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SPECIAL THANKS
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Ratna Pustak Bhandar is the oldest and pioneering institution dedicated for about a century to the noble cause of publication and distribution of books in Nepal. This leading institution has promoted indigenous writing and publication profusely in the kingdom and so it has also promoted various disciplines including linguistics significantly.

Ratna Pustak Bhandar has shown its generosity by sponsoring the publication of the present issue of NEPALESE LINGUISTICS, the Annual Journal of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, a premier organization devoted to the study of languages in general and the Nepalese languages in particular.

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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.
Languages of Nepal
UNESCO Kathmandu Report 2002:
A Brief Overview

Sueyoshi Toba
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TU, CNAS

Nepal is a country rich in its cultural and linguistic diversity. The national language is Nepali. It is spoken throughout the country and all education is conducted in this language. But Nepali is the mother tongue of only about half of the total population. Besides Nepali, there are an additional 60 to 70 languages spoken in Nepal. This number refers to such languages as are spoken by indigenous peoples of Nepal.

With respect to the general language situation in Nepal, the minority languages are used in the areas where a particular language group lives, along with Nepali as a means of communication with Nepali speakers in the area. Bilingualism is prevailing all over the country of Nepal, while multilingualism is found especially along the borders. Multilingualism is also found among the educated elite in the cities as a result of the availability of English as the medium of education.

The following remarks to the questionnaire have been written to enable the reader to understand certain important language issues in Nepal. The comments follow the numbers in the questionnaire.

1. The Languages and Dialects of Nepal

Each language has dialectical differences to a greater or smaller extent. Such differences stand out for languages that have a large number of speakers or that are spread out either over a large area, or over an area divided by rivers or mountains thus separating the different settlements. Areas at the edge of a linguistic community may be prone to not only be bilingual but also speak a particular dialect containing vocabulary or other items from two languages. In addition, specialised occupation of sections of a language group may create a kind of dialect. Many times several of these factors work together in creating a dialect.

For Nepali, we can observe changes in dialect from west to east and in the south of the country. Other languages of Nepal also frequently show dialectical differences. In some cases, it is difficult to decide whether what is spoken is a language or simply a dialect. Mutual intelligibility and acceptance are not always helpful criteria. Eastern and Western Tamang, Eastern and Western

Gurung are cases in point for large language groups. The different dialects of Khamp are likely to be caused by the inaccessibility of the terrain. The definition of Kagate (which is listed in the National Census 2001 as a language) as a dialect of Yohimo is based on the occupation of these people as makers of paper and on their proximity to Tamang neighbors. At the same time, some of these groups, while affirming their speech differences, also affirm their ethnic unity.

2. The Writing Systems of the Languages of Nepal

Unlike in some other countries, where there are large groups of indigenous peoples whose languages are written, the languages of Nepal’s indigenous peoples are for the most part unwritten ones. The Devanagari script is used for the major Indo-Aryan languages, such as Nepali, Maithili, Awadh, Bhojpuri as well as Newari (the latter is a Tibeto-Burman language). For Limbu, the Kiranti “Srijanga” script is used. Lepcha also has its own script, the “Rong” script. For Tamang and Sherpa, the Lamas use the Tibetan script. Magar are trying to use their own script, “Akha”. The Sunwar have also developed their own script. Lastly, the Satar brought the Roman alphabet from India to write their own language.

However, since the national language, Nepali, has been considered a unifying factor for the country, indigenous peoples have received little encouragement to develop their own writing systems. Instead, they have been encouraged to become competent in the national language and its writing system. Thus, all of these people, including those having their own scripts, have been using the Devanagari script as well.

3. Standard Forms of Languages of Nepal

In Nepal, most of the indigenous languages have not developed their own standard forms yet. Only fairly recently, linguistic studies have been conducted, and these have prepared the way for standardization with the publication of grammars, dictionaries, orthographical studies, and literacy materials. Even more recently, people from minority groups have begun to write and publish in their own languages.

4. Respondents to the Questionnaires

The majority of the respondents in this report are mother-tongue speakers. Those respondents who are not mother-tongue speakers have acquired knowledge through extensive studies and research in those languages and are therefore competent respondents.

5. The Geographical Distribution of the Languages of Nepal

Nepali is spoken all over Nepal wherever Nepali mother-tongue speakers live. Nepali is also the medium of education and the language of the government and the media. Nepali serves as the lingua franca for people of different linguistic communities. The languages of the indigenous peoples are used within the territory where these people live, that is, mainly in the hilly regions for Tibeto-Burman languages and in the southern lowland of the Tarai for Indo-Aryan languages.

6. Changes in the Geographical Boundaries of the Languages in Nepal

As Nepal as a nation continued to grow, so did the area where Nepali is spoken, expanding from west to east and at the same time causing some of the linguistic communities to move eastward as well. It is believed that the Kiranti languages were pushed eastward at that time. From the north, the Tibetan related linguistic communities moved south into Nepal.

7. The Physical Terrain of Nepal

Nepal consists of high mountains in the north, mid-hills in the center and sub-tropical lowland in the southern plains. The high mountain areas are occupied by linguistic communities speaking Central Bodish, West Himalayan, and West Bodish languages. In the mid hills we find linguistic communities speaking Central Himalayan and Kiranti languages. In the lowland, the majority of Indo-Aryan languages, Munda, and Northern Dravidian languages are spoken. Nepali is spoken throughout the country.

8. Distribution of Language Use in Different Areas of Nepal

Although Nepali is spoken all over the country, it is more prevalent in urban areas, and in areas where different linguistic communities meet as it serves as the language of instruction in the schools and as the lingua franca for people of different linguistic communities. Therefore, apart from very remote villages, we find that most people are bilingual to some degree as needed for communication or education. Along the international border in the south, multilingualism is common. Multilingualism also frequently occurs among people involved in the tourism industry, that is, in the urban centers such as Kathmandu and Pokhara as well as along frequently used trekking trails in the hills and mountains.

9. Maps showing the Distribution of the Languages of Nepal

For maps showing the distribution of the languages spoken in Nepal, see Appendix 3: Acknowledgements for the maps go to Roland J.-L. Breton, 1997 and Karen Ebert, 1994. These maps show the approximate areas and population size. Some very small linguistic groups are indicated by their names on the maps.
10 Distribution of the Languages of Nepal in Other Countries

This question was not well understood by most respondents. The reason for their failing to understand may be the fact that with outsiders and those outside one's own language area, people invariably speak Nepali. However, some of the large language groups (e.g., Rajbansis) in the Tarai originated in India and some of their members moved north into present-day Nepal. On the other hand, the linguistic community of Maithili speakers historically lived in the area that nowadays is divided by the international border with India. Nepali is spoken in areas outside of Nepal's present day borders because Nepali speakers have been living in those areas before the borders were fixed. Other Nepali speaking communities are found even as far away as Burma (Myanmar).

11. The Population of Nepal

See Appendix 2 for population statistics.

Frequently, the numbers for population given by respondents does not match with those in the recent census conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2001.

12. Numbers of Speakers of the Languages of Nepal

Comparing responses to this question in the questionnaire, we find that the literacy rate given here contradicts the answers to questions two and three referring to written forms and standardisation. For if there is no written form of the language, the answer here should also show zero for the number of readers and writers. Therefore any numbers given here as to the number of those who read and write invariably refers to those who are literate in Nepali. This reflects the fact that mother-tongue education is yet to be realised in practice, though the right to mother-tongue education has been granted in the constitution of 1990. Even for Limbu, Lepcha, Magar and Sunuwar, languages having their own script, the literacy rate in that script is very likely less than the literacy rate in Nepali. There is, however a small number of pioneers who tried to write their own languages using the Devanagari script. In most cases, they gave up because their languages contained sounds not represented in the Devanagari script.

13. Monolingual Speakers

Monolingual speakers of the national language, Nepali, are those whose mother tongue is Nepali. They are distributed over the whole country of Nepal. Among the indigenous peoples, monolingual speakers are mostly found among people of the old generation and among those living in remote villages without contact to outsiders.

14 Bilingual Speakers

In urban areas, and wherever there is access to schools, bilingualism is prevalent among young people of all ethnic groups who acquired knowledge of Nepali in school or through work. It must be said, however, that bilingualism for Nepali mother-tongue speakers refers to their bilingualism in Nepali and English, whereas bilingualism for members of indigenous language groups refers to bilingualism in the indigenous language and Nepali. In areas along the border between two linguistic communities, bilingualism in the two languages is frequently found, though by no means the rule. If one of the two languages enjoys a higher prestige because it has a greater number of speakers, members of this group tend to remain monolingual; whereas those speaking the language of lesser status will be bilingual. But it is also common that in such border areas, members of both communities communicate in Nepali rather than in one of the indigenous languages. For the Terai, bilingualism is very common, as many people speak Nepali and Hindi with equal competence.

15. Multilingual Speakers

Multilingualism in diverse languages of indigenous peoples is not found as a rule, but in a small number of individuals who acquired competence in several languages due to their personal circumstances. Due to service in the Gurkha Regiments of the British and Indian armies and, more recently, due to the tourism industry, multilingual speakers are found all over the country. Multilingual Nepali mother-tongue speakers are mostly using Nepali, English and Hindi. Members of indigenous language groups might speak, in addition to their mother tongue, Nepali, English and Hindi. Those who are employed in the tourism industry and in mountaineering speak a number of languages used by expeditions and trekking groups. Most frequently, these are Japanese, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and other languages, as some trekking agencies specialise in providing guides for foreigners other than English speakers. Professionals who studied abroad, most frequently in English-speaking countries, Russia or Japan, are usually fluent in these languages.

16. The Residential Situation of the Language Communities of Nepal

Compact communities of Nepali mother-tongue speakers are found throughout Nepal. However, in indigenous language areas, such communities are not the rule, but there may sections of villages or towns that are predominantly ethnically and linguistically Nepali communities. In recently settled areas like the Terai, settlers belonging to all the different ethnic and linguistic groups including Nepali mother-tongue speakers are living side by side.

In indigenous language areas, communities are for the most part composed of one linguistic community along with a few members of Nepali mother-
tongue speakers who are supplying services as blacksmiths, tailors, or day laborers in agricultural work. These people frequently speak the language of the predominant linguistic community.

17. Changing Trends in the Numbers of Speakers over time

The number of speakers of Nepali has been increasing not only because of population growth, but also because of urbanization whereby individuals moving to the urban areas for education or work go through a transitional stage of bilingualism with Nepali increasingly replacing the original mother tongue. This trend leads to a decrease in the number of speakers of some of the indigenous languages (e.g., Thakali, Sherpa, some languages of the Rai group). In other cases, the decrease is upset because of an increase in population in the villages of the indigenous language areas. In addition to this shift towards Nepali, a shift towards the language of an adjacent larger language group has been observed in the case of the Dhimal who have adapted to using Rajbansi,thus creating two dialects of Dhimal, the eastern dialect containing many loans from Rajbansi.

Again, the Tarai area is special. Hill people who moved there to settle used Nepali as the language of communication, thus forcing the original inhabitants to adopt Nepali more and more.

A very small number of foreign educated Nepalese from different linguistic groups have been observed to teach English to their small children because of their intention to send their children to English-medium schools.

18. Future Developmental Prospects

Nepali as the national language has been passed down from generation to generation and continues to be spoken and written by each new generation, stimulated by all education being conducted in Nepali.

Basically and traditionally, the other languages of Nepal have been passed down from one generation to the next in the places of the indigenous language areas where people lived without contacts to the outside world. This is now changing dramatically. Schools are now found in every village, providing education in Nepali medium. Since the teachers mostly come from the urban areas of the country, awareness of the outside world also increased and with it, the desire to see other places. Even in areas with no roads, people are now traveling much more than in earlier times, meeting and mixing with members of other linguistic groups.

Interruption in one’s own linguistic group is much more common now than even one generation ago. Often times, partners in such intermarriages end up speaking Nepali rather than opting for the language of one of the partners. Very small linguistic communities are most threatened in this respect. Kusunda is a primary example.

The absence of writing systems and written literature in the indigenous languages also contributes to a decreasing use of indigenous languages while those languages that are written and have written literature are stable. (Newari is an exception because the majority of the Newar live in urban areas where the influence and use of Nepali is all pervasive.

19. Frequency of Use in Informal Situations

In the villages where the indigenous people live in compact communities, the language is used consistently, especially so in the family and among the older generation. Young adults also use their mother tongue with their elders as a sign of respect. School age children and young people among themselves tend to use Nepali to varying degrees according to the situation and the depth of their education. In urban areas where people of different ethnicities live together the use of the mother tongue is greatly decreased. The longer the stay in such urban areas, the greater the possibility that the mother tongue is abandoned completely. In rare cases (like in a marriage of partners from different language groups, long-time service in a Gurkha regiment or other long absence from the village area), families may choose Nepali as their means of communication even in their home village.

20. Use by Speakers of Other Languages

Generally speaking, indigenous languages are used only by members of that particular language group. Exceptions are work relationships (Nepali mother-tongue speakers working for members of an indigenous group as agricultural day laborers), marriage between members of different language groups, and a mixed population living in villages that straddle a language border.

21. Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting the Linguistic Community

Historical factors

From the beginning of the unification of Nepal in the 18th century, the spread of the Nepali language was actively promoted by the rulers. In order to achieve a mixing of the population and to penetrate the country with Nepali as the national language, Nepali mother-tongue speakers were sent into indigenous areas as schoolteachers, miners, or as retired soldiers who were given land in those areas. For this last reason, in some of the large language groups such as Gurung and Magar, abandonment of their mother tongue began early. Today, Gurung and Magar are found outside their original area, especially in the east of Nepal, more than other non-Nepali mother-tongue speakers. Concentrated settlement of Gurung such as Rumjattar (Okhaldhunga) and Magar miners in Wapsa (Solu-Khumbu) are examples for early loss of the mother tongue.

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**Political Factors**

During the time of the Panchayat System (1961 – 1990) the use of indigenous mother tongues was actively discouraged under the policy of “One Nation, One Language”. Still, a few organizations tried to promote indigenous people’s languages and cultures. But because of the policy, they had to work largely underground and therefore were not successful. The government did not recognise the existence of the many indigenous groups, each with their own language and culture that constitute the nation of Nepal.

The constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 finally recognised the multi-lingual reality of the country: “All languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the languages of this nation” (Article 6.2). This constitution also states that: “Every community residing within the kingdom of Nepal shall have the right to protect and develop its language, script and culture. Each community shall have the right to establish schools for providing education to the children up to primary level in their mother tongue.” (Article 18, 1 and 2). For the first time since the existence of the state of Nepal, the right to primary education in the mother tongue was granted. It is, however, still a long way to implementation.

**Economic Factors**

Most indigenous people live in the countryside making their living as peasant farmers, producing more or less enough to live but no cash crops. The environment has been increasingly deteriorating through landslides, floods, and deforestation. Together with the steady increase in the population, the situation in the majority of the villages is now such that the arable land is not enough to support the population. Thus, migration for economic reasons has become prevalent. Migration to the Tarai in search of land, or to the cities in search of work has drastically changed the language use, that is, from the indigenous language to Nepali by necessity.

**22. Other Factors Affecting Growth or Future of the Language.**

The fact that education still is conducted only in Nepali affects the use of the indigenous mother tongue, leading parents to teach Nepali to their children in order to make them successful in school. Thus, we can say that lack of education in the mother tongue is responsible for language loss among indigenous peoples.

The absence of a written form and literature in written form in the indigenous languages also negatively affects the growth and future of the indigenous languages.

**23. State of Endangerment of the Languages of Nepal**

The situation of different languages in Nepal varies greatly. There are some very small language groups that are near extinction. But there are large linguistic communities where there is not much interest in the mother tongue, or only recently an awakening interest to preserve and cultivate it.

In order to accurately assess the situation of endangerment, an in-depth study is needed. At present, only a rough guess on endangered languages is possible. A list of possibly endangered languages may contain the following languages: among the Indo-Aryan group: Kumal, Majhi, Bote. Among the Tibeto-Burman group: Bramu, Dura (by some considered a dead language), Pahari, Raute, Sunuwar (surprisingly, according to Rapacha, 1994), and other Kirati languages of small size such as Mewahang, Koi, Pama, Hayu and Tilung, in addition, Kusunda.

The size and location of the group, availability and quality of education, frequent contact with outsiders, especially Nepali mother-tongue speakers, influence the attitude to the mother tongue and consciousness of linguistic identity. Occupation in trade, service in the army or police force all result in increased contacts with members of other language groups. Many occupations that are only available in urban areas require literacy in Nepali, and all this can be a negative influence on the continued use and preservation of indigenous languages.

**24. Endangerment of the indigenous communities in Nepal**

The reasons for endangerment of indigenous language communities are of a different nature. There may be destruction of traditional habitat through deforestation (as in the case of the Raute and Kusunda), or landslides (which wiped out almost completely the only two villages where the Koi are located). Also due to steady growth of population, arable land may get scarce and people lose their livelihood. This then causes them to leave their original settlements and disperse among speakers of other languages.

**25. Internal and External Movement**

Traditionally, population movement in Nepal has been eastward even across the border to work in the tea gardens of the Darjeeling District in India. More recently, when the lowland in the south was opened and made available hill people moved south as the population in the hill villages increased beyond sustainability. A third movement is directed towards urban centers, in particular the Kathmandu Valley, for work and higher education. The fact that so many speakers of the languages of Nepal could be found in Kathmandu shows how widespread and massive the migration from the original location to urban areas has become in recent years.

The most recent massive wave of migration is due to the threat from Maoist activities in the countryside and is directed not only to Kathmandu, but other towns as well, including overseas locations in countries in the Middle East. This is accelerating the abandonment of indigenous mother tongues dramatically.
26. Economic Activities

Indigenous linguistic communities in Nepal mainly engage in some form of agriculture. Exceptions are the Raji, Majhi, and Bote communities who are fishermen and, in the case of the two latter ones, those who used to ferry people across the rivers as long as there were no bridges.

Speakers of Byansi, and Thakali, in addition to agriculture also practice trading. As far as language is concerned, there has been a shift from Tibetan (needed as a second language for trade in the areas to the north of their settlements) to Hindi (needed nowadays for trade in areas to the south). The Sherpa traditionally were traders and herders doing some farming as well. Nowadays, they are mainly occupied as trekking guides and in mountaineering at high altitudes. The Newar have been merchants traditionally and also artisans, especially those living in the Kathmandu valley.

27 Influence of Religion

Religion affects the different linguistic communities of Nepal in different ways. The Indo-Aryan peoples follow the Hindu religion wherever they live in Nepal. In the north, the Sherpa, Lhomi, Jirel, Yolmo, Tamang, Gurung and Thakali practice Lamaistic Buddhism that permeates all spheres of their lives. The Buddhist scriptures read by the lama are in Tibetan.

In the mid hills the indigenous people practice a form of animism that includes nature and ancestor worship. Religious literature is orally transmitted and the relevant parts are recited at various religious observances among the Kirati communities. To some extent the Limbu have a written form of their religious texts called “Mundum”. In communities of mixed population, animism together with Hindu rites (especially those connected with festivals) is practiced.

28. Official Status

Nepali is the national language and the lingua franca of the people in Nepal. It is the language of government offices, banking, business, and all education throughout the country of Nepal. The languages of the indigenous peoples are recognised as languages of the nation, but not for official use.

29. Use in Administration

The indigenous languages are not used in any government offices. In recent years, two linguistic communities, namely the Newar and the Maithili requested use of their respective languages in city offices, but the Supreme Court rejected their request.

30. Use in Education

Nepali is by far the preferred medium of education. Only recently, English medium schools have sprung up first in the Kathmandu Valley and then also in many outlying districts. Indigenous languages have been the medium of education only in a very few cases, that is, Newari (one school in the Kathmandu valley), some of the Kirati languages, namely Bantawa, Limbu and Khaling (classes for adult literacy in the indigenous language). While the use of indigenous languages as a medium of education has not been granted, the number of teachers from indigenous language groups has increased over recent years as a result of increasing access to education although it still is in Nepali. At the same time, the high dropout rate in village schools continues unabated due to the insistence on Nepali as the medium of instruction.

31. Use of Language in the Media

In addition to Nepali, Radio Nepal broadcasts news in Newari, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Sherpa, Limbu, Bantawa, Tamang, Gurung, and Magar. Some of these broadcasts are done from regional stations in the areas where these indigenous people live. Radio Nepal has also broadcast folk songs from various indigenous language groups. Some FM stations have programs in some of the local languages.

Newari, Limbu, and a few other language groups produce their newspapers, newsletters and magazines.

A private TV station in Nepal recently produced an excellent film on life in a Limbu village, using the Limbu language. Similar films have been produced by private producers in the Newari, Maithili and Bantawa languages.

32. Use in Religious Activities

Hindi religious scriptures are available in Sanskrit and have been translated into Nepali. The translation of the Ramayana done by Bhanubhakta is the most famous one and read by many to this day.

Buddhist scriptures are mainly in Tibetan and Pali. Recently some Buddhist texts were translated into Nepali from the Japanese version.

Indigenous people who follow Islam have recently received a translation of the Koran in Nepali. This translation also contains the Arabic original in a diglot edition.

A portion of the Bible was first translated into Nepali in 1822 in India. This was the first printed book in the Nepali language. The New Testament and hymnbooks are available in Nepali as well as in several other languages.

The oral forms of the respective languages are usually used for religious activities such as Bantawa, “Dowong Dum Samkaling” (Rites of Passage).

33. Use in Business and Labor Relations

In general, the Nepali language is used for economic activities in Nepal. Business activities between members of an indigenous language group may be conducted in their own language. But where written documents are required they are in Nepali unless the language has a written form.
34. Use in Other Domains

In the areas of legislation, administration of justice and information processing in Nepal, Nepali is used. Since in Nepal the indigenous languages are for the most part without written forms, they cannot be used for these purposes.

35. Organizations Responsible for Linguistic Planning and Policy

On the national level a government-sponsored venture on the languages of Nepal was the formation of a National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission. The Commission submitted its report to the Minister of Education, Culture and Social Welfare in 1994. The main recommendations in the report were the following:

- Conduct a linguistic survey of Nepal in order to identify and determine the actual number of languages spoken in Nepal.
- Identify endangered languages in Nepal.
- Promote monolingual or bilingual education in the mother tongues and/or Nepali.
- Establish a language academy.

In the different indigenous language groups there are a number of different organizations such as Kirat Rai Yayakha, concerned with language planning and preservation. However, most of these organizations suffer from financial restraints.

36. Cultural or Linguistic Organizations

On the national level, the Linguistic Society of Nepal has been in existence for the past 22 years. The Society publishes an annual linguistic journal and meets annually for their annual conference where papers on various linguistic topics are presented and discussed. Indigenous languages provide the majority of topics. The Central Department of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University was established to train Nepali linguists to do research on the languages of Nepal. Also on the national level, the Royal Nepal Academy was established by King Mahendra for the preservation and development of the Nepalese cultures.

On the local level among the indigenous peoples there are a number of organizations concerned with preservation and cultivation of the respective culture, manifested mainly in costume and dance. It is only in the last decade that indigenous language groups have begun to see their mother tongues as an asset worth to be preserved and cultivated rather than being a hindrance to their joining the mainstream of society.

37. Literary Traditions

Nepali has a rich literary tradition beginning with Bhanubhakta who wrote and translated many works. He was followed by many other writers who wrote in different genres and on a great variety of topics. Present day Nepali literature also is very much alive. In addition to Sanskrit, Maithili and other Indo-Aryan languages have their own literatures.

Newari, among the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, has its own literature of various genres, reaching back over a period of several hundred years. Other indigenous peoples have oral traditional literature that is only now being published in written form. The Limbu Mundum, the Bantawa Dowong Damar, and the Tamang Tamakital are examples. The Royal Nepal Academy has published many folk stories from different language groups, translated into Nepali. There is also a wealth of folk songs among a number of indigenous language groups. Such songs are often created on the spot in contests or just as plain entertainment. The Gurung “Rodi” and the Tamang song contests are examples. Dance accompanied by singing, such as the Limbu “Palam” and the paddle dance are examples of traditional oral literature alive and practiced in the present. Drama is another literary genre that is orally transmitted and very much alive in the Nepali literary scene of today.

38. Attitude of Members of the Language Communities

The majority of Nepali mother-tongue speakers are monolingual. Dialects differ from west to east in the areas where they are spoken but are still mutually intelligible. Because of the prestige the Nepali language enjoys as the national language and lingua franca for all of Nepal, Nepali mother-tongue speakers of any dialect have pride in it.

As many of the indigenous languages were suppressed under the Rana and Panchayat period’s “One-Nation-One-Language” policy, indigenous people considered their language inferior to Nepali and tried to improve their competency in Nepali rather than cultivating and preserving their own mother tongue. For the smaller language communities, this attitude has had dire consequences. But large groups such as the Limbu never lost confidence and pride in their own language, although they, too, were harassed by the government. Still, the Limbu continued to use and develop their own writing system.

39. Attitude of Members of Neighbouring Communities

Nepali mother-tongue speakers have little knowledge of and regard for the languages of the indigenous peoples of Nepal. Thus, speakers of indigenous language groups feel discriminated against. On the other hand, speakers of local languages have only recently become concerned about the inroads Nepali has made upon their mother tongues that has led to the neglect of their mother tongues in favor of Nepali.
40. Notes and References

On the questionnaires this question has been omitted for two reasons. Firstly, our respondents were for the most part educated mother-tongue speakers but not trained linguists. Therefore, they felt there was no need for this question. Secondly, Toba, S., 1998 and 2002 contains detailed bibliographical information.

The References listed below are additional references to the Bibliography of Nepalese Languages and Linguistics by S. Toba


Prarambhik Lekhajokha. (First Evaluation of Nationality. Kathmandu:


— 2002. Addenda to BNLL


Appendix I

The Languages of Nepal
(those included in this survey)

1. Indo-European Language Family

1.1 Indo-Aryan Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Subgroup</th>
<th>Distribution (by zone)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>Eastern Pahari</td>
<td>All over the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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### 4 Dravidian Language Family

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#### Appendix II

**CBS Report on Languages (2001)**

The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), HMG/Nepal has recently published its population census report, 2001. According to this report, the following is the list of languages used in Nepal.

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Appendix III

Main Indo-Aryan Languages

Main Tibeto-Himalayan Languages
The Notions of Subject and Topic in Newar

Taj R. Kansakar
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1. Introduction

Newar (Newari / Nepal Bhasa) is one of the oldest Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman languages with a very rich literature. Although contemporary forms of the language have been analyzed and studied by various scholars and linguists, both native and foreign, the roles of "subject" and "topic" in Newar sentence structures have not received much attention. The category of subject denotes a particular grammatical function in a sentence but in Newar the subject has no agreement control with the verb unless the nominal in the subject position is an agent or actor. The following examples illustrate the importance of the notions of volitionality and control:

(1) 'I broke the plate' (deliberately)
   ji-τ demā tachyān-a
   l-Erg plate break-Pc / Vol

(2) 'I broke the plate.' (inauditently)
   ji-τ demā tachyāt-a
   l-Erg plate break-Pd / NVol

(3) 'S/he put the plate there.'
   wa-ā demā ana tal-a
   s/he-Erg plate there put-Pd

In sentences where the subject is a dative experiencer, there is no agreement with the verb, as can be seen in (4-6):

(4) 'I have a fever.' (lit. a fever came to me)
   ji-ta jwar wal-a
   l-Dat fever come-Pd

(5) 'I am tired.'
   ji-ta tyānul-a
   l-Dat tired-Pd

In Newar there is also no categorial distinction between adjectivals and verbs. While adjectives can function as state verbs, they can also inflect for case and number when they function as nominalized noun heads, e.g.

