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Linguistic Society of Nepal envisages to share its co-operation with Ratna Pustak Bhandar in various academic publications or activities in the days to come.
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A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE TRANSLATED INTO NEPALI

Govind Raj Bhattarai
Central Department of Education, TU.

Abstract
The main objective of the present paper is to discuss the situation of children's literature translated into Nepali. As a bilingual activity, translation connotes to the author of the original text, its publisher, date and place of publication. Likewise, the translation is judged in terms translator, its publisher, date and place etc. But since there is hardly any serious study carried out in this context, the present paper will be limited to the preliminary discussion of how we can categorize children's literature in translation.

1. Beginning of translation
A missionary forerunner named William Carey translated the English Bible into Nepali and published it from Calcutta in 1821, that is 182 years ago. This is perhaps the first work translated from the western writing into Nepali; however, it was influenced by religious enthusiasm. In Nepal, the government policy towards Christianity had remained illiberal so no transitional activities took place even if it were for religious purpose, that is, translation was not used as a medium. But Darjeeling remained a fertile ground from the angle of missionary activities so Nepali language, though not its land and people, was used as a medium of translation.

Through translation, even children's literature also entered into Nepali from Darjeeling and it developed gradually. Among the forerunners in Darjeeling was Ganga Prasad Pradhan but he mostly concentrated on the translation of religious (biblical) works. For example, Geet Sangroha, the Nepali translation of Christian Hymns published by Gorkha Press in 1920, and other similar works.

Paras Mani Pradhan made a substantial contribution towards the development of children's literature from literary point of view. He produced children's literature since 1940 from Darjeeling. He wanted to develop Nepali language, standardize it as fast as possible and include Nepali language and literature in the curriculum from the lowest to the highest level of education. He wanted to fill the void in this language both by authoring and translating works profusely. So he translated many works of children's literature from the English language. They were more adapted than translated, for example, Chichoare Aco, Chepangada, Hussu Kukhuri, Mayako Chiya etc. Many scholars and writers followed Paras Mani in the sense that they also translated profusely and tried to fill the treasure in Nepali literature. Gokul Chibetry's Kliyopyatra, Okiyuma Gwain's Budho Ra Samudra, Prakash Kobid's

1 Kliyopyatra - Rider Haggard's novel Cleopatra
2 Budho Ra Samudra - Ernest Hemingway's Old Man and the Sea

2. In the Nepalese context

In the context of Nepal, Adbhut Katha Sangraha is the first children's literature translated into Nepali. It was published under 24 Books Project by Nepal Bhasha Prakashini Samiti in 1927. It was the Nepali translation of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes rendered by Tulsi Prasad Dhungyal.

Since then 111 titles of children's literature have been translated so far from Nepal and India. The list of all these works is available from Anubad Grantha Suchi (Bibliography of Translated Works) prepared recently by Royal Nepal Academy.

In course of preparing the list, many writers of Nepal were consulted and the study carried out by R P Lama of Darjeeling too had been utilized, however, the Bibliography is still far from being complete. It is incomplete especially for two reasons – firstly some works of children's literature available in Nepali are still missing and secondly the information furnished is not adequate for a researcher in this field. For instance, in many cases, the source of the original work is not given, in others the publishers are not given, in some places the writers are unknown, year and place of publication are missing. So whoever tries to study this area will certainly face many problems.

The Bibliography has adapted a six-point style – Title of the translated work, original work, original writer, translator, and publishers of the translation and date of publication. For example:

| Indrajali Rukh (Enchanted Tree - English) | - Title of the translated work |
| - Aenid Blyton | - Title and the language of the work |
| Tr. Ramesh Vikal | - Original writer |
| Publisher – Nepal Bal Sahitya Samaj | - Translator |
| Date of publication – 2035 | - Publisher of translation |

3. Problem before a researcher

When analyzed from the angle of a researcher, the publisher of the original text, publisher, place and date of publication are missing whereas, the place of publication is missing in the translation. Sixty-eight works out of 111 have no original titles. Such works are marked * below (see, Appendix I). In the same way many works have no publishers mentioned, such titles are marked P, those that have no date are marked D and those without translator

4. Root of the problem

A translation carried out from a filter language (instead of the original source language) is called secondary translation. Title No 4, (appendix I) is Apurba Grahaka Katha, a translation of the Legend of Planet Surprise, a work in English. Khetra Pratap Achikari rendered the English text into Nepali, however the original author is the Japanese writer Tajimia Sinji. Maybe the original text was in the Japanese but the details about the title and original authorship are not given in the translation. Many such secondary translations are available in Nepali. In course of such secondary translations, the text travels via two or more such languages and cultures and thus consequently much of its originality is lost on the way to the target language world. Research studies in case of such translations become extremely difficult when required details are not given.

Another example of this is Ichchako Simana (No. 9 below) a translation of Alexander Pushkin's work. This was translated by Durga Lal Shrestha but the filter language of this work is not mentioned neither is the original title written there. Likewise the original writer's name of Ekaisath Hasau, rendered by Kishor Pahadi is nowhere mentioned. Thus the Academy's list shows 111 titles of children's literature, however, a list produced by an institution called Bal Sansar (Children's World) shows 240 titles. Among these only 40 are translations. With a glance at these titles, a glimpse of children's literature in translation is obtained (see, Appendix II).
Viewed from this angle, authentic researches on children’s literature is lacking. And many problems surface on the way to this. This has resulted due to the lack of knowledge about this on the publishers and translators.

The list shows that most of the titles are stories. The stories too are not true stories in modern sense. There is not even a single book of children’s verse or play. Some of the works have double or more versions of translations. For example stories of Anderson, Gulliver’s Travel, Alice in Wonderland etc. Most of the works are translated from the English language, whereas, there are some from the Russian, Chinese, Indian and other European languages on well. A detail accounts of these all is yet to be drawn. Most of these are fairy tales, folk tales, moral stories selected and rendered with the objective of teaching some moral lessons. There is hardly any translation of contemporary, western literature. A change in this trend is very necessary because we should not limit our selection to merely moral and imaginary stories for our children, this is likely to fetch than far away from the real world which is changing tremendously, which is harsh, real, different. Modern life is thousands of miles away from the world of fairy tales and folk tales; it is a very complex and fast changing.

5. A proposal for solution

Some translation recently published by Bal Sahitya Prabardhan Kendra, Himal Association contain some valuable information useful for the writers, critics and especially the researchers of the future. Despite this, still further information is lacking, for instance:

- Original work: Grasshopper on the Road
- Original author: Arnold Lobel
- Introduction to the original author: No
- Original language: English
- Original publisher: No
- Date of original publication: No
- Place of original publication: No
- Edition of the original work: No
- Artist of the original work: No
- Title of the translated work: Phatyangro Ghumna Jada
- Translator: Prerana Dixit, Manesh Shrestha, Mandakini Karki
- Introduction to the translators: No
- Translated language (target text): Nepali
- Artist of the translation: Subhash Rai
- Publisher: Bal Sahitya Prabardhan Kendra

Another feature of this work is that the artist’s (of the translation) name is given together with the original writer. Actually it is the artist who gave life to this work. In fact very few works put the artist on the same level as the author. Besides, there is also a provision of editor in this text. Despite this, the choice of edition and the introduction to the works and translator is missing here – this information should be given in the preface to the work. In this context both Shanto Das and Chuda Mani Bandhu have translated the same work Alice in Wonderland but the former is more adapted and brief, the latter comparable to the original. The translator or publisher should make the reasons for this difference clear. Each translation should give brief introduction to the original author as well on the translator both. For example, Sambabuka Chara (No 101 translated by Kamal Dixit) gives a brief introduction to both. A translator/publisher should incorporate these points so as to make the publication complete.

6. Two facets of the problem

All literary translation has two facets. A group of scholar claims that to translate a piece of literature means to introduce the foreigners in native, that is the target culture’s garment. This has been made clear in the translations published by Bal Sansar thus.

The present work entitled Rajakao Phohara was written by the American writers Loyd Alexander. We have made this effort so as to give the Nepalese children an opportunity to enter into the best works of children’s literature in the world. Although this is a translation from English, the illustrations here are original (Nepali) and through the illustrations, efforts have been made to Nepalicize the story.

In fact, the illustrations and highly adapted language shows that the book was written in the context of Nepali culture. Viewed from this angle, this work supports the maxim “A translation should not read like a translation.”

Another claim is: “Translation should read like translation.” The names, places, illustrations and cultures should look different from those of the target culture. This should give a glimpse of the original. This has been made clear in the Preface to Sukhi Raj Kumar, a publication of Rato Bangala Kitap. And the illustrations in this translation are like those given in the original text and it cultural world. It is made clear in the Preface:

We have tried to maintain the originality of the source text in the translation as far as possible, however, in order to make the story suitable to the Nepali context and environment in some cases, it has been Nepalicised too.

If our effort is to introduce the world to our culture, ways of life and philosophy, the second principle should be followed. It is not for the lack of the moral stories that we look for some other languages. We have done so (decided to translate) to introduce our culture and ways of life to them, to tell the small children (also the grown up) that a world different from ours also exists. So the second principle should be followed.
7. A New Direction

Mere imaginary stories, moral stories, and the pictures of unreal world should not be selected for the children. The summaries of world classics and of real literature should not only be translated from others' literature into our language, we should take our works to other languages as well. In this age dominated by technoculture, the present day children's literature should also bear the impression of complexity, postmodernist impression, science and technology like the series of Harry Potter. Our efforts should be focussed towards science, scientific writing, and biographical works more and more.

In this context, Kanak Mani Dixit should be regarded as a forerunner. He is perhaps the first Nepali writer that has been writing in a new theme and is trying to convey Nepali literature to other readership. His Kaubudhi is a story of the balance in the ecosystem and biological harmony in the environment. His stories set new trend and stand against traditional connection. In most of the children's stories animals like wolf, fox, jackal etc. are presented as wicked, cunning, clever, of one and all. Whereas, Dixit has given the message that now our attitude should be based on equality and love the biological foundation of ecosystem. This is a new thought. His translation of Dhumdhamko Ghumhram into different languages introduces Nepal to different countries. This is a new and glorious dimension. In this context Gopal Parajuli's National Heroes of Nepal (Parts I – 11) also introduce Nepal to others. Likewise Bijaya Chalise and Sarasibat are also praiseworthy.

The children's literature to be translated now should be objective, full of variety and relative to life. More importantly, there is a lack of criticism on this genre so, criticism on children's literature should be emphasized. This is not written. While doing so, there should be the evaluation of the text from different angles – original author, publisher, translator, its publisher, involved languages, readers etc.

For the children of every age, old books need to be translated into new forms. Whereas, new works also should under go translation. Translating should be a bi-directional activity from and into different language pairs. Likewise such activities should be conducted across languages inside the country too.

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Appendix I

Titles of 111 works mentioned in the Bibliography of Works in Translation

1. Agyani Bhalako Baccha* P
2. Anuatho Deshma Elis PD
3. Anuatho Bhunima Elis
4. Arapka Dui Phul* PD
5. Arai Lokakatha Bhag 1* P
6. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 3* P
7. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 4* P
8. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 5* P
9. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 6* P
10. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 7* P
11. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 8* P
12. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 9* P
13. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 10* P
14. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 11* P
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33. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 30* P
34. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 31* P
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37. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 34* P
38. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 35* P
39. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 36* P
40. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 37* P
41. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 38* P
42. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 39* P
43. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 40* P
44. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 41* P
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108. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 105* P
109. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 106* P
110. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 107* P
111. Asiyari Lokakatha Bhag 108* P

*P: Padma Shree, PD: Surya Shree
1. Introduction

Within the periphery of Dhankuta District of Eastern Nepal, a specific language — variously known as Athpagari, Atphahari, Athpre, and Athpare — is spoken by a group of Rais, the residents of Santang, Tekunala, Charagaun, Okmalung, and Bhirgaun. Although, in Belaha, there is another group of Rais with the same denomination of Athpre, ethnically and culturally closely related to the Athpre of Dhankuta District, Athpaharia language is, even today, only associated with the Athpaharia language spoken in Santang, Tekunala, and Charagaun of Dhankuta Municipality.

This language was first of all mentioned by Bal Krishna Pokharel (2027 VS), who classified it with the Austro-Asiatic Language Family. Since then, it has been established in studies by Neupane (2041 VS), Ebert (1990), Hanson (1991), and Ebert (1991) as a south-east (classified by Ebert) language of Kirat-Rai group of the Tibeto-Burman Family of languages spoken in Nepal. This paper focusing on the "tense-aspect" of this very language, reinterpreting the studies by Neupane and Ebert, has tried to present this language as a "tense-aspect incorporated" language.

2. Tense strategy

Although both — time and aspect — are generally related to time, they are variously expressed. Tense is a deixis; it situates/anchors an utterance in external contexts (Comrie 1981). Its function is to situate an utterance with reference to a deictic centre. However, there are differences in the ways different languages perform this function. Although it has become customary to treat tense as the class of a sentence as a whole (12), in this paper it has been treated as one of the grammatical categories of the verb, very much like the number or gender. As a grammatical category, tense is supposed to have been bounded by the situational time represented by the morphological structure of the verb. It is because of this that languages like the Burmese and Djeriba represent time by temporal adverbs or modal auxiliaries, whereas the ungrammaticalised time is not treated as the tense of the sentence in this paper. Western African languages like Yoruba and Igbo do not possess tense markers, whereas they do possess aspect markers. What this means is that tense is not a language universal. Consequently, a verb may not have any tense at all. Time can be represented by subordinate or non-finite verbs. In the following examples from Nepali (1a) and Athpaharia (1b), past time is verbally expressed although there is no tense.

3. Survey of Athparia verbs

Following are some examples (2, 3) of verbs in Athparia that can be associated with tense:

**Verb: ḟūg : stay**

2a. ḟūge  jūg-a-e  (past, 3rd person singular)

b. ḟūgece  jūg-a-ci-e  (past, 3rd person dual)

c. ojūge  o-jūg-a-e  (past, 3rd person plural)

d. ajūge  a-jūg-a-e  (past, 2nd person singular)

e. jūpig  jūg-a-i-e  (past, 1st person plural inclusive)

3a. jūgjuk  jūg-juk  (non-past, 3rd person singular)

b. jūgjici  jūg-ci-ci  (non-past, 3rd person dual)

c. ojūgjuk  o-jūg-juk  (non-past, 3rd person plural)

d. ajūgjuk  a-jūg-juk  (non-past, 2nd person singular)

e. jūgiti  jūg-i-t-ī  (non-past, 1st person pl inclusive)

f. jūgāa  jūg-a-na  (non-past, 1st person singular)

All examples in 2 have <a> and <e>, which indicate the past time, whereas in examples 3, <q> and <e> are absent. Instead there are <juk> (as in 3a, c, and d), <t> (3e), and <a> (3b), which do not indicate past time. It is, perhaps, for this reason that Neupane (2041 VS 141), and Ebert (1994 29 & 1997 41) seem to have accepted two basic tenses – past and non-past. Neupane has taken <e> and Ebert <a> and <e> as past tense markers.

Finding two affixes added to the same verb for the same tense and the same aspect not legible, Ebert has termed <a> as “past base” and <e> as past marker. According to her, <a> is an old morpheme whereas <e> is a new development. Similarly, <juk> and <t> are non-past markers. At this point one question arises – is it possible to have two affixes indicating the same tense and the same aspect added to the same verb simultaneously? Is it possible to have two markers for a certain person and number (3a, b, d, and e) and none for the other (3b)? Why is it possible that a certain tense marker appears not in a tense slot but in an aspect slot (3e)? Let us look for the answers to these questions in the following examples.

