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CREATIVE ADJUSTMENT OF LINGUISTIC AND TEXTUAL RESOURCES IN LITERARY TRANSLATION

Bal Ram Adhikari

The present article conceptualizes the process of rewriting the given text in the target language (TL) as regeneration of the text across languages. Shedding light on similarities and differences between producing a text across languages i.e. transwriting and within a language i.e. writing, it is argued that translation is a creative process almost exclusive to linguistic and textual levels.

Keywords: Manipulation, regeneration, transwriting, translational creativity

1. Introduction

Translation is a Janus-faced process of text production across languages which entails interpretation of the source text (ST) and its regeneration in the target language (TL). It requires the translator to read and re-read the ST so as to extract meanings and rewrite the extracted meanings in the TL. The translator is thus involved in twin processes of meaning extraction through reading, and regeneration of the text through writing. He/she takes on a dual role, as the reader of the ST and the writer of the TT. In other words, "besides being the reader of a text, the translator is also the writer of a text to be read by others" (Joseph, 1987: 109-110). Of these two processes involved in translation, the present article concerns the second one i.e. regeneration of the text.

From the perspective of writing, translation is a process of generating a text *again* in another language. The process can be called regenerating the text across languages, which in a number of ways, resembles as well as differs from generating the text within a language. Generating a text within a language, conventionally called writing, and regenerating the text across languages, which can be called transwriting, both are manipulative, regenerative, repetitive and creative. Writer and transwriter both are text producers in their respective languages. Both relay on and

manipulate "diverse linguistic and cultural materials that neither the [...] writer nor the translator originates" (Venuti, 1995: 17-18). That is, both are only text *shapers* not originators of these materials. Thus, the outcome of generative process is derivative and unique at the same time.

Writing and transwriting both are processes of regenerating the text from already existent linguistic and cultural resources. No text is absolutely innovative nor is it the absolute replica of the text already in existence. That is, each text is repetitive and innovative at the same time. In this regard, Selden, Widdowson and Brooker, (2005) refer to Barthes' (1968) claim that writers only have power to mix already existing writing. They can only reassemble or reuse what others have already written. Barthes further claims that writers only draw on the immense dictionary of language and culture always already written. Likewise, Paz finds the distinction between original writing and transwriting blurred:

Every text is unique and, at the same time, it is the translation of another text. No text is original because language itself, in its essence, is already a translation: firstly, of the non-verbal world and secondly, since every sign and every phrase is the translation of another phrase. However, the inverse of this reasoning is also entirely valid. All texts are originals because each translation has its own distinctive character. Up to a point, each translation is a creation and thus constitutes a unique text. (1971/1992:154)

Despite such resemblance, we can also discern some marked differences between writing and transwriting. The writer relies on varied textual and non-textual resources. He/she can use already published texts to draw content and even language for his/her work or can simply refer to them. Experiences, emotions, imagination and facts are nontextual resources of the text. The writer is free

to manipulate such resources. There is a single agent who determines content, context and form of the text. Finally, writing within a language is monolingual in nature. On the contrary, while regenerating the text across languages, the transwriter works on the single textual source of meanings and forms. Content, context and form are already fixed by the writer. In principle, the transwriter has no right to manipulate them willfully. Moreover, there are two agents involved in the regeneration of the text: writer and transwriter. Put differently, a translated text houses two creative souls. At this juncture, I quote from the translatorial 'Of being caught in a double-bind':

[...] while writing, I am monolingual, monocultural, unidirectional, and most of all I am confined to a single pragmatic compass, whereas while translating, I am acting to be overtly bilingual, bicultural (though it may be only for a limited degree and a certain period of time), two directional and more importantly I try to transcend the single pragmatic world to enter another one, which is alien to my language and culture. (Adhikari, 2010: vii)

It implies that bilingual regeneration of a text is more demanding than monolingual textual generation, for the former involves more constraints than the latter. Unlike the writer, the transwriter has to fulfill a two-way obligation to the ST, the source, and the target readers, the destination. Obligation to the source writer requires him/her to gravitate towards content and form of source message, whereas obligation to target readers requires him/her to be faithful to TL grammar and convention. It also requires the transwriter to be creative in terms of word choice, syntactic manipulation and textual organization.

Despite the fact the existent text serves as the source for the transwriter, it does not mean that he/she begins from where the ST writer ends. Rather, the transwriter (re)constructs the text anew and the process parallels the one followed by the ST writer. By regenerating the ST in the TL, the transwriter gives a new life or energy to the ST, or revitalizes it which otherwise would remain within the confinement of the SL. It is through regeneration that a text undergoes

material or textual and spiritual transformation. A literary text is more than the objective information it carries because it "posits man's physical and spiritual existence" (Benjamin, 1923/2000:15). The spiritual or subjective dimension of the text amounts to the authorial ego and creative soul and the reader's emotional responses to the overall text. The text after it undergoes cross-linguistic transformation embodies authorial egos and creative souls of writer and transwriter. As a result, the translated text acquires material and spiritual dimensions different from those of the ST. Lastly, it is the transwriter who gives rebirth to the ST as a TT that speaks a different tongue. The transwriter's role thus turns out to be that of the procreator.

Drawing on these theoretical arguments, the present article aims to explore different dimensions of regeneration of text. The term 'regeneration' is used as an alternative to such heterogeneous terms as "reproduction" (Nida, 1964), "rewriting" (Lefever, 1992), and "transcreation" (Mukherjee, 1994; Singh, 2010).

2. Method

The present article draws on tenets of product-oriented research that studies the textual product that is the outcome of the translation or interpretation process (Saldanha & Breen, 2013:50). Of the different approaches available in this research methodology, I have employed a descriptive and explanatory approach to the analysis of the translation as a product. The cases were sampled purposively from the novels *sukarāt-kā pāilā* (Bhattarai, 2063 B.S.) and its English translation *Socrates' Footsteps* (2010), *anido pahād-sangai* (Parijat, 2073 B. S.) and its English translation *Under the Sleepless Mountain* (2007), and a Nepali essay rendered by a novice translator. The cases in Nepali are transliterated in English Roman followed by their English translations.

3. Analysis and discussion

This section presents the purposively selected cases and their analysis under the thematic headings of mechanical reproduction vs creative reproduction, regeneration as creative linguistic activity in terms of word choice, syntactic

manipulation and text organization. These themes are principally informed by theoretical insights generated from Wilss (1994), Singh (2010) and Frankenberg-Garcia (2017).

3.1. Mechanical reproduction vs creative adjustment

Regeneration is a process of rewriting of the ST in the TL. However, this process is more than mechanical reproduction of the text across languages. Rather, it is creative adjustment of ST elements in the TL that shows the transwriter's ability to compose a literary text in the TL, using materials extracted from the ST. The following cases serve to illustrate key differences between mechanical reproduction and creative adjustment:

Case 1

ST (Nepali): hāmi jaba aglo pahād-muni-ko un-ko ramāilo ghar najikai pugyaū, rāto, nilo ra seto raṅ-ko jhandā hāwā-mā pharpharārahe-ko thiyo. sāth-mā yātrā garirahe-ki runā-le ma-tira herera bhanin, "yo timro swāgat-ko lāgi rākhieko ho". agli kadh ra anuhār-mā camak bokeki, seto kapāl tara akhā-ma gājal lagāeki benṭe hāmi-lāi lina ghar bāhir niskin.

TT (English): As we arrived near her beautiful home at a lofty hill, there was a large red, blue and white colored flag fluttering delightfully. Runa, the co-traveler, turned to me and said, 'it is set to welcome you. A tall statured and dazzling faced, with white hair but kajal decorated eyed Bente came out from her home to welcome us.

It is an extract from a travelogue rendered by a novice literary translator. The extract typifies the mechanical reproduction of the Nepali text in English. The translator has literally reproduced the ST, which has resulted in a syntactically unwieldy text in English. The English text is dictated by the ST in terms of word order and textual organization. In the translation of the expression *rāto, nilo ra seto raṅ-ko jhandā* (literally: a large, red, blue and white colored flag), for example, the translator has stacked five adjectives before the noun almost in the same order as they occur in the ST. Unlike in Nepali, "stacks of more than three adjectives rarely occur"

in English (Cowan, 2008: 238). Also, the translator's priority to linearity has marred readability and fluidity of the text. That is, the translator has attempted to follow the ST structure closely. Consequently, there is heavy presence of Nepali structure in the English text. The expressions such as *As we arrived near her beautiful home at a lofty hill* and *A tall statured and dazzling faced, with white hair but kajal decorated eyed Bente* are the clear indicative of the translator's failure to use his creative license to produce a readable text in English. To follow Nida's (1964:185-187) framework of literary translation, this translator is confined to the stage of minimal transfer which involves mechanical reproduction of the ST, yielding the unrefined version. Let us compare the above translation with the following version:

TT (English: Creative adjustment): As we arrived near her beautiful house at the foot of a lofty hill, a large red, blue and white flag fluttering delightfully came to our sight. Runa looked at me and said, 'It is hoisted here to welcome you'. There turned up a tall lady with white hair, kajal in her eyes. She was Bente, who welcomed us with her beaming smile. (My translation)

This extract reveals the translator's attempt to move beyond the stages of literal translation and minimum transfer, and make the text literary to the extent possible. We can see several instances of creative adjustment of the ST in the TT. Let us take some of them. The word *raṅ-ko* (colored/having color) has been removed from the TT because its use with color adjectives *red, blue* and *white* is redundant. Its removal also helps to reduce the number of adjectives before the noun *jhandā* (flag). Likewise, *house* is used in place of *home*, because, as suggested by the context, the speaker is referring to the building, and *pahād-muni* (literally: under the hill) has been rewritten as *at the foot of the hill*. The complex subject NP *agli kadh ra anuhār-mā camak bokeki, seto kapāl tara akhā-ma gājal lagāeki benṭe* (literally: a tall statured and dazzling faced, with white hair but kajal decorated eyed Bente) has been thoroughly restructured in English as *a tall lady with white*

hair, kajal in her eyes. She was Bente, who welcomed us with her beaming smile.

Compared to the novice translator's text, this translation reads natural in English. The translator has regenerated the ST in the TL, obeying its grammar rules and discourse principles. He has maintained linearity to ensure the TT's fidelity to the ST in terms of content and style without compromising on his fidelity to the TL system. There is presence of foreignness in content (e.g. kajal), but not in sentence construction. Addition, deletion and permutation of words reveal the translator's awareness of judicious use of creative license in literary translation. Finally, the translator presents himself as a re-creator rather than the mere rewriter of the ST in the TL.

3.2 Regeneration as a creative linguistic activity

Creativity in translation is a debatable and long debated issue. Bayer-Hohenwarter conceptualizes translational creativity as the translator's "ability to depart from the source text (ST) structure by applying creative shifts" (2011: 663) such as addition, modification, permutation and deletion. This notion of creativity implies that creative translators are aware of the fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between SL and TL and hence any attempt to reproduce the text in the TL would yield an unacceptable translation. The TT certainly departs from the ST in many respects at different levels of texts ranging from vocabulary to discourse organization. However, we should not forget that departure is not the sole criterion for assessing creativity in translation, for the TT should not divert too far from the form and content of the ST. Put simply, there should be some correspondence between TT and ST at a deeper level. It implies that translation involves enactment of creativity within the constraints imposed by the ST as well as TL system. It is on this ground that Wilss (1994) argues that translation is not a genuinely creative process. Wilss further maintains that "strictly speaking, translation is not a creative, but rather a creative linguistic activity. Translation is never a *creatio ex nihilo*, but the reproduction of a given SL text, combining a comprehensive and an inventive phase of textually-bound behavior" (1994: 4750). Translation is thus *creatio ex materia*, that is, the

starting point of translator's creative writing is the fixed text, "not the language in movement that provides the poets raw material" (Paz, 1971/1992:159). Furthermore, Wilss' (1994) observation limits translational creativity to the linguistic dimension which gets reiterated in Singh's (2010) conceptualization of creativity as "a rearrangement of existing signs. Creativity is a point of view to look at the world which is already in existence, and yet defining it in new permutations and combinations p.46)". Thus, we can argue that translation involves creativity within textual captivity. Here I once again quote from the translatorial:

One of the questions often raised in literary translation is concerned with the translator's creative license. To what extent are translators free to play with the source text? [...] Can they rewrite freely what they have interpreted? It seems to me that literary translators enjoy freedom within their self-chosen captivity. Creatively. Consciously and painfully. Hence, literary translation turns out to be creativity within captivity which I found rather challenging and at times rather frustrating. (Adhikari, 2010: ix)

The transwriter's creativity is predominantly confined to the linguistic aspect, for content and structure of the text are already specified by the writer. Moreover, even linguistic creativity has to be within the compass of vocabulary, grammar and style of the given text. It means while regenerating the ST in a new form in the TL, the transwriter is bound to be within the captivity of content, language and form of the existent text. It is the process of generating a new text from the given one. During this regenerative process, the transwriter can demonstrate his/her creativity in different areas of the text and at different levels of language.

3.2.1 Word choice

Creativity begins with reading of the ST. Creative reading is a prerequisite for regeneration of the given text in a novel form in the TL. Creative reading requires the transreader to comprehend multiple layers of meanings of words, create different images for them and decide on the most fitting TL words for the images. In other words,

the transreader is often required to transcend denotative meanings and dig into the text in order to explore connotative meanings implied by the context or the meanings intended by the speaker. The following extracts serve to illustrate this theoretical stance:

Case 2

ST (Nepali): āphno koṭhā-mā puge-pachi ananta dherai-bera-samma cintā-mā dubi-rahyo. ke ma euṭā byakti mātra hun? ma āphno bhāgya-nirmān gari-rahana swtantra chu? malai mero pariwes-le sahyog garnu pardaina? (Bhattarai, 2063, B.S.:31)

TT (English): Back to his room, Ananta sank into gloom for long. "Am I merely an individual? Am I really free to craft my destiny? Shouldn't my surroundings help me? (Bhattarai, 2010: 33)

The TT in Case 2 exhibits some instances of creativity in word choice. Let us take two chunks *cintā-mā dubi-rahyo* (literally: kept sinking in anxiety) and *āphno bhāgya-nirmān gari-rahana* (literally: to make one's fate). The translator has shunned the denotative meaning of the word *cintā* as *anxiety* and preferred the contextually suggested meaning *gloom*. In fact, the lines above suggest the sense of helplessness and hopelessness that the protagonist experiences in the unfeeling and inhospitable city of Kathmandu. *Anxiety* is thus too shallow to capture the psychological state of an innocent country boy who finds himself awfully lonely in the city. Likewise, the second chunk, if translated literally, would read like this— *Am I free to make my fate?* which might convey the surface meaning but not the meaning intended by the author, nor would it sound so literary. The word *bhāgya* mainly means *fate* and it also means *destiny*, which can be translated back into Nepali as *niyati*. The author's intended meaning is *destiny* not *fate* because it is an existential novel which mainly draws on Sartre's existentialism. Sartre used *destiny* not *fate* while taking about man's existence as "the destiny of man is placed within himself" (1946) with the philosophical message that man makes himself. There is another reason for choosing *destiny* over *fate*. *Fate* implies something already decided, it is

the past that an individual cannot change, forget making or crafting it, whereas *destiny* is the future, which, if a person strongly wills, can be changed. It means we can craft destiny, not fate. Here is another example of creative word choice:

Case 3

ST (Nepali): tyo sājh-mā ananta-le ek lai socirahyo-jivan nikai bhitra pugecha. tyo anyol mārga-mā. pharkane dobātā-haru sochyō, tara man-mā ti āenan. aghi baḍhne goreṭo-tira driṭi lagāyō, ti prasta dekhienan. (Bhattarai, 2063, B.S.:31)

TT (English): That evening Ananta, all on his own, was sinking in thought. "My life has reached deep in this labyrinthunawares". He thought about the paths to retreat, but his mind got no trace of any of them. He cast his eyes over the paths ahead only to find them lost in haze. (Bhattarai, 2010: 41)

The underlined Nepali chunks have been recreated in English. The verb *pugecha* (literally: it has reached without my knowledge) calls for creative adjustment in English because it is in the unknown past, which is absent from English grammar. It means the action happened in the past and the agent is aware of it now. To convey this meaning ingrained in the verb, the translator has added the word *unawares* in the English text. Another chunk *anyol mārga-mā* (literally: on the unknown path) has been recreated as *in this labyrinth*. The contextually recreated word *labyrinth* is preferable to the mechanically reproduced chunk *the unknown path* because the former is more visual than the latter and concretizes the protagonist's predicament. Moreover, *labyrinth* reads more literary, lexically more expressive and hence contextually more fitting than the mechanically reproduced chunk. Finally, the contextually recreated chunk for *ti prasta dekhienan* (literally: they were not seen clearly) reads *them* (i.e. the paths) *lost in haze*. The ST implies the lack of clarity in the life of the protagonist who finds himself in a quandary and fails to decide what to do and where to go. *Lost in haze* is figurative and more expressive than the literally reproduced expression *they were not seen clearly*. It suggests that the transwriter is inclined

to the use of elevated diction. However, it is imperative that the transwriter use his/her creative license with caution. In this regard, he/she should heed Belloc's rule of thumb, "The translator should never embellish" (as cited in Bassnett, 2002:121). That is, while playing with words, the transwriter's aim should not be to decorate the TT by imposing literary diction from his/her side. The aim instead should be to make contextually implied meaning more expressive in the TT. Put differently, the transwriter should use figurative and expressive words only to release the meanings suppressed in the ST and make the author more articulate in the TT.

While playing with words creatively, translators should read not only the lines, but also between the lines and beyond the lines. Reading the lines is a prerequisite for understanding denotative or literal meanings of the text. Reading between the lines helps the translator to grasp connotative, intended or contextual meanings, whereas reading beyond the lines helps him/her to work out cultural meanings of words.

3.2.2 Syntactic manipulation

Singh defines creativity as "new permutations and combinations" ((2010: 46). Translational creativity can thus be defined as the different ways of arranging words and combining sentences in the text so as to arouse dramatic effect in readers. The transwriter can manipulate words within a sentence, and sentences across their boundaries. Syntactic manipulation involves, among others, permutation of word order, sentence-joining and sentence-splitting. These syntactic operations bring about shifts in word order and structures of sentences. Sentence-splitting involves the change of sentence boundaries by rendering one sentence with two or more, whereas sentence-joining renders one sentence into two or more sentences (Frankenberg-Garcia, 2017). Permutation refers to the process whereby the transwriter changes source word order in the TT.

Transwriters normally tend to take a sentence as a unit of translation (Newmark, 1998). Accordingly, they often translate sentence by sentence, maintaining syntactic parallelism between ST and TT. However, they should feel free to split or join

sentences when complex and compound sentences need to be split into simple sentences for clarity, or combine simple sentences to tighten them up in the TT.

Sentence-joining and sentence-splitting reflect creativity in textual regeneration at the syntactic level. Rather than slavishly following sentence boundaries of the ST, the transwriter can join simple sentences to form complex or compound sentences or split complex or compound sentences into simple ones or even extract a chunk from the sentence and rewrite it as a clause or simple sentence. The use of such syntactic operations across sentences, however, should be contextually justified. The transwriter should take care of the writer's style before employing these operations. Consider the following extract from Parijat's *anido pahād-sangai* and its English translation *Under the Sleepless Mountain*:

Case 5

ST (Nepali): purwi nepāl-mā janmeki candrakāntā-le āphno agyān awasthā-mā nai pariwār-sanga muglān pasnu paryo. muglān-mā durgati bhayo, ṭuhuri bhai, ekli bhai, dukha pāi, pacāsaun haṇḍar khāera taruni bhai, thuprai-thuprai logne-māch-haru-le us-lāi sosan gare, hepe. (2073 B. S. : 22)

TT1 (English): Chandrakanta [...] was born in eastern Nepal and had had to migrate to India to seek employment at a very early age. There in India, as an orphan girl, she had been exploited and dominated. She had experienced many misfortunes in life, and yet she had grown up into a lovely young woman. (Parijat, 2007:27)

This translation evinces two types of syntactic manipulation. The first involves rewriting of a phrase as an independent clause and the second is merging of independent clauses into a complex sentence. As to the first type, the transwriter has separated the infinitival phrase *purwi nepāl-mā janmeki* (literally: born in the eastern Nepal) from the sentence and rewritten it as an independent clause as *Chandrakanta was born in the eastern Nepal*. Moreover, the first simple sentence is split into a compound sentence coordinated by *and*. Here, the transwriter is inclined to the

simplification process. The rest of the sentences have undergone the reverse syntactic operation i.e. joining or merging of clauses. Consequently, English sentences read more complex than their source counterparts. There are seven short sentences (or independent clauses) separated by commas, which have been written as two compound sentences. Moreover, the independent clause *tuhuri bhai* (literally: she became an orphan) has been reduced to a verbless clause *as an orphan girl*. This extract reveals the use of creative license in the regeneration the ST in the TL. Despite this, the free manipulation of source sentences in the TL is questionable. First, this translation stresses the content at the expense of the structure of the ST. The use of short and simple sentences (independent clauses) in the ST seems to be stylistically motivated, and the structural shift has caused shift in the author's style. In principle, the transwriter is not supposed to distort the style that the writer has used in the text. Source sentences are fast-flowing, energetic and draw readers' attention to different untoward events happened to the protagonist one after another. Consider the following translation of the second sentence:

TT2 (English): She lived a wretched life in the foreign land; she became an orphan; she came of age, suffering all sorts of adversity; many a man exploited her, oppressed her, bullied her. (My translation)

This translation stresses both content and structure of the ST. Seven simple sentences or independent clauses have been rewritten as six sentences, separated by semi-colons. There is one instance of sentence-joining wherein the fourth sentence has been reduced to a free adjunct (*suffering all sorts of adversity*). The purpose of comparing TT1 and TT2 is to shed light on the fact that the transwriter should manipulate structures of sentences only when it is necessary to break or join the sentences.

3.2.3 Text organization

Text stands for a group of sentences which are linguistically cohesive and semantically coherent. It requires translators to possess linguistic creativity i.e. awareness of how linguistic and textual resources can be best handled to produce

the text that achieves the rhetorical goals intended by the ST. Textual resources subsume mainly thematic structure, rhetorical structure and informational structure. It also requires the transwriter to use the linguistic devices such as reference, substitution and ellipsis, conjunction (Baker, 2011). Composing a cohesive text in the TL is a daunting task even for experienced translators, let alone novices. It becomes more daunting mainly when we are translating from the mother tongue to the other tongue. Consider the following English translation and its Nepali source to see the translator's manipulation of linguistic and textual resources:

Case 6

ST (Nepali): tuwālo lāgnu-parne chyānga tārāmaṅḍal dekhincha. chyānga hunu-parne rāt-mā huri calcha. khai ke bhayo ke bhayo samaya sāl . man-man-mā dohoryāudai ghyabariṅ buḍā-le ekpalṭa ākās-tira heryo ra sulphā tānyo. ākās-mā kālā bādal-kā lolā-haru maḍaridai thie, hāwā narāmro-sānga ghisriera calirahe-ko thiyo. ghar cheuchāukā amliso ghāri, kewārā-kā jhāṅ-haru syārsyārti bajthe. yo ekāki buḍā-ko man jastai birāno thiyo. (Parijat, 2073 B. S.:5)

TT (English): Deeply absorbed in thought, Ghyabring, an old man, looked up at the sky while smoking his pipe, "What an unpredictable time of year!" he thought. "The sky is filled with twinkling stars instead of being misty, and then the wind blows and clouds gather suddenly, when the sky should be clear."

Clouds covered the sky, the wind was really howling. Around the houses, brown pine shrubs, twisted into screw shapes by years of wind, were stirring. But the night seemed like a friendly stranger in his loneliness. (Parijat, 2007: 9)

This is an extract from the opening paragraph of the novel, which, when compared with the ST, reveals the transwriter's free manipulation of source linguistic and textual resources in the TL. Here are some of the pieces of evidence to attest this observation. First, the single paragraph has been presented into two paragraphs in English. Second, the sentences in the ST are rearranged in the TT. The first sentence, for example, *tuwālo*

lāgnu-parne chyānga tārāmaṅḍal dekhincha (literally: *The sky is open and starry when it is supposed to be hazy*) appears at the end of the first paragraph (*The sky is filled with twinkling stars instead of being misty*), whereas the English translation opens with the third sentence of the Nepali text i.e. *man-man-mā dohoryāudai ghyabariṅ buḍā-le ekpalṭa ākās-tira heryo ra sulphā tānyo* (*Deeply absorbed in thought, Ghyabring, an old man, looked up at the sky while smoking his pipe*). Third, the transwriter has introduced inverted commas in the English version to present the character's monologue. Fourth, there are cases of merging of two Nepali sentences into single English sentences. Consequently, the English text reads more complex than its Nepali counterpart in terms of textual organization. Fourth, there are more cases of coordinating and subordinating in the TT than in the ST.

At the textual level, the transwriter has taken the content from the ST and rewritten it almost freely in English. Otherwise stated, the ST is broken and reorganized in the TL. At this juncture, one may raise a question as to this type of manipulation of ST in the TL— To what extent is the transwriter free to bring about shifts at the textual level? There is no definite answer to this question. However, the transwriter should awaken to the fact that he/she is free, but not too free to deviate from the ST organization. Such deviation might distort the writer's style and rhetorical goals. Any textual level shift should be justified by the context. Wherever we come across the shifts, we can ask the questions— Is it because the ST is not coherently organized? Is it because the translator thinks that the ST needs to be reorganized in the TL to ensure better communication with the readers? Viewed from this perspective, the shifts in the above translation do not seem so justifiable.

4. Conclusion

More than the reproduction of surface form and meaning of the ST, literary translation is a complex process of regenerating the given text in a novel form that involves the analysis of layers of meaning and rewriting them in the TL. During the regenerative process, the given text undergoes mutation, particularly at linguistic and textual

levels. Freeing oneself from mechanical reproduction, the transwriter has to adjust the ST creatively in the TL, which calls for, among others, addition, deletion and permutation. Moreover, the transwriter often comes up with a number of alternative words in the TL for the single source word. In such a situation, he/she has to take into account of denotative and connotative meanings of words and choose the target word that closely matches the meanings objectively conveyed by the words and subjectively implied by their context. The textual regenerative process is also characterized by shifts at syntactic and textual levels. Syntactic shifts can be brought about by means of syntactic operations such as sentence-joining and sentence-splitting, whereas ST clauses or sentences can be arranged in different order to bring out textual shifts. It means the transwriter can use his/her creative license to manipulate source linguistic and textual resources. However, while manipulating, he/she should not deviate from the content, style and rhetorical goal of the ST.

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A PRELIMINARY SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NUBRI VALLEY*

Cathryn Donohue

This paper reports results of a preliminary sociolinguistic survey that was carried out in Nubri Valley. Interviews were taken with people from throughout the valley. Some of the main findings are described here. The Nubri-perceived differences in dialect intelligibility and social status are discussed as well as the overall language vitality in the context of evolving social practices and observed language shift in the younger generations.

Keywords: language practices, language attitudes, sociolinguistic survey, language vitality, Nubri

1. Nubri valley

Nubri Valley is situated in northern-central Nepal in upper Gorkha district of Gandaki zone in Nepal. Said to have been settled by Tibetans some four hundred years ago (Childs 2004), this *beyul*, or ‘hidden valley’ is home to the *Nubripa*, or Nubri people. Most Nubris speak the Nubri language (iso 639-3 kte), though in the Kutang area, Kuke is spoken, and in the more recently settled Samdo village in the north-west, the villagers speak a language almost certain to be a dialect of Kyirong Tibetan. While Tibetan remains the liturgical language and the language of traditional festivals, younger generations are increasingly using Nepali, even between themselves, as more are going to Kathmandu for schooling where Nepali is the medium of instruction and of the playground. As the national language Nepali carries prestige, but it is also the language of the screen and contemporary songs, and a language symbolic of economic opportunity and modernity. Further, government teachers and health assistants assigned to the area typically do not speak Nubri, resulting in widening domains of potential language attrition.

There are approximately 2000 people across Nubri Valley (Simons & Fenig 2018), with roughly 800 located in Samagaun (or Sama village), the largest of the Nubri.¹ There are

reportedly 500 monolingual speakers of Nubri in the valley, though it is unclear how many of the 2000 speak primarily Nubri, nor is it clear how different the varieties of Nubri are. Ethnologue reports four main dialects (Sama, Lho, Namrung and Prok), though it is universally accepted in Nubri valley that the dialect spoken in Samagaun is the most distinct from other varieties, which my fieldwork has confirmed. With the exception of a couple of short word lists, and a recently published lexicon (Dhakal 2018), Nubri remains largely undescribed and undocumented. However, growing interest in the variety has resulted in more recent studies, including a detailed account of case marking (Donohue 2018, Donohue 2019) and tone (C.Donohue & M.Donohue 2019; M.Donohue & C.Donohue 2019), and the grammatical use of tone (Donohue 2020).

The data presented here are the result of a preliminary survey carried out in Nubri valley in May 2018, sampling 33 speakers.

2. Survey methodology

The survey consisted of a printed two-page (four-column) sheet of questions for the speakers. The surveys were undertaken in Nubri Valley, in Nubri language. The participants were asked a range of questions about the language that fell under a few main categories which I outline below. Some of the questions were inspired by a previous survey of Manang (Hildebrandt et al. 2015; Hildebrandt & Hu 2017).

The first section asked about their personal details to see how they identified in terms of linguistic proficiency and the extent of travel out of the

the surveys. I would also like to express my gratitude to Research Services, the Faculty of Arts, and the Knowledge Exchange Office at the University of Hong Kong for grants that have supported this work including numerous field trips to Nepal. Thanks also to Mark Donohue for comments on an earlier draft.

¹Thanks to Ula Jigme Tsewang of Samagaun (personal communication) for this estimate.

* This work would not have been possible without the help of Nyima Samdup who helped administer some of

valley as a possible influencing factor on their language choices. They were asked for their clan identification, name/age/gender and their relative linguistic proficiencies with languages typically found in the area including Nubri, Nepali, Tibetan, English, Kuke and “other” (to be specified). They had to indicate their self-assessment on a five-point scale from ‘fluent’ to ‘not at all’. It also sought information about where they live or have lived and for how long, and whether they travel out of the valley and if so, where they travelled to, for how long they went each time, and how often they travelled out of the valley.

The second part of the survey went into the family background to determine the exposure the participant had to different languages in the home and potentially to the influence of languages used in the parent’s background or education that might have influenced the participant’s language practices, especially during their formative years. They were asked what languages the parents and siblings spoke, the educational background of the parents and their occupations, what languages the participant spoke at home with parents/siblings/relatives.

The third part of the survey asked about their current home life to establish current linguistic influences: whether they were married, whether they had children, and the languages spoken at home now and as part of their daily life.

The fourth part of the survey enquired about their educational background, continuing to address the potential role of language contact: how many years of formal education, the medium of instruction, and where it took place, additionally addressing what their current occupation is and what languages are used at work and so forth.

The fifth part of the survey focused on linguistic variation and intelligibility to try to establish, from a Nubri perspective, how different the various dialects are from one another. The participants were given a list of key villages in Nubri Valley, and were asked to identify where they thought Nubri was spoken regularly, where people spoke exactly like them, where Nubri was spoken the ‘most purely’, where was the best place to learn Nubri, and in which villages did the

locals speak differently to them. Additionally, they were asked to identify the degree to which they typically understood a speaker from each of the identified villages from a list of choices (a five-point scale, as with their own linguistic proficiencies).

