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Turn-Taking in Nepali

Sarada Bhadra

Outline

This paper examines the turn-taking mechanism in Nepali conversations. Apart from illustrating different types of turn construction units, the paper cites examples from Nepali conversations to show how turns are allocated and how turn transition is accomplished. Also illustrated with examples from Nepali are different types of silences (pauses and gaps) and the minimized occurrences of overlaps. The paper also discusses when overlap occurs, how it is triggered, how it relates to transition-relevance places (TRPs) and what techniques speakers employ to minimize the negative effects of overlap in Nepali conversations. Finally, the paper examines the problems regarding what are or are not "interruptions" and describes the different types of overlap with examples from naturally occurring Nepali conversations.

1. Turn Construction

Conversation is accomplished through a series of turns between two or more speakers. G. Psathas (1995) notes that the most important work in the study of turn-taking organization was that of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1978) and that their major concern was "how to account for the complex system by which parties engaged in talk, manage to take turns at speaking" (p. 34). Sacks et al. (1978) in their model point out some obvious facts about conversation. One such fact is that turn size varies and that turns are constructed out of any of the four units of talk. Some turns are made of just one word, some others are composed of a phrase, while others are composed of a clause, and still others are made of a full sentence. For each of these units which are called turn construction units, participants can project where each unit will end or they can project where or at what point a particular turn construction unit will possibly be complete. The place or the spot which participants recognize as the potential completion point of a turn is also the point where a transition from one speaker to another becomes relevant. This is referred to as a "transition relevance place" (TRP) by Sacks et al. (1978, pp.12 & 15). This means that turn construction units can

be of various sizes and each of these will have a TRP at its end. So we can have just one word, or one phrase, or one clause or one full sentence to mark a TRP and the end or the completion point of these units constitutes a TRP.

The following examples will show different types of turn construction units and their TRPs.

Example 1: (NTN:27: Kazi)

Nepali:

1. N: सीगै लेउ भन्छ (•) दिन्छ तेले
2. K: एः

Gloss:

1. N: (He) asks for the whole thing (.)
He won't give it.
2. K: Oh !

In this example, K's turn consists of just one word and the end of "एः" (Oh!) also marks the TRP. The TRP for N's last turn would be the end of "तेले"(He).

Example 2. (NTN: 27: Kazi)

Nepali:

1. N: सीतामा भनेर जान्छ भन्या ((laughter))
2. K: कामगर्नेलाई?

Gloss:

1. N: He follows her calling her Sitama ((laughter))
2. K: The maid servant?

In this example, K's turn consists of a three-word phrase and the end of "कामगर्नेलाई" (maid servant) marks the TRP. The TRP for N's turn is the end of "सीतामा" (Sitama).

Example 3. (NTN: 27: Kazi)

Nepali:

1. N: कहाँसम्म पुग्यो कुन्नी, अनि सबै पढीरा मैले
2. K: नेपाली एउटा सव्जेक्ट मात्र गरेर होला र धेरै अरु हिसाब सिसाब, इन्ड्रलिस सबै गै सक्यो होला

Gloss:

1. N: I don't know how far they have finished. So I have been reading everything.
2. K: Just reading Nepali subject, will it do? A number of lessons from the most other subjects like Math and English may have already been missed by you.

In this example, N's turn is composed of two sentences. K's turn also consists of two sentences. The first sentence in K's turn begins with "नेपाली" (Nepali) and ends with "होला र" (will it?) and the second sentence beginning with "धेरै" (a number of) ends with "होला" (may have been). The end of N's first sentence which begins with "कहाँ" (where) is marked by "कुन्नी" (I don't know), whereas the second sentence in N's turn begins with "अनि" (so) and ends with "मैले" (I). The end of each sentence marks the TRP for that sentence. We should also note that transition from one participant to another normally occurs at the TRP. Speaker change, therefore, occurred at TRP at the end of N's turn marked by "तेले" (he) in Example 1 and at the TRP at the end of N's turn marked by "भन्या" in Example 2. Similarly, in Example 3, speaker change takes place at the TRP at the end of N's turn marked by "मैले" in line 1.

2. Turn Allocation

Sacks et al. (1978, pp. 12-14) identify three techniques for determining who gets the next turn. The three techniques proposed by them are: a) current speaker selects next speaker; b) next speaker self-selects; c) current speaker may continue. The current speaker has the first opportunity to select the next speaker during his current talk, and the person so selected has the right to the next turn at the first TRP. Let us look at the following example:

Example 4. (NTN:27:Kazi)

Nepali:

1. K: अब तिमी कति स्कूल नगएको कति दिन भो (•) हँ?
2. (3.00)
3. N: अँ (•) चारपाँच दिनभो

Gloss:

1. K: Now how many days have passed since you went to school?
2. (3.00)
3. N: Umm (*) four or five days

In this example, the current speaker K selects N as the next speaker by asking her a question and addressing her as "तिमी" (you). The next turn goes to N in line 2. Even if there were other speakers present, once N has been selected by K as next speaker, no other speaker may be selected or may self-select as next speaker.