4a. wet tajāa make nasa lise
    wet taj-ā-ug make nasa lis-ā-e
    rain come-?seq maize loss be-?
    After the rain, maize shall be lost.

b. asen tajana japsi kʰa-de
    asen taj-ā-na japsi kʰa-t-ā-e
    yesterday come-?nom man go-?
    [lit.: yesterday come man went.]
    The man who had come yesterday has gone.

Here, in both the examples in 4, <a> is present – in (a) as sequential and in (b) in the form of adjectivised verb used as participle. There is no past tense in the verb; it is sentential because the same verb in example 5 indicates a future context:

5. un tajāa  a kʰa-tnaā
    un taj-ā-ug a kʰa-t-gā-ga
    he come-?seq I go-1st person copy
    [he having come I go]
    I shall go after he comes.

This creates the strongest possibility that <a>, instead of being a tense marker, is an aspect marker. Perhaps, Ebert (1997 41) has interpreted her use of the term “past base” in this way. Thus, <a> appearing in all the perfective participles that function as finite verbs is justified.

6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tajana</th>
<th>taj-ā-na</th>
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<tr>
<td>come-?nom</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tajāettana</td>
<td>taj-ā-ett-ā-na</td>
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<tr>
<td>come-?inst-?nom</td>
<td>coming</td>
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<tr>
<td>tajasana</td>
<td>taj-ā-s-ā-na</td>
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<tr>
<td>come-?perfect-?nom</td>
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<td>tajagondana</td>
<td>taj-ā-gond-ā-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come-?habitual-?nom</td>
<td>used to come</td>
</tr>
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Thus \(<\alpha>\) seems to be more of an aspect marker than a tense marker. \(<\epsilon>\) in the above example 2 cannot be a past marker since it again appears in the following examples in the context of the present:

7.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k'adase} & \quad \text{k'at-o-s-a-e} & \quad \text{go-?-perfect-?-} \quad \text{has gone} \\
\text{k'adasace} & \quad \text{k'at-o-s-a-ci-e} & \quad \text{go-?-perfect-?-dual-} \quad \text{(they two) have gone} \\
\text{ok'adase} & \quad \text{o-k'at-o-s-a-a} & \quad \text{perfect-?-} \quad \text{1st person pl go-}\quad \text{has} \quad \text{(>2) have gone}
\end{align*}
\]

The verbs in the above examples 6, when used as finite verbs, the past time relevance is indicated by the nominaliser:

8.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{accho bo nihi jusana tajana/tajana/tajagondana} & \quad \text{long time ago—part. this (h)-locative—tiger come-?-nom/come-?-perfect-?-nom/come-?-habitual-?-nom} \\
\text{accho bo na(h)i ni jusana taj-a-na'taj-o-s-a-na'taj-o-gond-a-na} & \quad \text{long time ago a tiger came/had come/used to come here.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(<\epsilon>\) does not appear in the negative structure; all types of negatives have either \(<\alpha>\) or \(<\alpha'>\). Even the supposed past marker \(<\alpha>\) and non-past markers \(<\text{juk}\>\) or \(<\text{t}>\) do not appear in negative constructions.

9a.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jugni} & \quad \text{jug-ni-n\(a\)} & \quad \text{do not sit} \\
\text{jugcinga} & \quad \text{jug-ci-n-ga} & \quad \text{(they 2) do not sit} \\
\text{ojugniga} & \quad \text{o-juj-n-ga} & \quad \text{(>2) do not sit}
\end{align*}
\]

9b.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jugnatina} & \quad \text{jug-ni-at-ni-n\(a\)} & \quad \text{(he) did not sit} \\
\text{jugcinga} & \quad \text{jug-ci-at-ci-n-ga} & \quad \text{(they 2) did not sit} \\
\text{ojugnatniga} & \quad \text{o-juj-ni-at-ni-ga} & \quad \text{(they >2) did not sit}
\end{align*}
\]

In examples 7, \(<\alpha>\) and \(<\epsilon>\) appear in the present relevance, in examples 8 and 9b \(<\alpha'>\) is used instead of \(<\epsilon>\) to indicate the past time relevance. These examples force us to conclude that \(<\epsilon>\) is not a past marker. Examples 1, 5, 7, and 9b have already shown \(<\alpha>\) not to be a past marker. Similarly, \(<\text{juk}\>\), \(<\text{t}>\), and \(<\alpha>\), in examples 3, are not tense markers. Had they been tense markers, they would not have appeared in the slot for the aspect marker and would also have appeared in 9a. All these examples indicate the only possibility of their being aspect markers.
According to this chart, there are the following aspects of the verb in the Athparia language:

10.

1. habjuk  hap-juk  weeps  absolute, imperfective, simple, affirmative
2. habjugon  hap-juk-gond  usually weeps  absolute, imperfective, habitual, affirmative
3. habjuet  hap-juk-et  is weeping  absolute, imperfective, instantaneous, affirmative

11.

1. habe  hap-a-e  wept  absolute, perfective, simple, affirmative
2. habase  hap-a-s-a-e  has wept  absolute, perfective, perfect, affirmative

12.

1. habnina  hap-ni-na  doesn’t weep  subordinate, imperfective, simple, negative
2. habnigon  hap-ni-gond-na  isn’t accustomed to weep  subordinate, imperfective, habitual, negative
3. habniget  hap-ni-gett-na  wasn’t weeping  subordinate, imperfective, instantaneous, negative

13.

1. habana  hap-a-na  wept (पाही, पाहीत)  subordinate, perfective, simple, affirmative
2. habanina  hap-a-ni-na  unwept, didn’t weep (पाहीन, पाहीत)  subordinate, perfective, simple, negative
3. habnatnina  hap-ni-att-ni-na  didn’t weep (पाहीत, पाहीतत)  subordinate, perfective, simple, negative
4. habagondana  hap-a-gond-na  accustomed to weep  subordinate, perfective, habitual, affirmative
5. habnigonnata  hap-ni-gond-ni-att-ni-na  wasn’t accustomed to weep  subordinate, perfective, habitual, negative
6. habettana  hap-a-ett-na  was weeping  subordinate, perfective, instantaneous, affirmative

6. Findings

The following inferences can be drawn from the above discussion:

1. There is no tense in Athparia; there are only aspects.
2. <<a>> indicates the perfective aspect.
3. <<o>> is a finite marker, which occurs only in the perfective aspect. This is, as Ebert (1999 397) has said “a recently developed finite marking style,” as is the case with Northern Munda.
4. Most of the verbs are subordinate [i.e. 12, 13].
5. Subordination being the main tendency of the Athparia language, there is no tense-aspect opposition.
6. If there had been tense-aspect opposition, the absolute imperfective habjugon “is accustomed to weep,” and habjuet “is weeping” should have their past perfective complements habagonde “was accustomed to weep,” and habette “was weeping.” Instead they have been nominalised as habasana “was weeping.”
7. If <<a>> had indicated the past tense, habasana “has wept,” instead of indicating the present relevance, would have indicated the past relevance “had wept” since it is perfective/resultative perfect.
8. Having been nominalised, negative is the only imperfective aspect. In other situations, the nominaliser affix only indicates the perfectivity.
9. It is just because of the absence of the tense markers in the Athparia language that it has been possible for <<t>> to appear in the aspect slot.

The same form of the imperfective, and imperative (and the affirmative) in example 3f is just because of the absence of tense in Athparia. It is in this context that Ebert (1999a 26) has termed the past/non-past temporal differences as “temporal terms” since the tense-aspect forms there are not easily differentiable; and, especially in Camling, she has indicated only the basic existence of the aspect. In this way, the Kirant languages may have no
ten-spect-aspect opposition, which has yet to be confirmed. The Komi (Finno-Ugric: Russia) clauses reveal a contrast between nonpast and future tense. In the negative, however, the tense distinction is not made, leaving the meaning ambiguous between a present and future reading (Whaley 1997:230). Athpara, therefore, is a language, like the Burmese, Yoruba, or Igbo, without the tense markers and having only aspect markers; or, like the Arabic, a language in which tense and aspect are incorporated.

Abbreviations
1. inst instantaneous
2. lit literally
3. nom nominaliser/nominalised
4. part participle
5. pl plural
6. seq sequential

References

Acknowledgement
[Since this paper is mainly based on the works of Neupane (1984) and Ebert (1994, 1997, 1999), I would like to gratefully acknowledge their due share and thank them.]

Translated by
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O-ENDING NOMINALS IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

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1. Introduction
O-ending nominalis are characteristic features of some of the New Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali, Kumaoni, European Romany or Gypsy dialects (like Belgau Garodi, Belgau Myanwale, Sitapur Kanjari and Belgau Kanjari), Sindi, some Dardic languages (like Maiyan, Shina, Tirihi, Kalasha, Torwali, Gavarbari, Palola, Garvi, and Pashai), Gujarati, some Kafiri languages (like Waigeli), Western Pahadi and Rajasthan dialects (like Marwadi, Jaipuri, Mewati, Malvi, Nemadi and Bundeli). We mean nouns, predicative and attributive adjectives and also possessives by the word 'nominals' in this paper.

1. (a) käko(Nepali), kaco(Sindi and Dardic language Shina), käko(Kumaoni) 'raw'
2. (a) khu'To(Nepali), khu'To(Kumaoni), khu'To(Gujarati) 'leg or foot'
3. (a) baRo(Nepali, Western Pahadi, Kumaoni), baru (European Romani), baDU (Kashmiri), Thulo(Nepali) 'big or great'
4. (a) glioDo(Nepali, Sindi, Gujarati, Western Pahadi, Kumaoni, Rajasthani dialects like Marwadi, Jaipuri, Mewati, Malvi and Nimadi), khoDo( (European Romani), ghwaRo(Rajasthani dialect Bundeli) 'horse'
5. (a) mero(Nepali, Gujarati, Rajasthan dialect Mewati, Gypsy dialects like Belgau Garodi, Belgau Myanwale, Sitapur Kanjari and Belgau Kanjari), mArO(Rajasthani dialects Marwadi and Malvi), mHArO(Rajasthani dialects Jaipuri and Nimadi), mairo(Yusufi) 'my'
6. ghano (Nepali and Dardic language Kalasha) 'bamboo cane', ho (Nepali and Dardic language Torwali) 'is', apaNo (Western Pahari), ko (Nepali, Kumaoni, Garhwal) 'of' (Source: Kellogg 1875, Grierson 1908, 1916, Turner 1931: )

This characteristic stands out against the ñ-ending languages like Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Panjabi and Marathi.

2. O-A Dichotomy in New Indo-Aryan

Masica (1991:220) shows that o-ending masculine forms are found in Konkani, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Sindhi, Braj, Bundeli, Kashmiri, Western Pahadi, Garwali, Kumaoni and Nepali. Among them Konkani is spoken in Southern Maharashtra, Karnataka and Goa, Kashmiri and Pahadi languages like Nepali, Kumaoni and Garwali and the Dardic language Kashmiri are spoken in the northwestern part of the Himalayas. Among the languages with o-ending nominals, Pahari and Garwari are Western Dardic languages spoken in Pakistan and Afghanistan, Maiyani is a Nuristani language of the Dardic group, also spoken in Pakistan. Shina and Kashmiri are Eastern Dardic languages in that Shina is spoken in Pakistan while Kashmiri is spoken in India. Gujarati is spoken in Gujarat while 80% of Sindhi is spoken in Pakistan and 20% is spoken in India. Western Pahadi languages are mainly spoken in Himachal Pradesh of Northern India and only a few are spoken in UP and Jammu & Kashmir. Tihti is a language of Afghanistan (Breton 1997:192).

Hoemle (1880:xxvii-xxviii) has correlated the o-ending nominals with the Western Gaudian and the Northern Gaudian. Gujarati and Sindhi are categorized as Western Gaudian and Nepali is categorized as Northern Gaudian. Except for Braj and the Rajasthani dialect Bundeli spoken in Central India, o-ending nominals are commonly used in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Northern and Western India and Nepal. Gypsy or European Romany clearly seems to have been an offshoot of this northwestern group of the New Indo-Aryan.

On the other hand, languages like Panjabi, Lahnda, Hindi, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and Marathi comprise a central and southeastern group. In this way the o-a dichotomy bisects all the New Indo-Aryan languages into northwestern group on the one hand and central and southeastern group on the other respectively.

On the basis of the comparative word-list in Turner (1931) the percentage of o-ending words in the northwestern group of New Indo-Aryan is as follows in the descending order:

7. Kumaoni (51.7) > European Romany (23.7) > Nepali (22.6) > Sindhi (20.2) > Dardic Maiyan (14.1) > Gujarati (12.9) > Avesta (12.5) > Kafiri language Waigeli (8.3) > W. Pahadi (7.6) > Shina (5.9) > Tihti (5.6) > Kalasha (5.5) > Torwali (4.7) > Western Dardic Gavwarati (3.5) > Polala (3.4) > Garvi (2.8) > Western Dardic Pasthai (2.2) > Syrian Romany (1.4)

But numerically the languages with o-ending nominals go as follows:


Since Turner (1931) is a dictionary of Nepali, here we have left counting Nepali words in the numerical order.

3. Constraints on nasalized [O] in Nepali

Nepali does not tolerate nasalized [o]. It means the underlying nasalized [o] in Nepali is realized as [u]:


This characteristic of Nepali is shared by Singh, the Dardic language Shina and partly by the Western Pahadi languages, e.g.

10. Sindhi: aDhinu (Nepali), aTkhNu (Sindhi) 'get trapped', aDinu (Nepali), aDaNu (Sindhi) 'to stop', ukhēnu (Nepali), ukhīNu (Sindhi) 'to uproot', kāmnu (Nepali), kambNu (Sindhi) 'to shiver'

11. Shina: budyono (Nep. bujhu) 'understand', cukyoono (Nep. cuknu) 'commit mistake', hāzooono (Nep. hānsnu) 'laugh'

12. W. Pahadi: kāsNu (Nep. kasnu) 'tighten', kāhNu (Nep. kahanu) 'say', kahNu (Nep. chhawānumu) 'feed'
Kashmiri also shares nu by applying the rule of metathesis, e.g.


Nepali nominalizing suffix nu corresponds to Kumaoni, Baitadeli and partly Western Pahadi suffix No:

14. Kumaoni: ghumNo (Nepali ghuminu) 'roam', chopNo (Nepali chopnu) 'to cover', bituNo (Nepali bitunu) 'to pass time or to kill'

15. W. Pahadi: kaTNo (Nep. kaantaNu) 'cut', gaNNo (Nep. gannu) 'cut', bharNo (Nep. bharunu) 'fill'

Gujarati has the suffix yu for the Nepali infinitive and gerundive suffix nu, but nasalization of [o] seems to be constrained even in Gujarati, e.g.:

16. aapNu (Nep. aapnu) 'selfs', oDhNu (Nep. oDhnu) 'cover', kaaNo or kaaNu (Nep. kaano or kaanu) 'blind of one eye', chaaNu (Nep. chaanu) 'roof'

This correspondence suggests that Nepali suffix nu is derived from the underlying form no. It also points to the closer historical ties of Nepali with Sindhi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, the Dardic languages Shina and Kashmiri and Western and Central Pahadi languages like Garhwali, Kumaoni and others. In addition to that, the underlying form No is retained by Kumaoni and some of the Nepali dialects like Baitadeli. According to Turner (1931) Nepali nu-suffix corresponds to the following forms in other New Indo-Aryan languages:

17. Hindi: aghaanaa (Nep. aghanu) 'get satisfied', aRna (Nep. aRnu 'stop'), naahaana (Nep. naaahunu) 'bathe', uksanaa (Nep. uksinu) 'come through'

18. Bengal: olaana (Nep. orlau) 'get down', kTaana (Nep. kTaauu) 'cause to cut', karaana (Nep. garaanu) 'cause to do'

19. Panjabi: aTakNa (Nep. aDKanu) 'get stuck', ukaasNa (Nep. ukaasnu) 'enkindle', ukherNa (ukhelnu) 'uproot', ucaalNa (ucaalnu) 'uplift'

Assamese and Oriya share the citation form with baa.