The final section focused on issues of language vitality to get a sense of the attitudes towards the language. It consisted of a set of open-ended questions. The participants were asked if they felt Nubri was important to their culture, or to them personally, whether they thought children will keep learning Nubri, and whether that was important to them. Further they were asked to share what they thought could be done to encourage Nubri to be spoken by future generations, and finally what it means (to them) to be a Nubri. The questionnaire is included as an appendix to this paper.

3. Main results

The survey responses were interesting, with a few key points standing out that I will identify below. In this paper I focus on the issues of mutual intelligibility and how the Nubri negotiate their linguistic interactions.

As noted, Nubri Valley encompasses more than just the Nubri-speaking area: it includes Samdo in the northwest and Kuke-speaking villages in Kutang in the southeast.

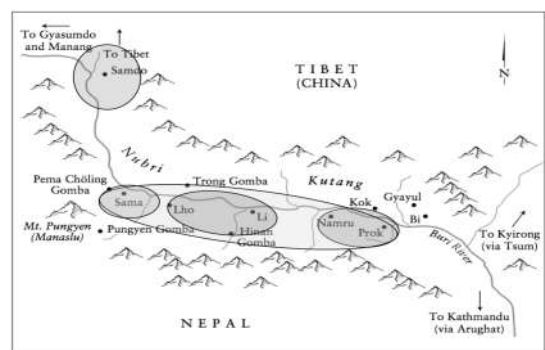


Figure 1. Location of identifiable dialect and language areas in Nubri Valley.

Figure 1 situates the varieties on a map, identifying Samdo in the northwest, three main dialect areas inside Nubri valley (Sama, Lho, Prok). The rest of Kutang in the south-east (of

which Nubri-speaking Prok is technically a part) speaks Kuke.

One result that is immediately apparent is the perception of relative prestige of the different Nubri varieties/languages depending on the home village/native variety of the participant.

As shown in Figure 2, Kuke is uniformly perceived as a low prestige language, both from within as well as without.

Tibetan, as the liturgical language, retains a high prestige status, while Nepali has a middling prestige. This may well change as the shift towards Nepali in the younger generation continues, and not just as a growing tendency to be schooled in Kathmandu. For many people, Kathmandu has become a year-round residence for the promise of greater socio-economic opportunities.

Within the Nubri varieties, Sama dialect perceives itself as having high prestige, though this is not shared outside the village. The effect this has on negotiating linguistic interactions is discussed later.

Conversely, no other villages perceive their own varieties as having ‘high prestige’, but from outside villagers, Lho variety was perceived as the most prestigious. From within, both Prok and Lho villagers perceived their own varieties as having ‘middle prestige’, but from outside, Prok variety is thought of as low prestige. This sits with another asymmetry we will see later in Figure 4 and related discussions that Prok identifies with the Lho variety, but speakers from Lho claim that they do not speak exactly the same in Prok village. These results are summarized in Figure 2a and represented graphically in Figure 2b.

Language	Self-perception	Others' perception
Samdo	Middle	Low
Sama	High	Middle
Lho	Middle	High
Prok	Middle	Low
Kuke	Low	Low
Tibetan		High
Nepali		Middle

Figure 2a. Perception of prestige of different varieties spoken in Nubri Valley.

This sense of prestige bears directly on the language choices made in linguistic interactions.

Everyone speaks Sama Nubri with people from Sama, and people from Sama speak Sama variety with Nubris across the valley. This unwillingness to accommodate fits with the sense of high prestige the Sama villagers have of their variety, and the knowledge from the outside that the Sama people are (consequently) not very proficient in other varieties.

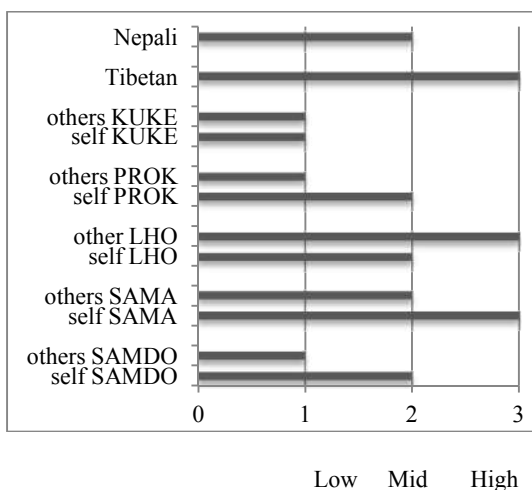


Figure 2b. Bar chart of local dialect perceived prestige in Nubri Valley.

The villagers from Samdo, aside from accommodating to Sama Nubri with nearby Sama villagers, will speak Tibetan outside their home village (or Nepali, if they can, further afield in lower Nubri/Kutang). Similarly, those from outside Samdo will use either Tibetan or Sama Nubri to talk to the Samdo villagers.

The Lho villagers will use Tibetan or Sama Nubri to talk to the Sama/Samdo villagers north of them, but Lho variety throughout the rest of the valley. This situation is reciprocated from others around the valley in interactions.

Prok villagers similarly speak Tibetan or Sama Nubri with Samdo/Sama villagers, Lho variety with those from Lho and Prok variety with their own villagers and in Kutang. This is also true of

how others perceive their interactions with the Prok villagers.

The Kuke villages in Kutang will speak Tibetan with those from Samdo, and Prok Nubri throughout the rest of the Nubri speaking part of the valley, Kuke in the Kuke villages in Kutang. Other villages from outside the Kuke speaking area will speak their own variety of Nubri or Nepali with Kuke speakers.

	Samdo	Sama	Lho	Prok	Kuke
Samdo	Samdo	Sama	Tibetan	Tibetan/ Nepali	Tibetan/ Nepali
Sama	Sama	Sama	Sama/ Tibetan	Sama	Sama/ Nepali
Lho	Tibetan/ Sama	Sama	Lho	Lho	Lho/ Nepali
Prok	Tibetan/ Sama	Sama	Lho	Prok	Prok/ Nepali
Kuke	Tibetan	Prok	Prok	Prok	Kuke

Figure 3. Language of preferred communication

The data reported above from the survey is also reflected in the sense of perceived intelligibility of neighboring varieties of Nubri as shown in Figure 4.

Listener	Speaker		
	Sama	Lho	Prok
Sama	100%	93%	89%
Lho	67%	100%	95%
Prok	58%	100%	100%

Figure 4a. Reported intelligibility between Nubri varieties.

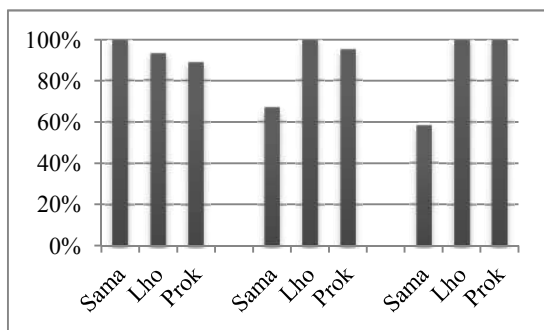


Figure 4b. Bar chart of reported intelligibility of main Nubri varieties (clustered along the x-axis) by speakers of these different villages indicated by the name of their home village at the top of each cluster).

The Lho villagers basically understand Prok Nubri, but only about two-thirds of what Sama Nubri speakers are saying. While all Nubris basically understand the Lho variety very well.

As noted the Sama variety is only understood about two-thirds of the time by Lho villagers, and even less by those from Prok. Indeed, at only a reported 58% intelligibility rate for Prok villagers listening to Sama Nubri, it raises the question of whether they are indeed different dialects of different languages. The Sama people claim to understand Prok variety at a much higher rate. However, it is important to recall that the Sama villagers typically chose to interact with other Nubris from around the valley in *Sama dialect*, so it is perhaps not surprising that they have a greater sense of intelligibility, or that the results appear one-sided, because the communicative situations are one-sided.

These results are somewhat consistent with the reported lexical similarities for the different varieties, as shown in Figure 5 (Webster 1992). It is clear that Prok variety is more different from Sama Nubri than Lho variety, but 25 years later, it seems that Prok and Lho varieties are more similar to each other now, than either is to Sama variety. With Sama's strong sense of identity it is perhaps not surprising that they may be evolving differently to the rest of Nubri varieties. It is also perhaps not surprising that Prok variety is becoming more similar to that spoken in Lho, with which they claim identity (though those in Lho still find a difference).

	Sama	Lho	Prok
Sama	100%		
Lho	93%	100%	
Prok	78%	79%	100%

Figure 5. Lexical similarities between Nubri varieties (Webster 1992).

4. Discussion

In summary, we see that Samdo is not merely a dialect of Nubri, but rather a separate language. This is not surprising, as it is a relatively recent arrival to the valley (~1961) and is more closely related to nearby Kyirong Tibetan.

Within Nubri there appear to be three main dialects:

Samagaun, as the largest village, has the greatest self-perceived sense of prestige. Although this perception of prestige is not shared throughout the valley, it does impact how they choose to negotiate communications through a relative lack of accommodation.

Lho variety appears to approximate a 'standard' dialect for Nubri being the most readily understood variety by Nubris from throughout the valley. Lho dialect is uniformly seen as a good place for learning 'pure' Nubri. This may be due to an attitude towards the variety, but it may also be due to the fact that there is the big Ripum monastery in Lho, so the notion of purity may be due to the relatively large number of monks living there.

Prok speakers think of their own variety as being roughly the same as the variety spoken in Lho. However, it is quite different as seen through the relative intelligibility (especially as perceived from without) and lexical similarities. Its differences are most likely due to its location in Kutang surrounded by Kuke speaking villages and the inevitable language contact.

5. Concluding remarks

This paper is the first report of a valley-wide survey. Although only a preliminary study it establishes the broad strokes of the linguistic landscape in Nubri Valley, previously only hinted at in the context of dialectal comparisons of specific topics (e.g. case marking, see Donohue 2018, 2019).

It establishes that there are three main dialects, and discusses how these varieties are different and, crucially, how they are evolving.

The Nubri identity is complex: ethnically Tibetan, politically Nepalese, they look to Kathmandu as a centre for socio-economic opportunities. More and more children go to Kathmandu for schooling, forgoing Tibetan schools of Dharamsala in India and other purely Tibetan options.

With these evolving socio-cultural practices come changing linguistic practices. Nubri is seen as the

language of tradition, a tradition represented by the poor subsistence farming lifestyle with little or no connection to modernity or potential for prosperity. Perhaps through the influx of technology through smart phones, the somewhat disgruntled youth are looking for greater opportunities outside the valley that further threatens the vitality of the language. Already 'definitely endangered' according to UNESCO definitions (UNESCO 2003), the current practices suggest the need for language maintenance work, with a focus on boosting its usage in the younger population. Indeed, the future of the language lies with this demographic. To this end, I recently carried out discussion about orthographic possibilities with a range of speakers of all ages from around the valley and hope to be able to introduce a community-endorsed writing system soon.

Sample survey to follow as appendix

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Nubri Language Survey • May 2018 (NS)

Cathryn Donohue, HKU Linguistics

Location: _____

Date: _____

Thank you for participating in this study about Nubri language. Your name will not appear in the study unless you want to be identified.

Do you agree to be recorded, or video-ed? **Yes/No**Do you want to be identified in the study? **Yes/No**

Do you agree to have the recordings made available:

- In an academic setting only? **Yes/No**- Publically available? (including online) **Yes/No****A. General information**

1. What is your name? _____

2. With which clan do you identify? _____

3. How old are you? _____ Male/Female

4. What is your mother tongue?

5. What languages can you speak:

Nubri:

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Nepali:

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Tibetan:

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

English:

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Kuke:

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Gurung:

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Ghale:

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Other: _____

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

What languages do you speak in normal daily life?

Nubri: Always a lot somewhat a little neverNepali: Always a lot somewhat a little neverTibetan: Always a lot somewhat a little neverEnglish: Always a lot somewhat a little neverOther: _____ Always a lot somewhat a little6. Where were you born and how long did you live there? _____
_____7. How often do you travel outside your village?
_____8. Where do you typically go, for what purpose?
_____9. Which months do you usually travel in?
_____10. Do you use Facebook or messaging apps? **Y/N**

11. What language(s) do you use in this context?

Nubri:

Always a lot somewhat a little never

Nepali:

always a lot somewhat a little never

Tibetan:

Always a lot somewhat a little never

English:

always a lot somewhat a little never

Other: _____

Always a lot somewhat a little never**B. Family background**1. Are your parents living now? **Y/N**Mother/Female parent:

What village was your mother from? _____

What is her mother tongue? _____

What languages does/did she speak:

Nubri

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Nepali

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Tibetan

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

English

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Other? _____

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

How much education did she have? _____

What does/did she do? _____

Father/Male parent:

What village was your father from? _____

What is his mother tongue? _____

What languages does/did your father speak:

Nubri

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Nepali

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Tibetan

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

English

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

Other? _____

fluently very well somewhat not much not at all

How much education did he have? _____

What does/did he do? _____

Do you have any siblings? Are you the eldest, youngest or in the middle?

When you were a child, what language(s) did you speak with your siblings? (Always?/ a lot?/ sometimes?)

When you were a child, what language(s) did you speak with your friends? (Always?/ a lot?/ sometimes?)

C. Current situation

- 1. Are you married? Y/N
 - 2. Do you have any children? Y/N
 - 3. Who lives at home with you?
- _____

4. What language(s) do you mostly speak with your spouse? _____

With your children? _____

5. What language(s) do you speak with your friends? _____

D. Work and education

1. Did you have formal education as a child? **Y/N**

2. In what language? _____

4. Did you use any other language(s) at school? N/Y: _____

5. How many years (what levels) of formal education did you receive? _____

6. Where did you study? _____

7. What is your current occupation?

8. What languages do you use at work?

E. Variation and intelligibility

In which Nubri village(s) is Nubri spoken regularly?

Samdo Sama Lho Li Namrung Prok Other:

In which Nubri village(s) do people speak exactly like you?

Samdo Sama Lho Li Namrung Prok Other:

In your opinion, in which village(s) in Nubri is spoken most purely? _____

In which Nubri village(s) do people speak a little differently from you?

Samdo Sama Lho Li Namrung Prok

Other: _____

If someone wants to learn Nubri which is the best village for them to go to? _____

How well do you understand someone speaking Nubri from:

Prok always a lot somewhat a little never

Namrung always a lot somewhat a little never

Li always a lot somewhat a little never

Lho always a lot somewhat a little never

Sama always a lot somewhat a little never

Samdo always a lot somewhat a little never

Kutang always a lot somewhat a little never

Other suggested village(s): _____

always a lot somewhat a little never

F. Language vitality: (ideally recorded as well as a summarized response)

1. Is your mother tongue important to your culture?

2. Is keeping your mother tongue important to you?

3. Do you think children will keep learning Nubri?

4. Should children be forced to learn Nubri? **Y/N**

5. Is it important to you that children continue to speak Nubri?

6. What could be done to encourage Nubri to continue to be spoken by future generations?

7. What does it mean to you to be a Nubripa?

Thank you for your help; it is very important to us. If you have any questions, please contact Cathryn Donohue: www.facebook.com/donohue

THE COMPLEXITY OF TONE IN NUBRI

Cathryn Donohue & Mark Donohue

This paper introduces the tonal system of the amagaun dialect of Nubri. We first present an introduction to linguistic tone, with a focus on tone as it is found in Tibetan languages, before moving on to describe the tones in Samagaun Nubri monosyllables and disyllabic expressions. We conclude that the tonal system in Nubri cannot be accounted for by exclusive reference to Tibetan languages. The implication is that contact with a non-Tibetan language has played a significant role in the history of the language.

Keywords: tone, prosody, Sama, Nubri, Tibetan

1. Introduction to linguistic tone

Tone is typically conceived of as specifications of pitch in the lexicon; all languages make use of pitch in the construction of intonation contours, but most languages do not specify pitch at a lexical level. In many languages linguistic tone can be thought of as more than simply pitch contrasts, with other phonetic parameters (e.g. non-modal phonation types, coincidental vowel changes (see ex. Donohue 2012; Donohue 2014) contributing to the prosodic contrasts. However, auditory pitch contrasts, not predictable from linguistic information outside the lexicon, are a necessary defining feature of tone. That is, some of these ‘secondary cues’ become regularized such that differences in the segmental phonology may predict the realization of a certain pitch contour, such as a low pitch with voiced plosives, falling pitch with creaky phonation, or low (rising) pitch with breathy phonation (see, for example, Garellek et al. 2013, and others). Cross-linguistically there is a large variation in how tone is realized (see, for example, Fromkin 1978; Maddieson 1978; Yip 1989, 2002; Donohue 1997). It may vary in terms of the height and shape of the contrasts, or the domain in which tone is realized or contrasted.

Different features are used to describe tone, typically referring to relative pitch height. Table 1 summarizes the different systems that have been used to describe differences in pitch height.

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Table 1. Tone feature representations

High (H)	5	[+upper]	[+high]
	4		[-high]
Mid (M)	3		
	2	[-upper]	[+high]
Low (L)	1		[-high]

The number and complexity of tonal contrasts varies between languages. There are languages with very small systems of tone contrast, and of these the majority include a contrast of H(igh) vs. L(ow); this is found in 87% of tonal languages with only a two-way contrast in tone. Some other examples of contrasts in very small tone systems include contour tones, where pitch is not constant at a particular (specified) height, but moves from one level to another. Attested contrasts in languages with only two contrasts are listed in (1).

(1) Tone contrasts in languages with only two tones other than H vs. L.

- High pitch vs. Falling pitch H vs. HL
- High pitch vs. Rising pitch H vs. LH
- Falling pitch vs. Rising pitch HL vs. LH
- Falling vs. Dipping HL vs. HLH
- High falling vs. Low falling HM vs. ML

While the systems above are the smallest possible (attested) tone systems, there are also languages with much larger systems of tonal contrasts, such as Wobé (Kru; Côte d'Ivoire, Africa), which has reportedly 14 different contrastive pitch contours (Beard & Link 1980).

As noted another way in which tone languages vary is the domain over which the pitch contours contrast, or are realized. This can be the mora, the syllable, the foot, the word, the phrase and so on. Nepal represents a part of the world where a modally non-tonal linguistic ecology, the South Asian plains and their linguistic extension into the Nepalese hills, meets a modally tonal linguistic ecology, attested in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of more northern parts of Nepal, including the Tibetan languages.

2. Tone in Tibetan

Tibetan languages in the Central group have developed tone. There are three main dialect groups in Tibetan, and tone is only present in the Central Tibetan languages, and some south-eastern (Khams) languages. The Tibetan languages of Baltistan, Ladakh and Leh, and of the Amdo group, are not tonal.



Figure 1. Regions where main Tibetan dialect groups are spoken in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China.

The degree of tonality found in the Central and south-eastern languages varies. The different tonality is typically ascribed to there being tonogenesis in Central Tibetan dialects, none in Western and North-eastern varieties, and the South-eastern dialects having multiple tonogenesis events (see, amongst others, Zhang 1987; Caplow 2009).

This fact of having multiple tonogenetic events has led to great variety in Central Tibetan. A sample of languages, representing the different tone systems found in different Central Tibetan languages, is shown in (2) (Lhasa Tibetan: Duanmu 1992; Shigatse: Haller 2000; Dingri: Herrmann 1989; Denjongkha: Yliniemi 2005; Drokpa: Kretschmar 1986; Sherpa: Kelly 2004; Kyirong: Huber 2005; Sherpa (Hile): Graves 2007; Dzongkha: van Driem & Tshering 1998). These same contrasts are represented graphically in Figure 2.

(2) Tone systems in Central Tibetan languages

- i. Lhasa Tibetan:
H vs. LH
- ii. Shigatse, Dingri:
upper H vs. HM, lower M vs. ML
- iii. Denjongka, Drokpa, Sherpa:
H vs. L
- iv. Kyirong:
H, M, L
- v. Sherpa (Hile)
H, HM, L, LM
- vi. Dzongkha
H, L, MH, ML

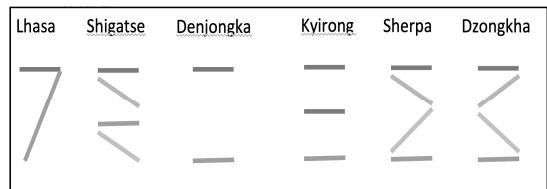


Figure 2. Schematic representation of tonal contrasts in six Tibetan varieties

In polysyllabic words, there is no variation in the Central Tibetan varieties. In Lhasa Tibetan we observe one of the two patterns shown in Figure 2, regardless of the monosyllabic contrasts, and this is true of other Central Tibetan varieties for which data has been reported as well. In other words, the variation in tonal behaviour in Central Tibetan languages hinges on the variation in number and type of contrasts in monosyllabic words, while polysyllabic words present the same system across languages.



Figure 3. Tonal contrasts in polysyllables in Lhasa Tibetan

3. Nubri language

Nubri is a valley in northern Gorkha district, and is home to a culture that identifies as ethnically

Tibetan. Nubri is spoken roughly between Prok and Samagaun villages as shown in Figure 4. It has been described as a Tibetan variety (e.g. Dhakal 2018) and has a number of Tibetan ‘shibboleths’ (LaPolla 2012; Tournadre 2014) which characterize the Central Tibetan languages are true of a description of Nubri as well. Some of these are listed in (3); the list in Tournadre 2014 is largely attested in Nubri, as are the characteristics listed by LaPolla as typical of Tibetan varieties).

(3) Tibetanisms in (Samagaun) Nubri

- a. khyo ‘2SG’, < *khyot
- b. kho ‘3SG.M’, < *kho
- c. dyn ‘seven’, < *bdun

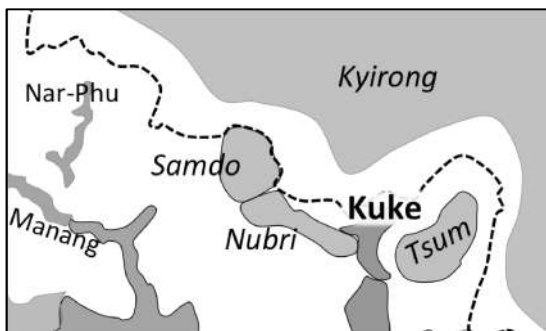


Figure 4. Linguistic map identifying the region where Nubri is spoken in northern Nepal.

There is documented diversity within Nubri with at least three clear dialect groups emerging as partitioned in Figure 5, which crucially separates Samdo in the north, which is much closer to Kyirong Tibetan and Kwak, Bihi and others in the Kutang region in the east where Kuke is spoken. (see Donohue 2019 (this volume) for results from a recent sociolinguistic survey). This dialectal diversity has been discussed elsewhere in a different linguistic context (e.g. Donohue 2018).

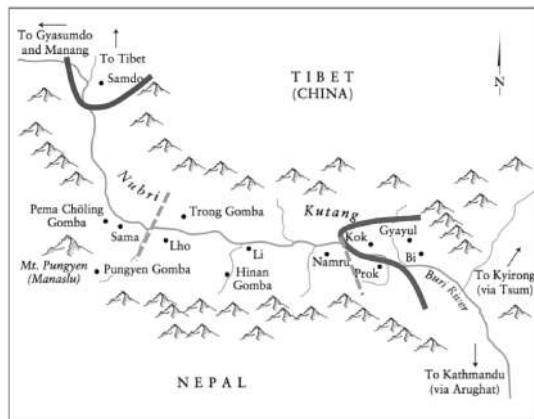


Figure 5. The major dialectal divides in Nubri Valley.

4. Tone in Nubri

The data that we draw on here is taken from the dialect spoken in Sama village (known locally as *Hrö*). Given its position in the upper Nubri valley, there is less influence from Kuke in the lexicon than is found in more eastern varieties. Given the position away from the large monasteries in Lho, we do not see as much (Plateau) Tibetan lexical or morphological influences either.

There are five tonal contrasts on monosyllables in Samagaun Nubri. The first two we could characterize as high falling vs a high level tone:

- (4) Tonal contrasts:
- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| high falling: [tɕ ⁵³] | ‘horse’ |
| ~high level: [tɕ ⁴⁵] ~ [tɕ ⁴⁴] | ‘tiger’ |

A H vs. HM contrasting tonal system is widely attested in Ü-Tsang Central Tibetan varieties outside Lhasa. For example, this pair of tones is reported to contrast in descriptions of Shigatse (Haller 2000), Dingri (Herrmann 1989), and Dzongkha (van Driem & Tshering 1998; Watters 1996, Downs 2011), so this is in some sense an expected contrast. Indeed, for nearly half of the documented Central Tibetan varieties a two-tone contrast is all of the prosodic material present, though it is more frequently two level tones. Nubri presents a more complicated case, however. In addition to the two high (upper register) tones there is a lower register equivalent pair of tones, a mid-level and a mid-fall as shown in (5).

- (5) Register tonal contrasts:
 H vs. HM (44,53)
 matched by
 M vs. ML (33, 21)

This is also not a surprising additional pair of contrasts. It is very natural to find similar contours in upper and lower pitch registers. Furthermore, such systems with paired high and low tones, the latter frequently accompanied by breathy phonation, are attested in (eastern) Tibetan Plateau varieties (Shigatse, Dingri). The closer varieties spoken in the Kyirong area appear to have more elaborate tone systems (Huber 2005), but the data from Nubri present a system quite different from at least the Lende dialect of Kyirong.

There is, however, one more contrastive tone in the Nubri tonal inventory – a rise-fall tone, LML (231). The full set of tonal contrasts are illustrated with near minimal pairs in (6).

(6) Nubri Tonal contrasts:

High:	H	44	[ta ^{44~45}]
	‘tiger’		
High fall:	HM	53	[te ^{53~52}]
	‘horse’		
Mid:	M(ML)	33(2)	[ta ^{33~332}]
	‘tether’		
Low fall:	ML	21	[ta ²¹]
	‘arrow’		
Low convex:	LML	231	[to ^{231~232}]
	‘potato’		

The mean fundamental frequency (f0) contours of a sample of representative tokens of each of these tones are plotted below in Figure 6a. The y-axis shows the frequency (Hz) and the x-axis shows the percentage point of the normalized duration as the contours were measured at 0%, 10%, 20%, 30%, 40%, 50%, 60%, 70%, 80%, 90%, and 100% intervals of token duration to enable sampling at comparable points of the tonal f0 trajectory over

time (for further elaborations on the methodology, please see e.g. C. Donohue 2012, 2013).¹

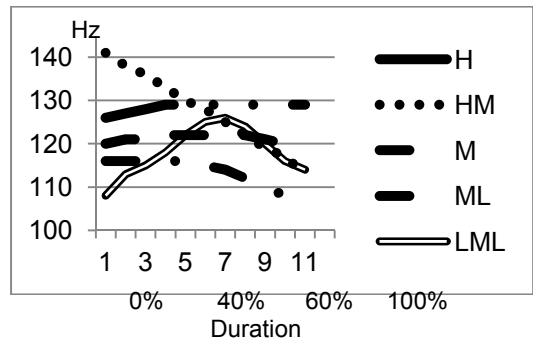


Figure 6a. Five basic tones in Nubri.

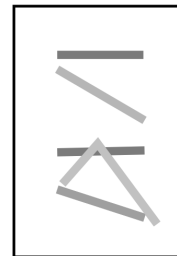


Figure 6b. Schematized Representation of tonal Contrasts in Nubri

The individual elements of the Nubri tone system are not unusual for a Central Tibetan language, if the 231 tone is treated as a LH(L) tone, underlyingly a rise. However, the combination is unprecedented.

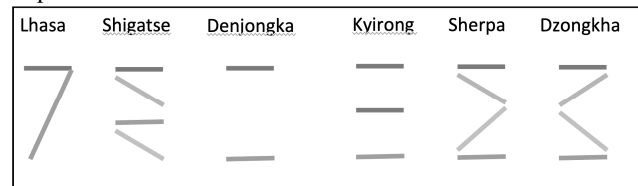


Figure 7. Schema of Central Tibetan tonal contrasts.

Figure 7 shows the different monosyllabic contours attested in different Central Tibetan

¹ Note there are significant differences in duration associated with these tones but for now we are assuming that the f0 is the primary contrastive cue.

languages (not all languages examined are listed, just example languages illustrating the different attested contours).

A great variety of tone systems are found in the Kham Tibetan dialects. Consider the examples in (7) (Dongwang: Bartee 2007; Rangakha: Suzuki 2007; Astong: Suzuki 2010; Cone: Jacques 2014; Brag-g.yab: Schwieger 1989; Rgyalthang: Hongladarom 1996, Wang 1996, Bodrong: Suzuki 2014; Tsharethong: Suzuki 2012; Batang: sKal-bzang 1984; sKobsteng: Suzuki 2013b; Dege: Häsler 1999; Sogpho: Suzuki 2011).

(7) Kham Tibetan

- a. Dongwang:
HM, M, LM
- b. Rangakha, Astong, Cone:
H vs. L
- c. Brag-g.yab:
Ø
- d. Rgyalthang:
H, HL, LM, LML
- e. Bodrong (~Tsharethong, Yangthang, Batang):
H, HM, LH, LML
- f. sKobsteng
H, MH, ML, LML
- g. Dege
H, HM, ML, LM
- h. Sogpho
H, L, HM, LM, LML

These differences are once again represented schematically, shown in Figure 8.

What is striking is the near identity of the Nubri tone system with that of Sogpho, a Kham (South-eastern) Tibetan variety, and the fact that Nubri is quite distinct from a typical Central Tibetan system. We leave this conundrum to future work.

Indeed five tone contrasts on monosyllables has not been reported for any plateau Tibetan language. We do note that the heavily contact-affected Chöchangcakha variety of eastern Bhutan has this number of monosyllabic contrasts, though with different contours (H M L HL LH).

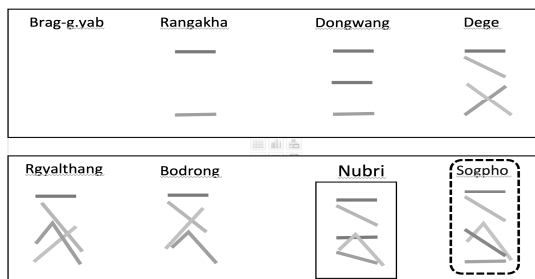


Figure 8. Schematic representation of tonal contrasts in a range of Kham Tibetan languages, plus Nubri.

Let us turn to the tonal patterns in polysyllables. Consider the words given in (8).

(8) Nubri polysyllables:

- [nǔŋ³⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵] ‘bamboo’
 [la⁵⁵ ma²²] ‘remainder’
 [jǔŋ³³ fǔŋ³³] ‘swastika’
 [ne²⁴ ma⁴²] ‘yarn’
 [mo²² mo⁴⁴] ‘dumpling’

We can see that while the shapes are a little different to the contours on monosyllables, five contrasts are nonetheless maintained as schematized in Figure 9.

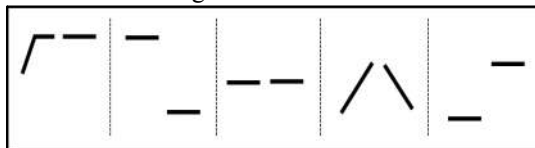


Figure 9. A schematic representation of the five contrastive tonal contours observed in Nubri polysyllables.

