nepali Bhasha Anuvad Parishad (literally, Nepali Language Translation Council) once again, steer it as an autonomous body, open Department of Comparative Literature at the University and incorporate Translation Studies into the syllabus of the Central Department of Linguistics and produce materials on translation by the help of Language Arts Department (now Department of English Education). Most of the efforts so far made on translation are mostly crude or done by dilettantes, this should be perfected and enhanced, therefore, some institutions are required at present so as to enhance Translation Studies institutionally.

Four years later when I look back on the past, I feel that my suggestions were predictions to what course translation was going to take. The very next year, that is in 1998, the Central Department of Linguistics, T.U., designed a syllabus for the first time in TRANSLATION STUDIES. The Department has by now produced two batches of students who have opted for this course. This year three other Departments in T.U. have designed courses on TRANSLATION STUDIES – Translation: Theory and Practice for Masters in English Education, Literature in Translation for Masters in English and a unit on Translation for Masters in Nepali Education. In fact these activities mark a historic beginning in T.U. The University has opened up a new avenue which will gradually ensure the institutionalization of this subject. Apart from these, graduate level courses on TRANSLATION STUDIES are in the pipeline, however, the existing course for Masters in Nepali requires to be redesigned, made more practicable as well as theory-based. This is the picture of Tribhuvan University, other Universities of Nepal too will certainly introduce this subject in their syllabuses.

I had in my dissertation also deplored the passive role of the Royal Nepal Academy and the Sajha Prakashan. Statistics showed then that their investment towards the enhancement of translation by way of unidirectional as well as bidirectional translation was extremely negligible. Now the Royal Nepal Academy has revived its spirit of translating the Nepali literature mainly into English. In a matter of five years, four Nepali classics have been produced, three are under process, and at least one work per year is in its long term project. Sajha Prakashan too is planning now the publication of translation. Likewise, private publishers/authors are very much interested in producing English translations of Nepali literature. An enticing market is awaiting (mainly those who can render the technical texts bilingually) the expertise of good translators in Nepal. Therefore, even poor or bad translators are earning merely by mutilating or simply by mistranslating many writers' texts of Nepal. It is a very easy job for the latter as nobody sees the real face of the matter – you carve it and crave for money in the dark!

In November 10-12, 1998, a regional seminar called the South Asian Workshop on Principal and Techniques of Translation was organized jointly by Afro-Asian Book Council, Delhi and the Sajha Prakashan, Nepal. Held at the Royal Nepal Academy, the conference left a lasting influence among creative writers as well as the translators. In course of the dialogue and discussion, most
of the participants and experts had felt a growing need for more translations in order to bring us closer to each other. As one of the participants and paper presenter I had an opportunity to present an outline of where we were actually supposed to start in the context of the changing perspectives of Nepal. Many creative writers as well as translators had unanimously concluded that:

(i) our own Translation History should be written, as we have no written history of it,

(ii) based on that history and of the current trends of translation in the world, we should establish our own Translation Theory as we have no theory so far,

(iii) we should have sufficient body of Translation Criticism, as we have no criticism except a few sparingly produced articles, and,

(iv) based on the points (i) through (iii) above, we need to develop our own native Techniques/Manuals or tools for teaching-learning translation into and from different language-pairs.

In a very short period of time a new scenario has unfolded before us today. Regarding the point (i) above, the Royal Nepal Academy has recently instituted a new department under the Department of Language and Literature, that is the Department of Research and Translation. Under the initiation of this Department an important work has been prepared, it is the *anuvad grantha sanci* (a bibliography of translated works). This covers the record of two-way translation carried out from-and-to the nine different languages and their pairs. With the publication of this very work now in press, writers, critics and translators will have a firm ground for furthering the course of translation.

Regarding point (ii), Bhattarai (2000) provides first hand information on the name and nature of Translation Studies. Its Nepali version is awaiting publication. These works will undoubtedly introduce this discipline to the Nepalese scholars and our original theory of translation can gradually emerge. An original theory because every language-pair operates on a different or an independent theory of translation.

Regarding point (iii), we had no work except Taranath Sharma (1990) previously. After about a decade another important record of literature in
translation carried out between English and Nepali is presented in Bhattarai (1999). This work leads to the critical enquiries. The publication of the December 1999 issue of Studies in Nepali History and Society has brought out a historic and classic work of Manjushree Thapa – With Love and Aesthetics: Notes for an Ethical Translation of Nepali Literature. In her 32 page long article, Ms Thapa presents a critical appraisal of Nepali literature in translation. This article reveals her deep understanding into the current trends and philosophy of translation. Quoting Derrida, Spivak and other scholars who have freed translation from the clutches of tradition, she traces the tensions and stress a translator undergoes. The article touches upon various facets of Translation Studies – the problems of equivalence, multiculturalism, loss of meaning, untranslatability, forces that compel us in translating, etc. These are some of the universally experienced problems but her focus here is the Nepali literature in translation, she draws on it, she exemplifies with it and she convinces the audience perfectly.

The same journal presents A Reference Bibliography of Nepali and Nepal Bhasa Literature in English Translation prepared by Chene and Gautam (1999). This is one of the most valuable pieces of work, a rare archive, detailed, comprehensive and up to date. No translation history or criticism can be written without consulting this seminal work and the Academy's forthcoming publication. With these important research studies, a strong foundation for translation criticism will be laid.

Regarding (iv), we have yet to develop translation manuals and handbooks for practicing translators or the teachers and the learners of translation.

Ours is a lopsided history, many more works are translated into Nepali in comparison to the number of the texts rendered into different donor languages. So the history should be revised and the course rectified – we should create a balance by translating more of our works horizontally or bi-directionally into other (or the donor) languages of the world because all translation leads a language to state of complete merger whereas no translation to state of cultural isolation. Both these situations are equally dangerous.
References


Notes


2 Translations of Chapaeka Aamuhar (a novel by Daulat Bikram Bista), Phoolakha Aatanka (a novel by Dhruba Chandra Gautam), Masaan (a drama by Gopal Prasad Rimal ).

3 After the publication of Michael Hutt's translation of Muna-Madan in 1997, the Sajha Prakashan is now preparing a publication of a collection of 25 contemporary Nepali short stories.
Compound Verb in Bote

Kamal Poudel

The phenomenon of compound verb construction is one of the dominant features of Indo-Aryan languages spoken in this sub-continent. Masica (1976) quotes S. Sharma (1967) that this feature is 'almost absent in Vedic and increases somewhat in classical Sanskrit and Prakrit, and undergoes a great explosion in the Apabhramsa period and thereafter in the modern languages.' The Bote language also presents this feature extensively. Noun or adjective or adverb or verb is combined with a verb to construct compound verb. These compound verbs combined from of verb with verb are verbal, and those verb with noun or adjective or adverb are substantive.