20. Assamese: uriba (Nep. uDnu) 'fly', kariba (Nep. garmu) 'do', kuTiba (Nep. kuTu) 'beat',

21. Oriya: kuTiba (Nep. kuTu) 'beat', kariba (Nep. garmu) 'do', kudiba (Nep. kuduNu) 'run'

Marathi has the citation form with the suffix ne maybe because the resultant verbs are in masculine gender. Sinhalese is another exception, because it has also the nominalizing suffix nu like that of Nepali. This feature may take Sinhalese to the northwestern group.

4. Conclusion

This nu/no alternation and the frequency of o-ending nominals in the northern and western groups of the New Indo-Aryan bring them to a common historical stock, the northwestern.

The languages with o-ending nominals are spoken:
1. Along the Himalayan Range from Kashmir to Nepal,
2. The Hindu Kush Range of Afghanistan and Pakistan,
3. The Aravalli Range and the Plateau of Malva in Rajasthan and the Indus valley

The aa-ending languages are spoken mainly in the Magadhi and Sauraseni areas that coincide roughly with the plains of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra rivers.

According to Grierson (1916), the Khasa people came from the Hindu Kush to the Indian subcontinent earlier and settled along the Himalayas. They were followed by the Gujra people who entered the subcontinent in about 500 AD and who occupied the western part of the peninsula in the Aravalli Range and the Plateau of Malva in Rajasthan and the Indus Valley area. If we correlate Grierson's hypothesis with the o-aa dichotomy in the New Indo-Aryan, we incline to conclude that the o-dialect of New Indo-Aryan must have taken shape somewhere in the northwest like Afghanistan, Kashmir or Pakistan.

References


Hoernle, A.F. Rudolf (1880) Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages with Special Reference to the Eastern Hindi, London: Rubner
THE SYNTACTIC STATUS OF TAMANG MORPHEMES
<-pa/-ba>, <-syé> and <-la>

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1. Introduction

The syntactic status of the morphemes has been a dilemma for the researchers both who are doing research in the language and who are newly introduced in the field. As the result various analysis in the literature contradict each other. The discrepancies are the result of their multi-functions. They can be used to indicate the temporal setting of the situation (tense marker). A part from this they are used as modality markers as well as nominalizers. But what they are basically or what is their syntactic status has not been established yet. In this paper I have tried to establish their syntactic status of the morphemes. My explanation is based on the western dialect of Tamang.

2. Hypotheses and their justifications

To establish the syntactic status of the morphemes I have made three hypotheses which are mentioned and justified below.

Hypothesis 1: <-pa/-ba> and <-syé> are basically nominalizer

Evidence-1

Most of the Tamang adjectives are derived from the verbal roots nominalized by <-pa/-ba>.

1. kam+pa = kampa jya+pa = jyaba
to become+NOM better to become+NOM beautiful
bitter beautiful
reh+pa = rehha koŋ+pa = koŋba
to become+NOM long to become+NOM hard
long hard

Evidence-2

Dependent nominal clauses are formed by adding <-pa/-ba> or <-syé> to the verb stem.

2a. bajār nyi-ba mhi curi kha-ji
market go-NOM man here come-PST
'The man who went market come here.'

2b. ken ca-syé mhi-da ja-ce purjī
rice eat-NOM man-DAT I-ERG hit-PST
'I hit the man who would eat rice.'

Evidence-3

Verbal nouns are formed adding <-pa/-ba> or <-syé> to the verb stem.

3a. pān-ba-ce namthar syet-ci
say-NOM-ERG story tell-PST
'Story teller told story.'

24 / The syntactic ...

b. 
dorbo tha-sye kha-but-ci
tree cut-NOM come-finish-PST
'The tree cutter already came.'
The evidences presented above justify that <-pa/-ba> and <-sye> are
nominalizers. Similarly, we can justify that the morphemes are nominalizers in
the following clauses and the clauses are nominalized clauses.

4a. 
ta-ce sun ca-ba
horse-ERG paddy eat-NOM
'Paddy eating by the horse.' (The horse eats paddy.)

b. 
ŋa namsyo dihm-ri Ti-sye
I tomorrow home-LOC stay-NOM
'Tomorrow my sitting at home.' (Tomorrow I stay at home.)
The above given clauses are so called finite clauses in Tamang, but
they can be used as relative (nominalized) clauses as shown in the following
examples

5a. 
[ta-ce sun ca-ba] namsa
[horse-ERG paddy eat-NOM] village
'Vellage in which the horse eats paddy.'
So, we can say that the constructions given in 4(a,b) are non-finite,
i.e., they are nominalized clauses. With the help of the evidences we can
conclude that <-pa/-ba> and <-sye> are basically nominalizers.

Hypothesis-2: <-la> is 'do' verb.

Evidence-1
Its dictionary meaning is 'do'

Evidence-2
It makes verbs form nouns.

6. 
kü-la yoh-la
stoop-do thief-do
'stoop' 'steal'

Evidence-3
It functions as a 'do' verb in the causative construction.

7. 
ŋa-ce the-da nyi-na-la-jī
I-ERG he-DAT go-CAUS-do-PST
'I made him go.'

Evidence-4
Another evidence to prove la as 'do' verb can be taken from the 'self-
benefactive' construction.

8. 
ja-ce jī thun-la-jī
son-ERG wine drink-do-PST
'Son drank wine.' (Father was suggesting not to do.)
With the help of the above given evidences, we can say that la is
basically 'do' verb. We can justify it in the following clauses also.

9. 
nyān-ce mangu lahp-la
we-ERG bear chase-do
'We bear chase do.' (We chase bear.)
Here, one interesting question may arise why lahp needs 'do' verb
since it itself is a verb. When we study Tamang language we find a different
concept of verb in it. Tamang verbs, for some extent, are the name of the
actions. Grierson (1909) writes 'the base alone is used as a verbal noun; thus,
ca-kham-na 'to eat unable'. Several such examples are found in the language
when the base itself functions as verbal noun.

10a. 
the-ce kek ca-yam-jī
he-ERG rice eat-expect-PST
'He expected to eat rice.'

b. 
the-ce ca-bu-ti
he-ERG eat-finish-PST
'He already ate rice.'
So, in the constructions like (9) the verb stem is somewhat like a
verbal noun and takes 'do' verb to make itself a full verb. In the construction,
however la functions as a verbalizer, it doesn't carry any tense because in the
constructions like (7), (8) and other it is followed by past tense marker <-ci-
jī>

Hypothesis-3: Tamang non-past is unmarked.

Evidence-1
There is a past tense marker <-ci-jī> which regularly occurs with
positive verb in past statements as in (2), (3), (7), (8) and (10),
but there is not such a non-past marker. A non-past positive verb in a statement has one of
the following suffixes. <-pa/-ba>, <-sye>, <-la> and <-nem>. If we suppose all of
them as non-past markers, we have to establish four non-past tenses in the
grammar which is very much inconvenient. It violates the principle of
economy.

Evidence-2
Another important thing to remember is that function of the suffixes is
modal not temporal. However, they indicate time for some extent, that is
derived from modality not from tense. So we can conclude that the suffixes
have some kind of relation with time but not with tense. There is no non-past
marker in Tamang or Tamang non-past is unmarked.

3. Explanation:
Tamang syntax classifies the situation into two classes: events and
states. An event is the narration that indicates the process of action which is
perfective in aspect and indicates that the situation referred to is complete with
respect to some point that is generally now. It means the situation is past. It is
marked with \(<\text{ci}^-\text{ji}>\). So a clause referring an event is a finite clause because it is marked for absolute tense.

A state is a statement that indicates the existence. A state can be either a state of situation or state of process. State of situation indicates that the situation is permanent one, habit or a feature. It can be classified into habitual and potential. Habitual indicates that the feature is permanent or habitual. It is marked with \(<\text{pa}^-\text{ba}>\). Potential indicates that the feature occurs in future. It is marked with \(<\text{sy}^-\text{e}>\). State of process indicates that the situation is temporary one. It represents the process of an action. It is marked with \(<\text{la}>\).

The classification of situations according to Tamang syntax can be shown in a tree diagram as shown below.

```
               Situation
                 /\                 \\
      Event       State                Process
           /\            /\          /\              /\          \\
  Habitual     Potential           Habitual     Potential       Habitual     Potential
     \          /\                     \          /\                \          /\            \          \\
      \        /\                    \        /\                     \        /\            \        /\
       \      /\                  \      /\                     \      /\            \      /\      \\
       \    /\                \    /\                     \    /\            \    /\        \\
       \  /\              \  /\                     \  /\            \  /\          \\
       \ /\            \ /\                     \ /\            \ /\          \\
       /\          /\         /\                     /\          /\          /\        \\
      /\        /\       /\       /\                 /\        /\       /\       /\    \\
     /\      /\     /\     /\     /\               /\      /\     /\     /\     /\  \\
    /\    /\   /\   /\   /\   /\   /\           /\    /\   /\   /\   /\   /\ /\ \\
   /\  /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\         /\  /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ \\
  /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\   /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ \\
  \\
```

4. Conclusion

\(<\text{pa}^-\text{ba}>\) and \(<\text{sy}^-\text{e}>\) are nominalizers and \(<\text{la}>\) 'do' verb. They are modal and refer non-past time but don't carry tense. So, the non-past clauses in Tamang are non-finite.

Abbreviations

CAUS-Causative
DAT-Dative
ERG-Ergative
GEN-Genitive
LOC-Locative
NOM-Nominalizer
PST-Past

5. References

THAKALI CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Narayan Prasad Sharma

1. Introduction

Thakali is one of the endangered languages of Nepal spoken by an ethnic group of the same name as their mother tongue that belongs to Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum mostly related to Gurung and Tamang languages.

The majority of Thakalis living outside their traditional homeland, Thak khola, speak Nepali (an Indo-Aryan language) as their first language and many have little or no knowledge of the Thakali language. As a result, mother tongue retention rate of Thakali is 51.8 percent recorded in 1991 census.

This paper attempts to illustrate the Thakali Clause Structure with the help of categorial rules in terms of Subject (S), Object (O), Complement (C), Adverbial (A) and Verb (V). However, this work will not examine clauses with variant position of the same item in detail.

This paper constitutes an important part of my MA dissertation (Sharma, 2001). The notion of categorial rules and the model of tree structure have been adopted from Chomsky (1957, 1965) and Lester (1976). For the purpose of this paper, clause means a single independent sentence. The categorial rules analyse the clauses at the phrase level like NP (noun phrase), VP (verb phrase), AUX (auxiliary), AP (adverbial phrase), PP (postpositional phrase), etc. because it is considered that a clause consists of NP, AUX and VP. The clause structure refers to the strings of linguistic constitutes like NP, AUX, VP in the linear sequence. Such a structural organization may vary from language to language. The sentence in Thakali consists of NP followed by VP and AUX together in the following order:

\[ S \rightarrow NP \rightarrow VP \rightarrow AUX \]

2. Basic Thakali clauses

The main verb largely determines clause structure. The basic clause types in Thakali are SV, SAV, SOV, SCV, SAV, SOOV, SOCV and SAOV.

The structure of each type with the analysis of categorial rules is illustrated below.

[1] Type SV

ram Ta-ci
Ram weep-PT3s
'Ram wept'

[2] Type SAV

\[ \phi \rightarrow \text{subject} \rightarrow \text{verb} \rightarrow \text{object} \]

\[ \text{subject: } \phi \rightarrow \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{MV} \rightarrow \text{Comp} \rightarrow \text{Tense-Past} \]

\[ \text{NP: } ram \rightarrow \text{N} \rightarrow \text{MV} \rightarrow \text{Tense-Past} \]

\[ \text{VP: } Ta-ci \rightarrow \text{Comp} \rightarrow \text{Tense-Past} \]

\[ \text{AUX: } \rightarrow \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{AUX} \]

Within the framework of type SV, we can find other type of clause in Thakali which lacks in English. The subject used in such clauses is not purely the grammatical subject, rather dative subject, e.g.,

\[ \text{I-DAT hunger-feel-PT3s} \]

'I felt hunger'

This sentence consists of NP, VP and AUX. 'I' is the dative subject in this example.

\[ \text{np-ri } pho \text{ Then-ci} \]

\[ \text{NP } \rightarrow \text{VP } \rightarrow \text{AUX} \]
30 / Thakali ...

i) $S \rightarrow NP \cdot VP \cdot AUX$
ii) $NP \rightarrow N \cdot INFL$
iii) $VP \rightarrow MV \cdot Comp$
iv) $AUX \rightarrow Tense \cdot Past$

[3] Type SOV

*bina-ce kan ca-ci*
Bina-ERG rice eat-PT3s
'Bina ate rice.'
This sentence is an instance of type SOV (monotransitive) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
| bina-ce | kan | ca-ci | \\
| NP | VP |
\end{array}
\]

i) $S \rightarrow NP \cdot VP \cdot AUX$
ii) $NP \rightarrow N \cdot Infl$
iii) $VP \rightarrow Comp \cdot MV$
iv) $Comp \rightarrow N$
v) $AUX \rightarrow Tense \cdot Past$

[4] Type SCV

*the doktar ihmu*
She doctor be.NPT3s
'She is a doctor'
This sentence is an example of type SCV (copular) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
| the | doktar | ihmu |
| NP | VP |
\end{array}
\]

i) $S \rightarrow NP \cdot VP \cdot AUX$
ii) $NP \rightarrow PPn$
iii) $VP \rightarrow Comp \cdot MV$
iv) $Comp \rightarrow N$
v) $AUX \rightarrow Tense \cdot Present$
[5] Type SAV

\[ \text{rita tihm-ri yah-ci} \]
Rita house-LOC go-PT3s
'Rita went to house.'

This sentence is an instance of type SAV (copular) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
| \text{NP} & \text{VP} & \text{V} \\
\hline
| \text{rita} & \text{tihm-ri} & \text{yah-ci} \\
\end{array}
\]

i) S \rightarrow NP \_ VP \_ AUX
ii) NP \rightarrow N
iii) VP \rightarrow Comp \_ MV
iv) Comp \rightarrow ADV Position
v) ADV Position \rightarrow PP
vi) PP \rightarrow NP \_ P
vii) AUX \rightarrow Tense \_ Past

[6] Type SOOV

\[ \text{sabita-ce saru-ri kalam pim-ci} \]
Sabita-ERG Saru-DAT pen give-PT3s
'Sabita gave Saru a pen.'

