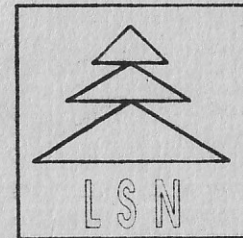


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Contents

बालविज्ञान
कैरिपुर
विज्ञान

Articles	Page
A tonal analysis of Gurung with separate systems for register and contour pitch features - R.K. Sprigg	1
Cliticization of Particles in Newari Syntax - Daya R. Shakya	10
Implosive Stops in Umbule - Sueyoshi Toba	29
Jakobson on Metaphor and Metonymy: A Critique - Beerendra Pandey	31
The use of terms of address: Native and non native speakers of American English - Phanindra Upadhyaya	38
Mistakes and Meaning: Contextualizing Discrepancies in Discourse - Wayne Amtzis	44
Pitfalls of Interpreting and Translating - J.P. Cross	53
Two Words About Translation - Rameshwar Adhikary	63
Samasamayik Nepali Vyakarana Towards a Nepali Grammar on Linguistic Principles - Hriseekesh Upadhyay	76
LSN Newsletter 1994-95	82

A tonal analysis of Gurung with separate systems for register and contour pitch features

R.K. Sprigg*

I. Introductory

At the Ninth Annual Conference of the Society, in November, 1988, I contributed a paper with the title 'Tone classes in Tamang and Tibetan', later published as 'Tone in Tamang and Tibetan, and the advantages of keeping register-based tone systems separate from contour-based tone systems' (Sprigg 1990); the next stage, as I saw it, was to apply the type of analysis that I thought had served me well for Tamang to other members of what Mazaudon had called the TGTM group (Sprigg 1990: 51). I have no Thakali or Manangba material of my own; but I have enough Gurung material to show how this same analysis would look when applied to this second member of that group.

This Gurung material of mine I collected in Pokhara during the monsoon months of 1965. My informant, Manshiri Gurungni, was a member of the domestic staff of the Shining Hospital in Pokhara; but her birthplace was the village of Thak (or Thonsu), about a full day's fast walk north east of Pokhara, from which Siklis, one of the largest Gurung villages, is a further full day's walk to the north (cf. Gurung 1980: 150-89, and especially the two maps '8. Pokhara' and '9. Lamjung'). Manshiri Gurungni had moved to Mohariya, to the south of Ghandrung (or Ghandruk), two or three days' walk west of Pokhara, on marriage, before settling in Pokhara; she was aware of dialect differences between her birthplace and Ghandrung, to the west, and Lamjung, to the east.

In my conference paper in 1988 I had used Lhasa Tibetan as an introduction, contrasting its single tone system, in which two terms, tones

* Prof Sprigg is a well-known Tibeto-Burman Linguist.

1 and 2, are distinguished, mainly on the basis of register-pitch distinctions, with the two tonal systems that I needed for my Tamang analysis, one of them a register-based system and the other a contour-based system, with each of them comprising two terms; this time I shall make use of Tamang as an introduction to my Gurung analysis, identifying this new analysis with my earlier Tamang analysis.

II. Tamang tonal analysis

I began my article on Tamang (Sprigg 1990) by pointing out that Mazaudon had distinguished four tones, which she numbered from 1 to 4; e.g.

¹ si	² khru	³ so	⁴ tup
mourir	laver	préparer	coudre

(Mazaudon 1973: 154, 160, 100, 105).

My analysis had, in one of its earlier stages, corresponded exactly to this analysis of Mazaudon's; e.g. (my examples are disyllabic words comprising a verb and the past-tense suffix -ji)

Fig. 1

[˩]/[˩]	[˨˨]/[˨˨]	[˨]/[˨]	[˨˨]/[˨˨]
tone 1	tone 2	tone 3	tone 4
shi-ji	khru-ji	so-ji	drup-ji
died	washed	prepared	sewed

(the second of the alternative pitch patterns is appropriate to continuative clause intonation; Sprigg 1990: 36); but, later in that article, I discarded that analysis in favour of an analysis that separates the register pitch features and the contour pitch features. This later analysis recognizes a two-term tone system, comprising tones 1 and 2, for the register distinctive pitches, and another two-term tone system, comprising tones A and B, for the contour distinctive pitches. The phonetic exponent of tone 1 is high pitch at the beginning of the word, while low pitch at the beginning of the word is a phonetic exponent of tone 2. A phonetic exponent of tone A is falling pitch for the first syllable of the word (with a low rise in pitch before the fall for tone-A words that are also tone-2), and a level pitch for the first syllable of the word for tone B:

Fig. 2

	[˩]/[˩]	[˨˨]/[˨˨]	[˨]/[˨]	[˨˨]/[˨˨]
register tone:	1	1	2	2
contour tone:	A	B	A	B
examples:	shi-ji	khru-ji	so-ji	drup-i

III. Gurung tonal analysis

A. Register difference and contour difference

Burton-Page had described the Gurung of Ghandrung, as spoken by G/Lieut. Ganesh Gurung, M.C., as having a single tone system comprising two terms (1995: 111-2); but to the speech of Manshiri Gurungni, of Thak (or Thonsu), towards the centre of the Gurung-speaking area, I found that I could apply the same tonal analysis as for Tamang at (II) above: two tone systems, each comprising two terms, register tones 1 and 2 and contour tones A and B; but the phonetic exponents of the Gurung tones A and B are by no means the same as those of the corresponding Tamang tones:

Fig. 3

	[˨˨]/[˨˨]	[˩]/[˩]	[˨]/[˨]	[˨˨]/[˨˨]
Register tone:	1	1	2	2
contour tone:		A	B	A B
examples: i	Shi-la	khru-la	pri-la	yo-la
ii.	see-la	raa-la	cii-la	yaa-la
iii.	pī-la	na-la	tā-la	byō-la
iv.	tsa-la	she-la	ko-la	dō-la
glosses: i	had died	had washed	had written	had stolen
ii.	had killed	had stood	had bitten	had gone
iii.	had given	had hurt	had chosen	had thrown
iv.	had eaten	had known	had understood	had beaten

Like Burton-Page (1995: 111-2, 116), I have taken the word to be the most suitable unit for stating tone in Gurung, not the syllable, the lexical item, or the morpheme. In tonal analyses based on the word unit it follows that individual lexical items such as shi(-), the first component of the verb-and-suffix word shi-la 'had died', at (i) in the left-hand column

of Fig. 3, and see(-), pī(-), and tsa(-) at (ii), (iii) and (iv) in that column can be classified as tone-1 word lexical items, and also as tone-A-word lexical items, through their relationship with the tone-1-and-tone-A words shi-la, see-la, and other such examples of this tonal type of word ; and corresponding classifications can be made for the three types of verb lexical item shown in the second, third and fourth columns of that figure, as, respectively, tone-1-and-tone-B, tone-2-and-tone-A, and tone-2-and-tone-B lexical items.

Distinctive classifications such as those which have just been made for verb lexical items cannot be made for -la, the past-perfect suffix: this suffix lexical item occurs in words of all four tone combinations, 1-and-A, 1-and-B, 2-and-A, and 2-and B ; so giving it the tone classification tone-1/2-and-A/B, though legitimate, would be of little use ; but the variety of pitches appropriate to -la, at least four in number, can be classified according to the tones of the word in which they occur:

word tone:	1 and A	1 and B	2 and A	2 and B
pitches:	high	low	low/high	low/high
	level/falling	level/rising	level	level

Unlike this suffix lexical item, -la, the verb lexical items that occupy the first-component place in the word in the examples in Figure 3 above are limited, for their share in the pitch features of the word as a whole, to whatever pitch or pitches are appropriate to the first-syllable place of a word of the appropriate register to the first-syllable place of a word of the appropriate register tone and contour tone:

word tone:	1 and A	1 and B	2 and A	2 and B
pitches:	high	high	low	low
	level	falling	falling/level	rising-falling/level

B. Pitch difference and phonation difference

Between the Burton-Page tonal analysis, of 1955, and my own analysis, of 1995, there comes a rather different analysis, by W.W. Glover (1970), though it agrees with them in being based on a word unit, 'the foot, or phonological word'. Glover's analysis parallels my own division of tone into two tonal systems ; but, where my analysis distinguishes register pitch differences from contour pitch differences, Glover's analysis distinguishes ' contrasts for pitch-accent and contrasts for breathiness' (52). That is to say, Glover 1970 uses the term 'tone' to cover both a pitch-difference sub-system and a phonation-difference

sub-system: pitch accent versus no pitch accent and breathiness versus no breathiness: 'These distinctions lead to four types for monosyllabic words, six types for disyllabic words, and eight for trisyllabic words' (Glover 1970: 59), e.g. (limited to disyllabic feet comprising verb and examples: shi- khru- pri- byō-

suffix, so that they should be comparable with my examples shi-la, etc. in fig. 3)

Fig. 4

pitch:	mid, mid	high, mid	low,low	low, mid
phonation:	clear	clear	breathy	breathy
example:	/pība/	/stéba/	/cyi ^h ba/	cyi ^h bá/
symbols:	none	accent	h	h and accent
gloss:	to give	to know	to bite	to remember

(Glover 1970: 64, 64, 72, 72).

The main difference between Glover's analysis and my own as regards Fig. 4 is that he has incorporated a phonation difference, clear versus breathy, into his tonal analysis ; this phonation difference applies only to the first syllable (verb lexical item), except in words containing the negative prefix (Glover 1970: 63-4). I, on the other hand, have concentrated on associating the pitch features of the first syllable (verb lexical item) with the pitch features of the second syllable (suffix lexical item) in a single pitch pattern for the word unit as a whole, leaving the phonation difference to be seen in the examples in Fig. 4, clear versus breathy, to be treated as a syllable feature: the initial syllable (verb lexical item) of tone-1 words is clear ; the initial syllable of tone-2 words is 'breathy', the so-called ' breathiness' being due, possibly, to glottal (arytenoid) friction (but cf. Hinton 1970: especially 78-80).

In a later work, *Gurung-Nepali-English dictionary* (Glover, Glover, and Gurung 1977), representing primarily the dialect of Ghachok, in the West-Gurung dialect area, Glover and his co-authors seem to me to have given up 'the foot or phonological word' as the basis of his tone-and-phonation analysis in favour of the morpheme. This difference in analysis can be seen in the way that one of the dictionary entries had been treated, the following verbal-suffix entry:

'-ba, -ba', -baa, -baa' s.v. - - - gerund (-baa on voiced stop initial low clear verbs, bobaa ; -baa' on other low clear verbs, pībaa' ; -ba' on rising

breathy verbs, *jxoba'* ; -ba on high clear and low breathy verbs, *na'ba*, *kxoba'* (8).

This lexical item *baa/baa'/ba'/ba* has been given a double tonal classification, as both 'intense', in -baa' and -ba', and 'relaxed', in -baa and -ba ; this double classification suggests to me that Glover, Glover, and Gurung's analysis cannot be 'foot' -based but must be morpheme-based. By contrast the comparable suffix lexical item that I have used in my examples of word tone in Fig. 3, -la, has been left unclassified: it occurs in tone-1 words and tone-2 words equally, and in tone-A words and ton-B words, thus rendering a distinctive tonal classification impossible.

C. Aspiration and tone 1, in Tamang and Gurung

In Sprigg 1990 I drew attention to the exclusive relationship of aspiration to (register) tone 1 in Tamang (42-3) ; the same relationship holds for (register) tone 1 in Gurung too, and is a strong argument in favour of separating the register tone system from the contour system ; for aspiration has no such system from the contour system ; for aspiration has no such relationship with either of the terms of the contour tone systems, tone A or tone B; e.g.

Fig. 5

i	tone 1, tone A:	thee,	khee,	khaa	
		hear,	put on,	fill	
ii.	tone 1, tone B:	khru,	thū,	khii	khe
		wash,	drink,	tie (round),	read

(cf. Tamang: *thai* 'listen', *?khyap* 'wear in the hair', -- ; *khru* 'wash', *thung* 'drink', *khii* 'tighten', *khyat* 'read').

D. Voice and tone 2, in Tamang and Gurung

In Sprigg 1990 I used the exclusive relationship of voice as a feature of Tamang syllable-initial and word-initial plosives and affricates to (register) tone 2 as an argument in favour of separating a register from a contour tone system: no such exclusive relationship applies to either of the Tamang contour tones A and B. I now wish to use a corresponding relationship between voice and (register) tone 2 in Gurung for the same purpose, with support from examples such as the following:

Fig. 6

i.	tone 2, tone A:	bi,	bla,	boo
		say,	untie,	take
ii.	tone 2, tone B:	dō,	byō,	dzō
		beat,	throw,	plant

(cf. Tamang: *bi* 'tell', *bla* 'untie', *bor* 'take' ; --, *byang* 'throw away', *dzang* 'put in').

E. Comparison with Tibetan

Finally, I wish to recall that in Sprigg 1990 I was able to compare the Tamang register tone system, comprising tones 1 and 2, with tones 1 and 2 of the Tibetan tone system, in both the reading style of Tibetan pronunciation, used in reading and reciting written and printed books, and the spoken dialect of Lhasa (Sprigg 1990: 40-8). The tonal system of these two forms of Tibetan is also based on a register distinction; so it should not be surprising that it corresponds well with the Gurung register system, tones 1 and 2. No such correspondence applies to the Gurung contour system, tones A and B ; so this relationship and non-relationship of Gurung with Tibetan is a further, and Tibeto-Burman, argument in favour of separating register pitch from contour pitch distinctions in Gurung ; e.g. (representing the Tibetan verb by its past root)

Fig. 7

Gurung:	1,	A:	shi	see	thee
Tibetan:	1:		shi	bsad	thos
			die	kill	hear
Gurung:	1,	B:	khru	she	thu
Tibetan:	1:		'khru	shes	'thungs
			wash	know	drink
Gurung:	2,	A:	pri	tā	ko
Tibetan:	2:		bris	'dams	go
			write	choose	understand
Gurung:	2,	B:	ba	dō	byō
Tibetan:	2:		'ba	brdungs	sbyangs

bring beat throw (down), clear away

F. Phonetic exponents of the tone systems, Tamang and Gurung

Since the two tone systems, the register system (1, 2) and the contour system (A, B), are common to both Tamang and Gurung, one might expect the phonetic exponents of the two terms in each of these two systems in the two languages to be equally similar; but, while they correspond well to the register system, they are almost completely the reverse of each other as regards the two terms of the contour system, A and B:

Fig. 8

register:	tone 1		tone 2	
	tone A	tone B	tone A	tone B
Tamang:	[N]	[^N]	[^A]	[N]; but
Gurung:	[^N]	[N]	[N]	[^A]; eg.
Tamang:	shi-ji	khru-ji	brii-ji	byang-ji
Gurung:	shi-la	khru-la	pri-la	byō-la
Gloss (T.):	died	washed	wrote	threw away
Gloss (G.):	had died	had washed	had written	had thrown.

This rather unexpected reversal in phonetic exponency is paralleled in the correspondences that Mazaudon has given for Tamang and Gurung monosyllables (1978: 165), using Chao Yuen-ren's tone letters:

Fig. 9

	Tamang	Gurung (Ghachok)
Tone 1 (my tone 1 and tone A):	54	33
tone 2 (my tone 1 and tone B):	44	54
tone 3 (my tone 2 and tone A):	33/22	11
tone 4 (my tone 2 and tone B):	211	12

(cf. also Sprigg 1990: 51). The higher pitches, in Tamang, of Mazaudon's tones 1 and 3 (54, 33/22), my tone A, correspond to the lower pitches (33, 11) of Gurung; and the lower pitches, in Tamang, of her tones 2 and 4 (44, 211), my tone B, correspond to the higher pitches (54, 12) of Gurung.

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Cliticization of Particles in Newari Syntax

Daya R. Shakya*

1.1 Introduction

It has been a matter of controversy whether the forms used as particles in Newari are real particles or whether they can be categorized instead as clitics. Joshi (1988) uses the traditional term 'nipAt' for all kinds of particles which appear in a restricted syntactic order¹. The argument seems to be vague when the phonological assimilation of the particles with other constituencies of a sentence is examined. In addition, it is also noteworthy that Hargreaves' (1983) interpretation and analysis on usage of the three Newari Particles² as the evidentiality markers, as well as Malla's (1985) claim on a whole set of Newari particles³. This raises a question as to whether the particles listed by Malla and Joshi are particles or whether they function as clitic with independent meaning in Newari discourse.