(7) a. a strong animate being / s
   ballāmha (animate) / -pī
   strong-Nom (Sg) / -Plu

b. a strong (inanimate) object / s
   ballā-gu (inanimate) / (-ta)
   strong-Nom. Sg / (-Plu)

Malla (1985: 104) has noted that "the functions of a subject are performed in Newari by a variety of case forms such as genitive and locative which would not normally be called a subject in any language". The following examples may be noted in this connection:

(8)

Inanimate
Nominal       ballā-mha       ballā-pi:       ballā-gu
Agt/Abl       ballā-mha-a       ballā-pi-sa-a       ballā-gu-li-t
Comitative/Locative       ballā-mha-yā-ke       ballā-pi-ke       ballā-gu-li-i
Dative/Objective       ballā-mha-si-ta       ballā-pi-ta       ballā-gu-yī-ta
Genitive       ballā-mha-yā       ballā-pi-ni       ballā-gu-yī

Hale and Watters (1973: 194) have also suggested that "the notion of subject in Newar probably isn't needed at all". We however need to recognize the non-nominative (or non-ergative) subjects in the Dative, Genitive and Locative case roles which are widely attested in many language families including the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia. Bickel (2001: 212) however states that "dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-European type are not a general feature of Tibeto-Burman", but examples of these can be found in
Newar (4-6) above and also in Tibetan. He defines the dative subject as 'experiencer-as-goal', and genitive-marked experiencer as 'experiencer-as possessor' (9) above. Bickel (216) also points out the genitive / dative subject alternations in Kathmandu Newar where both the experiencer-as-goal and experiencer-as-possessor constructions are to be found. The following examples are from Hale (1997), quoted by Bickel (218):

(11) Kathmandu Newar (Hale 1997):
   a. 'Mira became tired.'
      mirā-yāta tyānhul-a
      mirā-Dat tired-Pd.Agent
   b. 'Mira became tired.'
      mirā-yā tyānhul-a
      mirā-Gen tired-Pd.Agent

Although the gloss given for (11 a.) and (11 b.) are similar, an important distinction in context needs to be made here. While the dative-marked (11 a.) can be interpreted as a resultant state, the (11 b.) that is genitive-marked must be seen as an on-going process. The dative construction can therefore be interpreted as 'Mira is tired' (after the long walk), and the genitive construction as 'Mira is getting tired' (so I notice). This distinction, although semantic in nature, serves to explain why the dative / genitive alternation cannot strictly be regarded as a free variation. Such semantic concepts provide essential information on the organization of particular grammars that are based on the notions of theme, topic and focus rather than on strict grammatical relations.

The notion of 'topic', in the above sense, is often recognized as a discourse-oriented identity and is therefore more difficult to define its properties. The basic question I wish to examine here is whether the syntactic constructions in Newar are oriented more to topic relations than subject-predicate relations, i.e. can we argue for Newar as a topic-prominent or a subject-prominent language? It will be the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that the subject-verb relationship in Newar is not well established as in subject-prominent languages like English and other Indo-European languages, and that semantic concepts such as topic and comment, theme and focus are of primary importance in the organization of its grammar. In this connection, I shall also discuss the correlations between topic and various syntactic constructions such as non-finite clause chains with subordinating functions which is a prominent feature of Newar narrative discourse in particular.

The case markers most commonly define the function of nouns and are attached to nouns in various syntactic positions in their roles as subject agent, direct or indirect object. Consider example (12):

(12) 'The/that man gave money to his son.'
    wa manukха-ā wa-yā kāe-yāta dhebā bil-a
    s/he man-Erg s/he-Gen son-Dat money give-Pd

where the subject is marked as an ergative marker (manukха-ā), the possessor pronoun as a genitive (wa-yā), the object or recipient as a dative (kāe-yāta), and the accusative / patient is an unmarked absolutive (dhebā). As mentioned earlier, the subject in Newar has often been defined in terms of a volitional agent or object rather than a category that is grammatically related to a transitive or intransitive verb. We can however identify the case roles of various categories of subject-nouns in Newar as an agent, patient and dative-experiencer subject and their relationship with the object nouns. Such grammatical relations are a part of what Givon (1984: 139) refers to as the 'topic accession hierarchy', which is a ranking order of the various semantic case-roles according to the likelihood of their becoming the more continuous topic in discourse ... and occupying the pragmatic case-roles of subject or direct object in simple clauses'. Givon refers to access-to-subject as 'subjectization' and goes on to formulate a subject / topic hierarchy as follows:

(13) Agent > Dative / Benefactive > Patient > Locative > Instr / Assoc > Manner

where a simple clause with an agent argument will be the subject. If the clause has no agent, the next candidate for subjecthood in the hierarchy is the dative/benefactive (if present). If the clause however has no agent nor dative/benefactive, the patient argument will be the subject, and so on. The examples and discussions given below serve to support the idea of topic hierarchy (13).

The examples in (14 a-c) below have agent as subject:

Agent as subject:
14. a. 'The mother scolded the child.'
    māmā-ā mačā-yāta bwa: bil-a
    mother-Erg child-Dat scold give-Pd

   (Agent > Dative)
The subject, as suggested earlier, highlights the primary topic in the sentence. The case role of the direct or indirect object, on the other hand, codes the secondary topic in the clause. The syntactic functions of these object-nouns in Newar can be illustrated with examples in the following contexts:

17. a. Question: 'Who did Manju give the book to?'
   manju-ũ su-yāta saphu: bil-a?
   manju-Erg who-DO book give-Pd
   (Patient-Topic; Dative-Focus)

b. Reply 1: 'She gave the book to Bina.'
   wa-ā saphu: binā-yāta bil-a
   she-Erg book binā-Dat give-Pd
   (Patient is Direct Object)

c. Reply 2: 'She gave Bina a book.'
   wa-ā binā-yāta saphu: bil-a
   she-Erg binā-Dat book give-Pd
   (?Dative is Direct Object)

18. a. Question: 'What did Manju give to Bina?'
   manju-ũ binā-yāta chu bil-ā?
   manju-Erg binā-Dat what give-Pd

b. Reply 1: 'She gave her a book.'
   wa-ā wai-ta saphu: bil-a
   she-Erg she-DO book give-Pd
   (Dative is Direct Object)

c. Reply 2: 'She gave a book to her.'
   wa-ā saphu: wai-ta bil-a
   she-Erg book she-DO give-Pd

The following alternations of Direct Object (DO) and Indirect Object (IO) also illustrate the same topic-focus relation, with the DO being more topical:

19. a. Question: 'What did s/he do with the wine?'
   wa-ā aelā chu yātā
   s/he-Erg wine what do-Pd

b. Reply: 's/he served it to guests at the feast.'
   (not to all the guests)
   bhwae wa-̂-pin-ta twā-kal-a
20. a. Question: 'What did s/he give the guests at the feast to drink?'
   wa-ā bhwae wa-pin-ta chu twā-kā-lā
   s/he-Erg feast come-Plu-Dat what drink-Caus-Pd
b. Reply: 'S/he served wine (to the guests).' (not all the wine)
   wa-ā aelā twā-kā bil-a
   s/he-Erg wine drink-Caus-PC give-Pd

3. Subject vs Topic

The examples under (17-20) above also support the arguments put forward by Li and Thompson (1976: 445-489) on the typology of subject-prominent and topic-prominent languages. They argue that a typological distinction can be made between languages with subject-predicate relations and topic-comment relations. They also claim that the subject is a sentence-internal notion and topic a discourse notion with no selectional relationship with the verb. In the examples (19-20) above, the topic-focus is on aelā 'wine' which is not dependent on the argument of the verb but is oriented more to the definiteness of the noun or NP. The focus on wa-ā aelā (direct reference) and bhwae wa-pin-ta twā-kā (indirect reference) reflects the role of topic as the theme of discourse. A shift in topic or focus can also occur as in the following sentences:

21. a. 'That woman's nephew sold the house.'
   wa misā-yā bhinca-a chē mil-a
   that woman-Gen nephew-Erg house sell-Pd
b. 'As for this house, that woman's nephew sold it.'
   tho chē-lā wa misā-yā bhinca-a myu-gu
   this house-Emph that woman-Gen nephew-Erg sell-Nom

In (21 a.) the subject is wa misā-yā bhinca 'that woman's nephew' or the topic could be simply wa misā 'that woman'. But in (21 b.) the topic shifts to tho chē-'la' 'as for this house', and the rest of the sentence constitutes a comment on the topic. So while a subject is directly related to the lexical predicate, a topic on the other hand is only indirectly related to it. The remaining clause of a topic therefore represents 'what is being talked about'. According to Shibatani (1991: 103) "it is this indirect connection between a topic and a lexical predicate that permits certain unique expressions seen in topic-prominent languages". In languages such as Japanese or Korean which have mixed subject-prominent and topic-prominent structures, both the subject and topic are obligatorily marked. The following examples are from Li and Thompson (1976: 462):

Newar also often has 'double subjects' which too have no grammatical relationship with the verb, although the nominals in the language are not
marked for topic or subject as in Japanese or Korean. Consider the following examples:

26. a. 'In meat soup, fish is not put.'
   bullā-e nō ta-e ma-jyu:  
   soup-Loc fish put-NPc Neg-is
b. 'In this field, much paddy grows.'
   tho bū-i: wā yekwa sa-a  
   this field-Loc paddy much grow-Stat

where the verbs ta-e ma-jyu: 'is not put' and sa-a 'grows' do not in any way relate to the double subjects which are pervasive in topic-oriented languages. While nō and bullā in (26 a.) both constitute the topic, the locative noun bū-i in (26 b.) is the topic, not the subject wā 'paddy'. It is also the case that passive sentences are rare or non-existent in topic-prominent languages, and this is true for Newar as well. These arguments thus seem to indicate that the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal, including Newar seem to be topic-prominent in orientation and not governed by any strict subject-predicate relation. As noted earlier, the verbs in the language agree not with the subject but only with the agent or volitional actor. The object of such a verb is also marked only on the indirect object while the direct object is always in the unmarked absolutive case.

4. Ergativity and Transitivity

Anderson (1976: 22) suggests that ergative constructions require that the object is centrally involved in the action, i.e. the action is presented from the object's point of view. In accusative constructions, however, the action is more directly related to the subject's point of view, where the object is less in focus. This means that the category that is in focus can be said to be 'topicalized', and ergative languages obviously involve a different form of topicalization as compared to accusative languages. We can thus argue that the notion of subject in transitive / intransitive contexts may not be applicable to the vast majority of morphologically ergative languages like Newar and many other T-B languages in Nepal. The examples below illustrate the distinction between ergative and non-ergative subjects in transitive and intransitive constructions where the subject - verb relations do not hold in both nominative and non-nominative subjects:

27. a. 'The child fell asleep'  
   macā den-a  
   child sleep-Pd

5. Topic and Non-Finite Clauses

The category 'topic' also has an important function in various syntactic constructions such as the non-finite clause chains in Newar discourse. Such clause combining is often achieved through embedding of one clause or a series of clauses within the main or host clause with a full finite verb. The embedded clause in such constructions functions as the grammatical or semantic predicate of the complex sentence. The embedded clause is normally connected by various embedding markers such as a long vowel-final participial verb e.g. wan-aí: 'on going'; the quotative / complementizer dhakai: /dhaa- for an embedded NP in the reported speech; the nominalizers <nhaa>, <pi- > and <gu> for adjectivals; and <dhaa-sai>, <guli>, <a>, <baale>, <kumhoo>, <kei> for adverbials. The process of clause chaining in the language can produce quite an elaborate hierarchy of non-final participial verb forms followed by a finite verb at the end of the sentence. Consider the following examples:

29. 'He told me that Manju has arrived.'
   wa-ā jī-ta manju thāka: wa-ā dhāl-a  
   he-Erg I-Dat manju arrive come-Pd Comp say-Pd
30. 'I liked the shoes (you) wore at the feast.'
   bhoja-e nīyā-ā wa-gu lākā: jī-ta bālā tāl-a  
   feast-Loc wear-Pc come-Nom shoes I-Dat beautiful feel-Pd

Hale and Shrestha (1999: 297-336) analyzes the various functions of the conjunctive participle <ā> in linking a series of clauses in a complex sentence. The following examples serve to illustrate the meaning of cause-reason, manner and joining of clauses with thematic relationships with the main clause:

a. 'Being bashful, just smiling, she kept quiet.'
   ma-chā-lā: nī hi jhā-nilā: sūkā cō-čon-a
   Neg-dare-Cp smile only smile-Cp quietly stay-Prg-Pd
b. 'Lovingly like a father or a mother, he had given her to eat and drink.'
   mā-bau-nā thē māyā yān-a: wa-l-ta
   mother father-Abl like compassion do-Cp s/he-Obl-Dat
   na-ke twā-ke yān-a ta-gu
   eat-Caus drink-Caus do-Pc Prf.stat-Nom
c. "When the stepmother saw that the stepdaughter, whom she
   made to work from the time she got up until the time she
   went to bed (jnt) and whom she fed only rice chaff, was
   better looking than her own daughter, for whom she made
   life pleasant by feeding her ghee and milk (jnt) and by not
   making her do any work, she became suspicious.'
   ghyā: duru nak-a: nā chū: jyaa ma-yā-ku-se
   ghee milk feed-Nf also any work Neg-do-Caus-Prt
   yān-ka ta-yā ta-yā-mha tha: mhyā-sikā:
   pleasant adv put-Pc put-Pc-Nom refl daughter-than
   dā-senisē ma-dyā-tale jyā yā-k-ā: nā
   get-up-from Neg-sleep-until work do-Caus-nf also
   himo jaka nak-a ta-yā-mha mhyesu-mhyā
   rice.chaff only feed-Pc put-Pc-Nom step-daughter
   soy-e jiu-gu khan-ā: cihir-mā-mhe-si-yā
   look-inf be.OK-Nom see-Nf step-mother-Nom-Obl-Gen
   nugala-e aneka khā ē-hā-t-a
   heart-loc various matter talk-Pd

These examples also show that the role of the grammatical subject is not
syntactically important. In (31a.) the two CP clauses and the host clause share
the same embedded subject. In (31b.) Hale interprets the CP clause māyā
yān-a: not as a separate action but as the manner in which she was given food
and drink. The focus here is not on the actor but on the manner of the action or

6. Conclusion

When we review the subject-topic relations as a typological concept, we may
recall the different viewpoints put forward by various linguists. Dixon (1979)
says that topic is what we talk about, and subject is a union of the agentive
nominal of a transitive clause { A } and the obligatory nominal of an
intransitive clause { S }. Comrie (1981: 106)) states that the prototypical
subject is the intersection of agent and topic. Shibatani (1991), on the other
hand, holds the view that “the concepts of the grammatical ‘topic’ and that of
the grammatical ‘subject’ need to be clearly separated at the theoretical level”.
In English, for example, topic and subject are either merged into a single
category or grammaticalized from topic to subject. But we have shown that the
syntactic organization of English and Newar is very different, and it is
important to understand that the topic and the subject have different realizations
in diverse languages affiliated to I-A and T-B families. The notions of topic and
subject therefore need to be recognized as typological categories in our
survey of language groups in Nepal.

Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>Agt/Abl</td>
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<td>singular</td>
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References

Some Light Verbs in Bote
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1. Introduction
In Bote, verbs can be divided into three classes when they appear in a verbal chain. The first (polar) of these brings semantic burden and the last one (auxiliary) bears grammatical burden like tense, person, number and honorificity. The verbs that appear between these two, generally called vectors, can also be divided into two groups that one bears only grammatical meanings, whereas the next group influences in argument structure (a-structure) of the main verb. The first one deserves to be called ‘vector’ in our sense. The second set of such verbs are the product of ‘concomitant emptying’ in the lexical meaning of the full verb (Masica, 1976:141) or potential grammatical marker (Masica, 1991:329), or something equivalent to a denominal verb forming suffix (ibid., 369). The second group of verbs which, when combine with some non-verbal elements, namely nouns, adjectives and adverbs, partially emptying their lexical meanings, form non-verbal complex predicates and with verbal element, they form verbal complex predicates. The set of such verbs can be called ‘light verbs’. Thus, the light verbs in Bote are partially emptied verbs which need further investigation for the full interpretation. This paper attempts to present the a-structures of those light verbs while forming the complex predicates.

Following are individual treatment of some light verbs in Complex Predicates against its simple counterparts in Bote. Symbols within the angular brackets represent the thematic roles, or say grammaticalizable meanings, of the arguments. And if there are more notations within parentheses, it only means the case marker traditionally not assigned to that role.

2. Light Verbs
a. deh- 'give'
As a full predicator, its valency is three and it takes one argument with agentive role, one with recipient role and the next with patientive role. It can be represented as (1).

(1) deh- ‘give’ (agent, recipient, patient/theme)

This can be illustrated with the following example.

sita-í ram-ke bikut deh-ik
Sita-ERG Ram-DAT biscuit give-P3s
’Sita gave Ram a biscuit.'
But in following constructions the status of *deh* - 'give' is as a light verb.

i. CP ⟨agent, recipient, Xcomp⟩

(2) ṭam-ṛ hari-ke koh-e anumati deh-ik
Ram-ERG Hari-DAT speak-INF permission give-P3s
'Ram permitted Hari speak.'

ii. CP ⟨agent, recipient, patient⟩

(3) ṭam-ṛ bahun-ke gai dan deh-ik
Ram-ERG priest-DAT cow donation-N give-P3s
'Ram donated cow to priest.'

iii. CP ⟨agent, recipient, theme (Genitive)⟩

(4) hari-ṛ marai biha-ko nimia dehi-ik
Hari-ERG IS.OBL.ERG marriage-GEN invitation-N give-P3s
'Hari invite me on marriage.'

iv. CP ⟨agent, recipient, theme⟩

(5) deuta-ṛ jakri-ke darsan deh-ik
god-ERG healer-DAT appearance-N give-P3s
'God appeared in front of natural healer.'

vi. CP ⟨agent, benefactive⟩

(6) ṭam-ṛ hari-ke-lagi baDko bʼaroa dehi-lo baTi
Ram-ERG Hari-DAT-BEN big reliance-N give-PERF be-nP3s
'Ram has supported Hari a lot.'

vi. CP ⟨agent, Locative⟩

(7) ama-ṛ apⁿ'no baco-ма dyan deh-e por-tal
mother-ERG REFLEX-GEN child-LOC attention-N give-INF befall-nP3s
'The mother has to pay attention to her child.'

b. *lag*- 'adhere'

There are numbers of meaning referred to by the verb *lag*-. However, 'attaching some concrete thing on some surface' is considered basic. It takes locative (or destination) and theme roles as a simple predicate and it is illustrated as in (8).

(8) *lag* - ⟨goal, theme⟩

The status of *lag*- as a light verb is shown in following constructions.

i. CP ⟨experiencer, theme⟩

(9) ṭam-ke çurT-ko lat lag-ik
Ram-DAT cigarette-GEN habit-N adhere-P3s
'Habit of smoking befell to Ram.'

ii. CP ⟨experiencer, theme⟩

(10) marai bőcça upro daya lag-ik
IS.OBL.ERG quiet-N adhere-P3s
'I felt pity on the boy.'

iii. CP ⟨agent⟩

(11) mœi cup lag-in
IS.OBL.ERG quiet-N adhere-P3s
'I became quiet.'

iv. CP ⟨experiencer⟩

(12) ṭam-ke k{o}ki lag-ik
Ram-ERG cough-N adhere-P3s
'Ram got cough.'

v. CP ⟨experiencer, genitive⟩

(13) marai toro maya lag-ik
I-DAT you-GEN love-N adhere-P3s
'I love you.'

c. *por*- 'befall'

*por*- takes two arguments of thematic roles locative and theme as in (55). The theme may be understood as something that comes form unspecified source. It may be static existence or something concrete. The example is shown as in (56).

(55) *por*- ⟨locative, theme⟩

(14) bako-r-ma pani por-ik
Bagkhora-LOC water-N befall-P3s
'Rain befell at Bagkhora.'

Some of the CPs that this verb makes with certain nominals have illustrated as in (57) and (58).

i. CP ⟨patient (Locative)⟩

(15) Dorī-(ma) gāT-o por-ik
string-(LOC) knot befall-P3s
'The string got knotted.'

ii. CP ⟨locative⟩

(16) ṭam-ke apan por-ik
Ram-DAT problem befall-P3s
'Problem appeared to Ram.'
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d. khɑ- 'eat'
khɑ- is diadic verb and it takes two arguments of agent and patientive role as in (59), (60).

(17) eat (agent, patient)
(60) ram-ι bɑ;k ɑ-ik
Ram-ERG rice eat-P3s
'Ram ate rice.'

When it appears as a constituent in a CP, the a-structure gets reanalyzed.

i. CP (recipient (E/N), source (GEN / ABL))
(61) ram-ι guru-ko kuTɑ kɑ-ik
Ram-ERG teacher-GEN hitting eat-P3s
'Ram got beating from teacher.'

ii. CP (recipient, source)
(62) ram-ι sita-bi dɔkɑ kɑ̃ai-ik
Ram-ERG Sita lover-ABL treacherous eat-P3s
'She got treachery from the lover.'

iii. CP (agent, patient)
(63) ama-ι bɑcca-ke mɑi kɑ-ik
mother-ERG child-DAT kiss-N eat-P3s
'The mother kissed the child.'

c. leh- 'take'
This verb takes three arguments one agent, one source and another patient as in (64), (65)

(64) leh- (agent, source, patient)
(65) ram-ι hari-bi kitɑ leh-ik
Ram-ERG Hari-ABL book take-P3s
'Ram took book from Hari.'

As a constituent (i.e., light verb), this verb forms following types of CPs.

i. CP (agent, theme (Locative))
(66) ram-ι poisɑ hari-bi sɑpɑ li-ik
Ram-ERG money-ABL borrow take-P3s
'Ram borrowed from Ram.'

ii. CP (agent, patient (Genitive/Dative))
(67) jat deuta-ι manus-ko abɑar leh-ik
water god-ERG man-GEN incarnation-N take-P3s
'The water God incarnated as human being.'

f. ja- 'go'
ja- is an unergative verb, that is, it takes agent and goal as in (68), (69).

(68) ja (agent, goal)
(69) bɑcca gɑr ja-ik
child-NOM house-N go-P3s
'the child went home.'

Following two types of CPs have been found to exist in Bote being ja- as a light verb.

i. CP (patient (Locative))
(70) DɑDɑ- ma pairo ga-ik
hill-LOC erosion go-P3s
'It eroded in the hill.'

ii. CP (agent)
(71) chauDi poilɑ ga-ik
girl-NOM elopement go-P3s
'The girl eloped.'

g. gar- 'do'
i. CP (agent)
(72) ram-ι banta gar-ik
Ram-ERG vomit do-P3s
'He vomited.'

ii. CP (agent, recipient)
(73) babu-ι c'una-ke aŋkɑmai gar-ik
father-ERG son-DAT caress do-P3s
'The father caressed son.'

iii. CP (agent, patient (Genitive/Dative))
(74) sita-ι ram-ke ko apɑman gar-ik
Sita-ERG Ram-DAT/GEN insult-N do-P3s
'Sita insulted Ram.'

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iv. CP (agent, goal, theme)
(75) *Ram sar* an-ke [biha-ko nimta gare]
Ram-ERG friend-PL-DAT marriage-G invitation-N do-P3s
'Ram sent massage of marriage to friends.'

h. par- 'make'. It makes CPs with other nominals.

i. CP (agent, patient)
(76) *sita-ke ap-no saman pokar-par-ik*
Sita-ERG REF1-GEN luggage package-N make-P3s
'Sita packed up her luggage.'

ii. CP (agent)
(77) *laui* a dalahi *baD* i karai makkai par-tai
new bride-NOM more artificiality make-be-P3s
'New bride behaves more artificially.'

iii. CP (agent, theme)
(78) *Ram karato b'iyia p'ela par-ik*
Ram-ERG lost brother-N accomplishment make-P3s
'Ram succeeded to find lost brother.'

i. bis- 'sit'

bis- takes two arguments, one as agent and other to which locative role is assigned as in (79), (80).

(79) *bis* (agent, locative)

(80) bocca b'ui-ma bis-ik
child-NOM floor-LOC sit-P3s
'Child sat on the floor.'

As a light verb it can be found in the following CPs.

i. CP (agent)
(81) *Ram brata bis-ik*
Ram-NOM fasting sit-P3s
'Ram fasted.'

ii. CP (agent, locative)
(82) *Ram-1 moro ghar-ma bus bis-ik*
Ram-ERG I-GEN house-LOC selter-N sit-P3s
'Ram stayed in my home.'

j. *laga* - 'attach'
Following types of constructions have been identified as nominal CP with this verb.

i. CP (agent, recipient, theme (Genitive))
(83) *Ram hari-ke sita-ko kura laga-ik*
Ram-ERG Hari-DAT Sita-G matter adhere-P3s
'Ram complained Hari about Sita.'

ii. CP (agent, patient)
(84) *bubai b'olya-ke kora laga-ik*
father-ERG brother-DAT whip-N attach-P3s
'The father whipped the brother.'

k. *hok* - 'become'

*Hok* is a productive light verb in Bote since it forms CP with Adjectival and Adverbial other than Nominals. In basic it is auxiliary that identifies something as equivalent of some together thing. Hence it is said that this is also a complement verb. But when it makes CP, the roles and case markers of arguments remarkably change. Following types are clearly identified CPs.

i. CP (agent, source)
(85) *baDko b'iyia g'ar-b'i alag hok-ik*
elder brother-NOM house-ABL separate he-P3s
'Elder brother separated from home.'

ii. CP (experienter / recipient)
(86) *marai banta hok-ik*
I-DAT vomit-N become-P1s
'I vomited.'

iii. CP (agent, locative)
(87) *manis-han k'ola-ma jamma hok-wai*
man-PL river-LOC crowd-N become-P3pl
'The men gathered in the river.'

l. *mar* - 'kill'

*Mar* as a transitive verb, takes an agent and patient role arguments. Different types of CP with different argument structure are as follows.
44 / Some Light ...

i. CP (agent, recipient)

(88) u' marai angalo mar-ik
He/she-ERG I-DAT embrace kill-P3s
'S/he embraced me.'

ii. CP (agent, patient (Genitive))

(89) ram-ko sita-ko maya mar-ik
Ram-ERG Sita-GEN love-N kill-P3s
'Ram forgot Sita.'

m. ga'ral- 'put into'
   The meaning of ga'ral- refers something 'to put into' so that the object reaches to a little depth, like (90).

(90) ram-ko paisa goji-ma ga'al-ik
Ram-ERG money pocket-LOC put-P3s
'Ram put money into the pocket.'

Following are the examples CPs with ga'al- as light verb.

i. CP (agent, experiencer)

(91) sita-ko ama-ke angalo ga'al-ik
Sita-ERG mother-DAT embrace put-P3s
'Sita embraced mother.'

ii. CP (agent, theme)

(92) ram-ko cii'la ga'al-ik
Ram-ERG lottery put-P3s
'Ram bought a lottery'

n. a' 'come'
a' is an unaccusative verb. It takes an animate theme as an argument and locative destination. In following constructions, a- functions as light verb.

i. CP (Experiencer)

(93) ram-ke banta a-ik
Ram-DAT vomit come-P3s
'Ram vomited.'

ii. CP (Experiencer, theme)

(94) hari-ke kal'a yad a-ik
Hari-DAT story memory come-P3s
'Hari remembered the story.'

o. d'ar- 'keep'
d'ar- means to keep some concrete object. It takes agent and theme as thematic roles. Following are the construction of CP with d'ar- as light verb.

