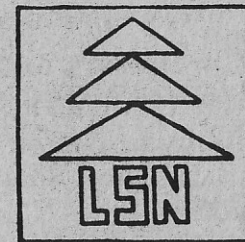


NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

Volume 5-8

November 1991



Linguistic Society of Nepal
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Estd. 1979

Office Holders: 1990-1991

President	: Mr. Abhi Subedi
Vice President	: Dr. Novel K. Rai
Secretary-Treasurer	: Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma
Joint Secretary (Office)	: Mr. Jai Raj Awasthi
Joint Secretary (General)	: Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay
Member	: Dr. Shree Krishna Yadav
Member	: Mr. Ved Prasad Giri
Member	: Mr. Manfred Treu

Price Rs. 200/-

NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

Volume 5-8

November 1991

Chief Editor: Nirmal M. Tuladhar

Editors: Geeta Chand
Rudra Laxmi Shrestha
Madhav P. Pokharel
Nayan Tara Bista

Contents

	Page
1. On the partial formal syncretism of categories of clause structure in Lhasa Tibetan Asif Agha Tseten Chonjou	1-12
2. Unbridgeable gaps? Some reflections on the translation of Nepali literature into English Michael Hutt	13-25
3. The morphophonology of the Maithili verbs: A study on the elision of the stops in Maithili Dr. Sunil Kumar	26-57
4. Some aspects of sexisms in Nepali Hriseekesh Upadhyay	58-62
5. Lexical Gender in Nepal Madhav P. Pokharel	63-73
6. Tibeto-Burman Languages of north-western India with special reference to Manchad S.R. Sharma	74-85
LSN Newsletter	86-99
List of Life Members of LSN	100

ON THE PARTIAL FORMAL SYNCRETISM OF CATEGORIES OF CLAUSE STRUCTURE IN LHASA TIBETAN

• Asif Agha,
Tseten Chonjou

From the analytical viewpoint of a linguist attempting to deduce the grammatical categories of a language, an ideal language would be one in which distinct morphemic constituents coded distinct, non-overlapping functional domains of grammatical structure, as schematized in (1).

$$(1) \quad \begin{array}{cccc} \overline{f_1} & \overline{f_2} & \overline{f_3} & \overline{f_4} \\ \overline{[[[m_1] m_2] m_3] [m_4 \dots] \dots m_n]s} \end{array}$$

Here, a one-to-one mapping relation between a distinct morphemic constituent, m_i , and a distinct grammatical function, f_i , allows for the individuation of grammatical categories directly, as it were, from surface syntactic form. This is the optimal analytic scenario.

While certain categories of grammatical structure in certain languages appear to approach this ideal, it is clear that any general methodological solution to the problem of the functional individuation of grammatical categories must take note of their *partial formal syncretism*.

$$(2) \quad \begin{array}{cccc} \overline{f_1} & \overline{f_2} & \overline{f_3} & \overline{f_4} \\ \overline{f_5} & \overline{f_6} & & \\ \overline{f_7} & & & \end{array}$$

In (2), grammatical categories like f_1 , f_2 , f_3 and f_4 are *localizable* in structure like the corresponding categories in (1): they contract a one-to-one mapping relation with individual morphemes. f_5 , f_6 and f_7 , on the other hand, differ in that they are signalled by the co-occurrence of morphemic constituents which do not individually signal their presence. This is a departure from the optimal analytic case, since the one-to-one mapping relation between form and function is lost. To say that the formal constituents which code grammatical categories of this type are *syncretic* is to point out the occurrence of a many-to-one, or a multiply crossed many-to-many relation between form and function.

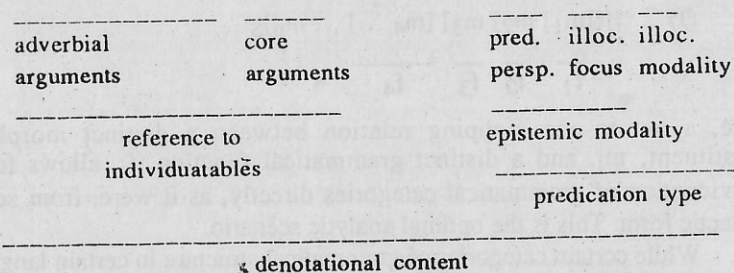
In an isolating language like Lhasa Tibetan, morphemes and morpheme strings are typically syncretic at the level of syntactic constituency, despite their relative autonomy with regard to morphophonemic shape.

(3) Phrase structure rules for major syntactic constituents:

- (i) S \rightarrow NP VP
- (ii) VP \rightarrow NP VG
- (iii) VG \rightarrow [(MV (COMP) (PT))₁] [AUX IM]₂]

Grammatical categories coded in the Verbal Group:

(iv) [NP₁ - c₁ NP₂ - C₂ ... NP_i - c_i [(MV (Comp) (PT))₁] [AUX IM]₂] VG]_s



The phrase structural description of simple assertoric and interrogative clauses is given in (3) (i), (3) (ii) and (3) (iii). The VG or verbal group is the constituent of the verb phrase which will be of special interest to us in this paper. Within the VG, the first major subconstituent, with subscript 1 in the expansion in (3) (iii), may contain a main verb, MV, a complement verb, COMP, and a particle which links this subconstituent to a sister subconstituent, subscripted with 2 in the expansion. This second subconstituent contains an auxiliary verb, AUX, and a marker of

illocutionary modality, IM. In the illocution types with which we shall be concerned in this paper, the second subconstituent must always occur. As shown by the curved brackets around it, the first subconstituent of the VG is not obligatory in such clauses, but when it occurs, the MV within it must always occur.

(3) (iv) is a representation of a slightly different sort. Here the mapping relation between the explicit formal categories of clause structure and the types of grammatical functions they encode is shown. The horizontal lines mark the syntactic domains where these functions are coded.

The grammatical function coded over the largest syntactic domain is denotational content. The two main functional components of denotational content, described in the philosophical literature as reference and predication, are themselves linguistically complex in that they involve several distinct types of subcategories coded independently in several locations within the clauses. Predication type in Tibetan, for example, involved at least the following formally distinguishable (though not always localizably coded) grammatical categories:

- (i) semantic class of main verb;
- (ii) aktionsart, or lexical aspect of main verb;
- (iii) secondary verbal aspect coded by complement verbs;
- (iv) grammaticalized aspect coded by auxiliary verb;
- (v) valence of main verb;
- (vi) grammatical relation of main verb to nominal arguments;
- (vii) predicate perspective;

We shall not be concerned with any of these categories in great detail here. But it is important to bear in mind that the meanings of sentences can be given a compositional structure in terms of these variables and that such complex meanings as do emerge at the level of sentences can ultimately be explained in terms of the interaction of these variables. Careful attention to the syntactic position and constituency of the forms which encode these functions position and proves to be crucial in such an analysis.

Three additional variables of predication type, marked off explicitly in the diagram in (3) (iv), will be discussed here. These are:

- (viii) illocutionary modality;
- (ix) illocutionary focus;
- (x) epistemic modality.

Let us discuss these three in turn.

Illocutionary modality

We shall only be concerned with two types of illocutions in this

paper: assertions and questions. Yes/no questions must be marked by the presence of a clause-final question particle and a reduction of vowel quantity in the preceding auxiliary verb. Content questions are marked by the presence of a WH-word as the head of a noun phrase in some other location within the clause outside the verbal group. Assertions are marked by the absence of a question particle or a WH-word in these positions.

Illocutionary focus

Illocutionary focus is a category of the verbal group whose value is dependent on the illocutionary modality. It is coded locally by the verbal auxiliary which occurs before the phrase final marker of illocutionary modality. Illocutionary focus is an indexical category. Following the usage of Jakobson (1960) and its elaboration in Silverstein (1976), by the term indexical sign we will refer to a linguistic form whose meaning can be characterized only relative to an etic element of the speech situation. This meaning may be characterized by a rule of use, a definition which states the restriction of co-occurrence between a linguistic form and some etic element of the speech situation. Such is the case with pronouns, the familiar indexical forms which presuppose the co-occurrence of a speech act participant, every time the linguistic form is used (so, for example, the first person pronoun [English 'I'] whose rule of use is that it can only be used by the speaker to refer to himself in the instance of speaking the second person pronoun ['you'] whose rule of use is that it can only be used by the speaker to refer to the addressee in the instance of speaking).

The indexical signalling of elements of the speech situation by means of such categories as pronouns and deictic is cross linguistically familiar. In particular, speech act pronouns, first and second person forms, refer to speech act participants, speaker and addressee, where as third person forms and deictics refer to other individuable elements of the speech context. Third person pronouns are, thus, from a functional standpoint, akin to deictics rather than to first and second person pronouns. This functional grouping is reflected in the fact that all languages have distinct first and second person pronouns, but many use their deictics to refer to the third person, or the "non-person" to use Benveniste's perspicuous term. All pronouns and deictics share the common property, moreover, that they are instantiated as syntactic nouns capable of referring to objects. In virtue of this property, all nominal categories capable of indexing elements of the speech situation may be termed *referential indexicals*.

In addition to pronouns and deictics its referential indexicals, Lhasa Tibetan has an additional formal mechanism for indexing elements of the speech situation. This is the verbal auxiliary, the element labelled AUX in

(3) (iv). Lhasa Tibetan has three categories of verbal auxiliary. These are listed in (4).

(4) Verbal auxiliaries

Participant/nonparticipant	
yii/ree	copula
yöð/tyü	stative attestative evidential
cun/son	perfect attestative evidential

Each auxiliary has two paradigmatic alternants. The form written on the left in each case indexes a speech act participant whenever it occurs. The form on the right can index any other element of the speech situation not a participant. Which of the two speech act participants is indexed by the participant coding form depends on the illocution type: in assertions it indexes the speaker, in questions it indexes the addressee. The rationale for such a system of coding lies in the fact that the participant auxiliary form picks out that element of the speech situation which pertains most centrally to a given type of illocutionary act. In assertions it is the speaker who asserts, in questions it is the addressee of whom the question is asked. The presence of one or the other paradigmatic alternant of an auxiliary within the verbal group allows for the coding of illocutionary focus whereby the appropriate speech act participant can be indexed differentially, as against any other element of the speech situation. Structurally this type of category is illocution-based in the sense that which individual is actually picked out by a particular form depends upon the illocution type of the utterance. It is important to note that this type of indexical category is a *non-referential* indexical, since it is not coded in a nominal form capable of referring. It is an indexical category of *predication*, capable of coding values independent of the values coded by the system of nominal reference, located within the arguments of the predicate.

(5) (i) [ta [[[[ñCECE] qi] } yii] VG]S'now { I } will sleep'
(ii) now sleep-FUTURE } ree } { one/he/you }

This point can be illustrated in the sentences in (5). Both sentences are in the assertoric mode since no interrogative marker appears in them. In sentences (5) (i) and (5) (ii) elliptical because the subject NP is missing, the presence of either of the two phrase final auxiliary forms codes different possible interpretable values for the implied subject. By "implied subject" I mean simply the individual about whom the predication asserts a particular

state of affairs. In (5) (i) a first person subject is implied because the *yii* form always indexes speaker in assertions. The *re* form in (5) (ii) will index some other presupposable animate being usually the individual who is most salient to presupposability the topic in the earliest preceding discourse segment, for example. It is required further in this sentence, that the individual must be animate or viewed as animate, since sleeping, the activity denoted by the verb, can only be predicated of animate beings.

- (6) (i) [ta [[qi] *yii* pee] VG]S 'will you sleep now?'
 (ii) *re* } 'one'/he/I }
- now sleep-FUTURE-Q

In question, however, the participant form will signal addressee, as illustrated in (6) Once again, the absence of a denoted subject does not hinder the intelligibility of these utterances. Here the *yi*-form (with vowel shortened due to illocution type) distinctly codes addressee, and so a second person subject is implied. The *re*-form can signal any contextually and semantically permissible non-second person implied subject.

Clause level configurational categories

The indexing of participant vs. non-participant in the verbal auxiliary co-occurs with the coding of a denoted referent by the subject NP in full, non-elliptical classes. There is a functional overlap between these two systems. It allows for the creation of certain complex meanings at the level of the clause, depending on whether or not the lexical coding of illocutionary focus picks out the same individual denoted by the subject NP. The case where the verbal and nominal categories pick out the same individual is illustrated in (7) [Here *na* = 'I'; *kheran* = 'you'; *qhon* = 'he'].

- (7)
- (i) [fna] NP [Teshi qi lubty] NP [yii] VG]S 'I am Teshi's student'
 (ii) *Kheran* } PN-GEN-student }
 (iii) *qhon* }
 (iv) [fna] NP [Teshi qi lubty] NP [repee] VG]S 'Am I Teshi's student?'
 (v) *kheran* } PN-GEN-studen }
 (vi) *qhon* }
- re* } you are
re } he is
- yi* } Are you
re } Is he

In each of the six sentences in (7), three syntactic constituents have been distinguished, two NPs and a clause-final VG. The first NP consists of a single pronoun; the second is a complex possessive NP; the final VG consists of the copula and the marker of illocutionary modality. Sentences (iv)-(vi) are interrogative as signalled by the phrase final marker *pee*. The assertoric illocutionary mode of sentences in (i)-(iii) is signalled by the non-occurrence of any overt marker.

In the assertoric sentences, the *yii* auxiliary co-occurs with *na*, the first person pronoun [sentence (7) (i); in the interrogative sentences it [reduced to *yi*-] co-occurs with *kheran*, the second person pronoun [sentence (7) (v)]. In both cases the auxiliary co-occurs with the pronoun denoting the speech act participant which the auxiliary itself indexes. Such a pattern of co-occurrence is reminiscent of agreement phenomena in other languages. It differs from agreement, however, in that it is not obligatory. Other patterns of pronoun-auxiliary co-occurrence are also possible, and when they occur, special complex meanings are generated. This is illustrated in the sentences in (8) [double underlining in the English translations indicates contrastive intonational stress].

- (8)
- (i) [na] [Teshi qi lubtu] { *re* } [compare (7) (i)]
 (ii) *kheran* } *repee* } [compare (7) (v)]
 (iii) [qhon] [Teshi qi lubtu] { *yii* } [recollection; compare (7) (iii)]
 (iv) { *yipee* } [recollection; compare (7) (vi)]
 (v) Q. [qhon] [kheran qi lubtu] [reep^{ee}] 'Is he your student?'
 (vi) A. maree. [qhon] [nee puqu] [re] 'No He is my son.'
 (vii) Q. [qhon] [Tserin qi lubtu] [rep^{ee}] 'Is he Tserin's student?'
 (viii) A. maree. qhon [nee lubtu] { *yii* } 'Nw. He is my student.'
 (ix) { *re* } 'No. He is my student.'

Here, the denoted category of participant in the subject NP and the indexed illocutionary focus in the verb do not pick out the same individual. Thus, sentences in (8) (i)-(iv) differ in emphasis from the corresponding sentences in (7), although their denoted meanings are the same. Thus, while sentences (7) (i) and (8) (i) have the same denotation, i.e., while their truth conditions are the same, differences in emphasis emerge as a result of differences in the illocutionary focus of the predication. (8) (i) focuses away from the thematic subject, *na* 'I', onto the rhematic possessive noun phrase [teshi qi lubty] or 'Teshi's student.' It is the new information about the speaker, that he is Teshi's student, which is emphasized. The English translation equivalents of these sentences would differ in the location of emphatic intonational stress. Thus in the English translation of (8) (ii), the second NP would receive

primary emphatic stress ('are you Teshi's student?'), whereas in the English translation of (7) (v), the topical pronoun will receive primary stress ('are you Teshi's student?')

In (8) (iii), the verbal auxiliary indexes speaker although he is not denoted by any of the nouns in the accompanying NPs. A meaning of "speaker involvement" in the narrated event is thus signalled, but the nature of the involvement is unspecified. In the absence of any further contextual clarification of the nature of the speaker's involvement in the narrated event, the speaker is typically interpreted to be engaged in the recollection of a situation with which he was directly involved in some way in the past, an implication not carried by the corresponding sentence (7) (iii). Similarly, sentences (8) (iv) asks the addressee for a recollection, a meaning not carried by the corresponding sentence in (7) (vi).

It is important to take of the fact that this category of predicational emphasis is ultimately significant within the context of an ongoing stream of discourse, and that the emphases it is capable of creating always pick out one of the several possible contextually salient entities. This fact can be illustrated by means of the remaining examples in (8).

(8) (vi) is the answer to the question in (8) (v). The question asks if qhon, 'he', is the addressee's student. In the answer it is clarified that he is, in fact, the son. Here, the fact that he is the son, not the student, is the new information. The heads of all NPs in these two sentences denote non-speech act participants and this is consonant with the use of ree in the two VGs.

In (8) (vii) it is asked whether qhon 'he' is someone else's (Tsering's) student. In his reply in (8) (viii), the former addressee, now constituted as speaker, asserts: "no, he is my student." Once again, the syntactic heads of all NPs in these two sentences denote non-speech act participants. But in (8) (viii) the new information is that qhon 'he' is the speaker's student, not someone else's. The discourse emphasis on the speaker is signalled explicitly by the use of the yii form here. Note, moreover, that it is perfectly possible to reply to the question in (8) (vii) with the assertion in (8) (ix), which carries no indexical emphasis on speaker. The same information is denoted by (8) (viii) and (8) (ix). But (8) (viii), by virtue of its indexical emphasis, clarifies more emphatically the misunderstanding implicit in the question which has been asked.

Epistemic modality

- (9) $\begin{array}{c} \text{message} \\ \text{S} \longrightarrow \text{A} \\ \text{Context} = (r_1, r_2, \Sigma, \dots) \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{l} E_s \\ E_n \end{array}$

Let us now turn to the system of epistemic modality. The indexical categories of epistemic modality evaluate the epistemic status of a narrated event with respect to some element of the speech situation. The relevant parameters of the speech situation are schematized in (9) [after Jakobson (1960)]. Minimally, the event of speaking, E_s , involves a speaker, S, an addressee, A, and the communication of a message which constitutes the event as an event of speaking. Any context is meant anything which can be referred to or predicated about or indexed in the event of speaking. Thus r_1 and r_2 are possible referents, and E_n , a narrated event which may be "about" them. A distinctive characteristic of this system of evidence giving is the designation of some aspect of context, Σ as an evidential sign, the basis of all evidence giving about the narrated event. Thus, unlike a system of tense, for example, where the E_s and E_n are directly related, ordered, in particular, with respect to temporal succession, a system of epistemic modality is one in which the E_s and E_n are never related directly. Their connection is always mediated by means of an evidential sign, Σ , which is viewed perspectively from the point of view of the E_s .

Formally, the construction of such a perspective depends upon the syntactic relation of the evidential auxiliary, presupposing Σ , to the main verb, denoting the E_n . A number of evidential categories thus become possible.

Returning now to the central problem of this paper, namely the nature and analyzeability of formal syncretism, I should now like to turn to the categorial interaction of illocutionary focus with epistemic modality, since the forms which code the former are syntactically embedded within the forms which code the latter, as a quick glance at (3) (iv) will show.

In our earlier discussion of illocutionary focus in the non-evidential auxiliary, the copula yii/ree, we noted that the participant form of the auxiliary, yii, specifically and differentially codes the illocutionarily central participant (speaker in assertoric clauses, addressee in interrogative ones) and the non-participant form of the auxiliary, ree, codes some other aspect of the speech context, typically some other aspect of the speech context which is denoted as part of the narrated event.

The evidential forms work in a parallel fashion. The participant form, yoo, of the attestative evidential yoo/tuu, specifically and differentially indexes speaker in assertoric clauses and addressee in interrogative clauses, as illustrated in the subjectless sentences in (10) [saqta = 'matches']

- (10) (i) [[saqta]_{NP} [yöpeē] VG]s ' [Do you] have matches?'
 (ii) [[saqta] NP [yöö] VG]s ' [I] have matches'

In these sentences the basis of evidence giving is self-knowledge. In (10) (i) the speaker asks addressee for information based on the addressee's self-knowledge. Similarly, in (10) (ii) the speaker asserts a state of affairs on the basis of his self-knowledge, and this is implied in his use of the participant form.

The non-participant form of the attestative evidential, *tuu*, specifically and differentially indexes a particular aspect of the speech context which we have termed Σ , the evidentiary sign. Any aspect of the speech context can become the basis of evidence giving and so be constituted as Σ . The use of this form is illustrated in the sentences (11). [qee is a clause-final question particle]

- (11) (i) [[saqta] NP [tuq̄eē] VG]S 'Are [there] matches?'
 (ii) [[saqta] NP [tuu] VG]S '[There] are matches'

In (11) (i), the speaker asks addressee for certain information. His use of the non-participant form requires the addressee to formulate his answer in terms of some aspect of his experience which must become the basis of evidence giving. Such an evidentiary sign, Σ , must, in particular, be part of his first hand experience, since the form is an attestative evidential. Thus (11) (i) is, in essence, the question "have you seen any matches lying around?"

To conclude this discussion of evidential categories, we may summarize the above facts as follows: for the participant form of the evidential auxiliary, the basis of evidence giving is self-knowledge on the part of the illocutionarily focal speech act participant, whereas the valid use of the non-participant form requires the speech-act participant to base his evidential judgement on some explicit aspect of context, constituted as the evidentiary sign.

Clause level configurational categories

In full non-elliptical clauses with explicit subject NP bearing a coding of illocutionary focus (IF) and epistemic modality (EM) a system of clause level configured meanings emerges. These complex configurational meanings are analyzable as deviative from the interaction of their simplex local meanings.

- (12) (i) [[khēran I[^]] NP [saqta] NP [yōp̄eē] VG]S 'Do you have matches?'
 you-DAT
 (ii) [[ṅaa] NP [saqta] NP [yōō] VG]S 'I have matches'

- (13) (i) [[qhōṅ I[^]] NP [saqta] NP [tuq̄eē] VG]S 'Does he have matches?'
 he-DAT
 (ii) [[qhōṅ I[^]] NP [saqta] NP [tuq̄eē] VG]S 'He has matches'
 he-DAT

(12) (i) and (12) (ii) are simply the full, non-elliptical sentences corresponding to (10) (i) and (10) (ii). In both cases, the basis of evidence giving is the self knowledge of the focal speech act participant. In (13) (i) the addressee is asked to furnish information on the basis of his first hand knowledge, by means of some external evidence, an evidentiary sign, Σ . In (13) (ii) the speaker offers such first hand knowledge.