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¹ Joshi lists the particles as follows:

gu	tini	mate	tha	dhakA	cAine
ma	na	IA	hAI	ae	ã
ya:	he	nA	hu~	kA	tu~
ni	na	machi	sã	he	jaka
ki	se	mA	sã	thE	chi
ha:sae	binA:bi	mAncosA	mwAese		

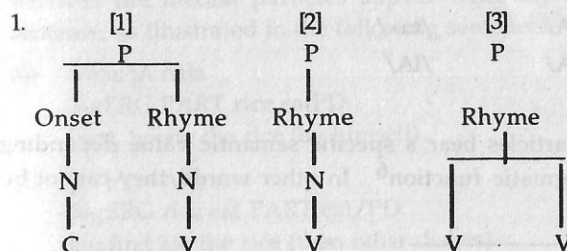
² /sE/, /thE/ and /hã/

³ Newari Particles exemplified by him are categorized into following classes:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Adverbs | 2. Postpositions | 3. Conjunctions |
| 4. Intensifiers | 5. Empathic | 6. Prosententials |
| 7. Sentence Modifiers | 8. Question | 9. Quotative |
| 10. Expletive | 11. Hortatory | 12. Negative |

1.2 Particles in Newari

Zwicky (1985) considers particles to be, "a cover term for items that do not fit easily into syntactic and semantic generalization.... They are odd on distributional grounds, semantically, they are 'function', rather than content items; phonologically, they tend to be dependent'; some... cannot occur in complete isolation" He also claims that "most of the things which have been labeled particles are in fact independent words" (Dooley 1990). In Newari, particles are distinct from the affixes. Structurally, they are neither affixes nor are they lexical items with independent and clear semantic values. Some of them are independent words and some are not. However, they occupy a distinct position in syntax. These particles can be classified in terms of their occurrence either with NP or VP or in syntactically restricted positions. One of the aims of this paper is to explore the types of particles used in different contexts and verify their positions. Another aim is to analyze the phonological justification and argue for functional load along with features of cliticization of these particles in Newari discourse. The positioning of the particles is governed either by grammatical roles (Hargreaves 1983, Malla 1985, Joshi 1988) or by discourse pragmatics. Most Newari particles (P) are monosyllabic (CV or CVV or V)⁴ as illustrated in (1) below:



These configurations illustrate that Newari particles are either heavy or light⁵. They appear either with host constituents, in order to

⁴ If they appear as bi- or poly-syllabic, they do not assimilate with the adjacent constituents. For the purpose of this paper, I will argue only for monosyllabic particles which are easily cliticized in the Newari syntax.

⁵ No particle with all the syllabic features is available in Newari. For example, by virtue of the open syllabic feature of Newari, a particle with a coda doesn't exist.

form a phonological word (W) or a phrase (PP) of a sentence, or they may appear independently as the discourse particles. Even though, they don't have a precise semantic value, they illustrate some sort of a functional load in syntactic construction. Generally, in terms of distribution, the particles (P) appear in three positions in a sentence (S):

- (2) 1. ## P + [_____] S Initial
 2. ## [_____ +P+ _____] S## Medial
 3. S [_____] + P## Final

The particles appearing in the initial or the final positions are sentence external. However, they are within a certain utterance boundary. They do not change their position. Therefore they can be categorised within the domain of discourse pragmatics. The most common particles in Newari discourse are listed in (3), as follows:

(3) Initial	Medial	Final
/ya/	/ki/	/hã/
/hAI/	/tha/	/kA/
/α./	/sA/	/le/
/ã/	/sã/	/IA/
/ae/	/thE/	/nhE/
/chi/	/sye/	/na/
/ni/	/kA/	/tu~/
/he/	/yA/	/IA/
/nã/	-	-

Each of these particles bear a specific semantic value depending upon discourse pragmatic function⁶. In other words, they cannot be

6 Initial	Medial	Final
yo address	ki optional	hã hearsay
hAI vocative	tha negligence	na antiticipative
o: surprise	sA conditional	le imperative
ã vocative	sã conditional (concessive)	IA interrogative
ae vocative	ki laternative	nhE response
chi yackey	kA assertive	thE inferential (similative)
sye sensory experience	he emphatic	
	ni "	
	tu~ "	
	yA " (in (addition)	
	IA " (particularly)	
	nã " (also)	

assigned any independent meaning without a syntactic analysis of the structure in which they occur. As Zwicky discusses in terms of English prepositions, the initial and final particles are sentence external and they are independent to the adjacent constituent, whereas the medial particles dependents. These medial particles undergo some phonological process creating a distinct phonological word (PW) or a Phrase (PP) within a sentence. The distinction is that a phonological word undergoes an internal sandhi whereas a phonological phrase undergoes an external sandhi (Zwicky 1985). By internal sandhi it is meant that the particles assimilate with the host word constituent. Although they generally signify emphatic or focal attention markets, they may appear with any lexical categories, such as nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs, or with a full clause⁷. However, their occurrence is distinct in the surface structure only. Since the occurrence of a particle is based on the syntactic domain, all grammatical morphemes are affixed to the lexical items and then the particles are attached to them. Thus, it is obvious that occurrence of a particle is conditioned syntactically in Newari. The main focus of this paper is to clarify the phonological evaluation of these particles, and to examine whether they simply function as particles or clitics in Newari. Question may arise as to whether or not these particles bear a fixed position. The initial and the final particles have rigid functions and fixed places of occurrence, whereas the medial particles appear with any constituent within a sentence, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (6) wã ni jA nala
 3sgERG PART rice eatPD
 First, he ate the rice (by himself).
 (7) wã jA ni nala
 3sgERG rice eat PART eat/PD
 He first ate the rice (then other dishes)
 (8) wã JA na ni nala
 3sgERG rice eat PART eat/PD
 First, he ate the rice (then he talked).

All of these are perfectly good sentences in which the particle /ni/ emphasizes some sort of contrast with other propositions (not

⁷ When these particles appear to emphasize the whole clause, it has to be nominalised with one of the suffixes /mha/, /pl/ or /gu/ depending upon the number and animacy of the head NP.

mentioned in the sentences). This illustrates that the particle /ni/ occurs in a particular position, generating the following syntactic rules:

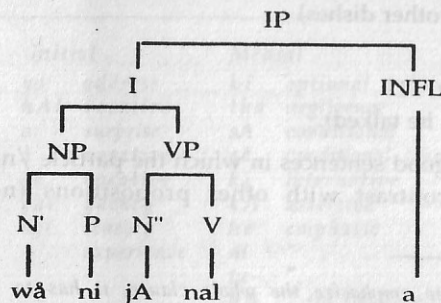
- (9) 1. # Sub = PART VP #
 2. # ...OBJ = PART VP #
 3. # Verb root = PART VP #
 4. # [.....] CI + REL = PART VP #

The above rules (9) suggest that the particles listed in the emphatic category can occur anywhere in the medial position of a clause or a sentence. They cannot be replaced by other particles listed for the other positions (i.e. final and initial). The native speaker of this language does not feel comfortable in using other particles outside of those listed as medial, illustrating that these particles hold a particular position. However, they may occur syntactically with different grammatical categories, such as subject or verb.

2 Phonological Justification of the Particles

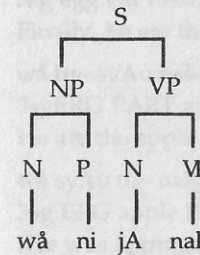
In this section I will show the phonological justification of the particles. It is mentioned above that the particles appearing in the initial and the final positions are sentence external. They have a certain phonological rule which does not effect syntactic features. But the particles occurring in the medial position trigger some phonological process within the syntactic boundary. From the view of the Government Binding Theory (GB), any constituent occurring in a sentence has a governing category which governs each and every governor (i.e. constituent). The constituent, which is C-commanded by an immediate constituent, forms a phonological phrase, as illustrated in the following tree diagram:

(10)



This configuration shows that the constituents governed by NP and VP are N' and P, and N'' and V. So, N'C-commands P, and N'' commands V. These C-commanding units cannot be separated from the phonological boundary. As a result, they form a phonological phrase (PP). This suggests that the particle /ni/ can form a PP only with the constituent /wâ/, as illustrated in the following configuration:

(11)



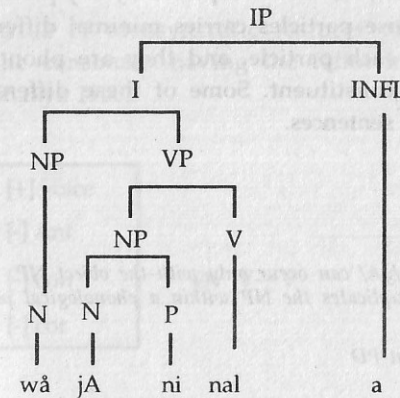
In order to emphasize the subject constituents, the particle is attached automatically by the native speaker's intuition, and made a distinct PP within a syntactic boundary of an utterance. This suggests that the particle /ni/ is right bracketed to the host constituent /wâ/, generating rule (12).

(12) [[N+P].....]S

PP

Similarly, if the object NP is to be emphasized, the native speaker uses the same particle with this NP, creating a different PP as follows:-

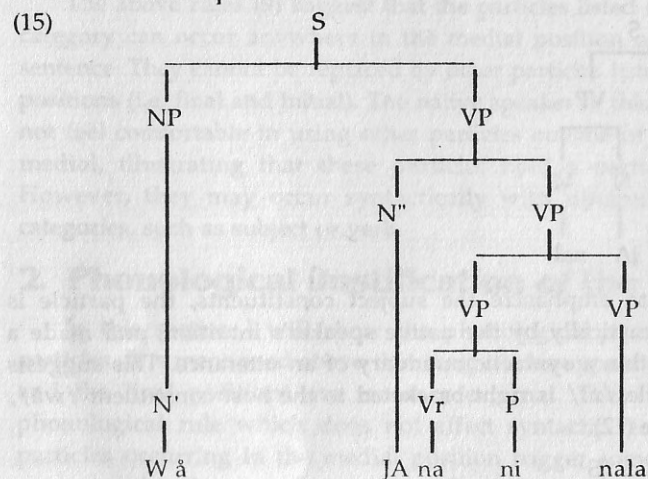
(13)



This generates the particle placement rule, as follows:

- (14) [.....[[N+P] VP]]S
PP

The third way of placing the particle is with the verb phrase. When the verb is to be emphasized, the same particle /ni/ is also used. But in this case, the particle triggers duplication of the verb root, creating a PP of the Vrt and the particle:



This generates another rule of particle placement within as follows:

- (16) [.....[.....[V.rt + P] + VP]S
PP

In addition, the particle /ni/ can be replaced by any particles listed in (4) 3 (b)⁸. Each of those particles carries minimal differences of semantic emphasis with each particle. and they are phonologically bound to the preceding constituent. Some of these differences are illustrated in the following sentences.

⁸ In this context the particle /yA/ can occur only with the object NP. It triggers adjacent constituent and duplicates the NP within a phonological phrase.

Wā [syAu yA syAu] nal-a
3sg/ERG apple PART eat-PD
He ate only apples.

- (17) wā he khE: nal-a
3sg PART egg eat-PD
He ate the egg (by himself)

- (18) wā khE: he nal-a
3sg egg PART eat-PD
He ate the eggs (not the other stuff).

- (19) wā khE: na he nal-a
3sg egg eat PART eat-PD
Finally, he ate the egg.

- (20) wā tu~ syAu nal-a
3sgERG PART apple eat-PD
He ate the apple (by himself without offering to others).

- (21) wā syAu tu~ nal-a
3sg ERG apple PART eat-PD
(He was hoping to eat something else).
Finally, he ate the apple.

- (22) wā syAu na tu~nal-a
3sgERG apple eat PART eat-PD
He ate the apple (instead of saving it for later).

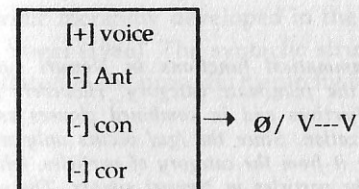
In summary, the emphatic particles listed in the medial position in (3) can be placed within the syntactic boundary on the basis of the following two rules:

- (23) 1 [...[X=P]...]S 2 [.....[Y = P] + [Y + inf]]
X represents a noun and Y a verb.

2.1 Reduction of Particles

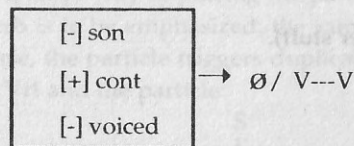
By virtue of ideosyncratic features of Newari phonology, an intervocalic consonant having the following distinctive features is deleted (Shakya 1990).

- (24)



This allows the reduction of the inanimate general classifier, the nominalizing and relativizing suffix /-gu/ into [u]⁹. In addition, Newari also has a tendency to delete the consonant having the following feature:

(25)



This rule allows the reduction of the particle /he/ into [e] when it appears in an intervocalic environment. However, the rule gets blocked when /he/ occurs after a sequence of two vowels [VV-]. This reduction process triggers a well formed phonological word (PW) (Nespor & Vogel 1986). The phonological word (PW) forms a sequence of a word stem and affixes, the particle/he/ can be considered as part of PW and is attached to the host with right bracketing (26). However, the reduction of /he/ into /e/ could be blocked when the final syllable of the host is heavy. In this condition the particle /he/ does not trigger the formation of PW (27).

(26) [# mari = e #] 'Bread'

(27) [# jhyA: #] [# he #] 'Window'

W W

In summary, the reduction of particles creates a process of phonological assimilation in producing well formed phonological words.

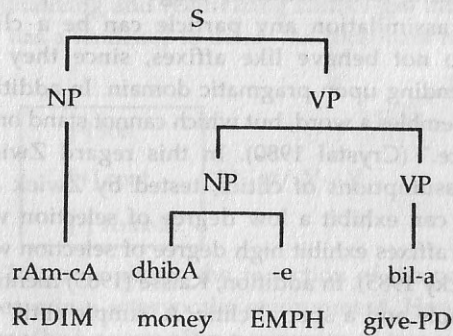
3. Cliticization in Newari

This section deals with the problem of cliticization of the particles mentioned above. It is still unclear whether these are clitics or simply particles. Since the other particles (the initial and the final) have a fixed position in the sentence in terms of where they ought to occur, they can

⁹ The classifier /gu/ has several grammatical functions in Newari syntax. Generally it classifies nouns into the inanimate category. However, it is obligatorily used with numerals, adjectives and in combined clauses as the device of nominalization and relativization. Since the /gu/ occurs only within a bound environment I am excluding it from the category of particles, whereas Joshi (1988) claims this as one of the particles in Newari syntax. The suffix plays a significant role in cliticizing some of the particles in Newari Phonology.

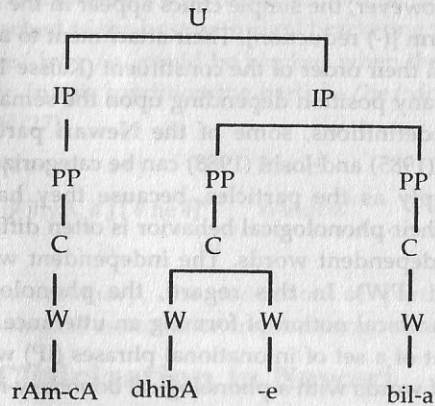
be recognized as particles only. In contrast, the particles listed as the medial can be moved according to the semantic usage of each particle. In terms of phonological assimilation any particle can be a clitic. However, the particles do not behave like affixes, since they are syntactically restricted depending upon pragmatic domain. In addition, "...a clitic is a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance." (Crystal 1980). In this regard Zwicky considers the theoretical assumptions of clitics, tested by Zwicky and Pullum, and states, "clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit high degree of selection with respect to their stems" (Zwicky 1985). In addition, Kaisse (1985) mentions a distinction between a simple and a special clitic. A 'simple clitic' is a syntactic junction of a grammatical word to a host constituent, whereas the 'special clitics' are independent words which have rules governing their syntactic positions that differ from the rules distributing the full form (i.e. [+/-] reduction). However, the simple clitics appear in the same linear positions as the full form [(-) reduction]. Their attachment to a host does not involve a change in their order of the constituent (Kaisse 1985). The special clitics appear in any position depending upon the semantics of a sentence. From these definitions, some of the Newari particles which are claimed by Malla (1985) and Joshi (1988) can be categorized as the 'clitics rather than simply as the particles, because they have a phonological dependency. Their phonological behavior is often different from the affixes and the independent words. The independent words form a phonological word (PW). In this regard, the phonological dependency refers to a hierarchical notion of forming an utterance. The utterance (U) is a component of a set of intonational phrases (IP) which further consists of a group of words with a phonological boundary in the structure of constituents according to the strict layer hypothesis presented by Hyman, Katamba and Walusimpbi (1987). The constituents of a sentence themselves form a clitic group (C) under the phonological phrase (PP). This clitic group within which all constituents occur, is justified by maximum phonological components under the prosodic hierarchy developed in the work of Selkirk (1986) and Nespor and Vogel (1986). The syntactic structure of a sentence given in (28) is illustrated in the prosodic hierarchy in (29):

(28)



Ram gave the money (instead of other things).

(29)

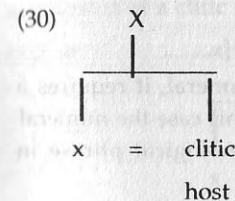


These configurations suggest that the emphatic particle /he/ is a proclitic forming a clitic group with the NP under a VP node. As it was discussed in the previous sections, a particle may occur with any constituent based on the semantic domain. It can also be replaced by other emphatic particles. So, in order to form a clitic group of syntactic elements, the particle can be moved along to where the host element is needed. Another observation is that phonologically, they behave neither as a part of a word nor as totally independent words. However, they exhibit a well known type of phonological dependency that other elements do not share. They may never occur alone. They may not be the only element of an utterance. This evidence supports the theory that the medial particles in Newari can be categorized as clitics.