This paper attempts to explain verbal compound verbs only. In this type of compound verb at least two verbs are concatenated of which 'the 'first' or main verb (V) is in the form of Conjunctive Participle; a more precise formula would be $V \rightarrow V^{\text{comp}}$. The second verb ($v$) is drawn from a small set of auxiliaries which have been called intensifiers, operators, explicators or more recently vectors: typically go, come, give, take, fall, rise, throw, put, sit. Partially emptied of their lexical content, these modify the main verb in various ways not unrelated to that content, which might be described as manner specification (including directionality, completeness, suddenness, violence, deliberateness, stubbornness, benefaction, affectivity, etc.) (Masica, 1991:326). In addition, more than two verbs can also be concatenated. Whatever be the numbers of vectors, the semantic gravity of the verbs concatenated is always borne by the main verb (pole). The pole is first verb of the verbs concatenated in the compound verb (Pokharel, 2054 BS: 36). But the vectors lose their lexical meaning partially and are grammaticalized. The finite shape of the verbal complex is delineated by the vector which is inflected with appropriate finite suffixes. If the vector at the extreme right is with an aspectual, an auxiliary follows the compound verb, and finite shape is also carried out through the auxiliary. Diagrammatic representation of the Bote compound verb looks like figure 1.

The verbs which can occur in the vector position are limited in number. They are presented in the following list which provides with the basic meanings of the verbs and their vector meaning.

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol-17, pp., 68-76.
**Figure 1: Bote Compound Verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Lexical meaning</th>
<th>Vector meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>deh-</em></td>
<td>give</td>
<td>allow, benefactive, do for other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chaD-</em></td>
<td>leave</td>
<td>do something thoroughly determination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rōh-</em></td>
<td>remain, stay</td>
<td>determination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a-</em></td>
<td>come</td>
<td>continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gēr-</em></td>
<td>do</td>
<td>continue on from the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khoj-</em></td>
<td>seek</td>
<td>habit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pēr-</em></td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>try</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hokh-</em></td>
<td>become</td>
<td>must, obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sēk-</em></td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>be proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maq-</em></td>
<td>beg</td>
<td>be able, complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ghal-</em></td>
<td>pour, put, insert</td>
<td>request, request sb to do something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dōr-</em></td>
<td>put</td>
<td>immediately, instant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cah-</em></td>
<td>look</td>
<td>continuity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lag-</em></td>
<td>befit, stick</td>
<td>examine, experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pa-</em></td>
<td>get</td>
<td>begin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bañ-</em></td>
<td>is, exist</td>
<td>be allowed to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puñ-</em></td>
<td>reach</td>
<td>have to, slight necessity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loj-</em></td>
<td>put on</td>
<td>result, completion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cause somebody to do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All these vectors, though limited, are idiosyncratic in nature; their occurrences are selective depending upon the structure of the pole. The suffixes which give different forms to the pole affect the occurrence of the vectors. Out of them, two vectors sŏk-, and deh- can occur following two types of verb forms: the absolutive and infinitive. In both situation, the meaning of the vector differs.

(1) a. purnā-i bhat kha-i sŏk-ik (completion )
Purn-E rice eat-ABS complete-PST3s
'Purna completed the task of eating rice.'
b. purnā-i bhat kha-e sŏk-tai (ability )
Purna-E rice eat-INF be able-PRES3s
'Purna is able to eat rice.'

In (1a), the doer finished his task with the given time. But in (1b) the meaning of the verbal complex will be that the doer has gained ability to eat rice (perhaps he is no more too young not to be given solid food, or he was sick and now he has recovered and, has revived his strength to digest solid food).

(2) a. mēi okhrai cīThi lekh-i deh-in
I-E him letter write-ABS give-PST1s
'I wrote a letter for his sake'
b. mēi okhrai cīThi lekh-e deh-in
I-E him letter write-INF allow-PST1s
'I allowed him to write a letter'

In the sentence (2a) deh- provides meaning of benefactive function, the task is for other's sake. But in (2b) deh- which is preceded by infinitive verb form, presents meaning that somebody is permitted or allowed to write a letter.

Out of the remnants in the list, each vector is determined to follow the single specified verb form. The vectors cha6-, rēh-, a-, ghal-, dhār-, cah-, pug-, and mag- necessarily occur following the absolutive form of the verb. One of the vectors gēr- occurs after the future participle -lāhar which is suffixed to the verb; and rest of the vectors occur after the infinitive form of the verb.

(3) moro buba-i rōksi kha-i ghal-ik
my father-E wine eat-ABS do away-PST3s
'My father drank wine any way.'
(4) \textit{ram-i kam g\=or-i r\=oh-ik}
\textit{Ram-E job do-ABS continue-PST3s}
'Ram kept on doing the job'

(5) \textit{kam-i \textit{s\=i\=n\=a\=\textbar ke boi-han-ko neta man-i au-lo ba\textbar T-hu}}
\textit{we-E Santa-D Bote-PI-GEN leader regard continue-PERF be-PRES1PI}
'We have been regarding Santa as a leader of Bote people'

(6) \textit{daji D\=onDa ja-i cha\=D-ik}
\textit{brother Danda go-ABS determine-PST3s}
'Brother went Danda anyway/ definitely.'

(7) \textit{suk kam g\=or-i dh\=o\=r-l-aT-i}
\textit{Suk job do-ABS keep-PERF-be-PRES3s}
'Suk kept on doing the job'

(8) \textit{e chau\=Da, ise r\=e\=ks\=i kha\=i-cah}
\textit{O ! boy, this wine eat-ABS examine-IMP}
'O boy, examine this wine by drinking.'
[ Have an experiment how it is ]

(9) \textit{suman gh\=o\=r a-i pug-ik ?}
\textit{Suman home come-ABS reach-PST3s}
'Did Suman arrive home ?'

(10) \textit{mo\=i ise kam g\=or-i mag-in}
\textit{I-E this job do-ABS request-PST1s}
'I asked to do this job for my sake.'

The sentences (4) and (7) seem almost similar in English translation. In (5) the verb \textit{a-} is preferred to be with perfect aspect. Sentence (11) gives the meaning of habit.

(11) \textit{mo\=i iskul ge-la\=har g\=o\=r-ti}
\textit{I school go-FUT PTPL have habit-PRES1s}
'I generally go to school.'
[It is general task to go to school ]

Though future participial \textit{-lahar} occurs as in (11), it does not indicate necessarily futurity only, but also general habit.

Now, rest of the vectors follow infinitive form of the verb. They are \textit{khoj-}, \textit{p\=or-}, \textit{l\=ag-}, \textit{pa-}, \textit{ba\textbar T-}, and \textit{l\=oga-}. Examples are as follows:
(12) *ram-i khat kha-e khoj-ik*
Ram-E rice eat-INF try-PST3s
'Ram tried to have meal (rice)'
[Ram had desire to eat rice]

(13) *mēi ghōr ja-e pōr-tai*
I home go-INF must-PST3s
'I have to go home'

(14) *mōri-ma ja-e khoj-tai*
temple-L go-INF be proper-PRES3s
'It is proper to go to temple / to visit temple'

(15) *buha bagkhor ja-e lōg-ik*
father Bagkhor go-INF begin-PST3s
'Father is ready to go to Bagkhor'

(16) *mōi māchō kho-e pa-in*
I-E fish eat-INF allow-PST1s
'I was allowed to eat fish'

(17) *mōi ja-e baT-i*
I go-INF have to-PRES3s
'I have to go'

(18) *mōi okhrat khet kho-e lēga-in*
I-E him farm dig-INF cause-PST3s
'I caused him to dig the farm.'