- (14) (i) [[khēran I[^]] NP [saqta] NP [tuq̄eē] VG]S 'Do you have matches?'
 (ii) [[ṅaa] NP [saqta] NP [tuu] VG]S 'I have matches'

In (14) (i) and (ii), however, the focal speech act participant is the topic of the sentence and the nonfocal auxiliary therefore requires of him an act of evidence giving about himself, based on some external evidentiary sign. In (14) (ii) the speaker furnishes such external evidence, saying something which in English is, perhaps, best rendered as: "(I see that) I have matches." Such a configuration of contextual requirements is best describes as a type of secondary or indirect experience about oneself. Its use is restricted to certain special contexts such as the narration of dream experiences where the speaker views himself in his dream from the outside, as it were, from the perspective of an observer for whom the dream-self is an external aspect of the context. A second interpretation of (14) (i) is possible, where the sentence is interpreted to be elliptical and a non-participant subject category is supplied in the interpretation. So the question "do you have matches?" may be interpreted, say, as the question: "are there matches on your person?" In such cases, the illocutionary focus of *tuu* turns the emphasis away from addressee to some aspect of his context.

- (15) (i) [[qhōṅ I[^]] NP [saqta] NP [yōp̄eē] VG]S 'Does he have matches?'
 (ii) [[qhōṅ I[^]] NP [saqta] NP [yōō] VG]S 'He has matches'

In a sentence like (15) (ii), on the other hand, the speaker is indexically presupposed by the participant auxiliary form though he is not referred to by any NP in the sentence. Since the En concerns the referent of *qhōṅ*, the indexing of speaker by *yōō* creates a complex meaning whereby some sort of involvement or prior arrangement between the speaker and the referent is entailed. A suitable context for this type of utterance might be, for

example, one where the speaker is talking about his son, or about some other individual to whom he bears a personal relation. The nature of this relation or association is variable. The individual could be linked to speaker only in the sense that he is someone to whom the speaker gave a box of matches not long before the speech event. In sentences like (15) (ii) a *speaker-referent* link of this sort is implied. A similar *addressee-referent* link is implied in sentence (15) (i).

Conclusion

To conclude, let me summarize the main points I have tried to make in this paper. I have attempted to show in some detail the dimensions of categorial structure signalled by two of the auxiliary verbs of Lhasa Tibetan. These forms cannot be studied independently as lexical items even when they appear as the syntactic heads of their verb phrases. The reason lies in the fact that these forms are syncretic categories at the level of syntactic structure. That is to say, the range of meanings signalled by them cannot be understood if these forms are taken in isolation from the contexts in which they occur. They not only signal specific meanings as localizable forms but also contract configurational meanings with other co-occurring categories. I have discussed their interactions with the co-occurring categories of illocution type and NP-type in some detail in this paper. Other interactions of these categories with categories of temporal adverb, predicational perspective, and with semantic classes of the main verb remain to be discussed.

Bibliography

- Jakobson, Roman 1960 Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics. In Thomas Sabeok, ed., *style and language*, 350-77. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- 1971 Shifters, verbal categories and the Russian verb. In Roman Jakobson, *selected Writing*, v. 2, 130 - 47. The Hague: Mouton.
- Silverstein, Michael 1976 Shifters, linguistic categories and cultural description. In Keith H. Basso and Henry A. Selby, eds., *Meaning in Anthropology*, 11-55. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Acknowledgements

Research on this paper was made possible by grants from the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, from the Committee on Southern Asian Studies at the University of Chicago, and from Sigma Xi. The Scientific Research Society. The authors are very grateful for this support.

UNBRIDGEABLE GAPS? SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE TRANSLATION OF NEPALI LITERATURE INTO ENGLISH

Michael Hutt

There is a saying Italian-*traditore traitore*, I believe it is - to the effect that translation is inherently an act of treachery. I have been studying Nepali literature for over ten years now, and I strongly believe that it merits an audience outside Nepal. How are Nepali writers to reach such an audience? Not through the medium of Nepali, I fear. Every human being is potentially capable of learning every language, but the number of languages we each acquire is quite naturally limited by the brevity of our lifespan:

'Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language. On the contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel: no one lives long enough to learn all languages.' (Anderson 1983:122)

Since people who study foreign languages usually do so for practical, material reasons (witness the growth in the teaching of Japanese or Arabic in Britain over the past decade), and most Westerners do not do at all, the number of foreigners able to appreciate Nepali literature in its original language is extremely small, and likely to remain so. Thus, once one has resolved that Nepali literature deserves a wider audience, one is well on the way down the slippery slope which leads to the treacherous act of translation.

After receiving a fellowship from the British Academy in 1987, I embarked on two quite major translation projects. These are *Himalayan Voices*, an anthology of modern Nepali poetry which will be published by

the University of California Press next year, and a collection of modern short stories which is now in the final stages of preparation. In the following discussion, I shall be ruminating over some of the problems this work has involved. As such, my paper will deal with practicalities rather than with theoretical issues, and I apologise if its tone strikes the more learned theoreticians amongst us as naive. However, my intention here is to provide food for thought and discussion rather than to construct a new theory or model of translation. I shall conclude, nevertheless, with some thoughts on translation methods within the particular context of Nepali literature.

The problem of cultural contextualisation

Many of the obstacles to a literal and scientific mode of translation Nepali into English stem from the need to transpose meanings from one cultural context into the other. Eugene Nida writes

'One who has had some training in social anthropology has a distinct advantage in dealing with many kinds of semantic problems, particularly those in which the culture under consideration is quite different from his own.' (Nida 1964:90)

There is of course some truth in this, although I would argue that a straightforward understanding of the cultural context and assumptions of the source language which one might describe as an 'empathy' is more important than a background in a specific academic discipline. Nida goes on to state:

'Most translations with which we are familiar have been carried out within the Indo-European language family, and, for the most part, the culture of this linguistic area is relatively homogenous.' (Ibid.: 90)

Here it should perhaps be pointed out that Nida's article is concerned primarily with the translation of Biblical texts into aboriginal languages, and contains little mention of translation from non-European languages into European ones. Even so, from the perspective of a translator working, as it were, from 'east to west,' I take strong issue with this second assertion. Undoubtedly, the fact that Nepali and English are both members of the same broad language-family lessens the actual *grammatical* problems, at least in prose, (verse genres, which provide poets with ample scope for omitting grammatically dispensable pronouns, plural suffixes etc., are a very different case). To translate European literature into another European language is no easy task, but when the cultural milieu of the source language and the target language are as different of those of Nepali and English the problems can sometimes appear to be insurmountable. Giovanni Bandini writes,

..... we have to be able to enter the cultural world of the source language too, if we are to appreciate sufficiently the facets and nuances of meaning in the text to be translated. True bilingualism

In all other patterns the final occurrences have only short vowels. From the examples above we conclude that the most ideal phonemic contrasts occur in CVCV-patterns. In case of low central vowels / a a: / we can find contrasts in all the positions but all other vowels have a similar set of conditions under which the length can be allophonic but there is no way of predicting the length in CVCV-pattern.

Consonants

p	t	ts	ts	T	c	k
ph	th	tsh	tsh	Th	ch	kh
b	d	ɖ	ɖ	D	j	g
bh	dh	-	-	Dh	jh	gh
m	n	-	-	N	ñ	ng
mh	nh	-	-	-	ñh	
w wh	s z	l lh r rh	-	S R Rh	sh y yh	h

Suprasegmentals: Nasalization / ~ /

Tones: / ˘ / falling tone, / V / falling rising
/ ˆ / rising falling
/ level tone / unmarked.

All consonants except flaps /R Rh / can occur initially.

All consonants except breathy voiced / bh dh jh gh Dh mh nh ñh yh wy lh rh / and glottal fricative / h/ can occur medially; finally only the following consonants can occur in a word,

- i) voiceless and voiced stops /p t T k b d g D g/, except the retroflex sounds other stops are unreleased in this position.
- ii) nasals, laterals, trills and fricatives except /h/ can also occupy this position but aspirated counterparts / rh lh/ do not occur.

Consonant clusters:

In an initial cluster stop consonants /p ph b bh t th d dh k kh g gh / nasals except aspirated; lateral and trill except aspirated; fricatives except / h / can occur as a first member.

As a second member / y w / can be combined with any consonant which can occur initially but a trill / r / can be combined with only stops as a second member in a cluster. Medial cluster can only occur at morpheme or word boundaries. Any consonant except trills, breathy voiced consonants, affricates, semi-vowel / y / can be geminated. Final clusters occur only with homo-organic nasals.

Tones have typically been found on the first syllable; vowels having rising-falling tone tend to be longer and vowels having falling tone tend to be shorter.

In all other patterns we find the short vowel.

/ e ; e : / Initially we find that with a rising falling tone we have a long vowel and without any tone there is a short vowel. e.g., /ega / 'for the time being ; /e:ga / 'should I sow' /ena / 'reflexive form of third person sg.'; /e:tsi / 'to sow'

Medial contrasts in CVC-Pattern are also conditioned by the rising-falling tone; e.g., /ped / 'guess', / tab /, 'weight or pressure', /te:r/ 'anger' /se:r/ 'a weight around one kg. / je:l / 'prison.'

Contrasts in CVCV-Pattern are well established. e.g., / peRu / 'find](imp.) /pe:tsi / to 'predict , /pheTe / 'sleep', /be:de / 'fears' / dede / 'elder sister', / neku / 'we two' / se:tsi / 'to recognize' , /Tepi / 'to fall sick',

Final contrasts: CV-Pattern

/ pe:/ 'some brave act left behind by someone' / be: / 'rock', /ze: / 'having eaten', / lhe:/ 'tongue', / lhe: / 'having eaten',

In all other environments in this positions we have only a short vowel / e /. For example: / baRe / younger /, /moRe / 'big', /hele / 'gruth'

No contrasts are found initially. Only short vowel occurs in this position. e.g., / um / 'waist', /uku / 'kiss', /udza: / 'flower' / utna: / 'festival'

Medial contrasts. /ku:zi / 'to steal', /kuSi / 'to go to bed' /hu:tsi / 'to leak', /yutsi / 'to grind' /chu'ci / 'an expert', /chu:tsi / 'to mix, 'to make a thread by a special method', / nu:tsi / 'by them', / nu'tsi / 'to rub', /muthu / 'neck', /mu:Ri / 'radish', /nu:tu / 'their's'

Finally; CV-Pattern, /ru: / 'handle', /ku: / 'nine', /ru / 'soul' /Du' / 'cloud', /nu' / 'he or she' (visible) /nu: / 'his, or her'

In all other patterns only short vowel occurs finally.

/o o:/

CVC-Pattern: / kog / grain', /ko:g / 'I shall speak' / khog 'stomach', CVCV-Pattern /do:bi/ 'to him' /thobi / 'a mat made of goat's hair, /go:tsi / 'to collect money for a collective feast' / go:zi / 'to assemble for a feast', /yo:zi / 'to play', /boti / 'buttermilk'.

Finally, there is a phonetic condition similar to that of other vowels i.e., in monosyllable words of CV or CCV-Pattern the vowel is short if it has falling tone, but toneless words have long vowels.

Examples:

/po: / 'a room used for keeping the animal' / go: / 'a model of an animal' / do' / 'take', /tso' / 'a wild animal', /go' / 'mountain', /dro' / thigh'

CVCCV /cangsa / 'lower valley/ cagpa / 'robber' / nadpa: / 'patient'
/ tsa:nza: / 'pocket' / ca'ngzi / 'to open mouth'
/ sadma: / gods / gappa: / 'talk'

VCVC / ama:s / 'new moon night' / uja:b / 'message'
/ uga:l / 'cud' / onal / 'a drain of water'
/ lwaR / 'courtyard' / lwa:R / 'baked bread'
/ Dhwa:r / 'hole' / dhwar / 'Sound of falling something'

We have stated that mid central vowel schwa / A / which was treated as a phoneme by Sharma and Singh referred above is being treated as an allophone here under the conditions stated here.

- (i) In monosyllabic words of CB pattern if the syllable has a falling glottalized tone:
- (ii) In disyllabic words if the preceding syllable has a falling tone:

Examples are:	/ ka' /	[kA' ?]	'you'
	/ da' /	[dA' ?]	'now, then'
	/ na' /	[nA' ?]	'now'
	/phu'ka /	[phu' kA]	'body'
	/ ju'Ta /	[ju'TA]	'two'
	/ i , i: /		

initially only the high, front short vowel occurs: e.g;

/ i / 'one'; / in / 'sleep', /ilje / 'having gone'

Medial contrasts: CVC pattern; / tin/ 'nail' /sir / 'type of grass' / sid / 'death' / shi:t / 'winter'; /rit / 'summer'; /gi:t / 'song', All the three words having long vowels are from IA source and have rising - falling tone; a good case for allophonic condition. But we have other examples: CVCV - Pattern: /bhi:ti / wall /; /ri:tsi / 'to wrap a thread' / siri / 'he died'; /citsi / 'to push forcefully'; /tingi / 'green'.

Final contrasts again show a phoetic condition;

CV-Pattern:

/ pi: 'four' / si: / 'to die'
/ di' / 'this' / si' / 'an unfulfilled desire'

CVV or CCVVV-Pattern

/do'i / 'to meet' /doi: / 'he objective' /kei: / 'you objective' / ke'i / 'thick' / joi: / 'to walk' / phrei: / 'fat'; /pre'i / to speak'; /trei: / 'sheep';

in such situations of minimum contact.

Phonological contrasts: We have shown examples from various syllable types in order to see how the contrasts are significant in some types and not in other types.

Initial contrasts:

- V /a/ 'and' /a:/ 'mouth'
 VC /am/ 'path' /a:m/ 'mango' (IA)
 /ar/ 'towards' (short form of - aring) 'towards'
 /a:r/ 'desire to drink or eat'
 VCV /ari/ 'who' /a:ri/ 'handle of a plough'
 /amu/ 'lips' /a:ru/ 'potato'
 /adzi/ 'pain' (baby talk) /a:tashi/ 'to get up'

Medial contrasts:

- CVC /phar/ 'oven' /ba:l/ 'a name of a month'
 /pan/ 'a staircase made of single wooden log'
 /pa:n/ 'betal leaf'
 /pha:l/ 'an iron blade of a plough'
 /bha:r/ 'load' (IA)
 /chas/ 'tiredness'
 /ca:k/ 'bamboo'
 /Dha:l/ 'a special greeting done on a festival'
 /ra'd/ 'cow' /ra:t/ 'night' (IA)
 /yad/ 'cotten cloth'
 /ya:g/ 'Yak'
 /yhag/ 'dinner'
 /pa'nu/ 'to spin' (imp.) /pa:nu/ 'milk'
 /phashu/ 'female genital organ' /pha:tsi/ 'to distribute'
 /tsapi/ 'to give birth' /ca:tsi/ 'to massage'
 /shatsi/ 'to narrate' /sha:tsi/ 'to solve a problem'
 /ta:zi/ 'to be happy' /tatsi/ 'to borrow'
 /sare/ 'eighteen' /sa:re/ 'a nut with full seed'
 /jha: Ra:/ 'delay'
 /jhala:/ 'a sudden flash of rain when where is sun light falling from one side with a rainbow'
 /sara:/ 'wine' /sa'ra:/ 'custom' (IA) /sa'ra/ 'wick'
 /phu'ka/ 'body' /papa/ 'breasts' /ju'Ta/ 'two'
 /ba'Na/ 'forest' (IA) /ba'la:/ 'wild rose (yellow in colour)'
 /ba'la/ 'support of something'

Now we shall outline some of the major features of phonology and grammar of Manchad. We have found that Manchad contains at least ten per cent loan words from Indo-Aryan sources.

Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		u u:
Mid	e e:		o o:
Low		a a:	

Sharma, D.D. (1982) established six vowel phonemes having the following vowel chart:

i		u
e	A	o
		a

Capital A stands for mid central vowel.

Singh, J.D. (1989) gave eleven vowel system adding low central vowel schwa A to our chart given above. He did not give any contrast since the paper was on verb inflection. Singh called this dialect Lahauli but this name may refer to any one of the six dialects spoken in Lahaul.

Sharma, D.D. (1982) treats /a/ as low back vowel with long and half long as its variants (a, a:). In our analysis we have treated schwa (A) as an allophone of low central short vowel /a/. The length contrasts are somewhat unusual for a Tibeto-burman language. It has been speculated that the length may have developed due to the Indo-Aryan sub-stratum found in Manchad. A question was raised (Matisoff and Bradley, personal communication) that why not treat the so called sub-stratum a simple case of borrowing from the Indo-Aryan sources? We have argued (1982), (1987) that such a possibility is ruled out since there is no day to day contact between Manchad and Indo-Aryan speakers. Indo-Aryan speakers must have migrated to this valley and came in contact with Tibeto-Burman Buddhists from Ladakh and Tibet. Since the day to day contact was difficult to maintain due to the geographical conditions they must have adopted a TB language. But a layer of native language remained and resulted in various changes in the original TB language. The length contrast seems to have developed due to this fact.

We shall see how different layers in this dialect retain some of the IA items and further create contrasts in the TB system as well. Before we cite the contrasts we may give a few examples which are the living testimony of the past. Words like; kamar, 'shoulder', mucha:, 'moustache', ju'Ta, 'two', bhi:ti, 'wall, nagar, 'village', bagat, 'meal' may not be very easy to borrow

water-pot, and is locally used for the valley as well for the dialect. The speakers of this dialect claim that they can understand both Manchad and Bunan but the Manchad speakers can not understand Bunan. But there is a Mutual intelligibility however of a lesser degree between Manchad and Tinan.

19. Manchad

This is the major dialect of the valley and most people who come in contact do understand this dialect. In Grierson's survey it has been mentioned as Manchati, Patni and Sharma (1982) called it Pattani. I also followed the same tradition and called it as it is pronounced as, 'PaTani' (1987) But when I found that some papers written in the past call it Manchad and it was also confirmed during my field work later that this name is locally available, I thought it proper to retain the same name. Moreover the name, Pattani is just given by the outsiders to the valley and seems to be an Indo-Aryan loan. The local people divide the valley as Loksa and Cangsa meaning lower and upper valley. Tod people call them, Manchad, meaning lower valley. Tibetans call them, Karjap and Bunan speakers call them Melokpa. There are two major groups of people who speak this dialect, viz; Suangla and Bodh who also call themselves as Thakurs, the so called rulers of this area. The whole valley is also known as Suangla. But their population is lesser than the Bodh. The dialect of the Bodh is the dominant one. The Suangla also call them as Brahmin and the marriages between Suangla and Bodh are not normally allowed. The dialect variations found are very interesting.

20. Chamba Lahaul

This dialect can easily be grouped under Manchad. The name has been derived from the geographical region known as Chamba, since the area was in the district of Chamba. But now the area has been included in the Udaipur Tehsil of Lahaul. Most of the speakers are so called Suangla and this may be called as socio-geographical dialect. The number of speakers recorded in the village census in 1981 was, 4687.

21. Bunan

Bunan is spoken in what is known as Gahar valley. in and around Keylong the district Head-office of Lahaul-Spiti district. This dialect is also recorded in the Linguistic Survey of India under the same name. This dialect has some of the written Tibetan forms available. The number of speakers recorded in village census records was 3581 in 1981. It may be mentioned here that in Lahaul valley there are about one hundred families spread all over the valley who speak and maintain an Indo-Aryan language.

valley that is upper portion along the Bhaga river. It is also known as Tod Bhoti. The number of speakers in the village census records in 1981 was 1714. In fact, the whole of the valley has been named as Lahul or Lahul which seems to be a Tibetan word La-Yul meaning '-a village', with passes or 'god village', but locally it is known as Suangla after a name of a group of people living in a small portion in PaTan valley. The term 'Lahuli', is used in some writing which is misleading since in the whole valley there are atleast seven distinct dialects viz; Khoksar, Patnam and Tod closely related to Tibetan group and Manchad, Tinan, Chamba Lahaul and Bunan fall under Pronominalized group of Tibeto-Himalayan branch. Kinauri and Kanashi have also been put under this group.

15. Khoksar

Khoksar is a name of a village situated at the beginning of Chandra valley of Lahaul just below the great divide Rohtang pass. There are four villages inhabiting 658 people (1981 census) The most common name for dialects related to Tibetan in the whole of north west Himalaya in India is 'Bhoti'. Khoksar Bhoti is closely related to Tod, Spiti and Patnam. However, there is no day to day contact among these groups. This is a good example of language maintenance by small groups of people living not only in isolated area but interacting with other language speakers.

16. Patnam Bhoti

This is a cluster of eight villages in an isolated area in Myar Nalla around thirty kilometers from Udaipur. One can reach Ladakh from this track. The population was recorded in the village census records in 1981. (1075) This dialect is akin to Khoksar and Tod Bhoti. But this dialect has not been mentioned in Grierson's survey nor it finds any place in later census records.

17. Ranglo

Ranglo is mentioned by Grierson as Rangloi. In fact, it is a name of an area clustering four villages. The speakers do recognise the differences in their speech but it is very similar to another dialect known as Tinan which is spoken just adjoining region. Tinan is closely related to Manchad a pronominalized dialect, which is a kind of lingua franca in this valley. Ranglo speakers are not very keen to retain their dialect identity. They do not mind if they are put under Tinan name.

18. Tinan or Gondhla

This dialect also finds place in Grierson's survey. Tinan including Ranglo has a population of 2163 speakers. (1981) the word 'ti-nan' means

locally known as - la-daks-si-skad, 'the voice of la-daks. The number of speakers has been recorded 60,272 in 1971 census.

- | | | | |
|-------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 3. Rangkas, | 4. Darmia, | 5. Chaudansi, | 6. Byangsi, |
| 7. Jangali, | 8. Jad. | 9. Garhwal dialect. | |

Grierson (1908) mentioned all these dialects alongwith the census figures available in 1901 census. But the census 1961 returned only two names with some figures. These are, Jad, and Jangali having 306 and 111 speakers respectively. This does not mean that these dialects have disappeared or changed their names. Trivedi, (personal communication) is working on all these languages. These are spoken in the districts of Pithauragarh, Uttarkashi and Chimoli in Uttar Pradesh.

10. Nymkat

Nymakat is spoken in Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh. This dialect is mentioned in the Linguistic Survey of India (1908) but the census records do not record it.

11. Kanauri

Kanauri is also spoken in Kinnaur district. This is the major language of the district. It is also recorded as Kanawari, Thebor Skad, or Tibar Skad and Kinnauri. The census of India has returned 45,472 speakers in 1971 census. This language has been studied but all its dialects have not been studied in details.