Consequently, my hypothesis is that the particles which occur in a fixed position, either externally or internally in a sentence, can be categorised as particles, whereas the other particles which do not hold a fixed position within a sentence are clitics (i.e. the emphatic particles). In the prosodic hierarchy of the strict layer hypothesis presented by Sélkirk in 1980 (Hayes (1989) (Kaisse 1985), any lexical category forms a clitic group. The host of the clitic group is the lexical category itself. The clitic words are incorporated to the left or to the right into an adjacent clitic group. The leftward clitics are proclitic and rightward are enclitics. In other words, according to Chomsky and Halle (in Hayes (1989), a clitic group is a maximal sequence not containing a boundary (#---#). So, in terms of Newari, all lexical items can be cliticized and categorized into two types: simple and special, as it was proposed by Kaisse for English and the other languages. Simple clitics are those lexical items which take morphology of their own, and form the clitic group within the confines of the Prosodic hierarchy. Whereas, the special clitic are neither lexical category like nouns, pronouns, verbs or adjectives, nor are they syntactically obligatory units like case marks, classifiers etc. However, phonologically they appear with the host word in order to make the phonological phrases of an utterance. For the purpose of this paper, only the special lexical categories are considered.

3.1 Characteristics of Cliticization

Although it is a universal hypothesis that any lexical items can form a clitic group in building a phonological phrase of an utterance, the characteristics which I discuss here are based on the special particles which can be cliticized in Newari syntax. The simple lexical items manifest general features of clitic groups, whereas special items adopt some processes which I consider as the unique features of Newari clitics. The rules generated in (9) manifest that the clitics are sentence internal, and that they are attached to the syntactic categories: NP and VP. It's basic structure is illustrated as follows:



3.1.1 Cliticization in NPs"

The particles in Newari only occur in the enclitic position, a term used by Klavans (1985) in a discussion of Spanish clitics. I am using the same term liaison for the phonological attachment between the host and the clitic symbolized by (=). This attachment would be possible only with host words which appear as the lexical items. As far as the phonological relation between clitics and host words is concerned, the clitic does not undergo a change in the rules of internal phonology (i.e. does not effect the adjacent constituents). If the host words take the grammatical categories (GC) (for example number and case), the clitic is attached to the host after the (GC) (for example number and case), the clitic is attached to the host after the (GC) is suffixed to the host, as in the following examples.

(31) Subject NP: ## gadhA:+nã =he # nala ##

Donkey AGT Clt eat-PD

The donkey ate it.

(32) Object NP: ##...# khicA + yAta = he # ... ##

dog DAT Clt

Oblique NP LOC ##...# tebal + e = he # ... ##

table LOC Clt j j

INST ##...# kalam +ã = he #...##

pen INST Clt

ABL ##...# chE + pAkhe = he #...##

house ABL Clt

These examples suggest the derivation of a rule for attaching a clitic with grammatical affixes (GF) in the host word, as follows:

(30)
$$\begin{array}{c} [X] \\ | \\ \text{Host} + \text{GF} = \text{Clt} \end{array}$$

In addition to this, when a NP consists of a numeral, it requires a classifier suffix in it for attaching the clitic /he/. In this case the numeral word with classifier becomes the host of the phonological phrase in which the clitic is attached.

(35) /## saphuta cha-gu# .##/

book one-CI Clt

This is also applied in the case of a NP consisting of an adjective. Since Newari adjectives are verb-like when they appear with an NP, the inanimate /-gu/ and animate classifier /-mha/ become obligatory, and they function as relativizers and act as the hosts to cliticize the particle as in (36).

(36) ## ... tuyu-gu=he ###

white -CI Clt

When the adjective functions like a verb in a sentence, the cliticization takes place only with the adjective root, and the other inflected segment is discontinued (mhA...su-l-a), as in the case of verb root duplication for particles (see 19 and 22)

(37) ##..... mhA=he sula ## 'became yellow'

In addition, the particle can also be cliticized to a host phrase (HP) as in English, (eg. The queen of England's hat). In this case, the host phrase refers to the structural notion, while the definition of a host word refers to a linear adjacency to the particles cliticized in a constituent (Klavans 1985), as in the following example.

(38) (rAm wa wa-yA kAe-pl sã-he) [wa -yA: sala-te-ta = he] na kA:-wan-a
R & 3-GEN son-PI-ERG = Clt 3-gen horse -PI-ABS = Clt eat-CAUS-go-PD

Ram and his sons came and fed the horses by themselves.

In this sentence, the clitic /he/ appears twice. The first attachment occurs with the phrase #/rAm wa wa-yA kAe-plsã/#, and the second with the phrase #/wa-ya:sala-te-ta/#. So, what can be inferred from this sentence is that the clitic is attached with either the lexical category or along with the grammatical categories affixed to it. Thus, the Newari clitics may appear with lexical items, or with phrases. This allows the generation of a clitic placement rule for a phrase, as follows:

(39) ## [.....x] HP # [.....] ##

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \text{---} \text{---} \\ | \quad | \\ x = \text{clt} \cdot (\text{HW}) \end{array}$$

In contrast, the clitic cannot be placed at the end of the finite clause. This blocks the clitic placement, as illustrated in the particle placement rule mentioned in section (1.1) above.

- (40) * Wâ jA nal-a = he
 3sgERG rice eat-PD Clt
 He ate the rice.

However, it is possible to place a clitic at the end of a finite clause, if a sentence contains an embedded clause with a main clause, and if they conjoin with a complementizer /dhkA:/ or a relativizer /gu/, /mha/ or /pl/. Phonologically, in this case the whole embedded clause functions as the host phrase as was discussed above. In addition, the verb has to be duplicated, or the final verb functions as the finite verb of the whole sentence.

- (41) rAm-câ chE dhibA byu-gu = he kha.
 R-DIM house-LOC money give-NOM Clt VP (COP)
 Its true that Ram gave the money to (someone) at home.

- (42) rAm-câ chE dhibA byu-gu kha -he kha

These examples permit to generate a rule to cliticize the particle for a finite clause as follows:

- (43) [[.....Vrt + REL x]..... y...]

 Hw = Clt HP# S#

The other possibility for placing a clitic within a finite clause is governed by the rule (44).

- (44) [[.....] X x]..... VP]

 Cl# COMP = Clt HP# S#

These rules (43 and 44) show that the particles can be cliticized in a subordinate clause, whether or not the clause is nominalized, relativized by classifier, or complementized by a morpheme /dhakA:/, is syntactically determined.

- (45) [[.....] (+/-)X=y].....VP.]

 Cls# Con Clt HP# S#

In this rule (+/-) refers to the phonologically bound or unbound feature of the syntactic connector (con, i.e. nominalizer / relativizer or complementizer).

3.1.2 Cliticization in VPs

The rules (9) and (16) manifest that when the emphatic particle is placed within a VP, it triggers the duplication of the verb root. Certainly, there is not any other phonological process which takes place when they are attached as the clitics. This seems to be a peculiar feature of Newari clitics. In this case, the clitic is attached to the verb root that behaves as the host word. But the phonological phrase is formed with a root, clitic, and the VP with verb stem and inflectional suffixes as follows:

- (46) [##...[y x y (s) + suf] ##]

 Vrt = Clt = Vrt Hp#

This applicable in all verb classes which are determined by the stem difference observed in person and tense inflection as follows:

(47) Verb class	1st	Non-1st	Gloss
I	I= he i(n)-A	I-he i(n)-a	Distribute
II	ci = he ci-(n)-A	ci =he ci(I)-a	Move
III	bi =he bi (y)-A	bi = he bi(I)-a	Give
IV	hi =he hi(I)-A	hi = he hi(I)-a	Wash
V	do =he lap(i)-A	do=he lap(al)-a	Offer

Each of these classes of verbs behave the same way. However, in the /-n-/ class of verbs (47 I) the nasal consonant is deleted and the nasality is spread in the vowel of the verb root (for detail see Shakya 1990). The special feature which can be noticed from the above set of verbs is that the cliticization occurs in both ways, either before or after the verb root, forming a host phrase (HP) as a whole rather than only a cliticized host word. However, in the case of an adverbial phrase, there are two possibilities of cliticizing a particle (X): One is with the adverbial root and the other is the adverbial suffix /-ka/ being attached.

(48) ##... li = X bA-ka...## late

(49) ##... libAka = X...## 'late

But if, the adverbial phrase inflects like a finite verb then the particle can not be cliticized to the phrase:

(50) *##..... libAta = X## 'became late'

In summary, the emphatic particles listed as medial particles can be cliticized in the lexical item, the particles simply attach to them and form a phonological phrase of host and cliticized particle. When they appear with those categories which function as the syntactic units then the particles are cliticized with grammatical categories, forming a host phrase and this creates the phonological phrase of an utterance. So, from this discussion, the characteristics of some Newari particles can be inferred as follows:

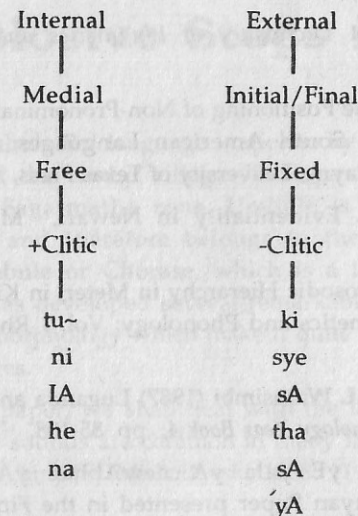
- (51) 1. Sentence internal
2. Phrase external
3. Enclitic
4. Host oriented

Therefore, the particles which show the above characteristics in relation to the syntax and phonology can be recognized as the clitics in Newari.

4. Conclusion

This paper has discussed particles in Newari. Particles are those categories which are not major parts of speech like nouns, verbs, adjectives etc. However, they are distinct in the structure of Newari syntax. Although their occurrence is conditioned by syntactic features, they appear in a certain position within a syntactic boundary. Some of them appear only with verb phrases and some only with noun phrases. In Newari, according to occurrence, these particles (P) can be categorized into two groups, as in the following diagram:

Particles



The cliticization of particles is conditioned by syntactic structures. However, they are not obligatory. If they appear, they are free in position and phonologically sensitive to a host. From this perspective, this paper mainly focuses on the discussion of the emphatic particles (/ni/, /he/, /tu~/, /IA/ and nã/) which appear with any constituent within a syntactic boundary forming a distinct phonological phrase. They can either be attached to a lexical category or appear along with grammatical categories suffixed to the host, or they can appear with a clause with either a nominalizing or relativizing suffix conditioned by syntactic features. If a clause is a complement to the main clause, the particles may also be attached to the finite clause. Because of all these usages and possibilities of occurrences, the emphatic particles can be considered clitics in Newari rather than simply categorizing them as particles. The definitions presented by Malla (1985) and Joshi (1988) for particles are based on traditional grammar. However, these particular particles demonstrate a certain phonological process which other particles do not manifest. In this regard, some particles can occur only with particular constituents but the particles that I have reclassified as clitic appear with any constituent within the syntactic boundary. This supports the classification of emphatic particles as clitics in Newari.

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Implosive Stops in Umbule

Sueyoshi Toba*

The Umbule Rai language is spoken by several thousand people in and around the Umbu village development community in Khotant district of Sagarmatha zone. Umbule is classified as one the Rai languages, and therefore belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. Umbule or Chorase, which is a less common name of this language, has developed several remarkable features in its phonology as well as morphology which make it quite distinct within the group of Rai languages.

In this paper, we shall deal with the implosive stops [ɓ] and [ɗ]. While these sounds are common in many languages in Africa, they are hardly ever, - only [ɓ] (Michailovsky 1988 . 11 . 2 . 31) - reported in this part of the world.

While usually sounds are produced by egressive lung air, the implosive sounds are produced by sucking air in. While doing this, the lips are in the position as they would be for the corresponding sound produced with egressive lung air. The difference between sounds with egressive lung air and those with ingressive air can be heard in the quality of the vowel.

The consonants which are produced by ingressive air are hard to mimic and pronounce by speakers of languages which do not have these sounds.

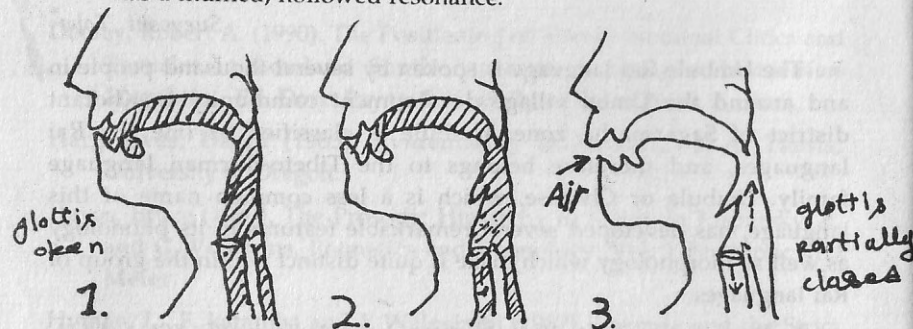
The production of implosive is as follows:

1. We make a closure in the vocal tract for at [ɓ] at the lips just as for (b), and in the same way for [ɗ] with the tongue as for [d]. Note that there is a set of special symbols for the sounds produced with ingressive air from those produced with egressive lung air.
2. The muscles of the larynx are used to partially close the glottis, and move it in a downward direction. In this way, the air pressure in the cavity above the glottis is somewhat reduced. The glottis is not

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closed completely so that a small quantity of lung air is still able to move between the vocal cords, causing them to vibrate.

3. When the lips are opened, or the tongue lowered, we release the vocal tract closure and outside air is sucked into the mouth. This air mixed with the lung air in the glottis and the sound thus produced has a muffled, hollowed resonance.



The following list shows examples of Umbule words which have the ingressive sounds pairing with contrasts of egressive equivalents:

[ʃ/b]

['bi' tso]	'woman'	['bitso]	'to obey'
['bulum]	'tail'	['bulu]	'ghost'
['beisou]	'buffalo'	['beba]	'infant'
['fo]	'chicken'	['bobo]	'corn-cob'
[ʃabange]	'eg'	['ba'm]	'to exist'

[d/d]

[di]	'name'	[ditsam]	'I go'
[duli]	'lip'	[duna]	'leaf-plate'
[dwabu]	'ear'	[dwatsa]	'to dig'

Though this list may seem short, it nevertheless give evidence of contrast between consonants produced with egressive lung air and implosives.

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Jakobson on Metaphor and Metonymy: A Critique*

Beerendra Pandey**

Roman Jakobson "provide(s) the major link between formalism and modern-day structuralism" (Eagleton 1983: 98). He is such a literary theorist whose "approach ... is essentially that of a linguist" (Hawkes 1977: 76). His famous piece of research in 1956 as "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances" (also in Jakobson 1987: 95-114) is "a seminal text" in (the structuralist) tradition" (Selden 1989: 67). This work of great critical importance bears the influence of the basic conceptual tools of structural analysis as developed by Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure is of the view that the individual speech act is derived from the *langue*, and that the process of choice of words has a twofold character: *syntagma* (combination) and *paradigma* (selection). *Syntagma* comes into play whenever we form a sentence whereas *paradigma* applies at every stage: any noun used in a sentence is actually after we have selected it from the vast inventory of language. For example, the use of the word "book" is governed by the sense of how it can function in a meaningful sequence of words, and at the same time the word summons up its associations with "magazine", "newspaper", etc. For Saussure to think of a book is to think of it both in relationship to its use in a sentence, and in relationship to other types of reading material. Thus we have two distinct dimensions of language:

- a *horizontal* axis of combination in which sequences of words are formed by combining them into a recognized order, and
- a *vertical* axis of selection, where one word relates to another because their meanings and associations overlap, or substitute for one another.

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Jakobson (1987), like Saussure, realizes the fundamental role which *combination* and *selection* play in language. He illustrates his point by citing from Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*:

"'Did you say *pig* or *fig*?' said the cat. 'I said *pig*,' replied Alice." In this peculiar utterance the feline addressee attempts to recapture a linguistic choice made by the addresser. In the common code of the cat and Alice (spoken English), the difference between a stop and a continuant, other things being equal, may change the meaning of the message. Alice had used the distinctive features stop versus continuant, rejecting the latter and choosing the former of the two opposites; and in the same act of speech she combined this solution with certain other simultaneous features, using the gravity and tenseness of /p/ in contradistinction to the acuteness of /t/ and to the laxness of /b/. The phoneme /p/ was then followed by the phonemes /i/ and /g/, themselves bundles of simultaneously produced distinctive features. Hence the *concurrence* of simultaneous entities and *concatenation* of successive entities are the two ways in which we speakers combine linguistic constituents (97).