As mentioned above, the occurrence of vector is determined by the form of pole, i.e., which suffix it bears. Here, in the following table, the vectors listed along with suffixes to which they can follow.

**Table : The participle suffixes in verb compounding**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Vector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>deh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>rōh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lahar</td>
<td>gōr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>khoj-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>pōr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All the vectors presented above are main verbs in Bote, 'be' verbs function as existential and identificational, *hokh-* is also 'be' verb to describe universal and general truth. Now, here is the list of sentences in which all vectors are used as main verb. Here, they give their inherent or basic lexical meaning different from vector meaning:

(19)  
\textit{purnê-i kam sêk-ik}

Purna-E work finish-PST3s

'Purna finished the work'

(20)  
\textit{môi okhrai kô{lôm} deh-in}

I-E him pen give-PST1s

'I gave him a pen.'

(21)  
\textit{sêntô ghôr a-ik}

Santa home come-PST3s

'Santa came home.'

(22)  
\textit{ram-i rôksi chaD-ik}

Ram-E wine leave-PST3s

'Ram left wine (somewhere) / Ram gave up the habit of drinking.'

(23)  
\textit{chôuna-i film cah-ik}

Son-E cinema watch-PST3s

'Son watched a film.'

(24)  
\textit{sumôn iskul pug-ik}

Suman school reach-PST3s
'Suman reached school.'

(25) mōri bhat pug-ik
me rice be enough-PST3s
'Rice is enough for me [I will eat no more].'  

Sentences (9) and (24) show proximity in meaning, but (9) and (25) do not share such proximity in meaning. *pug-* in (25) indicates 'be enough'.

(26) ram-i mačho mag-tai
Ram-E fish beg-PRES3s
'Ram begs fish.'

(27) mōi kam gōr-ti
I work do-PRES1s
'I do work / I work.'

(28) mōi kam khoj-ti
I job search-PST1s
'I search a job [I am in search of a job].'  

(29) narayani-ma mačho hokh-tai
Narayani-L fish be-PST3s
'A fish is in Narayani.'
[ There is a fish in Narayani ]

(30) bagkhor-ma boT-han baś-ai
Bagkhor-L Bote-Pi be-PRES3PI
'Bote people are in Bagkhor.'
[ There are Bote people in Bagkhor ]

(31) mōi luga lōga-in
I-E cloth put on-PST1s
'I put on dress.'

(32) luga-ma rōṇ log-ik
cloth-L color stick-PST3s
'Color stuck on the cloth.'

(33) aj pani pūr-tai
today water fall-PRES3s
'It will rain today.'

(34) bècca ghōr-ma rōṅ-tai
child home-L remain-PRES3s
'Child remains at home.'
(35) tēi pāïsa pat-er?
you-E money get-PST2s
'Did you get money?'
Apart from compound verb, Bote has other ways of constructing complex
verbal stem. In the examples (1-18) verbs are combined with the help of participle
suffixes -i, -e and -lahar. Besides, -ikōnō and -ihi are used to combine verbs to
obtain the complex verbal stem. But in this case, unlike in (1-18), each verb
presents its lexical meaning, none of the verb is grammaticalized.

(36) mōi okhra ciTThi lekhikōnā deh-in
I-E him letter write-CONJ give-PST1s
'I wrote a letter and gave it to him.'
(37) sita gau-tith jā-iik
Sita sing-CONJ go-PST3s
'Sita went singing [Sita was busy singing as she went].'

The absolutive -i marker can also be used as conjunctive.

(38) mōi okhra ciTThi lekh-i deh-in
I-E him letter write-CONJ give-PST1s
'I wrote a letter and gave it to him'

In (38), the meaning can be benefactive too. But, to have that feature
there should not be pause after the absolutive marker, -i. If there is pause after
lekh-i, it is generally understood that there occur two events: first the occurrence of
'writing', then of 'giving'. So, the sentence (2a) and (38) bear different meanings.

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
<th>IMP- Imperative</th>
<th>INF- Infinitive marker</th>
<th>L- Locative</th>
<th>Pl-Plural</th>
<th>PRES-Present</th>
<th>PERF- Perfect</th>
<th>PST-PAST</th>
<th>s- Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS- Absolutive</td>
<td>CONJ- Conjunctive Participle</td>
<td>D- Dative</td>
<td>E- Ergative</td>
<td>FUT- Future Participle</td>
<td>GEN- Genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


Clause Combining in Tamang

Krishna Prasad Chalise
Ratna Rajya Campus

Introduction

In every language, there exists different systems of combining basic forms to form more complex forms. Clause combining is one of the systems which integrates different situations establishing different types of logical relations between and among the individual clauses.

Clause combining is much productive in Tamang. Long sentences made up of several clauses are frequently found in Tamang discourse. We can understand how productive the system is from the following example (1).

(1) cu le-en-y yhulsa ca: tiret tpah ta-sye-eno
this way also EMP country emp one day two day become-POT also
yar-ma-m the-ni-ce yhulsa-la mih-da tigai
going-CONC-EMP he-PI-ERG country-GEN man-DAT nothing
a-pin-si charmon rha-n-ce nu jor-jim yhulsa
NEG-give-SEQ all self-ERG-emp grasp-CP country
cal pran-jim yarbore-ba mu-ba-se yhul-min-kade-ce
EMP bare-CP ugly be-NOM1 cause country-man-PL-ERG
cal-ba wan-ba yona a-yaiq-bala, bih-si
eat-NOM1 wear-NOM1 sufficient NEG-get-NOM2 say-SEQ
la-h yhulsa debacan-ri jamburi q-rul-nu li q-ngi-ji
god country heaven-LOC earth-LOC-EMP vibrate-go-PST

"In this way the country became poor and poor; they did not give any thing to the people and grasped all the things themselves. People got nothing to eat and wear and country became ugly. This matter was expanded all over the world and the heaven."

My attempt in this paper is to discuss the adverbial and nominalized clauses in Tamang. The combinations involve one independent and one or more dependent clauses. Normally, the independent clause comes in the final position of the sentence.

The following table shows adverbial and nominalized clause types and their markers.

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol-17, pp., 77-90.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Types</th>
<th>Markers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>-le + emo 'also'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>&lt;jim/cim, -si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concurrent</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalized Clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Construction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Nominalized Clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>-pal-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>-pal-ba-ri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Adverbial Clauses

Tamang clauses, if they are marked with some morphemes, are changed into adverbials. The different morphemes have their own semantic content as well as idiosyncratic syntactic features. They are described below in detail.

