

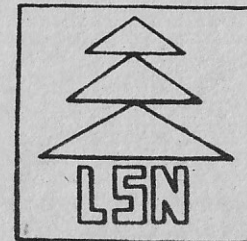
# NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

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## NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

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# SAUSSURE'S LOGOCENTRISM AND DERRIDA'S 'DIFFÉRENCE'

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This paper attempts to show that Saussurean concepts are logocentric which cause Jacques Derrida to use a concept like 'différance' to resist the temptation of centre or truth or one interpretation orthodoxy. This Derridian Deconstruction is not dawned on us, only because we have a mighty devil called centre or truth or guarantee or authority. We should endeavor to look into and look at the concept of devastation from a positive point of view. A willing suspension of disbelief is needed to deny that Deconstruction is 'apocalyptic irrationalism', 'Cognitive atheism' or a 'Ku Klux Klan'.

Jacques Derrida endorses the Saussurean concept of the nature of the linguistic sign. Saussure says that all aspects of human culture may be interpreted as system of signs and that sign is a combination of signified and signifier; still Derrida does not prefer to use this concept because of the fact that he breaks logocentrism, the desire for a centre. Logocentrism is a concept which emphasizes on centre; the theory of Ferdinand de Saussure is logocentric, Saussure's text concerning the definition of sign fails by its own criteria. One may be taken aback by this attack on this concept of centre; his attack on authority, guarantee, rightness, goodness, purity - these self-evident truths- might be seen by the purists as a terrorist's activity. Deconstruction which officially originated with Derrida is not terrorist way of solving a problem, hence it is not a crisis. It is neither Babbar Khalsa, Ku Klux Klan nor a hydrozen bomb. It only says orthodoxy has to be broken up by examining and testing and



then reversing the self-evident truths. Derrida talks about deconstructive textuality; textuality (anything that can be known will be articulated as a text) is subject to instability. That is why these authoritative concepts like centre, origin or structure have to be decentred or shifted. Derrida only wants to displace the very concept of authority: Authority corresponds to truth; truth means one interpretation, and one interpretation is something like readings.-- But who can claim that there is reading of a text? Reading means correct and controlled interpretation. Rather there is 'misreading': misreading is plurality. If a misreading can produce another text which can itself be shown to be an interesting misreading, then it is a good misreading. A bad or invalid misreading blocks the text. Language or literature exists because there is nothing called oneness or centre or authority. To support origin or centre is to suppose hierarchy scheme also, that is, there is something primary and then its supplement. Supplementarity means an addition. But Derrida's Deconstruction claims that there was nothing original which was unsupplemented. He reverses the crucial hierarchies like speech/writing, literature/criticism, good/evil, nature/culture, truth/error, signified/signifier and so on.

I postpone my writing about signified and signifier, I only delay it purposefully.

Phonocentrism is an example of Logocentrism where we emphasize on speech over writing. Saussurean Linguistic theory is Logocentric because it privileges Phonocentrism. According to Saussure and his followers speech is primary, natural, but writing is a means of representing speech, a deformation, bastardized form of communication-said Plato, separated from the father, parasitic, imperfect, external necessary, a form which drags speech into a trap. If writing has so many features, it is a tyrant and so it is evident that speech may not be free from writing: 'writing may affect and infect speech (Sturrock : 167).

The hierarchical scheme is upset by the possibility that speech is always ready to be infected by writing. Derrida opposes the notion that Saussure treats writing as something

secondary. "The object of Linguistic analysis, Saussure writes, 'is not both the written and spoken and forms of words: The spoken forms alone constitute the object'. (Sturrock : 166). Saussure's concept degenerates into a centre. The fact Derrida proposes is that the meaning is not derived by speech alone.

I would return back to speech/writing hierarchy. Before that let us trace Saussure's mighty Logocentric mentality in his famous concept of sign. Saussure here also degenerates into a centre, this signified (concept) /signifier (sound image) is a hierarchical scheme like speech/writing or our good/evil.

Sign is arbitrary and it has meaning by virtue of differences, that is, Saussure identified sign by arbitrariness and differences. It means sign is purely a relational unit. This theory fails by his own criteria, it opposes Logocentrism for differences can never be present; meaning or truth is a relational phenomena. Meaning depends on a series of present states, on some 'now' and 'not now' factors. If identification is defined in terms of absences, Saussure's principles is not Logocentric. At the same time his privileging of speech is Logocentric.

Actually, presence means not to find our centre; it is not centre or presence which identifies meaning, rather it is a series of present states. Derrida proposes that reality is made up of a series of present status. For example, in the case of 'the flight of an arrow.' At a given time the arrow is a particular spot, when one focuses on a present state the motion of the arrow is never present, Motion can be understood by the traces of the past and future, traces of 'now' and 'not now'. 'bet' is 'now' and 'bet', 'let', 'set' are 'not now'. The relational units or differences can never be present. 'Let' can be identified by differences in relation to 'bet', 'let', 'set'.

'Differance' is a concept that Derrida uses in opposition to logocentrism. He uses the terms to point out that there are not pure entities because nothing escapes 'differance'. 'Differance' is a word of Derrida's own coinage. It means to



differ and defer both, that is, to be different from and to postpone respectively. In other words we can say that meaning depends on differences and relations. The two senses of the word tell us that any element or language is distinct from other and at the same time relates other elements also. 'Differance' is non-hierarchical, non-substantial. Nothing escapes 'differance' but Phonocentrism as it is an example of logocentrism 'ignores' 'differance'. Centre, truth, authority, all these self-evident assumptions ignore 'differance'; meaning is impossible by ignoring differ/deferring.

Derrida's deconstructive weapon is not for destruction, the destruction by a hydrogen bomb. It only devastates, like the result of a Neutron Bomb explosion. After the devastation it leaves all the constituent parts undamaged. The text survives the blast and an after-text remains. Saussure too survives the blast but in a new course in the field of general linguistics. Deconstruction actually offers help by breaking up not only Saussurean orthodoxy, but philosophical, religious and literary orthodoxies.

The fundamental concept of structuralist theory is binary opposition. By Differences they distinguish one phoneme by another. They dwell upon the differences. All sign systems as we have seen are identified from the point of view of binary patterns. Presence - absence is a hierarchy which is an obstinacy on the metaphysics of Presence of Logocentrism. If we can simply accept 'The non-full non-unitary 'origin' (Jafferson : 114) called 'differance', the concept of the presence fails to hold water because of the fact that absence is a presence which did exist and which will exist. Binary opposition is a linguistic orthodoxy which proposes to encourage inviolate entities in culture and society also.

One of my colleagues who views Deconstruction as distraction, recently asked if there is no ultimate reality, no determinate meaning, why you are trying to read, what your final purpose is. But what I feel is that if there is no determinacy why you should tag along after a non-existing existence. If we cannot break free let us resist at least.

Like the Saussurean concept of sign and speech/writing hierarchy, phonetic writing too privileges one substance. Jacques Derrida in 'Positions' (which contains the texts of three interviews, 'Implications', 'Semiologie et grammatologie' and 'Position') says: 'if one ceases to limit oneself to the model of phonetic writing, which we privilege only by ethnocentrism and if we draw all the consequences from the fact that there is no purely phonetic writing (by reason of the necessary spacing of signs, punctuations, intervals, the difference indispensable for the functioning of graphemes, etc. then the entire phonologist or logocentric logic becomes narrow and superficial. This delimitation however, is indispensable if one wants to be able to account, with some coherence, for the principle of difference, such as Saussure himself recalls it. This principle compels us not only not to privilege one substance- here the phonic, so called temporal, substance- while excluding another-for example, the graphic, so called spatial, substance- but even to consider every process of significations as a formal play of differences. That is, of traces (Seldon : 387).

There are innumerable instances of ignoring 'differance.' To ignore 'differance' is anti-democratic, dictatorial, many voices would be raised to dispose of the dictator. And then why not to confront one interpretation, why not to confront the search of a final signified when there is no existence of independent signified. To know the meaning of a signifier, we thumb through a dictionary- we find yet more signifiers. It becomes a search of signified by the continuous signifiers and thus no final signified exists. We can say that a realm of independent signified does not exist. Derrida says that meaning is not immediately present in a sign; it is dispersed along the whole chain of signifiers. Hence sign must be studied under erasure (sous nature), that means sign is inadequate yet necessary. Furthermore, signified/signifier hierarchy can be reversed.

Let us return to speech/writing hierarchy. Speech is marked by absence, that is inhabited by difference. When Saussure explains the nature of linguistic sign, writing returns, becoming the best illustration of the nature of

linguistic units. It has to be noticed carefully that 'for any form to be a sign it must be repeatable, produceable or reproduceable- even in the absence of a communicative intention'. (Sturrock : 171)

Jonathan Culler argues to clarify the notion of Derrida, 'sign cannot be satisfactorily treated on the model of voice as self-presence' (Sturrock : 171). The concept of writing is not supplementarity. We can reverse the hierarchy; writing now can include speech for it influences speech.-Speech becomes a species of writing. Derrida describes language as a kind of writing, as an 'archi-écriture'. An archi-writing or proto-writing is 'the condition of both, speech and writing in the narrow sense' (Sturrock : 171). The concept of proto-writing does not escape 'differance'. Proto-writing is not hierarchial, it gives equal status to both which Saussure too wanted, it seems, when he says 'we shall use writing to draw some comparisons that will clarify the issue' (Sturrock : 170).

I could have taken examples of two other fundamental hierarchies, good/evil and Nature/Culture, but the logocentric Linguistic Conference may not allow me to say a few more lines to talk about these literary concepts.

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# MOODS IN NEPALI

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## 1. OPPOSITION DETERMINED BY NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION

Nepali negative construction shows two types of verbal paradigms. The negativizing affix na either precedes the verbal stem or follows it.

### 1.1. Prefixing Stems

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
1. gar- 1 do-ENDING 'Do !'	na-gar- 1 1 NEG-do-ENDING 'Don't do !'
2. gar-os 1 1 do-ENDING 'Let him do !'	na-gar-os 1 1 1 NEG-do ENDING 'Let him not do !'
3. gar-IA 1 1 do- POT. AFFIX 'He might do'	na-gar-IA 1 1 1 NEG-do-POT. AFFIX 'He might not do'
4. gar-era 1 1 do-ABSOLUTIVE 'By doing'	na-gar-era 1 1 1 NEG-do-ABS. 'By not doing'
5. gar-i 1 1 do-ABS 'By doing'	na-gar-i 1 1 1 NEG-do-ABS. 'Without doing'

### 1.2 Suffixing Stems

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
-------------	----------



6.	gar-i 1 1 do-FEM. PAST 'She did'	gar-i-na 1 1 1 do-FEM-NEG- 'She did not do'
7.	ho 1 BE 'is'	ho-i-na 1 1 1 BE-FORM.-NEG. 'is not'

These oppositions show that :

- a. If the verbal paradigm is non-finite (4,5), the negativizing affix (na) precedes the stem or participle.  
 b. But if the verbal paradigm is finite (rest of the examples) the negativizer can either precede (1, 2, 3) or follow (6, 7) the stem.

## 2. OPPOSITION DETERMINED BY TENSE.

- c. If the verbal form (i.e. Finite Verb) can show the opposition of tense, the negativizer always follows the stem :

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
6. gar-i 1 1 do- FEM. PAST 'She did'	gar-i-na 1 1 1 do-FEM.-NEG PAST 'She did not do'
8. gar-che 1 1 do-she is 'She does'	gar-di-na 1 1 1 do- HABIT.-NEG FEM. 'She does not do'

## 3. CLASSIFICATION

### 3.1. Based on Inflection

- a. If we define mood as the contrasts showed by verbal constructions due to the difference in the attitude of the speaker (cf. Lyons 1968 : ch. 7), the type of construction where the negativizer precedes and where the opposition of tense prevails, is found unmarked and is thus labelled INDICATIVE and the type where the negativizer follows the stem and where there is no opposition of tense, can be easily termed marked. If we exclude the non-finite forms (4,5) and

limit ourselves to the finite paradigms for the analysis of mood, we will find three types of affixes which can be mapped with three types of attitude:

- b. If the finite form of verb carries zero-ending in the second person singular (1), it is to be labelled IMPERATIVE.  
 c. If the finite verb carried the suffix-OS in the third person singular masculine form (2) and the attitude hinted by it is WISH, it is to be labelled OPTATIVE.  
 d. If the finite verb carries the affix-IA in the verbal paradigms, they show uncertainty and the mood expressed by them can be labelled POTENTIAL.

### 3.2. Modality Expressed by Compound Verbs :

In Nepali many shades of meanings and hence attitudes of the speaker are expressed by the use of Compound Verb Constructions (see Pokharel 1991)

## 4. MOOD MATRICES

### 4.1. Imperative matrix

9	I =	∅ -	a/VC---
			o/CV---
			u → o/ VV---

Imperative mood in Nepali is relevant only for the second person. Occurrences of other persons merge into optative paradigms. Here the first item signifies singular number and the second item which is another matrix, denotes plural forms. If the root of the verb ends in a consonant (*gar, bhan, etc.*), a is suffixed to make plural (*gara, bhana, etc.*). If the root ends in a single vowel (*k<sup>h</sup>A, de, etc.*) it is to be followed by (*k<sup>h</sup>Ao, deo*) and if the verbal root ends in a diphthong *Au, (Au, gAu, etc.)*, u is changed into Q (*Ao, gAo, etc.*)

### 4.2 Optative Matrix

10.	O =	os	un
		es -	e
		u <sup>11</sup>	au <sup>11</sup>

This matrix is also made up of endings where the first column denotes the singular number and the second column denotes the plural one. The first, the second and the third row denote the 3rd, the 2nd and the 1st person respectively.



#### 4.3. Potential Matrix.

To generate potential paradigms the potential affix **LA** is to be infixed if the non-past (NP) suffix begins with a consonant, but if it does not, **LA** is always suffixed :

11. NP =	*	n
	s -	au
	u <sup>n</sup>	au <sup>n</sup>

12. Potential matrix =	gar-IA	gar-IA-n
	gar-IA-s	gar-au-IA
	gar-u <sup>n</sup> -IA	gar-au <sup>n</sup> -IA

#### 4.4. Indicative Matrices

11 NP =	*	n	P =	is -	yo/i	e
	s -	au			yau	
	u <sup>n</sup>	au <sup>n</sup> ,			e <sup>n</sup>	yau <sup>n</sup>

Indicative mood does not have marked endings, because it is the unmarked mood. It is marked for tense. Thus matrix P denotes past endings. Here also the first column in each case denotes singular and the second one denotes plural and the rows again show the 3rd, the 2nd and the 1st person respectively, the order followed by Sanskrit grammatical tradition, because we find that the 3rd person singular masculine form is basic for most of the cases (cf. NP)

#### 5. CONCLUSION :

There are four moods determined by affixes in Nepali : INDICATIVE, IMPERATIVE, OPTATIVE, and POTENTIAL (see Pokharel 1992). In addition, modality is also expressed by the use of compound verb constructions.