Two things stand out glaringly here: that *selection* and *combination* do not occur consecutively, but intermingle at every point, and that they operate and co-operate at every level of speech. "Pig" is made up of phonemes, each of which has been selected and combined with the other phonemes. But each of the phonemes is itself a product of selection and combination. Another notable thing here is Jakobson's criticism of Saussure for overlooking the role of *concurrence* in combination:

Despite his own insight into the phoneme as a set of concurrent distinctive features ..., the scholar succumbed to the traditional belief in the linear character of languages "which excludes the possibility of pronouncing two elements at the same time" (99).

Jakobson relates combination to *contiguity* and selection to *similarity* :

The addressee perceives that the given utterance (message) is a *combination* of constituent parts (sentences, words, phonemes) *selected* from the repository of all constituent parts (the code). The constituents of a context are in a state of *contiguity*, while in a substitution set signs are linked by various degrees of similarity which fluctuate between the equivalence of synonyms and the common core of antonyms (ibidem).

Thus in Jakobson's theory, every speech requires, at every level, the interaction of both *horizontal* and *vertical* movements. Messages are constructed by a combination of a *horizontal* movement, which conjoins words, and a *vertical* movement, which selects the particular word from a substitution set of similar items. We may therefore sum up Jakobson's position in his own language as "speech implies a selection of certain linguistic entities and their combination into linguistic units of a higher degree of complexity" (ibidem: 97).

Jakobson's views here are, however, not without some inconsistencies. So far the way I have summarized Jakobson's views it would appear that contiguities obtain only among linguistic items. But in the text of *Two Aspects* the term is applied to other kinds of relation as well. In the concluding part of section two, "The Twofold Character of Language", Jakobson writes: "Whether messages are exchanged or communication proceeds unilaterally from the addresser to the addressee, there must be some kind of contiguity between the participants of any speech event to assure transmission of the message" (ibidem: 100). A little later in the third section, "The Similarly Disorder" while discussing aphasics whose knowledge of contiguities is intact, Jakobson writes: "The sentence 'it rains cannot be produced unless the utterer sees that it is actually raining. The deeper the utterance is embedded in the verbal or non-verbalized context, the higher are the chances of its successful performance by this class of patients" (ibidem: 101). What Jakobson is trying to say here is that the further relations obtaining between speaker and hearer, and between speaker and objects spoken of must now be added to the list of syntagmatic relations. Such an extension of the notion of contiguity may turn out to be cumbersome. Perhaps Jakobson realized this later in his career because, as Hugh Bredin (1984) points out, "the non-verbal types of contiguity have been quietly dropped" (92) in the linguist-turned-theorist's later writings. Like contiguity, Jakobson's concept of similarity is also a little problematic. To quote Bredin again, "... selection sometimes presupposes an ability to perceive verbal similarities, it does not always do so. The link between selection and similarity is broken.... Similarity does not have the universality claimed for it" (ibidem: 93). Bredin sustains his argument with the following example:

... it is not at all evident that, when we select a word, or whatever, we always select it from a substitution set. Undoubtedly we sometimes do: this is particularly the case with poetic, literary, and rhetorical speech; and

there may be social or personal reasons why I choose to say "father" rather than some other expression that apparently would do just as well. But this is not always, or even mostly, the case. If I ask for a cup of coffee there do not seem to be any substitution sets from which "cup" and "coffee" could, plausibly, be chosen. It might be argued that they are members of the sets {cup, glass, mug, beaker} and {tea, coffee, cocoa} respectively. But I could still speak of a cup of coffee even if I had never heard of the other members of these sets. And in any case, neither "tea" nor "cocoa" would do as substitutes for "coffee" if it is in fact coffee that I want. I choose "cup" and "coffee" from my general vocabulary, and not from substitution sets within it. Similar examples can be found at will (ibidem: 92-93).

The problems seen in the two aspects of language are, however, not so serious as to undermine one of the two main purposes of Jakobson: to classify two types of aphasia- the similarity disorder and the contiguity disorder. He defines the first type in his conclusive remark on the section, "The Similarity Disorder" thus: "When the selective capacity is strongly impaired and the gift for combination at least partly impaired, then contiguity determines the patient's whole verbal behaviour, and we may designate this type of aphasia *similarity disorder*" (Jakobson: 1987: 105-6). Conversely, the second type of aphasia is : "Impairment of the ability to propositionize, or generally speaking, to combine simpler linguistic units, This contexture - deficient aphasia, which could be termed *contiguity disorder*, diminishes the extent and variety of sentences" (ibidem: 106). Jakobson goes on to point out that the two disorders correspond to the two figures of speech: metaphor and metonymy. Metonymy *deletes* certain elements in a sequence or contexts as the whole or causes displacement's, for example, "Singh Durbar" for the office of "The Nepalese Prime-minister" and "the Reds" for "Communists". Metaphor, on the other hand, uses the functions of *selection* and involves the *substitution* of one element for a similar one from a different sequence and context, for example, the sentence "Ships ploughed the sea." Jakobson's theory here is founded on these two pillars of arguments: (a) that speech requires an interacting of selection and combination, and (b) that either of these operations can be impaired without any comparable impairment of the other (Bredin: 1984: 97). Bredin brilliantly exposes the fallacy of Jakobson's arguments:

... if selection and combination are fundamental to *all* speech, then *they must be fundamental to aphasic speech as well*. Pursuant upon this thought, one might go on to argue that, whenever disorders of speech occur, they ought to affect selection and combination equally, but that even to say this is inappropriate and misleading, for it is simply to say that one's power of speech is affected (ibidem: 97).

Arguing that selection and combination are not separable, Bredin continues forcefully:

... the words that one selects are in part determined by the utterance of which they are going to be constituents; and the combination one effects is in part determined by the words that one has selected for the purpose. Each presupposes and is presupposed by the other ; each is different face of the other ; there is no selection without combination, no combination without selection: and so neither can be damaged without comparable damage to the other" (ibidem: 97).

Thus the very foundation of Jakobson's edifice of metaphoric and metonymic poles - "Metaphor is alien to the similarity disorder, and metonymy to the contiguity disorder" (Jakobson: 1987: 109) - is weak. It is by manipulating the two kinds of connections (*similarity* and *contiguity*) in their two aspects that an individual reveals his personal style, his tastes and his verbal preferences. For Jakobson, since the opposition between metaphor and metonymy corresponds to the dichotomy between two axes of language, the distinction between these two figures of speech is the key to understanding all human discourse and all human behaviour. David Lodge (1979: 81) summarizes the main thrusts of Jakobson's article in a schematic fashion thus:

METAPHOR	METONYMY
Paradigm	Syntagm
Similarity	Contiguity
Selection	Combination
Substitution	[Deletion] Contexture
Contiguity Disorder	Similarity Disorder
Contexture Deficiency	Selection Deficiency
Drama	Film
Montage	Close-up
Dream Symbolism	Dream Condensation & Displacement

Surrealism	Cubism
Imitative Magic	Contagious Magic
Poetry	Prose
Lyric	Epic
Romanticism and Symbolism	Realism

Some of the foundational arguments of Jakobson's paper have already been discussed as being loose. The bulk of other main points listed in the summarized polar schematization may likewise be dismissed. However, my main burden is metaphor and metonymy. The binary nature of metaphor and metonymy in terms of the so-called opposite principles of *selection* versus *combination* is untenable. At least two reasons with illustrative examples can be advanced in this regard: (a) metaphor may be as much a product of *combination* as of *selection*, and (b) a metaphor may be composed of metonymies. Examples: a) The poppy hangs in sleep. b) Old age is the evening of life. Sentence (a) is metaphoric with the verb phrase selected from the set of verb phrases (e.g. hangs in sleep, drowns, slumbers, takes a nap, dozes, droops, curves, hangs over, is bent over, etc.). If the speaker had chosen "droops" or "curves" in place of "drowns" or "dozes", the sentence would have been literal. The speaker makes it metaphoric because he picks out a metaphorical verb phrase. However, "drowns" or "dozes" are not metaphorical in themselves; they become metaphorical only when they combine with the frame of the metaphor "the poppy". If my old aunt's head hangs in sleep, this is not a metaphor. Combination the focus (of the metaphor) with the frame is necessary. Thus a metaphor does not sustain alone on *selection* because *similarity* and *contiguity* are simultaneously working. This simultaneous process can be seen at work in sentence (b), too, where metaphor and metonymy interpenetrate. For the sentence has at least two metonymies of equivalent nature in both "old age" and "evening" — cessation of activity — are obtained: the intended equivalence is expressed in the name of the object (here "evening"), that is by the symbol of the entire semic field that possesses the common characteristic (cessation of activity, here).

Summing up, Jakobson's article on metaphor and metonymy illustrates the structuralist obsession with binary opposition and the tendency to overlook illogicalities within the binary oppositions themselves. The tendency to overlook the inconsistencies is a compelling factor in Jakobson's case. The compulsion arises primarily because of Jakobson's too strict stand of an absolute opposition

(between the two poles of metaphor and metonymy) which imposes a disjunctive choice at all levels of the analysis, even though the language of analysis (the "metalanguage") is itself essentially a "metaphoric" process, which, as Maria Reugg (1979) remarks, "naturally tends to *privilege* metaphor over metonymy" (147).

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The use of terms of address: Native and non native speakers of American English*

Phanindra Upadhyaya**

Introduction

The building of a profile of a social man is very much facilitated by interaction which involves organized social encounters. These interactions are organised, skilled and strategic performances governed by a set of socio-cultural values and situational constraints (Mehrotra, 1985). It is apparent that culture as an ingrained set of behaviors and modes of perception, becomes highly important in learning of a second language. It has been rightly said, "A language is a part of a culture and a culture is a part of a language, the two are interwoven such that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture". Therefore, the recent focus on understanding the every day social life has given a new face to the second language learning system, which insists on melding of both the culture and the language in its communicative capabilities. It is very important that in almost any language to whom one is speaking becomes an essential factor in determining how one speaks (Wardhaugh, 1986).

The 1970s gave rise to the concept of a social man in a tremendous way. The relation between language and society, according to sociolinguist and anthropologist, is two fold - functional and existential. If considered functionally these two things are autonomous but if considered existentially, they are interdependent and inseparable. Since the last two decades, the shift in the concept of language has incorporated social relationship as a major determiner of verbal behavior.

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Out of the four types of communicative competence put forward by Canale and Swain, the scope of this paper is limited to only one aspect of the sociolinguistic competence: terms of address in the American society and the ESL learners. An understanding of how one person communicates with another is essential ground that affects how the speaker thinks of himself and the culture in which he lives. In other words" if we can understand the nuance behind language patterns through which such communication occurs, we may have a toll for understanding the broader issues of culture and personality" (Goldstein and Tamura, 1975).

Terms of Address

The forms of address in any language are major examples of linguistic indicators of social structure of the society, using that language. They are words and phrases used for addressing a person/s in various social context. The forms of address in most of the languages concentrate on three language classes: pronoun, verb, and noun, supplemented by words which are syntactically dependent on them (Braun, 1988). In many languages, except English, the pronouns of address have many different forms. English has only one pronoun of address "you" as a second person pronoun of address. Similarly, there are languages where verb forms of address, indicated by means of inflectional suffixes, are very common. This form is common in languages where the use of subject pronoun is not obligatory. The third form of address is nouns and are common in most of the languages in the world. "These nouns of address are substantives and adjectives which designate collocutors or refer to them in some other way." (Braun, 1988). This form of address also includes terms like, Mr., Mrs., Sir, Madame, Dr., etc.

Nouns of Address in English

The only form of address still existing in present day American English is nouns of address. The use of first name only to address people in becoming more and more popular in the American society. The forms usually used out side the kins are:

- a. Title only - sir, madame, Mr., Mrs., etc.
- b. Title + last name - Dr. Barron, Mr. Smith, Mrs. Olson, etc.
- c. Title + first name - Miss Susan, Dr. John, Mrs. Margerette, etc.
- d. Nick names - Pat, Bobby, etc.

- e. No address term - Joe, Robert, Dale, etc.
- f. Last name - Bieter, Saunders, Hight, etc.

The British English still seems to give great importance to titles whereas, the American English slowly seems to be phasing out the title and sticking only to First name. Brown & Ford, after an extensive survey of the use of First name (FN) and Title + last name (TLN) in American English, came to the conclusion that in most of the cases FN is reciprocated, while the title is used only at the beginning of acquaintances. In the course of their study they showed that non reciprocity of FN and TLN is caused by differences in age or professional status. They have further mentioned in their study that titles, like, Madame, Sir, Miss, are more respectful than title, last name and last name only was in between First name and Title last name. The above findings were based on observation of address behavior in a Boston firm, by interviewing informants, reviewing American plays, and by tape recordings. Goldstein and Tamura, 1975, point out "the element of respect is rather nebulous in American English, partly through the reciprocal nature of almost all grammatical forms and the lack of stress placed on title, except for the few positions in American English, such as Doctor or President". In American English it seems a good use of language becomes a personal matter or rather a matter of personality.

On the other hand, most of the second language learners of American English come from cultures where good use of language is more a matter of decent upbringing and mastery of appropriate forms. The terms of address of these internationals in their L1 is usually very extensive. These internationals sometimes find it very difficult to swallow the reciprocal address terms used to some very senior or respectful in the American society. This reciprocity causes a serious problem for the non-native speakers to interact in American society. They find it hard to express themselves clearly when they try not to use any form of address. But on the other hand, the use of address terms frequently in such situations becomes out of place and awkward to the listener. The level of informality in the American society sometimes leads them to form negative stereotypical views.

The study

The study had made an attempt to examine the use of Noun forms of address by the native speakers and the non-native speakers of English in different context and has tried to identify the differences in use among these two groups.

Subjects

The subjects of this study were 15 international students and 15 Americans. The international students represented various language backgrounds like, Bengali, Chinese, Japanese, Pular (North African), Thai, Urdu, Turkish, and Spanish. The age of international students ranged from 19 - 37 years and that of Americans from 20 - 49 years. In the International group there were 5 females and 10 males whereas in the native speaker group there were 8 females and 7 males. The level of proficiency of the international students ranged from very low to native like proficiency. The duration of stay in the US ranged from 4 months to 4 years. All international students represented cultures which had very prominent Tu-Vous system. The American subjects represent students and teachers at the Northern Arizona University.

Procedure

A questionnaire was developed for both native and non native speakers of English. This questionnaire was based on hypothetical situations like " You see your professor walking in front of you in your department and you want to give some information, how would you address the professor who is" Twenty four questions which included demographic information were there in the questionnaire. The demographic questions included age, sex, nationality, mother tongue, number of years in the US and number of years of English speaking. Some of the international students were observed in their use of address terms in oral discourse at the Writing Center of the Department of English, Northern Arizona University. This observation was completely done without the knowledge of the informant. The use of various terms of address were divided into the following different categories of people in the real life situation:

- a. Known people
- b. Unknown people
- c. Professors
- d. Government officials
- e. Colleagues
- f. Manual workers, such as waiters, drivers.

All these categories were again divided into different age and sex groups.

Observation

Here the responses are only compared.

Comparing the Responses

Looking at the address preferences of the international students for unknown people 'title is very important for anyone belonging to the respondent's age or older. Despite their longer duration of stay in the US, the respondents above 28 still preferred to use titles as and where possible. Whereas, in the case of native speakers of English everyone preferred to use no address terms for people of their age and younger than them, and for people elder than them they used titles. The female respondents above 40 seem to usually use no address terms for females of any age.

The international respondents preferred to address known people with first name only. They used title and last name for very old people only. Whereas, in the case of native speakers the respondents below the age of 30 used title and last name for any known person elder than them (these data, of course, do not go together with what one witnesses in the real life situation). The respondents above 30 used title and last name for only very old people. In the case of respondents above 36, no address term seems to be very popular. They seem to use only first name.

In the case of professors and government officials including policemen, the international students insisted on title and/or title and last name (if known). Whereas, titles were strictly used by native speakers for government officials and with the professors their was a difference in response according to age group. The respondents above 35 preferred to use first names as far as possible, whereas, those below used title and last name.

With manual workers, the internationals used job titles and the native speakers preferred no address terms. Older people in this category were sometimes addressed by titles. None of the respondents answered positively to the question on difference of address term according to social status. This response was also not very realistic.

Conclusion

The minimum employment of titles in various situations by the native speakers of English could not reveal conclusive information on the distinctive line between formality and respect. It seems that

Americans rely more on the choice of words used to talk to people rather than titles to express formal and/or respectful attitude. As also expressed by Goldstien and Tamura I quote, "The reciprocal nature of American English makes it necessary to show connection through the pronoun and formality through additional techniques and vocabulary. Manipulation of pronouns and verbs and other parts of speech depends upon grammatical changes of case, number, tense, word order" (1975). It seems that by not using titles and by excessive use of first name, the native speakers are not trying to be rude, disrespectful, and informal but are trying to avoid title uses as they feel that titles create a kind of barrier "a stumbling block to true expression of self" (Goldstien & Tamura, 1975).

On the other hand, for the non-native speakers who come from societies where the terms of address are extensively used, the non use of titles becomes a kind of barrier to express themselves in front of the people. It can be seen from the above discussion that despite their long stay in the US the international students still preferred to use titles as and where possible. This shows that the influence of L1 culture is so strong that the non natives cannot do without the use of titles as not using them is a sign of disrespect in their culture. From the observation of the non native speakers speaking English, it is often seen that even if they uncomfortably use first name in some situations, they compensate that use by showing respect by body gesture or by being very soft while speaking.