1.1 Conditional

Conditional relation between two clauses is marked with the morpheme (\(-sam\)). It immediately follows the verb stem.

(2) a. e-ce \(\text{pa-sam}\) \(\text{pa kha-sye}\)
    you-ERG call-COND I come-POT
    'If you call, I will come.'

b. \(\text{the kha-sam}\) \(\text{pa-ce}\) \(\text{pa pim-ba}\)
    he come-COND I-ERG money give-NPT1
    'If he comes, I will give money.'

c. \(\text{the kha-sam,}\) \(\text{pa nyi-ba}\)
    he come COND I go-NPT1
    'If he comes, I will go.'

\((-sam\) indicates the condition that if the first event takes place, only then second event takes place. It is a relation of cause and effect. The non-finite clause always indicates the cause and finite one indicates the effect of the cause.

The two clauses are much more independent of each other. However, one of the coreferential arguments in two clauses can be deleted. The deleted arguments are enclosed in parentheses in (3).

(3) \(\text{the-ce (pa; da) pu\(\_\)sam,}\) \(\text{pa-}\text{ce (he; da) pu\(\_\)ba}\)
    he-ERG (I-DAT) hit-COND, I-ERG (he-DAT) hit-NPT1
    'If he hits me, I will hit him.'
the and *pa are coreferential in (3). So, *pa is deleted from the first clause and the is deleted from the second clause. The deletion can take place in any clause.

This construction can never be marked for past tense.

(4) *the-da to:n-sam *pa-ce do:h-pin-ji
he-DAT need-COND I-ERG give back-give-PST

'I had needed, I would have given.'

(4) is an ungrammatical construction. In such construction, only the non-
past tense is permitted. The tense aspect of the non-finite clause is governed by the

tense-aspect form of finite verb.

(5) a. *pa-ni-ce sye-sam e:da lop-pin-la
I-PI-ERG know-COND you-DAT teach-give-NPT2

'If we know, we will teach you.'

b. *pa-ni-ce sye-sam e:da lop-pin-ha-la
I-PI-ERG know-COND you-DAT teach-give-NPT1-Perf

'If we had known, we would have taught you.'

In the examples (5a, b), the non-finite clauses are exactly the same but they are differently interpreted because the tense-aspect forms of finite clauses are different. In sentence (5a) the finite verb is in non-past habitual form and the non-
finitive verb is interpreted in the same way. In sentence (5b) the finite verb is in non-
past perfect form referring to past time, so the non-finite verb is interpreted in the

same way.

1.2 Concessive

Concessive clauses are marked with the morpheme (-le) immediately following the verb stem (-le) is immediately followed by eno 'also'.

(6) a. yokko dukkha la-le eno, namsha-da ca-ha a-yo
very much labour do-CONS also people-DAT eat-INF NEG-get

'In spite of hard labour, people don't get to eat.'

b. the-ce atyacar la-le eno, *pa tai eno a-paγ
he-ERG injustice do-CONS also I something also NEG-say

'Although he did injustice, I spoke nothing.

Concessive construction indicates contradiction between two clauses. The first clause indicates the non-favourable condition for the event that the second

clause indicates.

If there are coreferential arguments in both clauses one of them can be deleted from any of these clause. The deleted arguments are enclosed in parentheses in (7).
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(7)  a. the-ce (ŋa-da) pan-le eno; ŋa-a-nyi
    he-ERG (I-DAT) say-CONS also I NEG-go
    'However he told me, I did not go.'
 b. e:-ce (the-dà) brigu, pin-le eno, the-ce (brigu) a-kin
    you-ERG (he-DAT) pen give-CONS also he-ERG (pen) NEG-take
    'Although you gave him a pen, he didn't take it.'

pan is a transitive verb, so it takes two arguments. But there is only one argument of this verb in (7a). Another argument of the verb is ŋa which that is coreferential to that of second clause and that is deleted. Similarly in (7b) the verb pin 'give' is ditransitive and kin 'take' is transitive. One argument of pin is the 'he' that is deleted in first clause because it is coreferential to the 'he' of second clause. Same case is with the deleted argument of kin 'take', i.e., brigu 'pen'.

The tense-aspect forms of the non-finite clauses are governed by the tense-aspect form of the finite clause.

(8)  a. apa-ce a-par-le eno, jame-ce khu sai-ji
    father-ERG NEG-say-CONS also daughter-ERG vegetable clean-PST
    'Although the father did not say, the daughter cleaned the vegetable.'
 b. apa-ce a-par-le eno, jame-ce khu sai-ba
    father-ERG NEG-say-CONS also daughter-ERG vegetable clean-NPT1
    'Although the father does not say, the daughter cleans the vegetable.'

1.3 Temporal

Temporal relationship between two clauses is marked with three different morphemes. The different morphemes have their own idiosyncratic features and show different types of temporal relationships.

1.3.1 Sequential

Sequential relationship between two clauses is found in most of the languages of South Asia. The morpheme that indicates this relation is popularly called 'conjunctive participle' (CP).

Sequential relationship between two clauses is indicated in Tamang with the morpheme (-jim), or (- cim). The morpheme immediately follows the verb stem. The sequential relation indicates that the second event takes place after the completion of the first event.

(9)   a. rp-ci ken co-jim ciya thuŋ-ba
    I-ERG rice eat-CP tea drink-NPT1
    'Having eaten rice, I drink tea.'
 b. the-ce pustak pin-jim nvi-ji
    he-ERG book give-CP go-PST
    'Having given book, he went.'
The coreferential arguments can be deleted in any clause. The deleted arguments are kept in parentheses in (10).

(10) a. *the-ni, -ce byaŋ tam seorph-jim (the-ni), kha-ji
    he-PI-ERG false matter make-CP (he-PI) come-PST
    'They came having made false matter.'

b. ram-ce, Taŋa kin-jim (ram-ce), ral pim-ba-la
    Ram-ERG money take-CP (ram-ERG) goat give-NPT1-PERF
    'Ram has given goat after I taking money.'

In sentence (10a) the argument of the verb *kha 'come' is *the-ni 'they'. That is deleted because it is coreferential with the preceding clause. Similarly in (10b) the agent of second clause, that is *ram, is deleted.

All types clauses cannot be combined together with the help of the conjunctive participle. Only the clauses that indicate two events that are logical to occur in sequence can be combined.

(11) *ram-ce rah-da lahp-cim hari dihm-ri nyi-ji
    Ram-ERG goat-DAT chase-CP Hari home-LOC go-PST
    'Hari went home after Ram chased goat.'

This is unacceptable in general sense. But sometimes the context can make the combination logical. (11) could be acceptable if Hari had gone to home because of the cause of Ram's action.

The tense-aspect forms of the non-finite clauses are governed by the verb of the finite clause.