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# ANAPHORIC RELATIONS IN MAITHILI, NEPALI AND ENGLISH : A CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDY

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#### INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to analyze anaphoric relation in Maithili, compare it with that in Nepali and English and finally, evaluate the empirical adequacy of the universal principle for anaphors proposed in the Government-Binding (henceforth, G.B.) Theory (Chomsky : 1981; 1982). By 'anaphoric relation' we mean the relation that holds between anaphors (X-self, each other, NP-trace) and their antecedents in the sentences they occur. Anaphors are NPs that have no capacity for 'inherent reference'. They are the elements that require antecedents and draw grammatical features (like person, number, gender, honorificity, case, etc.) from them as shown in (1 a-c) :

- 1) a. John hurt himself
- b. The candidates hated each other
- c. John seems [<sub>S</sub><sup>t</sup> to be nice].

This paper is organized as follows : Section 1 deals with the antecedent-anaphor relation in Maithili, focussing on its characteristics and the ways in which it differs from that in English. In section 2 we try to show that the properties of anaphors in Maithili are not idiosyncratic to this language alone but found to occur in Nepali as well. Finally, we evaluate the universal theory of anaphors in the light of the Maithili and Nepali data. We discover that the existing theory faces a problem, in that the c-command condition has to be relaxed

in some cases of the antecedent-anaphor relation in Maithili and Nepali !

## 1. ANAPHORS IN MAITHILI

In Maithili there are five types of elements that take antecedents :

- (2) a pronouns : o/u (he/she), o sabh /lokain (they), etc.  
hari jakhan ghar lautal o bahut prasann lāgal.  
 'When Hari returned home he looked very pleased !.
- b. PRO (an empty subject in infinitival constructions)  
rām harikē [PRO ghar jaebāklel] kahalak.  
 'Ram ask Hari to go home'.
- c. Pronominal Anaphors  
 There are two types of pronominal anaphors :
- (i) reflexives : apan (X-self), e.g.  
rām apanāke barbād kaelelak  
 'Ram spoilt himself'.  
 Note that Maithili reflexives, unlike English ones, have a single realization, viz. apan, irrespective of whether their antecedents belong to the first, second, or third person.
- (ii) Reciprocal : ek dosar (each other), e.g.  
o-sabh ek dosarkē madat kaelak  
 'They helped each other'.
- d. Non-pronominal Anaphor : S.wan ('self'), e.g.  
mohan swan ī bāt hamarā kahalak  
 'Mohan himself told me this fact'
- e. NP-Trace

Maithili has an interclausal rule, called Subject-to-Subject Raising, which, moves the subject of a tensed embedded clause to the empty matrix subject position, as shown in (i-ii) :

- (i) [s [NP<sup>e</sup>] bujhā it aich [S' je rām āi hahi aotāh] ]  
 (ii) [s<sup>1</sup> [NP rām] bujhāit chaith [s<sub>2</sub> je t āi hahi aotāch] ]

Following the trace theory developed in Chomsky (1973), when this rule, like any other movement rule, applies in (ii), it leaves behind a trace t coindexed with the moved phrase. In this case the trace is an NP- trace, which has the moved NP rām as its antecedent.

When we consider the phonetic matrix of these elements taking antecedent they are overt or non-overt. The overt elements are pronouns and pronominal and non-pronominal anaphors. The non-overt elements include PRO and NP- trace. The properties that distinguish the overt elements from the non-overt ones are the facts that the former are lexically realized and Case-marked, whereas the latter are not.

## Diagnostic Features of Anaphors and the Maithili Data

The elements taking antecedents may be grouped under two broad categories:

- (3) a Pronominals- Pronoun & PRO  
 b. Anaphors\_ Pronominal and nonpronominal anaphors and NP-trace.

These categories differ systematically. The diagnostic features that distinguish them are:

- (4) a Backward Anaphora  
 b. Obligatoriness of Antecedents  
 c. Disjoint Reference  
 d. C-command condition  
 e. Subjecthood condition

Now I intend to demonstrate each of these properties with the help of the Maithili data.

## Backward Anaphora

One of the principles that determine the relation between pronouns and their antecedents in Maithili is the rule of 'pronominal noncoreference

- (5) Pronouns cannot precede their antecedents

Thus, we can have sentences like (6b), but the reading of sentences like (6a) is not permissible:



- (6) a hari Jakhan ghar lautal o bahut prasann lāgal  
 Hari when home returned he very pleased looked  
 When Hari returned home, he looked very pleased
- b O jakhan ghar lautal hari bahut prasann lāgal

These examples show that pronouns do not allow their antecedents to follow them.

Like pronouns, anaphors in Maithili also obey the condition of Pronominal Noncoreference. That is to say they occur forwards, i.e., left-to-right. This fact can be illustrated by the grammaticality of sentences (7a-d) and the ungrammaticality of their counterparts (8a-d), respectively:

- (7) a ram apnākē barbād kaelelak  
 Ram to himself spoilt  
 Ram spoilt himself.
- b o sabh ek dosarkē madat kaelak  
 They to each other helped  
 'They helped each other'.
- c. mohan swan i kāj kaelak  
 Mohan self this work did  
 'Mohan himself did this work'.
- d. (i) [S<sub>1</sub> [NP<sup>c</sup>] bujhāit aich [s<sub>2</sub> je rām āi nahi aotah] ]  
 seems that Ram today not come  
 'It seems that Ram will not come today.'  
 (ii)[S<sub>1</sub> [NP ra] bujhāit chaith [S<sub>2</sub> je t āi nahi aotāh]]
- (8) a \* apan rāmkē barbād kaelelak  
 b. \* ek dosar okarā sabhkē madat kaelak  
 c. \* swan rāmkē barbād kaelelak  
 d. \* t bujhāit chaith je rām āi nahi aotāh

In this connection, it seems probable that definitization is a necessary prerequisite for the occurrence of anaphors. Since definitization cannot work backwards, i.e. right-to-left, anaphors would naturally be excluded from the environment given in (8a- d)

Contrary to these forward anaphors, there are 'backward' anaphors which precede their antecedents, thus violating the rule of pronominal noncoreference.

- (9) a apan(e) cāil rāmkē bigārne aich  
 self's behaviour to ram has spolt
- b. ek dosarak madat okarāsabhake jitaualak  
 each other's help to them made win  
 'Each othre's help made them win.'

The distribution of such anaphors is governed by the restriction given in (10).

(10) An anaphor can occur backwards in the environment:

[NP-----N]  
 [+Pronominal]

Intuitively, it means that only anaphor that can precede its antecedent is the pronominal one in the genitive form. This condition rules out the occurrence of nonpronominal anaphor (swan) and non-overt anaphor (NP- trace) as backward anaphor in any environment and even pronominal anaphors (reflexives and reciprocals) in the positions other than the genitive position, as shown in (9a-d). To sum up, pronominal anaphors in the genitive form, unlike pronouns, nonpronominal anaphor and NP trace, do not observe the condition of pronominal non-coreference.

Here it is to be noted that Maithili pronouns contrast with English ones. According to Kuroda (1966), under certain circumstances, English pronouns can precede their antecedents:

(11) When he came in the boy kissed Mary

Kuroda also notes that pronouns cannot precede their antecedents if the antecedents are indefinite:

(12) \* When he came in a boy kissed Mary.

### Obligatoriness of Antecedents

As observed in Chomsky (1981), anaphors are universally characterized as the NPs which lack "inherent" reference and must have antecedents. It has also been noted that in addition to anaphors, there are pronominals which also take antecedents. The anaphors and pronominals are, however, distinguished by a property, namely, obligatoriness of antecedents. Antecedents are obligatory for anaphors within the same minimal S. while they are optional for pronominals: This property can be stated in the form of (13).





- (21) [NP ahāk Kitāb] [NP apan sathī] coraune haet  
 your book self's friend stolen might have  
 'Your book must have been stolen by your own friend.'

At this stage I do not quite see how cases like (21) can be accounted for in terms of the c-command the condition.

Pronouns, on the other hand, do not observe the c-command condition. On the contrary they, can c-command their antecedent's :

- (22) a [NP mohanak bhāi] okarā pitlak,  
 Mohan's borther him beat  
 'Mohan's brother beat him'.  
 b. \*[okar bhāi] mohankē pitlak.]  
 'His brother beat Mohan'.

This property distinguishes Maithili pronouns from English pronouns, which cannot c-command their antecedents:

- (23) a Oscar admires him  
 b. Oscar admires his wife  
 c. Oscar said Mary admired him

### Subjecthood condition

Now I intend to show that non-pronominal anaphor (swan) and NP-trace in Maithili obey the subjecthood condition, stated as follows:

- (24) Antecedents of non-pronominal anaphor and NP-trace must be subjects.

This condition is illustrated by the sentences in (25a-b):

- (25) a hari rāmkē swan aeh bisayme puchlak.  
 Hari to Ram self this about asked  
 'Hari himself asked to Ram about this'.  
 b. \*hari ramke swan aeh bisayme puchhla.

Pronominal anaphors, on the other hand, can have their antecedents in positions other than the subject :

- (26) a ham ahākē apan kalam delāū  
 I to you self's pen gave

'I gave you my own pen.'

- b. ham ahākē apan kalam delāū  
 'I gave you your own pen'.

- (27) a sab ek dosarkē madat kaelak  
 all to each other help did  
 'All helped each other'.

- b. ek dosarak madat sabkē jarurat parat.  
 'All needed each other's help'.

## 2. ANAPHORS IN NEPALI

In the preceding section I have shown that Maithili anaphors exhibit five properties, viz. backward anaphora, obligatoriness of antecedents, disjoint reference, c-command condition, and subjecthood condition. In this section I demonstrate that these properties are not the peculiar quirks of this language alone but also characterize another Indo-Aryan language, namely, Nepali.

Nepali has two pronominal anaphors: reflexive (āphno/āphai 'self') and reciprocal (ek arko 'each other'), as shown in (28) and (29), respectively :<sup>4</sup>

- (28) a rāmle āphai yo kām garyo.  
 Ram self this work did  
 'Ram did this work by himself'.

- b. rāmle āphno kām garyo  
 Ram self work did  
 'Ram did his (own) work.'

- c. rāmle āphailāi barbād garyo  
 Ram to self spoilt  
 'Ram spoilt himself'.

- (29) a mānisharule ek arkāko madat gare  
 men to each other help did  
 'The men helped each other'.

- b. uniharu ek arkālāi māyā garochan  
 they to each other love  
 'They love each other'.

Now, let us try to show how Nepali anaphors are very much characterized by the same properties as the Maithili



ones. As in Maithili, anaphors in Nepali can follow as well as precede their antecedents :

- (30) a. rām āphno parishramle saphal bhayeko cha.  
Ram with self's labour has succeeded  
'Ram has succeeded with his (own) labour.'
- b. āphno parishramle rāmlāi saphal banāyeko cha  
Self's labour to Ram successful has made  
'His own labour made Ram successful.'
- (31) a. uniharule ek arkāko madatle jitekā chan  
they with each others help have own  
They have won with each other's help
- b. ek arkāko madatle ketāharulai jitāyeko cha.  
each other's help to boys has made win  
Each other's help has made the boys win

As in Maithili, the domain in which an anaphor in Nepali is bound to an antecedent is the minimal S, whereas a pronoun cannot have its antecedent within the same domain:

- (32) [S<sub>1</sub> rāmlāi lāgyo [S<sub>2</sub> ki self (\*aphai  
u  
he  
pas garn sakdain] ]  
to Ram seemed that pass do cannot  
It seemed to ram that (himself) cannot get through.  
he

Nepali anaphors show a subject obviation, i.e. they can have antecedents in positions other than the subject, as shown in (30) and (31). This is a property similar to what we observed in Maithili.

Similarly, anaphors in Nepali also obey the c-command condition. This is illustrated by the examples in (33) and (34). Note that the same condition blocks the following ungrammatical sentences as well:

- (33) a\*. āphaile rāmko kām garyo (cf. (28b))  
\* Himself did Ram's work.
- b\*. āphaile rāmlāi barbād garyo (cf. (28c))  
\* Himself spoilt Ram.

- (34) a. ek arkāle mānisharulāi madat gare (cf. 29a))  
\* Each other helped the men .
- b. ek arkā mānisharulāi māyā garchan (29b))  
\* each other loves the men.

However, there are constructions in Nepali, similar to those in Maithili (cf(21), wher the c-command condition does not characterize antecedent -anaphor relation, e.g.

- (35) Np tapāiko kitāb āphno sāthile corāeko holā (= (21) )

### 3. ANAPHORS IN MAITHILI AND NEPALI AND UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR

In the preceding sections. we have noticed that anaphors in Maithili and Nepali are characterized by five diagnostic features. backward anaphora, obligatoriness of antecedents, disjoint-reference, c-command condition, and subjecthood condition. An adequate theory of Universal Grammar must have principle for anaphors to incorporate these properties . In the light of the properties of Maithili and Nepali anaphors, I intend to evaluate the empirical adequacy of the binding principle for anaphors proposed by Chomsky, (1981;1982) in his GB - theory.

Chomsky (1981;1982) has proposed the following binding principle for anaphors:

- (36) Anaphors are bound in their governing categories (S/NP)

This principle is operative for the Maithili and Nepali anaphors, as shown in sections 1 and 2

In constructions where both the antecedents and anaphors appear in the genitive form, anaphors are not c-commanded by their antecedents, as shown in (21 and 30 b). There are, however, certain properties of the Maithili and Nepali anaphors which cannot be derived from the universal theory of anaphors. These properties relate to the c-command condition. In constructions where both the antecedents and anaphors appear in the genitive form, anaphors are not c-commanded by their antecedents, as shown in (21 and 30 b.)

In these examples where anaphor is not c-commanded by its antecedent, it poses a challenge to the adequacy of



the binding principle for anaphors, which incorporates the notions of government and c-command.

A plausible way of approaching this problem might be to consider the antecedent -anaphor relation in terms of parametric variation that distinguishes Maithili and Nepali type languages from English-type Languages. We might argue that languages like Maithili and Nepali do not require the restrictive specification of governing category in the binding principle for anaphors, while languages like English do require it. Accordingly, the binding principle for anaphors can be restated in the following way, where governing category is rendered optional:

(37) Anaphors are bound (in their governing category)

It is to be noted here however that I do not claim in this paper to propose an alternative theory of anaphors. At this stage, all that I am interested in is to highlight the problem itself for further research in this field.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Note that similar observation has been made in Malayalam (Mohanani, 1980)

<sup>2</sup> Like deictic pronouns, there are deictic anaphors in the language that do not have their antecedents within the same clause, e.g.

a *rām apan kitāb lautā delak*  
Ram self's book returned  
'Rem returned our (=the speaker+ the hearer) book !.

b. *ek dosarak sahayog ehi samayme jaruri aech*  
Each other's cooperation at this time necessary is  
\*'Each other's cooperation is necessary at this time !.