(95) ram-ko sita-ko d'yan d'ar-ik
Ram-ERG Sita-GEN attention keep-P3s
'Ram paid attention to Sita.'

(96) unyan-i becca-ko nam d'ar-ik
they-ERG child-GEN name-N keep-P3pl
'They named the child.'

p. u'i' 'raise'
u'i- takes one conscious agent as its argument, but in CP, we find following construction.

(97) ram-ke ris u'i'-ik
Ram-DAT anger raise-P3s
'I angered.' [lit. anger raised at me.]

(98) ram-ke aq ris hsad u'i'-ik
Ram-DAT today anger-N raise-P3s
'Ram got agree today.'

In the similar fashion, the a-structures of verbs like kas- 'tighten', bok 'carry', p'er 'change', mag- 'beg', bena- 'make', etc. can also form the CP with nominal elements.

Conclusion

From the discussion made above, we can conclude that the both nominal and verbal elements contribute in the formation of complex predicates. The a-structure of the CP differs from the a-structure of the light verbs as full predicators. The difference is realized either by different thematic roles of the arguments or by different morphological marking. Thus, the sequence of N and V in the CP form a single predicate, which expresses a single unit of event or action or state.
Abbreviations

ABS- Absolutive  N- Nominative
CL- Classifier   -Neutral (at verb inflection)
CAUS- Causative  OBJ-Object
DAT- Dative      OBL- Oblique
E- Ergative      P- Past
GEN- Genitive    Pl- Plural
INF- Infinitival Prox- Proximate
L- Locative      S- Singular
M- Masculine     SUBJ- Subject

References


Final Report on the Research and Development of a Computer Database System for the Central Department of Linguistics*

Peter W. Oatley

1. Introduction
1.1. Project Rationale
Nepal contains a rich language culture that provides many opportunities for research. However, such diversity may give rise to fragmented or duplicated research. A large volume of reports, papers, and books has already been published in many places but the task of tracking down relevant publications is not easy for the linguistic researcher. The Languages of Nepal Information Management System (LONIMS) project was begun in 1997, in response to the need for a centralised resource to aid linguistic research in Nepal.

The aim was to produce a computer database structure that is capable of storing information about the languages of Nepal. It describes two main types of data: data about the language itself and data about the research resources that are available. The language data is divided into several areas: typological, literacy, demographic, etc. Resource data is linked to languages and other resource data by subject keywords.

It is possible to reference types of data other than books or papers. If items such as audiotapes or video footage have been archived information about these can also be entered into the database.

LONIMS will therefore provide a resource for researchers who wish to discover what is known about a language or language family and what has been published. It will also facilitate documenting the progress of research into the languages of Nepal.

1.2. Objectives
- To provide a practical database structure to organise language information on issues including:
  - Demographics: location, Population, Alternate names for the language and its speakers.

* I would like to thank the Central Department of Linguistics for their help and support during the project, particularly: Prof. CM Bandhu, Prof. Kansakar and Prof. YP Yadava.

I would also like to thank Daniel McClay for introducing me to this project and for the excellent foundation on which I was able to build.

This report describes the project and its results in non-technical terms. A technical description of the database can be found in the System Administrator's guide. A guide to using the database, LONIMS User Guide, is also available.


- Society: Culture, History, Religion, and Economy.
- Education and Literacy
- Status of language Development: Script, Orthography, Written materials, Radio, TV.
- Multilingualism: Use of Mother Tongue and Nepali.
- Language Variation and Relationships to other languages.
- Resources available: Published materials, Organisations/Contacts, Data collected.
- Structural Information: A minimal summary of relevant details.
  - To provide tools for the collation of information within and across language varieties.
  - To provide the capability to add new language information without forcing the replacement of language information already in the database.
  - To provide the capability to identify the source of each piece of information.
  - To provide a system capable of dynamically retrieving references to resources existing elsewhere. This retrieval may be specified according to a variety of perspectives, including language, author, and geographic location.
  - To provide the capability to generate printed reports on these various kinds of information.

2. Project Description
2.1 Project History
The project was begun in 1997 by Dr Daniel R. McClay. He completed one year before having to return home because of ill health. I took up the project in 1999 and unfortunately my family has also suffered health problems. This has delayed completion of the project until now.

2.2 Data Model
The data is centred on two main hubs: the language variety data and the Resource data. Initially the language data was structured hierarchically. That is Language groups were related to languages, which were related to dialects. However, the language situation in Nepal is complex and fluid. A rigid hierarchy was not suitable in this case. Some languages varieties can be designated as groups and/or languages, some as languages and/or dialects. Language varieties can change status as more research is done.

In order to accommodate the need for flexibility the design was changed so that in terms of informational content language varieties were equal. A tree diagram was added which shows how language varieties relate to one another. This diagram can indicate the ambiguities that arise and it is easy to reposition a variety if that is required.
Structuring the resource data was simpler; each item stands on its own. Resources can be linked to language varieties, subjects and each other.

3. Description of Database
Although the underlying data structure is quite complex, the presentation of information to the user is clear. The main database screen shows the tree diagram and basic information about the language.

The user can then click on one of the named pages (tabs) to access information about that subject area.
To help locate a language variety quickly a find button is provided. This provides the ability to search across groupings, languages, dialects, alternative names or any combination of these.
Print menus give access to different hard copy reports for a language or grouping.
The Resource page is defined as part of the information about a language since that is the context in which it will most often be used. The page lists the resources connected with a particular language variety and can be filtered by subject.
Resources can also be viewed independently of language varieties. They can be listed by subject, author, library and related items. Related items might be a multi-part series, a review or other closely related work.
Resources can be displayed in various ways depending on how much information is required. This same information is available in printed format.

4. Project Status
The project has been completed. However, a computer project is never complete and improvements can always be made. There will also be the need to iron out problems that only appear through regular use of the system.
The Online help file is similar in structure to the user manual and provides information on how to use the database. The help file is linked to LONIMS and can be easily accessed when using the database. All the products are provided on a CD-ROM as well as the manuals being provided in paper form. The database is capable of meeting the objectives set out at the beginning of this report. However, the real success now depends on data being entered into LONIMS and the database being updated regularly. LONIMS will not be a helpful resource until it contains data and unless it is kept up to date.

5. Project Results
The following products are the results of the Project:
- The LONIMS Database
  This is an MS Access Database which will hold the Language and bibliographic data.
- System Administrator's Guide
  A manual to help the system administrator understand the structure and design of the database. This will be helpful if changes are needed or problems arise.
- User Guide
  A manual to help users understand how to use LONIMS. The manual describes each of the data screens and the fields on those screens.
- Online Help File

The Database has now been handed over to the Central Department of Linguistics but while I am in Nepal, I will continue to work with them to improve the database.

It was not possible to implement a couple of features due to lack of time. Extra time had to be spent fixing some problems that appeared as I tested various modules. It also became clear that certain features would not work as first thought and changes were needed.

Below are suggestions for further development of the database:

- Change report queries to make-table queries. Reports run faster from tables. See Access Tips for examples.
- On the Print Menus indicate the number of records that will be printed.
- Allow printing from resource details screen.
- Need an option to print only the current resource?
- Need to modify how language data is displayed or stored. On some occasions it is not clear under which grouping a sub-group occurs. For example, there are several instances of Southern in the database. This shows up clearly when using Find.
- Linking Subjects – Should the subjects automatically have a reverse link inserted?
- A checking to the link tables so that if a subject is added to list but it is not in the subject table it is automatically added with a query to the user.
- Make data entry for the minor tables more robust.
- Add setup Printer Option? Printer Setup is available from the file menu but a button on the menus might be more friendly.
- Does Dialect Tab need two sub-tables?
- Ethnologue HTML file has a lot of unavailable links that need to be resolved or the file needs to be removed from the database.
Nonnominal Subjects in Nepali

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1. Phenomenon

Subject and other grammatical relations are realized by nominals, but coding properties and behavioral properties of each of these relations vary across languages. The grammatical relation Subject has been the subject of great interest. Pragmatically, Subject is something talked about. It realizes the old information in a construction. It is typically coded by nominal case which is the citation form of the nominal. But there is no one-to-one relation between Subject and nominative case for there exists nominative Object and non-nominative Subject in natural languages as well. Nepali interestingly exemplifies this phenomenon. This paper is an attempt to present a description of nonnominative subjects only. Dative, genitive, locative, accusative, and instrumental and/or ablative are the cases of Subject besides Nominative.

The subjecthood of the nominals is tested against some basic characteristics of Nepali and other universal characteristics of languages. For example, the basic word order of Nepali is SOV. This order is pragmatically least marked. Therefore, if any nominal is found not in citation form but occupies the sentence initial position, and if the order of words is the most preferred in pragmatically neutral context, then we will consider the nominal Subject. Nevertheless, it is not the absolute criterion. The fact will be supported with additional evidences and arguments which have been commonly considered as the characteristics of a Subject. Passivazation, agreement, gapping in coordination, reflexive binding, control and case demotion are other criteria. Besides, we will also consider the arguments from participle modification, nominalization of verbs and meaning.

To begin with, we will first present in this section the summary of case markers that the nominals can come together with. It will be followed by the presentation of the phenomenon. That is to say, we will present the examples that illustrate the phenomenon in question. In succeeding sections, the paper proceeds with the discussion of basic sentences with nonnominative nominals at their onset position vis-a-vis the above mentioned criteria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Markers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative (N)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<td>Ergative (E)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accusative (ACC)</td>
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<td>Instrumental (I)</td>
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<td>Dative (D)</td>
<td>lai</td>
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Ablative (A)        bat\text{p}
Genitive (G)        ko/ro/no (Singular masculine)
                    ki/ri/ni (Singular feminine)
                    ka/ra/na (Plural)
Locative (L)        ma

In the following example, (1) presents a case of Subject in citation form. ke\text{to} ‘boy’ is in nominative case. And we see there is another nominal bhat ‘rice’ is also in citation form. The traditional sense of Subject, i.e., it is something in the sentence about which some remark is made, is predicated by ke\text{to}. If we reverse the order of two nominals, the sentence is not acceptable, (2). We might topicalize the verb as in (3). But it is stylistically marked. It systematically shifts the focus.

(1) ke\text{to} bhat khancho
    boy-N rice-N eat-be.nP3SN
    ‘The boy eats rice.’

(2) * bhat ke\text{to} khancho
(3) khancho, ke\text{to} bhat
    ‘The boy eats rice, nothing else (i.e., he likes eating rice.)’

Examples (4) to (10) respectively represent the Subjects in Ergative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative. More analyses will be presented in the following sections. But I would like to tell some specific remarks in advance. Unlike (1) which contains two nominals both in Nominative cases, the following examples with two nominals can be restructured in terms of nominals’ positions. Interestingly, the Genitive marker ko does not behave as if it is Genitive in usual sense. In that, it does not inflect for person, number and gender which it usually does to express possession and relations. Only the basic forms, namely ko/ro/no, are used as Subject marker.

(4). ke\text{to}le bhat pakayo
    boy-E rice-N cook-P3SM
    ‘The boy cooked rice.’

(5). ke\text{to}lai pit\text{lyo}
    boy-ACC beat-PASS-P3SM
    ‘The boy was beaten.’

(6). s\text{aco}le d\text{hoka} kholcho
    key-I door-N open-be.nP3SN
    ‘The key opens the door.’
(7). a. ketoli ay lagchā
boy-D fear-N attach-be.nP3SN
'It fear falls to the boy.'

b. ketoli ket man paryo
boy-D girl-N wish-N befall-nP3SN
'The wish to the girl befell to the boy.'

(8). a. montribatā pārkhālko udghātan bhāyo
minister-A wall-G inauguration-N be-P3SN
'The inauguration of the wall was occurred from the minister.'

b. pitaṣibatā bhūya yunar bhāyo
father.h-A rice-N eating,h be-P3SN
'The father ate rice (lit. rice has been eaten from the father)'

(9). a. rāmko chorilai citthi
lekhnu chā
Ram-G daughter-D letter-N write-GER be.nP3SN
'Ram has (a work) to write a letter to the daughter.'

b. rāmko curot khane bani chā
Ram-G cigarette-n eat-PROS habit-N be.nP3SN
'Ram has habit of smoking.'

c. timro bhar garīyo
you.mh-G reliance-N do-PASS-3SN
'You have been relied.'

d. behuliko behulossāna yoda milyo
bride-G groom-COM pair-N suit-P3SN
'The pair of the bride with the groom is suited.'

(10). a. timima sip chā
you.mh-L skill-N be.P3SN
'You have skill.'

b. bashimina daya chā bhane
sister-L pity-N be.P3SN if
'If the sister has pity...

c. dārīma gātīho paryo
rope-L knot-N befall-P3SN
'The rope got knotted.'

d. pārikshyama pas bhāiyō
exam-L pass be-PASS-P3SN
'(We) passed the exam.'

2. Syntax of nonnominative subject
2.1 Word order
Subjects in all cases, examples (4)-(10), lie in the leftmost slot, which is the canonical position for subject. When two nominals have the same case, the former is the subject, (1) and (22). The reordering of two nominals does not create unacceptability. Instead it deemphasizes the Subject nominals and shifts the focus rightwards. They are nonnormal and their relative frequency of use is low. Topicalization of predicates – irrespective of simple or complex – does the same effect as we have seen in (3).

2.2 Passivization
Normally, passivization is the process of suppressing the old information. In syntactic structure old information is expressed by subject. Active constructions undergo passivization by deleting the subject, or by making it non-prominent. In the following examples, the corresponding (b)s are the passive counterparts of (a)s. Since the nominals marked with different cases are demoted or deleted, we can argue in support of our claim that there exist nonnominative Subjects in Nepali. The process of passivization also supports the argument of word order in pragmatically neutral structure. We have remarked above the concomitant shifting of emphasis in relative permutation of nominals. The marked nominals get emphasized in reversal. But, however, we cannot demote the topicalized nominals. In the following instances, for example in (11), neither keṭōle pākaīyo, nor keṭo pākaīyo (in intended sense) is possible.

1. Ergative
(11). a. keṭōle bhat pākaīyo
b. bhat pākaīyo

2. Instrumental
(12). a. sācole talcahārku kholcha
key-L padlock-Pl open-be.nP3SN
'The key unlocks the padlocks.'

b. talcahārku kholīyo / talcahārku kholiye

The argument on Subject-Verb agreement is made in the following section. Here, in (12b), the verb optionally agrees with nominal talcahārku ‘padlocks’.
3. Genitive

(13) a. mero ramlai ciṭṭi lekhnā cha
1.OBL-G Ram-D letter-N write-GER be.nP
'I have to write letter to Ram.'

b. ramlai ciṭṭi lekhnā cha

In the above examples (11-13), Ergative, Instrument and Genitives are suppressed. Since the sentences with Locative, Ablative and Dative convey semantically passive meaning, passivization is redundant. For instance, let us see (14), a dative subject construction.

(14) a. keṭolai keṭi man pāryo / parī
dative subject construction
b. keṭi man pāryo / parī

But, interestingly, these two constructions differ in meaning unlike other active-passive pairs. (14b) is reflexive. This is the speaker's feeling unless the context modifies. On the other hand, the nominals in Accusative become subject after passivization. Depending upon the type of passive variety, there may or may not be Subject-Verb agreement, (15a, b). In haiti piṭya, there is agreement. Compare with bhaiharu piṭya 'brothers are beat.'

(15) a. ramle bhailai piṭya
Ram-E brother-ACC beat-P3SN
'Ram beat the brother.'

b. bhailai piṭya / haiti piṭya

2.3 Agreement

(15) is an interesting example. The nominal in agreement is in Nominative. Verbs also agree with Ergative and Instrumental nominals. (4) is exemplifies former. Let us see (16) and (17). They illustrate how the Instrumentals also are in agreement.

(16) eutāi sācole sabai talchaharu kholcha/*kholchan
one-EMP key-I all padlock-Pi-N open-be.nP3SN/*Pi
'The same one key opens all the padlocks.'

(17) sabai sācachārul eutāi talca kholchan /*kholchan

2.4 Participle Modification

When the verb is in prospective form, the verb phrase modifies the Subject. This modified subject becomes nominative whatever be the case of the Subject formerly. This transformation is interesting test. Nominals in

Nominative (18), Ergative (19), Accusative (20), Instrumental (21), Dative (22), Ablative (23), Genitive (24) and Locative (25) get modified by participle clauses otherwise predicates (in traditional sense) of the original sentences. These examples help argue similarities in all these nominals, which, arguably, is Subjecthood.

(18) ram sutyo > sutne ram 'Ram the person who slept.'

(19) ramle bhat khayo > bhat khanे ram 'Ram the man who ate rice.'

(20) bhailai piṭya > piṭine bhai 'The brother who got beaten.'

(21) sācole talca kholyo > talca kholne sāco 'The key that opens the door.'

(22) ramle bhailai ciṭṭi lekhnā cha > bhailai ciṭṭhi lekhne ram
Ram-D brother-D letter-N write-GER be.nP
'Ram who wrote letter to the brother'

(23) māṇtrik bāgī pārkhal ko udghāṭan bhayo >
pārkhal ko udghāṭan garne māṇtri
minister-A wall-N inauguration-N became
'The minister who inaugurated wall'

(24) keṭako keṭisāngo joda mīlyo > keṭisāngo joda milne keṭo
boy-G girl-COM pair-N suited
'The boy who suited good to the girl.'

(25) bōshinimā dāya cha > dāya bhaiyekī bōshinī
sister-L pity be (exist.)-nP
'The sister having pity.'

2.5 Reflexive Binding

Reflexive binding is another test of Subjecthood. Nepali reflexive pronouns are ambiguously bound if the construction has two potential antecedents. If there is only one nominal, which is Subject by default, it binds the reflexive pronoun. The case of nominals does not matter. As in (26), (27), (28), (29) and (31). Ergative, Genitive, Dative, Locative and Ablative bind the reflexives. The ambiguity is illustrated in (30), (30b) might be reflexive in meaning. The alternate referent may be the speaker oneself. But if the reflexive is not preceded by two potential nominals, though there is shifting emphasis, there will not be ambiguity. We can marginally argue of Accusative being the antecedent of reflexive in (30a, b).

(26) keṭole, aṭhna, luga dhooyo
boy-E self-G cloth-N wash-P3SN
'The boy washed his own cloth.'
2.6 Gapping in Coordination

Syntax of coordination in Nepali is Subject based. Deletion of coreferential Subject is its principle. Therefore, the antecedent Subject nominal controls the gapping in coordination. Interestingly, the case of the controller matters not. Arguably, all these nominals are Subject. The Ergative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Locative and Genitive control the gapping in the examples (32) to (38). The cases of the controller and the controller may not match each other. For example, in (34), the Instrumentally marked nominal controls the nominal of an intransitive verb, which always Nominative.

(32) ketöle, bhat khayo ra ________ kam garyo
boy-E rice-N eat-P3SM and work do-P3SM
'The boy ate and did the work.'

(33) bhalai, pfiyo ra __________ gharbato nikiyo
brother-ACC eat-PASS-P3SN and house-A oust-PASS-P3SM 'The brother was beaten and ousted from home.'

(34) sācole tala ko khloyo tara __________ bāccheyo
key-L padlock-N EMP open-P3SM but break-INTR-PASS-P3SM 'The opened the door, but, however, it got broken.'

(35) malai bhok lajyo ra ________ dār pani lajyo
I-D hunger-N attach-P3SM and fear-N also attach-P3SM 'I felt hungry and also fear.'

(36) mantribatā, parkhalko udghatān pachi __
yakso nirikshān bhayo
minister-A wall-G inauguration-N after
that-G inspection become-P3SM
'After the inauguration of the wall, it was inspected by the minister.'

(37) topāma, sip cha, ________, jāgā cha ra ______, dakshatā cha bhane
you.L skill be(exist.)nP strength be(exist.)nP and efficiency be(exist.)nP if
'If you have skill, strength and efficiency...'

(38) ramko chora lai phon garmu cha ra ________ chorilai
Ram-G son-D phone do-GER be(exist.)nP and daughter-DAT
citīti lekhnu cha
letter-N write-GER be(exist.)nP
Ram has to phone the son and to write letter to the daughter.'

2.7 Control

Subjects of a finite (matrix) clause control the invisible subject of nonfinite clause in a complete sentence. That is, the visible subject, whatever is its case realization, controls PRO. The characteristic property of the Subject to control PRO is shared by all the nominals Ergative, Accusative, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative respectively in (40) to (45). The case disparity between the controller and controller is even more clear here. In (42), the Subject of transitive verb is controlled by Dative nominal. And so by Ablative in (43). Genitive controls Subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs in (44), and in (45), Subject of intransitive verb is controlled by Locative nominal.

(39) ketō, [ϕ, bhat khana] ghar gayo
boy-N rice-N eat-INF house go-P3SM
'The boy went home to eat rice.'

(40) ketōle, [ϕ, bhat khana] kam garyo
boy-E rice-N eat-INF work-N do-P3SM
'The boy did work to eat rice.'
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(41) bhai ❍ [pijera] ghar ❍ nikiyo
brother-ACC beating house-A oust-PASS-P3SM
'The brother was ousted from home beating.'

(42) ket ❍ [bhat] khanako lagi ❍ dinbharai ❍ karn ❍ garnu
boy-DAT rice-N eat-INF-G-BEN whole day work-N do-GER-befall-be-nP3SM
'The boy has to work whole day long to get eating rice.'

(43) mantr ❍ [parkh ❍ naqhera] parkh ❍ khal ❍ udghat ❍ bhayo
minister-A wall-N cross-CONJP wall-G inauguration-N become-P3SN
'The inauguration of the wall did occur from the minister by crossing it.'

(44) ram ❍ [uṭh ❍ bittikai] ❍ [euro ❍ khane] bani ❍ chā
Ram-G raise-PROS immediately cigarette eat-PROS habit
be (exist.)N
'Ram has habit of smoking immediately after leaving the bed.'

(45) kej ❍ [jama ❍ māgh ❍ jane] raḥ ❍ chā
children-L maternal uncle's home go-PRO wish-N be (exist.)N
'The children have a wish to go to the maternal uncle's home.'

2.8 Nominalization of Verb
When the verb of a construction is nominalized, the subject becomes genitive. It is another interesting case. In the following examples (46), (47) and (48), Ergative, Nominative and Dative are shown to be behaving similarly. Each of them changes into Genitive in the syntactic process of verb nominalization.

(46) ram ❍ bhat ❍ khayo ❍ more ❍ ram ❍ bhat ❍ khuwai
Ram ate rice. 'Ram ate rice.' >>> 'Rice-eating of Ram'
(47) ram ❍ suxyo ❍ ram ❍ sutai
Ram slept. 'Ram slept.' >>> 'Sleeping of Ram'
(48) ma ❍ ghaust ❍ dukhyo ❍ more ❍ ghaust ❍ dukahan
I suffered from pain of boil. 'I suffered from pain of boil.' >>> 'Feeling of boil pain to me'

2.9 Meaning
This is another argument. Nominals with different case endings mean same thing. It is matter of personal choice. Somewhere Ergative and Dative (49), somewhere Genitive and Dative (50), somewhere Ergative and Ablative (51), Genitive and Ablative (52) cases can be used interchangeably. Constructions with subject in two cases have the same meaning. Whatever is the case marker, notionally they are Subjects for them are the old information about which some remarks are made.

(49) mail ❍ kuro ❍ thaha paṇṭ 'I learned of the thing.'
mail ❍ kuro ❍ thaha bhayo 'The matter became known to me.'

(50) ram ❍ chori ❍ cih ❍ lekhu ❍ chā ❍ 'Ram has a work of writing a letter to the daughter.'
ram ❍ chori ❍ cih ❍ lekhu ❍ chā ❍ 'Ram has a work of writing a letter to the daughter.'

(51) tim ❍ bhar ❍ gariyo ❍ 'Reliance is done on you.'
tim ❍ bhar ❍ gariyo ❍ 'Reliance is done on you.'
tim ❍ bhar ❍ gariyo ❍ 'Reliance is done on you.'

(52) mantr ❍ parkh ❍ udghat ❍ go 'The minister inaugurated the wall.'
mantri parkh ❍ khal ❍ udghat ❍ bhayo 'Inauguration of the wall did occur from the minister.'

2.10 Case demotion in infinitival clauses
This is another strong argument to establish the multiple casehood of Subject nominals. In the instances produced below, we can see the canonical cases are being demoted. In (53), the verb has 'sit' is intransitive and its Subject's canonical case is Nominative. But this is not acceptable. It has to be demoted to Dative. Similarly in (54), both Dative and Ergative case is possible for the Subject of embedded clause, the otherwise default case is Nominative. (54) represents, perhaps, a transition case. But (55) is a clear example of case transition – an instance of demotion. Since demotion is possible, there is no more left canonical case for any grammatical relations. And for that matter no canonical case marker for Subject. Nonnominative Subject is a natural corollary.

(53) [* guru / gurulai baña ❍ mail ❍ asan ❍ chodjido] ❍
*teacher/teacher-DAT sit-INF I-E seat I eave-ABS-give-P3SM
'He left the seat for the teacher to sit.'
(54) mail ❍ sitalai ❍ le piaño ❍ baṣṣadai ❍ gareko ❍ dekhē
LOBL-ERG Sita-D/E piano-N play-CONT-do-PERF-GEN see-P1S
'I saw Sita playing piano.'

3. Conclusion
In this way, the subjecthood in Nepali is not restricted only to Nominative case. Evidences and arguments presented above help to conclude

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1. Introduction

The language that people use in the street, bars, buses, in the underground trains are full of colloquial expressions. We hear such expressions everyday in the cinema halls, theatres, TV, radios, etc. Most of the time we do not use formal language in the class but they use individual pet words because of the habits or to give fluency to their discourse or to gain time to think what they are going to say in continuation. Sometimes, the teachers forget what they have to say; above all, in the lecture method of teaching in which the teachers talk for one hour or more and the students listen passively. Everything said by the teachers is written or recorded. Therefore, the teachers are very careful not to say unnecessary things. When they get stuck while giving lectures they use gap fillers to give fluency to their speech and sometimes, they use proverbs in an ironic manner to hold the attention of the disturbing students to keep them quiet.

Werner Beinhauer(2) in his article *Two Antagonist Tendencies in the Colloquial Spanish Language* calls these expressions padding, delaying formulas, substitutes, pet words, expletives, etc. Citing textually to Beinhauer: Delaying Formulas: Those words which the speakers use to gain time to look for the appropriate expression which needs mental effort.

Substitutes: They are the words with vague sense to substitute in case of emergency; Those words which the speaker does not remember at the time of speaking or he does not know exactly what he wants to say.

Pet Words: Some favourite expressions of some individuals who use them frequently and also they can be nicknamed by the pet words they use.

Expletives: The function of these words are to fill the gaps or loopholes which threaten the fluency of the explanation. Luckily, the expletives maintain

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continuity. Francisco Yndurain\(^3\) in his article *More About Colloquial Language* and *On the Colloquial Language* calls these expressions Pet words, Backing lexicons, Omnibus Words or slow bus words. Yndurain says that these uses of conversational backings are born because of the mental laziness. Yndurain also includes the proverbs and the sayings which have the conversational function of gap fillers.