12. Kanashi

Kanashi is spoken in an isolated village known as Malana in Kullu district. The census of India 1961 has recorded 563 speakers and Grierson's Survey also recorded it. But the recent census records do not show it. No work is available on this dialect. But data in the Linguistic Survey show that it is closer to Kanauri and Manchad.

13. Spiti

Spiti is closely related to central Tibetan and spoken in Spiti Tehsil of Lahaul-Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh. The Total Population recorded in 1981 census was 10,361 speakers.

14. Lahul Dialect

Grierson (1908) called this dialect as a dialect of Tibetan. Roerich (1933) also termed it as a Tibetan dialect of Lahaul. It is spoken in Tod

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MANCHAD

S.R. SHARMA
Linguistics Dept.
Deccan College
Pune-6. India.

Tibeto-Burman languages of North-Western India are spoken in the districts of Jammu and Kashmir; Pithauragarh, Chimoli and Uttarkashi districts of Uttar Pradesh; Lahaul-Spiti, Kinnaur and Kullu districts of Himachal Pradesh. The details are given below:

1. Balti

Balti is spoken in what was earlier known as Baltistan before 1947. Now most of the speakers are found in Pakistan. In India it is spoken in Kargil Tehsil of Ladakh district of Jammu and Kashmir state. The dialect spoken in this has been treated as Puriki (Rangan 1979). It has been stated that the people do not like to call themselves as Balti since the speakers treat this name as derogatory. Even as early as 1975 Rangan wrote a Phonetic Reader under the name Balti. The census 1961 and 1971 returned the population figures under the same name. It seems the shift in their linguistic identity has taken place after 1975. The census of India has recorded 40,142 speakers in 1971.

2. Ladakhi

Ladakhi as the name suggests is spoken in Ladakh. It is a geographical name-la-lads, 'pass many', many passes. The language is

4.1. Conditions for Vowel Reduction

Vowel Reduction is evidenced only:

1. in mono-syllabic and di-syllabic words.
2. in the words that end in open syllables, that is, that words end in a vowel.
3. in the first vowel of the word.
4. when the vowel in concern is not preceded by a glide(y or w).
5. when the vowel in concern is not followed by a high back vowel [u].
6. in the following semantic fields:
A. Caste B. Tribe C. Surname D. Traditional designation E. Traditional occupation.

28. Unmarked	Marked
sArki 'shoe-maker'	sarkini
rAi 'a tribe'	raini
nAi 'a barber'	naini
thAru 'a tribe'	tharuni
kArki 'a surname'	karkini
kAji 'an old designation'	kajini
thApA 'a surname'	thapini
lAmA 'monk'	lamini
rAnA 'a Magar surname'	rainini
bhAT 'a caste'	bhaTini
kAmi 'black-smith'	kamini
dhAmi 'magician'	dhamini
jhAkri 'magician'	jhakrini
thAkse 'a Tibetan tribe'	thaksini
kAphle 'a surname'	kaphlini

References

Dixon, R. M.W. 1982. *Where have all the adjectives gone?* Cambridge: MIT

_____. 1986. Noun classes and noun classification in typological perspective. In: *Noun Classes and Categorization* (ed) Colette Craig Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pokharel Madhav P. 1988. *Gender System in Nepali* Paper presented in the Linguistic Seminar, Dept. of Linguistics, Poona.

thApA (a surname) > thAp- (deletion of non-high [A] > thApini (suffixation) > thapini (Vowel Reduction, see below)

dwAre (gateman) > dwAr (detetion of non-high [e]) > dwArini (suffix) > dwArni (deletion of [i])

bajiA (slave) > baji (deletion of NH vowel) > baji ini (suffixation) > bajini ([i] - deletion).

F. If a word having more than one syllables ends in a consonant the first vowel of the suffix is dropped.

26. Unmarked	Marked
rAkas 'demon'	rAkasni
rAcches 'demon'	rAcchesni
panDit 'scholar'	panDitni
mAlík 'master'	mAlíkni
cepAη 'a tribe'	cepAηni
tAmAη 'a tribe'	tAmAηni
hAkim 'boss'	hAkimni
jajamAn 'laity'	jajamAnni

G. After a non-high vowel is dropped, if the more than one syllabled resultant end in a liquid or [n], the first vowel of the suffix is dropped.

27. Unmarked	Marked
DhungAnA 'a surname'	DhungAnni (DhungAni)
timisinA 'a surname'	timsinni (timisini)
bohorA 'a surname'	bohorni
goThAlo 'cow-boy'	goThAlni
koirAlo 'a surname'	koirAlni

but

sApkoTA 'a surname'	sApkoTini
debkoTA 'a surname'	debkoTini
gotAme 'a surname'	gotAmini
madese 'Terai-man'	madesini

4. Vowel Reduction

Change of the first vowel [A] to an unmarked vowel [a] in the process of derivation from a non-feminine word to a feminine word that shows CONTAINER-WIFE relation is indicated by Vowel Reduction.

- C. The high vowel at the end of a poly-syllabled word is dropped if the penultimate sound is a sonorant.

23. [+high] → Ø/[+son] - # ini

Unmarked	Wife/Container
adhikAri 'a surname'	adhikAri
Thakuri 'a caste'	Thakurni
pulAmi 'a surname'	pulAmini, pulAmni
pArAli 'a surname'	pArAlni

- D. If a word ends in a high vowel the first vowel of the suffix is dropped.

24. [i] → Ø / [+high] # -ni

a. Unmarked	Marked
nAi 'barber'	naini
mAli 'gardener'	mAlini
cApAgAi 'a surname'	cApAgAini
sipAi 'soldier'	sipAini
b. Sau 'merchant'	SAuni
limbu 'a tribe'	limbuni
thAru 'a tribe'	tharuni
jyApu 'farmer'	jyApuni
c. masi 'ink'	masini

- E. After monosyllabic root resulting in a liquid the first [i] of the suffix is dropped;

25. [i] → Ø / L # - ni

Unmarked	Marked
cor 'thief'	comi
pAl 'a surname'	pAlni
but (non-liquids)	
bhut 'ghost'	bhutini
bhAT 'a caste'	bhaTini
mit 'friend'	mitini
khas 'a tribe'	khasini

loTA 'water-pot'	loTi
boDA 'bigger bean'	boDi

3.4. Female Relation

The DIMINUTIVE-Suffix [-i] is added to ANIMATE nouns to give FEMALE relation. That is, (17) and (18) are applied *similarly*. The focus here is only on SEX.

20. Male

kumAr 'bachelor'
rAjcumAr 'prince'
kamAro 'slave'
iswar 'God'
choro 'son'
ghoDA 'horse'
chAuro 'puppy'
keTo 'boy'
beulo 'bridegroom'
bAcho 'calf'
birAlo 'cat'

Female

kumAri 'virgin'
rAjcumAri 'princess'
kamAri
iswari 'goddess'
chori 'daughter'
ghoDi 'mare'
chAuri
keTi 'girl'
beuli 'bride'
bAchi
birAli

3.2. Container-Wife Relation

- A. A non-high vowel in the word-final position is always dropped before the suffix *-ini*.

21. [-high] → Ø / - [+ ini]

Unmarked

bhorlo 'a plant-species'
thApA 'a surname'
lAmA 'monk'
bhaTTa 'a surname'
siŋgha 'lion'
bhoTe 'Tibetan'

Wife/Container

bhorlini 'a place which abounds in <i>bhorlo</i> '
thapini
lamini
bhaTTini
siŋghini
bhoTini

- B. When the final vowel is dropped if the resultant ends in two consonants, it is always followed by *-ini*.

22. Unmarked

bhorlo
bhaTTa
Siŋgha

Wife/Container

bhorlini
bhaTTini
Siŋghini

12.	LARGE	SMALL
	DAlo 'big bamboo basket'	DAlI 'small bamboo basket'
	bohoto 'big leaf plate'	bohoti 'small leaf plate'
	loTA 'water pot'	loTi 'smaller water pot'
	buTo 'shrub'	buTi 'herb'
	geDo 'berry'	geDi 'smaller bead'

In the language of the world usually the masculine morpheme is used to mean a slim object and the feminine one is taken by plump ones (see Dixon 1982).

This is found in a Nepali pair of words like-

13.	Doro 'thread'
	Dori 'rope'

2.4. Sex

The same ending *-i* which gives diminutive meaning with INANIMATE nouns, if added to ANIMATE nouns results in words showing FEMALE relation. e.g.

14.	MALE	FEMALE
	pATho 'goat-kid'	pATHi 'female kid'
	ghoDo 'horse'	ghoDi 'mare'
	keTo 'boy'	keTi 'girl'
	bAcho 'he-calf'	bAchi 'she-calf'

Looking through these semantic correlates of the morpheme *-ini*, it seems that the inanimate meaning (CONTAINER) is basic and the speakers of the language may have taken wives as containers of husbands, and hence the animal meaning (WIFE) is derived. On the other hand if the focus is on DIMINUTIVE - relation *-in* out of *-ini* is dropped and the remaining *-i* is used. This is just for descriptive ease. But even here the inanimate meaning (DIMINUTIVE) is basic and the native speakers of the language may have extended this meaning to the FEMALE - SEX, possibly because human females are in general smaller and *plumper* than males. But the CONTAINER- relation with inanimates is not very productive and is found only in some remnants, while the WIFE-relation with animates is relatively more productive.

Kinship terms show deviation to these rules. Within a family unit WIFE-relation is constrained and SEX-relation is phonologically determined.

Thus this paper is not at all a study on gender in Nepali. It is complementary or supplementary to Pokharel (1988) and is only concerned to the derivation of words from NON-FEMININE to FEMININE. On the basis of rule application to the set of words unmarked by the morpheme (in)i and derived sets of words we will also try to get the semantic definition of the morpheme *-(in)i*

2. Semantic Transparency

Morpheme *-(in)i* can be added to the stem in the following noun classes (see Pokherel 1988) in Nepali.

Noun class	Semantic
Transparency	
	<i>-ini</i> <i>-i</i>
INANIMATE	CONTAINER
DIMINUTIVE	
ANIMATE	WIFE SEX

2.1 Container

If *-ini* is added to the INANIMATE class of nouns it means container. Therefore when nouns on column 'A' means X, nouns on column 'B' means 'that which contains X'.

10.	A: OBJECT	B: CONTAINER
	masi 'ink'	masini 'ink-pot'
	khayar 'catechu'	khayarini 'area which abounds in catechu trees'
	bhorlo 'a species of tree'	bhorlini 'area which abounds in bhorlo-trees'.

2.2. Wife

If the same *-ini* is added to ANIMATE nouns it shows WIFE relation e.g.

11.	A: HUSBAND	B: WIFE
	kukur 'dog'	kkukurmi 'bitch'
	siᅅgha 'lion'	siᅅghini 'lioness'
	bĀdar 'monkey'	bĀdari 'she-monkey'

2.3. Diminutive

If *-in* is dropped and the remaining ending *-i* is added to the INANIMATE nouns they give diminutive meaning e.g.

Secondly, the morpheme *-el* is always used as the past tense marker. In the absence of any additional marker, the form *c^h + -el (c^hel)* always denotes the non-honorific social status of its grammatical subject.

Thirdly, *-a(h)* and *-i(hi)* are the two gender-cum-social status markers that are attached to the *c^hel* form in different morphological contexts: *-a(h)* is attached when the grammatical subject is in the masculine gender and in the honorific form of the third person; *-i(hi)*, on the other hand, is attached when the subject is in the feminine gender and in the honorific form of the third person.

Fourthly, *-el^{hi}*, *-e(h)u*, and *-e* are the four social status markers that are attached to the *c^hel* form of the auxiliary verb in different morphological contexts. Each of these social status markers remains neutral with regard to the gender of its grammatical subject. The marker *-el^{hi}* is used when the subject is in the honorific form of the third person; *-e(h)u* is used when the subject is either in the first person or in the honorific form (i.e. the *yeu* form) of the second person; *-e(h)* is used when the subject is in the *heu* form of the second person; and *-e* is used when the subject is in the *reu* form of the second person.

1.1.3 The Forms in the Future

Table 3a given below lists eight Maithili sentences containing those auxiliary verb forms that are used in the future:

Table 3a: Eight Maithili sentences containing those auxiliary verb forms that are used in the future.

		Sentence		
Person	ST Form	Subject	Verb	Gloss
1. 1st	honorific	<u>hem</u>	<u>reheb</u>	'I will be'
2. 2nd	<u>yeu</u> form	<u>āhā</u>	<u>reheb</u>	'You will be'
3. 2nd	<u>heu</u> form	<u>tō</u>	<u>rehebe(h)</u>	'You will be'
4. 2nd	<u>reu</u> form	<u>tō</u>	<u>rehebe</u>	'You will be'
5. 3rd	honorific	<u>o</u>	<u>rehetin(h)e</u>	'He/she will be'
6. 3rd	honorific	<u>o</u>	<u>rehetā(h)</u>	'He will be'
7. 3rd	honorific	<u>o</u>	<u>reheti(hi)</u>	'She will be'
8. 3rd	non-honorific	<u>o</u>	<u>rehet</u>	'He/she will be'

The morphological analysis of these auxiliary verb forms is done in Table 3 b. From the study of the morphological analysis done in Table 3 b,

we can draw the following four main conclusions about the regularities of these verb forms in the future:

First, *reh* is always used as the root of the auxiliary verb forms in the future.

Table 3 b: The morphological analysis of the Maithili auxiliary verb forms as given in Table 3a.

Person	ST Form	Root	Tense/ST Marker	Gender/St Marker	Verb Form
1. 1st	honorific	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	<u>reheb</u>
2. 2nd	<u>yeu</u> form	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	<u>reheb</u>
3. 2nd	<u>heu</u> form	reh	+ -eb	+ -e(h)	<u>rehebe(h)</u>
4. 2nd	<u>reu</u> form	reh	+ -eb	+ -e	<u>rehebe</u>
5. 3rd	honorific	reh	+ -eth	+ -en(h)e	<u>rehetin(h)e</u>
6. 3rd	honorific	reh	+ -et	+ -a(h)	<u>rehetā(h)</u>
7. 3rd	honorific	reh	+ -et	+ -i(hi)	<u>reheti(hi)</u>
8. 3rd	non-honorific	reh	+ -et	+ ∅	<u>rehet</u>

Secondly, *-eb*, *-et* and *-el^h* are the three markers used in the future in Maithili. They are used in different morphological environments and they also indicate different social status of their grammatical subjects. The marker *-eb* is attached to the auxiliary verb-root *reh*, when its grammatical subject is either in the first person or in the second person. The form *reh + -eb (reheb)* - without any other social status marker attached to it - always denotes the honorific social status of its grammatical subject. The markers *-et* and *-el^h*, on the contrary, are attached to the root *reh*, when their grammatical subjects are in the third person. The form *reh + -et (rehet)*, without any other social status marker attached to it, always denotes the non-honorific social status of its grammatical subject, while *-el^h* is attached to the form *reh* when the gender of the honorific third person subject remains unspecified.

Thirdly, *-a(h)* and *-i(hi)* are the two gender-com-social status markers that are attached to the auxiliary verb form *rehet*: *-a(h)* is attached to *rehet* when its grammatical subject is in the masculine gender and in the honorific of the third person; *-i(hi)*, on the other hand, is attached to it when the subject is in the feminine gender and in the honorific form of the third person.

The Maithili auxiliary verb forms used in the future are summarized in Figure 5 given below:

Aux Verb Forms in the Past Tense

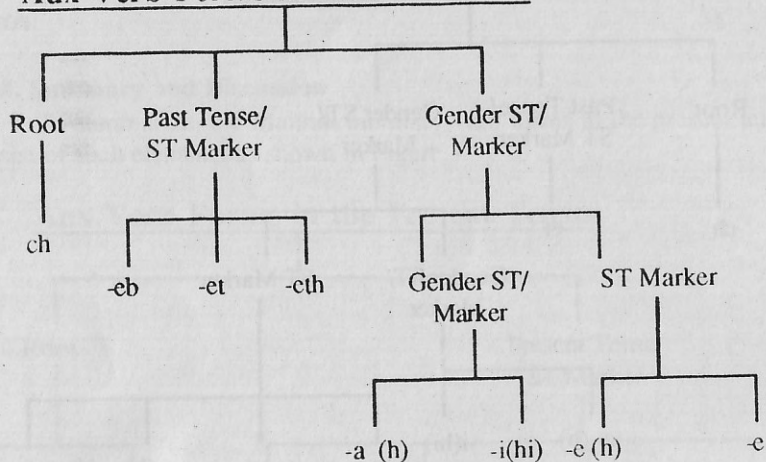


Figure 5: The Maithili auxiliary verb forms used in the future.

These forms of the Maithili auxiliary verb as used in the future are described in Rule (3) below:

Rule (3)

- (i) Aux Verb in
The Future → root + future form/ST marker + (a. gender/ ST marker)
b. ST marker
- (ii) root → reh
- (iii) future form/St marker → $\begin{pmatrix} -eb \\ -et \\ -eth \end{pmatrix}$
- (iv) a. gender/St marker → $\begin{pmatrix} -a(h) \\ -i(hi) \end{pmatrix}$
- b. ST marker → $\begin{pmatrix} -e(h) \\ -e \end{pmatrix}$

All these studies on the auxiliary verb forms in Maithili give ample evidences of elision- i.e. the omission of sound segments in connected speech. Like many other Indo-Aryan languages (see, for example, Chatterji, 1926/1970 and 1960; Burrow, 1955; S. Jha, 1958), it has always been a feature of Maithili words that the weakly accented syllables have under gone a process of gradation, i.e. loss of phonemes or obscuration of vowels (e.g. see S. Jha, 1958). The same process of gradation, with resultant contraction, may be observed in operation in current Maithili. It is important, however, to distinguish between cases of elision which have already been established (e.g. see S. Jha, 1958) in the language for some time and those which have become current only recently, as in the case of the following Maithili auxiliary verb forms, which we already came across in earlier examples:

Present	Past	Future
che (h)	c ^h ele(h)u	rehebe (h)
	c ^h ele (h)	rehet ^h in (h)e
	c ^h ela (h)	rehta (h)
	c ^h eli (hi)	reheti (hi)

In these latter cases, the forms exhibiting the elision of a total syllable, as of (hi) from c^heli (hi) and reheti (hi), or of a total phoneme, as of h from the following:

Present	Past	Future
c ^h e (h)	c ^h ele (h)u	rehte (h)
	c ^h ele (h)	rehta (h)
	c ^h ela (h)	

or of a particular distinctive feature only, as of the aspiration of n^h from rehet^hin (h)e, are all typical of rapid, colloquial speech, whereas more formal speech tends of retain the fuller form under the preservative influence of the spelling. These examples of elided auxiliary verb forms in colloquial speech are independent of the type of reduction affecting particular words and syllables under weak accent in connected speech, as discussed in the previous chapter. In the sections that follow, we shall again have further evidences of the elision of these and other speech segments in Maithili.

1.2 The Forms According to Both the Subject and Object

As stated earlier, the system of verbal inflection in Maithili is such that its verbs are inflected for person and according to the social status of

both the subject and the object. In this sub-section we shall first present and analyse those auxiliary verb forms that are used in accordance with the social status of their grammatical subjects and objects in the present, past and future, and then we shall summarize and discuss what light these forms throw on the process of elision in Maithili.

1.2.1 The Forms in the Present, Past and Future

To ascertain which inflectional forms are used in which cases, Table 4 provides a framework for all possible combinations in which the subject and the object, with their similar and/or different social status forms, can be used in the Maithili sentences. Based on this framework, later Tables 5a, 6a and 7a list 26 sentences each in the present, past and future forms, respectively. The main verb of all these sentences is the same: *kehei (t)* 'saying'; differences occur primarily in the social status forms of their subjects and objects, and consequently in their auxiliary verb forms as well.

Based on the framework outlined in Table 4, Table 5a lists 26 sentences which show how the Maithili auxiliary verb forms are inflected in the present tense in accordance with the social status of their grammatical subjects and objects. Table 5b presents the morphological analysis of the same auxiliary verb forms. Similarly, based on the same framework of Table 4, Tables 6a and 7a also list 26 sentences each and show how the Maithili auxiliary verb forms are inflected in the past and in the future, respectively. The morphological analysis of the verb forms of Table 6a is done in Table 6b,

Table 4: Possible combinations of the subject and the object that can be used in the Maithili sentences in the first, second and third persons- each person of the 'subject' and the 'object' columns is categorized in accordance with its ST forms.

Subject		Object	
Person	ST Form	Person	ST Form
1.	1st	2nd	yeu form
2.	1st	2nd	heu form
3.	1st	2nd	reu form
4.	1st	3rd	honorific
5.	1st	3rd	non-honorific
6.	2nd	1st	honorific
7.	2nd	3rd	honorific
8.	2nd	3rd	non-honorific
9.	2nd	1st	honorific
10.	2nd	1st	honorific
11.	2nd	3rd	honorific
12.	2nd	3rd	non-honorific
13.	2nd	3rd	honorific
14.	2nd	3rd	non-honorific
15.	3rd	1st	honorific
16.	3rd	1st	honorific
17.	3rd	2nd	yeu form
18.	3rd	2nd	heu form
19.	3rd	2nd	reu form
20.	3rd	2nd	yeu form
21.	3rd	2nd	heu form
22.	3rd	2nd	reu form
23.	3rd	3rd	honorific
24.	3rd	3rd	honorific
25.	3rd	3rd	non-honorific
26.	3rd	3rd	non-honorific

Table 5a: Maithili sentences based on the framework outlined in Table 4, showing how the auxiliary verb forms are inflected in the present tense in accordance with the ST forms of their grammatical subjects and objects.