It seems that in addition to syntactic configurations, we also need pragmatic considerations to account for the

antecedent-anaphor relation in sentences like (a) and (b). This problem needs to be further explored.

<sup>3</sup> See Reinhart (1981) for the details on the notion of c-command.

<sup>4</sup> Note that there is no Nepali equivalent of the NP-trace in English and Maithili raising constructions.

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# LITERATURE WITH TRAPS ? TEXTCRITICAL NOTES ON AN ESSAY OF LAKSMINIBANDHASAMGRAHA \*

- by MANFRED G. TREU

Exactly a year ago at this very place and function Dr M. Hutt presented a paper on the problems of translating Nepali literature into English. About half a year later former president of the LSN Dr. R. P. Adhikary gave a lecture on the problems of translating in general at a seminar about the teaching of English held at the Campus of International Languages. Both speakers were dealing with texts selected for translation. My paper today also involves problems of translation, but not in the first place. My focus is not on how to translate but what to translate. I intend to concentrate on the text as such and discuss the question: Is that what a given text says also that what the author said?

Texts are printed for the first time and then appear in further editions depending on the demand or the success. This is especially the case with literary texts of renowned authors. Under such a category falls the text I like to speak about. It is an early writing from the voluminous work of the famous Nepali poet and writer Laksmiprasada Devakota entitled "Asadhako pandhra". This essay<sup>1</sup> owns a special importance in Nepali literature as it is believed to be Devakota's first prose writing and his first published essay. President of the LSN Abhi Subedi calls it the first genuine

\* Paper presented at the 12th annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Tribhuvan University, November 1991.

<sup>1</sup>. For a translation of the text under discussion see my "The Fifteenth of the Month of Asadha : An Essay by Laksmiprasada Devakota" (forthcoming)

and standard essay written in Nepali excelling all previous attempts in technique, inventiveness, and organisation (Subedi 1978:P. 174) The essay builds a part of the curriculum of students of Nepali at the college level.

The writing was first published in V.S. 1993 (1936) in the literary journal SARADA. In the year V.S. 2002 (1945/46) it was published for the second time as part of the omnibus volume *Laksmibandhasamgraha* (abbreviated here as LNS) through the Nepali Bhasa Prakasani Samiti under the chairmanship of Balakrsna Sama, followed by two more editions of the same publication in V.S. 2013 and V.S. 2019. Thereafter it has seen ten further editions through Sajha Prakasana, the latest one in V. S. 2044 (1987/88) with a circulation of 2.100 copies. We can assume with great certainty that the text in the present form is spread in much more than ten thousand copies over the subcontinent and the world. It will even maintain its relevance as a text read and studied once it is replaced by a new edition.

With this study I want to show what the text has become in the course of time and how mistakes of transmission have distorted the author's original will in regard to content, style of language and historicity. In order to investigate the questions: is it that what Devakota wanted to tell us and is it his style of language? Does the text we are reading today actually represent the author's will? I have collated questionable portions of the text of the latest edition (V.S. 2044) and of the first edition (V.S. 1993). The differences becoming apparent are questioned whether they possibly represent a variation produced by the author. Since Devakota stayed alive until V.S. 2016, his own hand could have influenced the text until 2013 the year of the second edition of LNS through the Nepali Bhasa Prakasani Samiti, and hypothetically, even later. Wherever necessary and possible a textual comparison of the first edition in SARADA with the first and second edition of LNS was carried out. As there are no indications of any later transformations made by the author on the text found in the second edition all later editions of LNS are discarded since they can only be the result of the hand of an editor and not of Devakota himself.

The present text contains a number of printing mistakes which are immediately recognizable, as for example:



गाला for गला (p. 82)<sup>1</sup>. लाग्रो for सांग्रो (p. 83), चेतरा for चेहरा (p. 83), कृतिम for कृत्रिम (p. 84), आनन्को for आनन्दको (p. 84), मर्माहट for मर्मराहट (p. 85), शहरिया for शहरियाहरू (p. 82), गीद for गीत (p.86) etc. I do not deal with such types of mistakes here.

I have collated 15 examples of different degrees of corruption. To derive the maximum benefit it is advisable to first read the line or lines of the text edition of the year VS 2044 only. After having understood the meaning of the sentence (the missing context does not place obstacles except for example no 10) one should proceed to the parallel quotation from the first print of the year V. S. 1993.

2044 खेतीवालहरू कोदाली लिदै नाच्दै, उफ्रदै जान्छन् । (p. 82)

1993 खेतीवालहरू कोदाली लिदै नाच्दै, उफ्रदै गाउँदै जान्छन् ।

1. The text remains understandable but omits an important information thus reducing the picture presented by the author.

2044 दुरवर्ती पहाड पाटा पाटामा घामले छोएर हरियालीको सौन्दर्य देखिन्थ्यो । (p. 83)

1993 दुरवर्ती पहाडका पाटा पाटामा घामले छोएर हरियालीको सौन्दर्य देखिन्थ्यो ।

2. The omission of a case marker after पहाड renders the relation between पहाड and पाटा पाटामा or between पहाड and सौन्दर्य ambiguous. The comprehension of the sentence becomes partly vague as other postpositions following पहाड like देखि, माथि, मा etc. could also be possible. We reasonably cannot assume that the author turned an unambiguous part of text into an ambiguous one in a later edition.

2044 खेतमा उनीहरू भने फन् खुशीले रोपाई गरिरहेका थिए । (p. 86)

1993 खेतमा उनीहरू भने फन् खुशीले गाउँदै रोपाई गरिरहेका थिए ।

3. The omission of the present participle गाउँदै leads to maintaining a full sentence but deprives the reader of connecting the adverb खुशीले with the present participle गाउँदै.

The sentence is meant to read: As for them in the rice field they were planting while singing with even more joy. The picture as given by the author in the first edition is again reduced.

2044 भावको रङ्गले दुनियाँको रङ चढाउँछ । (p. 81)

1933 भावको रङ्गले दुनियाँमा रङ चढाउँछ ।

4 The change of the case marker poses a problem for understanding the image. What is meant by दुनियाँको रंग ? Do we have to reckon in the possibility of Devakota using here the Hindi postposition स], what would make sense ? We do not, and although a fanciful mind might even find a meaning making sense in it as it is, we would be forced to understand something which has not been intended by the author. The first edition of the text shows us that the relation between दुनियाँ and रंग is not a genitive but a locative, thus giving one clear meaning to the sentence. A comparison of the forms in the different editions clearly explains the present state of the text as the result of a development of mistakes of transmission: the second text edition of V. S. 2002 still retains मा, the edition of 2013 changes to का which subsequently, probably recognized as a mistake of transmission because it is not congruent with रंग, becomes को in one of the following editions. By doing so, the fine and easily intelligible metaphor used initially by the author, is turned into one which remains obscure or at least far-fetched.

2044 म यही विचारको मधुर चैतन्यले बाहिर हिंडे । (p. 83)

1933 म यही विचारको मधुर चैतन्यमा बाहिर हिंडे ।

5. Both forms are correct Nepali though the second form could be regarded inferior to the former one. Did Devakota change it or if not, why did the editor change it ? Comparing the different editions, the following situation becomes apparent. In the first edition of LNS मा is retained, in the second one we simply have चैतन्य without any case marker. Seemingly feeling the need for a case ending, the editor of

the next edition gave one, a new one, his own and not Devakota's. Thinking we are reading Devakota's Nepali, we are actually not. We are trapped.

2044 यस्ता गलाको प्राकृतिक माधुरीले सारा गान विद्याको कठोर तरज, सास पसिना काङ्गे बस्तादहरूका रफत, महफिलका विकृत चेहरादार गवैयाहरू सारा गान विद्याका चेहरा शरमले लाल गराई दिन्छ । (p. 82)

1933 यस्ता गलाको प्राकृतिक माधुरीले सारा गान विद्याको कठोर तरज, सारा पसिना काङ्गे बस्तादहरूका रफत, महफिलका विकृत चेहरादार गवैयाहरू, सारा कुण्ठित रसिकहरूको शीर हिलाई, सभ्य समाजको सारा गान विद्याको चेहरा शरमले लाल गराई दिन्छ ।

6. This is a long sentence with five objects, four of them beginning with सारा. The later sentence is understandable but it omits large portions of the first edition (one direct object and two genitive objects). In doing so, it firstly reduces the richness of thought of the author, and secondly it breaks the partial uniformity of the attribute plus direct object sequence by changing सारा पसिना to सास पसिना . The novel expression सास पसिना काङ्गे thus created looks meaningful although it remains unusual. With all probability, in an interpretation the unusualness of the noun combination would be attributed to the author's generally ascribed inclination to unusual expressions, but as we clearly see, wrongly. It is the matter of a mistake of transmission, in the latter case due to the Devanagari script which makes a confusion between स and रा easy. The mistake already happened between the first and the second edition of LNS. Regarding the former case, a comparison with earlier editions reveals that the mistake of omission hails from a slip in the line of the type setter which occurred after the second edition of LNS. The text continues with the lower line of the sentence exactly at the point where it leaves the upper line from सारा onwards (LNS 2016 P.99).

2044 साहित्य र कलाको क्षेत्रमा पनि रोपाईको केहि उल्लास भिन्दथ्यो । (p. 83)

1993 साहित्य र कलाको क्षेत्रमा पनि रोपाईको त्येहि उल्लास भिन्दथ्यो ।

7. This looks like a reading mistake. त्येही seems to have been misread as केही . The transformed word is understandable but changes the meaning of the expression. By making the demonstrative त्येहि the weak indefinite pronoun केही the author's standard of language is lowered.

2044 केहि चिउरा र नुन अदुवाका सितका साथमा अलिकति आलुको तरकारी पनि राखिएको थियो । (p. 85)

1993 केहि चिउरा र नुन, अदुवाको सितन, साथमा अलिकति आलुको तरकारी पनि राखिएको थियो ।

8. The later text presents an overall understandable sentence but contains an unstructured and vague portion. The final syllable of the noun सितन is transformed into the postposition का . A case marker of अदुवा is retained whereas in standard Nepali sita would follow the noun or pronoun directly. The distortion, which suppresses a contextual element and lowers the style of language of Devakota, started with the LSN edition of 2002 where को सितन was misrepresented by का सितन and the comma following सितन omitted. Here, like in the examples given before, any influence of Devakota's hand can be excluded.

2044 बैसालु ठिटीहरू... केही खुला, केही सजिलो चालले.... हाँस्दछन् । (p. 82)

1993 बैसालु ठिटीहरू... केही खुला, केही लजिलो चालले.... हाँस्दछन् ।

9. When we understand केही... केहि... as indefinite pronouns plural then the contrast inherent in this construction is lacking (in the later text). The adjectives खुला and सजिलो do not show enough semantical difference to fulfill the expectations. Again the reader is tempted to blame the "obscure style" on the author. To suspect, however, a corruption in सजिलो without a comparison of the text is very unlikely since even the word लजिलो is unusual in Nepali. It is not mentioned e.g. in Nepali Brhat Kosa or in Turner's Nepali dictionary. It is presumably an adapted form of Hindi लज्जिल, meaning शर्मिला or लज्जित .



2044 पहाड भित्रबाट तर्किएर आएको पानीलाई बारीको पाटीमा धारोद्वारा सानो उज्यालो रेखामा गिराएको थियो । (p. 84)

1993 पहाड भित्रबाट तर्किएर आएको पानीलाई बोडीको पातमा धारोद्वारा सानो उज्यालो रेखामा गिराएको थियो ।

10. In comparison to former examples we here have a transformation of two subsequent nouns and postposition. Although the sentence is understandable and meaningful in isolation, it contains unrelated elements and appears partly awkward. The context does not allow easily a vegetable garden (बारी) let alone the mentioning of a rest house (पाटी). The middle part of the sentence remained so unintelligible to me while only reading the text of the current edition that I finally decided to consult a Devakota specialist. Studying the sentence over and over again, he also could not find sense in it. In a critical attempt on the integrity of the writer he finally said, "Well, this may be the weakness of the author". Today, however, we are able to see, it is not the weakness of the author, it is the weakness of the editor(s). The corruption developed like this : the LNS edition of V.S. 2002 omitting the okara of बोडी, writes बाडीको पात . Because of the omission of the okara the next edition of V.S. 2013 could obviously not understand it anymore and made it बारीका, and since पात now no longer matched with बारी, it became पाटो . The following edition either found पाटो not well fitting and made it पाटी or the change from ओ to ई happened simply by accident.

Here we have another clear case of an instance of negative judgement about, and of the creation of reinforcement of a prejudice against the author simply because of the present text containing mistakes of transmission.

2044 मैले उत्तर दिए "कता कता" । "कता कता" को "ता" मा लामो दुरतादर्शक प्लट थियो । (p. 83)

1993 मैले उत्तर दिए "कता कता" । "कता कता" को "ता" मा लामो दुरतादर्शक प्लट थियो ।

11. Reading only the line of the later edition, there arises the question: What is the meaning of प्लट ? The word is not given in any dictionary, suggesting that it must be English. Is it English "plot" ? If yes, how does it fit into the context ? Again the reader might feel inclined to blame it on "difficult Devakota". The explanation of this case of faulty transmission is, however, different and (making partly fun of it) might have been like this. The edition of V. S. 2002 omits the ukara of the original print and writes प्लट. Obviously not understanding the text anymore and trying to improve it, the following edition (instead of looking to the past, that means Sanskrit, looked to the future, that means English, and made it प्लट (what at least sounds modern, but does not make sense either).

2044 मनमस्ती चालले खाजा खान थाले । (p. 85)

1993 मगनमस्ती चालले खाजा खान थाले ।

12. Reading the current edition one will ask the meaning of मनमस्ती. The word does not appear in any dictionary, nevertheless it does not sound outright false. We feel tempted to ask whether this is not a rare word or perhaps a novel word created by Devakota since he is known for having contributed a great number of new creations to the Nepali language. As long as we are not sure of the corruption we are trapped in vague identifications. Looking at the first edition, however, it becomes instantly evident, that all our effortful explanations are wrong, and that it is the matter of mistake of transmission, in this case a simple type setting mistake can also be cause of the illusion.

2044 हामी सुनौला बोलीको आशाले बीउ रोप्न जान्छौं । (p. 81)

1993 हामी सुनौला बालिको आशाले बीउ रोप्न जान्छौं ।

13. This is another example of transformation of only one noun having wide implications. If one is forced to understand the sentence of the current edition, there arises the question of understanding सुनौला बोलीको आशाले बोली stands for language, speech, voice, etc. सुनौला can be translated as golden,

new, early, etc. "We go to plant rice seedlings in the hope of a new voice" looks preferable to ".... a golden voice." But what does "new voice" or "new language" stand for? As the context does not provide any clue, historical considerations might be made and lead to the assumption: it was V.S. 2002, five years before 2007, yes, this might as well be a political slogan. "We want to hear a new voice, we want to have a political change, a new language from our government, a new voice as our government." Lacking plausible alternatives we might take this "dark saying" as a political metaphor since metaphorical expressions are a typical trait of Devakota's style. Again we are made to fall into what looks like a trap.