Therefore, the socio-cultural system of address in the L1 culture has such a strong influence on the second language learners. It takes them a very long time to master the terms of address of the L2 if the variation from L1 is vast.

Mistakes and Meaning: Contextualizing Discrepancies in Discourse*

Wayne Amtzis**

How does the reader/listener account for discrepancies in discourse? Where discrepancies are not simply regarded as mistakes, do they allow for the possibility of other interpretations? What role does context play in the integration of disparate meanings? How are the intentions of the writer perceived? the elaborations of the reader resolved? What effect does the range of meaning and implied context in words themselves have on discourse? This paper focuses especially on the Nepali English language press.

Prologue

I'd like to begin by reading the poem THE WAY THINGS ARE by the American poet Russel Edson.

There was a man who had too many mustaches. It began with the one on his upper lip, which he called is normal one.

He would say, this is y normal mustache.

But then he would take out another mustache and put it over his real mustache, saying this is my normal one.

Then he would take out another mustache and put it over the other two and say, this one's normal.

And then another over the other three, saying, this one's abnormal.

And after several more layers he was asked why he wanted to have so many normal and abnormal mustaches.

He said, it's not that I want to, it's simply the way things are...

Then he took all the mustaches off. They like a rest, he murmured.

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The first mustache, which we thought was real, was not.

We mentioned to him that we thought his first mustache was real.

He said, it is, all my mustaches are real ; it's just that some of them are normal, and some of them are abnormal ; it's simply the way things are....

At the outset, somewhat confused, you are asking yourself why this man is standing before you reading a poem, a rather nonsensical one at that, not really a poem, but a parable -- a parable of mustaches. So here we have two bases for confusion, the situation -- a man reading a poem at a linguistic conference, and the very content of the poem itself. Yet the poet Russell Edson finds nothing extraordinary in the situation he described, rather he insists -- this is "simply the way things are." Let me by way of an apology attempt to dispel your confusion. I am not donning the mask of a linguist to make my presentation, but merely trying on a few of his many mustaches.

I. Anomalies in Meaning

I first became interested in mistakes and their relationship to meaningful communication while teaching writing to students who were using English as a second language. There, I noticed two kinds of mistakes: one in the formal execution of a clause or sentence, mistakes that were readily correctable by reference to rules of grammar, and anomalies in meaning that could best be clarified by rewriting the paragraph itself. In the latter case it was not a question of correctness, but of an adequate rendering of the student's intentions. In some instances students had not fully formulated what it was they wanted to say, and by returning to context or theme, more global consideration, they were able, with some guidance, to better state what it was they were getting at. As a teacher of writing I found these anomalies in meaning as interesting and useful focal points for developing students' writing skills.

Today I want to focus on a narrower range of discourse, but one that is publicly available. I want to investigate what I consider to be anomalies in meaning in the Nepali English language press. These anomalies that I have identified stem from apparent mistakes in spelling or usage, but are not read simply as mistakes since they introduce not only an element of ambiguity into the text but the possibility of an alternate interpretation. In other words, the mistakes themselves are not without meaning, and though they could have been readily corrected by careful editing, they can also be read as

commenting on or expanding, or even as calling into question, the writer's assumed intentions.

II. The Dead Man's Wake

It's about time, then, that I put on one of the linguist's mustaches. I know what you're thinking, is it a normal or abnormal one? A normal one I hope, and I would like the audience to help me with this. I would like to begin by first focusing on the spoken language. For by analyzing a simple confusion in phrasing we can see that a word can have a number of meanings and that context can vary. This will help us realize, especially when we turn to the Nepali English language press, that when we contextualize discrepancies in discourse, meaning arises.

I would like you to write down exactly what you hear me say, but only the few words that I indicate by turning the palm of my hand outward as I speak. When I turn my palm like this (palm facing the audience), listen and then write down what you have heard. (I raise my hand palm facing towards me.) "So I would like to (ah) tell you what happened. (Ah) did you hear about it? You know (I turn my palm to the audience).. the dead man's (ah) wake. (I turn my palm to face me.) Did you get that? Let me repeat myself. (Ah) did you hear about it? You know (I turn my palm to the audience).. the dead man's (ah) wake."

What did you hear me say? "The dead man's awake"? Let's consider that. Is that what I said? How does the listener assume that to be so? And what would the listener take the sentence "the dead man's awake." to mean?

Listening to the phrase "the dead man's wake," the listener hears the speaker, in his placing "ah" between dead man and wake, say "the dead man's ah wake."

Not distinguishing the difference between "the wake of the dead man" and "the dead man's awake" and perhaps not knowing the less common meaning (to keep a vigil especially over a deceased person) of the word wake, the listener, of course, can ask for clarification: "Excuse me, what did you say? The speaker responds: "You know, the funeral yesterday."

Taking the clarification to refer to the situation and not to the definition of the word wake, the listener integrates the commonly understood meaning of wake (to bring or come from sleep) with the situation as he understands it to be.

Repeating to himself not "the dead man's wake" but "at his funeral the dead man's awake," puzzled by the implication -- the dead man was awake. What could it mean? What happened? -- the dead man awoke at his funeral?

As we follow the listener's thoughts as he attempts an interpretation let's reconsider the facts and the alternatives:

1. The dead appeared to be awake -- set out so nicely in his coffin.
2. The man wasn't dead, thank god, he rose from his coma before the burial.
3. The reference was to the funeral oration -- where the priest said that the man's soul rose to heaven, or to a mourner's statement that he wakes in our memory of him
4. It is not a question of religious belief or personal grief, but of assertion and will as in "Z" the Greek novel of political assassination. The dead man wakes, he lives. The assassinated leader is a martyr, he lives embodied in the political will of his followers.
5. There was no dead man. It's not 'wake' that poses the problem, but 'dead man,' which like 'funeral' is being used metaphorically, or ironically. For example, a man summoned by his superiors expecting a promotion is fired. Stunned he finally awakes to the gravity of his situation. Isn't this a common enough usage for the man blind to the realities that everyone else is aware of. Or more simply for the man lost in his work or daydreaming who finally recognizes that someone is speaking to him.

Overwhelmed by so many possibilities of definition, context, and meaning, perhaps we should return to the phrase itself settling not on 'the dead man's awake,' but on "the dead man's wake," i.e. the vigil, the wait, by the dead man's side before burial. Even here, however, alternate designations clamor for our attention.

Take for example another definition of the noun 'wake': "the visible turbulence left by a vessel moving through the water". In an incident in Peter Matthiessen's novel *Killing Mr. Watson*, a dead man surfaces in the wake of a boat cruising near Mr. Watson's plantation. Thus we can refer to this particular turbulence as the dead man's wake. Yet this is not the only designation for "wake" relevant here. Raising this dead man, and then another, from the waters of the Everglades, the inhabitants can

no longer deny what they have unconsciously suspected, that the respected Mr. Watson is a murderer, and that each one of them -- his neighbors and his workers -- is a potential victim marked by Watson for death. Can't we then say that with this realization and recognition: "in the dead man's wake, the dead men wake" ? And what of the overall structure of the novel itself. *Killing Mr. Watson* begins with the denizens of the Everglades in Florida doing just that, killing Mr. Watson; the novel that follows explicates the events that led up to this. As readers we sit in vigil over Mr. Watson, we sit in the dead man's wake.

Now consider the related definition -- a track of course left behind.

In the wake of Martin Luther King's death, riots broke out in many American cities. In the wake of Martin Luther King's death, i.e.. in the wake of the riots, a series of laws were passed attempting to address the situation of Black Americans.

The word wake and the phrase dead man's wake are alive with possibility. In spoken discourse the speaker can clarify his intended meaning, he can rectify what are perceived as mistakes in comprehension, but in written discourse, the range of ambiguity remains, and it is left to the reader to seek his own clarifications, to integrate what may appear to be mistaken into an overall understanding of the writer's statement and intentions.

wake verb

1. to bring or come from sleep: awaken
2. to keep a vigil especially over a deceased person
3. to be or stay awake
4. to rouse to awareness: alert
5. to stir up: stimulate

wake noun

1. a vigil, over a corpse before burial
2. the visible turbulence left by a vessel moving through the water
3. a track or course left behind

III. Phoolan Devi's Massage

Let's turn to the discrepancies I've identified in the Nepali English language press. They are taken, unless otherwise indicated from the Kathmandu Post. I will quote some in the sentences and paragraphs in

which they are found and list the others in isolation simply to indicate, as the poet said, "the way things are." I will, however, donning my abnormal moustache, treat these mistakes as part of a pattern, and to that end, adopting the style of a commentator, read from an article I wrote for the Nepali press that appeared in *The Rising Nepal*, March 11, 1994, entitled "Phoolan Devi's Massage."

I'll begin with a news report from the Kathmandu Post, Feb 11, 1994, immediately following the defeat of the Congress Party candidate in the Kathmandu by-elections:

"Attributing the electoral defeat of Nepali Congress President Krishna Prasad Koirala in the Kathmandu constituency No one by-election held February 7 to 'conspiracy' within the party, over 56 NC legislators have expressed their grave concern towards the move." (Kathmandu Post Feb. 11, 1994; italics mine)

There is more than one conspiracy afoot in Nepal. The most apparent is in the use of words in the English language press. Is it the work of one man in the printing room or are their computers making all the editorial decisions ? For their is a method to their miscues. To the malapropism. While it may not be only through the eyes of the KATHMANDU POST that Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, the Nepali Congress Party, Chairman, has become an amalgam Prime Minister-Party Chairman, "Krishna Prasad Koirala," from them we learn that constituency #1 has become a constituency of no one - No one but the proxy voter.

To smoke out this conspiracy with words we should look at "Wanted: Three Party System" an article that appeared in the INDEPENDENT almost three years earlier. Commenting on the process of political realignment, M.R. Josse wrote:

"Though it was entirely likely that suggestions that such a process will very shortly be underway may be *phoo-phooed* by political parties and pay hacks, such protestations should prove no less ephemeral than those that one year ago greeted the view that the 'historic unity' between the Nepali Congress and the Communists (lumping them all together for the sake of Semitic convenience) ended the very moment that Jana Andolan succeeded. (Independent May 15, 1995)

Here we read 'Semitic' -designating a group of peoples and languages that include both Jews/Hebrew and Arabs/Arabic, instead of 'semantic' -which refers to meaning in language. Thus semantic

convenience, one word referring to all possible variants, becomes Semitic convenience. In the context of Nepali politics spoken of here what could "Semitic convenience" mean? Does the convenient lumping spoken of refer to only that of communist with communist or does it refer as well to the historic lumping of Nepali Congress with Communist parties during the People's Movement? In that case does the commentator have the Arab Israeli Peace Process in mind or is 'Semitic' a more subtle reference to any question of birthright among brethren?

To answer this would we rely on the science of semantics? or Semitics? or is it Anti-semitics we're concerned with here. If we can speak of anti-semitism can we then not speak of anti-semanticism or malapropism as it is commonly defined. (And what of phoo-phoo, paternal aunt in Nepali, for pooh-pooh, to make light of? Is the prescient commentator suggesting that Nepali political leaders are all meddling aunts?) Or is he on to something? The blunder not being Semitics for semantics but 'lumping' instead of discriminating, as in identifying and separating. A semantic distinction is one based on words, a Semitic distinction is one based on symbol and historical reality as in the six cornered star, the cross, the crescent, the swastika, the hammer and sickle, and now in Nepal, the sun, and the tree.

For those sipping tea at their desks in the ministries and party offices, if they read the English language press at all, when considering the communist parties of Nepal in the context of the 'historic unity' with the Nepali Congress in the Jana Andolan, 'semantic' convenience becomes 'Semitic' Convenience; when considering the possibility of political realignment in Nepal, 'pooh-poohed' becomes "pohoo-phooed;" when considering the defeat of Nepali Congress in the Kathmandu by elections, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai becomes "Krishna Prasad Koirala." If there is confusion here, is it one of words or of symbol and historical reality?

Heavy fighting in Sarajevo Six people wounded when a mortar shell hit a *dread line* in Sarajevo's old town.

Pakistan Offers Medication to End Kabul Bloodshed Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan and the entire Islamic world were greatly disturbed by the current *hospitalities*.

For those, however, ensconced in the embassies, counting down the days to Armageddon, when considering encirclement of Sarajevo through the eyes of the Nepali English language press, 'siege' becomes "seize;" when considering the shelling of Sarajevo, 'bread line' becomes

"dread line;" when considering air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions, a 'threat' becomes a "treat;" when considering mediation to end the bloodshed in Kabul, 'hostilities' becomes 'hospitalities;' when considering a global ban on the export of anti-personal mines, 'mines' becomes "wines." Of course diplomats are not at a loss here, being long time practitioners of the semantic craft, crafty semanticists that they are they know how to use or misuse words. What does trouble them when they read between the lines is the reality behind the words and the symbols that speak to that reality be it hammer and sickle, sun, crescent, or swastika. In the currency of symbols however they rest assured that, in the current world order, it is the \$ that counts.

Govt Urged to Allocate Budget of Tourism Promotion As countries like India, Malaysia and Indonesia have already revised their tourism policies and introduced mountain flights, trekking and rafting, there is a high probability that Nepal-bound tourists may deviate to other countries.

Depressed people Put Forth Demand A gathering of *depressed class social workers and intellectuals* from nine districts in Seti and Mahakali zones have decided to put a 10 point demand to His Majesty's Government for the upliftment of *the depressed*.

For ex-pats, world travellers and development workers lingering over the news with coffee and croissant, when considering the exploited in Nepal 'oppressed people' becomes "depressed people." And why not? Oppression is something best not spoken of, but depression (symbol: the psychoanalyst's couch) has everything to do with words. Thus the development approach to the situation of the oppressed, read 'depressed,' is to talk it to death; hence that monumental compendium of words "the Development Proposal and Implementation Plan." However, when reading that "Nepal-bound tourists may deviate to other countries," one does notice. Can one speak of tourist deviation as one speaks of sexual deviation? Are tourists by definition programmed to come to Nepal? Even so, they will deviate, they will depart.

For the solitary few who have not yet departed, who have not yet deviated from the line: "All tours lead to Kathmandu," who turn in at night with one last glance at a newspaper, turning in their sleep, fearful to be branded a tourist deviant, and confront the headline, "Penis Endangered;" for them, when considering Phoolan Devi's trophy limp, 'massacre' becomes 'massage.'

Phoolan Devi Finally to Get Her Day in Court Her most notorious act was an alleged February 1981 *massage* of 20 high-caste Thakur men in the northern state of Utter Pradesh whom she accused of raping her when she was still a teenager.

We have to look outside the Semitic world for our symbol here - not really a symbol, but a manifestation, like that of an eagle swooping from sky, and it is Kali of whom we must speak. That lone man in the press room, that computer, is no dummy. Although Kali cannot be disarmed, he certainly has channelled her energy. In a world fraught with conspiracy and Semitic confusion, where no one's vote is what counts and where air strikes are a treat, shouldn't we thank god for the Nepali press where oppression is at worse a headache, where during hostilities they serve wine, and where massacre becomes massage?

Epilogue:

As readers we approach newspaper, at least those which we choose to read, with expectations of truth, of factually correct information. The discrepancies we find there alert us, not only to look closer at what is being said, but also to a reconsideration of the facts. Thus where alternate readings are possible, we are led to a reconsideration of the overall situation. In public discourse, discrepancies have their use. They lead us not to the truth, but to other truths, unspoken ones, and to that which we suspect but have not yet admitted.

Pitfalls of Interpreting and Translating

J.P. Cross*

A year ago I had an idea of what to talk about this time, namely PITFALLS OF INTERPRETING AND TRANSLATING. I still have that idea. The subject is a vast one and standing up in front of you I am reminded of the man who wrote *Dear Sir, I have no time to write you a short letter, so please excuse a long one* in that it is much easier to waffle without getting terse and pithy thoughts sorted out. I offer what little I have thought about humbly and in a spirit of compromise. I have a small eye problem - not that I have small eyes but a small problem - so reading a paper is not as easy as it was.

I must warn those of my audience who are interested that the majority or what I have to say will centre around ENGLISH and NEPALI.

It has been aptly stated (Peter Newark: 1989) that *translation is always possible, more or less. Usually, in one place or another, it calls on priorities, compensation, compromises.* I add to that, *if pitfalls are to be avoided.* I will talk about and try to explain some of the pitfalls I have come across in a minute or so but first I am concerned that we are all thinking along the same lines.