The verbs of senses like *see, look, hear, listen* are used to draw the attention of the interlocutors. The verbs like *say* and *know* are used to show the importance of the speaker for self-assertion of the things. The reflexive verbs like *to imagine, to take notice, to realize, not to believe, to be flabbergasted,* etc. in the imperative forms function as commands or requests. There are also onomatopoeic words like *bang, whack, crash,* etc. which are used by the speakers to impress or to hold the attention of the interlocutors and then explain the things in continuation. The colloquial linking words or the connectives such as *as well, so, know, nothing,* have various functions. Some set expressions like *and all, that’s how the things are, and so on and so forth,* etc. summarize what the speaker continues saying in enumeration. Other expressions like *that’s all there is to it,* and *that’s the end of it,* show the satirical character of the speaker; on the surface they appear peaceful with the interlocutors but in the depth they have the meanings like *I don’t care a fig.* The purpose of the proverbs is to satirize or give lessons to the interlocutors.

2. The analysis of the novel

Let us see the uses with some examples of the above mentioned expressions.

**See**

Valentina, Carmen’s friend says to Carmen who has become a widow:

- *You should sleep a little, […]. The nerves don’t let you stop. You’ll see tomorrow.* (p.9). The use of the expression *You’ll see* at the end of the sentence gives the nuance of prediction, at the same time it clears the things.

Carmen, the main protagonist, talking about her husband Mario’s death, says to Valentina:

- *Last night, he dined just like that and read till late. And this morning, you see. How was I to imagine such a thing* (p.11).

The expression *you see* precedes immediately after the explanation of something. Also it is used in the beginning of the sentence to capture the attention of the listener and to clear the things.


**Look**

It maintains the attention and takes time for the speaker to reach further appropriate expression; it has the function of a mandate or a request in the imperative form.

Encarna, Mario’s sister-in-law, to the corpse:

- *Look at me, Mario! I am alone! Again alone! All my life alone* (p.28).

Carmen’s interior monologue:

- *And when all the portraits with naked women are held, […], imagine, I didn’t know where to look* (p.66).

The speaker wants to express his surprise and exaggerates a bit.

- *You look wherever you look, the guard was doing his duty and if they had killed you, then in the act of service.* (p.80).

This expression gives the emphasis.

- *Mario, I swear, look at me, or I’ll get mad. Come on, please [*…]*!*

(p.283)

**Hear**

It has the nuance or persuasion.

Carmen to Valentina:

- *Do you know Valen, if Mario has the title of His Lordship? (Valentina didn’t reply) Do you hear me?* (p.15)

Appealing the listener in the form of rhetoric question:

- *Mario! Aren’t you listening to me? Pay heed, please, I have never been more frank, I could swear you* (p.281)

**Say, Tell**

Carmen to Valentina:

- *It is like this sweater, Valen, don’t tell me, it is like the mourning of the poor mother, who may rest in peace* (p.16)

Here the expression is of the individual flapping word because it has no conceptual meaning, it serves to pause and nothing else.

Carmen talking alone:

- *Tell me one thing, come on, please, why didn’t you read me your verses, you didn’t even tell me you used to write* (p.56).

The expression is a Substitute to maintain the attention of the listener and then manifest what he has to say.

**To know**

Carmen to Valentina:

- *Sleep, no, Valen, I don’t want to sleep, I have to be with him. It is the last night. You know it.* (p.10)
It includes the listener in something that the listener knows it or he does not know.

- May I know what you were doing there, smoking for so long? [...] (p.51)

The verb to know is used in the form of rhetorical question but the speaker does not wait for the answer, he answers himself to impress the listener or impose his authority on the same.

The Onomatopoeic words: bang, whack, crash, etc.

With these words the speaker captures the interest of the interlocuter and in continuation clarifies the things. Let's see some examples:

- And now the complications start, crash! goodbye!, like the first night. Don't you remember? You go out and you leave me alone to do all the donkey work (p.39).
- Mario we have to accept whether we like it or not, that a country is like a family, the very same, you take away the authority and whack!, the catastrophe. (p.244)

Carmen talking about her admirer says:

- And when he held me by my shoulders, the heart like mad, bang! bang! that I believe firmly that I was hypnotized (p.229)

The onomatopoeic words like bangbang!, imitate the beating of the heart, that's why it has the nuance of interjection and a pause. With these onomatopoeic words the speaker surprises the listener anchoring his attention.

The Reflexive Verbs:

Now, let's see some reflexive verbs which indicate an order or a request in the form of imperative; Besides, it adds the emotional tone to the expression. The speaker wants that the listener feel the importance of what he is saying.

Carmen to Valentina:

- Still it seems to me to be a lie, Valen imagine, it is impossible for me to believe (p.9).

Carmen's monologue:

- Well, these arguments are the ones which interest the people, Mario, don't you believe it? (p.49).

The speaker is giving the lesson or an advice to the listener.

- Mario, Mario, twenty-two years and everyday reading and thinking, and read and think is bad, dear, believe it. (p.60)
- They are the type, but be careful, they are the ones who commit suicide or get a heart attack (p.210).

It warns about the danger. All these verbs have an emphasizing value and at the same time they stimulate the listener. They are used to beg the attention of the listener in an expressive way.

The Demonstrative Pronouns:

The demonstrative pronouns are used to show something the name of which the speaker does not remember. It is a delaying formula that the speaker uses to gain time while he looks for the adequate expression.

- And that University, how do you call it? I will never be able to learn it. (p.258)
- That stuff with seven tails, how do you call it, I understand that the foreigners used to put around the waists of the troublesome persons. (p.81)
- And all

The last element of an enumeration which strengthens the value of inclusion.

- Because she wasn't doing anything rather than shouting, like a hysterical person, [...] but
- The Dora and I, with all our strength, made her open her eyes and all. (p.23)

And that's how the things are:

- This expression is equivalent to etcetera.
- and she thinks that the sister is obliged to occupy the elder brother's post and that's how the things are. (p.40)

In such a way that:

This expression stimulates the speaker to continue speaking. It works to get the information from somebody.

- You make a sentence in such a way that you are able to sell your soul to the devil. (p.143)

Proverbs, Sayings:

The proverbs and the sayings are used to emphasize what is been said to impress the interlocuter.

- Encarna is a good girl who has become reckless for her misfortune, you see, it's like licking one's finger. (p.41)

Sometimes the speaker uses the proverb to give a lesson to the listener. The sayings are also used to make fun of people.

3. Conclusion

Miguel Delibes, the Spanish novelist from the city called Valladolid in Spain of the post Spanish Civil War uses the interior monologue through the colloquial language to project the work of great psychological penetration.

(6) To like something very much.
70 / The Gap Filling ...

There is only one female protagonist Carmen, who talks before her husband's corpse. Mario, the impotent interlocuter. The author narrates us the long soliloquy of Carmen in which she remembers the years that she had lived with Mario and criticizes him using all the colloquial expressions. Through Carmen's soliloquy we come to know that Mario was an honest and intelligent writer who lived and died with dignity. If these expressions are used superfluously, it will show inculture. These uses are to give fluency to the expressions or because of the individual habit. They could be employed for various functions. Spanish language is very rich in such colloquial expressions.

References


Deontic Modality System in Thakali

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0. Introduction

Thakali is one of the minority languages of Nepal spoken by an ethnic group of same name as their mother tongue that belongs to Tibeto-Burman family. This present paper attempts to present the deontic modality system in the Thakali language, which is a part of my MA thesis (Sharma, 2001). The paper is confined within only imperative and hortative. This paper is divided into three sections, the former deals with the imperative, the second section and the third deals with honorifics.

1. Imperative

Imperative tends to the least marked form in language (Ebert, 1994:47). Imperative is the unmarked member of the deontic system... (Palmer, 1995:108). However, in Thakali, there are four types of imperative markers, i.e. <-o>, <-u>, <-ko> and <-to>. The imperative marker <-o> occurs after stems ending with a consonant except after /y/ whereas marker <-u> occurs stems ending with <o>, marker <-ko> occurs after stems ending with a vowel except /a/ and /y/, and marker <-to> occurs with some irregular verb stems like pi, pih, bye, syuh, coby, etc. The imperative in Thakali has the form '{stem + <-o>}/<-u>, <-ko>, <-to>, <-cyo}'. The hortative is marked with suffix <-cyo>. The hortative in Thakali has the form 'stem + cyo'. The prohibitive prefix <tha> precedes the verb stem in imperative but the prohibitive prefix <-a> precedes the verb stem in hortative. Thus, the negative imperative in Thakali has the form '{tha + stem + <-o>, <-u>, <-ko> and <-to>}' whereas the negative hortative has the form 'a + stem + cyo'. The summarized form of these markers can also be illustrated in the table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deontic Modality</th>
<th>Stem Final Segment</th>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Prohibitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>&lt;-u&gt;</td>
<td>tha-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some irregular stems: pi, pih, bye, syuh, coby</td>
<td>&lt;-ko&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;-to&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;-cyo&gt;</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Colloquial Spanish expressions used in the above mentioned Spanish novel and the names of the books and journals are translated into English by Betsie Devi Chhetri.
Moreover, the suffix <-le> can be affixed to any imperative to make the order a bit softer and politer. This suffix is usually affixed with honorific stems. Now, let us observe the imperative examples with four types of markers.

(1) a. yuhl-ri-yahr-o
    village-LOC go-IMP
    'Go to the village.'

b. yuhl-ri tha yahr-o
    village-LOC PROH go-IMP
    'Do not go to the village.'

c. kyuh kimce-cah-ri cuq-o
    water neighbour-PL-DAT sell-IMP
    'Sell water to the neighbours.'

d. kyuh kimce-cah-ri tha cuq-o
    water neighbour-PL-DAT PROH sell-IMP
    'Do not sell water to the neighbours.'

e. kohy puq-o-le
    song sing-IMKP-POL
    'Sing a song, please.'

f. * yuhl-mih-cah-ri gohy-to
    village-man-PL-DAT call-IMP
    Intended meaning: 'Call the villagers.'

In (1a), the verb stem ends with /l/ whereas in (1c) the verb stem ends with /y/ and in (1e), the verb stem ends with /n/. The marker <-o> is affixed with these stems, (1b) and (1d) are the negative imperative counterparts of (1a) and (1c) in which <-tha-> is prohibitive marker. Similarly, (1e) is the example of more polite form of imperative in which the marker <-le> is affixed with imperative marker. In (1f), the verb stem ends with /y/ and the marker affixed with it is <-to>.

Suffix <-ko>

(2) a. tuhuy-cah tha tha-ko
    tree-PL PROH cut-IMP
    'Don't cut the trees.'

b. Tihm-ri tha Te-ko
    wall-LOC PROH climb-IMP
    'Don't climb on the wall.'

c. komp távyapela-cah kyuh-ko
    expensive toy-PL buy-IMP
    'Buy expensive toys.'

In (2a), (2b) and (2c), the verb stem ends with /ai/, /le/ and /u/ respectively in which the marker <-ko> is affixed with the verb stem to make imperative. Similarly, in (2a) and (2b), negative imperative is marked with the marker <-tha->, k become g when it is occurred between two vowels, i.e., k → g.

Suffix <-u>

(3) a. tihm-ri yah-si kan ca-u
    house-LOC go-SEQ rice eat-IMP
    'Go home and eat rice.'

b. copro kha-u
    here come-IMP
    'Come here.'

c. a-koywka keh tha la-u
    NEG-good work PROH do-IMP
    'Don't do bad work.'

In (3a), (3b) and (3c), the verb stem ends with /la/ in all three stems in which imperative marker <-u> is affixed with the verb stem. In (3c), negative prefix <-a> is affixed with the adjective koywka to make it's meaning opposite and the other prefix <-tha-> is affixed to make the negative imperative.

The suffix <-to>

(4) a. yuhl thowa pi-to
    village big leave-IMP
    'Leave the town.'

b. cu keh cahy-to-le
    this work do(H)-IMP-POL
    'Please, do this work.'

c. pe-pih-to
    story say-IMP
    'Tell the story.'

This marker <-te> occurs after some irregular verb stems ending with any vowel or with /y/. In (4a), the verb stem ends with /t/, in (4b) with /y/ and in (4c) with /th/ in which the suffix <-to> is affixed. (4b) is the example of honorific in Thakali in which honorific stem cahy 'do' has been added.

2. Hortative

Hortative, in Thakali, is marked with the marker <-cyo>. Allophonic variation can also be found with it. This suffix becomes voiced when it is followed by voiced consonants, i.e.,

\[
\text{cyo} \rightarrow \text{jyo}/\text{Voiced C} \quad \text{cyo}/\text{elsewhere} __
\]

Let us observe the examples of hortative.
(5b) and (5d) are the negative counterparts of (5a) and (5c) in which negative prefix <a-> is attached with verb stem to make it negative. From (5a) to (5f), hortative marker <cyo> is affixed with verb stem.

3. Honorific

In the Thakali honorific verbal sequences the main verb stem has the infinitival form with the marker <-la> as suffix and is followed by the honorific verb form <-cayh> 'to do'. For example.

(6)  
a.  pra-h-la cayh-to  
walk-INF do(H)-IMP  
'Please walk.'

b.  ale cayh-la cayh-to  
money send-INF do(H)-IMP  
'Please send money.'

In this way, any verb can be used in a verbal sequence for honorific speech. However, all the verb stems do not follow this pattern 'verb stem + <-la>+ cayh', but they have two different stems, one is used in honorific speech and the other in non-honorific speech. The table 2 given below illustrates the Thakali honorific stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honorific Stems</th>
<th>Non-honorific stems</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kyu-h-la cayh</td>
<td>kyu-h</td>
<td>to buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than-la cayh</td>
<td>than</td>
<td>to keep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pruhp-la cayh</td>
<td>pruhp</td>
<td>to write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cih-la cayh</td>
<td>cih</td>
<td>to remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mle-la cayh</td>
<td>mle</td>
<td>to forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuh-la cayh</td>
<td>cuh</td>
<td>to sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pra-h-la</td>
<td>pra-h</td>
<td>to walk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the majority of the verbs do not have different stems for honorific and non-honorific speech, and for these, the honorific verbal sequence in Thakali has the form 'stem + <-la>+ cayh'. The table 3 given below illustrate the derived Thakali honorific stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Honorific Stems</th>
<th>Non-honorific stems</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cayh</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cyoh</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syl</td>
<td>yahr</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syl</td>
<td>pih</td>
<td>to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sol</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahi</td>
<td>pih</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suhm</td>
<td>mhu</td>
<td>to sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us observe the other examples.

(7)  
a.  copra cyoh-la cayh-to  
here come(H)-INF do(H)-IMP  
'Please, come here.'

b.  copra kha-u  
here come-IMP  
'Come here.'

c.  *copra kha-la cayh-to  
here come-INF do(H)-IMP  
'Please come here.'

d.  qa-ri kitap nahi-la cayh-to  
I-DAT book give(H)-INF do(H)-IMP  
'Please, give me a book.'

e.  qa-ri kitap pin-o  
I-DAT book give-IMP  
'Give me a book.'
References
Watters, D.E. (1998) "The Kham Language of West-Central Nepal (Takele Dialect)", Ph.D. Dissertation at the Department of Linguistics, the graduate school of the University of Oregon.

(7a), (7d), (7g) and (7i) are the counterparts of (7b), (7e), (7h) and (7j) respectively in which the former are the examples of honorific speech whereas the latter are the examples of non-honorific speech. In (7c) and (7i), the verb stems <kha> and <pin> have different stems for honorific. Thus, use of these verbs in the honorific forms is ungrammatical. However, in the case of (7g) and (7i), the verb stems <soh> and <thug> do not have different stems for honorific. Therefore, use of these verbs in the honorific forms is grammatical. Any verb stems can be used in the honorific forms except that which do not have two different stem, one for honorific speech and the other for non-honorific speech.

Conclusion

In Thakali, deontic modality is the affixation process. Any Thakali verb stem can be used in a verbal sequence for honorific speech except that which do not have two different verb stems. The verb stems which have two different verb stems, one is used in honorific speech and the other in non-honorific speech.

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABLT-Ablative</td>
<td>LOC-Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT-Dative</td>
<td>NEG-Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-Honorific</td>
<td>PL-Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOR-Hortative</td>
<td>POL-Polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP-Imperative</td>
<td>PROH-Prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF-Infinitival</td>
<td>SEQ-Sequence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Struggling for an Impossibility

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Abstract

The present paper draws on the writer's experience of attempting to translate a peace of Nepali folk song which is intricately bound to folk music, folk instrument, folk tunes, folk culture and folk life and becomes an untranslateable entity. This paper shows how the translator failed in his attempt.

Recently some members of the Arun Valley Cultural Group met me. This group consists of many young people from the Arun Valley region of eastern Nepal. For quite some years this group is dedicated to the noble cause of preserving and promoting folk culture, contained in folk songs, folk melodies, folk tunes, folk instrument, digging into the folk memory of the mountain life.

The group came to me with a collection of folk songs and appropriate dances for each. The dance naturally includes costumes, outfit, steps etc. accompanied by a shared feeling, experience and memory that could convey the audience to the very native place where these customs are preserved for centuries. The group showed me some audio-visual recordings of this folk life preserved in the form of songs and dances.

They had altogether nine dances each tuned to a particular song. The song or the dance evokes in the mind of the audience a total picture of the occasion, time of the year, of the month, of the day and the participants, their age, attire, speech, activity, mood, the locale and the total atmosphere. For instance each of the maruni nach, damai nach, magar nach, sakewa nach, ropai nach etc. is a different dance accompanied by appropriate songs each for a different purpose and situation.

The Cultural Group had by now won countrywide appreciation, they were felicitated and honoured for their excellence and now they had set an objective of introducing their research, that is the typical souvenirs from the hills, to the outside world. So they were looking for an expert translator who could render their songs into English – perfectly, without distorting the sense, without ignoring the nuances of meaning so that the target audience feels no gap, no space left between the two incompatible worlds.

The Group was working hard. It had requested many experts, specially University lecturers of English, for rendering the songs into English and consequently three versions of the texts (about 24 A4 pages) were produced and computerized but still the Group were not satisfied with the rendering and were looking for a final authority. They went to Prof. Abhi Subedi and Prof. Taranath Sharma but these Professors knew it was an impossible thing to do so they simply diverted the Group towards me. For them I was an authority as I was teaching Translation Studies at Tribhuvan University.

I tried to convince them that the translation of a culture-bound text is impossible. And that the effort will result into a complete distorion, a sheer destruction and even the mutilation of a text. But as I was for them an authority in translation they did not believe me at all and thought I was simply pretending to avoid labour.

So they gave me nine songs and nine weeks' time to accomplish the task. They also played the audio-visual cassettes for me so that I could perceive every nuance of meaning and grasp for a fitting equivalent in English.

Compelled in this way, I firstly thought of improving upon the texts someone had attempted before. Then I studied the translation of a damai nach, a dance attributed to native Damai people, whose traditional profession is tailoring, singing and dancing on festive occasions. This song is performed during marriage ceremonies. Two lines of the song are:

**(Transliteration)**
ha...ha...ha... (ghaintang ghaintang madal baiyo hau)² koshi kinaraiha hau... ghaintang ghaintang madal baiyo... kurrai... kurrai
ha...ha...ha... (kanchha bhaiko bhagya chhaina hau)² ... majha nidharima hau... kanchha bhaiko bhagya chhaina...
hai.............................. hai.............................. hai

**(Translation)**
Ha... Ha... Ha... Ghintang... Ghintang Sounded Madal at the river bank of koshi

Ha... Ha... Ha... (ill-fated for youngest brother)² on the middle of forehead....

Ahai.............Ahai.............Ahai.............Ahai.............
Music

HA... Ha... Ha... (hunter hunted)² hunter hunted by using bamboo bow and arrow ............ hunter ....... hunted ....
Ha... Ha... Ha... (destroyed the jungle by the inferno)² heart destroyed by the grief .... destroyed the jungle by the inferno ...
Kura ........ Ra........ Ra.......... Ra................. hai ............

It is all ridiculous, a sheer no-sense effort. The words cannot convey the substance because only a small portion of it is contained in words. Whoever attempted to translate this must be a helpless figure like me who bluntly did this ignoring the mutilation of meaning, ignoring the target audience ignoring, the fact that this is an impossibility.

I felt I could not improve at all. Then I thought of making a fresh attempt, all on my own. So I kept the previous translation aside and the following week I started with a song sung to accompany a Magar nach, a dance attributed to the culture of the Magar people. This dance is popular among and performed by the Magar people who dwell in the Arun Valley of the Koshi hills of Nepal. This takes place during the festival of Tihar when brothers and sisters eat and dance joyously. The song started as:

² केहा... हा... हा... (प्रितांद्र दिनाङ्ग काङ्क बनायि हे)² कोशी किनाराम हे... प्रितांद्र दिनाङ्ग काङ्क बनायि.. कुरे... कुरे

The female sparrow
danced very beautifully in the kitchen floor
Let us smile and speak
whenever we meet each other

But as I tried to transport the sense into English, I felt as if I was walking, a long distance, from the ice cream parlour to my home with a stick of ice-cream in my hand for my little one. This melted down on the way, all colour, flavour, test and the whole substance was gone. This could not be transported, this is perishable in the process of transportation. A song like the above consists of sounds, largely different units of such sound form a pattern and create an aura, a tune, a harmony where a unit in isolation has no meaning of its own. The sound units are language specific, moreover, culture specific.

They have tried to record some of such sound units in graphic symbols such as ha... ha... ha... Even then graphic symbols ha... ha... do not convey exactly the degree of pitch and tonality, the length and height, the duration, tempo and the smallest of details perceived in oral performance. So the literate people have preserved this in oral tradition, they start humming ha... ha... ha... with a great excitement whenever proper situation occurs. We cannot translate, we cannot carry, we cannot convey simply converting this into the roman scripts ha... ha... ha... it does not give us any sense. The particles like ni, fillers hai, lai, lai, and barilai etc. are untranslatable feelings - not even at word level. These are language specific units that weave the structure of music.

² केहा... हा... हा...

इममा र छुम... अमारी नाघि... छममा र पन्ने... समग्ने नाघि... ले... ले... परिमा ले... ले... चुना र चौका...

हामीहा राखि... बोहीहा राखि... हामीहा राखि हे बोहीहा राखि... ले... ले... ले... नैरिमा ले... ले... भेटमा को मौकमा...
In the first line of the couplet chhamama chhama is a kind of compound word, an onomatopoeic word, in which an echo of how one dances is heard or just experienced. Chhamama chhama is reduplicative. English does not have this whereas Nepali is very very rich in reduplicative forms. bhagerini naccho - that is female sparrow danced - does the female sparrow dance really in this way? No, we have never seen this. It is the imagination of those who composed this for the first time so the recipient culture may find it strange to hear that a female sparrow dances in this way. Another collocation is chula ra chawkaima - the word chula collocates with chauka. chula is a fireplace – and chauka a specially designed space for sitting and eating made of mud in a Brahmin's or Chhetri's kitchen. There is a common understanding or a feeling shared by that community for generations and generations. They know everything about a chauka, its structure, how high it is, in which part of the kitchen floor, how it is cleaned and maintained, who is allowed to go there, etc. This is a rare culture-specific concept, it has a deep meaning in this society but how can we reproduce these concepts into English? In no way.

The words chaukaima and maukaima rhyme together. The first line is in no way connected with the second one in meaning except for fitting into a rhyming pattern. Thus a piece of folk song is inseparable from folk memory, folk culture, folk tradition where every concept, every artifact every ritual connected to this becomes untranslatable significant to the native community. It is felt, heard, seen and observed but not translated. At last my case was more hopeless than that of other translators. They were daring, bold and blunt. I was conscious and careful, could perceive all intricacies involved in it. So I returned the typescripts untranslated after ten weeks. For weeks I simply struggled for an impossibility.

Reference:  
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Arun Upatyaka Sanskritic Samuha  
(Arun Valley Cultural Group)

Personal Pronouns in Koyu
-Bhim Narayan Regmi

1 Introduction

Koyu is one of the endangered and least studied languages of Nepal. The term 'Koyu' refers to both the language and the people. The language is called Koyu, Kojo and Koyubo alternatively. Bo is the word for language in this language.

Koyu belongs genetically to the Sino-Tibetan languages family and falls under marginal Northern, western group of Kiranti languages of Eastern Himalayan sub-section of Bodic section of Tibeto-Burman sub-family.

The original place of the Koyu language is Simgdel village in Khotang District of the Eastern Nepal. Dumi and Khaling are its as the neighboring languages closure in affinity. Now it is spoken also in Morang, Jhapa and Kathmandu Districts by migrant peoples. The number of the Koyu speakers is mentioned 2641 in the POPULATION Census 2001 Report which is about 0.01% of the total population of Nepal - 22736934.

Very few studies have been done on the Koyu language. Toba (2003) is made a linguistic survey on Koyu and other Rai languages. He has presented a word list, some sample sentences and the linguistic map. Mikhailovsky (1975) has mentioned Koyu on a linguistic map. Hanffon (1991) has made a mentioned of Koyu in his survey of Kiranti languages. He has gathered information about Koyu language, specially on sociolinguistics. Driem (1993) has mentioned Koyu as neighboring language of Dumi. Rai (1995) has mentioned the original place of Koyu. Ebert (1997) has mentioned Koyu in a linguistic map. Grimes (1996) has presented information on Koyu which is based on Hanffon (1991). Regmi (2003) has made a morphological analysis of Koyu and prepared a tentative phonemic inventory.

This article is a modified version of the paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, 2002. It presents a brief account of personal pronouns of the Koyu language. Since this is a descriptive study, the personal pronouns of the language are classified and presented with sentences as examples. To make the examples explicit and clean the same object and the verb are taken with all the different pronouns as subjects.

2 Koyu Personal Pronouns

Koyu personal pronouns are divided into three persons - first, second and third. These are described in the following subsections.

2.1 First Person Pronouns

First person pronoun is the pronoun for the speaker or the addresser. There are five first person pronouns in Koyu - one singular, two dual and two
plural. The singular is used for one, the dual for two, and the plural for more than two. Both the dual and plural first person pronouns have inclusive and exclusive. Inclusive includes the hearer but the exclusive excludes. Here are the examples of these pronouns in the sentences.

(1) aniy-a  gu: suru-na
 I-ERG, cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'I washed cloth.'

(2) inci-ya  gu: sura-si
 We.dl.Incl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'We (1+you) washed cloth.'

(3) igkiy-a  gu: sura-ki
 We.pl.Incl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'We (1+you) washed cloth.'

(4) ancwa-ya  gu: sura-su
 We.dl.Excl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'We (1+s/he) washed cloth.'

(5) anikwa-ya  gu: sura-ka
 We.pl.Excl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'We (1+they) washed cloth.'

Among the above examples (1) is first person singular, (2) is first person dual inclusive, (3) is first person plural inclusive, (4) is first person dual exclusive, and (5) is first person plural exclusive.

2.2 Second Person Pronouns

Second person pronoun is the pronoun for the hearer or the addressee. There are six second person pronouns in Koyu. These are grouped into the honorific and the non-honorific. Honorific pronouns show the respect toward the hearer or the addressee but non-honorific pronouns do not show. Both of them have singular, dual and plural forms. Some sentences are presented here as examples of these pronouns.

(6) an-a  gu: suru-na
 You.H.sg.-ERG, cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'You washed cloth.'

(7) ancy-an  gu: sura-sina
 You.H.dl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'You (two) washed cloth.'