Subject	Object	Verb		Gloss
		Main	Auxiliary	
1. hem	āhāke	kehei (t)	c ^h i	'I am saying to you'
2. hem	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h iye (h)	'I am saying to you'
3. hem	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h iye (h) u	'I am saying to you'
4. hem	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h iyen ^(h) i	'I am saying to him'
5. hem	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h iyei (k)	'I am saying to him'
6. āhā	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h i	'you are saying to me'
7. āhā	huka	kehei (t)	c ^h iyen ^(h) i	'you are saying to him'
8. āhā	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h iyei (k)	'you are saying to him'
9. tō	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h e (h)	'you are saying to me'
10. tō	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h e	'you are saying to me'
11. tō	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h ehun ^(h) e	'you are saying to him'
12. tō	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h ehek	'you are saying to him'
13. tō	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h ehun ^(h) e	'you are saying to him'
14. tō	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h ehik	'you are saying to him'
15. o	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h et ^h i	'He/she is saying to me'
16. o	hemra	kehei (t)	ec ^h i	'He/she is saying to me'
17. o	āhāke	kehei (t)	c ^h et ^h i	'He/she is saying to you'
18. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h et ^h un ^(h) e	'He/she is saying to you'
19. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h et ^h un ^(h) e	'He/she is saying to you'
20. o	āhāke	kehei (t)	ac ^h i	'He/she is saying to you'
21. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h e(h)	'He/she is saying to you'
22. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h e(h)u	'He/she is saying to you'
23. o	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h et ^h in ^(h) e	'He/she is saying to him'
24. o	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h en ^(h) i	'He/she is saying to him'
25. o	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h et ^h in ^(h) e	'He/she is saying to him'
26. o	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h e(h)i	'He/she is saying to him'

Table 5b: The morphological analysis of the Maithili auxiliary verb forms in the present tense as given in the Maithili sentences of Table 5a:

	Root	Tense/ST Marker				Verb Form
		Subject	Object			
1.	c ^h	+	-i	+	∅	c ^h i
2.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-iye ^(h)	c ^h iye ^(h)
3.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-iye ^(h) u	c ^h iye ^(h) u
4.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-iyen ^(h) i	c ^h iyen ^(h) i
5.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-iyei(k)	c ^h iyei(k)
6.	c ^h	+	-i	+	∅	c ^h i
7.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-iyen ^(h) i	c ^h iyen ^(h) i
8.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-iyen(k)	c ^h iyei(k)
9.	c ^h	+	-e ^(h)	+	∅	c ^h e ^(h)
10.	c ^h	+	-e	+	∅	c ^h e
11.	c ^h	+	-eh	+	-un ^(h) e	c ^h ehun ^(h) e
12.	c ^h	+	-eh	+	-ek	c ^h ehek
13.	c ^h	+	-eh	+	-un ^(h) e	c ^h ehun ^(h) e
14.	ch	+	-eh	+	-ik	c ^h ehik
15.	c ^h	+	-et ^h i	+	∅	c ^h ethi
16.	ec ^h	+	-i	+	∅	echi
17.	c ^h	+	-ethi	+	∅	c ^h et ^h i
18.	c ^h	+	-ethun ^(h) e	+	∅	c ^h et ^h un ^(h) e
19.	c ^h	+	-ethun ^(h) e	+	∅	c ^h et ^h un ^(h) e
20.	ec ^h	+	-i	+	∅	echi
21.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-e ^(h)	c ^h e ^(h)
22.	c ^h	+	∅	+	-e ^(h) u	c ^h e ^(h) u
23.	c ^h	+	-ethin ^(h) e	+	∅	c ^h ethin ^(h) e
24.	c ^h	+	-en ^(h) i	+	∅	c ^h en ^(h) i
25.	c ^h	+	-ethin ^(h) e	+	∅	c ^h et ^h in ^(h) e
26.	c ^h	+	-e ^(h) i	+	∅	c ^h e ^(h) i

Table 6a: Maithili sentences based on the framework outlined in Table 4, showing how its auxiliary verb forms are inflected in the past tense in accordance with the ST forms of their grammatical subjects and objects.

Sub- ject	Object	Verb		Gloss
		Main	Auxiliary	
1. hem	āhāke	kehei (t)	c ^h ele(h)u	'I was saying to you'
2. hem	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h eliye(h)	'I was saying to you'
3. hem	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h eliye(h) u	'I was saying to you'
4. hem	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h eliyen ^(h) i	'I was saying to him'
5. hem	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h eliyei(k)	'I was saying to him'
6. āhā	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h ele(h)u	'you were saying to me'
7. āhā	huka	kehei (t)	c ^h eliyen ^(h) i	'you were saying to him'
8. āhā	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h eliyei (k)	'you were saying to him'
9. tō	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h ele (h)	'you were saying to me'
10. tō	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h ele	'you were saying to me'
11. tō	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h elehun ^(h) e	'you were saying to him'
12. tō	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h elehek	'you were saying to him'
13. tō	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h elehun ^(h) e	'you were saying to him'
14. tō	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h elehik	'you were saying to him'
15. o	hemra	kehei (t)	a. chelethi	'He/she was saying to me'
			b. chela(h)	'He was saying to me'
			c. cheli(hi)	'She was saying to me'
16. o	hemra	kehei (t)	c ^h el	'He/she was saying to me'
			a. chelethi	'He/she was saying to you'
17. o	āhāke	kehei (t)	b. chela(h)	'He was saying to me'
			c. cheli (hi)	'She was saying to you'
			c ^h elethun ^(h) e	'He/she was saying to you'
18. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h elethun ^(h) e	'He/she was saying to you'
19. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h elethun ^(h) e	'He/she was saying to you'
20. o	āhāke	kehei (t)	c ^h el	'He/she was saying to you'
21. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h ele(h)	'He/she was saying to you'
22. o	tora	kehei (t)	c ^h ele(h)u	'He/she was saying to you'
23. o	hunka	kehei (t)	c ^h eleth ⁱⁿ (h)e	'He/she was saying to him'
24. o	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h eleth ⁱⁿ (h)e	'He/she was saying to him'
25. o	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h eleth ⁱⁿ (h)e	'He/she was saying to him'
26. o	okra	kehei (t)	c ^h ele(h)i	'He/she was saying to him'

Table 6b: The morphological analysis of the Maithili auxiliary verbs in the past tense as given in the Maithili sentences of Table 6a.

	Root	Tense Marker	Gender/ST Marter		Verb Form
			Subject	Object	
1.	c ^h +	-el +	-e (h) u	+ ∅	c ^h ele (h) u
2.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -iye (h)	c ^h eliya (h)
3.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -iye (h) u	c ^h eliye (h) u
4.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -iyen ^(h) i	c ^h eliyen (h) i
5.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -iyei (k)	c ^h eliyei (k)
6.	c ^h +	-el +	-e (h) u	+ ∅	c ^h eliyei (h) u
7.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -iyen (h) i	c ^h eliyen (h) i
8.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -iyei (k)	c ^h eliyei (k)
9.	c ^h +	-el +	-e (h)	+ ∅	c ^h ele (h)
10.	c ^h +	-el +	-e	+ ∅	c ^h ele
11.	c ^h +	-el +	-eh	+ -un ^(h) e	c ^h elle ^h un (h) e
12.	c ^h +	-el +	-eh	+ -ek	c ^h elehek
13.	c ^h +	-el +	-eh	+ -un ^(h) e	c ^h elehun (h) e
14.	c ^h +	-el +	-eh	+ -ik	c ^h elehik
15.	c ^h +	-el +	a. -ethi	+ ∅	c ^h elethi
			b. -a (h)	+ ∅	c ^h elethi (h)
			c. -i(hi)	+ ∅	c ^h eli (hi)
16.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ ∅	c ^h el
			a. -ethi	+ ∅	c ^h elethi
17.	c ^h +	-el +	b. -a (h)	+ ∅	c ^h ela (h)
			c. -i (hi)	+ ∅	c ^h eli (hi)
			c ^h elethun (h) e	+ ∅	c ^h elethun (h) e
18.	c ^h +	-el +	-ethun (h) e	+ ∅	c ^h elethun (h) e
19.	c ^h +	-el +	-ethun (h) e	+ ∅	c ^h elethun (h) e
20.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ ∅	c ^h el
21.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -e (h)	c ^h ele (h)
22.	c ^h +	-el +	∅	+ -e (h)u	c ^h ele (h) u
23.	c ^h +	-el +	-eth ⁱⁿ (h) e	+ ∅	c ^h eleth ⁱⁿ (h) e
24.	c ^h +	-el +	-en ^(h) i	+ ∅	c ^h elen (h) i
25.	c ^h +	-el +	-eth ⁱⁿ (h) e	+ ∅	c ^h eleth ⁱⁿ (h) e
26.	c ^h +	-el +	-e (h) i	+ ∅	c ^h ele (h) i

Table 7a: Maithili sentences based on the framework outlined in Table 8.4, showing how its auxiliary verb forms are inflected in the future in accordance with the ST forms of their grammatical subjects and objects.

Subject	Object	Verb		Gloss
		Main	Auxiliary	
1. hem	āhāke	keheit	reheb	'I will be saying to you'
2. hem	tora	keheit	rehebe(h)	'I will be saying to you'
3. hem	tora	keheit	rehebe(h)u	'I will be saying to you'
4. hem	hunka	keheit	reheben(h)i	'I will be saying to him'
5. hem	okr	keheit	rehebe(k)	'I will be saying to him'
6. āhā	hemra	keheit	reheb	'you will be saying to me'
7. āhā	hunka	keheit	reheben(h)i	'You will be saying to him'
8. āhā	okra	keheit	rehebei(k)	'You will be saying to him'
9. tō	hemra	keheit	rehebe(h)	'You will be saying to me'
10. tō	hemra	keheit	rehebe	'You will be saying to me'
11. tō	hunka	keheit	rehebehun(h)a	'You will be saying to him'
12. tō	okra	keheit	rehebehek	'You will be saying to him'
13. tō	hunka	keheit	rehebehun(h)e	'You will be saying to him'
14. tō	okra	keheit	rehebehik	'You will be saying to him'
15. o	hemra	keheit	a. reheta(h) b. reheti(hi)	'He will be saying to me' 'She will be saying to me'
16. o	hemra	keheit	rehet	'He will be saying to me'
17. o	āhāke	keheit	a. reheta(h) b. reheti(hi)	'He will be saying to you' 'She will be saying to you'
18. o	tora	keheit	rehet ^h un(h)e	'He will be saying to you'
19. o	tora	keheit	rehet ^h un ^(h) e	'He will be saying to you'
20. o	ākāke	keheit	rehet	'He will be saying to you'
21. o	tora	keheit	rehete(h)	'He will be saying to you'
22. o	tora	keheit	reheta(h)u	'He will besaying to you'
23. o	hunka	keheit	rehetin(h)e	'He will be saying to him'
24. o	hunka	keheit	rehet ^h in(h)e	'He will be saying to him'
25. o	okra	keheit	rehet ^h in(h)e	'He will be saying to him'
26. o	okra	keheit	rehete(h)i	'He will be saying to him'

Table 7b: The morphological analysis of the Maithili auxiliary verb forms in the future as given in the Maithili sentences of Table 7a.

	Root	Tense Marker	Gender/ST Marker		Verb Form
			Subject	Object	
1.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ ∅	reheb
2.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ -e(h)	rehebe (h)
3.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ -e(h)u	rehebe(h)u
4.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ -en(h)i	reheben(h)i
5.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ -ei(i)	rehebei(k)
6.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ ∅	reheb
7.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ -en(h)i	reheben(h)i
8.	reh	+ -eb	+ ∅	+ -ei(k)	rehebei(k)
9.	reh	+ -eb	+ -e(h)	+ ∅	rehebe(h)
10.	reh	+ -eb	+ -e	+ ∅	rehebe
11.	reh	+ -eb	+ -eh	+ -un(h)e	rehebehun(h)e
12.	reh	+ -eb	+ -eh	+ -ek	rehebehek
13.	reh	+ -eb	+ -eh	+ -un(h)e	rehebehun(h)e
14.	reh	+ -eb	+ -eh	+ -ik	rehebehik
15.	reh	+ -et	a. -a(h) b. -i(hi)	+ ∅	reheta(h) reheti(hi)
16.	reh	+ -et	+ ∅	+ ∅	rehet
17.	reh	+ -et	a. -a(h) b. -i(hi)	+ ∅	reheta(h) reheti(hi)
18.	reh	+ -eth	+ -un(h)e	+ ∅	rehetun(h)e
19.	reh	+ -eth	+ -un(h)e	+ ∅	rehetun(h)e
20.	reh	+ -et	+ ∅	+ ∅	rehet
21.	reh	+ -et	+ ∅	+ -e(h)	rehete(h)
22.	reh	+ -et	+ ∅	+ -e(h)u	rehete(h)u
23.	reh	+ -eth	+ -in(h)e	+ ∅	rehetin(h)e
24.	reh	+ -et	+ -en(h)i	+ ∅	reheten(h)i
25.	reh	+ -eth	+ -in(h)e	+ ∅	rehetin(h)a
26.	reh	+ -et	+ -e(h)i	+ ∅	rehete(h)i

while that of Table 7a is done in Table 7b.

1.2.2. Summary and Discussion

The morphological analysis done in Tables 5b, 6b and 7b show a number of different markers that are quite systematically used in Maithili to

reveal the tense of each sentence as well as the gender and/or social status of the person used in its grammatical subject and/or object. Six pairs of such markers are:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) <u>-iyē(y)</u>
<u>-ē(h)</u> | (ii) <u>-iyē(h)u</u>
<u>-(h)u</u> |
| (iii) <u>-iyēn(h)i</u>
<u>-ēn(h)i</u> | (iv) <u>-iyēi(k)</u>
<u>-ēi(k)</u> |
| (v) <u>-ēthin(h)e</u>
<u>-in(h)e</u> | (vi) <u>-ēthun(h)e</u>
<u>-un(h)e</u> |

In each of these pairs, the first marker is used in the present and the past tense forms with suffixes like *-iy-* and *-ē^h-*, while the second marker of each pair is used in future forms without using these *-iy-* and *-ē^h-* suffixes. There are, in addition, three other markers - i.e. *-ek*, *-ik* and *-ē(h)i-* and these are used in all forms: present, past and future. All these auxiliary verb forms of Tables 5b, 6b and 7b provide further evidences of the process of elision occurring in Maithili. That is, they provide evidences of the elision of *h* and *k* in different phonological environments, as well as evidences of the weakening of *n^h* into *n* in particular phonological contexts.

Taking instances of the elision of *h* first, the auxiliary verb forms shown in the next page reveal that the elision of *h* from the suffix *-uh* occurs in three phonological environments:

Present	Past	Future
c ^h iyē (h)	c ^h ele (h) u	rehebe (h)
c ^h e (h)	c ^h eliye (h) u	reheta (h)
c ^h e (h)u	c ^h ele (h)	rehete (h)
c ^h e (h) i	c ^h ela (h)	rehete (h) u
	c ^h ele (h) u	rehete (h) i
	c ^h ele (h) i	

i.e.

- (i) when it occurs word-finally, especially when the final syllable of such words remains weakly accented;
- (ii) when it occurs in the final syllable of a word, preceded and followed by oral vowels; and

- (iii) when it occurs in the final syllable of a word, preceded and followed by nasal vowels.

These generalizations can be stated in terms of the following phonological rule:

Rule (4)

+ cons
+ low → ∅/V _____ (V) #
- voice

It should be emphasized that the h of the suffix *-eh* is elided only when it occurs in a weakly accented final syllable of a word. But if this h of *-eh* occurs word-medially, as in the following verb forms, for example,

Present	Past	Future
c ^h ehun ^(h) e	c ^h elehun ^(h) e	rehebehun ^(h) e
c ^h ehek	c ^h elehek	rehebehek
c ^h ehik	c ^h elehik	rehebehik

then it simply does not elide in Maithili.

Similarly, the elision of *k* from the suffix *-ei(k)* or *-ik* occurs in Maithili whenever *k* appears word-finally, preceded by two adjacent vowels or a diphthong, as the following forms show:

Present	Past	Future
c ^h iyēi(k)	c ^h eliyēi(k)	rehebei(k)

The elision of *k* can be described by means of the following phonological rule:

Rule (5)

+ cons
- ant
- cor → ∅/ vv _____ ≠
+ back
- asp
- voice

But whenever the word-final *k* of the suffix *-ek* or *-ik* is preceded by only one vowel, as in the following verb forms, for example,

Present	Past	Future
ch ^h eh ^h ek	ch ^h eh ^h elehek	rehebehek
ch ^h eh ^h ik	ch ^h eh ^h elihik	rehebahik

then the elision of *k* never occurs in Maithili.

Likewise, whenever such suffixes as *-iyen^(h)i*, *-en^(h)i*, *-et^hin^(h)e*, *-in^(h)e*, *-ethun^(h)e* and *-un^(h)e* are added to different auxiliary verb forms in Maithili, then the words which eventually surface contain the unaspirated nasal *n* instead of the aspirated *n^h* as the following verb forms show:

Present	Past	Future
ch ^h iyen ^(h) i	ch ^h eliyen ^(h) i	reheben ^(h) i
ch ^h et ^h un ^(h) e	ch ^h eh ^h ethun ^(h) e	rehebehun ^(h) e
ch ^h ehun ^(h) e	ch ^h eh ^h et ^h un ^(h) e	rehet ^h un ^(h) e
ch ^h et ^h in ^(h) e	ch ^h eh ^h et ^h in ^(h) e	rehet ^h in ^(h) e
	ch ^h eh ^h en ^(h) i	reheten ^(h) i

This weakening of *n^h* into *n* phonologically conditioned: i.e. whenever *n^h* occurs intervocally in the final syllable of a verb form, it loses its aspiration. This weakening process can be described in terms of the following phonological rule:

Rule (6)

- + cons
- + nasal
- + ant → [-asp] / v _____ v #
- + cor
- + asp

2 Aspect Markers and the Elision of the Dentals and the Labials in Maithili

The category 'aspect' is used in the grammatical description of verb, referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the duration or type of activity denoted by the verb. We divide this section into three parts: the first part outlines the system of aspects and the elision of the dental *t* in Maithili; the second part looks into some cases of the elision of *b* in Maithili; and the third part presents a summary of discussions concerning the elision of the dental *t* and the labial *b*.

2.1 The system of Aspects and the Elision of the Dental /t/ in Maithili

A complete paradigm of finite verbs in Maithili indicates such aspectual distinctions in the indicative mood as:

1. Perfect, and
2. Non-perfect (i.e. simple, imperfect and progressive).

This system of aspects is represented in the following tree diagram:

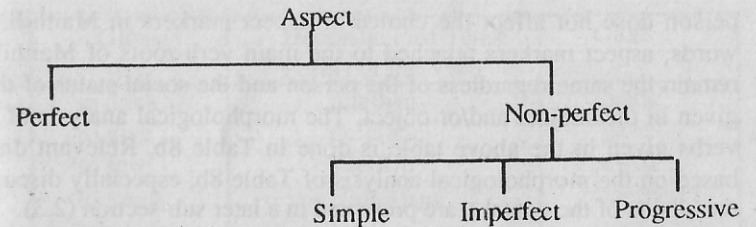


Figure 6: The system of aspects in Maithili

The verb forms that each of these aspectual distinctions takes can be shown by giving a paradigm of the verb *dek^h* 'to see', as given in Table 8a.

Although each of the twelve Maithili sentence given in Table 8a contains only the non-honorific third person pronoun *o* 'he/she' as its subject, it must be pointed out that the person of the subject as well as the social status of that

Table 8a: A paradigm of the verb /dek^h/, showing each of the aspectual distinctions in Maithili.

Aspect	Tense	Sub- ject*	Verb		Gloss
			Main	Aux	
Simple	Present	o	dek ^h ei ^h	∅	'He/she sees'
	Past	o	dek ^h elek	∅	'He/she saw'
	Future	o	dek ^h et	∅	'He/she will see'
Imperfect	Present	o	dek ^h ei(t)	ach ⁱ	'He/she is seeing'
	Past	o	dek ^h ei(t)	ch ^h el	'He/she was seeing'
	Future	o	dek ^h ei(t)	rehet	'He/she will be seeing'
Progressive	Present	o	dekh ^h rehel	echi	'He/she is continuously seeing'

Perfect	Past	o	dek ^h rehel	c ^h el	'He/she was continuously seeing'
	Future	o	dek ^h rehel	re ^h et	'He/she will continuously be seeing'
	Present	o	dek ^h ne	ec ^h i	'He/she was continuously be seeing'
	Past	o	dek ^h ne	c ^h el	'He/she had seen'
	Future	o	dek ^h ne	re ^h et	'He/she will have seen'

person dose not affect the choice of aspect markers in Maithili. In other words, aspect markers attached to the main verb-roots of Maithili always remain the same regardless of the person and the social status of the person given in the subject and/or object. The morphological analysis of the main verbs given in the above table is done in Table 8b. Relevant discussions based on the morphological analysis of Table 8b, especially discussions on the elision of the dental *ɭ*, are presented in a later sub-section (2.3).

Table 8b: The morphological analysis of the main verbs shown in Table 8a.

Aspect	Root	Tense/ST Marker	Aspect Marker	Verb Form	
Simple	dek ^h	+	-eic ^h	+ ∅	dek ^h eic ^h
	dek ^h	+	-elek	+ ∅	dek ^h elek
	dek ^h	+	-et	+ ∅	dek ^h et
Imperfect	dek ^h	+	∅	+ -ei(t)	dek ^h ei(t)
	dek ^h	+	∅	+ -ei(t)	dek ^h ei(t)
	dek ^h	+	∅	+ -ei(t)	dek ^h ei(t)
Progressive	dek ^h	+	∅	+ rehel	dek ^h rehel
	dek ^h	+	∅	+ rehel	dek ^h rehel
	dek ^h	+	∅	+ rehel	dek ^h rehel
Perfect	dek ^h	+	∅	+ -ne	dek ^h ne
	dek ^h	+	∅	+ -ne	dek ^h ne
	dek ^h	+	∅	+ -ne	dek ^h ne

2.2 The Elision of the Labial /b/ in Maithili

There are some other verb forms in Maithili which provide evidences for the elision of the bilabial stop *b* in different phonological environments. Table 9a lists a number of different main verb-roots with *b* as their final

speech segment. Table 9a also shows that when these verb roots are attached with the past tense and with the honorific social status markers, then the *b* of the original verb-root is elided from the verb forms that eventually surface. The morphological analysis of the verb forms given in Table 9a is done in Table 9b. Relevant discussions based on the morphological analysis of Table 9b, especially discussions on the elision

Table 9a: The Maithili verb forms providing evidences for the elision of the bilabial /b/.

Root	Gloss	Honorific Past Tense Forms of the Verb	Gloss
pib	'to drink'	pile(h)u	'drank'
deb	'to give'	dele(h)u	'gave'
sib	'to sew'	sile(h)u	'sewed'
c ^h ub	'to touch'	c ^h ule(h)u	'touched'
leb	'to take'	lele(h)u	'took'
d ^h ob	'to wash'	d ^h ole(h)u	'washed'

Table 9b: The morphological analysis of the verb forms given in Table 9a.