Sacks et al. (1978) contend that speakers have ordered opportunities to take the next turn. These opportunities are ordered in the sense that when the first one is in operation, the second one can not be operated, and when the second one is in operation, the third one can not be operated. This means that a) A current speaker may select a next speaker at any time during his turn unit; b) If the current speaker does not do so, then at each transition-relevance place another speaker may self-select; and c) if no speaker self-selects then the current speaker may continue to talk. These three turn-allocation rules apply recursively at all the next TRPs. Sacks et al. also point out that the existence of the self-selection requires that speakers who want to self-select should start quickly, because several other speakers may self-select, and if he fails to be first he is obliged to drop out. This option also entails that if current speakers want to select the next speaker, they must do so before reaching the TRP, because at the TRP any person can self-select. (Nofsinger, 1991, pp.82-84).

There are some obvious cases of next-speaker selection techniques, such as "an addressed question selecting its addressee to speak next ..." (Sacks et al. 1978, p. 27). An addressed question becomes the first part of a sequential unit known as "adjacency pair", which requires that its second pair part be answer to the question for the next turn. Sacks et al. (1978) state: "... addressing a question to a party selects that party as next speaker; but, when that party speaks next and addresses an answer (a second pair-part) to prior speaker, the addressee is not necessarily selected as next speaker" (p.29). The following example shows that speaker A in her first pair part addressees a question to B selecting her as the next

speaker. B and nobody else should speak next and her answer becomes the second pair part of the adjacency pair.

Example 5. (NTN: 16: K/A)

Nepali:

1. A: तिमिले अंजलीलाई चिन्छौ ?
2. B: अंजली?

Gloss:

1. A. Do you know Anjali?
2. B. Anjali?

Question-answer sequence: There are quite a few other adjacency pairs such as greeting/greeting, invitation/acceptance, denial, etc.

Sacks et al. (1978, p.16) claim that the rule-set and the constraints imposed on them help to minimize gaps and overlaps in conversation by providing for their localization at or near transition-relevance places.

3. Turn Transition

Another obvious fact about conversation is that transitions from one turn to the next with no gap and no overlap as well as transitions characterized by slight gap or slight overlap are common. Occurrences of more than one (overlap) at a time are common but brief. One source of their briefness is their occurrence at transition-relevance places (TRPs), places where current speakers can or should exit. When the current speakers exit, a major component of overlap is removed. One basis for the occurrence of overlap is Rule (b), which allocates a turn to the self-selector who starts first, but which also encourages the earliest possible start for each self-selector, thereby causing overlap by completing self-selectors for a next turn (Sacks et al., 1978, p.15).

Example 6. (NTN: 27: Kazi)

Nepali:

161. N: पुङ्के त्यो
162. (5.00)
163. N: (फेरी राजपाउको छोरा)
164. K: (तीन वर्ष(सम्म) त) स्कूल राख्छ हैन

Gloss:

161. N: Short, he (is)
 162. (5.00)
 163. N: (Again Rajpau's son)
 164. K: (After three years he) will be sent to school.

In this example, after a 5-second pause at line 162, simultaneous onset of overlap occurred at lines 163 and 164. The pause after a TRP does not belong to anybody and next turn is up for grabs. Both N and K started to talk at the same moment; because of the competition for next turn, both of them started to talk at the earliest possible point of time, thereby causing overlap.

Another basis of overlap derives from the ability of the participants to project possible turn completion point or TRP. Sacks et al. (1978) state: "... Variation in the articulation of the projected last part of a projectably last component of a turn's talk, ... will expectably produce overlap between a current and a next." (p.16)

This suggests that overlap can occur at or near the TRP, because the other speaker tends to project where the current speaker's turn will be completed. This projection does not always achieve 100% accuracy and in most cases overlap begins somewhere in the neighborhood of the TRP if not at the TRP. Let us look at an example.

Example 7. (NTN: 16:K/A)

Nepali:

1. B: (बच्चा छ कि (छैन))
 2. A: (दर्सना) अगाडि केटी कति राम्री
 केटा भन्दा केटी कति राम्री छ

Gloss:

1. B: (she has children, (doesn't she?))
 2. A: (Darsana) the girl is prettier
 the girl is much prettier than the boy

In this example, A projects that B's utterance will end immediately after "छैन" (doesn't she) and reach the TRP. Based on this projection, she begins her new turn and the first word "दर्सना"

(Darsana) happens to overlap B's last word "छैन" (doesn't she) near the TRP. Let us look at another example.