(8) aniy-a  gu: suru-ni
 You.H.pl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'You washed cloth.'

(9) aniy-a  gu: suru-ni
 You.H.sg.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'You washed cloth.'

(10) ancy-an  gu: sura-sina
 You.H.dl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'You (two) washed cloth.'

(11) ancy-an  gu: sura-sina
 You.H.pl.-ERG cloth  wash.pt.-AGR.
 'You washed cloth.'

Among these examples (6), (7) and (8) are non-honorific singular, dual and plural, and (9), (10) and (11) are honorific singular, dual and plural second person pronouns, respectively.

2.3 Third Person Pronouns

The third person pronoun is the pronoun for the person or thing other than the speaker and addresser or hearer or addressee. Koyu has ten third person pronouns. These are classified into proximal, distal, far distal and referential. The proximal pronoun is used for the person or the thing closer to the speaker or the addressee. The distal pronoun is used for the person or the thing farther from the speaker or the addressee. All these pronouns have singular, dual and plural forms. These are also the demonstrative pronouns. There is one referential third person pronoun in this language. It is used for the person or the thing that is previously mentioned or remembered. Some sentences are presented here as examples.

(12) id-a  gu: suru
 S/he.sg.Prox-ERG, cloth  wash.pt.
 'S/he (the person here) washed cloth.'

(13) idacy-an  gu: suru-si
 S/he dl.Prox-ERG cloth  wash pt.-AGR.
 'They (the two persons here) washed cloth.'

(14) idacy-an  gu: suru-ni
 S/he pl.Dist-ERG cloth  wash pt.-AGR.
 'They (the persons here) washed cloth.'

(15) um-a  gu: suru
 S/he.sg.Dist-ERG cloth  wash pt.
 'S/he (the person there) washed cloth.'

(16) umacy-an  gu: suru-si
 S/he dl.Dist-ERG cloth  wash pt.-AGR.
 'They (the two persons there) washed cloth.'
Among the above examples pronouns in (12), (13) and (14) are proximal singular, dual and plural; (15), (16) and (17) are distal singular, dual and plural; and (18), (19) and (20) are far distal singular, dual and plural third person pronouns, respectively. The pronoun in the example (21) is referential third person pronoun.

All the pronouns presented above are summarized in the table 1.

### Table 1: Koyu Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Inclusive</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an</td>
<td>inli</td>
<td>iški</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anči</td>
<td>ančki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Non-honorific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an</td>
<td>anči</td>
<td>ančka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far-distal</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>yamni</td>
<td>yamča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referential</td>
<td>dham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3 Conclusion

This descriptive study can be concluded with the findings about the Koyu personal pronouns. Koyu has three number system - singular, dual and plural. The language has inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns in dual and plural numbers. It shows two grades of honorific - honorific and non-honorific.
The Indo-Aryan Language and Contemporary Bangla
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Abstract

The richest and the most outstanding Language Family in the world is the Indo-European (IE). A large number of peoples of Europe, Middle East and even the Southeast Asia use the different branches of this Language Family. Indo-Aryan (IA) is one of the most remarkable branch of IE. A great number of languages in India, Bangladesh and Nepal were originated from the IA. Bangla language through its evolution and the evolution of the language was crystallized about one thousand years ago. The origin and development of Bangla language has been studied and discussed by a number of linguists, Sir George Abraham Grierson, Sumitkumar Chatterjee and Muhammad Shahidullah are very noted of them. They all agree upon that Bangla language was originated within tenth to twelfth century AD, from old IA, Middle IA and New IA. The Bangla language, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili and Hindi also originated within this span of time.

We have passed thousand of years since the origin of Bangla. In the course of time various linguistic changes have occurred in Bangla. Noting here that the changes in Bangla are more prominent in its surface structure than in its inner domain.

Bangla is now the State Language of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh. But we have to go back to 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 Linguistics.

Every living language of the world has passed through different changes in the course of time. The Bengali language is no exception to that. The linguists of today do not agree that these changes occurred in all languages in the same way. As the change of sounds occurs because of the ease of articulation (e.g. Hashpatal [ha\patal] of Bengali language from the English word Hospital, Box=Bakhsho [bak\sho], Platoon=platan [pol\tan], bomb=boma [boma] etc.), in that way because of social, cultural & political reasons words and the meaning of the words also get altered. Even so the old words are replaced by new words, this also happens in the case of Bengali language. Until the 19th century, the Bangla language was deemed to be an integral part of Sanskrit that had originated from the Aryan language. Bangla as a language has undergone many changes over the past centuries and evolved as a crossbreed language. For this evolution, we had to wait until the 20th century. Because of the effort and inclination to link Bangla Language with the elements of Aryan origin, the actual identity of the language remained unexpressed and subdued for a long time (Monsur Musa; Banglaesher Rastrabhasha; 1995:5). Rabindranath, Suniti Kumar, Shahidullah, Sukumar Sen and many others intensely analyzed the origin of Bangla language, its evolution and identity.

Now the question may arise why this write-up? One should be aware that after Suniti Kumar and Shahidullah, about half a century of Bangla Language has passed. Over these fifty years, although this language has not changed a larger extent, structurally no language can be confined to a frontier in the globalized world of the 21st century. The recent phenomenon is that all consumer goods including luxury ones from multinational companies have spread all over the world by dint of technological advancements and new innovations. In this globalized and polarized era, brand items like America’s Gillette Razor and Germany’s Head & Shoulder Shampoo have grabbed the markets of the remotest villages of Bangladesh owing to the concept of free market economy. Like these consumer goods, words and expressions from other languages have entered into other languages facing no resistance. As such these elements lose their regional appeal within a short period of time and then open out itself to the universal use. This has been possible because of burgeoning growth of information technology all over the world.

At present, the practice of translation of a word from one language to another has become outdated; for instance, the equivalent term of Chemistry had been Rasayon [ra\syon] in Bangla. In the present day world, new technology-related words have been acceptable more than anything else. As a result, no language and its rules and regulations can be confined to the four-walls. Therefore, this write-up tries to look at the present identity and features of Bangla language, and to search for the relationship with the languages which originated from IE. When the ancient literary symbol of Bengali literature Charyapada [cor\jap\da] was written, most of the Tatshama words denoted from Sanskrit language were found in it.

After 300 years the change that took place is the social & political history of Bangla, influenced the Bengali language too. At that period (mainly in 15th century) Bangladesh was under Turkish-Mughal power. For that reason, influence and dominance of Sanskrit words is Bengali language was reduced & the appearance of Arabic & Persian words were noticed. During the 5 hundred years reign of Mughal-Turkish power, in the Mid Bengali language the usage of Persian-Arabic words were noted 10-20%. On the other hand, the percentage of words deriving from Sanskrit language was reduced. Although in the literary symbol of old period Shrikrisnkirtana [shri\kr\nok\rit\na], 6 Arabic & Persian words were traced, but in the Bengali literature starting from 16th century, the use of the Arabic and Persian words were increased. The evolution of the Bengali language in the middle stage is regarded as the second stage. Because
of the reign of ruler, not only the vocabulary was enriched, there was also
influence on the grammar. Persian suffixes & participle started to get used in
Bengali language. (I don’t know if it’s also present in other language including
Nepalese language). But at the beginning, the Bengali language did not have
any grammar of its own. Sanskrit grammar was basically dominantly used.

The third stage of the evolution of Bengali language was noted from
the 19th century. The East Indian Company came for trading and business
purpose in India and within a short period of time, they established themselves
as the rulers from being just merchant. As the foundation of British power in
Bengal was getting stronger, the use of English words, phrase and corrupted
English vocabulary entered into Bengali language. Moreover, from the
beginning of the 19th century, in the textbooks taught in the Fort William
College, the influence of English sentences was noticed. Although the French
and Portuguese merchants came to Bangladesh for the purpose of trading. And
for that Portuguese words such as Shaban [fabar] (soap), perek [perek] (pin),
achar [acar] (pickles), anarosh [anaro] (pineapple), peyara [peyara] (Guava),
girja [girja] (church), paddri [paq geli] (preacher), ishap [i[pq]] (iron), kerani
[kerani] (Clark), chabi [cabi] (key), janala [jana] (window), botam [bojama]
(button), behala [behala] (violin) etc & French words such as, burjoo, [burjua]
garage, [garage] restora [rstora] etc, these words entered into Bengali
language easily. And till now their uses in Bengali language are still visible.

During the British rule Bangladesh underwent various educational development
and social reformation. With the cooperation of English language, various
branches of Science in Bengali language were expanded. The educated citizens
of the country adopted the English language and began to use it in the Bengali
literature, which marked a new chapter and era to the Bengali literature.
The noted personalities who were known as the pioneers were Michael
Madhusudan Dutta and Bangkim Chandra. Micheal Madhusudan composed
epic and comedy drama. Bangkim Chandra composed novels and light comics
and advanced the Bengali language one step ahead.

Besides letters, deeds and documents were present in the prose form
sporadically. If we notice the examples of Bengali language of Old and middle
stage, we will see the prominent use of Prakrata language than the Sanskrit. But
it should be noted that

1. Sanskrit was an artificial literary language.
2. Pali was retained & used as literary language by the Buddhists.
3. Only few educated people used Sanskrit.
4. The old people used Prakrata language in the everyday life.

There is no doubt that, of the Indian Aryan languages, Sanskrit was the
most well arranged and influenced language. But it should also be reminded that
Sanskrit was the language of educated Brahmin class, it was never the language
of common people. For that reason this language was incorporated in notes and
books and turned into a dead language. So even after the Bengali language was
Sanskritized, from the beginning of Bengali language, there was influence of
colloquial Prakrata, Pali etc which were prevalent among the speakers of this
country. Still now many sound, proverbs and idioms of Pali language are still
being used in Bengali language. As because the Pali language & its articulation
have gone through many changes in the following years, the authentic form of the
language cannot be distinguished anymore. For the many Bengali words known
as Tatshama of Sanskrit origin have in fact derived directly from the Pali and
Prakrata language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tatshama</th>
<th>Pali &amp; Parakrata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ক্ষণ [cukko]</td>
<td>চন্দ্র [cukko]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>মুখ [mau]</td>
<td>মুখ [mau]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>আচার [hriyoy]</td>
<td>আচার [hriyoy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>স্তন [snehoh]</td>
<td>স্তন [snehoh]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We saw these words in our old and middle age inscription. Many
analysts & linguists have marked that--

* It is a fact that the method of Pali pronunciation and many Pali
Words and phrases unknown to the later prakrata stick to Bengali
...a genuine genetic bond of affinity exist between Pali
and Bengali (Bijoychandra Mazumdar; 1927:227)*

As Pali was the literary symbol of middle Aryan language, there for
not only Bengali language but also the languages of the different region of
India got a major influence of Pali on them.

According to Atindra Majumdar, a language expert, Pali as a source
language has a tremendous influence on the modern Indian subcontinent
languages like Bangla, Hindi, Othornya and others (Atindra Majumdar; 406:50).
Nepali and Uttara (south), Indian Aryan branches are affiliated with hilly areas,
i.e. Khas-Kura. Until 18th century, Maithili language was very popular and
widely spoken in this area (Sukumar Sen; 134). According to Sunit Kumar
Chaterjee this language had a very intense relationship once with Hindi and
Bengali. In this regard, he (Origin and Development of Bengali Language:
1975: 10) also mentioned:

*Khas-Kura seems to be disappearing rapidly from the Tibeto-Burman
speeches of Nepal. It originally spread from western Nepal and its
remains did not go beyond the latter part of the 18th century. Maithili

seems to have been a colloquial language in southeastern Nepal before the advent of Khas-Kura; in any case, Awadhi, Maithili and Bengali were used as language of culture in the court of the (Tibeto-Burman speaking) Newari Kings, who ruled before the Gurkhas. As evidence, it is seen that a number of dramas were written in the above language in Nepal from the middle of the 15th century.

We rightly perceive the sentiment of Suniti Kumar from the fact that many members of the lower caste Hindu and Buddha community took refuge in the terrain of the Himalayas (especially around Nepal) because of oppression during the regime of the Sen rulers from 11th to 12th century. Charyapada, an ancient collection recovered from the Palace of King proves that refugees kept up the use of Bangla language while they were refugees. As such, it is seen that many of our Bangla words are being used in the Nepali language. For example, ghar [gʰor] (‘house’), saj [sa] (‘today’), bishwash [bijwa] (‘trust’), jodi [jo] (‘if’), garam [gorom] (‘hot’), shikari [zikari] (‘hunter’), jhola [jʰola] (‘bag’), etc.

Apart from this, I observed one of the write-ups (GIPAN; volume 1:1 June 1999: Tribhuvan University, Katmandu, Nepal) relating to Bote Language. I also notice a lot of similarities, (especially in phonetics and aesthetics) between Bangla and Bote (Maghis, i.e. boatman) Language, which is under the Magadhi group of the IA. A comparative analysis between Bangla and Bote Language relating to phonetics, word, formation of word, pronoun and verb is presented below:

Bangla Phoneme (vowel)    Bote Phoneme (vowel)
/ i æ a o u /          / i æ a o u /

Minimal pairs for consonants—Bangla and Bote language:

/ p / vs / pʰ /  ph, phun [pul]; [pʰul] bridge; flower
/ q / vs / qʰ /  qa, qa [dᵃn]; [dʰᵃn] Charity; paddy
/ l / vs / t /  tin, tin [tᵊl]; [tᵊl] three; tin
/ k / vs / kʰ /  ko, ko [kᵊr]; [kʰᵊr] task; one kind of grass

noun: word  Bangla    Bote
fire      [agun]    [agil]
tongue    [jibʰ]    [jibʰᵊ]
leaf      [pᵃ[a]    [pᵃt]
seed      [bi]     [bi[a]
smoke     [dʰᵊ[a]    [dʱᵊ[a]    [dʱᵊ[a]
pronoun   I [ai]    [mᵊi]

Here we have tried to show the evolution of Bengali language and its current position by presenting the percentage of various vocabulary used in different stages of Bengali language with the help of statistical data’s from the Bengali phrase and lexicon of 19th and 20th century.

The statistical report of the average use of words applied in the various volumes of Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) since the time of publication from 1847 to 1892 is shown in the following (See Navendu Sen; 1990: 85):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tadhaba</th>
<th>Native and foreign words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tatshama</td>
<td>53.33%</td>
<td>40.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadhaba</td>
<td>53.33%</td>
<td>40.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.01%</td>
<td>6.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suniti Kumar from the 1916 publication of the Bengali language dictionary compiled by Ganendromohon, shows the percentage of added words in the following order (ODB: 218):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tadhaba and native</th>
<th>Foreign words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tatshama</td>
<td>44.00%</td>
<td>51.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadhaba and native</td>
<td>51.05%</td>
<td>4.55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Navendu Sen shows the statistical data of the addition of the vocabulary from the collection of Paramath Choudhury (1868-1946) in the following order:
Dr. Muhammad Enamul Haq in 1952 has shown in the following the percentage of Vocabulary used in the writing of Rabindranath, Sharat Chandra, Jasim Uddin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tadshama</th>
<th>Tadbhaba</th>
<th>native</th>
<th>foreign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39.33%</td>
<td>56.66%</td>
<td>1.33%</td>
<td>2.66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The development of pronouns in Bangla language from old age to present time are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tadshama</th>
<th>half-Tadshama</th>
<th>Tadshama</th>
<th>native</th>
<th>foreign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The development of numerals and verbs in Bangla language are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals:</th>
<th>Old Bangla</th>
<th>Mid Bangla</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aek</td>
<td>aek</td>
<td>aek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du, do</td>
<td>du, do</td>
<td>du, do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin, tri</td>
<td>tin, tri</td>
<td>tin, tri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j, jat, jatay</td>
<td>j, jat</td>
<td>jat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joshosro, hajar</td>
<td>joshosro, hajar</td>
<td>hajar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol</td>
<td>fol</td>
<td>fol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Letters, deeds, documents were also created through language in creative literatures. For that as the language underwent changes as process of the language evolution, the change was also reflected on the languages. The example of an application written in Bengali language about 200 years ago is shown in the below-

**EXAMPLE-1**
Some Ananda Charma Sharma wrote an application to the Councillor of Forte William College (Calcutta) on November 28 in 1810.

**Example-2:**
An application written by Azizur Rahman published in the *Daily Ittefaq of Bangladesh* on October 26, 2001
If we analyze the language of Instance-1 we will see that beside the Sanskrit, the enormous application of Arabic and Persian words (Darkhasto [dorkhato], Hazir [hazir], Andaji [andazi], Chakri [cuk], Hukum [hukum], Tarikh [tarih], etc.) is quite visible. Nowadays the words, which are not frequent in use are still used to some extent; for instance, Shaheban, Ghusha [gujfa], Thabra, Hoitek [hoitak], eha [eha], Battireka [baqtejak], etc. The formation of complex, long and conjunctive sentence is also visible. Until then it was not the rule in the then Bengal. As such discrepancies are observed in the usage of Bengali notation; for instance, Kommeo, Purba. If expression is the main dividend of a language, the necessity in written language should be easy to understand. But it is learnt from the above Instance-1 that at the outset of Bengal Prose, the quality of being simple had not been attained.

From the language of Example-2, it is observed that although it is written in formal language, the simplicity in expression and in formation of words is apparent. Here, the usage of words from Tatsama and Arabic-Persian is less; rather the usage of English words is more here. For instance, Trade Union, Meter, Bill, Readers, System, Loss, PDB, etc. Apart from that, short-sentences and punctuation according to the expression are practiced [grahok t'i[kmo]j bill panna, bi k'ajai jama hoy na]. But in Instance-1, because of lack of application of punctuation and pause, the absolute meaning of the language does not appear transparent. The application of verb has been easily and intricately made in formal language so that Instance-2 does not seem to be written in formal expression. The reason behind this is that the words and clustered sentences from spoken language have been used. In this way, the Bangla language has undergone much evolution in about two centuries.

Besides letters, newspapers keep us informed about the day-to-day developments of the world. The languages used in the newspapers are very close to the colloquial language. It is relevant to mention that the readers of the newspapers range from educated to less educated persons. Newspapers and magazines that deem to be the mirror of society reflect the day-to-day life and

harsh reality. In order to get a clear picture about the present form of daily news, now I would like to draw a comparative analysis between a news from a Bangla daily, Samachar Darpan that was published in 1822 and another one from the daily of the 21st century. Nowadays the meaning of Sangbadpatra (The daily paper) has changed a bit. At present, the word Sangbadpratapa is being used as Dainik Kagol/Dainik Kagol/Paper. It is noteworthy to mention that most of the news are related to Khun (muder). The first one is presented in formal language and another one is in spoken or colloquial language (Instance 1 and 2). Instance-1 shows that there is no English word but there are about 12 Arabic-Persian words (total words are 172) which contains 60 % words from Tatsama and Tadjhaba (the words come from Sanskrit to Bangla directly and indirectly). In contrast, Instance-2, which contains 164 words, shows that there are eight English words and only four Arabic words. Another aspect is that the headline word used in the first one is [k'atun] and [loj]a in the second one. It becomes crystal clear from the two instances that the words used centuries ago in Newspaper have become easy to understand, flexible, useful and even informative. Instance-2 proves that the present language, which has evolved giving up the identity of long and conjunctive sentences turned into more timely, spoken language oriented and short sentences.

The following two paper cuttings also show the difference between the Bengali language of the artificial literary language and standard colloquial language in two different times:

**Instance-1**

**Instance-2**

Please note that the above text is a translation of the original Bengali text. The original text is provided for reference and comparison.
outlawed political party Purba Banga Communist Party circulated a leaflet admitting the murder. The police arrested three persons in this connection and recovered the shell of three bullets from the spot. The miscreants murdered Sattar Gazi, younger brother of the deceased in the same way. According to witnesses and police, Ruhul Amin came out of his house, which is in Nirla Prantik Housing, to go to the office of Fish-Traders’ Cooperative Society. Five miscreants in a white microbus and three riding on a motor bike obstructed him while boarding a rickshaw at a place close to Prantik Children Park. The murderers shot him point blank. Having been shot in the chest, head and back; he died on the spot. The murderers spread some leaflets belonging to the banned political party before leaving the spot.

After the autopsy at the morgue of Khulna town Hospital, the dead body was handed over to the members of the family. Nurul Islam, the victim’s nephew filed a case at Khulna Thana on behalf of the family. (Prothom Alo, October 31, 2001/Kartik 16, 1408)

Since the creation of Bangla language, more than a thousand years have gone by. After going through a lot of changes, this language has made its own mark in the 21st century. In addition, because of enormous struggle and sacrifice in 1952, this language has observed the International Mother Language Day on February 21, which is one of the memorable days for those who speak in Bangla. At the last leg of this write-up, I have tried to present some characteristics (linguistic) of the contemporary Bangla language.

1. After the commencement of Bangla Prose in 1900, the use of formal Bangla language started. Instead of artificial or formal language, massive use of spoken or colloquial language is quite successful in creating Bangla literature. Except for a few newspapers and official purposes, the relevance of formal Bangla (literary Bangla/ Sadhubbasha) language is getting extinct.

2. The immense usage of words from Arabic-Persian in Bangla Language in the Middle Ages has given way to the massive application of English words. The educated persons but also the less educated ones have conducted not only these usages.

3. In the 19th century, the emphasis on accent (vowel harmony) was very less. But at present this propensity is quite evident especially in the spoken language of West Bengal India. For instance, Bilal > Bilu [bilal] > bilu], Vikho > Vikhy [vikh] > vikhe], Pujo > Puno, Dhula > Dholo, Mula > Mulo, Mutha > Muto, etc.

4. The initiatory words in written language has increased owing to the influence of colloquial language. Konkoney Thanda [konkone thanda], Dhupdar Sabdo [dhhupdar sapodo], Chupchup Bosey Thako, Tuktuk Babsha, etc.

5. In some cases, the assortment of regional dialect accentuating the spoken language is quite noticeable. Apart from words, the influence of regional
language on the verb or the fragment of sentences is evident. For instance, Jachhi—Jaitachi [jačhi > jaitačhi], Bosh—Boy [boʃo > boyi], Ashchi—Atachi, Aqi—Aji, Kail—Kail, etc.

6. Negative words like Na (no) was used in the sentence before the verb in the Bangla language of the Ancient and Middle Ages. At present, Na, Nai, and ni are used at the end of the sentences (Ami Jabo Na, Se kaini, etc.) and negative meaning apart, it implies different meanings. For instance, Se Na Kheley Na Khabey [je na k̲eley na k̲abey], Tumi Na Eloyo Khati Chilo Na [tumi na eleyo k̲ot̲a chîlo na], Ki Jey Ananda Pelo Na—Boley Bohjano Jabej Na.

7. Contemporary new words and synonyms are introduced in the language. For instance, Lagatar [laq̲atar], Bonsai [bon̲ai]. Ad, Share Bazar, Muktah Bazar (open market), Overbridge, Gobhir-Nolkup, etc.

8. The significant aspect of contemporary Bangla language is the easiness of spelling and the tendency to write it according to accent. After the commencement of a regulation in Bangla spelling in Calcutta University in 1936, the usage of notation in consonant (for instance Karrya, Kammoy, etc.) was stopped. Similarly, except Tatsoma (the word directly from Sanskrit) the tendency to write the consonant words broken into pieces is noticeable. For example October—October, Ult−Ult, Tatovo−Tatovo, etc. At present, Bangla authors once in a while spell according to spoken English. For instance Galo—Galo [gel̲o > gało], Kano—Kano, Dekha—Dekha, Kosto—Kosto, Ratri—Ratri, Shoturr, etc.

9. Since the inception of Bangla language, we noticed a very small-scale usage of compound verb in it. The compound verb has increased in both form (colloquial and written) of the language in the 21st century. Now we cannot think of any write-up in Bangla prose without using the compound verb. For instance, Porey Jawa (fall down), Namey Jawa (to die), Pan Kora, Mara Jawa, etc.

10. The prime feature of contemporary Bangla language is the use of simple words and idioms without using any formal and complex expressions. Instead of using long and complex sentences, the tendency to use short sentences is quite evident. By using conjunction, a number of long sentences can be made into one sentence. Two examples are given in support of the above mentioned discussion:

   a) Khaleque Shaheeb can not distinguish instantly whether his friend's words are cordial or sarcastic. He was well aware that he was not a very good advocate. As such his friend might have killed two birds with one bullet. (Abu Rushd, Dhalou, Selected Stories; Muktadhara, 1995)

   b) He is supposed to meet with Mr. Haque this morning. Haque means dependence. A poem written by someone has been under this title.

whose? I can't remember whether it is a line from a poem or not. (Moinul Ahshan; Jogajog, Dibaya Prakalpa; 1998)

11. Initially the influence of Persian was evident in Bangla prose in the 19th century and later on it was the influence of English. As a result, a modern and innovative approach is seen in formation of sentences and fragmented sentences (Sukumar Sen; 1998; 275). At present, with the predominance of English words, the practice of translation from English Idiom-Phrases has had an impact on it. For instance, Pa Theke Matha Portyinya (From head to tale); Fulor Bichano (Bed of roses), etc.

12. Another feature of contemporary Bangla is that the authors take a bit of flexibility in structuring Bangla sentences. According to the rules of Bangla sentence structure, verb should be put in place at the end of it. But modern Bangla authors put it in other places to signify something. For example: [bhaldeke joker hokar ishar jare bhaloe nannet jare nôn jare pî]  

Almost all of the educated persons in Bangladesh think that Ishwar Chandra Bidya Sargar first introduced English punctuation in Bangla. There are two reasons behind this concept.

Both of the sentences have not ended with a verb.

13. Signs like Khomdoktika (‘), Bishorgo (‘) and Hosh (‘) are not used much in contemporary Bangla.

14. Clipping inclination: In English, the contracted form of Laboratory is Lab. Similarly, in Bangla, phone (Telephone), Kata (Katarife), Baby (Babylax), Chobi (Chayachobi), etc. are now widely used.

15. Formal verb, pronoun and preposition have been contracted in the present form of Bangla language. For example: Korteeki—Korchi [korteechî > korcechî], Tahader—Tader [tahader > tader], etc.

16. Adjective abbreviation: Like other foreign languages including English, first alphabet from each word (it may be an organisation or person) can reveal the actual meaning. For example, Bangladesh Unmukto Bishawbidyalaya—BUB, DIT, PDB, etc.

17. The practice of acronyms, maxims and idioms is quite prevalent in contemporary Bangla Language.

The language does not change itself. Men change the language themselves. But the change does not happen all at a time or over night. The smaller units of language get transformed for various incidents through the passage of time. And this transformation cannot be recognized and realized only by the language users of one generation.

"Languages are spoken by people for purpose of communication.
Consequently, speakers change languages, although this is not to say that
102 / The Indo-Aryan …

they are necessarily conscious of doing so, or that they intend to make
changes. Indeed, the history of any language, from a sociolinguistic point
of view, is the story of an unbroken chain of generation speakers, all able
to communicate with theirs parents and children while perhaps noticing
minor differences inter-generational usage, and all believing they speak the
same language. (April, McMahon, 1995:8)

Similar comments are applicable to Bengali language as well as Benagali
speakers. Still the aim of a linguist is to identify the changes and I tried my best
do so in this write up.

