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PRONOMINAL POSSESSIVE AFFIXES IN
DARAI, MAJHI AND KUSUNDA

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This paper presents a typological survey of pronominal possessive affixes and genitive phrases in Darai, Majhi and Kusunda. Although pronominal possessive suffixes in Majhi are similar to those of Darai, there are variations in the meaning and use of these suffixes. Pronominal prefixes behave differently in Kusunda.¹

1 Head-marking and dependent-marking

Typologically, head-marking and dependent marking languages are widespread throughout the world. According to this cross-linguistic study, Nichols (1986) classifies the languages into head-marking, dependent-marking, double-marking and split-marking. Some of the languages which are head and (or) dependent-marked are Burushaski, Finnish, Hebrew, Turkish and so on. Nichols does not however mention any other languages from the Indo-Aryan (IA) language family which characterize this group.

In analyzing the universal grammar of head-marking and dependent marking, Nichols (1986:56) accounts for this phenomenon. She cites examples from English and Hungarian respectively to claim that languages are mainly either head-marking (1b) or dependent marking (1a).

¹ Darai, an Indo-Aryan (IA) language, is spoken in central and western Nepal in the districts of Chitwan, Tanahun and Nawalparasi. Similarly, Majhi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in Ramechhap and Sindhuli districts of eastern Nepal. Kusunda is a language isolate.

2 / Pronominal possessive...

- (1) a. the man- s house
'The man's house'
b. az ember haz-a
the man house-3SG
'the man's house' (Nichols 1986:62)

The syntactic relation between the possessor and possessum in these two examples (1a-b) is one and the same but the principles for marking that relation morphologically are opposed because in (1a), the dependent is marked whereas in (1b) the head is marked. As illustrated in (1-3), the dependency relations in the construction are between possessor and the possessed nouns.

2. Pronominal suffixes in Indo-Aryan languages

Grierson (1920) mentions that the pronominal possessive suffixes are present in a number of IA languages. He (1920:83-84) further comments:

In North-Western Indo-Aryan Vernaculars and Kashmiri pronominal suffixes are very common, but are unknown in the Midland proper. Thus, Lahanda *g^hərem* 'my house', *g^hərus* 'his house', Sindhi *pium* 'my father' *pius* 'his father'.... Assamese has *bap* 'father', *bo:pai* 'my father', *bapek* 'his father'....The use of pronominal suffixes with verbs has been preserved throughout all the Outer Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, and forms a prominent feature of conjugation, while it is entirely wanting in the Midland.²

² The term 'pronominal suffixes' are designated differently. Grierson (1920) calls them 'pronominal suffixes' whereas Dixon (2010) calls them 'pertensive, based on the Latin verb *peritinere* 'to belong'. Kroeger (2005) calls them possessive suffixes and adds that they are 'attached to the possessed nouns and indicate the

Peterson (2011:64) cites a case of Sadri language spoken in Jharkhanda in India and reports that pronominal possessive suffixes are used due to the intense contact with the Munda language. Unlike Peterson's claim (2011:63) this feature is characterized in a number of IA languages.³

3 Darai and Majhi

The head-marking on nouns or pronominal possessive suffixes are found in Darai and Majhi belonging to IA language family spoken in Nepal. Table (1) contains the personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, and pronominal suffixes. While they are suffixed to nouns exclusively to express kinship relation in Majhi, they are used to show all kinds of possession in Darai. The data used for this analysis on Majhi are from Bhatauli Village Development Committee of Ramechhap district and data for Darai are from different villages in the Chitwan district.

There are striking similarities between Darai pronominal possessive suffixes and their Majhi counterparts. They are alike in the first person singular, second person singular and third person singular. Although the form slightly differs in the third person plural, this pronominal suffix has initial *k*-. They are thus the same or very similar initial consonants. The pronominal possessive suffix is *-u* in Darai for the second

person and number of the possessor.' Kotapish and Kotapish (1975) call them 'pronominal possessive suffixes'.

³ L.K. Khubchandani pointed out that such pronominal suffixes are evident in Kashmiri. He further added that this might have resulted from contact with Tibeto-Burman languages (personal communication, 2007) when part of this paper was read at 13th International Himalayan Language Symposium at Indian Institute of Advanced Study at Shimla, India on 22-24 October 2007. I thank to Lachhman Khubchandani, J.C.Sharma, K. Nagaraja and Shova Satyarao for their comments on earlier draft of this paper.

person singular honorific which is not included in the table.

Table 1: Pronominal possessive suffixes

	Pronouns		Possessive pronouns		Pronominal suffixes	
	Darai	Majhi	Darai	Majhi	Darai	Majhi
1 SG	məi	məĩ	mə-rə	mə-rə	-m	-m
1 PL	hame	haĩ	ham-rə	ham-ro	-ə	-ə
2 SG	təi	tui	tə-rə	tə-rə	-r	-r
2 PL	təi-səb	tora-lə	terəsʌb-kə	toralə-ko	-ə	-ə
3 SG	u	hoi	uk ^h -rə	hok-rə	-k	-k
3 PL	u-səb	ho-lə	usəb-kə	holə-ko	-kan	-k ^h jan

The possessor of a possessed noun is identified either by a possessive pronoun preceding the noun or by a genitive suffix *-k* and *-r* attached to nouns or pronouns in both of these languages. The possessors end either in *-rə* or *-ro* in Majhi whereas they end in *-rə* Darai. Majhi thus has *-ə* or *-o* ending possessors whereas they end in *-ə* in Darai. The genitive markers on the nouns are identical in these two languages despite minor variations.

- (2) a. *merə b^haim*
 məi-rə b^hai-m
 I-GEN brother
 'my brother'
- b. *terə b^hair*
 təi-rə b^hai-r
 you-GEN brother-2SG.POSS
 'your brother'
- c. *ukrə b^haik*
 u-rə b^hai-k
 he-GEN brother-3SG.POSS
 'his brother'

In example (2a) the marker *-m* attaching to the noun *b^hai-* 'brother' agrees with its modifier *merə* 'my'. Similarly, in (2b-c) the pronominal suffixes *-r* and *-k* agree with their modifiers respectively. The agreement between the possessors and possessed is thus obligatory. The pronominal possessive suffixes behave in a similar way in Majhi (3).

- (3) a. *morə b^haem*
 məɪ-rə b^hai-m
 I-GEN brother-1SG.POSS
 'my brother'
- b. *torə b^haer*
 tui-rə b^hai-r
 you-GEN brother-2SG.POSS
 'your brother'
- c. *hokrə b^haek*
 hoi-rə b^hai-k
 he-GEN brother-3SG.POSS
 'his brother'

Although agreement between the possessor and possessed is obligatory the pronominal possessive suffixes are not always present in the phrases. Since these suffixes are often present in genitive construction, let's see how the genitive constructions are possible in Darai and Majhi.

3.1 Genitive phrases

A genitive phrase is also called the possessor phrase and the head noun is also called the possessee (Dryer 2007). Genitives precede the head noun in Darai, or a Darai genitive phrase consists of a noun or pronouns marked with the genitive followed by noun as in examples (2a), i.e. [N1 (PSR) GEN N2 (PSM)]. However, upon the close examination we see two other possible varieties. A genitive phrase also exhibits the pattern as in (3a-b), i.e. [N1 (PSR) GEN N2 (PSM) POSS]. In

other cases the genitive is formed only by marking on the head nouns (4c-d), i.e. [N (PSM) POSS].

- (4) a. *merə gaim*
 məi-rə gai-m
 I-GEN cow-1SG.POSS
 'my buffalo and cow'
- b. *merə gai*
 məi-rə *gai*
 I-GEN cow
 'my cow'
- c. *kanc^hi dulhirke*
 kanc^hi dulhi-r-ke
 young wife-2SG.POSS
 'your young wife'
- d. *bubak*
 buba-k
 father-3SG.POSS
 'his father'

We observe three patterns of genitive constructions. Firstly, the genitive precedes the head. For example, in (3b) *gai* 'cow' is preceded by the genitive modifier *merə* 'my' without any pronominal possessive suffix attached to the noun. The head noun is not marked with the pronominal suffix. Secondly, in (4b) genitive phrase consists of the head noun *gaim* 'my cow'. In this structure, the head noun is not only modified by the genitive modifier, but the pronominal suffix is also suffixed to the head noun. Thirdly, in several expressions such as examples (4a-b), the pronominal possessive suffixes are attached to the head nouns. The nouns alone suffixed with the possessive suffixes convey the meaning of the genitive phrase without any overt genitive modifier.

We find similar patterns in examples (5a-c) in Majhi. Example (5a) contains the genitive modifier followed by the head noun without pronominal suffix affixed to the head noun whereas (5b) contains the genitive phrase where the head noun is preceded by the genitive in addition to the pronominal possessive suffix affixed to the noun. Thirdly, in several expressions such as example (5c), the pronominal possessive suffixes are attached to the head noun without genitive modifiers. In fact, example (5c) is from a Majhi narrative.

- (5) a. *morə b^hai*
 məɽ-rə b^hai
 I-GEN brother
 'my brother'
- b. *morə b^haem*
 məɽ-rə b^hai-m
 I-GEN brother-1SG.POSS
 'my brother'
- c. *c^hwaik^hjan*
 c^hwai-k^hjan
 child-3PL.POSS
 'his children'

There are thus striking similarities between these languages not only the forms of pronominal possessive suffixes but also distinct roles of these suffixes in genitive phrases. Kotapish and Kotapish (1975:V) state, “a noted difference between Darai and Nepali and other Indo Aryan languages, and one of the highlights of Darai language is the pronominal cross reference markings found in both nouns and verbs. When ownership is expressed the cross reference is optionally marked”. This is a tall claim as there is another IA language in Nepal which characterizes this feature. In fact several IA

languages share this feature as pointed out by Grierson (1920).

4 Kusunda

Kusunda, a language isolate, also exhibits the pronominal prefixes. Watters et al. (2002:53) show that pronominal possessive prefixes are attached to show the possession as in (6). However, he does not mention whether these prefixes are attached to all kinds of possessions. The examples (6a-b) show that they are marked to show the possession. All examples in this section are from Watters et al. (2005).

- (6) a. *tsi-gimi*
 tsi-giimi
 1SG.POSS-money
 'my money'
- b. *nigimi*
 ni-gimi
 2SG.POSS-money
 'your money'

The first person singular pronoun is *tsi* 'I', and second person singular is *nu* 'you'. Examples (6) show that the forms of pronouns (only the first and second person singular) pronominal prefixes are used as pronominal possessive prefixes in Kusunda. Pokharel (2003:151) calls this 'pronominalization in the noun phrase structure'. Watters *et al* (2005) present at least three sorts of genitive phrases in Kusunda. First of all, a genitive phrase in Kusunda is possible without genitive preceding it as shown in (6), i.e. [POSS N(PSM)]. However, these prefixes are restricted to only the first and the second person pronouns. Secondly, the genitive phrases are also formed with the genitive modifier preceding the head noun as in (7b, 8b), i.e. [POSS N2 (PSM)].

- (7) a. *tsi-gimi* b. *tsi-yi gimi*
 tsi-gimi tsi-yi gimi
 1SG.POSS-money 1SG.POSS-GENmoney
 'my money' 'my money'
- (8) a. *nigimi* b. *niyi gimi*
 ni-gimi ni-yi gimi
 2SG.POSS-money 2SG-GEN money
 'your money' 'your money'

Unlike in Darai and Majhi, we do not have examples whether the genitive can be followed by the head noun with the pronominal possessive prefixes in Kusunda. In fact, this seems unlikely because the pronominal possessive prefix has overt similarity to the pronouns they are related. Thirdly, a genitive phrase also consists of the nouns marked with the genitive modifier followed by the head noun as in (9), i.e. [N1 (PSR) GEN N2 (PSM)]. In this case the genitive marker is *-e*.

- (9) a. *rame agəi*
 ram-e agəi
 Ram-GEN dog
 'Ram's dog'
- b. *twie gidəŋ*
 twi-e gidəŋ
 bee-GEN honey
 'Bee's honey'

5 Typological observations

While the pronominal affixes are suffixed in Majhi and Darai, they are prefixed in Kusunda. Some languages exhibit the alienable and inalienable distinctions to mark the possession (Dixon 2010; Castillo 1967). This distinction is not relevant in the languages presented in this analysis. Although some languages behave differently to mark the body parts and the

rest of the possession, this feature is not characterized in these languages either (see Dhakal 2011; Pokharel 2005; Watters *et al* 2005). There are several cases in which the possessive relationship is not marked at all in Kusunda. However, the possessive relationship is always marked in Darai and Majhi. This is summarized in Table 2. The features to mark the possession are from Dixon (2010: 267-271). While the pronominal affixes also appear in verb agreement in Darai (see Dhakal 2011) and Kusunda (Pokharel 2005), their role in verb morphology in Majhi is yet to be investigated.

Table 2: Noun phrase internal possessive construction

	Darai	Majhi	Kusunda
No marking	-	-	±
Morphological marker only on possessor	+	+	+
Morphological marker only on the possessed	+	+	+
Morphological marker both on possessor and possessed	+	+	-
What kind of items are marked ?	possessions of all kinds	only kinship terms	kinship terms and all sorts of possession

6 Summary

This article has examined the pronominal possessive affixes in Darai, Majhi and Kusunda. Darai and Majhi have pronominal possessive suffixes which are distinct from pronouns. Majhi stands out among these languages because the head-marking in it is limited only to the kinship terms. Kusunda stands out among these languages because the pronominal prefixes are found only for the first and the second person pronouns.

Abbreviations

- 1 first person
 2 second person
 3 third person

GEN	genitive
N	noun
N1	noun or pronoun
N2	head noun
PL	plural
POSS	pronominal affix
PSM	possessed noun/possessum
PSR	possessor
SG	singular

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ACOUSTIC ANALYSIS OF BALAMI NASAL CONSONANTS

Bhoj Raj Gautam

This paper presents the acoustic correlates of manner and place of articulation of the nasal consonants in the Balami language. The nasal formant or low F1, relatively wider bandwidths of formants, weaker amplitude of the higher formants and presence of anti-formants characterize the nasal manner of articulation. Formant frequency of the nasal formant, location of anti-formants in the frequency scale and the formant transitions are acoustic cues to the places of articulation of the nasal consonants.

1 Introduction

The term Balami is both an ethnonym and a glottonym. According to the Rastriya Balami Samaj (National Balami Society), the Balami people are scattered in about 21 districts of the country and the estimated population in Nepal is about 1,07,000. The major settlements of people are in the parts surrounding Kathmandu valley including Nuwakot, Dhading, Makanwapur and Sindhupalchok districts. They are also found in Kathmandu, Dolakha, Baglung, Kavre, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, and in a few scale in many other districts.

The Balami language is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal and it is genetically closer to the Newar language. The present study is based on the Balami spoken in the Kagati Gaun of Okharpouwa V.D.C. in Nuwakot district.

In Balami, there are four nasal consonant phonemes which belong to four places of articulation i.e. bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar, and the bilabial and alveolar places of articulation distinguish between modal voice vs. breathy voice distinctions. There are altogether six nasal consonant phonemes in the language.

2 Methodology

In the present study, a list of monosyllabic words with nasal consonant phonemes was collected and put in the utterance context so that the nasal phonemes occurred in the VCV context i.e. i-i, u-u, ʌ-ʌ and a-a contexts. The recording was done with the Sony ECM-MS908C Electret Condenser Microphone and EDIROL R09HR recorder. The target utterances were recorded with three male and two female speakers.

The acoustic categories in the analysis of the nasal phonemes are formant frequency, spectral slice comparison, oscillogram comparison and anti-formants and formant transitions. Formant frequency, spectral slices, and oscillograms characterize nasal manner of articulation while the anti-formants and formant transitions are the acoustic correlates of the place of articulation of the nasal consonants. The modal vs. breathy distinction is not covered in the study.

3 Nasal formants

Nasal sounds have the formants which are weaker in the amplitude and relatively wider in bandwidths. The first formant is low for all the nasal sounds because the total cavity length of pharyngeal, nasal and the oral cavities is longer than that for oral sounds. This low F1 with the highest amplitude is referred to as nasal formant or nasal murmur. The higher formants of the nasal consonants are weaker in amplitude because the airflow is impeded by a relatively narrow opening into the nasal cavity.

The measurement of the first three formant frequencies for the male and female speakers in average is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Average formant frequency values (in hertz) of the Balami nasal consonants in i-i context.

	Average (male speakers)			Average (female speakers)		
	F1	F2	F3	F1	F2	F3
[m]	314	1259	2715	324	1698	2575
[n]	346	1337	2851	353	1879	2610
[ɲ]	357	1077	2932	371	1640	2963
[ŋ]	384	1038	2530	375	1212	2363

Table 1 shows that the first formant is low for the all nasal consonants. The average F1 for male and female speakers is lower than 400 hertz. This low F1 is called the nasal formant and it is an important acoustic cue of the nasal sounds as a class. Furthermore, among the nasal consonants, the first formant is a bit lower for [m] than for [n] and lower for [n] than for [ɲ] and again lower for [ɲ] than for [ŋ] because there is progressively decreased volume for the oral cavity as the closure moves back in the mouth and the smaller the cavity the higher will be the resonances (Bordon & Harris, 1980). Here, F1 is an acoustic cue to the place of articulation of the nasal consonants.

In Table 1, the average first formant frequencies of the nasal consonants continuously increase as the place of constriction moves further back in the oral cavity. Furthermore, the second and third formants are also relatively lower in the frequency scale.

The spectrograms of the four Balami nasal consonants belonging to the four places of articulation are given in Figure 1.

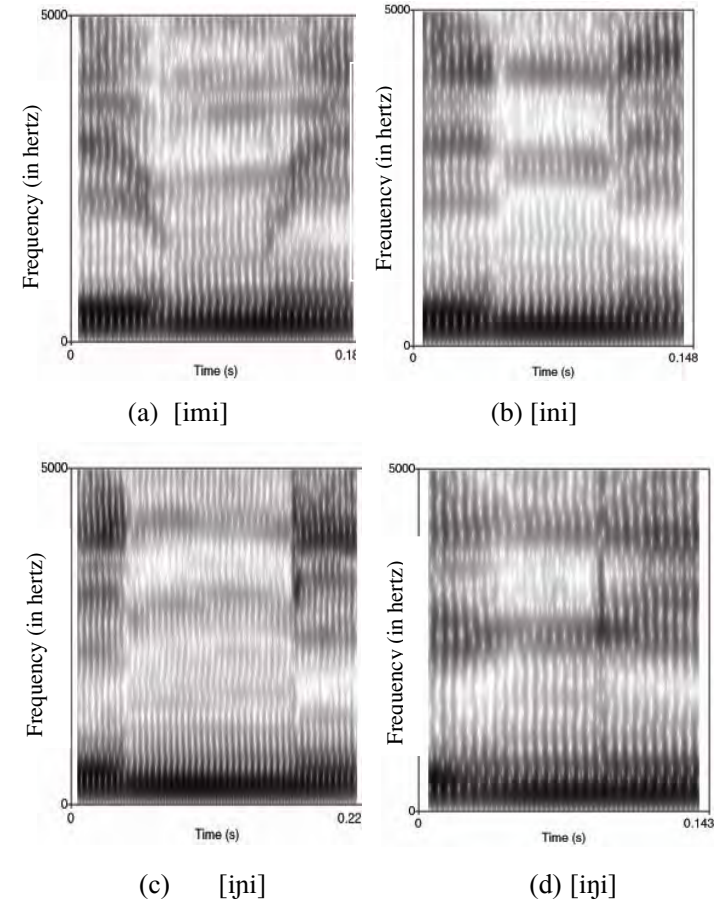


Figure 1: Spectrograms of Balami nasal consonants

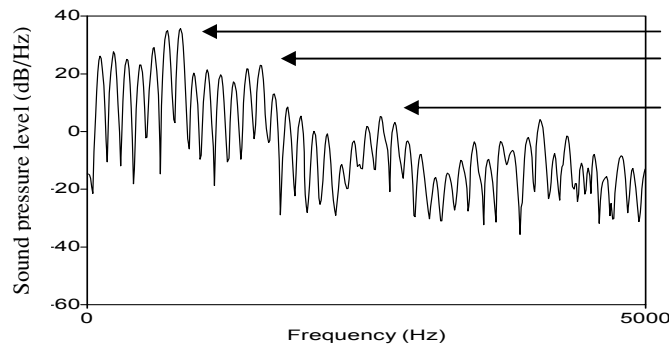
Spectrograms in figure1 show that the first formant is very low and it is the darkest among the formants of the nasal consonants. F1 is the formant with the highest amplitude for all the nasals because there will be an addition of the resonances below 500 Hz and the upper formants weaken due

to anti-resonances. In the spectrograms, the white areas are the anti-resonances.

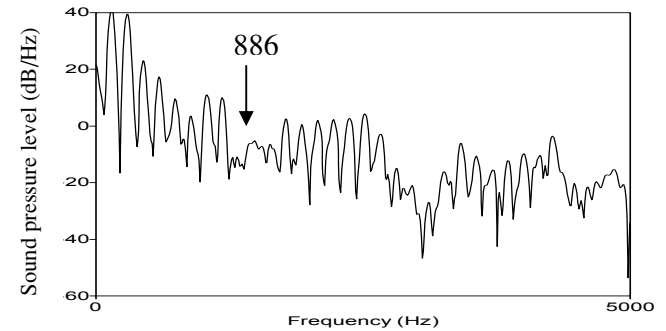
Figure 1 shows the amplitude of the formants of nasals is weaker than the amplitude of the formants of surrounding vowel [i] which is indicated by the relative darkness of the formants in the spectrograms. Likewise, the formant bandwidths of the nasal consonants are also wider compared to the bandwidth of the vowel [i]. This is because the sound energy is absorbed by the walls of both the oral and nasal cavities. Thus, low F1 with the highest amplitude, anti-resonances, wider formant bandwidths and formants with the relatively weaker amplitude are the sufficient acoustic cues to the nasal consonants as a separate class.

4 Spectral slice comparison: vowel [a] and nasal consonants

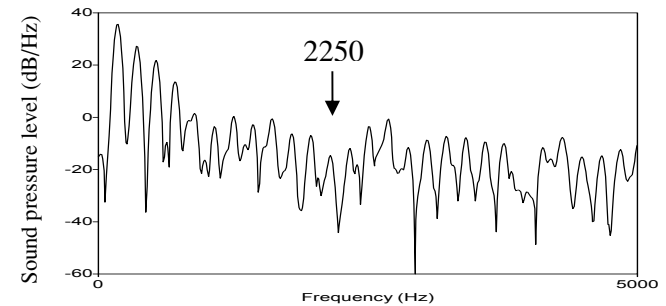
Vowels and the nasal consonants both are resonant sounds and they have the characteristic formant structure. The formants of these sounds are visible in the spectrum and in the spectrogram. But, the pattern of the formants in the vowels and nasal consonants differ significantly. Figure 2 shows the FFT spectra of the Balami vowel [a] and the four Balami nasal consonants.



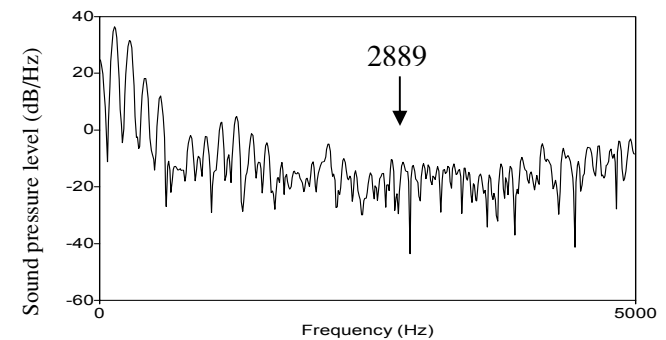
(a) [a]



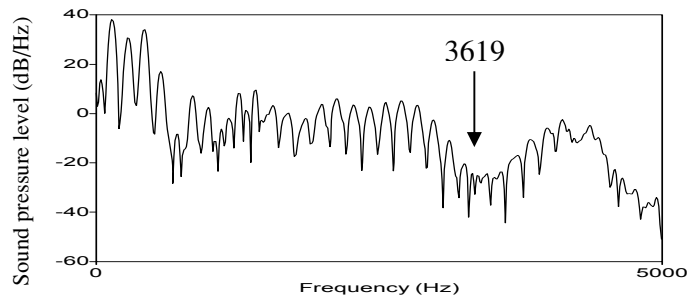
(b) [m]



(c) [n]



(d) [ɳ]



(e) [ŋ]

Figure 2: FFT spectra of vowel [a] and nasal consonants. The vertical arrows indicate the locations of anti-formants.

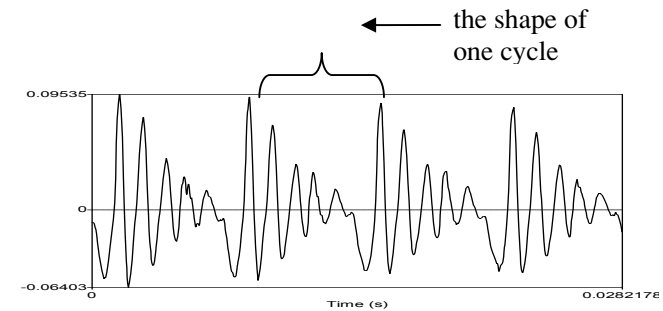
Figure 2 shows that the FFT spectra of the Balami vowel [a] have the characteristic formants which are indicated by horizontal arrows in (a). These formants determine the quality of the vowel [a]. But, the spectral slice of the nasal consonant shows that there are dips in the range of peaks in the spectrum. They are the anti-resonances or anti-formants. The anti-formants aren't present in the spectral slice of the vowel [a] where the spectral peaks are regularly distributed. It shows the formants are the acoustic cues of vowels while the anti-formants are the acoustic cues of nasal consonants.

The location of the anti-formants in the frequency scale is an important acoustic cue to the place of articulation of the nasal consonants. The bilabial nasal has the anti-formant located around 886 Hz while the alveolar, palatal and velar nasal have the first anti-formants around 2250 Hz, 2889 Hz and the 3619 Hz respectively. Here, bilabial nasal has the lowest anti-formant and velar nasal has the highest anti-formant. As the place of articulation of the nasal sound moves further back from the bilabial to alveolar, palatal and velar places of articulation, the resonating tube is gradually smaller. As the resonating tube becomes smaller, the natural resonant

frequencies of the resonating tube are gradually higher. The higher frequency resonances as one moves further back in the oral cavity cancels the similar resonances of the main tube and the locations of anti-formants for the nasals from bilabial to the velar place of articulation is gradually higher. Thus, the locations of anti-formants are important acoustic cues of the place of articulation of nasal consonants (Reetz & Jongman, 2009).

5 Oscillogram comparison: vowel [a] and nasal consonants

Vowels and nasal consonants both have the complex and the quasi-periodic waveforms. But, the waveforms of the vowel sound and the nasal consonants differ from each other in terms of the shape of cycles of the waveforms. Figure 3 shows the oscillograms of the Balami vowel [a] and the nasal consonants.



(a) [a]

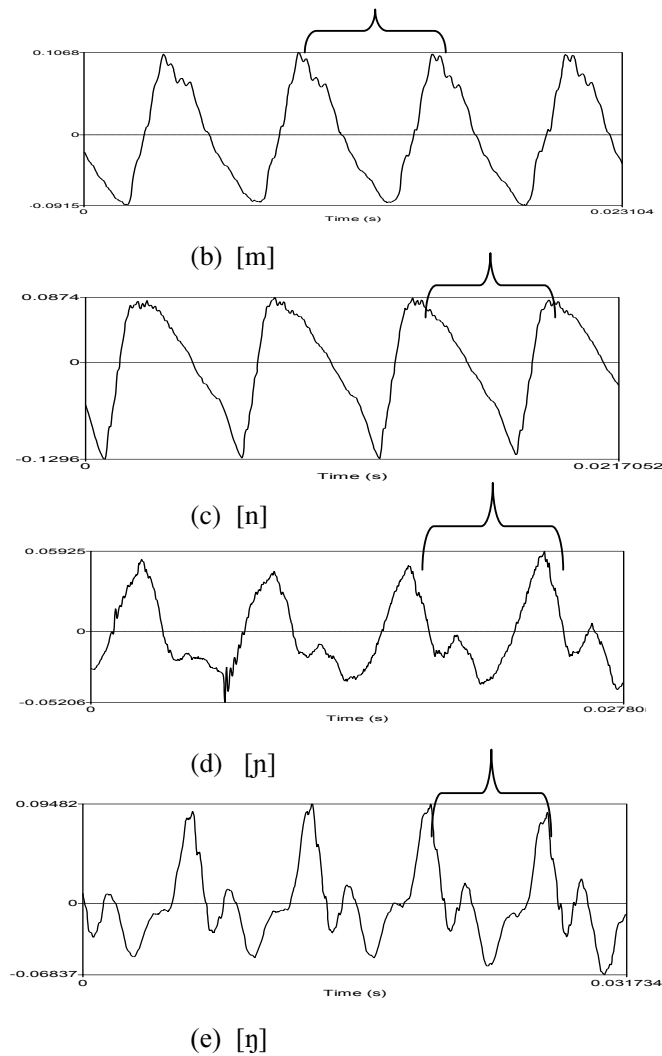


Figure 3: Oscillogram comparison of the Balami vowel and the nasal consonants.

The waveform of the sounds in the oscillogram in figure 3 shows that the shape of one cycle of the vowel [a] differs from the one cycle of the nasal consonants in many ways. The vowel [a] has many pointed peaks in one cycle of the oscillogram while nasal consonants have irregular peaks in one cycle. The vowel has peaks which are sharply pointed and the peaks are very narrower while the nasal consonants have very flat peaks and the peaks are wider. In the nasal consonants there are cut-outs in the waveform which are seen as steps in the ladder. In vowel, there are not such cut-outs and the energy is evenly distributed with the regular higher peaks.

6 Formant transitions

Along with the locations of anti-formants in the frequency scale, formant transition is an important acoustic cue to the place of articulation of nasal consonants.

Figure 4 shows the formant transitions of Balami nasal consonants in the spectrograms with the associated formant contours in the vowel context i-i.

The formant, especially the second formant transition is an acoustic cue to the place of nasal articulation. In the spectrogram of bilabial nasal in figure 4, the second formant of the preceding vowel which is 2465 Hz sharply falls from its steady-state position to the following bilabial nasal sound and again rises to the steady-state position of the following vowel. This falling transition is an acoustic cue to the bilabial place of articulation. In the spectrogram of alveolar nasal, the second formant rises from its steady-state position of the vowel [i] to the following nasal consonant and again sharply falls to the steady state position of vowel. The second formant of the palatal nasal is rising from its steady-state position to

the following palatal nasal and it again falls to the following vowel in the same manner. The rising transition in palatal nasal is not as sharp as in the alveolar nasal but it is greater than the formant transition in velar nasal. In the spectrogram of velar nasal, the second formant of the preceding vowel slightly rises from its steady-state position to the following velar nasal and again slightly falls for the following vowel. This slightly rising transition is an acoustic cue of the velar place of articulation. In addition to this, for velar nasal, F2 and F3 of the surrounding vowel come closer and this proximity is velar pinch.

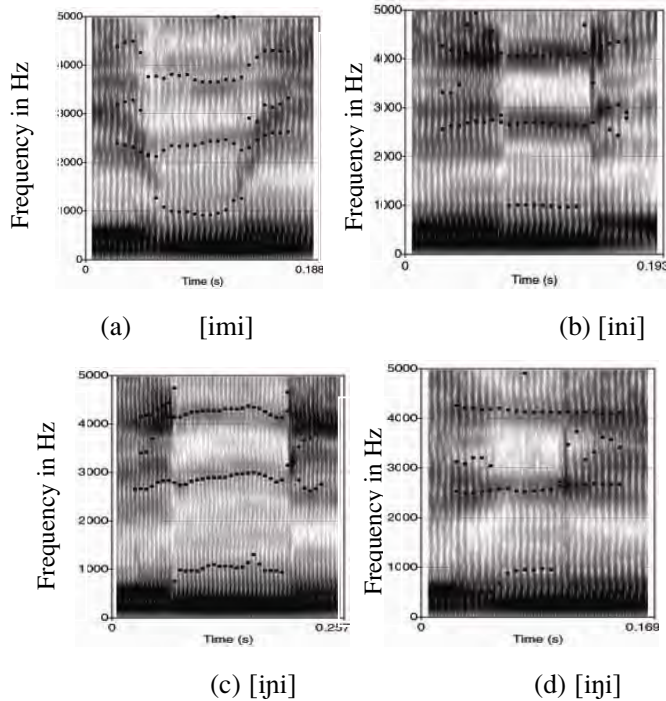


Figure 4: Formant transitions of Balami nasal consonants

7 Conclusion

In the acoustic analysis of the Balami nasal consonants, the nasal formant or F1, relatively wider bandwidth of formants, weaker amplitude of the higher formants and the presence of anti-formants are sufficient acoustic cues to the manner of articulation. Furthermore, the formant frequency of the nasal formant, locations of anti-formants in the frequency scale and the formant transitions are sufficient acoustic cues to the place of articulation of the nasal consonants. The first formant of the nasal consonants continuously increases as the place of constriction of the nasal sound moves further back in the oral cavity. Likewise, the location of anti-formants is gradually higher in frequency scale for the nasal consonants as the place of constriction moves further back in the oral cavity. The falling transition is the acoustic cue to bilabial place of articulation and the sharply rising to the slightly rising F2 transitions are acoustic cues to alveolar, palatal and velar places of articulation respectively.

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REPORTED SPEECH IN LAMJUNG YOLMO

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Lamjung Yolmo, like many Tibeto-Burman languages, has two strategies for reporting speech; a verb of saying and a reported speech particle. Although reported speech particles have been reported for many Tibeto-Burman languages they are often under-described. This paper gives a fuller description of the reported speech particle in Lamjung Yolmo.

1 Introduction

When reporting speech in Lamjung Yolmo¹, speakers have two strategies at their disposal. The first is to use a verb of saying *láp-*, the second is to use a reported speech particle *lò*. This is similar to many other Tibeto-Burman languages. This paper is divided into four sections. In the introduction I will briefly outline the language of Lamjung Yolmo. Next I will outline the existent literature on reported speech constructions in related Tibeto-Burman languages. In the third section I will show how the reported speech particle in Lamjung Yolmo is used and how it differs to the verb of saying. The final section will be the conclusion.

Lamjung Yolmo is an isolated dialect of the Yolmo language. It has been spoken in six villages in the Lamjung District in the west of Nepal since its speakers migrated from the Helambu and Melamchi Valley areas around 200 years ago (see Hari and Lama 2004 and Hari 2010 for a description of Melamchi Valley Yolmo). It retains strong lexical affinity with the Yolmo spoken in Melamchi Valley (Gawne 2010), however there are enough differences in key areas, including

¹ Yolmo is also known as Yohlmo, Hyolmo and Helambu Sherpa.

the copula system, for it to be worthwhile to analyse these dialects separately.

2 Background

In Tibeto-Burman languages there are often two reported speech constructions. The first is using a verb of saying, which is a strategy found in many of the world's language. The second is to use a reported speech marker or particle. This is an utterance final particle that has different syntactic and pragmatic features to constructions using a verb of saying. Frequently, languages with reported speech particles will employ a verb of saying construction as well. Reported speech particles occur often in the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman but they do occur in other branches of the Tibeto-Burman family as well; Matisoff (1982:377-380) describes a reported speech particle in Lahu, which is a member of the Lolo-Burmese branch of Tibeto-Burman, which is separate to Bodic (De Lancey 1990:72).

The reported speech particles in Tibeto-Burman languages are often small, unanalysable, clause final particles that have a different syntactic structure and pragmatic effect from more standard reported speech constructions. However despite the strong cross-linguistic similarity there appears to be no consistency in the description of the reported speech particle's function or relationship to other features of a language, such as the evidential system. van Driem called the reported speech particle in Limbu a subordinator (1987), and in his 1993 grammar of Dumi refers to the same structure as a hearsay evidential, most likely influenced by the Chafe and Nichols (1986) volume on evidentiality. These labels give them different relationships to the evidential system, however we don't know if this is actually reflected in the languages.

Genetti (2007:258) states that for Dolakha Newari the reported speech particle has evidential weight, while

Goldstein and Nornang (1978:164) for Tibetan and Hale and Shrestha (2006:218) for Kathmandu Newari refer to it as a “quotative particle” which reduces the semantic load by making no reference to an evidential system. Zeisler (2004:889-890) states the RS particle in Lhasa and Ladakhi requires the “appropriate evidential particle followed by the quote particle” which would indicate the evidential information is carried in the previous morpheme, but then puts them into the evidential category in a table on the very next page (:891). The most nuanced analysis of the relationship between the reported speech particle and the evidential system is Watters’ (1997:603) grammar of Kham, in which he explains that the reported speech particle reports hearsay “but makes no claim about the truth of the statement”, instead he argues that the mirative particle carries the inferential weight.

Another notable language with a reported speech particle is Nepali (Acharya 1991:183). As an Indo-Aryan language this makes Nepali unusual for its family, but it does mean that it patterns with areal neighbours. Like its Tibeto-Burman neighbours, the Nepali reported speech particle is a single unanalysable clause final particle, and Acharya analyses it as meaning something like “they say that.”

2 Reported speech in Lamjung Yolmo

Lamjung Yolmo has two reported speech strategies. The first is to use a verb of saying (VoS), the second is to use a reported speech (RS) particle. In this section I will first give a brief outline of the VoS constructions to show how they differ to RS particle constructions. I will then discuss the reported speech particle in more detail. This will include looking at the syntactic structure of reported speech constructions, the use of reported speech particles in naturalistic contexts and some manipulations of its usage.

2.1 Verb of saying (VoS)

The Lamjung Yolmo verb of saying (VoS) is *lâp*-² which is used in reported speech constructions:

- (1) *ɲà* =ki *nòm*o =ki *ɲà* *nàti* *lâp* -sin
 1s =GEN sister =ERG 1s ill say -PST
 ‘my sister said “I am sick”’ (AL 101013-01)³

Above we see a direct reported speech act, but the verb of saying can also be used with indirect reported speech as well:

- (2) *ɲà* =ki *nòm*o =ki *nàti* *dù*
 1s =GEN sister =ERG ill COP

 lâp -ti *lâp* -ku *dù*
 say -PERF say -IPFV COP
 ‘my sister said she is sick’ (AL 101013-01)

In the example above not only is there an indirect reported speech construction, but also a repetition of the VoS, which is another feature of reported speech constructions in Lamjung Yolmo. This has also been observed in Dolakha Newar

² Lamjung Yolmo has tone system with a binary tone distinction of high and low on the initial syllable of a word. This is presented in the orthography with acute and grave accents on the vowel of the initial syllable.

³ All examples given include references to the original data. The first two letters refer to the speaker, the number after refers to the file name. If the text is taken from a non-elicited naturalistic recording then the time code is also given in minutes and seconds. So this example is from speaker AL and the file is 101013-01. Examples with no file name were taken from natural conversation or unrecorded discussion.

(Genetti 2007:422). In elicited constructions speakers will often give the two verbs of saying, although this does not occur as frequently in more naturalistic utterances.

The VoS in naturalistic speech is often moved from the clause final position to before the reported speech:

- (3) lùndi lǎp -sin khé lú nèn jéé yè
 jackal say -PST 2s song sing know COP
 ‘the jackal said “you know how to sing”’
 (RL 101027-01 02:14)⁴

Often it is difficult to tell if a speech act is being reported directly or not. This is either the case because the reported speech act itself does not make this clear (as in example 4) or because Lamjung Yolmo speakers are prone to drop the subject if it is clear from context (as in example 5):

- (4) khó =ki táfi dèle lǎp -sin
 3s.m =ERG hello say -PST
 ‘he said “hello”’ (AL 101001-01)
- (5) mề- thúnj lǎp sinj dù
 NEG drink say PST -PST
 ‘(he said) “(I) don’t drink”’ (AL 101001-01)

2.2 Reported speech (RS) particle

The reported speech (RS) particle gives speakers of Lamjung Yolmo a second option for reporting speech. The reported speech particle is *lò*.

⁴ Lamjung Yolmo has optional ergativity, and as such the ergative marking is often not expressed in naturalistic speech.

The example below is taken from a naturalistic context. The speaker and a cousin were doing an activity placing picture cards into the order of a story. They were having a discussion about the exact nature of the task (which was deliberately left open-ended) and AL made to move the cards into a particular configuration while asserting that this was what the researcher (myself) had requested:

- (5) òodi pè -toŋ ló
 that do -IMP RS
 ‘please do that’ (she said) (AL 091108-01 38:40)

In this example we see several of the features of the RS particle that differ from the VoS. The first difference is that the RS particle does not conjugate like verbs do. Although it occurs in the same clause final location as verbs it does not conjugate for tense, aspect or mood.

The second difference is that the RS particle is always final. Although the examples of the VoS above all have the verb in the final position in the clause this is not always the case. As shown in example 3 above, in naturalistic speech it is common for the VoS to be brought up near the subject and then the reported speech component to be uttered after the verb. Although this is a common strategy for VoS it never happens with RS particles, which are always utterance final; another argument for treating them as a different category to verbs.

The third difference is that it does not require a subject. While we saw above that VoS does not always have an overt subject, the RS particle never takes a subject. Instead, the subject is always determined from context.

The reported speech that is being framed with the RS particle is indirectly reported. Of course, this is difficult to determine in situations where there is no indication, but in situations

where there are deictic elements these always reorient. So if a child said to their mother:

- (6) yíbi òŋ -ke
 grandmother come -PRES
 ‘grandmother is coming’ (RL)

Then the mother would report to her sister:

- (7) áma òŋ -ke ló
 mother come -PRES RS
 ‘mother is coming (she said)’ (AL 091108-01 38:40)

From this and other examples it appears that the RS particle is not intended as a verbatim quote marker, but to give the salient content of the original utterance, and to indicate that the speaker of the information is not the originator.

The RS particle thus functions as a reported evidential. As it must always point back to an original and specific speech act is not a hearsay particle as in van Driem’s (1993) analysis of Dumi, Genetti’s analysis of Dolakha Newar (2007:258) or Watters analysis of Kham (1997:603), or Nepali for that matter. In the example below the speaker reports that the food is tasty, not because they have eaten it, or because it is the general consensus, but because a friend had told them it was:

- (8) tó ʃimbu dù ló
 rice tasty COP RS
 ‘the rice is tasty’ (she said) (AL 110215-01 38:40)

It should be pointed out that speakers can still use the RS particle for their own speech, if that speech is reheard on something like a recording or read out from a letter. In this regard it is more like a perceptual evidential, which Aikhenvald (2004) notes can often be used in such situations.

In Lamjung Yolmo the majority of evidential distinctions are carried out in the copula system, as it is with Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Hari 2010). Thus the RS particle isn’t part of the evidential system in a narrow sense, but in a broader sense it allows speakers to make another distinction as to what evidence they are basing their utterance on.

There is still work to be done to ascertain what the discourse function of the RS particle is in Lamjung Yolmo. In discussions of reported speech there is often an assumption that marking these speech types indicates that the speaker is less certain of the reliability of the reported content. This is not always true, as Michel (2008:181) argues in relation to Nanti, an Arawak language spoken in the Peruvian Amazon. He argues that the use of a reported speech construction emphasizes the validity of an utterance.

This also appears to be the case in Lamjung Yolmo. At a wedding event the guests were being served dinner, and my friend said of me to the person serving:

- (9) ʃá mè- sà yè ló
 meat NEG- eat COP RS
 ‘she doesn’t eat rice’ (she said) (KL)

Here the use of the RS particle appears to validate the utterance, and prevents the appearance that my friend is preventing the person serving from giving me meat.

One interesting extended use that I have observed is in past tense utterances involving general facts. Lamjung Yolmo has a verb that is used for general facts *òŋ* - much like some uses of the Nepali verb *hunchha*. This general fact copula can only be used for present tense utterances. So if a speaker wanted to say that a person who is now dead was a good person, and that this was a generally known fact they would be unable to use

the general fact copula. Instead, speakers use the RS particle with the past tense copula:

- (10) kàpu yàabu yèke ló
 old.animate good COP.PST RS
 ‘that old man was a good man’ (they say) (VL 101224-01)

This is different to the other examples above as this does not require that the utterance relates to a recent utterance from a single person. Instead, the speech that is being reported is a more general “they said” or “it is said” type usage found in Nepali and other languages.

3 Summary

This paper has been an opportunity to present some initial findings on the reported speech particle in Lamjung Yolmo. I have shown how the RS particle is different to VoS constructions. It is different structurally in that the verb of saying requires a speaker as a subject but a reported speech particle requires that the speaker be inferred from context. It also appears to carry an evidential weight that is different to the hearsay or quotative analysis put forward for other Bodic languages. This study serves as a starting point for a further investigation into reported speech in Lamjung Yolmo (Gawne forthcoming), and hopefully as the interesting feature of Tibeto-Burman languages receives more attention it can also serve as a starting point for a more nuanced cross-linguistic comparison.

Abbreviations

1	First person	GEN	Genitive
2	Second person	IMP	Imperative
3	Third person	IPFV	Imperfective
AUX	Auxiliary	NEG	Negative
COP	Copula	PERF	Perfective
ERG	Ergative	PRES	Present

PST	Past tense	SG	Singular
RS	Reported speech part		

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IDEOLOGIES IN THE EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICIES OF NEPAL

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Though the pedagogical concerns appear at the surface, the underlying goal of educational language policies is to maintain (or challenge) the power relation in the society through ideologies. Nepal's educational language policies can be categorized as promoting assimilation or pluralism on the basis of underlying ideologies.

1 Introduction

Language policy entails legitimizing languages or language varieties in the domains of formal communication such as education, administration, media etc. It includes not just the regular patterns of choice, but also beliefs about choices and the values of varieties and of variants, and also, most saliently, the efforts made by some to change the choices and beliefs of others (Spolsky 2005:2152).

As a multidisciplinary subject, language policy is influenced by social, cultural, political and historical factors. Eagle (2008:170) suggests that to understand the intricacies of the language problems and the multilingual and multicultural make-up of the nation, several background factors need to be considered. She comments upon the sociolinguistic context of Nepal as geography and ecological variables, economic alternatives and limitations, migration of people, religion, social stratification and the political history of the region are all factors that directly impinge upon language issues in Nepal, both historically and at present.

Critical linguistics examines language policy as a subject of power distribution among the social groups. Tollefson (2002) states that the critical linguistics focuses on the study of language within its social, political and historical contexts with a primary concerns for (in) equality, linguistic

discrimination and language rights. Bourdieu (1989) assumes that the social groups attempt to gain power through language policies, because languages represent power symbolically.

Nepal's language policies in education can be categorized, basically, in two categories on the basis of ideologies behind them; assimilation and pluralism. Policies before the political change in 1990 were guided by assimilationist ideology, whereas pluralism is the underlying ideology for the policies after it.

This article discusses the influence of ideologies in the educational language policies of Nepal under the framework of critical linguistics.

2 Language ideologies

Language ideology represents the beliefs of people towards particular languages or language varieties and the value they assume for each of them. The members of a speech community share also a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, sometimes forming a consensual ideology, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it (Spolsky 2005:2153). Language practice of a speech community or individuals is guided by those values and beliefs. Which language or variety is to be used at home, in school or in public affairs are highly depended upon the belief of language users and the language goals of the state. People and the interest groups may support or oppose the existing language policies on the basis of the values and belief they assume to each language or variety. As Reisigl & Wodak (2009) explains that a particular language policy may work to maintain the existing social order and power distribution or may challenge it. So, most of the debates in language policy

are guided by the ideologies either to maintain the existing social order or to reverse it.

The assimilationist ideology is formed with an assumption that the national/social unity and integrity is possible if every member of the society is fully assimilated into the mainstream, whereas the pluralist ideology is constructed with the assumption that diversity is an asset and most of the social and political problem can be resolved if the state recognizes every language and culture. But, each ideology is constructed to consolidate power in one or another social group. Ideologies serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relation through discourse: for example, by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public sphere (Reisigl & Wodak 2009:88). Lawton (2008:84), with reference to the debates in the US between the proponents of English only movements and the pluralists, concludes that language policies can also be seen as ideological constructs that reflect and (re) produce the distribution of power within society.

Assimilationists support dominant language policies in order to attain social/national integrity and development. Attainment of integrity and development are the issues appeared on the surface. But, the hidden motive of this ideology is to establish a hierarchy of power, presenting a social group at the top of the hierarchy. Similarly, the ideology of diversity or pluralism demands social justice for everyone through policies. New policies are asked for maintaining language ecology and linguistic human rights. However, the guiding principle of this ideology is not only to challenge the existing policies but to reject the power relation. It attempts either to reverse the existing power relation or to restructure it into a horizontal order.