(12) a. *ram-da pur-ram hari nyi-ji
    Ram-DAT hit-CP Hari go-PST
    'Hari went after hitting Ram.'

b. *ram-da pur-ram hari nyi-la
    Ram-DAT hit-CP Hari go-NPT2
    'Hari will go after hitting Ram.'

(ram) is composed of (ram) the past tense marker and (pi nem) the inferential marker. (ram) shows that the first situation always occurs prior to the second one. The first is marked with the past tense marker because when the second event takes place, the first has already become past event.

There is another morpheme in Tamang that combines two clauses establishing sequential relationship between them. The morpheme (pi) connects two clauses referring to two events that took place in sequence. The event of the non-finite clause is prior to that of the second, but it does not indicate any thing
whether the second event takes place after the completion of the first or while it is in progress.

(13)  a. dihm-nam soh-ba-ri bah-si kha-bala
    house-REDUP establish-NOM1-PURP say-SEQU come-NOM2
    mih-la ar-si-sa sahar kor-ba-ri kha-ji
    man-GEN expect-do-SEQU town wander-NOM1-PURP come-PST
    'We came to the town believing on unknown person expecting to settle down there.'
    b. kale-da dot nah-pu-qi si the namsa-ri kha-ji
    kale-DAT load carry-PERM-SEQU he village-LOC come-PST
    'He came to the village having carried the load by Kale.'

1.3.2 Concurrent

The concurrent relationship between two clauses is indicated by the morpheme <-ma>. The morpheme combines two clauses such that two events take place simultaneously.

(14)  a. ra-ce ken ca-ma the-ce civa thuq-ba
    I-ERG rice eat-CONC he-ERG tea drink-NPT1
    'When I eat rice, he drinks tea.'
    b. ra kriq-ma the rap-Ti-ba-la
    I shout-CONC he stand Prog-NPT1-PERF
    'When I shouted he was standing.'

The coreferential arguments can be deleted in any clauses. The deleted arguments are enclosed in parentheses in (15).

(15)  a. ra-ce, ken ca-ma (ra-ce), the-do puri-jii
    I-ERG rice eat-CONC he-DAT hit-PST
    'I hit him while I was eating rice.'
    b. (the-ce), (ra-ce), ken ca-ma, ra-ce, the-do, puri-jii
    (he-ERG)(I-ERG) rice eat CONC I-ERG he-DAT hit-PST
    'I hit him while I was eating rice.'
    'I hit him while he was eating rice.'

The deletion may cause ambiguity. Sentence (15b) is ambiguous. The ambiguity can be disambiguated by the context.

The tense-aspect form of the non-finite clause is governed by the verb of the finite clause.

(16)  a. ra-ce donq su-:ma the-ce mendo su-:ji
    I-ERG plant plant-CONC he-ERG flower plant-PST
    'When I planted a plant he planted a flower.'
b. ṭa-ce dorbo su:-ma the-ce mendo su:-ṭi-bo-la
   l-ERG plant plant-CONC he-ERG flower plant-PROS-NPT1-PERF
   'When I was planting a plant, he was planting a flower.'

c. ṭa-ce dorbo su:-ma the-ce mendo su:-ba
   l-ERG plant plant-CONC he-ERG flower plant-NPT1
   'When I plant a plant he plants a flower.'

2 Nominalized Clauses

A nominalized clause is formed by suffixing a nominalizing morpheme to the verb stem. The nominalizing morphemes are the suffixes which are also the TAM markers. There are three nominalizing morphemes, i. (<-pa/-ba), ii. (<-pala/-bala) and iii. (<-sve). They are called here as nominalizer 1 (NOM1), nominalizer 2 (NOM2) and nominalizer 3 (NOM3).

NOM1: (<-pa/-ba)

NOM1 immediately follows the verb stem.

(17) a. bajar nvi-ba mih cu-ri kha-ji
   bazaar go-NOM1 man here come-PST
   'The man who used to go the marked came here.'

b. ken ca-ba mih-da ṭa-ce puri-ji
   rice eat-NOM1 man-DAT l-ERG hit-PST
   'I hit the man who used to eat rice.'

c. cyan set-pa naki syi-la
   tiger kill-NOM1 dog die-NPT2
   'The dog which kills tiger will die.'

The tense of the nominalized clause is governed by the finite verb of the sentence, but the nominalizer has its own aspect marker. (<-pa/-ba) also indicates habitual aspect. In (17a) and (17b), NOM1 indicates past habit and in (17c) non-past habit.

NOM2: (<-pala/-bala)

NOM2 also immediately follows the verb stem.

(18) a. bajar nvi-bala mih curi kha-ji
   bazaar go-NOM2 man here come-PST
   'The man who had gone to the market came here.'

b. ken ca-bala mih-da ṭa-ce puri-ji
   rice eat-NOM2 man-DAT l-ERG hit-PST
   'I hit the man who had eaten rice.'

c. cyan set-pala naki syi-la
   tiger kill-NOM2 dog die-NPT2
   'The dog which has killed the tiger will die.'
The tense of the nominalized clause is governed by the finite verb of the sentence but NOM2 always retains its own aspect. It always indicates the perfect aspect with respect to the time referred to by the finite verb. In (18a,b), NOM2 indicates the perfect of past and in (18c), the perfect of non-past.

NOM3: (-sye)

NOM3 immediately follows the verb stem likewise.

(19)

a. bajar nyr-sye mih curi kha-ji
   bazaar go-NOM3 man here come-PST
   'The man who would go to the bazaar came here.'

b. ken ca-sye mih-da r̪a-ce purj-ji
   rice eat-NOM3 man-DAT I-ERG hit-PST
   'I hit the man who would eat rice.'

c. cyan set-sye naki kha-Ti-ba
   tiger kill-POT dog come-Prog-NPT1
   'The dog that will kill the tiger is coming.'

The tense is governed by the finite verb of the sentence, but NOM 3 retains its modality.

2.1 The Use of the Nominalized Clauses

I. It can be the subject of a sentence.

(20)

a. par-ha-ce namthar syet-ci
   say-NOM1-ERG story tell-PST
   'The speaker told a story.'

b. gyalam-ri brah-bala-da thā-ṟu:k-o
   road-LOC walk NOM2-DAT PROH-tease-IMP
   'Don't tease that one who walks on the road.'

c. dorhō thā:-sye kha-bu[h]-pa
   tree cut-NOM3 come-COMPT-NPT1
   'That one who will cut tree comes already.'

II. It can be the object of a sentence.

(21)

a. pulis-ce dorhō thā:-ha-da curj-ji
   police-ERG tree cut-NOM1 DAT catch-PST
   'The police caught the wood cutter.'

b. r̪a-ce kha-bala-da Tārā pur-jī
   I-ERG come-NOM2-DAT money give-PST
   'I gave money to the comer.'
III. It can be a noun modifier.