2044 ... एकजना भित्रका साथमा म पनि आजको दिनको विकास उपभोग गर्न बाहिर हिँडे । (p. 83)

1993 ... एकजना भित्रका साथमा म पनि आजको दिनको विलास उपभोग गर्न बाहिर हिँडे ।

14. In the later print of the sentence only one letter has changed from the first one. Unfortunately, the change did not produce a recognizable mistake but rather a meaning which cannot be instantly identified as being not intended by the author, although it leaves the reader uncomfortable. In this case too, we cannot reasonably assume that the word forcing the reader to only vague connotations has been given or authorized by Devakota. Responsible for the problem of understanding the text as it is presented to the reader today is a mistake of transmission, and there is no sign of the author having had any hand in the cases of transformation after the first print.

2044 रोपाईको, बेला, बिजुली चम्क्यो, झरीले गीत गायो ।  
बादलको तल खोला है उफ्रयो, दिल मेरो नचायो । (p. 83)

1993 रोपाईको बेला, बिजुली चम्क्यो, झरीले गीत गायो ।  
बादलको तालि, खोला है उफ्रयो, दिल मेरो नचायो ।

15. The scene of rice planting depicted by Devakota is accompanied by three natural phenomena, namely lightning,

rain, and thunder, out of which two elements are named directly, and one metaphorically. Should we assume that probably the author changed "the clapping of the clouds" what goes quite well together with "made my heart dance" into "below the clouds" what would not be a mother tongue speaker's way of using "tala"? I think we cannot. It is evident from the omission of the comma that it is not a simple type setter mistake but an editorial intervention. The change in transmission is retained through the editions after the first print because it is readable. But it is not Devakota.

These types of variants as one might call them not knowing their real nature, represent mistakes of the kinds of 1. omission of words, 2. omission of parts of words, 3. omission of groups of words, 4. transformation of words, 5. transformation of groups of words and 6. change in punctuation. They clearly represent mistakes of transmission and not variants produced by the author. In all likelihood they were produced by the editor(s), and this is the last point I would like to emphasize.

There exist cases of change in the text which are of a different kind than those hardly recognizable ones where a letter or two differ and where the result is not an obvious printing mistake; the alleged contextual appropriateness of these new words is the result of their vague assimilation to the necessities and possibilities of the text through the imagination of the reader.

The other cases of change are instances where words and expressions have been substituted by new words. There are examples like प्यर of the first print replaced by बुझ (p. 83) दिवार by गारो (p. 83) forms like यस्तो मालुम हुन्थ्यो what is replaced by यस्तो देखिन्थ्यो (p. 85) or मालुम हुन्थ्यो by विदित हुन्थ्यो (p. 84). These replacements have obviously been done by an editor who aimed at improving Devakota's choice of words and expressions from a puristic attitude towards Nepali. As a result from these observations it can be stated that the early Devakota does not feel any inhibitions using freely Hindustani lexical items in his language.

Supporting the hypothesis of transformations brought about by the editor(s) and not Devakota is the revealing case of change in the orthography of a word and with it in the



sound of the language as preferred by Devakota. This transformation regards the change from रूलाई to रूलाई (मानिसको रूलाईमा सधैं कविता हुन्छ (p. 84)). Was this done by Devakota? My answer is definitely not. रूलाई is the typical use of language of Devakota with regard to the concurrent form रूलाई which would be regarded as the "correct" form nowadays, if one had to choose between the two. Devakota avails himself of the form many years later e.g. in the famous first stanza of nepalisakuntalamahakavya.

चिस्ली लोचन दीर्घकाल तपमा खोलेर बासन्तिका ।  
नाच्ची सुन्दर तालले पवनमा देखी फुलेकी जता ॥  
बिर्सै भैं "भन को तिसी" यति भनी गौरी रूलाईकन ।  
मुस्काएर फुल्याउँदै शिव दिउन् कल्याणको चुम्बन ॥

This text was published at the same time as the first edition of LSN (V.S. 2002) wherein the form रूलाई of the first print of Asadhako Pandhra was changed into ruvai. Can we assume that on the one hand the author again decided for रूलाई in his *Nepalisakuntalamahakavya* which he wrote many years after Asadhako Pandhra, and, that, more or less simultaneously, he changed it to रूलाई in the second edition of Asadhako Pandhra? We surely cannot. Therefore we have to attribute those changes to an editor and not Devakota. We can say with a high degree of probability that none of the changes from the first to later editions was brought about by the author. This result confirms the generally held view, and what has been stated by Devakota himself,<sup>1</sup> that he hardly ever revised any of his works. Thus the sarada version is the only reliable text representing the will of the author.

These examples may suffice to show how the current edition of Asadhako Pandhra puts many traps for the innocent reader and presents a picture of the author which only supports certain prejudices against his style of writing.

On the occasion of the 83rd anniversary of the great poet, one of Nepal's leading man of letters said in his oration, "Since Devakota was a genius his words are sometimes difficult to understand." This statement is verily true and

<sup>1</sup> cf. "Bhikhari : Devakota saili ra bhikhari bhavartha" in : *Jayanti*, Bhadra 30, V.S. 2047, p. 1-4.

beyond any doubt. But now it seems it is also true to say : Devakota is sometimes difficult to understand because mistakes of transmission make him so.

In the interest of readers, students, teachers translators, and researchers, I, therefore, would like to appeal to the concerned bodies and individuals to show more concern for the text, more responsibility towards the reader, more respect for the author, and more tolerance towards historicity while publishing Nepali literature of relevance.

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# SEVERAL REMARKS ON MATISOFF'S COGNATE IDENTIFICATION IN SOME OF HIS PAN-ALLOFAMIC FORMULAE FROM THE HIMALAYAS<sup>1</sup>

- By Yoshio Nishi

Since the latter half of 1960's there has been remarkable progress in almost every field of Tibeto-Burman (TB) studies, which we owe to the efforts of each and every scholar who has more or less devoted himself or herself in this rather underdeveloped area of linguistics. Among all those TB scholars whose contribution to the fields of TB studies have been most conspicuous. I will not hesitate to mention James A. Matisoff in the first place though I am not sure that he would like to regard himself as a TB Scholar, rather than a Sino-Tibetan (ST) scholar. It is not only because of his distinguished contribution to both synchronic and diachronic fields of TB studies, but also because his works and enthusiasm have much encouraged and influenced many of those who have joined in this area of studies, either contemporaneously with, or after him.

One of his major works which we would expect to mark a culmination of the achievements of TB and ST studies so far made will be *The Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus*, whose compilation has taken so many years, with cooperation of many TB and ST scholars, and will take far more to complete, I think. (Incidentally, he wrote in his recent letter that the body-part volume, which is the first to appear, will be hopefully finished in another year or so.) Though I am not well informed of the guiding principles of its compilation, I may guess that it would be in line with what he first presented in his work *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman* (1978) with a number of exemplifications in the form of allofamic formulas, some more of which were later provided successive papers (Matisoff 1979, 1985, 1988). Matisoff calls the method he has proposed there the "organic semantic" approach to linguistic comparison.

<sup>1</sup>. Paper presented at the 12<sup>th</sup> annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur

While I was writing my papers on the Himalayan languages (NISHI 1990, 1991), I had to refer to the abovementioned works of his and happened to find some instances where his suggested identification of cognates from some of the Himalayan languages (=Matisoff's Himalayish) does not seem acceptable to me. Thus, the aim of this paper is to point out several such instances, so as to show that a good knowledge of proto-forms of subgroups of genetically related languages may be an essential prerequisite for cognate identifications in some cases. It is not my purpose, however, to deny Matisoff's efforts to compile the said *Dictionary and Thesaurus*, nor his attempt to postulate proto-allofams or -panallofamic formulas before reconstructing all the possible intermediate proto-languages of TB subgroups. But it is important, I think, to note that his reconstructed forms and identified cognates which will be presented in his forthcoming *Dictionary and Thesaurus* should be constantly checked up against proto-forms of such subgroups which are now available and will become available in the future.

ABBREVIATIONS : TAM = Tamang, R= Risiangku dialect or Eastern Tamang, S = Sahu dialect or Western Tamang, GUR= Gurung (Ghachock dialect), MAN = Manang (Braga dialect), THA = Thakali, SYA = Syang, PTAM = Proto-TAM (, which refers to the proto-language of the Tamang group, not that of the Tamang language); WT = Written Tibetan, WB = Written Burmese; PL = Proto-Loloish, PLB = Proto-Lolo Burmese or Proto-Yi-Burmese.

REFERENCES : For the reconstruction of PTAM, cf. [MAZAUDON 1973a, 1977, 1985] and [NISHI 1972, 1989, 1990].

SOURCES : Kanauri : [BAILEY 1910, 1911, JOSHI, 1909]. Kaike, Kham, Magar, Chepang, THA, TAMS, Newar, Sunwar : [CSDPSLN-N], TAMR : [MAZAUDON 1973b], GUR : [GLOVER 1977], MAN : [HOSHI 1984], SYA : [NAGANO 1990], Khaling : [TOBA=TOBA 1975], Limbu (Panthare dialect) : [WEIDERT = SUBBA 1985], Limbu (Phedappe dialect) : [DRIEM 1987], Bahing : [HODGSON 1957d/1958 a], Hayu(=Vayu) : [HODGSON 1957c; MICHAILOVESKY 81], Thulung : [Allen 1975], Bantawaa : [RAI 191985]; PL/PLB : : [MATISOFF 1972], [THURGOOD 1977], [BRADLEY 1979]; for others, [LSI 1903, 1904, 1909], [HODGSON 1847, 1957 a./b], [D.D. SHARMA 1982, 1988, 1989a, 1989 b, 1990].



[MARRISON 1967], FRENCH 1983], [ZMYYYCH 1991],  
etc.

In (MATISOFF 1978 : 422 ff.) Matisoff sets up a pan-allofamic formula for a PST/PTB word-family which covers the semantic area of "arm, hand, wing" as follows.

(a)	d-		(b)	d-
		l		
	g-	ak	or	g- l y ak
		y		
	p-			p-

This formula comprises such proto-allofams as \*lak • \*yak • \*d-lak • d-yak • \*d-[l] lak • \*g-lak • \*g-yak • \*g-ya or alternatively the proto-allofams with the proto-root \*lVak. As for the proto-roots \*lak and \*yak, he hesitates whether to assume an alternation of two proto-phonemes \*l~\*y- or to combine the lateral and palatal elements into a single proto-form, \*l-[y]-/\*lV-. He then mentions : "At any rate, the nucleus of the rhyme \*-ak frequently develops into a front vowel in TB..., a phenomena which could easily lead to the palatalization of the lateral initial. Though the yak allofam may perhaps be considered 'secondary' to the lak form, this is a relative matter; both variants go back as far as our reconstructive methods can take us, and many lagnugages have doublets traceable to each of them." [MATISOFF 1985 : 42]-422]. TAM (R) ya; and THA ya are both found among a group of the cognates derived from the proto-allofam \*yak.

It may be not necessary to repeat here that Tamang and Thakali, together with Gurung, Manang, Syang and Marpha, form a closely related subgroup of languages. The unity of this subgroup is well attested by quite a few shared roots and grammatical features, for which as see [SHAFER 1950, 1967], and particularly [NISHI 1983, 1989, 1991]. In the phonemic inventory of PTAM we have a pair of palatal glides : \*y and \*hy and a pair of laterals : \*l- and \*hl-, where the contrast between the members of each pair may be assumed to have been voiceless vs. voiced. On the synchronic level the contrast is reflected by the tonal contrast between high and low tone series. Correspondences of laterals in high tone series among the Tamang group are in fact not as simple as is shown here, and as is seen even in the regular

up a pan-allofamic  
which covers the  
ows.

TABLE I.

## EXAMPLES OF SETS OF COGNATES WITH LATERAL AND PALATAL GLIDE INITIALS

I. LATERALS	TAMR	TAMS	GUR	MAN	THA	SYA	<	PTAM
A. (high tone series)	l-	l	l-	l-	l-	l-/hl-	<	*hl-
1. "to do"	la <sup>1</sup> -	la-	la-	le <sup>1</sup> -	lo-	la <sup>1</sup> -	<	*hla <sup>A/B</sup> -
2. "to light, blaze"	lun <sup>2</sup> -	lun	lu-	--	lun-	--	<	*hlun <sup>B/A</sup>
3. "tongue"	lee <sup>2</sup>	le	le	le <sup>2</sup>	le	hle <sub>2</sub>	<	*hle <sup>B</sup>
B. (low tone series)	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	<	*l-
1. "heavy"	lii <sup>3</sup> -	liih-	lih-	li <sup>3</sup> -	lih	lii <sup>3</sup> -	<	*lii <sup>B</sup> -(<&-it/s)
2. "to lick"	lem <sup>3</sup> -	lehm	leh-	len <sup>3</sup>	lehm	lyen <sup>4</sup>	<	*lem <sup>B</sup>
3. "to pour into"	luu <sup>3</sup> -	luuh-	--	?	luh	--	<	*luu <sup>B</sup> -(<*-uk)
I. PALATAL GLIDES	TAMR	TAMS	GUR	MAN	THA	SYA	<	PTAM
A. (high tone series)	y-	y-	y-	y-	y-	y-	<	*hy
1. "to come down"	?-	yu-	yu-	?	yu-	?	<	*hyu <sup>B</sup>
2. "handle"	luu <sup>1</sup> -	yu	yu-	?	--	?	<	*hyu <sup>A</sup>
3. "light in weight"	ya <sup>2</sup>	ya	yo	nyan <sup>2.1</sup>	ya	ya <sup>1</sup> -	<	*(N-) hyan <sup>A</sup> (2)
4. "sufficient"	ya <sup>2</sup>	ya	yo	nyan <sup>2.1</sup>	ya	ya <sup>1</sup> -	<	*(N-) hyan <sup>A</sup> (2)
5. "hand, arm"	yaa <sup>1</sup>	yaa	yo	yaa <sup>1</sup>	ya	yaa <sup>2</sup>	<	*hyaa <sup>A</sup>
6. "to return"	yay <sup>1</sup> -	--	e-	yee <sup>1</sup> -	ye-	?	<	*hyay <sup>A</sup>
7. "stone"	yu pa <sup>2</sup>	yu pa	yamaa~	yu 2	yumpa	yum <sup>1</sup>	<	*(N-) yuG - Pa B (2)
Gymaa (1)								
D. (low tone series)	y-	y-	y-	y-	y-	y-	<	*y
1. "to go"	year <sup>3</sup> -	yahr-	yaah-	ye <sup>4</sup> -	yoh	(?)yoo <sup>3</sup>	<	*ya <sup>(R<sup>A</sup>/B)</sup>
2. "thief"	yoo <sup>4</sup> -	yoh	yoh	yo <sup>4</sup>	yoh	?	<	*yo <sup>B</sup>
3. "yak bull"	?	yaah-	--	?	yah	?	<	*yaa <sup>B</sup>

NOTES : (1) For the reflex ny- \*(N-) y- is tentatively reconstructed.