Pluralists support language policies for social justice through maintaining language ecology and ensuring linguistic human rights. Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar (2010) describe language

ecology as the intimate relation between language, knowledge and the environment throughout human history. Over generation, the indigenous/tribal, minority, and local societies have accumulated a wealth of wisdom about their environment and its functions, management, and sustainable use. Loss of a language is the loss of knowledge and the human civilization as well as the loss of environment. Hornberger & Holt (2008) relates the ecology of language to the study of multilingualism. It includes broad, dynamic and controversial approaches for investigating relationships between language and the social environment. The importance of language ecology is that languages evolve in the context of a social environment.

The ideology of pluralism contributes to preserve endangered languages and promote multilingualism. The language policy of mother tongue or multilingual education is advocated because it ensures equal access to quality education, linguistic rights of the minorities and maintains language ecology. But, the underlying force of the policies under pluralism is to challenge the existing power relation and demanding restructure in order to ensure social, economical and political power for the dominated groups.

3 Nepal's language policies in education

Most language matters in Nepal have not been planned; they have involved in response to historical circumstances (Eagle 2000:4). The educational language policies were also formed in response to social, political and historical demands. In order to address these demands, the policies took a shift along with the shift in socio-political and historical forces. Educational language policies of Nepal are found either supporting assimilation or pluralism in a broad sense. Policies

under the assimilation framework focus on majority languages such as Nepali as the sole medium of instruction and the subject as well as some major languages Maithili, Newari etc as subjects in higher education. But, the policies under pluralism framework encourage minority languages to be employed as instructional medium from the very beginning of formal education.

Many scholars criticize Nepal's language policies in education for neglecting minority languages (Yadav 1991; Yadav 1992; Awasthi 2004; Turin 2004; Yadava 2007 & Yadava et al. 2008) for a long time. The report of Nepal national education planning commission (NNEPC) was the manifestation of one language construct (Awasthi 2004). The report of All Round National Education Committee (ARNEC) and New Education System Plan (NESP) also favored Nepali as the sole medium of instruction for school education. NESP contributed to develop a linguistic nationalism in Nepal. Most of the educational language policies developed during the Panchayat regime focused on the use of Nepali and proclaimed linguistic nationalism. The Nepali language became a part of the nationalistic movement across the country (Awasthi 2004). Arguments for Nepali as the principle language of education are given as it is a common language and many students can understand it as well as it promotes national identity and integrity. But, one may find different underlying motives in these policies. The goal of the policies was not limited to use a common language in education for pedagogical convenience, but could be extended to promote assimilation, which assumed to incorporate all language groups into a single entity as a process of Nepalization. It could maintain the ruling elites at the top of power hierarchy and places other social groups under them. So, most of the policy debates in educational language policies go beyond pedagogical concerns and are guided by ideologies.

The first modern school of Nepal was an English medium school. English was neither the mother tongue of the ruling

Ranas nor was it a dominant language in Nepali society. The choice of English in education had direct significance to the power relation in Nepali society. English education might prepare a group of elites different from ordinary people. Promotion of Nepali as the sole medium of instruction and the demands of mother tongue instruction could be analyzed as the outcome of the struggles for power structure as Tollefson (2002) states that conflicts about language policy usually have their source in group conflicts in which language symbolizes some aspect of a struggle over political power and economic resources.

The constitution of Nepal (1990) recognized minority languages and ensured the rights of people to preserve and promote their languages and script. This spirit of the constitution was reflected in the reports of National education commission (NEC) and National languages policy recommendation commission (NLPRC) which recommended the government for mother tongue education. Mother tongue instruction has been accepted as a tool to achieve the goals of Education for all (EFA). The education act has been amended to allow mother tongues as the instructional medium. Nepal's national framework of EFA and the national curriculum have focused on the use of mother tongues in education.

These efforts are to promote multilingualism in the country. Two major arguments have been given for multilingualism in education; improving the quality of education and ensuring the linguistic rights. But a critical observation discovers a motive behind the demands of multilingualism or mother tongues in education as a struggle for power structure. The newly emerged power groups want to secure their position higher in the power hierarchy. It is evident from the lack of sufficient mother tongue schools in the country even after

twenty years of constitutional declaration. Shrestha & Hoek (1995) express dissatisfaction towards the development of mother tongue schools after 1990 as in spite of political demand there is little response to the mother tongue schools even for Newari, which is a rich language. English medium private schools are mushrooming but not the satisfactory expansion of mother tongue schools. Mother tongue-based multilingual (MTB MLE) education program began in 2006 and 63 MLE schools are expected now through cascading. But there are only 21 MLE schools' operating in the country.

4 Summary

Nepal has been a multilingual country since the pre-modern era. But, its language policies in education differ, significantly, in their priorities regarding the use of languages in education. The first modern school of Nepal had employed English as medium of instruction. Later, Nepali became the prominent language of instruction and, finally, the policies have given importance to the mother tongues in education.

Educational language policies have been constructed with pedagogical agendas at the surface and ideological concerns at the underlying level. The underlying concerns are more powerful to shape the policies and their priorities. Because of the ideological influences, the policies have become a battlefield among the rival groups for power sharing and the pedagogical concerns remain ineffective. The group at the top of the power hierarchy works to maintain the existing policies. However, the groups that are below on the hierarchy always challenge the policies intending power restructure. Lack of progress in the expansion of mother tongue schools or the multilingual education program is the evidence to argue that educational language policies in Nepal are merely the ideological battlefields.

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TENSE SYSTEM IN DHIMAL

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This paper discusses the tense system in the Dhimal language. Dhimal language exhibits three way contrast of tense, viz. past, present and future. Unlike many Tibeto-Burman languages; morphological future tense in Dhimal is an interesting phenomenon.

1 Background

Dhimal is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by the Dhimal people residing in the far eastern terai region of Nepal. The main settlement of Dhimal is in Jhapa and Morang districts. Some Dhimals are also found in the west Bengal of India (Cooper, 1999). According to the census report of Nepal (2001) the total number of Dhimal is 17308. King (2008) reports the number to exceed 20000. Dhimal language has two mutually intelligible dialects separated by the Kankai river in Jhapa district (King, 1994). Pronominalization is one of the characteristics of Dhimal; though it is a simple pronominalized language (Khatiwada, 2003, King, 2008). This paper deals with the tense system of the western dialect of the Dhimal language.

2 Tense

Dhimal language possesses a morphological distinction among past, present and future tenses (Khatiwada 1999a). Dhimal verbs are inflected to indicate these three tenses by means of different tense marking morphemes. The distinction among *ca-kha* '(I) eat', *ca-gha* '(I) ate' and *caŋ-ka* '(I) shall eat' is of three tenses. The past tense refers to the situation prior to the present moment and the future tense refers to the situation after the present moment. The situation in the present moment is indicated by the present tense marking suffix *-khe*. The tense system in Dhimal is described below:

2.1 Present tense

The basic meaning of the present tense is the location of the situation or event at the present moment. "A more characteristic use of the present tense is in referring to situations which occupy a much longer period of time than the present moment, but which nonetheless includes the present moment within them" (Comrie 1985:37).

The structure of the finite verb form that denotes present tense is:

Stem + (number marker (+ tense marker (*-khe*)) + (Pronominal suffix), e.g.,

- (1) a. *wa um ca-khe*
3SG rice eat-PRS
'He eats rice.'
- b. *obalai um ca-khe*
3PL rice eat-PRS
'They eat rice.'

The examples (1a, b) represent the structure: stem + tense marker, which is the basic structure of the present tense. The third person forms are not marked for person and number agreement.

- (2) a. *na um ca-khe-na*
2SG rice eat-PRS-2SG
'You eat rice.'
- b. *nidhiŋ um ca-khe-niŋ*
2 DU rice eat-PRS-2DU
'You (two) eat rice.'
- c. *nelai um ca-su-khe-na*
2PL rice eat-2PL- PRS -2
'You eat rice.'

The second person forms (2a, b, c) show the structure Stem + tense marker + personal ending i.e. singular and dual forms. The second person plural form takes the plural marker *-su-* immediately after the verb stem (see 2c). The examples for first person forms are as follows.

- (3) a. *ka um ca-kha (ca-khe-ka)*
1 SG rice eat- PRS.1 SG
'I eat rice.'
- b. *kidhiŋ um ca-khe-niŋ*
1 DU rice eat- PRS - DU
'We (two) eat rice.'
- c. *kelai um ca-nha-khe*
1PL rice eat-1PL- PRS
'We eat rice.'

The structure for the first person singular and dual form is: Stem + tense marker + personal endings.¹ The dual forms for the first person and second persons are alike (Compare 2b and 3b).

The first person plural form is distinct from other forms. It is not marked for person but has taken plural marker *-nha* followed by the tense marker (see 3c). The paradigm for the present tense is given in table 1.

Table 1: Present tense paradigms

Number→ Person↓	singular	Dual	Plural
3	Σ -khe	Σ -khe	Σ -khe
2	Σ -khe-na	Σ -khe-niŋ	Σ -su-khe-na
1	Σ -kha	Σ -khe-niŋ	Σ -nha-khe

¹ The present tense morpheme *-khe* and personal suffix for first person singular form *-ka* are reduced to *-kha*.

The Σ slot in the paradigms above can be occupied by any primitive, derivative or complex verb stem.

2.1.1 Use of the present tense

The simple present tense is a mixture of temporal / aspectual situation. It is also used to report the habitual action in the present, e.g.,

- (4) a. *wa dzelauselau ita lo-khe*
3SG sometimes here come- PRS
'He comes here sometimes.'
- b. *ka dinaj hate hane-kha*
1 SG everyday market go- PRS.1 SG
'I go to market everyday.'

Present tense forms can also be used to narrate a situation. It can be referred to as the narrative present.

2.2 Past tense

The past tense locates the situation prior to the present moment (Comrie 1985). The past tense in Dhimal is marked by the suffix *-hi*, which is reduced as breathiness in the following pronominal suffixes in case of the first person singular, dual and second person singular, dual and plural paradigms. The third person forms and first person plural form show the tense marker as it is. The structure of the past tense verb form is:

Stem + (number marker) + (tense marker (*-hi*)) + (pronominal suffix), e.g.,

- (5) a. *wa um ca-hi*
3SG rice eat-PST
'He ate rice.'

- b. *odhinhemi um ca-hi*
3DU rice eat-PST
'They (two) ate rice.'
- c. *obalai um ca-hi*
3PL rice eat-PST
'They ate rice.'

The third person verb forms (5a,b,c) show the basic structure of the past tense.

- (6) a. *na um ca-nha (ca-hi-na)*
2 SG rice eat-PST.2
'You ate rice.'
- b. *nidhiy um ca-nhiy (ca-hi-niy)*
2 DU rice eat-PST. DU
'You ate rice.'
- c. *nelai um ca-su-nha (ca-su-hi-na)*
2PL rice eat-2P-PST.2
'You ate rice.'

The second person verb forms (6a,b,c) show the past tense marker *-hi*, realized as breathiness in the following person markers.²

- (7) a. *ka um ca-gha (ca-hi-ka)*
1 SG rice eat-PST.1SG
'I ate rice.'
- b. *kidhiy um ca-nhiy (ca-hi-niy)*
1DU rice eat-PST.DU
'We (two) ate rice.'

² The tense marker and the personal suffixes are separated, and are given in the bracket wherever necessary.

- c. *kelai um ca-nha-hi*
1PL rice eat-1PL-PST
'We ate rice.'

The first person singular form of the past tense *-gha* is the result of breathiness of the *-hi-* in the following person marker *-ka* as in (7a).

The dual forms for the first person and the second person are alike, though the personal pronouns are different as in (6b) and (7b).

The first person plural form for the past tense shows the structure:

Stem + plural marker + past tense morpheme, e.g.,

- (8) a. *ca-nha-hi*
eat-1PL-PST
'We ate.'
- b. *khar-nha-hi*
weep-1PL-PST
'We wept.'

The following table shows the paradigm for the past tense.

Table 2: Past tense paradigms

Number→ Person ↓	Singular	Dual	Plural
3	Σ -hi- ϕ	Σ -hi- ϕ	Σ -hi- ϕ
2	Σ -nha(hi-na)	Σ -nhiy(hi-niy)	Σ -su-nha (hi-na)
1	Σ -gha(hi-ka)	Σ -nhiy(hi-niy)	Σ -nha-hi

The past tense forms for the verb *pi* 'give' are as follows:

- (9) *wa/ obalai ka-seheṅ taka pi-hi*
 3SG/3PL 1SG -DAT rupees give-PST
 'He/they gave me rupees.'
- (10) *na ka-seheṅ taka pi-nha*
 2 SG 1SG-DAT rupee give-PST.2SG
 'You gave me rupees.'
- (11) *nidhiṅ ka-seheṅ kələm pi-nhiṅ*
 2DU 1SG-DAT pen give-PST.DU
 'You gave me a pen.'
- (12) *nelai ka-seheṅ kələm pi-su-nha*
 2PL 1SG-DAT pen give-2PL-PST.2
 'You gave me a pen.'
- (13) *ka wa-seheṅ dhaba pi-gha*
 1SG 3S-DAT clothes give-PST.1SG
 'I gave him clothes.'
- (14) *kidhiṅ na-seheṅ dhaba pi-nhiṅ*
 1DU 2-DAT clothes give-PST.DU
 'We gave you clothes.'
- (15) *kelai nelai-heṅ dhaba pi-nha-hi*
 1PL 2PL-DAT clothes give-1PL-PST
 'We gave you clothes.'

2.3 Future tense

The future tense, in Dhimal, indicates the situation after the present moment. The structure of the future tense form is: Stem + (number marker) + future tense marker (-aṅ) + (pronominal suffixes). Futurity in Dhimal is marked by the suffix -aṅ which is sometimes realized as -a and sometimes as -ϕ. The allomorphic variations of -aṅ are summarized in (16).

- (16) aṅ → a / C – {n/w }
 b. aṅ → ϕ / a- {n/w }

The paradigm for the future tense and person/number agreement is given in table 3.

Table 3: Future tense paradigms

Number → Person ↓	Singular	Dual	Plural
3	Σ-aṅ /-a-wa	Σ- aṅ/-a-wa	Σ-aṅ/-a-wa
2	Σ-a-na (aṅ-na)	Σ-a-niṅ (aṅ-niṅ)	Σ-su-a-na (aṅ-na)
1	Σ-aṅ-ka	Σ-a-niṅ (aṅ-niṅ)	Σ-aṅ

Unlike the present and past paradigms the third person paradigm for the future tense has two forms. These forms are used according to the certainty of the action, e.g.,

- (17) a. *wa um ca-ṅ*
 3S rice eat-FUT (Certain)
 'He will eat rice certainly.'
- b. *wa um ca-wa (ca-aṅ-wa)*
 3SG rice eat-FUT (uncertain)
 'He will eat rice (may be).'
- c. *obalai khar-aṅ*
 3PL weep-FUT
 'They will weep certainly.'
- d. *obalai khar-a-wa*
 3PL weep-FUT-3 (uncertain)
 'They will weep (may be).'

The sentences (17a, c) denote that the speaker is certain that the action will be completed in future whereas, (b, d) express

only the possibility. In this case the suffix *-wa* resembles the third person singular pronoun and can be stated as pronominal suffix.

The second person paradigms differ from other forms i.e. the tense marker is realized according to the rule stated in (16).

- (18) a. *na gora am-a-na (am-aŋ-na)*
 2SG wine drink-FUT-2
 'You shall drink wine.'
- b. *nidhiŋ gora am-a-niŋ*
 2DU wine drink-FUT-D
 'You shall drink wine.'
- c. *nelai gora am-su-a-na*
 2PL wine drink-2PL-FUT-2
 'You shall drink wine.'

In the examples (18a-c), the future tense morpheme *-aŋ* has been realized as *-a* before the alveolar nasal. The second person plural marking suffix *-su* precedes the tense marker. The first person future forms can be shown as in (19).

- (19) a. *ka gora am-aŋ-ka*
 1SG wine drink-FUT-1SG
 'I shall drink wine.'
- b. *kidhiŋ gora am-a-niŋ*
 1DU wine drink-FUT-DU
 'We shall drink wine.'
- c. *kelai gora am-aŋ*
 1PL wine drink-FUT
 'We shall drink wine.'

The first person dual form resembles the second person dual (Compare 18b and 19b).

The first person plural form in the future tense differs from the present and past form in the way that the first person plural marker *-nha* is not found here.

- (20) *kelai gora am-nha-khe*
 1PL wine drink-1PL-PRS
 'We drink wine.'
- (21) *kelai gora am-nha-hi*
 1PL wine drink-1PL-PST
 'We drank wine.'
- (22) *kelai gora am-aŋ*
 1PL wine drink-FUT
 'We shall drink wine.'

Unlike the present and past forms (20-21) the future form (22) is not marked for the number agreement.

The inflection of the verb *te-* 'walk' with the first, second and third person pronominal subjects are as given in (23-25).

- (23) a. *ka tyaŋka*
ka te-aŋ-ka
 1SG walk-FUT-1SG
 'I shall walk.'
- b. *kidhiŋ tyaniŋ*
kidhiŋ te-aŋ-niŋ
 1DU walk-FUT-DU
 'We (two) shall walk.'
- c. *kelai tyaŋ*
kelai te-aŋ
 1PL walk-FUT
 'We shall walk.'
- (24) a. *na tyana*
na te-aŋ-na
 2SG walk-FUT-2
 'You shall walk.'

- b. *nidhiṅ tyaniṅ*
nidhiṅ te-aṅ-niṅ
 2 DU walk-FUT-DU
 'You shall walk.'
- c. *nelai te-su-a-na*
 2PL walk-2PL-FUT-2
 'You shall walk.'
- (25) a. *wa tyaṅ*
wa te-aṅ
 3SG walk-FUT
 'He will walk.'
- b. *odhinhemi tyaṅ*
odhinhemi te-aṅ
 3DU walk-FUT
 'They will walk.'
- c. *obalai tyaṅ*
obalai te-aṅ
 3PL walk-FUT
 'They will walk.'

4. Summary

Tense system in Dhimal shows the three way contrast, namely, present, past and future marked by the suffixes *-khe*, *-i* and *-aṅ* respectively. The pronominal suffixes and tense marking suffixes are sometimes reduced to a single syllable. There are different finite and non-finite verbal suffixes.

Abbreviations

1	First person	2DU	Second person dual
1SG	First person singular	2PL	Second person plural
1DU	First person dual	3SG	Third person singular
1PL	First person plural	3DU	Third person dual
2	Second person	3PL	Third person plural
2SG	Second person singular	PRS	Present

PST	Past	DAT	Dative
FUT	Future	GEN	Genitive

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NOTES ON THE RAJI VERBS

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Verbs in Raji contain a verb stem preceded by a prohibitive marker and usually followed by several other suffixes like aspect, tense, mood, agreement and negation. The personal pronouns representing the subject (in intransitive and transitive verbs) and the object (in transitive verbs) of the sentence are attached to the verb.

1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present an analysis of the Raji verbs. The Raji is one of the ethnic groups which is found primarily in Kailali, Surkhet, Kanchanpur, Bardiya, Banke and Dang districts of Nepal. The Raji has its distinct languages or dialects, cultures and traditions. However, due to various factors, their originality is in the danger of extinction.

The paper is organized into five sections. Section 2 introduces stem verbs and their classification. Section 3 deals with tense, aspect and mood in brief. Section 4 presents passivization and negation. Section 5 analyses the complex verb agreement system. Finally, we summarize the findings of the study in section 6.

2 Verb stems

2.1 Stem classification: final segments

On the basis of the final segment verb stems are classified into the following groups:

2.1.1 Vowel final stems

Primitive stems end with monophthongs such as *ʌ*, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* in Raji as given in (1).

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|------------|------------------------|--------|------------|-----------|---------|
| (1) a. | <i>krʌ</i> | 'write' | b. | <i>swa</i> | 'walk' | |
| | c. | <i>si</i> | 'die' | d. | <i>ʃu</i> | 'pluck' |
| | e. | <i>ts^he</i> | 'walk' | f. | <i>go</i> | 'rear' |

Primitive stems ending with diphthongs such as *ai*, *au*, *oi*, *ʌi*, *ʌu* and *eu* are as in (2).

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------|-----------|
| (2) a. | <i>kai</i> | 'bite' | b. | <i>ɽjau</i> | 'swim' | |
| | c. | <i>koi</i> | 'break' | d. | <i>mʌi</i> | 'sleep' |
| | e. | <i>sʌu</i> | 'pick up' | f. | <i>g^heu</i> | 'pick up' |

2.1.2 Consonant ending stems

Verbs ending with consonants such as *m*, *r*, *ŋ*, *k*, *t* and *ʀ* are presented in (3).

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|---------|
| (3) a. | <i>p^hʌm</i> | 'smell' | b. | <i>dir</i> | 'lay down' | |
| | c. | <i>baŋ</i> | 'get into' | d. | <i>gʌk</i> | 'cut' |
| | e. | <i>sʌt</i> | 'kill' | f. | <i>fior</i> | 'throw' |

2.2 Structure of stems

Basically, verb stems in Raji can be divided into three classes: simple, derivative and compound.

2.2.1 Simple stems

The simple stems are primitive consisting of only roots. They are monomorphemic and regarded as the basic stems (4).

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|------------|------------|---------|------------|------------|--------|
| (4) a. | <i>dza</i> | 'eat' | b. | <i>tuj</i> | 'drink' | |
| | c. | <i>krʌ</i> | 'write' | d. | <i>mok</i> | 'beat' |

2.2.2 Derivative stems

Derivative stems are polymorphemic consisting of more than one morpheme. They are formed by adding different kinds of

derivational suffixes to different types of stem, verbal and non-verbal (5).

- (5) a. *dzat* ‘to feed somebody’
- b. *s/lu* ‘to bathe someone’

2.2.3 Compound stems

Two different verb stems combine to form compound verb stems (6).

- (6) *hɔpaitikun* ‘to finish ploughing’

2.3 Verb inflections

Raji verbs exhibit rich inflectional morphology. The verb registers three persons and three numbers of actors in transitive and intransitive constructions (Khatri, 2009:9). These forms combine with a complex system of mood or tense and aspect.

Table 1: The verb affix slots

PREFIX	Σ	SF1	SF2	SF3	SF4
PROH	Stem	Aspect	Tense/Mood	PN	NEG

Table 1 shows the position of verb stem which is denoted by (Σ). It can be prefixed by one affix i.e. prohibitive and followed by up to six suffixes i.e. aspect, tense/mood, agreement and negation.

2.4 Intransitive, transitive and causative stems

A transitive stem can be derived from the intransitive one by suffixing *s-*, *-t*, *t^h-* or *p^h-* or *-u* in Raji. Consider the following examples:

- (7) a. *tsaŋ luki*
 tsa -ŋ lu -k -i
 son -1POSS bath -SD -NPST
 ‘My son takes a bath.’ (Khatri, 2008:22)
- b. *maui tsau sʃuki*
 ma -u -i tsa-u s- ʃu -k -i
 mother -3 POSS -ERG son -3POSS CAUS- bath -SD -NPST
 ‘The mother bathed the child.’
- c. *nʌŋ sja*
 nʌŋ sja -Ø
 2SG dance -IMP
 ‘(You) dance.’
- d. *nʌŋ jom sʃat*
 nʌŋ jom sja -t -Ø
 2SG brother dance -CAUS -IMP
 ‘You make the brother dance.’

3. Verb morphology

3.1 Tense

Raji verbs inflect for indicating tense for the same day or the other day. If an action occurs on the same day the verb is marked with *-k* and if it happens the other day it is not marked with *-k*. The tense is divided into the following types:

3.1.1 The same day tense

The same day verb is marked with *-k*. It is further subdivided into two sub-categories namely, the same day past tense (recent past) and the same day non-past tense. They are briefly discussed below:

a. The same day past tense (recent past): The same day past tense marker is *-a* in Raji (8).

(8) *ŋa namfia woŋkã*

ŋa	nam	-fia	woŋ	-k	-ã
1SG	home	-LOC	come	-SD	-PST.1

'I came home.'

b. The same day non-past tense: The same day non-past tense marker is *ĩ* (9).

(9) *ŋadzi bɔtaŋ dzakĩtsi*

ŋa-dzi	bɔtaŋ	dza	-k	-ĩ	-tsi
1 -DU	rice	eat	-SD	-NPST.1	-DU

'We (two) eat rice.'

3.1.2 The other day tense

The other day tense is not marked with *-k* (i.e. it is zero marked). This type of tense system is further sub-divided into the other day past tense (distal past) and future.

a) The other day past tense (distal past): The other day past tense (distal past) is marked with the *-a* as given in (10).

(10) *ŋa kuja bɔtaŋ dzaã*

ŋa	kuja	bɔtaŋ	dza	-ã
1SG	yesterday	rice	eat	-PST.1

'I ate rice yesterday.'

b) Future tense: The future tense is marked with *-fiã*.

(11) *ŋa bɔtaŋ dzafiãĩ*

ŋa	bɔtaŋ	dza	-fiãĩ
1SG	rice	eat	-FUT.1

'I shall eat rice.'

3.2 Aspect

There are two types of aspect namely, perfective and imperfective in Raji.

3.2.1 Perfective aspect: The perfective aspect is marked by *-ti*.

(12) *ŋa bɔtaŋ dzatiã*

ŋa	bɔtaŋ	dza	-ti	-li
1SG	rice	eat	-PERF	-NPST

'I have eaten rice.'

3.2.2 Imperfective aspect

The durative marker *-fiu*, habitual marker *-k* and *-ni* (the past habitual), the progressive marker *-sa* indicate imperfective aspect (13a-d).

(13) a. *ŋai naŋ bɔtaŋ dzasafiu dɔrlɔkana*

ŋa-i	naŋ	bɔtaŋ	dza-sa-fiu	dɔr-lɔ-k	-ã-na
1SG-ERG	2SG	rice	eat-PROG-DUR	find	BE-SD-PST.1-2SG

'I found you eating rice.'

b. *ŋa sabɔ din bɔtaŋ dzakĩ*

ŋa	sabɔ	din	bɔtaŋ	dza	-k	-ĩ
1SG	all	day	rice	eat	-SD	-NPST.1

'I always eat rice.'

c. *ŋa bɔtaŋ dzaãni*

ŋa	bɔtaŋ	dza	ã	-ni
1SG	rice	eat	-PST.1	-HAB

'I used to eat rice.'

d. *ŋa bɔtaŋ dzasakĩ*

ŋa	bɔtaŋ	dza	-sa	-k-ĩ
1SG	rice	eat	-PROG	-SD-NPST.1

'I am eating rice.'

3.3 Mood

Raji verbs distinguish six types of mood morphologically. Each of them has been discussed briefly below:

3.3.1 Indicative mood

Indicative mood is encoded by means of the normal tense-aspect suffixes in Raji (14).

(14) *ŋa boŋgaŋa kaŋ*

ŋa	boŋga	-ŋa	ka	-k	-ĩ
1SG	forest	-LOC	go	-SD	-NPST.1

‘I go to the jungle.’

3.3.2 Imperative mood

Imperative mood is encoded by the absence of normal tense-aspect suffixes, i.e. a bare verb root (15).

(15) *nŋ tsit^hi kra*

nŋ	tsit ^h i	kra	-∅
2SG	letter	write	-IMP

‘(You) write a letter.’

3.3.3 Interrogative mood

The interrogative suffix *-li* is attached to the wh-words (16).

(16) *nŋ ɔŋli dzaka*

nŋ	ɔŋ	-li	dza	-k	-a
2SG	what	-INT	eat	-SD	-PST

‘What did you eat?’

3.3.4 Optative mood

The optative markers are *-u*, *-kai* and *-ba* (17a-c).

(17) a. *fun kam k^haiŋ dzau*

fun	kam	k ^h ai	-ti	dza	-u
3SG	work	do	-PERF	eat	-OPT

‘May he eat by working!’

b. *baɽdzu baɽsaŋ baɽsaɪ kai*

baɽdzu	baɽsaŋ	baɽsaɪ	-kai
many	year	live	-OPT

‘May you live long!’

c. *ŋaki paɪsa dumbã*

ŋa	-ki	paɪsa	dum	-bã
1SG	-DAT	money	have	-OPT.1

‘May I have enough money!’

3.3.5 Hortative mood: Hortative is formed by the suffix *-e* in Raji (18).

(18) *ŋai dzaẽ*

ŋa	-i	dza	-ẽ
1	-PL	eat	-HOR.1

‘Let us eat rice.’

3.3.6 Subjunctive mood

The subjunctive mood is marked by the suffix *-fiutiŋ* or *-kaiŋ* (19).

(19) *nŋ boŋgaŋa kaŋfiutiŋ ŋa paɪni kaŋ*

nŋ	boŋga	-ŋa	ka-fiutiŋ	ŋa	paɪni	ka	-k	-ŋ
2SG	forest	-LOC	go-SUBJ	1SG	also	go	-SD	-1

‘If you go to the forest I will also go there.’

4. Passivization and Negation

In Raji, the passive marker is *-I* (20).

- (20) a. *ŋʌi beuḷi mukã*
 ŋʌ -i beuḷi mu -k -ã
 1SG -ERG bride see -SD -PST.1
 ‘I saw the bride.’
- b. *ŋʌi beuḷi muikã*
 ŋʌ -i beuḷi mu -i -k -ã
 1SG -ERG bride see -PASS -SD -PST.1
 ‘The bride was seen by me.’

Negation is suffixed to the verb by means of the negative morphemes *-ma* and *t^ha⁻¹*. The negative suffix *-t^ha* is prefixed to the imperative verbs whereas the other suffix is suffixed to other verbs (21).

- (21) a. *swa*
 swa -∅
 walk -IMP
 ‘(You) walk.’
- b. *t^haswa*
 t^ha- swa
 NEG.IMP walk
 ‘(You) do not walk.’
- c. *ŋa bʌtaŋ dzakŋ*
 ŋa bʌtaŋ dza -k -ŋ
 1SG rice eat -SD -1
 ‘I eat rice.’

¹ The negative markers **ta* and **ma* have been reconstructed as Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms (Benedict, 1972:97).

- d. *ŋa bʌtaŋ dzakŋma*
 ŋa bʌtaŋ dza -k -ŋ -ma
 1SG rice eat -SD -1 -NEG
 ‘I don’t eat rice.’

5 Verb agreement

Raji is a complex pronominalized language. In Raji, personal pronouns representing the subject (in intransitive and transitive verbs) and the object (in transitive verbs) of the sentence are affixed to the verb. According to DeLancy (1990:806), the verb shows pronominal concord with any first or second person argument, regardless of the grammatical role. The suffix is based on a hierarchy of the persons 1st>2nd>3rd, regardless of the grammatical role of the participants.

1st, 2nd and 3rd person dual and plural are marked indentically. The dual and plural markers are *-tsi* and *-i*, respectively. 1st and 2nd persons are marked on the verb, no matter whether they are agent or patient (22).

- (22) a. *ŋa nʌŋ mokk^hana*
 ŋa nʌŋ mok -k^h -ã -na
 1SG 2SG beat -SD PST-1 -2
 ‘I beat you.’
- b. *ŋadzi nhimiŋ nʌŋ mokk^hatsõ*
 ŋa -dzi nhimiŋ nʌŋ mok -k^h -a -tsõ
 I -DU two 2SG beat -SD -PST -DU.1
 We (two) beat you.’
- c. *ŋa nʌŋni mokk^hannani*
 ŋa nʌŋ -ni mok -k^h -a -na -ni
 1SG 2 -PL beat -SD -PST -2 -PL
 ‘I beat you.’

6 Summary

Primitive stems in Raji end with monophthongs such as *ʌ*, *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*, and diphthongs like *ai*, *au*, *oi*, *ʌi*, *ʌu* and *eu*. The verb stems end with consonants such as *m*, *r*, *ŋ*, *k* and *t*. There are simple, derivative and compound verb stems. They can be prefixed by a prohibitive marker *-t^ha* and suffixed by the markers like aspect, mood/tense, agreement and negation. A transitive stem can be derived from the intransitive ones by affixing the causativizers *s-*, *-t*, *t^h-* or *p^h-* or *-u*.

Tense contrasts for the same day or the other day. If an action happens on the same day there is the *-k* marker and if it happens the other day there is no marker on the verb. Aspects are of two types, perfective marked by *-tⁱ* and imperfective marked by *-fiu* (durative), *-ni* (past habitual) and *-sa* (progressive). Raji verbs distinguish six types of mood morphologically. Indicative mood is encoded by means of the normal tense-aspect suffixes whereas imperative is encoded by the absence of these affixes, i.e. a bare verb root. Interrogative is marked by *-ʌi*, optative by *-u*, *-kʌi* and *-bʌ*, subjunctive by either *-fiutiŋ* or *-kʌitiŋ* and hortatives by *-ē* in Raji. The passive marker is *-i*. Negation is affixed to the verb by means of the negative morphemes *-ma* and *t^ha-*.

Raji is a complex pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language. The suffix is based on a hierarchy of the persons 1st>2nd>3rd, regardless of the grammatical role of the participants.

Abbreviations

1	First person	OPT	Optative
2	Second person	PASS	Passive
3	Third person	NEG	Negative
CAUS	Causativizer	NPST	Non-past
DU	Dual	PERF	Perfective
DUR	Durative	PL	Plural
ERG	Ergative	POSS	Possessive
FUT	Future	PROG	Progressive
HORT	Hortative	PROH	Prohibitive
IMP	Imperative	PST	Past
INT	Interrogative	SD	Same day
LOC	Locative	SG	Singular
		SUBJ	Subjunctive

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CASE MARKING IN CHHULUNG

Man Kumari Limbu

This paper deals with case markings in the Chhulung language, a member of Rai language which is spoken in Akhisalla (Ākhisalla) VDC of Dhankuta District, east Nepal. There are eight types of case markers which are found in Chhulung.

1 Introduction

Case shows the relation between nouns and verbs in a sentence. In the Chhulung language, there are nine types of case markers. They are nominative, ergative, dative, genitive, ablative, allative and comitative.

2 Nominative

In Chhulung, nominative case is used in the subject of intransitive verb and the object of transitive verb. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) *ga cama caiyu/wa*
 ga cama cai-yu/-wa
 1s.NOM rice eat-NPST-1S
 'I eat rice.'
- (2) *ga koiaNe*
 ga koi-a-N-e
 1sNOM fell-PST-1s-PST
 'I fell down.'
- (3) *hari cama canu*
 hari cama can-u
 3s.NOM rice eat-3p
 'Hari eats rice.'

2 Ergative

In Chhulung, an ergative and instrumental are marked by the same marker which is <-a>. The marker <-a> is attached to the agent to show the ergativity to their respective verbs as given in (4-6).

- (4) *rama biha coge*
 ram-a biha cog-e
 ram-ERG marriage do-PST
 'Ram got married.'
- (5) *yambichaa cama coe*
 yambicha-a cama co-e
 boy-ERG rice eat-PST
 'A boy ate rice.'
- (6) *miyachaa cama coe*
 miyacha-a cama co-e
 girl-ERG rice eat-PST
 'A girl ate rice.'

3 Dative case

The dative case is optional in general. This means that some speakers use it and some do not. It depends on speakers' choice and attitude. This is because the dative case marker is probably borrowed from Nepali. The dative case in Chhulung is marked by <-lai> which is identical to Nepali. This is illustrated in (7-10).

- (7) *gaa ramlai kitab pide*
 ga-a ram-lai kitab pid-e
 1s-ERG ram-DAT book give-PST
 'I gave a book to Ram.'

- (8) *gaa ram kitab pide*
ga-a ram kitab pid-e
 1s-ERG ram book give-PST
 ‘I gave Ram a book.’
- (9) *rama sitalai tubuNe*
ram-a sita-lai tub-u-N-e
 ram-ERG sita-DAT-3p-1s-PST
 ‘Ram met sita.’
- (10) *rama sita tubuNe*
ram-a sita tub-u-N-e
 ram-ERG sita-3p-1s-PST
 ‘Ram met Sita.’

4 Genitive case

The genitive expresses possession of anything which is possessed by somebody or relationship between the head and some other word in the noun phrase. This is marked by <-akka>. Two noun phrases may be attached together by making the first genitive. This is illustrated in figure 1.

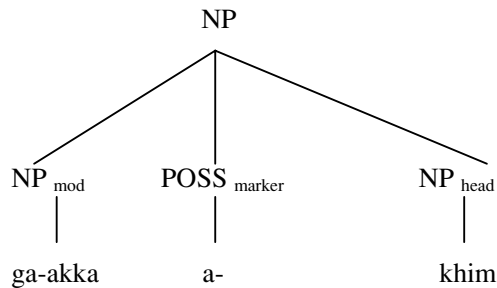


Figure 1: Structure of the genitive construction

- (11) *gaakka akhim*
ga-akka a-khim
 1s-GEN POSS-house
 ‘My house’
- (12) *akhim*
a-khim
 1s.POSS-house
 ‘My house’

5 Locative case

The locative case shows the location at a place. It identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb. Locative case is more complex in Chhulung because it is spatially oriented in different ways. The maker <-mi> specifies general level, <-ya> specifies parallel level, <-du> specifies higher level, and <-mu> specifies lower level. In this way, the locative markers specify neutral, same level, higher and lower level relating to the place where the speaker is standing. This is illustrated in the (13-16).

- (13) *ram khimmi yuṅne*
ram khim-mi yuṅne
 ram house-LOC(neutral) BE
 ‘Ram is in the house.’
- (14) *ram khimya yuṅne*
ram khim-ya yuṅne
 ram house-LOC(level) BE
 ‘Ram is in the house.’

- (15) *ram khimdu yuṅne*
 ram khim-du yuṅne
 ram house-LOC(up) BE
 ‘Ram is in the house.’

- (16) *ram khimmu yuṅne*
 ram khim-mu yuṅne
 ram house-LOC (down) BE
 ‘Ram is in the house.’

6 Ablative case

The ablative expresses notion 'out of' or 'away from' or the place from which something moves. Ablative follows a locative marker and precedes an ergative marker. If there is only locative marker, an ergative marker is attached to show ablative and if there is no locative marker, ablative case <-la> is followed by an ergative marker <-a>. This is illustrated in (17-20).

- (17) *ga hat^halaa taye?ya*
 ga hat^ha-la-a ta-ye?ya
 1s bazar-ABL-ERG come-PROG
 ‘I am coming from Bazar.’

- (18) *ga khimdua uṅye?ya*
 ga khim-du-a uṅ-ye?ya
 1s house-LOC-ERG come-PROG
 ‘I am coming from house (up).’

- (19) *ga khimmua uṅye?ya*
 ga khim-mu-a uṅ-ye?ya
 1s house-LOC-ERG come-PROG
 ‘I am coming from house (down).’

- (20) *ga khimyaa uṅye?ya*
 ga khim-ya-a uṅ-ye?ya
 1s house-LOC-ERG come-PROG
 ‘I am coming from house (level).’

7 Allative

The allative expresses a notion of 'to' or 'towards' a place. It also follows a locative suffix. The allative case is marked by <-ni> which can be shown in the following examples.

- (21) *ga khimya?ni khai?ye?ya*
 ga khim-ya?-ni khat-ye?ya
 1s house-LOC-DIR go-PROG
 ‘I am going towards home.’

- (22) *ga to?ni khai?ye?ya*
 ga to?-ni khat-ye?ya
 1s up-DIR go-PROG
 ‘I am going towards up.’

- (23) *ga mo?ni thaiye?ya*
 ga mo?-ni thab-ye?ya
 1s down-DIR come-PROG
 ‘I am going towards down.’

8 Comitative

The comitative refers to a close association with something and someone. It can be translated as 'with' of English word. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (24) *galok khim yuṅne*
 ga-lok khim yuṅne
 1s-COM house BE
 ‘I have a house.’

(25) *khanlok khim yuŋne*

khan-lok khim yuŋne
2s-COM house BE
'He has a house.'

(26) *khunlok khim yuŋne*

khun-lok khim yuŋne
3s-COM house BE
'He/she has a house.'

9 Summary

This paper has dealt case marking system in Chulung. It presents nominative, ergative, dative, genitive, locative, ablative, allative and commutative cases.

Abbreviations

1	first person	GEN	genitive
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	NOM	nominative
ABL	ablative	NPST	non-past
ALL	allative	P	patient
COM	comitative	PROG	progressive
DAT	dative	PST	past
DIR	directional	s	singular
ERG	ergative	S	subject
INS	instrumental		

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BHOJPURI IN NEPALESE EDUCATION

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Bhojpuri is the third major language in Nepal spoken as mother tongue by nearly two million people. Traditionally it has been in non-formal community education for long but accommodated in the Nepalese curriculum of Basic Education since 1992/93. The paper highlights the situation of Nepalese MLE with respect to Bhojpuri.

1 Lingual background of education in Nepal

The faiths of Hinduism, Buddhism & Islam have been in practice for long in Nepal. In such a multi-religious background Gurukul, Gumba & Madarsa begin education in Sanskrit, Tibetan & Persian/Urdu here respectively. Following the downfall of Kiranti regime in medieval Nepal Valley, Maithili and Newar languages get entrance in education. The Shah conquest introduces *Khas Kura* in the place. Likewise, the Rana regime begins English in its legacy with the British Empire in India. Durbar High School becomes the pioneer model of Education in English in Nepal. But as Ranas also belong to Khas community, they started efforts to standardize *Khas Kura*. They changed it into Gorkha language and established Gorkha Language Publication Committee in 1913 and again turned it into Nepali Language Publication Committee in 1933. In this way, they standardized *Khas Kura* into Nepali language.

2 Bhojpuri in Nepalese education practice

Common people were deprived of education till Rana regime in Nepal. But tradition of learning through ground-slate writing system by bordering Indian teachers exist in landlord and clerk families supposed to serve the autocratic regime. Such ground-slate education was the early Mother Tongue (MT) education in Nepal. So, Bhojpuri was the medium of

instruction in such family-schools in Bhojpuri speaking territories. But there was a shift in writing of bond-papers in Nepali.

3 Vernacular in the post-Rana regime education

Following the political change in 1951, education was declared free for all in Nepal. Slowly, participation of some upper middle class lads was found in ground-slate education after decline of Rana regime. In the same time Hindi was an evolving vernacular in Indian education system with its grow during 'Quit India Movement'. So, with the beginning of formal education here, Bhojpuri and other MTs were gradually replaced by Hindi with use of Indian Textbooks in abundance in Nepal. In the meantime, Royal Nepal Academy was established. Royal Nepal Academy and Nepali Language Publication Committee encouraged only publication in Nepali. So, textbooks were designed in haste into Nepali. But the efforts could not succeed to replace either Hindi or English. Consequently, Hindi, English and Nepali became vernacular of education in Post-Rana Regime in Nepal. This period seems to be a departure from Mother Tongue Education in Nepal. However, only Nepali got recognition of the National language and the only official language in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1959. This is the first constitutional biasness against Multilingualism in Nepal.

4 A ban on Bhojpuri and other MTs in education

Though a shift from multilingualism to a state-sponsored monolingualism starts with 1959-constitution, Royal dictator Mahendra topples the first public-elected government in 1960 and introduces a feudal dictatorial Panchayat regime in the place. He brings Constitution of Nepal, 1962 following the same provision regarding language. Moreover, he introduces National Education System Plan, 1971 that completely bans MT education. Bhojpuri and other MTs are even not allowed

in non-formal reading and writing. For example, Bhojpuri Litterateur Pandit Deep Narayan Mishra was imprisoned with allegation of publishing a souvenir in Bhojpuri, though it was published to greet the King on his birthday. In this way, Panchayat regime is seen as the Golden Era for Nepali as well as the Dark Era for other MTs including Bhojpuri in special perspective of education. However, explanation and interpretation of the texts still continued in Bhojpuri and other MTs even in this adverse situation.

5 Inclusion of Bhojpuri in the formal education

The Popular Movement, 1990 restores democracy and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 is promulgated. Though the constitution declares Nepali as the only Language of the Nation and Official Language, it narrowly recognizes other Nepalese languages as National Language and guarantees rights for the language communities to run schools in their particular languages if they want. Consequently, primary curriculum is translated into several languages including Bhojpuri. The state also constitutes National Language Policy Advisory Commission in 1993. The Commission recommends multilingualism in education and state affairs. Translation and adaptation of the textbook originally designed in Newar language is occurred in Bhojpuri and some other languages for Class I in 1997. Curriculum is formulated in Bhojpuri and other languages as a subject for basic education from Class I till V. Textbooks are designed as per the curriculum. Reference materials are also designed. Moreover, curriculum and textbooks are designed in Bhojpuri as a subject in Group I of the Additional Subjects at Secondary level.

6 Essence of multilingual education (MLE)

Though a limited practice of MLE follows the 1990-constitution, it's not effective due to exclusion of the stake holders in formulation and implementation of the educational policy. Meanwhile, UNESCO Program for Elimination of Illiteracy by 2000 gets failure. The research reveals Power of Mother Tongue. Literacy program or primary education in MT is seen to have given more positive results than those in non-MT. 'Education for All by 2015' with a special emphasis on MLE through Mother Tongue is launched by UNESCO with highlights of the following points:

- a. Mother Tongue (MT) as foundation of MLE,
- b. MT as medium of Basic Education,
- c. Secondary Education in language of broader/mass communication,
- d. MT as a subject in secondary education,
- e. Home-friendly school environment,
- f. Importance of pre-school knowledge,
- g. Lingual ease and competence with enlargement of horizon of knowledge,
- h. Recognition and importance of all MTs,
- i. Certainty of learning by local and familiar teachers,
- j. Use of local teaching materials,
- k. Use of local text materials,
- l. Regular upgrading of students,
- m. Easy learning of new language, and
- n. Parallel lingual transformation of knowledge.

7 Situation of Bhojpuri in MLE

Translation of primary textbooks from Class I to III in Bhojpuri and other languages have been in progress since 2006, though the experts are doubtful on the endeavor to be effective. Naya Painda (New Way) in Bhojpuri and similar text materials in other languages have been designed and published under non-formal education wing of the government. Audio materials for Guardian Education are

designed and broadcast by National Centre for Educational Development (NCED) in Bhojpuri and other languages. Teachers' Training Materials in Bhojpuri and other languages have been developed by NCED to promote MLE. The Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) organizes seminars and workshops, e. g., 'Exhibition Workshop of Textbooks and Text Materials' prepared in Bhojpuri and other languages. UNESCO *Advocacy Kit for Promoting Multilingual Education: Including the Excluded* has been translated and adapted in Bhojpuri following Nepali and Maithili previously. Till date textbooks under primary education have been prepared in 19 languages including Bhojpuri. Efforts are almost towards success to include Bhojpuri and other languages in curriculum of lower secondary level of education. Advocacy for Mother Tongue-based MLE including Bhojpuri is high these days by several agencies including UNESCO.

8 Obstacles for MLE including Bhojpuri

Whatever achievements made in the field of MLE including Bhojpuri, implementation is almost zero. There's no clarity at policy level, too. Consequently, the MTs including Bhojpuri are sometimes thought to be vernacular and sometimes only as a subject. If implemented, the MT subject is sometimes out of aggregate and sometimes with substitute of non-language subject, e.g. language subjects are grouped with Mathematics at Secondary level. So, there's always scarcity of proper subject teacher and textbooks' availability becomes negligible. There's also lacking awareness and advocacy among MT speakers due to temptation towards Nepali and English seeking for employment. Lacking resources is also a good escape. Class VI, VII & VIII of the lower secondary level has no curriculum and textbooks of MT including Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri is included in Prospectus of Higher Secondary Education Council but curriculum and textbooks have not yet

been designed. University administrations have still been silent to include Bhojpuri in its regular curricula escaping in the name of financial crisis. Thesis and dissertation writing at Masters' and Doctorate's level are exceptions.

Monolingual mentality of the state is the main obstacle in implementing MLE including Bhojpuri. We can observe Nepal Academy and Sajha Prakashan seldom publish materials in MTs, in continuity of practicing monolingualism. Guardians' temptation towards English in the name of globalization is also a hindrance. There's a dramatic obstacle of financial crisis everywhere. Ignorance of Bhojpuri & other MT speakers regarding power and importance of MT is last but not the least.

Moreover, lacking law and practice of multilingualism as official language including blunders in justice dissemination ignoring legal provision also brings chaos in the country.

9 Counter questions

- a. Why are the Nepali MT speakers still below half the population despite of use and misuse of all state resources and machinery to only promote Nepali?
- b. More than 25% Nepalese don't understand Nepali till date. Why?
- c. Access of Non-Nepali speakers in State is still denied despite of there formal competence in Nepali. Why?
- d. If English is the only means to compete internationally, why do the majority of Nepalese examinees fail in English?
- e. If investment in Non-MT education is out of achievement and an increment of a few percentage for MLE is successful, which is cheaper?