Before I start I want to sound a warning: if any of you in the audience think you are going to learn anything from what I am going to say, please leave the hall now because you will be disappointed. That having been said, I don't want to be at all technical so, remembering that 'a little inaccuracy saves a lot of detailed explanation', I am pretending that the only difference between an INTERPRETER and a TRANSLATOR is that the former has to be quick and oral, with an estimated 3 seconds time lag between hearing and speaking for the real professional, while the latter's work is slow and written so there is time to work on the text, paraphrasing and rewriting the original to another register before translating it into the target language if necessary. It is obvious that the

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better both SL and TL are known, the better will be the finished product. The INTERPRETER'S difficulties are not only with words he does not know but when the speakers do not use PLAIN LANGUAGE. Their conversational habits all vary: intonation, gesture, tone, facial expression and inferences all play their own part, as do false starts, changes of structure, hesitations, repetitions, pauses, and other distortions, such as stress for emphasis, doubt, surprise, determination, shock, sarcasm and incredulity, to mention some of the more common. In English people say such phrases as I MEAN TO SAY, DON'T YOU KNOW and I recently walked with a Nepali who said TAPAINLE BUJHNU BHAYO BHAENA 19 times in less than an hour.

The TRANSLATOR'S difficulties mostly stem from lack of plain writing, GODDLEDYGOOK, or unnecessary abstruseness, JARGON.

Professional INTERPRETERS and TRANSLATORS have a code of conduct and that includes ONLY TO INTERPRET or TRANSLATE what the originator means and not what the INTERPRETER or TRANSLATOR thinks is meant. But what happens when there is what is seen as an obvious mistake, such as muddling up DAYS and DATES, and METRIC and NON-METRIC MEASUREMENTS. Is that to be corrected by the originator or the transmitter ?

The question is, how to reach the finished product ? I am sure you will have all found your own answers to that. As a point of reference, I take the THREE levels of translation that are listed in David Crystal's *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. These are:

WORD - FOR - WORD

LITERAL

FREE

and each one has its own particular problems. As I see it, the wrong use of these three modes can cause as many misunderstanding as can the wrong phrase being used when one language has to be put into another. That goes from top level international summitry, *demand* being taken for 'to demand' instead of 'to ask' so very nearly start a war or the example Crystal quotes of Kruschev being told in America that his point was incorrect and he was 'barking up the wrong tree' which was translated into Russian as 'baying like a hound'. This is a great insult to the very lowest level of bi-lingual contact. As I learnt when in the Army, there are only two reasons or mistakes: one is by not obeying the rules

and the other is by not knowing the rules. In this linguistic game it is not all that different and the consequences can be just as serious.

WORD-FOR-WORD method, and I quote Crystal, is when *each word (or occasionally morpheme) in the source language is translated by a word (or morpheme) in the target language*. The result often makes no sense, especially when idiomatic constructions are used. The example he gives is for very heavy rain: it is raining cats and dogs. A word-for-word translation in other languages must be nonsense.

Between languages with so different sentence constructions and cultural backgrounds as English and Nepali, I see this method as being all right in only a very few cases and then for obvious, plain, direct, short ideas:

eat this, sit here, go there, do that: baby cries, the dog barks, the man walks, the cat sat on the mat - and even then the THE causes difficulties. Yet it is not suitable for such simple requirements as TWO or THREE/DUI CHAR. As must be obvious, it is completely inadequate whenever a cultural aspect or an idiomatic construction is used:

(in Chinese) TA T'IN WA = to fight with the electric speech = to talk on the telephone, and CHEK SENG KEI = NAVIGATE, LEAVE A SPACE MACHINE = HELICOPTER ;

(in English) for all those sentences with GET in them (TO GET OFF, TO GET EVEN WITH, TO GET IT OVER, TO GET IT OVER WITH) and such verbal phrases as TO BE IN ON, NOT TO BE UP TO, HAVE A GO AT and (in Nepali) all those in which LAUNU/LAGAUNU appear have to have special treatment.

To take this WORD-FOR-WORD method to extremes, the Nepali for GOOD MORNING is not *ramro bihan*, and the English rendering of a similar Chinese greeting is not *Early rising* nor is it *Have you had your rice yet ?*

Such individually easy words as GREEN, COLD, THIRD, IRON when used with other individually easy words as PARTY, WAR, WORLD, CURTAIN may sound and be nonsensical in many other languages when their combined meaning has a particular meaning that is not a literal translation of each word. How would any of you translate, say, PRAGUE SPRING (1968 invasion by USSR in Czechoslovakia) into any other language you know ?

Does the Nepalese interpreter translate *carrying coals to Newcastle* literally or as *talking to Indra about rain ?* and what about that ludicrous

situation when no one knows if a MAN EATING TIGER is a MAN-EATING TIGER or a MAN EATING TIGER ; or which way round is MAN HUGGING BEAR ?

Does the Nepalese interpreter know the TL equivalents using PHERNU, *to change*, in RIS PHERNU and PESHAB PHERNU ? and KHELNU *to play*, in the context of RAJNAITI KHELNU ?, and KAMAUNU, *to earn* in PAISA KAMAUNU and SUN KAMAUNU ?, to say nothing about RAMITA - is it KERFUFFLE or as Turner puts it PLAY, FUN or JOLLY SHOW ? MIT LAUNU - to make a life time binding friendship pact between non-relatives ? ; and that ubiquitous Nepali word ANTARGAT that, so far as I know, does not need to be translated at all ?

How does any interpreter/translator manage with CONCEPTS, such as MORAL IMPERATIVE and MINISTERIAL ACCOUNTABILITY if such concepts do not exist in the community that speaks the TL ? How is the RHYTHM of PEACE WITHOUT TRANQUILLITY, LAWS WITHOUT A SOCIAL CONTRACT, PEOPLE WITHOUT A SOCIETY (Russia in 1839) to be put into the TL ? How is the NUANCE of, say, the NEPALI use of a 3rd person singular (Kor Saheb ko) instead of a direct 2nd person singular (tapainko or timro) to be retained ?

There can be no clear-cut answer to these problems but the maxim to remember is the CONTEXT MUST BE OF OVER-RIDING IMPORTANCE. Is, for example, a BIG MAN meant physically or because of his place in life ; when the word HAK is used in Nepali is it to be translated as right or PRIVILEGE ; and what do you mean when the parachutist says he is FIT TO DROP ? When I became a parachutist at 40 years of age I said MAY ALL MY DROPPING BE SOFT ONES. There are traps in the order of words, as in the FRENCH, the difference between UN HOMME TRISTE and UN TRISTE HOMME is that one is sad and the other is that he is a homosexual.

LITERAL INTERPRETATION / TRANSLATION is when, and I quote again, *The linguistic structure of the source text is followed, but is normalized according to the rules of the target language.* This method may be the best when emphasis is entirely on accuracy and knowledge of the subject of authoritative texts - instructional manuals, scientific research - when cultural aspects are not needed and idioms can be avoided. For the scholarly minded some people know this as the PRAGMATIC approach and it is the concern of SEMANTICS,

STYLISTICS and SOCIOLINGUISTICS, PSYCHOLINGUISTICS and DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.

FREE (RE-CREATIVE) TRANSLATION/INTERPRETATION, and I borrow someone else's words for a third time, is when *The linguistic structure of the source language is ignored, and an equivalent is found based on the meaning it conveys.* In this way the idea is retained but put into the best possible way for easy understanding non-authoritative texts, for example, translating literature, poetry, advertisements, propaganda, comedies, etc. Some scholars know this methods as the AESTHETIC and it is important for preserving the emotional and cognitive content of the work.

Crystal has it that ETHNOLOGICAL and/or SOCIOLINGUISTIC translations have the aim of paying full attention to cultural aspects of the TL, and who am I to disagree with him ? (**Suspenders and a vest: 2 Hands on Watch**)

There is almost always some loss of information even when PARAPHRASING in the same language is undertaken and this must be more so when working in two languages. It can therefore be readily seen that exact equivalence is impossible, even if the words were exact, when body language moods are taken into consideration.

I now want to point out some of the other difficulties that arise in interpreting/translating. They are all potential pitfalls and have their own in-built difficulties of cultural non-equivalence and always need to be taken in CONTEXT. These include a whole host of grammatical terms which I am cowardly going to short-circuit by calling "familiar phrases", but which the purist would separate into idioms, metaphors, slang, proverbs, clichés, catch phrases, maxims, epigrams and aphorisms. If the purists amongst you who may still be awake take exception to the way I have categorised them, so be it. I will separately touch on ellipsis, puns, riddles, euphemistic speech, humour, jargon, legal and literary language.

Examples I have chosen AT RANDOM are: NOW THEN, AS SURE AS EGGS IS EGGS (was this, originally, the algebraic $X = X$?), he gave me a DIRTY LOOK, she BROKE his heart, they TOOK ACCOUNT of our views, or the joke about woman who had MARITAL THROMBOSIS - A CLOT FOR A HUSBAND, or the saying HE WAS SO POOR THAT EVEN HIS SON WAS MADE IN HONG KONG.

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And ; IRON OUT = resolve, TO RAISE ITS UGLY HEAD = something unwanted to appear, TO PUT (SOMEONE'S) NOSE OUT OF JOINT = to thwart and probably hurt a person's feelings, BITE THE DUST = to die, LET THE GRASS GROW UNDER YOUR FEET = to waste opportunities, NOT SO DUSTY = situation quite good.

and the other way round, with such phrases as

NAPIS *thou hast measured or thou hast tried unsuccessfully and hast got nowhere*, KAR KATNU, *to cut the tax or to overcome some difficulty*, and what about RAS BHIJNU, *to wet the juice or to become fully immersed with*, when does a Nepalese say SILTIMUR KHULAUNU literally and when threateningly? What about 420 and *Ek lambar chamche* for easy rendition into many other languages?

And ; MANY HANDS MAKE LIGHT WORK, LONG TIME NO SEE, TO COIN A PHRASE or I'LL BE A MONKEY'S UNCLE, AT THE END OF THE DAY ; THE BOTTOM LINE = the final situation, A FATE WORSE THAN DEATH = marriage from a woman's point of view, IT'S GOT TO GET WORSE BEFORE IT GETS BETTER, etc. How best to translate the Nepali advice to students: PARHYO BHANE BHAT KHALA, LARHYO BHANE LAT KHALA. This, as IF YOU STUDY YOU WILL HAVE A MEAL, IF YOU FIGHT ITS A KICK YOU'LL FEEL, does not do justice to the original ; or JETHA CHHORO, KANCHA NANI, MAINLA SAINLA ANI MANI, being put as ELDEST SON, YOUNGEST BABY, 2ND, 3RD, MAY BE MAY BE ; please bear with me for yet two more, BANDARKO PUCHHAR LAURO NA HATYAR is so much better than its English equivalent MONKEY TAIL, PASS OR FAIL and, as for NANIKO BABU GAYO CALCUTTA, NANIKO AMA BHAYO BEPTTA, I'll leave you to work that one out yourselves.

Ellipsis (the omission of part of a sentence e.g. for economy, emphasis or where the missing element is understood from the context = emphasis or where the missing element is understood from the context = WHERE'S THE BOOK ? ON THE TABLE: TYASLE KE BHANDAICHHA ? KE KE BHANCHHA BHANCHHA BHANCHHA are potential pitfalls.

Puns (humorous or witty use of a word to exploit its ambiguity): PECCA VI [Sir Charles Napier's message, in 1843, I HAVE S(C) IN (NE) D ; SOME ARE WISE AND SOME ARE OTHERWISE ; and, after the expression IT'S RAINING CATS AND DOGS, YES, AND THERE ARE MANY POODLES IN THE STREETS. I wrote two autobiographically

slanted books and entitled one of them AT CROSS PURPOSES and the other, about Indo-China, MALICE IN BLUNDERLAND. My agent said that those were unsuitable titles as they could not be translated into foreign languages. As neither book has been published in English yet that problem need not be one to worry about.

Riddles: these may, or may not, have cultural equivalents. They often have a pun. How would you translate the answer to the riddle WHY CAN'T YOU BE HOPEFUL WHEN YOU ARE CRYING, which is YOU CAN'T BE OPTIMISTIC IF YOU HAVE A MISTY OPTIC. Or AMA BHANDA CHHORI BOKSI, the daughter is a bigger witch than her mother, KHORSANI, chilli.

Euphemistic speech: in Nepali PARIWAR NIYOJAN, DISHA JANU do not in fact mean literally what might be thought. It is politer to pretend that they do than they don't. Likewise, in English, you will hear the delicate POWDER MY NOSE used by women, or SPEND A PENNY, when neither is what she wants to do.

Humour: some of the jokes I have heard are easier to put into a TL than others.

Jargon (A: the technical language of a special field ; B: the obscure use of specialized language):

A: Trucker talk by US citizen band radio - *ankle biters* = children, *doughnuts* = tyres, *motion lotion* = fuel.

B: (an example of LEGAL and COMMERCIAL language) GENERAL LIEN - The contractor shall have a general lien upon all goods in his possession for all monies due to him from the customer or for liabilities incurred by him and for monies paid on behalf of the customer, and if part of the good shall have been delivered, removed or dispatched or sold the general lien shall apply in respect of such goods as remain in the Contractor's possession. The Contractor shall be entitled to charge a storage charge and all other expenses during which a lien on the goods is being asserted and all these conditions shall continue to apply thereto.

Although the INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR will find this much easier to understand in plain non-legal (not illegal) language, does it have the correct legal implication in the TL ?

OUR RIGHT TO HOLD THE GOODS - We have a right to hold some or all of the goods until you have paid all our charges and other payments due under this contract. These include charges, taxes or levies

that we have paid to any other removal or storage business, carrier or official body. While we hold the goods and wait for payment you will have to pay storage charges and all other necessary expenses. This contract will apply to the goods held in this way (quoted in C Maher & M Cutts, 1986: p 12)

May I quote another example of what is termed GOBBLEDYGOOK ? In the Christian Lord's prayer (Incidentally, most Nepalese that I have met think that Christianity is an English religion, not one that has its roots in an Asian religion may be older than Hinduism) are the seven words GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD. *The Observer Newspaper*, on 27 February 1977, made that into 76 words:

We respectfully petition, request and entreat that due and adequate provision be made, this day and the date hereinafter subscribed, for the satisfying of these petitioners' nutritional requirements and for the organising of such methods of allocation and distribution as may be deemed necessary and proper to assure the reception by and for said petitioners of such quantities of baked cereal products as shall, in the judgement of the aforesaid petitioners, constitute a sufficient supply thereof.

As if all that was not enough to bore you stiff, I would like to make a brief mention of two more potential pitfalls, REGISTER and PROPER NAMES, and just touch on the EROTIC and TABOO.

Register, *the socially defined variety of language* must be used as appropriate. Some areas where the correct register has to be used and has its own vocabulary are scientific, legal, royalty, religious, greetings, all the way down the social scale under most if not all circumstances, when to use JANU HOS and when to use PALNU HOS, until someone asks about the CDO's dog 'CDO ko kukur aunu bhayo ki ?' and baby talk.

Proper Names, etc.: LALUMAYA, RELIMAIN, MAINLA BAHUN, BELAITE MAINLA, LIMBU KANCHHA all need special consideration and may, in fact, have to be used in the original or not at all.

All I need to say on Erotic and Taboo language is that you obviously must be very careful only to use either in its own cultural context.

Some cultural differences and difficulties are also experiences when SYMBOLS are used. Some ideas can be properly understood, say BAKULA and HANS for a social group, from the CONTEXT but for the idea to get across as it is meant the idiom of the culture being

interpreted /translated into must be correct. This was noticed during the last election: VOTE FOR RITA ON HAND had an English meaning the drafters of the slogan did not intend, as did the slogan in Pokhara: STAMP ON BUCKET.

Back-translation: one method of testing the quality of a TRANSLATION is BACK-TRANSLATION. (the others are seen as KNOWLEDGE TESTING and PERFORMANCE TESTING) This is when one translates a text from language A into language B and a different translator then turns the B text into A and the two are compared. Quoted by Crystal as an example of a GOOD back-translation is:

Original: Leaks occurring beyond relief valve could cause some indication of low oil pressure. *Back-translation:* If oil is leaking at the outside of the pressure relief valve, it can activate the warning of oil low pressure.

An Example of a BAD back-translation is:

Original: Troubleshooting precautions. *BACK-TRANSLATION:* Preventions while repairing. (R W Brislin 1976: p 10). But until both lots of texts are examined we still don't know if it is the translation or the back-translation that is bad.

Literary work: this is where the INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR really does have to have a good knowledge of both languages if he or she is to cope with esoteric meaning. Surely PLAIN LANGUAGE is the key here ? The example here is taken from a paper, set by Dr. David Mathews of SOAS (Some of you, I feel sure, know him) for me when I took my FINAL DIPLOMA of the INSTITUTE of LINGUISTS.

Kohoschka was born in Austria in 1887, won a scholarship to the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts (Hitler tried the same year, but failed) and grew up in the steamy fin-de-siècle Viennese expressionism. His outrageous drawing and plays quickly caused a scandal, but he found some perceptive patrons and was sent off to Berlin, where he helped to found the famous avant-garde publication, Der Sturm. When the 1914 war broke out, he sold his most important painting ("The Tempest") to buy a horse and joined a crack cavalry regiment. He was badly wounded in the head on the Russian front, and became emotionally disturbed.

....