(2) Some irregularities are observed in tonal correspondences in SYA. which, however, are not considered in the reconstruction of PTAM tones here.



correspondences of laterals, Syang shows two distinct reflexes, l- and hl-. Thus if we faithfully represent the correspondence in our reconstruction, we have to reconstruct several distinct \*hl's for PTAM. However, since it is not my intention to discuss the reconstruction of PTAM in detail here, I will leave out the irregular or problematic correspondence of laterals.

The PTAM form for "hand, arm" thus can be reconstructed as \*hyaa<sup>A</sup>. As I have repeatedly mentioned in my previous papers, especially in (NISHI 1972), most of PTAM long finals \*-Vi Vi are derived from the earlier or Pre-TAM \*-Vk, only a few from some other closed finals, but PTAM \*-aa specifically from \*-ak. Incidentally, it should be noted that the PTAM contrast in vocalic length is preserved as such only in the Sahu dialect of Tamang though vocalic length is contrastive in all the Tamang group of languages but Thakali, and Mazaudon's Syang and Marpha.

This provenance of PTAM \*-aa thus appears to justify Matisoff's identification of this PTAM form with PTB/PST \*yak. However, as you will easily see from the Table I on the next page, there are several other PTAM forms reconstructable with the initial \*hy- whose cognates or interlingual allofams in some TB languages or in their reconstructed forms in STC (PTB/PST) or PL/PLB have the initial \*l- with or without a prefix.

All the PTAM forms given in the table except "go" have their phonological isofams or (possible) heterofams in other TB languages, as shown below. (Below are listed mostly cognates or allofams from the Himalayan languages (=Matisoff's Himalayish) and Lolo-Burmese, if they are not provided by Benedict in his cognate sets of STC except WT and WB forms. For some others see STC.)

Phonological Isofams / (Possible) Heterofams of the above PTAM Forms :

I. (H = high tone , L = low tone)

"to do" : cf. Nar la<sup>L</sup>- Manchati lho-, Timani lo-; Kanauri lan-, Thebor Len [imp]; cf. also "work" : Bunan len, Rangapa/Darmitya/Chaudangsi/Byangsi lon, Kham en; cf. also WT las "work" probably < \*lans.

"to light, to blaze" : cf. WB lo l "to burn, as fire", Bisu hlo G-, Akha la, etc. <(tentative) PTB \* ( ) lo G1.

"tongue" : cf. STC \*m-lay~\*S-lay (281); WT lce, Manchati, hle, Kanauri le-, Bhunan le, Thebor le, etc.

"heavy" : cf. STC \*s-liy (95); WT lei~ lji-, WB le<sup>2</sup>- < OB liy-, Bunan /Thebor li-, Manchait lhi-, Kanauri lig~ li:g, Rangpa li:d, WT lid-pa "weight, heaviness", etc.

"to lick" : cf. STC \*(s-) lyam (211) "lic; tongue; flame"; cf. Chepang lemh-, Kham lep-.

"to pour into". cf. WT ldug(s)- [pf. ldugs~blugs, fut. blug, imp. blug (s) ~blug- "to pour; to sprinkle; to cast, to found (metals)"] ~blug~lug; lugs "thecasting (of metals)"; WB loG:- "to pour into or upon" < (tentative) PTB \*[ ] lo { G , k}.

## II

"to come down" : cf. STC \*yu (w) "descend" (p. 101); Vayu / Bahing yu-, Metho-Monpa ju-, etc.

"handle" : cf. WT yu-ba.

"light in weight" : cf. stc \* r-ya- G (328); WT ya G-1, metho-Monpa jan-, Tsona-Monpa JAg<sup>13</sup>, etc.

"sufficient" : cf. STC (PLB) \* luk (p. 88); PLB \*lok<sup>L</sup> [MATISOFF 1972], PL \*lok<sup>L</sup> (BRADLEY 1978), WB lok-, etc. < (tentative) PTB \* ( ) lok.

"hand, arm" : cf. STC \*g-lak (86), WT lag-pa, WB lag, etc.

"to return" : cf. Magar hes-, Sunwar let-, Bahing le-, Bantawa la-, cf. also (CMYYCH : 739).

"stone". cf. STC \*r-luG (88) Kaike luG, Kham lu, Magar ihum, Rai-Limbu luG, PLB \* k-lok<sup>n</sup> ~\*k-loG<sup>H</sup> [Matisoff 1972], PLB \*ko-lok [THURGOOD 1978], PL \*k-lok<sup>L</sup> (BRADLEY 1978), WB krok <OB kolk, etc.

"to go" : ?, but see (CMYYCH : 737, 738)].

"thief" cf. WT g-yo~yo "craft, cunning, deceit" (sematic heterofam).

"yak bull", cf. WT g-yak "Bos grunniens".

The PTAM form for "to go" is cited here because there are only those three PTAM forms reconstructable with \*y-. At any rate, the finals of the MAN and THA forms of this cognate set show an irregularity, and we may reconstruct separate protoforms, \*ya<sup>B</sup>- for MAN and THA, and \*yar<sup>A/B</sup>- for TAM and GUR, respectively. Then, the former appears to fall under a group of related TB roots for "to go" and "to come" : cf. PLB \*la<sup>2</sup> "to come (Atsi lc<sup>15</sup> : Akha la -), Bahing la-, Sunwar la-, Hayu la (t) etc. and cf. also PLB \*la<sup>1</sup> "to come" (<WB la<sup>1</sup>- : Atsi l5<sup>51</sup>- : Bisu la- : Akha la- : Hani la<sup>55</sup>-, Sani lae<sup>33</sup>-, Ahi le 22-) etc. The above given roots for "to return" may also belong to this group.

Though PATM \*hayu<sup>A</sup> "handle" and \*yaa<sup>B</sup> "yak bull" may probably be loans from Tibetan, the resultant tones of these words are against our expectation. We would rather expect PTAM \*y- for "handle" and \*hy- for "yak bull"

It is clear that at least two other parallel examples, \*hyoo<sup>B</sup>- < \*-k "sufficient" and \*(N-) hyuG -Pa<sup>B</sup> "stone" where the PTAM initial \*hy- corresponds to a lateral initial with or without a prefix in other TB languages. Thus, unless we deny any intermediate stages in the historical development of the Tamang group, we have to admit the possibility that the earlier forms of these PTAM forms had the lateral initial \*hi-, with one or two prefixal elements, distinct from the one (s) for PTAM \*hi-, which must have caused only the devoicing of this latter initial. (Note, however, the possibility of reconstructing MANA-THA \*ya<sup>B</sup>- for "to go".) As a corollary of this argument, PTAM \*hyaa<sup>A</sup> "hand, arm" at least cannot support the suggested alternative reconstruction of the root of the above panalofamic formula \*lyka, nor the possibility of the palatalization of the lateral initial before a front vowel < \*-ak.

For the justification for his setting up the proto-allofam \*yak, Matisoff further cites such TB forms as Newari yak "armpit", Lepcha yak "tickle" from his Himalayish group, Konyak (Tableng) yak "hand, arm", Tengsa (Yogli) yak "hand", yakphim "arm", Tangsa (Moshang) yokpha "hand" yokhum "arm", Chang yik "hand, arm" (with secondary palatalization of vowel) from his Naga group (=Shafer's Nagish / Benedict's



Konyak / French's Northern Naga), Mru yak "armpit" from his Mruish, Dimasa yau "arm" from his Barish, and Lahu ya "tickle" from his Loloish, together with its derivatives with the initial z- < \*yo in his Kuki-Chin-Naga, Lushai zak "armpit", Zeme mi-zak "side (of body)", Mzieme hezak "id". As for the NN forms, he left out Phom lak "hand, arm" in his set. Indeed, French, who has reconstructed Proto-Northern-Naga, sets up PNN \*glek for "hand". (Note that French considers "hand" as the basic sense of this root, with all other meanings like "arm" and "leaf" as its derivatives.)

If we cross off the forms from the Tamang and Naga groups from the above set, all the remaining form except Dimasa yau are those which "has somehow acquired the semantic increment of 'armpit/tickle/side of the body'" (MATISOFF 1985 : 1985 : 423). (Note that the same holds true of the Chinese cognates given in this set.) Thus, it may be necessary even to reconsider the setting up of this variant \*yak, though not the other prefixed proto-allofams with the root \*yak, for PTB /PST.

To reinforce my argument, I will present another example from one of his proto-roots for "heart, liver" [MATISOFF 1978 : 205].

Matisoff reconstructs three distinct roots for "heart / liver", the second of which is \*(s-) din. This proto-root is reconstructed on the basis of the following cognate set : Kanauri sitG "heart", Kaike diG "id". TAM tiG "id", THA tin (< PATM \*-iG) "id", Sunwar au-di "liver", Bahing diG "id". Hayu diG "did".

It is rather strange that he dares extract Kanauri stin alone out of a group or roots whose initial cluster both Shafer and Benedict have shown to have derived from the earlier \*sn- / & sn- (< \*sn- \*i), and place it in the above cognate set. The same historical development of such clusters can be assumed to have taken place in Qiang (/Ch'siang) also, for which see the following comparative table.

Examples of Kanauri /Qiang st- corresponding to WT sn-/sn- and WB hn-<\*sn-:

Kanauri	Qiang (1)	STC	WT	Wb
"seven" stis	ste	*s-nis (5)	--	-hnac
tis~stis (TGB)				

	stis (TRJ)			
"nose"	sta-	st q	*s-na (101)	sna hna
	ta- (TGB)			
	cf. Kanashi ta			
"gums"	(s) til (h) (TGB)	?	*s/r-nil (3)	s/rnil
"heart"	sti G (TRJ)	sti :ml	*s-niG (267)	sniz
	hnac			
"snot"	?stemti (2)	st xu <sup>r</sup>	* s-nap (102)	snabs
	hnac			
"pus"	stek	----		(rnag) <sup>(3)</sup>
	stag (TGB)			
	stakk (TRJ)			

(TGB) = [BAILEY 1910, 1911], (TRJ) = [T.R. JOSHI 1909], (AFCR) = [A.F.C. READ 1934]

Notes : (1) Taoping dialect [ZMYYYCH 1991].

(2) For Kanauri stemti, \*-P > -m cannot be explained. As -ti means "water", it may be analyzed as (\*sna>) ste- "nose"+ti "water". Even then, -mi remains inexplicable.

(3) cf. Balti (Tibetan) snag (AFCR).

Without the Kanauri form there would be no way to attest the prefix \*s- for this allofamic formula. Then, it would be difficult to explain the voiceless initial of PTAM \*tiG<sup>A</sup> "heart" (TAMR) tin<sup>1</sup> TAMS tin : TAMS tiG : GUR ti : MAN tin<sup>1</sup> : THA tin SYA tiG<sup>2</sup>).

In [NISHI 1977] I have proposed a parallel development of the earlier \*sn- to PTAM \*t- through \*st- in the roots for "heart" and "year" (TAMS) (ti:) tiG : GUR (ti) di : MAN (ti)-tin TAH (ti) tin "this year < PTA \*(ti-) Tin<sup>A</sup> in the Tamang group. (for "year", cf. STC \*S-nin (368), WT -niG, WB -hnac.) But since the initial of "nose" (PTAM \*hna<sup>A</sup>) "snot" (PTAM \*hnap<sup>B</sup>) and "pus: (PTAM \*ak) which follows the same course of development as "heart" in Kanauri and (Qiang, retains its nasality in the Tamang group, the reason for postulating the

provenance of the initial of PTAM "heart" and "year" as \*sn- is much weaker. Even so, it seems to me that PTB \*s-niG will remain the best possible etymology that can be offered for these two roots at present. (Not that "gums" among the Tamang group of languages are not supplied by their sources except TAMR Gil<sup>3</sup>, which may be best regarded as a loan from Tibetan, for which see below.)

If the Kanauri, TAM and THA cognates are deleted from Matisoff's cogate set there remains only Kaike din to connect "heart" with "liver". In Kaike, as in Magar (Yanchok dialect) and Bantawa (Rabi dialect), the place of articulation of the earlier native dental stops appears to have been sporadically pushed backward by the influx of homorganic stops of Nepali loans, hence \*diG > diG. Thus, a modified form of Matisoff's allofamic formula as \*diG, still appears to hold. We should note, however, that the interrelationship between Kaike and the Tamang group are much closer than that between Kaike and Rai-Limbu, the latter of which includes Bahing and Hayu. At present we are not so sure that the relationship of the former two may be close enough to postulate an intermediate proto-language for them, but if this turns out to be the case in the future, which is not unlikely, we will have to assume such a development of the initial as \*sn- > \*zn- > \*zd- > \*d- > d- for Kaike diG, hence either assuming a distinct etymon for Bahing and Hayu diG "liver" or deriving them from an allofam of Matisoff's allofamic formula for "heart/brains/mind"

*	S-	G
	ni-	
	K-	K

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that two dialects or patois of Gurung, Siklis and Tangting in Kaski district are reported to have if (<PTAM \*tiG<sup>A</sup>) meaning both "heart" and "liver" [GLOVER= LONDON 1980], which seems to favor the latter assumption rather than the former.

The above argument, I think, makes it sufficiently clear that we should not neglect to take account of the individual and peculiar development of a language or a group of related languages. We may also claim that the proto-form for each cognate set of the established subgroup preempts any individual member of the set for the reconstruction of the

proto-language of a higher-level subgroup or the highest group (porto-form preemption).

The latter claim is especially pertinent to the cases where cognates among languages of the same subgroup are difficult to identify unless a systematic comparison of suspect cognates has been made beforehand. One such case is found in [MATISOFF 1978 : 211-211, 212-213]. Matisoff suggested that TAMR net and Gyeh, both meaning "liver", come from proto-allofams of the distinct allofamic formulas, \*b-yet<sup>^</sup> \*m-yet or \*{b-m-} yet "heart/liver mind" and the abovementioned one for "heart/Brains/mind", respectively. The TAMR root is considered specifically to come from \*m-yet, while the THA perhaps, so he says, from an open-syllabled variant of the latter formula, i.e. either \*ni or \*s-ni or \*k-ni.

Cognancy of those TAMR and THA roots are certainly not very opaque, but they definitely belong to one and same cognate set, which we will easily see from Table II on the next page.

(The phonemic transcriptions of TAMR, TAMS and MAN adopted here are slightly modified from those of [MAZAUDON 1973B], [CSDPSLN-] [TAYLOR-EVERITT-TAMANG] 1973], [GLOVER 1977] and [HOSHI 1984].

Mazaudon's non-syllabic i in the context C V / is transcribed a y and tone-makes are placed after roots.

Taylor-Everitt's /ny-/ as /G-/ before /i/, and /Gy/ before other vowels in accordance with the interpretation given in [TSTBLN- (HARI-TAYLOR-PIKE) 1970 : 128], which is probably Hari's. It is not sure if /G/ and /Gy/ are contrastive before /e/ in the native vocabulary of TAMS and THA.