Example 8. (NTN:27:Kazi)

Nepali:

1. K: कति भो कति (वर्ष)
 2. N: (फेरी) त्यो कस्तो रीसाउँछनी

Gloss: 1. K: How many (years) (is he)
 2. N: (Again) how angry he becomes.
 Because they did not give him the whole thing.

In this example, N projects that K's turn will be completed at the (first) TRP and begins a new turn with "फेरी" (again) which overlaps with "वर्ष" (years) in K's turn-ending. But no harm is done here because of this overlap, because the pre-placed appositional "फेरी" here does not carry any specific meaning.

4. Silences

One other obvious fact about conversation is that conversation can be continuous or discontinuous. Sacks et al. (1978) say: "Talk is continuous when, for a sequence of transition-relevance place, talk continues... across a transition-relevance place, with a minimization of gap and overlap." (p. 25). Discontinuities will result when a current speaker stops talking and when no other speaker starts or continues to talk. When this happens, the conversation is discontinuous or it lapses for the moment at least (p. 25). Sacks et al. (1978) identify three kinds of silences. One is lapse. Lapse occurs when a current speaker stops talking and no other speaker(s) start(s) to talk, bringing the conversation to an end. The second type of silence is gap. A. Wennerstrom & A.F. Siegal (2003) refer to gap as pause durations and note that Sacks et al.'s model of turn-taking implies that gap (that is, pause duration) is to be minimized in the turn-transition process and that pause duration is "a joint construction between the parties involved in a conversation" (p. 81). According to Sacks et al., gap occurs at a TRP when the current speaker has not selected a next speaker and a self-selecting speaker

has not started to talk. The third type of silence is pause. Pauses occur within a speaker's turn and not at a TRP and it belongs to the person who is speaking and has not reached the TRP. Let us look at some examples presented below.

Example 9. (NTN:27:Kazi)

Nepali:

166. K: अँ (1.00) राजपाउको छोरा कत्रो भो?

167. (2.00)

168. N: उ भन्दा एक टाउको सानो छ के

Gloss:

166. K: Yeah (1.00) How old is Rajpau's son?

167. (2.00)

168. N: He is shorter by one head

In this example, the one-second silence at line 166 should be characterized as a pause, whereas two-second silence at line 167 should be regarded as a gap. The silence at line 166 belongs to K, because it occurs within his turn. The silence at line 167, which is a gap, occurs at a TRP. But the gap belongs to N because K has selected him as the next speaker. Even if there are other speakers, no one can take this particular turn because N and only N has a right to it.

Example 10. (NTN:27:Kazi)

Nepali:

160. K: पुङ्के जस्तो छनी त

161. N: पुङ्के त्यो

162. (5.00)

163. N: [फेरी राजपाउको छोरा]

164. K: [(कति) तीन वर्ष(मा) त] स्कुल (राख्छ) हैन?

Gloss:

160. K: He is kind of short

161. N: Short he (is)

162. (5.00)

163. N: [Again Rajpau's son]

164. K: [After three years] he will be sent to school, won't he?

In this example, the 5-second silence occurs after N's turn completion. Therefore, it is a gap. Because N has not selected K as the next speaker, the gap does not belong to K. This silence does not belong to N either, because his turn has already been completed after the TRP. So, this provides for the open and free time-space which anybody can occupy. He who starts the earliest gets the turn. But here both N and K start speaking at exactly the same time overlapping each other's talk, although it is a fairly long gap.

5. Transition Relevance and Overlap

It was noted earlier that speakers are able to project where a particular turn might possibly end and that the point or spot where a transition from one speaker to another takes place is called a "transition relevant place" (TRP). Overlap refers to simultaneous talk that occurs when two or more speakers in a conversation end up speaking at the same time. Overlap can occur when a speaker other than the current speaker self-selects prematurely (normally within one or two syllables from the TRP). Overlap can occur when more than one speaker self-selects at the same time when the current elects to continue. All these kinds of overlap occur at or near the TRPs (Nofsinger, 1991, p.102). Now let us look at some examples from naturally-occurring Nepali conversations.

Example 11. (NTN:27: Kazi)

Nepali:

1. K: हैन जरो आउदैमा हलीक्स बोकेर आउनुपर्छ

के मुख [होला]
के माले] भन्यो होला

2. N:

3. K: ध्यात्

4. N: माले भनेको

Gloss:

1. K: Why should one bring Horlicks because she has fever. What a stupid

person [he is]
[Mother] might have asked for it

2. N:

3. K: Nonsense

4. N: Mother had asked for it, presumably.

In this example, overlap occurs not at the transition-relevance place but near it. K's turn completion overlaps N's new turn beginning. The last segment of K's turn "होला" (would be) is overlapped by N's turn beginning segment "माले" (mother). This has happened because N projected that K's turn was coming to an end soon, although she did not know the exact moment or point at which the turn would end. So, N happened to start her turn-beginning slightly earlier than when K actually reached the TRP. In addition, N wanted to tell as soon as possible that the person who brought Horlicks was not stupid, because he brought it at the request of the mother. This is something that N had to say in defense of the person as soon as she got her turn. N, therefore, started speaking as soon as she could, thereby slightly overlapping the last segment in K's continuing talk. That this kind of overlap is not unusual in Nepali conversation is evident from other examples that follow.