(22) a. ji: thuŋ-ba miŋ syi-jj
   wine drink-NOMT1 man die-PST
   'The man who used to drink wine died.'

b. syi-ba-la cyan a-brah-ba
   die-NOM2 tiger NEG-walk-NPT1
   'The dead tiger does not walk.'

c. sya tha-ba miŋ-ce rah set-la
   meat cut-NOM1 man-ERG goat kill-NPT2
   'The person who cuts meat kills a goat.'

d. ṭa-ce Taŋa pim-ba-la miŋ-da the-ce ṭo-či
   l-ERG money give-NOM2 man-DAT he-ERG tease-PST
   'He teased the man who I had given money to.'

e. apa-ce paŋ-ba-da Taŋa pim-či
   father-ERG say-NOM1-DAT money give-PST
   'The father gave money to the person who said.'

f. the-ni-ce lundi set-sye noki-da cyu-či
   he-PI-ERG fox kill-NOM3 dog-DAT look-PST
   'They looked the dog that would kill a fox.'

2.2 Some Special Constructions of Nominalized Clauses

2.2.1 Purposive

The purposive construction indicates that one action is performed for the sake of another action. The purpose marking morpheme in Tamang is (-ri). It immediately follows the NOM1 in nominalized clause.

(23) a. the ken ca-ba-ri uyi-či
   he rice eat-NOM1-PURP go-PST
   'He went to eat rice.'

b. ṭaŋa maŋa sep-pa-ri Ti-ča
   we(INC) bear kill-NOM1-PURP stay-NPT1
   'We stay to kill a bear.'

c. the-ce ṭa-da pim-ba-ri Taŋa ruh-pči
   he-ERG l-DAT give-NOM1-PURP money save-PST
   'He saved money in order to give me.'
The case marking of the subject of this construction is governed by the finite verb. In (23a,b) the finite verbs are intransitive but the non-finite verbs are transitive and in (23c) both finite and non-finite verbs are transitive. In each of the cases the case marking of the subject is determined by the finite verb.

The tense-aspect form of the nonfinite clause is governed by the finite verb.

\[(24)\]

a. \(\text{ŋa kyi-l-ba}-\text{rī nyi-ji}\)
   I swim-NOM1-PURP go-PST
   'I went to swim.'

b. \(\text{ŋa kyi-l-ba}-\text{rī nyi-ri}\)
   I swim-NOM1-PURP go-NPT1
   'I go to swim.'

2.2.2 Infinitive

Infinitive clause is marked with the morpheme -(pa/-ba), immediately following the verb stem.

\[(25)\]

\text{jambuliŋ-la tam jyaba le go-ba, bidya-the}\n\text{word-GEN matter beautiful way understand-INF education-COM}
\text{jyaba}
\text{beautiful}
\text{tam-ce chyo-do-ba sarge-la gun mu-ba}
\text{matter-OBLI full-nice-INF Buddha-GEN character be-NPT1}
'To understand the matter of the world well, and to be full of noble matter with education are the characteristics of Buddha.'

Infinitive clauses can be the complements to copula verb.

\[(26)\]

a. \(\text{mih-ma-ce cyan-marg tu set-pa jyaba a-re}\)
   man-Pl-ERG tiger-bear kill-INF good NEG-be
   'It is not good for men to kill tiger and bear.'

b. \(\text{ronchaŋ jyaba tam la-ba gyapa a-jyaba tam}\)
   in front good matter do-INF back NEG-good matter
   la-pa mih-ma-da jyaba a-re
   do-INF man-Pl-DAT good NEG-be
   'It is not good for men to behave well in front (of somebody) and to behave bad in the absence.'

c. \(\text{sun su-ba, sarpa su-sa, timrung lahp-pa tarp-la}\)
   paddy plant-INF, millet plant-INF monkey chase-INF we-GEN
g-ei mui-la
   work be-NPT2
   'To plant paddy and millet, and to chase monkey are our works.'
If the verb marked with infinitive marker is followed by a modal verb, the infinitive marker is deleted.

(27) a. e-ce mrap tho ni-do:-ba
    you-ERG door open-NECE-NPT1
    'You have to open the door.'

b. rga gli nga? ri kret-kham-la
    I himalaya-LOC climb-ABIL-NPT2
    'I can climb the himalaya.'

The infinitive can have arguments of its own.

(28) a. the-ce Tanpa nu-ba jvaba mu-ba
    he-ERG money save-INF good be-NPT1
    'It is good for him to save money.'

b. (rua ni-ce) raa set-pa rpa ni-la rimThim a-re
    (we-ERG) goat kill-INF we(INC)-GEN culture NEG-be
    'To kill goat is not our culture.'

In (28a) the finite verb is intransitive but there are two arguments in the sentence. Tanpa is not the argument of the finite verb mu, but of the non-finite verb nu. Similarly, the is the common argument of both of the verbs. In (28b) one argument of the non-finite verb set is deleted because that is correlative.

Tense-aspect form of the infinitive clause is governed by the tense-aspect form of the finite verb of the sentence.

(29) a. jvaba ca-ba, jvaba thu? ba, the-la pe mu-ba
    good eat-INF good drink-INF he-GEN tradition be-NPT1
    'Eating good things and drinking good thing are his tradition.'

3 Conclusion

Clause chaining is an important feature of Tamang. A complex sentence can be formed of a chain of clauses. The clauses can be classified into adverbial and nominalized on the basis of their function in syntax. The adverbial clauses can be divided into conditionals, concessive and temporal. The conditional clause is marked with the morpheme (-sam). It indicates that the first situation is the condition for the second situation to be fulfilled. Concessive clause is marked with morpheme <-le> immediately following the verb stem. <-le> is immediately followed by eno 'also' in this construction. It indicates the contradiction between two situations. Temporal clause shows the temporal relation between two situations. They can be divided into sequential and concurrent clauses on the basis of the relationship they establish. Sequential relationship can be established by two morphemes (-cil/-jim) and (-st). The first indicates that the second situation takes place after the completion of the first situation. The second one indicates that the
second situation takes place after the first situation, but it does not demand that the first situation be complete. The concurrent relationship is marked with (ʹma). It indicates that two situations take place at the same time.

Nominalized clause is formed suffixing the nominalizing suffixes to the verb stem. The nominalizing suffixes are: (ʹpal-boa) (NOM1), (ʹpalal-bala) (NOM2) and (ʹsye) (NOM3) which are also TAM marking suffixes. The suffixes lose their tense when they are used as nominalizer, but they retain their aspect. The nominalized clauses can be the subject or object of a sentence or noun modifier. Purposive clause and infinitive clauses the special constructions of the nominalized clause. Purposive is marked with the morpheme (ʹrl) suffixing into nominalized verb and infinitive marker is NOM1 which is suffixed directly to the verb stem. A whole sentence can be nominalized with the help of the nominalizers. When the whole sentence is nominalized it functions as the complement to the copula.

### Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
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Distinctions in Meaning

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Men, birds and animals communicate between their fellow beings. Communication can take place through one of the five media or channels of communication (auditory, visual, olfactory, gustatory and tactile) corresponding to the five modes of perception (hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and feeling) which, in turn, corresponds to the five sensory organs (ear, eye, nose, tongue and skin). Communication systems have evolved naturally and spontaneously in course of time. People have also designed artificial systems of communication based on natural languages. Communication may be effected linguistically or non-linguistically, orally or manually. Communication may take place in the form of an art such as music, dance or painting. Literature is another powerful means of self-expression. The scientific study of all these kinds and varieties of communication - human and non-human, natural and artificial, linguistic and non-linguistic, verbal and non-verbal, oral and manual -- is called semiotics. In other words, semiotics is the scientific study of signs and symbols in general. Semiotics is also known as semiology, semeciology, semasiology and significs. Sometimes semiotics is distinguished from zoosemiotics, the former dealing with human communication systems and the latter with animal communication systems.

A communication system can be studied from different points of view: physical, physiological, neurological, psychological, sociological, anthropological, philosophical, logical, aesthetic etc. No matter, from which point of view it is studied, the study has to deal with the two main aspects of the system: form and meaning. The study of the meaning aspect of the system is known as semantics.

* This is an introductory paper of theoretical nature on one of the core areas of semantics: distinctions in meaning. It is a part of our book: Shapit and Basnyat (Forthcoming). The paper begins with an introduction to the study of meaning in the context of the study of communication systems in general. It then turns to the study of meaning in language and makes a survey of different types of distinctions in meaning.

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other words, semantics is the study of meaning in general. Here semantics is used in the broad sense and it forms a branch of semiotics. Semantics is also used in the narrow sense where it means the study of meaning in language. Semantics in this sense constitutes a part of linguistics. This distinction between **broad semantics** and **narrow semantics** is sometimes described as **philosophical semantics** and **linguistic semantics**.

Traditionally, semiotics has been divided into three branches: **syntactics** which deals with the formal aspect, **semantics** which deals with the meaning aspect and **pragmatics** which deals with variations in meaning in relation to the use of the language.

The notion of meaning is vast, complex and fluid. It is extremely difficult to say what meaning is or what exactly constitutes meaning. Many philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, logicians and linguists have tried to explore the world of meaning, but the deeper they delved into it, the more they have come to realize that it is, in fact, unfathomable. So the meaning of 'meaning' in its entirety will perhaps remain indeterminate. As the discipline of semantics is still in its infancy, it will not be an exaggeration to say that the works in this field have so far dealt with only the tip of the iceberg of meaning. This paper does not pretend to delve much deeper either. It tries to present only a few fundamental concepts, types, aspects and shades of meaning, particularly the ones associated with words or lexical items with a view to highlighting the main features of contrast in meaning. As it is intended for general readers, a deliberate effort is made to make it simple and explicit with plenty of illustrations.

Meaning can be classified from a number of points of view. Consequently, different types of meaning have been established. Leech (1974) talks of seven types of meaning and according to Ogden and Richards (1923) at least twenty-three types of meaning can be posited. The paper follows a slightly different approach. Instead of talking about types of meaning, it talks about types of distinctions in meaning. This approach is somewhat similar to the one adopted in Lyons (1981).

Meaning distinctions can be made from different angles: basic/extensional, cause/effect, cognitive/emotive, concrete/abstract, contextual (context-bound) / non-contextual (context-free), core/peripheral, explicit/implicit, factual/functional, general/specific, literal/implied, part/whole, relational/referential, speaker/hearer, subjective/objective etc. The paper examines some of them.

1. **Linguistic Meaning and Speaker Meaning**

A statement can be said to have two types of meaning: (i) the objective propositional meaning as stated by the statement and (ii) its subjective overtones
and undertones. The first type of meaning is its linguistic meaning and the second type is its speaker meaning. For instance, in the statement “I am hungry” the literal meaning referring to the physical state of being of the speaker is its linguistic meaning and the implied meaning of “Give me something to eat” is its speaker meaning.

2. Sentence Meaning and Utterance Meaning
Sentences are units of langue and utterances are instances of parole. Sentence meaning, therefore, refers to the meaning expressed by the sentence in isolation and in accordance with the code of the language. An utterance, on the other hand, conveys or reveals a great many shades of meaning some of which are as follows:

1. Information about the speaker’s personality, e.g. the speaker’s sex, age, social status, educational background, the place or region he/she comes from, the community he/she belongs to etc.

2. Information about his/her mental and emotional states of being, e.g. whether he/she is mature or immature, stupid or intelligent, angry, sad or delighted etc.

3. Information about his/her beliefs and attitudes, e.g. whether he/she views something as good or bad, right or wrong, beautiful or ugly; whether he/she is rude or polite, sincere or pretending, straightforward or sarcastic, positive or negative etc.

Sentence meaning together with all these additional shades of meaning constitutes the utterance meaning, which, in addition, includes the speaker’s meaning as well. This all-inclusiveness quality makes the utterance meaning much more vast and complex than the sentence meaning.

3. Word Meaning and Sentence Meaning
Word meaning and sentence meaning are self-explanatory to a great extent. Since a sentence is made up of words, the sentence meaning is also made up of word-meanings. This is an obvious fact. What is not so obvious is the fact that although the words of a sentence exhaust the structure of the sentence, the meanings of the words of the sentence do not exhaust the meaning of the sentence. The sentence meaning is always more than the sum total of the meanings of its constituent words. This extra meaning is called the grammatical meaning of the sentence and it is this meaning that distinguishes the meanings of pairs of sentences like the one given below:

*The mongoose killed the snake.*

*The snake killed the mongoose.*
4. Lexical Meaning and Grammatical Meaning

Broadly speaking, there are two types of meaning: lexical meaning and grammatical meaning. The former refers to the referential meaning of content words and the latter refers to the sense that conveys a piece of grammatical information or shows a grammatical relationship between linguistic items. For instance, the word 'cows' can be said to have at least three different meanings: (i) a particular type of animal, (ii) more than one in number and (iii) a noun. Of these meanings, the first one is a lexical meaning and the other two are grammatical meanings. Let us look at the above pair of sentences once again:

The mongoose killed the snake.
The snake killed the mongoose.

These sentences, or, to be more specific, the content words of the sentences have the same lexical meaning, but they differ in their grammatical meaning. The word 'mongoose' in these two sentences has the same lexical meaning (a small rat-like tropical animal with fur that kills snakes, birds, rats etc.), but different grammatical meanings ('subject' and 'object', or 'actor' and 'undergoer' respectively). The same thing applies to the word 'snake' as well. Now look at another pair of sentences:

The mongoose killed the snake.
The eagle killed the snake.

These sentences have the same grammatical meaning, but different lexical meanings. The difference in their lexical meanings is caused by the difference in the lexical meanings of the words 'mongoose' and 'snake'. Now let us look at the third pair of sentences:

The mongoose killed the snake.
The snake was killed by the mongoose.

These two sentences, like the first pair, also have the same lexical meaning but different grammatical meanings. Similarly, each of the following pairs of underlined expressions has a common lexical meaning, but different grammatical meanings:

I have a book. I have several books.