Importantly, no combinations other than those listed in (9) (or minor and alternating variants of these contours) are found; it is not possible, for instance, for a disyllabic word to consist of two syllables each with a high-falling tone (that is, *[CV⁵³ CV⁵³], for instance). In other words, the tonal possibilities for disyllabic words are not simply formed by combining separate monosyllables. We can map the polysyllabic contrasts to those found on monosyllables without too much difficulty.

5. Discussion and concluding remarks

It is clear that the tonal system of Nubri is very different from other Tibetan tone systems, particularly Central Tibetan tone systems.

(9) Monosyllabic contrasts:

- Nubri: 5 contrasts
- Tibetan norms: 0, 2, 3, 4 contrasts
- Sogpho: 5 contrasts

As we have seen, crucially the Nubri tonal system is not just unusual in its number of contrasts on monosyllables, it is also distinct in preserving the same number of contrasts in polysyllables, something not elsewhere attested in Tibetan languages.

(10) Polysyllabic tonal contrasts

- Nubri: five contrasts preserved on disyllables
- Tibetan norms: contrasts reduced to two: H vs LH²
- Tamangic norms: three or four contrasts
- Ghale: five contrasts

The Nubri tonal system is clearly different from most other Tibetan varieties; indeed, the system is more similar in many ways to non-Tibetan languages to the south, such as Ghale or Gurung. The only area in the Tibetosphere in which the monosyllabic contrasts carry over to polysyllabic words is at the eastern edge of the Khams region (e.g., Suzuki 2012).

Given that tonogenesis in Central Tibetan is not uniform, it is perhaps more likely to show convergence from multiple non-tonal sources than to represent divergence from a common tonogenetic innovation.

We conclude that the history of tone in Nubri cannot be accounted for by exclusive reference to Tibetan languages. The implication is that contact with a non-Tibetan language has played a significant role in the history of the language. A

² We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that Lhasa Tibetan marks tone on the first syllable of a polysyllabic word, so is quite a different system.

detailed etymological study of the development of Old Tibetan or Classical Tibetan words will be needed to fully understand.

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PATTERNS OF SOUND CHANGE IN DEORI AND DIMASA*

Monali Longmailai & Jonali Saikia

This paper compares the two cognate Tibeto-Burman languages, Deori and Dimasa, in terms of sound change patterns in certain class of lexical items. In this regard, it discusses the noun categorization devices besides the counting system, some morphological features and the use of borrowing present in these languages. The paper, thereby, studies briefly their sociolinguistic context of language loss and retention.

Keywords: Deori, Dimasa, Bodo-Garo, language use and context

1. Introduction

Deori and Dimasa belong to the Bodo sub-group of the Bodo-Garo languages from the Tibeto-Burman language family. Deori is spoken in the northern and eastern parts of Assam, mainly, the districts of Sonitpur, Lakhimpur, Dhemaji, and few others (nearly 28,000 people according to 2001 census), whereas Dimasa is spoken in the central and southern parts, i.e. Hojai, Karbi Anglong, Dima Hasao and Cachar districts in Assam and Dimapur district in Nagaland (100,000 approximately according to 2001 census).¹ The number of speakers is less than the number of people in case of Deori, while it is equal in Dimasa.² While Deori is definitely endangered, Dimasa is vulnerably endangered as can be estimated from the UNESCO Report. There have been few works on both the languages among which, these are significant: descriptive grammar

of Deori and Dimasa by Jacquesson (2005, 2008), Nath's sound change on Deori (2012), Singh's (2001) Dimasa phonology and morphology, and Longmailai's (2014) Morphosyntax of Dimasa, although comparative study of Deori and Dimasa is not known.

The main aim of this paper is to provide a comparative study between the two cognate languages, Deori and Dimasa in terms of sound change patterns in certain class of lexical items. In this concern, it discusses the noun categorization devices highly present in these languages. For instance, mV- is the category prefix for names of animals in Bodo-Garo languages, and hence, *me-si* 'deer' in Deori morphologically resembles the Dimasa counterpart *mi-fi*. However, Deori *ut^hu* 'hand' is lexically divergent from the Dimasa *jau*. It also investigates the counting system, similarities in the morphological features and lexical set, the use of borrowing in both the languages and thereby, studies briefly their sociolinguistic context of language loss and retention.

1.1 Overview of Deori and Dimasa

The Deori (exonym) people are one of the indigenous ethno-linguistic groups of North-East India. They identify themselves as *Jimosaya* (endonym) meaning 'sons of nature (sun and moon)'. The Deori languages can be subdivided into four dialects- Dibongiya, Tengaponiya, Borgiya and Patorgiya. Dibongiya is the standard variety, which is spoken mostly in Bor-Deori village of Narayanpur, Lakhimpur district of Assam.

Dimasas are one of the most colourful and multi-cultured people in North-East India. They have a rich history with interesting folklores, well-preserved rituals and practices. The term 'Dimasa' (endonym) means 'sons of the great river' where 'di' means 'water', 'ma' means 'big' and 'sa' means 'sons' (Singha 2007:1). Literally, they are called 'sons of the mighty Brahmaputra river' but

* The authors would like to acknowledge the Deori informants of Bor-Deorigaon village, Lakhimpur district, Assam, and the Dimasa community for their help and assistance in collecting wordlist across several years of personal researches of both the authors, and finally the reviewers and editors of the paper, without whose comments and feedback, the present work would have been incomplete.

¹Deori and Dimasa populations are unavailable currently in the 2011 Census of India report.

²Ethnologue 2019 mentions 50,000 as ethnic population of Deori.

the more probable meaning could be ‘sons of the river Dhansiri or Dima (big river)’, the place where their first capital ‘Dimapur’ was established in the later part of the eleventh century (Barman 2007). It has four major dialects: Hasao, Hawar, Dembra and Diyuwa of which, Hasao is adopted as the standard dialect. Figure 1 shows the Deori speaking region in upper circle and Dimasa in lower circle.



Figure 1: Deori and Dimasa speaking region

Figure 2 shows the genealogical classification of Deori and Dimasa as a branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

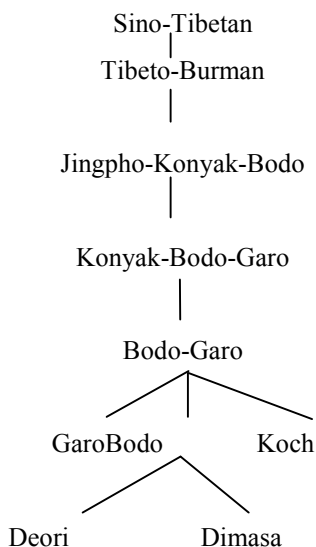


Figure 2: Genetic classification of Deori and Dimasa based on SIL Ethnologue (2019)

1.2 Typological Features of Deori and Dimasa

Deori and Dimasa have both SOV word orders. They have agglutinating features, and are mostly suffixing. Both the languages are lexically tonal having three distinctions- high, mid and low. The tones are also register tones. It also has open syllabic structure. The sentence constructions end in falling intonation in the languages with mostly trochaic word accents. This is a typical supra-segmental feature of the Bodo-Garo languages which share similar features with some of the Austro-Asiatic languages.

1.3 Methodology

Data for the present study are from domain-based word lists such as flora and fauna, numerals, kinship, body parts. For Deori, it was collected from Bor-Deorigaon village of Lakhimpur district. For Dimasa, the co-author of the paper, Monali Longmailai, being a native speaker of Dimasa and a linguist, provided data from her knowledge as well as consulted from few informants at Haflong, Dima Hasao district, Assam. Approximately, 1000 words were collected out of which some hundred words have been chosen for illustration here for our analysis and observations.

2. Lexical cognates in Deori and Dimasa

The Bodo sub-group from the Bodo-Garo branching of the Tibeto-Burman language family (see Figure 1) includes Bodo/Boro, Tiwa, Dimasa, Kokborok and Deori (Post & Burling 2017) among which, Dimasa, Bodo, Tiwa and Kokborok are more genetically related, while Deori is more distant from these related languages. Eberhard, Simons and Fennig in the Ethnologue (2019) list the lexical similarity of Deori with Boro as a meagre 11-16% unlike 77-93% lexical similarities of Deori with its varieties. For instance, the word for water in these languages are *di* (Dimasa), *duu* (Bodo), *ti* (Tiwa) and *ti* (Kokborok) while in Deori, it is *ɔ̃ɔ̃*.³ Burling (2012), in Post & Burling (2017), mentions the

³ The data for lexemes for ‘water’ from Bodo group of languages, are illustrated, based on the authors’ previous knowledge while working with various informants from these languages.

large number of lexical cognates among these related languages, while Deori is the most divergent of all. He further adds that Deori has lost syllable final stops and most nasals unlike the retained forms in the remaining languages, which will be seen in the analysis presented in the paper.

Further, the linguistic mapping of the Bodo group of languages is spread from the west of Assam across the Brahmaputra river (Bodo) to below the river basin towards southeast (Tiwa) and southeast (Dimasa) with Kokborok further in the south (state of Tripura) in northeast India, Deori, on the other hand, is isolated above the river basin in the central and north-eastern part of Assam with the neighbouring Tani languages (Tibeto-Burman) and Tai-Kadai languages. Bodo and Tiwa are closer to each other, and Dimasa is closer to Kokborok henceforth. Both the languages, Deori and Dimasa, are, thus, lexically more divergent than convergent probably, both because of linguistic mapping and differences in areal contact, as will be observed with the help of the subsequent morph-phonemic (section 2.1) especially, vowel and consonant alternations, syllable alternation, deletion, and aspiration and voicing contrasts, and morphological analysis (sections 2.2, 2.3 & 2.4) which focuses mainly on noun categorization, morphological prefixes and suffixes and lexical resemblances, (few accidental similarities of Deori with the Dijuwa dialect of Dimasa spoken in the eastern part needs a serious study in future research).

Table 1 shows the lexemes which are highly similar, while Table 2 shows the moderately similar words with morpho-phonological differences, which is also the core study of the paper.

Table 1: Highly similar words

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
jɔŋ	jɔŋ	'insect'
gandɔ	gandɔ	'pillow'
dɪnɪ	dɪnɪ	'today'
mja	mja	'yesterday'
la	la	'take'

Table 2: Similar words in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
saba	lɪmbaʃaba	'disease'
dɔsɪrɪ	daʊpʰrɪ	'pigeon' (also <i>daʊfari</i> in Dimasa)
ɪba	bar	'bloom'
dekagɔ (Assamitized with <i>deka</i>)	naga, nagaʃa	'young man'
samatʃi	dama	'butterfly'
ɖɜɪ	dɪ	'water'
pʰɔɖɜɪ	gdʒaʊ	'gold'
jɛ	wai	'fire'

Table 3, on the other hand, shows the complete set of dissimilar words present in these two languages.

Table 3: Highly dissimilar words

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
ʃa	dam	'moon'
ʃa	dam	'month'
ʃa	ha	'land'
nanɔma	gram	'dry'
zɪrɪ	nɔnɪma	'lizard'
tʃɪja	naʔ	'fish'
midɪge	alɔ	'cat'
lepedɔr	brɔn	'goat'
sɔ	hɔnɔ	'pig'
semesɪ	kʰaɪʃɪŋ	'ant'
gɪja	bre	'bee'

2.1 Sound changes in Deori and Dimasa lexical cognates

This section discusses common sound changes found in Deori and Dimasa such as, alternations of vowel and consonant, and syllable alternation, monophthongization, aspiration, voicing, and deletion. It also highlights the feature of consonant cluster and syllable structure between these two languages.

2.1.1 Vowel Alternation

Vowel Alternation occurs irregularly across these two languages. However, few common changes have been listed in Table 4 based on the findings.

Table 4: Vowel alternation in Deori and Dimasa

Vowel alternation	Deori	Dimasa	English
ɔ ~ aʊ	mɔmɔ	amaʊʃa, mamaʊ	‘nephew’
ɔʊ ~ a	mɔʊsa	mjaʔ, mjaʃa	‘boy’
ɔ ~ a	bɔtɔr	batʰɔr	‘weather’
ɪ ~ a	sɪrɪ	hɔr, ʃarɪ	‘night’
ɪ ~ aɪ	mɪdɪrɪ- ra, mɪdɪ	mdar/mədai, mdar/mədai, bʰɪt	‘God, ghost’
e ~ ɪ, a ~ ɪ	metʃa	mɪʃɪ	‘tiger’
ʊ ~ ɔ	kʊbʊlʊŋ	lɔŋkʰɔr	‘hole’
ʊa ~ aʊ	dʊa	daʊ	‘bird’

From the above Table, it can be seen that the vowel alternation in Deori and Dimasa is irregular. That is, /ɔ/ in Deori corresponds to /aʊ/ in Dimasa, and /ɔ/ with /a/ (ɔ>aʊ, a/ #), /ɔʊ/ with /a/ and /ɪ/ with /a/ (ɔʊ, ɪ>a/ #), /ɪ/ with /aɪ/ (ɪ>aɪ/ #), /e/ with /ɪ/ and /a/ with /ɪ/ (e, a >ɪ/ #), /ʊ/ with /ɔ/ (ʊ>ɔ/ #), /ʊa/ with /aʊ/ (ʊa>aʊ/ #), and so on.

2.1.2 Monophthongization

Deori has the monophthongization of the sounds /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ that are present in Dimasa as diphthongs as in /aʊ/, which is exemplified in Table 5;

Table 5: Monophthongization in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
tʊ	tʰaʊ	‘oil’
mɔmɔ	amaʊʃa, mamaʊ	‘nephew’
mɔmɔsɪ	amaʊʃɪ, mamaʊ	‘niece’
dʊ	daʊnɔ	‘hen’
dʊka	daʊkʰa	‘crow’
sɔ	ʃaʊ	‘body’

2.1.3 Metathesis

Syllable alternation is seen only in few instances, in case of shared innovation in both the languages and they are shown in bold in Table 6.

Table 6: Metathesis in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
danɔɪ	nadɪmɪ	‘why’
gʊtʊŋ	bgʊŋ/bʊgʊŋ	‘nose’
dʊa	daʊ	‘bird’

In the given Table, the Deori example *gʊtʊŋ* for the Dimasa equivalent *bʊgʊŋ* ‘nose’ also

undergoes assimilation, since the alveolar /t/ and /d/ are the nearest sounds than the bilabial /b/ to the velar /g/ when /g/ occurs word initially in the same word, i.e. *gʊtʊŋ* in place of **gʊbʊŋ*.

2.1.4 Aspiration

Deori has the absence of aspiration in sounds shared with those having aspiration in Dimasa. In Table 7, the unaspirated /k/ and /p/ in case of Deori alternate as the aspirated /kʰ/ and /pʰ/ in Dimasa.

Table 7: Aspiration in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
kʊkʊm	kʰʊdʒema	‘cockroach’
dʊka	daʊkʰa	‘crow’
pʊnʊ/pʊnʊma	pʰam	‘sell’
kʊma	kʰam/ʃaʊ	‘burn’

2.1.5 Voicing

Most of the voiced sounds in Dimasa alternate to the voiceless counterparts in Deori. Except for the /g/ in Deori examples such as *gʊsarɪŋ* alternating with Dimasa *kʰaɪʃɔrɪma* ‘earthworm’, Deori mostly loses voicing while Dimasa retains the voicing for velar stops in the initial positions, i.e. k>g/_V.

Table 8: Voicing in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
gʊsarɪŋ	kʰaɪʃɔrɪma	‘earthworm’
kɪra	ɡram	‘dry’
kʊn	ɡnaŋ/ɡʊnaŋ	‘rich’

2.1.6 Deletion

Deletion in the initial and the final word positions/syllables are common for shared words in Deori while only initial deletion has been found among the cognates in Dimasa.

Table 9: Deletion in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
dʒɔwa	waʔ	‘bamboo’
ʃudʒɔba	dʒba/dʒɔba	‘battle’
dʒɛba	haɟaɪba	‘birth’

As shown in Table 9 with the features of initial deletion across these languages, *dʒɔ* is missing in Dimasa *waʔ* ‘bamboo’, although it is unclear, which the proto form is. *dʒɔ* might be a later insertion in Deori, since most of the TB languages

have the word for bamboo as *wa*. Also, a similar sound *f* does not occur word-initially in Dimasa *dʒba* ‘battle’. In the third example, Deori does not use the first syllable *ha* like Dimasa. In Dimasa, *ha* means ‘soil, land’, *dʒar* ‘shift/transcend’ and *-bais* a nominalizing suffix which literally translates as “state of coming to earth/life”. Thus, Deori might have lost the use of the *dʒalater*.

Besides the initial deletion, there is deletion of the sounds in the word final position mostly stops and nasals as also observed in Burling (2012), as well as syllable finally in Deori whereas Dimasa retains these sounds in some of the words, which is shown in Table 10:

Table 10: Final Sound Deletion in Deori

Deori	Dimasa	English
ʃa	ʃam	‘sun’
gɪrasɪ	gradʒɪk	‘old woman’
tʃi	ʃɪʃa	‘dog’
mɪjɔ/ mɪjɔ	mɪjɔŋ	‘elephant’

2.1.7 Consonant alternation

Consonant alternation has been noticed in both the languages in few words as in, *bote* ‘murder’ which has bilabial /b/ in the first syllable and alveolar /t/ in the second syllable, while Dimasa has alternation of /b/ to the nearest assimilated voiced sound, i.e. the alveolar /d/ as in *dɔtʰar* for the same meaning.

2.1.8 Liquid alternates /r/ ~/l/

Deori and Dimasa have alternation of the liquids /r/ and /l/, i.e. in some lexical cognates, what occurs in Dimasa as /l/ in *tʰaɪlik* ‘banana’, for instance, occurs in Deori as /r/ as in *trɪ*.

Table 11: Liquid alternates in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
gɪrɪmɔs a	nana gɪɪ	‘baby’ (in Dimasa, ‘infant’)
merɔ	mɪʔ	‘animal’
ɪgɔ	rɪgɔ	‘mekhla/skir t’
trɪ	tʰaɪlik	‘banana’
ĩ	rɪʔ	‘cloth’

dʒɔ	lɔŋ/dʒɪrɪk (dʒɔrɔɪnDijuwa/Haw ar)	‘call’
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However, the presence of /r/ in Dimasa as in *rɪʔ* ‘cloth’ also corresponds to the loss of this sound in the lexical counterparts in Deori besides the syllable deletion as in *ĩ* as observed from Table 11.

2.1.9 Phonotactics

Consonant cluster formation is very productive in Dimasa which is present in several Bodo-Garo languages, since it has both onset and pseudo cluster. In case of pseudo cluster, they are sesquisyllabic since the vowel is weakened between the syllables due to shortening. On the contrary, Deori has the absence of consonant cluster.

Table 12: Phonotactics in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
sɪmɪ	ʃmɪ	‘needle’
gɪbaba	gbaba	‘vomiting’
kɪna	kʰna	‘hear’
gɔtɔŋ	bgɔŋ	‘nose’
gɔhɔnɪ	gnɪ	‘two’
kɔn	gnɔŋ	‘rich’

In Dimasa, the pseudo clusters in the onset position are shown in bold, /ʃm/, /gb/, /kʰn/, /bg/, /gn/ which are broken obligatorily into a single syllable rather than a cluster, i.e. in Deori, they are *sɪmɪ*, not *ʃmɪ* ‘needle’, and *gɪbaba* unlike *gbaba* ‘vomiting’.

Thus, Deori has more simplified syllable structure than Dimasa, which is shown in Table 13, i.e. the former language tends to be monosyllabic (clipped forms) and has absence of consonant cluster for the same counterparts unlike the latter.

Table 13: Simplified syllables in Deori

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
da	tʰampʰɪ	‘mosquito’
sɪmɪ	ʃmɪ	‘needle’
ka	gkʰa/kʰa	‘bitter’
merɪ	mɪʃep	‘buffalo’
kɪra	gram	‘dry’

բօքօ	բօղբ ^h աղ/բօք ^h աղ	‘tree’
seke	ʃigama	‘rat’
նօ	նիղ	‘you’

2.2 Noun categorization

Nouns in Deori and Dimasa, like several Tibeto-Burman languages, are mostly categorized by the lexemes and bound stems either prefixed or suffixed to these roots to belong to a lexical set. Names of flora and fauna, and few others, have lexical compounding in Deori and Dimasa with the free morphemes such as բօքօ/բ^hաղ ‘tree/plant’, տ/տ^hար ‘fruit’, me/մի? ‘animal’, which function as both derivational prefixes and suffixes.

Names of fruits have the affixation of *t-* in Deori and *t^har-* in Dimasa derived from the lexeme themselves which mean ‘fruit’.

Table 14: *t/t^har* in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
տ-մօ	տ ^h ար-ճօ	‘mango’ (Lit: ‘fruit mango’)
տ-րի	տ ^h ար-լիկ	‘banana’
տաս-տ	տ ^h ա-տ ^h ար	‘potato’
սեթօտ-տ	տ ^h ար-Ճա	‘lemon’

However, not all *trand^har* are noun categorizations related to fruits. In case of *hat* in Deori and *hat^har* in Dimasa, they mean ‘tooth’; they are bases, and cannot be further segmented into morphemes. *t^har* in Dimasa is also a nominalizing suffix to derive nouns from verbs as in *ha-t^har* ‘rainfall pattern (rain-NMZ)’ although *t* is unattested in Deori for the same.

In case of the lexical categorization of trees and plants in Deori, բօ is reduplicated as a lexeme and during the compounding, while բ^hաղ in Dimasa categorization is a reduced form of the lexeme բօղ-բ^hաղ (wood-tree). Instances of բօ in Deori and բ^hաղ in Dimasa are shown in Table 15:

Table 15: բօ/բ^hաղ in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
բօքօ	բօղ-բ ^h աղ/բօ-բ ^h աղ	‘tree (wooden)/plant’
տիմս բօքօ	տ ^h արճօ-բ ^h աղ	‘mango tree’ (Lit: ‘fruit mango tree’)
տրի բօքօ	տ ^h արլիկ-բ ^h աղ	‘banana tree’

սեթօտի բօքօ	տ ^h արՃա-բ ^h աղ	‘lemon tree’
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Besides the lexemes functioning as category prefixes, bound forms also are productive during the lexical categorization. Both Deori and Dimasa have this kind of categorization for instance, for animals with the mV- prefixation. While in Deori, it occurs as *me-* regularly, the mV- forms undergo mostly vowel harmony in case of Dimasa as exemplified in Table 16.

Table 16: mV- prefixation for animals in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
me-րօ	մի?	‘animal’
me-ր	մի-թեք	‘buffalo’
me-սի	մի-թեի	‘deer’
me-սօրօ	մօ-թրօղ	‘fox’
me-սա	մի-թի	‘tiger’

It can be noted that mV- is a homophonous prefix since it is also used for counting numerals in general, besides names of animals. While Deori uses the *mu-* form, Dimasa uses the *ma-* form for the counting as given Table 17:

Table 17: Classifier mV- for counting numerals (generic) in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
մօ-ճՅա	մա-թի	‘one’
մօ-հօնի	մա-ցիմ/մա-ցնի	‘two’
մօղ-ճա	մա-կ ^h ամ (/g/ undergoes change in q ^h am due to prefixation)	‘three’
մօ-տի	մա-բրի	‘four’
մօ-մօա	մա-բա	‘five’
մօ-թօ	մա-ճօ?	‘six’
մօ-թիղ	մա-թնի	‘seven’
մօ-թե	մա-ճար	‘eight’
մօ-ճօցօ	մա-թ ^h օ (/ʃg/ undergoes change in ʃgօ as -թ ^h օ due to prefixation of ma-)	‘nine’
մօ-ճօգա	մա-ճի	‘ten’

Numerals in bare forms can be used for counting humans while the gV- forms in Deori are used for counting the same.

Table 18: Classifier gV- for counting numerals (generic) in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
gudʒa	ʃi/ʃe	‘one’
gohoni	gni	‘two’
gonda	gtʰam	‘three’
gufi	brɪ	‘four’
stʰuŋpetʃa	bwa	‘five’
stʰuŋpetʃa gudʒa	dɔʔ	‘six’
stʰuŋpetʃa gohoni	ʃni	‘seven’
dʒɔikɪ	dʒaɪ	‘eight’
dʒɔikɪ gudʒa	ʃgɔ	‘nine’
stʰuŋpekɪ	dʒɪ	‘ten’

Numeral classifiers are also based from nouns and bound roots in Dimasa whereas in Deori, they are bound morphemes (*ti-/gu* for round objects, *ha-/go-/ko-/ti-* for flat objects, *le-/ke-/go-/dok-* for chopped objects, *gu-* for human and non-humans, *du-* for humans and *mV-* for generic nouns).

2.3. Other morphological features

This section briefly compares similar morphemes that carry nominal and verbal features in both Deori and Dimasa. It also discusses borrowing as a result of areal contact among these two languages.

2.3.1 Relativizer *-ja*

-ja is the relativizing suffix in both the languages deriving verbs to nouns. However, it occurs alone with the stem in Deori whereas it occurs with the nominalizing *-ba* in Dimasa (in singular nouns).

Table 19: *-ja* in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
pɔɪ- ja	pʰɔɪ- ja -ba	‘student’
akɪ- ja	akʰɪ- ja -ba	‘painter’

2.3.2 Nominalizer *-ba*

-ba is the nominalizing suffix attached to verbs and adjectives for noun derivation in both Deori and Dimasa as illustrated in Table 20:

Table 20: *-ba* in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
giba-ba	gba-ba	‘vomiting’
ka-ba	kʰa-ba	‘bitterness’
sa-ba	lɪm-baʃa-ba	(sickness) ‘disease’

	and pain)	
dʒe-ba	hadʒaɪ-ba	‘birth’

2.3.3 bV-and pV- in kinship

Most of the kinship nouns common in both the languages have pV- forms for terms of reference, and sometimes loses its feature, while Dimasa retains the voiced bV- counterparts as shown in Table 21.

Table 21: bV- and pV- in kinship In Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
be-be	bɔ-bɪ	‘elder sister’
pɪ-sa	bʃa/bʃa	‘son’
pɪ-sasɪ	bʃik/bʃik	‘daughter’
ʃɪjã	baudʒɪ	‘sister-in-law’

2.3.4 gV- prefix in adjective

Noun-like adjectives have the gV- forms in Dimasa while Deori has the loss of the use of gV- forms for the same as exemplified in Table 22:

Table 22: gV- prefix in adjective in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
ʃɔ	gdʒɔ/gɔdʒɔ, dʒɔ	‘high’
ka	gkʰa/gəkʰa, kʰa	‘bitter’
pʰɔ	gɔpʰɔ, pʰɔ	‘white, silver’
pʰɔdʒɪ	gdʒaɔ/gədʒaɔ, dʒaɔ	‘red, gold’
tʰɔɪ	gtʰɔ/gɔtʰɔ, tʰɔ	‘deep’

2.3.5 Pronouns

Word final deletion of mostly nasals as well as syllable deletion in case of pronouns in Deori is a common feature unlike the retention feature in Dimasa.

Table 23: Personal Pronoun in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
Ā	aŋ	‘I’
nɔ	nɪŋ	‘you’
ba	bɔ	‘he/she/it’
dʒɔɔ	dʒɪŋ	‘we’
nɔɔ	nɪʃɪ	‘you(pl)’

baø	bønfi	‘they’
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Indefinite pronouns such as, *bosma~hna* ‘which’ as shown in Table 24, traces the distant innovation between Deori (*bosma*) and the Dijuwa dialect of Dimasa (*hna*), which needs deeper research in terms of the dialectal diachrony of Deori and Dimasa.

Table 24: Indefinite Pronoun in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
sa	ʃre	‘who’
samagødʒa	ʃreba	‘someone’
ðɨkunødøkʂa (Assamitized)	aʃaba	‘anyone’
søbre (Assamitized)	kʰɨp	‘everyone’
døkʂakødʒa	ʃaøfi	‘no one’
zɨbare	ʃrebaleɨ	‘whoever’
damɨ	nadɨ	‘what’
damagødʒa	ʃmaba/ ʃmabagødʒa	‘something’
zɨbħø	bəkʰalɨba	‘sometimes’
dømø	bəkʰalɨ	‘when’
bħhø	bra	‘where’
danøɨ	nadɨmɨ	‘why’
bøfale (Assame- tized)	bðʒaŋgde	‘which way’
bøsma	ʃømbo (<i>hna</i> , Dijuwa dialect)	‘which one’
dakɨŋ	bde	‘how’
bømagødʒaħø	brabeɨ	‘somewhere’

The phonological alternations in these pronouns are seen to be highly occurring in Deori and Dimasa as discussed in the previous sections. Besides, it is interesting to observe that the quantifier *gødʒa* tends to be productive in Deori when attached with the indefinite pronominals for the words meaning ‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘somewhere’ which has the negative counterpart *kedʒa* for ‘no one’. On the contrary, Dimasa uses only the affirmative quantifier as *gødʒa* for the same meanings, while the negated form is absent.

2.3.6 Nouns *dubu* and *ðɨbø*

While Deori uses *ðɨ* for ‘water’, Dimasa uses *ditø* mean the same. Hence, *disð* and *adɨm* may have

been shared words from Dimasa during the development of the Deori language.

The oppositeness in shared semanticity in the word for ‘snake’ is interesting since the morpheme *dɨn* Deori *døbø*, which tends to undergo vowel harmony, also means the Dimasa ‘water’ while the morpheme *ðɨ* in Dimasa *ðɨbø* again in isolation means the Deori ‘water’ as shown in Table 25.

Table 25: Other nouns in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss	Semantic feature
disð	didik	‘pitcher’	dɨ ‘water’ in Dimasa
adɨ	didap	‘mud’	dɨ ‘water’ in Dimasa
døbø	ðɨbø (ðøbø, Hawar, Dijuwa dialects)	‘snake’	Umlaut/Vowel harmony and shared semantics

2.3.7 Negation *-ja*

-ja is homophonous in both the languages since it functions for both relativization and negation of the verb roots (although Deori has the lexical *tsa/za* to negate adjectives, while Dimasa has *-ja* for both verbs and adjectives).

Table 26: Negation *-ja* in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
sadø- ja -ba agree-NEG- NMZ	grav-ʃi word-same ðʒa- ja -ja-ba become- NEG-RLVZ- NMZ	‘disagreement’

2.4 Borrowings

Borrowing occurs mostly from the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages, such as Assamese in case of Deori and both Assamese and Bengali for Dimasa. However, they are nativized in both the languages (voicing, aspiration in Dimasa and no aspiration, voicing in Deori).