This sentence is an example of type SOOV (ditransitive) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
| \text{S} & | \text{NP} & | \text{VP} & | \text{AUX} \\
\hline
| \text{NP} & \text{Comp} & \text{MV} & \text{Tense} \\
\hline
| \text{NP} & \text{PP} & \text{NP} & \text{N} \\
\hline
| \text{N} & \text{Infl} & \text{Comp} & \text{Past} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

i) S \rightarrow NP \_ VP \_ AUX
ii) NP \rightarrow N \_ Infl
iii) VP \rightarrow Comp \_ MV
iv) Comp \rightarrow PP \_ NP
v) PP \rightarrow NP \_ P
vi) NP \rightarrow N
vii) AUX \rightarrow Tense \_ Past

[7] Type SOCV

\[ \text{pa-ce para-e papio sim soh-ci} \]
I-ERG I-GEN shoes wet make-PT3s
'I made my shoes wet.'
This sentence is an instance of type SOCV (complex transitive) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
| ga-ce | ga-e | paplo | sim | soh-ci |
\hline
NP & Art & Adj & V & \hline
\end{array}
\]

 \[
\begin{align*}
\text{i) } & S \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{AUX} \\
\text{ii) } & \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{PPn} \quad \text{Infl} \\
\text{iii) } & \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{Comp} \quad \text{MV} \\
\text{iv) } & \text{Comp} \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad \text{MV} \\
\text{v) } & \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{Art} \quad \text{Noun} \quad \text{No} \\
\text{vi) } & \text{AUX} \rightarrow \text{Tense} \quad \text{Past}
\end{align*}
\]

[8] Type SAOV

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
| priti-ce | tebal-ri | kitab | than-ci |
\hline
NP & PP & NP & V & \hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i) } & S \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{AUX} \\
\text{ii) } & \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{N} \quad \text{Infl} \\
\text{iii) } & \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{Comp} \quad \text{MV} \\
\text{iv) } & \text{Comp} \rightarrow \text{ADV Position} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{v) } & \text{ADV Position} \rightarrow \text{PP} \\
\text{vi) } & \text{PP} \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad \text{P} \\
\text{vii) } & \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{N} \\
\text{viii) } & \text{AUX} \rightarrow \text{Tense} \quad \text{Past}
\end{align*}
\]

Priti-ERG table-LOC book put-PT3s
'Priti put a book on the table.'
3. Conclusion

All the basic clause types in Thakali can be generated following the conventional hierarchical configurational structure. The following arguments assure us to analyse Thakali clauses with configurational structure.

a. Thakali is basically a fixed word order language. However, sometimes it may vary. If this happens, the tree structure will automatically vary.

b. Grammatical relations such as subject, object, etc. can be identified through the word order. Regarding this type of clause element, the clause element's relation can be established as exemplified in type SOV.

c. As in English, the noun phrase (NP) in Thakali immediately dominated by sentence (S) is subject and the NP immediately dominated by verb phrase (VP) is the object. Generally, the former precedes the latter.

Abbreviations


References


THE ERGATIVE MORPHOSYNTAX IN NEPALI

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Outline

This paper is an attempt to analyze ergativity in Nepali clauses. It consists of four sections. Section 1 provides the theoretical background where we explain the concept of ergativity. Section 2 deals with the morphology of ergativity in Nepali. In section 3, we analyze the syntax of ergativity in the language in terms of constituent order, transitivity, tense and aspect constraints, verb agreement, anaphoric relation, control site, case demotion, and coordinate construction. Finally, we summarize the main findings of the paper.

1. Theoretical background

Natural languages exhibit different morphosyntactic characteristics in organizing their grammatical relations at clause level in terms of the three basic semantico-syntactic roles, viz. S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) (Dixon, 1998:6-8). Some languages code S and O in the same way but A differently, as exemplified in Nepali sentences in (1).

(1) a. raam aay-o → single argument clause

Ram - O come-PT 3sm
"Ram came."

b. raam-le kitaab padth-yo → multi-argument clause
Ram - ERG book read -PT 3sm
"Ram read a book."

In these examples, (1a) is an intransitive clause having a single argument (S) and it is unmarked. But (1b) is a transitive clause with two arguments, one as a subject (A) and another as an object (O). In this clause, O is also unmarked as in (1a) but A is marked differently, viz. with the ergative case marker -le. In Nepali, S and O are morphologically unmarked in the same way but A is marked differently. If languages organize their grammatical relations in this way, they are called ergative languages.

Ergative languages are opposed to accusative languages, which mark S and A in the same way but O differently. This is exemplified in Sanskrit sentences in (2).

(2) a. raamah ogatchhat - a single argument clause
Ram - O go-PT3
"Ram went."

b. raamah pustakam apathat - multi-argument clause
Ram - O book - ACC read - PT
"Ram read a book."

In these sentences, (2a) is an intransitive clause having a single argument (S) whereas (2b) is a transitive clause having one argument as a subject (A) and another as an object (O). In clause (2a) the argument (S) is marked by the case inflection. In the same way (A) argument in (2b) is also marked by the same case inflection but O is marked by the accusative case marker -am. A language which organizes its grammatical relations in this way is called accusative language.

2. The morphology of ergativity in Nepali

In Nepali, the ergative subject is invariably marked with the case inflection -le. It is suffixed to a nominal stem, e.g.

(3) a. ramesh-le kazalo topi kim-yo (Adhikary, 2005 B.S: 38)
Ramesh - ERG black cap buy-PT 3SM
"Ramesh bought a black cap."

b. biradaa-le dadha khao-yo (Sharma, 2005 B.S: 170)
cat-ERG milk drink-PT 3SM
"The cat drank milk."

c. hawaa-le chaasaa wyd-ERG roof tear-PT 3SM
"The storm tore the roof."

d. chhoraao-le bhaat khao-yo (Pokhrel, 2006 B.S:36)
son - ERG rice eat-PT 3SM
"The son ate rice."

These examples show that the nominal stem is a root unless it ends with -o. Thus, ramesh (3a) and hawaa (3c) inflect with -le without any change in their form. But when we attach the ergative -le to biradaa (3b) and chhoraao (3d) the word final singular form -o changes into -aa, as in biradaa (3b) and chhoraao (3d). Such morphophonemic alternations occur with other cases.1

1 Note, however, that some western dialects of Nepali do not induce o→aa change. Thus we have the following:

biraalao-le dudh khao-yo. (cf. 3b)
chohoraao-le bhaat khao-yo (cf. 3d)
The pronominal ergative subjects are also invariably marked with the case inflection -le as nominal subjects. The following table reveals the ergative marking on pronominals in Nepali.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal roots</th>
<th>Ergative marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mai-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haami</td>
<td>haami-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tā-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timi</td>
<td>timi-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapaai</td>
<td>tapaai-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uniharu</td>
<td>uniharu-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uni (hon.)</td>
<td>uni-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tini</td>
<td>tini-le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Ergative marking on Nepali pronominals

In Table 1 we can see that when the ergative case-marking -le is suffixed to pronouns like ma, tā, u, uni, and tini, their forms have changed into mai-, tā-, u-, un-, and tini-. At this stage we have not been able to explain these morphophonemic changes. They require further study and exploration.

Apart from ergative marking, the nominals and pronominals in Nepali also inflect for gender and number. The relative position of the inflectional categories affixed to these nominals and pronominals is presented in (4).

(4) Noun/pronoun - (Gender) - Number - ERG
   a. ket-i-haru-le 'girls'
   b. maanis-haru-le 'men'
   c. haami-haru-le 'we'

In these examples, the ergative case marker -le in Nepali is suffixed to gender and number inflections following the nominals and pronominals.

It is to be noted that the ergative marker -le is homophonic with the instrumental marker -le. It is a widespread phenomenon in several South Asian languages.²

3. The syntax of ergativity in Nepali

In this section, we try to analyze the properties characterizing ergativity at clausal/sentential level in Nepali. Cases and grammatical relations (subject/object) often have no one-to-one relation in Indo-Aryan languages including Nepali. Thus, not all nominative nominals are subjects and conversely, not all subjects are nominative nominals. However, ergative case is unique in the sense that it always has unidirectional relation with the subject. That is to say, all ergative nominals are subject though all subjects are not ergative, as shown in (5).

(5) a. ERG → SUBJECT
    b. * ERG ↔ SUBJECT²

This formulation implies that all ergative nominals must be subject. If so, then we assume that all the properties of subjecthood (proposed by Keenan (1976)) will naturally follow. In this section we examine the syntactic behavior of the ergative subject in the various facts about Nepali syntax. They include the following:

(a) constituent order
(b) transitivity, tense and aspect
(c) verb agreement
(d) anaphoric relation
(e) control site
(f) case demotion
(g) coordinate construction

3.1 Constituent order

We assume that the basic constituent order in a Nepali transitive clause is SOV and only for special semantic and pragmatic effects the basic constituent order is permuted (see Regmi, 1988). This assumption implies that the nominals with ergative marking -le, which are always subjects, occur clause initially. For example, consider the following sentence in (6).

(6) raam-le haari-laai kut-yo
    Ram-ERG Hari-ACC beat-PT
    "Ram beat Hari."

² This also operates in several South Asian Languages including Hindi (Mohanan 1994)
3.2 Transitivity, tense and aspect

Nepali ergative marking -le on the subject is a complex product of the properties associated with its verb. There are three verbal properties which conspire to yield the ergative marking -le on the subject of a clause. These properties are transitivity, tense and aspect. With a transitive clause in past tense and/or perfective aspect the subject is obligatorily marked by the ergative -le. But in a non-past or imperfective aspect with an intransitive clause the only nominal argument is unmarked. Consider the examples in (7).

(7) a. *raam/raam-le laathī  dobaar-yo
Ram-ERG stick bend-PT
"Ram bent a stick."

b. *Ma/mai-le yo kitaab  padh-e ko  ch-u
1s-ERG this book read-PRES PERF Aux PRES1s
"I have read this book."

c. *raam/raam-le laathī do-baari  rahe-ko  thi-yo
Ram-ERG stick bend-PCL IMPERF AUX-PT3sm
"Ram had been bending the stick."

d. *Ma/mai-le yo kitaab padhi  raheko  ch-u
1s-ERG this book read-PCL IMP AUX-PRES1s
"I have been reading this book."

e. māi/mai-le  ghar  ga-yē
1s-O/ERG home go-PT3sm
"I went home."

The ergative marking cannot always be licensed by a conflation of transitivity, tense and aspect in Nepali. Consider the following examples in this regard.

(8) a. ketaa-le bhui-maa lad-nu  par-cha. (Pokhrel, 2056 B.S.: 50)
boy-ERG ground-LOC fall-INF OBLNPT
"The boy should/has to fall on the ground."

b. mai-le vidyalaya ja-nu  cha. (Adhikary, 2052 B.S.: 8)
1-ERG school go-INF AUXNPT
"I have to go to school."

In both these examples, the verbs are intransitive marked with non-past tense and non-perfective aspect and yet they trigger ergative marking on their subjects. It seems we need to look for some semantic explanation like 'necessity/obligation' for the choice of an ergative subject. Suppose that this semantic basis is encoded by deontic modality. If so then the morphosyntactic factors conspiring for the choice of the ergative subject fall into two disjunctive

3.3 Verb agreement

Like nominative subjects, ergative subjects also control the verb agreement in Nepali, e.g.

(9)ุ/us-le aignumhūr-īlai  kuti raheko  ch-ā/kut-yo.
3s/ERG own brother-ACC beat-PRES PROGAUXPRES3smvbeat-PT3sm
"He has been beating his younger brother/ He beat his younger brother."

It is to be noted that the subjects associated with cases other than nominative and ergative do not trigger the verb agreement in Nepali.

3.4 Anaphoric relation

Unlike English type languages, Nepali behaves rather differently in terms of anaphor-antecedent relation. In English type languages, anaphors invariably take subjects within their minimal clauses or NPs as their antecedents, e.g.

(10) a. John, showed Jim, his, house.
b. John, like [Jim's pictures of himself]

In Nepali, however, anaphors can have not only subjects (including ergative ones) but also objects as their antecedents, e.g.

(11) a. raam-le svaasni-laai aaphnai, saari  di-yo
R-ERG wife-DAT REF1 NOM give-PT3sM
"Ram gave his wife her own sari."

Nepali, thus, contrasts with Hindi, in which an ergative subject cannot control verb agreement, e.g.

(12) a. raam roti  khataa  hai
Ram bread eat be pres 3s
"Ram eats bread."
b. raam-ne  roti  khān-yii
pf 3sfem
(15) a. \([raam ga-eko] baato\)  
R.: NOM go-P way  
"The way Ram went"

b. \([raam-le gar-eko] kaam\)  
R.-ERG do-P work  
"The work done by Ram"

(16) a. timi bharai na-n-ikana haamro gaphai  
2sNOM evening NEG-cone-CONV IpGEN chat-EMPH ja-daina.  
go-NPT3sNEG  
"Unless you come in the evening, our chat can’t go on". (Clark, 1989: 164)

b. timi-le bhan-era maatrai yo kaam gar-yo.  
2mh-ERG say-CONV only DEM work:NOM do-PT3sM  
"He did this only because you told him so."

3.7 Coordinate construction

Except for the presence of a PRO-element, conjunction reduction has similar properties as converbial chaining (and earlier literature often conflates the two, e.g., Kachru et al., 1976). In the pragmatically unmarked case, the dropped element (pro) can be an ergative subject (16a), but this is not a syntactic constraint. The examples in (16b-d) show that under some conditions, the dropped element can also be the object.

(17) a. raam-le kitaab kin-yo ra _ ghar ga-yo  
R.-ERG book buy-PT3sm - home go-PT3sm  
"Ram bought the book and went home."

b. raam aa-yo ra sabai-le pit-na lag-e.  
R.: NOM come-PT3sM and all:ERG hit-INF begin-PT3p  
"Ram came and every body started to hit him."

c. mai-le gilaas phyaake ra pro phut-yo.  
1ERG glass:NOM throw-PT1s and break-PT23sM  
"I threw the glass and it broke."

d. raam-le svaasni-llaai aaphno saari di-yo  
R.-ERG wife-DAT REFLE saari:NOM give-PT3sM  
"Ram gave his wife her own sari."

3.6 Case demotion

Nepali is different from Hindi and Maithili in overtly allowing subjects without enforcing any case demotion rule (cf., among others, Verma, 1976). Both nominative and ergative are fine in complement (13), attribute (14) and converb (15) clauses (See Bickel and Yadava, 2000 for details):
Conclusion

To sum up, the ergative morphosyntax in Nepali is characterized by a set of properties. It is morphologically marked with the case particle -le. In an unmarked construction, the ergative subject appears clause initially usually in a transitive past clause. Like the nominative subject, it shows agreement with the verb. The antecedent of an anaphor is not only the ergative or non-ergative subject but also the object. The control site in a Nepali converbal construction is the ergative or other types of subject. Nepali overtly allows subjects without enforcing any case demotion rule. In the pragmatically unmarked case, the dropped element (pro) can be an ergative subject (16a), but this is not a syntactic constraint in a pro-drop language.

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THE CATEGORY OF ASPECT IN NEPALI AND MANIPURI

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Abstract

This paper aims at documenting and analyzing the morpho-syntactic structures and semantics of verbal aspects in Nepali, a modern Indo-Aryan language and Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language of North East India, within the framework of modern linguistic approaches such as Comrie (1976), Bhat (1999) and Bybee et al (1994).

1. Introduction

The category of aspect is closest to the verbal stem (Hopper and Traugott, 1993:143, Bybee, 1985:34). More than half of the languages of the world have inflectional aspect (Lyons, 1995:323, Bybee, 1985:32). Aspect can be expressed by means of inflections as in 'on proclital (Pfv) he read and 'onclital (Ipfv) he was reading' in Russian (Comrie, 1976:1), lexical verb as in 'cough(SEMEL) and 'know' (STAT), etc. in English and periphrastic expressions such as English progressive 'be-ing' and past habitual 'used to'. As aspect is the closest category to the verbal stem, it is the most grammaticalised and has the dominant role in the meaning of verbal groups. The most explicit universal semantic features of aspect are perfective, imperfective, telic, atelic, continuous, progressive, durative, imperfective, etc. There are closely linked semantic features of aspect in perfective vs. imperfective, telic vs. atelic, and progressive vs. durative. Verbs may code rapid changes or processes of certain duration or relatively less stable states. These common semantic features of the aspect and verbal stem bring these categories closest to each other morphologically.