She is tall. She is the tallest girl in the class.

He is sick. He is not sick.

He is sick. Is he sick? or He is sick?
That is to say, grammatical meaning includes all sorts of non-lexical meanings, such as meanings associated with various grammatical categories like gender, number, case, tense, aspect etc. (usually expressed by inflectional endings or word order); concepts of negation, interrogation, voice etc. (usually expressed by intonation or function words and/or word order); relational, conjunctival, specifical meanings (expressed respectively by prepositions or postpositions, conjunctions, determiners and classifiers) etc.

Underlying the concept of lexical meaning is the concept of the *lexeme*—the smallest abstract unit in the (lexical) meaning system of a language. The words ‘prove’, ‘proves’, ‘proved’, ‘proven’ and ‘proving’ share the same lexeme PROVE and each of the words, including ‘prove’, is a grammatical variant of that lexeme. This distinction is sometimes conveyed by saying that the above set of words has one lexical word, but five grammatical or morphological words. The word PROVE carries or conveys the lexical meaning and the suffixes ‘-s’, ‘-ed’, ‘-en’ and ‘-ing’ carry or convey the grammatical meanings. It is to be noted that, if the suffix ‘-s’ in the word ‘proves’ conveys the grammatical meaning ‘third person singular number, present tense’, the absence of a suffix in the word ‘prove’ conveys the grammatical meaning ‘third person, plural number, present tense’. This ‘absence of a suffix’ is technically represented by the symbol ‘∅’, e.g. ‘prove-∅’.

Look at the following skeleton of a sentence:

The __________ s were __________ ed so __________ ly that all

the __________ s were __________ ed so __________ ly that all

Can you make any sense out of it? Of course, you cannot give the exact meaning of the sentence simply because it has no exact meaning at all. However, you must have vaguely felt that it has ‘some sort of meaning’. That ‘some sort of meaning’ is what is meant by grammatical meaning which is conveyed by the function words, suffixes and the syntactic positions of the words (i.e. word order) in the sentence. Now fill in the gaps in the above sentence with your own words. What you just did was to add content words that have lexical meanings. Here is a possible sentence:

*The wild lions roared so fiercely that all the villagers were frightened to death.*

5. Sense and Denotation

Broadly speaking, there are two aspects or components of word or lexical meaning. They are sense and denotation. The relation between the meaning of the
word 'chair' and that of the word 'table' is called a sense relation, whereas the relation between the word 'chair' and the 'object' it refers to in the real world is called a denotational relation. In other words, sense relations exist between words, whereas denotational relations exist between words and the things they denote. The words 'chair' and 'table' are related to each other in sense; the word 'chair' is related to the object 'chair' by way of denotation. Senses and sense relations are abstract; denotations are concrete manifestations of abstract concepts. Senses are things imagined; denotations are things perceived. The concrete manifestations or perceptible realizations may be objects, actions or events; or they may be attributes/qualities of objects, actions or events. For instance, the idea of chair is a sense, but the object chair is a denotation of that sense. The idea of flying is a sense, but the visual perception of something flying or an actual act of flying is a denotation of the sense of flying. Similarly, the concept of softness is a sense, but the tactile perception of something soft is a denotation. The notion of slowness is a sense, but the actual experience of something slowing down (e.g. the slowing down of the speed of a car) is a denotation.

The dichotomy between sense and denotation is also described as the type-token dichotomy. The process of denotation is also known as reference; denotations or denotees or denota (i.e. the things denoted) are also called referents, and the denotational meaning of a word is also described as its referential meaning.

Traditionally the interrelationship between the form of a word, the sense of the word and the denotation of the word has been described as the semiotic triangle of the word. The semiotic triangle of the word 'key' can be represented in a triangular form as follows:

```
          sense (concept)
              /
            /   
           /     
          /       
 key /ki:/   

form (sign)                denotation (object)
```
Lyons (1968:404) uses the terms 'meaning' and 'referent' in place of 'sense' and 'denotation' respectively. It is to be noted that 'sign' and 'object' are linked by a dotted line, not by a solid line, because there is no direct relation between the two; they are related to each other through 'concept' (Van Buren: 1975). The semiotic triangle is also known as the semantic triangle or the triangle of signification.

Sense relations could be reciprocal, but denotations are never so. If 'chair' is a co-hyponym of 'table', 'table' is also a co-hyponym of 'chair'. Such reciprocity does not exist between the word 'chair' and the object 'chair'. The former denotes the latter, but we cannot say that the latter denotes the former. The denotational relation is uni-directional.

6. Denotative and Connotative Meaning

The denotative meaning of a linguistic item, usually a word, refers to the non-linguistic correlate it denotes or refers to in the real world; the connotative meaning of the item refers to all sorts of associations the item has. The former means the conceptual content of the item; the latter means all the communicative nuances, particularly the emotional and attitudinal ones, the item has over and above that conceptual content. For example, the words 'stingy' and 'thrifty' have the same denotative meaning, but they convey different shades of connotative meaning: 'stingy' has derogatory connotations of meanness and miserliness, whereas 'thrifty' has neutral or rather laudatory connotations of someone being careful, economical and judicious in the use of money and other resources. Similarly, the word 'woman' has the denotative meaning of an 'adult female human being', but this word may have different connotative meanings as it may evoke different feelings and emotions in different people. For a person who has a very loving mother and/or wife, a 'woman' may stand as the very incarnation of positive human values such as care, love and affection on the one hand and sacrifice, devotion and selflessness on the other hand; but for a man who has been repeatedly betrayed by women, a 'woman' may be an epitome of all the abominable qualities of human beings. No wonder, if she is a 'red red rose' for one poet, for another poet she is "Woman, thy name is frailty!". In the same way, for a philanthropist a human being is a person to be loved and worshipped, but for a misanthrope he/she is merely a thing to be hated and detested.

A parallelism can be drawn between sentence and utterance meaning on the one hand and denotative and connotative meaning on the other. But these two pairs of semantic distinctions differ on two counts: (i) the latter type of meaning generally refers to the word meaning, but the former type always refers to the meaning of linguistic units larger than words, and (ii) the latter is narrower than the former in their semantic range, e.g., unlike the utterance meaning, the
connotative meaning does not cover the information about the personality of the speaker.

Denotative meaning is corporate and, therefore, tends to be stable and constant, connotative meaning, on the other hand, is individualistic and, as such, is often transient and varies from culture to culture and, at times, also from individual to individual within the same culture.

From a different viewpoint we can say that the denotative meaning of a word is its core and explicit meaning, whereas the connotative meaning is its peripheral and implicit meaning. Metaphorically speaking, if the earth is to represent the denotative meaning, the atmosphere around the earth represents the connotative meaning. The earth is the core and the atmosphere is its periphery. The earth is clearly visible, but the atmosphere is not visible in itself.

References

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The 5th Himalayan Languages Symposium was held in Kathmandu in September 13-15, 1999 and following papers were presented.

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