Table 27: Borrowings in Deori and Dimasa

Deori	Dimasa	Gloss
bih (Assamese)	bɪʃ (Bangla)	'poison' (>Eastern Indo-Aryan)
hont̪ra	hɔndra	'orange' (>Hindi: Indo-Aryan, <i>santra</i>)
mɔdɔrɪ/ somata	ʃok ^h rem	'guava' (>Khasi: Austro-Asiatic, <i>sohprem</i>)

3. Sociolinguistic Observations

Throughout the analysis, it was observed that language loss is more prominent in Deori while retention is seemingly found in Dimasa due to several factors: Deori has clipped forms and simplified syllable structure than Dimasa, besides higher monophthongisation and word-final deletion. Again, loan words are highly common in the former than the latter due to contact with the neighbouring language Assamese, which is a dominant language in the Deori area surrounding the Brahmaputra river valley even though there are other Tibeto-Burman languages in contact such as Mising and Boro, and Tai-Kadai languages like Khamti. There is no language dominance in case of Dimasa (even if the lingua franca are Indo-Aryan (Assamese in Nagaon and Karbi Anglong, Bengali in the Barak valley), pidgin Haflong Hindi in Dima Hasao hill district and a creole Nagamese in the state of Nagaland), since the majority of Dimasa speakers live in the hill district, Dima Hasao, which is less accessible from the plains of Assam, with nearly 12 ethnic tribes from the Kuki-Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Further, the data collected for the present study is from Dibongiya dialect which is perhaps the only living speech community of Deori, while the other dialects are either extinct or nearly extinct. On the contrary, all the dialects of Dimasa are still spoken at home, although Hasao dialect was chosen for the Dimasa comparison here.

Parental and the younger generations among Deori are losing the use of everyday words like, kinship terms (e.g.,: addressing 'grandfather'), numerals (counting known till '4'), colour terms (basic colour 'black' replaced with Assamese loan

'koliya'). On the other hand, both the generations still retain and use the everyday words in case of Dimasa speakers. New words have also emerged in Dimasa, as a result, and underwent semantic drift, as in, *hagrafa* 'caveman/jungle man' > 'insurgent groups', *mark^hodi* 'rice water bubbles' > 'Hmar community (although Dimasa native name is *Thangumsa*), *hilai* 'canon' > 'rifle', and so on.

However, both the language speakers have a positive attitude towards their language. Several attempts have been made across the years to revitalize both the languages from the speech communities but results on textbooks and material productions have been a gradual process, and partially successful in recent times.

4. Conclusion

The study revealed that vowel alternation occurs irregularly across these two languages. Deori has the monophthongization of the sounds /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ that are present in Dimasa as diphthong as in /aʊ/. Syllable alternation is seen in few cases of shared innovation in both the languages. Deori has the absence of aspiration in sounds shared with those having aspiration in Dimasa. Deletion in the initial and the final word positions/syllables are common for shared words in Deori while only initial deletion has been found among the cognates in Dimasa. Deori has more simplified syllable structure than Dimasa. It also discusses the counting system and the use of borrowing in both the languages and thereby, studies their sociolinguistic context of language loss and retention. Thus, it can be concluded that language loss is more prominent in Deori while retention is seemingly found in Dimasa. However, with the degree of shift in Deori and vulnerability of Dimasa, documentation is thus utmost necessary in the present context.

Abbreviations

NEG Negation
 NMZ Nominalizer
 RLVS Relativizer

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INTER-CLAUSAL DEPENDENCY IN WESTERN TAMANG

Ambika Regmi

Western Tamang, a highly embedding dialect of Tamang, presents an array of inter-clausal dependency (both semantically and syntactically) ranging from most to least exemplified by verbal complements and chained clauses, respectively. In terms of such dependency, subordinate adverbial clauses stand in between verbal complements and chained clauses in Western Tamang. This is, indeed, a typologically interesting phenomenon, especially, in inter-clausal dependency in Bodic languages like Tamang.

Key words: dependency, verbal complements, subordinate, pragmatic, discourse context

1. Background

This paper analyzes the inter-clausal dependency in Western Tamang. By inter-clausal dependency, we simply mean the connections (both semantic and syntactic) between the clauses combined by different devices, basically, in the domains of subordinate adverbial clauses and coordinate chained clauses. Western Tamang is a dialect of Tamang, others being Eastern Tamang [taj], Eastern Gorkha Tamang [tge], Northwestern Tamang [tmk], Southwestern Tamang [tsf] (Epele et al., 2012; Yonjan-Tamang, 2016). Western Tamang is exclusively spoken in Bagmati and Narayani Zones of Nepal. In Bagmati Zone, it is spoken in west Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Dhading districts, northeastern Sindhupalchok District, Bhote Namlan, Bhote Chaur, west bank of Trishuli River towards Budhi Gandaki River. In Narayani Zone, it is mainly spoken in northwestern Makwanpur District, Phakel, Chakhel, Kulekhani, Markhu, Tistung, Palung; northern Kathmandu, Jhor, Thoka, Gagel Phedi (Epele et al., 2012). Typologically, Western Tamang is a complex tonal, consistently ergative, aspect prominent, highly embedding and extremely nominalizing dialect of Tamang

(Regmi and Regmi, 2018: 128).¹ Like Eastern Tamang (Lee, 2011; Mazaudon, 2003), Western Tamang makes use of verbal complements, subordinate adverbial clauses and coordinate/chained clauses for coding different levels of semantic/pragmatic dependencies in the multi-propositional discourse context. In this dialect, as expected typologically, verbal complements are most dependent to the matrix clauses for semantic/pragmatic effects whereas coordinate/chained clauses are least dependent to each other for such effects. In terms of inter-clausal dependency, subordinate adverbial clauses stand in between verbal complements and chained clauses.

This paper is organized into four sections. In section 1, we look at the inter-clausal dependencies in verbal complements in Western Tamang. Section 2 examines inter-clausal dependency in subordinate adverbial clauses. In section 3, we look at such dependency in coordinate/chained clauses in Western Tamang. Section 4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

2. Dependency in verbal complements

In Western Tamang, verbal complements show the highest level of dependency semantically and syntactically. Semantically, the verbal complements function as subject or object arguments of other clauses. Such arguments functioning as the nominal arguments are tightly integrated with the main clause semantically and syntactically in Western Tamang as in (1).

- (1) *t^heje b^hya soba semji*
t^he-je [b^hya so-ba] sem-ji
3SG-ERG marriage do-NMLZ want-PFV
'She wanted to get married.'

¹ The word order in Western Tamang is generally rigid. However, clausal constituents may be permuted from their stipulated positions for contrastive topicalization, contrastive focusing, wh-questions and passive construction (Regmi and Regmi, 2018).

In example (1) two simple events coded by lexical verbs *so* 'do' and *sem* 'want' in two simple clauses have been merged semantically as a unitary complex event and syntactically integrated as a complex single clause. Basically, such integration results from some specific morpho-syntactic processes in Western Tamang. They are as follows:

- a) The verbal complement is embedded in the main clause with the finite verb morphology.
- b) It receives a single intonation contour with main clause.
- c) Non-finite verbal morphology, i.e., nominal form of the verb marked by the nominalizer suffix *-ba*, is used in the complement clause.
- d) The verbal complement as object of the finite verb is governed by the subject of the matrix clause.
- e) The subject of the matrix clause marked by ergative case suffix *-je* and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential. The equi-NP in complement clause has been deleted.

3. Dependency in subordinate adverbial clauses

The dependent adverbial clauses are connected semantically and pragmatically with their main clauses in Western Tamang. In terms of distribution, there are two types of adverbial subordinate clauses: Pre-posed and post-posed. They display distinct dependency features.²

Western Tamang makes use of a number of grammaticalized connectives ('subordinators') to specify the situational context for the events or states described in the main clause. Besides, Western Tamang mostly employs pre-posed adverbial clauses. Inter-clausal dependency in clauses such as temporal, conditional, concessive, reason, purposive, etc., is briefly discussed as follows:

3.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

Western Tamang employs temporal adverbial clauses to specify both precedence and subsequence relations in the discourse context. In order to specify the precedence relation, the grammaticalized connective *ɲonje* 'before' is employed in the subordinate clause as in (2).

- (2) *yamburi k^haba ɲonje ɲa nuwakot̚ti t̚iba*
yamburi k^ha-ba ɲonje ɲa
 Katmandu come-NMLZ before 1SG

nuwakot̚-ti t̚i-ji
 Nuwakot-LOC live-PFV
 'I lived in Nuwakot before I came to
 Kathmandu.'

In example (2), the verb of the subordinate clause is in a nominal form of the verb. The subordinate clause has been placed before the main clause. Inter-clausal gap between the subordinate and the main clause is filled up by the subordinator *ɲonje* 'before'. Even the verb of the main clause may also be in non-finite form.

Western Tamang makes use of grammaticalized connective *lipce* 'after' to specify the subsequence relation of the adverbial clause to its main clause as in (3).

- (3) *calu dejim lipce ɲaje e:da ɲotla*
calu de-jim lipce ɲa-je
 meal cook-PAD after 1SG-ERG

e:-da ɲot-la
 2SG-DAT call-NPST
 'I will call you after I prepare the meal.'

In example (3) the subordinate clause with non-finite form of the verb (marked by the adverbial suffix *-jim* to indicate the following event) is linked with the main clause with finite verb morphology by the subordinator *lipce*. Moreover, the event coherence in (2) and (3) is coded by lexical verbs marked for different temporality, aspectuality and modality. It is to be noted here that the adverbial clauses in examples (2) and (3) present a more pragmatic coherence than semantic as they are both pre-posed clauses. The earlier event has been focused and following is topicalized in examples (2) whereas in example

² Givón (2001 Vol.II:343) notes that a post-posed adverbial clause displays a more semantic connection to its main clause. However, a pre-posed adverbial clause shows a more pragmatic coherence.

(3) following event is focused and earlier event is topicalized as per the discourse context.

3.2 Conditional adverbial clauses

There are two types of conditional adverbial clauses in a natural language: irrealis conditionals and counter-fact conditionals. However, Western Tamang has only irrealis conditionals. It makes use of the clause with the non-finite form of the verb marked by the suffix *-səm* in (4).

- (4) a. *nam taisəm ɲa k^haakəm*
 nam tai-səm ɲa k^ha a-kəm
 rain fall-COND 1SG come NEG-can
 'I will not come if it rains.'
- b. *nam atəisəm ɲa k^hamba*
 nam a-təi-səm ɲa k^ham-ba
 rain NEG-fall-COND 1SG come-NMLZ
 'I will come if it does not rain.'

In examples 4(a-b), both subordinate clauses are pre-posed for pragmatic effects as in examples (2) and (3). It is to be noted here that in Tamang, the nominalizer marker *-ba* is also used to mark non-past tense. Thus, the verb marked with *-ba* assumes the role of finite verb in the main clause.

3.3 Reason adverbial clauses

Western Tamang employs the grammaticalized connective *talesəm* 'because' to combine the reason clause with the main clause as in (5).

- (5) a. *ɲaje syorino ken caji talesəm ɲa k^hrenji*
 ɲa-je syorino ken ca-ji
 1SG-ERG early rice eat-PFV
 talesəm ɲa k^hren-ji
 because 1SG be.hungry-PFV
 'I ate rice early because I was hungry.'
- b. *muna tapa talesəm dimri ada*
 muna ta-pa talesəm dim-ri
 night have-NMLZ because house-LOC
 a-da
 NEG-reach
 'As the night fell, we did not reach home.'

In example (5a), the adverbial clause is post-posed whereas in example (5b), it is pre-posed.

3.4 Concessive adverbial clauses

In Western Tamang, the root of the verb is suffixed by the concessive adverbial marker *-leino* in order to reflect a contrast of some sort between the main and the subordinate clause as in (6).

- (6) a. *ɲa praɲna taleino sita muba*
 ɲa praɲna ta-leino sita
 1SG poor become-CONC honest
 mu-ba
 COP-NMLZ
 'I am honest although I am poor.'
- b. *ajyaleino t^he ɲa sem taɲba*
 a-jya-leino t^he ɲa sem
 NEG-good-CONC 3SG 1SG like
 taɲ-ba
 do-NMLZ
 'I like her although she is not beautiful.'

In example 6(a-b), both adverbial clauses are pre-posed to the main clauses.³

3.5 Purpose adverbial clauses

Western Tamang employs the non-finite form of the verb marked by the suffix *-tibri* in the purpose adverbial clauses as in (7).

- (7) *taɲa kəmaɪtibri ɲa hyakko ge soba*
 taɲa kəmai-tibri ɲa hyakko
 money earn-PURP 1SG lot of
 ge so-ba
 work do-NMLZ
 'I work hard to earn money.'

3.6 Location adverbial clauses

Western Tamang employs the interrogative pronoun *k^hana* 'where' to indicate location in the subordinate clauses. Such clause is pre-posed as in (8).

- (8) *e: k^hana ɲiji ɲa ino hujuri ɲila*
 e: k^hana ɲi-ji ɲa ino hujuri ɲi-la
 2SG where go-PFV 1SG also there go-NPST
 'I will go where you go.'

³ As in (4b) the verbs marked by the nominalizer *-ba* in (6a-b) may be assumed as being in non-past tense. Thus, such verbs may function as finite verbs in such clauses in Tamang.

3.7 Manner adverbial clauses

The manner adverbial clauses are the non-finite clauses embedded in the matrix clause (Regmi and Regmi, 2018). In addition, such clauses employ *raŋle* 'as same as' in the complex of clause as in (9).

- (9) *t^heje serŋo syappa raŋle tam paŋba*
 t^he-je serŋo syap-pa raŋ-le
 3SG-ERG cold suffer-NMLZ same-MAN
 tam paŋ-ba
 matter speak-NPST
 'He speaks as if he is suffering from
 common cold.'

3.8 Participial adverbial clauses

In Western Tamang, the participial adverbial clause like verbal complements is tightly integrated into the main clause (Regmi and Regmi, 2018). The subject of such adverbial clause is co-referent with the subject of the main clause (Referential coherence). Such adverbial clause tends to receive the rigid tense-aspect-modality vis-à-vis its main clause (Temporal coherence): simultaneity (imperfective aspect) and anteriority (perfect aspect). In terms of temporal coherence, there are two types of participial adverbial clauses: Simultaneous and sequential. The simultaneous participial adverbial clause in Western Tamang is formed by reduplicating the root of the verb being followed by the adverbial participial suffix *-jim/-cim* as in (10).

- (10) a. *ŋaje brabra cacajim dimri ŋiji*
 ŋaje bra-bra ca-ca-jim
 1SG-ERG walk-PAD eat-eat-PAD
 dim-ri ŋi-ji
 house-ERG go-PFV
 'While eating and walking, I went
 home.'
- b. *ŋaje brabrajim tam paŋpaŋ ge soji*
 ŋa-je bra-bra-jim tam
 1SG-ERG walk-walk-PAD talk

paŋ-paŋ ge so-ji
 speak-speak work do-PFV
 'While walking and talking, I
 worked.'

The simultaneous adverbial clauses as in (10a-b) are used to express the activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with another activity expressed by the matrix predicate.

The sequential participial adverbial clause in Western Tamang is formed by simply suffixing the participial adverbial suffix *-jim/-cim* to the verb root as in (11).

- (11) a. *jaje ken cajim bəjar ŋiji*
 ja-je ken ca-jim bəjar ŋi-ji
 son-ERG rice eat-PAD market go-PFV
 'After having eaten rice, the son went to
 market.'
- b. *tini ɲeseri k^hu dejim ken caji*
 tini ɲese-ri k^hu de-jim
 today evening-LOC curry prepare-PAD
 ken ca-ji
 rice eat-PFV
 'In the evening, after having prepared
 curry the rice was eaten.'
- c. *ja iskulɲi ŋijim dimri k^haji*
 ja iskul-ɲi ŋi-jim dim-ri
 son school-LOC go-PAD house-LOC
 k^ha-ji
 come-PFV
 'After having gone to school, the son
 returned home.'

The sequential adverbial clauses as in (11a-c) are used to code the event which is understood to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate. Syntactically, the participial adverbial clauses exhibit less-finite verb morphology than the main clause but more finite than infinitival verbal complements.

Western Tamang may make use of non-specialized sequential adverbial which presents a variety of other contextual meanings as well. One of them is to show the cause as in (12).

- (12) *ge asyanjim t^he dimri dojim k^haji*
 ge a-syan-jim t^he dim-ri
 work NEG-find-PAD 3SG house-LOC
 do-jim k^ha-ji
 back-PAD come-PFV
 'After not having found work, he
 returned home.'

The simultaneous constructions are used to express the activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with another activity expressed by the matrix predicate as in (13).

- (13) *ŋa n^hen^hejim iskultɪ ŋijim*
 ŋa n^he-ŋ^he-jim iskul-tɪ
 1SG laugh-laugh-PAD school-LOC
 ŋi-ji-m
 go-PFV-FOC
 'I went to school, laughing.'

The participial adverbial clauses, sequential and simultaneous, in Western Tamang are normally pre-posed. They may be post-posed as a discourse strategy such as afterthought or focus as in (14).

- (14) *ŋa iskultɪ ŋijim n^hen^hejim*
 ŋa iskul-tɪ ŋi-ji-m
 1SG school-LOC go-PFV-FOC
 n^he-ŋ^he-jim
 laugh-laugh-PAD
 'I went to school, laughing.'

As mentioned earlier, both simultaneous and sequential adverbial clauses receive tense-aspect from the verbs in the matrix clauses as in (15).

- (15) a. *calu cajim ŋa r^hiri ŋiji*
 calu ca-jim ŋa r^hi-ri ŋi-ji
 meal eat-PAD 1SG jungle-LOC go-PFV
 'After having eaten meal, I went to the
 jungle.'
- b. *ki t^huŋt^huŋjim ŋa r^hiri ŋiji*
 ki t^huŋ-t^huŋ-jim ŋa r^hi-ri
 water drink-drink-PAD 1SG jungle-LOC

ŋi-ji
 go-PFV
 'While drinking water I went to the
 jungle.'

It is to be noted that in Western Tamang, most of the adverbial clauses are pre-posed to the main clause. Thus, they are pragmatically more coherent but semantically less integrated into the semantic structure of the main clause. In terms of inter-clausal dependency, adverbial clauses enjoy the intermediary position in Western Tamang. Givón (2001 Vol.II:347) notes that a pre-posed adverbial clause serves as a coherence bridge. It maintains a cataphoric semantic links to subsequent main clause and anaphoric pragmatic links to the preceding discourse.

4. Conjoined ('chained') clauses

Conjoined ('coordinate/chained') clauses are semantically least dependent in terms of inter-clause dependency. Western Tamang exhibits different types of conjoined clauses in terms of degree and type of their connectivity. To code inter-clausal connectivity, Western Tamang employs basically four types of conjunctions: continuative, contrastive, disjunctive and excluding. Thus, there are four types of conjoined clauses. They are briefly discussed as follows:

4.1 Continuative conjoined clauses

The independent clauses in Western Tamang may be conjoined by using the continuative conjunction *tiŋ* 'and' as in (16).

- (16) *ŋala ja tiŋ jame jyaba mula*
 ŋa-la ja tiŋ jame jya-ba
 1SG-GEN son and daughter good-NMLZ
 mu-la
 COP-NPST
 'My son and daughter are good.'

In example (16) the two clauses are conjoined by the conjunction *tiŋ* 'and' in Western Tamang. This conjunction codes the greater cataphoric continuity than the contrastive conjunction.

In Western Tamang, two clauses may be conjoined without using any conjunction. Such clauses may be simply juxtaposed as in (17).

- (17) *ja jame iskul ŋiji*
 ja jame iskul ŋi-ji
 son daughter school go-PFV
 'The son and daughter went to school.'

4.2 Contrastive conjoined clauses

In Western Tamang, contrastive clauses are conjoined by using the contrastive conjunction *debe* 'but' as in (18).

- (18) a. *ja k^haji debe jame ak^ha*
 ja k^ha-ji debe jame
 son come-PFV but daughter
 a-k^ha
 NEG-come.PFV
 'The son returned but the daughter did not.'
- b. *ja sijoŋ debe jame c^hoba*
 ja sijoŋ debe jame
 son overweight but daughter
 c^ho-ba
 slim-NMLZ
 'The son is overweight but the daughter is slim.'
- c. *jame ge soji debe ja ase*
 jame ge so-ji debe ja
 daughter work do-PFV but son
 a-se
 NEG-do.PFV
 'The daughter worked but the son did not work.'

Such clauses (18a-c) are used to code referential as well as thematic discontinuity in Western Tamang.

4.3 Disjunctive conjoined clauses

Western Tamang does not have any native coordinator for disjunction. Because of long and constant contact with Nepali, Western Tamang also has borrowed the Nepali coordinator *ki* 'or' for disjunction as in (19).

- (19) a. *ja ki jame k^haji*
 ja ki jame k^ha-ji
 son or daughter come-PFV
 'Son or daughter came.'
- b. *e: t̪iba ki ŋa t̪ise*
 e: t̪i-ba ki ŋa t̪i-se
 2SG sit-NMLZ or 1SG sit-NMLZ
 'Do you sit or I sit?'

4.4 Excluding conjoined clauses

Western Tamang does not have native coordinators for exclusion. It has borrowed from Nepali which is indicated by *bahek* 'except' as in (20).

- (20) a. *t^he ken bahek t̪ainə aca*
 t^he ken bahek t̪ainə a-ca
 3SG milk except other NEG-eat.NPST
 'He eats nothing except rice.'
- b. *jaje ŋe bahek t̪ainə aca*
 ja-je ŋe bahek t̪ainə
 son-ERG milk except other
 a-ca
 NEG-eat.NPST
 'The son does not take anything except milk.'

5. Summary

In this paper, we examined inter-clausal dependency in Western Tamang. It is a highly embedding language. The verbal complements represent the highest level of inter-clausal dependency semantically and syntactically in Western Tamang. The verbal complements have non-finite verb morphology as the coding devices. Dependent adverbial clauses are connected semantically and pragmatically with their main clauses in Western Tamang. Typologically, this dialect contains temporal adverbial, conditional adverbial, reason adverbial, concessive adverbial, purpose adverbial, location adverbial, manner adverbial and participial adverbial clauses. Such clauses exhibit semantic as well as syntactic connections when they are combined with the main clauses by employing different devices. In Western Tamang, the participial adverbial clause like verbal complements is tightly integrated into the main clause. Conjoined clauses are semantically least dependent in terms of inter-clause dependency. To code inter-clausal connectivity, Western Tamang employs basically four types of conjunctions: continuative, contrastive, disjunctive and excluding.

Abbreviations

1SG first person singular

3SG	third person singular
CAUS	causative
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DAT	dative
ERG	ergative
LOC	locative
MAN	manner
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NPST	non-past
PAD	participial adverbial
PFV	perfective
PURP	purposive

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CODING GRAMMATICAL SIGNALS IN WESTERN TAMANG: A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Dan Raj Regmi

Western Tamang differs from Eastern Tamang while coding grammatical signals by different morphosyntactic devices especially at propositional information level. Both dialects almost equally share most of the common structural features of Bodish group. However, dialect specific differences have to be compared from a typological perspective for practical implications in Tamang.

Keywords: coding devices, grammatical signals, ergative case marking, reflexive marking, language development

1. Background

This paper briefly looks at some major coding devices of grammatical signals in Western Tamang [WT, ISO code tdg] and compares them with those employed in Eastern Tamang (ET) from a typological perspective for practical implications such as status and corpus planning in the Tamang language.¹ Western Tamang is a dialect of Tamang, others being Eastern Tamang [taj], Eastern Gorkha Tamang [tge], Northwestern Tamang [tmk], Southwestern Tamang [tsf] (Epele et al., 2012). The CBS/N report (2012) has not counted the number of speakers of WT separately. WT is a complex tonal, consistently ergative, aspect prominent, highly embedding and extremely nominalizing dialect of Tamang (Regmi and Regmi, 2018). Tamang, in general, is a safe/vigorous Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by about 1,353,311(87.9%) of a total of 1,539,830 ethnic Tamang, most of them living in central Nepal particularly the hilly areas around the Kathmandu valley (CBS, 2012). Map 1.1 presents the geo-linguistic situation of the dialects of Tamang including Western Tamang.



Map 1.1 shows that WT is exclusively spoken in Bagmati and Narayani Zones. In Bagmati Zone, it is spoken in west Nuwakot, Rasuwa, Dhading districts, northeastern Sindhupalchok District, Bhote Namlan, Bhote Chaur, west bank of Trishuli River towards Budhi Gandaki River. In Narayani Zone, it is mainly spoken in northwestern Makwanpur District, Phakel, Chakhel, Kulekhani, Markhu, Tistung, Palung; northern Kathmandu, Jhor, Thoka, Gagal Phedi (Epele et al., 2012). Tamang is classified as one of the members of the Gurung-Tamang cluster of West Bodish sub-section of the Bodish section of Bodic branch of TB (Epele et al., 2012). Figure 1.1 presents the position of Tamang and their major dialects including Western Tamang among the TB languages of Nepal (based on Bradley 1997/2002).

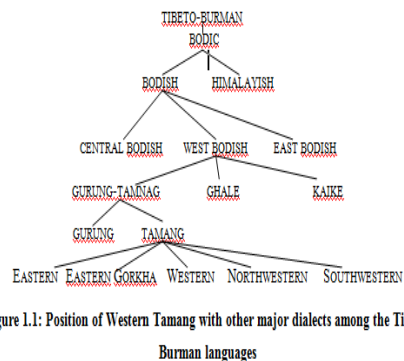


Figure 1.1: Position of Western Tamang with other major dialects among the Tibeto-Burman languages

¹This is a revised version of the paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held in CEDA Hall, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal [November 26-27, 2018]

Tamang spoken to the east of the Trishuli River, in general, has been referred to as Eastern Tamang (Yonjan-Tamang (2016:2). There are a few previous studies in Western Tamang. They include Hari et al. (1970), Taylor (1973), Tamang (1994), Chalise (2003), Lipp (2014), Adhikari (2015), Thokar (2015), SIL (2017), Regmi (2017), Regmi and Regmi (2018) and Regmi and Regmi (2019). There are a few previous studies in Eastern Tamang. They include Varenkamp (1996), Lee (2011), Mazaudon (2003), Poudel (2006), Owen-Smith, (2015), Yonjan-Tamang (2016) and Yadav (2018). These dialects almost equally share most of the common structural features of Bodish group. However, they exhibit dialect specific differences. Such differences are manifested primarily at the propositional information level. This level is coded by different morphosyntactic devices. More specifically, dialectal differences are apparent in the domain of verb morphology. Such differences require being compared from a typological perspective for practical implications in Tamang.

In this paper, both primary and secondary data have been employed. Data for Eastern Tamang has been gleaned primarily from Lee (2011), Mazaudon (2003), Poudel (2006), Owen-Smith, (2015) and Yonjan-Tamang (2016) whereas data for Western Tamang are based on the field study and partially used in Regmi and Regmi (2018).

This paper is organized into seven sections. In Section 2, we briefly discuss the theoretical underpinning of the paper. Section 3 deals with the coding primary grammatical signals in Western Tamang. In Section 4, we look at the coding secondary grammatical signals in the language. Section 5 compares the coding features of WT, ET and DT (Dhunkute Tamang) with the common features of Bodish group of language. In section 6, we look at the implications of typological perspective in Western Tamang. Section 7 summarizes the findings of the paper with a conclusion.

2. Theoretical underpinning

This paper has employed adaptive approach proposed in Givón (2001a, 2001b). The main argument of this approach is that language is a tool for communication composing of forms and

functions. More specifically, this approach adheres that forms are adapted for different communicative functions. According to this approach, there are two types of communicative codes: Sensory motor codes and the grammatical codes. Grammar is much more abstract and complex code. There are two types of grammatical signals: Primary and secondary. Primary signals are coded by four major devices: morphology, intonation, rhythmic and sequential order of words or morphemes. Such devices are used to code hierarchy constituency, grammatical relations, syntactic categories, scope and relevance relations and government and control relations (Givón, 2001a & b). Grammar is a symbolic code and adaptive function (Givón, 2010:34-35) codes propositional semantics and discourse coherence concurrently.

Secondary signals are coded by discourse oriented grammatical sub-systems: grammatical role, definiteness and reference, anaphora, pronouns and agreement, tense, aspect, modality and negation, de-transitive voice, relativization, topicalization, speech acts, focus and contrast , clause conjunction and contrast.

3. Coding primary grammatical signals

Western Tamang employs primary grammar-coding devices, viz., morphology, intonation, rhythmic and sequential order of words and morphemes at the propositional information levels in order to code different grammatical signals. Some of the major features of the grammatical code in Western Tamang are briefly presented from a typological perspective as follows:

3.1 Ergative case-marking

Like Eastern Tamang (Lee, 2011:87), Western Tamang displays the systemic ergative basically controlled by transitivity. In both dialects, irrespective of tense-aspect, a transitive subject is marked with the ergative suffix consistently as in (1).

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------|----------|
| (1) | ŋa-dze | puk ^h ri | sets-dzi |
| | 1SG-ERG | snake-ABS | kill-PFV |
| | 'I killed a snake.' | | |

However, Dhankute Tamang exhibits a split-ergative with respect to tense-aspect (Poudel, 2006) as in (2a-b).²

- (2) a. aŋrita kan tsa-la
 Ang Rita rice eat-IMPFV
 'Ang Rita will eat/eats rice.'
- b. aŋ rita-se kan tsa-dzi
 Ang Rita-ERG rice eat-PFV
 'Ang Rita ate rice.'

In example (2a), the nominal subject *aŋ rita* is not marked with ergative marker *-se* unlike in example (2b) since in example (2a) the verb *tsa* 'eat' is marked by *-la*, an imperfective aspect marker in Dhankute Tamang. In example (2b), the verb *tsa* 'eat' is marked by *-dzi*, a perfective marker. Thus, the nominal subject *aŋ rita* has been coded with ergative marker *-se*.

3.2 Differential object marking

Like in Eastern Tamang (Lee, 2011:95-96), human nominal arguments in the role of indirect objects are marked with the dative suffix in Western Tamang.

- (3) ram-dze sita-da kələm pin- dzi
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT pen give-PFV
 'Ram gave Sita a pen.'

In example (3) the nominal argument *sita* assumes the role of indirect object. Theoretically, in an ergative-absolutive language like Tamang, the indirect objects are not expected to be overtly marked. However, in Western Tamang, the human indirect objects in a transitive clause are marked by the case inflection *-da*. It is not an accusative marking as in nominative-accusative languages like Japanese and English. This inflection, viz., *-da* is basically used for marking a dative case in Western Tamang. Thus, for convenience, it is, however, glossed as the dative case. Such marking is referred to as anti-dative marking (Dryer, 1986). In example (3) the nominal argument *kələm* 'pen' is in the role of direct object. It is coded in the absolutive case, i.e., zero-marked. Such cases are reported in Bhujel (Regmi, 2012) and Magar Kaike (Regmi, 2013).

3.3 Numeral classifiers

Eastern Tamang (Lee, 2011:33) employs numeral classifier suffix *-gor* for counting any countable objects. Yonjan-Tamang (2016:78) reports that Eastern Tamang employs classifier *-m^hendo* for human nouns and *-gor* for non-human nouns. Unlike ET, Western Tamang marks numeral classifiers exclusively for human nouns or pronouns by the suffix *-ma* as in (4).

- (4) ro som-ma k^ha-dzi
 friend three-CLF come-PFV
 'Three friends arrived.'

In Dhankute Tamang (Poudel, 2006), there are two types of classifiers: human (marked by *-m^hendo*) and non-human (marked by *-t^hika*).

3.4 Immediacy marking (remote vs. vivid)

Eastern Tamang (Yonjan-Tamang, 2016:85) makes a distinction between a remote vs. vivid perspective on the events or sequence of events. In Eastern Tamang, the remote past is marked by suffix: *-tsi/-dzi*. However, vivid events are marked by *-mu* on the root of the verbs. Such distinction is based on indirect vs. direct evidentiality as in (5).