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1. Ittefaq, 2001,26 October
2. Pratham Alo, 2001,31 October
3. Samachar Darpan, 1819; 16 October

Word Order Typology in English and Nepali and It's
Pedagogical Implications
Dan Raj Regmi
Lecturer in English

1. Introduction

Broadly speaking, linguistic typology is concerned with classification,
generalization and explanation of grammatical phenomena across languages on
a broad empirical basis. It assumes that absolute universals as very difficult to
identify; however, there are certain devices recur in natural languages which
motivate us to look for further predictable characteristics in a language having a
particular construction. Thus, linguistic typology is interested in implicational
universals1. Word order typology is a 'typology' of linguistic structure, which
tries to classify natural languages in terms of relative ordering of major
grammatical functions such as (subject), O(object) and V(erb) in a least
'pragmatically neutral clause'2. In this type of typology word order plays a vital
role as a basic syntactic device. In short, word order typology is based upon at
least three assumptions, Burridge (1994). They are as follows:

i. There is a basic word order pattern in a declarative clause in
natural languages;

ii. Functional categories like subject, verb and object are basic
linguistic entities of all languages; and

iii. Alternative orders of these functional categories are pragmatically
marked and occur only in a very well defined discourse
environment.

Theoretically, a six-way typology is possible for natural languages;
however, in reality, the majority of world languages fall only in three types:
SVO (e.g., English), SOV (e.g., Nepali) and VSO (e.g., Welsh), and of these
SVO and SOV are the most and VSO the least frequent pattern (Burridge,
1994).

The nature of this paper is partly theoretical and partly applied. Thus, the
main purpose is to examine predictable (implicational) correlations in syntactic
characteristics of Nepali (as an SOV) and English (as an SVO) language in
terms of areas of ease and difficulty with reference to English language
learning in Nepalese order to see some pedagogical implications. In this paper,
we will, first of all, examine the typology of English and Nepali in terms of

1 A universal such as: if a language has a particular pattern of subject, verb and object
organization, it is also likely to have prepositions (rather than postpositions).

2 It is a clause with a transitive verb with two full NPs. In other words, it is a declarative
main clause which has high text frequency, productive use, wide grammatical
distribution and lack of specialized or pragmatic connotations.

order of functional categories and then we will present structural similarities and differences by giving examples from both Nepali and English with the help of some Greenberg's universals (1963); and after doing this, we predict some areas of ease and difficulty; and at the end we will suggest some pedagogical implications with reference to English language teaching in Nepal.

2. Word Order Typology of English and Nepali

This typological study of syntactic structure of a declarative clause of English and Nepali is based on the traditional two-way distinction between subject and object, instead of the three-way distinction among the agent like argument of a transitive clause (A), only argument of an intransitive clauses (O) and other argument of a transitive clause (P) (i.e. 'semantico-syntactic roles') Comrie (1978). So far as English is concerned, there is no disagreement among syntacticians regarding the configurationality of the language. It is fairly consistent configurational language, i.e. SVO is a basic word order in English. Let's consider these two examples:

(1) a. I like tea. [ SVO]
    b. Tea, I like. [ OSV]

In the above examples, (1a) is a basic order of grammatical functions in a pragmatically neutral clause and (1b) is an alternative order, so it is pragmatically marked, i.e., object has been fronted to make it a topic. And moreover, the word order determines the grammatical functions in English. In case of Nepali, there is no unanimity among writers and linguists about its configurationality. Nepali is generally regarded as extremely flexible with respects to order of constituents of the clause (Abdulky, 1974). However, Regmi (1978) and Sharma (1980) both have assumed Nepali as a fixed word order language. In this connexion, let us consider these examples:

(2) a. ram kera khancho [SOV]
    Ram banana cat.3s.pres 'Ram eats a banana.'
    kera ram khancho [OSV]

The sentence (2a), for a native speaker, is basic which is pragmatically neutral whereas (2b) seems pragmatically marked. It means "As for banana, it is Ram who eats it." From this observation it is clear that at underlying level Nepali does have fixed word order and only at surface level there are alternative orders for different semantic values. Thus, Nepali does have an SOV word order in the pragmatically neutral clauses in (2a).

From the point of view of verb position, Nepali is a verb-final and English is a verb-medial languages. Now we have assumed that English is a consistent SVO and Nepali is consistent SOV language. After making observation of basic pattern of grammatical functions in Nepali and English we would like to examine the correlation of syntactic characteristics in the two languages in terms of certain parameters. Let us consider the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nepali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. A transitive declarative</td>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>SOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basic clause</td>
<td>Ram eats bread</td>
<td>ram roTi khancho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. Adpositions</td>
<td>Prepositions</td>
<td>Postpositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at home.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ram gharana cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. Genitive and head noun</td>
<td>N-G/G-N</td>
<td>N-G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram's/of Ram</td>
<td>cleaver boy</td>
<td>chalakh kTe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. Head noun and</td>
<td>M-N</td>
<td>M-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifier (attributive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. Relative clause and</td>
<td>N-RelCI</td>
<td>RelCI-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head nouns</td>
<td>This is the place</td>
<td>jo diho auka tyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where I was born</td>
<td></td>
<td>pachhi bascha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. Comparatives</td>
<td>Adj-Mkr-Std</td>
<td>Adj-Mkr-Std</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more beautiful than</td>
<td>tyo keTi bhanda</td>
<td>ramro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this girl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii. Auxiliary/Main Verbs</td>
<td>Aux V</td>
<td>V-Aux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii. Numerals</td>
<td>Num-N</td>
<td>Num-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten eats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix. Demonstrative</td>
<td>DeM-N</td>
<td>DeM-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective and Nouns</td>
<td>that pen</td>
<td>tyo kalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. Description Adjective</td>
<td>Descrip-N</td>
<td>Descrip-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black bird</td>
<td></td>
<td>kalo choro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above observation it is clear that Nepali differs from English only in terms of parameters such as (i), (ii) and partially (iii) and (iv). In the remaining parameters English is harmonious (similar) with Nepali. One of the reasons may be that English has completed its shift from SOV into SVO pattern

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3 Burridge (1994) argues that some noun phrase patterns of English (except relative clauses and prepositional genitives) are harmonious with SOV type. So he says English is an inconsistent SVO language.
Burrage 1994). However, the noun phrase ordering has still remained principally that of modifier: noun, e.g., a black cat.

Theoretically speaking, structural dissimilarities cause difficulty and similarities cause ease in learning second/foreign language. As we have already observed that Nepali differs from English in case of order of functional categories such as subject, verb and object of preposition and noun. In these aspects a Nepali learner of English feels difficulty, however, in the relative order of constituents in a noun phrase he will certainly feel ease and he is not likely to make as much errors as he is likely to make in basic order in the clause.

3. Word Order (Syntactic) Typology and Language Teaching

In section 2 we have tried to compare Nepali as an SOV with English as an SVO language. Fries (1945) argues the "the most effective materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner." This argument strongly motivates us to argue that a cross-linguistic comparison (especially in terms of word order) is fundamental for pedagogical (i.e. practical) purpose. Lado (1985) observes that the teacher who has made a comparison of foreign language (say English) with the native language (say Nepali) of the students will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them. He gains an insight into the linguistic problems involved that cannot easily be achieved otherwise. It entails that a comparison based on grammatical structure will suggest that teacher methods he should consider while teaching, how to devise test items and techniques as well as what he should test and what he shouldn't test. Rulon and Rulon (1994) state that a native speaker of typical VSO language who wishes to learn English has one set of adjustment to make whereas a native speaker of a typical SOV, say Nepali, has another set of adjustments. The VSO speaker who tries to master the structure of an SVO language as English presumably can easily grasp the basic order of elements in grammatical structures. In this connection, we can assume that a Nepali speaker has many problems in mastering the structures of English and it would be viable to argue that one of the reasons why it is difficult to master English structures for a Nepali speaker is the typological differences in terms of ordering of constituents in a clause.

It would be justifiable to present syntactic typological characteristics observed in English and Nepali (though we have tried so far in section 1.2) before examining the significance the study of word order (syntactic) typology of Nepali and English for pedagogical purpose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English: SVO</th>
<th>Nepali: SOV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Verb precedes objects</td>
<td>a. Object precedes verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Adpositions are preposed</td>
<td>b. Adpositions are postposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Permutation of words within the clause is not possible, e.g., A cat ate a rat. A rat ate a cat</td>
<td>c. Permutation of words within clause is permissible and common, e.g., biralole musa-lai khayo musa-lai biralole khayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. (i) Head nouns precede the genitive, e.g., Ram's (ii) Genitive precedes the head noun, e.g., of Ram</td>
<td>d. Head nouns precedes the genitive, e.g., ram-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Attributive adjectives precedes the head noun</td>
<td>e. Attributive adjectives precede the head noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Degree precedes pivot which precedes standard, e.g., very good boy more beautiful</td>
<td>f. Degree precedes pivot which precedes standard dherai ramro keTo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Titles precede family name King Birendra</td>
<td>g. Titles precede family name raja Birendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Head nouns precede the relative clause Ram who is poor is honest</td>
<td>i. Relative clause precede the head nouns ma je khojcha, tyo tyah chaite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Negative precedes verbal: He doesn't go</td>
<td>j. Verbal precedes negative u janna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The typological characteristics so far listed above might not have excluded all phenomena; however, it could be claimed that they are basic to show the typological relationships (correlation) that hold for Nepali and English languages and the relationships have great significance for the learning and teaching of both foreign and native languages.
We have already pointed out that effective teaching/learning materials for a foreign language, say English, can be prepared by making a cross-linguistic comparison between the foreign and native language. With reference to English language teaching to Nepali speakers, while designing the curriculum and syllabus (especially for the beginners), typological characteristics (a), (b), and (c) if (4) should be taken into consideration and the main focus should be on these distinctive characteristics. In the textbooks of English, too, these items should be presented in such a way that the main emphasis should be on the proper ordering of words in the clauses and the textbooks must be well-equipped with exercises for further restrengthening of the concepts. Word order typology is not only important while making syllabus and textbooks, it is equally important while handling the textbooks in the class. A teacher having basic insight of typological similarities and differences between Nepali and English can better help the students grasp the syntactic structures of English.

4. Conclusions

Fundamentally, typology is not meant to observe different between/among the languages studied. Specially, in case of ordering of elements in noun phrase structures English seems to be harmonious with Nepali; however, English stands different from Nepali basically in the ordering of functional categories like subject, verb and object in a pragmatically least marked clause. Thus, a Nepali speaker attempting to master the structures of a clause not in the structure of formal constituents of clause (esp. noun phrase structure) feels difficulty thanks to the different typological characteristics. Thus, it would be better to conclude that whether you are a syllabus designer or text book writer, or a classroom teacher, you are sure to be highly benefited with the insights of typological study, especially word order typology.

5. Reference


1. **Introduction: Tamang Causative**

Tamang has a system of causativization that can be applied to all types of basic clauses. Verbs having any valency can undergo causative construction. Tamang causative construction can be formalized as:

\[
V = \text{causative morpheme} + \text{do verb}
\]

Each of the examples in (1) shows i) non-causative and ii) causative construction of the same verb.

(1) i) \(\text{ale-ce ram-da brigu pin-ji}\)
brother-ERG Ram-DAT pen give-PST
'The brother gave Ram a pen.'

ii) \(\text{the-ce ale-ce ram-da brigu pin-na la-jji}\)
he-ERG brother-OBLI Ram-DAT pen give-CAUS do-PST
'He made the brother give a pen to Ram.'

b. i) \(\text{ale-ce kan ca-ji}\)
brother-ERG rice eat-PST
'The brother ate rice.'

ii) \(\text{apa-ce ale-ce kan ca-na la-jji}\)
father-ERG brother-DAT rice eat-cause do-PST
'Father made brother eat rice.'

c. i) \(\text{the nyi-ji}\)
he go-PST
'He went.'

ii) \(\text{eta-ce the-da nyi-na la-jji}\)
I-ERG he-DAT go-CAUS do-PST
'I made him go.'

Each of the causative constructions, in (1), shows two situations: i) causative macro-situation and ii) resultant micro-situation. The first situation shows that one causes another to do something and second situation shows that the situation takes place as the result of the cause of the first situation. The above examples can be analyzed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative macro-situation</th>
<th>Resultant micro-situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. He caused to give</td>
<td>brother gave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Father caused to eat</td>
<td>brother ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. I caused to go</td>
<td>he went</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Structural Status of Tamang Causative**

Tamang causative construction is not morphological because there are separate predicates expressing the notion of causation and the notion of effect. So, it is a periphrastic construction.

In all the causative sentences in (1), there are two different verbs \(la\) 'do' and the verb of non-causative construction expressing the notion of causation and effect.

3. **Valency Change in Causative Construction**

Tamang causative construction does not change the valency of the individual predicate because each of the two predicates expressing cause and effect retains its own set of arguments. But, each of the causative construction has one more argument than in its corresponding non-causative construction. The examples in (2), show a set of i) non-causative and ii) causative construction of the same verb.

(2) a. i) \(\text{e.-ni-ce syamo ca-ji}\)
you-PL-ERG mushroom eat-PST
'You ate mushroom.'

ii. \(\etaa-ce e.-ni-da syamo ca-na la-jji\)
I-ERG you-PL-DAT mushroom eat-CAUS do-PST
'I caused you to eat mushroom.'

b. i) \(\text{jame neta-ci}\)
daughter laugh-PST
'Daughter laughed.'

ii) \(\text{ja-ce jame-da neta-na la-jji}\)
son-ERG daughter-DAT laugh-CAUS do-PST
'Son caused daughter to laugh.'

In the sentence (2a.i), the predicate \(ca\) has two arguments. In the corresponding causative construction (2a.ii) there is one more argument \(\etaa\), that is added because of the additional predicate \(la\). The case is the same in the sentences in (2b) also. So, each causative construction has one more argument than its corresponding non-causative construction. The addition of argument is caused by the addition of the predicate \(la\).

\(la\) 'do' is bivalent predicate, its one argument is that one which is added in the corresponding causative construction, i.e., causer. It is always in ergative form. The other predicate of \(la\) is the whole non-causative situation. So the whole non-causative situation is the direct object of the causative construction.
It shows that there is no valency growth of predicate in causative construction but as whole, causative construction has one more argument than its corresponding non-causative construction.

4. Status of Arguments in the Causative Construction

Generally, the argument of mono-valent predicate that is subject in non-causative construction is demoted to direct object of causative construction. Because the causer always occupies the subject-position.

(3) a.i) the kyal-ji
he swim-PST
'He swam.'

ii. lopkhen-ce the-da kyal-na la-ji
teacher-ERG he-DAT swim-CAUS do-PST
'Teacher made him swim.'

b.i) gliŋ nyuh-ji
snow melt-PST
'Snow melted.'

ii) ṅa-ce gliŋ nyuh-na la-ji
I-ERG snow (ABS) melt-CAUS do-PST
'I got snow melted.'

Generally, the agent of bivalent predications is demoted to dative form in causative construction. Because, the subject position is already occupied by the causer.

(4) a.i) the-ce mrap Thon-ji
he-ERG door open-PST
'He opened the door.'

ii. ṅa-ce the-da mrap Thon-na la-ji
I-ERG he-DAT door open-CAUS do-PST
'I got him to open the door.'

b.i) ale-ce doṭbo tha-ji
brother-ERG tree cut-PST
'Brother cut the tree.'

ii) apa-ce ale-da doṭbo tha-na la-ji
father-ERG brother-DAT tree cut-CAUS do-PST
'Father got brother to cut the tree.'

Generally, the agent of trivalent predicate is demoted into oblique object form in causative construction.

(5) a.i) ram-ce sita-da pustak pin-ji
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT book give-PST
'Ram gave Sita a book.'

ii. syam-ce ram-ce sita-da pustak pin-na la-ji
Shyam-ERG Ram-OBLI Sita-DAT book give-CAUS do-PST
'Shyam had Ram give a book to Sita.'

5. Conclusion

There is only one type of causative construction found in Tamang which can be formalized as:

V - na + la

The construction is periphrastic, not morphological. So there is no valency change of verb, but the valency of the whole causative complex is increased. One more argument is found in the causative construction than in its corresponding non-causative construction. The additional argument is not the result of valency change of the verb, but because of the additional verb la in the causative construction.

Abbreviations

ERG - Ergative
DAT - Dative
PST - Past
CAUS - Causative
PI - Plural
ABS - Absolutive
OBLI - Oblique

References


Tense System in Danuwar

Bhabendra Bhandari
bhandariibb@yahoo.com

1. Introduction

Danuwar is one of the languages belonging to Indo-Aryan Language Family. It is spoken in Nepal by Danuwar people. According to the report of Population Census 2001, the total number of Danuwar people in Nepal is 53,229. It is 0.23 percent of the total population. Although they are found in different parts of the country, Central Development Region and Eastern Development Region are the main areas of Danuwar people.

They have been living by the forest side and at the riverbanks since long. Their traditional occupations are fishing and hunting, but most of them are found to be engaging in agriculture as well.

Danuwar is one of the endangered languages of Nepal. Most of the Danuwar children and young people do not speak this language. The census report shows that only 31,849 people can speak this language. It means only 59.83 percent of Danuwar people can speak their language. This report shows that the total percent of the Nepalese people speaking Danuwar language is 0.14.

The language has developed different dialects because of geographical distance and the influence of other surrounding languages. Mainly, it is influenced by Tharu, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Hindi in Southern region and by Nepali in Hilly region.

Though 59.83 percent of the Danuwar people speak Danuwar language, their language is highly influenced by the neighbouring languages. All the Danuwar speakers are bilingual. In Kabhre district they use Nepali as lingua franca. So, here, it is very much influenced by Nepali.

Although it is very much influenced by other languages, this language still retains its strong linguistic identity.

In this paper, I briefly discuss its tense system from the data collected from Kabhrepanchok district. The data were collected for my MA. thesis (Bhandari, 2001).

2. Tense in Danuwar

2.1 Tense

The category tense indicates the time of the predication in relation to some particular moment. This moment is typically the moment of speaking or writing the utterances (Abbi, 2001:147). Tense, thus, indicates whether the event or activity happened prior to the moment of speaking (past tense), is contemporaneous with it (present tense), or subsequent to it (future tense).

Different affixes are added to the verb stem of this language to mark tense according to the person, number, honorificity and gender of the subject.

(1) a. kantu ran ranroso paDi-lak b. ran sadha ro ranroso paDi-s	yesterday Ram read well.

c. kantu ran ranroso paDi-s	'Ram always reads well.'

(Note: kantu means both yesterday and tomorrow.)

(2) a. moro buma bhat pakai-lik b. moro buma bhat pakai-s
'My grandmother cooked rice.'

c. ayu moro buma bhat pakai-s
'Today my grandmother will cook rice.'

In the above sentences, it is seen that the same form of verb is used to mark the present and future time. To mark the past time, only the verb form is different. So, Danuwar verbs show that this language has only two tenses: past and non-past. Only the time adverbials help to indicate the meaning of present or future time.

2.1.1 Past Tense

Past tense simply locates the situation in question prior to the present moment.

In Danuwar language, various past tense affixes are added to the verb stem to agree with person, number, honorificity, and gender of the subject.

(3) a. mui bhat khai-nu
'I ate rice.'

b. hamai bhat khai-nu
'He ate rice.'

c. tui bhat khai-las
'You(M) ate rice.'

d. tui bhat khai-las
'You(F) ate rice.'

e. torlo bhat khai-las
'You(Pl) ate rice.'

2.1.2 Non-past Tense

It has already been obvious that Danuwar language has only one tense to refer to both present and future time. Only the time adverbials help to indicate the meaning of present or future. So, the term non-past is used to describe this tense.

(4) a. mui ai-chu
   1 come-NPST 1 S
   'I come.'

b. kanu mui ai-chu
   tomorrow 1 come-NPST 1 S
   'I'll come tomorrow.'

c. hamai ai-chuk
   we come-NPST 1 Pl
   We come.'

d. tui ai-chas
   you(M) come-NPST 2 S
   'You come.'

e. tui ai-chas
   you(F) come-NPST 2 S
   'You come.'

f. tolkai ai-chai
   you(Pl) come-NPST 2 Pl
   'You come.'

g. tolkhe ai-tan
   you(H) come-NPST 2 H
   'You come.'

h. aphnake ai-tan
   you(H) come-NPST 2 H
   'You come.'

i. aphnkelok ai-tan
   you(H, Pl) come-NPST 2 H
   'You come.'

j. u ai-s
   he come-NPST 3 S
   'He comes.'
k.  ai-s
she  come-NPST 3 S
'She comes.'
l. olok  ai-chat
they  come-NPST 3 Pl
'They come.'
(Note: Both tolakhe and apinnake are second person honorific pronouns.)

From the above sentences, it is clear that suffixes -chu, -chuk, -chos, -chai, -tan, -s and -chat are added to the verb stem to represent number, person or honorificity in the non-past tense. The same honorific suffix -tan is added both in singular and plural verb. There is no gender distinction in this language in the non-past tense.

The following table shows the non-past tense suffixes in this language.

**Table 2: Non-past Tense Suffixes in Danuwar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-chu</td>
<td>-chuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-chos</td>
<td>-chai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 H</td>
<td>-tan</td>
<td>-tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-chat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Conclusion

- Danuwar language (Kabhre dialect?) has binary tense system: past and non-past.
- Verbs are inflected in these tenses to agree with the person, number, honorificity and gender of the subject.

- Gender distinction is found only in the past tense if the subject is in third person singular number.

**Abbreviations**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>non-past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References**


Population Census 2001, Kathmandu: CBS
Aspects in Darai

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Department of Engineering Science and Humanities
Institute of Engineering
Purwanchal Campus, Dharan

1. Introduction
Darai is one of the minority languages and least described among the languages of Nepal. There are altogether 10759 Darai people in the kingdom and the Darai speakers even small in number amounting to 6520. They are the linguistic minority without any written literature and own written script. It is therefore written in Devnagari script. Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Tanahu of western Nepal are the major concentration areas of this language. The language bears remarkable influences from the neighboring languages like Nepali, Maithili and Bhojpuri. Although Darai is an Indo Aryan in basic character, it also marked differ from the other Indo-Aryan languages to a remarkable extent. This article attempts to highlight the aspects in the same language based on the data collection for the report, Dhakal (2003)

2. Aspect
Aspect is a ‘grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb’ (Crystal, 1994: 29). Aspects have to do, not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour (Hockeit, 1970: 237). Aspects in Darai are expressed mainly by morphological means. Often, the aspects are expressed by participle suffixes and their constraints.

2.1 Imperfective Aspect
Imperfective aspect is an explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within; as also will be the general point that imperfectivity is not incompatible with performativity, and that both can be expressed if the language in question possesses the formal means to do so (Comrie, 1976: 4). The imperfective aspect therefore looks at the situation from inside. Imperfective aspect is the situation in which the action is in progress and not completed in relation to some point in time. They are mainly divided into habitual, progressive, prospective and durative aspect.

2.1.1 Habitual Aspect
The feature that is common to all habituals, whether or not they are also iterative, in that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period (Comrie, 1976: 27). In a sense the verbs show the repetitions of action. They may be further categorized as past and non past.

2.1.1 Past Habitual
The past habitual is often expressed by suffixing -te (kārte ‘doing’) to the verb. The morphological derivation thus takes place mainly in the finite forms of auxiliary verb rā̄̄hān (past) and batān (non-past) which also inflect for number, gender and honorificity. However, the past habitual marker -r̄ā̄̄ei of the main verb remains unchanged.

(1) u kom kār-te-r̄ā̄̄ei
he work do.HAB-P3SG
‘He used to work.’

The past habitual aspect of the verbal inflection is set out in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hān</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hās</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person H</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hā</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hā</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person F</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hī</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person H</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hā</td>
<td>pāD-te-rā̄̄hā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes, the past habitual is also expressed simply through the past form of the main verbs. Past habitual in Darai is expressed by suffixing inflectional morpheme -lā and -li to the verb. They also agree with the gender, level of levels of honorificity and person in Darai.

(2) a. mōi kam kār-lā
1-E work do-P1SG
‘I worked.’

b. mōi kam nij-kār-lā
He-E work NEG-do-P1SG
‘He did not work.’

c. uwa kam kār-li
she-E work do-P3SG
‘She worked.’
2.1.1.2 Non past Habitual

The non past habituals in Darai refer to both the tenses, present and the future generally expressing by the same form of the verb. The adverbials determine whether the action expresses the present or the future time. They also agree with person, number, gender and honorificity of the subject. The verbal inflections of the present habitual are set out below. Type first includes the intransitive verbs and type second includes transitive and bitransitive verbs.

(3) a. mā sēlāhun mēndir jātā-m
1-E always temple go-nP1SG
‘I always go to temple.’

b. home mēndir go-nP1Pl
We-E temple
“We go to temple.”

c. tā mēndir jātā-s
you-E temple go-nP2SG
‘You go to temple.’

d. tā-sēb mēndir jātā-hēu-sēb
you-E temple go-nP2Pl
‘You go to temple.’

e. pau-sēb mēndir jātā-ke-bēt-t
you-E temple go-nP2Pl.h
‘You go to temple.’

f. wu Moh mēndir jāt-ī
he-E temple go-nP3SG
‘He goes to temple.’
2.2 Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect refers to activity in progress, and therefore suggests not only that the activity is temporary (i.e. of limited duration), but that it need not be complete (Leech and Svartvik; 1999:69). The progressive indicative is thus formed by the addition of -te and -rede to the root of the verb and followed by the conjunction of auxiliary verb rādān (past) and batēm (non-past). They are also categorized as past and non-past progressive aspects.

2.2.1 Non-Past Progressive Aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>lekh-te-batēm</td>
<td>lekh-te-batihi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>lekh-te-batēm</td>
<td>lekh-te-batihi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 non-past progressive aspect forms of Darai verb lekhike 'to write'
2.2.2 Past Progressive Aspect

(5) a. tāsā ṭiTI lekh-te rāhā
   you-E letter write-PROG be.EXI-P2PI
   ‘You are writing a letter.’

b. mā ṭiTI lekh-te batā
   I-E letter write-PROG be.EXI-nP3SG
   ‘I am writing a letter.’

Table 6 Past Progressive aspect forms of Darai verb lekhike ‘to write’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>lekh-te-rāhām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>lekh-te-rāhās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person H</td>
<td>lekh-te-rāhāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>lekh-te-rāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person F</td>
<td>lekh-te-rāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person H</td>
<td>lekh-te-rāhām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past progressive aspect forms of the verb gāi ke ‘to sing’ are set out in the following sentences.

b. tāsā gii gai-rādē rāhān
   you-E song sing-PROG be.EXI-P3PI
   ‘You are singing a song.’

uhi gii gai-rādē rāhi
she-E song sing-PROG be.EXI-P3P1SG
‘She is singing a song.’

2.3 Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect is mostly derivational. Often they are marked by participial suffixes. As Comrie writes the perfective aspect looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation (1976:4). In Darai language, perfective aspects are marked by -sē kīd both in past and non past. The differences between past and non past are observed in the forming finite forms of ‘be’ verbs which inflect for gender, number and honorificity. Therefore the auxiliary (copula) is conjugated according to number, gender and honorificity. The inflections for the perfective marker are thus -sē kīd and different inflections are due to person, gender, and number.