Root	Past Tense Marker	Honorific ST Marker	Verb Form	Gloss
pib	+ -1	+ -e(h)u	pile(h)u	'drank'
deb	+ -1	+ -e(h)u	dele(h)u	'gave'
sib	+ -1	+ -e(h)u	sile(h)u	'sewed'
chub	+ -1	+ -e(h)u	c ^h ule(h)u	'touched'
leb	+ -1	+ -e(h)u	lele(h)u	'took'
dhob	+ -1	+ -e(h)u	d ^h ole(h)u	'washed'

of the bilabial stop *b*, are presented in the next sub-section.

2.3 Summary and Discussion

From the study of the morphological analysis of aspects done in Table 8b, we can draw the following conclusions about their regularities:

- (i) In the simple form, the main verb-roots in Maithili are not marked for aspect-they are attached with tense and/or social status markers only;

- (ii) The imperfect marker in Maithili is *-ei(t)* and it is always affixed to the root of the preceding main verb;
- (iii) The progressive form in Maithili is always marked with *rehel*, which is a free morpheme and which always occurs after the root of the main verb; and
- (iv) The perfect marker in Maithili is *-ne* and it, too, is always affixed to the root of the preceding verb.

Thus, the aspects in Maithili can be either unmarked, as in the 'simple' form, or marked in any one of the following three ways:

- (i) *-ei(t)* (Imperfect)
- (ii) *rehel* (Progressive), or
- (iii) *-ne* (Perfect).

Of all these aspect markers, the imperfect marker *-ei(t)* is the one which is very significant for us here as it provides some important evidence for the process of elision occurring in Maithili. The marker *-ei(t)* has two main realizations: i.e. *-ei(t)* and *-i(t)*. Table 10 shows the phonological contexts in which the two forms, *-ei(t)* and *-i(t)*, occur in Maithili. That is, Table 10 clearly shows that there are two different phonological environments in which *-ei(t)* and *-i(t)* occur: *-ei(t)* occurs when it is preceded by a consonant of the main verb-root; *-i(t)*, on the other hand, occurs when it is preceded by a vowel of the main verb-root. An informal rule given in (7) describes the two different environments in which the two imperfect aspect markers occur in Maithili.

Table 10: The form /-ei(t) and /-i(t)/ attached to the main verb-roots in Maithili.

The Form	Verb Root	Aspect Marker	Verb Form	Gloss
-ei(g)	dekh	+ -ei(t)	dek ^h ei(t)	'seeing'
	sun	+ -ei(t)	sunei(t)	'hearing'
	keh	+ -ei(t)	kehei(t)	'saying'
	hes	+ -ei(t)	hesai(t)	'laughing'
	sut	+ -ei(t)	sutei(t)	'sleeping'
-i(t)	ja	+ -i(t)	jai(t)	'going'
	kha	+ -i(t)	k ^h ai(t)	'eating'
	dho	+ -i(t)	d ^h oi(t)	'washing'
	ho	+ -i(t)	hoi(t)	'happening'
	neha	+ -i(t)	nehai(t)	'bathing'

Rule (7)

$$\text{Imperfect Aspect Marker} \rightarrow \left(\begin{array}{l} -ei(t) / C \text{ ---- } \# \\ -i(t) / V \text{ ---- } \# \end{array} \right)$$

Each of the two aspect markers, *-ei(t)* and *-i(t)*, shows the elision of the dental *l* occurring in Maithili. The phonological context in which this elision takes place can be described in terms of the following phonological rule:

Rule (8)

$$\begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ ant} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ - \text{ asp} \\ - \text{ voice} \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{VV} \text{ ---- } \#$$

This rule says that the dental *l* occurring in the word-final position of the Maithili verb is elided, whenever it is preceded by two adjacent vowels.

Similarly, the verb forms presented in Table 9a and morphologically analysed in Table 9b show that the labial *b* in the Maithili verb-roots like *pib*, *deb*, *leb* and so on is elided, whenever the past tense marker *-l* and the honorific social status marker *-e(h)u* are attached to them. The phonological context in which this elision of the labial *b* occurs in Maithili can be stated in terms of the phonological rule given below:

Rule (9)

$$\begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ ant} \\ - \text{ cor} \\ - \text{ asp} \\ + \text{ voice} \end{array} \rightarrow \emptyset / [v] \rightarrow \begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ lateral} \\ - \text{ asp} \end{array}$$

3. Summary and Conclusion

To summarise, it has always been a feature of the structure of Maithili words that the weakly accented syllables have undergone a process of gradation -- i.e. loss of phonemes, obscuration of vowels, and so on (see S. Jha, 1958, for more information). The same process of gradation, with resultant contraction, weakening and even total elision of speech segments, may be observed in operation in current Maithili. The forms exhibiting elision in Maithili are typical of rapid, colloquial speech, whereas more formal speech tends to retain the fuller form under the preservative influence of the spelling.

The morphophonology of the Maithili verbs and verb forms studied here provides significant evidences regarding the weakening of n^h to n and the elision of k , b , t and h in different phonological environments. Since elision indicates relative phonological strength (see, for example, Foley, 1977), in Maithili velars are weaker than dentals or labials. As the dental t and the labial b are phonologically stranger than the velar k , both t and b dominate k in the Maithili clusters: kt and kb . with regard to dentals and labials, the dentals in Maithili are strangest as they or their reflexes remain while velars and labials weaken. Like many other Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. see Beames, 1872-79/ reprint 1966; Kellogg, 1876/1893; Chatterji, 1926/1970 and 1960; Burrow, 1955; S. Jha, 1958), the Maithili voiced dental d shifts to its voiceless counterpart t , as in the following compounds, for examples;

ted + *Kal* = *tetkal* 'immediately'
sensed + *sedesye* = *senset sedesye* 'member of Parliament'

This consonant shift must be regarded as an example of strengthening Since according to the inertial development principle (e.g. see Foley, 1977) strengthening applies preferentially to strong elements, if only one element of a velar, labial or dental group strengthen, "that element is the strangest element" (Foley, 1977: 50). Since in Maithili dentals strengthen in preference to velars and labials, dentals are stronger than velars and labials. Thus, within the group of stops, the relative phonological strength in Maithili can be shown as in Figure 7:

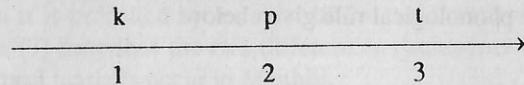


Figure 7: The relative phonological strength of stops in Maithili

Even though our results concerning the relative phonological strength of stops in Maithili do not quite follow the pattern witnessed in nest Romance and Germanic languages, for example, they should not be regarded as surprising. For, like Maithili, even in the group of Germanic languages, the dentals of German, too, are said (e.g. Foley, 1977: 50) to be phonologically stranger than labials. It therefore makes sense to say that for any particular language an order of relative phonological strength must be determined, as we have already done in the case of the Maithili stops, and that we may expect different languages to choose different orders. The phonological strength of stops in Maithili chooses an order which is similar to that as a language like German but not so similar to that of a language like English, for instance.

References

Beames, J. 1872-79/reprint 1966. *A Comparative Grammer of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages of India*. Delhi: Munshira Manoharlal.

Burrow, T. 1955. *The Sanskrit Language*. London: Faber and Faber.

Chatterji, S.K. 1926/1970 *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* London: George Allen and Unwin (2 Vols.)

_____ 1960. *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*. 2n Ed. Ahmadabad: Gujarat Vermacular Society.

Foley, J. 1970. "Phonological distinctive features". *Folia Linguistica*, Vol. 4, PP. 87-92.

_____ 1977. *Foundations of Theoretical Phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooper, J.B. 1973. *Aspects of Natural Generative Phonology*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of California.

_____ 1976. *An Introduction to Natural Generative Phonology*. London: Academic Press.

Hyman, L. 1974. "How do natural rules become unnatural?" Project on Linguistic Analysis. Berkeley: University of California.

_____ 1975. *Phonology: Theory and Analysis*. New York: Helt, Rinehart and Winston.

Jha, S. 1958. *The formation of the Maithili Language*. London: Leuzac and Co.

Kellogg, S.H. 1876/ 2nd Ed. 1893. *A Grammer of the Hindi Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Pray, B. R. 1969. *Agreement in Hindi-Urdu and Its Phonological Implications*. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Michigan.

Stampe, D. 1973. *A Dissertation on Natural Phonology*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Chicago.

Vennemann, T. 1971. "Natural Generative Phonology". Paper read at annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. St. Louis, Missouri.

_____ 1972. "On the theory of syllabic phonology". *Linguistische Berichte*, Vol. 18, pp. 1-18.

SOME ASPECTS OF SEXISM IN NEPALI*

Hriseekesh Upadhyay

The strong form of Sapir-Whorf hypothesis postulating that a language moulds the world-view of that speech community proved highly controversial. According to Trudgil (1978:27) "Less controversial is the one way relationship that operates in the opposite direction - the effect of society on language..." One such study that establishes the influence of society on a language is the question of sexism or gender bias in a given language.

In recent years, sexist bias in language use has been a hotly debated subject in many speech communities, particularly in the European languages which is in turn a by-product of women's improved status in those societies. This brief paper seeks to analyse sexism in Nepali as revealed in Nepali sociolinguistic usage. The model for this analysis has been taken from Trudgil (1978), Thorne and Henley (1975) and Nilsen (1972). The analysis focuses on social attitude towards women as reflected in some Nepali proverbs, lexicon and general language usage.

Social Attitude:

The Nepali language has developed over the past one thousand years of its documented history without major critical intellectual inputs from woman writers/thinkers or from anyone who benignly sought to represent women's perspective correcting abusive slants against women and emphasising women's rightful place in society, at least in the sphere of language use. Language in itself is neither for or against one gender. But whether a certain loaded phrase or expression against one gender gains currency or is suppressed

depends on the social influence of the particular gender to which the offence is directed.

The Nepali society is steeped in the teaching of a Manu who enjoined, 'A woman deserves no freedom' (Na striswatantryamarhati) and a Bhanubhakta who blasted 'A woman is a gateway to hell' (nari hun ti narakki dhoka). Little is in the record of Nepali world of letters to represent the women's side of experience in the man-woman divide of the Nepali society. This brings to the hunch that the Nepali language has been nurtured and expanded as a medium of male speech for a male dominated society.

Although people refer to their "motherland" /matribhumi / and "mother tongue" /matribhasa/, the societal norm is of pronounced male domination. A grown-up woman in Nepali-speech context does not have a home of her own until marriage; the parental home is called /maita/ where she is treated as a /naso/ "ward" and the family she is married into becomes as "home" /ghar/ where she remains an outsider for a long time. After being married, however, a woman would only complete the requisites of a home of her husband for a Nepali proverb says "A house becomes a home if it has a wife in it" (Na gharlai ghar kahinchha, grihini ghar bara ho). Though a wife is deemed essential to constitute a home, the word for the owner of the home is /gharpati/ "the husband of the house". Nepali does not have an equivalent expression for a woman household chief.

Proverbial Stereotypes:

Proverbs of a society are distilled wisdom and accepted ideas. The attitude conveyed in proverbs is transmitted to each new generation and it takes quite an effort to challenge and contradict proverbial stereotypes. Nepali has a number of proverbs that portray women as procrastinating, quarrelsome and incapable of reasoning. Some samplers:

- Jaba paryo rati, ani budhi tati
(A woman does not begin work until late).
- Tain rani, main rani, kobharchha kuwako pani
(Each woman behaves as if she were a queen, and there is no one to fetch water).
- Kam painas buhari padako naito kanya
(A woman scratches the back of domestic animals to keep her busy)
- Usai ta buhari bhatmas khaeki
(Women only look for excuses)
- Duitira pwal bhaeko bhando kam lagdaina
(A container with opening at both ends is useless).

* Paper presented at the XIth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, November 1990.

It is clear indication of the subservient role of the Nepalese woman in society that certain traits such as courage and initiative are appreciated among males and deprecated among females. What is remarkable in this instance is the use of similar images to convey opposite attitude to the social roles of opposite sexes. The proverbs in question are:

- Anti chhoralai baghale khandaina
(A boy of courage is not killed by a tiger)
- Uttauli gai baghale khai
(A daring cow-woman- is devoured by a tiger)

This pair of old adage positively encourages males to take risk suggesting that possible dangers in an enterprise would be overcome by sheer courage. On the other hand the prototype female is warned against imminent dangers and therefore for restraint. In case an enterprise fails and if the initiator happens to be a woman everyone would swear by the proverb "A daring cow is devoured by a tiger."

Female Talk:

The type of language variety Nepali women use in their speech is known as /aimai kura/ which signifies gossip and spineless chatter. The man's speech on the other hand is known as /marda kura/ which means business and serious talk. The very expression/ aimai kura/ suggests frivolous, irresponsible, sentimental and often malicious innuendos of little consequence. If Nepali female talk is confined to everyday inconsequential matters, it is because the society has relegated women to marginal roles in which they have no occasion to come out with serious ideas about issues other than the immediate family.

If a woman tries to present a forceful argument in the family or society her attempt is characterized as "a hen's crowing"/ pothi baseko/. On the other hand, if a woman decides not to assert her opinion and lets the right of reply pass off, she is dismissed as having no ideas or standpoint of her own on the subject: A woman is condemned if she attempts to assert her voice and a woman is condemned if she does not assert her stand point.

Forms of Address and Politeness:

The Nepali language has a four tier pronominal forms for the second person "you" in English. Depending on the choice of pronoun *Tan*, *Timi*, *Tapain*, *Hajur* (all loosely translated to English 'you'), there must be of corresponding changes in the verb conjugations. *Tan* is the lowest form of address and *Hajur* is the highest in terms of respect shown to the addressee. In Nepali speech, women give higher forms of address to others and often

receive lower forms from their addressees. For example a wife would address her husband using /tapain/ or /hajur/ and husband would generally use /tan/ and modern husbands have begun using /timi/ as a mark of social accommodation to educated wives.

A woman is expected to use a more polite form of language than men. If a man uses terse and tough talk he is not criticised for being impolite. A woman is criticised as having a bad taste if her speech did not follow the expected norms. Interestingly the Nepali word for "wife" - /Swasni/ literally translates as the "one who speaks sweet". As a result it is normal for a wife to give a higher forms of address to her husband. But a husband uses a higher form of address to his wife only when he chooses to censure her conduct.

Nepali has a neutral term /manchhe/ for human beings applying for either sex. Gender difference is noted with /logne manchhe/ 'husband person' and /swasni manchhe/ 'wife person'. Children are ordinarily referred to by father's name as 'so and so' s daughter/ son'; a bright and successful child is always the offspring of the father. But if a child commits a misdemeanor, even the child's immediate family from father's line refer to the miscreants as the descendents from the mother's line. A less brilliant child is often described as the product of the milk from the mother's line.

A classic example in this regard is found in the famous Sanskrit poet Kalidasa. In the epic *Raghubansha*, a young prince Raghu is portrayed as the pride of his clan and saviour of the kingdom. But when the prince returns home defeated from a contest he is characterised as a mere off-spring of his mother. Kalidasa wrote "*Sudakshina sunurapi nyabartata* - the son of queen Sudakshina also returned without success-transferring the ignominious failure to the mother's line.

Unlike English, Nepali does not have gender problem in pronominal references; both 'he' and 'she' are covered by /uhan/, /uni/ and /u/ and the gender difference of the referents can be noted in the verb conjugations. For example:

/uhan aunubhayo/	He/She came (respect)
/uni ayin/	She came (familiar)
/uni aye/	He came (familiar)
/u ayi/	She came (intimate, no respect)
/u ayo/	He came (intimate no respect)

Thus in Nepali there is no danger of women being excluded from expressions one like /pahunale aphasaman kothama rakhnuhos/ "The visitor keep their (his/her) luggage in the room". In Nepali, the gender distinction is clearly marked in the intimate forms and in formal respectful expressions both genders are covered in the pronominal and verbal forms.

Masculine base, Feminine derivative:

Nepali uses the masculine form as the base with a female suffix added to denote the professional position of a woman. For instance /kavi/ 'poet', /kavayitri/ 'poetess', /lekhak/ 'author' /lekhika/ 'authoress'. In such pairs, the feminine form besides signifying the gender of the person, often denotes the lesser quality of professionalism. A /kavayitri/ 'poetess', therefore, is not only a woman poet but also a lesser quality poet. Moreover, in the old use the feminine forms of such job title simply meant "the wife of ...". For examples a pandit's wife was 'panditni/ just as a female of 'damai' (tailoring) trade was /damini/ (woman tailor). In modern use, though, the expression /dakterni/ would mean a dialectal use for "woman doctor, not the wife of a doctor.

Tag Questions:

One interesting area of language use by woman is tag questions. Nepali women use more tag questions than men signifying lack of their commanding position in the family and society. Even professional women are found to carry their non-assertive tag question in their social exchanges. For instance a woman is expected to propose or suggest something not order or assert the proposition. A simple proposal involving mother to son, wife to husband, sister to brother would go like this: /aba jane haina?/ "Is not now the time to go?" A male family member would most probably say: /aba jaun/ "Now, time to go".

Women's status in Nepal is undergoing a slow change. As the process of change accelerates, more would be known about sexism in Nepali. What is presented in this brief review is an indication that Nepali too carries its share of gender bias and only the growth of women's freedom and improved status will ensure measures to counter the linguistic abuses against women still prevalent in Nepali.

References

- Nilsen, A.P. (1972). Sexism in English: A Feminist View. *Female studies*. V. 1. New York: Old Westbury, pp. 102-109.
- Parajuli, K.P. (1990). *Nepali Ukhan Ra Gaun Khane Katha* (Nepali Proverbs and Riddles). 2nd Ed. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Thorne, B. and N. Henley. (ed.), (1975). *Language and Sex Difference and Dominance*. Rawley, Mass: Newbury House.
- Trudgil, P. (1978). *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

LEXICAL GENDER IN NEPAL

Madhav P. Pokharel
Central Dept. of Nepali
Tribhuvan University
Kathmandu

0. Abstract

Nepali has both the Indo-European type and Sino-Tibetan type of gender syntactically, (see Pokharel 1988). But the focus of the present paper is to establish the paradigmatic relation between two sets of words FEMININE and NON-FEMININE or unmarked, out of which the FEMININE set is derived. Thus there are derivational rules which generate FEMININE set from the unmarked set. The label FEMININE is loosely used to the derived set of words suffixed by the feminine morpheme (in) i. In course of derivation there is also found the process of Vowel Reduction. The derived set with the morpheme *ini* means CONTAINER with INANIMATE nouns, while the same morpheme means WIFE with ANIMATE nouns. Similarly the morpheme *-i* gives DIMINUTIVE meaning with INANIMATE nouns and FEMALE SEX with ANIMATE ones. The inanimate meaning is taken here basic and the animate meaning is treated as the derived meaning. Thus WIFE relation with animates is an extension of the CONTAINER relation, and the SEX relation in animales is similarly an extension of the DIMINUTIVE meaning.

LEXICAL GENDER IN NEPAL

1. Introduction

Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Sino-Tibetan contact area. Thus Nepali has both the *concordial type* of gender characteristic of the Indo-European and the *Classifier type* of gender characteristic of the Sino-

Tibetan. Thus typologically Nepali can be compared to Yagu, a language spoken in Peru, which shows both the characteristics. Dixon (1982, 1986) brings together both the types under the same category of gender. Following Dixon Pokharel (1988) has also brought both the types in Nepali under the same title. This paper refers to Pokharel (1988) for the phenomena of gender in Nepali and focusses its attention to the rules of lexical gender in Nepali. The study of classifiers and the Indo-European-type agreement is outside the circumference of this paper.

According to Pokharel (1988) Sex-gender is overt only in the Low Grade Honorific (LGH) and Middle Grade Honorific (MGH) on the basis of agreement in Nepali. Sex is not relevant in NON-HUMAN, ROYAL and High Grade Honorific genders on the ground of agreement.

Nepali has a special morpheme *-(in)i* to derive FEMININE gender lexically from the NON-FEMININE stock which has not always one-to-one mapping with the agreement system. Under the HUMAN category only in LGH and MGH both agreement and morphology coincide for the semantic transparency of SEX. Outside this circle the same morphology is extended to the ANIMATE class, but there is no agreement.

1. A. HUMAN (LGH) SA_{no} KeTo Ayo 'a small boy came'
Small boy came
- B. SA_{ni} KeTi Ai 'a small girl came'
Small girl came
2. A. Karki Ayo 'Karki came'
Karki Came
- B. Karkini Ai 'karkis wife came'.
Karki's wife came

(ii) HUMAN (MGH)

3. A. SA_{nA} KeTA Ae 'a small boy came'
Small boy came
- B. SA_{ni} KeTi Ain 'a small girl came'
Small girl came
4. A. KArki Ae 'karki came'
Karki came
- B. Karkini Ain 'Karki's wife came'
Karki's wife came.

Table 1a: Six Maithili sentences containing auxiliary verb forms in the present tense.

Person	ST Form	Sentence		Gloss
		Subject	Verb	
1. 1st	honorific	he	c ^h i	'I am'
2. 2nd	yeu form	āhā	c ^h i	'You are'
3. 2nd	heu form	tō	c ^h e(h)	'You are'
4. 2nd	reu form	tō	c ^h e	'You are'
5. 3rd	honorific	o	c ^h et ^h i	'He/she is'
6. 3rd	non-honorific	o	ac ^h i	'He/she is'

Table 1b: The morphological analysis of the Maithili auxiliary verb forms as given in Table 1a.

Person	ST Form	Root	Present Tense-cum-ST Marker	Verb Form
1. 1st	honorific	c ^h	+ -i	c ^h i
2. 2nd	yeu form	c ^h	+ -i	c ^h i
3. 2nd	heu form	c ^h	+ -e(h)	c ^h e(h)
4. 2nd	reu form	c ^h	+ -e	c ^h e
5. 3rd	honorific	c ^h	+ -et ^h i	c ^h et ^h i
6. 3rd	non-honorific	ec ^h	+ -i	ec ^h i

[– honorific] form of the third person; ch is in all other contexts.