- (5) pasañ dim-ri kha-mu
 Pasang house-LOC come-PFV
 'Pasang came home.'

However, WT does not exhibit such distinction. Neither such distinction is made in Eastern Tamang (Mazaudon, 2003:302). However, in Dhankute Tamang (Poudel, 2006), a distinction is made between simple past (marked by *-tsi/-dzi*) and unknown past (marked by *-tsim/-dzim*) as in (6a-b).

- (6) a. Simple past
 ŋa-i kan tsa-dzi
 1SG-ERG rice eat-PFV
 'I ate rice.'
- b. Unknown past
 mui-se sun tsa-dzim
 buffalo-ERG paddy eat-PFV
 '(I had not known) buffalo ate paddy.'

3.5 Causative marking

The suffix *-na* is attached to the root of verb to derive morphological causative verb in Eastern

² Data 2(a) and 2(b) are from Paudel (2006).

Tamang (Lee, 2011:105; Yonjan-Tamang, 2016:66) as in (7).

- (7) pasañ-se palmo-da ɲet-na
 Pasang-ERG Palmo-DAT laugh-CAUS
 la-dzi
 do-PFV
 'Pasang made Palmo laugh.'

However, Owen-Smith (2015:225) argues that Tamang lacks morphological causative. Thus, the suffix *-na*, which has been analyzed as causative suffix in Eastern Tamang (Lee, 2011:105; Yonjan-Tamang, 2016:66), should be insightfully analyzed as resultative converbial suffix (Owen-Smith, 2015:225). A periphrastic causative construction in Tamang is formed by attaching the resultative converbial suffix to the root of the verb. Such verb, which is non-finite, is followed by the verb *-la* 'do'. This verb is inflected as the finite verb as in (8).

- (8) ut-se ɲa-ta airak thuj-na
 that-ERG 1SG-DAT liquor drink-RES
 la-tsi
 do-PFV
 'He forced me to drink liquor.'

Unlike Eastern Tamang, the causative is marked by the suffix *-myan* on the root of verb in Western Tamang as in (9).

- (9) pasañ-se palmo-da ɲet-myan
 Pasang-ERG Palmo-DAT laugh-CAUS
 la-dzi
 do-PFV
 'Pasang made Palmo laugh.'

3.6 Word order

The basic constituent order in Tamang transitive clauses is SOV (Lee, 2011:134; Mazaudon, 2003: 293). It is a neutral word-order in Tibeto-Burman languages. Unlike English, the grammatical roles of clause constituents are basically coded by the nominal morphology in Tamang (ET & WT). WT exhibits marked word-order variants of rigid order of clausal constituents for contrastive topicalization, contrastive focusing, wh-questions and passive construction.³ In Western Tamang,

possessor is followed by noun whereas demonstratives are preceded by nouns. WT displays a rigid word-order of the peripheral constituents, i.e., modifiers in the noun phrases. It has noun-numeral, noun-adjective, genitive-head and relative clause-head order. In WT, except negation morpheme, all the case-role markers on the nouns and tense-aspect and modality markers on the verbs are cliticized as suffixes.

3.7 Intonation and stress

Eastern Tamang employs rising intonation for yes-no as well as content questions (Lee, 2011:147). The falling intonation is used for declarative sentence, content questions and request in Tamang (Yonjan-Tamang, 2016:32). As in Eastern Tamang, the falling intonation is used for declarative and rising intonation is used for yes-no question in WT as in (10).

- (10) a. dza-dze ken tsa-ba↓
 son-ERG rice eat-NMLZ
 'The son eats rice.'
 b. dza-dze ken tsa-ba↑
 son-ERG rice eat-NMLZ
 'Does the son eat rice?'

The stress is not distinctive in Tamang.

4. Coding secondary grammatical signals

Apart from primary grammar-coding devices, Western Tamang, employs some grammatical sub-systems to code primarily discourse pragmatics. Such sub-system may include grammatical relations, tense-aspect, modality and negation, de-transitive voices, relative clauses, contrastive focus and marked topic, coordination and subordination. Western Tamang does not differ from Eastern Tamang in coding grammatical relations, tense-aspect, modality, negation, contrastive focus and marked topic and coordination. Some differences lie in coding de-transitive voices, relative clauses, subordination and honorificity. They are briefly discussed as follows:

4.1 Reflexive marking

Mazaudon (2003: 298) notes that ET does not have any special reflexive pronouns. The pronoun *raŋ* 'self' is suffixed by the dative maker *-ta* followed by the intensifier *-n*. Lee (2011:37)

³See 4.2 for detail about passive construction.

observes that the personal pronoun *r^haj* is also used for the reflexive pronoun in ET. Yonjan-Tamang (2016:55) notes that *raj* is the reflexive pronoun in Tamang. Unlike Eastern Tamang, the personal pronouns are suffixed by the reflexive marker *-tano* in Western Tamang as in (11).

- (11) *ŋa-tse ŋa-tano ts^hek-tsi*
 1SG-ERG 1SG-REFLbeat-PFV
 'I beat myself.'

4.2 Passive construction

Like Sherpa (Givón, 2001 Vol.II:134) Western Tamang exhibits a subtype of non-promotional passive. In such passive construction, the non-agent topic of the passive is not fully promoted to the subject as in promotional passive (Regmi and Regmi, 2018). In such type of passive, the agent/subject of the active is typically missing as in (12).

- (12) *kola-da mähr wa-dzi*
 child-DAT ghee feed-PFV
 'Ghee is fed to the child.'

The agent/subject of the passive construction in example (12) is missing. In example (12), *kola* 'child' suffixed by *-dais* the topic of the passive. It is not fully promoted to the subjecthood as in promotional passive. It is to be noted that the syntax of passive constructions is similar to the direct-active in Western Tamang. Moreover, the order of clausal constituents in example (12) is IO-DO-V. The agent/subject which is expected to appear before the verb is omitted. Following Givón (2001 Vol. I: 237), we may argue that Western Tamang employs variant word order in passive constructions. The omission of Aargument is discussed in Eastern Tamang (Owen-Smith, 2015:277) in such constructions.

4.3 Nominalized relative clauses

The verb of the relative clause is nominalized by *-pa* in ET (Mazaudon, 2003: 299). Such verb is suffixed by the nominalizer *-ba* in ET (Lee, 2011:117) as in (13).

- (13) *bidyarthi-da to-ba sitshək*
 student-DAT beat-NMLZ teacher
 'The teacher who beat students'

Like in ET, the verb of the relative clause is nominalized in Western Tamang. However, unlike

in Eastern Tamang, the nominalizer *-ba* is obligatorily followed by the genitive marker to code perfective aspect in Western Tamang as in (14).

- (14) a. Nominalizer being followed by genitive
 <-ba-la>
dim so-ba-la m^hi k^ha-dzi
 house make-NMLZ-GEN man come-PFV
 'The man who made house has arrived.'
- b. Nominalizer only <-ba>
ŋa-dze dzi t^huŋ-ba
 1SG-ERG alcohol drink-NMLZ

m^hi-ta ts^hek-tsi
 man-DAT beat-PFV
 'I beat the man who drinks alcohol.'

The former (14a) codes perfective aspect whereas the latter (14b) codes imperfective aspect in Western Tamang. Moreover, due to the prolonged contact with Nepali, the language of wider communication, WT has innovated relative-correlative type of relative clauses like Eastern Tamang. It makes use of interrogative pronouns in order to make such relative clauses.

4.4 Participial adverbial clause

In Eastern Tamang (Lee, 2011:134; Mazaudon, 2003: 307), the participial adverbial clauses coding temporal simultaneity are formed by reduplicating the root of the verb being followed by the adverbial participial suffix *-dzim/-tsim* as in (15).

- (15) *ŋa-dze bra-ba tsa-tsa-dzim*
 1SG-ERG walk-PAD eat-eat-PAD

dim-ri ŋi-dzi
 house-LOC go-PFV
 'While eating and walking, I went home.'

In Western Tamang, the participial adverbial clauses coding the temporal anteriority are formed by simply suffixing the participial adverbial suffix *-dzim/-tsim* to the root of the verb as in (16).

- (16) *dza-dze ken tsa-dzim bədzar ŋi-dzi*
 son-ERG rice eat-PAD market go-PFV
 'After having eaten rice, the son went to market.'

4.5 Honorificity

Tamang (Yonjan-Tamang, 2016:95) registers four levels honorificity: very low, mid, high and very high. ET (Lee, 2011:37) has two levels of honorificity: ordinary and honorific. WT registers two levels of honorificity: ordinary and honorific in pronouns as well as verbs as in (17a-b).

(17) a. Second person singular (middle honorific)

e:dze ken tsa-dzi
 2SG.MH-ERG rice eat-PFV
 'You ate rice.'

b. Second person singular (high honorific)

nyanj-dze ken sol-dzi
 2SG.HH-ERG rice eat-PFV
 'You ate rice.'

5. Tamang dialects and Bodish features

Some important Bodish features include ergative case-marking, differential object marking, immediacy marking, benefactive marking, reflexive marking in all personal pronouns, causative marking, lexical nominalization, nominalized relative clauses, participial adverbial clauses and marked word order (Noonan, 2003). LaPolla (2012:126) has specified the basic features of Tamangic languages, viz., Tamang, Gurung, Manange, Nar-Phu, Thakali, Seke, Chantyal. Such features include *-pa nominalizer, *ta- prohibitive, la allative/dative/locative, *yin copula, *mu copula, *ta become, *-la conditional/irrealis, *ha negative, *-tsi perfective, *-si sequential converb, *-kay simultaneous converb, * (k)u imperative and *e interrogative. It is to be noted here that all the major dialects of Tamang almost equally share most of the common structural features of Bodish group. However, in terms of some features such as split ergativity, immediacy marking and reflexive marking, there are dialectal variations.

Table 1: Comparison of Western Tamang with Eastern Tamang and Bodish in terms of the major features of the grammatical code

SN	Coding features	WT	ET	DT*	BD**
1.	Ergative case-marking	√	√	√	√
2.	Split ergativity	x	x	√	√
3.	Differential object marking	√	√	√	√

4.	Person/number marking	x	x	x	x
5.	Numeral classifiers	√	√	√	x
6.	Immediacy marking	x	√	x	√
7.	Benefactive marking	√	√	√	√
8.	Reflexive marking in all personal pronouns	√	x	x	√
9.	Causative marking	√	√	√	x
10.	Lexical nominalization	√	√	√	√
11.	Nominalized relative clauses	√	√	√	√
12.	Participial adverbial clauses	√	√	√	√
13.	Marked word-order	√	√	√	√
14.	Suffixation (except NEG)	√	√	√	√
15.	Intonation	√	√	√	√
16.	Stress	√	√	√	√

*Dhankute Tamang** Bodish group

Table 1 presents a summary of the comparison of Western Tamang with Eastern Tamang and Bodish in terms of the major features of the grammatical code.

6. Implications of typological perspective

It is apparent that there are some dialectal differences in the major dialects of Tamang. Comparison made from a typological perspective in Table 1 has basically two practical implications in Tamang. They are briefly discussed as follows:

6.1 Status planning

Article 7(2) of the federal constitution (Government of Nepal, 2015) has granted the right, by framing a state law, to determine one or more than one languages of the nation spoken by a majority of people within the state as its official language(s), in addition to the Nepali. In Province

No. 3 Tamang as a whole stands a plurality (not majority) language with 10,12,826 speakers. It amounts to 18.% of the total speakers of all the languages. It is the first and right candidate for being the official language. There is unintelligibility between dialects: ET and WT. Until grammatical differences are identified, the decision as to which dialects should be assigned as the official language may not take place. Thus, a comparison made from a typological perspective is highly relevant for status planning of the Tamang language.

6.2 Corpus planning

Unless Tamang is standardized taking dialectal differences into consideration, it will not be effectively used in administration, justice, education and mass media. Textbooks and referential materials for basic levels, grammars and dictionaries for all Tamang speech communities may not be prepared unless grammatical differences are considered. Writing in Sambota/ Tamanghik or in Devanagari scripts is still a debate among the Tamang speech communities. Except Dhankute Tamang, other Tamang dialects are tonal. In terms of grammatical features, WT is more complex than other dialects. To manage all the differences in the standardization process, typological perspective plays a highly prominent role

7. Summary and conclusion

In this paper, we briefly looked at coding processes of both primary and secondary grammatical signals in Western Tamang and compares, as far as possible, such process in Eastern and Dhankute dialects of Tamang. We also compared them with the common features of Bodish group of language. There are only a few differences between these dialects. Identification of dialectal differences is required for both status and corpus planning of the language. Today, rivers are not dividing barriers for a speech community like Tamang. Kathmandu has been serving a meeting and melting point for all dialects speakers of Tamang. The dialectal differences so far realized may be narrowed down through MLE books, grammars, dictionaries, songs and films. A more detail study has to be made to identify such dialectal differences prior to

status as well as corpus planning in Tamang. Indeed, dialects are the sustenance of a language. Standardization is required for using language in office, education and communication. However, mother-tongue education should be conducted in the local dialects. In reality, the gap between the dialects is getting narrowed down in Tamang now-a-days.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
SG	singular
ABS	absolute
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
DAT	dative
ERG	ergative
GEN	genitive
HH	high honorific
IMPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
MH	middle honorific
NMLZ	nominalizer
PAD	participial adverbial
PFV	perfective
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE TENSE AND ASPECT IN STANDARD KHASI AND ITS VARIETIES

Rymphang K. Rynjah

In this study, we will undertake a comparative study of the syntax of the Tense and Aspect of Standard Khasi, an Austro-Asiatic language spoken in the state of Meghalaya and its two varieties Trangblang and Mawlong. Trangblang belongs to the War-Jaiñtia dialect of Khasi and is spoken in Trangblang village situated in Amlarem Block in Jaiñtia Hills District. Mawlong, on the other hand, is a War-Khasi dialect of Khasi and is spoken in Mawlong village located in the East Khasi Hills District. The main aim of this study is to compare and contrast the similarity and variation between these varieties when compared with the Standard Khasi using a comparative methodology. This study also aims to present the morphology of Tense and Aspect and to account for the syntactic analyses of Tense and Aspect in these varieties.

Keywords: Austro-Asiatic, Standard Khasi, Tense and Aspect, comparative study.

1. Introduction

Khasi belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family of language and is spoken in the Central and Eastern part of the state of Meghalaya. Before 1813, Khasi had no script of its own. In the year 1813-14, translation of the Bible into the Khasi language was done using Bengali script because literacy was possible only in Bengali. Around 1816, a few more translated versions of the Gospel of Matthew were printed and distributed among some Khasis who could read the Bengali script. It was only with the coming of the Welsh missionary (1842) that the Roman script was introduced and translations were done in the standard dialect.

Khasi has significant dialectal variations; Grierson (1904) mentions of four dialects. These are Khasi proper, Pnar or the Synteng, the Lynggam, and

the War dialects. Khasi proper is the standard dialect used as the formal language and for all literary purposes. War dialects of Khasi are subdivided into two groups i.e. War-Khasi and War-Jaiñtia. They are spoken in the South-east corner of East Khasi Hills District and Jaiñtia Hills District respectively.

In Sidwell (2009), Daladier (2007, 341) remarks that the Mon Khmer group of languages has three main branches: The Khasi now standardized and fixed by written use, yet there are still unwritten dialects, particularly in the War region, the Pnar and War.

2. Varieties under Study

In this study, War-Jaiñtia is represented by Trangblang variety spoken in Trangblang village situated in Amlarem Block in Jaiñtia Hills district. It is located 25 km towards south from district headquarters Jowai and 46km from the state capital Shillong. And on the other hand, War-Khasi is represented by Mawlong variety spoken in Mawlong village which is located in the East Khasi Hills district adjacent to Bangladesh and is about 65 km from the capital city Shillong.

3. Aim of the study

The present paper aims to compare and contrast the similarity and differences between the tense and aspect of the two varieties of War dialects i.e. Trangblang variety and Mawlong variety when compared with the standard Khasi.

4. Tense and Aspect

Tense as a grammatical concept has been defined as a grammatical expression of location in time (Comrie, 1985: 9). Therefore, tense specifies whether an action described and denoted by the verb is present, past or future. Lyons (1968: 305)



Figure 1: Map showing War Khasi and War-Jaintia¹

explaining this category says that “[t]he essential characteristic of the category of the tense is that it relates the time of an action, event, or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance: the time of utterance begins now”. According to Binnick (2012), the most influential syntactic definition of tense restricts the category to the morphemes that refer to present and past. The notion of aspect according to Comrie (1976:3) refers to “the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”.

A further crucial aspectual difference is that between perfective and imperfective aspects. Comrie characterizes these notions as follows.

“...perfectivity indicates the view of the situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation, while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation.” Comrie (1976:16).

4.1 The morphology of tense in standard Khasi and its varieties

There are three tense distinctions in Standard Khasi (SK), Mawlong variety (MV) and Trangblang variety (TV) as discussed below.

4.1.1 Present tense

In standard Khasi as well as in both the varieties Mawlong and Trangblang, the present tense is

unmarked (\emptyset). It is interesting to note that unlike in the standard Khasi in (1a) where the agreement marker *u* ‘third Singular Masculine’ occurs before the verb, it is found that the agreement marker in the two varieties in (1b) and (1c) occurs after the verb *go* as shown in the following sentences below.

- (1) a. *u ban u \emptyset leyt skol* (SK)
3SM Ban 3SM go school
‘Ban goes to school’
- b. *u ban \emptyset da skol u* (MV)
3SM Ban go school 3SM
‘Ban goes to school’
- c. *u ban \emptyset le pure kot u* (TV)
3SM Ban go read book 3SM
‘Ban goes to school’

4.1.2 Past tense

In standard Khasi (SK), the past tense is indicated by the marker *la* and it occurs pre-verbally as shown in (2a) below. Mawlong variety also has the same marker *la* (2b), whereas, Trangblang variety has *da* as the past tense marker (2c). The placement of the past tense markers is consistent across all the varieties i.e. pre-verbal.

The only difference is in the placement of the agreement marker *u* ‘third singular masculine’. In SK, it is placed before the tense marker and in MV and TV *u* is placed at the final position. We can also observe that the lexical item for ‘buy’ in MV and SK is different from TV.

- (2) a. *u hep u la t^hied kot* (SK)
3SM Hep 3SM PST buy book
‘Hep bought a book’
- b. *u hep la t^hied kot u* (MV)
3SM Hep PST buy book 3SM
‘Hep bought a book’
- c. *u hep da kti kot u* (TV)
3SM Hep PST buy book 3SM
‘Hep bought a book’

4.1.3 Future tense

Following Nagaraja (1985), in standard Khasi the future marker is *in* and it has two forms (i) *-n* after a vowel, which appears to be contracted from

¹Map from Reddy et al. (2007)

in and it is attached with the personal pronoun to indicate future tense as seen in (3a-b); and (ii) *in*, after a consonant as shown in sentence (4a). The remote future *sa* in standard Khasi can occur along with the future marker *-n* which generally means to indicate work in the near future but without any specific or definite time as shown in (3c). The future marker of Trangblang variety is *daw* and there is no remote future marker in this variety as seen in sentence (3d-e). Mawlong variety (MV) does not show any definite overt future tense marker (3f). The remote future *so?* (in correspondence with the standard Khasi remote future *sa* in (3c)) is used to refer to the future as seen in (3g).

- (3) a. ka iba ka-n leyt minta (SK)
3SF Iba 3SF-FUT go school
'Iba will go now.'
- b. u ban u-n leyt yew (SK)
3SM Ban 3SM-FUT go market
'Ban will go to the market.'
- c. u ban u-n sa
3SM Ban 3SM-FUT REM.FUT
leyt yew (SK)
go market
'Ban will go to the market.'
- d. ko iba daw le ko hynle (TV)
3SF Iba FUT go 3SF now
'Iba will go now.'
- e. u ban daw le jai u (TV)
3SM Ban FUT go market 3SM
'Ban will go to the market.'
- f. ka iba da ka mintan (MV)
3SF Iba go 3SF now
'Iba will go now.'
- g. u ban so? da yu u (MV)
3SM Ban REM.FUT go market 3SM
'Ban will go to the market'

The equivalent of the future tense maker *in* as seen in standard Khasi (4a) is absent in Mawlong variety (4b), whereas Trangblang variety uses *ju* (4c).

- (4) a. in ya leh kumno? (SK)

FUT ACC do what
'What will we do?'

- b. ya leh kumno? (MV)
ACC do what
'What will we do?'
- c. ki niah ju? leh? (TV)
NEU what FUT do
'What will we do?'

4.2 The morphology of aspects in standard Khasi and other varieties

In Standard Khasi, as well as in both Mawlong and Trangblang varieties, aspect is divided into perfective and imperfective as discussed below.

4.2.1 Perfective aspect

We understand that the action of the verb is completive as seen in the following sentences below where the marker of a completed action in standard Khasi and Mawlong variety is the item *la?* which precedes the main verb as seen in sentences (5-6) below, whereas, *da* in (7) is the perfective aspect marker in Trangblang variety.

Perfective aspect in the past tense

- (5) a. u ban u la? dep bam ja (SK)
3SM Ban 3SM PRF finish eat rice
'Ban had already eaten rice.'
- b. ka iba ka lah dep wan na
3SF Iba 3SF PRF finish come ABL
shnong (SK)
village
'Iba had come from the village.'
- (6) a. u ban la? dep sa jia u (MV)
3SM Ban PRF finish eat rice 3SM
'Ban had already eaten.'
- b. ka iba lah wian ka nah
3SF Iba PRF come 3SF ABL
shnong (MV)
village
'Iba had come from the village.'
- (7) a. u ban da dep ba ji u (TV)
3SM Ban PRF finish eat rice 3SM
'Ban had already eaten rice.'
- b. ko iba da dep wan

3SF Iba PRF finish come village
shnong ko (TV)
3SF
'Iba had come from the village.'

IMPRF sick 3SM
'He's still sick'

c. daŋ chkow u (TV)
IMPRF sick 3SM
'He's still sick'

Perfective aspect in the present tense

(8) a. u ban u la? sho? jɪŋ-ieit (SK)
3SM Ban 3SM PRF fall NOMZ-love
'Ban has fallen in love.'

b. ka iba ka lah bam (SK)
3SF Iba 3SF PRF eat
'Iba has eaten.'

(9) a. u ban la? shuo? joŋ-ied
3SM Ban PRF fall NOMZ-love

u(MV)
3SM
'Ban has fallen in love.'

b. ka iba lah bam ka (MV)
3SF Iba PRF eat 3SF
'Iba has eaten'

(10) a. u ban da sho? maya u (TV)
3SM Ban PRF fall love 3SM
'Ban has fallen in love.'

b. ko iba da bam ko (TV)
3SF Iba PRF eat 3SF
'Iba has eaten.'

4.2.2 Imperfective aspect

(i) Durative

It talks about the span of the event and the utterance of the sentence. The durative marker *daŋ* in SK and TV in (11a) and (11b), and *dəŋ* in MV in (11c) follows the main verb, though a distinction can be made from the standard Khasi with the varieties where the agreement marker *u* occur postverbally in Mawlong and Trangblang varieties but preverbally in SK as seen in the following sentences below.

(11) a. u daŋ paŋ (SK)
3SM IMPRF sick
'He's still sick.'

b. dəŋ knied u (MV)

(ii) Progressive

It points to the progression of work. The Progressive *naŋ* in SK and MV in (12a) and (12b) and *da* in TV in (12c) occurs before the verb as seen in the following sentences below. We can also observe for the word *ahead*, MV uses '*hetkhmat*', whereas, TV uses '*somat*' which is different when compared to the SK which uses '*shakhmat*'.

(12) a. ki naŋ iaid shakhmat (SK)
3PL IMPRF walk ahead
'They are walking ahead.'

b. ki naŋ iaid ki hetkhmat (MV)
3PL IMPRF walk 3PL ahead
'They are walking ahead.'

c. da kap ki somat (TV)
IMPRF walk 3PL ahead
'They are walking ahead.'

(iii) Habitual

It points to the habituality, to the events that are true in the past and time of the utterance. Following sentences below illustrate the habitual markers which are seen to occur pre-verbally in standard Khasi (SK) as well as MV and TV.

Ju and *fait* in standard Khasi (SK)

(13) a. u ban u-m ju bam soh
3SM Ban 3SM-NEG IMPRF eat fruit
'Ban never eats fruits.'

b. ka lin ka fait bam ja
3SF Lin 3SF IMPRF eat rice

shi'baje
1'clock
'Lin usually eats food at 1o'clock.'

ju? and *fij* in Mawlong variety (MV)

(14) a. u ban m-u
3SM Ban NEG-3SM

ju? bam soh u
 IMPRF eat fruit 3SM
 'Ban never eats fruits.'

b. ka lin ʃij sa jia
 3SF Lin IMPRF eat rice

ka shi'baje
 3SM 1'clock
 'Lin usually eats food at 1o'clock.'

be? in Trangblang variety (TV)

be? is used to indicate 'most cases' as seen in the following sentences below.

(15) a. u ban aw be? ba soh u
 3SM Ban NEG IMPRF eat fruit 3SM
 'Ban never eats fruits.'

b. ko lin be? ba ji
 3SF Lin IMPRF eat rice

ko shi'beje
 3SF 1'clock
 'Lin usually eats food at 1o'clock.'

(iv) Iterative marker

This point to the events happening many times as shown in the following sentences below. Comparing the iterative markers, it is observed MV in (16b) uses the same form *yai* as SK in (16a), whereas, this marker is absent in TV. The only difference is in the placement of the agreement marker *u*, in SK *u* is placed before the iterative marker in (16a), whereas in MV, *u* is placed at the final position as seen in sentence (16b) below. This marker is absent in Trangblang variety but instead *manla i por* 'every time' is used.

(16) a. u ban u yai leh
 3SM Ban 3SM IMPRF do

kam sniew (SK)
 work bad
 'Ban continues to do bad work.'

b. u ban yai leh kam
 3SM Ban IMPRF do work

snew u (MV)
 bad 3SM
 'Ban continues to do bad work.'

c. u ban manla i por leh
 3SM Ban every time do

kam kom u (TV)
 work bad 3SM
 'Ban continues to do bad work.'

The Iterative marker can also occur along with the future tense in SK and remote future in MV as shown in sentences (17a) and (17b) below, whereas, in TV for the same sentence only the future marker *daw* is used.

(17) a. ka iba ka-n yai
 3SF Iba 3SF-FUT
 rwai beit (SK)
 IMPRF sing EMPHASIS
 'Iba will continue to sing (regardless of anything).'

b. ka iba so?
 3SF Iba REM.FUT
 yai rwia beit (MV)
 IMPRF sing EMPHASIS
 'Iba will continue to sing (regardless of anything)'

c. ka iba daw rway
 3SF Iba FUT sing
 bit ka (TV)
 EMPHASIS 3SF
 'Iba will continue to sing (regardless of anything)'

5. Conclusion

This study basically shows that the morphemes used to indicate tense and aspect in Mawlong Variety (MV) and Trangblang Variety (TV) differ from those of standard Khasi (SK). This study has been able to highlight the morphology of tense, where the present tense is unmarked (\emptyset) in both MV and TV similar to SK, the past tense is marked by *la* in the SK and MV but by *da* in TV. Future tense in SK is marked by *-n/in* and also has a remote future tense marker *sa*. MV does not exhibit any overt future tense marker but the remote future tense marker *so?* is used among the native speakers when talking about or referring to the future. On the other hand, TV has *daw* and *ju* as future tense markers as shown in the following table 1 below.

Table 1: A Comparative list of the Tense distinction of SK, MV and TV

Tense	SK	MV	TV
Present	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ
Past	la	la	da
Future	/-n/ and <i>insa</i> (in remote future)	ϕ But the remote future /səʔ/ is used	<i>daw</i> and <i>ju</i>

Two aspectual categories are examined in this paper: perfective and imperfective aspect.

The perfective aspect is marked by *laʔ* in SK and MV, whereas *da* in TV.

The imperfective aspect markers only differ phonologically from that of standard Khasi, the durative is marked by *daŋ* in SK and TV and *dɔŋ* in MV, the progressive is marked by *naŋ* in SK and MV, whereas in TV the progressive is marked by *da*. Habitual aspect is marked by two markers in both SK and MV viz. *ju* and *fait* in SK and *juʔ* and *fij*, whereas TV only has one habitual marker *beʔ*. Iterative aspect is marked by *yai* in both SK and MV and is absent in TV. The summary of aspect markers is shown in table 2.

Table 2: A Comparative list of aspect markers in SK, MV and TV

Aspect	SK	MV	TV
Perfective			
Imperfective	laʔ	laʔ	da
Durative	daŋ	dɔŋ	daŋ
Progressive	naŋ	naŋ	da
Habitual	ju and fait	juʔ and fij	beʔ
Iterativity	yai	yai	

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CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES AMONGST MEITEI-SIZANG-THADOU

Bobita Sarangthem and Lhingneilam Lhouvum

This paper attempts to highlight the cultural and linguistic affinities amongst Meitei, Sizang and Thadou people. The data are collected from the field works in Imphal (Manipur, India), Tamu (Sagaing division of Myanmar) and Diphu (KarbiAnglong of Assam, India) for Meitei, Sizang, and Thadou respectively. Linguistically, Meitei, Sizang and Thadou share common Tibeto-Burman feature of SOV word order, agglutinative forms, sharing lexical cognates due to language contact. Culturally, these languages show some similarities; however, Thadou and Sizang are more similar. Nonetheless, languages have been a reflection of those cultural distinctions as well as their identities.

Keywords: Ritual affinities, cognates, birth, marriage.

1. Introduction

Linguistically, Meitei, Sizang, and Thadou share similarities in word orders as verb final, clause chaining, and post verbal negation. They are agglutinative languages in which almost all the syllable boundaries correspond to morpheme boundaries. For Example:

Meitei: əycakca-i
1SG rice.eat-ASP
'I eat rice.'

Thadou: kei-n buka-ne-zi-e
1SG-ERG rice1-eat-ASP-DECL
'I (usually) eat rice.'

Sizang: key ənkə-ne hi
1SGrice 1- eat DECL
'I eat rice.'

One of the distinctive features of Sizang and Thadou is verb agreement system consisting of preverbal pronominal elements indexing subject (cf.2&3). This feature is totally absent in Meitei language. The sound inventories for these 3 languages: Meitei has 24 consonants and 6 vowels and two tones; Sizang has 16 consonants and 15

vowels and three tones; Thadou has 20 consonants, 8 vowels and three tones. However, lexical cognates such as səm 'hair', mei 'fire', naŋ 'you' etc., are similar in these languages. According to Burling (2003:187), Meitei has often been taken to be a member of the larger Naga-Kuki groupings, but it would be safest to leave Meitei by itself. On the other hand, Sizang and Thadou belong to the Kuki-Chin group and the Northern-Chin sub-group of languages (Grierson:1904).

The paper further intends to observe the important organizing principles of social relationship and see in what respect they could be considered important in structuring the society. At least three factors could be identified at the basic level. These are marriage, kinship, and ritual. Kinship is the pivot on which rests the whole of society, but its ultimate source is marriage. The importance of marriage and kinship are examined with reference to the Meitei, Sizang, and Thadou. Again, it is ritual which could inculcate a sense of continuity of traditional social relationships. To have a better understanding the following section highlights an ethnographic overview of the three languages.