- f. If we are neither hither nor thither in Non-MT education, why not to know ourselves in MT Education?
- g. What happens to communal harmony if the questions of recognition of identity were not resolved through legal provisions of language management?
- h. Is judiciary under question mark or not among non-Nepali speaking communities, following justice dissemination in 1998 regarding official use of language?
- i. If languages die, bio-diversity also extinguishes. Then, what happens?

10 Reality of MT-based MLE

Learning becomes easy through MT. MT-acquired knowledge is easily transferred in new language/s. Intimacy is established with education. It brings communal harmony. Investment in Education becomes meaningful. There's a dramatic increase in literacy rate. New increment in employment can also be achieved. It's also a process of building an inclusive state with stability and strength in integrity. Distance between literate and illiterate members of society can be reduced. Indigenous knowledge and skills can be transmitted in new generations. It's an easy journey from localization to internationalization.

11 Further recommendations

- a. There is a compulsion of clear multilingual educational policy and its implementation by the state.
- b. Advocacy is needed for primary education and literacy in Bhojpuri among Bhojpurians.

- c. There's need for consultations and orientations on Bhojpuri subject in Multilingual education among Bhojpuri speaking teachers.
- d. There's need for Self-confidence Building Campaign in favour of MT among Bhojpuri speaking guardians.

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BODY PART WORDS IN CLASSICAL NEWARI
AD 1381- 1711

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The paper discusses the possibilities of using the lexical resources available in the Classical Newari Lexicon for historical and comparative studies in Tibeto- Burman languages. As the Lexicon uses nearly a dozen dated manuscripts spread over more than three centuries, concepts such as culturally neutral basic words can be tested to see whether they are also stable, i.e., not prone to replacement by loans or new ones. The paper looks at the domain of body part words and documents 37 words which are stable.

1 Background

The Classical Newari Lexicon is compiled from 11 bilingual Sanskrit manuscripts totaling 1046 folios. Five of these manuscripts are palmleaf and six paper ones, dated between AD 1381 and 1711. They are all based on the well-known Sanskrit Lexicon, the *Amarakośa*—believed to be a work of a Buddhist monk, Amara siṃha Vandya—the Venerable Amarasimha, of about AD 550. It is a thesaurus of Sanskrit nouns composed in verse divided into three parts, from twenty-five semantic domains, illustrating the rules of grammatical gender. There are 1535 *ślokas* or verses in *anustubh* meter consisting of 8 letters per *pada*, two *padas* and two line couplet. In this work there are 12,450 lexemes including 4360 synonyms. The Newari glosses have a total of 26,973 words, including duplicates, loans and inflected forms used in periphrastic glosses.

The Concordance file of the Classical Newari Lexicon in hard copy consists of 2,843 pages in A4- size, with an Index file of Newari words in 1,059 pages. The CNL is available in the Internet at <http://www.asianart.com/newarilexicon>, or one can

simply ask Google to search for it. The Project was run by the Nepal Bhasha Dictionary Committee, Cvasā Pāsā in two phases: January 1983- December 1985, funded by the Toyota Foundation, Japan and July 1987- December 1994, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, USA.

2 Body part words in classical Newar

In the *Amarakośa*, the Body Part Words are given in Book II, verses 62- 99, in all 38 lines and 125 words, with 2 to 11 synonyms per lexeme. Amara was dealing, not only with the complexities of grammatical gender, but also with semantic phenomena of synonymy, polysymy, and homonymy. He devotes a whole chapter IV in Book III to homonymous words with different stem- final consonants from *ka* to *ha* in the *nāgari* alphabet.

Newari glosses to Sanskrit words differ from manuscript to manuscript as well as from word to word. If there are more than one word, or several synonyms, only one is glossed, citing the whole set of synonyms. The gloss is either a single native Newari word, or a Middle Indo- Aryan, or New Indo- Aryan loan, or at times a pidgin form. Alternatively, when there is no single- word gloss, there is a periphrastic or “round about” definition given by using several words.

Chronologically, there are stable glosses—i.e., the same Newari word used throughout the span of 331 years in all the 11 manuscripts. But more often than not, the glosses are different, not only orthographically variant forms, but also different words are used in different manuscripts. The native words tend to be displaced by loans, the popular forms displaced by the learned ones. As we also know the authors and places of origins of two earliest of the manuscripts, A1 from Patan and A2 from Bhaktapur, perhaps some of these differences may be dialectal in origin.

Newari glosses show a language in flux, adapting to formal and structural changes through time and space, a Tibeto-Burman language in contact with the Great Tradition of South Asia. The replacement/resistance rate seems to vary from body part word to body part word. Almost all the 11 manuscripts are written with the express purpose of teaching/learning Sanskrit vocabulary, with the young learners in mind. *Putrapautra- bodhini* (education of the son and the grandson) is the sub- title of one manuscript; *Bālabodhini vivṛtti* (commentary for the education of children) is the subtitle of another earliest manuscript in Newari.

Venerable Amara's Lexicon begins with words for physical deformities, diseases, and physical blemishes, which preoccupy him from lines 46- 62 In all 54 words! Has this anything to do with his "cultural preferences" or the Buddhist view of suffering and the impermanence of the human body?

In its treatment of words for body parts, another classical lexicon, the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (MV) stands in a striking contrast. This may be because it was a totally different cultural project. The MV was prepared in the 9th century at the command of Tibetan king Tri Ral pa chen. The Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts completed up to that time were inconsistent because Tibetan terminology for the original Sanskrit terms were no "standardized". Thus the King decreed that his principal translators should make a glossary of Sanskrit terms with precise Tibetan equivalents. These were later codified by royal decree as the official Tibetan equivalents (*skad dad*) of the Sanskrit ones. Later on these became a basis for making revised translations of Buddhist *sūtras* and *tantras*. Its title itself is revealing: *the Great Work Made by Many Lotsawas and Pandits that Brings Comprehension of Particulars*.

The MV too is a bilingual classified lexicon consisting of 9,492 "Buddhist terms" which are numbered. The entry numbers 3,919- 4,051 are "body part words". As these are commonplace Sanskrit words one can't see what is actually "Buddhist" in these. However, comparing them with the words given in the *Amarakośa* may be a fruitful exercise on its own.

In the Tibetan lexicon, no terms for diseases/deformities are included. None of the several "measurement terms" using the fingers/elbow/hand as yardsticks are included either. Above all, there are no terms for the lower regions of the female torso. Venerable Amara, on the other hand, devotes as many as 8 terms. In the MV there are no terms for different ways of dressing human hairs on the head. It is believed that Amarasimha was one of the nine jewels at the court of King Bhoja, a powerful king who was also well- accomplished in ornate court poetic tradition.

The Tibetans were not concerned with synonymy, polysymy, much less with homonymy. The Royal decree was that one Buddhist Sanskrit term has to have one Tibetan gloss, or one word, of necessity, as it were, has to have one meaning. Besides, as a Buddhist lexicon it can't be too preoccupied with *mons veneris*!

3 Treatment of body parts in literature

Body part words have been in use for comparison of languages at least since Hodgson's paper on "Comparative Vocabularies of the Languages of Broken Tribes of the Nepal Himalayas" (1857). Swadesh 100- word list as well as 200- word list gives an important place to these words. However, Matisoff (1978) pleads articulately for "the organic approach" to semantic comparison of languages in the Tibeto- Burman

sub- family. He finds lexicostatistics, not only “inappropriate, but “totally useless”. Instead of lexicostatistics, his “Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatistical Model for South East Asian languages or CALMSEA more relevant. In this model, body part words are considered “culturally appropriate for all natural languages irrespective of cultures.”

In recent time, the Princeton University Chinese Dialect Survey Project 1971- 72, the Chicago University Munda Project, the SIL Word Lists, (1973) based on the latter, the STEDT Questionnaire (1989) and Hashimoto’s Bhatgaon Dialect Classified Lexicon (1977)—all use 100 to 200+ body part words, including verbs and adjectives. Some also use animal body part terms such as the tail.

All this is, however, in striking contrast with the common anthropological view that no part of human body has ever been “free of deep cultural meaning” (Eliade, 1959). In the earliest creation myths, the body of the Primeval Man was sacrificed to create the Universe (e.g., the Gaint Ymir of the Indo- European myth). In *the Rig Veda* (ca1200 BC, Book X Hymn 90, Verses 11- 15) the Primeval Man was sacrificed by the Gods to create the Universe, and it was out of his head that the Brahmins originated, out of his hands , the Warriors, out of his thighs, the Artisans/Cultivators and out of his feet, the Labourers. Thus the human body and its sacrifice were used as a frame to justify the fourfold division of society in the Indian civilization.

In most parts of South Asia, the top half of the body is sacred and the bottom half, profane; the right hand is holy and pure, the left is contaminated. In ritual feasts, while sharing the head of the sacrificial animal (mostly a black spotless goat since the last two millennia) the right eye goes to the most senior male member of the clan, and the rest of the head is

divided strictly according to seniority into 7 other parts among other senior males. Considered the essence of the sacrificed animal, the brain is, however, shared by the whole clan.

The condensed questionnaire on body parts circulated by the STEDT Project in 1989 is based on the assumption that the TB- speakers, like a Standard Average European/American, would be well- versed in modern anatomy and like the STEDTniks, s/he has a proper functioning system, and that his language has all discrete names for each and every part. The inclusion of the animal/bird body parts is also based on the assumption that such words are likely to be semantically interrelated in word families and shared roots. Meaning is, after all , such a messy flow chart—the semantic substances are flowing all over the space through unseen cavities and arteries of living beings!

Matisoff’s presentation at the 39th ICSTLL in Seattle, “Stable Roots in Sino- Tibetan/Tibeto- Burman” gives a startling picture of “stable roots” in the ST/TB languages. The human body seems to have shrunk from the potential 228 parts to 16 words, which after initial test, are further amputated to 10 “basic and stable roots”. Here the stable roots are defined, after Martha Ratcliff, as “basic roots shared in common by the sub- family”. However, in TB sub- family consisting of more than 250 named languages and many more unnamed dialects, Matisoff tests the stable roots by citing data from 11 languages only, four of them including reconstructed , i.e., hypothetical, proto forms. Of the rest four roots are from spoken languages and three from classical written texts. He doesn’t cite any from the published sources in Classical Newari nor from the online Lexicon posted since 1995.

4 Summary

Undoubtedly, ambitious projects take time and resources, and if we were to learn from the past, such as the Pali Critical Dictionary Project or the Sanskrit Dictionary on Historical Principles, the STEDT has already yielded tangible outcome in Matisoff (2003) and (2008). The Project has launched its precious database as a “searchable file” since January 2011 consisting of about half a million words in 300 TB languages/dialects relating to about 2200 lexemes. The file can be searched by English gloss and it contains about 2000 reconstructed proto forms based on the documented reflexes, cognates, and a wide range of comparenda for international “collaborative editing”. Instead of trying to do too many things in too many languages, it would be realistic to begin “looking at many languages across a few words” to put in Greenberg’s (1987:23) caveat. Dated as they are, by examining the body part words in Classical Newari lexical sources we can search the STEDT file to test the stability hypothesis as well.

Annex 1. A List of Stable Body Part Words in Classical Newari AD 1381- 1711

1. *lā* (flesh)
2. *hī* (blood)
3. *luṃgvada* (heart- the seat of emotion)
4. *luṃ- gvada* (heart the object)
5. *dā/dāka* (fat)
6. *milikha* (muscles at the nape of the neck)
7. *nhi- pu* (the brain)
8. *sasa* (a tendon)
9. *lārha/lāha/laḍa* (saliva)
10. *picarha/picaḍa* (the rheume of the eyes)
11. *co* (urine)

12. *kvasa* (any bone)
13. *Lr/pālṛ* (a foot)
14. *gvāḍe* (the ankles)
15. *guṃṭhi* (a heel)
16. *ludanta* (the bosom)
17. *jala* (the back)
18. *boharha* (scapula)
19. *yāko* (the arm- pits)
20. *byaṃkoṃ* (a side)
21. *lā* (an arm)
22. *culā* (an elbow)
23. *lusim* (a nail)
24. *nhās* (the nose)
25. *mano* (the chin)
26. *naṃtārha* (the cheeks)
27. *vā* (teeth)
28. *thaṃko* (the palate)
29. *me* (the tongue)
30. *misam* (the eyebrows)
31. *mi- jhareṃ* (pupil of the eye)
32. *mi- khā* (the eye)
33. *khobi* (a tear)
34. *nhasa* (an ear)
35. *sam* (hair)
36. *cimili- sam* (hair of the body)
37. *gvāca* (the beard)

Note:

The *Amarakośa* lists several synonyms for a lexeme (e.g., *vaktra*, *āsyā*, *vadana*, *tuṅḍa*, *ānana*, *lapana*, and *mukha*). Out of these synonyms. As different manuscripts pick different synonym for Newari gloss, the glosses too tend to be different (e.g., *no*, *khvāla*, *mhotu* for the mouth/face, or *mhosata*, *kapāla*, *moṅḍa*, *moda*, *mola*, *mo* for *śiras*, or *lalāṭa* for forehead/head).

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COORDINATION IN KUMAL

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This paper examines the main types of coordinating conjunctions with respect to the Kumal language. It is one of the Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal. There are three types of coordinating conjunctions in this language. They are additive, alternative and correlative conjunctions.

1 Introduction

Data, which we have attempted to analyze and interpret, depend on Arghakhanchi district. Like other languages, the Kumal language also differs from one place to other place. For example, the Kumal language spoken in Arghakhanchi district slightly differs from that of Gorkha or Chitwan. The paper deals only with the coordinating conjunctions, which are found in this language. In the following subsections of this paper, we examine the coordinating conjunctions and their types in the language.

2 Coordination

According to Lyons (1969:178), the coordinating conjunctions are those in which the constituent clauses are grammatically coordinate, no one being dependent on the others but being added together in sequence with or without them. Similarly, Aarts (1997:45) expresses that coordinating conjunctions link units of equal status, e.g., phrases and sentences. Two coordinated phrases form a new phrase of the same type as the two constituents conjoin.

2.1 Additive

In the Kumal language *rə* 'and' is an additive type of coordinating conjunction. It combines noun phrases, verb phrases, and adjective phrases. In the following examples, 1

(a) and (b) are two simple sentences. These are joined by *rə*. It combines two different noun phrases Bharat and Ram. The verb *bhag-əl* in the sentences 1 (a) and (b) is the marker for third person singular past tense and non-honorific system whereas the verb *bhag-nən* in sentence 1 (c) indicates the past tense honorific system whether the subject is singular or plural.

Similarly, examples 1(d) and (e) are two simple sentences. In here, *rə*, which is an additive conjunction, joins the verb phrases *khəi-nu* and *gəi-nu* in example 1 (f). Both of them are marked for first person singular past tense.

- (1) a. *bhərət bhag-əl*
Bharat escape-P3SNH
'Bharat ran away.'
- b. *ram bhag-əl*
Ram escape-P3SNH
'Ram ran away.'
- c. *bhərət rə ram bhag-nən*
Bharat COR Ram escape-PH
'Bharat and Ram escaped/ ran away.'
- d. *məi bhat khəi-nu*
I rice eat-P1S
'I ate rice.'
- e. *məi kyampəs gəi-nu*
I campus go- P1S
'I went to campus.'
- f. *məi bhat khəi-nu rə kyampəs gəi-nu*
I rice eat-P1S COR campus go- P1S
'I ate rice and went to campus.'
- g. *keTa əlko rə-i*
boy tall be.EXI-P3S

'The boy was tall.'

- h. *keTa dublo rə-i*
boy thin be. EXI - P3S
'The boy was thin.'
- i. *keTa əlko rə dublo rə-i*
boy tall COR thin be.EXI-P3S
'The boy was tall and thin.'

2.2 Alternative

In the Kumal language, *ya/wa* 'or', and *ki/kitə* 'either...or' are two kinds of alternative coordinating conjunctions. Simple sentences 2(a-b) are joined by using alternative coordinating conjunctions *wa/ya* 'or', in 2(c-d) they are joined by *ki/kitə*. In doing so, it is found that there is no repetition of *wa/ya* (c) but *ki/kitə* is repeated (d). *-nən* in the example 2 below is marked for honorific system whether the subject is singular or plural.

- (2) a. *uni-həru pokhəra bəs-nən*
s/he-PL Pokhara sit-P3PL
'They stayed in Pokhara.'
- b. *uni-həru dāmāuli bəs-nən*
s/he-PL Damauli sit-P3PL
'They stayed in Damauli.'
- c. *uni-həru dāmāuli wa/ya pokhəra bəs-nən*
s/he-PL Damauli COR Pokhara sit-P3PL
'They stayed either in Pokhara or in Damauli.'
- d. *uni-həru ki/kitə pokhəra bəs-nən ki/kitə dāmāuli*
s/he-p COR Pokhara sit- P3PL COR Damauli
'Either they stayed in Pokhara or in Damauli.'

2.2.1 Negative alternative

The negative alternative coordinator *nə/nətə* 'neither...nor' also links the phrases of different types. In the following examples 3 (a) and (b) are the simple sentences. They are noun phrases of 3 (a) Ram and 3 (b) Kalu and are combined by using *nə/nətə* 'neither...nor' in 3 (c).

- (3) a. *ram nə-a-l*
Ram NEG- come -P3SNH
'Ram did not come.'
- b. *kalu nə-a-l*
Kalu NEG- come -P3SNH
'Kalu did not come.'
- c. *nə/nətə ram a-l nə/nətə kalu*
NEG-COR Ram come-P3s NEG-COR Kalu
'Neither Ram came nor did Kalu.'

2.3 Correlative

In correlative coordinating conjunctions, two different sentences are combined by *pəni* 'also' and *təra* 'but.' *pəni* 'also' joins the sentences having similar ideas. In the following examples, sentences 4 (a) and (b) are joined by using the correlative conjunction *pəni* in sentence 4 (c) and similar is the case with sentence 4 (d), (e) and (f). These have similar ideas. In case of *təra* 'but', it joins the sentences, which have opposite or different ideas. We can observe these from the example 4 (g, h and i) in the following sentences. Both of them combine different phrases like adjective phrases 4 (a, b and c) noun phrases 4 (d, e and f) and verb phrases 4 (g, h and i).

- (4) a. *āp Thulo baT*
mango big be.EXI.NP3SNH
'The mango is big.'
- b. *āp miTho baT*
mango sweet be. EXI.NP3SNH
'The mango is tasty/delicious.'
- c. *āp Thulo pāni baT miTho pāni baT*
mango big COR be. EXI.NP3SNH sweet COR be.
EXI.NP3SNH
'The mango was not only sweet but also
tasty/delicious.'
- d. *us-le ghiu cor-les*
s/he-E ghee steal-P3S
'He stole ghee.'
- e. *us-le dai cor-les*
s/he-E yogurt steal-P3S
'He stole yogurt.'
- f. *us-le ghiu pāni cor-les dai pāni cor-les*
s/he-E ghee COR steal-P3s yogurt COR steal-P3S
'He not only stole ghee but also yogurt.'
- g. *chori namri baiT*
daughter beautiful be.EXI.NP3SFNH
'The daughter is beautiful.'
- h. *chora nā-namro baT*
son NEG-beautiful be.EXI.NP3S
'The son is not handsome.'

- i. *chori namri baiT tarā chora nā-namro baT*
daughter beautiful be. EXI.NP3SFNH COR son NEG-
beautiful be. EXI.NP3SFNH
'The daughter is beautiful but the son is not
handsome.'

3 Summary

In this paper, we tried to present different types of coordinating conjunctions in the Kumal language. We also illustrated them from different contexts and backgrounds. Being an Indo-Aryan language, it bears a resemblance to many other Indo Aryan languages like Nepali itself or Bote, Majhi, etc. but there are clear differences and distinctions in this language and other languages belonging to the same language family.

Abbreviations

1	= 1 st person	NEG	= Negative
3	= 3 rd person	NH	= Non-honorific
COR	= Coordination	NP	= Non-past
E	= Ergative	P	= Past tense
EXI	= Existential	PL	= Plural
F	= Feminine	S	= Singular
H	= Honorific		

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TENSE AND ASPECT IN THE CHITONIYA THARU

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Chitoniya Tharu is still an undocumented and undescribed language spoken by the Tharu people living in the Chitwan and Nawalparasi districts. This paper attempts to present a brief introduction of the morphological structure of verbs in different tenses and aspects.

1 Introduction

The Tharu is the mother tongue of the largest ethnic group known as ‘Tharu’ living in the 22 districts of the Nepal terai. Because of the cultural and linguistic diversities, this ethnic group has broadly been classified into four different groups: the Rana Tharu, the Dangaura Tharu, the Chitoniya or Chitwan Tharu, and the Kochila Tharu (Boehm 1998:3). The nomenclature ‘the Chitoniya Tharu’ refers to both the Tharus living in the Chitwan and Nawalparasi districts of the central Nepal and the language they speak.

2 Tense

Tense is the relation between sequences of events expressed by the verb and our concept of time. Tense and time are two different entities. Time is a universal non-linguistic concept whereas tense is a grammatical category that relates the concept of time to the sequence of events in relation to the moment of speech or writing. Like most of the NIA languages, as mentioned by Masica (1991:279), the Chitoniya Tharu exhibits the three-tense system: present, past, and future, and has distinct tense markers in each tense.

2.1 The present tense

The present tense marker in the Chitoniya Tharu is *-sə*, which is attached to the verb root before the inflectional suffixes are

applied. The inflectional suffixes are almost the same in all the persons and tenses: *-su*, *-hĩ*, *-hũ*, *-hi*, *-hə*, *-iyə*, *-əyi*, *-si* (1a). However, the copula verb ‘be’ has special forms in all the tenses. In the present tense it has a special form *həkhə* in the sense of identification and *bəḍə* in the sense of existence. Both of these stems take the inflectional suffixes directly to concord with the subjects (1b, c).

- (1) a. *həmərə caur kuṭke piṭha parsəhũ*
həmərə caur kuṭ-ke piṭha par-sə-hũ
 we rice grind-PERF flour make-PRE-1PL
 ‘We prepare flour by grinding rice.’
- b. *əre! tu bhut həkhəhi ki mənəwa həkhəhi?*
əre! tu bhut həkhə-hi ki mənəwa həkhə-hi?
 VOC you ghost be.PRE-2SG or man be.IDE. PRE- 2SG
 ‘Are you a ghost or a man?’
- c. *mor dujəna duləhi bəḍəyi.*
mor du-jəna duləhi bəḍə-əyi.
 my two-NCLF wife be.PRE-3PL
 ‘I have two wives.’

Except with the ‘be’ verb, the present tense marker is *-sə*.

2.2 The past tense

The past tense refers to the sequence of events that take place prior to the moment of speaking or writing. Chitoniya Tharu has a distinct tense marker *-lə* for the past tense¹. The concord morphemes are the same in all the tenses. The verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to become’ have special stems in this tense, which have

¹ The morpheme *-lə* is also used as the past marker even in the Dangaura variety of the Tharu. (Paudyal 2067: 200).

not been dealt with here. The past forms of the verbs in the Chitoniya Tharu are illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. pəhinəkə salima həine səkliyə pas həkhe
 pəhinəkə sali-ma həine sək-lə-iyə pas həkh-e
 first year-LOC NEG can-PST-3SG pass be.PRE-INF
 ‘(He) could not pass in the first year.’
- b. tu pəuləhi ki nəikho pəuləhi?
 Tu pau-lə-hi ki nəikho pau-lə-hi?
 you find-PST-2SG or NEG find-PST-2SG?
 ‘Did you get (him) or not?’

2.3 The future tense

In the Chitoniya Tharu, the future tense is marked with the morpheme *-bə*, which is attached to the root before inflecting the suffixes² as in (3a). In the third person plural form, it has a special tense marker *-tə*, which is also used to refer to the hypothetical or conditional mood as in (3b).

- (3) a. bəghəwa mərəke marbiyə
 bəghəwa mərə-ke mar-bə-iyə
 tiger IOBL-ACC kill-FUT-3SG
 ‘The tiger will kill me.’

² In many of the NIA languages, the future marker is *-bə* as in Marwari, Bhili, Bundeli, Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili (Masica 1991:289), and in the Dangaura Tharu (Paudyal 2067: 205).

- b. usinke ropbəhi tə yəndine-hi pəhərətəu
 usin-ke rop-bə-hi tə yəndine-hi pəhərə-tə-u
 boil-COMPL sow-FUT-2SG PART tomorrow-
 EMPH flourish-FUT-3PL
 ‘If you sow after boiling, it will flourish very soon.’

3 Aspects

Aspect is one of the inherent categories (TAM) of the verb and deals with the internal temporal structure of a proposition. Aspect indicates whether an event, state, process or action that is denoted by the verb is completed or in progress, and its function is to highlight the internal temporal unfolding of the predication (Katamba 1993:221).

Chitoniya Tharu exhibits almost all the types of aspects discussed in the grammars of various languages. Payne (1997:238-243) has discussed eleven types of aspects that may be found in a language, whereas Timberlake (2007: 287-303) discusses only four: progressive, iterative, perfect and perfective. The aspectual system in the Chitoniya Tharu has been dealt with here based on the theoretical grounds presented in Payne (1997) and Timberlake (2007).

3.1 Imperfective

In the imperfective aspect, the situation is viewed from ‘inside’ as an ongoing process (Payne 1997: 239). The imperfective can be classified into two subtypes: Habitual and Progressive.

3.1.1 Habitual

Habitual aspect expresses an assertion that a certain type of event regularly takes place from time to time. It does not imply that an instance of the event is taking place ‘now’ (Payne 1997: 241). The Chitoniya Tharu has no specific form to express the habitual actions, neither in the present nor in the

past. Instead the present forms are used for the present habitual actions (5a), whereas the past progressive is used for the past habits (5b).

- (5) a. mui bəg^həuɖakə iskuləwama pəɖ^hosəhī
 mui bəg^həuɖa-kə iskuləwa-ma pəɖ^ha-sə-hī
 I Baghauda-GEN school-LOC teach-PRE-1SG
 ‘I teach in the school of Baghauda’.
- b. u k^hali hisabe mature pəɖ^hoi həliyə
 u k^hali hisab-e mature pəɖ^ha-i hə-lə-iyə
 he only maths-EMPH only teach-PROG be-
 PST-3SG
 ‘He used to teach only Mathematics.’

3.1.2 Progressive

The progressive aspect implies an ongoing dynamic process and so, suggests incompleteness and temporariness of the event. The Chitoniya Tharu exhibits the progressive aspect in all the three tenses: present, past and future.

a. Past progressive

The past progressive in the Chitoniya Tharu is expressed by affixing the progressive marker- *i-* to the verb root followed by the proper form of the ‘be’ in the past to concord with the subject (6a). (See Paudyal 2066 VS. for morphological details of the ‘be’ verb in the Chitoniya Tharu).

- (6) tingo kamdar maṭi kəṭi hələyi
 tin-go kamdar maṭi kaṭ-i hə-lə-əyi
 three-NCLF worker soil cut-PROG be-PST-3PL
 ‘Three workers were cutting the soil.’

b. Present progressive

The present progressive is distinguished from the habitual in that the progressive refers to actual events whereas the habitual expresses the general truth that some events take place from time to time (Payne 1997:240-1). The present progressive forms in the Chitoniya Tharu are formed in the same way as in the past; the only difference is that in the present, the progressive form is followed by the present form of the ‘be’ verb. For example:

- (7) a. bəɖəhī yapən bəcəwanke cəroi
 bəɖə-hī yapən bəcəwa-n-ke cəra-i
 be.PRE-1SG REFL offspring-PL-ACC graze-
 PROG
 ‘(I) am making my chicks graze.’
- b. əri bəbui, kəthi kərəi bəɖəhi ?
 əri bəbui, kəthi kərə-i bəɖə-hi ?
 VOC baby, what DO-PROG be.PRE-2SG?
 ‘O grandmother, what are you doing?’

However, if we want to emphasize on the continuity of the action, the morpheme-*təhī/-te-* is affixed to the root, instead of the neutral progressive marker-*i* (8a).

- (8) a. k^hethəriyahə kam kərtəhī /-te bəɖəyi
 k^hethəriya-hə kam kər-təhī/-te bəɖə-əyi
 farmer-PL work do-EMPH.PROG be.PRES-3PL
 ‘The farmers are working in the field.’

c. Future progressive

The progressive aspect in future in the Chitoniya Tharu is expressed in the same way as in the past and present, except that the auxiliary verb ‘be’ takes the future tense marker along

with the concord suffixes (9a, b). Sometimes, *-te* instead of *-i* is used as the progressive marker in all the tenses (9b).

- (9) a. mor dao b^hat nij^həi həbiyə
 mor dao b^hat nij^h-i hə-bə-iyə
 my mother rice cook-PROG be-FUT-3SG
 ‘My mother will be cooking rice.’
- b. mui yapən kitbaba pəɖ^hte hək^hbəhī
 mui yapən kitbaba pəɖ^hte hək^h-bə-hī
 I REFL book read-PROG be-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will be reading my book’

A noticeable point in the future tense is that the aspirated segment of the ‘be’ verb *hək^h* can be deleted optionally as in (9a) and retained as in (9b).

3.2 Perfective

The perfective is the aspect of a narrative (Payne 1997: 239; Timberlake 2007: 292). The perfective aspect indicates the completion of an action, and so, is mostly expressed in the past tense. In the Chitoniya Tharu, this aspect is expressed by using the past forms of the verb which are formed by using the past marker *-lə* followed by the concord suffixes (10a, b).

- (10) a. geliyə buɖ^hiyə yalo koɖe
 ja-lə-iyə buɖ^hiyə yalo koɖ-e
 go-PST-3SG old.woman potato dig.up-INF
 ‘The old woman went to dig up the potato.’
- b. jətura yalo jəmma k^hadeliyə
 jətura yalo jəmma k^ha-de-lə-iyə
 as.much potato all eat-give-PST-3SG
 ‘(He) ate all the potato there.’

3.3 Perfect

Perfect aspect normally describes a currently relevant state brought about by the situation expressed by the verb (Payne 1997:239-40). A perfect situation can be expressed in different forms in different tenses. When the contextual occasion is the time of speech, it is a present perfect and if it is moved into the future or the past, one gets a future perfect or a past perfect (or pluperfect) (Timberlake 2007:292).

3.3.1 Present perfect

The present perfect aspect in the Chitoniya Tharu is expressed by affixing a perfect marker *-le* to the root stem followed by the appropriate form of the ‘be’ verb to concord, as in:

- (11) a. mui kəθi kərle bəɖəhī?
 mui kəθi kər-le bəɖə-hī?
 I what do-COMPL be.PRES-1SG
 ‘What have I done?’
- b. tui hat^hi dek^hle bəɖəhi?
 tui hat^hi dek^h-le bəɖə-hi?
 I elephant see-PERF be.PRES 2SG?
 ‘Have you seen an elephant?’

3.3.2 Past perfect/pluperfect

Past perfect aspect is also known as pluperfect. It is the combination of an aspect and a tense. It combines perfect aspect and past tense (Payne 1997: 240). In the Chitoniya Tharu the pluperfect aspect is expressed with the perfect form of the verb followed by past form of the ‘be’ verb (14a, b).

- (14) a. jəθi jəθi bənole həliyə, ...
 jəθi jəθi bəna-le hə-lə-iyə, ...
 what REDUP make-PERF be-PST-3SG, ...
 ‘Whatever (she) had made, ...’

- b. prəd^hanpəncma u^hole hələyi morəke
 prəd^hanpənc-ma u^ha-le hə-lə-əyi mor-ke
 prəd^hanpənc-LOC stand.CAUS-PERF be-PST-3PL I.OBL-ACC
 ‘(They) had made me the pradhanpanc candidate.’

3.3.3 Future perfect

The perfect aspect in future is expressed in the Chitoniya Tharu through the combination of the main verb with its semantic function, the modal auxiliary- *sək*-with its meaning of completion, and the ‘be’ verb for concord. For example:

- (15) sāj^hələi mu i kaməwā kərsəkle həbəhī
 sāj^hə-ləi mu i kəməwā kər-sək-le hə-bə-hī
 evening-till I this work do-can-PERF be- FUT-1SG.
 ‘I will have finished this work by the evening.’

3.4 Completive and inceptive

Completive and inceptive aspects, sometimes called ‘phasal aspects’ (Payne 1997:240) express the completion and beginning of an event respectively. These aspects are mainly governed by the semantic role of the verbs. The Chitoniya Tharu expresses the inceptive and the completive aspects by using the infinitival form of the main verbs followed by the verbs- *lageke* ‘to start’ and *worake* ‘to finish’ respectively, to which the inflectional suffixes are affixed (16a, b).

- (16) a. ləgləyi muḍiya bat^he okər
 ləg-lə-əyi muḍiya bat^h e okər
 start-PST-3PL head pain-INF he-GEN
 ‘His head started to ache.’

- b. mui jamme kam eke g^hanṭama woroləhī
 mui jamma-e kam ek-e g^hanṭama wora-lə-hī
 I all-EMPH work one-EMPH hour-LOC finish
 PST-1SG
 ‘I finished all (my) work in an hour.’

3.5 Punctual

Punctual aspect, which indicates instantaneous events and is sometimes referred to as an instantaneous aspect (Payne 1997: 241), is also concerned with the selection of the verb. The Chitoniya Tharu has several lexical items indicating the punctual aspect, such as *gireke* ‘to fall’, *kateke* ‘to cut’, *lohreke* ‘to pluck’, *tuteke* ‘to break’, *kineke* ‘to buy’, etc.

- (17) pəiḍəwama jəbbəḍ gach girle bəḍəyi
 pəiḍəwa-ma jəbbəḍ gach gir-le bəḍə-əyi
 way-LOC large tree fall-PERF be.PRE-3PL
 ‘A large tree has fallen on the way.’

3.6 Iterative

If a punctual event takes place several times in succession, it is said to have the iterative aspect. With inherently punctual verbs like ‘cough’, the progressive implies iterativity, with non-punctual verbs like ‘run’, it implies continuity (Payne 1997:241). Iterativity, in the Chitoniya Tharu, is expressed by using the progressive form followed by the ‘be’ verb (18a) or the adverbs like *rəhərəhəke*, *ekləgəle*, *g^hərig^hərihi* all meaning ‘time and again’, and the proper form of the verb (18b).

- (18) a. tor baba morəke mədət kərətə həsiyə
 tor baba morə-ke mədət kərə-te hə-sə-iyə
 your father I.OBL-ACC help do-PROG be-PRE-3SG
 ‘Your father keeps on helping me.’

- b. bəbuwa kətəu rəhərəhəke kənəyi bədiyə?
 bəbuwa kətəu rəhərəhəke kanə-yi bəd-iyə?
 child why frequently cry-PROG be.PRES-3SG?
 ‘Why is the child crying again and again?’

4 Summary

It is still a matter of debate that whether different Tharu groups speak the dialects of the same language or separate languages having distinctive features of their own. It has distinct morphological processes regarding the tense and aspect. Like most of the NIA languages, it has three-way tense system: present, past and future. It has a limited number of inflectional morphemes that distinguish person and number differences, and exhibits distinct tense markers in all the tenses, which are attached to the root stem followed by the concord morphemes. The Chitoniya Tharu practices several aspects like imperfective, which includes habitual and progressive, perfective, perfect, pluperfect, completive, inceptive and iterative.

Abbreviations

1	first person	NEG	negative
2	second person	NCLF	numeral classifier
3	third person	OBL	oblique
ACC	accusative	PART	particle
CLF	classifier	PL	plural
COMP	completive	PRE	present
EXI	existential	PROG	progressive
EMPH	emphatic	PST	past
FUT	future	REFL	reflexive
IDE	identificational	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	VOC	vocative
LOC	locative		

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NOMINALIZATION IN CHINTANG¹

Netra Prasad Paudyal

Nominalization in Chintang is a multi-functional strategy. In this language, nominalization extends beyond deriving nominals. It is realized in all levels of grammar, especially in syntactic structures such as attributive phrases, relative clauses, complement clauses and temporal clauses.

1 Introduction

Nominalization is one of the highly productive phenomena of Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972, Noonan 1997, Bickel 1999, Watters 2006, 2008, Genetti et al. 2008, 2011). The functions of nominalizers and nominalization constructions in these languages are often quite diverse and extended (Yap et al. 2011). In a number of Tibeto-Burman languages including the Kiranti sub-group, nominalization is not limited to its standard function of deriving nominals from individual words of other classes, but it also applies to clausal and sentence-level elements alike. In fact, nominalization is a major tool for creating various types of syntactic structures, such as attributive phrases, relative clauses, complement clauses and temporal clauses. In addition, there are nominalization constructions that often appear independently, which is a phenomenon commonly referred to as 'standalone' or 'non-embedded' nominalization (Bickel 1999; Watters 2008). These constructions are quite common across the Kirant area. There

¹ Research on Chintang started in 2004 (Chintang and Puma Documentation Project) financed by the Volkswagen Foundation. The author also acknowledges the DAAD scholarship (A/06/91690) to work on his PhD research. I use both the corpus and elicited data in this work. The examples without a reference were elicited during my fieldwork in 2008 and 2010. Chintang corpus currently includes approximately 600,000 words, and is deposited in the DoBes archive. (www.mpi.nl/dobes)

are a large number of studies which deal with the various aspects and functions of nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages. Matisoff (1972) was the first to point out the relationship between Nominalization, Relativization and Genitivization in Lahu², where all these functions are expressed by a single particle *-ve*. This type of conformity of syntactic functions in various Sino-Tibetan languages, including Kiranti languages, has been termed as 'Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization' (SSTN in short) in Bickel (1999: 271).

Nominalization is a pervasive feature of many Kiranti languages like Limbu (van Driem 1987), Camling (Ebert 1997), Kulung (Tolsma 1999), Belhare (Bickel 1999), Thulung (Lahaussais 2003), and Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009). As in many other Kiranti languages, there are particularly three basic nominalizing morphemes in Chintang - first a nominalizer which has been referred to as 'active participle' or 'agentive participle' *ka-*, the second one is an all-purpose 'general' nominalizer *=go*, and the last one is the nominalizer *=kha*. The active participle is a nominalizer that relativizes the S/A arguments of the clause. In Chintang the active participle requires a prefix *ka-* in addition to the suffix *-pa* (derived from TB ***pa** Watters 2006), as in *ka-ca-pa* 'the one who eats' or *ka-thuk-pa* 'the one who cooks'.³ The nominalizer *=go* is one of the most productive markers in Chintang. It can nominalize any verb, adjective, clause, adverbial or an individual utterance. *=kha* works in a fashion very similar to *=go*. The major difference between *=go*, *=kha* and *ka-* is that the *=go* and *=kha* appear

² Lahu is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by the Lahu people of China, Thailand, Myanmar and Laos.

³ the *-pa* suffix is optional in active participle constructions in Athpare and SE Camling, as in Athpare *ka-thuk=(ba)* 'cook' or SE Camling *ka-dip=(pa)* 'blacksmith/one who beats'. But in some languages like Kulung, the active participle is formed by *=pa* alone, eg. *khai=pa* 'the one who is going'.

with the finite form of the verb and relativize all core and oblique arguments. But the active participle *ka-* is a nonfinite form of the verb which relativizes only the S/A arguments.

The purpose of this paper is to present only some issues of nominalization in Chintang. Due to space limitations, I could not include infinitival relativization, all aspects of clause nominalization and sentential nominalizations in this tiny paper.

2 Functions of nominalization in Chintang

Like in other Kiranti languages, nominalization in Chintang extend beyond its core function of deriving nominal items from non-nominals. Chintang "nominalization" is thus different from the standard process at both the starting and the end point, because its input is not necessarily non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (eg. headed relative clauses). For example, most of the lexical categories like nouns, adjectives⁴, demonstratives and adverbs are usually nominalized. Such lexical nominalizations bear the same morphosyntactic characteristics as non-derived nouns, for example, a nominalized lexical element can further take a genitive marker *-ko*, plural marker *-ce* or even an ergative marking suffix *-ŋa*, for example, *mi=go-ko-ce-ŋa*, small=NMLZ-GEN-ns-ERG 'small ones'. As the lexical nominalization is beyond the scope of this paper, we deal with clausal and sentential nominalization and their specific functions in this section.

2.1 Relativization

Nominalization is a main strategy to form relative clauses in Chintang. Actually, relativization is one of the major functions

of nominalization. In Chintang there are a number of constructions which fulfill the same functions of relative clauses in many languages. However, none of these constructions are like the relative clauses found in English, but they are attributive clauses, which is an areal characteristic of the languages of Asia (Comrie 1998). These attributive clauses are neither specialized for relativization nor there is any particular dedicated relativizer, but they include all types of clausal and non-clausal attributes and nominalizations. This is why, like in some other Kiranti languages, relativization is simply one specialized function of nominalization in Chintang.

2.1.1 =go Relativization

In this type of relativization a finite verb is followed by a nominalizer =go. There is no restriction on the distribution of this marker; it appears mostly with the subjunctive form of the verb. Chintang employs the same nominalizer =go to all the grammatical relations

- (1) *thab-a=go makcha*
come.level-PST=NMLZ brother-in-law
'the brother-in-law who came'
- (2) *akka u-ten-a-ŋ=go ma?mi*
1s 3sA-hit-PST-1sP=NMLZ man
'the man who hit me'
- (3) a. *cujwa sed-o-ŋs-o=go ma?mi*
fever kill-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ man
'the man whom fever killed'
 b. *kocuwa u-kipma katt-o=go cha*
dog 3sPOSS-fear come.up-3P=NMLZ child
'the child that is afraid from a dog.'
- (4) *akka ten-u-ŋ=go ma?mi*
1s hit-3P-1sA=NMLZ man
'the man whom I hit'

⁴ Both the native and borrowed adjectives are obligatorily nominalized in Chintang (for example, *mi=go*, small=NMLZ 'small one').

- (5) *khed-u-tad-u-ŋs-u-ce=go* *kocuwa-ce*
 buy-3P-bring-3P-PERF-3P-3nsP=NMLZ dog-ns
 ‘the dogs which were brought’ [talk01.019]
- (6) *akka* *pempak pid-u-ŋ=go* *duwacha ti-e*
 1s bread give-3P-1sA=NMLZ boy come-PST
 ‘the boy whom I gave the bread came’
- (7) *sapphi ta pukt-o-ko=go* *thaũ*
 much PTCL bear.fruit-3P-NPST=NMLZ place
 ‘the place where we get a good harvest’

Like the Chantyal nominalizer *-wa* (Noonan 1997), which relativizes any core arguments and many obliques, there are no constraints in Chintang either. The *=go* can relativize S as in (1), A as in (2), an experiencer argument as in (3a) and (3b), P as in (4), T as in (5), G as in (6) and oblique in (7). Most of the examples of *=go*-marked relative clauses show that Chintang relative clauses are restricted to the finite form of the verb which is marked by the past tense suffix *-a* in subjunctive mood. In examples from (1) to (6), the tense marker suffixes (*-e*, *-hẽ*) are ungrammatical. But in example (7) the verb is inflected for non-past the marker as well. Like Athpare and Camling, Chintang uses the finite form of the verb for both subject and non-subject nominalizations, i.e. the *=go* marked verb is inflected for person and number.

Bickel (1999:272) gives a number of parallel examples of internally-headed and externally-headed relative clauses from three different Kiranti languages closely related to Chintang (Belhare, Limbu, Athpare), where he reports that unlike externally-headed relative clauses, internally-headed relative clauses have a fully inflected valence structure. However, internally-headed relative clauses, as illustrated in (8), are rare in the Chintang corpus, and there is no structural difference between internally-headed relative clause and externally-headed relative clause in Chintang.

- (8) *darkem ma-ce sa u-sed-a=go*
 D. mother-ns meat 3nsA-kill-PST=NMLZ
na-khutt-i=kha
 3>2-take-p=PTCL
 ‘Did they bring you meat (of an animal) which Darke’s mother and the others had killed?’

It should also be noted that *=go* marked relative clauses are headless most of the time, as in (9). In our corpus more than 80% of nominalized clauses do not contain an overt head.

- (9) *yo-ba* *cek-no=go*
 DEM-ACROSS-LOC₁ speak-NPST=NMLZ
 ‘the one (who is) speaking there’

2.1.2. *=kha* Relativization

Like in other Kiranti languages, *=kha* relativizes on location in Chintang too. In this case, it is attached directly to the bare root of the verb and includes no other inflection⁵. As this type of locative relativization with *=kha* is attested in a number of Kiranti languages, some Kiranti linguists have suspected that it is etymologically derived from the noun *kham* meaning ‘soil, mud, earth’. However, the nominalizer *=kha* is not restricted to locative relativization in Chintang. There are also quite a few examples in our corpus where it is also attached to subjunctive and indicative forms of the verbs, like the *=go* nominalizer.

This suggests that *=kha* is a finite nominalizer which takes both tense and person marking suffixes in Chintang. Personal inflection can only be removed completely when it is functionally absent, as in (11a).

⁵ Ebert (1997) has a similar category which she describes as a ‘patientive noun’ (in short glossed as PN) in her description of Camling, *ca-kha*, food-PN ‘food’. But as it cannot be used adnominally, it may not be a true participle.

- (10) a. *Akka paille kha-u-dis-u-hẽ=kha lo*
 1s before see-3P-TEL-3P-1s.PST=NMLZ PTCL
 'the one which I saw before' [CLLDCH1R04S06.0359]
- b. *kocuwa-ŋa nept-o-ŋs-o=kha*
 dog-ERG step.on-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ
 'The one which dog has bitten.' [CLLCh1R04S06.0754]
- (11) a. *ca=kha thaũ*
 eat=NMLZ place
 'the place where people eat' [rana_pilgrim.097]
- b. *ned-u-ŋ=go thaũ*
 read-3P-1sA=NMLZ place
 'the place where I read'

Example (10a) illustrates the *=kha* nominalizer with the indicative past form and (10b) shows with subjunctive form. Like *=go*, nominalizer *=kha* also favors the subjunctive form of the verbs. Examples like (10a) are not widespread in the Chintang corpus. In example (11a) the *=kha* nominalizer relativizes exclusively on a general, unspecified location; it does not make reference to the place where you or we eat, but indicates the place where anybody eats. When such specification is desired the *=go* nominalizer must be used, as in (11b).

2.1.3 *ka-* Active participle

The active participle is formed with the prefix *ka-* which is attached to any type of verb root in Chintang. But unlike in some other Kiranti languages, at the same time, sex marking suffixes *-pa* (unmarked) and *-ma* (for female referents) also appear with the same verbal root, and can then be case-marked. The participle basically refers to the doer of the action, e.g. the active participle of the verb 'work' has the meaning of 'worker'. There is only one type of agent participle in

Chintang⁶. It relativizes S or A arguments regardless of their semantic roles.

The examples in (12a) and (12b) illustrate *ka-* nominalization with monovalent verbs, where (12a) refers to the actor and (12b) refers to the patient semantic role.

- (12) a. *ka-phaĩ-pa*
 ACT.PTCP-walk-M
 'one who walks' [sadstory_RM.167]
- b. *ka-si-ppa*
 ACT.PTCP-die-M
 'one who is dead'

With transitive and ditransitive verbs, *ka-* nominalizes mostly the A argument, as in (13a). However, some ditransitive verbs can also nominalize R arguments, as in (13b). In this way, it is impossible to nominalize T arguments (13c).

- (13) a. *sencikha toŋlekha ka-pi-pa*
 heaven heaven ACT.PTCP-give-M
 'the one who gives heaven (to us)' [wal_yupung02.247]
- b. *citthi ka-tak-pa*
 letter ACT.PTCP-receive-M
 'the one who receives the letter'
- c. **dharan ka-haŋ-(pa) sontoloŋ*
 Dh. ACT.PTCP-send-(M) orange
 intended: 'orange to send Dharan'

Bickel (2004) reports that the active participle in Belhare, which is a cognate to Chintang, can also mark experiencer

⁶ Some Kiranti language like Yamphu have two types of agent participles; they distinguish between a time-stable trait of referent (eg. farmer 'those who work in field as their occupation) and a single action attribute (eg. speaker 'One who speaks now').

arguments, illustrated in (14). This holds true for Chintang as well. In example (15) the *ka-* selects the experiencer argument even though it is not marked like a normal head. In this case, the argument which undergoes nominalization does not necessarily need to be agentive; it only needs to be more agentive than the other argument following the actor animacy hierarchy (Bickel 2001).

(14) Belhare (Bickel 2004)

<i>ka-lim-ba</i>		<i>ma?mi</i>
ACT.PTCP-delicious-M		man
‘a person to whom [the beer] is delicious’		

(15) *kocuwa u-ki?ma ka-kai?-pa cha*
 dog 3s.POSS-fear ACT.PTCP-come.up-M child
 ‘Child that is afraid of a dog.’

In some examples in our corpus, the agentive nominalization is also used to modify another noun, as in (16).