2.3.1 Non-Past Perfective Aspect

(7) a. mā bhat pakai-sē kīd batām
   I-E rice cook-PERF be.EXI-nP3SG
   ‘I have cooked rice.’

b. hame bhat pakai-sē kīd bāthi
   We-E rice cook-PERF be.EXI-nP3PI
   ‘We have cooked rice.’

c. tā bhat pakai-sē kīd bāthi
   You-E rice cook-PERF be.EXI-nP2SG
   ‘You have cooked rice.’

d. tā-sē bhat pakai-sē kīd bāthi
   You-E rice cook-PERF be.EXI-nP2PI
   ‘You have cooked rice.’

e. pū bhat pakai-sē kīd bāthi
   You-E rice cook-PERF be.EXI-nP2PI-h
   ‘You have cooked rice.’

f. use/uhi bhat pakai-sē kīd bāthi
   he-E rice cook-PERF be.EXI-nP3SG
   ‘He has cooked rice.’

f. use/uhi bhat pakai-sē kīd bāthi
   she-E rice cook-PERF be.EXI-nP3SG
   ‘She has cooked rice.’

Table 7 Past Progressive aspect forms of Darai verb lekhike ‘to write’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>lekh-rādē-rāhām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>lekh-rādē-rāhās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person H</td>
<td>lekh-rādē-rāhāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>lekh-rādē-rāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person F</td>
<td>lekh-rādē-rāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person H</td>
<td>lekh-rādē-rāhām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 non-past perfective aspect forms of Darai verb pak ‘cook’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.2 Past Perfective Aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batêm</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batìhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàs</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person H</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person F</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person H</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
<td>pakai-só kló-batàd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 Durative Aspect

The durative aspect marker is -rād in Darai. The aspect is expressed in the morphological process, the durative marker -rād is suffixed to root of the the verb. They are illustrated in the following examples.

(8) a. keta-l kitap anir-raj-bela-ke u uchhina rāhī
day-E book bring-DUR he there EXI-P3SG
   ‘While the boy was bringing the book, he was there.’

b. jāhaj udi-rād-bela-ke mā koTha-N rāhī
day-E fly-DUR room-L EXI-P3SG
   ‘While the plane was flying, I entered the room.’

2.4 Prospective Aspect

In Darai language, the prospective aspect is expressed though the conjugation of the main verb kahike ‘to tell’ to the root of the verb and followed by the conjugation of auxiliary verb rāhām (past) and batà (non-past). They are also categorized as past and non-past prospective aspects.

(9) a. tōs titti lekhike batàm
   you-E letter write-PROG be.EXI-P2PI
   ‘You are to write a letter.’

Table 8 non-past prospective aspect forms of Darai verb lekhike 'write'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>lekhike-batàm</td>
<td>lekhike-batìhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person H</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
<td>lekhike-batài</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person F</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person H</td>
<td>lekhike-batàm</td>
<td>lekhike-batàd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 Past Prospective aspect forms of Darai verb lekhike ‘write’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhām</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhās</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person H</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhās</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhās</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person F</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhī</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person H</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhāb</td>
<td>lekhike-rāhāb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Conclusion

Darai, a linguistic minority, has not been described with proper linguistic approaches. Although the language is Indo Aryan in basic character, it differs from other Indo Aryan languages in the pronominal cross reference markings. It is seen in present habitual with transitive or bitransitive verbs. These features are worth detecting as they may widen avenues for further linguistic analysis.

Abbreviations

C:Consonant     INF:Infinitive
D:Dative        INS:Instrument
DUR:Durative Aspects L:Locative
E:Ergative Case  M:Masculine
EXI:Existential  N:Noun
F:Feminine       NEG:Negative
G:Genitive       NOM:Nominal
HAB:Habitual Aspect OBJ:Object
Influence of Hindi on Nepali

Lekhnath Sharma Pathik
Dept. of English Education, T.T. P.O.Box 21697, Kathmandu.
lekhnathshpathik@yahoo.co

This paper does not seek to make any statement, rather it is only trying to raise a question about the linguistic development that we have often witnessed. Touching certain sensitive areas of language is like touching a hornet’s nest—that can sting the people around it. And because language is inextricably connected with our identity itself and our entire whole being. People tend to be touchy when any of its sensitive cord is plucked. Hindi, as a language, has been influenced by many languages—English, Persian, Arabic. Hindi from outside the border and from the languages of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman family within.

But because of geographical, cultural, political, social, anthropological and linguistic proximity with India, it has had the most impact in Nepal language than any other since time immemorial. And in the likeness of big fish eating small fish there is a tendency among the languages to dominate and be dominated. Perhaps, something like this may or may not be happening in our case is a question of debate (language dominance is not necessarily the concern of present paper). This paper tries to point at a way in which Hindi has been infiltrating in Nepal and affecting certain areas. The study of the extent of influence is itself a massive area of research. The scope of present paper is very limited. It only tries to touch just the tip of the iceberg or rather the tip of the tip only. And saying “Hindisation” is surely being unfair to Nepali because it is real; not so at the moment and we can hope that it will not be so and Nepali will always maintain its Nepaliness. This paper is an attempt to ring a warning bell that if things go unchecked and uncontrolled we might, perhaps, move in the direction only. Or otherwise, we will have to accept this as a natural course that the languages take.

Language contact results in language change. Borrowing, as we call it, (perhaps, “push” or “pull” would justify the process better) takes place chiefly—(i) when there is no appropriate word to express a concept in a language, and—(ii) when the extent word cannot express a concept entirely. A word entering a language this way becomes fully assimilated in that language and becomes a part of it. However, a word may also enter a language when there are not necessarily the above two conditions. The “guest” words or expressions entering this way normally replace or push out the counter part “host” words and expressions because there cannot be two words for exactly the same concept (the synonyms convey different shades of meaning).

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 20, 2003, pp. 131-137
Hindi and Nepali belong to the same language family: Indo-Aryan. And because both the languages have Sanskrit as their progenitor, often it is difficult to say whether a particular word is either only Hindi or only Nepali. However, there are differences in both the languages. And they are two different languages because of the inherent difference in them. There are differences at phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic levels. We see Hindi affecting Nepali, rather than Nepali affecting Hindi in all these levels (the reasons for the phenomena is not the domain of present paper). This paper tries to look at the influence of Hindi in Nepali at different levels.

Now, let us look at sum of the areas where the influence is apparent:

1. **PHONOLOGY**

   There are certain words in Hindi and Nepali which have the same meaning but are pronounced differently. The difference is because of the difference in syllabification. As in –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Nepali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. dusht ‘evil’</td>
<td>dushta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. raashtr ‘nation’</td>
<td>raashta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. kashh ‘pain’</td>
<td>kasha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. vansh ‘pedigree’</td>
<td>vansha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. shiv (the god)</td>
<td>shiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. indr (the god)</td>
<td>indra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. pra-panch ‘scheme’ or ‘design’</td>
<td>pra-pancha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   The final syllable that ends in a vowel in Nepali is closed by a consonant in Hindi thus combining the syllable that is split in Nepali. The Nepali affected by Hindi this way is pulled closer to Hindi in pronunciation, even in certain purely Nepali words like bi-haa-na ‘morning’ becoming bi-haan

2. **MORPHOLOGY**

   Morphologically, there is less of change seen. However, there are forms which seem to have Hindi influence, as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Nepali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaanwar ‘animal’</td>
<td>Janaawar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Likewise, Nepali nimitranas and aamantranas ‘invitation’ have not yet completely become nimitran and aamantran but occasionally show the sign of change. But in one area Nepali has been successful in regaining or creating Nepali form away from Hindi replacing - kaar with - karmi. The addition of the morpheme -karmi in nouns to mean ‘doer’ or ‘practitioner’ as in sahaityakarmi ‘literateur’, kalejakarmi ‘artist’, and so on. This is perhaps in tune with shikarmi and dakarmi ‘carpenter’ and

‘mason’ respectively. (karmi literally means ‘manual worker’. Here karmi is a separate morpheme, perhaps, Sanskrit in origin meaning ‘doer’)

3. **LEXIS**

   At lexical level, there are plenty words which have come from Hindi and are even replacing their Nepali counterparts. There are words for which Nepali already has its own equally effective set of words, but still words have entered from Hindi and are even becoming nativised in some cases, in some they are used as it is. This is happening despite the fact that Nepali already has its own words for all the Hindi words entering into Nepali. Let us look at some of them:

   **I. Nepali expressions which have taken Hindi form –**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Hindiised Nepali form</th>
<th>Nepali Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ap-aa-aa ‘accept’/’embrace’</td>
<td>ap-aa-aa-u-nu</td>
<td>a-gaal-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ni-bhaa-aa ‘fulfil’(as responsibility)</td>
<td>ni-bhaa-aa-u-nu</td>
<td>ni-baah-gar-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ni-bhaa-aa-nu in Nepali means ‘to extinguish a fire’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. kyo-ki ‘because’</td>
<td>ki-na-ki</td>
<td>ki-na-bha-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ba-aa-aa ‘to flow’</td>
<td>ba-aa-aa-u-nu</td>
<td>ba-aa-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. u-tar-aa ‘get down’</td>
<td>u-tra-aa</td>
<td>u-tra-aa-ru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   **II. There are words which have been taken exactly as they stand. As :**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Nepali Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chhaa-paa ‘press’(newspaper, magazine)</td>
<td>patra-paa-tri-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhup ‘heat of the sun’</td>
<td>ghaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-par ‘up’</td>
<td>maathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chat ‘roof’</td>
<td>chhaa-naa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar-shat ‘rain’</td>
<td>bar-shaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twa-cha ‘skin’</td>
<td>chhaa-laa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar-faa ‘toward’</td>
<td>ti-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mud-da ‘issue’/’court case’</td>
<td>sa-ma-sya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   These Hindi words are used very frequently in Nepali. So much so, that words like ach-chhaa ‘good’ or ‘Ok’ has almost become a part of Nepali repertoire and perhaps, in a generation or two people may forget that phul ‘egg’ was the original Nepali word for andaa
4. COMPOUND WORDS

In the compounding of following nature there is the direct influence of Hindi. The expressions are used exactly the same way both in Hindi and Nepali, for which Nepali has no corresponding native form. However, there are forms which are closer in some cases.

I Hindi Nepali
a. kam-se-kam ‘at least’ kam-ti-maa
b. aaf-se-aaf ‘by itself’
   (aaf-fai aaf-fai is a poor counter part)
no exact equivalent

c. ek-se-ek (roughly ‘one after another’) no exact equivalent
   (ek-pa-chhi-ar-ko is equally poor)

d. baap-re-baap (exclamation of surprise) no equivalent

There is also the compounding of following nature, which is again the Hindi form:

II
a. khoj-talaash ‘search’
b. aamne-saamne ‘face to face’
c. muth-bhed ‘encounter’
d. dudh-malaal ‘cream of the milk’

These expressions are used in the same form in Nepali as well.

5. IDIOMS AND PHRASES

Some idiomatic and phrasal expressions of Hindi also have found their way into Nepali, as in-

Hindi Nepali
a. ba-dha-wa-de-na ‘to encourage’ ba-dha-wa-di-nu
   Perhaps, for this, Nepali could have expression like prot-saa-han di-
   nu or abhi-brid-chi gar-ru (but perhaps they don’t catch the same
   nuance)

b. range-haath-pakad-na ‘to catch red handed’ range-haath-pakad-nu
   (The expression must have entered Hindi also from English which
   ultimately found its way into Nepali).

6. SYNTAX

Hindi Syntax also seem to be wielding sufficient influence on Nepali.

a. The use of ki—subordinating conjunction ‘that’
   Hindi: us ne kah aa ki aaj baarish ho-gi
   Nepali: He ERG say-past that today rain be-past,sg,fem
   ‘He said that it will rain today’
   Instead of ki the Nepali sentence may have—
   Us-le ke bhan-yo bhan ee aaja paani par-chha
   He ERG what say-past conjunctive today rain fall be - non past
   Particiiple (lit. ‘water’)
   ‘He said that it will rain today’

b. The use of yadi ‘if’
   Hindi: yadi tum aaye to main kah na nahi jaa
   Nepali: yadi timi aayau bhane ma kah na
   If you come-pt then I anywhere neg. go i’
   fut,sg,m
   If you come-pt then I anywhere go neg,fut,sg, 1
   ‘If you come, I won’t go anywhere’

Nepali can do equally well without the use of yadi

b. The use of raheko (the -ing form)
   Hindi: jaa rahaah thaa
   Nepali: u gai raheko thi-yo
   He go progressive was
   ‘He was going’
   Instead of the above form Nepali has-
   U jaa dai thi-yo
   He go progressive was
   ‘He was going’

The Nepali daal progressive form is at the risk of being pushed away by Hindi rah form.
CONCLUSION
Looking at the development even superficially like this, it is apparent that we are sufficiently flooded by Hindi. There might be several factors responsible for this, as has been pointed out before. But the major ones are the media—be it visual or print. Therefore, it might be in the interest of everybody concerned to find out the factors and causes and evolve some sort of regulative mechanism— which we don’t have so far. Perhaps, a consensus on language planning and a language policy would be the answer. One way in this direction could be that linguists and the practitioners of word craft: Journalists, writers, academicians, form a body to decide on what should or should not be permissible, at the same time keeping in mind the fluid nature of language that keeps changing constantly. Any of the existing apex bodies in this field—be it Royal Nepal Academy or Tribhuvan University can initiate. Though it is easier said than done and there is the question of whether we really want to do it or it ought to be done. The choice is ours.

References
Pandit, P. B. (1977) Language in a Plural Society: The Case of India, Delhi: Deva Raj Memorial Committee

Acknowledgement
In the course of preparation of this paper I talked to the following Linguists and Academicians. I am extremely grateful for their kind help, comments and suggestions. The errors and mistakes, if any, however, are all mine
1. Prof. Dr. Shishir Kumar Sthapit
2. Prof. Dr. Jai Raj Awasthi
3. Dr. Govinda Raj Bhattarai
4. Prof. Dr. (Late) Ballabh Mani Dahal

Note: This paper was presented in the 23rd Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal, 2002.
Obituary

PROFESSOR DR. BALLAV MANI DAHAL

Professor Dr. Ballabh Mani Dahal, a noted linguist, educationist and political thinker, passed away on the 7th of November, 2003. He is survived by his wife Dr. Subhadra Subba Dahal. He was born in 1934 in Madi village of Sankhuwasabha district of eastern Nepal. He got interested in linguistics when he was a student in Banaras during the late 1950s through his companionship with Professor Bal Krishna Pokharel, Dr. Taranath Sharma and Mr. Kosh Raj Regmi. They started a linguistic movement called Jharrovada, a movement for linguistic purism. It rejected the influences of Sanskrit as well as English and Hindi on Nepali and tried to preserve the Nepaliess of the Nepali language.

After being active in political field for some time, he decided to enter into the academic field and joined the Department of Nepali as lecturer in 1968 together with Dr. Basudev Tripathi and Mohan Himanshu Thapa where C.M. Bandhu was already engaged. Appearing of these four new aspiring faces in the department of Nepali was helpful to give a timely new shape to the department and promote teaching and research activities. It was the time when Nepali linguists were motivated to do basic field researches and draw conclusions on the basis of collected corpus. The SIL scholars studying the unwritten languages of Nepal and British scholar like Prof. Alan Davies were instrumental to prepare new atmosphere for the development of the study of modern linguistics in Nepal. I remember the days of Chepang village when Prof. Dahal, Dr. Coughley and myself started a field work. Within the period of our field work we learned the methodology and were able to analyse the phonological aspect of the language. As a result of this field work, we published two papers: "Chepang Segmental Phonemes" and "Notes on Chepang Culture".

In 1970 Dahal, Bandhu, Hale and Holzhausen co-authored "Nepali Segmental Phonology." This paper was based on the methods of phonological analysis in American structuralism. It provided us a very good basis for the second time to do independent studies of the phonological system. Later, Dahal worked again with additional data of Nepali at Deccan College Pune when he joined the Linguistics Department at Pune for his Ph.D. Thesis on the descriptive studies of Literary and Colloquial Nepali, which he submitted in 1974.

After completing his Ph.D. he returned to teach at the Central Department of Nepali, where he taught linguistics and Nepali until his retirement in 2001. During this period he wrote several papers in Nepali and English languages. He took interest in the modernization of Nepali by simplifying the spelling system and by encouraging several teachers to work on various aspects of Nepali. He chaired the Nepali Subject Committee which worked to develop curriculum and programs as a compulsory subject in the higher education. He advocated for the need of communicative Nepali for the students who will be working with common people after their education. He held the view that the curriculum should be functional so that their communication skill could be developed with the application of knowledge. Learning and transfer of learning becomes easier if the subject matter is available in the language in which they already have their competence. He presented numerous papers and gave lectures on the role of Nepali in developing higher education.

Professor Dahal played an important role in establishing Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1979 and was founder member of the society. He was also elected as a president of the Society for a term of two years. He had been always active in the sessions of the society and strongly argued to establish the Department of Linguistics within Tribhuvan University which was established in 1996. Professor Dahal was professor emeritus in the department until his untimely death.

Professor Dahal's contribution in Nepali lexicography is notable. He worked as one of the editors of the Nepali dictionary published by the Royal Nepal Academy. This dictionary was important in several different ways. One of the important facts with this dictionary was that it helped to systematize the spelling system of Nepali which was being practiced by the students and teachers of the Tribhuvan University. He was also a co-editor of a Nepali English dictionary with Ruth Laila Schmidt, published by Ratna Sagar of New Delhi.

Professor Dahal co-authored with his wife Dr. Subhadra Subba. As Dr. Subba has been working in the field of sociolinguistics at the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies he developed his expertise in sociolinguistics. Dr. Dahal held a balanced view on the sociolinguistic situation of Nepal. He pleaded that all the national languages of Nepal should be promoted by using them effectively for primary education. He held the view that the linguistic pluralism is a reality as well as the beauty of the country. He also co-authored a book on phonological process and phonological theory with Bal Krishna Pokharel. He published some of the papers related to the historical linguistics and historical study of the Nepali language. He inspired his students to work hard in historical linguistics.

Professor Dahal worked in various committees related to language and education within TU and HMG. He had been always transparent in his views strongly pleading to work for the benefit of the country. He outlined the policies and programs for education in general and higher education in particular.
Professor Dahal was a man of multi-faceted merits. He had keen interests in many fields. Some of the fields outside linguistics can be counted as Tibetan studies, Ethnology, Folklore and Literature, Communication etc.

After the retirement, he was more active with his students and colleagues. As a Founder Principal of S.M. College, where he was working as a Principal until his death, he has put his missions and visions. He had been always inspiring for the academic progress of the students whom he met. He always spoke with spirits of national development and academic excellence.

Untimely death of professor Dr. Dahal is a great loss to the Nepalese. The country has lost a patriot Nepali, a linguist and a thinker. He was our Guru, friend and philosopher in real sense.

Following is a partial listing of his works in Linguistics written in Nepali and English languages:


1976 "Nepali Bhasha ra Koshi" (Nepali Language and Dictionary) Nepali Language and Dictionary


2033vs "Nepali Sikshan ra Pathyakraam" (Nepali Teaching and Curriculum), A paper presented at the seminar organized by the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences,

2037vs "nepalma ciniya tibbati bhshaharuko parivarki varjikaran" (Classification of Sin-Tibetan falguje family in Nepal) Vadhmayaa 1:21-38.

2059vs bhashavijnanka kehi antarhashatriya vishya tatha aithasik bhasha vijnan (Some interdisciplinary subjects of linguistics and historical linguistics) Prajana, 96:1-32.

Dahal, Bandhu and Caughey


1971 "Notes on Chepang Culture", JTU 6:77-87. Kathmandu Dahal, Bandhu, Holzhausen and Hale

Dahal, Pokhrel, Tripathi, Parajuli, Sharama

2040vs Bal Krishna Pokhrel, Basudev Tripathi, Ballabh Mani Dahal, Krishna Prasad Parajuli and Gopi Krishna Sharma Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy

Dahal and Schmidt


Dahal, Sharma, Bandhu, Adhikari and Subedi


Dahal and Regmi

2059 rastra bhasha ra rashtriya bhasashaharuko satya yatra, a paper read at the conference organized by the Royal Nepal Academy

(Prof. Dr. C.M. Bhandhu, Department of Linguistics, TU)
Abstracts 2002

Exclusivity and Inclusivity in Chamling Rai
Bagdevi Rai

In this paper, I examine factors of exclusivity and inclusivity in Chamling Rai, a Kiranti Tibetan-Burman language spoken in eastern Nepal. The language has exclusive vs. inclusive distinctions in the dual and plural first person, both for the non-past and past tense. A table will be presented summarizing all the 8 different types of exclusive and inclusive markings.

Discourse in Short Term Memory
Elif Leyla

During the process of discourse in short term memory, various structures are assigned to the propositions gathered from the text. Some of these structures are assigned to the micro-structural level, i.e. local or global coherence. To reach the macro-structural level, macro-rules are applied to the propositions gathered at the micro-structural level and enriched by the contribution of old knowledge. Finally, the information obtained at the macro level is organized into super-structures, i.e. narrative super-structures.

It seems that each language constrains its user with a language and culture specific narrative schema. More precisely, this could be referred to as just culture specific schema since the cultures of a society includes the language(s) of the society.

EFL students who start learning and FL usually bring their culture specific narrative super-structure to the learning process. Learners' own-culture specific narrative schemata may help them in interpreting narratives in the target language when their own culture-specific schema resembles the narrative schemata of the target language.

The next step in the present paper will be to include super-structure activities which are designed to ease the job of the FLL's (Foreign Language Learners) who have narrative schemata other than English culture specific narrative super-structures.

Remarks on Origin and Evolution of Causatives in Newari
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This paper begins with the ways in which lexical and syntactic causative constructions are formed in Newari and goes on to evaluate different claims on the origin and evolution of these in the light of ancient Classical Newari data (NS 235/ 1114 AD - NS 520/ 1400 AD). It will be argued here that a more reliable hypothesis could be formed when first, spatial and temporal dialects of Newari are explored for the clues and then, the hypothesis is verified against the data from other TB cognate languages.

The Nature of Narrative Text in Dzongkha: Evidence from Connectives and Deictic Elements
Stephen A. Watters

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the two functions ascribed to connective relations in Rudolph (1988) in Dzongkha narrative texts, and to demonstrate that 1) the complementary distribution of connectives (and the semantic relations they encode) correlates almost perfectly with its function as a connective, 2) that this function mirrors other deictic encoding at work in the text, and 3) to posit that these systems mirror some sort of deictic center inherent in narrative text in Dzongkha. I analyze several texts which come from an anthology of classic Bhutanese stories. The text demonstrates narrative surface encoding, but is underlyingly hortatory (Longacre 1983). I use the approach outlined by Rudolph (1988) for determining connective relations. In addition, I use the approach outlined by Mann and Thompson (1988) for determining the hierarchic nature of the text.

This study confirms that narratives encode an implicit deictic element. This deictic element is encoded in place, person, and time deictic elements. Somewhat uniquely, however, connectives in Dzongkha correlate with the distribution found in deictic elements. This is posited to be a function of the nature of narrative text and connective relations in Dzongkha. Events in the past are distant, and the semantic relations which join those events are mostly predetermined by the way the speaker views those events through time and distance. Quoted speech on the other hand is present, and the semantic relations which join those events are less predetermined and encode a variety of opinions and views. This distribution, however, is not obligatory, but rather is posited to be stylized for the view point particular to narrative-legend.

The Category of Tense in Manipuri
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Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages are mood prominent languages (Bhat 1999, Kansakar 2001). According to Bhat (1999), the criteria to determine the prominence of verbal categories are grammaticalization, obligatoriness, systemeticity and pervasiveness. Following Bhat’s criteria, Manipuri, a major TB language, is not a mood prominent language. Greater prominence to tense and aspect, rather than to mood, makes Manipuri typologically...
different from the languages of TB family. In this paper, I argue that the historic contact of Manipuri with Indo-European languages is the possible reason of this trend in Manipuri because Indo-European languages are either tense or aspect prominent, rather than mood prominent languages.

Deontic Modality System in Thakali
Narayan P Sharma
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This paper is an attempt to explore the deontic modality system in the Thakali language. There are four types of imperative markers. In hortative, the suffix <-dy> is affixed with the stem. The prohibitive prefix <-tha> precedes the verb stem in imperative but the negative prefix <-a> precedes the verb stem in hortative. The suffix <-le> can be attached to any imperative to make the order a bit softer and polite. We can find some specific honorific stems in Thakali but the majority of the verbs do not have different stems for honorific. Any verbs can be used for honorific speech by adding suffix <-la> within the stem as well as other separate stem <-cahy>.

Orthography issues in Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal
Anna Maria Hari

Though most of the TB languages in Nepal are still basically unwritten languages, in many groups some people have made individual attempts to write some things down. In those amateur attempts we generally observe that people are heavily leaning on the Tibetan orthography system. This especially concerns the representation of low register morphemes in those languages. The question arises whether an orthography modeled on Tibetan does justice to the phonological system of the language in question.

In pursuing this matter we will first look at the phonemic contrasts of Lhasa Tibetan, and then compare these with the phonemic systems of some of the TB languages of Nepal. In particular, I will be discussing Yohlimo (=Helambo Sherpa), Thakali, and Western Tamang, since these are the languages I have had most contact with.

In this brief presentation I will not be able to say anything about the vowel representation in those languages. We will concentrate on the consonants, since this is the area with the most knotty issues.

The Foregrounding, Defining, And Topicalizing Functions Of The Possessive Pronominal Clitic, “a-”, In Bahing Rai
Maureen Lee

The 3rd person singular possessive pronominal clitic, “a-”, is a very productive one that occurs frequently in the discourse of Bahing Rai, often in contexts in which its genitive value is obvious to the native-speaker, but not immediately so to the non-native speaker. Upon closer examination, it is found that this clitic, while retaining a default third person possessive pronominal sense, may sometimes have other accompanying functions.

This paper, a work still in progress, attempts to explore the pragmatic functions of this clitic, as well as the relationship between these functions and the clitic’s inherent genitive value.

Towards an Explanation of Diphthongization of Mid-vowels in Dangaura Tharu
Edward Daniel Boeltn

Diphthongization is a prominent phonological process in Dangaura Tharu, an Indo-Aryan language, spoken in the Inner Tarai and Tarai of Northwestern and Western Nepal. Specifically, the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/, in certain instances, are diphthongized to [a] and [ao] respectively, as in:

1a) [k'el.na] 'play' [k'ja.la] 'he/ she/ it played'
1b) [bol.na] 'speak' [bva.la] 'he/ she/ it spoke'
1c) [don.dram] 'in the cave' [dwai.dar] 'cave'
1d) [t'ek.na] 'waist' (used by men) [t'ja.kan] 'waist' (used by women)

(Note: The locative suffix is [-am])

In this brief sketch, a simplified lexical phonology framework, in conjunction with an autosegmental view of syllable structure and timing units, is used to demonstrate that the above instances of diphthongization are, in essence, special cases of compensatory lengthening. This lengthening is triggered by the addition of a vowel-initial suffix (1a & b) or a vowel infix (1c), which prompts resyllabification, leaving the first syllable open, that is, with an empty timing slot. This empty slot is then filled through diphthongization of the mid-vowel to fill two timing slots, the semi-vowel, [j], or [w], plus [a].

However, further complexity is encountered with mid-vowels in open syllables that apparently do not diphthongize, as well as cases of diphthongization in consonant-final monosyllable words:

2) [k'el.lu] 'I used to play' [k'ja.la] 'You (LGH) used to play'
   [k'el.lo] 'You (MGH) used to play' [k'ja.la] 'He, she/it (LGH) used to play'

Note: LGH = Low-grade honorific, MGH = Mid-grade honorific, HGH = High-grade honorific
Again a basic lexical phonology framework, with additional strata of vowel harmony (2) or suffix deletion (3), are proposed to explain the above data.