2. Ethnographic overview of Meitei, Sizang and Thadou

Meitei is the name of the ethnic group and Meiteilon is the language spoken by Meiteis a Tibeto-Burman language spoken chiefly in Manipur state in India, with Myanmar on its eastern border. Located strategically in the North-eastern part of India on the Indo-Myanmar border, the land has been historically the frontier of Southeast Asian and mainland Indian cultures and peoples. Generally identified as Tibeto-Burman on linguistic basis, contemporary Meiteis are a unique people who have absorbed both cultural and racial crosscurrents unto themselves and yet managed to preserve a unique identity of its own. The Meiteis are one of few monarchies in Northeast India from ancient times, the other two

being Assam and Tripura. The Meiteis have their own script, which was used in writing numerous ancient texts known as Puyas. Meiteilon or Manipuri is the official language of the state, Manipur. It is spoken by approximately 1.2 million people primarily in the Imphal (capital) valley. According to the census 2011 data, the total population of the state is 2570390. The advent of Hinduism in the early part of the eighteenth century has left its mark in ritual, ceremonial elaboration, and purification. Thus, on the religion based context, Meiteis may be grouped as the Vaisnab Hindus, the Meitei Marup (*Sanamahi*) cult. Yet, some Meiteis have adopted Christianity and Buddhism in small numbers. This paper doesn't include Christianity and Buddhism but the focus has been given to the *Vaisnab* Hindus, the *Meitei Marup* (*Sanamahi*). Because the ancient rites and rituals are within the roots of belief systems and practices ensuring to follow the path laid down by our ancestors. One of the interesting examples is the obligation to worship Lord *Sanamahi*, in every Meiteis homestead.

Sizang is a Kuki-Chin language of the Tibeto-Burman family. Thuavum or Kenedy peak in the Chin state of Burma (Myanmar) is the land of their heritage. According to Grierson (1904: Vol. III. Part III) Siyin belongs to northern Chin subgroups under Kuki-Chin group. Sizang language shares a mutually intelligible language with Vaiphei, Paite or Tedim Chin. Sizang live in Sizang valley or Thuavum which is situated in the present day the Chin State of Burma (Myanmar). Up-to-date official demographic information for Chin State is not available. Referring to the 1931 census of India, Luce (1959) gives the total population of Chin speaker in Burma (Myanmar) is nearly 344,000 with 44 different tribes. In the Chin population, the Sizang are a minority, about ten thousand in number. The present analysis is the Sizang (Siyin) language spoken in Tamu under the Sagaing division of Myanmar (Burma) located at Indo-Myanmar border about 115 Km south-east from Imphal, Manipur (India). According to Grierson (1904), the Siyins are called *Tautes* or *Tauktes* in the Manipur records. The meaning of "*Taute*" is fat folks. Among Paite, *Taute*" refers only to the Sizang (Vumson, 1986). In the history of the sizang people, they fought the

British imperial army who tried to colonize the chin hills at the end of 19th century. They hold that 'a man should spend his life in fighting, hunting, and drinking, whilst labor is intended for women and slaves only'(Grierson, 1904). Actually, Sizang has a close relationship and similarity with the Kuki-Chin group. The cultural attachment is established through contacts and intermarriages. Their culture and tradition are much alike with other sub-ethnic groups of Zo (Chin) people only with a slight variation. The Sizang society is a patriarchal society. Inheritance is legitimate to sons only, and daughters are illegitimate to inherit any inheritance. Like other Chins, Sizang is animistic in their religious beliefs, believing in a variety of good, neutral and evil spirits. The Sizang people believed that "*pathian*" is the Almighty God who can do only good to them. They believed that there were the evil spirits, "*doai*" which are against *Pathian*'s will. Human ailments and death are believed to have been caused by evil spirits who live in mountains caves, rivers, and trees. Sizang is a language with no script. In 1912, Christianity reached the Siyin valley (Khupza Go, 1996). Christianity changed some customs, such as spirit worship, headhunting, and discrimination against women. Today the majority of Sizang people are Christians; the Roman script forms the basis for sizang literature, stories, folktales and religious songs are written in the Roman script to date.

Thadou is a tribal community native to North East India, Chin state and Sagaing Division in Myanmar also known as Burma and in Eastern Bangladesh. The Thadou people are found in the state of Manipur, Assam, Nagaland, and Mizoram in India. The state of Manipur has the majority number of Thadou speakers in India where most of the speakers are either bilingual/multilingual. They have a culture of their own and a distinct language which makes them different from the other mutually intelligible Mizo-Kuki-Chin groups. Thadou belongs to the Kuki-Chin group and the Northern-Chin subgroup of languages (Grierson: 1904). The distribution of the Thadou population in states (2001 census) shows that the majority speakers are from Manipur, Assam, and Meghalaya.

Thadou is a language with no script. Today, the Roman script forms the basis for Kuki literature. The reason may be due to the impact of the Christian missionaries who established a school where the Kuki people lived. Till date, all the literature, books, fictions, stories, folktales and religious songs are written in Roman script. Thadou has been recognized as Scheduled Tribe under Article No. 342 of the Indian Constitution. The present analysis is from the fieldwork conducted in a small locality called “ThadouVeng” in Diphu, KarbiAnglong, Assam.

3. Social and cultural aspects

The Meitei, Sizang, and Thadou have a culture of their own, the same way they have distinct languages which make them different and unique from each other. They have their own system of marriage, forms of dancing, a celebration of festivals, conducting of rituals and many other cultural aspects performed in their social life. Still, they have a close relationship and similarities amongst themselves.

Mention may be made of the similarities in the custom of addressing husband or wife’s name by the name of their children or younger ones of the family in all the three ethnic groups. It is illustrated as follows:

Meitei:
ma-khoi mamma ‘his/her/their mother’
3SG-PL mother

OR
moi-ba ‘his/her/their father’
3SG-PL father

OR
caobi-pa ‘father of chaobi’
chaobi father

Sizang:
ə-nu ‘his/her mother’
3SG-mother

OR
pum-pa ‘father of Pum’
pum-father

In Thadou:
ə-nu ‘his/her mother’
3SGmother

OR
lamcy-pa ‘father of Lamcy’
lamcy father

In Manipur, women take an active role for the welfare of the society’s right from forming *Meira-paibilup* ‘the torch bearer’, especially the women organization to protect the youth from consumption of liquor and drugs. Any form of protest or demand is being made against the authority through this organization relating to the issues of a particular place or localities. Yet, out of politeness wife do not address husband by name but a husband can address his wife by name. Of course, to address by their name between spouses is found amongst the educated and younger generations. But, the older generation couple addresses with the third person marker. It is noted that all these three groups are of patriarchal society too.

3.1 Birth rituals of Meiteis

A mixed type emerges out of Indigenous Meitei religion and Hinduism practices in Meitei society for their traditional social customs and usages, rites and ceremonies. Nevertheless, the spread of Hindu religion does not destroy the old Meitei religion and culture. It has three birth rituals in the culture for a newborn child such as:

3.1.1 Ipan-thaba (*ipán* ‘foods and drinks’, *thaba* ‘offering’)

This ritual is performed on the sixth day of a childbirth. In the morning a *maibi* ‘priestess’ perform the ritual at the *mangol* ‘veranda’ for a long and healthy life of the baby. This shows that most of the pre-Hindu rituals are retained. In continuation of the ritual in the evening, another ritual has been performed known as *swasthi puja* which is conducted by a priest in the parent’s room where an earthen or brass pot with water is place representing the deity. Mantras are chanted by a priest while offering flowers, sesame seeds, fruits etc. to the deity. During this ritual, the child is placed near it on a small *monpak* ‘mattress’. A feast or *kher* a kind of sweets are also offered to the guest and *dakshina* in the form of money is also given to show gratitude for their gracious presence.

3.1.2 cak-umba (*cak* 'food', *umba* 'to introduce')

cak-umba is usually conducted when the child attains around 5 or 6 months old. If the baby is a boy then *cak-umba* is taken place when the baby attains six months old. Literally, it is the introduction of solid or normal food to the baby. If the baby is a girl then it is performed at five months old.

3.1.3 na-hutpa (*na* 'ear', *hutpa* 'to pierce')

Ear piercing or *na-hutpa* takes place when the child attains three or five years old. In this ceremony, first the head of the child is shaven and then after giving a bath by some virgin girls, the child is dressed up. Later, the child along with parents sits near the sacred fire where the priest conducts the ritual for the well-being of the child. Then a goldsmith pierces the lower lobes of the child's ears and put the golden earrings. In this ceremony, a professional singer sang in the name of god but it is optional. Later on, a sumptuous lunch is entertained to the invitees. It is believed that after *na-hutpa* ritual the child will be healthier and prevents from any illness. In olden days, ear piercing is performed in a very simpler way such as putting black thread through the pierced earlobes.

3.2 Birth rituals of Sizang

Sizang shows a very similar way of conducting birth rituals with Thadou, namely *nao-an-thah* (*nao* 'child', *an* 'food', *thah* 'distribute'), *nao-bil-vut* or ear piercing, and *nao-min-pek* or naming of the baby. The naming of the baby is performed after five days for male baby and three days for a female baby. Their names are chosen by the parents. The first male baby is always named after his father's father whereas the female baby is named after her father's mother.

Interestingly, in Sizang as soon as the baby is born a surname is given as a temporary name. It is believed that if the human name is not given then the devil may approach the baby leading to death.

It is noted that all the three communities share common forms of rituals but, it reflects some changes due to the influence of Hinduism and Christianity.

3.3 Birth rituals of Thadou

a) *naodop-an* (*nao* 'child', *dop* 'carry', *an* 'food'): After a few days of a childbirth, a feast called *naodop-an* is performed inviting all those who helped in the delivery including the midwife. This ceremony is performed to give gratitude and to thank god for save delivery of a healthy child.

b) *naominsah* (*nao* 'child', *minsah* 'naming'): The naming ceremony is called *naominsah*. It is a customary law in thadou society to coin the name from the last syllable of the grandparent from either of the parents. When a child is named, the last syllable of the person whom it is going to be named after is taken as the first syllable of the child, viz. if the person whom the child is going to be named after is *Khupkhomang*, then child name has to start with *Mang*.

c) *naopui* (*nao*-child, *pui*-to bring): literally means blessing ceremony. One is performed in Church and another at the maternal uncle's house. As soon as the child gets his/her name, s/he is then taken to the Church for the blessing ceremony performed by the pastor of the Church and through this ceremony the child earns the membership of the Church and the village. Another ritual involves the blessing ceremony done by the maternal uncle. On this day, the maternal uncle kills pigs, cows etc. and invite close relatives and friends to participate in the ceremony.

d) *naobilvu* (*nao* 'child', *bil* 'ear', *vu* 'pierce'): Ear-piercing of both boys and girls was a common practice. The most common type of earring is the traditional rare beads of red color where the white thread is pushed through the hole. Girls normally pierce their ears. They can wear any types of earrings whether made of gold, silver, metal and any type of their choice as long as they can afford it.

3.4 Meitei marriage or luhongba (*lu* 'head', *hongbə* 'to change')

In Meitei society, there are two kinds of Marriage. They are a) Marriage through engagement, b) *kanya-katpə*. Of all these types, marriage through engagement is believed as one of the prestigious and common forms of a wedding. In earlier days, the *kanya-katpə* (here the word 'kanya' is a

loanword which means bride/virgin; *katpə'* (to offer') ritual is considered as a marriage meant for a widow or divorcee. Elopement or *chenba* is also strictly prohibited in those days. If at all, it happens then *kanya-katpə* is the only option as there will be no marriage ceremony. Thus, in this case, a very simple ritual is held with few people on both sides of the family. In modern days, elopement is quite popular. It is next to the arranged marriage despite strictly prohibited in the earlier period.

There are three main rituals related to the marriage ceremony. They are as follows:

a) *haija-pot* (*haija* 'to request', *pot* 'things') – *haija-pot* is also called as *heijing-pot* marks the first stage of marriage ceremony which is one of the very important rituals. It is performed one or two days ahead before the Wedding day. *Heijapot* or engagement is the day when the parents along with friends, invitees, and relatives of the bridegroom visited the bride's place and bring with them different types of fruits, vegetables, betel leaf and betel nut and also sweets. All these things are carried on a well-decorated bamboo basket with cover known as *heijingkharai* and *phingairuk*. On this day, the offerings are made to the ancestor and local deities known as *lamlai*. Meitei's traditional silk attire called *phigephaneik* 'silk sarong', *phi* 'clothes' and gold ornaments for the bride are also brought in this ceremony. The bride's father and the bridegroom's father exchanged their greetings than they jointly prayed to the ancestor deity for their children's happy life. After this ritual, all the fruits, sweets especially *kabok* (parched rice with jaggery) are distributed to one and all present in the ceremony.

b) *Bor-barton* (*bor* 'bridegroom', *barton* 'invitation'): Later in the evening of *heijingpot*, a boy preferably younger brother of the bride will visit the bridegroom's place for an invitation. For this ritual, a garland of flower especially *kundo lei* (a kind of jasmine flower) is prepared along with *Lei-Chandan* and *Pana-Kwa* (Betel-nuts and betel-leaves in a decorated banana leaf) bound nicely by a white cloth. The groom is ready to do the ritual wearing *Pheijom* and *Pumyat* ('dhoti' and 'kurta') sitting on a *phək* 'mat' facing towards the east. Then the younger brother of the bride will hand

over *Pana-kwa* inviting him to come as a bridegroom to the bride's residence on the wedding ceremony.

c) *Luhongba* or wedding ceremony: The ritualistic preparations are made both at the residence of the groom and the bride on the day of marriage. Generally, in the residence of the bride, the decorated marriage hall or *mandopis* erected. On this day, *lei chandan* 'sandalwood paste smeared with a flower' is offered to welcome the invitees at the entry point of the *mandop*. Once the guests are seated, betel-nuts and betel leaves in a decorated piece of round shape banana leaves were presented.

There are some rules for the seat arrangement too like right in the middle of the marriage *mandop* 'marriage hall', *luhong phan* 'the bride and groom's seat' is placed and opposite to this seat, the bridegroom's mother will be seated. The devotional song, especially for the marriage, is sung by *isei-sakpa* or *isei-sakpi* ('singer' it can be male or female singers) with the *mridanga* (kind of drum) drummer. A band party also follows at appropriate intervals during the ceremony. The main event during the ceremony is the garlanding of the bride and bridegroom with *kundopareng* 'garland of *kundo* or a kind of jasmine'. The bride revolves around the bridegroom seven times. The completion of each revolution is marked by showering with flower petals by the bride over the bridegroom. Finally, garlanding takes place after the completion of seven revolutions. Metaphorically, the bride denotes the earth and the groom the sun.

3.5 Thadou marriage

Thadou has four kinds of marriages: *tsojmu*, *Sahapsat*, *zol-lah* and *kizam-maŋ*. In the first two, a proper ceremony is gone through while the latter two amounts to elopement. In the present day, due to the influence of Christianity, Marriages are now solemnized in the church by ordained pastors in accordance with the church. Monogamy, cross cousin marriage, marriage by elopement, marriage by negotiation, the bride price is some important aspects of the marriage system. There is no restriction to inter and intra marriages with other tribes or outside the village. And also the

remarriage of the widow and widower is permitted.

3.6 Sizang marriage

Sizang has a custom that forbids marriage between a man and a woman from the same village, and, it is known as *phungkhawm* marriage. Normally, eligible candidates are from different villages. The eldest man of the bridegroom clan known as *mopozang* or advance man went to the bride's place for the proposal.

modokzu or a 'pot of liquor' is presented to the bride's family indicating that he came along with a marriage proposal. If they didn't agree with the marriage affair, then they would return back the *modukzu*. If they are willing for the marriage ceremony to be held, then it's a green signal or positive reply. Accordingly, *mopozang* will visit the bride's place to fix the date of the wedding.

On the day of *mopui-ni* or the day of bride's leaving her parental place, her parents entertain their friends and relatives with *tamsi* or the biggest animal brought from bridegroom's side. At evening the bride leaves for bridegroom's place along with friends and the elders. On arrival at the main gate of the bridegroom's house, the eldest person(male) would call loudly like –“we are coming back with son, daughter, maize, and millets”. The call was replied by an older man as “we welcome you all. Come back with son, daughter, maize, millets, and mithun.” After this, the older man would spill the liquor from his mouth to the outward side of the main gate. After the completion of this ritual, the bride can enter the new house.

3.7 Thadou's death rituals

Death ritual among Thadou can broadly be divided into two: *thi-pha* (natural death) and *thi-se* (unnatural death).

thi-pha (*thi* 'death', *pha* 'good'): Natural death includes death caused by sickness and old age. During the pre-Christian day, there have been certain perceptions regarding the cause of diseases and death. The most popular belief was that death is associated to be work of evil spirit which is believed to have dwelled everywhere. Burial for this type of death varies from person to person

depending on the social position he held during his lifetime. On the day of burial, a funeral rite called *kosa* is performed by killing a pig or mithun to entertain the people who have participated in the funeral. The head of animals killed is then used to adorn deceased grave along with other numbers of wild animals he had killed in his time. In all case of natural death, corpses were buried in burial ground within the village.

thi-se (*thi* 'death', *se* 'bad'): In earlier days unnatural death like drowning, murdered, suicide, etc. is not given a proper funeral rite. They believe that such a person never reaches *mi-thi-xo* (*mi* 'man', *thi* 'death', *xo* 'village') and they are buried without any ceremony because their soul is already condemned. Such dead bodies are buried outside the village to avoid further misfortune. After corpse of an unnatural death is buried, '*in-the*' (in 'house', *the?* 'to sweep'), a rite for purification of the house is performed by *xo-thempu* (*xo* 'village', *thempu* 'priest').

However, with Christianity, such belief and practice are changed to a certain extent. Thadou follows and adheres to the common burial ground and equal ceremony for all types of death. Today, if a person dies in the morning, s/he gets buried on the same day itself, whereas, if anybody dies in the evening, the person is buried next day as per Christian service. *Kosa* (funeral feast) is still in practice and is performed after two or three days of the death of a person.

3.8 Sizang's death rituals

Sizang has three different death rituals. Sizang's death ritual is conducted under the *Thaamvel* (*thaam* 'tent', *vel* 'covered with mat'). The dead person was placed in the *thaam*, the villagers drink and dance; this ritual is known as *Mithi mai*. After *mithimai*, the dead body was placed in a coffin and kept inside the house again; this ritual is known as the *mithipanglai* dead body at the center of the house). A small portion of food is placed on the coffin as *mithipanglai* was considered as still alive ones. The dead body could be kept as long as the family desired, and when they were readied, they began to perform the final funeral, then only the dead body be taken to the cemetery. *Mi-thi-vui* (*mi* 'men' *thi*

‘dead’, *vui-* ‘go’) is the ritual on the final funeral where the dead body was taken to the cemetery for burial, followed by young unmarried males and females dance holding hand in hand and singing a farewell song.

3.9 Meitei’s death rituals

In Meitei culture the dead body is cremated. The dying person is taken out of the house to the verandah. The body is bathed and dressed in white clothes before it is cremated. The cremation is done on the bank of a river or lake. Nowadays, cremation is conducted at crematoria. The body is placed on the pyre, the next of the kin walks around the pyre with a fire burning from the sticks he is holding. The priest does incantations and then the pyre is lit. The males stay back until the body is consumed by fire. The people who attend the funeral do not go home directly. They are allowed to go after taking bath. They can enter the house only after they are received by a person with any sort of fire. They believe the evil spirits are then removed. The deceased person’s bedding is burnt. For Meitei hindus, the temple bones or the *asthi* of the deceased are collected from the ashes and within a year taken to holy places. On the fifth day after the cremation *astisancoi* (for Meitei hindus) or *maṅanileihun* is performed. Later, on the twelfth/thirteenth day *lannathouram* or *sorat* (The word derives from *shraddha*) is conducted and finally, on the completion of one year, the completion of death ritual known as *phiroi* is conducted with a grand feast to the invitees to show gratitude.

4. Kinship terminology

The study of the kinship term is highly dependent on knowing the social structure of the community. It also shows the importance of kinship terms to make a clear distinction between terms of address and terms of reference which act like a mirror reflecting the socio-ethnic network.

4.1 Meitei

In Meitei society, kinship may be classified based on the affinal or relationship made and consanguineal or blood relationships. The terms of address differ from the terms of reference. Terms of address:

pabung (polite form) ‘father’

i-ma/mama	‘mother’
i-yamba/tadə/ibung	‘elder brother’
i-ce/cece	‘elder sister’
i-nao(younger)nupi	‘younger sister’
i-nao(younger)nupa	‘younger brother’
i-ton/k ^h ura/mamma	‘uncle’
i-təi ‘brother-in-law’	(female ego)
i-bai	‘brother-in-law’(male ego)
i-nəmmə	‘sister-in-law’(female ego)

It is noted that Meitei terms of reference have to prefix either *i-*, *nəor* *mə-* are the first person, second person, and third person possessive prefixes. They are prefixed to kinship terms.

For instance:

i-pa	‘my father’
i-ma	‘my mother’
nə-pa	‘your father’
nə-ce	‘your sister’
mə-bok	‘his/her grandmother’
mə-pa	‘his/her grandmother’
mə-ma	‘his/her mother’

The kinship terminology in Meitei shows differentiation between commoners and the royal descendants known as RK’s or Rajkumar’s and Rajkumari’s where the suffix *-si* is added to the kinship terms as polite marker.

For example:

Terms used by RKs	Gloss	Terms used by the Commoners
ima-si	‘mother’	ima
inem-si/ine-si	‘paternal aunt’	ine/inem
indon-si	‘maternal aunt’	indon
icem-si	‘elder sister’	ice
mam-si	‘maternal uncle’	mamə
ibuŋ-si	‘elder brother’	ibuŋ

(Adapted data: Pramodini, N., 1989)

Further, Pramodini (1989) mentions “The royal group is no longer in control of the use of language, instead, the socio-economic conditions and social status of the people play a greater role in determining the use of the different variables of kinship terms. Some of the terms once used only amongst royal descendants are being taken over in modern society by some of the commoners”.

The usage of the second personal pronoun should be taken care of while using as a term of reference

especially to older people as it considers being derogatory. For instance;

nəŋ-gi/ (som-gi) pabuŋ-gi miŋkarino
2SG-GEN / 2SG (POL) father-GEN name QN

‘What is your father's name?’ is the correct form to ask a question to older/stranger/person of higher status people. But it is an unacceptable form to utter such as;

nəŋ-ginə-pa-gimiŋkarino
2SG-GEN 2POSS-father-GEN nameQN

‘What is your father's name?’

This form of conversation is considered to be impolite or derogatory. However, it is acceptable if you ask a child otherwise it is impolite.

4.2 Sizang

Treatment of kinship terms in Sizang is an interesting area of study. The term of address varied in accordance with the numbers of generation. Grandfather's generation is ‘*pu*’, father's generation is ‘*pá*’ etc. Any male who is in the same generation with his father, he is called ‘*pá*’ and if in female case she is called ‘*ni*’ (i.e. aunt). If a male person belongs to grandfather's generation, he is called ‘*pu*’ and for the female person, she is called ‘*pi*’. Thus, the forms of address are conditioned by kinship relation or age or the ego-male or female.

4.2.1 Kinship terms of address: Various kinship terms of address are illustrated as follows:

Direct generation relation:

pá	‘father’
ná	‘mother’
u-pasəl	‘elder brother’
u-numey	‘elder sister’
nəw-nu	‘younger sister’
nəw-pa	‘younger brother’

Paternal relations:

pu	‘father's father’
pi	‘father's mother’
pa-pi	‘father's elder brother’
pa-lay	‘father's middle brother’
pa-nəw	‘father's younger brother’
ni-pi	‘father's elder sister’
ni-lay	‘father's middle sister’
ni-nəw	‘father's younger sister’

Maternal relations:

pu	‘mother's father’
pi	‘mother's mother’
pu-pi	‘mother's elder brother’
pu-lay	‘mother's middle brother’
pu-nəw	‘mother's younger brother’
ni-lay	‘father's middle sister’
nu-neəw	‘mother's sister’
nu-neəw-puy	‘mother's elder sister’
nu-neəw-nəw	‘mother's younger sister’

In-law relations:

teak-nu	‘mother-in-law (female ego)’
teak-pa	‘father-in-law (female ego)’
suŋ-nu	‘mother-in-law (male ego)’
suŋ-pa	‘father-in-law (male ego)’
suapuy-u	‘husband's elder brother’
suapuy-nəw	‘husband's younger brother’

4.2.2 Address by name: Age of the addressee is the deciding factor in the choice of appropriate kinship term. For senior ones, the prefixation of *u-* to proper name or the kinship terms indicates seniority, except in *suapuy-u* ‘husband's elder brother’. For junior ones like son, daughter, younger brother, younger sister etc. Generally, names are used as address terms. For those people of similar age group is addressed by their names. Addressed by their name between spouse is found amongst the educated and younger generations. But, the older generation couple addresses with the third person marker *ə-*. Thus, *əpa* ‘his father’ is used by the wife for addressing her husband, while *ənu* ‘his mother’ for addressing his wife. Younger relations like ‘nephew’, ‘niece’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’, etc. are generally addressed by their respective names.

Terms of reference: One of the important characteristics of Sizang language is the use of personal pronoun prefixes with kinship terms used as terms of references. In other words, Sizang uses a system of affixation for expressing various kinship relationships. The kinship terms require the pronominal prefixes, namely *kə-* for the first person, *nə-* for the second person and *ə-* for the third person. In short, these pronominal prefixes function as a possessive marker and it makes complete sense with the kinship terms of reference.

This is illustrated in the following examples:

Terms of address	Reference terms
pá 'father'	kə-pa 'my father' nə-pa 'your father' ə-pa 'his/her father'
nú 'mother'	kə-nu 'my mother' nə-nu 'your mother' ə-nu 'his/her mother'
tapa 'son'	kə-tapa 'my son' nə-tapa 'your son' ə-tapa 'his/her son'
tanu 'daughter'	kə-tanu 'my daughter' nə-tanu 'your daughter'

4.3 Thadou

Kinship relationship among the thadou can be broadly divided based on the consanguine and affinal relationship i.e. relationship between the parent and children, the relationship between husband and wife. The degree of kinship bond plays a vital function in the Thadou society. The kinship terms have a specific role to play in a person's life as well as on auspicious gatherings where the entire kin and clan members are present. Some of the kinship terminologies are as follows:

Terms of address:

he-pu	'father's father/mother's father/mother's brother/mother's brother's son'
he-pi	'father's mother/mother's mother/mother's brother's wife'
he-pa	'father/husband's father/wife's father'
he-nu	'mother/husband's mother/wife's mother'
he-pa-len	'father's elder brother'
he-nu-len	'father's elder brother's wife'
he-gaŋ	'father's sister's husband'
he-ni	'father's sister'
he-u	'elder brother; elder sister'
tu-te	'grandchildren'
tu-pa	'grandson'
tunu	'granddaughter'
tsate	'children'
tsapa	'son'
tsanu	'daughter'
zitsa	'husband-wife'
zipa	'husband'

zinu	'wife'
nao/boi	'younger brother or younger sister'

Terms of Reference:

Thadou language has a similar pattern with Sizang language, especially, the use of possessive pronominal prefixed with kinship terms functioning as terms of references. For example,

kə-pa	'my father'
nə-pa	'your father'
əma-pa	'his/her father'
kə-tsapa	'my son'
nə-tsapa	'your son'
əma-tapa	'his/her son'

It is noted that in Thadou, a person regards all the clansmen who are his grandfather's age as *hepi*, his father's age as *hepa*, his mother's age as *henu*, his elder person as *he-u*, his younger brothers and sisters as *nao* or *boi*. The morpheme *he* indicates the polite terms in this very language. These terms are used in addressing others irrespective of which clan one belongs to their age.

5. Conclusion

From the above discussion, it has been noted that there are some similarities amongst the languages sharing common Tibeto-Burman features such as OV word order, the kinship terms are prefixed with secondary singular form of personal pronoun indicating the inalienable to the possessor and also as terms of reference. However, certain dissimilarities is observed in Meitei from that of Sizang and Thadou, especially with the verb agreement system, which is absent in Meitei language. Sizang, and Thadou shows light differences when compared with Meitei marriage and death rituals. In the present situation, nobody can expect the ethnic groups to continue their own independent ways based solely on traditional values and customary. Due to globalization, people tend to change their lifestyles that may be accelerated or slow type to respond to the totality of structure and function of the particular society and its culture. However, it cannot go beyond comparative tone as they tried hard to preserve their culture at the most. Thus, the Meitei, Sizang, and Thadou have a culture of their own, the same way they have distinct languages which make

them different and unique from each other. The various differences amongst these ethnic groups meted out of religion are also highlighted in this paper. The present paper will be helpful in further research from the perspective of Ethnolinguistics in the near future.

Abbreviations

1SG	First person pronominal
2SG	Second person pronominal
2POSS	Second person possessive
3SG	Third person pronominal
ASP	Aspect
DECL	Declarative
GEN	Genitive
PL	plural
POL	Polite
QN	Wh-question

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INTEGRATING MOBILE PHONES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING: A STUDY IN MANIPUR UNIVERSITY

Irom Gambhir Singh

The advancement of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has great impact on students' accessibility to information and different source materials. With the rapid development of modern science and technology, mobile devices have undergone massive changes and it has become so advanced that they can perform almost all the functions of a computer. Cell phones can be used for learning purposes. The present paper discusses possible future applications of cell phones for English language teaching and learning in Manipur University. The data was obtained from a set of questionnaires sent to selected students to find out their attitudes towards this mode of teaching English language. The analysis revealed that students use mobile phones to help them in their studies and they believe that integrating mobile phones in a language teaching gives the learners the opportunity of availing the benefits of digital age. They also believed that cell phones have great potential in language teaching and learning.

Keywords: M-Learning, Mobile Phones, Information and Communication Technology for learning, English Language Teaching

1. Introduction

The impact of globalization in recent decades led to the accessibility of technological devices, not only in the metropolis of developed countries but also in the rural areas of developing ones. In the past few decades, mobile devices played important roles in the rapid progress and development of modern science and technology. There are currently several types of mobile devices that are in use. Some of them are Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs), iPods, tablets, cell phones, mp3 or mp4 players, cameras, recorders etc. Among all the mobile devices, cell phones are probably the most popular and widely used all over the world. Cell phones are making our lives easier and people are so accustomed to them that

it is hard to imagine life without cell phones. Some cell phones are so developed and so advanced that they can even perform almost all the functions of a computer. They are not used only as communication devices but are used like mini computers that can be carried anywhere anytime. Cell phones can be used for learning purposes. The attitude of the students of Manipur University towards mobile phones is very positive. Though most of the time they use it for recreational purposes.

Most people use cell phones as a communication or recreational tool as opposed to learning and studying. But in European countries mobile learning has developed immensely. Unfortunately it is yet to be developed in South Asia, particularly in India. This paper is an exploratory study on learners' perception to mobile learning and it discusses possible future application of cell phones in ESL (English as a Second Language) learning in Manipur, a north eastern state of India. As people have started using latest mobile devices, they can learn whenever and wherever they may be. Moreover mobile devices provide individuals with abundant information and materials related to any topic. Whether the present pedagogical condition at Manipur University supports cell phone or smart phone as a language learning tool or not, is really a considerable matter. The current study is designed to explore learners' attitude to mobile phone or cell phone use as an instructional tool in the context of Manipur University.