Secondly, as present tense-cum-social status markers, Maithili uses four inflectional suffixes: *-i*, *-e(h)*, *-e* and *-et^hi*. The suffix *-i* is attached to the root *ch* when the subject of the sentence is either in the first person or in the honorific form of the second person; *-i*, in addition, is also attached to the root *ec^h* when the subject of the sentence is in the non-honorific form of the third person. The marker *-e(h)* is attached to the root *h* when the subject of the sentence is in the *heu* form (i.e. in [+ intimate] form) of the second person; the marker *-e*, on the other hand, is attached to the root *ch* when the subject is in the *reu* form (i.e. in [- intimate] form) of the second person. The suffix *-et^hi* is attached to the root *c^h* when the subject of the sentence is in the honorific form of the third person.

The above-mentioned 'person' and 'social status' categories in Maithili can be formalized in terms of four features: i.e. two features, [1st person] and [2nd person], for the categories of 'person', and two features, [honorific] and [intimate], for the categories of 'social status'. Each of these features may be either plus or minus. And all of them may be termed inflectional features since they enter into the phonological rules which categorize both the inflection of nouns and pronouns and the phonological variation of verbal forms usually labelled 'agreement' or 'concord'. A somewhat broad specification of these features is given below in (1):

- (1)
- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|---|-----------------------------|
| (i) | v | → | [± 1st person] |
| (ii) | [- 1st person] | → | [± 2nd person] |
| (iii) | [+ 1st person] | → | [+ honorific] |
| (iv) | [+ 2nd person] | → | [± honorific] |
| (v) | [- 2nd person] | → | [± honorific] |
| (vi) | [- honorific] | → | [± intimate] / [2nd person] |

1.1 The Forms According to the Subject

In this part we shall look into those auxiliary verb forms which are in accordance with the social status (ST) of their grammatical subjects. To do so systematically, we shall analyse the forms in all tenses: the present, the past and the future.

1.1.1. The Forms in the Present Tense

Table 1a presents six Maithili sentences containing auxiliary verb forms in the present tense. The morphological analysis of these auxiliary verb forms is done in Table 1b. From the study of this morphological analysis done in Table 1b, we can draw the following two main conclusions about the regularities with which these verb forms occur in the present tense:

First, both *h* and the suppletive *ech* are used as auxiliary verb roots in Maithili in the present tense: *ech* is used only when the grammatical subject of the sentence is in the

social status of the subject or the object: (1) the *yeu* form, (2) the *heu* form, and (3) the *reu* form. The *yeu* form is honorific, and the pronouns used in accordance with this form are: *āhālepne* (subject/nominative) 'you' and *āhākr/epneke* (object/accusative) 'to you'; the *heu* form is at once non-honorific and intimate, and the pronouns used for this form are *tō* (subject/nominative) 'you' and *tora* (object/accusative) 'to you'; the *reu* form is both non-honorific and non-intimate, and the pronouns used for this both non-honorific and non-intimate, and the pronouns used for this form are also the same: *to* (subject/nominative) 'you' and *tora* (object/accusative) 'to you'.

But when the subject or the object of the sentence is in the third person, then the verb in Maithili can have either an honorific form or a non-honorific one. The third person pronouns used in the honorific form are *i/o* (subject/nominative) 'he/she' or 'this/that' and *hinka/hunka* (object/accusative) 'to him/to her', while those used in the non-honorific form are also *i/o* (subject/nominative) 'he/she' or 'this/that' and *ekra/okra* (object/accusative) 'to him/to her' or 'to this/to that'.

The first, the second and the third persons in Maithili are all now categorized in Figure 2 below in accordance with the forms of their respective social status (ST):

PERSON AND ST FORMS IN MAITHILI

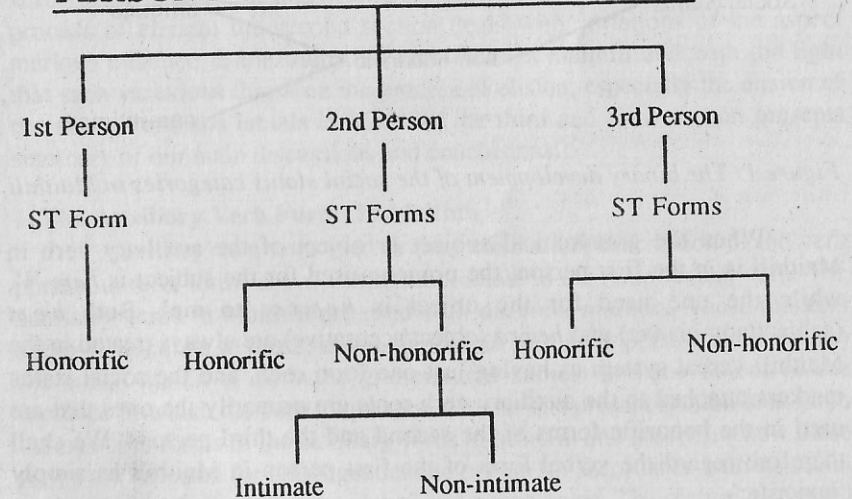


Figure 2: The first, the second and the third persons in Maithili categorized in accordance with the forms of their respective social status.

Before embarking upon the analyses and discussions of these verb forms, a few general points with regard to the 'social status' of the person (whether the first, the second or the third) used in Maithili sentences must be clearly stated at the outset. As mentioned earlier, Maithili has a system of verbal inflection in which the verb is inflected for person and according to the social status of both the subject and the object, and not according to person and number as, for example, in Hindi (e.g. Pray, 1969). Thus, the Maithili verbs are always used either in honorific or in non-honorific forms. As the name indicates, honorific forms are used to express levels of politeness or respect, especially in relation to the compared social status of the participants; non-honorific forms, on the other hand, are used when the social status of the person in question is relatively low. The latter forms are again sub-divided into two further categories: (a) intimate, i.e. the form which is used when the person in question is intimate to the speaker; and (b) non-intimate, i.e. the form which is used when the person concerned is not intimate to the speaker. The diagram given below in Figure 1 indicates the binary development of the above-mentioned social status categories in Maithili:

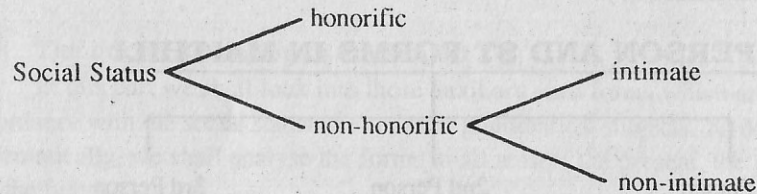


Figure 1: The binary development of the social status categories in Maithili

When the grammatical subject or object of the auxiliary verb in Maithili is in the first person, the pronoun used for the subject is *hem* 'I', while the one used for the object is *hemra* 'to me'. Both *hem* (subject/nominative) and *hemra* (object/accusative) are always treated in the Maithili verbal system as having just one form each, and the social status markers attached to the auxiliary verb roots are primarily the ones that are used in the honorific forms of the second and the third persons. We shall therefore regard the verbal form of the first person in Maithili as simply 'honorific'.

But things become different when the subject or the object of the verb in Maithili is either in the second or in the third person. That is, when the subject or the object of the Maithili sentence is in the second person, the auxiliary verb can have one of the following three forms according to the

strength, the paper shows the order of the relative phonological strength of steps in Maithili.

Before we embark upon further discussions on the morphophonology of the Maithili verbs and verb forms, some general characteristics of the Maithili verbal system must be pointed out. The verbal system of this language is basically inflectional: i.e. many of the desinence morphemes of the Maithili verbal system consist of elements like tense, aspect, mood, voice, gender, person and the social status of the person used on the subject/object of the sentence in which the verb occurs. This language forms its periphrastic tenses using one of the aspectual forms and a tense-mood marker. An aspect marker is attached to the main verb root, while tense and mood are marked mainly on auxiliaries. Similarly, gender, person and social status are also normally marked on auxiliaries. The category 'singular' or 'plural' relates only to certain parts of the noun phrase for certain classes of nouns and pronouns any detailed discussions of which are beyond the scope of the present study and this category has therefore no relevance for the morphology of the Maithili verbs. In other words, the verb form in Maithili always remains the same, no matter whether the grammatical subject of the sentence is in the singular or plural number.

The paper has three sections: the first section deals with the auxiliary verb forms in Maithili and with light that these verb forms throw on the process of elision; the second section deals with variations of the aspect markers attached to the transitive verb-roots in Maithili and with the light that such variations throw on the process of elision, especially the elision of the dentals and the labials in Maithili; the third and final section presents summary of our main discussions and conclusions.

1. The Auxiliary Verb Forms in Maithili

'Auxiliary' is a term used in the grammatical description of the verb phrase, to refer to the set of verbs, subordinate to the main lexical verb. The auxiliary verbs in Maithili are used with different markers. These markers make distinctions in tense, mood, gender as well as in person, according to the social status of both the grammatical subject and the object of the sentence in which the verb in question occurs. The present section looks into various base forms of the auxiliary verbs in Maithili and ascertains how these forms are inflected for tense, gender and person (in accordance with its social status, that is) in the indicative mood and active voice. The section is divided into two main parts: the first part deals with those auxiliary verb forms which are inflected in accordance with their grammatical subjects; the second part deals with those that are inflected in accordance with both their grammatical subjects and objects.

The term in this sense applies to any set of speech segments which can be shown to have a highest common factor in this way; but as it stands the criterion needs to be supplemented by others, as it is too general. Several other relevant criteria have been suggested- e.g. that the set of speech sounds all turn up in the same phonological rules, undergoing similar processes together. Also, there are several difficulties in working with the notion in terms of features e.g. the more natural solution is not always the simpler. The notion of naturalness has thus been developed to take into account the relative naturalness of: (1) segments- mainly through the use of the marking convention, (2) sound systems-by computing the relative complexity of its units, this being defined in terms of marking values, and (3) phonological rules- based on the tendency for some phonological processes to be more frequent and phonetically more expected than others. These developments are continuing (see for more information, for example, Hyman, 1975: 138-185) and phonologists (e.g. Vennemann, 1971; Stampe, 1973; Hyman, 1974; Hooper, 1973 and 1976) have been attempting to improve this 'naturalness' theory of generative phonology.

It has repeatedly been noticed in various languages of the world that when morphemes are combined to form words, the speech segments of neighbouring morphemes become juxtaposed and sometimes undergo change. For example, it is often observed that consonants and vowels are subject to reduction in certain positions within a syllable or word, while they are relatively stable in other position, often becoming reinforced phonetically. In order to capture such natural processes which affect syllabic and word structure, the traditional concepts of 'strengthening' and 'weakening' have been recently discussed within the framework of generative phonology (e.g. Foley, 1970 and 1977; Vennemann, 1972; Hooper, 1973; Hyman, 1975).

It has been suggested (e.g. Foley, 1970 and 1977; Hyman, 1975) that different consonant types should be assigned strength values to capture 'phonological relations' between segments, particularly as they function in syllables. The terms 'weakening' strengthening are use to deline a scale of relating phonological strength. This scale refers not to the absolute phonetic strength of elements, but to the relation of the elements to one another in a phonological system.

Like the consonants and vowels of other languages, the Maithili consonants and vowels are also subject to strengthening and weakening processes relative to their position within syllables and words. The present paper analyses the merphophonology of the Maithili verbs and verb forms, and shown how the merphophonology of the verbs of this language provides significant evidences regarding the elision of k b t and h in different phonological environments. Since elision indicates relative phonological

THE MERPHOPHONOLOGY OF THE MAITHILI VERBS: A STUDY ON THE ELISION OF THE STOPS STEPS IN MAITHILI

Dr. Sunil Kumar Jha

Reader/Chairman

English Instruction Committee

SMBM Campus, Rajbiraj

0. Introduction

Among the main notions introduced into linguistic theory, especially into the theory of generative phonology, are included the notions of 'simplicity' and 'naturalness'. Simplicity is a measure proposed by generative linguistic theory which would automatically assign factors to competing linguistic analyses that would determine which of them was most satisfactory. Naturalness, too, is a notion introduced into this theory of generative phonology as an important criterion in evaluating analyses alongside such other criteria as simplicity.

There are three areas from which a natural explanation may be derived: (1) logical, (2) psychological and (3) phonetic. Our concern in the present paper is with the 'phonetic' plausibility of an analysis. An analysis, it is argued (e.g. Hyman, 1975; Hooper, 1976), must make phonetic sense, if it is to have any explanatory role in relation to the speaker's behaviour- such factors as relative ease of articulation must be taken into account. One of the first steps in defining naturalness more formally is to recognise the notion of 'natural class'. A set of segments is said (e.g. Hyman, 1975) to constitute a natural class if fewer phonetic features are needed to specify the set as a whole than to specify any one member of the set.

Alokeranjan Dasgupta(ed.): *South Asian Digest of Regional Writing vol.7 Problems of Translation from South Asian Languages*. South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, 1978.

Theodore Riccardi: "Four Nepali Stories." *Himalayan Research Bulletin* 8.1, 1988

David Rubin: *Nepal Visions, Nepali Dreams*. The Poetry of Laxmiprasad Devkota. New York: Columbia Press, 1980

Abhi Subedi: "Translation: Mapping the Territory of Participants' Experience." *Nepalese Linguistics* vol.4; November 1987

strict fidelity to the text:

*Purses of gold are like the dirt on your hands,
What can be done with wealth?
Better to eat spinach and nettles
With happiness in your heart.*

Thus, Devkota's likening of gold to dirt is conveyed with the minimum amount of fuss, some measure of rhythm is retained through careful choice of vocabulary ('spinach', for instance, 'instead of' greens) and a verse is produced which might, I hope, strike the non-Nepali reader as a moral message neatly and poetically conveyed. But of course, since the production of a satisfactory translation has much to do with instinct this is only the way that the bits (to use Raeside's analogy) came down in English for me.

References

- Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso/New Left, 1983
- Giovanni Bandini: "Between Artistic Freedom Philological Faithfulness." In Alokeranjan Dasgupta (ed.): *South Asian Digest of Regional Writing vol. 7 Problems of Translation from south Asian Languages*. South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, 1978.
- Laxmiprasad Devkota: *Muna Madan*. Translated by M.S.Devkota. Royal Nepal Academy, 2026 (1969 A.D.)
- Tulsi Diwas (ed.): *Seven Poets*. Royal Nepal Academy, 1975
- Suankar Koirala: *Khairini Ghat*. Translated by Larry Hartsell. Ratna Book Distributors, 1984
- Kashyap Mankodi: "On How to Insult People in Gujarati." Lachman M. Khubchandani (ed.): *Language in a Plural Society*.
- Eugene A. Nida: "Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation problems." Dell Hymes: *Language in Culture and Society*. Harper and Row, 1964
- Ian Raeside: "Translating the Untranslatable: Some Problems in the Translation from Marathi of Dialect Prose and Lyric Verse." In

tackles his task in a rather different way:

Riches? What does riches avail?
Riches are all so vain!
 They are no better than a *crust of dirt*
 That cling *unto thy hand!*
 Is not a dish of *nettles* made
 Far more a delicious thing?

This translator has obviously been impressed by the tone and style of such poets as Wordsworth, and affected by the parallels many critics have drawn between Wordsworth and Devkota. But Devkota was a 20th-century poet, writing in colloquial Nepali and employing a folk-metre-why then elevate the tone of his diction to such an incongruous extent? There is a loss of crucial simplicity here, a 'failure to use the common, the ordinary word.' (Raeside 1978:48) Like English poetry since Eliot, Nepali poetry since Devkota has discarded much of the specialised vocabulary and cliched metaphors which filled earlier works in verse genres. Muna-Madan marked an important phase in this process of simplification, but one would not think so to read this translation. The first four lines of this rendering are basically accurate, although their style is in questionable taste. The original ends, however, with an assertion, and not a rhetorical question. Moreover, what became of the spinach?

David Rubin's translation is stylistically superior to either of the above, but contains a major error:

Dirty hands and golden plates
what can you do with wealth?
Better to eat greens and nettles
With a happy heart.

The mistranslation of *thaila* as 'plates' is disastrous, but in fact the only liberty taken here is the insertion of the word 'and' in line 1. The problem, perhaps, is that 'and' simply is not enough to make it clear to the reader that Devkota is (if my interpretation is correct) likening wealth to something transient and unworthy of notice, such as the dirt on one's hands. Rubin's decisions to translate *garnu* 'to do' in the infinitive, as 'you do' seems well-judged, as his is option of 'with' for the agentive suffix *le* in the final line.

On the basis of these renderings, I have come up with what I think is the best compromise between the need to convey content, tone and impact

have been made. Others have been excessively literal and therefore oddly stilted. In Hartsell's translation of Shankar Koirala's novel *Khairini ghat*, for instance, one meets with literal translations of colloquial dialogue "They welcomed him, "Where from today?", (*kahambata aja?*) Or "I'm fine. Up to now my hour of death hasn't come." and so on.

I would like to end by comparing and contrasting four different translations of what are perhaps the most famous lines of Nepal's most popular poem, Devkota's *Muna-Madan*.

हातका मैला सुनका थैला के गर्नु धनले?
 साग र सिस्नु खाएको बेस आनन्दी मनले

Word for word, this translates as follows:

hatka maila (dirt of hands) *sunka thaila* (purses of gold) *ke garnu* (what to do) *dhanale* (wealth + agentive suffix)
saga ra sisnu (spinach and nettles) *khacko* (eating) *bes* (good/better)
anandi manle (happy heart + agentive suffix)

There are, to the best of my knowledge, two published translations of *Muna-Madan* available. M.S.Devkota's version transforms these two lines into the following six, in which the underlined phrases are the only remnants of the original Nepali verse:

What avails you of *gold bags?*
 Riches got and spent,
 The hands are heavy with *dust of riches*,
 happiness is from Heaven sent;
 To live on *plain food of flour mush and nettle leaves*
 Is far more better.

Devkota has done several significant things here. First, he has decided to *interpret* and elaborate the message of the verse in his own way, not simply to translate the words as they stand. Thus the first four of the translation a point which is made succinctly in the original, and also achieve a rhyme between 'sent' and 'spent.' The two final lines appear to contain an error (*sag* translated as 'flour mush') and they labour the point about living on plain food to such an extent that the oddity of the concluding line comes as something of a relief. Devkota's attempt to convey the metre of the original is not undeserving of praise, but since it is not maintained through the whole verse it tends to fall somewhat flat.

The anonymous translator in the Royal Nepal Academy's *Seven Poets*

Sanskrit has some fifty words for 'lotus', but "the English translator has only 'lotus' and he must make the best of it." Some examples follow.

There are many four-syllabled Nepali adverbs in which the first two syllables are merely repeated. For example, *hamsnu* (to laugh) may be qualified by *marimari* and *musumusu*, both of which change the verb to mean 'to smile', *hernu* (to look) by *pulupulu*, *kvarakvarti* and *tulutulu*, each of which mean 'to glance', and *himdnu* (to walk) by *luruluru*, *lumrumlumrum* and *khurukhuru*, all of which mean 'tiredly' or 'despondently.'

A second group of adverbs, all ending in the abrupt- *kka*, qualify verbs with a sense of suddenness which is not conveyed elegantly in translation. Examples are *pulukka* with *dekhnu*, meaning 'to see suddenly', *ghutukka* with *nilnu*, 'to swallow,' meaning 'to gulp down,' and *jurukka* with *uthnu*, 'to rise', meaning 'to jump up.'

A third group of onomatopoeic words are distinguished by the way in which their second two-syllable component echoes the first, but changes a vowel to u. A few examples:

saryak suruk
gadryakgudruk
gadyangudun
jhangalijhungal
jhatyakjhutuk
jarakjuruk
jhadyanjhunkun
jhalyanjultun
jhaluakjhuluk

In Conclusion

A limited number of translations from Nepali literature into English have been produced by both Nepali's and foreigners to date. Those produced by Nepalis have, of course, demonstrated for the most part a thorough understanding of the original text, and are therefore valuable, but their quality and readability as literature has been marred by the translators' less than perfect command of English, their preconceptions about the kind of literary style which appropriate and the total absence of cultural contextualisation. They tend therefore to be read only by scholars of the literature, and have generally failed to reach wider literary audience outside Nepal.

Some of the translations produced by foreigners have been elegant and context-sensitive, but spectacularly inaccurate in places: one thinks of Rubin's work on Devkota, in which a Nepali poet has been introduced to a wider audience with great sympathy and detail, but where technical mistakes

particularly impenetrable. I have interpreted it, tentatively, as a description of agitation)

pahadko tuppasamma dhakna pugne aneakam vikat chalharu unko hrdayama tarangit bhairaheka thie: many terrible waves which had come to cover up as far as the hilltops were rippling in her heart (An exceptionally wordy description of the feeling of being overwhelmed by emotion)

aphna iccha mutumai sukera jala jasto bhayo: it was as if her desire had dried up in her heart and become like a flame. (This combines the idea that the woman (Koirala's widow in *Madestira*) has not achieved what she has longed for, and that the unfulfilled desire is causing her pain. The concept of 'drying up into a flame' is incongruous in English.)

gangiko kan gitko bhakasanga khelirahancha: Gangi's ears go on playing with the refrain. (The song continues to sound in her ears: in English, the ears cannot form the subject.)

umerko rang carhirahecha: the colour of (her) age is rising/climbing up. (She is becoming mature; coming, perhaps, into 'full bloom'.)

usle dui thopa amsu khasalin: she let two tears fall. (To specify the actual number of tears is incongruous in English.)

santiko akanksama gantho pardai ayo: a knot came falling into Shanti's aspirations. (The tone of her thoughts changed as she planned what to do.)

ranele gadhapaccisi pani nagheko thirna: Rune had not even crossed the ass-age of 25. (A tradition has it that young men are foolish and irresponsible until they are 25 years old.)

tyo tamasa dekhta usko chati raheko thiena: when witnessing that (horrible) spectacle, her breast/heart had not remained. (She had been beside herself with shock.)

Adverbs and adjectives

a further problem is caused by the great variety of adjectival synonyms, onomatopoeic adverbs and onomatopoeic adjectives in Nepali, which an English translation cannot reflect. The translator must therefore despair of conveying the textural richness which this abundance of choice imparts to the literature in its original language. As Brough pointed out,

longing) are clear enough, but it is difficult to find a single English adjective which conveys their meaning adequately. I have also been puzzled by the adjectives *pharsyaili* and *nili*, both used to describe women in particular Nepali narratives, which do not appear in any dictionary.