Although a famous figure on the Continent, he immediately became invisible in England ; perhaps his type, the Tory anarchist à la Evelyn Waugh, was too common in the homeland of eccentrics to be

noticed. This delighted him. He became a British citizen, but in 1947 returned to live in Europe, though he visited London regularly, staying at the Hyde Park Hotel (from The Guardian Newspaper).

Please don't ask me how I managed to pass: I put it down to the fact that it was not a case of good back-translation but that neither the person who set and corrected the paper, nor myself, really understood what all that meant and I was given the benefit of the doubt.

On that sombre note I think I ought to bring this to an end and let you join the world of reality. Thank you very much for letting me waste so much of your valuable time.

Pokhara

26 November 1989

Two Words About Translation

Rameshwar Adhikary*

Objectives and limitation

This paper tries to identify areas which call for attention in the process of translation of Nepali prose passages into English, and to suggest steps that might be followed in order to produce a satisfactory English version of a given Nepali text. It does not deal with translation of poetry, not does it try to establish any nor theory of translation.

Introduction

The *two words* in the title of the paper is the literal translation of Nepali *dui shabda* into English. A Nepali reader or hearer will not be surprised if I produced an essay a few pages long, or if I gave a half-an-hour's lecture on translation under the given title; rather he or she will be shocked if I just said two (one+one) words (for example, 'Translation ? Impossible.') and stopped. On the other hand, an English reader or hearer would be unable to make head or tail of this title. In practice, however, *dui shabda* is a euphemism and has acquired an idiomatic meaning: **a few words**, although how many words this a few can cover is arbitrary.

Translation is not just replacement of a word in a language by another word from a different language.

Language

Language is not mathematics. We do not mean just one+one words when we say two words, although sometimes we do. Language, however, is not just dull and lifeless sounds (or marks) referring objectively or indifferently to an object or idea. For example, we do not in our ordinary life normally describe a beautiful woman by giving her measurements as Beckett does in *Murphy*:

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Age	unimportant
Head	small and round
Eyes	green
Complexion	white
hair	yellow
Features	mobile
Neck	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Upper arm	11"
Forearm	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Wrist	6"
Bust	34"
Waist	27"
Hips, etc.	35"
Thigh	21 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Knee	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Calf	13"
Ankle	18 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Instep	unimportant"
Height	5'4"
Weight	123 lb

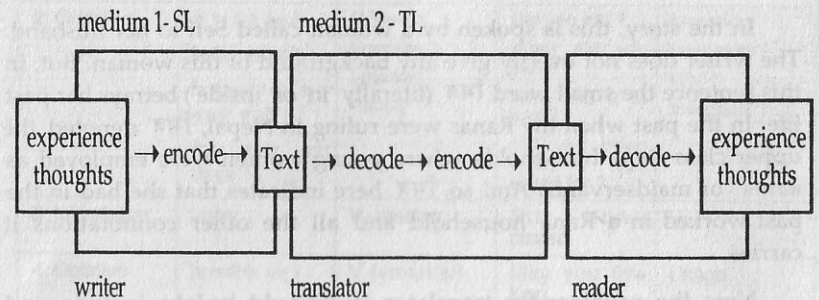
Language is indeed loaded with tradition and culture of the native speakers and is frequently charged with feelings, passions and emotions of the speakers. When Molly (in James Joyce's *Ulysses*) reminisces her past, she does not just describe her experience by 'we kissed each other and move on; on the contrary, she lives the experience again. She translates her experience in these words:

... and then I asked him with my eyes to ask again yes and then he asked me would I yes to say yes my mountain flower and first I put my arms round him yes and drew him down to me so he could feel my breast all perfume and his heart was going like mad and yes I said yes I will yes.

Actually, in thinking, writing or speaking, we are always translating our experiences into visions, words or sounds.

Translation

The following diagram is crude but, I think, it can give an idea of how complex the process of translation is:



The words **encode** and **decode** are jargons or specialized words for *translation*.

Translation, for our purpose, is rendering one language into another. And in translating we always have to keep in mind that

- (a) thoughts and experiences are qualified by language,
- (b) language is qualified by tradition, culture, experience, education, etc. of the speakers, and
- (c) the speakers of the target language may have experiences and culture quite different from those of the speakers of the source language.

Translation is an art and demands much care and love and understanding from the translator. The translator has to make every effort to make the translation as near to the original in meaning as possible.

Translation can be free or literal. Free translation reproduces the general meaning and intention of the original text but does not closely follow the style or organization of the text. Literal translation approximates to a word-for-word representation of the original text.

Translation is primarily meant for those who do not have access to the source language. The translator should be able to very carefully decide how much of the original to retain and how to give it to the reader

of the target language. The following sentence occurs in 'Paribanda' (Circumstances), a short story written by Pushkar Shumsher:

हाम्रो भित्र त यसलाई ढिकिच्याउँ भन्छ । (ha:mro bhitra ta yaslai: Dhikicha:un bhancha)

In the story, this is spoken by a woman called Seti to her husband. The writer does not overtly give any background of this woman. But, in this sentence the small word भित्र (literally 'in' or 'inside') betrays her past life. In the past when the Ranas were ruling in Nepal, भित्र denoted the upper class Rana households where young women were employed as *nanis* or maidservants. And so, भित्र here indicates that she had in the past worked in a Rana household and all the other connotations it carries.

Now the problem for translator is: 'Should he/she include and explain this background in his/her translation or simply leave भित्र out?' Then should the translation be 'We, in our master Rana's household, used to call it daddy-o-long-legs.' or simply 'We call it dady-o-long-legs' >

[Note: ढिकिच्याउँ or 'daddy-o-long-legs' is a common name for the insect referred to here; and Seti's being a maidservant in a Rana household may not be considered significant, by some translators, for the development of the story.]

The text

The text can very broadly be divided into four major classes:

1. general
2. technical
3. literary
4. others

(This division is not mutually exclusive)

1. **General text:** A text that has the following features may be considered *general* or *neutral*:
 - (a) the structure of the sentence follows the regular set pattern,
 - (b) the words or idioms are used with the general dictionary meanings.

Examples:

Types of Sentences	Nepali examples	Marker/ pattern	English translation	Marker/ pattern
1. Statement	मैले चिठी लेखें ।	SOV	I wrote a letter	SVO
2. Question	के तिमिले खायो ?	Q-Marker	Did you eat ?	Inversion
	तिमीले के खायो ?	I-marker	What did you eat ?	Inversion
	तिमीलाई यो कुरा कसले भन्यो ?	I-marker Rising	Who told it to you ?	Wh Inversion
	मैले भन्या कुरा ल्याइस् ?		Did you bring what I had asked for ?	
3. Imperative	बस्नोस ।	V+marker	Sit down please.	V
4. Optative	चिरञ्जीवी भए ।	V (+marker)	May you live long.	Usage
5. Exclamation	कस्तो अनौठो !	marker	How strange !	Pattern
	क्या रामो व्यवस्था !	structure	What a good management !	Pattern

Idiomatic expressions with normal meanings can be placed under this heading; e.g.

म निदाएँ

मलाई निद्रा पच्यो ।

I fell asleep

मेरा आँखा लागे/लागेछन् ।

2. **Technical Text:** Technical texts are identified by a special vocabulary they use and by the fact that they often use the same few patterns of sentences and that they avoid using emotive words or language; e.g.

वस्तु विनिमय पद्धतिमा वस्तुहरूको निश्चित मूल्यांकन हुन पाउँदैन ।

Articles (or commodities) cannot have a fixed valuation in barter system.

3. **Literary Text:** In a literary text, the following patterns of usage may be observed:
 - (a) deviation sometimes from the normal structural patterns
 - (b) words or idioms in unnatural context or in special collocations
 - (c) conscious use of puns, ambiguities, word-plays, etc.
 - (d) expressions of emotions, passions, feeling, etc.

These devices are used to create new experiences in the reader. The sentence फूल फूल्यो (the flower bloomed) belongs to the general text, whereas, फूल मुस्करायो (the flower smiled) is a literary one. The literariness in this sentence comes from the fact that फूल (flower), ordinarily an inanimate object, has been given life, a power to smile. Moreover, the word *smile* (or better *blush*) brings to our mind the picture of a young girl smiling shyly or blushing with a pinky tinge in her cheeks. May be, this *blush* of flower will bring to our mind several pleasant reminiscences of our young days. This small sentence with literally two words in Nepali (three words in English) not only describes the beauty of a flower but can transport us to a different world and do wonders.

But precaution and care have to be taken in translation of such expressions. Would you prefer *blush* to *smile* in the sentence discussed above?

4. **Others:** Proverbs and maxims are, in one sense, literary texts and in translating them it is better to find similar expressions in the target language: e.g.

म ताक्छु मूढो, बन्चरो ताक्छ घुँडो (literally, *I aim at the log, and the axe aims at the knee*) can be translated as *Man proposes, God disposes*.

नेपाल दुई ढुंगाको बीचको तरुल जस्तो छ (literally: *Nepal is like yam between two stones*) can be translated as *Nepal is sandwiched between two powerful nations*.

PROBLEMS: The major problems in translation are caused by **gaps** between languages and by the differences in cultures of the speakers of the two languages.

A language system is developed to meet the needs of the community that speaks the language. With the passage of time as the community develops and changes, new situations arise with new necessities and modes of thinking, and in order to live in the new situations, new words and expressions are invented, coined, derived, borrowed, or the old ones are put to new uses with fresh meanings. In this process of change and adoption, some words become obsolete. Language governs and is governed by the community and its culture.

Nepali and English belong to two different communities that are far apart culturally, linguistically and geographically. And naturally, there are bound to be several gaps between these languages. If a certain feature of language is present in Nepali but missing in English, then

English is said to have a gap in comparison to Nepali, and vice versa. For example, compare the following familial terms:

Nepali	English	Nepali	English
दाजु	brother	दिदी	sister
भाइ		बहिनी	
देउरानी	sister-in-law	काका	uncle
जेठानी		जेठाबाबु	
भाउजू		मामा	
नन्द			
साली			

A translator should be able to identify and note such gaps and try to make the translation as clear as possible to the readers of the target language. Here are a few other examples of the gap between Nepali and English languages:

Nepali	English	Nepali	English
	jump		good morning
उफ्रनु	skip	नमस्ते/	good evening
	hop	नमस्कार	good night
	leap		good-bye

Nepali has गोडा and खुट्टा as if to go with English *foot* and *leg*. But whereas English makes a distinction in the meanings of *foot* and *leg*, Nepali does not make any such distinction and uses the two words interchangeably.

Nepali has distinct markers in *pronouns* and *verbs* to show hierarchical distinction, but in English such distinctions are rarely made by markers in these categories. English uses *modals* or other terms for such purposes.

Several gaps are also found in grammar of these two languages: Nepali and English. A few examples are given below:

- English has *Perfect Continuous Tense forms*; Nepali does not have such forms.
- Nepali has a form of the verb called *Unknown Past*, English does not have such a form.

(c) Nepali can use several *conjunctive* verbs and often make a sentence really long and often complicated.

Other factors that present problems to a translator are culture, religion, beliefs, etc. Words, expressions and concepts that belong to these areas are really difficult to translate. For example, भान्सा (kitchen) for a traditional Nepali family is not only a place where food is cooked but also a sacred place which is liable to be defiled by somebody lower than your caste, etc. In a Nepalese (particularly Brahmanic) context women having a period are considered unclean and are therefore restricted in their activities: they are supposed to be *untouchable* for four days.

In such cases the translator may decide to use the native word and or explain the term for the reader of the target language. However, the translator, as far as possible, should try to retain the tone of the original language as well; e.g.

ऊ सानी छ र ? नछुनी भइसकी । (Literally: *Is she small ? She has already become untouchable*) may be translated into *Do you think she is a child ? She has already attained puberty.*

This translation tries to retain the tone of irritation that is present in the original sentence.

VOCABULARY: A good translator should have a very good vocabulary of both the source as well as the target language. He should know where to look for words and meanings and usages. The sources are many and varied. Several types of dictionaries and reference materials are available in the market; e.g.

- Dictionaries written on historical principles
- Large desk dictionaries
- Monolingual dictionaries
- Bilingual or multilingual dictionaries
- Technical dictionaries
- Special subject dictionaries
- Thesauruses (based on concepts)
- Thesauruses (in dictionary form)
- Specialized dictionaries (e.g. of phrases and idioms, usages, proverbs, etc.)

Words have common or ordinary meanings and figurative meanings, and in different contexts, environments and collocations, words or expressions acquire different senses and nuances. For example, the basic or common meaning of काँचो is *raw* or *unripe*, but with different words it acquires different meanings:

काँचो आँप	unripe mango
काँचो मान्छे	inexperienced person
काँचो भात	undercooked rice
काँचो उमेर	adolescent age
काँचो कागत	handmade pulp paper
काँचो धागा	single strand thread or single ply cotton thread
काँचो ईटा	unbaked brick
काँचो रोटी	under baked bread

Similarly मुख can have different words in different contexts:

मान्छेको मुख	mouth/face
चराको चुच्चो	beak
कुकुरको थुतुनो	snout
घाउको मुख	opening
घरको मोहडा	front
गल्लीको मुख	entry

Most important are the small words called *particles* that give meanings colour and shades ; e.g.

पो, त	expresses contrast, contradiction, etc.
नि	expresses emphasis
रे, अरे	expresses hearsay or report
र	expresses doubt, surprise, etc.

तिमीले भन्यौ र पो मैले उसको सिफारिस गर्ने । I recommended him because you asked me to (otherwise....)

ऊ आयो र ? Did he come ? Really ? (or Did he really come ?)

उसले रुपियाँ तिन्यो त ? Did he pay back your money ? (or, I knew he won't)

उसले आफ्नो वचन पूरा गर्‍यो नि ! He fulfilled his promise. (I told you he would)

To conclude, a translator should acquire as much knowledge of language and culture of the native speakers as possible and should have access to as many reference materials as are available i.e. to a good library.

Appendix 1

List of reference materials that are useful for translators:

1. English Dictionaries:

- (a) *New Shorter Oxford Dictionary*
- (b) *Webster's Third International Dictionary*
- (c) *Longman Dictionary of English*
- (d) *Collins English Dictionary*
- (e) *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (tenth edition)*
- (f) *Oxford Concise Dictionary*
- (g) *Chamber's English Dictionary*
- (i) *Collins COBUILD Dictionary*
- (j) *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*
- (k) *Cambridge International Dictionary of English*

2. Nepali Dictionaries:

- (a) *Nepali Shabdakosh*
- (b) *Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh*
- (c) *Nepali Samkshipta Kosh*

3. English-Nepali Dictionaries:

- (a) *Sajha Samkshipta Angreji-Nepali Kosh*
- (b) *Standard English-Nepali Dictionary*

4. Nepali-English Dictionaries:

- (a) *An Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*
- (b) *Nepali-Nepali-English Dictionary*

5. English-Sanskrit / Sanskrit-English Dictionaries:

- (a) *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*
- (b) *A Dictionary of English and Sanskrit*
- (c) *The Student's English - Sanskrit Dictionary*
- (d) *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*

6. Thesauruses:

- (a) *Roget's International Thesaurus*
- (b) *Webster's Thesaurus*
- (c) *Oxford Thesaurus*
- (d) *Collins Thesaurus*

There are quite a large number of dictionaries, thesauruses, encyclopaedias, etc. available in the market. Care should be taken to buy the right kind of material that one needs.

Appendix 2

A few examples of sample translation

1. 'के दलाई लामासित कुरा मिलेन ?'

'मिलेन, महाराज'

'भोटेहरूले जोरी नै खोजेका छन् ?'

श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज सुरेन्द्र विक्रम शाहदेव र जंगबहादुरका जेष्ठ पुत्र जगतजंगको सवाल जवाफ भइरहेको थियो । (सेतो बाघ)

"Am I to understand that our negotiations with Tibet failed, well ? am I?"

"Yes, Your Majesty."

"Then they are trying to provoke us ?" King Surendra queried of Jagat Jung, the eldest son of his Prime Minister Jung Bahadur.

(from *Seto Bagh*) *Wake of the White Tiger* translated by Greta Rana

2 कान्छी आमाले आँखा उठाएर हेरिन् । काम गर्दागर्दै उनको हात रोकियो ।

“रक्सी ?” उसले भनी ।

“छ ?” उसको शरीरमा फेरि रगत तातेर आयो ।

कान्छी उठी । लम्केर भरयाङ्गतिर बढी । उसको शरीरका लचकहरूले स्वतः रक्सी पैदा गरे । अनि काठको भरयाङ्गका खुट्टकिलाहरूले किरकिर गर्दै उसैको गन्हुपन र चपलतालाई निर्देश गरे । (खैरेनी घाट)

Kanchi raised her eyes to look, and her hands stopped in the midst of her work.

"Liquor ?" She asked.

"Is there any ?" He felt his blood warm up again.