2. Mobile Assisted Language Learning

Mobile assisted Language Learning (MALL) describes an approach to language learning that is enhanced through use of a mobile device. MALL is a subset of both Mobile Learning (m-learning) and Computer-assisted language learning (CALL). MALL is involved with the use of the mobile technologies, such as mobile phones, MP3

/MP4 players, PDAs and palmtop computers, to support students' language learning. With MALL students are able to access language learning materials, and to communicate with their teachers and peers, at anytime, anywhere (Kukulka-Hulme, 2006 quoted in Begum, 2014). Prensky observes that the browser in web-enabled phones puts a dictionary, thesaurus and encyclopedia into the hand of every student: access to Google and other text search engines turns their cell phones into research tools. (cited in Meurant, 2015). Relating to the clarification of ICT, Ibrahim (2010) illustrates that it is the term that is currently used worldwide to describe new technologies that depend mainly on computer and the internet. Even the traditional technologies such as radio, television and telephone are considered as ICTs. In accordance with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2003), ICTs include, 'basically information –handling tools-a varied set of goods, applications and services that are used to produce, store, process, distribute and exchange information.

Cell phones have become increasingly sophisticated and they are developed to have computer like functions. It is convenient to carry around and it can be used not only to make calls, but browse online, downloads, send and receive mails, play music, record videos and audios, play games etc. But before cell phones are introduced as a device for teaching and learning in a classroom a thorough look and analysis of the basic functions of cell phones is necessary.

Voice: The basic function of cell phones is to communicate. People all around the world are using cell phones to communicate and they spend a considerable amount of time talking in cell phones. It is very important to make calls in this busy world instead of wasting valuable time going to meet a person. In some mobile apps like WhatsApp, people can record their voice and send as a voice note. The receiver can listen to the notes at their own leisure time. Moreover, learners can record their voice and listen to it later and find out areas they need to improve on.

SMS (Short Message Service): SMS is a service that allows people with cell phones to send text messages as opposed to talking. SMS is another

option to communicate without using voice. Sending messages is preferable in certain context as people feel more relaxed and they have more time to think what they want to communicate. Moreover, sending messages is cheaper than making calls.

Browsing: It is very convenient for students to browse using cell phones. They can read relevant materials for their studies online. They can also check e-mails, read e-books, instructional materials and watch lecture videos from anywhere in the world.

Downloading: It is very convenient for students to download easily various kinds of materials using their cell phones. Many free online books and materials that can be used for learning English are available to download. Students can download the required e-books and read them anywhere or anytime they find convenient. They do not have to worry about carrying their heavy textbooks. Students can also download useful software and also dictionaries. Downloaded materials could be shared by teachers to their students and students can share with their friends and learn together.

Camera: Students will benefit greatly by having a camera on the cell phone while collecting data, documenting information and storing visual information. Students can take pictures from their mobile camera of texts they want to read and read later at their own leisure time.

Gaming: The game feature is available in almost every cell phone. There are many instructional games available that will develop the thinking skills, decision making skills and also help in developing problem solving skills. It is also a tool for relaxation and people learn a lot through playing games.

With the prevalence of mobile phones and its easy access to information, educators need to review their approaches to pedagogy and try to incorporate phones in their teaching. Focus should be given to use the facilities of mobile technologies in teaching and learning process so that teaching becomes more effective and enjoyable. This study examines the students' perception of the use of mobile technologies in

teaching and learning of English in Manipur University.

Majority of the students in the University campus of Manipur have mobile phones. Students are seen having a quick conversation about classes or assignments or silently texting offline or online messages while some others are engaged in reading e-mails. Students are quick to adopt the mobile technology that allows them to keep in touch with friends and access the net as they move on with their daily routine. Given the popularity of the mobile phones in the university campus this is a study to find out how it can be utilized for educational purposes.

3. Defining Mobile Learning

Teaching and learning through Mobile Technologies (MT) is called M-learning. It allows learning in no fixed location or time of learning (Kinshuk, 2003 cited in Abimbola, 2013). Trifonova and Ronchetti (2003 as cited in Suleiman, 2011) state that Mobile Learning is “e-learning through mobile computational devices”. According to Vavoula and Sharples (as cited in Maryam Tayebnik, 2012), learning can be considered mobile in three different contexts: learning is mobile in regard to space, it is mobile due to the different places, and it is mobile in terms of time. Therefore, mobile learning system can deliver education anytime anywhere and, if this technology is adopted, it will benefit the learners because education or interaction with the teacher does not occur only in the classroom. The learners could be at home relaxing yet be actively involved in learning.

Majority of students and teachers in the University has access to mobile phones. Many people used mobile as communication or recreational devices and there is little awareness in the students that it could be used for learning. But like all communication and computing devices, cell phones, can be used to learn (Prensky, 2004 as cited in Begum, 2014). Various facilities offered by the mobile phones need to be pointed out and instructed to utilize so that benefits will be gathered by the students.

Most of the students in the University do not own a personal computer and it is not easy to have

computer always within the reach. But mobile phones are inseparable with everyone nowadays, especially the students. Cell phones have been developed to a great extent and this facility could be used in ESL classroom to teach English. Educators can take advantage of the cell phones popularity to incorporate it in their teaching.

Schools and institutions have restrictions regarding cell phones in the campus. But in the University campus there is no restriction of using cell phones. Considering the great advantages cell phones can bring, educators can encourage the learners to use it for educational purposes instead of using it just for making calls, sending texts or listening to music and playing games. Teachers' familiarity with the functions of the device and its educational value can enhance the potentiality of mobile phones as a learning tool. They should be the ones to instruct the students on how to use the technology in class. Students should have the basic skills in using technologies and they should be guided to use the options available in their mobile. They should be assisted to download software and materials needed for their works. Teachers can also share files to their students through Bluetooth or Zappya.

4. Disadvantages of Mobile Phones in English classrooms

Though mobile phones have great unique features and functions, they are not free of disadvantages. Mobile phones have limited storage space and it has slow processing speed. The limited battery also does not hold for a very long time. Phones equipped with latest technologies do not come cheap. Moreover, technology advances very quickly and to keep up with it one has to upgrade his or her phone frequently. To have an internet connection one needs to pay a monthly data charges and to download large files, the monthly charges could be quite high. The screen size is small and so the information that can be displayed on the screen at one time is quite small. These flaws should not be overlooked but explored when accessing cell phones potential. Use of mobile phones in the classroom may cause distraction and students may start using it for non-academic purposes. So this type of learning can be conducted in a tutorial class in a tutored setting.

5. Methodology

The data for this paper was obtained through questionnaires administered to twenty students studying masters in English department in Manipur University through WhatsApp. These students have smart phones and have access to internet. The participants were asked some questions and they were instructed to reply through online texts. Mobile phones are not yet incorporated in English teaching in Manipur. So the students were asked if they think mobile phones would assist them to improve their language skills and if they want to introduce mobile learning in their English language learning in the future or not. This study explores students' experience of using mobile phones for educational purposes especially for learning English. The basic purpose of the study is to find out the students perception to the adoption of mobile phones for English language learning.

6. Discussions of Findings

Majority of the students agree that mobile learning is a new thing for them and that they believe that if implemented will benefit them in many ways. The study revealed that most of the students use internet to get materials and information and they find mobile internet very useful. Sixteen of them have dictionary installed on their phones and they find it very useful to learn new words while four students do not have dictionaries on their phone. Eighteen students responded that they use both English and mother tongue to send messages while two of them said they use only English. Sixteen of them responded that as most of the conversations are in English they find some improvements in their language skills after sending text messages while the remaining four students are not sure. Using the T9 spell check in the phone for sending messages thirteen students find improvement in their spellings. Most of the students agree that they want to use their mobile phones for academic purposes. However there are few students who expressed their negative attitudes to the use of mobile phone for English language learning.

7. Conclusion

Mobile learning is still not yet implemented in Manipur University because the traditional method of teaching is still in practice. But from the study conducted among the University students it can be concluded that the students are in favour of new methods of learning and they feel that from mobile learning they can learn English better. Educators are required to be positive about the use of mobile phones for learning. Students also feel that teachers should encourage the learners to use mobile phones so that they can make classroom teaching more lively and interesting. The study reveals educational institutions must go with the need of learners' demand for 21st century technological advancement. Mobile technologies are developing rapidly in India, so we need to make good use of this by developing cell phones as educational tools. The University is a fitting place to introduce students to mobile learning, as almost all the students have cell phones and they have at least the basic knowledge of the mobile devices. Considering the fact that almost all the students in the University have mobile phones equipped with various applications for English learning like dictionary, thesaurus, T9 spell check etc. If the functions and capacities of cell phones are used for language teaching and learning effectively it offers the learners more effective ways to practice English and they benefit a lot through it.

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INDEX AND LOCALISATION IN SIGN LANGUAGE: INTERFACE REQUIREMENT IN SEARCH OF FEATURES

Samar Sinha

This paper analyses INDEX and LOCALISATION as interface requirements owing to different S-M system that creates differences in terms of their features. It aims to provide an account of the structure building feature(s) associated with various instances of the phenomena in Indian Sign Language. The corpus is collected through fieldwork with the Deaf Associations, schools, and communities in India. The methodology employed is deductive following Branson & Miller (1997) and Mathur (2000) (see Sinha 2008 for details). This paper argues that INDEX and LOCALISATION are associated with D head with d-features, and provides the ground from which cross-linguistic and cross-modality studies as well as investigations on universal set of features and their values can proceed.

Keywords: index, localisation, reference frame, feature, value

1. Introduction

The centrality of feature in syntax upholds the view that cross-linguistic as well as cross-modality similarities and differences in linguistic structures can be analysed in terms of features. This tenet seems to be promising in the study of various aspects of structure in sign language which have no parallel in spoken language. In sign language literature, such phenomena are generally ascribed to the 'modality differences' that the sign language employ.

This paper aims to address the 'modality differences' do not make sign language unique by virtue of its S-M system, rather the interface requirements of the S-M system creates the differences in terms of the feature, and INDEX refers to such feature(s) in Indian Sign Language (henceforth, ISL). The paper is divided into six broad sections. In section 2, the facts relating to INDEX and LOCALISATION in ISL are described. A summary of the previous analyses of INDEX in sign language literature is provided to highlight

the inadequacies in the explanation of the phenomenon in section 3. It is followed by newer observations from ISL. In the following section, the paper draws a feature based decomposition of INDEX and LOCALISATION in ISL. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. INDEX and LOCALISATION

In the sign language literature, an INDEX refers to a type of pointing gesture that the signer uses to point to someone or something either manually and/or non-manually with the eye gaze or the body orientation; and the act as indexing. It is used to refer to an object, referents, spatial location, or events around the signer and the addressee in a common observable space, which I refer to as 'real reference frame.'

In ISL, a signer has an option to refer to a referent located in the real reference frame either by articulating the sign for the referent in its every instance or by indexing to the particular referent. In contrast, in the absence of an appropriate referent in the real reference frame, the signer articulates the sign for a referent and assigns it a distinct, specific locus in the signer's signing area through indexing. Such locus is termed as R-(EFERENTIAL) LOCUS. I refer to such a reference frame as 'abstract reference frame' opposed to 'real reference frame,' and the united one as 'linguistic reference frame.'

In the sign language literature, the articulation of the sign and the assignment of a particular R-LOCUS to it is called LOCALISATION (see Sinha 2008: 143). A sign can be localised by virtue of articulating the sign in the desired locus, without being followed by an INDEX. I shall recall these two types of LOCALISATION by descriptive labels - manual LOCALISATION and non-manual LOCALISATION, respectively. In ISL, manual LOCALISATION involves the articulation of the HAND-SHAPE: G or B above with or without eye gaze. It can be effected on either the ipsilateral or

the contralateral side of the signer following a sign to be localised.¹

- (1) eg:i torso:i
 M-A-D-A-N M-U-N-A IX-c LIKE
 "Madan likes Muna."

In (1), a signer localises MADAN non-manually with an eye gaze at the ipsilateral side of the signer. This is followed by manual LOCALISATION of MUNA on the contralateral side. In the articulation of like, the signer orients his/her body towards the ipsilateral side facing the R-LOCUS associated with MUNA. The subsequent INDEX to the R-LOCI at the ipsilateral and the contralateral sides suffices to refer to MADAN and MUNA, respectively.

In ISL, however, not all nouns allow LOCALISATION: only [+animate], [+concrete], [+locative] nouns may be localised, and [+abstract], [+mass], and [+generic] nouns may not. It shows that there is semantic restriction on LOCALISATION. Despite such restrictions, once a referent is localised resulting an R-LOCUS, an INDEX to the R-LOCUS suffices to refer to the same referent unambiguously in the discourse as shown in (2), even after many intervening signs like adjective that occur in between the noun and the LOCALISATION.

- (2) ANCIENT-PAST KING BRAVE IX-i. IX-i
 FEM-BORN THREE HAVE. OLD.
 "Once upon a time, there was a brave king.
 He had three daughters. (He was) old."

In non-manual LOCALISATION, the referent is either localised by the eye gaze, or by employing the strategy of role play in the discourse. In the latter, the narrator often plays the role of the characters in turn and narrates the event from the character's perspective as direct speech. This is either carried out by the signer orienting his/her body towards the character's R-LOCUS or by taking the perspective of the agent or experiencer of the event.



Figure 1: Role play

In Fig. 1(a), the signer plays the role of a driver; hence sitting. In Fig. 1(b), the signer's role is of a standing police officer, who stops the car. The role play shows various spatial dimensions that the referents actually occupy in the discursive context.

To sum up, the ISL data shows that LOCALISATION and INDEX are two different phenomena with different syntactic and semantic restrictions although similar in the articulatory terms.

3. Previous analyses

In sign language literature, the phenomena of LOCALISATION and INDEX are, often, regarded as one; hence, they are analysed as the same. As a consequence, LOCALISATION is subsumed under INDEX and has barely received any distinct linguistic analysis, whereas INDEX is most often ascribed as pronoun citing its anaphoric function as seen in (2). Most often an INDEX to the locus of the signer and the addressee are analysed as first and second person, respectively, and an INDEX to the actual referent and/or to the R-LOCI is analysed as third person. It is in this trifurcated linguistic reference frame, an INDEX is analysed as a pronoun.

There are, however, several other analyses of the phenomenon in various sign languages. Friedman (1975) argues that person reference in American Sign Language (ASL) is accomplished through the use of indexing, but maintains that there is no equivalent of pronoun in the ASL lexicon. Lillo-Martin and Klima (1990), although agrees that there is only one pronoun listed in the sign language lexicon, argues for a referential index, which is overtly realised in sign language due to a specific effect of the modality, in contrast with those of spoken language. Bahan (1996), MacLaughlin (1997) associate LOCALISATION,

¹ Zeshan (2003) mentions that INDEX can either precede or follow a sign it localises. However, the earlier instance is not observed in my corpus.

INDEX and possessive ASL sign with the head of the determiner phrase. Neidle et al. (2000: 31) claim that 'spatial locations constitute an overt instantiation of phi-features (specifically, person features) in ASL.' Pfau and Steinbach (2006; 2011; also see Pfau 2011) propose the grammaticalization of pointing gesture to locative, locative marker, demonstrative pronoun, personal pronoun, relative pronoun, agreement marker and agreement auxiliary.

On the other hand, there are authors who contest the claim that indexing has a pronominal function. Ahlgren (1990) argues that Swedish Sign Language INDEX are essentially demonstratives. McBurney (2002: 365) argues that in sign language "the coding of participant roles is accomplished not through abstract categories of person, but rather through gestural deixis." Schlenker (2011: 9), claims that "...it would be an overstatement to claim that all the features of sign language pronouns are analogous to those of their spoken language counterparts."²

In ISL, Zeshan (2003) has regarded INDEX and LOCALISATION as the same following its functions. She views that "the index is also used to localize a referent in sign space, that is, to indicate a point with which the referent is to be associated in the following text" (Zeshan 2003: 165). In other functions, when INDEX is used for deictic function and, anaphorically, it is considered to be equivalent to demonstratives and pronouns, respectively. Hidam (2010; 2014) also favours person feature for ISL.

Despite several strains of analyses in the sign language literature, the syntactic and the semantic restrictions on INDEX and LOCALISATION are overlooked or obliterated. Consequently, the former is analysed as person, pronoun, demonstrative, etc., and the latter has barely received any attention in sign language literature. Such descriptive/analogical analyses often resort to the 'modality differences,' and fail to provide account of the phenomena.

² For various other approaches see Liddell (2000), Sandler and Lillo-Martin (2006), Schlenker et al. (2013), Schlenker (2014) and Kuhn (2016).

4. INDEX and LOCALISATION: a fresh observation from ISL

Sinha (2003, 2006, 2008) acknowledges the fact that there are syntactic and semantic restrictions on INDEX and LOCALISATION, and makes a distinction between the two in ISL. Further, he observes a contrast in LOCALISATION of place names. The place name in which the signer is situated at the moment of signing is localised differently from the place name in which the signer is not.

- (3) R-A-M IX-i BOMBAY IX-d DELHI IX-u d-GO-u
"Ram will go to Delhi from Bombay."
- (4) IX-s DELHI IX-d J-O-B f-GET-s
"I got a job in Delhi."

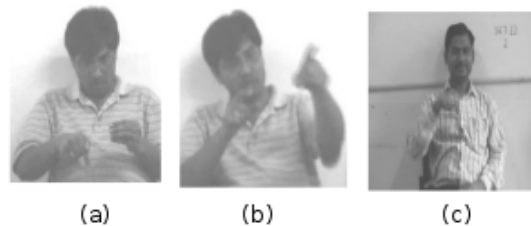


Figure 2: Localisation of place

In Fig. 2(a) and 2(b), the LOCALISATION of the sign BOMBAY and DELHI, respectively is shown from (3). In the former, the signer is in BOMBAY, so the sign is localised close to the signer; in the latter, LOCALISATION shows the spatio-temporal distance between the signer and the place localised i.e. DELHI.³ Contrast this with Fig. 2(c) from (4), the signer's spatio-temporal situation i.e. DELHI is localised closed to the signer unlike in (3). This shows that space is viewed from the perspective of the signer which creates an ego-centric view (often referred to as *origo*), and the referents are in relation to the signer.

In addition to the heightened use of space, it is also found that the descriptive content alone is not enough to determine a unique referent and an INDEX must be articulated in ISL. INDEX is a

³ (3) and (4) were elicited at Mumbai (formerly, Bombay) and New Delhi, respectively.

demonstrative which can either precede or follow the noun sign as shown in (5).

- (5) a. BOOK IX GOOD
 b. IX BOOK GOOD
 "This/that book is good."

In (5) INDEX has an overt deictic reading necessarily. However, it is not the case that each and every instance of an INDEX in ISL has necessarily deictic as well, apart from its referential reading. This contrasts with (6), shown below, where the deictic reading of IX i.e. BHUDEO) is inherent but implicit.

- (6) IX-i FEM-BABUNI IX-c i-LIKE-c
 "(Bhudeo) likes Babuni."

Further, Sinha (*ibid.*) discusses another phenomenon associated to INDEX and LOCALISATION which has barely received any attention in sign language literature. It is related to the dynamicity inherent to both reference frames, where referents may change discourse space-time. Consider the example from ISL in (7), concentrating on how the referent MONKEY is treated.

- (7) a. MONKEY IX-i BIG
 "A monkey is big."
 b. TREE-c i-CLIMB-c
 "(The monkey) climbs a tree."
 c. IX-c APPLE=EAT
 "The monkey eats an apple (on the tree)."

In (7a), MONKEY is manually localised at the ipsilateral side of the signer (in the abstract reference frame). tree is articulated at the contralateral side of the signer showing an instance of non-manual LOCALISATION. In (7b), CLIMB has a path movement that has the onset R-LOCUS associated with the MONKEY and the onset is at the top facet of the contralateral R-LOCUS associated with the TREE, respectively. The sign MONKEY is not signed nor INDEXED (as it is a discourse topic); the onset of the path movement suffices to refer to the monkey. The path movement shows that the MONKEY has climbed the TREE, and is at the top fact of the TREE. In (7c), MONKEY is not indexed where it is localised i.e. the ipsilateral R-LOCUS, but at the top facet of the TREE at the contralateral side of the signer.

The above example (7) indicates that even in the abstract reference frame as in the real reference frame, R-LOCI decay as events/situations unfold, and cease to be linguistically significant. This is exactly as would have been in the real reference frame for an identical sentence, except that instead of signing MONKEY in (7a), the signer would have merely pointed to the real-time referent MONKEY in the spatio-temporal coordinate. In other words, INDEX tracks the movement of the referent in the spatio-temporal dimension wherever the referent is at that point of discourse. This shows that the INDEX to the R-LOCUS or the physically present referent in the partitioned signing space is not an invariant pronominal form as in spoken language. He further argues that had it been like a spoken language pronoun, the signer would have INDEX to the same R-LOCUS. In short, the dynamic referents inherent to both reference frames may change discourse space-time in ISL.

Sinha (*ibid.*), hence, argues that in ISL an INDEX to the R-LOCUS in the partitioned signing space is not a pronoun, but an R-expression, thereby involving reference of the *Chandan* type rather than the *he* type. He argues that every instance of INDEX in the linguistic reference frame is a noun (i.e. an R-expression), and that there does not exist a syntactic realisation of person other than the pragmatic/discourse roles. He, further, consolidates his analysis through the binding facts that support his claim.

- (8) MRIGE IX-i IX-i LIKE-i
 "Mrige likes him." (lit. Mrige_i likes Mrige_i.)

In the grammatical example (6), the R-LOCI associated with the ipsilateral localised referent refers to the same referent i.e. MRIGE. If the INDEX were indeed a pronominal, then Principle B of the Binding Theory is violated. The example is grammatical, however, suggesting that Principle B does not apply at all. Principle C, that prohibits co-reference to hold between R-expressions, holds in a modified form in ISL by which c-commanded R-expression are treated like epithets in spoken language as shown below in (9).

- (9) John hired a secretary that hates the idiot.
 "John_i hired a secretary that hates the idiot_i."

In ISL, there is no morphological realisation of any Case rather INDEX is used invariably. In genitive construction, compounding is employed as a strategy, where an INDEX followed by a possessum is grammatically valid genitive construction. It is, however, observed that HANDSHAPE: tA is often used for genitive/possessive opposed to INDEX, and to make distinction between the two forms.

To summarise the discussion so far, in both the real and the abstract reference frames, discourse relevant referents are treated alike as there is no fundamental syntactic distinction between the ⁴referents. In a discursive context, a signer can introduce a referent through LOCALISATION, and INDEX to the referent is equivalent to the articulation of the sign in its every instance. The communicative intent of INDEX would be of generic reference rather than a specific reference to an entity located in the real reference frame. The fact that INDEX to the R-LOCUS unambiguously refers to the same referent associated with the R-LOCUS even after many intervening signs shows that LOCALISATION does not signify an act of reference, whereas INDEX does, and the latter encodes deixis too.

5. Decomposing D to *d*-features

Acknowledging the fact that there is a distinction between INDEX and LOCALISATION, Sinha (2008) uses the ideas of Heim (1982) in distinguishing the two. On the basis of their semantics, Heim (*ibid.*) argues that indefinite descriptions are referential, and an indefinite is used to introduce a new entity into the discourse (Novelty Condition), while a definite or a pronoun is used to refer to old/familiar entities (Familiarity Condition). Sinha (2008) argues that LOCALISATION is governed by the Novelty Condition, but INDEX is in service of the Familiarity Condition. Thus, the former signals indefiniteness in ISL, while the latter yields definite descriptions in ISL. This entails that a noun introduced into a discourse without LOCALISATION is indefinite while the subsequent articulation of the same in the discourse is

definite. Syntactically, INDEX and LOCALISATION occupy the head of DP.

A large cross-linguistic study, however, shows that the determiner may not encode definiteness i.e. the same determiner can be used for novel referent as well as familiar referent. In Squamish, Malagasy, and Skwxwu7mesh among other languages (see Ghomeshi et al. 2009), all determiners can be used in novel or familiar contexts, regardless of whether they are deictic or non-deictic. Hence, the D-link features like familiarity and novelty (see Aboh 2003) do not suffice to determine the feature composition. The Skwxwu7mesh data provide us with evidence for three-way distinction: definite, indefinite and non-definite. In Skwxwu7mesh, non-definites can be used in both novel and familiar cases, but behave much like definites in familiar contexts. Considering this cross linguistic variation, the definiteness can be valued as [\pm definite] and [\pm indefinite].

Like value decomposition of definiteness, D-(eterminer) head is not a monolithic element but composed of features (henceforth, *d*-features); and these features vary cross-linguistically as well as on cross-modality basis. The following phenomena in ISL⁵ are examined to ascertain the *d*-features of INDEX and LOCALISATION.

In ISL, a solitary INDEX to a referent has semantics of singular, and two successive INDEX is to mark dual. It is known as transnumeral singular and transnumeral dual, respectively (descriptive labels are from Zeshan 2003). It is also observed that to mark two of the referents, the signer makes eye gaze to the referents and a suppletive HANDSHAPE: V is used to include the two. Such suppletive form is labelled as dual. Another articulatory strategy to include more than two referents is to articulate a semi/circular horizontal arc sweeping the referents. This articulatory strategy with ARC is an instance of plural INDEX. Another strategy to mark plurality is successive INDEX to referents to include as many those referents as INDEX refers to. It is labelled as

⁴ The handshape: tA is a loanword from English and ASL for fingerspelling 'S.'

⁵ For details of each phenomena see Sinha (2008, 2013).

transnumeral plural. The difference between transnumeral plural and the ARC is that the former is specific and the latter is not. The similar applies to transnumeral dual and dual. A schematic diagram sums up the phenomenon.

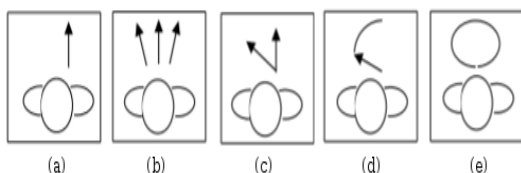


Figure 3: Number marking in ISL

Fig. 3(a) shows the INDEX to the addressee. Fig. 3(b) and 3(c) are an instance of transnumeral plural and dual, respectively. Fig. 3(d) has an ARC showing the inclusion of all the referents along with the sweep of the arc. In Fig. 3(e), all the referents in the discourse including the signer is included.

This establishes that number is among the *d*-features, and it is manifested with distinct values. Thus, the number feature in ISL is devised as [singular] and [augmented] following Harbour (2007) and Nevins (2006). Interestingly, ISL number interacts with specificity as discussed above. Hence, [\pm specificity] is an additional feature along with number.

In ISL, gender differences are encoded for animate humans. The animate usually has FACE, if the signs (abbreviated in text as MASC. and FEM.) are not articulated. MASC. and FEM are articulated with the HANDSHAPE: G at the LOCATION: PHILTRAL COLUMN and LOCATION: NOSE GROVE, respectively. They are obligatorily used for non-discourse participants and may be localised. B are INDEX is also used for animate human masculine, and also for neuter.

Note that ISL display difference in terms of animacy; and Harley Ritter (2002) independently argued that animacy is a form of gender. Following Harley's (2008) two-feature system for distinguishing gender, ISL gender can be stated as [\pm feminine] and [\pm neuter], where [+feminine, -neuter] is fem; [-feminine, -neuter] is masc; and [-feminine, +neuter] is neuter. In turn, this feature system captures the difference of animacy with [\pm neuter].

It is also observed that HANDSHAPE: B in lieu of HANDSHAPE: G is also used by the signers for INDEX as well as ARC. It is mostly used for a human referent since to point with HANDSHAPE: G is considered unmannerly in the many South-Asian socio-cultural settings. HANDSHAPE: B, therefore, can be best understood as a marker of honorificity. Consequently, the manual INDEX HANDSHAPE: B and HANDSHAPE: G can be divided into honorific and non-honorific, respectively. It is also observed that honorific distinction is maintained in singular and dual masculine and feminine whereas the same distinction is not distinguished morphologically in dual.

Adger and Harbour (2008) appropriate honorificity within the ambit of phi-features. Based on ISL data, the honorific distinction can motivate to build feature distinction based on [\pm honorific].

Zeshan (*ms.*) observes that ISL signs localized in the upper space involves entities that are invested with some degree of authority such as the government, the police and schools. Similar observation is expressed by Schlenker et al. (2012) for ASL and LSF, and maintains that this distinction of high or low position of a locus in signing space has a direct semantic reflex, akin to the semantic contribution of gender features of pronouns.

In spoken languages like in Burmese, Thai and Japanese, it is found that there are distinct forms in the pronominal system to indicate status, intimacy, and non-restraint, closely linked with other factors like politeness or respect, and also assertiveness which are directly connected with speech roles - the speech role of 'being an honoured addressee' as distinct from that of 'being an addressee of the same or lower status' (Bhatt 2004:112). In sign language, the high and the low loci which are associated with reference to the signer can be understood as the spatial representation of the speech roles as observed in the spoken languages. Accordingly, the high and the low loci can be introduced in terms of feature speech role with [\pm status] values.

Recall examples (3-6) from the earlier section. The sign in Fig. 2(a) and 2(c) are used for location of the utterance and 2(b) is used for location that

is not the location of the utterance. This shows that ISL encodes a contrast in terms of visibility with [-visible] and [+visible] values. In addition to visibility, INDEX in ISL has the function of a demonstrative which can either precede or follow the noun sign as seen in (5) and (6). The deictic nature of demonstrative encode information about the location of the referent with respect to the utterance location that is visible. Since there are no defined loci in space to distinguish proximate, medial and distal but a continuum; for the ease of exposition, the relevant values associated with [+visible] are [±proximate] and [±distal].

On the basis of the above discussion and a wider cross-linguistic generalisations, the *d*-feature associated with INDEX and LOCALISATION in ISL is decomposed into following features and their values:

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1) Number: | [±singular] | [±augmented] |
| 2) Gender: | [±feminine] | [±neuter] |
| 3) Honorificity: | [±honorific] | |
| 4) Visibility: | [-visible] | [+visible]: |
| | [±proximate] | [±distal] |
| 5) Speech role: | [±status] | |
| 6) Definiteness: | [±indefinite] | [±definite] |
| 7) Specificity: | [±specific] | |

Finally, each instance of INDEX and LOCALISATION is the realisation of those features along with their values.

6. Conclusion

This paper acknowledges the syntactic and the semantic restrictions on INDEX and LOCALISATION, and makes a distinction between the two in ISL. Rather than a 'modality difference,' it argues that INDEX and LOCALISATION signal indefiniteness and definiteness, respectively; and are associated with D head. Further, it decomposes the D head into *d*-features, and argues that each instance of INDEX and LOCALISATION is the realisation of those features along with their values. The inter-face requirements of the S-M system creates the differences in terms of the feature, and INDEX and LOCALISATION refer to such features. Although the paper presents an initial feature based analysis of the phenomena; hopefully, it laid the ground from which cross-linguistic and cross-modality studies as well as investigations on universal set

of features and their values can proceed.