(16) *ki-na-ha?-no ta jhullu*
 fall.down-NA-COMPL-NPST FOC swing
ka-lu-pa ma?mi
 ACT.PTCP-do-M man
 ‘The man who swings, falls down!’

Unlike in Puma (Schackow 2008), in Chintang the active participle is also used with action verbs which then function as an instrumental noun meaning ‘an instrument for’.

(17) *cakhan ka-yap-ma=na ba-tta=kha yuŋ-no*
 food ACT-serve-F=TOP big=NMLZ be-NPST
 ‘The spoon to serve food is big.’

It is also possible to negate the active participle. But this is a very rare phenomenon in Chintang, and it has not been noted in other Kiranti languages. Active participle in Chintang is negated in exactly the same way as are sentences, with a pre-

verbal prefix *mai-*, as in (18). In this example, we can also change the order of the negative prefix *mai-* and the active participle *ka-* without altering the meaning of the sentence, as predicted by free prefix ordering in Chintang (cf. Bickel et al. 2007).

(18) *ani-rin mai-ka-ni-pa-ce*
 1pi.POSS-language NEG-ACT.PTCP-know-M-ns
 ‘those who do not know our language’ [Durga_Exp.12]

-pa/-ma sex markers are not an obligatory elements of the active participle in Chintang. If the verb stem is followed by any types of suffixes, the *-pa/-ma* can be simply dropped without altering any meaning. There are few examples where the active participle *ka-* appears without the nominalizer *-pa/-ma*, but with a number marker *-ce* and an ergative marker *-ŋa*, as in (19a) and (19b). Though, as illustrated in (18), it is possible to have a sex marker in these examples; it is not very common in Chintang corpus. There are hardly any examples with both person marker and sex marker.

(19) a. *acikali ka-ko-ce=na*
 nowadays ACT.PTCP-roam-ns=TOP
 ‘the one who roams in these days’ [RM_JK_talk01.072]

b. *boka mai-ka-hi-ŋa*
 he.goat NEG-ACT.PTCP-be.able.to-ERG
 ‘he who is unable (to offer) a he-goat’ [origin_myth]

Interestingly, when there is neither a nominalizer nor a number marker on the verb, then there should be an overt noun in the clause. In example (20), the active participle *ka-* is prefixed to a verb root *num* ‘do’ which does not have any other marking on the verb.

(20) *huĩ bela pad-e ka-num ma?mi manchi*
 DEM time study-V.NTVZ ACT.PTCP-do man not
 ‘At that time there was no educated person’

The *ka-* participle cannot relativize the P argument in Chintang. Like in most of the Kiranti languages only the S and A arguments can be relativized with the active participle *ka-* in Chintang. Verbal categories like mood/tense and aspect are always absent from the active participle, but negation can typically be expressed.

3 Summary

Nominalization is a multi-functional strategy found across almost all Kiranti languages including Chintang. In many Kiranti languages, if not all, nominalization is extended beyond its standard function of deriving nominals from non-nominal items. Actually nominalization is found at almost all levels of grammar, i.e. it converts (all) verbs and adverbials into nominals, it marks adjectives, demonstratives, participles, relative clauses, and complement clauses. Nominalization in Chintang is thus different from the standard concept, because its input is not necessarily non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (eg. Headed relative clauses). Though nominalisation is found in all levels of Chintang grammar, derivation of nouns from non-nominals or nominals occupies a prime role. A significant role of nominalisation is seen in various subordinate clauses and in free-standing sentences.

In particular, there are three nominalizing morphemes in Chintang. The first one is an all-purpose 'general' nominalizer =*go*, which can relativize all core arguments and some obliques. The second nominalizer, however, described as an active participle in this paper, can relativize only the S/A arguments. Finally, the third one, =*kha*, relativizes on location, as in other Kiranti languages - but extends beyond that to function similar to those of =*go*.

Glossing & abbreviation: This paper follows the Leipzig Glossing conventions, with the addition of the following

abbreviations: ACT.PTCP 'active participle', e 'exclusive', NTVZ 'noun nativizer', PTCL 'particle', SEQ 'sequential', TEL 'telic', V.NTVZ 'verb nativizer'

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SOLVING PROBLEMS OR CREATING MORE
PROBLEMS? TOWARDS LOCAL AND EMIC-ORIENTED
APPLIED LINGUISTICS

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Due to globalization, there is a trend of accepting foreign theories to address our own local challenges. But are those theories really helpful to distil our issues? Do they assist local applied linguists to promote their own scholarships? This article presents these issues with reference to the Nepalese context.

1 Redefining applied linguistics

Cook (2006) argues 'Applied Linguistics means many things to many people'. Traditionally applied linguistics is defined as a discipline which seeks ways to solution of language related problems. For example, Kaplan and Widdowson (1992) present applied linguistics as a discipline which mediates the relationship between theory and practice. They argue that an applied linguist's role is to explore theories developed by researchers and suggest for their application in possible relevant fields. This view positions applied linguists as a passive technician like a flaccid creature that cannot raise questions and have to follow what the constructor of the so-called original knowledge say. Applied linguists in this sense are considered lifeless people and their works are often perceived as 'subjectless' endeavor.

If we consider the role of applied linguists as a mediator of theory and practice relationship, it is very difficult to identify their existence. With this assumption, the 'agency' of applied linguist seems to be ignored. Are applied linguists people without agency? Don't they have interest and knowledge to understand their problems and take necessary actions to address those problems? If they are mediator they have to rely

on the Western or any other constructs as publications and research works in language studies are carried out mainly in the West or developed countries. This happens because developed countries have resources and technology to fund for more research works and publish those works. This is a kind of 'knowledge hegemony' which applied linguists in developing polities are not aware of. Even if they are aware of they can do nothing as they lack resources and publication opportunities. Closely related to this issue is: center and periphery dichotomy. The centers of applied linguistics are usually the countries like USA, UK and other developed European countries where theories are constructed. And those theories are disseminated through journals, books, conferences and technology that receive global acceptance. While attempting to adopt those theories, applied linguists from periphery do not really contemplate on local issues. Considering those foreign knowledge authentic, they hesitate to raise questions on their relevance. This tendency does not seem to capture the sentiment of common defining feature of applied linguistics; solution of problem.

This discussion indicates that there is need of specifying problem: local or global problem. In this regard, Candlin (1988) says that applied linguistics 'begins from local and quite practical problems' (vii). Although there are a large number of publications in applied linguistics, majority of them promote the notion of 'globalisation-from-top' in which ideas from centre are imposed over periphery countries. Cook and Seidlhofer (1995) strongly contend that 'this is the 'ideal', and it is argued in what follows that, unfortunately, much of present-day ALLT (Applied Linguistics for Language Teaching) lacks the relevance necessary for carrying out its mediating role in an effective manner' (:8). If we do not go beyond 'mediation', there is a chance of applied linguistics to be defunct as Bygate (2005) argues that real-world problem is not solved by applied linguists. The problem has to be

recognised and informed by people who are experiencing it. This implies that we need to redefine applied linguistics by considering local exigencies and experiences of local people.

2 Tension between local and global: A case of communicative language teaching (CLT)

Communicative language teaching (CLT) method, which is considered as the global *ideoscape* (Block, 2010) – global flow of ideas, aims at helping learners develop communicative competence (henceforth CC) i.e. ability to communicate like native speakers do. In general, CC includes the ability to use language appropriately, correctly, cohesively and coherently with appropriate gestures, and gap fillers in real life contexts. To be more specific, CLT aims to develop native-like competence of students in the target language. Teachers especially from periphery are putting their best effort to help students develop native-like competence in English.

The theoretical assumption of the CLT method clearly indicates that it advocates for the idealized native speaker norms. Accordingly, English language teaching (ELT) includes teaching of pronunciation, grammar and other aspects of the Standard English usually British English. But is it possible and justifiable to force learners from EFL contexts to pronounce English words like British (for example) do? Another issue is that CLT considers language a ‘commodity’ i.e. using language a means to achieve materials. It seems to ignore the knowledge acquired while learning a language but seems to focus on the ‘currency’ that can be obtained while speaking like native speakers. In essence CLT carries the baggage of native speaker culture and linguistic norms. In other words, it is guided by the notion of ‘native speakerism’. Furthermore, in the name of providing students with the authentic exposure of English, it promotes foreign culture through global textbooks written by foreign writers. But is it

always necessary to bring foreign contexts while teaching English as a foreign language? Cannot we teach English using locally produced materials which are relevant to our own contexts?

Various authors contend that CLT is a means to exercise western ideology and values in eastern or periphery countries. In the same line, Canagarajah (2002) argues that “[j]ust as the technologically and economically developed nations of the West (or center) hold an unfair monopoly over less developed (or periphery) communities in industrial products, similar relations characterize the marketing of language teaching methods” (:135).

Richards (2005) strongly argues that it is not necessary to follow native speaker usage in EFL materials. For him the important thing is to engage learners in using language as a means of successful communication both within and outside classroom. Since the use of English outside classroom in EFL contexts is very limited, we cannot expect that students speak English outside classroom. Even if they speak, they do not speak with native speakers. As they have to speak with non-native speakers e.g. their peers, seniors and other neighbors they are not expected to speak native-like English which may not mutually intelligible. This happens because a large number of varieties of English (i.e. new Englishes) are emerging everyday. Although we lack comprehensive studies on Nepali variety of English, we can easily see that the way we speak English is different from native speakers. This difference may exist at pronunciation, grammar, style, and text levels. In this sense, Richards (2005) further argues that ‘how native-speakers ask for and give directions is largely irrelevant. What is more important is to provide learners with a sufficient vocabulary, grammar, and communication strategies to enable them to make themselves understood when they asked for directions’ (:17).

Another major issue that CLT seems to ignore is non-native speakers' identities. While following the native speaker norms of English, the existence of new varieties of English are ignored. From both political and humanistic point of view, any kind of restriction and prescription from the 'top' is not acceptable. And as language teaching is also apart of social activity, we English teachers must be serious about the identity of learners. Non-native speakers' identities include their way of speaking, the style they use and the strategies they adopt while communicating. Isn't it wise to accept language use if communication takes place effectively?

Closely associated with this is the issue of ownership of English and teaching English. Who owns English? Who should take the ownership of teaching English? Of course, local stakeholders (e.g. teachers, students, and parents) should take ownership of teaching English. If they are not able to do so it is our responsibility to empower them for doing so. It is true that if we follow the prescription of ELT methods strictly non-native speakers of English will never be able to take the ownership of English teaching. As they have to rely on others' norms and resources, they will always be a 'parasite'. Until we are able to empower teachers and learners, we suspect the sustainability of teaching English in foreign language contexts. The statistics has shown that the number of English non-native speakers have already outnumbered the native speaker population indicating that English is no longer the only language of so-called native speakers e.g. Americans, British, New Zealand, Australia and so on. Now English has become a lingua franca which connects people from different cultural backgrounds. For this the idealistic notion of CC is not sufficient- the goal of teaching English should be intercultural competence. A simple argument is that it may not be perfectly possible to teach native like English in the *non-native contexts by non-native teachers to non-native students for the non-native purpose.*

3 Globalisation and Language Planning and Policy (LPP)

Appadurai (1990 as cited in Block 2010:291) has characterized globalization as a complex process of networking through five major forces which are called 'scapes'.

- a. ethnoscares or flows of people (e.g. migrants, asylum seekers, exiles, tourists);
- b. technoscares or flows of technology (e.g. hardware components, technical know-how);
- c. financescares or flows of money (e.g. national stock exchanges, commodity speculations);
- d. mediascares or flows of information (e.g. newspapers, magazines, satellite television channels, websites); and
- e. ideoscares or flows of ideas (e.g. human rights, environmentalism, free trade movements, fear of terrorism)

The 21st century world is characterised by its globalized nature as it best resembles above mentioned 'scapes'. People from one nation have already established their relationship with the people from other countries for various purposes like business, education, and politics. One fundamental characteristic of globalisation is that it seeks to find out one common entity e.g. language, agenda, political framework and business proposal. To this end, languages of the wider communication (LWC) like English are accepted as a global language.

Language policies especially in developing countries are largely influenced by 'scapes' of globalization. For example, introduction of English from Grade 1 and increasing tendency of transfer of community schools from Nepali to English medium of instruction is highly influenced by the forces of globalization i.e. we assume that learning English will help

children get access to more opportunities and gain economic prosperity. But such a globalised view of language planning considers language as a *commodity*. And ‘stronger’ languages like English, Spanish and French, for example, are accepted as a subject of teaching and medium of instruction in school without any question. However, commodified view of language does not seem to address identities and personal experiences of people speaking different languages. Moreover, it does not take into an account of micro-level realities and problems (Ricento, 2000).

The above discussion indicates that applied linguistic practices may not always be helpful to solve language related problems. Rather in many cases they become a carrier of ideologies, beliefs and values which are not pertinent to local realities. Consideration of applied linguistics as a problem-solver discipline becomes elusive if micro-level grassroots realities are not properly addressed. In the remainder of this article, I will briefly discuss the approaches that may help Nepalese applied linguists to take up local language related issues.

4 Critical applied linguistics: a social-sensitive approach

Critical applied linguistics is an approach to language related questions that springs from an assumption that we live amid a world of pain (Pennycook, 2004). Critical applied linguistics challenges approaches to languages studies which do not address local socio-political realities. One notion of critical applied linguistics is ‘linguistic imperialism’, which according to Phillipson (1992), is the phenomenon in which powerful languages always dominate local or powerless languages through various means e.g. education and other media. Such an imperialism invites linguistic genocide (death of local languages) as argued by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000). Linguistic genocide takes place when language planning-in-education promotes subtractive learning of dominant languages.

The idea of *cultural imperialism* introduced by Pennycook (1994) is another dimension of critical applied linguistics. According to this notion, any kind of pedagogy including language teaching can never be neutral. Language pedagogy can work as a transporter of the foreign culture and beliefs which may be awkward in the local context. Elsewhere Pennycook (1994, 2004) claims that English language teaching (without its contextualisation) may promote hegemony of English culture through textbooks and language teaching programs. But is it always necessary to teach English by using texts which project English culture? Cannot we teach English with local culture or the mixture of local and global culture?

5 Critical pedagogy

One of the major approaches that help applied linguists address local language-related issues can be critical pedagogy or literacy. Grounded on the idea of Brazilian thinker Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) in which he raises questions on transmission or ‘banking model’ of education, critical pedagogy rejects the idea of teachers’ role as depositors and learners’ role as depositories. Lima (2008) says that critical pedagogy is:

an educational practice that focuses on the relationship between language, social practices, citizenship, intercultural relations and global/local issues, with several implications for our understanding of language, our pedagogical practices and the role of teachers.

We see that critical pedagogy is not only related to the development of language aspects and skills, as it is done with orthodox CLT but also with the development of ‘critical thinking skill’ through questioning, discussing and connecting issues to the local/global context. Furthermore, critical pedagogy addresses social changes and helps teachers and

students minimise social inequalities in teaching-learning process. To this end, it seeks to involve students in dialogues in which students discuss local issues first and then try to link them with global ones.

Critical pedagogy questions the relevance of methods and materials for language teaching rather than accepting them blindly considering they are globally famous. It also looks for alternatives and social sensitive methods of language teaching.

6 Linguistic ethnography (LE)

Linguistic ethnography (LE) takes post-modernist stand and critiques essentialist accounts of social life (Creese 2008). Similarly, Rampton et al. (2004) argue that

LE holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity (:2).

We see that LE takes the bottom-up approach of observing and analysing language use in social contexts. Rather than guided by the rule of any particular theory LE looks at micro realities first and makes linguistic analysis in relation to society and culture. As Creese (2008) argues an LE analysis attempts to combine details of 'local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world' (:233).

If we take LE as the approach to language studies there is a greater chance of relating language in relation to gender, power, identity, minorities, migration, urbanisation, (pop) culture, workplace, discourse and text which are pertinent to our context.

7 Nepalese association of applied linguistics

Nepalese Association of Applied Linguistics (NAAL) is the need of country to promote local applied linguistic studies. There are two associations – Nepal English Language Teachers' Association (NELTA) for teachers of English and Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) for linguists – which are providing platform for those who are involved in applied linguistic works. However, these associations are not able to bridge the gap between theory and practice and touch upon the local and emic-oriented practices for language studies due to their scope and nature i.e. NELTA seems to focus on professional development of teachers of English and LSN seems to be limited to theoretical aspects of morphology and syntax. But there are so many language related issues like gender, sexuality, media, language planning, multiculturalism, identity, migration, and class which are ignored in Nepal. Due to lack of an association applied linguists are not able to share their experiences and carry out research works on language related issues in the local context.

In this paper I have argued for carrying out local applied linguistic studies. To this end, I have suggested critical pedagogy and linguistic ethnography as relevant approaches. Furthermore, I strongly urge for the establishment of the Nepalese Association of Applied Linguistics (NAAL).

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TAMANG MORPHOPHONOLOGY

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This study mainly focuses on morphophonology of Tamang, a dialect called Dhankute Tamang. This paper comprises three sections: (1) morphophonological alternations (2) assimilations and (3) Summary.

1 Morphophonological alternations

1.1 Alternation of imperatives

Imperative allomorphs {-u}, {-o} and {-go} are restricted by the root final or root final plus its preceding phoneme. The rules and restrictions along with the examples are presented in (1).

(1)

	Root finals	Allomorphs	Examples
a.	<i>xv</i> (<i>x</i> = any consonant phoneme other than /j/)	{-u}	<i>k^ha:-u</i> come-IMP 'come'
b.	<i>xc</i> (<i>x</i> =any possible vowel phoneme)	{-o}	<i>θuŋ-o</i> drink-IMP 'drink'
c.	<i>jv</i> (<i>j</i> = consonant phoneme/j/)	{-go}	<i>cja:-go</i> look-IMP 'look (at)'

The roots *k^ha:-*, *ca:-* and *ni-* in (1a) end in vowels /a:/, /a:/, and /i /, respectively. The preceding phonemes of these vowels are /k^h/, /c/ and /n/ which are other than /j/; so, the

imperative allomorph {-u} is added to the root *k^ha:-*, *ca:-* and *ni-*.

In (1b) the roots end in consonants /ŋ/, /ŋ/ and /l/, respectively, and their preceding phonemes are /u/, /u/ and /o/. So, another imperative allomorph {-o} is affixed to the roots *θuŋ-*, *suŋ-* and *sol-*.

The imperative allomorph {-go} is affixed to the root *cja:-*, *sju-* and *p^hjep-* in (1c), as the root ends in a vowel and its preceding phoneme is /j/.

1.2 Alternation of alveolar affricates

Voicing of root final restricts the past and unknown past marking allomorphs: {-ci/-zi} and {*cim*/-*zim*}, respectively. The unaspirated alveolar voiced affricate followed by /i/ or /im/ forms the allomorph {-zi} or {-zim}, which is affixed to the root ending in a voiced phoneme.

The unaspirated alveolar voiceless affricate is followed by /i/ or /im/ to form an allomorph {-ci} or {-cim}, which refers to the past and unknown past tense of the root ending in a voiceless phoneme. These rules along with their examples are illustrated as follows:

(2)	Root finals	Allomorphs	Examples		
a.	vd→	{-zi} or {-zim}	<i>ca:-zi</i> eat-Pt 'ate' <i>ca:-zim</i> eat-UPt 'could have eaten'	<i>bra:-zi</i> bring-Pt 'brought' <i>bra:-zim</i> bring-UPt 'could have brought'	<i>k^ha:-zi</i> come-Pt 'came' <i>k^ha:-zim</i> come-UPt 'could have come'

b.	vI→	{-ci}	<i>rop-ci</i>	<i>tet-ci</i>	<i>nup-ci</i>
		or {-	beat-Pt	grind-Pt	rise-Pt
		<i>cim</i> }	‘beat’	‘ground’	‘rose’
			<i>rop-cim</i>	<i>tet-cim</i>	<i>nup-cim</i>
			hit-UPt	grind-UPt	rise-UPt
			‘could have	‘could	‘could have
			beaten’	have	risen’
				ground’	

The root finals in (2a) are voiced, so {-zi} or {-zim} are affixed to them. The root finals in (2b) are voiceless and thereby {-ci} or {-cim} are affixed to them to mark past and unknown past, respectively.

1.3 Alternation of alveolar affricates and nasal

The consonant phonemes of the past and unknown past marker allomorphs, which begin with unaspirated alveolar affricates /c/ or /z/, are replaced by alveolar nasal phoneme /n/ when the root is preceded by the negative marker. The rules with their examples are as follows:

	Rules		
(3) a.	{/c/}→	<i>rop-ci</i>	<i>rop-cim</i>
	{/n/{NEG+S+/-ci/}}	beat-Pt	beat-UPt
		‘beat’	‘could have
			beaten’
		<i>a:-rop-ni</i>	<i>a:-rop-nim</i>
		NEG-beat-Pt	NEG-beat-UPt
		‘didn’t beat’	‘couldn’t have
			beaten’

b.	{/c/}→	<i>ca:-zi</i>	<i>ca:-zim</i>
	{/n/{NEG+S+/-zi/}}	eat-Pt	eat-UPt
		‘ate’	‘could have
			eaten’
		<i>a:-ca:-ni</i>	<i>a:-ca:-nim</i>
		NEG-eat-Pt	NEG-eat-UPt
		‘did not eat’	‘couldn’t have
			eaten’

Roots are preceded by /a:-/ to mark negativity. Besides, {-ci} and {-cim} of *rop-ci*, *rop-cim*, *tet-ci* and *tet-cim* in (3a) are replaced by {-ni} and {-nim} to mark negativity. Likewise, {-zi} and {-zim} in (3b) are replaced by {-ni} and {-nim}, respectively.

1.4 Alternation of bilabial plosives

Aspect markers and nominalizer and purposive non-finite markers have two allomorphs each depending upon the root finals. These allomorphs fall into *p*-group or *b*-group as they begin with bilabial plosives /b/ or /p/. The alternations of /p/ and /b/ along with their examples are as follows:

(4)	a.		b.	
		{/b/{Vd.}}	Examples	{/p/{Vd.}}
				Examples
	PROG	{-ba:n}	<i>ni-ba:n</i>	{-pa:n}
				<i>rop-pa:n</i>
	PERF	{-ba:la:}	<i>ni-ba:la:</i>	{-pa:la:}
				<i>rop-pa:la:</i>
	PERF	{-ba:non}	<i>ni-ba:non</i>	{-pa:non}
	PROG			<i>rop-pa:non</i>
	NML	{-ba:}	<i>ni-ba:</i>	{-pa:}
				<i>rop-pa:</i>
	PURP	{-ba:ri}	<i>ni-ba:ri</i>	{-pa:ri}
				<i>rop-pa:ri</i>

Allomorphs of *b*-group are added to the voiced final root as in *ni-ba:n*, *ni-ba:la:*, *ni-ba:non*, *ni-ba:* and *ni-ba:ri*. Allomorphs

of *p*-group are affixed to the voiceless root as in *rop-pa:n*, *rop-pa:la:*, *rop-pa:non*, *rop-pa:* and *rop-pa:ri*. These rules are productive.

1.5 Alternation of bilabial plosives and alveolar nasal

Bilabial plosives /*b*/ and /*p*/ of nominalizers *-ba:* and *-pa:* are replaced by alveolar nasal /*n*/ in the compound verb formation. The rules are presented as follows:

Rules	Examples
(5) a. {/p/} → {/n/ {S+NML+S-}}	<i>rop - na: - ca:-ba:</i> < <i>rop - pa:- ca:- ba:</i> > beat - NML-eat-NML 'to be beaten'
b. {/b/} → {/n/ {S+NML+S-}}	<i>k^ha:- na:- la:- ba:</i> < <i>k^ha:- ba:- la:- ba:</i> > come- NML-do-NML 'keep on coming'

In (5a-b) the bilabial plosives /*p*/ and /*b*/ of nominalizers added to the first root in the compound verb formation (verb + verb) are replaced by alveolar nasal /*n*/.

But this rule is not applicable to the noun formed by the combination of two verb roots.

(6) <i>ca: - ba: - θuŋ- ba:</i> eat -NML-drink-NML 'a feast'
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In example (6), the nominalizer {-*ba:*} of the first root remains unchanged as this compound word is a noun.

The bilabial plosives of nominalizers are replaced by alveolar nasal phoneme when the adverbial markers follow the nominalizers. This rule can be written as follows:

Rules	Examples	
(7) a. {/p/ → /n/ {- pa:+Adv } }	<i>rop - na:- le</i> < <i>rop - pa:- le</i> > beat-NML- MAN 'by beating'	<i>k^ha:k-na:-le</i> < <i>k^ha:k-pa:-le</i> > obstruct-NML- MAN 'obstructively'
b. {/b/ → /n/ {- ba:+Adv } }	<i>zja: - na: - le</i> < <i>zja:- ba:- le</i> > good-NML- MAN 'well'	<i>noŋ-na:-le</i> < <i>noŋ-ba:-le</i> > spoil-NML-MAN 'by spoiling'

The bilabial plosives of nominalizers {*p*} and {*b*} are replaced by alveolar nasal phoneme {*n*}.

1.6 Alternation of closed back vowel and closing back diphthong

Vocative allomorphs are closed back vowel {-*u*} and closing back diphthong {-*au*} which are restricted by the root finals. The rules are as follows:

Rules	Examples	
(8) a. VOC → - <i>u</i> / {- <i>a:/</i> }	<i>a:ma:-u</i> mother – VOC 'Hi, mother!'	<i>a:pa:-u</i> father-VOC 'Hi, father'
b. VOC → \- <i>a:u</i> \ {x (x= rather than / <i>a:/</i>)}	<i>gelbu-a:u</i> Gelbu-VOC 'Hi, Gelbu!'	<i>buriŋ-a:u</i> sister-VOC 'Hi, sister'

The roots ending in /*a:/* in (8 a) take allomorph {-*u*}, whereas the roots ending in other than /*a/* contain allomorph {-*a:u*} as in (8b).

2 Assimilations¹

Tamang assimilations are anticipatory as the final sound of the first root is influenced in its articulation by its adjacent sound, i.e., the initial sound of the second root. The adjacent sound provides only the environment for assimilation but it never changes in itself. Assimilations are of two types: alteration and addition.

2.1 Alteration

Final phoneme alveolar /n/ and bilabial /m/ of the first roots in compounding may be assimilated to velar nasal /ŋ/ when the initial sound of the second root begins with a consonant, e.g.,

- (9) *cjoŋ-pa:ra:ŋ*
 <*cjon-pa:ra:ŋ*>
 y. brother-second by birth
 'second younger brother'
- (10) *c^hɛŋ-ra:ŋ-ba:*
 <*c^hen-ra:ŋ-ba:*>
 soul-free-NML
 'redemption'
- (11) *seŋ-na:ŋ-pa:*
 <*sem-na:ŋ-pa:*>
 heart-overlap-NML
 'win the heart'

Alveolar nasal /n/ in (9-10) and bilabial nasal /m/ in (11) are assimilated to nasal /ŋ/.

¹ On the basis of the sound in its articulation, assimilations are formed in three ways: anticipatory, progressive and reciprocal (see Chalker and Weiner 1996: 37). Progressive and reciprocal assimilations are not found in Tamang.

The first root final nasals /m/ and /ŋ/ may be altered into nasalization in the environment that the adjacent phoneme is a consonant as in (12), (13) and (14).

- (12) *sĩ - ka:rmi*
 <*siŋ-ka:rmi*>
 wood-worker
 'carpenter'
- (13) *caĩ-c^hesa:ŋ*
 <*ca:ŋ-c^hesa:ŋ*>
 daughter-in-law-Ngima
 'daughter-in-law Ngima'
- (14) *zjũ-ŋeŋ-pa:*
 <*zjum-ŋeŋ-pa*>
 smile-laugh-NML
 'smile'

The first root final /ŋ/ in (12-13) and /m/ in (14) have been changed into nasalization.

2.2 Addition

The first root final vowel may take /t/ if the initial phoneme of the second root is a voiceless consonant, e.g.,

- (15) *cuŋ-θe-ba:*
 <*cu-θe-ba:*>
 this-big-NML
 'such big'
- (16) *zjoŋ-pa:ra:ŋ*
 <*zjo-pa:ra:ŋ*>
 e. brother-second by birth
 'second elder brother'

- (17) *ja:t-kja:-ba:*
 <*ja:-kja:-ba:*>
 hand-itch-NML
 'desire to beat'

In (15-17), /u/, /o/, and /a:/ are final phonemes of the first root in the compounding and the second root begins with the consonants /θ/, /p/ and /k/, respectively. Then, /t/ is added as the final phoneme (i.e., coda) to the first root.

3 Summary

The above mentioned analysis draws the fact that Tamang contains both alteration and assimilation. There are six possible morphophonological alternations are: (i.) imperatives, (ii.) alveolar affricates, (iii.) alveolar affricates and nasal, (iv.) bilabial plosives, (v.) bilabial plosives and alveolar nasal, and (vi.) closed back vowel and closing back diphthong. Besides, they are productive as well.

Morphophonological assimilations in Tamang are anticipatory. They occur in two ways: alteration and addition.

Abbreviations

HON	Honorific marker
IMP	Imperative marker
MAN	Manner adverb marker
NML	Nominaliser marker
NPT	Non-past tense marker
PERF	Perfect aspect marker
PROG	Progressive aspect marker
PT	Past tense marker
PURP	Purposive marker
UPT	Unknown past marker
VOC	Vocative marker

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NEGATION IN KATHMANDU NEWAR

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This paper illustrates the negative morpheme 'mə' in Kathmandu Newar regarding its form and position in the lexicon and syntax. It explains the position of negative morpheme depending on the type of sentence as well as the count of syllable. It also highlights the emphatic negative constructions and the different choices or options in negation.

1 Introduction

Newar is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Himalayan subgroup within Tibeto-Burman language group of Sino-Tibetan language family. It is spoken as a mother tongue by the Newars in Nepal. The Newars are concentrated in and around Kathmandu valley. Most of the Newars living outside Kathmandu valley can trace their origin as Kathmandu valley. The Newar speakers are concentrated in the three major cities of Kathmandu Valley, namely Kathmandu (Newar name *Yē*), Lalitpur (*Yala*) and Bhaktapur (*Khwapa*). They are also spread on urban settlements across the country. The CBS Census Report 2001 gives a total of 12, 56,737 (5.52%) ethnic Newars (including the Paharis), and 828,453(3.62%) mother-tongue speakers, which indicates a decline of 34.3 % speakers. Some view this trend as alarming, but the Newars continue to use their language extensively in many domains of socio-cultural contexts, trade and

commerce, education, literature and mass media. The Newars are also a highly literate community.

2 Negation

Negation in Kathmandu Newar is denoted by the negative morpheme 'mə' which is affixed either to the verb stem or to the auxiliary. It is prefixed to the mono-syllabic verb stems or infixes between the disyllabic verb stems or adjectives. Following are the monosyllabic verb stems to which negative prefixes are attached:

- (1) wə thənə tautə mə-cō
s/he here long NEG-sit-PT
'S/he did not stay (there) long.'
- (2) wə duhā mə-wə:
s/he inside NEG-come-PT
'S/he did not come inside.'
- (3) wə-ə saman mə-hə:
s/he-ERG goods NEG-bring
'S/he did not bring goods.'

2.1 A clause with an auxiliary

When a clause with an auxiliary is negated, the negative morpheme prefixes to the auxiliary, but not to the main verb. This can be seen in the example (4). In such case, it is the auxiliary which is the focus of the negation:

- (4) wə məri chu-i mə-sə:
s/he bread bake-INF NEG-know
'S/he does not know how to bake bread'.

- (5) wə bāla-kə kh̄ lha-e mə-sə
S/he beautifully talk do-INF NEG-know
'S/he does not know how to talk in a proper manner.'
- (6) wə yakənə jya ya-e mə-sə
s/he quickly work do-INF NEG-know
'S/he can not work fast.'
- (7) thəthe ya-e thik mə-n̄
this way do-INF correct NEG-VST
'This is not the right way to behave.'

2.2 Disyllabic adjectives and verbs

In the adjectives or verbs having two syllables the negative morpheme gets infixes in between:

- (8) thwə wəsə: bā-mə-la
this clothe shape-NEG-seems
'This clothe is not beautiful.'
- (9) wə-ya jya ko:-mə-thi
s/he-GEN work downward-NEG-shine
'Her/his work is not perfect.'
- (10) wə thənə phe-mə-tu
s/he here sit-NEG-take
'S/he does not sit here.'

2.3 Question words

Some question words which express negative meaning. They describe a verb or a situation expressing the concept of negation. This can be termed as lexical negation:

- (11) a: gəthe ya-e!
now how do-INF
'What shall I do now?'
- (12) thwə gəthe ya-e-gu th̄ !
this how do-INF-OBL COP
'I do not know how to do this?'
- (13) jya ya-e-gu gənə gənə kh̄ jəkə lhan-a
work do-INF-OBL where where talk only do-INF
cwən-i !
sit-INF
'They are just talking all the time without doing the work.'

2.4 Existential copula

Negation is prefixed to the existential copula such as 'du' sentence finally:

- (14) ji-ke dheba mə-du
I-GEN money NEG-EXIST
'I do not have money.'
- (15) ənə su nə mə-du
there who EMPH NEG-EXIST
'There is no one.'

2.5 Infinitives and conditionals

2.5.1 Conditionals

In conditional clauses the negative marker is prefixed to the verb that occurs just before the conditional *sa/dhasa* or the quotative *dhaka*. If there is a copula, it is prefixed to it.

- (16) wə-ə̃ chu nə mə-nə sa wə mə-phu dhəka si:-ki
 s/he-ERG what EMPH NEG-eat if s/he NEG-well
 QUOT know-PT
 'If s/he does not eat anything, understand that s/he is not
 feeling well.'
- (17) akhə: mə-bwən-ə dha sa tə:-mi ju-i mə-khu
 alphabet NEG-read-INF QUOT if big-person happen-
 INF NEG-COP
 'You will not be a great person if you do not study.'

2.5.2 Infinitives

In the infinitive clauses negative markers are prefixed to the infinitive:

- (18) khə mə-thui-ku-se jim-sə̃ wə-ya-tə
 fact NEG-know-CAUS-ADV we-ERG s/he-OBL-DAT
 pa: yan-a
 blame do-PT
 'Without knowing the fact we blamed him/her.'
- (19) jya mə-ya-se wə suŋ-kə cwən-a-cwən-ə
 work NEG-do-INF s/he silently sit-INF-sit-PT
 'S/he is staying idle doing nothing.'

2.6 Emphatic negation

While expressing strong emphasis on the fact for example: an event which did not occur, or the thing which you do not have, emphatic negation construction is used. In such cases they are posited between the two repetitions of the verb:

- (20) wə-ə̃ jya ya he mə-ya
 s/he-ERG work do-EMPH NEG-do
 'She/he did not do any work'.
- (21) ji-ke dheba də he mə-du
 I-GEN money have EMPH NEG-have
 'I do not have any money'.
- (22) wə-ə̃ nə he mə-nə
 s/he-ERG eat EMPH NEG-eat
 'S/he does not eat anything.'
- (23) wə gya he mə-gya
 s/he afraid EMPH NEG-afraid
 'He is not afraid at all'.

2.7 Prohibition

In prohibitive sentences negation marker is prefixed to the auxiliary verb:

- (24) thənə curot ton-e mə-jyu
 here cigarette smoke-INF NEG-COP
 'Smoking is not allowed here.'
- (25) dyə-ya-gu swā wā-chwə-e
 God-OBL-GEN flower throw-send-INF
 mə-tyə
 NEG-permissible
 'You should not tell this thing to anyone'.
- (26) thənə su nə wə-e mə-jyu
 here who EMPH come-INF NEG-okay
 'No one is allowed to come here.'

2.8 Copula

In sentences which have copulas ('ju', 'du' and 'khə/khu') the negative markers are normally prefixed to them:

- (27) ji-ke phursət mə-du
I-GEN leisure NEG-COP
'I do not have leisure.'
- (28) wə thəũ wə-i mə-khu
s/he today come-INF NEG-COP
'S/he will not come today.'

2.9 Disagreement

In sentences expressing disagreement negation marker is prefixed to the copula.

- (29) ji-ĩ ya-e mə-khu
I-ERG do-INF NEG-COP
'I will not do (that).'
- (30) ji-ĩ dha-e mə-khu
I-ERG say-INF NEG-COP
'I will not say (that).'
- (31) ji-ĩ thwə jya twət-e mə-khu
I-ERG this work leave-INF NEG-COP
'I will not leave this work.'

2.10 Possibility

Possibility is expressed by the verb 'phu' which means 'can' or 'has ability to'. In the sentences expressing probability or possibility negation markers are attached to the main verb.

- (32) wə wə-e mə-phə-e phu
s/he come NEG-able-INF possible
'S/he may not be able to come.'
- (33) wə mə-wə-e phu
s/he NEG-come-INF possible
'S/he may not come.'
- (34) wə-ə bida mə-bi: phu
s/he-ERG holiday NEG-give possible
'S/he may not give (you) a holiday.'

2.11 Ability

Unlike the sentences expressing probability or possibility, the negation markers in the sentences expressing ability are prefixed to the auxiliary expressing ability 'phu'

- (35) wə wə-e mə-phu
s/he come-INF NEG-able
'S/he is not able to come.'
- (36) wə nəwa-e mə-phu
s/he speak-INF NEG-able
'S/he can not speak'.
- (37) wə mə-wə-se cwən-e-mə-phu
s/he NEG-come-EMPH sit-INF- NEG-able
'S/he can not stay without coming (to you).'

2.12 Double negation assertion:

In emphatic sentences double negation is applied. In such constructions negation is prefixed to the main verb with another negative particle 'mate' occurring sentence finally:

(38) chə mə-wə-e-məte
 you NEG-come-INF- NEG
 'You do/must come!'

(39) chə-ə mə-ya-e-məte
 you-ERG NEG-do-INF-NEG
 'You must do (this)!'

2.13 Rhetorical questions

Question words in rhetorical question can also have a negative force:

(40) chə jəkə wə-ya-la?
 you only come-OBL-QUEST
 'Why did not you bring any one with you?'

(41) nəkətini wə-ya-la?
 now come-OBL-QUEST
 'Why did not you come earlier?'

(42) jya-thəkī-pī-tə dheba gənə wə-i?
 work-lazy-PL-DAT money where come-INF
 'Lazy persons are not supposed to get the money'.

(43) wə chu yat-ə chu yat-ə!
 s/he-ERG what do-PT do-PT
 'S/he made a mistake.'

2.14 Negation in nominalized clauses

2.14.1 Nominalization with adjectives

Negation marker is prefixed or infix to the nominalized adjective depending on the count of the syllable.

(44) bā-mə-la-gu swā
 Beauty-NEG-OBL-NOM flower
 'The flower that is not beautiful.'

(45) mə-hwə:-gu swā
 NEG-blossom-NOM flower
 'The flower which has not been blossomed.'

2.14.2 Nominalization with verbs:

Negation marker is prefixed to the nominalized verbs:

(46) akhə bwən-e mə-sə-mhə
 alphabet/letter read-INF NEG-know-CLF
 'One who can not read/write.' (pre-literate).

(47) mye hal-e mə-sə-mhə
 song sing-INF NEG-know-CLF
 'One who does not know how to sing.'

2.15 Imperatives

Imperative sentences negation is attached to the auxiliary sentence finally:

(48) hale məte
 speak NEG.COP
 'Don't make noise!'

(49) dəne məte
 stand NEG.COP
 'Do not stand still!'

3 Summary

Negations occur in both word initial and word medial environments. They are affixed to both auxiliary and main verbs. In the absence of auxiliary they are affixed to the main verb, otherwise they are attached to the auxiliary. Negative morphemes are prefixed to the monosyllabic adjectives and verbs. Whereas, in disyllabic verbs and adjectives they are infixes in between. Question words can also express negative meaning by describing verbs or situations expressing the concept of negation. In conditional clauses the negative morphemes are prefixed to the verb that occurs just before the conditional 'sa/dhasa' or the quotative 'dhaka'. They are also prefixed to the existential copulas.

In emphatic negation construction they are posited between the two repetitions of the verb. In prohibitive sentences negation markers are prefixed to the auxiliary verb. In sentences expressing disagreement negation markers are prefixed to the copula. In the sentences expressing probability or possibility 'phu', negative morphemes are attached to the main verb.

Unlike the sentences expressing probability or possibility, the negative morphemes in the sentences expressing ability are prefixed to the auxiliary expressing ability (again 'phu'). Double negation is applied in emphatic sentences. In such constructions the negative morphemes are prefixed to the main verb with another negative particle 'mate' occurring sentence finally. Question words in rhetorical questions can also have a negative force. In imperative sentences negation is attached to the auxiliary sentence finally.

4 Conclusion

Negation is seen as a morphological process in Kathmandu Newar. Negative morphemes occur both word initially and word medially. They occur sentence medially in emphatic sentences and sentence finally in imperatives.

Abbreviations

ADV	Adverb	INF	Infinitive
CLF	Classifier	NEG	Negative
COP	Copula	NOM	Mominalizer
CAUS	Causativiser	OBL	Oblique
DAT	Dative	PL	Plural
EMPH	Emphatic	PT	Past tense
ERG	Ergative	QUEST	Question
EXIST	Existential	QUOT	Quotative
GEN	Genitive	VST	verb static

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NOMINALIZATION IN MANIPURI

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This paper focuses on the morpho-syntactic status of the nominalizer -pə in Manipuri. The process of forming a nominal expression out of non-nominal ones often perform many non-referential functions. This includes two major functions, adnominalization and subordination. Another major function is the use of stand-alone nominalization constructions for expressive functions. Manipuri also exhibits the syncretism between nominalization and relativisation found in many Tibeto-Burman languages.

1 Introduction

Nominalization in Manipuri occurs at both the morphological and clausal (syntactic) levels. The first is the derivational nominalization whereby a lexical noun is derived from a verb root. Nominalization refers not only to the process of deriving a noun, but rather that of deriving a member of super class nominals, which may include words with adjectival and adverbial functions also (e.g. Dixon 1980: 272, Blake1987:3). There are six nominalizing affixes found in Manipuri. There are three suffixes -pə, -pi and -phəm and three prefixes mə and khut~khu and khəŋ.

Suffixes	
- pə	agent nominals, clausal nominalization
- pi	agent nominals, clausal nominalization
- phəm	Locative nominalization

Prefixes	
- mə	manner nominalization
-khut~khu	manner nominalization
- khəŋ	manner nominalization

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The second is the nominalization of whole clause that derives a noun phrase. The -pə suffix is used in both the processes while the remaining suffix -phəm and prefixes are used only in the derivation of lexical nouns from verb roots. The clausal nominalization found in Manipuri exhibits four separate syntactic structure-complementation, adverbial clauses nominal complement clauses and relative clauses.

The structure of the paper is as follows:

Section (2) examines different morphological nominalization patterns. Section (3) discusses the nominalization at the clausal (syntactic) level. In the section (4) we describe the multiple functions of the nominalizer-pə. Finally the paper briefly summarizes all the nominalization patterns that have been observed in Manipuri.

2 Infinitive form of verb -pə

The infinitive suffix is-pə. "As a general rule of thumb applicable throughout the Tibeto-Burman family, whenever one discovers the particle used in verb citation, one can be sure of having discovered the most important nominalizer of the language" (Matisoff 1972:248). The case of Manipur is no exception to this general rule of thumb. The following examples are illustrative of it.

- (1) si - bə 'to die'
 cət - pə 'to go'
 phəm - bə 'to sit'
 lak - pə 'to come' etc.

3 Derivational nominalisations

3.1 Deverbal adjectives

The verb root undergoes derivational nominalization by the combination of the prefix -ə and the suffix -bə deriving an adjectival noun which can function as an NP as well. The

following adjectives are deverbal, for which all the input verbs are synchronically recognizable. This is a very productive process (although this list is by no means exhaustive).

The prefix *-ə* and the suffix *-bə* are attested to the roots

(2)	ə waŋ-bə	high	ə phəjə-bə	nice
	ə saŋ-bə	long	ə kən-bə	hard
	ə kən-bə	strong	ə tən-bə	lazy
	ə phə-bə	good	ə kəŋ-bə	dry
	ə iŋ-bə	cold	ə kha-bə	bitter
	ə sa-bə	hot	ə thum-bə	sweet
	ə cot-pə	wet	ə yak-pə	salty
	ə caw-bə	big	ə sin-bə	sour

2.2 Agent/patient nominals

a. The suffix *-pə /-bə* is used to create deverbal nouns which are agents or patients. These seem rather exactly to have been derived from the non-past participial relative. This is a very productive process and a *-pə* relative + noun can be converted on the fly to an agent or instrumental nominal. The noun (*nupa/mi*) is optionally used.

(3)	phurit tubə (nupa/mi)	‘tailor’
	thəbək subə (nupa/mi)	‘worker’
	phi yonbə (nupa/mi)	‘cloth seller’ (salesman)

b. The suffix *-pi*, when attached to the verb root seems to have gender implication, so that *caw-bi*, *sanahənbi*, *inakhun-bi*, for example, can only be women’s names. At the same time we also find we also find a vast number of names, for example, plants, trees animals, place names etc. with ending *-pi* which does not imply any gender. Though our concern is not the analysis of naming system in Manipuri, however it is imperative that we need to have some background how names are given in Manipuri for both animate and inanimate objects. In creating

names, Manipuris tend to take the forms with which they are familiar and play with them in creative ways to create new names that can fulfill their needs in more satisfying and meaningful ways. Thus they take a verb root and *-pi* suffix is attached to it to derive a noun (just as a noun is derived by adding *-pə-* suffix to a verb root). However, one must make a note that the derived noun with *-pi* suffix does not always implicate a feminine gender. It probably has nothing to do with gender. To answer this question, we must try to examine the nominalization pattern (the naming practice) involving *-pi* suffix. In the morphological processes the derived noun is the main source for deriving meaning and this poses an interesting question of how meaning can be best implicated through this linguistic exercise. This derivational suffix thus changes the syntactic category of the lexical morphemes to which they are attached, turning verbs into nouns, which then becomes a productive source for naming objects, relationships etc.

-pi suffix with human names

The formation of feminine gender in Manipuri.

The feminine gender in Manipuri is derived by adding *-pi* suffix to the verb root. It is to note that the derivation of feminine gender in Manipuri is only possible in the case of human names and names of goddesses. Thus it may be traced to *-pi* which indicate female, for example, *nupi* ‘woman’, *hanu-bi* ‘old woman’.

- (4) a. Names of women
inak-khun-bi
sək hen-bi
sənahən-bi etc.
- b. Goddess names
panthoy-bi
phəwəy-bi
layrem-bi etc.

The starting point for investigation is the questionable status of the *-pi* suffix as feminine marker as the suffix *-pi* does not always mark feminine gender. The general understanding of the people is that *-pə* is masculine marker while *-pi* is feminine marker as illustrated below:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|
| (5) | a. Males' names | b. Females' names |
| | caw-bə | caw-bi |
| | tombə | tom-bi |
| | sənajaw-bə | sənajaw-bi etc. |

We can see from the data that *-pə* and *-pi* mark masculine and feminine genders respectively. But we will see that it is true only in the case of human names and goddesses' names. There are a large number of names of birds, plants, animals, place names, relationships, etc which end with the suffix *-pi* but do not indicate any implication of feminine gender. I would argue that the suffix *-pi* is homophonous with the *-pi* which indicates feminine gender. The *-pi* which is attached to other objects is probably derived from the word *-pi* 'give'. Hence, the *-pi* cannot implicate feminine gender. The following examples are illustrative of it.

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| (6) | a. a fish name with <i>-pi</i> |
| | ŋa - rak- pi . |
| | fish snatch give |
| | 'Kingfisher' |

The meaning of Kingfisher in Manipuri can be analyzed as (the one) which snatches fish and the suffix *-pi* is the nominalizer, which the sight and act of catching fish is perceived or given.

- | |
|------------------------------|
| A place name with <i>-pi</i> |
| b. həytup - pok-pi |
| wild apple born give |
| 'a place name'. |

This place name can be analysed as the sight of the birth (production) wild apples is perceived or given.

3.3 Locative nominalization

There is another suffix *-phəm* which derives a nominal form an action form meaning 'a place where 'V- ing' happens as in (for example, eating place). The lexical origin of this locative nominalizer is 'place'.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------|
| (7) | a. phəm-phəm | b. təm-phəm |
| | Sit-NMZ | study-NMZ |
| | 'seat' | 'school' |
| | c. ləy-phəm | d. ca-phəm |
| | live NMZ | eat-NMZ |
| | 'home' | 'eating place' |

In the example above, the suffix *-phəm* is added to the root, 'sit', 'study', 'live', and 'eat' and the resultant deverbal nouns means seat, school, home and eating place, literally meaning for example a sitting place, or 'a place for sitting'.