3. Writers frequently coin similes and metaphors of their own to describe particular events or emotions, or borrow expressions from colloquial speech. There follow some particularly colourful examples:

buddhima dadhelo salkeka tera: a fire has been kindled in your intelligence (madness)

uska brahmandama ago salkiyo: fire burned in his brain (anger)

usle phuteko amkhale heryo: he looked with his eyes broken (stupidity)

chepara ukhan bhairahecha: the proverb of the lizard is going on (procrastination: here the reader needs to be familiar with the tale of the lizard which intends to build its own house, but is continually failing to do so when the sun warms its back and makes it feel lazy)

usko man dhamilera ayo: his mind darkened/dimmed

javaniko chal kinara belama: when the ripples of youth fullness begin to reach the shore (ageing to maturity)

amkhama davanalko philingo jhaim kunni ke ho rankiyo: something like an ember from a forest fire flashed in his eyes (anger, unfathomable thought)

mukhbhari dant dekhaera hamsnu: to smile showing a mouthful of teeth (to grin broadly)

nak khusile ghiraumlajatro bhayo: because of (his) happiness, (his) nose became as big as a gourd

gadha rangko jhola: a vivid-coloured juice (to describe a pretty woman)

usko atma madhyahnko bansghari jhaim suim suim karairahoko thiyo: her soul was going suim suim (rustling?) like a bamboo grove at midday (I must confess that this sentence, from Prema Shah's story *Logne*, is

protection against rain or sun" (Turner 1931: 158) or the local technology for winnowing, threshing etc.

Similes, metaphors and figures of speech

There follow a selection of sentences and phrases garnered from Nepali short stories. These demonstrate the richness and genius of the Nepali language, but many read incongruously when translated literally into English. Additional problems stem from the apparent interchangeability of the words *man*, *hrdaya*, *mutu*, *atma*, and *chati* (mind, heart, heart, soul, breast) to denote the seat of emotion, and from story-writers use of the present tense to describe their characters' reflections on the past.

1. The first category from which I have drawn examples is that of verb-phrases which convey rather more than their literal meaning. Each Nepali example is followed by a literal translation, and I have added my own interpretation in parentheses.

dailo potnu/lipnu: to daub or plaster the threshold (this is a part of a housewife's daily duties in a traditional household, and basically means 'to keep house')

dagbatti balnu: to light the *dagbatti* (a lamp which is put into the mouth of a corpse by the son or a close relative of the deceased as the first action in a funeral rite) This comes to convey a sense of responsibility for one's parents in their old age. Elderly characters in Nepali fiction often bewail the fact that there will be no-one to perform this duty for them, or to 'give them a sip of water' (*ek ghutka pani*) in their final hours.

kammar kasnu: to tighten the belt (to prepare to perform a particularly challenging task: in English, the literal translation of this phrase means to prepare for a period of food shortage: "to gird up the loins" is perhaps the closest English equivalent)

mutu khumcinu: for the heart to shrink (I take this to be a description of fear)

ciso sas pheunu/linu: to heave a cold sigh (this seems to convey a sense of disappointment or a disconsolate feeling)

2. A small number of adjectives also defy translation. The meanings of *virakialagdo* (inspiring loneliness) and *raharlagdo* (inspiring desire or

(5) Historical and mythological references. Naturally, Nepali writers assume a familiarity with their country's history and folklore which foreign readers might not share. A translation of Bhupi Sherchan's poem *Galat Lagcha Malai Mero Desko Itihas*, for instance, required explanatory notes on Arniko, Bhimsen Thapa, Amarsingh, Sita and Lumbini.

(6) Botanical names. There is an unavoidable conflict between the desire for scientific exactitude and the stylistic requirements of literary and poetic language whenever a poet or author mentions a plant, flower or tree. The translator is not plants are scientific Latin names, or by standard Nepali dictionaries which define plants simply by describing their appearance. The *sayapatri* for instance, is defined in the *Brhat Sabdakosa* as "a species of tree which bears many-petalled yellow or golden flowers and has long soft leaves with saw-like serrated edges." (p.1313)

(7) Names of months. When Parijat writes (in the short story Maile Najanmacko Chhoro) 'it was the first day of Phagun,' she presents the translator with a dilemma. He can retain the word Phagun, explaining its equivalence to late February and early March in the western calendar; he can opt for one or other of these two months and write either 'it was the beginning of February' or "it was the beginning of March." Or he can consider the context: what Parijat is describing is actually the end of winter, the beginning of the warm weather, the advent of Spring, so to translate the sentence as 'it was the beginning of Spring' actually conveys the intention of the sentence rather more fully than a more literal rendering.

(3) Insults and abuse. Translations of *baumthe* as 'bloody' and *moro* as 'corpse' are relatively straightforward and accurate, but terms such as *randa* (widow) and *katte* (a contemptuous word for a Brahman at a feast) require explanatory notes. Riccardi (1988) has translated *randako choro* as 'son of a bitch', which perhaps conveys the tone of the insult adequately but leaves the reader ignorant of a particular feature of Nepali abuse: the way in which it refers to the low status of widows.

(9) Nepali terms for which equivalents simply do not exist in the target language. Subedi (1987:77) gives the example of the word *bhatkaru* which Turner (1931: 467) defines as 'Messenger sent ahead of the marriage procession to the bride's house to give information of the procession's approach and of the number of men in it and the amount of rice required to be made ready.' Village life is full of paraphernalia such as the *ghum*: "a covering made to be made of interlaced bamboo strips and leaves carried as a

of members of the three higher *varnas*. One could go on to explain *why* this is so, but there is the attendant danger of annotations becoming noisome and obtrusive.

Second, writers of fiction often invent somewhat stereotypical characters whom Nepali readers will recognise instantly as members of particular castes or ethnic groups: this identification may be important to the general plot of a story, and must therefore be explained. Examples may be found in Puskar Samser's *Pariband*, where the central character's simple honesty is conveyed as much by the fact that he is a Gurung as by the author's portrayal of him, in Guruprasad Mainali's *Paralko Ago*, in which Juthe Damaai is a happier man than the hapless Came, although his caste status is lower, and in Tariniprasad Koirala's *Drstikon*, where at least a portion of the pompous professor Niranjan's remorse over his illicit liaison derives from the fact that it was with a Newar shopkeeper's daughter.)

2. The aesthetic term *rasa*. Unless this word is meant literally as 'juice' in the original text, one has no alternative but to translate it as 'flavour', 'quality' or 'essence,' and then to provide a concise summary of the concept of *rasa* in Indian aesthetics.

3. Philosophical and religious concepts: *dharma* and *karma*. Depending on context, it can be acceptable to render these two crucial terms simply as religion/duty and deeds/action respectively, but such simplistic translations tend to rob them of their resonance and meaning within the context of Hindu conceptions life and reincarnation.

4. Symbols of marriage and widowhood require a measure of explanation, especially when they occur in poetry. Such symbols occur with particular frequency in the earlier poems of Mohan Koirala. In the poem *Sahid*, for instance, Koirala writes of Jang Bahadur;

kapalko sindur meteko cha
he has wiped the vermillion from their hair

in which instance the translator must explain to the English reader that *sindur* is worn in the parting of a woman's hair to signify that she is married, and that to remove this from her hair would be, symbolically, to make her a widow. Similarly, in the poem *Desko Paricaya*, Koirala writes.

jun uksincha vaidhavy singarma
the moon rises in her widow's attire

and here it is important to point out that a Hindu widow dresses in *white*.

scarcely exists True biculturalism must be even rarer For translators, it is therefore inevitably a matter of less than complete participation in the culture of the source language. (1978:12)

I should emphasise from the beginning that my purpose while compose while compiling these anthologies has been to produce texts in English which possess some measure of literary quality and which can be understood within their original cultural context even by a reader who knows very little about Nepal. That is, my intention has been to convey the *tone, content and emotional impact* of the poems and stories to demonstrate the richness and sophistication of recent writing in Nepali, adding as much explanation and contextualisation as I deem necessary for a reader whose primary interest lies in literature, and not necessarily in Indology.

Whatever a translator's final aim might be, it is in any case not possible to conduct translation from literary Nepali into English by a literal transfer of lexical elements from one code system into another. Such a method would inevitably produce texts which were comprehensible only to fully bilingual sociologists, who would not need to read them anyway! Ian Raeside, writing about translation from Marathi, has expressed the problem rather more elegantly than anyone else:

I believe very strongly that translation is an art. Out of a whole universe that is one culture-Marathi say-you take all that you can get (which for me must always be less than an educated Marathi native-speaker could get) and you toss it up in the air until it comes down in an acceptable form in a quite different universe: English in my case. (Raeside 1978:39)

Although it is often possible to find literal cognates in English for Nepali words such as *sindur* (vermillion), *sala* (brother-in-law) or *randa* (widow), words like these possess non-literal meanings and connotations which a translator simply has to explain if he is to remain faithful to the tone and import of the original Nepali text. Here then I would like to suggest a few categories of semantic and cultural areas within within which a translator must provide explanatory notes as well as word-for-word translations.

- (1) Sociological assumptions: caste and ethnicity. Lekhnath Paudyal's use of the word *dvija* in his famous poem *Pinjarako Suga* is a prime example of the kind of problems which can arise:
- balak baburo dvija sukanama, hum ma pareko pinajarama
I opted to translate the term as 'twice-born':
A pitiful twice-born child called parrot, I have been trapped in a cage,
explaining in a footnote that 'twice-born' is an epithet of Brahmins or

Grammar:

Nouns are inflected for dual and plural numbers, case inflections marked for accusative, dative, ergative(instrumental), possessive (genitive). Non-human inanimate objects are also marked for locative and ablative case as well.

Pronouns are also inflected for number and case. First peron dual and plural have inclusive and exclusive distinctions. The number system can be illustrated with the following chart:

	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Exclusive	inclusive	exclusive	inclusive
I.P.	gye`	nyeku	hengu	nyere	henare
II.P.	ka`		kyeku		kyere
II.P.Hon.	kyena		kyengu		kyenare
III.P.					
invisible	du`		doku		dore
visible	nu`		nuku		nure
prximate	di		diku		dire
remote	u`i		uiku		uire

Nominals when followed by postpositions must be put in genitive case. Nominals as subjects of transitive verb must be put in ergative case, e.g., *doi tungma*, 'he drinks', *duapa*, 'he comes'.

Gender is a selective category in Manchad. Pronominal element is incorporated in the verb form along with tense number and person. NP can be a single noun or pronoun and it can function as subject NP and object NP. It can be expanded with an adjective. The normal order will be NA however AN is also possible; *di kaTu ruThe to*, 'this child good is' but *ruThe kaTu good child* is also possible. Numerals, pronouns, verbal nouns can also function as adjective. A VP may contain a simple verb and can be expanded with adverbs of various types. It may be followed by an auxiliary verb, in such a case the tense and other suffixes are added to the Aux. and the verb form is put in the infinitive form. Adjectives are also derived from verbal bases., e.g., *soi* 'cold'; *sopi* 'to be cold'; *roki*, 'black'; *rokpi*, 'to be black'. There are some positive and negative auxiliaries typical to Manchad e.g., *t 'rchi* can or be able to'; *marchi* 'can't or not able to'; *junzi*, 'to require'; *minzi* not to require. We are giving a paradigm of a verb.

api, 'to come' Present tense

I-Person

sg. gye apatag 'I come'
 du. ñyeku apatashi 'we come'
 pl. ñyere apatañi 'we come'

II-Person

sg. ka apatan 'you come'
 du. keku apatashi 'you come'
 pl. kere apatañi 'you come'

III-Person

sg. du apa 'he comes'
 du. doku apatoku 'they come'
 pl. dore apatore 'they come'

Past tense:

I-Person

s.g. gye atiga 'I came'
 du. ñyeku atishi 'we came'
 pl. ñyere atifi 'we came'

II-Person

sg. ka atina 'you came'
 du. keku atishi 'you came'
 pl. kere atifi 'you came'

III-Person

sg. du ati 'he came'
 du. doku atiku 'they came'
 pl. dore atire 'they came'

Future tense

I-Person

sg. gye apo:g 'I shall come'
 du. keku apo:shi 'you will come'
 sg. du apo:ñi 'we will come'

II-Person

sg. kā apo:n 'you will come'
 du. keku apo:shi 'you will come'
 pl. kere apo:ñi 'you will come'

III-Person

sg. du apo:to
 du. doku apo:ku
 pl. dore apo:re

Imperative forms sg. ata, du. atashi, pl. atañi

Imp. negative forms. thāda thādashi thādañi

Subjunctive mood; gye iga: ; ñyeku ishia: ; ñyere iñia:

word order: SOV ; tashi rama:bi yakte rei

Tashi Ram . Accu. Yaks gave, 'Tashi gave Ram Yaks'.

References

Franché, A.H. 1909. 'Tabellen der pronomina und verba in den drei sprachen Lahoul's: Bunan Manchad und Tinan'; in ZDMG. Vol. 63. pp. 65-97.

_____ 1917. 'Vokabular der Manchad sprache'. ZDMG. Vol. 71. pp. 137-161.

Grierson, G.A. 1908. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III. Motilal Banarsidass. Delhi.

Rangan, K. 1975. Balti Phonetic Reader, CIIL, Mysore.

_____ 1979. Purki Grammar. CIIL. Mysore.

Roerich, Georges D. 1933. 'The Tibetan dialect of Lahul', Journal of the Urusvati Himalayan Institute, 3:83-198.

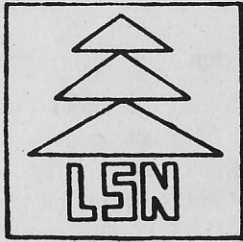
Sharma D.D. 1982. A descriptive analysis of Pattani. Panjab University, Hoshiarpur.

Sharma S.R. 1982. 'Loan words in PaTani: problems and mysteries'. Bulletin of the Deccan College, Pune. Vol. 41. pp. 160-63.

_____ 1987. 'Non Tibeto-Burman features in PaTani'. Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area' Berkeley.

_____ 1990. 'Word formation in Manchad and Onge' BDC. Vol. 49. pp. 411-15. Pune.

Singh, J.D. 1980. 'Lahauli verb inflection' LTBA. Berkeley.



LSN NEWSLETTER

ACTIVITIES OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL 1990-1991

Hriseekesh Upadhyaya
Manfred Treu

Seminar on Language Planning in Nepal

The Linguistic Society of Nepal organised a one day seminar on "Language Planning in Nepal" on August 12, 1990 at Tribhuvan Memorial Hall in Kirtipur. The seminar was attended by about 55 linguists and scholars. The working papers for the seminar deliberations were presented by Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadav, Hriseekesh Upadhyay and Shree Krishna Yadav.

Presenting his paper 'Language Planning in Nepal' Dr. Y.P. Yadav observed that Nepali has been the official language of modern Nepal since its inception in the middle of the 18th century. Nepali is also a *Lingua Franca* for much of the hill region of Nepal and increasingly in the Tarai region over the recent decades. But in the large areas of the Tarai, Hindi is widely used not only between the settlers of the Tarai and the Hills but also among the speakers of Tarai languages. Nepal is a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic society but the language policy in use in Nepal does not reflect the existing reality. The introduction of English for educational purposes has been widely appreciated throughout Nepal because it offers one step away from single language domination. In this context, language planning in Nepal must also address the question of primary school education in the mother tongue of major ethnic language groups.

Speaking on the same topic H. Upadhyay said there has been no officially articulated language planning in Nepal, though Nepali has remained the official language over the two centuries. Nepali has developed and

expanded its reach in most areas of Nepal despite the absence of official encouragement and planning machineries. The official blessing to Nepali use and its standardisation was hesitant and half-hearted. The law of the land required that Nepali be the medium of instruction up to the high school level and the administrative and judicial functions were transacted in Nepali. But no institution was entrusted with the task of standardising and codifying the language. The growth of Nepali has taken place in the shadow of the benign neglect of the government. The spread of education, government programmes and consolidation of national unity has consistently strengthened the position of Nepali both as official as well as a national language.

However, with the advent of the 1950s, English entered in Nepal as the language of education, business and growing international contacts. English was seen as a medium of advancement in modern sectors while Nepali fulfilled the need for domestic communication. The new constitution of Nepal has raised the possibility of providing primary education in the ethnic languages in different areas of Nepal. But this prospect needs good deal of preparation in curriculum planning, text book writing and training of teachers. Some research findings of primary education in ethnic languages have indicated that the pupil's learning did not necessarily improve for long-term benefits with education in their mother tongue and in some cases people did not even opt for mother tongue education because the ethnic languages were not associated with education and higher learning. Thus language planning in Nepal has veered around Nepali as a domestic medium and English as a means of wider contact.

Shree Krishna Yadav focused his discussion on the processes of selection, codification and standardisation of national language and observed that Nepali has largely fulfilled the role of national language in Nepal.

Discussion from the Participants

Commenting on the presentation of Dr. Y.P. Yadav, Mr. Manfred Treu enquired if the speaker had sources of data regarding the spread of Hindi and its extent of domination in the Tarai region. Without a valid source of data, the presence or domination of a language cannot be established.

To this Dr. Yadav replied that his observation was based on the every day speech situation commonly witnessed in much of the Tarai region.

Dr. Ramavatar Yadav expressed the view that Hindi was a foreign language in Nepal and denied that it is used extensively in the Tarai region. He also added that all the three speakers focussed more on selection and codification aspects of Language planning, rather than its implementation.

Regarding the use of mother tongue for primary education Dr. Yadav stated that it is an emotional issue and its benefits and challenges for the

learners as well as planners must not be overlooked lightly. The purpose of any meaningful language planning should be to accommodate all language groups and speech communities. Dr. Yadav also cautioned all linguists against using overloaded terms in language debates.

Commenting on the working papers in general Dr. Ballav Mani Dahal noted that language planning is a 'value loaded concept' and judgement of selection, exclusion, accommodation must be based on balance and sense of justice. Language planning has to establish a fine balance between the need for national integration on the one hand and the pulls of ethnic identity and attachment on the other. The language planner cannot ignore the overwhelming necessity of a common language for the nation. For this useful criteria are available such as number of speakers of a given language, the extent of geographical spread and literature available in the language.

Turning to the educational aspect of language planning Dr. Dahal observed 'with proper environment and training children can learn any language and be able to use it effectively'. The debate over the influence of Hindi is rather far fetched because for the literate person the standard Nepali and Hindi appears not very different from each other.

A language planner cannot overlook the fact that languages are resources of a nation which should be used to uplift the nation, he added.

Commenting on the working papers Prof. K.P. Malla said the papers were complementary to each other. While Y.P. Yadav dwelt on different concepts of language planning that have emerged since the 1960s, H. Upadhyay focused on language selection and identifying functions for them. Upadhyay's paper seemed enigmatic because he asserts that the answer to the question: is there language planning in Nepal? is both 'yes and no' S.K. Yadav's paper was wholly devoted to language selection and corpus planning.

Prof. Malla also added that linguists alone cannot determine the entire issues of language planning. It involves access to power and political means available to exercise that power. Language planners can however immensely benefit from the expertise and insight of a linguist, he added.

Prof. Malla said, with the restoration of democracy in Nepal language issues have been discussed openly and critically and the perspectives of ethnic and minority language speakers have been highlighted in the weekly paper *Chhahara*.

Dr. K.C. Mishra observed that Hindi is a language of Nepal and many historical documents found in Nepal have been of great help in tracing the growth of Hindi language and literature.

Prof. M.M. Thakur denied Dr. Mishra's assertion and added that those who say Hindi is a language of Nepal deny Maithili as a separate language. Just as Maithili is not a dialect of Hindi, Hindi is not spoken as mother

tongue in Nepal.

Mr. Abhi Subedi, president of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, thanked all the participants and paper writers for the successful conclusion of seminar.

Talk Programme on Linguistic Demography of Nepal

At the invitation of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Dr. Harka Gurung, a noted geographer of Nepal, delivered a talk on the Linguistic Demography of Nepal on August 19, 1990. The talk was illustrated with maps and graphs on the geographical spread and location of different speech communities in Nepal.

Opening his remarks on the linguistic diversity of Nepal Dr. Gurung noted Nepal is known as a land of diverse ethnic groups and linguistic communities but in the absence of reliable data the linguistic composition of Nepal remains a matter of conjecture as is the case about the number and relative size of various ethnic groups.

As a transition zone between the two great linguistic areas of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan languages, Nepal undoubtedly offers a rich mix of linguistic interaction and exchanges. But the real mapping and listing of Nepal's linguistic contours awaits the scientific linguistic surveys one hopes to be organised in future. The census report of 1952-54 presented information about the speakers of 48 languages in Nepal but its veracity has been constantly debated because the subsequent census report contradicted the number of speakers and even the languages listed in the report. This of course is to be expected because the general census was not specifically aimed at establishing the linguistic composition of the country. According to the first modern census report of 1952-54, of the 48 languages spoken in Nepal 23 belonged to the Indo-Aryan groups, 20 Tibeto-Burman, 3 Dravidian and 2 to Munda groups.

Though Nepal is always described as a multilingual society the government practice, however, suggests that for practical purposes the only language that matters is Nepali. This was facilitated by the absence of written tradition in the vast number of languages spoken in the country. With the unification of Nepal under the Shahas in the middle of the 18th century and gradual expansion of government institutions, particularly schools and law courts in the outlying areas, Nepali - a *lingua franca* in the central hills from east to west of the country - developed into a means of wider communication in Nepal.

One of the complex factors that helped the spread of Nepali into the speech communities like Limbu, Rai, Gurung, Tamang and Magar was the military service of a large number of young people from these ethnic groups

in the British, Indian and Nepali armies where the young recruits were taught Nepali in Roman Script. The militarization of young and energetic section of the hill ethnic groups involved not only their movement far away from home but also linguistic acculturation in Romanised Nepali under the auspices of military discipline. The Nepali recruits in foreign armies could not communicate in their own ethnic languages for they spoke multiplicity of tongues thus the army training and encouragement to speak Nepali added a positive element towards the acceptance of Nepali both in speech and writing.

Linguistic demography of Nepal is changing rapidly. Some languages are facing imminent extinction, if not already become extinct. Others are beginning to assert their existence and official acceptance. Some linguistic groups are seeking a renewal and increased use of their mother tongue in education and other purposes. But most languages of Nepal are faced with stupendous task of devising an effective writing system and a standardisation process. However, the broad contours of Nepal's linguistic topography remains divided into three regional lines: i) Tibeto-Burman languages such as Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Sherpa, Gurung, Magar and Thakali predominate in the Himalayan belt; ii) Nepali and its regional dialects are dominant in the central hills along with a concentration of Newari in the Kathmandu Valley and a few urban centres; and iii) the plains of Nepal display a complex mix of tongues spoken in either sides of Nepal-India border.