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Notation Conventions

eg	Eye gaze
torso	Torso tilt
-	Fingerspelling
IX	INDEX
c	Contralateral side of the signer
i	Ipsilateral side of the signer
u	Space above the signer's face
d	Space below the signer's waist
s	Signer
f	Addressee
=	Incorporation
<i>d</i> -VERB- <i>u</i>	Path movement of verb

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LANGUAGE SHIFT AND MAINTENANCE: A CASE STUDY OF KANI TRIBES*

Sreelakshmi K M

This paper aims to look into the status of the language maintenance and shifts in the Malampasha, a language spoken by the Kanikkar (ISO 639-3, kev) community in Kerala. The paper also intends to draw out some of the struggles that the Kanikkar community face in the wake of the dominating presence of Malayalam.

Keywords: Kani, tribes in Kerala, language shift, Malayalam, language maintenance, Kanikkar

1. Introduction

Though language loss was quite common in historic as well as pre-historic times, the number of languages that are facing endangerment or are extinct, have gone up since the sixteenth century (Dixon 1991a: 232). Quite evidently, colonization and genocide by European nations have been the primary cause. However, language loss of the present times, is of a different character. We begin our project on this note, where we grapple with the language loss of one such community in Kerala, a state that is quite distinctive for its health and educational indices but have been woefully ignorant of language loss.

India is home to nearly 2000 languages, out of which several languages are facing endangerment or extinction. According to the UNESCO, a language faces endangerment when it is spoken by less than 10,000 speakers. By this definition, in India, there are 600 languages that face endangerment and nearly 250 that have become extinct in the last sixty years.

Out of the 600 languages that face endangerment, nearly all of them are either languages spoken by nomadic communities or languages spoken by tribal communities. This is particularly significant in a state like Kerala, which has failed to officially recognize tribal languages. With Malayalam dominating 96.7% of the population, very little

attention has been paid to the languages spoken by the tribal communities in Kerala. The State Government do not have an exact number regarding the tribal population in Kerala and the estimates vary from forty-eight to fifty-four. There is also widespread misconception that the mother tongues of several tribal communities such as Aranadan, Ulladan, Urali, Kaani, Kurichyan, Mullukuruman, Malaullda, Paniya, Adiya, Malpandaram and Viswan being treated as dialects. State driven initiatives that are heavily invested in Malayalam has affected the survival of these languages.

While part of the problem arises from the violence of development and exclusion, language loss is also a natural by-product of migration, where minority communities must adjust to the constructed space of the state.

2. The Context and Scope of Research

In the reserved forest areas of Travancore in Kerala stays one of the aboriginal tribes of Kerala. Kani or Kanikkar were known for their close association with the royal Maharajas of Kerala. Settled in the Western Ghats of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, Kanikkars were originally known as 'Mala-Arayan'. As Matter (1883) states, "the tribes living toward the south of Travancore are most usually designated by this term Kanikkar, while those in the North are commonly called as 'Mala-Arayan'. It is possible that the change in the name and identity of the same tribe has everything to do with their social context. For example, it is believed that these hereditary land proprietors were too dominating that the co-existential of other tribes found it impossible with in the same land.

Despite having immense power, these royal forest caretakers had to start migrating with the end of the reign of kings. Today, the Kanis are known to be divided into two sections i.e. the *Natukanis* and the *Malamkanis*. *Natukanis* are the people who are settled in the plains while the *Malamkanis* are those who reside in the hills.

* This paper is a part of the ongoing research on *Documenting the language of Kanis in Kerala*.

The Malamkanis are popularly identified as the propagators of *arogya pacha* meaning 'healthy green' or the 'plants that can provide evergreen health' which are botanically identified as *Trichopus Zeylanicus*. Such was their reputation that the tribe was awarded for their ethno medicinal findings at the UN sponsored World Summit on Sustainable Development. While scholars have paid attention to the community for their agricultural methods and natural reserves, the Kanikkars have been slowly losing their folklores and songs over the years.

Tribal bilingualism in Kerala is oral and therefore, majority of the speech varieties of the tribes have faced language loss due to standardization. There is a clear trend of moving away from mother-tongues and favouring of Malayalam evident in Kanikkar and Kurichiyar communities. This is stark contrast to the efforts made in preserving the language of the Kanikkar communities in Tamil Nadu. In Tamil Nadu the language of the Kanis are known as "Kani-pasai" i.e, Spoken language (Miller and Narayanan Kani: 2004) while in Kerala, their language is known as "Malampasha" meaning language of the hills, ISO 639-3, kev. Very little work has been done on the Kanis of Kerala as compared to the literature that one finds in the Kani-pasai. According to Miller (2004 : 4), this is because "the people of Tamil Nadu have historically felt a devotion to their language to a degree unsurpassed by any other people in the world: some Tamilians even experience the Tamil language as a goddess" (Miller and Narayanan Kani 2004: 4). Miller states that,

The Kani's forest dialect of Tamil should be treasured, documented, and nurtured. Just as biodiversity is healthy for landscapes, preventing deforestation and desertification, so cultural diversity is valuable in human societies. As the Tamil language enters the Age of Cyberspace, let Her enrich Herself with knowledge and experience from the forest. One never knows when varied points of view and modes of perception might help a people to cope with new experiences and challenges. (2004:5)

The study looks into the critical juncture where Malampasha is slowly absorbing the words from the dominant language.

3. Methodology/ Selecting the Informants

The study was conducted in the Kani tribal community in order to check their language shift and maintenance. Questions were asked to the informants to know in detail about their language attitude. The study was conducted in multiple levels. The data was collected through group discussion. As most of the informants were tribal, they were not very keen on the question answer process. For the informants, focused group discussions with 5-6 people were more productive. Secondly, the question answer method was used to extract many details about their language. The informants in the group included older generation people and younger generation, so that a clear variation in the language can be tracked.

For this whole research participants were selected in two ways. The first section the study started a general friendly talk with the community people. Out of them some of the tribes had an in-depth knowledge about their community's culture and tradition but the hardly uses their language for communication. While the other set of people included the elders in the tribe who too had an immense knowledge about their community and they speak their language. In the case of some of these elderly people they were aware of the fact that their language is different from Malayalam. At the same time others couldn't differentiate their language which is Malampasha with Malayalam. In these cases the interviews with this group of people held in a different way i.e., more in a naturalistic way so that their natural speech could be recorded. The older generation aged between 55-70years and the younger generation aged between 15-30 years. The total informants for this study were 10 older generations (Kani1, K1) and 10 younger generations (Kani 2, K2).

4. Analysis

4.1 Phonological Features

Sounds are the main features that undergo sudden shift while the native speakers try to imitate words from other languages. In the Kani phonology, such phonological change or shift can be seen in the sound /a/. The word beginning with /a/ sound is replaced with /e/ by the speaker. In the spoken language of the Malampasha such evident replace

of the front unrounded open vowel /a/ with front unrounded close-mid vowel /e/ is visible. This phonological shift is seen both in the older generation and younger generation of Kani speakers. Even though the sound /a/ and /e/ are seen in the Malayalam spoken in Kerala, still the replacement of the /a/ sound with /e/ is more a feature of Tamil. As the Kani's are settled in the border areas of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the influence of the both dominant language is seen in their language.

(1) Malampasha	Malayalam	Meaning
eiyya	aiyya	name of a Kani woman
e:ru	a:ru	river
eʃʃukaʃʃu	aʃʃukaʃʃa	grinding stone made of rock pieces
eʃʃukaʃʃai	aʃʃukaʃʃa	kitchen
enpaʃu	anpaʃa	fifty

Table 1: Percentage of phonological variation of e → a in Kani 1 and Kani 2 generation

Generation	No.of Speakers	Sound	Percentage
K1(Kani 1)	10	e → a	6.75%
K2 (Kani 2)	10	e → a	7.55%

Similarly, the /v/, which is a labio-dental fricative sound, is mostly replaced in their language. Every time the kanikkar pronounce any word the /v/ sound is replaced with the plosive bilabial sound /b/. This feature is seen in the words starting with /v/ ending and in the middle positions too.

(2) Malampasha	Malayalam	Meaning
beʃʃijə	valijə	big
ebiɖe	aviɖe	there
biraʃ	viraʃ	finger
beʃʃakkar	velakkar	servants
bentə	ventə	burned/cooked

Table 2: Percentage of phonological variation of b → v in Kani 1 and Kani 2 generation

Generation	No.of Speakers	Sound	Percentage
K1 (Kani 1)	10	b → v	7.33%
K2 (Kani 2)	10	b → v	8.66%

The retroflex approximant /ɻ/ is not a feature in the Malampasha, in their tongue, older generation couldn't produce the sound. They mostly replace it with palatal approximant /j/. While the rest of the sound mentioned could still be produced by the Kanikkar but not the sound /ɻ/. This might also give an evidence that this sound was absent in their language and the Kani's even after shifting to Malayalam, they are mostly not able to produce this sound during conversations. However, the younger generation / the present generation could produce this sound in their speech. While the older generation fail to or to say, try to retain some features in their language, the younger generation shifts their way of using language to Malayalam.

(3) Malampasha	Malayalam	Meaning
piju	puʃu	caterpillar
kuji	kuʃi	pit
vaji	vaʃi	path
čaji	čaʃi	an insect

The above mentioned notable phonological changes give the evidence that this language also has similar notable features towards Tamil than to Malayalam. According to SIL International's study, the Malampasha has 60 – 70% of lexical similarity to the dominant language presently.

Table 3: Percentage of phonological variation of j → ɻ in Kani 1 and Kani 2 generation

Generation	No.of Speakers	Sound	Percentage
K1(Kani 1)	10	j → ɻ	5.88%
K2 (Kani 2)	10	j → ɻ	6.23%

4.2 Case Markers

Case markers are an important aspect in any language that defines the purpose of the sentences in the language through noun phrase, with respect to verbs. The case markers found in the language of Kanis will be also shown with noun phrases. Though many of the cases markers in Malampasha have undergone shift under the influence of Malayalam, certain case markers are also retained by the speakers.

Case	Marker	Example
Nominative	Ø	sita
Accusative	-inne	sitainne
Dative	-ikku/nikku	sitanikku

Sociative	-dei	sita _{dei}
Locative	-il	sita _{il}
Instrumental	-aal	sita _{aal}
Genitive	-n _{te}	sita _{n_{te}}

In Malampasha the Nominative, accusative, dative, sociative case have been retained by the tribes. While case markers for locative, instrumental and genitive has been borrowed from Malayalam.

4.3 Pronominal Forms

The pronouns are the important feature in a language which is marker based on three features, gender, number and person. In the Malampasha, the Kanis used pronominal forms which appear similar to the Trivandrum dialect spoken in Kerala.

Table 4: The pronominal forms in both the languages are given below

English	Malampasha	Malayalam
I (first person singular)	Ein	ja:n
We (first person plural)	na _{na}	na _{na} namma _l
You (second person singular)	Ninge	Ni
You (second person plural)	Ni _{nja}	ni _{nja} _l
He/she (third person singular)	avanu/avabu _u	avan/ava _l
They (third person plural)	iti _{na} _l	ava/iva

The pronominal system in the language shows that these terms have undergone a major shift towards Malayalam and Tamil. As this language has undergone a larger shift under the influence of the dominant languages, this is the present form in which the Kanikkar in the south uses the pronouns.

Table 5: Pattern of language shift over generation in pronominal forms

Pronominal	Generation	No.of Speakers/Percentage
I (first person singular)	K1	10 = 4.55%
	K2	10 = 7.33 %
We (first	K1	10 = 5.75%

person plural)	K2	10 = 7.55 %
You (second person singular)	K1	10 = 4.55%
	K2	10 = 5.66 %
You (second person plural)	K1	10 = 6.75%
	K2	10 = 8.33 %
He/she (third person singular)	K1	10 = 5.55%
	K2	10 = 8.33 %
They (third person plural)	K1	10 = 3.55%
	K2	10 = 5.55 %

4.4 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are one of the important forms in the language that undergoes shift. They are formed when the personal pronouns and the interrogative pronouns are added to the genitive suffix.

Table 6: Possessive pronouns in Malampasha

	Malampasha	
Person	Singular	Plural
First person	en _{te}	na _{nja} dei
Second Person	Ningei	Ni _{nja} dei
Third Person	abanikkə (M)	abanudei(M)
	abi _l ukkə(F)	abi _l udei(F)

Table 7: Percentage of shift in the possessive pronouns in the Kani 1 and Kani generation

Person	Generation	No of Speakers/Percentage
First person	K1	10 = 7.55%
	K2	10 = 8.66%
Second Person	K1	10 = 7.33%
	K2	10 = 8.66%
Third Person	K1	10 = 6.66%
	K2	10 = 8.33%

Even though, the language has undergone changes the terms in personal pronouns too are found that it has borrowed the suffixations in pronouns from Malayalam.

4.5 Interrogative Pro-form

In Malampasha, the interrogative pro-forms are mostly influenced by Malayalam language. These forms are the words that get mostly affected under

the influence of the dominant language. But there is a certain difference in the sound system of the same word is seen in the Malampasha.

Table 8: The present Interrogative pro-forms in Malampasha

English	Malampasha
What	əṅtə
When	Eppera
Where	Ebide
How	Eṅane
Who	a:rə

Table 9: Percentage of variation in the use of the interrogative pro-forms in Kani1 and Kani 2 generation

Interrogative Pro-form	Generation	No. of Speakers/ Percentage
What	K1	10 = 6.55%
	K2	10 = 8.33%
When	K1	10 = 7.66%
	K2	10 = 8.55%
Where	K1	10 = 6.66%
	K2	10 = 7.66%
How	K1	10 = 5.75 %
	K2	10 = 7.33%
Who	K1	10 = 6.33%
	K2	10 = 7.55%
What	K1	10 = 6.33%
	K2	10 = 8.55%

5. Conclusion

Bilingualism and multilingualism are one of the main reasons for language shift. The brief study on the language of the Kani shows a greater level of shift from their mother tongue to the dominant language. Malayalam is dominantly used in Kerala. However, when the tribes come in contact with the main land people even for their basic needs including purchasing, worships in temple, official visits, jobs, educations etc, they are forced to shift or to say learn the dominant language i.e. Malayalam. Moreover, the influence of media has also affected these minorities. Even though, the language policies in India safeguard many languages of the less spoken communities, it also fails to recognise minor communities. The present educational system that is followed is the three language formula. In the context of Kerala, these tribal children are forced to learn the dominant

tongue. Trying to run along with the present fast growing world, with awareness to the need to protect their mother tongue would not only lead to the language shifts but also to language loss.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE BEGINNINGS OF LINGUISTICS AT TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY

Austin Hale

The definitive account of the birth and development of linguistics, and of the study of minority languages in Nepal has yet to be written. In this brief account we focus on the part of that development that arose from interactions between SIL and Tribhuvan University in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The most outstanding memory I have from those early days is of the interest shown in linguistics by scholars in Nepal. Dr. Trailokya Nath Uprety (who was registrar at the time, and later, Vice Chancellor) was a key person in this regard. He was aware of the interest that foreign scholars had in the languages spoken in Nepal. Even though the official government stance at that time was to focus on Nepali as the only significant local language spoken in Nepal, these foreign scholars knew that many other languages were spoken here which were highly significant from a linguistic perspective, not only Indo-Aryan languages but Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian as well.

Though Dr. Uprety was aware of this interest, he was handicapped in providing assistance to these scholars by the fact that in those early days the University had no department devoted to such studies.

1. The Agreement with Tribhuvan University

My experience of the beginnings of linguistics at Tribhuvan University was from the vantage point of the beginnings of SIL in Nepal. These two beginnings were intertwined in a way that makes it difficult for me to write of one without the other. The research that SIL was involved in became a window through which university scholars could explore the discipline of linguistics, a long process that started in the late 1960's and culminated with the formation of the Department of Linguistics in the mid-1990's.

On December 22, 1966 two representatives from SIL, Dick Pittman and Jim Dean, met with Dr. Uprety. He felt that before long Nepali would be

the only language spoken in Nepal, and was keen to document the other languages before they disappeared. A three-year agreement was signed with SIL. What T.U. wanted was published papers to prove SIL's competence and its serious intent to describe the languages of Nepal. The contract was for three teams for three years, together with a fourth team for administration. During those three years each team needed to become functional in the national language, to do the language survey necessary to identify a suitable language, and to produce a substantial linguistic paper on that language. Unless there was significant publication before the end of 1968, the contract would not be renewed.

From our perspective, SIL's early years in Nepal were turbulent. In mid-1967 SIL lost the only member with advanced linguistic training that it had, leaving the teams without consultant help. In May 1968, Dr. Uprety called in Warren Glover who was director at the time. The first half of the three-year contract had elapsed, and SIL still had not published anything.

Hales arrived on the 1st of June 1968. The teams worked together well and manuscripts of four linguistic papers were submitted to Dr. Uprety in September 1968. They were published as a *Special Linguistic Number of the Tribhuvan University Journal* in September 1969.

2. Some Key People -- Early Signs of Interest in Linguistics

The most outstanding recollection that I have, following the renewal of the agreement with Tribhuvan University was of the highly gifted, deeply motivated university scholars that we were privileged to work with.

By the time we arrived, work on *Conversational Nepali*, the language learning course that SIL was writing, was well under way. We greatly appreciated the help of **Chura Mani Bandhu** over the next few months in checking the manuscript

as it was typed. In the early days, my work with university scholars was done to a large extent in individual sessions. I was privileged to have many such sessions with Bandhu over the years, focusing initially on phonology.

In late May, 1971, we had a series of daily consultant sessions on Bantawa phonology in which Bandhu ended up serving as the consultant. Not only did Bandhu go on to earn the Ph.D. in linguistics, he was elected President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1982. It should also be noted that Bandhu was the Chair of the task force for the establishment of the Central Department of Linguistics in the mid- '90's.

On the 12th of February, 1969, a proposal was made to Dr. Uprety for a staff seminar on phonology, which I was then invited to teach. Interestingly, the time and place of the seminar was changed after each lecture to make sure that only staff (and not students) would be able to attend.

On the 6th of May, 1969, **Ballabh Mani Dahal** asked me to be the guide for his Ph.D. program. On the 14th of July, 1970, Dahal left for a study program at Deccan College in Poona with a letter of reference I had written for him -- certainly a solid indication of his interest in linguistics, and I continued to be privileged to make contributions to Dahal's program in the form of comments on his papers, his thesis and his dissertation. On the 20th of June, 1974, Dahal brought me a copy of his dissertation. In 1984, Dahal was elected President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal.

On the 27th of April 1971, I met **Tej Ratna Kansakar** and showed him much of what we had been doing. This marked the beginning of a long series of mutually helpful sessions, initially on phonology. Our interaction over the years has continued to be mutually helpful, especially for me as I moved more deeply into the study of Newar -- where I became the consultee and Kansakar, the consultant. Not only did Kansakar go on, in 1980, to earn his Ph.D. in linguistics, he was elected President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1997.

Other indications of interest in minority languages came from scholars like **Kamal Prakash Malla**,

who went abroad for language-related studies and returned to make many outstanding contributions to the study of Nepal Bhasa (Newar). I have learned much from him over the years. Not only did Malla earn his Ph.D. in linguistics, in 1979 he became the first person to be elected as President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal.

At some point in the 1970's Tribhuvan University's Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies (INAS) asked SIL to conduct some courses in linguistics. It was in such a course that I met **Nirmal Man Tuladhar**. Professor Tuladhar has gone on to make significant contributions in a number of areas. He has served as an editor of *Nepalese Linguistics* in 1980, and as chief editor in 1991. In 1992 he was elected President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. In the mid-'90's he was Member-Secretary of the task force for the establishment of the Central Department of Linguistics of which Professor Bandhu was Chair. He is currently the Chairman of the Social Science Baha, an organization that promotes research in the social sciences in Nepal. (See <www.soscbaha.org>.)

Professor Yogendra P. Yadava is also one who went abroad for advanced studies, earning the Ph.D. at EFLU in Hyderabad. We have benefitted greatly from Yadava's contributions over the years since then. He was the one who wrote the classic full-page article in *The Rising Nepal* for August 17, 1996, entitled "*TU Faculty of Linguistics, A dream come true!*" announcing the establishment of The Central Department of Linguistics. Yadava was elected President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 2000, and again in 2002. He has also been Head of The Central Department of Linguistics for a number of years. (See <<https://cdltu.edu.np/>>.)

3. *The Pike Workshop on Tone and Segmentals.* (June 9 – August 13, 1969)

Ken and Evie Pike arrived in Kathmandu on the 9th of June, 1969, and worked on the analysis of segmentals and tone with the SIL teams studying Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Sunuwar, Chepang, Sherpa and Newar. This workshop also gave local scholars an opportunity to witness such a workshop and to meet an important figure in the field of linguistics. On the 23rd of December 1970,

C. M. Bandhu showed us his paper, *Sinjali Phonemic Summary*. For us it was a very nice sequel to the Pike workshop, demonstrating his interest in phonology.

The Pikes left on the 13th of August after a farewell from Dr. Uprety. The papers from this workshop were published in four parts as Hale and Pike, eds. 1970, "*Tone systems of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal*", *Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*, vol. III.

By this time a fair bit of evidence had been provided as to the competence of SIL scholars and their serious intent to document the languages spoken in Nepal had been provided.

4. A Glimpse of the Bigger Picture.

After reading a preliminary draft of this account, our director, Kwang-Ju Cho, commented that he had a very good relationship with one of those who had been much involved in the early linguistic scene in Nepal, and was disappointed that I had not even mentioned him.

This was **Professor Novel Kishore Rai**, who had not only been Nepal's ambassador to Germany from 1995 to 2000, but who, in the process of completing his studies for the Ph.D. in the linguistics wrote a dissertation entitled, 'A Descriptive Study of Bantawa.' In 2006 he served as Chief Editor of *Nepalese Linguistics*. (See <<http://ecs.com.np/features/a-noble-life-professor-novel-kishore-rai>>.)

This is just one glimpse of the larger picture of the development of linguistic studies in Nepal that would be essential in a more definitive account. There are many others like this with whom we had only limited interaction in the early years, but who have made outstanding contributions who should be mentioned in such a review.

29 June 2019

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
39TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL*

Bhim Narayan Regmi

Honorable Chief Guest, Shree Ganga Prasad Uprety,

Chairman, Language Commission, Dr. Lava Deo Awasthi,

Vice Chairman, National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities, Mr. Chandra Bahadur Gurung,

Dean, Tribhuvan University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Professor Dr. Shiva Lal Bhusal,

Keynote Speaker, Professor Dr. John Peterson, Christian-Albrechts-Universitats zu Kiel,

Former President and Former Head of the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Professor Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar,

Former President and Former Head of the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Professor Dr. Dan Raj Regmi,

Chief, Cultural Division, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation,

Dr. Arun Thakur, Executive Director of Centre for Economic Development and Administration, Tribhuvan University

Head, Central Department of Nepalbhasha, Tribhuvan University, Professor Dr. Omkareshwor Shrestha,

Dr. Dubi Nanda Dhakal, Head, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University,

Mr. Prithvi Chaudhary, Country Director, SIL International Nepal,

Former Presidents of Linguistic Society of Nepal, Distinguished linguists, dignitaries from other institutions and scholars,

Good morning!

On behalf of Linguistic Society of Nepal, I would like to extend my warm welcome to Shree Ganga Prasad Uprety, Chancellor, Nepal Academy, for gracing and inaugurating the 39th Annual Conference of the Society as Chief Guest. Warm welcome to all the Guests, presenters and participants. In this cold morning, we are here, with the same excitement, curiosity and passion to learn and share findings carried out in the fields of linguistics in this historical hall, where most of the past Annual Conferences were inaugurated on the same date, i.e., November 26.

Few days ago, we heard the sudden demise of Professor Dr. Kamal Prakash Malla, my respected Guru, also the guru of most of us, and the founder President of Linguistic Society of Nepal, a renowned scholar of Nepalese Languages, culture and history. His demise is a great loss to us, the Linguists' community. We wish the departed soul may rest in peace and the bereaved family may have courage to endure this loss.

The society has completed its journey of 40 years since its establishment in 1979. As a living institution, it has witnessed many ups and downs which we can see documented in the volumes of journals and newsletters of the society. My predecessors carried the society ahead no matter how tough the time was. I express my sincere thanks to them and I will be happy if I successfully continue the tradition and handover the Society to my successor.

The Society has two hats on its head, one represents its role of activists looking after the policies, plans and actions for preservation and promotion of the languages of Nepal, and the other is the role of an academic society that always seeks for the promotion of researches, discussions and publications on the various fields of linguistics.

* This Presidential Address was delivered at the Inaugural Ceremony of 39th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal at CEDA Hall, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu on 26 November 2018.

There are many issues related to Nepalese languages which the Society has been raising since its inception. Many of the issues have been addressed. However, some issues still remain to be addressed, and more issues are emerging as well. I am thankful again to our predecessors for their continued efforts to get them addressed appropriately. I will not talk on the issues which have already been solved, but raise other issues which are either already raised but yet to be addressed and new issues. I wish the Linguistic Society of Nepal, wider community of linguists, language users, planners and policy makers and scholars in the field own these issues.

Some of the issues I would like to mention here are as follows.

There are some gaps in the Constitution of Nepal (2015) regarding language related issues. The constitution has provision of official use of languages at province/state levels (article 7). This implies that there will be at least two languages at a province level. That means there will be at least seven other languages in addition to Nepali which provides us with a practice of multiple official languages. In this situation, there needs to be a provision of language of record which can be used as authoritative while resolving disputes in the courts and elsewhere. Though already present in the interim constitution of Nepal (2007), unfortunately the current constitution has omitted this provision.

Another issue is the unit of official use of languages. Province as a unit appears to be less practical from the perspectives of users' need and inclusion. This results into an awkward situation in that where services are needed, there will be no services, and where services are available there will be no use of it. Had the unit of official use of languages been local level, the services and their users would closely come to be congruent and the spirit of language rights would effectively be realized.

The constitutional provision of multiple official languages demands trained linguists at various positions of Government agencies as staff right from the front desk to the planning and language development experts. If we assign one person at a unit from the ward level upwards to handle the

tasks related to the issue of official languages, it results into about eight thousand staff under "language group" in the government service. This is the issue to be addressed by the Public Service Act.

We need some sort of mechanism at various levels under government agency with representatives from various language related fields to facilitate staff under the language group and to cope with the language issues that are being emerged with technological development (multimodal online platforms, common orthography, local content in education etc.)

On the academic part, the Society seeks collaboration with the international, regional and local agencies working in the fields of language and linguistics. The society has already begun this practice and has got successes in few areas, and will move further in this direction in the days to come.

I am happy to share with you that we are planning to expand the activities of the Society. It is my pleasure to announce that the Society has started to peer review its journal *Nepalese Linguistics* to follow the international standard of research publications. I would like to thank the Editorial Board members for their effort in leading the journal to this direction.

The Society is also planning to organize other events such as seminars, conferences in various regions of the country to expand its area so that more people can be involved in the activities related to language preservation and promotion.

It is well known that the Society has been organizing Nepali medium sessions in the conferences for the last few years. We have decided to publish a separate volume of the journal in Nepali as soon as possible.

I would like to thank all the guests, presenters, participants, volunteers, co-organizer, supporters and Members of the LSN Executive Committee, the people. Without your participation and active involvement, this program would not have happened.

Thank you for your patience.

Thank you all.

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8.	007	Ulrike Kolver, Germany.
9.	008	Shailendra Kumar Singh, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
10.	009	Burkhard Schottendreyer, Spartado Aereo 100388, Columbia.
11.	010	Tika Bahadur Karki, American Peace Corps, Kathmandu (late)
12.	011	Richard R. Smith, United Mission to Nepal, Kathmandu.
13.	012	Horst Brinkhaus, University of Kiel, Germany.
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15.	014	Subhadra Subba, Kirtipur.
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18.	017	Nishi Yoshio, University of Kyoto, Japan.
19.	018	Shreedhar P. Lohani, Maitidevi, Kathmandu.
20.	019	Tika P. Sharma, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal, Kathmandu.
21.	020	Ronald Bielmeier, University of Berne, Switzerland.
22.	021	Ian Alsop, Panipokhari, Kathmandu.
23.	022	Ballabh Mani Dahal, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur. (Late)
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33.	032	Marshal Lewis, Indiana University, USA.
34.	033	K.V. Subbarao, CDL, Delhi University, India.
35.	034	Devi P. Gautam, CDN, Kirtipur.
36.	035	Chandra Prakash Sharma, Kathmandu.
37.	036	Werner Winter, Germany.
38.	037	Baidyanath Jha, R. R. Multiple Campus, Janakpur.
39.	038	Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Calcutta University, India.
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42.	041	Kalpana Pandey, c/o Beerendra Pandey.

43.	042	Chandreshwar Mishra, DEE, Kirtipur.
44.	043	Rudra Laxmi Shrestha, Lalitpur.
45.	044	Khagendra K.C., Patan Multiple Campus, Patan.
46.	045	Shambhu Acharya, Patan Multiple Campus, Patan. (late)
47.	046	Durga P. Bhandari, Baneshwar, Kathmandu.
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55.	054	Sangita Rayamajhi, CDE, Kirtipur.
56.	055	Bhuvan Dhungana, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
57.	056	Baidaya Nath Mishra, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
58.	057	Krishna Pradhan, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
59.	058	K.B. Maharjan, Bernhardt College, Balkhu.
60.	059	Hriseekesh Upadhyay, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
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66.	065	Mohan Prasad Banskota, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu. (late)
67.	066	Rupa Joshi, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
68.	067	Keshab Gautam, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
69.	068	Krishna Kumar Basnet, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
70.	069	Nirmala Regmi, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
71.	070	Jyoti Tuladhar, Kathmandu.
72.	071	Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, Samakhusi, Kathmandu.
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81.	080	Amma Raj Joshi, CDE, Kirtipur.
82.	081	Parshuram Paudyal, CIL, Kathmandu.
83.	082	Martin W. Gaenzle, University of Heidelberg, South Asia Institute.
84.	083	Maya Devi Manandhar, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
85.	084	Pradeep M. Tuladhar, Patan Campus, Patan.
86.	085	Megha Raj Sharma, CIL, Kathmandu.
87.	086	Mohan Sitaula, CIL, Kathmandu.
88.	087	Anand Sharma, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
89.	088	Nanda Kishor Sinha, Birgunj.
90.	089	Ram Bikram Sijapati, Patan Multiple Campus, Patan.

94 / List of Life Members...

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100.	099	Pramila Rai, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
101.	100	Ram Ashish Giri, Melbourne, Australia.
102.	101	Tulsi P. Bhattarai, Kathmandu.
103.	102	Tika P. Uprety, Devkota Memorial School, Biratnagar-2.
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113.	112	Swayam Prakash Sharma, Mahendra Campus, Dharan.
114.	113	Anjana Bhattarai, DEE Kirtipur.
115.	114	Nivedita Mishra, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
116.	115	Gunjeshwari Basyal, Palpa Campus, Tansen.
117.	116	Philip Pierce, Nepal Research Center, Kathmandu.
118.	117	Binay Jha, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
119.	118	Mukunda Raj Pathik, CIL, Kathmandu.
120.	119	Laxmi Sharma, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
121.	120	Bhesha Raj Shiwakoti, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
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123.	122	Sulochana Dhital, CIL, Kathmandu.
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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

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