3.4 Manner nominalization

The verb root can undergo derivational nominalization by prefixing *mə-*, *khut* ~ *khu* and *khəŋ*, which derive lexical nouns referring to the manner of doing, eating etc. However, the use of prefix *-mə-* seems quite unproductive compared to the other two prefixes.

- | | | |
|-----|------------|----------------------------------|
| (8) | Verb roots | Derived nouns |
| | ca | mə-ca 'way of eating' |
| | təw | mə-təw 'way of doing/appearance' |
| | khən | mə-khən 'way of selecting' |
| | ca | khu-ca 'manner of eating' |
| | təw | khəŋ-təw 'manner of doing' |

khən	khu-khən	‘manner of selecting’
təw	khəŋ-təw-təwbə	‘suddenly do something’
ca	khəŋ-ca-cabə	‘suddenly eat something’

As the addition of these three prefixes *mə-* and *khut* ~ *khu* and *khəŋ* to the verb roots which derive nouns, generates meaning “a way of *v- ing*”, we can regard *-mə* and *khut-khu* and *khəŋ-* as manner nominalizers. As shown in the examples the prefixes are attached to the roots and the resultant deverbal noun means, for example, way of eating and way of doing.

3.5 Adjectives (derived from Demonstratives)

There exist two adjectives in Manipuri which are derived from the demonstrative pronouns that is, proximal and distal.

- (8) a. Si PROX
 si-gum-bə ‘like this/this kind’
 this-like-NMZ
- b. ədu DIST
 ədu-gum-bə ‘like that/that kind’
 that-like-NMZ

4 Clausal nominalization

The *-pə* nominalizer aside from being a derivational nominalizer it is also used productively as a syntactic nominalizer to nominalize a verb phrase or a clause. Entire clause in Manipuri can be nominalized, and can then be case-marked, to express cause or purpose or as complements to a verb.

4.1 Verb complements: *-pə* used as verb complements

- (10) a. əykhoy-na thəbək-tu təu-bə ŋəm-le
 we-ERG work-DET do-NMZ can-PVT
 ‘We could do the work’

- b. əykhoy-nə əykhoy-gi maŋgon-də məy cak-khatlakpa u-i
 we-ERG we-GEN veranda-LOC fire burn rise
 ‘we saw a fire rising on the veranda of our house’

4.2 Noun complements

Forms in *-pə* may also be used to act as noun complements.

- (11) a. əykhoy thəbək-tu təu - bə pam - mi
 wework DET do NMZ want NPST
 ‘We want to do the work’
- b. əy thabak-tu təu-bə niŋsiŋ-i
 I work-DET do-NMZ recall-NPST
 ‘I recall doing the work.’

4.3 Purpose clauses

A nominalization with *-pə*, is used to code purpose clauses:

- (12) a. ma cak ca-bəlak-i
 he meal eat-NOM come-PERF
 ‘He came to eat.’
- b. məkhoy siŋ thi - bə cət- khə -re
 they wood collect-NOM go- EVD PERF
 ‘They went to collect wood’

4.4 Relativisation: Relative clauses are formed with *-pə*.

- (13) a. cak ca-ri- ba nupa-si
 meal eat-PRG-NOM person-DET
 ‘the person who is eating meal’
- b. cak ca-ra-ba nupa - si
 meal eat-ANT-NOM person DET
 ‘The person who had meal’

The *-pə* relativeser can be used to relativize on any core argument, whether animate or inanimate, and on many obliques.

4.5 Verbal periphrasis

The relationship between nominalizer and copula in the formation of cleft construction (nominalized finite verb followed by inflected copula) which Noonan (1997) refers to it as periphrastic verb construction. This strategy is also being used to form a Cleft like (focus) and stance constructions.

The nominalizer *-pə* occurs with the copula in a sentence final cleft like form.

- (14) a. əy ɲəraŋ lak-pə-ni
I yesterday come-NMZ-COP
'I came yesterday.' (It was yesterday that I came.)
- b. məkhoy skul- də cət-li-bə-ni
they school LOC go-ASP-NMZ-CPO
'They are going to school'

4.6 The use nominalization with a stance function

In Manipuri, nominalization can be used with a "(speaker) stance" function, that is to signal the speaker's attitude towards the state of affairs expressed in a clause. Nominalization can be used to express disapproval of, annoyance with, the rules and state of affairs.

- (15) a. əŋaŋ-siŋ-se koy-cen cen-bə
child-PL-DET round-run run-NMZ
'Children walking all over around'.
- b. məsi əhən-si koy-cət hek cət-pə
this old man-DET round-go just go-NMZ
'The old man going round'

Although there is no finite verb, such constructions are complete, not elliptical, clauses. The sentence could be said, for example, to children who have been making nuisance to make them stop or it could be said to an old person who just slipped while walking from place to place without any purpose.

4.7 Complementation

As illustrated in the examples below, in Manipuri a nominalized complement clause (*-pə*) functions as the argument of the transitive verb 'know'.

- (16) a. ma (epəl) ca-bə əy khəŋ-i
he apple eat-COMPL I know-NPST
'I know that he ate apple'
- b. məkhoynə yum sandok-pə ma khəŋ-i
They house rent COMPL he know-NPST
'He knows that they rent a house.'

4.8 Gerundives

The suffix *-pe* can turn a verb phrase into a nominal analogous to a gerundive nominal as shown below. Being a gerund, the nominalized verb phrase can serve as an argument of the main verb.

- (17) a. əy lay-yekpə təm-niŋ-i
I picture draw-NMZ learn-wish-ASP
'I want to learn drawing.'
- b. ləy isiŋ cay-bə tok-u
flower water water NMZ stop
'Stop watering the flower.'

4.9 Nominalization-relativization syncretism

The special relationship between nominalization and attribution or nominalization-relativization syncretism, a special feature representing a speech area referred to by Masica (1976) as Indo Altaic, is also a feature of Manipuri. This phenomenon, in fact is a common feature of Tibeti- Burman languages (Matisoff 1972, De Lancy 1986, 1999, Noonan 1997).

Nominalization in strict sense:

- (18) əy-nə mə-ŋon-də məteŋ paŋ-bi-bə phə-re
I-NMZ he-towards-LOC help BEN NMZ good-PVT
'It is good that I helped her or him.'

Relativization:

- (19) məytəy-nə ləy-bə məphəm
 Meitei-ERG live-NMZ place
 ‘The place where Meiteis live.’

5. Summary

Manipuri has multiple nominalization strategies using six affixes, three suffixes: *-pə*, *-pi*, being used productively both in lexical and clausal nominalizations and *-phəm* which is used only in deriving locative nominalization and three prefixes *mə-* and *khu* and *khəŋ-* are used in deriving adverbs which refer to manner. It has been examined that *-pə* performs a number of versatile of grammatical functions. The stance function of nominalization is used for reporting and exclamatives as well. Nominalization-relativisation syncretism is a prominent feature Manipuri. Even though we did not attempt to show the traces of the pathways for the earstwhile nominalization we have shown in this paper the various functions performed by the nominalizer *-pə* which provided some typological features. Through this exercise it can be understood that how nominalization phenomena are being used to package our desires, thought and reality.

Abbreviations and notes

ANT	Anterior	LOC	Locative
ASP	Aspect	NP	Noun phrase
COP	Copula	NEG	Negative
DET	Determiner	NMZ	Nominalizer
DIST	Distal	NPST	Nonpast
DUR	Durative	PL	Plural
ERG	Ergative	POSS	Possesive
EVD	Evidential	PRG	Progressive
FUT	Future	PROX	Proximal
IMP	Imperative	PVT	Perfective

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A DEFAMILIARIZING LANGUAGE IN THE GOD OF SMALL THINGS

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Drawing on Shklovsky's concept of defamiliarization and views of Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin on postcolonial writing, this research explores how Arundhati Roy's defamiliarized language ruptures automatization and subverts and refashions standard English into various new forms of English, as a way of jettisoning the colonial values which standard English houses.

1 Introduction

Arundhati Roy in *The God of Small Things* lays an emphasis upon the formal dimension of literature. In the use of language, she sounds more like a Russian formalist who "views literature primarily as a specialized use of language, and proposes a fundamental opposition between the literary (or poetical) use of language and the ordinary, "practical" use of language" (Abrams 107). While ordinary language aims at communicating a message to auditors, literary language, according to formalists, is self-focused, in that its function is not to convey information by making extrinsic references, but to offer the reader a special mode of experience by drawing attention to its own formal features—that is, to the qualities and internal relations of the linguistic signs themselves. The linguistics of literature differs from the linguistics of practical discourse, because its laws are oriented toward producing the distinctive features that formalists call literariness.

2 Shklovsky's concept of defamiliarization

It is with Victor Shklovsky "who perhaps more than anyone else deserves to be called the founder of Russian Formalism" (Lemon and Reis xvi) that the term defamiliarization is most associated with. According to him, defamiliarization refers to

the disruption of the modes of ordinary linguistic discourse and estrangement of habituated perception. Literary art devotes itself to the making strange of our accustomed perceptions. At the same time, art exposes its own formal devices, estranging the techniques of representation. The purpose is to make life newly interesting through art. Erlich (1965:76) considers Shklovsky's "Art as Technique" to be the manifesto of Russian Formalism. Shklovsky (1972:753) considers the principle of perception and its tendency towards habituation:

If we start to examine the general laws of perception, we see that as perception becomes habitual, it becomes automatic. Thus, for example, all of our habits retreat into the area of the unconsciously automatic; if one remembers the sensations of holding a pen or of speaking in a foreign language for the first time and compares that with his feeling at performing the action for the ten thousandth time, he will agree with us. Such habituation explains the principles by which, in ordinary speech, we leave phrases unfinished and words half expressed.

3 Roy's purpose of defamiliarizing language

Arundhati Roy's defamiliarised language serves two purposes: rupturing automatization or rote patterns of perception as contended by Shklovsky and subverting and refashioning standard English into various new forms of English, as a way of jettisoning the colonial values which standard English houses. Roy epitomizes the popular view that literature from once colonized countries is fundamentally concerned with challenging the language of colonial power, unlearning its worldview, and producing new modes of representation. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, in a tone more prescriptive than descriptive, "expressed the belief that the crucial function of language as a medium of power demands that post-colonial writing define itself by

seizing the language of the centre and replacing it in a discourse fully adapted to the colonized place" (McLead: 26). Roy rejects the language of the centre or the English language by refashioning it in several ways in order to enable it to accommodate Indian experiences. The various strategies employed to challenge the colonial language include run-together phrases, estranging of narrative techniques and setting, defamiliarization of masturbation, refusing to follow standard English syntax, code switching, anti-clockwise writing of the English linguistic codes, using structures derived from other languages and formation of many compound words.

4 The use of run-together phrases and the Malayalam code of expression

The God of Small Things is unique in its creation of language. Mixing of genres- prose with poetry, references to Hindu myths, vocabulary from Malayalam, and the local language of the natives of Kerala give native flavour to Roy's language. By breaking with the grammar of the colonizers' language, Roy has given a new direction to Indian variety of English. In this context, Bapsi Sidhwa's proposition (1996:231-23) is worth quoting.

We the colonized have subjugated the language, beaten on its head and made it ours! Let the English chafe and fret and fume. The fact remains that in adapting English to our use, in hammering it sometimes on its head, and in sometimes twisting its tail, we have given it a new shape, substance, and dimension.

Roy deviates from the English code in different ways. She uses different Run-Together Phrases to depict the quick ways of uttering the different words together. Such usage becomes

the way of negating the English linguistic rules and norms. Some of such phrases used in the text entail

- (1) a. "Whatisit?
- b. Whathappened?" (:6),
- c. "Pleasetomeetyou" (:212),
- d. "Finethankyou" (:145) and
- e. "whatisyourname?" (:127).

Hill (1997:79), speaking on the stylistics of her language, says, "Roy's English is true Indian English, a cultivated but undoubtedly local variety, used with a fluency and conviction." The names of the characters are also taken from Malayalam. 'Ammu' simply means mother, 'Mammachi' means grandmother and 'Pappachi' means grandfather. While meeting with Rahel, Comrade Pillai tries to make her remember him switching the Malayalam code of expression:

- (2) Rahel tried to walk past unnoticed. It was absurd of her to have imagined that she could.

'Ayyo, Rahel Mol!' Comrade K. N. M. Pillai said, recognizing her instantly.

'Orkunnilley? Comrade Uncle?'

'Oower,' Rahel said. (:128)

The primary aim of literature, according to Victor Shklovsky, is to estrange or defamiliarize the automatized language; that is, by disrupting the modes of ordinary linguistic discourse, literature makes strange the world of everyday perception and renews the reader's lost capacity for fresh sensation. Because habitualization devours works, furniture and one's wife, Victor Shklovsky (1972:754) asserts that art exists in order to make one feel things:

The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known. The technique of art is to make objects "unfamiliar," to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged. *Art is a way of experiencing the artfulness of an object; the object is not important.*

5 Defamiliarization of the narrative technique

Arundhati Roy defamiliarizes the narrative technique. Instead of taking resort to the traditional plot as the arrangement of incidents which should have a beginning, a middle, and an ending, related as to cause and effect and unified in such a manner that removing or reordering any part would damage the whole, the narrative here disrupts the linear coherence of narrative by warping the sense of significant time. In Roy's world of *The God of Small Things*, things are illogical and unpredictable. The narrative starts twenty-three years after the main events have taken place. The story of Ammu's death, for instance, unfolds in a nonlinear fashion. First we witness her cremation, the final affirmation that she is no longer living. Then the moment when she begins to come alive again for the first time after the divorce, when she becomes attracted to Velutha, is shown in a series of flashbacks. Roy makes allusions to the events surrounding Sophie Mol's death. Still she does not reveal these things, keeping them as hidden for the reader as they are for the characters. Roy suggests that if life is unpredictable and nonlinear, a story about life should be equally so.

Formalistically, the narrative is punctuated by various interruptions such as numbers, questionnaire, word fragments foreign words etc. The novel is replete with fragments or sections, separated by space, titles, numbers or symbols.

Multiple typefaces, fonts, characters and miscellaneous arrangements impede the perception of the readers:

- (3)
- a. Girls in white dresses with blue satin sashes.
 - b. Wild geese that flew with the moon on their wings.
 - c. Bright copper kettles.
 - d. Doorbells and sleighbells and schnitzel with noodles.
 - e. Etc.

And then . . . i. e.:

- f. *Did Captain von Clapp-Trapp shiver his leg?*

He did not.

- g. *Did Captain von Clapp-Trapp blow spit-bubbles?
Did he?*

He did most certainly not (106).

The way language is employed in the text suggests that, "The language of literature is not there primarily to convey a message that could equally well be expressed in a different arrangement of words" (Chapman 1982:2).

6 Estranging of the setting

The technique of defamiliarization of narrative runs parallel with the estranging of the setting. Roy personifies the setting; for example, she writes, "the countryside turns an immodest green" (:1). Nature cannot be immodest since it does not have human consciousness. This personification connects Roy's description of Ayemenem's natural world with its human inhabitants. She describes Ayemenem as being physically lush. She adeptly magnifies this effect by excessive use of modifiers. Her diction is open, throaty, and watery in order to

evoke a very sensual and also sexual mood. She uses language of abundance (4).

- (4) a. gorge c. burst
 b. hum d. sloth

She also makes her own compound words to give the sense that everything is clinging together (5).

- (5) a. dustgreen b. mossgreen

7 Anti-clockwise pattern of the English linguistic codes

"A work is created "artistically" so that its perception is impeded and the greatest possible effect is produced through the slowness of the perception" (Shklovsky 1972:758). Shklovsky's aforementioned proposition as to the purpose of art best gets reflected in the extremely foregrounded language of Roy ().

- (6) a. ehT serutnevda fo eisuS lerriyqS. enO gnirps
 gninrom eisuS lerriyqS ekow pu (:60).

This certainly impedes our reading of it even after we know that it has to be read backwards. Similar effect is produced by the following expression.

- b. 'ssenetiloP,' he said. 'ssenetiloP, ecneidebO,'
 'ytlayoL, ecnegilletnI,' Rahel said.
 'ysetruoC,'
 'ycneiciffE' (:313).

The anti-clockwise pattern of the English linguistic code expresses the ironical depiction of the conduct of the police. The very meaning of police is read by Estha and Rahel to indicate the opposite conduct of the police and their oppressive and deceptive brutality over the innocent people like Velutha.

Another instance of the anti-clockwise pattern of the English linguistic code has been very logically illustrated. The imposing of reading the clockwise pattern ordered by an Australian missionary friend of Baby Kochamma, Miss Mitten, on the children has been reversed through their act of reading the English code backwards. The children dislike her and logically show her how it is possible to read backwards as well as forwards. They deny Miss Mitten's imposing act of reading the clockwise pattern of the English linguistic code:

- (7) So when Baby Kochamma's Australian friend, Miss Mitten gave Estha and Rahel a baby book- *The Adventures of Susie Squirrel*- as a present when she visited Ayemenem, they were deeply offended. First, they read it forwards. Miss Mitten . . . said that she was Little Disappointed when they read it aloud her backwards.

'ehT serutnevda fo eisuS lerriyqS. enO gnirps gninrom eisuS lerriyqS ekow pu.' (59-60)

8 Defamiliarization of masturbation

Shklovsky (1972:758) in his essay "Art as Technique" asserts, "Quite often in literature the sexual act itself is defamiliarized . . .". This assertion of him is true of Roy's *The God of Small Things*, in which she estranges the act of masturbation. The Orangedrink Lemondrink Man makes Estha stimulate his sexual organ. Instead of straightforward expression, Roy opts for the following description (8):

- (8) The Orangedrink Lemondrink Man's hand closed over Estha's. His thumbnail was long like a woman's. He moved Estha's hand up and down.

First slowly. Then fastly... 'Good,' the Orangedrink Lemondrink Man said. 'Excellent.' His hand closed tighter over Estha's. Tight and sweaty. And faster still.

Fast faster fest
 Never let it rest
 Until the fast is faster,
 And the faster's fest.

Then the gristly-bristly face contorted, and Estha's hand
 was wet and hot and sticky. It had egg white on it.
 White egg white. Quarter-boiled. . . The penis was soft
 and shriveled like an empty leather change-purse. With
 his dirtcoloured rag, the man wiped Estha's other hand.
 (103-104)

9 Summary

By making the familiar unfamiliar, Roy has not only combated automatization or habituation through defamiliarization but also struck back against the colonial centrality. As the writer of the once colonized country, she has seized the colonial tongue, distorted it and merged it with the native context to subvert the linguistic hegemony of the colonizer. In addition to this, she has brilliantly introduced a new dimension in stylistic experimentation: nativization of English which decolonizes the so called standard English of the oppressor.

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CLAUSE COMBINING IN KAIKE

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A relation of dependency of the clauses is controlled mostly by a verbal form, finite or non-finite, including nominalized clauses in Kaike. Such relation is best expressed in complement clauses, adverbial clauses, clause chains, relative clauses and coordination except in serial verb construction which is marginally and less prototypically exhibited in the language.

1 Introduction

This paper presents an outline of the clause combining in Kaike within the functional-typological framework mainly developed in Lehmann (1988), Givón (2001) and Haspelmath (2004). Kaike is a seriously endangered and poorly described Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodish group spoken by around 792 speakers in the three villages, viz. Sahartara, Tupatara and Tarakot under Sahartara Village Development Committee of Dolpa district of Nepal (Gurung et al. 2006). In Kaike, clause combining, a relation of dependency of the clauses, is controlled mostly by a verbal form, finite or non-finite, including nominalized clauses. Such relation in Kaike may include serial verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, clause chains, relative clauses and coordination. Kaike employs various morphosyntactic strategies to form such complex constructions.

This paper is organized into six sections. In section 2, we examine the serial verb constructions in Kaike. Section 3 looks at complex expressions such as complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses. In section 4, we examine clause chaining. Section 5 deals with coordination in Kaike. In section 6, we summarize the findings of the paper.

2 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are more commonly found in the isolating languages where there is little or no verbal morphology. Kaike is an agglutinating language. Thus, it does not have serial verb constructions as in the isolating languages of the East Asia. Kaike marginally and less prototypically exhibits serial verb construction as in (1).

- (1) a. $\eta\text{ə-i}$ ja-ce $\text{thu}\eta\text{-ce}$
 1SG-ERG eat-NMLZ drink-NMLZ
 dyeppa mi:pa
 dyep-pa mi:-pa
 get-NMLZ NEG.have-NMLZ
 ‘I have nothing to eat and drink.’
- b. nui jəbo woibo
 nu-i jə-bo woi-bo
 3SG-ERG eat-PSTDJ go-PSTDJ
 ‘He did not do anything else.’

In (1a) two verb forms with the irrealis nominalizer -ce (the citation forms of the verb/ infinitival form of the verb) are used in a series. However, in (1b) two verbs in past tense forms are in a series. It is to be noted that the verbs in a series in (1a-b) mean slight differently from what the same series of verbs would mean if they were cast in separate clauses.

3 Subordination

Kaike makes use of different morphosyntactic strategies to form complex expressions such as complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. In this section, we discuss the process of clause combining in such complex expressions.

3.1 Complement clauses

There are two types of complement clauses: subject complement and object complement in Kaike. Both complement clauses are non-finite clauses in the language.

3.1.1 Subject complement clauses

In Kaike, subject complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause.

- (2) a. $\eta o j o \ r \acute{a} b o \ r \acute{a} r \acute{a} \ \eta a \ s y a \eta b o$
 son got- NMLZ say-say ISG glad-PST.DJ
 ‘That the son was born made me happy.’
- b. $s o \eta \ m o l b o \ r \acute{a} r \acute{a} \ \eta a$
 money lose- NMLZ say-say ISG
 tujal r\acute{a} b o
 tujal r\acute{a} - b o
 sad become-PSTDJ
 ‘That I lost money made me unhappy.’

In (2a-b) the clauses functioning as the subject complement with non-finite forms of the verbs (nominalized forms) are combined with the matrix clauses with reduplication of the verb ‘say’. It is to be noted that the form *-pa* is the underlying form of the nominalizer in Kaike. The voiceless bilabial plosive changes into voiced one intervocalically as in (1a). In the same way, the underlying form *-pa* is realized as *-bo* because of the some sort of vowel harmony with mid-back vowel in the preceding verb root, i.e. *mol*.

3.1.2 Object complement clauses

Like subject complement clauses, the object complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause as in (3).

- (3) $n a \eta k a \ j u n a n \ r \acute{a} r \acute{a} \ \eta a$
 rain fall-NMLZ say-say ISG
 kyui $\eta i - p a$
 aware COP-PSTCJ
 ‘I am sure that it will rain.’

In (3) the clause with non-finite form of the verb *junan* is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *\etaipa*.

3.2 Adverbial clauses

Kaike employs adverbial clauses to provide the situational context for the event or state that is described in the main clause. There are seven types of complex expressions categorized as adverbial clauses: time, location, manner, purpose, reason, concessive and conditional adverbial.

3.2.1 Time adverbial clauses

Kaike indicates the preceding event by lexical adverb as in (4)

- (4) $p a l b o \ s o w a c e n \acute{a} \ \eta u$
 palbo sowa-ce-n\acute{a} \eta u
 Katmandu come- NMLZ-GEN before
 $\eta a \ d o l p a \ c h u \eta p a$
 \eta a dolpa chu\eta - p a
 ISG dolpa live-PSTCJ
 ‘I lived in Dolpa before I came to Kathmandu.’

In (4) *\etau* ‘before’ is used to combine the non-finite clause with the matrix clause. However, Kaike makes use of morphological strategy to indicate the following events as in (5).

- (5) naima kholtami ηəi gəwacoə
 naima khol-ta-mi ηə-i gəwa-coə
 thread prepare-NMLZ-after 1SG-ERG call-NPST
 ‘I will call you after I prepare the thread.’

In (5) the non-finite form of the verb marked by the subordinator suffix *-mi* ‘after’ is used to indicate the following event.

3.2.2 Location adverbial clauses

Kaike employs the interrogative pronoun *kha* ‘where’ to indicate location in the subordinate clauses as in (6).

- (6) na kha woidə ηa shya woice
 na kha woi-də ηa shya woi-ce
 2SG where go-NPST 1SG here go-NPST
 ‘I go where you go.’

3.2.3 Manner adverbial clauses

The manner adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses embedded in the matrix clause. In addition, such clauses employ *ləimə* ‘as same as’ in the complex of clause as in (7).

- (7) nui chyama tupa ləimə
 nu-i chyama tu-pa ləi-mə
 3SG-ERG cold suffer-NMLZ same-NMLZ
 ləe rəwaηə
 ləe rəwa-ηə
 matter speak-NPST
 ‘She speaks as if she is suffering from common cold.’

3.2.4 Purpose adverbial clauses

Kaike employs non-finite form of the verb (the root of the verb affixed by the irrelis nominalizer followed by the genitive case marker in purpose adverbial clauses as in (8).

- (8) rupya kəmai k^hecenə ηa
 rupya kəmai k^he-ce-nə ηa
 money earn do-INF-GEN 1SG
 ləi don doηnan
 ləi don doη-nan
 lot of work do-NPST
 ‘I work hard for money.’

3.2.5 Reason adverbial clauses

The non-finite form of the verb of the reason clause consists of the root of the verb affixed by the nominalizer *-pa* followed by ergative/ instrumental case marker *-i* as in (9).

- (9) a. gucipai ηəi k^həmmə
 guci-pa-i ηə-i k^həm-mə
 hungry-NMLZ-ERG 1SG-ERG quickly-NMLZ
 sai jəta
 sai jə-ta
 rice eat-PSTCJ
 ‘I ate rice early because I was hungry.’
- b. chan rəwapai don luibo
 chan rə-wa-pa-i don lui-bo
 night have-obl-NMLZ-ERG work remain-PST.DJ
 ‘The work did not finish as the night fell.’

In Kaike, the non-finite clause with the reduplication of the root of the verb, which is used in sequential converb, may function as reason adverbial clause as in (10).

- (10) ηa thoppa khəηkhəη məsowapa
 ηa thoppa khəη-khəη mə-sowa-pa
 1SG head ache-ache NEG-come-NMLZ
 ‘I did not come because I had a headache.’

3.2.6 Concessive adverbial clauses

The root of the verb is suffixed by *-nəi* in order to reflect a contrast of some sort between the main and the subordinate clause as in (11).

- (11) a. bhikhari ranəi iman ηjpa
 bhikhari ra-nəi iman ηj-pa
 poor become-CONC honest be-NMLZ
 'I am honest although I am poor.'
- b. ələ ηjinəi nu ηa syā
 ə-lə ηj-nəi nu ηa syā
 NEG-good be-CONC 3SG 1SG like
 'Although she is not beautiful I like her.'

3.2.7 Conditional adverbial clauses

At present only probable type of conditional clause has been attested. The root of the verb is affixed by the marker *-ηi:nə* in the probable conditional clause as in (12)

- (12) naŋka juŋi:nə ηa məsowa
 naŋka ju-ηi:nə ηa mə-sowa
 rain fall-COND 1SG NEG-come.NPST
 I will not come if it rains.'

3.3 Relative clauses

Kaike extensively employs nominalization as one of the morpho-syntactic processes for relativization. As in classical Tibetan, Kaike mainly uses two types of morphemes followed by case markers to form relative clauses: Nominalizer followed by genitive <pa-nə>, nominalizer followed by dative <nan-gə> as in (13).

- (13) a. yim doŋpanə simi sowabo
 yim doŋ-pa-nə simi sowa-bo
 house make-NMLZ-GEN man come-PSTDJ

'The man who has made house came.'

- b. ηai raksi thuŋnangə phyarŋpa
 ηa-i raksi thuŋ-nan-gə phyarŋ-pa
 1SG-ERG alcohol drink-NMLZ-DAT beat-PSTCJ
 'I beat the man who drinks alcohol.'

In example (13a) the nominalizer *-pa* is followed by the genitive case marker *-nə* but in (13b) the nominalizer *-nan* is followed by the dative case marker *-gə*. The nominalizer *-pa* differs from *-nan* in terms of aspect. In (13a) *-pa* codes perfective aspect whereas *-nan* codes imperfective aspect.

Kaike marginally employs correlative relative clauses. Kaike makes use of interrogative pronouns for this purpose. In (14) *su* is an interrogative pronoun.

- (14) [su ηəi prasnə loppa]
 su ηə-i prasnə lop-pa
 who 1SG-ERG question ask-PST.CJ
 ənə simi lə ŋya
 ənə simi lə ŋya
 that Man Good COP
 'The man whom I asked the question is good.'

4 Clause chaining

Kaike is a clause chaining language. There is a chain of non-finite clauses completed by a final clause. In common with most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, Kaike typically employs non-finite converbal clauses. The sequential converb is formed by reduplication of the verb root, as in (15).

- (15) a. harije sai jaja bəjar woi-bo
 hari-je sai ja-ja bəjar woi-bo
 Hari-ERG rice eat-eat.SEQ market go-PSTDJ
 'After having eaten rice Hari went to market.'

- b. t^hya nyaje ənəyeŋ tun
 t^hya nya-je ənə-yeŋ tun
 Today evening-LOC this-DAT curry
 dondon jatowanan
 don-don jatowanan
 prepare.prepare.SEQ eat-OBLG-NMLZ
 ‘In the evening, after having prepared this as curry
 we have to eat it.’

In (15a) *ja-ja* and in (15b) *don-don* are the forms of reduplication. The simultaneous converb in Kaike is formed by attaching the suffix *-yeŋ* to the verbal root, as in (16)

- (16) a. ŋa jayeŋ leyeŋ yim woipa
 ŋa ja-yeŋ le-yeŋ yim woi-pa
 1SG eat-SIML walk-SIML house go-PST.CJ
 ‘While eating and walking I went home.’
- b. ŋa jayeŋ jayeŋ loeyeŋ doŋ k^hepa
 ŋa ja-yeŋ loe-yeŋ doŋ k^he-pa
 1SG eat-SIML talk -SIML work do-PST.CJ
 ‘While eating and talking I worked.’

5. Coordination

Kaike presents conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination and exclusion.

5.1 Conjunction

The independent clauses in Kaike may be conjoined by using the coordinate conjunction *-re* as in (17).

- (17) ŋojo re cəme sowabo
 ŋojo re cəme sowa-bo
 son and daughter come-PSTDJ
 ‘Son and daughter came.’

In (17) the two noun phrases have been coordinated by the coordinator *-re*.

5.2 Disjunction

Kaike does not have any native coordinator for disjunction. Two clauses are simply juxtaposed without any coordinators as in (18)

- (18) ram si: sowaŋə shyam dye woiŋə
 ram si: sowa-ŋə shyam dye woi-ŋə
 Ram here come-NPST.DJ Shyam there go-NPST.DJ
 ‘Either Ram comes here or Shyam goes there.’

Kaike uses the coordinator *ki* borrowed from Nepali as in (19)

- (19) ŋojo ki cəme sowabo
 ŋojo ki cəme sowa-bo
 son or daughter come-PSTDJ
 ‘Son or daughter came.’

5.3 Adversative coordination

The adversative coordinator in Kaike is *aləi* as in (20)

- (20) ŋojo sowabo aləi cəme məsowa
 ŋojo sowabo aləi cəme mə-sowa
 son come-PSTDJ but daughter NEG-come
 ‘The son came but the daughter did not come.’

The negative adversative is indicated by *gəŋ* in Kaike as in (21).

- (21) ŋi lə kheke choe towanan gəŋ
 ŋi lə kheke choe towa-nan gəŋ
 1PL good COM read do-NMLZ otherwise
 ŋi pass məranan
 ŋi pass mə-ra-nan
 1PL pass NEG-becom-NMLZ
 ‘We read hard otherwise we cannot pass.’

5.4 Exclusion

In Kaike, exclusion is indicated by *nəŋmə* as in (22).

- (22) na nəŋmə sui te mi:pa
 na nəŋmə sui te mi:-pa
 2SG EXCL who other NEG.have-PSTCJ
 'I have nobody except you.'

6 Summary

In this paper, we tried to examine the various types of complex expressions in Kaike. Kaike does not exhibit serial verb constructions as in the isolating languages of the East Asia. There are two types of complement clauses: subject complement and object complement clauses. Both are non-finite clauses and are embedded within the matrix clause. Normally, both occur in the initial position of the matrix clause.

Kaike employs different types of adverbial clauses to provide the situational context for the event or state described in the main clause. Syntactically, they are much like adjuncts. Generally, the sub-ordination of the clause is carried out by nonfinite clause construction.

In Kaike, the verbs in majority of the adverbial clauses are morphologically marked by subordinating affixes. There are two types of relative clauses in Kaike: non-finite and finite. The non-finite relative clauses are formed by nominalization. The finite relative clauses are formed by employing interrogative pronouns in Kaike. They precede the head nouns. Kaike is a clause chaining language. Interclausal linkage in Kaike is handled by verbal affixes. Kaike presents conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination and exclusion.

Abbreviations

CJ	conjunct	LOC	locative
CONC	concessive	NEG	negation
COND	conditional	NMLZ	nominalizr
COP	copula	NPST	non-past
DAT	dative	PST	past
DJ	disjunct	PURP	purposive
ERG	ergative	SEQ	sequential
EXCL	exclusion	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SIM	simultaneous

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THE COPULAR CONSTRUCTIONS IN EKEGUSII

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The copular constructions in Ekegusii, a Bantu language spoken in south-western Kenya, exhibit a distinct grammatical category of copula to link the subject of a sentence with a predicate. The person and number morphemes are affixed to the root/stem of the copula in case of full verbal copula constructions in this language.

1 Introduction

This paper attempts to analyze the copular constructions in Ekegusii, a Bantu language spoken in south-western Kenya.¹ It exhibits a distinct grammatical category of copula to link the subject of a sentence with a predicate. There are two types of copular constructions: the full verbal copular construction and n-construction. In this language, the person and number morphemes are affixed to the root/stem of the copula in case of full verbal copula constructions.

This paper is organized into three sections. In section 1.1, we present the forms of the copulas in Ekegusii. In section 1.2, we deal with different copular constructions in the language. In section 1.3, we summarize the findings of the paper.

2 The forms of the copulas

There are basically two distinct forms of the copula in Ekegusii. The first one is *re* which occurs in full verbal copula constructions. This form of copula is also used in progressive

¹ The data were elicited from Mr. Kennedy Momanyi Bosire and Mrs. Gladys Kwamboka Getenga.

form of the past tense as well². The person and number morphemes are attached to this copula as prefixes. In Table 1 we try to show how the person and number morphemes are affixed to the root of the copula in different subcategories of the tense in the frame “----(be) in the field” .

Table 1: The forms of the copulas in Ekegusii

	PRES	PST			FUT		
		IMM. PST	REC. PST	REM. PST	IMM. FUT	NR.FUT	REM. FUT
1SG	inde	náré	nârè	narenge	índábé	indacheimbe	índábè
1PL	tore	twáré	twârè	twarenge	tórábé	torachetobe	tórâbè
2SG	ore	kwáré	kwârè	karenge	órábé	oracheobe	órâbè
2PL	more	mwáré	mwârè	mwarenge	mórábé	morachemo	mórâbè
3SG	are	áré	Ârè	arenge	árábé	oracheabe	árâbè
3PL	bare	báré	bârè	barenge	bárábé	barachebab	bârâbè

Table 1 shows that there are three tenses in Ekegusii: present, past and future. The past tense is subcategorized into immediate past, recent past, and remote past in copular constructions. However, some more categories have been attested with activity verbs. Similarly the future tense is realized in three subcategories, namely, immediate future, near future and remote future. We see that the basic form does not normally change with the tense categories. It is to be noted here that there is an important role of the tone in distinguishing between the categories of the tense. Moreover, in case of the first person singular in the present tense the

² In progressive aspect, the copula *n* is used as an auxiliary verb.
 egetii ime na-re-o-tare
 field in 1SG-COP-PST-PROG-work
 ‘I was working in the field.’

copula is *de*. This may be described as phonologically conditioned assimilation. This can be presented as follows:

(1) /r/ → /d/ /n__

The same rule also applies to the different forms of the copulas appeared in future tense with respect to the first person singular. This rule may apply elsewhere in the language.

The second is *na~no~ne* is used in equative, and attributive constructions. The copular constructions with this type of the form of the copula have been referred to as n-construction. The status of this copula is not clear yet.³

3 The copular constructions

As we said there are basically two types of copular constructions: the full verbal copular construction and *n*-construction. They are discussed as follows:

1.2.1 The full verbal copular construction

We have only one full verbal copular construction in this language. It is referred to as locative construction. The copula *re* is used clause finally in this construction. The person and number morphemes are affixed to the root of this copula. Following are examples.

(2) a. egetii ime in-de
field in 1SG-be:PRES
'I am in the field.'

³ Cammanga (2002:497) notes that this form of copula occurs in many Bantu languages. He further mentions that its underlying representation is postulated as /na/, with /n/ for its allomorph.

b. egetii ime to-re
field in 1PL-be:PRES
'We are in the field.'

c. egetii ime o-re
field in 2SG-be:PRES
'You are in the field.'

In examples (2a-c) the copulas are inflected for different persons and numbers in the present tense to specify the location of the nominals. The copulas also appear with different noun classes for the same function (3).

(3) a. e-nyowombe egetii ime e-re
9-Cow field in 9-be:PRES
'A cow is in the field.'

b. chi-ombe egetii ime chi-re
10-cows field in 10-be:PRES
'Cows are in the field.'

In example (3a), the copula occurs with the noun class prefix *e-* whereas in (3b), it occurs with *chi-*. In other words, the noun class prefixes are affixed with the copulas. The copulas occur with different persons and numbers in the different forms of the past tense to specify the location of the nominals. The following are the examples:

(4) a. egetii ime ná-ré
field in 1SG-be:IMM.PST
'I was in the field.' (a few minutes ago)

b. igetii ime nâ-rè
field in 1SG-be-REC.PST
'I was in the field.' (a few days ago)

c. egetii ime na-rengge
field in 1SG-be:REM.PST
'I was in the field.' (long ago)

Similarly, the copulas appear in three different tense categories of the future to specify the location. The following are the examples:

- (5) a. egetii ime ín-dâbè
field in 1SG-be:IMM.FUT
'I will be in the field.'
- b. egetii ime in-dacheimbe
field in 1SG-be:NR.FUT
'I will be in the field.'
- c. egetii ime ín-dâbè
field in 1SG.be-REM.FUT
'I will be in the field.'

1.2.2 *n*-construction

There are two constructions with *n*-construction: equative and attributive.

1.2.2.1 Equative

Interestingly, as it occurs word-initially in the predicate nominal in the construction it looks like a prefix. However, it is not quite safe to a prefix nor it is plausible to call it a root as *re* in the locative construction. Functionally it is a 'connector' as a copula⁴. Followings are the examples.

- (6) a. ere n-omo-remi
S/he be:3SG-1-farmer
'S/he is a farmer.'

⁴ The status of /n/ is not clear. Whiteley (1956:36) simply calls this a 'connector linking two items. He further states that it has neither root nor suffix nor prefix. Similar is the opinion of Commenga (2002:497).

- b. inche n-omo-remi
I be:1SG-1-farmer
'I am a farmer.'
- c. omo-gaka n-omo-raria
1-old man be:3SG-1-doctor
'Old man is a doctor.'
- d. aba-gaka n-aba-rbaria
2-old men be:3PL-2-doctor
'Old men are doctors.'

In the examples (6a-d), the nominal constituents are linked by the copula. It is to be noted here that the noun class prefixes occur between the noun and the copular form (7).

- (7) a. ri-tòke n-eri-tunda
5-banana be:2SG-5-fruit
'Banana is a fruit.'
- b. omo-gaka n-omo-raria
1-old man be:3SG-1-doctor
'Old man is a doctor.'
- c. aba-gaka n-aba-rwaria
2-old men be:3PL-2-doctor
'Old men are doctors.'

Unlike in equative construction, there is only one past tense in equation construction as it shows the state of change as mentioned in (7a-c). Other categories of the past tense are not possible with the copula, and with other stative verbs.

1.2.2.2 Attributive

In attributive use, the copula *n* is used in the present tense. Consider the examples (8a-b)

- (8) a. inche n-omoke
I be:PRES-small
'I am small.'
- b. intwe n-abake
we be:PRES-small
'We are small.'

In the past tense, the overt copula *reng*e is used to connect two constituents. Following are examples:

- (9) a. omake n-arengge
Small be:PST-SG.be: RPST
'I was small.'
- b. nabake tw-arengge
small be:PST-small
'We were small.'

1.3 Summary

In this paper we mainly discussed the forms of copulas and their use in the different copular constructions in Ekegusii. We can assume two basic forms of the copulas in Ekegusii: are *re* and *n*. Accordingly, there appear two kinds of copular constructions in Ekegusii:

- (10) a. *re* [NP] [NP] *re*
b. *n-* [NP] *n-* [NP]

In locative clauses we obtained the construction as in (10a) whereas in equative and attributive, we obtained the construction like (10b).

Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
COP	copula

IMM.PST	immediate past
NP	noun phrase
NR.FUT	near future
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PST	past tense
RFUT	remote future
RPAST	remote past
RPST	remote past

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NOMINALIZATION IN BHAKTAPUR NEWAR

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This paper looks at the morphological, syntactic and functional dimensions of nominalization in Bhaktapur Newar in which both lexical and clausal nominalization are very productively employed. The nominalized clauses function as a noun phrase in broader syntactic structures, namely, attributive phrases, nominal-complement constructions, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and free-standing independent clauses in the language.

1 Introduction

This paper presents an outline of the morphological, syntactic and functional dimensions of nominalization in Bhaktapur Newar, natively referred to as *khwopə bhyae*, *khwopə* “Bhaktapur” and *bhyae* “language”. Newar has been classified as a non-pronominalized member of Mahakiranti of the Himalayish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family (Ethnologue, 2009).¹ Nominalization is a dominant grammatical pattern in Bhaktapur Newar. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayan area and other major dialects of Newar, Bhaktapur Newar makes use of derivational/lexical and clausal nominalization at the morphological and syntactic levels of grammar, respectively (Genetti, 2010).²

¹ Moreover, Nepal Bhasa also known as *Newah Bhasa* and *Newar* is one of the major languages of Nepal, and is also spoken in India, particularly in Sikkim. Nepal Bhasa is the mother tongue of about 3% of the people in Nepal according to 2001 census.

² The data were elicited from Mr. Puspa Ratna Shakya and Mr. Rash Joshi, both of them belonging to higher class in terms of social hierarchy in Bhaktapur.

This paper is organized into six sections. In section 2, we present some morphosyntactic features of Bhaktapur Newar. Section 3 discusses the derivational/lexical nominalization in the language. In section 4, we discuss the classification and distribution of nominalizers in the language. Section 5 looks at the clausal nominalization. In section 6, we summarize the findings of the paper.

2 Some morphosyntactic features of the language

Bhaktapur Newar exhibits the following major morphosyntactic features:

- a. Word order: overwhelmingly head-final (SOV)
- b. Overwhelmingly suffixing and agglutinating
- c. Nouns inflected for number (singular & plural)
- d. Consistently ergative-absolutive case system
- e. Anti-dative marking of direct objects
- f. Verb inflected for conjunct-disjunct
- g. Morphological causative and lexical reflexive
- h. Genitives, adjectives, demonstratives before noun heads
- i. Relatives before and without noun heads
- j. Extensive uses of converbal constructions: simultaneous and sequential
- k. A large number of grammatical & local case enclitics
- l. Non-finite subordination except for complements of ‘say’

3 Lexical/derivational nominalization

Lexical/derivational nominalization appears to be very productive in Bhaktapur Newar. Joshi (1984:52-66) provides an exhaustive inventory of derivational nominalization in

Bhaktapur Newar. It employs a number of derivational suffixes to derive lexical nouns.³

Table 1 presents the inventory of some major derivational suffixes deriving lexical nouns by employing [V-NMLZ] NOUN, from the root of the verbs in Bhaktapur Newar.

Table 1: Inventory of some major derivational suffixes deriving lexical nouns in Bhaktapur Newar

NMLZ	[V-NMLZ]	LEXICAL NOUNS
-ŋ	kū- 'confine'	kuŋ 'corner'
	mū- 'collect'	muŋ 'act of collecting'
-pəŋ	l ^h a- 'pay a share'	l ^h apəŋ 'share'
	dwə- 'collect'	dwəpəŋ 'blame'
-giŋ	phwə- 'beg'	phwəgiŋ 'begger'
-siŋ	pwə- 'offer'	pwəsiŋ 'seducer'
-gə:	bu- 'carry'	bugə: 'top storey'
-cə:	ki- 'obstruct'	kicə: 'shade'
	khyā- 'threaten'	khyacə: 'threatening'
-bə:	jya- 'give shape to'	jiyabə: 'tool'
	lwa- 'fight'	lwabə: 'weapon'
-a	khyəl- 'use'	khyəla: 'act of using'
	sal- 'pull'	sala 'act of pulling'
	hil- 'change'	hila 'change'
	cin- 'compose'	cina 'composition'
-ca	khan- 'open'	khanca 'crowbar'
-sa	ti- 'wear'	tisa 'ornament'
-sa:	kə- 'hit'	kəsa: 'torture'
	gwə- 'plan'	gwəsa: 'a plan'
-si	tə- 'put'	təsi 'rack'

³ It is to be noted that the presence of such a large number of the derivational suffixes is very interesting from the typological perspective. They can be reduced to a few cross-linguistically.

-pu	nə- 'eat'	nəpu 'manner of eating'
-pu:	ca- 'cut'	capu: 'pieces'
-su	ta- 'hear'	tasu 'power of hearing'
-e	ŋa- 'walk'	ŋae 'walking'
-wa:	nhyalu- 'step ahead'	nhyaluwa: 'leader'
	thu- 'own'	thuwa 'owner'

4 Classification and distribution

Section 3 presents a number of nominalizers at the lexical level. However, at the clause level Bhaktapur Newar makes use of four forms of nominalizers. They are governed by the number (singular vs. plural), animacy (animate vs. inanimate) and modality (realis vs. irrealis). Table 2 presents the nominalizing suffixes in Bhaktapur Newar.

Table 2: Nominalizing suffixes in Bhaktapur Newar⁴

	Realis		Irrealis
	Animate	Inanimate	-e
Singular	-mha	-gu	
Plural	-pī/-puŋ		

Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. khica sya:-mha dhū wə-la
 dog kill-NMLZ tiger come-PST
 'The tiger which killed the dog came.'
- b. mə-phu-pī:/ puŋ
 NEG-be able-NMLZ
 'Those who are not able'

⁴ Malla (1985:91-3) presents three nominalizers for Newar: -mhə, -pī: and -gu. The suffixes -mhə and -pī: are used with singular and plural animate head noun whereas -gu is used with inanimate head noun.

- c. *jiŋ* *dəyəkə-gu*
 ISG prepare-NMLZ
 ‘That which I prepared’

In example (1a) *-mha* is affixed to the root of the verb in agreement with the singular animate head noun which is modified by the clause with nominalized form of the verb. In the same way, in (1b) *pĩ:/puŋ* is affixed to the root of the verb showing agreement with animate plural head noun. In (1c) where the head noun is inanimate the root of the verb is affixed with *-gu*. Moreover, in (1a-c), the nominalized form of the verbs indicates realis modality. Bhaktapur Newar also employs irealis nominalizer as in (2).

- (2) *mənu-ya* *chẽ-e* *wan-e* *mali*
 man-GEN house-LOC go-NMLZ OBLG.NPST
 ‘It is necessary to go to the man’s house.’

5 Clausal nominalization

Bhaktapur Newar extensively employs nominalized clauses in broader syntactic structures where they function as a noun phrase.⁵ Such structures include attributive phrases, nominal-complement constructions, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and free-standing independent clauses/ finite nominalized clauses in the language.⁶

⁵ In clausal nominalization a grammatical clause is nominalized and it functions as a noun phrase within a broader syntactic context ([NP]...V-NMLZ] NP). As in other languages, the main function of clausal nominalization in Bhaktapur Newar is to function as an NP (realized as grammatical functions subject, direct object and indirect object) in attributive phrases, complementation, relative clauses, etc.

⁶ The essence of clausal nominalization is [clauseⁿ]_{NP}, the placement of a clause, or a combination of clauses (represented by

5.1 Attributive phrases

As in other Tibeto-Burman languages, Bhaktapur employs attributive phrases in which the root of the verb is affixed by the nominalizing suffixes as in (3).

- (3) a. *kələ* *də-mha* *kae* *məca*
 woman have-NMLZ male man
 ‘The man having a wife’
 b. *bhətə* *də-mha* *misa*
 husband have-NMLZ wife
 ‘The woman having a husband’

As in Newar in general, in Bhaktapur Newar the predicative attributes or stative verbs can be converted into attributive adjectives participating in an NP by means of nominalizing affixes (Malla, 1985:91-3) as in (4-6).