Glover's CxV is transcribed as CVh and his accent mark /./ is placed before accented syllables rather than after them.

Hoshi's tones /1 2 3 4 / are marked as /1 2 3 4 / on the basis of their correspondences with Mazaudon's tones. Note that Hoshi does not seem to have examined the distribution of variants in detail, and hence the contrast between /n/ and /ny/ before high front vowels needs reexamination.

The notable features of the reconstructed phonemic system of PTAM are : firstly, either PTAM \*hny- or \*ny- does



not occur before PTAM \*i and perhaps \*e and, secondarily, PTAM \*hn- and \*n- before PTAM \*y, \*i and perhaps \*e may just as well be interpreted as \*hG- and \*G-m respectively, since no contrast obtains between \*n- and \*G- in those environments. I have adopted \*hn- and \*n- for convenience of their comparison with other TB/PTB forms. In order to probe that \*ye and \*e are not contrastive after \*hn/\*n (or \*hn/\*G) it is crucial to indicate that the Gurung reflex of PTAM \*hn-/\*n- is /G/, not /n-/. The only example of the reflex which occurs in "to laugh" is /n/. However, the gap in Table II for Gurung cognate for "liver" can be filled up by the Ghurung Khang dialect (Syangja district) form Gi, where nasalization is probably secondary as in the Ghachok dialect. This dialectal form Gi shows an irregularity with respect to its tonal correspondences as we would expect breathy voice quality (gih) rather than clear voice quality. Thus, unless the initial of /ni/ "laugh" is proved to be an irregularity, we have to assume that \*ye and \*e are contrastive after \*hn/\*n and postulate distinct initials for "to laugh" (\*hny-) and "liver" (\*n). In spite of this, the general pattern of the PTAM phonemic system appears to suggest that they are not in contrast. So far I have tentatively adopted the latter analysis. At any rate, we need some more instances of these reflexes to answer this question.

There remains another question to solve before we definitely claim that there is no contrast between \*hn- \*n- and \*hny- \*ny- before the front vowel \*i in PTAM. Mazaudon records two TAMR forms Gi<sup>2</sup>- "to crush" and a Gi<sup>3</sup>"gums". If these two forms were to be derived from PTAM, we would have to assume either that \*n- and \*ny- occur before \*i in PTAM, or that both \*hn- \*n- and \*hn- \*G- occur before \*i in PTAM. However, these two forms do not seem to originate in PTAM, but to be loans from Tibetan; cf. WT snil- ~nil- "to put down or throw down, to break down, to destroy, houses, rocks etc." with the corresponding intransitive form nil- "to decay, to crumble to pieces, of rocks, mountains etc." and rnil-snil "gums". The tonal correspondences show that TAMR Gi<sup>3</sup> comes from rnil, while TAMR nil from the transitive form snil-.

Thus, the PTAM form for "liver" may be reconstructed as \*net<sup>B</sup>, which certainly looks like Matisoff's allofam \*m-yet above. But without some other instances which would show a parallel development (\*m-y > PTAM \*n-), Matisoff's allofam

**TABLE II**

**SOME COGNATE SETS WITH NASAL INITIALS**

	PTAM	TAMR	TAMS	GUR	MAN	THA	SYA
we(ex.)	*hiii <sup>A</sup>	--	nii	ni	nyi <sup>1</sup>	ni	?
Seven	*hnis <sup>B/A</sup>	nis <sup>2</sup>	nis	ni	nyi <sup>2</sup>	nis	nis <sup>1</sup>
two	*nii <sup>B</sup>	nii <sup>4</sup>	niih	nih	nyi <sup>4</sup>	nih	nii <sup>2</sup>
to laugh (2)	*hnet <sup>B/A</sup>	?	nyet- ni <sup>(1)</sup> -nri <sup>(2)</sup>	nyi <sup>2</sup>	nye-	mre <sup>1-(2)</sup>	
milk; breast	*ne <sup>A</sup>	ne.3~ne <sup>3</sup>	nyeh-	neh-	nyee <sup>3</sup>	gyeh	nii <sup>2</sup>
to milk	*ne <sup>A</sup>	?	nyeh	neh-	--	nyeh	?
liver	*net <sup>B</sup>	net <sup>4</sup>	nyeht	--	--	nyeh	nyee <sup>3</sup>
to chew, to bite	*hnyat <sup>A</sup>	nyat <sup>1</sup>	nyet	ne	nyee <sup>1</sup>	gye-	nyee <sup>1</sup>
to listen to; to obey	*hnyanA-	nyan1-	nyen-	ne-	Nyen1-	nyen-	?
to squeak; to neigh	*nyaa-	nyaa3	gyah-	nhe	--	?	?
to spill	*nyatB	?	nyeht-	neh-	?	nyeh-	?
to ask (question)	*hnyotB	nyot2	nyot-	nyul-	nyi <sup>2</sup>	--	--
apron-like garment worn at back	*nyoyB	nyoi	?	nyio	?	?	?
to melt, to dissolve	*nyuB	nyu4-	nyuh-	--	nyu4-	nyuh	nyuu4
cf.							
full	*hnatB	nat2	net	ne	nee2	--	nan2(3)
to perch/tread on	*natA-	nat3	neht-	neh-	?	--	?
to massage	*nayB-	na4-	nahy-	neh-	?	neh-	?

- NOTES : (1) ni and nri are not verbs, but nouns meaning "laughter". The initial of ni is irregular. We would expect ni here.
- (2) The reconstruction of the final of PTAM \*hnet<sup>B/A</sup> is based on the reflex in nUR. For confirmation we need the correspondening TAMR form. This root may probably be derived from Pre-TAM \*[ ]-N-ryet < \*[ ]-N-ryat (cf. STC \*rya-t (202); WT bzad-~gzad-), where \*N-might be \*m-. We may also assume a fusion of the initial cluster \*N-ry for \*nyu<sup>B</sup> "to melt, to and dissolve" (cf. WT bzu-(perfect) /zu-). Thus, the initials of the nUR doublet nri (?<\*mry-) and SAY mre<sup>1</sup> might reflect this earlier cluster as residues of the change.
- (3) The final is irregular.



\*nik is as much qualified as \*m-yet, as its earlier form. This is not unlikely because we find nik (high level) (Barpak dialect) for "liver" in Ghale, probably related to either of Matisoff's allofams, \*s-nik or \*knik, and Ghale is a closely related language of the Tamang group. (However, note that this statement of the relationship between Ghale and the Tamang group is only tentative. They are certainly very closely related in terms of their shared basic words, nearly 60 % on the basis of Swadesh 100 words, but apart from it we do not know how many other features they have in common.)

It is obvious that Matisoff's *Dictionary and Thesaurus* would supply us with far more PTB (/PST) roots with their allofams than STC has done, and thus would be a great contribution to the historical studies of TB (/ST). However, it would not mark the end, but rather the renewed starting line, of our historical studies of TB.

# SOME USES OF SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING RESEARCH

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## ABSTRACT

A number of second language (L2) learning research studies have been made during the second half of the twentieth century. For quite a sizable number of such researchers, the interest in L2 learning research is chiefly in its potential for application. The present paper adopts the same position with regard to L2 learning research and examines pieces of research with possible relevance outside L2 learning in the fields of second language teaching and developmental psychology.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

To many people the uses of second language (L2) learning research are beside the point; they feel it is an area that can stand on its own as an academic subject with its own internal rationale unsupported by other disciplines. To others, however, the interest in L2 learning research is chiefly in its potential for application. This paper adopts the latter position and looks at some pieces of research with possible relevance outside L2 learning in the fields of second language teaching and developmental psychology.

## 2. L2 Learning research and language teaching

Let us start examining the relationship between L2 research and language teaching. There seem to be three main periods in the development of L2 research, each of which has had a slightly different relationship to language teaching.

The first period ran from the nineteen-fifties to the mid-sixties and was dominated by the ideas of language teaching

theorists such as Robert Lado(1964) and Nelson Brooks (1960). Because of this the ideas found a ready application in the classroom and were responsible for the flowering of the audiolingual method, many of whose techniques such as pattern practice are still found in language teaching today.

The second period covered the mid-sixties to the mid-seventies. During this period L2 learning started to be investigated directly but it was still interpreted in terms of a methodology and conceptual apparatus drawn from first language acquisition, such as the importance of syntax and the concept of the systematic nature of learner languages, expressed for example by Mcneil (1966) for L1 acquisition, and utilized in L2 learning most importantly by Selinker(1972) as inter language. This period had a predominantly negative effect on language teaching. Teachers were told that their ideas of language learning were inadequate but were not by and large given any coherent methodology to put in place of their audiolingual techniques, unless it were to abandon their students to unedited spontaneous language so that their natural learning abilities could operate effectively- a view associated with Newmark and Reibel (1986). Few, however, accepted this alternative.

The third period runs from about mid seventies and it may be called the period of models, even if few of the proposals that have been made are models in a scientific sense. While proposals such as Krashens (1977) Monitor model have stimulated considerable discussion among researchers, they still, in Europe at any rate, have had little impact on the average language teacher nor have they led to any coherent overall theory of teaching. Occasionally the research can be used to justify existing teaching techniques: grammatical explanation can now be justified in some sense as exploiting the students monitor; communication games can be claimed to help the students' communicative strategies. But this is largely post hoc justification of standard techniques, not the discovery of new ones. Indeed, the major innovation in techniques have come from the wave of alternative methods based on a quite different humanistic tradition, such as the Silent way suggested by Gattegno (1972) or confluent Language Teaching described by Galyean(1976).

The question is: why is this so? One reason may be the emphasis that L2 learning still places on syntax. Undoubtedly the main movement in language teaching in Europe has been towards a specification of the learners communicative needs: the syllabus is no longer specified in terms of grammatical rules and lists of vocabulary and situations but in terms of the functions the learners need to use language for, the notions they wish to express, the



topics they want to talk about, and so on, best exemplified in the work of the Council of Europe (Trim et al., 1990).

Most of the current models of L2 learning have little to say about this. Partly this is because they mostly accept the centrality of syntax; the Monitor model for instance, only seems meaningful in terms of syntax. But however sophisticated our discussions of syntax may be, the language teacher may dismiss them as irrelevant; it simply doesn't matter how learners acquire syntax as their main task is learning to communicate. To a great extent L2 research has not caught up with the change in the paradigm from syntax towards language as a system of communication, found in present-day L1 research and teaching. It might seem perhaps that the strategy model or the conversational analysis model have to say to the teacher because both seem to deal with wider aspects than syntax. At a general level this must be true and the idea of communicative strategy goes some way towards justifying techniques such as communication games and role play.

But more specific guidance is still lacking. This may be because of a certain incompatibility between the two approaches. Language teachers talk of 'language function', L2 researchers talk of 'language strategies'. This goes deeper than just terminology. To the teacher a language function is often something that can be isolated and taught separately; it is an item like a word or grammatical structure. To the L2 researcher the function exists within the negotiation of conducting the conversation and these have to be continually modified by the interaction with the other persons' strategies. The L2 strategy research has thus a dynamic concept of conversation as a process of give and take; L2 teaching has a static structural approach.

### 3. Harmony between L2 research and language teaching

The question before us now is: How can these two-L2 research and L2 teaching-be brought together? One possible point of contact is the idea of speech acts. Communicative syllabuses make extensive use of this idea in one shape or another, but they do not usually attempt to link speech acts to the negotiation of conversation. Strategy models of L2 learning also require some idea of the purpose of the participants in a conversation. It seems that it might be fruitful to attempt to reconcile these two approaches. There are, however, grave problems. The initial problem is that the basis for considering speech acts within conversation has been ignored within linguistics until recently and during the nineteen-eighties, we began to see discussions by linguistics such as Levinson (1991) and Ferrara (1980) as to the feasibility of using the idea of speech acts in the analysis of conversation. During the last ten years

or so, researchers (Schidt, 1980; Rintell, 1979; Cook, 1986a and 1986b) tried out some basic work in this area and reported on work in progress with speech acts in L2 learning.

It is fairly established by now (see Clark, 1979; Cook, 1986a, 1986b and 1986c; Meara, 1986; Smith and Kollorman, 1986) that speech acts do have some psychological reality to L2 learners. It seems that there may be useful results to be gained by pursuing this line of research integrating speech acts with L2 learning in specific ways. One can now at least say that it is not an entirely arbitrary whim to use speech acts and adjacency pairs in second language teaching methodology since they appear to have some reality to the learner. Supposing this can be established more positively, the next stages of application are to establish which speech acts and which adjacency pairs are important and to examine the tricky problem of whether these are transferred from one language to another. This type of work can form the basis for syllabuses based on actual information about the use of language in conversation; it can define the speech acts and adjacency pairs that are needed and suggest which of them have to be stressed.

Another level of application is through teaching techniques. The recognition of speech acts as important to teaching means that we need to examine the demands of the classroom and the techniques through which they can be taught. It may be for instance, that the virtue of pattern practice was not the learning of grammatical structures, as its advocates supposed, but the learning of adjacency pair relationship between the input the student hears and the output he or she has to produce (see Cook 1986a and 1986b and 1986c). Indeed this line of thinking has already led to a number of textbooks for teaching English as a foreign language (Cook, 1979 and 1980; Brumfit, 1984; Dubin and Olshtain, 1986; Wright, 1987). Thus even if the applications are broad and general, this type of research has already yielded fruits.

### 4. L2 research and developmental psychology

Let us now turn to the other area of potential application of L2 research- developmental psychology. Here L2 research can make a distinctive contribution to some areas. We can take the example of cognitive development. Here it is notoriously difficult to separate the effects of language and cognition: the phenomenon that we are explaining as language development may in fact be due to cognitive development, and vice versa. It would be highly useful if we could, so to speak, disengage the two processes of language and cognitive development and look at people whose level of thinking is out of step with their level of language. Clark (1971) Cook (1977) and Jordens (1986), for example, carried out some studies in this area:

further studies are still needed to arrive at some definite conclusions.

Let us also look at a more precise point of cognitive development that can be tested through L2 research. This is the development of memory in the child. Though much remains controversial, two broad statements can be made about memory development: (a) that the capacity of the child's memory increases with age ; and (b) that the child only gradually acquires adult memory strategies (see Hagen, 1971; Crystal 1986. Some researchers (Daehler *et al* 1974, Cook 1977; Ringbom 1986; Wode 1986) investigated this area and found that younger children rehearse by repeating each item they hear several times-a repeating strategy; older children rehearse by combining several of the items they have heard together- a combining strategy. Today the main developmental shift is therefore from a repeating strategy to a combining strategy.