Kanchi got up and strode to the stairs. The beautiful movements of her body brought forth the home-made liquor automatically; the creaking made by her footsteps on the wooden ladder made him feel heavy and restless. (translated by Larry Hartsell) From *Khairani Ghat*

Samasāmayik Nepali Vyākaraṇa Towards a Nepali Grammar on Linguistic Principles

Hriseekesh Upadhyay*

Hemanga Raj Adhikari's *Samasamayik Nepali Vyakarana* - SNV (A contemporary grammar of Nepali) (1993) breaks new grounds in the tradition of compiling Nepali grammar. It seeks to describe the grammar of contemporary Nepali language in the light of modern linguistic principles of grammar articulated by Chomsky (1957) and subsequently developed by various linguists and grammarians of the second half of this century. The monumental work of grammar of a modern language based on the linguistic principle is *A comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk, et, al. 1985) which has led the way to a number of pedagogical English grammars. Adhikari's *SNV* is inevitably modelled on some of these works, even though no acknowledgement is expressed by the author.

Curiously, for a modern grammatical work, which apparently was enriched by models and practices of other grammarians of modern languages, no bibliography or the list of works consulted is cited in this book. Every linguist and grammarian works in the context of theoretical foundation and intellectual back-stopping of preceding generation of scholars. As such it is no sin to acknowledge the models and practices one may have derived from others and it certainly does not overshadow the description of grammatical forms of a living language which in theory, at least, is known to every native speaker of that language. Indeed the modern linguistic approach which Adhikari has brought to analyse the Nepali grammar was developed by several linguists in course of many years of research and critical analysis. The approaches and methods of understanding the rules and processes that constitute the body of the grammar of a language are well known now ; the

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contribution of an individual author lies in applying the linguistic principles patiently and systematically and helping the readers / native speakers understand the workings of the given language. Adhikari has made an important start in applying the linguistic principles to determine the complex body of the grammar of Nepali language. His efforts would have only gained greater credibility had he clearly expressed the theoretical base and practical models for his work. His achievement in *SNV* is important in that he has sought to unfold the complexity and intricacy of the Nepali grammar in the light of linguistic theory and practices of theoretical grammarians of modern languages.

The tradition of Nepali grammar had been transfixed in the work of Pandit Hem Raj Sharma's *Gorkha Bhasa Chandrika Vyakarana* compiled around the turn of this century. Subsequent works on Nepali grammar have proved slight variation and reworking of what was presented in the Chandrika tradition. The characteristic feature of this approach to grammar was to dwell mainly at the word level and apply the grammatical terms and methods uncritically which were taken from either Latin based traditional English grammar or a mix of Sanskrit and English tradition. Such approach continued until the 1970s typified by the *Brihad Nepali Vyakarana* (Bhattarai, 1976 ; Royal Nepal Academy).

As the range and domain of Nepali use expanded rapidly, particularly since the 1950s, the clamour for the comprehensive grammar of Nepali began to be made loudly and insistently. Nepali has been the only official language of the government for over two centuries but its use was restricted to traditional functions of a medieval society such as revenue collection, administration of civil and criminal justice, enactment of laws based on Hindu *smritis* and customs and recital of religious texts in oral Nepali rendering for the privileged devotees. When promotion of education and learning was anathema to the regime before 1951, the ground work of scholarship to broaden understanding and compilation of the Nepali grammar also stagnated.

Adhikari's *SNV* seeks to introduce new approaches to the Nepali grammar in the light of modern linguistic studies while not ignoring the positive features of traditional description. What is new in the linguistic approach in *SNV* is selection of appropriate criterion to describe the grammar of the Nepali language, both in spoken and written forms, which every native Nepali speaker knows albeit passively, and not in prescribing rules or making attempts to fix the language.

Modern linguistic approach, after all, does make use of terms derived from conventional grammar. For example, linguistic based modern grammatical analyses do use terms traditionally called parts of speech and now described word classes - such as noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, etc. *SNV* of course deals with these word classes as they fit in the Nepali grammatical system. Adhikari has attempted to describe word classes not on the notional basis derived from traditional description but on the basis of linguistic function of each class of words.

It is well known that in a traditional grammar a noun would be defined as "the name of a person, an object or a thing" and such definition did not fully reflect the functional range of noun words. To date, every published Nepali grammar blandly confined itself to this definition.

What is of significance in *SNV* is the author's attempt to explicate the traditional approach and illustrate its limitation while underlining the relevance of new functional description of individual word classes and grammatical components. Moreover, *SNV* consistently applies morphological and semantic analyses where it is feasible. Thus *SNV* stands out as a novel compilation of Nepali grammar which incorporates the traditional insight and description while drawing the readers' attention to the new approach to understand the underlying grammatical functions of individual grammatical components and their intricate role in the language structure.

Another notable feature of *SNV* is its clarity and ease of comprehension. A topic under discussion is introduced directly. First it is explained in the light of conventional definition which prepares the readers for further analysis. Then the alternative analysis and illustration are presented. The author maintains a balanced and a thoroughly detached perspective. He neither underrates the traditional description nor exalts the modern linguistic approach.

The *SNV* conceives of the Nepali grammar in three broad divisions, namely, phonology, lexicon (word classes and derivation) and syntactic arrangements (concord, sentence forms, voice, negation and narration).

Phonology or Nepali sound system is dealt with rather briefly. The traditional Nepali alphabet is contrasted with the Nepali sounds and their distribution and actual realization in different phonological environment are presented succinctly. The author notes that the voiced aspirated consonants: i.e./ घ, फ, ढ, ध, भ /are phonemic and unique features of Nepali like that of many Indic South Asian Languages. But

their realization in word medial and final position is unaspirated. However, the educated speakers consciously try to realize the voicing and aspiration of these sounds in words such as सुग्घर : सुग्गर ; साभ्हा : साजा ; काँध : काँद. Of course, this is a well known linguistic fact but Adhikari has integrated this linguistic fact into a well defined grammatical context. The word final vowel in certain environment and the permissible consonant clusters in every conceivable environment is also highlighted. This is one of the important references ever recorded in a Nepali grammar book.

However, *SNV* makes no reference to Nepali spelling and punctuation system. If these are part the writing convention and conceivably outside the central part of grammar, so are the alphabets. One of the unresolved controversies in Nepali grammar related to written system is its spelling. While the author of *SNV* points out the irrelevance of long /i:ई, u:ऊ:/ and /s:स, श, ष:/ in spoken Nepali, he makes no comment on the spelling controversy and continues using Sanskrit-based spelling for the large stock of lexicon of Sanskrit derivation. In this respect, the book will frustrate those native Nepali speaking readers who would approach the book for clear guidance to overcome the nightmare of Nepali spelling.

On the positive side though, *SNV* deals with the parts of speech - the core part of the traditional grammar - in one chapter with the exception of verb words. It has also pointed out the broad divisions of the word classes into grammatical (closed class) and lexical (open class) categories - a concept developed following the linguistic description of language system.

The rest of the book covers the process of arranging different word classes to produce sentences and ultimately meaningful discourse in diverse fields. In this process Adhikari's *SNV* expends considerable efforts to classify concord, case ending, verb tenses and diverse sentence forms in Nepali which is still an inflectional language though showing tendency to grow to analytical structures. The latter trend would also require some analysis of the significance of word order in sentence formation which is not included in *SNV*.

On the whole Adhikari's *SNV* makes an important breakthrough in the tradition of compiling and codification of the Nepali grammar. It makes a new beginning and it is within the author's competence to expand the description to cover a few more areas that need to be included in any tome of Nepali grammar.

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Activities

1. Talk Programme

Prof. A.K. Sinha of Delhi University gave a talk on New Directions in Chomskian Linguistics for the LSN members on July 6, 1995.

Prof. Sinha outlined the three phase development of linguistics: the first phase was the classical era from the earliest time to the seventeenth century dominated by rhetorical studies to prescriptive grammar. The second phase was characterised by the growth of historical linguistics spurred on by the introduction of Sanskrit to the Western Scholars by William Jones in the early eighteenth century. It helped expand linguistic reconstruction on the basis of comparative analysis and this process is still alive.

However, the systematic study of human languages on the concrete theoretical basis had to wait until the development of Chomskian linguistics in the early 1960s.

Chomsky sought to describe the language as a whole - not the separate components of a given language. Chomsky entered the scene and challenged the old theory as done never before. His contributions are remarkable for boldness of vision, clarity of thought and flexibility in the face of new discoveries and insight.

His observations on competence and performance not only opened up a new paradigm to linguistic analysis but also established that linguistic analysis must focus on competence of the native speakers of a language, not merely on the language patterns actually produced. This led to the emergence of the Transformational Generative (TG) grammar and its various forms.

In the 1980s, Chomsky took a still more powerful target: "to provide a grammar capable of evaluating the adequacy of different account of competence and of going beyond the study of individual human languages to the nature of human language as a whole by discovering linguistic universals". Thus linguistics is hoped to make a solid contribution to our understanding of the nature of the human mind.

2. Highlights of the 15th Annual Conference 1994

The 15th Annual Conference of the linguistic Society of Nepal was held at CEDA auditorium Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu during November 26-27, 1994. Altogether 97 linguists and academicians from Nepal and abroad attended the conference. This included life members, ordinary members and foreign members. The conference provided forum for papers in sociolinguistics, language in contact, syntax and semantics, and dialectology and language planning.

Dr. Deep Raj Sharma, Chairman, TU Service Commission inaugurated the conference by lighting the decorated lamp. He also applauded the role of LSN for its bringing together the linguists from different parts of the world, and that of the linguists in language planning and studies in different fields of linguistics.

The President of LSN Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma delivered his presidential address reiterating the demand for setting up a Department of Linguistics at TU and LSN's move towards the same. He also insisted on producing dedicated, competent linguists who can work seriously to preserve the dying languages and produce pedagogic materials for giving education in mother tongue. He also appealed to the political planners to take pragmatic attitude by working with the linguists or by including them in the planning and policy making bodies.

The Secretary - Treasurer of LSN Mr. Hrisheekesh Upadhyay cordially welcomed the guests and participants to the conference. He also presented a brief report of LSN's activities and informed that the LSN has deposited Rs. 100,000 in a fixed account at Nepal Finance Company, Basantapur, Kathmandu.

The chairman of the inaugural session Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi commended the LSN's work and encouraged the Board for its continuous movement towards setting up of a linguistics department at TU.

The following papers were presented at the conference:

Session I: Sociolinguistics

Chair : Dr. Y.P. Yadav

1. Bryan Verenkamp: Some preliminary findings from sociolinguistic research among speakers of Eastern Tamang: A progress report.

2. Phanindra Upadhyay: The use of terms of address: native and non-native speakers of American English.
3. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha: Kinship terms in Newari's a study in social and regional variations.

Session II: Language in Contact

Chair : Prof. Dr. Sunil Kumar Jha

1. Sonia Eagle: Proxemics, kinesics, non-verbal communication and silence: a cross-cultural consideration with emphasis on Japanese.
2. Binay Jha: English in Nepal in sociolinguistic perspective.

Session III: Syntax and Semantics

Chair : Sueyoshi Toba

1. Wayne Amztis: Mistakes and Meaning: Contextualizing discrepancies in discourse.
2. Bijay Kumar Rauniyar: A Speech Act between Austin and Derrida.
3. Beerendra Pandey: Jakobson on Metaphor and Metonymy: a critique.
4. Tsetan Chonjore: Contextual Ambiguity.

Session IV: Dialectology / Language Planning

Chair : Sonia Eagle

1. Sueyoshi Toba: Implosive stops in Umbula.
2. Ram Bikram Sijapati: A descriptive study of the Jumli dialect.
3. Hriseekesh Upadhyay: A critique of the final report of the Language Policy Recommendation Commission 1994.

Presidential Address delivered at the fifteenth annual conference of the linguistic society of Nepal at CEDA Hall, Kirtipur on November 26, 1994

Chandra P. Sharma
President, LSN

Language communicates truth, that is, uncovers and calls attention to what is there. But everyday language in constant use loses touch with the objects to which it ostensibly refers ; as Bacon says, words are substituted for things. Language then spreads untruth and establishes unauthentic existence.

H.J. Blackham on Martin Heidegger

... and here it is the language that the lover employs that promises best to serve his interests ; but he can no more know how his language will be taken and interpreted by the loved one.

H.J. Blackham on Jean-Paul Sartre

Even language is a shorthand for the sense of belonging together of sharing the same memories, the same historical experience, the same cultural and imaginative heritage.

Barbara Ward

Mr. Chairman

Mr. Chief Guest

Ladies and Gentlemen

I welcome you all to this Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. It is a great opportunity for us all - native as well as foreign scholars - to meet and deliberate on several aspects of languages, e.g. development, nature, acquisition, structure, and relationship to other forms of communication. It is up to the scholars and the linguists present here to steer the right course and guide the

leaders who are directly involved with policy making. We are not the policy makers but we have always passed the message to the agencies concerned regarding language planning and language education. We have to decide the function of language whether we want it to be the language 'employed by the lover' or the language used to 'spread untruth'. Or, do we want it to be the language which provides us with a 'sense of belonging together' ?

Here I would like to tell you about my own childhood experience. In the late fifties, even after the establishment of democracy in 1950, the medium of instruction in Terai was Hindi. We were taught that Mr. Rajendra Prasad was the first President of India and Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru was the first Prime Minister of India. My father was a Civil Servant and whenever he came to Kathmandu people in the village said that he was going to Nepal. Kathmandu was synonymous with Nepal. Today at least we have one of the native languages of Nepal as the language of the nation. I know that this language has become 'the language' because it was spoken by the ruling class. But it has reached that place not in a day or two. It has taken decades to make it acceptable to the whole nation.

Even the new constitution of Nepal (1990) promulgated by a general consensus reestablishes Nepali as the language of the nation and also as the official language of the country. Still there are a lot of controversies regarding whether there should be a composition paper in Nepali at the Public Service Commission (PSC) examination or not. The PSC has seen the official language fit to drop from its curriculum and they might have their reasons. As a speaker of Nepali as the third language, I personally cannot guess the reason except that the non-native speakers of Nepali might have tough time passing the examination. I know that Humanities and Social Sciences students fail mostly in English Language and yet we don't like to do away with it. To me, as Jean-Paul Sartre suggests, language is made not by laws but by use. Nepali as language is widely in use and people of Nepal have started identifying themselves with it. So it will not do any good to any one by talking against it. Yes, I agree that we should also help improve other mother tongue languages of Nepal without any discrimination but we should not make a mistake of putting the language of the nation in the same weighing pane as 'the national language'. My reasons are pragmatic not prejudiced.

I would like to continue the above argument by using some examples from the present scenario. If we turn the wheel backwards as the United Marxist Leninist (UML) party appears to have done in its election manifesto (page 31, it declares to provide equal rights to all tribes, languages, religions, cultures, and geographical regions, and also promises to get rid of the prevailing discriminations pertaining to various social groups, languages, religions and cultures), we will be doing more harm than good. We are witnessing how the politicians are using language and culture as 'battering rams' to destroy social harmony in the present day world. People have forgotten the principles of coexistence.

Our constitution in part three, article eighteen, provides cultural and educational rights to its citizens. It accepts the right of each language community (about 30) to preserve and promote its language. It also allows each community to impart education in its mother tongue by opening and operating schools up to the primary level. Regarding how to impart education in mother tongue, I recall Dr. Ramawatar Yadav's paper on the subject presented at the Fourteenth Annual Conference here last year. In that paper Dr. Yadav raised many pertinent questions to which we do not have any ready made answer. Linguists will have to work on this project seriously without being carried away by the popular political demands. We must ask whether an underdeveloped country like Nepal can afford the luxury of sustaining all the national languages under a blanket programme as stipulated in the policy principles in the name of social equality.

In the end, I would like to take this opportunity to ask the Tribhuvan University authorities to consider our proposal seriously and start a department of linguistics. I am talking in terms of the far reaching implications of the academic programmes. We would benefit more by producing dedicated, competent linguists who can work seriously to preserve the dying language and produce pedagogic materials for giving education in the mother tongue, that by encouraging zealots which is the domain of the politicians not ours. But I strongly feel that political planners should take pragmatic attitude. They can do so by working with the linguists or by including them in the planning and policy making bodies. A modest beginning was made when a commission of linguists was formed to provide suggestions to the government to plan and implement language policies early this year. All

the members of the commission are the members of the Linguistic Society and are reputed linguists.

Whatever my be the position of our future working patterns, I would like to assure both linguists and non-linguists present here this morning that the Linguistic Society of Nepal will remain a forum of non-partisan scholars dedicated to both the theoretical and applied side of the linguistic studies. The spirit of my appeal this morning is that as linguists, social workers and planners let us not forget the human side of language -- harmony, achievement and freedom. Linguistic studies should serve to promote these values not to diminish or jeopardize them.

Thank you.

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In this issue

Articles	Page
A tonal analysis of Gurung with separate systems for register and contour pitch features	1
Cliticization of Particles in Newari Syntax	10
Implosive Stops in Umbule	29
Jakobson on Metaphor and Metonymy: A Critique	31
The use of terms of address: Native and non native speakers of American English	38
Mistakes and Meaning: Contextualizing Discrepancies in Discourse	44
Pitfalls of Interpreting and Translating	53
Two Words About Translation	63
Samasāmayik Nepali Vyakarana Towards a Nepali Grammar on Linguistic Principles	76
LSN Newsletter 1994-95	82