The category of aspect is widely discussed topic in linguistics. Comrie (1976:3) defines aspect as different ways of viewing the internal temporal consistency of a situation. Comrie (1976) based his study mainly on Slavic and other European languages. To Bhat (1999:43), aspect is the temporal structure of an event denoted by the verb. Aspect is grammaticalised verbal category, which views the internal structure of a situation. Aspect is not only restricted to verbs but extends to the whole predicate (Lyons, 1995:322). According to Givon (1984:272), boundedness of time span is essential feature of aspect and it involves phasal values of verbal meanings such as beginning, ending and middle.

Based on the studies of these scholars, the category of aspect includes concepts such as anterior, continuous, durative, punctual, habitual, progressive, perfective, etc. These are cross-linguistically valid concepts related to aspect. The languages of the world have different ways of expressing these meanings. Three types of strategies employed by the languages of the world to express aspectual meanings are identified. They are by means of inflections, lexical verbs and periphrastic expressions.

2. Nepali aspect system

Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language, is predominantly a verb-final language. Abdukk (1974:14) lists four types of aspectual markers: the perfective marker '-eko', perceptive marker '-e', imperative marker '-ne' and progressive marker '-dai'. Sharma (1980:34) notes the distinction between perfective and imperceptive in which the suffixes '-eko' and '-e' denote perfective and '-ndo', '-nde' and '-ne' denote imperceptive aspect. Peterson (1999:340) also notes the aspectual distinction between perfective marked by '-e' and imperceptive marked by '-ndo' with different allomorph variations of 'n' after vowel nasalisation after diphthong and O after consonant.

2.1 Perfective aspect

In Nepali, '-e' occurs with attributivizer '-ko', with conjunction '-ra' in a sequential convorb, with different temporal words in conditional and concessive sentences, with explicator verbs (also called vector verbs) of serial or compound verbs and with non past tense marker of be '-cha'. Sentence (1) is an example of perfective plus attributive marker:

1. Pa'dh -e ko manohe
   read -pfv. ATT man
   'Educated man.'

In sentence (1) perfective marker '-e' plus attributive marker '-ko' changes the verbal stem 'padh' into a participial adjective.

2. ma pokhara ga - e ko chu
   l.s. pokhara go - pfv. ATT be.NPT.L.s.
   'I have been to Pokhara.'

'ga-e-ko' in sentence (2) is not participial as 'padh -e - ko' in sentence (1). It has the meaning of experiential perfect similar to English as shown by the translation. The perfective marker '-e' occurs in sequential convorb. The sequential convverbs link the two clauses. They are also called conjunctive participles sentence (3) illustrates the use of perfective '-e' in a convoral construction.
50 / The category ...

3. ma ghar a - e - ra bhat kha - n - chu
   I.s. home go -pfv and rice eat - NCNT - NPT.1.s.
   'I will have rice after going home.'

The action denoted by 'ga - e - ra' is viewed perfectly. It means
cession if it is followed by 'tapati' or 'pani' meaning 'also' as illustrated
by sentence (4).

4. ra: m-le na - padh - e panti paisha ra: mro kama - e - ko
   ra:m -ERG NEG -read -pfv also money good earn-pfv-ATT
   be.NPT
   Although Ram is not educated, he has earned a lot

With temporal words such as 'pachi' 'after' and 'samma' 'until', it forms the
temporal background for the action in the matrix clause:

5. timi ga - e pachi ma ja: - n - chu
   2.s.MH go-pfv after 1.s. go - NCNT-NPT.1.s
   I will go after your leaving.

In sentence (6) the morpheme 'e' gives perceptive meaning. The
speaker was not aware of the education of Hari's son, when he came to know it,
he made this utterance with a sense of surprise.

6. Hari - ka chora - le dher - ait padh - e - cha
   Hari -GEN son-ERG much -Foc read -PFv-NPT.3.s
   Hari's son has got higher education.

The past tense marker morpheme with its various forms of person,
number and gender marker also gives perfective meaning. Sentence (7) is from

7. us - le ka:m gar - yo
   3.s - ERG work do - pfv
   'He worked.'

Pokharel (1999:195) glosses ' - yo' as perfective but it has other
function as marker of past tense, of person, number and gender marker. It has
all the semantic features of perfective as discussed in the opening paragraph
of this section. The present participate plus certain adverbs give perfective
meaning in modern Indo-Aryan languages. Here is an example from Hindi
(Porizka, 1981: 127):

   Water boil - p part .adv tea on put give - NPT.2.HH
   'As soon as water boils, pour it on the tea.'

Similar condition holds for Nepali. Sentence (9) illustrates it.

9. Rita ma - lai dekh - ne bittikai bhita bhag - in
   Rita ls - DAT see -part adv inside ran-Pfv.PAST.3.S.F
   As soon as Rita saw me, she went in.

The expressions 'khaul-jate hi:' in sentence (7) and 'dekh - ne bittikai
are viewed perfectly. Another perfective morpheme is '-' - i - and its negated
counterpart is '-' - ikama '. It is homophonous with the binding morpheme
between the main and explicator verb of a serial verb as in 'gar-i- di-em', and
the past and perfective feminine marker as in sentence (10).

10. Rita ghar a gai-i
    Rita home go - PfV. PAST.3.S.F
    'Rita went home.'

Sentences (12-16) illustrate the use of binding morpheme between the
main verb and explicator of a serial verb (abbreviated BM hereafter). The
perfective marker '-' - i that occurs only in converbal construction is replaceable
by '-' - ea' constructions. Sentences (3) and (11) have same meaning.

11. ma ghar a ga - l bha:t kha: - n - chu
    1.s home go - pfv rice eat - NCNT-NPT.1.s
    'I will have rice after going home.'

The explicator verbs of serial verbs that occur after BM imply
perfective and modality meanings. Some lexical verbs are grammaticalised
and used as explicator verbs to give perfective meanings. They are: 'saknu ', 'dinu'
'magnu ', 'codru ' and' hailu '.

12. ra:m le ka:m gar i sak - yo
    ra:m - ERG ka:m do - BM finish - PFV.PAST.3.S.NF
    'Ram finished all the work.'

13. us - le us-ko ghar bec-i di-yo
    3.s - ERG 3.s -GEN house sell - BM give - PFV.PAST.3.S.NF
    'He already sold his house.'

14. us - le masu kha:i chod - yo
    3 s - ERG meat eat - BM leave - PfV.PAST.3.S.NF
    'At last he ate the meat.'

Sentence (14) means that the person was trying to eat the meat, but
could not eat because of some reasons, now everything is clear and his long
awaited desire is fulfilled.

15. ka:m dhama: dham gar - i hal-a
    work fast fast do - BM put-NPT.IMP
    'Do the work immediately.'

16. Us - le ma - sangi cithi lekh - i ma:g - yo
    3s - ERG 1.s - with letter write - BM request - PfV.PAST.3.S.NF
    'He requested me to write a letter for him.'
2.1.2 Imperfective aspect

Unlike perfective, the actions are viewed internally in imperfective aspect. Imperfective aspect views actions in different phases. It views events as on-going or habitual process and do not terminate as a result. In imperfective aspect a situation is viewed without any specific beginning or end (Comrie, 1976: 4). An imperfective situation is viewed in progress either in past tense or present. An imperfective situation may also refer to a habitual one, which includes the reference time (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994: 125).

The suffix ‘-dai’ the progressive aspect in Nepali refers to an on going action at reference time (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994:126). It applies to dynamic predicates and the actions need effort to keep going on. Sentence (17) is an example of progressive in Nepali.

17. ra : m padh - dai cha
Ra : m read - PROG be.NPT.1s
‘Ram is reading.’

In finite clauses progressive is followed by ‘cha’ form of be verb, which indicates tense, person, number and gender markers. Peterson (1999: 340) notes that ‘MDA’ is the imperfective marker. It has three allomorphic variations ‘n ‘ in conjunction with vowels as in ‘ja-n cha’ ‘he goes’, nasalisation after diphthongs as in ‘gau - m cha’ it sings and zero morpheme ‘O’ as in ‘gar - O cha’ ‘he does’. The zero morpheme ‘O’ can be replaced by ‘.dai’ without any change in meaning as in ‘gar - d - cha’

Habituality in past is expressed by ‘-th’ - and it is always followed by person, number and gender markers. Participle suffix ‘ ne (-v-th) - is also used to express past habituality without any change in meaning. Sentences (18) and (19) have the same meaning.

18. ma tyas-bela dher - ai padh - th - em
1.s. that-time much - Foc read -HB-PAST.1s
At that time I used to study hard.

19. ma tyas - bela dher - ai padh - ne gar - th - em
1.s that time much - Foc read -ppart do - HAB-PAST.1s
‘At the time I used to study hard.’

The durative marker ‘-da’ occurs in non - finite clauses.

20. ma ghara ja: m - da purano sati bhet - em
1.s home go DUR old friend meet- PAST.1s
I met my old friend when I went home.’

Sentence (20) means that the speaker met his friend any time from his leaving for home, during his stay at home or on his way back from home. When the durative marker ‘ - da’ and progressive marker ‘-dai’ occur in reduplicated stems give continuous meaning.

21. hami hid - da hid - dai da : mda pari
1p walk-DUR walk-PROG hill other side
pu-gyum
reach - pfv.PAST.1P
Walking continuously we reached other side of the hill.

The three explicator verbs ‘rahamu’, ‘ra : khnu’ and ‘a:unu are inherently imperfective and give imperfective meaning even if combined with perfective suffix. These verbs as explicator verbs are not compatible with progressive marker ‘-dai’.

22. ma bahan dekhi padh - i rah - e - ko chu
1.s. morning from read BM remain -pfv- ATT be.NPT.1s
‘I have been reading since morning.’

The explicator verb ‘a:unu’ is different from ‘rahamu’ and ‘r:akhnu’, because it also takes ‘-dai’ as the binding morpheme.

23. ha: mi pahuna - tait bhagawan - ko rup man - dai
1.p guest - DAT god - GEN form respect- PROG a: - e - ka cha-um
come - pfv - ATT be - NPT.1P
‘We have been respecting guests as god.’

The sentences, which have the copula as only predicate, are aspectually neutral. The two forms of copula verb ‘cha’ and ‘ho’ and past form of ‘cha’ and ‘ho’, ‘thyo’ occur with adjectives, post-positional phrases and with nominal arguments respectively and they do not show any aspectual distinction.

3. Manipuri aspect system

Manipuri verbs have highly grammaticalized system of viewing at the internal structure of an event. The aspectual distinction of perfective and imperfective is dominant. Manipuri verb morphology is very complex, Chelliah (1997: 200-42) discusses Manipuri verb. According to her, a verb in Manipuri consists of a stem plus derivational morphemes and inflectional morphemes. The verbal derivational morphemes are classified into three levels on the basis of meaning they represent. The first level derivational category means the
The category ...

desire or intention of the agent and manner and direction in which the action is performed.

The second level derivational categories have commutative, habitual, directional and causative meanings. The third level derivational categories express aspect. Citing the evidence from (Matisoff, 1973) and (De Lancie, 1980) Chelliah (1997:226) argues that directional markers imply aspectual meanings in Tibeto-Burmese languages. Manipuri proximal marker ' - la ' can have similar meaning to English present perfect as Comrie (1976:106) argues that in the English sentences ' I have just written a letter ', the speaker is seen as physically emerging from an activity. The morpheme ' - la ' is homophonous with prospective aspect marker.

24. angang sing ashida tum la la - ni
    Child - p here sleep - DIR PROS-COP
    'Children are going to sleep here.'

Another directional marker - lak ' indicates perfective aspect.

The meaning of ' - lak ', as illustrated in sentence (25) is the completion of an action and moving towards the place of speech.

25. aina ising-tu thatkolkalpa ni
    ai - na ising-tu thak - lok lak pa - ni
    1s - cont water-EMPH drink-compl-DIR NOM-COP
    'I have drunk all the water.'

The directional marker- ' tu ', which means the action performed away from the speech event, signals experiential perfect aspect.

26. ai dilli chature
    ai dilli chat - lu la - e
    1.s Delhi go-DIR pvf-NFUT
    'I have been to Delhi.'

The lexical verb root - haw- meaning ' start ' is grammaticalised and functions as an aspect marker. The inceptive marker - haw- ' indicates the beginning of an action or initiation of an action or encouraging someone to initiate an action.

27. ma: thabak tauhawre
    ma: thabak taw - haw - la - e
    3.s work do - START pvf-NFUT
    'He has started his job.'

28. ma: ca:k thonghawrabani
    ma: ca:k thong-haw - laba-ni
    3s rice cook - START Having-COP
    She has started cooking. (She is still cooking).

29. nahak ashi lairik pa-hawde
    nahak ashi lairik pa - haw - la - e
    2s.HH this book read -START-NEG pvf-NFUT
    'You haven't read this book (please read it).'

The suffix -la- is the perfective marker in Manipuri. This morpheme is realized differently depending on the final sound of the verbal root and tense marker. It is realized as / -le-, -me-, -nre,-re/. Sentences (30-33) illustrate the use of perfective marker:

30. ai chate nang lai hawro
    ai chat - la - e nang haw - la - o
    1s go pvf-NFUT 2.s remain - START - PROX-IMP
    'You remain here after I have gone.'

31. aichatpa kanda thong hangamme
    aichat - pa kanda thong hang - lam - la - e
    1s go-nom while door open-EVD pvf-NFUT
    'When I went the door was open.'

32. ma: army change
    ma: army chang - la - e
    3.s army enter pvf-NFUT
    'He has been recruited in army.'

33. ai ca:k care
    ai ca:k ca - la - e
    1.s rice eat pvf-NFUT
    'I have eaten rice.'

The progressive marker - le ' indicates an actions on progress.

34. ma: ca:k ca:ri
    ma: ca:k ca: li - i
    3s rice eat - PROG-NFUT
    'He is eating rice.'

The suffix - lam ' occurs between stem and aspect marker and indicates remoteness both in past or in future.

35. ma: ca:k caramme
    ma: ca:k ca - lam - la - e
    3.s rice eat - REM PVF-NFUT
    'He had eaten rice...'

36. oja regmi paper ihawramlagani
    oja regmi paper i-haw - ram - la-gani
    Mr. Regmi paper write - START-REM PVF-FUT
    'It is possible that Mr. Regmi will be writing paper.'
4. Conclusion

Aspect as a cross linguistically valid category is further proved by the close examination of the aspectual systems of Nepali and Manipuri. One fundamental point of interest is that Nepali has aspect marker closest to the verbal stem where as in Manipuri modality markers occur between verbal roots and aspect marker (Chelliah, 1997). The directional markers also imply aspectual meaning. Therefore modality markers are more grammaticalised and semantically more important than aspect markers in Manipuri. Aspect is more prominent in Nepali than in Manipuri because, except the 'chd' and 'ho' forms of 'be' verb, all the predicates in Nepali are aspectually marked. On the other hand, Manipuri does not aspectualise all the predicates.