But what we need to know clearly is whether this is a question of cognitive or language development. It might be that learners need a certain cognitive level before they can effectively use a combining strategy, or it might be that learners need a certain amount of language development in a particular language, as for instance what Stols and Tiffany (1972) found, occurs with the syntagmatic paradigmatic shift in word associations. Since adult L2 learners are cognitively mature but at a low level of language, here again L2 research may provide the crucial test. An experiment was therefore carried out (Ornstein *et al.*, 1975) to see if rehearsal strategies are transferred to a memory task in a new language rather than relearned from the beginning. The conclusion that these researchers arrived at suggests that the combining strategy is indeed transferred to a new language, and that it is part of cognitive rather than language development. L2 research can thus be used as a kind of touchstone to test ideas in developmental psychology (see Cook, 1986c; Nation and McLaughlin, 1986).

## 5. Conclusion

To conclude, this paper has traced some of the links between L2 research and the areas of language teaching as well as developmental psychology. Whatever the faults of earlier researchers in second language learning, they saw themselves in a broader context; in the present period of L2 research researchers are in danger of isolating themselves from their neighbours and underestimating the importance of their potential contribution outside their own area. They should not forget that their research can have at least two far-ranging consequences. One is as a contribution to the study of the human mind because of the unique

nature of L2 learning. The other is as a contribution to the learning and teaching of languages language teaching being a worldwide enterprise. The researchers must remember that the insights from their field of enquiry can influence the lives for better or worse of the vast number of people.

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## Script for the new age

# NAVANAGARI

- S.B. SHRESTHA

### Search for a Scientific Script

The efforts to develop a common script for the world have remained unsuccessful. In this context Roman and Devanagari script may receive linguists' consideration as scientific scripts. Comparatively Roman is suitable for technical equipment but is not scientific because of its unsystematic spelling<sup>1</sup>. Devanagari is mostly phonetic but does not suit the modern machines. Invention of a phonetic typewriter in U.S.A. has proved Roman unfit for machines. So there is no option but to consider the importance of Devanagari. In 1963, Ford Foundation U.S.A. launched a project to improve the shortcomings and make the Devanagari a common script for all languages of the world but this has remained far from successful.<sup>2</sup>

The American scientists have invented a typewriter that works on vibration of speech-sound. Each sound has its own variation giving a separate graph. The unsystematic English spelling is the main obstacle to use this new machine. It has been of no use to any script in the world either. It can be used only when there is only one phoneme for a sound. Basically Devanagari is based on this principle, but there are some exceptions which create difficulties in the use of this scientific invention. The problem of Devanagari in comparison to Roman is quite less, and there is much hope for improving it for this phonetic typewriter.

### Problems of Devanagari

Short **ikar**, **anuswar**, **matra** and **chandravindu** are not in phonetic order, and these conjunct letters taking quite new shapes (क्ष, च, ज्ञ, द ह, ष, य ह्य म्ह) and the phonetic machine does

not accept the **visharg matra**. It is difficult to learn vowel letters इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ऋ and matras in comparison to vowels आ, ओ, औ and its matras. The vowel signs overlap the letters. न has no distinct sound of its own and क्ष, ज्ञ, ऋ have different regional pronunciations.

Consonant letter र is most problematic because it has seven forms (र ह रू) for full and half letters and the ukar matras attached to it. The other consonant letters also are categorised in three groups : those with straight line on the right side, those with curve on the right side and those without them. There is no clear-cut vowel-sign of c in a few consonants, which makes it necessary to have four ways of making half letters (vowelless forms). Except the above problems, Devanagari is fully phonetic and can be successfully operated in the phonetic typewriter.

### Efforts in India to Improve Devanagari

When the Christian missionaries brought the printing press first (September 6, 1556) in India, they tried to use it for Indian scripts also.<sup>3</sup> The writing system prevalent then needed more than 1,00,000 fonts for Devanagari printing and this number further increased due to the conjunct forms of consonants written up-down together.<sup>4</sup> It was quite difficult for a compositor to handle such a huge number of fonts. The Christian missionaries then advocated vigorously to introduce Romans script for all the Indian languages saying that Indian scripts were not scientific and convenient. This inspired the Indian scholars to start an anti-Roman movement and necessitated the improvement in Devanagari system.

Maharashtra (India) took the lead to improve Devanagari. Ram Chandra Bikhaji Gunjekar from Maharashtra (1874) was the first to suggest that the matras in Devanagari be placed on the right side of the letters on linear basis. But his effort was not followed. Balgangadhar Tilak, also from Maharashtra (1904), was quite successful in improving the fonts. Most consonant conjuncts were excluded and instead left to right pattern for them was accepted which resulted in reducing the font number to a great extent but still a few conjuncts taking new shapes were kept in use.<sup>5</sup> Later Karn system was applied to the matras which needed only 225 fonts with the Defect of breaking of up or down matras. Smaller printing presses are using this system but the bigger ones prefer the



system of Akhand letters needing 825 fonts. These two systems are prevalent until now.

Even before the independence of India, there were efforts to reform Devanagari. Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Rashtra Bhasha Simplification of vowel system on Sawarkar method to get all the vowels by adding matras to the letter ञ (अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ), Placing matras to the right side instead of overlapping (अ ना, चा द) and minimizing conjunct consonants were the main features of discussion. Some scholars suggested to use Mahapran sign ण as in फ to reduce the font numbers. There were other suggestions too, but all of these could not get popular support. After the independence of India in 1947 the efforts of provincial governments of U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra to bring Hraswa ikar sign on the right side (ी) attaching half straight line to the letter could not prove successful. The only result was the avoidance of some conjunct forms from the consonants. Thereafter many efforts on individual, institutional and governmental bases were made to make the script of suitable for the typing and printing works, but no effort was made to make it fully phonetic.

In 1966, Indian Government standardized Devanagari.<sup>6</sup> The result is that the other forms of 12 letters have been abandoned to accept अ, ऋ, ख, छ, झ ण, ध, भ, ल, रा, क्ष, ज्ञ. Everything is on the old pattern except the removal of the conjunct forms of consonants, but क्ष, न्न, ज्ञ, and श्र have been retained. Sawarkar system was not accepted as according to the scholars जि = ज + इ so becomes ए and झु = झ + उ so becomes औ, and it goes against the grammatical rules. They have not been even liberal to accept Gujarati for its Devanagari equipment ख. The Hindi speaking area in the Northern India insisted in introducing Devanagari scripts in all the Indian languages, but this brought only adverse effect in not only the Southern India but in other parts too.<sup>7</sup> Acharya Binova Bhave pleaded for a compromising formula "Devanagari also" instead of "Only Devanagari". Now, in India, Devanagari reform is not an important issue. Their main aim is the expansion of Devanagari.

Kamala Prasad Sagariya (1947) suggested that straight line be added to a few letters on their right side.<sup>8</sup> But none

took interest. Likewise, Om Prakash Bhatia of Delhi (1971) first introduced the matra of c in all the consonants.<sup>9</sup> But, as it was completely a new script, looking like the South Indian one, it was not a success. However these efforts have given the idea that the matra of c is the most essential thing to bring out with all the consonants. This eliminates all problems of Devanagari but the shape of the letters must resemble it.

Here, many questions arise. If 12 letters can have two or more forms, and one of them is standardized, why cannot this be done to other 11 letters क, ड, छ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ द, फ, ह, र that do not have straight line on their right side? If all conjunct consonants can be dropped why cannot the pronunciation of क्ष, ज्ञ, and श्र be standardized on the line of Sanskrit grammar? Why should we have exceptional forms of / and many ways of making half letters? The government of India has delated from its typewriter, but it is still in use. Why not replace the न्न by न since it has no distinct pronunciation? Why should we insist on the overlapping of matras since in the past they have changed their angular position? Examples of this can be traced in Bengali, Marathi, Newari and Gurumukhi scripts, quite different from the original Brahmī matra system. Why is it essential to cut the headline of श्र and न्न letters since they have been provided with knot sign?

Whether the logic not to accept Sawarkar's vowel systems goes correct on grammatical lines is to be examined too. Devanagari matras are attached only to the full letter that already has vowel c with it.<sup>9</sup> This is thought to be silent<sup>10</sup> as we cannot attach matras to the vowelless consonants (क्षि, कु, ने) Why cannot the same be applied to the Sawarkar system? Here we must be clear that Sawarkar was not the first person to introduce this to simplify the vowel system. He had only tried to apply it to Devanagari. Long before he advocated, the vowel system was in use in Tibetan script, Kirat script,<sup>11</sup> Lepacha Script,<sup>12</sup> Khamti script and Ahom script,<sup>13</sup> beginning the 8th century in India. There are some old texts whose authors have used the vowel system by adding matras to the root letter c.<sup>14</sup> However, the traditional and conservative nature of north India could not accept this revolutionary concept. It was first officially accepted in Tibet followed by others in the Himalayan belt from Nepal to Manipur, under the influence of Buddhism.

Script is not a property of any particular religion, race or country nor can it be forced through one's personal whims. Now, it is a matter of common interest, and for the benefit of the mankind we must be liberal to accept easier, and move practical and scientific system. Devanagari itself has undergone many changes and still more are essential to make it simpler and fully phonetic.<sup>14</sup>

### Nevanagari Script

34 years ago the question of reducing the letters of Devanagari inspired me to think over it. But it was only 4 years back that I could get a solution to simplify it, without having major change in the original shape. This is the most important thing that the Devanagari zone wants to happen.<sup>15</sup> A feeling goes that Devanagari needs improvement. If this could be done with slight modification retaining the original Devanagari shape it would get wider acceptance.

Keenly observing the development of letters from Brahmi to Devanagari, I reached the conclusion that **matras** and letters have changed their angular position (f f f t t = क कि कु कू के कै को कौ) and that there are a few letters with their original Brahmi forms while a few other have completely got new shapes न्न = न and ऋ = ऋ. However there are some old forms -Om k| etc.) still prevalent. There are irregularities for some letters (च दृ दृ य ज ज रू रु. ), the half circle on the right side of the letters न and ऋ have no separate value and some letters in different language- scripts get different phoneme (न म ऋ) The size of the letters are varying. Gujarati has avoided the headline, and only for the different names for their scripts. The most important thing with the Devanagari script is the addition of vertical straight line on the right side of most letters, which is not so much developed in other scripts of Brahmi family. Most recently न and ऋ received new shapes with straight line on their right side but many other lack it. Only if all the consonants possess it, will the attachment of the vowel signs to the vowelless consonants be possible which is grammatically required. Suffice it to say though superior to other scripts, Devanagari is still in process of development and taking the final shape. so cannot yet claim to be fully scientific or phonetic.

I have travelled Maharashtra, Gujarat, Hariyana, Rajasthan, Delhi and U.P. meeting different scholars, script reformers, government authorities and experts in computer science. I have lectured in some of the universities in India and Nepal to demonstrate my findings. I even tried to collect the publications on Devanagari reform. All this was very much encouraging. I got some useful suggestions too to improve my script<sup>18</sup>, which helped me finalize Devanagari script to present in the shape of a paper to the Royal Nepal Academy, Kathmandu two years ago.

### Features of Navanagari

I have tried to solve the problems of Devanagari making it simpler for use in not only the present available technical equipment but also in the phonetic typing. It will be a revolution to get type-setting on the speed or speech-sound, instead of doing it now with fingers. In all aspects it will supercede Roman. It is based on the following features :

- (1) Only eleven letters (क ङ छ ट ठ ड ढ द फ ह र ) do not have straight line on their right. We must have the uniformity by giving them new shapes.
- (2) The straight line on the right side of the letters represents the vowel अ, which can be removed to make half letters for completely avoiding conjunct consonants.
- (3) न should be replaid by न
- (4) The pronunciation of न न and ऋ should be standardized according to the Sanskrit grammar (न न र्ति).
- (5) Vowel signs should be modified on linear basis to suit the vowel and consonant letters equally.
- (6) Vowel system will be achieved by adding matras to the vowel indicator sign c.
- (7) The matras should be attached to the vowelless forms of the consonants.
- (8) All letters should be of equal height and width.



On the above basis, I have given new shapes to the 15 consonant letters and modified a few matras. Actually this is an improvement on tradition Devanagari system.

### Consonant

- क has been converted to क by angular change.
- Seven letters (क ख ट ठ ड ढ द) have been provided with straight line on n pattern. The half straight line in the neck comes on the right side with slight modification giving the shapes.
- For फ and ह, original Brahmi forms (फ ज) have been accepted adding straight line on their right side as in प.
- for र, Assamese letters (र) has been modified.
- Though the four letters ब ग ण श have straight line on their right side, they are not attached to the left parts. So for having uniformity with other letters ज from Gujarati, ग from Newari, न from Bengali and श from Devanagari > have been adopted.

Devanagari

Navanagari

झ त ल स झ त ल स

### Vowels

Vowel system has been simplified to make it linear. By adding **matras** to the vowel indicator sign c are made the vowel forms. No vowel sign overlaps the letter.

- Hraswa ikar** (ऀ) has been designed to bring it upon the right side (ऀ)
- ँ and ऎ matras are converted into ँ .
- ॠ ॡ matras are modified to ॠ ॡ by slight angular change.

This bring the existing vowel system to अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ . The difference between the Sawarkar system and

other similar systems in the Himalayan belt is that their matras are attached to full from of c and consonants, whereas in Navanagari the case is different.

### Anuswar, Visharg and Chandravindu

**Anuswar** and **Visharg** are actually denoting consonant sounds, so they have been replaced by the related letters (ङ ण न म ह ) **Chandravindu** has been designed to come on the right side in phonetic order - " \_ and is the same in all matras.

### The Letter ऋ

ऋ is actually a combination of dirgha र consonant and vowel ऀ. So by putting a diacritical mark on Navanagari and adding ऀ we get ऋ for Devanagari ऋ Diacritical marked letter of Navanagari ऋ is actually a dirgha forms of र which is not in Northern Indian scripts. but it is in the South Indian scripts as part of their alphabet.

### Sounds of other Languages

In Hindi a dot mark is added below the letters for two sounds ड ढ . For Arabic sounds the same is added to the root consonants making क ख ग ज डा फ. The same method is applied to them in Navanagari. For Marathi also a dot below n is used in Navanagari (न) . For other distinct sounds of foreign language we can add some other diacritical marks to the root letter and use them in Navanagari system.

We do not have Hraswa ए and Hraswa ओ matras in Devanagari though we use it in speech. These are used in South Indian languages. English sound as in 'doctor' is lacking in Devanagari. We may add the diacritic marks in Navanagari (ॠ ॡ) .

### Technical Achievements of Navanagari

Navanagari system is purely on linear basis and it is fully phonetic. Basically it needs 33 letters and 11 vowel signs. A few diacritical marks are required in it. The present Devanagari typewriter can easily be accommodated in Navanagari. As Navanagari will need not more than two times to type a complete letter it will be faster than Devanagari

which needs as much as four times. In this case, Navanagari can easily compete with the Roman typing. Navanagari has all the phonetic qualities of Devanagari and technical qualities of linear typing and typesetting of the Roman. The manual composing will no more need 825 fonts which is the case with the Roman composing. In computer it will work similar to Roman or even prove superior to it or to any other script. What is more, it is fully phonetic to use the phonetic typewriter. This will definitely revolutionize the script field as the future depends on computer performance.