In addition, the diphthongization of mid-vowels is discussed in a cross-linguistic context, as similar processes are found in other Indo-Aryan and Indo-European languages. This raises the question: Why does diphthongization of mid-vowels often occur cross-linguistically as a sequence of /ai/ or /ia/ or vice versa? In answer to this question, a brief look at the merits of one dependency phonology account of diphthongization will be discussed in conclusion.

Language Shift in the Newar Communities of the Kathmandu Valley

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Newar or Nepal Bhasa is the language spoken in the Kathmandu valley since prehistoric times. The 2001 National Census reports there are 1.24 million Newars living in Nepal, half of who are in the Kathmandu valley. Newar has linguistically recognized as an important language belonging to the Himalayan subgroup of the Bodic languages with a literary tradition. About 66% of them speak Newar as their mother tongue while the rest have switched over to Nepali, the national language of Nepal.

This paper will attempt to examine the factors contributing to the language shift among the Newars living in the Kathmandu valley. With the narration of case studies it would identify the causes of language shift such as:

- Sanskritization
- Nepali-Only legislation
- The education system
- Religion
- Attitude of the native speakers

The second part of paper would present an overview of the current status of Newar after the dawn of democracy in 1990 and the implementation of new constitution that recognizes all languages of Nepal as languages of the nation while Nepali as national and official language. It would further investigate whether a tendency of reversing language shift has emerged because of a surge of use of Newar both on print and electronic media.

The meanings of the auxiliary verb māle in Newar

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In this presentation, I will take a deeper look at the usages of the auxiliary verb māle in Kathmandu Newar. The auxiliary verb is often described as meaning ‘to need to, to be necessary to’ or ‘must’ in the Newar-English dictionaries. When we give a careful examination in discourse, however, we will find out that it means more than those attested, and that even when they mean necessity or obligation, they differ depending on tense, aspect and modality. This point is well illustrated in the following examples:

1. cyā twane māla.
   tea drink.FC AUX.PD
   ‘I want to drink some tea.’ (desire)

2. a. burā-burki-pin-ta hane mā:
   elder.person-PL-DAT respect.FC AUX.ST
   ‘We must need to respect elder people.’(obligation/necessity)

b. pulis-yāta dhāte māli:
   police-DAT say.FC AUX.FD
   ‘We will have to tell the police.’ (obligation/necessity)

c. ji kanhac yē-e wane ma-ni
   1.ABS tomorrow kathmandu-L.O C go.FC AUX-still
   ‘I have to go to Kathmandu tomorrow.’ (obligation/necessity)

d. pokhara-e cha-ka wane māli:
   Pokhara-L.O C one-time go.FC AUX.FD
   ‘I think I will go to Pokhara once.’ (yet-to-be-determined future plan)

1 shows that the auxiliary verb can also mean desire, but this use of the auxiliary is more restricted than ‘want to’ in English, which, in Newar, often corresponds to vi:māste wa: or vi:gu māi do, all expressing ‘desire/hope’. In this presentation, for one thing, I will discuss the differences among the three expressions for desire/hope.

Secondly, I will discuss the differences among the three possible expressions ‘mā’, ‘māni’, and ‘māli’ when they express obligation/necessity meanings and describe how they are different from other expressions for obligation/necessity.

Finally, I will discuss about the verb forms shown by the auxiliary verb in terms of tense, aspect and modality as far as discussing the modality-oriented feature of Newar verb system.
On Phonemic Numeral māgha (329)

From the Early Licchavi Inscription of Cabahi
Kashinath Tamot

We have single inscription from Varman period (185-407) of Nepalese history. There are more than 200 inscriptions from Licchavi period (407-879). Among them inscription from Cabahi is the earliest according to Dhanavajya Vajracharya (22nd in H.R. Joshi, 1974, 12th in D.R. Regmi, 1983). But historians describe the inscription without having date and incomplete. Actually, the inscription is complete as it is and there is date māgha mentioned as phonemic numeral (Regmi, 1983) explains māgha as Jupiter’s month, which could not be so as the style of writing here. There are five types of numerals used in inscription and manuscripts to indicate the time of issue. Here is cited of year 329.

1. Syllabic numeral - ɪ (graphic, with one more stroke in ɪ) tha ʒo (300+20+9)
2. Phonemic numeral - m-ːa-ː-g-ːa (25+200+4+100)
3. Figure - Pronouncing word numeral:
   (Sanskrit): una-trimśa-uttara (or adhikta)
   tri-satam [(30-1) + (3 x 100)]
   Nepali: Tīna-saya unan-tīsa
   [(3 x 100) + (30-1)]
   Newari: sva-sah va hi-i-gu
   [(3 x 100) + (2 x 10) + 9]
4. Free word numeral- nīdi-nayana-agni
   [nine-eyes-fire]
   [923=329]
5. Figure numeral - 329[(3 x 100) + 20 + 9]

Plural Marker in Dhuli Khel Newari Dialect: A Comparative Study
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As a preliminary step, this paper is prepared based on my own collections of data. The object of presenting this paper is to show the use of plural marker in Dhuli Khel Newari dialect which is different from other dialects of Nepalbhasa. In this dialect the plurality is marked with the only one of the proto-plural morpheme */-pā/ without any change, suffixed to the animate nouns including kinship terms, pronouns, adjectives, participles, etc. even today.

A Typological Introduction to Lohorung
Tanka Prasad Neupane

Lohorung is a language of Rai-Kirant family as well as an ethnic group of Sankhuwasabha. The present paper is an attempt to highlight the habitation, population, genetic affiliation, phonology, morphosyntax, constituent order and genitive construction of the Lohorung.

Bridging Gaps in Translation: An Experience of Rendering Nepali Short Fiction into English

Dr. Govinda Raj Bhattarai

Translating literary texts is practically an impossible yet an unavoidable activity. It is the gaps or voids between two languages that render translating difficult, sometimes an impossible activity. The gaps are created by different factors. The present paper is an attempt to record some of the practical problems created by gaps of different sorts while Nepali shorter function into English.

Hindisation of Nepal?
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Language contact results in language change. 'Borrowing' as well call it, (perhaps, 'push' or 'pull' would justify the process better) takes place chiefly, either - (I) when there are no words to express a particular concept in a language, or (II) when the extant word can not express the concept entirely. The word entering in a language like this gains its full legitimacy in the language and is well assimilated. However, a word may also enter a language when there are not necessarily the above two conditions. In such a case the 'guest' enters the host language and may replace the counterpart 'host' that is rendered redundant by the presence of a new comer of equal status. There can not exist two words in a language that express exactly the same concept (the synonyms convey different shades of meaning).

Hindi and Nepali belong to the same language-family: Indo-Aryan. Because both the languages have Sanskrit as their progenitor and since both the language have plenty of lexical items which are exactly the same in the both the languages for many concepts, it is difficult to say categorically that a particular word is either only Hindi or only Nepali. However, there are differences at lexical level itself and phonological, morphological and syntactic level. That is why we have two different languages. And they are two different languages because of inherent differences in both of them. More than Nepali influencing Hindi, Hindi has been influencing Nepali (the reason for the phenomena is not the domain of the present paper). This paper will attempt to
show how Nepali is being affected by Hindi in phonological, lexical, morphological level and how in certain cases it is even replacing or pushing out Nepali forms.

The Notions of Subject and Topic in Newar
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Newar is one of the oldest Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman languages with an old written tradition. Although contemporary forms of the language have been analyzed and studied by various scholars and linguists, both native and foreign, the roles of 'subject' and 'topic' in Newar sentence structures have not received much attention. The category of subject denotes a particular grammatical function in a sentence, but in Newar the subject has no agreement control with the verb unless the nominal in the subject position is an agent or an actor. The notion of 'topic', on the other hand, is often recognized as a discourse-oriented identity and is therefore more difficult to define its properties. The basic question that is raised in this paper is whether the syntactic constructions in Newar are oriented more to topic relations than subject-predicate relation, i.e., can we argue for Newar as a topic-prominent rather than a subject-prominent language? This subject-topic relation in Newar supports the arguments put forward by Li & Thompson (1976:445-489) that a typological distinction can be made between languages with subject-predicate relations and topic-comment relations. The subject in this sense is a sentence-internal notion and topic a discourse notion with no selection relationship with the verb. Further, we can identify the case roles of nominal and non-nominal subjects in Newar as an agent, patient or active-experiencer subject and their relationship with the direct/indirect object nouns. Such grammar relations are a part of what Givon (1984:139) refers to as the "topic accession hierarchy" which is a ranking order of the various case-roles of subject or direct object as topics in discourse. The primary purpose of this paper, therefore, is to demonstrate that the subject-verb relationship in Newar is not well established as in subject-prominent languages like English and other Indo-European languages, and that semantic concepts such as topic and comment, theme and focus are of primary importance in the organization of its grammar. This may well be the case with the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal.

References


Personal Naming in Sherpas of Thame and Khumjung Valley of Khumbu region of Solu-Khumbu District, Sagarmatha zone
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The Sherpa language belongs to Tibetan language family. This paper deals with a personal naming in Sherpa community of Khumbu region of Solu-Khumbu district of Sagarmatha zone. Personal naming in Sherpa community is mainly based on the name of the days of the weeks. Nima (Sunday), Dawa (Monday), Mingma (Tuesday), Lhakpa (Wednesday), Phurba (Thursday), Pasang (Friday) and Pemba (Saturday). These names are common for male and female. Secondly, rumporche, "incarnated lama" or head lama of the monastery gives name on written form when child is in the womb. This is disclosed in the time of the name giving ceremony of the child. It is called phoming (pho-womb, ming-name). Thirdly, when first child died then an inauspicious name is given to the child by their parents. Lastly, religious name is given by the lama guru on the time of tapse - hair shaving ceremony. Second name of the community indicates the gender of the children.

Teaching of English for Science and Technology
(EST) with Reference to IOE
Dr. R.N. Khanal

This article is concerned with an application of ELT principles and procedures for specific purposes towards preparing a ground for devising an English curriculum for the Institutes of Engineering. This article covers two major aspects-English in the Nepalese context and an ESP approach for developing an ELT curriculum for engineering students.

In today's context of Nepal where English language is essential to learn scientific and technical skills and ideas, the emphasis on teaching English for engineering students is highly desirable. Without this language in the present context, the learning of engineering subjects is not possible. This language is essential not only for teaching and learning engineering knowledge and technology but also for engineering students to perform their jobs effectively in future. Without English in Nepal, the entire process of scientific and technical communication breaks down in the present context. The technical brilliance of the engineers remains unused and eventually it remains unnoticed and unappreciated without this language. In fact, the importance of English can hardly be exaggerated in the technical fields in the present context of the nation.
The realization of the importance of teaching English for scientific and technical purposes naturally inspires every one who is concerned with this problem to endeavour towards making teaching of this language at the technical institutes more useful, effective and efficient. The problem of developing a need based curriculum is very complex and demands a consideration on a number of factors connected with linguistics and language teaching/learning along with many other factors associated with educational principles and practices. At the same time, it demands considerations of the prevailing ELT situations at the educational institutes.

The present article stresses that the practice of developing a model English curriculum for the Institute of Engineering therefore should be based on a theoretical framework formulated through a study of relevant materials, and should be supported by the collective experience of the teachers and students in the Institute.

Causativization in Tamang

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There is only a system of causativization in Tamang which is applicable to all types of basic clauses. The construction can be formalized as following:

V-na + la
Verb-causative morpheme + do' verb
The construction is periphrastic one.

Spatial Deixies in Some Kirati Languages

Novel K. Rai

This paper is based on ten different Kirati languages from the eastern Nepal. They are Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling, Thulung, Chhintang, Wambule, Jero Koyu, Sunuwar and Limbu. Some verbs, cases and pronouns of these languages will be presented in order to show spatial deities marking. Some of the languages such as Bantawa, Chamling and Khaling are marked overtly and extensively and the rests are marked only in the verbs. the sample verbs are 'come' and 'bring' for this purpose.

Verb Agreement in the Languages of Nepal

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In this typology survey of languages spoken in Nepal we can classify the languages basically into two groups, viz. languages that have verb agreement and those that do not. Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Hzyolmu, Meche (endonym Bodo), Sherpa and Jire are the languages that do not have verb agreement. The rest of the languages have verb agreement of the type of the other. The languages that have verb agreement can be further classified into two groups. In the one there are languages that show Nominative-Accusative pattern, in the other there are languages with Ergative-Ablocative pattern. Standard Nepali, Churete, Majhi, Darai, Danuwari, Magar, Dhimal, Kusunda, Newar and its dialects like Pahari and Dolakha represent Nominative-Accusative split while the pattern found in Chamling and Nepali dialects of Darchula, Baitadi, Bajhang and Achham has Ergative-Absolutive split in a subset of data. Among these languages Magar, Dhimal and Kusunda show subject pronounalization, but Chamling possibly has complex pronounalization. If we follow Givon (1979, 1984) verb agreement of other languages could also represent historical development of pronounalization.

The rest of the languages in our data represent complex pronounalization. The languages that follow this pattern are Austroasiatic Satar (or Santal), Limbu, Tibeto-Burman Bantawa, Belhare, Athpare, Yampfu, Khaling, Yakkha, Thangmi, Chhiling and Indo-Aryan Maithili and Darai. Verb-agreement of Limbu and several other Kiranti languages noted above also shows the contrast of transitivity in that if the verb is intransitive, it is in the middle voice and if the verb is transitive, it is in the active voice.

Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali (dialects), Churaute, Majhi and Darai show difference of gender and honorificity in verb agreement. Some of the languages of this family like Danuwari and Rajbansi do not show contrast of gender. Maithili has gender distinction only in a subset of data, but it has developed honorificity with different intricacy and delicacy.

Verb agreement in the language of Nepal shows the interplay of different grammatical categories like number (singular, dual, plural), gender (feminine, nonfeminine), person (first, second and third), animacy hierarchy, participant roles, inclusiveness of the listener, honorificity, transitivity, ergativity, role played by postpositions, obligation, volitionality, reflexivity, reciprocity and other voice-categories like active-middle or active-passive paradigms. Maithili stands out in its verb agreement patterns dominated by pragmatic factors.

Verb Serialization in Nepali

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Nepali, the national language of Nepal shares some of the linguistic features with other Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages of the area. Verbal concatenation for predication and clause chaining is one of them. Nepali is remarkable in the use of verbs in sequence. Various Nepali tenses and aspects are expressed in combination with participles and auxiliary
verbs. Compound verbs are used to give additional meaning to the verb as predicates. The participles are also used for clause chaining.

This paper attempts to describe the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of Nepali verb serialization. In the first part of this paper a review of various earlier studies in verbal tense-aspect construction, compounding, clause chaining, verb serialization and converbal constructions will be made. The second part of the paper presents analysis of various types of verb serialization in Nepali and their morpho-syntactic and semantic features. The concluding part of the paper outlines the findings of the paper.

Tense System in Danuwar
Bhabendra Bhandari

This paper presents some Danuvari sentences collected from Kabhre. The paper attempts to analyze the tense system in Danuwar and the morphemes that mark tenses. Past and non-past tenses are marked by different suffixes in the verb stem. The paper will also summarize the findings.

Personal Pronouns in Koyu
Bhim Narayan Regmi

Koyu is a Kirati language. It is one of the endangered and undescribed languages of Nepal. It is spoken originally in Khotang district of Eastern Nepal and in Morang, Jhapa and Kathmandu districts by migrated peoples. As other Kirati languages, Koyu has three number-singular, dual and plural-system, inclusive and exclusive in dual and plural first person pronouns, two grades of honorific - honorific and non-honorific - in second person, three degrees of declination - proximate, distal and far distal, in third person (and demonstrative) pronouns, and one third person referential - pronouns. This paper presents a brief account of personal pronouns, in the Koyu language.

Negativization in Kumal
Bhim Lal Gautam
Trishob University

Kumal one of the minority languages of Nepal describes the following negativization process:
1. General Negative < -ni >
   For negation particle < -ni > is prefixed with the verb for general statements.
2. Special Negative < -jin >
   In all kinds of imperative expressions particle <jin > is added with the verb.

English in Nepal
Mohan Sitoula

The following major topics are dealt with in this discourse:
1. The First Nepali Beginners of English: Nepalese of various walks of life living in India, the British. Gorkha soldier, porters, watchman, students, teachers, writers, publishers and pilgrims working and roaming in India.
2. The Role of Non-Nepalese writers to bring English in Nepal: Christian missionaries, English diplomats, tourists, researchers and other writers, educationists and advisors.
3. The Bulk of English Produced by the Nepalese in Nepal:
   a. A Great Tradition and Development: Previous and later Government writings, Durbar H, School, TC College, Journals like 'Indreni' and individual efforts, Tribhuvan University and etc.
   b. English in Education
   c. English in the Literary Field
   d. English in the Fourth State of Nepal
   e. English in Translation Scenarios of Nepal
      I. In defense of Translation
      II. A Short History of Translation in Nepal
      III. Translation Abuses
4. English in the Miscellaneous Areas
5. Conclusion
6. Some Suggestions

The Process of Languages Acquisition and Language Loss:
the Case of Kusunda Speakers
Ingrid and Sueyoshi Toba

A mother of a young child told us how far her son replied: "I am not patient, I am baby." thus equating an adjective 'patient' with a noun. This is an illustrative example for the process of language acquisition, showing that nouns learnt first, later verbs and other parts of speech.

On the other hand, language loss processes in reverse order as we observed in the case of one Kusunda speaker who remembers only nouns while thirty years ago an old Kusunda man could give us many phrases and tell us a short story.

References:
Linguistic Research in Nepal so far
Sujoyo Toba

As I compiled Addenda to A Bibliography of Nepalese Languages and Linguistics (B.N.L.L.), I found out that so many thesis and dissertations have been out to say nothing about articles. It is good to note that many scholars and students have made a great effort to learn Nepalese languages and written down in a systematic way for the other linguists.

My attempt here is to show you what has been accomplished in language-wise as much as possible. Scholars who want to do field research will find which language and topic need more attention through this report. I hope that more linguists will engage in the linguistic work fresh from the living field. These are much to be done in Nepal. Then general linguists can do the comparative work as well as language universal research.

Relativization in Saptariya Tharu
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Tharu belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. The Tharu people who live in the Terai regions of Sunsari and Morang districts speak two different dialects: Saptariya Tharu and Morangiy Tharu. This paper describes the relativization in Saptariya Tharu as spoken in Sunsari district.

Saptariya Tharu is rich in relativization. Relative clauses in this dialect are two types: prenominal and postnominal. Prenominal clauses may be finite and non-finite, whereas postnominal clauses are only the finite. Demonstrative pronoun can be retained within the postnominal relative clauses. In surface structure prenominal relative clauses may occur as headless clauses. Only the relative pronouns may occur as relativizers.

This paper is divided into 6 sections: introduction in (1), positions of relatives clauses in (2), pronoun retention in (3), the occurrence of headless clauses in (4), relativizers:relative pronouns in (5) and conclusions in (6).

Endangered Language, Moribund Language, 'killer' Language ...
Vishnu S Rai

There are over 6000 languages in the world and over 100 languages in Nepal, and new languages are still being discovered. But statistics show that some 1500 languages have fewer than 1000 speakers. Languages are dying fast. It is estimated that 90% of the world language will be dead by 2100 if steps are not taken preserve and promote them. Languages in this respect, are classified as dead, endangered and 'killer' languages. We find all three kinds in Nepal. Languages should be preserved because they give us identity, foster culture, and help maintain bio-diversity. If a language dies a culture dies too, and it affects bio-diversity in the long run. Many languages are in the verge of extinction in Nepal. They should be and can be saved—a good language policy and planning is needed to serve this purpose. Nepal can learn from the languages policies adopted or being adopted in India, Turkey and Papua New Guinea. Languages can be preserved and promoted by providing them opportunity to be used, by making them medium of instructions in schools, by introducing bilingual education in schools, and so on. Nepal is a multilingual country, and its languages should be taken as an asset and not as a hindrance to the national development.

Relativization in Newar Syntax
Jyoti Pradhan

This study deals with relativization in terms of movement, position, copying and chopping of the head in Newar syntax.

There is no distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause found in Newar data. Relativization from movement if more common tendency evident in Newar expression. Both clause-initial and clause-medial positions of the relative pronoun are clearly evident. Chopping of the head is also clearly evident. So far as the tendency to copy, correlate and modifying the head is concerned, they are found used for emphatic expression. Regarding the presence of the head, the relative clause without a head is found common in Newar speech. The Newar data show relativization on possessives, finite as well as non-finite verbs. They also reflect embedded and adjoined relative clauses.

Awadhi Phonology
Vishwanath Pathak

Awadhi is a language of Indo-European Family of Indo-Aryan Subbranch. This language is spoken in India and Nepal. The language community of Awadhi lies between the community of Bhojpuri in east and Kinnauji in west. In Nepal, it extends from the Narayani river in the east to the Nepalese border in west and the Tharu and the Nepali language in North.
1. Phonology
2. Supra-segmental Phonemes
3. Morphophonemic Alternations
4. Features of Awadhi Phonology
Morphophonemics of the Bote Verbs

Kamal Paudel

Tribhuvan University

This paper discusses different types of morphophonemic alternations of the verbs when they undergo the affixation process, for example the verb khas is transformed into khat when it is followed by a verbal affix -tahi. In this, a- is changed into at-. We know this process as diphthongization.

Presidential Address

Yogendra P Yadava
President, Linguistic Society of Nepal

Honorable Vice-Chancellor and Chief Guest, Shree Naveen Prakash Jung Shah, Secretary-Treasurer, University Grants Commission
The Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Distinguished linguists and scholars
as the President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal for the dur
Ladies and Gentlemen:

2002-2003. With the support of its execution.
Let me first express my thanks to the LSN Assembly to elect me into the committee and other linguists, it will be, I hope, possible for us to sustain and consolidate the great. On behalf of the LSN, we take this opportunity to extend our tradition of this society and fulfill its mission.

Warm welcome to the Chief Guest, Honorable Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, Shree Naveen Prakash Jung Shah. Similarly, we would like to welcome University Grants Commission, the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, distinguished linguists and scholars. There will be 35 paper presenters and a sizable number of other participants. We very much appreciate their interest and enthusiasm in contributing to the success of this event in particular.

Since its inception in 1979, the LSN has been organizing its annual conferences uninterrupted and also occasional seminars and workshops. The Society has served as a forum for both the Nepalese and foreign linguists to articulate and discuss their findings in theoretical and applied research related to language and linguistics, esp. grounded in Nepalese context but with universal implications. For a broader and more lasting resource for the dissemination of knowledge, the LSN has so far published 19 volumes of its journal Nepalese Linguistics and one monograph, entitled Occasional Papers in Nepalese Linguistics as a supplement to the journal. We are glad that we could manage to bring out the improved issue of the journal with the generous offer made by a foremost publisher in Nepal, namely, Rama Pustak Bhandar.

The LSN has completed 22 years of its strenuous efforts in advocating the importance and utility of linguistic studies and promoting them. We note with great satisfaction that with the policy and interest of Tribhuvan University in incorporating fresh academic fields within its curricula, the Society succeeded in opening the Central Department of Linguistics (CDL) at the University campus, Kirtipur. The CDL, set up in 1996, has been functioning as a teaching-cum-research centre comprising its faculty of both native and foreign linguists, Master's and doctoral level students. In upgrading the programmes and activities of the Department, we have been receiving support from the Dean (HSS), CNAS, Faculty of Education (English), and, above all,
the senior linguists from Nepal and abroad. We are glad to inform you that our students have formed Kathmandu Linguistics Club to boost up linguistic activities and bring out Newsletter on regular basis. In addition, we are delighted to announce that Tribhuvan University has introduced the teaching of linguistics as a subject at B.A. Level. Initially, it has been launched at S.M.B. Campus, Rajbiraj and is to be extended to other campuses later. The teaching of linguistics already exists at Higher Secondary level; there are more than half a dozen institutions running this programme.

More recently, the linguistic community in Nepal as well as abroad has envisaged to enhance the scope of linguistic studies in tune with our national requirements. Some of the major agendas are the following:

1. **Linguistic Survey of Nepal**

The Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LINSUN) project proposes to identify and analyze Nepal's languages including details about their lexicon, grammar, variation, anthropological aspects, and other facts related to an interdisciplinary approach to research. The major significance of this project is as follows:

"While the ethnic groups of Nepal and their languages have been studied by foreign and national scholars alike for well over a century, it is only in the last decade that ethnic and linguistic sensitivities have risen to a national consciousness. Many within the Nepalese context are calling for the rights of ethnic and linguistic communities, but those in leadership are often unable to act even though the Constitution guarantees the right to mother tongue education for everyone. One problem is that much remains to be understood about the ethnic groups of Nepal and their languages: how many languages are spoken within their boundaries, how the speakers of these languages interrelate with one another and the broader national community, and how distinct the cultures and languages within a broad ethnic group are.

The fact that there are varying reports as to the number of languages spoken in Nepal highlights the need for a clearer understanding of the current picture. The recent census conducted by Central Bureau of Statistics, HMG (2001) lists 92 identified and some unidentified languages in Nepal. The 14th Edition of the Ethnologue (Grimes, 2000) suggests 125 languages......

In addition to the internal pressure within Nepal, the international community is concerned about the loss of diversity in the world's languages and cultures. All languages give us specific and unique expressions of human thought and social organization. However, it is predicted that many languages will cease to be spoken in this country, and many more in the following century given the current state of extinction. It is believed that there are many such language communities in Nepal. There is, therefore, a call from the international community to begin documenting languages which appear to be on the verge of extinction, and to do so before they and the cultures they signify are irretrievably lost." (Proposal for the Linguistic Survey of Nepal, p. 1)

The LINSUN project has just been conceived and efforts have been made to develop its organization and archive. In this regard we have so far received sufficient support and encouragement from both native and foreign linguists. Now, we intend to apprise Tribhuvan University, government agencies, ethnic/linguistic organizations, other related NGOs and INGOs. We hope to receive necessary cooperation from them in achieving the goals of this academic enterprise.

2. **Encyclopedia of Nepal's Languages**

In collaboration with some foreign linguists working on languages of this area, the Encyclopedia of Nepal's Languages project is going to be started very shortly to compile entries on languages spoken in this country. Initially, this project will focus on the described languages.

3. **Archive**

To assist both these projects, it has been proposed to develop an archive for housing published and unpublished materials on Nepal's languages. We would like to use this opportunity to extend our request to all linguists and scholars to contribute the materials in their possession or knowledge to develop this archive.

Apart from these endeavours, it is important to visualize the applications of linguistic expertise to practical fields such as basic education through mother tongue, literacy, translation, and the like to cope with our societal needs.

Conversely, linguistics can also benefit from disciplines such as information technology. This new field, called computational linguistics, can best be applied to Nepalese context to develop the database for undocumented languages and prepare their lexicon and grammar. In recent past we have tried to make ourselves familiar with this innovative device, esp. SHOEBOX programme. However, there is a need for a concerted effort to incorporate it in an integral part of linguistic studies. We have made some progress in getting over this demand.

This conference will, we hope, arouse immense interest in the discussions to be held in the academic sessions and stimulate interest in linguistics geared to the documentation of a large number of endangered languages in Nepal.

Once again, I would like to extend my welcome to the Chief Guest, distinguished dignitaries, linguists, and scholars. Above all, we are very much optimistic of our young colleagues and students who are to shoulder the responsibility of continuing and enriching the great tradition of linguistic studies in Nepal.

Thank you!
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