The following discussion was led by Dr. K.P. Malla, Dr. Yugeshwar Varma, Dr. Ballabh Mani Dahal, Dr. Yogendra Yadav, Viswaraj Regmi and Sri Ram Yadav. The Secretary of the Society, C.P. Sharma, summed up the seminar and thanked the participants.

Eleventh Annual Conference

The Linguistic Society of Nepal held its 11th annual conference in Kirtipur T.U. CEDA Hall, November 26-27, 1990. The conference was spread over two days and divided into working sessions focusing on syntax and semantics, history and application, send systems and society and language thomes. Altogether 20 papers were presented followed by discussion end exchange of questions and answers from the participants. Some one hundred linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, language teachers and scholars both from Nepal and abroad attended the conference.

The Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University Professor B.C. Malla inaugurated the conference. In his remarks Prof. Malla observed the study of and research on languages of Nepal are important activities not only for linguists and language teachers but also for consolidating national unity and cultural identify of the multilingual ethnic groups of Nepal. Prof. Malla congratulated the Society for organising its annual conference offering a

professional forum to discuss language studies and research taking place in the country.

At the inaugural session, the President of the linguistic society of Nepal, Abhi Subedi delivered his address highlighting the objectives of the conference and goals and activities being pursued by the society since its inception in 1979.

Mr. Subedi welcomed the restoration of multi-party democratic system in Nepal following the people's movement and expressed the hope that the new democratic order would encourage a healthy academic environment within the Tribhuvan University.

He called upon the participating scholars to break off the conspiracy of silence a dominant feature in the recent past, doing away with the intrusion of politics in academics and engage in communicating thoughts, ideas and research findings in areas of th rich linguistic heritage of the country.

Highlighting the activities of the society Mr. Subedi remarked The Linguistic Society has an independent way of responding to the university policies. This is the Society of language scientists, not of language politicians. We have responded to the recent changes by holding seminars on language planning and language policy inviting linguists to make their ideas known through papers and discussions.

Mr. Subedi also drew attention of the participants to the resolutions passed by the Society in the past calling for the establishment of a Dept. of Linguistics at the degree level in T.U. to encourage research, documentation, surveying and systematic study of Nepalese languages. The inaugural session was chaired by Dr. Durga Prasad Bhandari, Executive Director of CNAS.

Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, Secretary of the LSN gave a welcome speech. Presenting the report of the Society's activities in the past year. Mr. Sharma said that the "Society had organized seminars on language planning and language policy in the changing socio-political context of Nepal. Mr. Manfred Treu, member of the Executive Committee and the Head of the Department of German at Tribhuvan University Campus of International Languages gave a vote of thanks.

Syntax and Semantics

Six papers were presented on various topics of syntax and semantics in two sessions. M.P. Pokharel spoke on 'passivisation in Nepali' suggesting the following conclusion: Passivisation in Nepali is not mechanical and transformational but rather controlled by pragmatic forces. In a set of constructions a meaning equivalence between active and passive cannot be established.

Dr. S. Basnet's paper was entitled 'Nepali Kinship Terms A Study in

componential analysis' which was intended to analyse about 59 kinship terms of the standard Nepali dialect spoken in Kathmandu. Those terms were distinguished on the basis of semantic features.

Krishna Pradhan's paper was 'Number in Nepali- A Morphosyntactic Analysis which described the numerals of Nepali in the light of morphemic and syntactic features.

S. Toba presented a paper on 'Ergative Patterns in Languages of Nepal' stating that most of the languages spoken in Nepal are ergative languages. From among 20 languages investigated only Dhimal and Maithili had no ergative.

Dr. Y.P. Yadav presented a paper 'Traditional Case System in Maithili- A Critique' suggesting that the traditional grammarians of Maithili have not yet succeeded in establishing a satisfactory account of the Maithili Case System in formal terms.

In their joint paper entitled "Tripllicated Verbal Adjuncts in Bantawa" Dr. N.K.Rai and Dr. W. Winter discussed the syntactic forms and semantic implications of this unique feature found in the Bantawa Rai language.

History and Application

Six papers were read out in the areas of language history and application. Prof. K.P. Malla spoke about "The Earliest Dated Documents in Newari". His study was based on a 4.5" palm leaf land grant document extant from 1114 A.D. The document provided a historical ground for the analysis of classifiers in Newari.

Dr. T.R. Khaniya's paper "Strategy for Educational Change" discussed the interrelations present in curriculum elements. He criticised that the curricula for English at T.U. were not consonant with methods, objectives, contents and evaluation and asked for improvement.

Dr. B.F. Matthies' presentation dealt with "Judgement of L₂ Users by L₁ Speakers" based on the English language test battery designed and developed at the Iowa State University which has proved a useful tool in evaluating the academic English proficiency of non-native speakers who were being considered for teaching assignments in U.S. Universities.

In his paper entitled "Tibeto-Burman languages of North-Western India Prof. S.R. Sharma dealt with phonological and grammatical patterns in Manchad. He provided evidence to the hypothesis that IA speakers who adopted the TB dialect retained a layer of their native language what resulted in various changes in the TB language.

Dr. C.M. Bandhu spoke about 'Terminological Neologism in Nepali' dwelling on recent coinages of scientific, technical administrative and commercial terms in Nepali.

Lt. Col. J.P. Cross presented a paper on "Fractured English" in which he successfully supported the hypothesis of "the only universal language today is broken English" by a rich number of amusing quotations from the language of business and tourism.

Sound Systems

Altogether four papers were presented dealing with sound systems 2 in Maithili, one in Mewahang Rai and one in Lhasa dialect of Tibetan. Dr. S.K. Jha spoke on 'The Morphophonology of the Maithili Verbs' and Dr. R. Yadav discussed 'Clitic Vs. Affix-Maithili 'e' and 'o': Dr. M. Gaenzle's contribution entitled "The Concept of an Oral Tradition - The *Muddum* of the Mewahans Rai" explained the meaning of this unique and fast disappearing phenomenon of oral tradition in its mythological context and traced the affinity to Limbu, Sunuwar, Yanphu, Chamling and Thulung terms pointing to a common root *dum* which may be related to Tibetan *sgruns*. Dr. R. K. Sprigg elaborated "The Spelling Style Pronunciation of Tibetan".

Society and Language

The final session was devoted to the theme of Society and Language in which five papers were presented on sexism in Nepali, language and constitution in Nepal, Nepali address forms between wife and husband, language planning and language choice in multilingual setting.

H. Upadhyay's paper 'Some aspects of Sexism in Nepali' identified five major areas in which sexism was pronounced in Nepali usage i.e. proverbs, lexicon, professional designation address forms and tag questions. The prevailing sexism in Nepali usage was attributed to the lower social and educational status of Nepali women.

Speaking on 'Language and Constitutions A.D. Bhatta observed that the Constitution of Nepal 1990 marked a significant improvement on the previous legislations which had consistently ignored the multilingual mix of Nepalese society. However, the present constitution is also ambiguous about the role of languages of Nepal which are given the status of national language without specifying their uses and extent of state patronage.

V.P. Singh Rai highlighted the 'T/V Forms Between Wife and Husband in Nepali' and observed that Nepali does not entertain solidarity semantics as found in European languages such as English and French. Nepali strictly adheres to the hierarchy of power semantics and requires non-reciprocal T/V address forms between wife and husband. Though Nepali address forms are many and varied, their selection procedure is never random and it is highly predictable.

Finally, S.K. Yadav gave a paper on 'Status Language Planning in a Multilingual Society'.

Resolutions

At the end of the second day the conference passed the following resolutions: (1) a department of linguistics be established at Tribhuvan University to conduct teaching and research in linguistics; (2) in the forthcoming census, the Central Bureau of Statistics of His Majesty's Government Nepal be called upon to record language data from all speech communities in order to facilitate systematic study and classification of the languages of Nepal; (3) Tribhuvan University, His Majesty's Government and other responsible bodies be called upon to begin a systematic survey of languages in Nepal especially of the languages facing extinction; (4) the Linguistic Society of Nepal stands ready to provide its expertise and to participate in carrying out these resolutions.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL AT CEDA HALL, KIRTIPUR ON NOVEMBER 20, 1990

-Abhi Subedi

President

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Mr, Chairman

Ladies and gentlemen

We are meeting at a very momentous period in the history of Nepal. So, it is very natural for us to review our position against the general background of the situation in the country in the recent past.

The Linguistic Society of Nepal has crossed the most turbulent and most uncertain period in the academic history of Nepal in the past eleven years. Certain developments taking place simultaneously at the University and in the country as a whole were responsible for the uncertainties. They were:

- (a) the intrusion phenomenon, and
- (b) the 'conspiracy of silence'

The intrusion phenomenon, as far as the academic side is concerned, was noticed in the introduction of the government interest into the academic structure. The long one party autocratic rule developed an extra desire to develop what was regarded as political and educational culture. Its agencies operated at various levels. The moves they made towards this direction were seen in their intrusion into the programme of the University and in the creation of a bureaucracy, and at worst, in the formation of coterie, by either selecting people from within the University or by lifting people from outside and filling in the posts. This phenomenon of intrusion into the academic world had some obvious consequences. The language of a considerable number of academicians became one of sycophancy, and a small repertoire of phrases and cliches was employed to carry out the communication among themselves. This tendency of the reductionism of code and the concealment of a desire to communicate openly among the academicians had its history and its own modality.

The New Education System Plan (NESP) was a failure. By the year 1979, incidentally the year the Linguistic Society was formed, the NESP had buried its dead. It involved money, and it involved politics. On both scores it was a disaster. A poor University invested heavily on this white elephant. The money was to a certain extent, it can be assumed, got syphoned off to some limited pockets. The University had to bear the brunt of this failure

which left a certain visible impact. The University came to be dominated by an interest group that was not academic and that in order to justify its existence, created more difficulties for the teachers and the students by neglecting the academic programmes and tightening the grip over the teachers' activities, or by impairing the teachers and students who alone, in the final analysis, make up the University.

The failure left another impact, too. To justify the failure of the NESP, its architects who were running the show even after its failure, blamed the decentralization and diversification of educational administration and the curricular activities for the disaster. In the name of correcting the mistakes they overcentralized the educational and administrative management. So, the autocratic political system that failed to achieve its goal through the NESP programme, achieved it by its failure. As a result, a strong bureaucracy, another white elephant for the University, developed. This white elephant spent most, or, let us say, all the University budget and prospered with the blessings of the government that regarded this mechanism as the weapon useful for taming the teachers and students. Of course, the teachers too were party in this process. The swing towards the creation of this centralized power at the University with the full infiltration of the Panchayat system came to a culmination when the government supported teachers panel made a sweep in the University Teachers Association over a year ago.

The other centralizing and standardizing tendency can be noticed in the planning of the curricula and the examination system. A syllabus was pushed down the throats of the students in every area of education, and an old examination system was reintroduced without any change in its modality and structure. The centralization of the education and the consolidation of power in the hands of the bureaucracy became a norm, probably the only possible norm. The same centralizing factors continue to govern the policy of University even today. The centralizing tendency or a practice that believes in doling out small bowls of soup to the teachers and students, a one way system, continues to govern the activity of the policy makers at the University even under a democratic setting today. If we are not careful, the legacy of the erstwhile policy makers can do serious harm today than ever before. The solution lies in the democratization of the University both at the academic and administrative levels entirely abandoning as early as possible the culture of consolidating the authority or by putting an end to the *pajani* syndrome noticeable in every major academic and administrative decisions made in the past.

But what happened at the University in the last several decades was only a tip of the iceberg, or part of what was happening elsewhere in the country. The state was making efforts as creating a political culture that was

bankrupt in nature. To cover it up, the state gave impetus to a selected group of people maintaining relationship with a power base, in creating an elite class in every field of life, basically composed up of the people whose loyalty was deemed as absolute. The sycophant turned politicians were the most favoured candidates. But this class knew its business pretty well. So, efforts were made at creating a culture that needed a code system, a repertoire of cliches, and a form of social discourse or a text with a reiterative, predictable and homogenous texture. To suppress anything that challenged this structure or dug into it became the main objective of those who manufactured this kind of code system. The linguistic environmental resources like ethnicity, gender and class were allowed to articulate their judgements only in so far as they did not pose any threat to the manufactured discourse structure. The very system that governed the interaction was tacitly agreed upon among those who shared the interest, and they disseminated the discourse system through the mass media. The mass media maintained a silence about contentious issues. 'The conspiracy of silence' was understood by all but not questioned by any.

A new code system evolved that created hierarchies in the forms of address. A hierarchy was also created in the structure of the text, and even in the structure of sentences. The character, if in his power association was regarded important socially or politically, was almost always thematized in the sentence manufactured for the media, and his personality foregrounded even if that left the rest of the sentence dangling and the theme and rheme parts awkwardly placed in the information structure system. The hierarchical structure of the text was the manifestation of the hierarchy in the social structure. The lavish use of epithets and adjectives blunted the edge of the language making it have any function whatsoever. There appears to be a tendency even today to accept the modality of the textual structure of yesterday, for it appears always easy to accept the hierarchical, cliché-ridden and adjective-dominated language than to make efforts at democratizing it. But we are faced with absolute choice. Democratize we must or we shall end up speaking the old discourse.

A democratic language takes or anticipates the response of the audience that comes through various channels in a democratic society. In the three decades, the channels through which the audience's response came were systematically blocked. So, there has been very little communication, very little pragmatic function through social and even academic channels of discourse in the autocratic society.

The Linguistic Society of Nepal has operated through this period of 'intrusion' and 'silence' as forum for different ideas about various linguistic environmental resources, communication potentialities in language and how

they have been blocked, and how the language diversities of Nepal stood ignored. The Society has at least very consistently said that there are many languages in Nepal and do not ignore them. Now that the Constitution of Nepal has recognized the languages of Nepal as national assets, the state should assist and encourage programmes for conducting various linguistic research projects, and at the same time, guarantee the children's right to get the primary education in their mother tongues in practical terms.

The other thing we should mention at this point is that the Society itself has suffered from a back-to-square-one syndrome. Every year, overwhelmingly, the Society has passed resolutions about the need and urgency of the establishment of a department of linguistics at the degree level by incorporating expertise from various language departments of the University teaching some components of linguistics at the moment. Such a department need not necessarily be a highly theoretical centre. It can at the same time operate as an applied language science department as well. We would like to emphasize the need and urgency of a linguistic department once again this year, and we know that we are talking about it in a new context and we have strong reasons to be optimistic. We are submitting an application to this effect signed by all the linguists and language scholars to the Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University today.

The Linguistic Society has an independent way of responding to the University's policies. It started as an autonomous non-profit academic society at a time when the pedagogic and research practices were left at a lurch by the NESP. It did not make its inroads into the University to fit into a particular structural modality within it; it remained on the fringe. So, it has all the qualities of a fringe theatre performing anywhere, in every place that is empty or even abandoned, shedding the formalities and managing with very minimum props. Developing this fringe culture was part of an important strategy to keep its separate identity, and to keep it away from politics. This is the society of language scientists not of language politicians. We have responded to the recent changes by holding seminars on planning and language policy, and the linguists have made their ideas known through papers and discussions.

We would like to make inroads into the University not as a body with strong political leverage which we do not want to possess, but as an element that engenders academic ideas, and as the supporter of a greater participation of the academicians in the academic culture irrespective of their political beliefs or their genders or class. Our spirit is this. Let us put an end to the element of 'intrusion' that may easily take the toll of free academic exercise in whatever context and form the intrusion may have occurred, and break, if there is any, 'conspiracy of silence' and create an atmosphere of free

communication among the academicians. The academicians should overcome their sense of isolation and uselessness, and atmosphere should be created for them to be able to do so. Communication being the closest ally of the linguists, we would like to give our full co-operation to anyone who wants to break the ice. Freedom rather than control, openness rather than partisanship alone can create the proper ecology for communication.

Thank you.

Linguistic Society of Nepal Kathmandu

Life Members: 1979 - 1991

1. Dr. Ms. Ningomba, Manipur University, Imphal
2. Dr. Bernhard Kolver, West Germany
3. Dr. Ulrike Kolver, West Germany.
4. Mr. Shailendra Kumar Singh, P. K. Campus.
5. Dr. Burkhard Schottendreyer, partido Aereo 100388, Colombia, S.A.
6. Mr. Tika B. Karki, American Peace Corps, Kathmandu.
7. Dr. Richard R. Smith, United Mission to Nepal, Kathmandu.
8. Dr. Ramawater Yadav, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
9. Dr. Kamal Prakash Malla, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
10. Dr. Chandra Devi Shakya, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
11. Dr. Morst Brinkhaus, Nepal Research Programme. Gana Bahal.
12. Mr. John P. Ritchott, American Culture Center, Kathmandu.
13. Dr. Subhadra Subba, CNAS, Kathmandu
14. Dr. Ros C. Caughly, Australian National University, Canberra, Act 2600
15. Rev. James J. Donnelly, St. Xavier's School, Kathmandu.
16. Dr. Nishi Yoshio, Collage of Liberal Arts University Japan, Japan.
17. Dr. Yogendra P. Yadav, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
18. Dr. Shreedhar P. Lohani, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
19. Mr. Tika P. Sharma, Institute of Education, Extension Campus, Tahachal.
20. Dr. Ronal Beilmier, West Germany.
21. Mr. Ian Alsop, Panipokhari, Kathmandu.
22. Dr. Ballabh Mani Dahal, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
23. Mr. Colin S. Parron, c/o British Council, Kathmandu.
24. Dr. Sishir Kumar Sthapit, Institute of Education, Kathmandu.
25. Dr. Chuda Mani Bandhu, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
26. Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
27. Dr. Rameshwar P. Adhikari, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
28. Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, CNAS, Kirtipur, Kathmandu.
29. Mr. Abhi Subedi, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
30. Dr. Beverly Hartfor, Indiana University, USA.
31. Lt. Col. J.P. Cross, Pokhara, Nepal.
32. Dr. Marshall Lewis, Indiana University, USA.
33. Dr. K.V. Subbarao, Department of linguistics, Dilhi University, India.
34. Mr. Devi P. Gautam, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
35. Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
36. Prof. Werner Winter, West Germany.
37. Dr. Baidyanath Jha, R.R.M. Campus, Janakpur.
38. Dr. Satya Ranjan Banarjee, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
39. Dr. George Van Driem.
40. Mr. Birendra Pandey, Sarswoti M Campus, Kathmandu.
41. Ms. Kalpana Pandey, c/o Mr. Birendra Pandey.
42. Mr. Chandreshwar Mishra, Institute of Education, Sanothimi.
43. Ms. Rudra Lakshmi Shrestha, Patan M Campus, Patan.
44. Mr. Khagendra K.C., Patan M Campus, Patan.
45. Mr. Shambhu Acharya, Patan Campus, Patan.
46. Dr. Durga P. Bhandari, Central Department of English, Kirtipur, Kathmandu.
47. Mr. Rajendra P. Chaudhari, Trichandra M. Campus, Kathmandu.
48. Dr. Shree Krishna Yadav, S.S.M.Y. Multiple Campus, Sirha.
49. Mr. Jai Raj Awasthi, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.

50. Dr. Novel K. Rai, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
51. Dr. Padma P. Devkota, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
52. Mr. Manfred Treu, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
53. Ms. Gautami Sharma, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
54. Ms. Sangita Raymaji, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
55. Ms. Bhuvan Dhurgana, Law Campus, Kathmandu.
56. Mr. Baidya Nath Mishra, Trichand M Campus, Kathmandu.
57. Ms. Krishna Pradhan, Sarswoti M Campus, Kathmandu.
58. Mr. K.B. Maharjan, Pulchowk Campus, IOU, Patan.
59. Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay, Ratna Rajya Lakshmi Campus, Kathmandu.
60. Ms. Nayan Tara Amatya, Ratna Rajya Lakshmi Campus, Kathmandu.
61. Mr. Sueyoshi Yoba P.O. Box: 991, Kathmandu.
62. Mr. Sajeev Kumar Uprety, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
63. Mr. Anand P. Shrestha, CNAS, Kirtipur.
64. Mr. Bishnu Raj Pandey, Public Youth Campus, Kathmandu.
65. Mr. Mohan P. Banskota, Sarswoti M Campus, Kathmandu.
66. Ms. Rupa Joshi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu
67. Mr. Keshab Gautam, Sarswoti M Campus, Kathmandu.
68. Mr. Krishna Kumar Basnet, Sarswoti M Campus, Kathmandu.
69. Ms. Nirmala Regmi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
70. Dr. Jyoti Tuladhar.
71. Mr. Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, ASCOL, Kathmandu.
72. Dr. Shantii Basnet, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
73. Mr. Madav P. Pkharel, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
74. Mr. Ramchandra Lamsal, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
75. Mr. Arun Kumar Prasad, Trichand M Campus, Kathmandu.
76. Mr. Sajag S Rana, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
77. Dr. Bala Rama Aryal, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
78. Mr. Bijay K. Rauniyar, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
79. Mr. Bed P. Giri, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
80. Mr. Amma Raj Joshi, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
81. Mr. Parhuram Paudyal, Campus of International Language, Kathmandu.
82. Dr. Martin W. Gaenszle, Representative, South Asia Institute, Kathmandu.
83. Ms. Maya Devi Manandhar, Sarswoti M. Campus, Kathmandu.
84. Mr. Pradeep M. Tuladhar, Birendra Sanik Awasiya Campus, Kathmandu.
85. Mr. Megha Raj Sharma, Campus of International Languages, Kathmandu.
86. Mr. Mohan Sitaula.
87. Mr. Anand Sharma, Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus, Kathmandu.

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Honorary Members

1. Late Ralph L. Turner
2. Dr. Kenneth L. Pike.
3. Dr. R.K. Sprigg.
4. Dr. Werner Winter.
5. Dr. Bernhard Kolver.

For the last 30 years Campus of International Languages, Tribhuvan University has been running language courses in Japanese, Chinese, French, German, Spanish, Russian, and English exclusively for Nepali students and Nepali, Sanskrit and Tibetan for foreign students.

At present over 200 foreign and native students are enrolled at the Campus.

The following language courses are specially designed for foreign students:

Nepali – 2 year course (4-semester course)
Sanskrit – 1 year course (2-semester course)
Tibetan – 1 year course (2-semester course)

Apply before March 1, 1992 to:

Campus Chief
Campus of International Languages
Tribhuvan University
Exhibition Road
Kathmandu, Nepal
Tel: 226713

Application forms are available at the Campus.