### Implementation of Navanagari

The Navanagari script has proved easier in the demonstrations done in the universities and school classes in Nepal and India. Even the students of class 2 have followed it within just half an hour. Anyone who knows Devanagari can follow it in just 15 minutes. The teachers will need no special training. Writing it can be used with headline or without it. Besides those trained in Navanagari script can easily read the Devanagari texts.

I see no difficulty to accept Navanagari script in place of Devanagari. For confidence experiments can be made before its formal implementation. It might be added to the Nepali course of study with in university and school levels. This script can be used as the medium of all instructions, and accepted as the official script of Nepal.

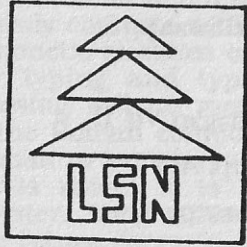
For languages lacking their own script both in Nepal and outside, Navanagari can be introduced. It will bear better results.

### Notes

1. Gunakar Mule – Akshar Katha pp 259.
2. Bapurao S. Naik - Typography of Devanagari Vo. I pp 49
3. Bambai Bidyapith Rajat Jayanti Granth 1963.
4. Bapurao S. Naik - Typography of Devanagari Vo. I  
Chapter VIII Early printing in Indian Script.
5. Om Prakash Bhatia - Nagari Lipi Samasya Aur Samadhn pp 23
6. Bapurao S. Naik - Typography of Devanagari Vo. II

7. Dendriya Hindi Nideshalaya (Government of India)  
Devanagari Lipi Tatha Vartani Ka Manakikaran pp 3.
8. Gunakar Mule – Akshar Katha pp 258.
9. Bapurao S. Naik - Typography of Devanagari Vo. II
10. Om Prakash Bhatia - Bharatiya Saman Lipi Ara
11. Om Prakash Bhatia -Bhasa Lipi Aur Bharat pp 69
12. Acharya Dharmandea Nath- Nagari Lipi Me Swaradhar  
Nagari Sangam (Jan-April 1978)
13. Hemraj Shakya - Nepal Lipi Prakash pp 55. 66 and 60
14. Iman Singh Chemjong -Lepcha-Nepali-English Dictionar pp ३३  
and ३ G. B. Mainwaring and A. Grunwedel
15. Iswar Chandra Rahi- Lipi Lekhan Kala Ka Itihas Vol. I pp 167  
and 169
16. Dr. N.C. Joglekar and Dr. Bhagawan Das Tiwari  
- Devanagari Lipi Swaroop Vikas Aur Samasyane.  
(Bambai Sarkar Ki Lipi Sudhar Samiti Dwara Marathi wa  
Gujarati Lipyon Ka Sudhar Sambandhi Abhimat) pp 379
17. Lakhanawi Devanagari Lipi Sudhar Parishad  
Keshari (Magazine) Poona (11 December, 1953)





LSN Newsletter

## ACTIVITIES OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL

1991-1992

### New Executive Committee formed

A general meeting of the Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) held on April 30, 1992, unanimously elected the new executive committee of the Society for 1992-1993. The office bearers in the newly elected executive committee are :

Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar	President
Mr. Jai Raj Awasthi	Vice President
Mr. Chandra P. Sharma	Secretary / Treasurer
Mr. Manfred G. Treu	Joint Secretary
Mr. K.B. Maharjan	Joint Secretary
Ms. Pramila Rai	Member
Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha	Member
Mr. Sajag Rana	Member

The Editorial Board of the LSN for the new two-year term consists of :

Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay	Chief Editor
Mr. Madhav P. Pokharel	Editor
Ms. Renu Lama	Editor
Mr. Bijaya K. Rauniyar	Editor
Mr. Simon Gautam	Editor

Professor D.P. Bhandari presided over the election commission.

### Talk Programme

Dr. Anuradha Sudharsan gave a talk on Relative Clauses in Sanskrit on June 28, 1992 at the Campus of International Languages in Kathmandu. The talk programme was attended by LSN members and invited guests.

### Abstract of the paper:

The paper looked at relative clauses in Sanskrit in the light of word order typology. Lehmann, in particular, argued that early Vedic Sanskrit was basically a verb-final language and possessed only prenominal relative clauses; but, he went on to suggest that late Vedic Sanskrit underwent a typological relative clauses, the pattern of gapping etc., evident in *Satapathabrahmana* and classical Sanskrit. However, according to Lehmann this shift towards a VO characteristics was not completed as Sanskrit came under the influence of an OV family of languages, namely, the Dravidian. So Sanskrit moved back to its original OV structure.

The paper argued that the presence of both prenominal and postnominal relative clauses in Vedic Sanskrit did not reflect a typological shift in Sanskrit. Besides, the fact that Indic possessed both prenominal and postnominal relative clauses right from Rigvedic times through the classical and the modern periods invalidated Lehmann's hypothesis. One had to look at how the relative clauses worked, to explain the so-called 'inconsistency' in Sanskrit. Word order has always been quite flexible in

Sanskrit: the nominal modifiers can occur before or after the head they modify. Relative clauses also enjoy this flexibility, in that they could occur prenominal or postnominally. However, there is one restriction. No relative clause can occur internally within the main clause. This constraint on clause internal embedding interacts with different constituent orders in the main clause, motivating postnominal and extraposed relative clauses. In this paper a psycholinguistic explanation was proposed for this phenomenon.

## Bibliography on Nepalese Linguistics Published

The LSN published *A Bibliography of Nepalese Languages and Linguistics* edited by Mr Sueyoshi Toba on the eve of the 12th annual conference of the Society in November 1991. Mr. Toba a linguist from Japan has lived in Nepal and studied the Rai-Kirati languages of eastern Nepal. This bibliography has enlisted the publications and research works of some 448 linguists and scholars in areas like phonology, syntax, semantics, dialect surveys, discourse analysis, language classification and lexicography in Nepali and other languages spoken in Nepal. The LSN appreciated the diligence of Mr Toba for compiling the bibliography and for his proposal of its publication by the Linguistic Society of Nepal.

Toba, Sueyoshi 1991. *A Bibliography of Nepalese Languages and Linguistics*. Kathmandu : Linguistic Society of Nepal. (pp. 120).

## Highlights of the 12th Annual Conference

The two-day 12<sup>th</sup> annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal was held at the CEDA hall in Tribhuvan University, November 26-27, 1991. Some 80 linguists from Nepal and abroad attended the conference in which 14 papers were presented in Syntax and Semantics, Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.

The conference was inaugurated by the then Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Ram Hari Joshi and the inaugural

session was chaired by the Executive Director of CEDA Prof. Soorya Lal Amatya.

The President of LSN Mr. Abhi Subedi delivered his presidential address highlighting the goals and objectives of the Society. The Secretary of LSN Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma welcomed the participants and guests to the conference.

The following list presents a glimpse of papers read out during the conference as well as the contributors making the presentation :

### Session : I Syntax and Semantics

- Mr. Kashi Nath Tamot : "The Real Interpretation of Dhilli from the Gopalrajavamshavali"  
 Dr. Werner Winter : "System and Parasystems in Natural Languages."  
 Mr. Sueyoshi Toba : "Verb Agreement in Khaling"

### Session II Applied Linguistics

- Ms. Susan Davies : "Innovation in Testing : The Practical Constraints on the Theory".  
 Dr. Sunil K. Jha : "Some Uses of Second Language Learning Research"  
 Ms. Christine Clinch : "Teacher Development Through Teacher's Resource Centre in Kenya"

### Session : III Sociolinguistics

- Mr. Arun Kumar Gupta : "Saussure's Logocentrism and Derrida's Differance".  
 Dr. Martin Gaenszle : "Degree of Formality in Mewahang Ritual Language".  
 Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay : "An Enquiry into the Registers of Nepali."



Mr. Manfred G. Treu : "Literature with Traps ?  
Textcritical Notes on an Essay  
of "Laxmi - nibandha-  
Samgraha".

**Session : IV Syntax and Semantics**

Dr. Madhav Pokharel : "Compound Verbs in Nepali".  
Mr. S.B. Shrestha : "Navanagari : Script for the  
New Age".  
Mr. Dan Raj Regmi : "Transformation in Nepali  
Clause".  
Dr. Yoshio Nishi : Several Remarks on Matisoff's  
Cognate Identification in Some  
of His Pan-Allofamic Formulae  
from the Himalayas."

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
DELIVERED AT  
THE 12<sup>th</sup> ANNUAL  
CONFERENCE OF THE  
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL**

**- ABHI SUBEDI**

President of LSN

Ladies and gentlemen,

The role of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in introducing the element of change in the modality of the University function in the last twelve years is the subject of my talk this morning. This subject requires a brief discussion about the structure of the University and the objectives with which it was established a little over three decades ago.

The University has two basic contexts about its origin. It was established as a memorial. The benefactors had the desire for building up a peaceful cautari, and the purpose was a pious one. Though the country needed a University of its own considering the number of people who wanted to get higher education in the country, and also the manpower required to fill up the various bureaucratic positions, and

above all in the modernization of the country by training its manpower according to its needs and style which was not possible through affiliations with the Indian universities, it was not prepared in terms of doing the necessary homework for it. The Prime Minister of the first democratically elected government and the king who dissolved his cabinet and parliament later on, were both preoccupied with greater historical worries than the scope of the University would allow. The 30 years of the University reflected these worries in the forms of the tension between the forces of freedom and control at the University. The government was not fully prepared at the time of its establishment, and the benefactors had no other ideas except keeping the University a peaceful memorial. The University in the following decades remained a peaceful place without plans.

The University tried to introduce new plans. The New Education System Plan was an attempt to introduce a new working plan. But the University could not accept it. The plan was a fiasco. The University, however, did not remain fully insulated. The forces of changes affected the working pattern, especially its ways of looking at the world of education, and its relevance to a society that is basically traditional and grappling with the problems of the basics in the areas of development. To a certain extent the University responded to the demands of time. The research centres came into existence. A substantial number of research programmes were conducted on the basis of the primary and secondary data as required by the research objectives. Various departments enrolled research scholars; degree level students wrote theses in lieu of the written examinations.

However, these changes did not alter the structure of the University education system basically, because the University did not either let these changes make inroads into the University, or what should have been the core of the University educational curricula remained on the fringe. These research centres and the research activities remaining on the fringe, indicated a tendency to use the University per

se as a springboard for jumping on to other positions in the government service and political appointments. The symbolic and semiotic value of the University was the target of the exploitation. Politically, the University was exploited because it had a structure, a network of campuses all over the Kingdom: a network of organizational and cultural communication, but the pattern of the exploitation was not academically useful. The University's name was exploited by the research networks. So, the University was exploited by the same ideals and methodologies that it had set out to pursue in order to cope with the challenges of the modern times.

The University expected to work in a free atmosphere-free from the external interferences, and non-academic interests. But the free atmosphere was ironically useful for those who wanted to exploit it for their own advantages. Similarly, the University's research networks used the University and evolved their working pattern as the NGO's. The University did not benefit academically, for the research findings didn't directly contribute to the teaching learning process. The research and the teaching activities were out of step. The gulf was widened everyday, and the researchers and the teachers regarded each other as representing different status within the University structure in terms of their income and access to resources in various forms. The University did not benefit financially because it was not regarded as a beneficiary in any case. The University on the contrary had to support these research networks, these NGO structures, from its own resources.

The pattern of the exploitation has continued to remain at the same level even in recent years. The forces of change should have altered the situation and changed the modality of the exploitation and made it possible for the University to benefit from its ideals and working methodologies. Now the University has a communicative and organizational network. The network is exploited for other purposes so far. But if that trend continues the University will very seriously suffer. It



may even be in a position to close indefinitely. To assess the seriousness of the consequences if we are not careful, we should turn to the reality the University has to face. Now the University gives admission to about 85 thousand S.L.C. graduates in the first year certificate level alone this year. This number indicates both the University's strength, and also its doom if the network of the institutions and the organizations are used disrupting or dismantling the University itself. Similarly, if the University's name is exploited consistently and unscrupulously for setting up NGO's in the academic camouflage, the University will never benefit from the external donations, nor will it know its priorities in terms of the general academic and pedagogic needs.

The University's resistance to change and its desire to remain at the old level supported continually by its old bureaucrats, and their antique **ains** and **niyams** principally set up to trap the teachers and students, are responsible for this state of obscurantism. The peaceful memorial and the no-planning syndromes continue to haunt the University even today.

The Linguistic Society of Nepal has introduced a concept of change. a pattern of the involvement of the trained scholars within the academic structure by proposing a department of linguistics and its theoretical and applied working modalities, the forms of which can be discussed together. But here I would like to briefly introduce, the role that the Linguistic Society of Nepal has played in this state of affairs.

One of the principal changes in the old academic structure of the University appeared in the awareness about the teaching of languages by in-corporating linguistic knowledge. New avenues of language studies, literature interpretation and their related pedagogies opened up in the last couple of decades. The Linguistic Society of Nepal was the manifestation of these changes in the organizational form.

Twelve years ago from today, the Nepalese linguists and scholars had set up this organization to

1. help the University benefit from the new awareness in research and teaching.

ii. set up an example of how scholars can work within and without the University at the same time for the benefit of the academic institution.

This attitude towards working for a change within the University structure by involving the expertise is also noticed among a few other societies like our own who have been operating for more than ten years. The demand for changes made by these organizations indicate the positive shift in attitude towards evolving a more flexible pattern that allows the scholars to work for the benefit of the institution which they have been associated with. Such a change will mark a departure from the entirely stereotyped curricula and working modality

In the case of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, the demand for the department of linguistics was the demand for a change of attitude on the part of the University about the language teaching methods as well as about the study of the languages of Nepal in terms of their scientific studies and their psycholinguistic applications. I would like to remind you of the letter of request submitted to the erstwhile vice-chancellor in this connection at the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in this hall last year. He had openly accepted the proposal submitted to him at the inaugural session itself. Some progress had been made. But we have lost the track. Maybe somebody somewhere is sitting on it. We have acquainted the present vice-chancellor with it. We are confident about its implementation.

As I pointed out earlier, the University has been painfully reviewing its own structure at this moment. Every small change has become a matter of pain for the university because the choices for the University are change or collapse.

This state of affairs has come as a result of the original sins and the slow but persistent exploitation of the University over the decades, the forms of which I have described earlier. Now the University should review its entire academic policies and embark on a project of bringing the scattered and neglected academic fragments together. Once the University opens its doors to all, ironically, the same old disruptive forces may enter unless the University proceeds by assigning priorities to the academic bodies and works. One who is committed academically should not be allowed to realize himself or herself as a fool for not exploiting the University for making money and using it as a springboards for other careers. The forces outside the University should stop harming the University for making money and gaining power. As for ourselves, the Linguistic Society of Nepal would like to introduce an element of change not of pain to the University.

Thank you.

## Linguistic Society of Nepal Kathmandu

### Life Members

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