- (4) a. *tho* *lã* *tuyu*
 This garment white
 ‘This garment is white.’
 b. *tho* *tuyu-gu* *lã*
 This white-NMLZ garment
 ‘This white garment’
 (5) a. *tho* *mənu:* *haku*
 This man black
 ‘This man is black.’
 b. *tho* *haku-mha* *mənu:*
 This black-NMLZ man
 ‘This black man’

the superscript *n*), into a broader syntactic structure where it functions as a noun phrase (Genetti 2010).

- (6) a. tho misa-tə bā:la:
This women-PL attractive
'These women are attractive.'
- b. tho bā:la:-pī: misa-tə
This attractive-NMLZ woman-PL
'These attractive women'

- d. jhəŋgə: syai-mha khica wə-la
bird kill-NMLZ dog come-PST
'The dog which kills birds came.'
- e. Ram conī:-gu chē
Ram stay-NMLZ house
'The house in which Ram lives'

5.2 Nominal-complement constructions

In nominal complement construction, the root of the verb is affixed with a nominalizer. Such clause functions as a noun phrase complement of the verb of the matrix clause as in (7).

- (7) a. pas ju:- gu-lī khusi ju-ya
pass be-NMLZ-POST happy be-PSTCJ
'That I passed made me happy.'
- b. ba: jha:-gu-lī ji leta-ya
father come-NMLZ-POST 1SG please-PSTCJ
'That the father came made me happy.'

5.3 Relative clauses

Bhaktapur Newar extensively employs nominalization as one of the morpho-syntactic processes for relativization. The nominalized clauses are embedded into noun phrases as the modifiers of nouns as in (8).

- (8) a. ji-ŋ nəya-gu nəsa sa
1SG-ERG eat-NMLZ meal tasty
'The meal which I ate is tasty.'
- b. ji-ŋ yaŋa-gu jya bā:la:
1SG-ERG do-NMLZ work good
'The work which I accomplished is good.'
- c. jya yae-gu bā:la:
work do-NMLZ good
'The work which is accomplished is good.'

In examples (8a-e) the relative clauses formed through the process of nominalization are syntactically embedded as a subordinate clause functioning as a noun modifier in the NP. The relative clause misses one argument that is co-referential to the head noun. In Bhaktapur Newar, the referential identity of the missing argument inside the relative clause is fully recoverable from the head noun itself because the missing argument of the relative clause is obligatorily co-referent with the head noun. However, the case role of the missing argument cannot be likewise recovered because the head noun bears its case role (semantic and grammatical) in the main clause whereas the missing co-referent noun may occupy any case role within the relative clause.

In example (8a-c) the missing co-referent noun occupies the grammatical case role of object whereas in (8d) the co-referent noun takes the case role of subject. Similarly, in (8e) the case role of the missing co-referent noun is indirect object.

Bhaktapur Newar primarily employs the gap strategy for the relative clauses formed under the grammar of nominalization. In Bhaktapur Newar, this strategy simply puts the verb of the relative clause in a participial form and leaves a gap in the relative clause to indicate the position of the head noun (Subbbarao 2009).

- (9) [jhəŋgə: syai-mha - ϕ] khica wə-la
bird kill-NMLZ dog come-PST
'The dog which killed birds came.'

In example (9), the verb is nominalized and the gap is left in order to identify the case role of the missing argument in the relative clause. Diagram 1 presents how the gap strategy is employed in the relative clauses constructed under the grammar of nominalization in this language.

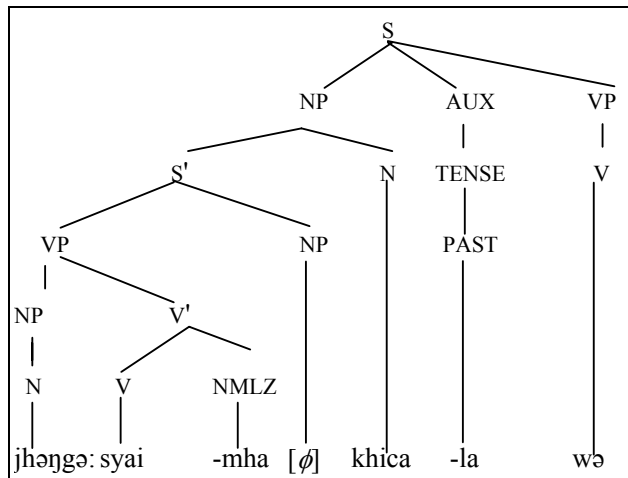


Diagram 1: Gap strategy in the relative construction

In Diagram 1, S' represents the relative construction formed by employing the nominalization strategy. In this construction, the NP directly dominated by S' represents the referential identity of the missing argument of the relative clause. This is represented by [-∅] in the tree diagram.

The nominalizers classified modally in Bhaktapur Newar may be best differentiated from the formation of the relative clauses.

5.4 Verbal-complement clause

The nominalized clauses also function as the complement of the verb in Bhaktapur Newar as in (10).

- (10) ji thana con-e yə:
 1SG here stay-NMLZ want.NPST
 'I want to stay here.'

5.5 Adverbial clauses

The converbal clauses, both sequential and simultaneous, function as the adverbial clauses in Bhaktapur Newar as in (11).

- (11) a. ja nəya: pəsəle wona
 rice eat.NMLZ shop go.PST
 'After having eaten rice I went to the shop'
- b. wo khok-khō che wona
 3SG cry-cry.NMLZ house go.PST
 'He went home, crying.'

Example (11a) is a sequential converbal clause. In the same way, (11b) represents simultaneous converbal clause.

5.6 Free-standing independent clauses

Such type of nominalized clauses employ a copula sentence finally as in (12).

- (12) səḷ̃ hələ hə:-gu tay-e də
 That horse neigh-NMLZ hear-NMLZ COP
 'The neighing of horse can be heard.'

6 Summary

In this paper we tried to present an outline of the morphological, syntactic and functional dimensions of nominalization in Bhaktapur Newar. Nominalization is a dominant grammatical pattern in Bhaktapur Newar. Like other

Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayan area and other major dialects of Newar Bhaktapur, Newar makes use of derivational/lexical and clausal nominalization at the morphological and syntactic levels of grammar, respectively. Lexical/derivational nominalization appears to be very productive in Bhaktapur Newar. It extensively employs nominalized clauses in broader syntactic structures where they function as a noun phrase. Such structures include attributive phrases, nominal-complement constructions, relative clauses, verbal-complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and free-standing independent clauses in the language.

Abbreviations

1	First person	LOC	Locative
2	Second person	NMLZ	Nominalizer
3	Third person	NPST	Non-past
COP	Copula	OBLG	Obligatory
DAT	Dative	PST	Past tense
EMPH	Emphatic	SG	Singular
ERG	Ergative		

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC STATUS OF RAJI

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The Raji is one of the oldest indigenous people of Nepal. There are more than 50 percent lexical similarities between Barabandale and Naukule dialects of Raji. The attitude of native speakers towards their mother tongue is not positive and the Raji language is endangered because of the less in number.

1 The Raji people

It is generally agreed that the original habitat of the Rajis is Jamakuine - the confluence of Bheri and Karnali rivers, which lies in Surkhet district. The ancestors of Rajis were one of the clans of Bhote who came from Tibet. Rajis were called BY *Raaj kiraant* since their behaviours were similar to those of Kiranti people. George van Driem (2001:411) takes Raji as an indigenous South Asian racial Mongoloid.

There are several legends regarding the origin of the term 'Raji'. One of the popular legends among Rajis is that once upon a time a god was about to cross the Bheri river but he could not do it without the help of the people who helped other cross the river. The God requested the people to help him cross the river. They become ready to help him in the condition that the term '*raaji khusi*' would be used in every official document onwards from that day. The god agreed with them and granted their wish. In this legend, the term 'god' might refer to sage i.e. *rishi muni* who used to write the official documents in those days. In course of time the term '*raaji khusi*' reduced to *raaj'* only as it is used now (Gurung 2062:8). Another myth which is also popular among the Rajis is that the Rajis were one of the kings who ruled the Surkhet valley before they were defeated by the neighbouring kings.

Being defeated they went to the western parts of Surkhet to save their lives and later they were known as the Rajis.

The Raji people prefer to live in joint families because this type of residence pattern is that it is based on social and economic factors and must be appreciated. And the eldest male member of the family is considered the natural head in Raji family.

Since most of the Raji people live at the bank of the river and nearby the jungle, I found some interesting scenes of their traditional occupations and the symbol of their houses. A piece of fishnet is hung at the entrance of the house that indicates Raji's house. At Kuchaini of Chaumala VDC-9, I found most of the Raji's houses were door less. They replied that they did not have the things which could be stolen. So, they do not need a proper door at house when I asked about the door to them.

Due to various reasons such as the deforestation, community management system of the forest, construction of the bridges over the rivers they have begun to settle in different plain areas. The Raji people like drinking alcohol very much from time immemorial. Similarly, they use and consume alcohol and pork during their ceremonies and festivals. As they hunt wild animals and fish they eat meat and fish in their dish. They also eat *tarul* and *githa* and wild fruits in their daily food. In the past days even men used to put on rings on the ears. The women put on *fuli* and *bulaakhi* on the nose, garlands of dollars, *mugaas* and *pote* on the neck and bracelets of silver on the wrist. They also put on *tikuli* on the forehead.

The Rajis are involved in fishing, hunting, honey-hunting, making boats and ferring people and goods across the rivers, collecting edible roots and tubers like *tarul* and *githa*, wild

fruits and herbs from the jungle and filtering gold in the Karnali river.

The economic condition of Raji people is in miserable condition. They are forced to leave their traditional occupations like hunting, fishing, honey-hunting and ferrying. They do not have land as a result they cannot do farming. Therefore, external migration especially to the Terai in search of fertile land is increasing in these days. They are living below the poverty line. They are earning their breads by working as labourers and farmworkers and some people go to the cities or to neighbouring country, India in search of work.

The present work is a short description of the Raji people, their culture and their language.

2 The Raji language

Raji is only used in intra-ethnic communication in the community. They use it in houses, working places, markets and so on. They use Nepali or other contact languages like Tharu while conversing with non- Rajis. They use Nepali in schools, courts, media, and community gatherings.

Raji is a Tibeto-Burman language. It is an endangered language since it is spoken by only a small number of speakers.

The Rajis primarily reside in different villages nearby the jungle and the river sides of Kailali, Surkhet, Kanchanpur, Bardiya and Banke districts of Mid and Far-Western Development Regions of western Nepal. The census of 1991 gave the number of Raji in Nepal as 2,959. The recent census 2001 gives the number of mother tongue speakers as 2,413. An attempt has also been made to enumerate the number of Rajis at the community level. According to the *Raji Shalm Samaj*, the central office, Tikapur, Kailali there are more than 4,000 Rajis throughout the country.

Most languages in the Himalayan region are named, at least by outsiders, after the ethnic designation of the people who speak them (Watters 2002:8). It applies to Raji's case too. The term 'Raji' refers to both ethnonym 'people-name' and a glossonym 'language-name'. Thus, there is a one to one correspondence between the caste and its language. 'Raji' has been given by the Nepali speaking people to refer to both the Raji people and the Raji language. Among them, the term *Phaan* (i.e. tribe) is used to refer to themselves and *Phaan boli* or *Phaan bhasha* to refer to the language spoken by them are very popular. Raji is also known by some alternate names as well. In Grierson and Konow (1903-1928) it has been referred to as the *Janggali* language. Gordon (2005:478) has used 'Rajibar' as an alternate term for Raji. Similarly, Rastogi (2006:52) has used the terms 'Rawati' and '*ban raaji* - king of the forest' for Raji.

3 The Raji dialects

Three regional dialects of Raji namely, *Barabandale*, *Naukule* and *Purbiya* have been identified. As Purbiya dialect of Raji is not spoken in Kailali district, I downed my study of lexical similarities and differences to two dialects only. When compared the Swadesh 100 word list I found more than 50 percent lexical similarities between these two dialects of Raji. That means, *Barabandale* and *Naukule* have lexical similarities in 51 words.

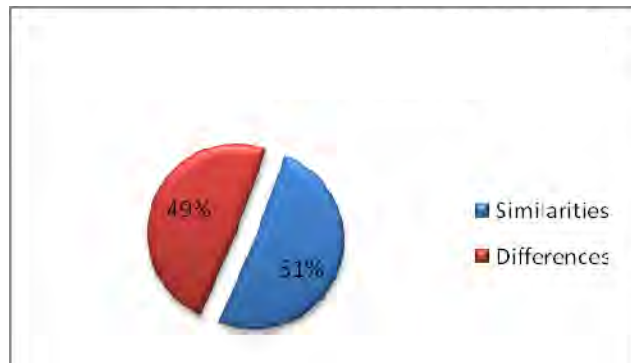


Figure 1: Lexical similarities among Raji dialects

In order to determine the degree of lexical similarities and differences between the two regional dialects of the Raji language, I used Swadesh 100 word list and requested the native speakers of the Raji language to provide the equivalents of the words in their own language.

4 Situation of language endangerment

Previously people were discouraged to use their languages and warned of grave consequences if they used them: they were harassed, humiliated and even punished if they were found using their language. This policy was maintained and severely implemented during the Rana regime and carried on until recently. Among the various reasons, 'one nation one language' policy of the HMG was the most prominent one. This kind of biased attitude of suppressing other languages in favour of Nepali was maintained until recently. This, along with some other factors, has led to violent conflicts and separatist movements.

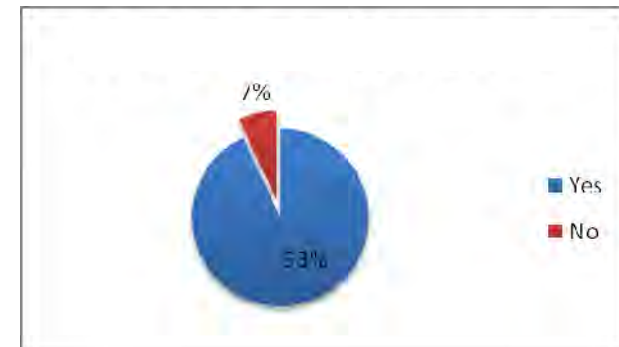


Figure 2: The situation of language endangerment

Hundred Raji people were asked whether the language is currently endangered. Among them ninety three people responded yes. However, few of them i.e. seven out of hundred replied as no. Majority of them said that the Raji language is endangered because of the number of Raji speakers is getting lesser day by day. The major influential factors which have direct impact on the language obsolescence are like the proper lack of intergenerational language transmission, the community members' pessimistic attitude towards their own language and culture, the negative attitude of the speakers of the dominant language speakers like Nepali, Tharu towards the Raji language, low economic and socio-cultural status of the speakers, lack of strong motivation, and migration to urban areas and neighbouring country India for job or education.

Another important case to be noted here is the use of borrowed lexical items in the domains of basic vocabulary which is a sign of language obsolescence. When compared 210 word list 75 words belong to Nepali. Raji has numeral system only upto six and beyond that it has loans with little or no phonetic modifications. The table given below shows how many words have been borrowed from each of the sections

out of 210. (on the basis of List of 210 words adopted from 'Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan)

5 Language attitude

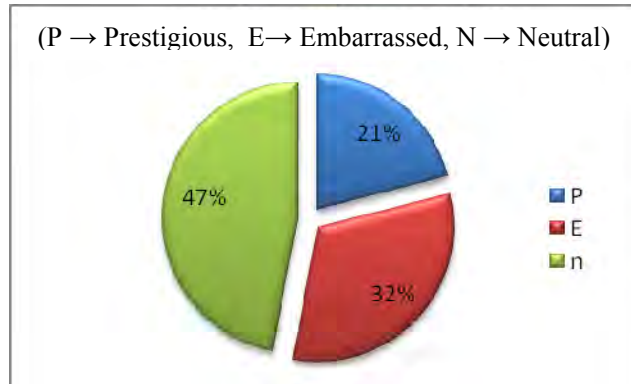


Figure 3: The situation of language attitude

I asked hundred Raji speakers about their attitudes towards their mother tongue from different places of Kailali district and found that forty seven respondents expressed their neutral attitude and thirty two out of hundred, expressed negative attitude towards their mother tongue. On the other hand, twenty of them consider their mother tongue vital and are proud of speaking it. It indicates that the attitude of native speakers towards their mother tongue is not positive. The views expressed by the majority of my respondents is that it does not fulfill their needs in the modern society because only one language is prioritized by the government of Nepal. It is not used in education, at service center like, health, different bodies of government, public service commission, even also not while making conversation with the non-Raji people. In addition to this, they said that They respect and speak their mother tongue and also want to speak for ever. The main reason of having a negative attitude towards their language

is 'one nation one language' policy and this kind of biased attitude of suppressing other languages in favour of Nepali is being maintained until recently. There is a fundamental linkage between language and traditional knowledge. As languages go extinct, there is an irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical and ecological knowledge. They demand the standardization of their mother tongues.

From the analysis of data, it is found that there are more than 50 percent lexical similarities between these two dialects of Raji. The Raji language is currently threatened since they are small in number and are pressed by outsiders who are Nepali speakers. Most of the respondents remained silent regarding the attitudes towards their language.

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ISSUES ON LINGUISTIC FEDERALISM IN NEPAL

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The languages spoken in Nepal and their usage while reconstructing the nation in its federal forms from the unitary Kingdom has been a hot issue at present. This article tries to describe the issues relating to languages and their implementation and impact on federalism in relation to the present situation of the country.

1 Background

The 2001 Census of Nepal has identified 92 languages in Nepal. Out of them 12 can be said to be major languages having more than 1% of the population (CBS, 2001). Some languages are on the verge of extinction while a number of languages have already become extinct. The present slogan of most of political powers and people is the 'New Nepal'. Nepal in this time is not only in the verge of changing the form of the system of the government from Constitutional Monarchy to Republican but also in the period of transition of its reconstruction from the Unitary Kingdom to Federal States are having a significant impact on current language policies and the politics upon it.

The meaning of reconstruction of New Nepal is the process of transforming Kathmandu centered Unitary Kingdom existed from about 240 years into Federal Democratic Republic to provide equal excess to and participation for all with full of justice. This is not only the political commitment but also a national interest and demand.

To understand the intricacies of the language problems and the multilingual and multicultural make up of the nation, several background factors need to be considered. Geography and ecological variables, power politics, economic alternatives and limitations, migrations of people, religion,

social stratification and the political history of the legionnaire all factors that directly impinge upon language issue in Nepal, both historically and at present.

Now, the Nepali language has been functioning as the official language in both national and local level and the link language among different linguistic groups. It has further been used as medium of instruction in schools and colleges and mass media in central as well as local level except some recently used newspapers and radio programmes. Other languages are far behind than the Nepali language in that direction. They are in the process of development. As mother tongue based medium of instruction initiated, that helped in language development. All the languages spoken in the country are not yet recognized. English is formally accepted as the language of international communication. It is also used in education and science and technology.

2 A brief history

There is a long history of strife over languages in Nepal. Nepal being a multilingual country, the debate over the issues of languages spoken within country has been one of the most fertile factors in Nepalese political history. The issues of language got emerged mainly with the political change of Multiparty Democracy in 1951 and reached at the climax and got down slowly with the coup of the then King Mahendra in 1960. After this the issue of language got declined in its surface level for about 30 years during the period of Panchayat regime. The issue got climaxed with the restoration of democracy in 1990 and the Maoist insurgency started in 1996 and mainly after 2000 when Nepal Communist Party Maoist took ethnic languages as one of tools, it has added a new wave to language politics in Nepal. As Nepal adopted the Interim constitution of Nepal 2007 after the restoration of democracy made the linguistic issues more contextual. As this constitution declares on restructuring the state ending all forms of exploitations including linguistic one, and the promotion of inclusive democracy, the scope of language issues has further been accelerated.

Before the advent of Prithvi Narayan Shah of Gorkha, the Khasa-Parbate language (i.e. the earlier form of Nepali today) had been accepted as the state language and lingua-franca of various feudal states of Nepal. The Malla Kingdom of Parbat also contributed a fair share in making Parbate or the Khasa language richer and important as historical legacy of Khasa Kingdom had found to be controlled a vast territory between Garhwal in the west and the Kathmandu valley in the east. However, the royal orders and letters in Maithili, Tibetan, Hindi and other minority languages were also found to be issued by some rulers of Nepal. But after the adoption of one language policy by King Mahendra under the Panchayat rule, the other minority languages had begun to feel their suppression by the state.

The Nepal Terai Congress Party in the Terai Region mainly after the restoration of Democracy in 1951 demanded the Hindi language as the language of autonomous Terai State under the 'save Hindi movement'. Almost all the Terai based political parties have been demanding the Hindi language as a means of lingua-franca not only in the Terai but throughout the country till now. The 'Newar language movement' also took place in the Kathmandu valley. The 1990 constitution and the interim constitution 2007 are found to be more flexible regarding the languages spoken in the country. Different political parties and ethnic groups have different views and understanding regarding the relation between languages and the federal structure. Unified Maoist including some major ethnic groups are seen in favor of the autonomous states based on some of the ethnic languages viz. Limbu and Rai in the east, Tamang and Newar in the mid and Magar and Gurung in Midwestern part of the country. Nepali Congress and CPNUML including small political parties have been taking language though one of important factors they view that the state in Nepalese context should not be made only on the basis of language and ethnicity as it will be difficult to

sustain in future. The Terai-centered political parties blindly advocate the Hindi language as a means of lingua-franca throughout the country by demanding the autonomous Terai state from Mechi to Mahakali. In this situation language issues in federal structure in present process of state reconstructing is so highly raised that Nepal has never been as acute as it is now.

3 The issue of linguistic federalism

The federal state is the result of among different ethnic and linguistic groups and communities with their political contract through the written constitution. Nepal is now on the same process of being federalization. The political leaders and constitution makers should take into consideration while making constitution through the Constituent Assembly.

When we see the world's federal states, they are found to be seen as (a) one caste one language-one state, (b) one caste one language-multi state and (c) one state-multilingual/multiethnic. If the state is reconstructed only on the basis of caste and language, there may be the possibility to fall the nation into an endless debate and conflict. Countries like India and Nigeria are the examples of having this type of conflict. Infact, federalism is the philosophy of democratic political nation system to strengthen unity among different variation and inequality.

Most of the models regarding the state reconstructing have found to be utilized some common bases like ethnic/linguistic/cultural identity, economic possibilities, the excess and complementary of natural resources. Some of them have emphasized the historical place of ethnic/linguistic/cultural groups, and have placed less priority and significance on geographical complementary (Sharma and Khanal, 2009:34). This is because the different political parties and ethnic and linguistic groups have their own understanding of

the ethnic/linguistic/cultural points and areas. As a result, some have claimed some areas as their own, while others have reclaimed on contrary to the previous claims. For example, the Kochila State that comprised of three districts viz. Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari that proposed and claimed by Maoist Party have been reclaimed as Limbuvan by Limbuvan Party. Moreover, the other parties of the Terai have been demanding those districts to be included within a single state of the whole Terai region as a single autonomous Madhesh Pradesh. The same area has been proposed by the name of Birat Pradesh by CPNUML Party, Bijayapur by Govinda Neupane, Purbi Terai (East Terai) by Pitamber Sharma, Mithilanchal by Surendra K.C. and Amresh Narayan Jha, Far-East State by Chandra Kanta Gyawali, Rajbanshi Autonomous Area by K.B. Gurung, Morang Mandal State by Babu Ram Acharya and so on.

Similarly, the Magar have claimed the two areas of their residency claiming that these belong to their ancestral areas from Surkhet to Tanahun and Ramechap to Dhankuta as Magarant State. Likewise, Tharu also have been demanding to put the areas of Tharu majority areas into Tharuvan State (Ibid. p. 35). We find mainly two significant issues are in existence in course of restructuring the state. The first issue can be the development of all the languages of Nepal and provide mother tongue education in schools up to proper level as the medium of instruction. The second one can be the determination of the languages in day to day administrative function of the nation and their criteria for using them. These can be the languages of the central and state government of federal Nepal.

The main reasons for Nepal to be a federal from the unitary form of government is present structure of the state in its ethnic, linguistic and areal inequality, enexcess and uninclusive. As Nepal has been practicing unitary and

centralized form of government from the long run the process of restructuring the nation into federal one is complex and sensitive one. In this context the different ethnic groups have presented their own ethnic autonomous states on the basis of their own historical and traditional geo-cultural territory. They presented their states with their names and boundaries too. Some of these states are yet seen to be started their work as de-facto. This issue can be taken easily in this context because the nation has already determined its political objective to form the state federal one but the nation itself could not started its process of being federal state.¹

In the process of federalization of the state, firstly, the present unitary nation should be divided into different self-governing units. So many views, opinions and proposals were presented in the process of federalization of the country. Altogether there are four alternatives. The first proposal proposed by the Madhesi Parties is the tri-state federal structure of Himal,

¹ Though federalism is a political issue, the technical and expertise aspects are also equally important. But the related working teams or/and commissions have not been formed yet by the state till now. To make federal state no any signals of doing its homework from the state level yet. The job of politics is to determine only the direction and destination of the country. But the whole remaining jobs of its implementation are to be done by the regular homework of the commission. No system will be made remained in its existence by the contemporary quick political decision. If we believe in the system of multiparty democratic and competitive political system, then there is no meaning of dictatorship of only one political party. In this type of federalism the nation will not be strong and there will always be the possibility of danger of separation. The past USSR and Yugoslavia are the examples of it. So the federal state that is going to be restructured now must not be limited to the structure and process of political party's dictatorship but on the basis of maximum ownership of the people.

Pahad and Madhes (Terai). The next alternative is the federal structure on the basis of caste and language. The third is the states from Himal to Terai with geographical, ethnic and linguistic variation and adjustment with its own eco-political and autonomous states. The last or fourth alternative is of mixed type. In this type, if we can, the states will be determined on the basis of multiethnic and multilingual states bearing in mind the historical and cultural territory and density of the population. This last alternative can be suitable in our context. While doing so with the last alternative, some states will be of ethnic identity, some are of linguistic identity and rest of others carry geographical identity. The present settlement position of people in Nepal shows that except Nepali and Maithili linguistic communities, no other communities will have their states with majority. It will be long term utility of federal Nepal that if we reconstruct the nation on the basis of presence of density of ethnic and linguistic communities with their geographical, economic and political possibilities. The federal Nepal should develop and provide legal provision to all the languages spoken in Nepal.

But, it is equally important in acculturation of using them of a clear constitutional provision for the language used for formal usage of the nation. Otherwise, by using it as a catalyst, seasonal language and ethnic issues for the short term political opportunity will mushroomed almost overnight (Khanal, 2008b:96). Language is the fundamental right for every individual. There will be revolution if the nation bans them in using them. If the nation leaves it openly then any individual searches nationally and internationally highly accepted language(s) in accordance with his/her priorities and adaptability for facilities and opportunities. The use of the English language in almost all the countries can be the example.

The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 recognized all the languages spoken in Nepal as their mother tongue as national languages. There is no doubt that federal Nepal by its present constitution too, will be multilingual. Though the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1991 also mentioned Nepal as multiethnic and multilingual, it bends the use of them in nation system. Language movements rose. Even after the Peoples' Movement II in 2006, the interim constitution has provisioned only a single language for government's administrative purpose i.e. the Nepali language is recognized as a medium of official usage.² But as it opened the use of mother tongue in local level and local offices, this can be an upward step of opening constitutional door for the transformation of Nepal towards multilingual nation. An agreement between the government and Madhesi Janadhikar Forum in 2008 says that (a) mother tongue, (b) Nepali language and (c) English language i.e. a tri-lingual policy in the government, administration, education and international communication that should be recognized in the constitution. In this way after the Peoples' Movement II in 2006 Nepal has been up-warding towards multilingual nation system. English language has been used as a means of international communication and quality higher education. But the main

² But sometimes in the higher political level, the status of a language has been a debatable issue. Generally, the constitutions of other countries do not mention which language is national which is not. The languages that are used in the administrative purpose are only found to be listed in the constitution. But in case of Nepal, as the constitution has already recognized all the languages spoken in Nepal as their mother tongues as national languages, the possibility of using them in national level is not uneasy. So, if the provision of national languages will be remained the same in the constitution, the clear definition, criteria and preliminaries of those languages may be mentioned in the constitution. All the languages may not get chance to be listed in the constitution. India is an example of it where though hundreds of mother tongues are there; only a few have been codified in the constitution.

issues here are not of English but of Nepalese languages especially the mother tongues.

After entering into the federalism, Nepal, no doubt will transform into the multilingual nation system. The states can use the local languages in their administration and offices for governmental purposes. For the central government and in-between central and state government and among different state governments there will be necessity of one or more link language(s). In other countries, we cannot find any particular criteria for practicing use of language.

The constitutions of quite old federal states remain quiet in the use of language in their constitutions. In the constitution of the U.S.A., Australia, Brazil and Mexico there is no mention of administrate or link language. In the U.S.A. and Australia, the English language is found to be in practice and Brazil uses Portuguese while Mexico uses Spanish. Some countries like Argentina, Spain, Malaysia, Venezuela etc. though they practice federalism, use only a single language for their governmental purposes. English and Amharic languages got constitutional recognition in Nigeria and Ethiopia respectively. In Russia and Austria there is only one language in central and provincial languages in different provinces are found to be used. India, Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, South Africa etc. have been practicing the multilingual federalism. They are often cited for their liberal language policies. Post-apartheid South Africa, for example, has accepted 11 languages to address some ethnic communities. But with the passage of time, English, although fifth on the list, has emerged as the most preferred language there. Efforts to promote Afrikaans as the first language have not produced encouraging results (Adhikari, 2010:2). Meanwhile, leaders of various ethnic communities appear to have realized that the Nepali language is one vital foundation to establish the collective identity of the diverse ethnic groups that make up Nepal.

The other question can be whether all the languages mentioned in the last population census 2001 can be the national languages of Nepal? For this, all the national languages will be indexed in the constitution by writing a clear definition of national language. There will be no the situation of using only a Nepali language as a language of administration after entering into its federal structure. The subject of language is certainly related to the structuring of the provinces. There can be the situation of using two or three major local languages including Nepali within a single province. Likewise, it will be necessary to get information in their mother tongue while getting clearance and doing self-protection in the government offices for which the state have to provide the translator (Khanal;2008a:45).

In this way, from the very beginning of its history of language politics, Nepal has found to be tackled many challenges and struggles. The Nepal Terai Congress Party in the Terai Region mainly after the restoration of Democracy in 1951 has demanded the Hindi language as the language of autonomous Terai State. Almost all the Terai based political parties have been demanding the Hindi language as a means of lingua-franca not only in the Terai but throughout the country until now. Now the Nepal's largest political party Unified Maoist has been demanding the autonomous states based on some of the ethnic languages viz. the Limbu and Rai in the east Tamang and Newar in the mid and Magar and Gurung in Midwestern part of the country. The issue of language, ethnicity and federalism in present process of state restructuring is so highly raised that the politics of language in Nepal has never been as acute in Nepal as it is now.

4 Conclusion

Today, political speech and writing are supposed to be largely the defense of the indefensible. In today's world, language cannot, be kept out of politics. All issues are political issues

and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia. When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer (Orwell, 1985:420-436). As the awareness among people of a common linguistic community identify springing from their shared experience serves the building bloc of national integration, it is important for the government to accord due place to each language and cultures so that linguistic diversity in the nation attempts to foster for the politics of nation building. It is equally important to overcome a sense of alienation, seclusion and discrimination and from broader identity.

There is a risk that putting all the emphases on federalism would leave the central state, with all its weaknesses, untransformed. Even if the country is federal, some of the same issues must be confronted. It was important to deal with the questions of representation at the centre: with the composition of the Supreme Court, the Civil Service, the Upper House of the legislature (assuming there was one, which would certainly exist in a federal system). All these things would be needed to strengthen the bond between minority language speakers and the state of Nepal as a whole.

There can be multiple ways in which exclusion could be responded to. Even within a federal constitution, the range of options open to Nepal was broad. Though federalism is demand of the day, it alone cannot be the answer to all. Because the situation of Nepal is extraordinary complex - as there are two constitutional transitions taking place simultaneously. Having a multilingual policy is something that Nepal to consider given the incredible linguistic diversity in the country. Nepal can deliver services in many languages. But it can use different languages in different contexts. In this context, the Canadian language policy may be helpful for Nepal in implementing its language issues to some extent. But it should be in our circumstances. Because the status of a

language in one context does not determine its status in another context. It might be impossible, in particular, for government to offer services in the national language or in local languages, even if another language was the internal working language of the government.

The second point can be official language policies which has a double importance. They are crucially important because they determine access to policies and courts. And they are of enormous symbolic importance because they communicate to minority language speakers about what the county's identity is.

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POSSESSIVE EXPERIENCER VERBS IN YAKKHA: BETWEEN COMPOUNDS AND PHRASAL IDIOMS¹

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Yakkha, as a typical Kiranti feature, expresses experiential events or mental states in so-called possessive experiencer constructions. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate their morphosyntactic properties and to address the issue of how to classify them by testing the constructions for criteria of wordhood and phrasehood.

1 Introduction

This paper explores the morphosyntactic nature of possessive experiencers in Yakkha, showing that their heterogeneous properties make it difficult to clearly categorize them either as compounds or as idiomatic phrases.

Yakkha belongs to the Kiranti languages and is spoken in Eastern Nepal, Kosi Zone. The core area is located in the southern part of Sankhuwasawa district and in the northern part of Dhankuta district. According to the last census, there are about 14000 speakers (Toba et al. 2005), but use of the language is in decline, with very few actively competent speakers among the youngest generation.

The phenomenon under investigation here is a complex structure consisting of a noun and a verb, which shows some characteristics of compounding, while similarly behaving like

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a phrase. Most of the complex predicates of this kind in Yakkha come from the semantic domain of experiential predicates, or they denote some mental or moral concepts. Such compound structures for the expression of experiential events are not unique to Yakkha; they rather belong to a broader South-East Asian pattern. Matisoff (1986) cites examples from Chinese, Burmese, Thai, Lahu, Tibetan, Jingpho and other languages.

In Yakkha, typically, a possessive prefix has to be attached to the noun, and the experiencer is treated like the possessor of the mental state or moral quality denoted by the noun. This construction will be referred to as ‘possessive experiencer construction.’ According to Bickel (2004), such constructions are the most typical experiential expressions in Kiranti languages. Some of the mental states or moral qualities are conceptualized as being located in certain body parts. For instance, *nabhuk-lemnhayma* literally means ‘throw away the nose’, but it refers to morally transgressive behaviour. The collocation for ‘love’, *luyma-tukma*, is combined of ‘liver’ and ‘hurt’. Other nouns participating in that structure are more abstract and do not refer to any body part, e.g. *nijwa* ‘mind’ or *lok* ‘anger’.

Their non-compositional, metaphorical meaning makes these complex predicates compound-like, but as Haspelmath (2002:156) points out, idiomaticity is neither a necessary nor sufficient criterion for compoundhood. A better argument for their unity comes from their argument structure. Both noun and verb contribute to it, as both components are needed to yield a specific argument frame. The verbs that are involved in possessive experiencer verbs are from a small semantic class of verbs such as *sima* ‘die’, *kepma* ‘come up/ bring up’, *yuma* ‘be full/be complete’ *tukma* ‘hurt’ (‘light verbs’). Many of them participate in more than one complex predicate, and

only the combination with the respective nouns makes it possible to distinguish the semantics and argument frame of the whole structure (cf. Mohanan 2005:462). Table (1) provides examples of each argument frame of the possessive experiencer verbs.

predicate	gloss	literal transl.
poss-N-V-infl.3S; intransitive		
<i>nijwa khorjma</i>	‘be mentally ill’	mind-break
-‘-’	‘be disappointed’	
<i>nijwa tukma</i>	‘be sad’	mind-hurt
<i>nijwa kajma</i>	‘surrender, give in’	mind-fall
<i>yupma yuma</i>	‘be tired’	sleepiness-be full
<i>saklam phemma</i>	‘pine over’	[?]-be perceivable
<i>nijŋaŋ puŋma</i>	‘lose interest’	[?]
<i>pomma kepma</i>	‘feel lazy’	laziness-come up
<i>taŋ pokma</i>	‘be stubborn/proud’	horn-rise
poss-N-V-infl.EXP.A > STIM.P; transitive		
<i>chippa kepma</i>	‘be disgusted’	disgust-come up
<i>chik ekma</i>	‘hate’	[hate]-break
<i>sopma himma</i>	‘be bored, be fed up’	breath-thrash
<i>na hemma</i>	‘be jealous’	[?]
<i>lok khopma</i>	‘be angry’	anger-be enough
<i>luŋma tukma</i>	‘love’	liver-hurt
<i>luŋma kipma</i>	‘be greedy’	liver-cover tightly
<i>sap thakma</i>	‘like’	[?]-send.up
poss-N-V-infl.EXP.A > 3P; transitive		
<i>khaep cimma</i>	‘be satisfied’	interest-be satisfied
<i>yupma cimma</i>	‘have enough sleep’	sleepiness-be satisfied
<i>mi?wa saŋma</i>	‘mourn’	tear-cough/croak

<i>nijwa lomma</i>	‘have/apply an idea’	mind-take out
<i>sopma soma</i>	‘breathe’	breath-breathe
<i>nabhuk lem-nhaŋma</i>	‘dishonour (self or others)’	nose-throw away
<i>nabhuk yuŋma</i>	‘uphold moral’	nose-keep
<i>saya pokma</i>	‘head raising’ (rit.)	soul-raise
poss-N-INS-V-infl.EXP.A > STIM.P; transitive		
<i>ninwa-ŋa cama</i>	‘feel sympathetic’	mind-INS-eat
<i>hop-ŋa khamma</i>	‘trust’	[?]-INS-chew

Table 1: Overview of possessive experiencer verbs

2 Conflicting properties

Despite forming a single predicate with respect to semantics and argument structure, noun and verb in these predicates can retain considerable morphosyntactic freedom. The most obvious feature of nounhood is the possessive prefix on the noun, which is otherwise never found on verbs (see example (1a)). Furthermore, some nouns allow nonsingular marking, and if this applies, they also trigger nonsingular agreement in the verb. This clearly shows that these compounds are not opaque to syntactic processes (see (2) and (3)). Thus, a core criterion for wordhood does not apply to the possessive experiencer verbs. Finally, as we can also see from (2) and (3), verbal prefixes (the unspecified nasal coding third person plural S or A arguments) do not attach to the first part of the predicate (the noun), but directly to the verbal stem, between noun and verb.

- (1) *ka* *u-yaŋ* *a-luŋma*
 1SG.NO 3SG.POSS- 1SG.POSS-liver
 M money.NOM
kipt-u-ŋ=na
 cover.tightly-3P.PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I got greedy for his money.’

- (2) *a-yupma-ci* *n-yus-a=ha-ci*
 1SG.POSS-sleepiness- 3PL-be.full-PST=NMLZ.NSG-
 NSG NSG
 ‘I feel tired.’
- (3) *a-pomma-ci* *η-gy-a=ha-ci*
 1SG.POSS-laziness- 3PL-come.up-PST=NMLZ.NSG.-
 NSG NSG
 ‘I feel lazy.’

Judging from these examples, the noun does not appear incorporated, but rather like an argument on its own. Example (4) from another argument frame, however, presents a different picture. Here, it is not the noun that triggers agreement on the verb, but the experiencer and the stimulus (1st and 2nd person, represented by the portmanteau-suffix *-nen*). The only feature of nounhood retained in this frame is the possessive prefix on the noun.

- (4) *ka* *nda* *a-chik*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS-hate
- eη-meʔ-nen=na*
 break-NPST-1SG>2SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I hate you.’

Another frame even shows instrumental marking on the noun. Two possessive experiencer verbs exhibiting this property were found (cf. Table (1) and example (5a)), and one verb from another class (see (5b)). A noun that still shows case marking can hardly be called a part of a compound. Mohanan (1995), for instance, in her study on noun incorporation in Hindi, uses this criterion to distinguish incorporated nouns from arguments. In Yakkha complex predicates, however, the case marking on the noun does not allow the conclusion that this is an argument, as we will see below (in example (9c)).

- (5) a. *ka* *nda* *a-nijwa-ηa*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS-mind-INS
ca-nen=na
 eat.PST-1SG>2SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I like you.’
- b. *minuma* *tuk-nuη* *sak-ηa*
 cat.NOM hurt-COM hunger-INS
sy-a-masa=na
 die-PST.3SG-PST.PERF=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The cat was bitterly starving.’ [cheptap.060]

These properties notwithstanding, there are also several restrictions. Apart from the inflectional morphology already mentioned, only very little other morphological material may occur between noun and verb. Taking a look at particles for instance, the restrictive focus particle *-se* can be placed between noun and verb, while this is not possible for the additive focus particle *=cha* (compare (6a) with (6b)).

- (6) a. *a-saklam-ci=se*
 1SG.POSS-[STEM]-
 NS=RESTR.FOC
m-phen-a-sy-a=ha-ci
 3PL-be.perceivable-PST-MID-PST=NMLZ.NSG-NSG
 ‘I am just crazy for it.’
- b. *a-yupma-ci(*=ca)*
 1SG.POSS-sleepiness-NSG(*=ADD.FOC)
n-yus-a=ha-ci
 3PL-be.full-PST=NMLZ.NSG.-NSG
 Intended: ‘I am also tired.’

Adverbials and question words also have to be placed in front of the whole noun-verb complex, as (7a) and (7b) illustrate.

- (7) a. *tuk-nuŋ u-niŋwa* (**tuk-nuŋ*)
 hurt-COM 3SG.POSS-mind (*hurt-COM)
tug-a-ma, ...
 hurt-PST.3SG-PERF
 ‘She was so sad, ...’ [38_kth_07.009]
- b. *ijaŋ n-lok* (**ijaŋ*)
 why 2SG.POSS-anger (*why)
khot-a-ŋ-ga=na=i?
 be.enough-PST-1SG-2SG=NMLZ.NSG.=Q
 ‘Why are you angry at me?’

On the other hand, the noun can be omitted with anaphoric interpretation, which is a criterion for phrasal idioms, according to Haspelmath (2002:159). This is illustrated by example (8), from a conversation.

- (8) *mamu-ci n-sap -thakt-u-ci-g=ha=i?*
 girl-NSG 2SG.POSS-[STEM]-send.up-3PL-NSG-
 2=NMLZ.NSG=Q
 - *thakt-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ha!*
 - send.up-3PL-1SG-NSG-1SG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Do you like the girls?’ - ‘I do!’

Agent nominalization and relativization, in turn, treat these complex predicates as one unit (see (9a) and (9b)). More importantly, it is not possible to relativize on the noun that belongs to the predicate, which is shown by example (9c). It is only possible to relativize on the experiencer or the stimulus, i.e. over the A, S or P argument of the predicate.

- (9) a. *o-pomma-kek-khuba*
 3SG.POSS-laziness-come.up-NMLZ.S/A
 ‘lazy person’
- b. *ka a-sap-thakt-u-ci=ha*

- 1SG 1SG.POSS-[STEM]-send.up-3P-
 NSG=NMLZ.NSG
picha-ci
 child-NSG
 ‘the children that I like’
- c. **yapmi ca-ya=na niŋwa*
 person eat-PST=NMLZ.SG mind
 Intended: ‘the mind that likes the person’
- d. *niŋwa-ŋa ca-ya=na yapmi*
 mind-INS eat-PST=NMLZ.SG person
 ‘the person that (someone) likes’

Another typical feature of noun-verb compounds also fails to apply to possessive experiencer constructions: incorporated nouns are generally assumed to have generic reference (Haspelmath 2002:156, Fabb 2001:66). This cannot be said about the nouns that are part of possessive experiencer verbs, as the possessive prefix ties them to a specific referent. Finally, the prosodic rules also treat noun and verb as one complex, at least as far as the monosyllabic nouns are concerned. The bisyllabic nouns and those hosting a case marker constitute their own domain in terms of stress assignment.

3 Summary

As the data in the preceding sections of this article show, the possessive experiencer verbs occupy a position somewhere between proper compounds on the one hand and idiomatic phrases on the other hand. Table (2) summarizes their properties.

phrase-like	compound-like
- nominal morphology on N (poss-prefix, case, nonsingular)	- N + V determine argument structure
- N triggers agreement on V	- placement of adverbs, question words
- verbal prefix attaches to V-root	- placement of focus marker = <i>cha</i>
- focus marker = <i>se</i> between N and V	- N not relativizable
- omission of N	- stress, if N is monosyllabic
- stress, if N is bisyllabic	

Table 2: Properties of possessive experiencer verbs

The hybrid nature of these complex structures provides further challenges to the *Lexical Integrity Principle*, according to which a word must be opaque to syntactic rules (Haspelmath 2002:161). Conflicts of this kind are not new to the study of complex predicates, and they are not a peculiarity of only some languages, or of just one particular language family. They were discussed, among others, for Hindi in Mohanan (2005), for Urdu in Butt (1995) and for Chechen (Nakh-Daghestanian) in Molochieva and Witzlack (2010). This mismatch between a unified argument structure and discontinuous syntax has led to numerous modifications of the *Lexical Integrity Principle*, and to theoretical views that propose separate levels of syntactic and functional representations, as for instance in LFG (Alsina et al. 1997). The study of such phenomena that do not fit neatly into the given concepts broadens our understanding of the internal complexity of words, and forces us to reconsider where to draw the boundary between lexicon and syntax.

Abbreviations

1/2/3	person	NSG	non-singular
A	most agent-like argument	P	most patient-like argument
ADD	additive	PERF	perfect tense
COM	comitative	PL	plural
FOC	focus	POSS	possessive
INS	instrumental	PST	past
MID	middle voice	Q	question
NOM	nominative	RESTR	restrictive
NMLZ	nominalizer	S	single argument of intransitive clause
NPST	non-past	SG	singular

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TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY IN THAKALI

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TAM is overlapped with each other sharing the same suffix. This makes Thakali TAM system more complex. Both declarative mood and potential mood, and habitual aspect are marked with NPT marker *-wə/-pə*. As Thakali is a mood oriented language, different types of modality system are found within it.

1 Introduction

Tense and aspect are categories of the verb specifying various temporal relationships that characterize that event or state being described. In many languages there is no clear separation between the three categories (Watters 1998). Therefore, pure tense without the inclusion of aspectual notions is relatively rare (Comrie 1985). Tense, aspect, and modality markers in Thakali are all realized as suffixes.

2 Thakali tense system

Tense normally indicates the time prediction in relation to some particular moment. This moment is typically the moment of speaking or writing (Katamba 1993:220). Thakali has not a distinctive tense system. The same suffixes indicate TAM. The affix *-wə/-pə* indicates non-past time reference and declarative modality. The affix *-ci* indicates past time reference. Thakali tense system basically splits into past and non-past as shown in Figure 1.

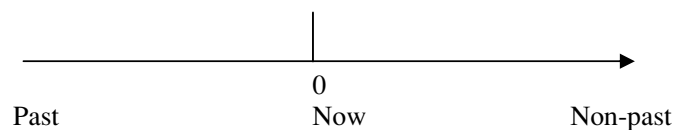


Figure 1: Thakali tense system

Distinguishing 'present' and 'future' tense in Thakali is most difficult as the same affixes indicate the both. Determining the indication of affix is just only by the contextual mood. Only possible actions can be determined by separate modal verbal form.

2.1 Past tense

Points anterior to time of reference are past. So, past tense locates an event prior to the present moment. It says nothing more than the event happens at present. The affix *-ci* denotes the past action as in (1).

- (1) thəmə-cah-ce nəgərkot mraŋ-ci
they-pl-ERG Nagarkotsee-3pPST
'They saw Nagarkot.'

2.2 Non-Past Tense

The suffix *-wə/-pə* to denote non-past tense is optional. The 3rd person pronoun is unmarked as in (2) whereas the 1st and 2nd persons are marked with the suffix *-wə/-pə* as in (4) in which 1st person has been marked. This same suffix *-wə/-pə* also indicates the planned future action as in (3).

- (2) cəmeli-ce cyəh thuŋ-ø
Chameli-ERG tea drink-3sNPT
'Chameli drinks Tea.'
- (3) cəmeli-ce namə cyəh thuŋ-ø
Chameli-ERG tomorrow tea drink-3sNPT
'Chameli will drink tea tomorrow.'
- (4) ŋə-ce cyəh thuŋ-pə-kə
I-ERG tea drink-1sNPT-INTN
'I drink tea.'

3 Aspects

Aspect is a form of verb that indicates the way in which an action is regarded. 'Aspect indicates whether an event, state, process or action that is denoted by a verb is completed or in progress' (Katamba 1993:221). The types of Thakali aspect can be classified as in figure 2 (Sharma 2001).