Abbreviations

- 0 - Zero morpheme
- 1 - first person
- 2 - second person
- 3 - third person
- Adv - adverb
- ATT - attributiser
- BM - serial verb binding morpheme
- compl. - complete
- cont - controller
- COP - copula
- DAT - dative
- DIR - directional
- EMPH - emphasizer
- ERG - ergative
- F - feminine
- FUT - future
- Foc - focalization particle
- GEN - genitive
- haw - start
- HH - high honorific
- Ipfv - Imperfective
- MH - middle honorific
- NCNT - non continesous
- NF - non-feminine
- NFUT - non-future
- NOM - nominiser
- NPT - Non-past
- PAST - past tense
- PfV - perfective
- p - plural
- ppart - present participle
- PROG - progressive
- PROS - prospective aspect
- marker
- PROX - proximity marker
- REM - marker that denotes an action away from speech
- s - singular
- SEMEL - Semelfactive
- STAT - stative
- - verb

References:


3. a. māi bhat pokai-ke lag-2Tu
   I-ERG rice cook,INF-PROS-begin-be.NPT1S
   'I am about to cook.'
   [I have begun the act of cooking.]

b. u bhat pokai-ke lag-laT
   he rice cook,INF-PROS begin-be.NPT2S
   'He is about to cook rice.'

c. māi bhat pokai-ke lag-lak-rahi
   I-ERG rice cook,INF PROS begin-PERF be-PST1S
   'I was about to cook rice.'

d. u-le bhat pokai-ke lag-rahi
   he-ERG rice cook,INF PROS begin-PERF be.PS2S
   'He was about to cook rice.'

Table a: The verb *suti- 'sleep' in Non-past Prospective Aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>sutai-ke-laga-Tu</td>
<td>sutai-ke-laga-Ti</td>
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<td>sutai-ke-laga-Thin</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table b: The verb *pakai- 'cook' in Past Prospective.

<table>
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</thead>
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<td>pakai-ke-laga-lak-ra-lan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Perfective aspect
   Perfective aspect represents the action pure and simple, without any additional over tones (Comrie, 1976:21). It technically draws attention to the internal time structuring of the situation.
   In Kuami *-a* is suffixed to the verb stem except third person personal pronoun to indicate the meaning of perfective aspect in Non-past tense.

4. a. māi ghare go-a-Tu
   I-ERG house-LOC go-PERF-be-NPT1S
   'I have gone home.'

b. tuthe ghare go-a-Thin
   you, he house go-PERF-NPT2Sh
   'You have gone home.'

c. timahar ghare go-a-Ta
   you house-LOC go-PERF-NPT2Pl
   'You have gone home.'

d. unhar ghare go-a-Thin
   they house go-PERF-NPT3Pl
   'They have gone home.'

Table a: *kha- 'eat' verb in Non-Past Perfective

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>kha-a-Thin</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>khaia-la-Ta</td>
<td>khaia-la-Ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd honorific</td>
<td>kha-a-Thin</td>
<td>kha-a-Thin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes particle `<sak>` is added which means 'finished' to express perfective meaning in non-past tense.

5. a. māi kam garai-sak-a-Tu
   I-ERG work do-finish-PERF-be-NPT1S
   'I have done the work.'

b. hamre kam ni-g, ri-s, k-o, -ti
   we work NEG-do-finish-PERF-be-NPTPl
   'We have not done work.'

Table b: *gar- 'do' verb in Non-Past Perfective

<table>
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<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
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<td>garai-sak-a-laT</td>
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<td>3rd honorific</td>
<td>garai-sak-a-Thin</td>
<td>garai-sak-a-Thin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the other hand, *<lak>* is suffixed to indicate the meaning of perfective aspect in past tense.

6.

a. *maī ghare gai-lak-ra-nu*
   1-ERG house-LOC go-PERF-be-PST1S
   'I had gone home.'

b. *hamre ghare gai-lak-ra-li*
   we home go-PERF-be-PST1Pl
   'We had gone home.'

c. *u ghare gai-lak-rahi*
   he house go-PERF-be-PST3S
   'He had gone home.'

d. *tinhor ghare gai-lak-rahi*
   they house go-PERF-be-PST3Pl
   'They had gone home.'

Table: *piu- 'drink' verb in Past Perfect Aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>2nd</td>
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<td><em>piu-lak-ra-lan</em></td>
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<td>3rd</td>
<td><em>piu-lak-rahi</em></td>
<td><em>piu-lak-rahi</em></td>
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<td>3rd honorific</td>
<td><em>piu-lak-ra-lan</em></td>
<td><em>piu-lak-ra-lan</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Conclusion

From the data described above we can classify the following aspectual opposition in Kumal language.

![Aspect Diagram]

Abbreviations

1-First Person
2- Second Person
3- Third Person
E/ERG-Ergative
EXIS- Existential (Aux)
G/GEN-Genitive
h-honorific
INF-Infinitival Participle ending
INS-Inferential Mood
I/INS-Instrumental
L/LOC-Locutive
NEG-Negative
PST-Past
PART-Participle
PERF-Perfect aspect
PI-Plural
PROG-Progressive Aspect
S-Singular

References

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AGGLUTINATION IN GARO

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1. Introduction

Grierson, in his Lingusitic Survey of India (Vol. III, Part II, 1903) classifies Garo under Bara or Bodo group. Schafer(1955) puts it under North Central Barish Sub-division of Baric Division of Tibeto-Burman family. However, Robbins Burlig who has been working on Garo for a large part of later 20\textsuperscript{th} century puts it under the reasonably well established sub-group of North East India, a group which he calls’Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpa’; a classification based on the names of the languages used by the local people themselves instead of creating arbitrary nomenclature which many earlier scholars had done (see Burling 1998). He tries to clarify the confusion created by Benedict by mixing ethnic and linguistic relationship of Garo by calling A’tong and Ruga “Garo A” and Garo proper “Garo B” (1972:fn.20).

Garo is an all inclusive term for several dialects spoken in Garo Hills of Meghalaya and some languages (or dialects) spoken in the Assam valley and in hill areas to the south.

Achik is considered to be the standard\textsuperscript{2} dialect. It is the form of the Garo language which is used for literary purposes, which is fast superceding other dialects. It is spoken in its purity in the centre of the Garo Hills. The data used for this paper is from Achik.

Though several scholars and linguists have worked in this language, and works on Garo grammar also exist, this paper attempts to look at the morphological typology of this language. Garo is an agglutinating language at its best. Words in Garo typically contain a linear sequence of morphs: where each morpheme corresponds to a single lexical meaning or grammatical function.

This paper will consider agglutination operating at nominal and verbal category realised as affixation to the roots.

2. Nominal agglutination

2.1 Nominal classifier

Garo nouns are marked by the presence of classifiers affixed to them. Whenever a noun is followed by a numeral, a classifier is prefixed to the numeral. A classifier refers to a particular class of nouns. Let’s look at a few of them:

A. Sak is the classifier for (+) human, as in

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol.19, 2002, pp. 64-71

1a. Mandi sak sa 1b. mechik ma sak sa
Person CL one woman fem CL one
‘one person’ ‘one woman’

B. mang for (+) animate, (-) human

2a. achak mang sa 2b. achak mang gni
dog CL one dog CL two
‘one dog’ ‘two dogs’

C. ge\textsuperscript{2} for (-) life and potential (-) life or something that withers

3a. choki ge\textsuperscript{2} sa 3b. bijal ge\textsuperscript{2} sa
chair CL one flower CL one
‘one chair’ ‘one flower’

D. king\textsuperscript{3} for flat things and things made of flat things like books

4a. kitap king sa 4b. ampatchi king honga
book CL one bamboo mat CL five
‘one book’ ‘five bamboo mats’

E. rong for fruits, stones and something that is round

5a. ro?ong rong gni 5b. komila rong sa
rock CL two orange CL one
‘two rocks’ ‘one orange’

2.2 Generic classifier

Another set of classifier that Garo exhibits is in the form of generic nouns. For example, do? means ‘hen/cock family’. This is extended as a generic classifier to mean ‘bird’ and is prefixed before the name of any specific bird. For example,

6a. Do? sep
CL duck
‘duck’

6b. do? chok
CL sparrow
‘sparrow’

Similarly, to refer to words related to plant, the classifier bi is prefixed. For example, bipang ‘tree’, bigil ‘bark (of a tree), bibal ‘flower’, bibak ‘leaf’, bitip ‘nest’, bitich ‘fruit’ etc.

2.3 Pluralization

Rang is the plural morpheme, which is used to suggest a group or collection. For example, bol-rang is ‘trees’, but it also means ‘forest’, which is
an agglomeration of trees. But when one uses a numeral with a noun, then rang is not used; the mention of the number itself is sufficient, as seen under classifier. One says mandi-rang to mean 'men', but one cannot say * mandi-rang-sak-gni or * mandi-sak-gni-rang to mean 'two men'. It should be mandi-sak-gni.

2.4 Gender

The gender is marked by suffixing bipa 'male' (or masculine) or bima 'female' (or feminine) obligatorily subsequent to the respective nouns in case of animates other than human. For example, singho says nothing about gender—either male or female. Singho-bipa is 'male lion' (there is no morpheme other than this to indicate gender). Human male or man is measa and female or woman is mechik (mechik-ma if she is married and has children). The endings -pa and -ma, generally refer, to 'fatherhood' and 'motherhood' respectively.

A. Human

a. Chakol measa
   Servant male
   '(male) servant'

b. chakol mechik
   servant female
   'maid servant'

B. Non-human

a. Singho bipa
   Lion masc
   '(male) lion'

b. singho bima
   lion fem
   'lioness'

c. matchu bipa
   tiger masc
   'tiger'

d. matcha bima
   tiger fem
   'tigress'

e. matchu bipa
   ox masc
   'ox'

f. matchu bima
   cow fem
   'cow'

g. do? de bipa
   bird peacock masc
   'peacock'

h. do? de bima
   bird peahen fem
   'peahen'

2.5 Diminutive

B? -sa means 'child' (human child). This concept is transferred and extended to other animates to suggest their young ones.

Animal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Matchu bima</th>
<th>young one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| cow fem       | matchu bi?sa cow child 'calf'

b. mes-bima
   sheep fem
   'sheep'

2.6 Case

Garo shows nominal declension in well formed case marking

A. Nominative = Ø

Samson Nelson-ko dok'-a
Samson Nelson Acc beat pres
'Samson beats Nelson.'

B. Accusative = ko

Samson Nelson-ko dok'-a
Samson Nelson Acc beat pres
'Samson beats Nelson'

C. Dative = na

Anga nang?-na kitap-ko ron'-a
I you Dative book -Acc give-pres
'I give you a book'

D. Ablative = oni chini

ua Tura -oni re? baha
s/he Tura Abl come past
's/he came from Tura'

E. Instrumental = chi

Ua pen-chi sea
s/he pen inst write-pres
'S/he writes with a pen'

F. Genitive = ni

Anga ang-ni nok- o dong'-a
I Nom I Gen house Loc exist pres
'I am in/at my house'
G. Locative = o

Anga ang-ni nok-o dong-a
I Nom I Gen house Loc exist pres
'I am in/at my house'

3. Verbal Agglutination

Every verb in Garo ends in '-a', which is an 'unmarked' tense ('-a' ending suggests neutrality or unmarked feature which is reflected in adjectives and adverbs also). There are number of morphemes to express manner, degree, or character of the action, actor, or object acted upon, tense, aspects etc. by placing the morpheme after the verbal root. This can be observed in the following examples.

3.1 Tense and aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cha? -a</td>
<td>cha -ha</td>
<td>cha -gen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Eats'</td>
<td>'ate'</td>
<td>'will eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Perfect There are different ways to express perfective.

| cha? - jok | dal?-jok |
| Eat        | big perf |
| 'Eaten'    | 'has become big' |

-aha is past marker in an unmarked order. Chim is suffixed to aha in marked order which also makes it perfective. man is placed after the verb root and before the past marker aha.

Man suggests 'completion'.

B. Progressive Eng-a is a progressive marker, as in,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cha? -a</td>
<td>cha -ha</td>
<td>cha -gen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Eating'</td>
<td>'was eating'</td>
<td>'will be eating'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In future progressive -ku is also used in place of -eng which is quite closer to progressive but means 'still/yet' or 'more' as in,

grap -ku -gen cha? -ku -gen
cry still/yet futeat still/more fut
'will still cry' 'will still eat'(or 'will eat more')

-ok is suffixed to future marker -gen to express immediate or intentional future which is realised as -ginok, as in:

cha? -gin -ok
eat fut intentionality
'will eat'

-na expresses 'wish', -be expresses intensity, as in,

cha? -na -be
eat wish intensity
'wishes to eat intensely'

3.2 Imperative

-bo is the morpheme for imperative, as in:

cha? -bo
eat imperative
'eat'

3.3 Causative

Causative marker -a can be infixed between the root and the imperative marker -bo, for example,

Simplex Imperative Causative
asong -a asong -bo asong-at-bo
sit pres sit imp sit cau imp
'sit(s)' 'sit' 'make/cause someone to sit'

eat pres eat imp eat cau imp
'eat(s)' 'eat' 'feed'

3.4 Negation

-ja is the morpheme for negation, as in,

cha? -ja -a cha? -ja -ha cha? -ja -wa
eat Neg pres eat Neg past eat Neg fut
'do(es) not eat' 'did not eat' 'will not eat'

Unlike in positive future, negative future morpheme is -wa
All these above verbal phrases become full sentences by simply adding a subject before them. For example, anga cha? -ja -ha means 'I did not eat', na? a cha -ja -wa means 'You will not eat' etc.

(Garo exhibits agglutination in quite a large number of larger constructions, as in,

Re' -ba -pil' -tai -ku -ja -eng -a
Come 'not yet coming back again')

4. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to describe the language morphologically. The scope of the paper is very vast, therefore, it has been limited to only nouns and verbs selecting only few representative items. It shows a possibility to describe a language like this taking a structural aspects in consideration. Though this is a traditional and perhaps an old fashioned way to describe a language, yet it might be quite useful in taking up many lesser known dialects in Tibeto-Burman languages.

Abbreviations

?- glottal stop
Abl- Ablative
Ace- Accusative case
cau- causative
cl- classifier
Dat- Dative
eexist- existential
fem- female/feminine gender
fut- future tense
Gen- Genitive
Imp- imperative
Inst- Instrumental
Loc- Locative
Neg- negative
Nom- Nominative
Perf- perfective
Pres- present tense
Pros- prospective

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Notes:

1. "It has always been obvious to those who speak the languages that Rabha is close to A'tong and Ruga, and Benedict duly includes Rabha as "GaroA", even though no one regards the Rabha as Garos. It is important to realize that by calling A'tong and Ruga "Garo A" it is common ethnicity that is recognized. To extend "Garo A" to Rabha, however, is to recognize a linguistic relationship. Mixing ethnic and linguistic criteria in this way has resulted in confusing the classification of these languages in non-Indian publications, though the correct classification is obvious to those on the ground" -- Robbins Burling (1998) in "The Tibeto-Burman Languages of Northeast India".

2. Abeng is the dialect of the western half of the Garo Hills, Achik of the centre, awi of the north-east and Atong of the lower Simang valley in the south-east of the Garo Hills and the north-east of Mymsenig. Chibok and Ruga are spoken in Bungi valley, Dual in upper reaches of Simang. Chisak occupies contiguous position from Matchi and Dual spoken in the south, Garo-Gamching in the mid-south eastern portion of Atong and Kedua in the mid-eastern part. Garo is the all-inclusive term for all these varieties.

3. Garo does not make a contrast between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops.
PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN HINDI

Deepak Kumar Adhikari

Abstract
This paper aims at the description and analysis of the phonological processes in Hindi. It specifically discusses the process of assimilation and dissimilation focusing on sandhi.

1. Introduction
When morphemes are combined to form words, the segments of neighbouring morphemes become juxtaposed and sometimes undergo change. For example

Electric: electrical: electricity
Fanatic: fanatic: fanaticism

Changes also occur in the environment other than those in which two morphemes come together e.g., word initial and word final position, etc. All such changes will be called phonological processes. Phonological processes are of the following types:
- Assimilation (segments become more alike)
- Syllable structure (there is alternation in the distribution of consonants and vowels)
- Weakening and strengthening (segments are modified according to their position in the word)
- Neutralization (where segments merge in a particular environment)

2. Assimilation
Assimilation occurs when one sound is influenced by a neighbouring sound to such an extent that it moves phonetically in the direction of his neighbour. So, the process of the result of the two sounds becoming identical, or similar due to the influence of one open upon the others is known as assimilation.