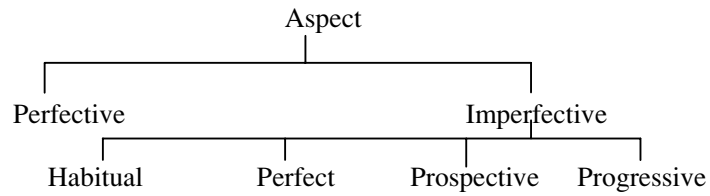


Fig 2: Thakali aspects

3.1 Perfective

Thakali past tense always indicates perfective aspect. 'Perceptivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation', (Comrie 1976:16). It is marked by the suffix *-ci* as in (5).

- (5) *ŋə-ce kən cə-ci tɛ tihm-ri yəh-ci*
 I-ERG rice eat-1sPST and house-LOCgo-1sPST
 'I ate rice and went to house.'

3.2 Imperfective

In general, the Thakali imperfective aspect can further be classified. It is concerned with the internal structure of the situation. Some linguists suggest that the concept of imperfective and progressive is same.

3.2.1 Habitual

There is no separate suffix marker to denote habitual aspect in Thakali. The NPT suffix is used as in (6).

- (6) *ŋyanŋ-ce khəmsaŋpə kyu tuŋ-wə-kə*
 we-ERG clean water drink-1pNPT-INTN
 'We drink clean water.'

3.2.2 Perfect

Perfect in Thakali is marked by the suffix *-si* as in (7).

- (7) *the-ce rə-e syə cə-si mu*
 she-ERG goat-GEN meat eat-3sPERF be-3sNPT
 'She has eaten goat's meat.'

3.2.3 Prospective

When an event is going to begin immediately, this aspect is occurred. '...a state is related to some subsequent situation, for instance where someone is in a state of being able to do something', (Comrie 1976:64). It is marked with suffix *-cyasi* as in (8).

- (8) *cəh-ce kən cə-wə cəm-cyasi mu*
 son-ERG rice eat-INFEMPH-PROS be-3sNPT
 'Son is about to eat rice.'

3.2.4. Progressive

It indicates the action that is viewed as being in progress. 'Progressiveness is similar to continuousness, which is definable as imperfective that is not occasioned by habitually.' (Comrie 1976:33). It is marked with suffix *-men* immediately after verb stem as shown in (9).

- (9) *nitu-ce ŋə-ri ŋohy-men mu*
 Nitu-ERG I-DAT invite-PROG be-3sNPT
 'Nitus inviting me.'

4 Modality

It is overlapped with time and aspect. 'It is concerned with the notions of necessity, possibility and certainty, etc, especially

as they are marked by obligatory inflections on the verb' (Watters 1998:522). Since Tibeto-Burman languages are mood oriented, the Thakali, is naturally oriented to modality system. Thus, modality system is prominent in Thakali.

The same single suffix can indicate tense, aspect and modality. This makes Thakali modal system more complicated. However, there are some suffixes that have only modal function. The given below Table 1 refers Thakali modality system (Sharma 2001).

Table 1: Thakali modality system

Modality		Markers	
Epistemic	Judgment	Declarative	-wə/-pə
		Potential	-wə/-pə
		Dubitative	-tahli
		Indecisive	- lase
	Evidential	Inferential	chəy
		Reported Speech	ro
	Interrogative	Yes-No Question	-wə/pə -lə
Wh- Question		Question Words/ih-me	
Deontic	Imperative	-o, u, ko, to	a-
	Hortative	-cyo	thə-

4.1 Declarative

The speaker, in declarative mood, shows his certainty in what he has made the propositions. 'It is undoubtedly the case that most, perhaps all, languages have a clear way of indicating that the speaker is making a statement that he believes to be true' (Palmer 1986:26).

It is marked with the NPT suffix *-wə/-pə*. The suffix *-kə* is attached with the NPT suffix to show certainty, intention and the action to be performed immediately after the time of speaking. This certainty marker *-kə* is basically used with 1st person singular as in (10).

- (10) ɲə-ce the-ri ale pim-pə-kə
I-ERG she-DAT moneygive-1sNPT-INTN
'I give her money.'

4.2 Potential

The potential modality indicates that the speaker is confirmed with the time of the planned action that will take place in the future. It is also marked with the NPT suffix *-wə/-pə* as in (11).

- (11) sila tuhrmə-e pehr-ri səgərmathaTe-ø
Sila next.year-GEN summer-LOC.M.E climb-3sNPT-POT
'Sila will climb the Mt. Everest next summer.'

4.3 Dubitative

A dubitative is usually described as expressing an element of doubt that the event described in the proposition occurred or will occur (Bybee 1985:175). Thakali dubitative modality system is indicated by the affix *-tahli*. This affix indicates the future potentiality of possible action, more certain as shown in (12).

- (12) cəncəli-ce kon-ri kumpun-Tahli
Chanchali-ERG clothes-LOC urinate-3sNPT-DUB
'Chanchali may urinate on clothes.'

4.4 Indecisive

The suffix *-lase* indicates the indecision of the speaker. This suffix indicates future potentiality of possible action, less certain as in example (13).

- (13) ləksmi-*cethe-e* phə-pre pərlə-lase
 Laxmi-ERG she-POSS husband-COM divorce-3sNPT-
 INDSV
 ‘Laxmi might divorce from her husband.’

4.5 Inferential

‘The evidential signals only the way the speaker arrived at knowledge about the event whether in past, present or future. The evidential definitely signals how the speaker views the truth-value of the proposition’ (Bybee 1985:182).

In Thakali inferential, the event takes place in the past but the speaker just knows about the fact with the help of some evidences that can show the occurrence of the event. The particle *-chəy* immediately follows the PST verb stem and is followed by ‘be’ verb *-mu* to indicate inferential event as in (14). Hari (1970) has treated *chəy* as an aspect particle in Thakali.

- (14) *ujeli-ce bəmbəi-ce nohr soh-ci chəy mu*
 Ujeli-ERG Bombay-ABL wealthmake-3sPERF INFER
 be-3sNPT
 ‘Ujeli has earned money from Bombay. (Ujeli was very poor but she has made four storey building in Kathmandu).’

4.6 Reported speech

It indicates that the speaker is repeating somebody else's words. He pretends to report what someone else has said. The speaker has also not any evidence of its truth value. It is marked with post verbal particle *ro* as exemplified in (15).

- (15) *pulis-ce neta-ri chyu-ci ro*
 Policeman-ERG leader-DAT catch-3sPST RS
 ‘The police caught the leaders’ (Prasai told).

4.7 Interrogative

In Thakali, statement with simple indefinite NPT affix is identical with question form that can be distinguished only with contextual meaning as well as rising intonation (Hari 1970). Similarly, by using interrogative (question) words, it can be formed.

4.7.1 Rising intonation

When a declarative sentence is uttered with rising intonation, it functions as a question as in (16).

- (16) *mih-ce mehmomo mraŋ-ci*
 man-ERG cow see-3s.PST
 ‘Did the man see a cow?’

4.7.2 Question word

The question words are placed in the place of what the answer is expected in the statement as in (17).

- (17) *kyahŋ-e min ta ih-me?*
 you-GEN name what be-2sNPT-Q
 ‘What is your name?’

4.8 Imperative

‘Imperative is the unmarked member of the deontic system...’ (Palmer 1995 :108) whereas Bybee (1985:171) says that the imperative mood is direct commands or orders. There are different types of imperative markers.

Both prohibitive prefix *thə-* in imperative as in (19) and *a-* in hortative as in (21) precede the verb stems. Moreover, the suffix *-le* can be attached to any imperative to make the order a bit softer and politer as in (20) (Sharma 2003).

- (18) *kən cə-u*
 rice eat-IMP
 ‘Have rice.’

(19) kən thə-cə-u
rice PROH-eat-IMP
'Don't have rice.'

(20) kəhy pun-o-le
song sing-IMP-POL
'Please sing a song.'

4.9 Hortative

The suffix -cyo occurs with hortative as in (21).

(21) a-pruhp-cyo
PROH-write-HOR
'Let's not write.'

5 Honorific

There are some specific honorific verb stems in Thakali. Table 2 gives the Thakali honorific verb stems (Sharma 2003).

Table 2: Thakali honorific stems

Honorific stem	Common stem	Gloss
cəhy	lə	to do
syohŋ	khə	to come
sye	yəhr	to go
suŋ	pih	to say
sol	cə	to eat
nahŋ	pin	to give
suhm	nuh	to sleep

Thus, the majority of the verbs do not have different stems for honorific. However, any verbs can be made honorific by affixing -lə immediately followed by *cəhy* as in (23).

(22) cu-ri pruhp-to
this-LOC write-IMP
'Write here.'

(23) cu-ri pruhp-ləcəhy
this-LOC write-IMP HON
'Please write here.'

6 Summary

As in many languages, there is no clear separation among time, aspect and modality in Thakali. The TAM system is overlapped as the same affix indicates it. Modality system is prominent in Thakali which makes modal system more complicated.

All markers indicating TAM are suffixes except negative markers for both hortative and imperative which precede the verb stems. Thakali verbs which do not have specific honorific stems can also be used in honorific by suffixing extra particle.

Abbreviations

1	First person	INF	Infinitive
2	Second person	INTN	Intention
3	Third person	LOC	Locative
ABL	Ablative	NPT	Non-past
COM	Comitative	p	Plural
DAT	Dative	PERF	Perfect
DUB	Dubitative	POL	Polite
ERG	Ergative	POT	Potential
GEN	Genitive	PROG	Progressive
HON	Honorific	PROH	Prohibitive
HOR	Hortative	PST	Past
IMP	Imperative	Q	Question
INDSV	Indecisive	RS	Reported speech
INFER	Inferential		

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PRONOMINAL USAGE IN NEPALI LITERARY TEXTS:
CONSTRUCTION OF WIFELY IDENTITY

Uma Shrestha¹

Drawing on the excerpts from randomly selected literary works in Nepali, this paper shows that a rigid social hierarchy between men and women is a pivotal aspect of Nepali culture. The use of second person pronouns serves as a resource in constructing the identities of married men and women and of those who are dating.

1 Introduction

Many sociolinguistic studies have shown that a relationship between language and social structures is clearly reflected through the use of terms of address, honorifics and pronouns among speakers. Second person pronouns, including terms of address, are used to address others thereby mirroring the complex social relations of individuals in a speech community (Delisle 1986; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003; Kesharvarz 2001). Unfortunately, these studies have primarily focused on oral interactions. Livia's *Pronoun Envy* (2000) is the first important work that explores the use of linguistic gender in a broad corpus of written texts--novels, prose poems and personal testimonies in English and French.

Written language can offer glimpses of basic norms of spoken language and the changes that have occurred in the language, although it is more conservative and is slower to reflect real language changes. Usually, linguistic analysis of literary works focuses on textual construction rather than on characters, plot, theme and moral or social messages. This

¹ This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 7th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Arts and Humanities, January 2009.

paper will explore the packaging of various social messages in Nepali literary texts—short stories and novels--through the use of second person pronouns namely *tā*, *timi*, *tapāi* and *hajur* between men and women and will show that a rigid social hierarchy between men and women is a pivotal aspect of Nepali culture in that it essentially pervades the thematic framework of the stories and the novels under examination.

The use of second person pronouns serves as a resource in constructing the identities of married men and women and of those who are dating living in a society predominantly characterized by marriage, extended family structures, importance of children--especially sons, and a rigid hierarchical relationship between a husband and a wife. The excerpts have been taken from randomly selected novels and short stories supplemented by my own knowledge as a native speaker of Nepali.

2 Sociolinguistic description of the use of second person pronouns

In Nepali, as in many other Indo-European languages (Brown & Gilman 1960), there are forms of the deferential 'you' and of the familiar 'you.' The deferential 'you' consists of two forms: *hajur* and *tapāi*. Nepali Grammar books describe *tapāi* as an honorific form; that is, the form is used to address someone higher in status as well as people who are not familiar/strangers. It indicates distance and formal relationships. Several Nepali grammar books indicate that this is the normal form that wives use when addressing their husbands (Adhikari 1993; Bhattarai 1976; Rai 1992). According to Nepali grammar books, *hajur* is used for those who command a great deal of power, prestige, and respect. Some women use this for their husbands but not as popularly as *tapāi*. *Hajur* has acquired a negative social connotation as a form popularly used for "brown nosing" those in power to curry favor.

There are two forms of the familiar 'you' in Nepali: *tā* and *timi*. The familiar form *timi* is used among friends and between people who assume no difference in power and position, thereby indicating solidarity rather than power. According to the grammar books, this seems to be the most popular pronominal form used by husbands for their wives (Bhattarai 1976; Matthews 1984; Rai 1992). The familiar form *tā*, on the other hand, connotes a greater degree of subordination of the addressee to the speaker or a greater degree of intimacy and solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. According to Nepali grammar books, it is a usual form of address for younger siblings, for wives by husbands, and for servants.

3 Subordinate status of women as evident from literary texts

In Nepali literature, women are depicted as being dependent and subordinate to men; they are, however, praised occasionally for fulfilling their traditional roles and expectations such as getting married and bearing children, again preferably sons. Although the preference for a son is slowly but steadily declining in contemporary society, the idea of a daughter as a 'burden' is sadly still upheld:

Two daughters-in-law are pregnant, two months apart. I could not think about anything being busy taking care of them. Months passed by. Both gave birth to baby girls. I fear that they might die young, they are someone else's naso (burden) ...May God not give too many girls even to my enemies. My mother-in-law used to say that if you have done something wrong in your past life, you give birth to girls. Kanchha *moro* dragged his wife out of the house after she gave birth to five girls' (Rajbanshi 1985:55).

Female characters are rarely given names—their individual identities are blurred while their family and maternal identities

become salient. This is vividly transparent from the following excerpt from Gothale's novel *Arpana* (1997). Arpana, a newly wed bride, is now in her husband's house with an extended family, made up of her husband's parents and siblings. Uttering the name of the husband is taboo for a "good" wife. This taboo perhaps serves to mystify and exalt the status of the husband, thereby showing immense respect for him.

Arpana's father-in-law's name is Pratapmani. Arpana's mother-in-law has a name too. But mother-in-law's name seems to be mother-in-law. The name seems to disappear in the midst of her grey-haired head and wrinkled face. ...it's awkward for Arpana to utter her husband's name. She cannot utter her husband's name. Anyway, he is Prabhuman. Arpana's own name seems to be unclear—she will be known only as a 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, and a wife. (Gothale 1997:37).

The desirable qualities for a 'good' woman in Nepali society are for her to be obedient, meek, timid, shy and quiet, among many others. She should speak softly, she should quietly obey the orders of older people around her, especially her parents, her in-laws and her husband. Hence Mainali (2000) has the protagonist say the following:

How can we tell if Prabha is happy or sad to hear about her friends good times with their husbands? Because in our religion daughters are not permitted to express their feelings. Even when they do so sometimes, they are accused of being flirty and forward. They must endure quietly like mute animals even when they are treated poorly....That's why older people say that a daughter's karma is always a lost karma (Bida (Farewell):36).

4 The use of *tapai* as a normal form for addressing husbands

Shrestha (2010), including Bal (2004), and Matthews (1985), has shown that women use honorific form *tapai* to address their husbands while receiving non-honorific forms *timi* and *tā* from their husbands. Similar patterns are also predominant in the literary texts that I examined. Husbands who normally use *timi* when addressing their wives may at times switch to *tā*, but no such switches are evident among women. They invariably use *tapai*.

The stories in *Hridayachandra ka kehi kathaharu* (Selected stories of Hridayachandra 1968) concern men and their families, men and their wives, men and their mistresses, and social expectations of women and wives. One story in the collection, entitled *Khandan* ('Ancestry') is about a man's (Ramdas) obsessive pride in his ancestry. Ramdas is unemployed but pretends to live comfortably with his wife and children. His in-laws happen to be very rich; therefore, he lives off selling his wife's jewelry and now the only piece of jewelry left to sell is her earrings. Throughout the story, he uses the familiar *timi* to his wife while he receives the deferential form *tapai* from his wife. When he finds himself in a financially difficult situation, he tells her to go to her parents with her children for a few days (1).

- (1) *kehi din-ko lagi yii keta-kehi-haru-lai*
 few day-GEN for these boy-girl-PL-DAT
li-era timi maita ja-u, sushila
 take-PCP you maternal home go-2s.IMP Sushila
 'Sushila, take the kids and go to your parents' house for a few days.'

Sushila, his wife, is portrayed as submissive and kind, and as never questioning her husband even when he is hardly doing anything to improve their lives. She uses the deferential form *tapai* invariably never switching to any other forms. On the

other hand, Ramdas uses the inferior *tā* to his wife whenever he is upset with her. For instance, his wife sets up a small cart full of cigarettes to sell in front of their house, while her husband is trying to find someone to borrow some money from. On his way home, he meets one of his cousins who accuses him of using his wife to make money, thereby socially disgracing their entire family. Upon arriving home, he yells at his wife (2).

- (2) *kas -le bhan-era timi-le yesto nich kam gar-eko*
 who-ERG say-PCP you-ERG this low work do-2S.PST
tā-lai yesari laj na bhae phariya phukal-era
 you-DAT this way shame not-be saree undress-PCP
hid-e pani ta hun-cha
 walk-INF too PRT all right-be-3S-PRES
 'Who asked you to do this lowly work? If you are not ashamed to do this, you can walk around without your saree.'

In this excerpt, a switch from *timi* to *tā* marks not only a greater degree of rage but also a greater degree of insult and disparagement of the wife by the husband. The wife, after being berated and insulted and abused verbally by her husband, continues to speak respectfully to her husband using *tapai* consistently, modeling the social expectation that a woman should meekly endure whatever is doled out to her. In fact, if she does not use the honorific form for her husband she is likely to be censured by other women. For instance, in "Aja Bholiko Kura" (Topics of Today and Tomorrow) an educated working woman is portrayed; she uses both the first name and the pronoun *timi* to address her husband. One day the husband's relatives come to visit them and they are surprised, almost shocked to hear the wife use *timi* for the husband. A female relative says:

afno lognelai timi bhanya ta citta bujhena hai/ ali chadha jasto cha

‘I don’t like her using *timi* for her husband. She seems to be ill-mannered/spoiled.’

With the use of *timi* and the first name of the husband, the wife is understood to disregard all the traditional values that adorn a typical wife in Nepali society. She fails to respect the relatives; she does not bow to greet the in-laws; and she goes out to work. She does not act like a traditional housewife. The use of the word *timi* clearly corresponds with a negative portrayal of a nontraditional wife.

5 The use of *tapaĩ* signals the woman’s role as a wife

As described above, women traditionally use *tapaĩ* for their husbands while receiving *timi* or *tā* from them. However, it should be noted that since *tapaĩ* not only indexes deference but also distance and unfamiliarity, it is also used for strangers and acquaintances. Hence, in Malla’s *Anuradha*, a novel about a woman suffering mental illness after having been duped by her family into marrying a man she does not know, provides an insightful play of the familiar *timi* and the deferential *tapaĩ* between the male narrator and the only female protagonist, Anuradha. They use the deferential *tapaĩ* reciprocally when they first meet at a railway station. Anuradha is found lying senseless in a cabin and so the narrator and his friends bring her to his home in a village outside Kathmandu. During her recovery at his house, they continue using *tapaĩ* reciprocally. Gradually the narrator finds himself drawn to Anuradha and desires to rescue her from her plight. When he tries to assure her that she will recover from her illness to begin a new life, the narrator tries to suppress his attraction towards her. In one of the episodes, he plans to reveal his love for her and here a switch to familiar *timi* occurs (3).

- (3) *ma timi-lai prem gar-chu*
I you-DAT love do-1S-PRES
‘I love you.’

But unfortunately the narrator fails to express his love. Here is another switch where he wishes he had professed his love to Anuradha (4).

- (4) *Anuradha tim-ro bedana ma-lai thaha cha*
anuradha you-GEN pain I-DAT know be-3S.NPST
ma tim-ro madat gar-chuma tira matra hera
I you-GEN help do-1S.PRES I toward only look
‘Anuradha, I know your pain. I will help you. Just look at me.’

He suddenly finds himself saying (5).

- (5) *anuradha ma tapaĩ ko sathama hula*
anuradha I you-GEN with be-1S.FUT
tapaĩ-le yi kura-haru birsa-nuhu-ne-cha
you-GEN these thing-Pl forget-Hon-be-2S.FUT
‘Anuradha, I will be with you. You will be able to forget all these things.’

At the end of the story, Anuradha once again goes insane and loses herself; the narrator yearns for her recovery, her real self, the woman he loves to make his, and he would have another chance to say (6).

- (6) *Anuradhama timi-lai prem gar-chu*
Anuradha I you-DAT love do-1s.PRES
‘Anuradha, I love you.’

The switches from *tapaĩ* to *timi* in this novel mark significant changes in the plot, including the alterations in the personas of the characters and in their relationships. When no relationship or familiarity is indicated between the woman and the narrator, the unfamiliar/deferential *tapaĩ* is used reciprocally. But when a man to woman relationship is hinted the narrator

uses *timi*, even in an imaginary conversation that symbolizes his intense desire to make her his wife.

In another story written by Hriday Chandra (1968), ‘Aphnai dhanma chori’ (‘A theft in one’s own wealth’), we see an interesting switch between *hazur* and *tapaĩ*. This is a story of a man named Mohan, his wife, Shanta, and his mistress, Maya. In the beginning of the story, Mohan goes to visit with his mistress one night and she addresses him with the most deferential form *hazur* (7).

- (7) *hazur hu-nu-hola bhan-ne mai-le*
 you be-HON.FUT say-INF I-ERG
than-eko thi-i-na
 think-PST be-1S-PST-NEGt
 ‘I did not think that it would be you.’

Later after being abandoned by his wife upon discovering his affair with Maya, Mohan goes to visit Maya and is determined to marry her. As soon as he proposes to marry her, Maya asks (8).

- (8) *aja-dekhi hazur-ko satta ma tapaĩ bhan-ne*
 today from hazur-GEN in place tapaĩ say-IN
garu hai
 do-1S NPST PRT
 ‘From today, can I start using *tapaĩ* instead of *hazur* for you?’

The use of *hazur* is part of the royal linguistic repertoire, therefore, suggestive of a great social difference in terms of power and status. In other words, a mistress has no social status and commands no respect from any member of society. As long as she is simply considered a mistress, her use of *hazur* in addressing Mohan is appropriate. But when she is going to be legally married to Mohan, the use of *tapaĩ* decreases the social distance and status between the two

characters-and it is indeed a normative way of addressing a husband.

Malla’s pseudo novel entitled “Shrimati Sharada” (“Mrs. Sharada” 2000) depicts a resourceful interplay of second person pronouns and the social system in which the protagonists are engaged. A man named Pradiptman, in a drunken state kidnaps his friend Kedar’s wife, Sharada; Kedar has previously accused him of having an illicit affair with one of the female teachers of the school where they both teach. Pradiptman finds himself in a bizarre situation upon waking up the next morning and finding his friend’s wife and himself in a tavern. He wants to take Sharada back to her husband but she insists on staying since she is convinced that her husband will not take her back as she has been away for the entire night with another man. She threatens to take revenge on him and promises to do so before she takes her last breath. Initially, they address each other with *tapaĩ*, signaling a distance from each other.

As the story develops, their relationship becomes amicable. When Pradiptman marries her simply so that she will have a legitimate place in society, they continue to use *tapaĩ* reciprocally. As her in-laws begin to adore her, she becomes gradually attracted to Pradiptman. In the meantime, Pradiptman tries to come to terms with his action—his kidnapping of Sharada. Unable to do so, he decides to kill himself. He leaves a suicide note under her pillow; upon finding the note, she rushes to him and grabs his arms (9).

- (9) *yo ke lekh-nu-bha-eko*
 This what write-2S.Hon-PST
 ‘What did you write?’

Pradiptman murmurs (10).

- (10) *mai-le tapai-lai gar-eko apradh-ko sajae*
 I-ERG you-DAT do-PST crime-GEN punishment
Swayam aphu-le apha-lai di-na lag-eko
 self self-ERG self-DAT give-INF begin-PST
 ‘I was going to punish myself for the crime I had
 inflicted on you.’

Sharada snaps back at him angrily (11).

- (11) *ke tapai mal-ai tapai tapai bhan-era kura-*
 what you I-DAT you you tell-PCP talk-
gar-nu-hun-cha
 do-INFHON-be-2S.PRES
ke tapai-ko ma swasni ho-ina ra
 what you-GEN I wife is-NEG PRT
 ‘Why do you keep using *tapai* when you are talking to
 me? Am I not your wife?’

In this conversation, we see a telling example of the use of *tapai* and its social message. If a man and a woman are married and they are fulfilling the roles of husband and wife, it is required for the man to address his wife with *timi* and for the wife to address her husband with *tapai*. Herein lies the social power hierarchy between men and their wives, the inequalities in the social roles and the responsibilities that consequently emerge.

While hurriedly tearing the note, she expresses her gratitude for his parents’ affection for her, all the while vowing to support and love him. Pradiptman, looking at her endearingly, says (12).

- (12) *teso bha-e timi-le me-ro kasur*
 that is-3S.PST you-ERG I-GEN crime

maph gar-i-deu ta
 forgive do-PST-do2S.IMP PRT
 ‘So then you have forgiven my crime?’

This is the first time Pradiptman uses *timi* to address Sharada, marking the beginning of their relationship as a real husband and a wife. The ending is quite revealing; the entire episode is intricately entangled with the use of pronouns. Once the man accepts her as a wife, he immediately uses the familiar *timi* to Sharada. With the changes in the use of the pronouns, together with the differences in the prestige associated with these pronouns, the differences and restrictions in the responsibilities and expectations demanded of men and their wives ensue. Men command power and status while wives obey their commands and follow the traditional social duties placed on them by the larger society.

6 Summary

From these randomly selected excerpts from various literary works, it is evident that gender roles manifest themselves in language in complex ways—men use non-honorific forms for their wives while wives are required to use honorific forms for their husbands, exhibiting the power and prestige men enjoy in Nepali society while women are praised for their subservience. Indeed, a hierarchy of gender difference is “the central component of language and it is organized around the mark of masculinity” (Livia 2000:5). However, gender identity is a fluid concept in that the social identities of men and their wives can take on new positive changes. In real language use, many younger women have been observed to use *timi* for their husbands as younger educated women see their marriage as a relationship between two compatible people who share responsibilities, a recognition that should be reflected in the language. We must, however, remember that the idea of male superiority has been ingrained in the minds of

both men and women so deeply that any change of a social nature will take time.

Abbreviations

DAT	Dative	NOM	Nominative
ERG	Ergative	PCP	Participle
FUT	Future	PRT	Particle
GEN	Genitive	PRES	Present
HON	Honorific	PST	Past
IMP	Imperative	1s	First person
INF	Infinitive	2s	Second person
NEG	Negation	3s	Third person

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VOCABULARY ASSESSMENT OF ESL COLLEGE
STUDENTS: A CASE STUDY

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1 Introduction

Currently there is much interest in developing effective ways to enhance the learning opportunities for college students in English language in order to remain competitive in the global environment. Vocabulary scores on standardized tests of students entering college have declined over the past few years (Manzo et al 2006). Students are using less formal language in their interactions and communication. The authors of the current study examined the English vocabulary knowledge of two college students who had English as a second language (ESL). The main purpose of the present study is to investigate the effects of the medium of instruction during K-12 on the reading abilities of final year college students. The students were enrolled in English Honours program at a premier college in the state of Orissa in India. The assessment measure was the Vocabulary component of the SAT Practice Test (SAT Kaplan, 2008).

English language learners who have a different first home language are generally characterized as English as a second-language (ESL) users. English as a second language pedagogy has often proceeded on the assumption that knowledge about the second language is sufficient for the effective use of the second language during an actual communication (Morrow, 1977). But what is crucial to language pedagogy is that the learners must receive excessive comprehensive input in the target language. Such linguistic

exposure to the second language is crucial for the acquisition of basic knowledge and skills required for the effective use of the second language. With respect to literacy and reading skills, second language students need to have an extensive vocabulary that enables the comprehension of linguistic input.

Findings from a research study by Garcia (1993) show that the reading difficulties of limited-English-proficient (LEP) and second language learners relate directly to vocabulary knowledge. Knowledge of good vocabulary is fundamental to comprehension and composition. Research supports good understanding of vocabulary as critical for reading comprehension (Blachowicz & Fisher, 2000, 2006; Dunn et al 2007, Farstrup and Samuels, 2008, Graves, 2009). The landmark study by National Reading Panel (NICHD 2000) identified vocabulary as one of the key component for successful reading. Bravo and Cervetti (2008) argue that understanding the words is crucial for understanding the deeper meaning of words. The proportion of difficult words in a text is a single most powerful predictor of text difficulty (Nagy, 1988). Unfamiliarity with academic or content vocabulary can impede learning especially for second language learners (Hiebert & Lubliner, 2008). On the other hand, knowledge of large vocabulary, particularly for English-as-a-second-language learners (ESL) can improve their reading achievement levels across the curricula. Many second language learners have a receptive knowledge of a wide range of vocabularies, which means that they can recognise the item and recognise the meaning. But their productive use of a wide range of vocabulary is normally limited, which is a matter of concern. According to Turner et al. (2007), even though students claim to know the content in a multi-choice exam, they often get confused by the use of unknown vocabulary.

Teaching of vocabulary in schools in India seems to be mostly accidental, limited to presenting new lexical items as they appear in texts. Vocabulary expansion, in this approach takes place through the practice of other language skills. The newer approach suggests

teaching of vocabulary should be the part of the language syllabus in a well planned manner as language consists of morphology (including lexicon), syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Another approach suggests of strategies to turn their receptive vocabulary items into productive ones. A lexical item is most likely learnt when a learner feels a personal need to know it, or when there is a need to express something to accomplish the learner's own purposes (Thornbury, 1998). Therefore, medium of instruction at school plays an important role in the students' acquisition of vocabulary- whether in first or in second language. When the medium of school instruction is English the students are required to read and write all subjects except the second or third language /literature paper in English and hence, develop a strong need to learn good amount of English vocabulary. Similarly, when English is taught as the second language of instruction, the students read and write all subjects except the language/literature papers in the state language, for example, in Oriya language in the state of Orissa. Students, in turn, do not feel a strong need to develop good amount of vocabulary in their mental lexicon. In most cases, learning of new words originates from the prescribed texts only. Sinha (2006) found that socio economic and parental background is also responsible in vocabulary learning. She found that English medium students who are normally from better socio economic background and with parental support are more motivated to learn English vocabularies than the Oriya medium students with a lower economic background and without any parental support in learning Oriya vocabulary.

Often, confusion arises between the concept of English as Second Language Learners (ESL) and English as the medium of instruction in schools where the students' first language of instruction is English. Although these students can be termed as ESL students, an appropriate term could be ESL learners with English medium schooling. Similarly, the other group can be called as ESL learners with Oriya medium schooling. In Orissa, till class X, students can opt for English medium or Oriya medium state board schools. At class XI-XII and at tertiary level, only English medium class room

teaching is offered with a provision to write the examination in Oriya. This is the stage when the students from Oriya medium schooling feel a strong urge to build good amount of vocabulary. Studies have been made to find ageing of vocabulary knowledge. Older adults are less able to generate and access the detailed definition (McGinnis & Zelinski, 2000) and compensate by relying more on general representation (Botwinck & Storandt, 1974). Thus, there may be different age relations for different types of vocabulary tasks if the tasks differ in sufficiency of general representation for correct responses. Reasoning declines after a peak age of approximately 20, so a vocabulary format more strongly related to reasoning would be expected to grow less during early adulthood and decline more in later adulthood. Where as multiple choice synonyms grow more rapidly during early adulthood and decline least in later adulthood (Bowles et al, 2005).

Vocabulary tests are generally considered as indicators of the vocabulary knowledge of a person. Different test formats measure different aspects of the vocabulary skills. Students who have read many texts in English are considered to have built up a good amount of vocabulary.

2 Aim of the present study

The present study centres on two questions:

- I. Do ESL college students from English medium schooling perform better in vocabulary test than those from Oriya (local language of Orissa, India) medium schooling background?
- II. Does reading English literary texts at the Honours Level (students majoring in English) level help to improve the vocabulary skills of ESL students regardless of the medium of instruction during schooling?

3 Methodology

Qualitative research design based on single subject case study was used for the present purpose. Case study research in Teaching of

English as second language /second language acquisition is used to study the development of L2 syntax, morphology, phonology, and so on as analyzed by objective researcher (Hatch, 1978). As an interpretive, inductive form of research, case studies explore the details and meanings of experience and do not usually attempt to test a priori hypotheses. Instead, the researcher attempts to identify important patterns and themes in the data.

In the present case, two of the best students of final year English Honours program from a prestigious college from Orissa, India, constituted the sample. Purposeful sampling is generally used in case study research. Therefore, the selection of sampling was done on the basis of the medium of instruction at school. Apart from observation, discussion, personal background, researcher's intuition, the data was also drawn from a vocabulary test. The test survey form constituted two parts. Part I contains the participant's background and exposure to English. Part II is comprised of the test form. The thirty minute test was divided into three subparts, multiple choice synonyms (Q1-5), word-meaning matching (Q6-15) and fill in the missing letter (Q16-20). The words were selected from SAT Kaplan's (2008) 500 basic vocabulary words. The word lists were drawn from basic, intermediate, and advanced vocabulary for college students. Both students have studied works of literatures by great Indian, British and American English writers, poets, and dramatists as part of their English Honours course.

The participants were clearly informed about the purpose of the research and the ethical issues involving studies with human subjects were followed as far as possible in accordance with the guidelines by American Psychological Association (1982).

4 Case study

4.1 Case study-I

Rakesh (pseudonym) is a twenty year old son of a higher income group Chartered Accountant. His mother is highly qualified educationally as a teacher with M.A., B. Ed., and B. Lib. degrees.

Rakesh received English medium education throughout his CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) schooling. He has wide exposure to English and reads English newspaper (Indian Express), watches reality TV shows in English and Hindi. His parents are supportive and involved by constantly motivating him to study and do well in life. He had scored 80% in high school and topped in the previous year's English Honours examination with a score of 62%. He speaks in English in the class room and often code switches and code mixes with Oriya and English with peers and family. In short, he has a good amount of exposure to the English language.

4.2 Case study-II

Jiten (pseudonym) is a son of an office clerk from middle income group. His father is a college graduate and mother has finished high school and is currently a housewife. Jiten had gone to an Oriya medium school and had scored 65% in high school. Unlike Rakesh, he does not read an English newspaper or watch English reality shows on TV. He spends more time on watching cricket matches on TV and speaks in Oriya language with his family and friends. However, with teachers, he speaks fluent English. His parents are not as supportive as Rakesh's in the matter of studies. He has to struggle a lot to achieve the second rank in the Honours class with 56% of marks (second to Rakesh).

5 Data analysis

Case 1 (Rakesh), the student from English medium background, showed improved test results compared with Case 2 (Jiten), the student from Oriya medium background. In the vocabulary test conducted, Rakesh's cumulative score was 9 out of 20. He scored 4 out of 5 in the multiple choice synonym section. The only mistake he made in the synonym section was with the word 'hidebound'. In the word-meaning matching section, Rakesh made only two correct matches. He did not know words like [vicissitude, quiescence, noisome, endemic, imbue, edify, capacious and demur]. Regarding

spelling (filling in the missing letter), Rakesh scored 3 out of 5. He did not know the words [zealot and tenable].

On the other hand, Case 2 (Jiten), the student from Oriya (local language) medium background performed relatively lower compared to Rakesh. In the current vocabulary test, he scored only 4 out of 20. In the multiple choice synonym section, he scored 3 out of 5. Jiten did not know the words like [centripetal] and [verdant]. He made all the word-meaning matching wrong. In the missing letter section he provides only one correct answer, namely, 'xenophobia'. The case studies show that both students had problems with advanced level vocabulary in the word-meaning matching section.

Table: Test Scores

Cases	Word Synonym	Word Match	Word spelling	Total Score
Case 1 (Rakesh) (English medium background)	4/5	2/10	3/5	9/20 (45%)
Case 2 (Jiten) (Oriya medium background)	3/5	0/10	1/5	4/20 (20%)

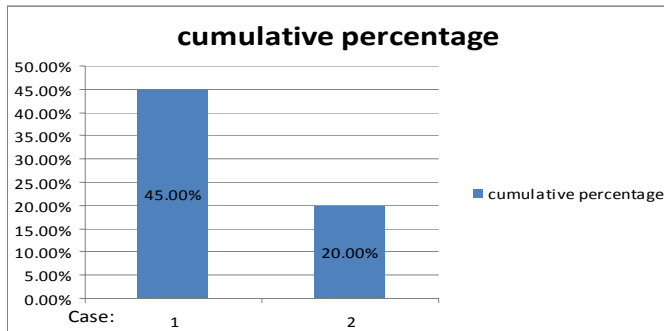


Figure 1: Comparison of total vocabulary scores between the two cases

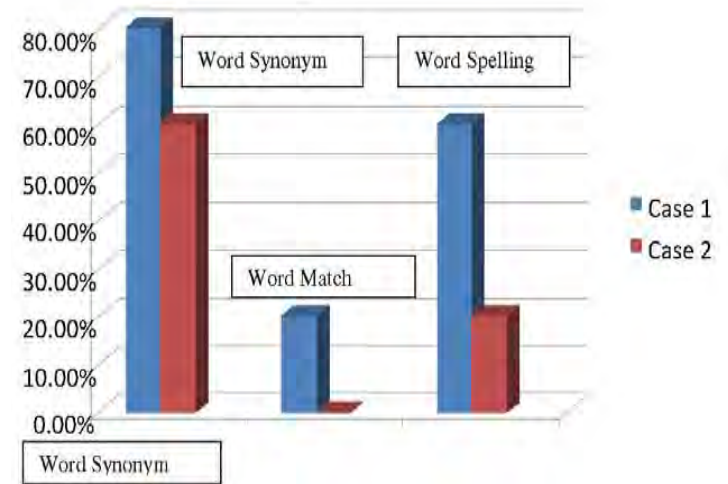


Figure 2: Comparison of itemized scores on different measures of vocabulary

Discussion and Interpretation

The results from the case studies cannot be generalized. Although both students have read the same literary texts at the college level, Rakesh has developed somewhat better vocabulary skills than Jiten. This could be due to the fact that Rakesh was in English medium education all through the elementary school and, due to higher educational background of both parents, he had more parental support. Jiten, on the other hand, did not get these opportunities to develop effective vocabulary skills.

Higher the experience with immersion in second language, higher the exposure to vocabulary and language structure of the language for a learner. When a language learner has been submerged in a foreign language since childhood, the learner acquires wide breadth

and depth of vocabulary of the second language. It was evident based on the study that the student (case 1, Rakesh) who experienced English as a second language since early years of his schooling scored higher on each measure of the test. Whereas, the student (case 2, Jiten) who did not have English as a medium of instruction in the early years of schooling scored relatively lower than the former student (case 1). Thus, the results imply that immersion in second language since primary school can bolster the language competency through higher vocabulary.

The vocabulary test has a limitation in that it measured synonym aspect of the vocabulary through multiple choice and word match. Many students apply prediction strategy of 'selection by elimination'. When students are not sure of an answer, they choose to eliminate unlikely responses, thereby guessing the 'correct' response. Selection of a correct response by elimination of incorrect options, doesn't imply competence in the skill / knowledge. Also, one must keep in mind that knowing a word does not imply knowing the definition of word (Anderson & Nagy 1991).

The complexity of vocabulary knowledge and the multidimensionality of words make it instructionally challenging for curriculum developers. Knowing a word implies, "A person who knows a word can recognize it, and use it, in novel contexts, and uses knowledge of the word, in combination with other types of knowledge, to construct a meaning for a text (Nagy and Scott 2000, p. 273)."

6 Summary

However, it is premature to make any substantial conclusion regarding a generalization of the results to larger population and replication in other settings. Future research should include replication with larger number of students and investigating the effects of vocabulary on comprehension. Further research also needs to be done on similar studies with a long term follow-up to examine

the productive use of vocabulary words with the context of narratives.

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CASE MARKING IN SANTHALI

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This article is an attempt to present case marking in Santhali, an Austro-Asiatic language of North Munda family. Santhali is a nominative accusative language. Here, an effort has been made to characterize Santhali. The cases found in Santhali during the study are nominative, accusative, locative, genitive, instrumental, ablative, and allative.

1 Introduction

The Santhals are one of the indigenous and marginalized ethnic groups of the country, Nepal. They mostly inhabit in Jhapa, Morang, and Sunsari districts of eastern Nepal and Indian states of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, and Bangladesh and Pakistan in abroad. The Government of Nepal has recognized the Santhali people and language as an official nationality and national language respectively. According to the National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), Santhali is one of the twelve highly marginalized languages of Nepal. The Santhali language belongs to the North Munda group of Austro-Asiatic language family. The Santhali language which is spoken mainly in Jhapa, Morang, and Sunsari districts of Nepal has 40,260 native speakers i.e., 0.18% of the total population of Nepal.

While explaining the cases, some grammarians have considered meaning, whereas others have employed both the form and meaning. For others, it is grammatical function which is central in recognizing case. The number of cases in a particular language varies from linguist to linguist or from one grammar book to another. Nevertheless, in recent days attempts have been made to recognize cases as universal

concepts and they have been defined semantically rather than on the basis of morphological forms they take and the grammatical functions they perform in sentences.

A noun has been used in the nominative, accusative, or genitive case or in any other case is ascertained on the basis of the morphological marker attached to a noun. The cases have also been determined on the basis of the grammatical functions in the sentence, such as subject of and object of.

Case is a property or feature shared by all the languages of the world. Though case marker is language specific, case relation is a universal feature of language.

2 Cases in Santhali

Real cases, such as the relation of the noun to a verb, do not exist in Santhali. The direct and indirect object are indicated in the verb, and there is accordingly no such case as a dative or an accusative (Grierson 1909:40). The cases found in Santhali are nominative, accusative/dative, locative, genitive, instrumental, ablative, and allative. The set of Santhali cases are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: The set of Santhali cases

Morphemes	Description	Gloss
∅	Nominative	NOM
∅	Accusative	ACC
-re	Locative	LOC
-ren, -aʔ, rijaʔ	Genitive	GEN
-te	Instrumental	INS
k ^h ʌi, kʌi	Ablative	ABL
seʔ	Allative	ALL

The cases in Santhali are described with examples as follows:

2.1 Nominative

The noun in nominative case performs the grammatical function of subject. In Santhali, nominative case is zero (\emptyset) marked. e.g.,

- (1) a. *ij̃n iskulij̃n tsalauina*
 ij̃n iskul-ij̃n tsalau-ina
 1SG school-1SG go-PST
 'I went to school.'
- b. *alaj̃ pʌtʌb̃ parhauinalaj̃*
 alaj̃ pʌtʌb̃ parhau-ina-laj̃
 1DU.INCL book read-PST-1DU.INCL
 'Two of us (including listener) read book.'

2.2 Accusative

In the Santhali language accusative case is also zero (\emptyset) marked. e.g.,

- (2) a. *ij̃n ram pʌtʌbij̃n emadija*
 ij̃n ram pʌtʌb̃ -ij̃n emad -ija
 1.SG Ram book -1.SG give -PST
 'I gave Ram a book.'
- b. *ij̃n uni kisʌj̃n andzʌmja*
 ij̃n uni kisʌ-j̃n andzʌm-ja
 1SG 3SG story-1SG tell-NPST
 'I tell him a story.'

2.3 Locative

The case that is the base of the verb in the sentence is locative. The locative case in Santhali is marked by the use of the

postposition *-re*. The following discussion illustrates some of the main semantic notions, expressed by locative postposition. The semantic notion of location is exemplified in the following sentences.

- (3) a. *ram oʃaʔre minaia*
 ram oʃaʔ-re mina-i-a
 Ram house- LOC be-3SG.AN-NPST
 'Ram is in the house.'
- b. *ale kursirele duʃuʔa*
 ale kursi-re-le duʃuʔ-a
 1.PL.EXCL chair - LOC-1.PL.EXCL sit- NPST
 'We sit on the chair.'
- c. *ij̃naʔ pʌtʌb̃ dzulare minaa*
 ij̃n-aʔ pʌtʌb̃ dzula-re mina-a
 1SG-GEN book bag -LOC be-NPST
 'My book is in the bag'
- d. *tsare tsini tʰora gija*
 tsa-re tsini tʰora gija
 tea-LOC suger less be.NPST
 'There is less suger in the tea.'

In all the examples (a) *oʃaʔ-re*, (b) *kursi-re-le*, (c) *dzula-re*, and (d) *tsa-re*, *-re* is a postposition and it is used as a locative marker.

2.4 Genitive

The case which has relation with the nominative case or any other case in the sentence. The genitive case in Santhali is marked by three suffixes or genitive markers viz. *-ren*, *-aʔ*, and *-rijaʔ*. These three genitive markers are used in different

conditions. The use of all these three genitive markers with their examples are discussed in the following paragraphs.

When both the possessor and possession are animate the genitive is formed by adding the suffix *-ren*. For examples:

- (4) a. *ipren kuʒa ʌɖiate parhau*
 ip-ren kuʒa ʌɖiate parhau
 1SG-GEN son more read.NPST
 ‘My son reads more.’
- b. *biswʌdipren sadʌm dʌrkidai*
 biswʌdip-ren sadʌm dʌr-kida-i
 Biswadip GEN horse run-PST-3SG.AN
 ‘Biswadip’s horse ran away.’
- c. *gundraren blihaku oʒaʔku tsʌlauina*
 gundra-ren bliha-ku oʒaʔ-ku tsʌlau-ina
 Gundra-GEN brother-PL house-PL go-PST
 ‘Gundra’s brothers went home.’
- d. *tsundaren sita ʌɖiate b^hugai*
 tsunda-ren sita ʌɖiate b^huga-i
 Chunda GEN dog more bark.NPST -3SG.AN
 ‘Chunda’s dog barks alot.’

In the examples (4a–d), both the possessor and possession are animate. And the genitive marker *-ren* is used to show genitive relationship.

Similarly, when the possessor is inanimate and the possession is animate the genitive is formed by adding the suffix *-ren*. e.g.

- (5) a. *birren tʌrup dʌrkidai*
 bir-ren tʌrup dʌr-kida-i
 forest-GEN tiger run-PST-3SG.AN
 ‘The tiger of the forest ran away.’
- b. *sʌhʌrren hʌʒku heʔina*
 sʌhʌr-ren hʌʒ-ku heʔ-ina
 town-GEN man-PL come-PST
 ‘Men from town came.’
- c. *dariren tseŋei uɖʌuina*
 dari-ren tseŋe-i uɖʌu-ina
 tree GEN bird-3SG.AN fly-PST
 ‘Bird from the tree flew away.’
- d. *gadaren dzʌtʌ hʒkuku gʌiina*
 gada-ren dzʌtʌ hʒku-ku gʌi-ina
 river-GEN all fish -PL die-PST
 ‘All the fishes of the river died.’

In the examples (5a-d), possessor *bir*, *sʌhʌr*, *dari*, and *gada* are inanimate and the possessions *tʌrup*, *hʌʒ*, *tseŋe*, and *haku* are animate. Therefore, the genitive marker is *-ren*.

But when the possessor is animate and the possession is inanimate, the genitive case is marked by adding the suffix *aʔ*. e.g.,

- (6) a. *gʌiaʔ dirij rʌpuʔina*
 gʌi-aʔ dirij rʌpuʔ-ina
 cow-GEN horn break-PST
 ‘The cow’s horn broke.’

- b. *una ama? kɔlɔm kana*
 una am-a? kɔlɔm kana
 that 2SG-GEN pen be-NPST
 ‘That is your pen.’
- c. *sohɔna? pɔtɔb ɔɖiina*
 sohɔn-a? pɔtɔb ɔɖi-ina
 Sohan-GEN book lose-PST
 ‘Sohan’s book was lost.’
- d. *nuã pɔtɔb iŋa? kana*
 nuã pɔtɔb iŋ-a? kana
 this book 1SG-GEN be.NPST
 ‘This book is mine.’

In the examples (6a-d), possession are animate and the possession inanimate. The genitive marker is *-a?*.

And when both possessor and possession are inanimate the genitive case is marked by the suffix *-rija?*. For example,

- (7) a. *una oŋa?rija? k^hunɕi kana*
 una oŋa?-rija? k^hunɕi kana
 that house-GEN pillar be.NPST
 ‘That is the pillar of the house.’
- b. *gaɖarija? da? rijar gija*
 gaɖa-rija? da? rijar gija
 river-GEN water cold be.NPST
 ‘The river’s water is cold.’
- c. *gɔɖiriŋa? tsaka rɔpu?ina*
 gɔɖi-rija? tsaka rɔpu?-ina
 vehicle-GEN wheel break-PST
 ‘The vehicle’s wheel was broken.’

- d. *pɔtɔbrija? pana ɔŋe?ina*
 pɔtɔb-rija? pana ɔŋe?-ina
 book-GEN page tear-PST
 ‘The book’s page was torn.’

In all the examples (7a-d), both the possessors and possessions are inanimate and the genitive case is marked by the suffix *-rija?*.

Genitive markers in Santhali can be summarized through the following table.

Conditions	Possessor & Possession (both animate)	Possessor (inanimate) & Possession (animate)	Possessor (animate) & Possession (inanimate)	Possessors & Possessions (both inanimate)
Genitive Markers	<i>-ren</i>	<i>-ren</i>	<i>-a?</i>	<i>-rija?</i>

The genitive is defined by the possession’s animacy.

2.5 Instrumental

It is one of the morphosyntactic categorization to express grammatical relationship by means of inflections to refer to the form taken by an NP to express such a notion as ‘by means of’. It is usually the inanimate entity involved in a verb’s action. In Santhali instrumental case is marked by the suffix *-te*. e.g.

- (8) a. *ɪŋ kɔlɔmteŋ ɔlɔ*
 ɪŋ kɔlɔm-te-ŋ ɔl-a
 1SG pen-INS-1SG write-NPST
 ‘I write with pen.’

- b. *sita d^hirite sisai rɒpu?kida*
 sita d^hiri-te sisai-i rɒpu?-kida
 Sita stone-INS glass-3SG.AN break-PST
 ‘Sita broke the glass with a stone.’
- c. *sita alaŋte da?e nuija*
 sita alaŋ-te da?-e nui-ja
 dog tongue-INS water drink-PST
 ‘The dog drinks water with tongue.’

In the examples](8a-d), instrumental case is marked by the suffix *-te*.

2.6 Ablative

The ablative case in Santhali is marked by the postposition *-k^hai* and *-kai*. e.g.

- (10) a. *ijɒ oŋa?k^hai barheteijɒ tsalauina.*
 ijɒ oŋa?-k^hai barhete-ijɒ tsalau-ina
 1SG house-ABL out-1SG go-PST
 ‘I went out from home.’
- b. *sita iskulkaihe?ina*
 sita iskul-kai he?-ina
 Sita school-ABL come-PST
 ‘Sita came from school.’
- c. *unku kaŋ^hmanḍukaike he?ina*
 unku kaŋ^hmanḍu-kai-ku he?-ina
 3 PL Kathmandu-ABL-3PL come-PST
 ‘They came from Kathmandu.’

Here, in the examples 9 (a- b) ablative case is marked by the suffix *-k^hai*. Similarly in the examples 9 (c) it is marked by the postposition *-kai*.

2.7 Allative

A term used in grammatical description to refer to a type of inflection which expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place. In Santhali allative case is marked by the postposition *-se?*. e.g.,

- (11) a. *unku iskulse?ku tsalauina*
 unku iskul -se? -ku tsalau -ina
 3PL school-ALL- 3PL go -PST
 ‘They went to school.’
- b. *gita haŋijase?i tsalauina*
 gita haŋijai -se? -i tsalau -ina
 Gita market-ALL-3SG.AN go -PST
 ‘Gita went towards market.’

3 Summary

Santhali is an Austro-Asiatic language of North Munda family. In most of the previous descriptions, Santhali cases have been identified and explained either morphologically or syntactically or on the basis of both. Morphological analysis of cases suggests that emphasis is there on case forms rather than case relation. Thus, here, an effort has been made to characterize Santhali cases in terms of semantic notions i.e. on the basis of the principle forwarded by Fillmore. The cases found in Santhali during the study are nominative, accusative, dative, locative, genitive, instrumental, ablative, and allative. The nominative, accusative and dative cases in Santhali are zero marked, locative case is marked by the use of the case marker *-re*, the genitive case is marked by *-ren*, *-a?*, and -

rija?, instrumental case is marked by *-te*, ablative case in Santhali is marked by *-k^hAI* and *-kAI* and allative case is marked by *-se?*.

Abbreviations

1	First person	IMP	Imperative
2	Second person	INAN	Inanimate
3	Third person	INCL	Inclusive
ABL	Ablative	INS	Instrumental
ALL	Allative	LOC	Locative
AN	Animate	PL	Plural
DAT	Dative	NPST	Non-Past
DU	Dual	PST	Past
EXCL	Exclusive	SG	Singular
GEN	Genitive		

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MORPHOPHONOLOGY IN LIMBU

Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang

Morphophonological changes are common characteristics of the Kiranti languages. They occur in Bantawa (Rai 1985, Doornenbal 2009), Dumi (van Driem 1993), Athpare (Ebert 1997), Yamphu (1999), Wambule (Opgenort 2004), Jero (Opgenort 2005) Sunuwar (Borchers 2008), Chhatthare Limbu (Tumbahang 2007) etc. and demonstrate interesting phonological and morphological changes. Limbu, an eastern Kiranti language, shows such characteristics which result from syllable structure and phonetic environment.

1 Introduction

Morphophonology analyzes and classifies phonological factors that affect the appearance of morphemes or correspondingly the grammatical factors that affect the appearance of phonemes. Changes in phonology and morphology which are called morphophonological changes are attributed to consonant deletion, epenthesis, assimilation, affrication, palatalization, nasalization, vowel harmony, voicing of consonants and devoicing of vowels. This paper attempts to present them with illustrations.

1.1 Consonant deletion

The verb stem final consonant /s/ appears before a vocalic suffix as in (1a) but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in (2b).

- (1) a. tha:s-u
 bring down-3SGO
 'He /she brought it down.'
- b. tha:ma
 bring down-INF
 'To bring down'

The verb stem final /r/ occurs before a vocalic suffix as in (2a) but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in (2b).

- (2) a. le?r-u
 relapse-3SGO
 'It relapsed.'
- b. le?-ma
 relapse-INF
 'To relapse'

The verb stem final /y/ appears before a vocalic suffix as in (3a) but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in (3b).

- (3) a. ku:y-u
 carry-PT
 'He carried it.'
- b. ku-ma
 carry-INF
 'To carry'

The verb stem final /s/ and syllable final /s/ appear before a vocalic suffix as in (4a) but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in (4b).

- (4) a. nɛ:ss-u
 keep-3SGO
 'He put it.'
- b. nɛ:ma
 put-INF
 'To put'

Some verb stems have the form CVCC, with a post-final consonant. The post-final consonant appears before a vowel-

initial suffix as in (5a), but is deleted before a consonantal suffix as shown in (5b).

- (5) a. cɛpt-u
cut-3SGO
'He cut it.'
- b. cɛp-ma
cut-INF
'To cut'

If a verb stem has a sequence of a voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/ and aspirated velar stop /kh/, or bilabial stop /p/ and alveolar fricative /s/, they both appear before a vocalic suffix as in (6a), but when they appear before a consonantal suffix, the post-syllabic consonant is deleted to respect syllable structure, and the syllable final /k/ changes to /ŋ/ as shown in (6b).

- (6) a. pha:kkh-u
untie-3SGO
'He untied it.'
- b. pha:ŋ-ma
untie-INF
'To untie'

1.2 Epenthesis

Homorganic nasals are inserted between the kinship term and the possessive prefix, but they are not inserted between possessive prefix and other nouns as shown in (7).

- (7) a. ku-n-ne ku-na:
3SGPOSS-EPN-aunt 3SGPOSS-face
'His/her aunt' 'His/her face'

- b. ku-m-ma ku-miŋ
3SGPOSS-EPN-mother 3SGPOSS-name
'His/her mother' 'His/her name'

Homorganic nasals are inserted between nouns and locative suffix.

- (8) a. him-m-o
house-EPN-LOC
'Down here'
- b. laŋ-ŋ-o
leg-EPN-LOC
'On the leg'

/m/ is inserted between the noun *him* "house" and locational adverb marker <-o> as preceding consonant is bilabial nasal. /ŋ/ is inserted between the noun *laŋ* "leg" and locational adverb marker <-o> as its preceding consonant is nasal velar.

1.3 Assimilation

If a verb stem has a voiceless, dental stop /t/ in a syllable final position, it stays unchanged before the vocalic suffix <-u> as in (9a), but it undergoes homorganic assimilation before a consonantal suffix <-ma> as in (9b), and is realized as /p/.

- (9) a. set-u
urinate-3SGO
'He/she urinated it.'
- b. sep-ma
urinate-INF
'To urinate it.'

The negative prefix <n-> undergoes regressive assimilation with phonological changes according to the phonetic environment of its immediately following consonant of the verb stem when it occurs between personal prefixes and a verb stem.

- (10) a. mε-**m**-mett-u-n
3PLA-NEG-tell-3SGO-NEG
'They did not tell him.'
- b. kε-**n**-nis-u-n
2SGA-NEG-see-3SGO-NEG
'You did not see him/her.'

In (10a), the negative prefix <n-> changes to a labial nasal /m/ due to the influence of the following labial nasal consonant /m/ and bilabial stop /b/. It stays unchanged in (10b) because of its assimilation to the following dental nasal /n/ for place of articulation.

1.4 Affrication

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in non-singular suffix <-si> in a non-past verb paradigm. However, it changes to the voiceless, aspirated alveolar affricate /ch/ in the past verb form after the voiceless, unaspirated alveolar affricate /c/ which is inserted after the past suffix <-ε>.

- (11) a. a-ne:-si?
1INCL-lie down-DL
'We (IDLINCL) lie down.'
- b. a-ne:s-ε-c-chi
1INCL-lie down-PT-EPN-DL
'We (IDLINCL) lay down.'

1.5 Palatalization

If a high consonant is followed by two vowels, the first vowel is replaced by the palatal glide /y/.

- (12) a. tya
ta-a
arrive-PT
'He arrived.'
- b. sya
si-a
die-PT
'He died.'

1.6. Nasalization

Nasalization is not the common characteristics of Limbu phonology. Only a few words with a velar nasal consonant occur with nasalization.

- (13) a. sa`wet saŋwε:t
b. sijɔ`:wet sijɔ:ŋwet
c. ce`ya` ceŋgya

1.7 Vowel harmony

The mid-open, front vowel is raised if it is followed by a close, front vowel or a palatal glide /y/.

- (14) a. kε-bic-chi? kebicchi?
2-go-DL
'You will go.'
- b. me-bic-chi-n? mebicchin?
NEG-go-DL-NEG
'They do not go.'

- c. kɛ-guy-ɛ-c-ch-u ke-guy-e-c-ch-u
2-carry-PT-INSERT-DL-3O
'You (DL) carried him.'
- d. mɛ-guy-ɛ-c-ch-u-n me-guy-e-c-ch-u-n
NEG-carry-PT-INSERT-DL-3O-NEG
'You (DL) did not carry him.'

1.8 Voicing of consonants

Voiceless stops and affricate are voiced when they occur between the vowels or after the nasal consonants.

- (15) a. pek-ma kɛ-bek kɛ-m-bek-nen
go-INF 2-go 2-NEG-go-NEG
'To go.' 'You go.' 'You do not go.'
- b. cok-ma kɛ-jog-u kɛ-n-jog-u-n
do-INF 2-do-3O 2-NEG-do-3O-NEG
'To do' 'You did it.' 'You did not do it.'

2.9. Devoicing of vowels

The second vowels in (16) are devoiced and pronounced as *anchma*, *andhba* and *osba*.

- (16) a. anchuma 'my aunt'
b. andhuba 'my grandfather'
c. osuba 'Yes, it is.'

3 Summary

In Limbu, syllable structure and phonetic environment play significant role in effecting morphophonological changes. Insertions or deletions of phonemes occur in order to fulfill the requirements of syllable structures. Similarly, they undergo allophonic or phonemic changes due to the phonetic environment.

Abbreviations

1INCL	First person inclusive
1DLINCL	First person dual inclusive
2	Second person
2SGA	Second person singular agent
2SGO	Second person singular object
2SGS	Second person singular subject
3PLA	Third person plural agent
3O	Third person object
3SGO	Third person singular object
3SGPOSS	Third person singular possessive
CVC	Consonant vowel consonant
DL	Dual
DLA	Dual agent
EPN	Epenthesis
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative case marker
NEG	Negative
PT	Past tense

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SOME NOTES ON THE CONNECTIVE *THEN* IN ORAL SPEECH

Michael Vallee

1 Introduction

This article focuses on the use of *then* in oral speech. Very little research has been conducted on the subject. It is usually based on the temporal interpretation of it, such as in a sequence "We had lunch and then we went shopping." I also studied the temporal interpretation of the marker (Vallée 2005) when I demonstrated that *then* could be considered differently even in this context. In this paper, I will only deal with some utterances related to oral speech where several meanings can be found such as *in that case*, *therefore* and *consequently* in linguistic structures like questions, orders, hypothetical situations and inferences.

Firstly, I will describe some linguists' work and then I will bring some insights on how *then* can be studied in some structures in oral speech.

2 Description of the connective *then*

Some interesting studies have been carried out on the marker. Even though it may be difficult to consider them all, it appears that it is often described through a classification.

It is common to find some examples about the possible order or meaning of *then* in utterances, either at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the sentences. This is what is shown by Quirk et al (1985). They also insist on the fact that *then* illustrates a sequence and can also refer to an event in the past. The authors introduce several sub-categories to describe the meaning of *then* such as « listing conjunct, reinforcing conjunct, summative conjunct and inferential conjunct » (Quirk et al. 1985:634-635). However, even if the

description is accurate, it mainly deals with the temporal interpretation of *then* such as the one that can be found in a sequence:

- (1) His football lay beside a small crater. He kicked it gently into the arid hollow, **then** turned around to examine the distance he had come.

(J. Barnes, 255)

Or, the one that represents an action located in the past:

- (2) And the Gryphon added, "Come, let's hear some of *your* adventures."

"I could tell you my adventures -- beginning from this morning," said Alice a little timidly: "but it's no use going back to yesterday, because I was a different person **then**."

(L. Carroll, 144)

Schiffrin also considers the various meanings of *then*. However, she further develops the idea that it is possible to find a core meaning for the connective. She ended up suggesting the meaning *at that time* for the marker. The definition given by the author is the following:

« Rather than distribute our realizations of meanings randomly among a variety of unrelated forms [...], we can combine our knowledge of the core meaning of a single expression (for example, *then* means 'at that time') with our knowledge of richly informative, but tightly organized, texts and contexts to jointly constitute a communicative meaning. » (Schiffrin 1992 :787).

As we can see in the quote, Schiffrin considers that the notion of temporality is fundamental with *then*. However, one question remains: how is it possible to explain how a

connective works by giving one meaning as being the core meaning?

With this perspective, is it possible to consider the right interpretation of *then* in the following examples?

- (3) c: And I think he's he's again he's a single there seems to be a majority of male single parents up there
 b: Of single parents
 a: Yeah and they're
 c: More than females.
 b: Well what's happened to the mothers **then**?
 (*London-Lund Corpus*, 47 70 6590 1 1b 11)

- (4) a: I don't think it makes any difference whether you get the prescriptions in the post the next morning or that evening
 b: It does indeed, if I get it that evening, **then** I'm twelve hours ahead, aren't I?
 (*London-Lund Corpus*, 4 2 66 9960 1 2b 11)

It seems difficult to say that *then* means *at that time* in these examples but rather *in that case* or *therefore*. However, Schiffrin's description seems to be more adequate for the example 5.

- (5) A perfect handy man. Sir John was greatly impressed by his resourcefulness and attention when he made that overland journey from Sta. Marta. Later on, as you might have heard, he rendered us a service by disclosing to the **then** chief of police the presence in the town of some professional thieves, who came from a distance to wreck and rob our monthly pay train.
 (J. Conrad, 320)

We can therefore wonder if the link between temporality and the connective is enough to explain the different meanings that can be found in sentences, notably in oral speech.

3 How is it possible to study *then* in oral speech?

What was elaborated by two French linguists seems to be a very interesting analysis. They suggested a different way of considering the connective showing it was important to study *th-* and *-en* insisting on the following elements:

“TH-: refers to a number of previous mental processes.”

“-EN: deals with a direct or indirect link with temporality.”
 (Lapaire et Rotgé 1991:237-238)

As far as I am concerned, I agree with the analysis but I think that the emphasis should be on *Th-* more than on the ending *-EN*.

Th- refers to something that was explicitly or implicitly uttered before. It means that *then* cannot take place without the construction of a linguistic element before it. Therefore, I think that depending on the linguistic construction of the first element, it will be possible to use *then* or not after this first element.

With this perspective, it might be interesting to focus on the way the sentence and the connective are stressed. When *then* means *in that case* or *therefore*, it clearly appears that *then* is not the word with a major stress in an utterance even if it is located before the question mark as in the example 6:

- (6) a: Have some more tea?
 c: Who's, who is that?
 a: I'll have some more for you next time ; who is that?
 That's me, that's where I live.
 c: Oh, are you going to stay at that house **then**?
 (*London-Lund Corpus*, 45 7 640 1 2c 11)

This example depicts a speaker who is looking at a photograph while wondering about the man on it. The study of the graphs reveals that the word *house* has the major stress here but not *then*.

This is the exact same thing with the example 7:

- (7) c: And I think he's he's again he's a single there seems to be a majority of male single parents up there
 b: Of single parents
 a: Yeah and they're
 c: More than females.
 b: Well what's happened to the mothers **then**?
 (London-Lund Corpus, 47 70 6590 1 1b 11)

In this example, the word *mothers* is heavily stressed compared to *then* even though it is just before the question mark.

How is it possible to explain this phenomenon and how can it explain how *then* seems to work in oral speech?

Let us consider the two examples thoroughly. Let us start with the example 6

We can notice that the speaker seems to be surprised by the answer that is given to him when A says *That's me, that's where I live*. The surprise is also shown by *oh!* which means that the given answer was not expected by the speaker. I believe that this is the reason why the stress is on *house* and not on *then*.

However, *then* has also an important role because it would be possible to have the same example without *then* as in 6a but I feel that the meaning and the speaker's expectations are a bit different.

(6a)

- a: Have some more tea?
 c: Who's, who is that?
 a: I'll have some more for you next time ; who is that?
 That's me, that's where I live
 c: Oh, are you going to stay at that house?

Indeed, in 6, *then* clearly shows that there is a gap between the speaker and the hearer in terms of expectations as we have seen with the speaker's surprise. *Then*, in that case, not only indicates that there is a discrepancy between the two but also that the speaker is willing to reduce it thanks to *then* because it pushes the hearer and gives the opportunity to the hearer to elaborate on his answer.

As a matter of fact, if we use *now* instead of *then* as in 6b, we can see that the interpretation is awkward:

(6b)

- a: Have some more tea?
 c: Who's, who is that?
 a: I'll have some more for you next time ; who is that?
 That's me, that's where I live
 c: Oh, are you going to stay at that house **now**?

In this case, *now* has a temporal interpretation while *then* has the role I described so as to give the opportunity for the hearer to elaborate on his answer and, as a result, reduce the discrepancy between the speaker and the hearer. *Now*, on the other hand, maintains this discrepancy, which seems awkward because the goal of the question is fulfilled.

If we consider the example 7, the idea remains the same.

- (7) c: And I think he's he's again he's a single there seems to be a majority of male single parents up there
 b: Of single parents
 a: Yeah and they're

- c: More than females.
 b: Well what's happened to the mothers **then**?
 (*London-Lund Corpus*, 47 70 6590 1 1b 11)

The fact that there seems to be "male single parents" is surprising for the speaker, as it is shown with the question *well what's has happened to the mothers then?* It means that the fact was not expected. To my mind, this enables to use *then* in the dialogue because of the discrepancy or the gap between the speaker and the hearer and also because it helps the speaker give the opportunity to the hearer to elaborate on his answer.

This is shown with 7a without *then*, which is also possible but the goal is different.

(7a)

- c: And I think he's he's again he's a single there seems to be a majority of male single parents up there
 b: Of single parents
 a: Yeah and they're
 c: More than females.
 b: Well what's happened to the mothers?

The hearer is not invited to elaborate and therefore to reduce the gap or the discrepancy between the speaker and the hearer. Let us consider another example:

- (8) A: I think taking love story theme set beside Romeo and Juliet, I don't think Romeo or Juliet are are explored very deeply as characters
 B: Do you think that's necessary in a tragedy?
 [...]
 B: So you'd like to qualify now your distinction between tragedies of character and tragedies of circumstance

- A: Yes, I don't think, going back to Romeo and Juliet **then** that it is, it is very similar in that dramatic sense [...]
 (*London-Lund Corpus*, 3 5b 5710870 1 1 A 13 2)

The expression "Romeo and Juliet" is mentioned once by the speaker A. And then, there is a digression by B. This digression is not wanted or expected by A as it is shown by 'going back'. There is therefore a gap or a discrepancy between A and B, which enables the use of *then* according to me.

Then can also be interpreted as a real emphasis to get back to the topic A wants to consider. The emphasis would not be so strong without 'going back to Romeo and Juliet.'

The reason is because *then* is a way to reduce the discrepancy between A and B, and here it is obvious because A forces B to change and focus again on the topic thanks to the connective.

I would like to finish studying an example that is rarely described by linguists.

(9) Now **then** you listen to me.

On the graphs I studied, the stress is on *Now, you* and *listen*. It is also interesting to know that native speakers usually point out their finger in that case.

It shows that the speaker feels the necessity to focus again on what he expects from the person meaning that the behavior of the hearer is not wanted. That is why *then* can be used because the speaker wants the discrepancy between what he expects and the behavior to be reduced. The fact of pointing out with the finger is also a way to put the emphasis on what it is said.

Then is therefore a way of pushing the hearer to abide by the speaker's rules and comply.

4 Summary

We have considered the connective *then* in oral speech. We have elaborated on the fact that the first element in a sequence E1 *then* E2 is necessary to structure the second element. The study revealed that *then* is not stressed, even in a question, but the word that precedes it is when it means *in that case* or *therefore*. In this context, it shows that there is a discrepancy or a gap between what is expected by the speaker and the content of what is said.

The connective enables the speaker to reduce the discrepancy between the speaker and the hearer by inviting the latter to elaborate on his answer in order for the speaker to have a better understanding of the idea(s) the hearer wants to express.

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COORDINATION IN MAITHILI

Dev Narayan Yadav

Co-ordination involves linking of two (or more) categories of expressions with the use of coordinators or coordinating conjunctions. The coordinators assign equal rank to the conjuncts. This article deals with coordination in Maithili syntax. This language exhibits different types of coordination at the phrasal as well as sentential levels. This paper focuses on adversative conjunction, disjunction, and negative disjunction.

1 Introduction

Most of the South Asian languages typically employ non-finite clauses instead of finite clauses to realize clause linkage (cf. Masica, 1976 and Yadava, 2005). In this paper we have chosen one of the major strategies employed for clause combining in the Maithili language, viz. coordination clauses both from formal and typological/ functional perspectives.

This article is organized into three sections. Section 1 presents introduction. Section 2 presents types of coordination. In section 3 we summarize the findings of the paper.

2 Types of coordination

Maithili permits the following four types of coordination occurring at the phrasal as well as sentential levels:

i Conjunction: *a* (in written form *aor, ebam, tatha*) ‘and’

ii Adversative conjunction: *muda/məgər/pərəntu* (in written form *pərənc*)/*lekin* ‘but’

iii Disjunction: *ki/ya/əthwa/wa/cahe* ‘or’

iv Negative disjunction: *ne...* ‘neither...nor’

2.1 Conjunction: *a* (*aor, ebam, tatha*) ‘and’

The coordinator *a* permits coordination to occur at both the sentential and phrasal levels, e.g:

- (1) *gari khuj-əl a həm hath jor-l-əhū*
train open-PST-(3NH) and I hand join-PST-(1)
‘The train started and I put the palms of my hands together to bid farewell.’ (Yadav, 1996)
- (2) *o hə̃s-l-ah a hath hil-l-əinh*
he (H) laugh- PST-(3H) and hand shake-PST-(3H)
‘He smiled and waved.’
- (3) *tō həm-ra (sō) a mahes sə gəpp*
You (MH) I-ACC/DAT from and Mahesh from talk
kəe-l-əh do-PST-(2MH)
‘You spoke to me and to Mahesh.’
- (4) *ram a sita aib ge-l-ah*
Ram and Sita come go-PST-(3H)
‘Ram and Sita arrived.’
- (5) a. *əhā dhənik a dularu ch-I tə əpna*
You (H) rich and spoiled be-PRES-(2H) then REFL
ghər me
house in
‘You may be rich and spoiled in your own house.’
b. *o dhənik a məshur dunu/seho ch-əith*
he (H) rich and famous both/also be-PRES(3H)
‘He is both rich and famous.’

Sentences [1-5] illustrate that two independent clauses as well as two verb phrases’ adjective phrases’ noun phrases’ and postpositional phrases may be coordinated with *a*. However, sentential and phrasal coordinations by *a* are permissible only if the two conjuncts exhibit similarity in topic and structure, as exemplified below:

(6) a. həm-ra pərhai a likhai bəd pəsin
I-ACC/DAT reading and writing lot. Like
əich
be-PRES-(3NH+ 1)
'I like reading and writing a lot.'

b. * ram a chəri ghora ke mar-l-ək]
Ram and stick horse ACC/DAT beat-PST-(3NH)
*'Ram and the stick beat the horse.'

(7) *s həm-ər beta khəstəɪ əich a Nepal-ək
I-GENIT son ill be-PRES-(3NH + 1)andNepal-GENIT
rajdhani Kathmandu ch-əik]
Capital Kathmandu be-PRES-(3NH)
*'My son is ill and Kathmandu is the capital of Nepal.'
(Yadav 1996)

The order of conjuncts may not be reversed if the conjunctive coordinator *a* conveys a sequential or causal relationship, as shown in sentences [6-7]:

(8) a. əhā həm-ər kərja dhə di-ə a
You (H) I-GENIT loan keep give-IMP-(2H) and
ja-u
go-IMP-(2H)
*'You repay my loan and (then) go.'

b. * əhā ja-u a həm-ər kərja dhə
You (H) go-IPM-(2H) and I-GENIT loan
di-ə
keep give-IMP-(2H)
*'You go and repay my loan.'

Otherwise, the order of conjuncts may be reversed without destroying their meaning:

(9) gita kəphi pib-əit əich
Gita coffee drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)
a həm dudh
and I milk
'Gita drinks coffee and I (drink) milk.'

(10) həm sinema dekh-l-əhū a tō sərəkəs
I cinema see-PST-(1) and you (NH) circus
'I saw the movie and you (saw) the circus.'

Note, however, that the conjunct beginning with a coordinator cannot be moved in front of the preceding conjunct:

(11) *a tō sərəkəs dekh-l-e həm sinema.

Occasionally, coordination of more than two conjuncts is achieved by a zero strategy, ie. juxtaposition.

(12) həm cura dəhi əcar khəe-l-əhū
I flattened rice curd pickle eat-PST-(1)
'I ate flattened rice, curd, and pickle.'

In general, however, *a* is used when more than two conjuncts are coordinated:

(13) binod bina a shyam aib ge-l-ah
Binod Bina and Shyam come go-PST-(3H)
'Binod Bina and Shyam arrived.'

2. 2 Adversative conjunction: *muda* 'but'

When two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction *muda*, it implies that a contrast or an opposition exists between the two conjuncts. Mostly, *muda* permits the coordination to occur at the sentential level:

(14) ram gulam dhənik ch-əith muda tō
Ram Gulam rich be-PRES-(3H) but You (NH)

gərib ch-e
 poor be-PRES-(2NH)
 'Ram Gulam is rich but you are poor.'

- (15) bharsar me bərkha bhe-l muda
 Bharsar LOC rain become-PST-(3NH) but
 khutauna me sukhl-e rəh-əl
 Khutauna LOC dry-EMPH remain-PST-(3NH)
 'It rained in Bharsar but it remained dry in Khutauna.'

Negation of either or both conjuncts at the sentential level is possible:

- (16) radha patər nāi ch-əith muda o bəd
 Radha thin not be-PRES-(3H) but he (H) very
 phurtigər ch-əith
 active be-PRES-(3H)
 'Radha is not slim but he is very active.'
- (17) u besi pərhəl nāi əich muda
 he (NH) much educated not be-PRES-(3NH) but
 u buriban seho nāi əich
 he(NH) stupid also not be-PRES-(3NH)
 'He is not very educated but he is not stupid either.'
 (Yadav, 1996)

Sentences [14-17] express the notion of contrast or opposition. As shown in sentences [25] *muda* also conveys a denial of expectation:

- (18) kutum dhənik nāi ch-əith muda o bhoj
 relative rich not be-PRES-(3H) but feast
 kəe-l-əinh nəmħər
 do-PST-(3H) big
 'The relative (of mine) is not rich but he offered a big feast.'

Similarly, *muda* conveys a preventive meaning if the first conjunct contains a counterfactual conditional-it:

- (19) həm dhan d-it-iəuk muda cabhi
 I paddy give-COND-(1+2NH) but key
 mənəjər ləg ch-əik
 manager near be-PRES-(3NH)
 'I would have given you the paddy but the keys are with manager.' (Yadav 1996)

So far we have dealt with the adversative conjunction at the sentential level. However, adjectival phrasal adversatives are permissible in Maithili:

- (20) i chəra AP gərib muda tejgər
 this boy poor but intelligent
 əich
 be-PRES-(3NH)
 'The boy is poor but intelligent.'

2.3 Disjunction

The disjunctive particles *ki* 'or', *ki... ki* 'either... or', etc., express the idea that at most one of the two alternatives can be realized:

- (21) cah ki kəphi ki pi-əb o?
 tea or coffee what drink-FUT-(2H)
 'What will you drink- tea or coffee?' (Yadav, 1996)
- (22) o dudh le-b ki o dəhi o?
 milk take-FUT-(2H) or curd
 'What will you take – milk or curd?'
- (23) o ki pərh-u ki o məhis cəra-u
 either read-IMP-(2H) or buffalo graze-IMP-(2H)
 'Either (you) study or (you) graze the buffalo.'

Sentence [21] illustrates the use of unmarked disjunctive *ki* at the phrasal level: sentence [22], however, receives a sentential-level interpretation because of the inclusion of the verb phrase in it. Sentences [23] illustrate that marked disjunctives consisting of iterated particles (e.g., *ki...ki*;

cahe...ki; ya (tə)...əthba, and various combinations thereof are usually used at the sentential level. Sentences [21-23] show that disjunctives are used to provide exclusive alternatives; nevertheless, disjunctives may also be understood as inclusive, i.e., more than two alternatives may be available:

- (24) o dāhi le-b ki o dudh o ki o chalhi o
 curd take-FUT-(2H) or milk or curd cream
 ‘What will you take: curd, milk, or curd cream?’

Negation of the second disjunct is possible with both the unmarked and marked disjunctive particles:

- (25) dābai d-iəunh ki nāi o?
 medicine give-IMP-(1 + 3H) or not
 ‘Should I give him the medicine or not?’

- (26) nət tə de-l-iəinh əut-t-əh
 invitation DEF give-PST-(1+3H) come-FUT-(3H)
 ki nāi o?
 or not
 ‘I did invite him: will he come or not?’

As shown in examples [25-26], in interrogative sentence the verb of the second disjunct is deleted; in indicative sentences, however, the verb is not deleted, but rather repeated in the negative disjunct, as exemplified in [27]

- (27) ki pərh-u ki nāi pərh-u
 either read-IMP-(2H) or not read-IMP-(2H)
 hām-ra kon mətləb
 I-ACC/DAT which meaning
 ‘Either you (should) study or not study – I have nothing to do with it.’ (Yadav 1996)

2. 4 Negative disjunction

Negative disjunction is formed by the use of iterated particles *ne...ne* ‘neither...nor’; the iterated particles express the idea that none of the alternatives provided in the disjuncts is available. The following examples are illustrative:

- (28) ne nun ne tel kiuch nāi əich
 neither salt nor oil something not be-PRES-(3NH + 1)
 ‘I have nothing – neither salt nor oil.’ (Yadav 1996)

- (29) ne lal ne piər kono nāi bhət-əl
 neither red nor yellow any not meet-PST-(3NH + 1)
 ‘I got none – neither red nor yellow.’

A *ne...ne* sentence in Maithili may also be analyzable as *ne...a ne* ‘not ...and not / not... and also not’:

- (30) ne o sigret piḃ-əit ch-əith
 neither he(H) cigarette drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
 a ne supari kha-it ch-əith
 and nor betel nut eat- IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)
 ‘Neither does he smoke nor chew betel nut.’ (Yadav 1996)

3 Conclusion

To sum up, in this article we have found four types of coordination in Maithili. We have tried to explore the syntactic features associated with coordination constructions to identify it from typological perspectives. We can say that coordinative construction seems to be universal feature of nature languages. Coordination in Maithili is an interesting phenomenon which definitely bears great resemblance to other languages of Indo-European family.

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KEYNOTE SPEECH:
THE 31ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF LSN

Prof. Dr. Novel Kishore Rai

Dear Chairperson, scholars and language lovers!

More than three decades have passed since our Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) was born. To be exact, in the year of 1979, some of our seniors and we immature linguists gave birth to this organization. We feel proud that since its birth, LSN has been showing an unceasing commitment to organize its annual conference. If memory serves me right, except for one year, the conference has so far been taking place every year on the same date. This shows one and only one thing: we linguists are passionate about and devoted to our discipline. To say this, I feel, is not an expression self-praise but a confession of pride and satisfaction. Thank you all for this humbling experience.

When I received an invitation this year from LSN to deliver the keynote speech, the task seemed a bit daunting to me at first. The trepidation, however, was quickly replaced by a sense of honor and privilege. As I stood there, reading the invitation letter, I could feel the love and trust of my friends and colleagues sweeping through me, urging me not to miss this opportunity. So, here I stand in front of you, after committing 30 years of my life to this discipline. I admit that the journey involves mixed feelings.

Let me start off with something that plagues linguists every day. One of the crises of the world that we do not hear about enough is the rapid endangerment and demise of many

languages. Language death is real, is happening every day and is a matter of grave concern for every linguist. The epic tragedy is that no one else is bothered. The fact that many languages are on the verge of becoming extinct is seen as the price for progress. No one knows it better than linguists that language is intrinsically linked with culture, identity and the way we see the world. When a language dies, a way of thinking dies with it. A part of our culture and history is lost forever. Any argument that says reduction in languages will unify the human race and guarantee mutual understanding is simply naïve. For instance, predominantly monolingual countries such as Cambodia, Burundi and Rwanda have history of long civil wars. A policy statement of Linguistic Society of America (1994) summed it up very well: “The loss to humankind of genetic diversity in the linguistic world... is arguably greater than even the loss of genetic diversity in the biological world, given that the structure of human language represents a considerable testimony to human intellectual achievement.”

In the current context of Nepal, language is one of the most complex and burning issues. During the process of federal restructuring of state and drafting a new constitution, conducting a linguistic survey becomes pertinent. The issue of linguistic rights is related to realization of self-identity, and an invariable part of human rights. A survey has been started by the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. It's high time for a commendable intervention to come. We humans can control the factors that cause language death. Thankfully, unlike under the old *Panchayat* system of Nepal, ethnic languages are not repressed or forbidden. The old

national policy of one-language -one-state has been replaced by a policy that recognizes the importance of multi-lingual society.

The importance of linguists is often misunderstood because majority of people do not know the difference between a polyglot and a linguist. While a polyglot is a person *who knows many languages*, a linguist is a person *who knows about languages*. It is saddening to see that our society still does not see linguists as valuable contributors to the development of a nation. This is probably the reason why centers for linguistic research have been established in countries all over the world but no such effort has been made in ours. Apart from not having a linguistic research center, it is common to see census report information and data related to languages being unreliable and misleading due to absence of linguists in the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).

Recently, members and office-bearers of the Nepal Academy were nominated. It is regrettable that not even a single member from our linguistic field was nominated for an institution that represents the nation in the field of language, literature, culture, history, philosophy and social sciences. Apart from other disciplines, it must also accommodate the scholars from linguistics, sociology and anthropology.

Among all these negative aspects of language issues, there are signs of good initiations in our multilingual Nepali society. In the context of self-identity and rights, multilingual education has been started. The results have been quite positive and encouraging. Research has shown that education in mother tongue, especially in the early years, is more effective. Several

FM radio stations have started broadcasting news and songs in various ethnic languages of Nepal. This positive trend can be seen in the Nepali film and music industry as well. Listening to news or broadcast of information in one's own mother tongue has a positive impact on the members of different speech communities and makes an appreciable difference. Mass media has an important role to play in the process of language revitalization, thereby reversing language death. Various ethnic communities of Nepal are also being proactive and undertaking important initiatives to preserve their languages. Here, linguists of Nepal have to be given due credit for helping the communities to compile their own dictionaries and write grammars of their first languages.

With more than 100 languages spoken in Nepal, the foreign linguists and researchers regard our country as a very fertile research site. Ours is a country that has been instrumental in helping these researchers earn their PhD degrees and publish their research works, thereby adding a few more feathers in their scholarly hats. However, correct information and recording of such studies are not available in one place. We lack a well-stocked, efficiently managed resource center. Research done in Nepali, Hindi, Newari, Maithili, English and other languages by hundreds of researchers and scholars has not been archived and hence not easily accessible. This leads to duplication of research.

In this technological age, information can be digitally recorded and can be easily made available to those who need them. Recently Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University of Nepal, has done digital documentation of Chintang, Puma and Baram languages with the help of

Leipzig University, Germany and SOAS, UK. We need to take advantage of the revolution in information technology management to generate knowledge and to further research work. Linguistics is an exciting, growing field. In order to evolve, we need to train future linguists to develop their analytic capabilities and provide access to current technology.

Linguistics major prepares our young generation for a number of career paths. Students acquire valuable skills related to critical thinking, analytic reasoning, making careful observations and drawing insightful conclusions. It is my belief that offering linguistics at undergraduate level opens up avenues of employment for our youth.

I would like to end my speech with a German saying, "Everything has been said, but perhaps not by everyone." What you heard today could very well be just a reiteration but these are issues that are close to my heart. Thank you all! Thank you for your time and support.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS:

31st Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal

Dr. Dan Raj Regmi
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Honorable chief guest Shree Til Bikram Nembang (Bairagi Kainla), chancellor of Nepal Academy; guest of honor, Prof. Dr. Madhab Prasad Sharma, vice-chancellor of Tribhuvan University; Shree Ganga Prasad Uprety, vice-chancellor of Nepal Academy; former presidents of Linguistic Society of Nepal; distinguished linguists, scholars and guests; presenters from home and abroad; executive members of Linguistic Society of Nepal; life members of Linguistic Society of Nepal; media persons; and ladies and gentlemen!

On behalf of Linguistic Society of Nepal, first of all, I would like to extend my warm welcome to Shree Til Bikram Nembang (Bairagi Kainla), Chancellor of Nepal Academy, for gracing and inaugurating the 31st Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal as the chief guest. I would like to welcome Prof. Dr. Madhab Prasad Sharma, Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, Shree Ganga Prasad Uprety, Vice-Chancellor of Nepal Academy, former presidents of Linguistic Society of Nepal and other distinguished guests and linguists from home and abroad on the auspicious occasion of the 31st Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal.

Despite ups and downs with the fate of the nation the Linguistic Society of Nepal has been holding its annual conference for the last 31 years uninterruptedly. It is indeed a matter of great pleasure for me to report to you that the 31st Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal has been convened by Linguistic Society of Nepal in collaboration with Nepal Academy. We cannot help thanking Nepal Academy to

consent our humble request for collaboration to convene the 31st Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal and to begin a historical march for collaboration. I am confident that this collaboration will never fade in the future.

Linguistic society of Nepal, since its inception, has been a cosmopolitan forum for the linguists around the world to congregate once a year to discuss the issues and problems related to the linguistic fields, to share the experiences and findings with their fellow linguists, to encourage the young and novice linguists to devote the life for the exploration of amazing characteristics of human language and raise voice to trigger off the concerned authorities to take necessary and immediate steps for the linguistic activities for the promotion of the languages in the nation.

On this great occasion I would like to record major linguistic activities followed by the inception of Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1979. There used to be passed a resolution proposal by unanimous voice at the valedictory session of the conference that there be a Central Department of Linguistics in Tribhuvan University to impart practical and theoretical knowledge of linguistics and do linguistic research of the languages spoken in Nepal as mother tongues. However, only after the strong recommendation of National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission the department was set up in 1997 in Tribhuvan University. This is really a turning point in the history of the linguistic activities in the nation. As per the recommendation of the Commission and with the commission of National Planning Commission the Linguistic Survey of Nepal has been conducted under the Central Department of Linguistics. The sociolinguistic data of eight languages have been managed in the accessible database of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. Attempts have been made on behalf of the government, governmental and non-governmental agencies to implement multilingual educational

policy in Nepal. Multilingual Education (MLE) Implementation Guidelines (2010) has recently been endorsed. However, there are still debates on the modality for the implementation. Arguments based on the reality have been made for 'Transitional bilingual education', starting basic education in mother tongue, gradually switching to a language of broader communications such as Nepali and eventually switching to an international language such as English.

There followed a hot debate on the issues regarding the official language of the central government, state government and local bodies. Such issues required to be seriously considered before taking any step for realizing the federal system of government in Nepal.

Very recently a high level committee formed for the solution of the issues regarding the official language of the central government, state government and local bodies has come to the conclusion that the nation will adopt a multi-lingual policy. Furthermore, for present, the official language will be Nepali in Devanagari script and under the recommendation of a permanent language commission other languages fulfilling the certain criteria may be enlisted and recognized as national languages.

I think, it is a good sign of national integration and solidarity and there will not be an exaggeration to note that there is a direct or indirect role of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in all these activities.

It is indeed a matter of great pleasure to note that there have been received a good number of papers for the presentation from different nooks and corner of the world, from very seniors to the young linguists, on the different disciplines of modern linguistics ranging from phonology to computational linguistics. The papers will be presented in different sessions for two days. Some of the paper include Copy morphemes in

Athpare Rai and Limbu; On the so-called evidence for verb agreement in classical Newar; Enclitic definitives in Assamese; Nominalization in Bhaktapur Newar; Clause combining in Kaike; Dumi nominal morphology; Honorificity in Darai; Pronouns in Ghale; Typological issues in Nepali classifiers; Agreement component in the Nepali computational grammar analyzer; Handling divergence patterns in Kashmiri-English machine translation; Application of finite state technology to Nepali verbs; Baram noun morphology; Bhojpuri in Nepalese education; Sociolinguistic study of Raji; Caahi` and caaine: Two most frequent discourse particles in Nepali: A corpus based study; What's eating vs. what do we mean by eating?; Hindi and English pronouns: A comparative study; Deontic modality in Dura; Code-switching between English and Nepali among Nepali teenagers in America; Body parts in 'Adi-Pasi': A theoretical analysis; The Raji verb; A sociolinguistic study of Yakkha; Concept of one to many and vice versa: Lexical semantics and sociopragmatics; A chunk level statistical machine translation: An approach for English Language to Nepali Language translation; Indigenous languages of Koraput: An overview; Cultural change and its impacts on continuity of language (Special Reference with Chepang language community); Co-ordination in Maithili; Ethno-linguistic introduction of Dungmali; Solving problems or creating more problems? Towards local and emic-oriented Applied Linguistics; Differential object marking in Puma; Hundred most frequent words from spoken and written Nepali: a comparison; Uses of *kana* in Different forms in Bheri Nepali; Nominalization in Manipuri; Binomials: A case study in the Chintang Ritual language; P in Indian Sign language; Lexical comparison of Baram with Thami, Newar and Chepang; A Unicode compliant font for Kashmir: Issues and solutions; Towards building a Pan-Indian dictionary; The linguistic dilemma of the Sheikhs/Watal; A working prototype of the multimodal dictionary; Punjabi language: Government

policies and traditional multilingual classrooms in Pakistan; Evidential marking in the Sherpa language; The consonants of Ghale, etc.

I would like to note that for some technical reasons last year the Society could not manage to continue Young Linguist Award (YLA) to the young linguists presenting papers in the conference. I am pleased to inform you that this year three young linguists (at least one female) from home are going to be awarded YLA with the generous financial support of SIL International. There is no doubt in my mind that such tradition should be continued at any cost in the days to come.

Linguistic Society of Nepal has passed its thirty-one years in struggle for triggering off the concerned authority to frame the favourable policy for initiating the linguistic activities in the nation. There is no doubt that some important and fundamental achievements have been recorded with the incessant efforts made by our seniors who voluntarily devoted their time and energy for struggle. The struggle has not yet to be geared down. The lock of the main door has just been opened. However, many fundamental achievements have to be made through struggle by joining hands with hands with governmental and non-governmental agencies following the path shown by our predecessors, their guidance and inspiration. I am fully confident that no stone will be left unturned on behalf of our seniors to guide us to walk on the path they have carved in the hard rock in the hard time of the nation. The path is not easy to walk for us, young linguists and middle-aged linguist like me. The big responsibility has been passed by our seniors on our shoulders to sustain the achievements we have made, to encourage the very young linguists for the struggle for more and more achievements. With due respect to my seniors, I would like to request you that there is no such discipline like linguistics which can nurture your mind and heart till your life. This is evident by

the active participation of our seniors in the linguistic programs organized in home and abroad.

Today is the right day to make promise to our seniors that we, young, middle-aged and would-be linguists by heart, by word and by action will join together more boldly and more inclusively for the promotion of linguistic activities in Nepal without being enthralled by the material enchantment of the world. Let us remember the following lines from *Stopping by Woods in a Snowing Evening* by American renowned poet Robert Frost and let us promise to contribute to promotion of linguistics and linguistic activities in Nepal.

“The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
Miles to go before I sleep,
Miles to go before I sleep.”

Linguistic Society of Nepal has helped to widen the horizon of linguistic activities in Nepal. In front of us, there are a number of urgent issues which require to be rightly addressed by the concerned authorities, governmental and non-governmental agencies in Nepal.

- The curriculum of linguistics of all levels has to be revised in consonance with the needs of Nepal and changing speed and spirit of the discipline.
- MPhil program has to be launched in the Central Department of Linguistics to promote the research in linguistics in Nepal.
- Linguistics as a compulsory subject like mathematics has to be introduced in school levels.
- Languages in which there are only a few speakers have to be immediately documented and languages like Dura have to be revitalized.

- Collaboration of the Department with Language Technology Kendra and other institutions related to language technology in home and abroad.
- Making a successful completion of Linguistic Survey of Nepal
- Structure of the proposed language commission
- Framing criteria for enlisting the languages spoken in the states and recognizing them as national languages
- Implementation of multilingual education with the true spirit of multilingual education

Language is not simply a means of communication. In a multilingual and multi-ethnic country like Nepal, it is the means to embody and transmit great repository of practical knowledge experienced and accumulated with high esteem for ages. In Nepal, no such attempt has been made to collect the indigenous knowledge embodied in the indigenous languages of Nepal and to impart such knowledge to the students.

In an international conference entitled Language, Education and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) held in Bangkok from November 9-11, in the plenary session, a professor from University of Northern Arizona, USA reported that a department in the university has been set up to impart the indigenous knowledge to the students. It is also reported that indigenous people are invited to teach the indigenous knowledge to the students of the department. I am quite impressed by this report.

I think, in a country like Nepal characterized by the complex linguistic and cultural heritage, it is a high time to trigger off the attention of the concerned authorities to make strategic planning to establish, under the Central Department of Linguistics, a centre dedicated to the research of indigenous languages and knowledge embodied in such languages, provide information to the whole world society about such languages and knowledge and impart indigenous knowledge

to the students. Such attempt, I think, would be a crucial step to make new Nepal.

With the generous financial support of Nepal Academy, Linguistic Society of Nepal has published the 25th volume of **Nepalese Linguistics**. The team of editorial board consisting of Mr. Balam Prasad Praisain, and Mr. Krishna Prasad Chalise headed by Prof. Dr. Govind Raj Bhattarai deserves special thanks for their untiring and meticulous work required to produce such a great treasure of linguistic research in a very short period of time.

I am thankful to former presidents of Linguistic Society of Nepal, my seniors, colleagues and Executive Members of LSN and others who have worked hard, incessantly nights and days, have spent their time, sometimes money and energy in making this mega event a success.

In this juncture I would like to thank all the well-wishers, supporters, financially and logistically, the contributors in the journal, the audience, and the volunteers to make the conference a success.

Lastly, I believe that fruitful discussion and interaction among participants will make this conference productive and a success. I wish all the participants a pleasant time during this conference.

Thank you very much.

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Abbreviations used in this list

CDC Curriculum Development Centre

CDE Central Department of English

CDL Central Department of Linguistics

CDN Central Department of Nepali

CIL Campus of International Languages

CNAS Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies

DEE Department of English Education

IOE Institute of Engineering

LinSuN Linguistic Survey of Nepal

Note: We have tried our best to update the list of the life members of Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN). We would be grateful to your kind help for further updates.