Assimilation is of three types: Progressive, regressive, neutral. In the progressive assimilation, the previous sound assimilates, i.e., changes the following sound. In Hindi, examples of this type of assimilation are not really available, even in the Sanskrit text.
In the regressive assimilation, the following sound assimilates, i.e., changes the previous sound. This type of assimilation is found in Sanskrit sandhi and in Hindi one of the final sounds that is consonant m and vowel a is deleted. For example,
OIA Sanskrit (skt) mahat+chakram> mahacchakram, Hindi-mahaccakra.

Rule
Skt (i) t → c?—c
Hindi (i) m → φ /v—

Skt. Sat=jana> sajjana
Hindi vowel final is deleted sajjan

Rule (i) t → j /—c
(ii) v → φ /c—

All the changes are voiceless unaspirated stop to voiceless unaspirated and voiced unaspirated stop. And final consonant m and vowel a is deleted, i.e., appocope rule.
In the mutual assimilation, both the sounds are changed to another sound. Sanskrit final \( b' \) sound is deleted in Hindi (i.e appocope rule). For example,
Skt mahan+sabda=h+mahanchadbah
Hindi- mahachadbha

Rule (i) Vd. → VI
(ii) h → φ /v—
Fricative palatal voiced sounds change into palatal voiceless aspirated stop.
Assimilation is found in Hindi both external and internal sandhi.

3. External Sandhi
Sound changes in external sandhi in Hindi are vast and varied. There are many rules for sandhi having assimilation in Hindi. Let us see the examples:

3.1 Contraction
Two homogenous sounds are generally contracted; where two vowel sounds are combined together, they become another i.e., long vowel. Final h sound from Sanskrit is deleted in Hindi. For example,
a+a>a: skt, rama+ayan >rama:yyan
a+a>a skt, vidya+alayah>vidya:layah; Hindi vidyalaya

Rule (i) v → [ + long v]/c—c
(ii) h → φ /v—
Procope and appocope rule are in function here.
3.2 Dipthongization (guna and vrddhi)

a. Guna sandhi assimilation

In Hindi, if a short or long vowel i, u, r, (i, u, r) comes after short or long vowel 'a', then the result will be a+i=e, a+u>o and a+r>ar

- a+i=e su ra+i>sa res
- a+i=e ma ha+i>ma hes
- a+u>o su ry a+u day a>s u ry o day a
- a+r>ar de va+r>de var s i

Rule (i) \[2 \alpha \text{ short } V \rightarrow e/c=c \]

- \( \beta \) long

(ii) \[\alpha \text{ short } V \rightarrow a/r=c=c \]

- \( \beta \) r

b. Vridhi sandhi

In Hindi, if c, e, o, ai and au come after short or long vowel 'a', then the result is a+e=ai, a+r=ai, a+o=au examples are,

- a+e<ai e ka+eka>eka ik
- a+e>ai sa da:+eva>sada va
- a+e>ai maha+ai shwarya>maha is wory a
- a+o>au jala+ogha>jala ugh a
- a+o>au maha+audarya>maha ud a ry a

Rule (i)

\[\alpha V \rightarrow \text{-diphthong/c-c} \]

- \( \beta \) long V
- diphthong

c. yan sandhi:

When a short or long i, u and r is followed another type of a dissimilar vowel or diphthong then it is changed to its corresponding semi-vowel.

\[(y, y, \text{ or } i>y, u>v) \rightarrow i+a>y \rightarrow \text{yaddapi} \]
\[u+a>v \rightarrow \text{manu+antar} \rightarrow \text{manvantar} \]
\[i+u>y \rightarrow \text{nasi+urmi} \rightarrow \text{naddhrumi} \]

Rule (i) \[\alpha V \rightarrow \text{-semi-vowels/c} \]

- \( \beta \) long V
- diphthong

---

d. Ayadi sandhi

If either e or ai or o or au is followed by any vowel the sequence changes as

- e>ay,
- a>ay, o>av and au>av
- e+a>ay ne+an>nay an
- a+i>ay gai+ak>gay ak
- o+a>av po+an>pav an
- au+a>av, pau+ak>pav ak

When o is followed by a short vowel 'a', then 'a' assimilates with 'o' and 's' this sign will be written in the place of 'a'. For example,

- mano+abhilasa>mano s bhilasa o+a>o
- mano+adhi kar>mano s dhikar

Rule (i)

\[a \rightarrow s/v=c \]

Assimilated sandhi is possible between heterorganic consonants, but here in Hindi there are many rules how one sound is assimilates with one another and become another sound, for example

The k,c,t,t(dental), changed into g,j,d,d (dentak), & b. The voiceless unaspirated stops sounds into its corresponding voiced unaspirated stops e.g.,

- dik+anta>diganta
- ac+adi>ajadi
- sat+ripu>sadripu
- sat+acar>sadacar
- ap+j>abja

Rule (i)

\[[-vd. ] \rightarrow [+vd. ]/v=c(v) \]

If k,c,t,t(dental), p, is followed by any nasal voiced then changes into nasal sounds. For example,

- k>n, p>m, t>n
- vak+maya>vanmaya
- ap+maya>am maya
- tat+maya>tanmaya
- sat+maya>sanmukh
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Rule (i)

[-vd] → [nasal]/v—c

The dental sound t,d changed into c,j,d(dental),d or t, and n changes into (nasalized l)

Examples are given below:

- sat+charitra>saccaritra
- ud+jwäl>uujwäl
- ut+dayan>uddayan
- tat+lin>talim
- mahan+lab>mahallabh
- sat+jian>sajjan

Rule (i)

(i) [-vd.] → [+vd.]/v—c

(ii) [dental] → [lateral]/v—c

(iii) n → l(nasalized)

The t (dental) or d (dental) is changed into c and following is changed into ch.

- sat+sastra>sacchāstra
- sarad+sasi>saracchasi

Rule (i)

(i) t or d → c, s → ch

(ii) [vd] → [vl]., /—c ch

The t (dental changed into d (dental) and h>dh (dental), for instance,

- tat+hit>tasshita
- ud+har>uddhar

Rules

(i) [vl] → [vd.]/v—c

(ii) h → dh

The 'c' comes additionally in the middle, suppose if any vowel comes before ch, then we use c before ch. For examples:

- a+chasan>acchasan
- pari+ched>pariecched

Rule (i) insertion Rule

∅ → c/v—c

The m changes into ng and n.

- sam+gati>sangati
- param+tapa>parantap
- m → ṇ → n

The n changes into n.

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nir+naya>nirnaya
bhus+ana>bhusan
var+n>varna
r+n>rin

The dental s is changed into alveolar s.

vi+sam>visam

The r is deleted or lost and first vowel becomes long.

- nir+ras>nlras
- nir+rog>nlor

Rule (i)

r → Ø/long v—

c. Visarga sandhi

When a vowel or a consonant comes after visarga (:) then visarga is replaced by any other sounds. Such changes are called visarga sandhi. For example:

(i) man+rath>manorath :o

- yas+gan>yasogan → o/c—c

(ii):o and a>s : → o/s—c

- yas+abhilasa>yasosbhilasa

(iii):r

- ni:+akar>nirakar
- du:+asa>durasā

: → t/v—long v

(iv):s,s,s

- ni:+cay>nicaya
- nama:+tn>namaste
- ni:+tha>nistha

: → s/v—c

(v) If i or u and visarga are preceded by any one of the k,kh,p,ph sounds then (:) is changed into s. For instance,

- ni:+kalank>niskalank
- ni:+pap>nispap
- ni:+phal>nisphal
- ni:+kapat>niskapat

: → s/V-VL. C

(v) When kar comes after pur., nam., bir; and vac: then visarga (:) is changed into s.
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Suppose, jati>a>jatya here y comes
so>a>soya and this process, which is metathesis, where the sounds interfere
with each other, and an exchange of places or interchange of phonemes.
\[a \rightarrow y,\]

and shortened the phonemes.
cám>dák>camda
long v \(\rightarrow v/c\rightarrow c\)
Here position is changed.
yahä+hi>yahi the nasalized ā goes to i. (loss of Z &
h) kahi.
*Here loss of the phonemes
is+hi>isi,yaha+hi>yahi, yahä +hi>yahi
h is lost and (final a is also lost)
h \(\rightarrow \emptyset\)
* Here b is lengthened.
ab+hi>abhi
*Here shortened the pa: and gha: i.e pa and gha
e.g pañi>gha>t>pañhat (i is lost)
* a+a>ya

Sandhi only in the pronunciation.
If unaspirated voiced consonants occur before the voiceless consonants then
they become voiceless.
\(g>k\) \(j>c,\) \(d(dental)>t(dental)\)
\(b>p\)
nägpur>näkpur
bälkal>aäkel
badämij>bättämij
abäl>apki

Rule(i)
\[
[ Vd.] \rightarrow [-Vd.] /v\rightarrow c
\]
Aspirated voiceless before voiced consonant becomes unaspirated voiced.
e.g, kh>g, th(dental)>d(dental)
bhu lag>bhuglagi, sathdo>sāddo

Rule (i)
\[
[VL.] \rightarrow [Vd.]/v\rightarrow c
\]
Aspirated voiceless before voiceless consonants becomes unaspirated voiceless.
e.g, kh>k ch>c th(dental)>t(dental)
lekhpat>lekpat pucht âh>pucht âh \(h \rightarrow âth-pâw>hatpâw\)

4. Internal Sandhi
The rules of internal sandhi, though many of them agree with those of
external sandhi, are not varied. Only few of them I can able to give them here
e.g.,
sansar+ik>sansarik, here a>a in the middle or internal or gath+jod>gathjod,
here a>a,

Rule:
(i) v \(\rightarrow lonyv/c\rightarrow c\)
(ii) lonyv \(\rightarrow v/c\rightarrow c\)
skt.saphalata>Hindi saphalta
\(v\rightarrow O/c\rightarrow c\)

5. Some other rules
In Hindi, sandhi with (a) prefixed+nature(word or mental)
(b) nature+nature (&c) nature+suffixed
Two types of sandhi are found in Hindi:
(i) Hindi's own sandhi (2) sandhi which comes from Sanskrit but we use in
Hindi.
I Sandhi in Hindi has also two types:
(a) Possible in both pronunciation & written purpose
(b) Possible in only pronunciation.

\(a(i)\) is+hi>isi, h is deleted is+hi>is+is+isi
kisi, jisì usi
(ii) yaha+hi>yahi a and n deleted and nasalized a to \(i\) a->i

Rules:
\(h\rightarrow O/c\rightarrow v\)
\(\rightarrow O/c\rightarrow v(c)\)
\(\rightarrow bh/v\rightarrow v\)

These are the system of Ellison i.e. loss of phoneme.
Another phoneme comes.
The sandhi which comes from Sanskrit to Hindi is used in only in the 'tastsam' (i.e., the Sanskrit word is used in same way in Hindi or any IA languages) words. It has two types:

(i) the two free morphemes can be used differently.

nyāyālaya<nyāya+ālaya, jagadis<jagat+is

(ii) the two free morphemes cannot be used differently.

nai()+nak>nāyak,

pau()+pawak

7. Dissimilation

When there is a recurrence of the same sound or of sounds which are formed in the same way, one of them is changed into a dissimilar sound. Grassmann's law is sort of dissimilation.

Sometimes two similar sounds are avoided by displacement or change of one of them. It can be both progressive or regressive like assimilation. e.g.,

badhra>bradhra
caskanda>skanda

Hindi:< kankan>kangan, here 'k' is replaced by 'g'

Rule (i) k→g/C—V

7. Elision

Elision is the loss of phoneme. This loss may be of a consonant or of a vowel.

a. Syncope

The loss of a sound, vowel, letter or syllable from the middle is called syncope. For example, English-Deputy, Hindi-dipti

Aguru>agru
Suvarna>svarna

Rule:- V→Ø—c

b. Appocope

Appocope is the loss of one or more sounds or syllables at the end of word.

e.g.,

ata>atmp
pdā>pāt
māsa>mās

8. Metathesis

When two sounds interchange their places in a word, the change is called metatheses; e.g., (Persian) Janvar (Hindi) Janvar

sasur>susur
angul>ungali
pagal>plagla
lajj>laaj

a→u, u→a

9. Morpho-phonemics

The analysis and classification of the different phonological shapes in which morphemes appear, or by which they are represented, both in an individual language or in languages in general, is often called morphophonemics e.g.,

nakkata>nakata
khariddar>khriddar

Rule(i)

C→Ø/c—

(ii) V→Ø/C—C

10. Compensatory Lengthening

In Sanskrit words if the vowel before a constant cluster is short- in Hindi one of the consonant is deleted and the vowel before it is lengthened. Thus a→a, I→i or e, U→u or o.

(i) karma>kam

'swork'
sapta>satt>sat

'seven'
bhiksa>bhikkha>bhikh

'beg'
(vii) m-w and then nasalization goes to the preceding vowel.
    amlaka-āwla          'awla
    bhromar-bhawor        'bee'
    gram-gaw              'village'

(viii) n-n
    porna-pan            'drinking'
    korana-kan           'ear'
    konkān-kāngān        'bracelet'

(ix) v-b
    vadhu-bahu           'daughter-in-law'
    varid-badāl          'cloud'
    vanār-bāndar         'monkey'

(x) y-j
    yomuna-jomuna        'river's name'
    yav-j                'which'
    sayya-saj            'appearance'

(xi) s-s
    musāl-musāl          'rat'
    varos-boras          'ear'
    sometimes s → kh
    pūrUsa-pūrkha
    Varsa-barkha

(xii) s → s
    swasa-sās            'breathe'
    sata-s               'low'
    sram-sawon           'name of month'

(xiii) r sometimes changes to l
    varid-badal          'cloud'
    hordra-holdi         'turmeric'

(xiv) sometimes l-r
    lsla-rsl             'saliva'
    kval-kaur            'more of food'
    srgal-slyar           'fox'
11. Conclusion

Phonological processes is also called sound change. Sound change may be defined as the creation or disappearance of phonemes (when two morphemes come together, e.g., word initial, medial and final positon, etc.) is further proved by the close examination of the phonological processes of Hindi. One fundamental point of interest is that changing sound does not bring semantically differences.

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ADDENDA TO
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEPALESE LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
Revised Nov, 2002

Sueyoshi Toba

It is good to see papers on Nepalese languages continually being published. There may be many more than those listed here, published in different countries, and therefore not accessible in Nepal.

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NL- Nepalese Linguistics
RNA- Royal Nepal Academy

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Yadava, Yogendra P. and Bhimnaran Regmi
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
ON THE 22ND CONFERENCE
OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL

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Honorable Chief Guest,
Distinguished Guests and Linguists
Ladies and Gentlemen

It is my pleasure to welcome you all to the 22nd Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. Today the linguistic scenario of Nepal and the world is drastically changing. English language with its culture and functions is expanding its boundaries through various media like internet, radio, television, video-cassettes and CD roms, films, newspapers, magazines, books, schooling and syllabus designing. Power attained by the English speaking Western countries in technology and business has attracted people of the world like Nepal to learn English at any cost. The attraction is realized in the number of English boarding schools flourishing in Nepal. The demand and supply of English teachers is determining their price. Hindi is another language of media commonly sold in Nepal through television, video cassettes, CD roms, films, newspapers, magazines and books. Nepali, declared as the official language of Nepal, is the lingua franca of speakers whose ancestral original home is the kingdom of Nepal.

There are roughly hundred languages spoken in Nepal. More than three-fourth of them is Tibeto-Burman. Others are Indo-Aryan, Austroasiatic, Dravidian and an unclassified language Kusunda. The original Tharua language seems to have been lost and today Tharu speak four varieties of languages. According to Hansson (1991) ten Rai-Kiranti languages have already been extinct and other twelve of them are on the verge of extinction.

The linguistic survey of the Rai languages was completed under the leader of Dr. Werner Winter, final report of which has appeared in Hansson (1991), but a comprehensive survey of all the languages spoken in Nepal has not been completed yet, therefore, the exact language scenario is difficult to crystallize.

The present constitution of Nepal has recognized two varieties of languages, the official language Nepali and other national languages. It has


opened up the door for all the mother tongues in the country to develop but each of the mother tongues in not in the equal state of development. Illiteracy, lack of education and poor financial condition have acted as a great hindrance to their progress. The government of Nepal set up a commission for the recommendation of language planning under the leadership of Mr. Bairagi Kainla. The commission recommended measures, but almost a decade has gone, the government has not followed the recommendation as it was expected. As a result, more languages may have come to the process of extinction. The government’s progress towards preservation of decaying mother tongues is very slow, irrational and unsatisfactory. Even the so-called privileged language Nepali is not adequately developed. Nepali speaking youths are replacing their vocabulary with Hindi or English words in order to be more impressive to the listeners. Very often they speak Nepali with English accent like a Kathmandu FM radio announcer. As a result of this process, an ample amount of everyday vocabulary in the language of journalism is Hindi.

Classical language Sanskrit has been used as a language of modernization in South Asian languages. Thus, in order to screen a lot of borrowings, Sanskrit morphemes and morphological rules are used to coin words by calquing. Therefore, a standard dictionary of any South Asian language irrespective of the genealogical affiliation is natural to witness almost all of the new vocabulary (like technical terms) by the use of Sanskrit, in addition to a lot of cultural words. In spite of such a substantial contribution there are slogans of strong opposition against Sanskrit as a compulsory subject in the lower-secondary level. It shows that the country needs proper planning for the use of Sanskrit.

With this situation at hand, the country needs not less than a hundred trained linguists to cope with the multilanguage problems today. Linguists and researchers working on the languages of Nepal acknowledge this problem, but our planners have not been adequately sensitive to the issue. A number of native and foreign linguists have studied aspects of some of the language problems and solutions for the far sighted language policy and a justified language planning. There is not a single institution which documents all the research reports, investigates the basic needs of mother-tongue speakers at both micro-and-macro levels, plans for language development measures, coordinates with linguists in Tribhuvan University and elsewhere, arranges required funds and suggests the government for a justified language planning. I think we need an institution comparable to the Central Institute of the Indian Languages (CIIL), since the existing institutions are not sufficient to solve the overall problems of multilingualism in the country.

Linguistic Society of Nepal has acted a forum for more than two decades, where linguists around the world working on languages of this region and elsewhere participate in the annual conference to discuss and share various aspects of language problems they have witnessed. Since its inception linguists
have been discussing various issues and suggesting measures which our planners could have properly taken. At present linguists affiliated to the Linguistic Society of Nepal or the Central Department of Linguistics could work together with RONAST, Central Department of Physics, Institute of Engineering and other faculties of science and technology for the phonetic analysis of various languages. Similarly, institutions like National Committee for the Development of Nationalities and Royal Nepal Academy could initiate a joint effort for the development of languages in the county, but due to lack of coordination among various parts of the government machinery, we feel, our manpower has not been adequately planned and utilized. In spite of all that, LSN has always been optimistic for a better future.

Lastly, I believe that lively and fruitful discussions will make this conference successful. I also wish our participants to experience a wonderful time during the conference.

Thank You.
Chepang is, of course, not unique in having such forms, in fact there are a large number recorded for Nepali, but it is certainly rich in the number and variety that do occur. In previous papers I have discussed some of the more unusual features of Chepang ideophones, including the relation of vowels to the size of the object being described. In this paper I want to look at the different types of ideophone that occur in Chepang, and to categorize them according to their syntax, as well as their phonological shape and semantic function. Also I will look at the relationship of ideophones as a linguistic category to the more regular speech categories of noun, verb, adjective and adverb.

Using Tibetan Characters for Minority Language Orthography

Brad Chamberlain

This paper attempts to arrive at some guidelines which could be followed for developing a minority language's orthography using the Tibetan script. It bases these suggestions on innovations already initiated by Dzongkha orthography. As one of the only major language other than Tibetan to have a developed orthography which uses the Tibetan script, the choices made in its development have some relevance to any other orthography development using Tibetan script.

The reasons why an orthography might be using the Tibetan script are many-fold, and vary from country-to-country and from people-group to people-group. For Tibetan-related language varieties in China, Tibetan script would be necessary to gain the cultural and religious acceptance of the Tibetan people. For any language in Bhutan, Tibetan script is already used for writing the national language and in the accepted standard for any Bhutanese language development. In the highlands of Nepal and India, the Tibetan-related cultures may very well feel that their language is best represented by the Tibetan script. Further, many feel that the Devanagari script is for Hindus, while Buddhists should only use the Tibetan script. Surely these are reasons as well that may make the use of Tibetan script appropriate.

When using Tibetan script, and immediate practical problem arises. The traditional Tibetan orthography is fairly complex and seemingly convoluted. It is not intuitive to new readers. Further, there is very little literacy in most of the areas where the Tibetan script would be appropriate. The language developer may opt for representing the language phonemically using the Tibetan character set, to create a simple-to-read orthography. The problem is that often there are many sounds that aren't represented by the Tibetan character set, but for which the Tibetan orthography has ways to deal with it. Another problem is that in almost all these language groups, there are at least religious leaders (lamas, etc) who have studied written Tibetan. These people have strong influence in their community and will almost always believe that

the Tibetan orthographic system should be used to represent their words. It is important to remember that though Tibetan related languages are often completely unintelligible between language groups, they consider themselves as one Tibetan people, using dialects of one Tibetan language. For this reason, the use of not only Tibetan script but also the traditional orthography conventions is seen as obvious to many of the people.

This paper first explains the basic workings of the Tibetan script and its orthography (the way the script is used to generate words). It then looks at differences between traditional Tibetan orthography and Dzongkha orthography, in an attempt to recognize not only what innovations Dzongkha has employed, but what these principles were based. It is hoped that this will provide some basic guidelines developing orthographies using the Tibetan script.

Aspect System in Kumal

Bhim Lal Gautam

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This paper presents a brief outline of aspextual opposition in Kumal language. The classification is based on Comrie (1976) which is given below.

Aspext

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<~a>/<sak-> <~lak-> <~tha->

<~rak-> <~rak> <ke+lak>

* <~ke> prospective marker

Noun Phrase Modifiers in Limbu

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Noun phrase modifiers in Limbu can be grouped into two broad categories in terms of their distribution:
1. Pre-modifiers
   a. Determiners —i. specifying
      —ii. Non-specifying
Optimizing the Shoebox Parser for Newari
E. Austin Hale

(With special reference to paradigms, parts of speech and grammatical glosses)

The question addressed by this paper is "How can a Shoebox parser be optimized for the automatic interlinerization of Newari text and what are the implications for the treatment of the representation of paradigms, parts of speech, and grammatical glosses in such a parser?" All descriptions of the parser and examples given are drawn from a Newar implementation of the system.

The linguist's Shoebox is a tool accessible to anyone with a fairly ordinary Windows or Mac-based system. It is a good tool for field linguists who desire to build a corpus or parsed text in a database with good search, concordance, word-list, and dictionary-building functions. It can be used effectively by linguists who are not programmers and who do not wish to become programmers. It is, in other words a handy, user-friendly tool, and as such also has certain limitations. If one works within those limitations one can create a corpus which can serve as an invaluable resource and source of examples for grammatical analysis.

This paper highlights the implications of various characteristics of the Shoebox parser for the elaboration of grammatical glosses, paradigms, and parts-of-speech in Newari. This paper seeks to give Shoebox user some tested recommendations for reducing the time required for parsing forms in interlinear text, recommendations that may be significant for those interested in building a large corpus for grammatical analysis.

Status of gar in Nepali: Pronominal Verb and Predicate Generator
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In Nepali, the verb gar is not a full verb on par with other main verbs. It is pronominal something equivalent to English do. Besides its pronominal status, it has another function in that elements of varied status are made predicatives when they conjoin with gar. Non-verbal elements like nouns, adjectives and adverbs, reciprocal verbs, dual verbs, echo verbs, and normalized verbs, conjoined nominals and onomatopoeic words are verbalized by gar. Both of these elements, gar and the form verbalized by it, don't have their own a-structure. But when they come together, they jointly determine an a-structure. Therefore, these derived predicates are indeed complex predicates.
We have passed thousand of years, since the origin of Bangla. In the course of time various linguistic changes have been occurred in Bangla. Noting here that the changes in Bangla are more prominent in its surface structure than to its inner domain. Bangla is now the State Language of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. But we have to go back to stress the present situation and structure of Bangla. We need to flash back in the days of thousands years ago when Bangla has taken its birth. To discuss the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of Bangla in the twenty-first century, we are to mention the Ancient and Medieval changes through which Bangla has come to these stages. I tried my best to make a comparative study of it from the standpoint of Historical Linguistic.

The Vivaksha Theory in Sanskrit Language Thought
Tanka Prasad Neupane
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Those who deal with language analysis have to analyse the utterance of the speaker. What the speaker intends to transmit is expressed through the use of his style and syntactic structures. It is through these utterances that the analyst or the hearer can reach the core of the speaker's meaning intention. Language expresses the meaning; meaning manifests the mind, concept. Meaning doesn't exist in any natural object-it exists in the word. Therefore, for us, grammarians, there is no knowledge beyond the word. The speaker selects the best alternative among the numerous available in the language with the help of his intuition, imagination, or user's inherent feelings. Under these conditions, language basically depends on use and practice, contemporary wisdom and psychology.

The particular condition arising from such productive interactions is by Sanskrit grammarians, known as 'Vivaksha'.

In this paper (written in Nepali), I have try to establish 'Vivaksha' as a Linguistic Theory and, Therefore, discussed assimilation, number, gender, tense, transitivity, voice, and case where 'Vivaksha' plays a crucial role.

Honorific System in Nepali
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The paper will focus on how honorific system operates in Nepali. It will observe mainly three processes at work: (i) constant subject versus inconstant honorifics-that honorifics may change for the same subject depending on factors like presence/absence of the subject, emotional state toward the subject; (ii) the vogue and popularity of the 'royalese' among the urbanites; and (iii) neutralization-when the similarity on the level of the interlocutors rules out any particular honorific, the use of inclusive 1st person plural 'hām'.

Causativization in Bote
Kamal Paudel

This paper makes an attempt to describe the process of casativization in the Bote language. In Bote two types of Causative construction are found: Morphological and syntactic.

The Category of Aspect in Nepali and Manipuri
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This paper aims at documenting and analyzing the morpho-syntactic structures and semantics of verbal aspects in Nepali, a modern Indo-Aryan language and Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language of Northeast India, within the framework of modern linguistic approaches such as Comrie (1976), Bhat (1999) and Bybee et al (1994).

O-Ending Nominals in New Indo-Aryan
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O-ending nominals are characteristic of some of the New Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali, Kumaoni, European Romanzy or Gypsy (like Belgaum, Garodi, Belgaum Myanwale, Sitapur Kajani and Belgaum Kajani), Sindh, some Dardic languages (like Mayyan, Shina, Tirah, Kalasha, Torwali, Gaurbati, Palola, Garvi, and Pashai), Gujarati, some Kafir language (like Waigelai), Western Pahadi and Rajasthani dialects (like Marwadi, Jaipur, Mewati, Malvi, Nemadi and Bundeli). We mean nouns, predicative and attributives and also possessives by the word 'nominals' in this paper.

1. (a) kāko (Nepali), kako (Sindhi and Dardic language Shina), kāko (Kumaoni) 'raw'
2. (a) khudTo (Nepali), khto (Kumaoni), khto (Gujarati) 'leg or foot'
3. (a) bhaRo (Nepali), Western Pahadi, Kumaoni, bhaR (European Romanzy), bhaR (Kashmiri), Thuk (Nepali)
4. (a) ghDo (Nepali, Sindhi, Gujarati, Western Pahadi, Kumaoni, Rajasthani dialects like Marwadi, Jaipur, Mewati, Malvi and Nimadi), khaDo (European Romanzy), ghwR (Rajasthani dialect Bundeli) 'horse'
5. (a) mero (Nepali, Gujar, Rajasthani dialect Mewati, Gypsy dialects like Belgaum Garodi, Belgaum Myanwale, Sitapur Kajani and
Anticasatization in Nepali
Bhim N. Regmi
Kathmandu

Nepali predicates have valency changing processes - both increasing and decreasing. Anticasatization and passivization include valence decreasing process. This paper attempts to present an analysis of anticasatization in Nepali in that intransitive verbs are derived from transitive ones. Nepali includes three ways of anticasatization - phonological alternation, suffixing and gemination. In this paper, we attempt to observe their syntax and semantics in brief.

The Ergative Morphosyntax in Nepali
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Tribhuvan University

This paper is an attempt to analyze ergativity in Nepali clauses. It consists of four sections. Section 1 provides the theoretical background where we explain the concept of ergativity. Section 2 deals with the morphology of ergativity in Nepali. In section 3, we analyze the syntax of ergativity in the language $ in terms of word order constraints, tense and aspect constraints, coordination and subordination. Finally, we summarise the main findings of the paper.

Some Aspects of Khaling discourse.
Suyoshi Toba
UNESCO

Discourse is defined as the communication of ideas through a set of spoken or written words within a situational context. In normal usage discourse refers to units of speech longer than a sentence because it usually takes more than one sentence to communicate a complete thought. The meaning of a discourse is discerned from analysing a set of inter-related features, such as genre, structure, cohesion, propositions, prominence, and setting.

Of these I will focus on two only:

Genre types:
- prescription + prescription
- chronological EXPOSITION +chronological NARRATIVE
+procedural PROCEDURAL

Cohesion: the glue that holds a discourse together. It refers to the chain of discourse elements that form a linear thread throughout the whole discourse. There are four kinds of cohesion:
Grammatical cohesion is conveyed by agreement between subject and verb, noun and adjective, etc.
Lexical cohesion is the use of the same or similar words from the same semantic domain.
Relational cohesion is signalled by conjunctions and other relational devices such as adverbial participles.
Referential cohesion refers to coreferential links between an element in the immediate text and something else. One type is anaphora which links to a prior element in the immediate text.

References

Nonnominate subjects in Maithili
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In Maithili, as in several other Indo-Aryan languages, there exists no one-to-one relation between the grammatical relations of nominals and their cases. A nominative nominal, for example, can be the subject of a clause, but it can also function as the object in another construction. On the other hand, the subject is typically coded with nominative case; however, it can also be realized with other case markings. In other words, Maithili clauses also involve nonnominate subjects, apart from the nominative one.

This paper is an attempt to analyze the nonnominate subjects in Maithili in terms of their coding properties, esp. morpho-semantic and syntactic properties associated with them. It is organized into three main sections. Section 1 introduces the various types of nonnominate subjects in Maithili clauses. In section 2 we deal with the morphological realizations of the nonnominate subjects and their accompanying semantic properties in the language. Section 3 attempts to give an account of the syntactic properties associated with the nonnominate subjects in relevant constructions. These properties include reflexivization, pronounization, gapping in coordinate structures, verb agreement, controllers in participial constructions, case demotion, and so on. Finally, we sum up the important findings of this study.

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