Example 12. (NTN:16:K/A)

Nepali:

1. A: इन्डीयनहरु खासमा फेशन पनि गर्दैनन्
कस्तो राम्रो (जानेको) हगी]
2. B: [गर्दैनन् हगी] सीम्पल (कुर्या सुरुवाल त
होनी) राम्रो देखिन्छनी

Gloss

1. A: Indians in reality don't go after fashions how well
[(they know), right?
1. B: [(they don't, do they? (they wear) simple Kurtha
Suruwal, they look nice.

In this example, A completes her utterance at the TRP "गर्दैनन्" (don't) but quickly tags on an additional set of items which itself constitutes a sentential unit in which she gives her assessment of Indians and asks for confirmation of the other participant. But in the middle of this tagged-on material, B begins her turn to show her agreement with what A said at and around the TRP, thereby triggering an overlap with the last two words of A's added turn unit which she happens to bring to a completion in spite of the overlap. B's expression of her agreement with the content of A's first turn-unit and not with the content of her second turn-unit is evident from

B's repeating A's words "गर्दैनन्" at the first TRP. The other thing that is evident is that when B began her new turn in overlap, A had not completed what she was adding to complete her second turn-unit, making it difficult for her (B) to show her support for what A said towards the end of her second turn-unit. This fragment indicates that overlap can occur when a current speaker adds something after reaching a TRP and the next speaker self-selects at this point.

Example 13. (NTN:15: K's W/R)

Nepali:

1. F: जानपर्छनी मलाइ त (•) अस्ती कुरा छिन्ने दिनमा पनि
बोलाएथ्यो हामीलाई त (•) [° खान बोलाएथ्यो]
2. M: [मलाइ थाहाथेन]
आज आजने दिन उ छिन्ने रे पनि भन्यो
3. F: अँ
4. M: त्यो (छिन्ने भन्छी) मलाइ अचम्म लाग्यो

Gloss:

1. F: You have to go. me (•) also on the day of
engagement they invited us.
2. M: [(they) invited (us) to dinner.]
I did not know today is the
day when they are said to finalize the...
3. F: yes that's right
4. M: I was surprised to learn about this.

This is another example of overlap which occurs "when a current speaker tags additional material onto the end of an already complete utterance as next speaker self-selects at a transition-relevance place" (Hopper, 1992, p.122). F's utterance reaches the TRP at "हामीलाई त" (to us), which is followed by the added words "खान बोलाएथ्यो" ((they) invited (us) to dinner) and a small pause. Then F tagged on additional items "खान बोलाएथ्यो" ((they) invited (us) to dinner) after the mini pause. These words actually make up a sentential turn-unit which F brought to its completion in overlap. But right after the pause M also self-selected to speak and initiated his new turn-beginning, thereby generating overlap with the additional words that F produced after the mini-pause. M's "मलाइ थाहाथेन" (I don't know) overlaps "खान बोलाएथ्यो" ((they) invited (us) to dinner).

On completion of her overlap second turn-unit F relinquished the floor to M who continued his utterance to the point of completion.

It may be noted that the additional material that F added to the end of her already complete utterance was produced to supply M with additional information that F and her family were invited to dinner. In her first turn-unit F does self-repair by changing "मलाइ" (me) into "हामीलाइ" (us). This is because she happened to use "मलाइ" in the first part of her first turn unit but she immediately recognized this error and converted it into "हामीलाइ". The other point that should be noted here is that in actual terms, the overlap occurred at the TRP, and not near the TRP as in Examples 7 and 8.

Example 14. (NTN:15: K's W/R)

Nepali:

1. F: ... उनीहरु दुईतीनजना छ के गरीराख्यो के
 2. M: { गरी राख्यो भनेर
 हैन दिदी एउटा कुरा भन्नौ जस्तो भएपनि हगी
 मान्छेलाइ पर्दाखेरी एउटा बोल्नैपर्छ

Gloss:

1. F: ... wondering { what he might be
 doing since the
 other side has } three people
 2. M: Oh! No! Sister! Shall I say one thing!
 One should speak out when a man has a problem
 whatever the problem may be.

This is an example of overlap in which the current speaker talks beyond the TRP and the next speaker begins his new turn in the middle of the current speaker's additional material tagged onto the end of his already completed turn. In this fragment F completes her first turn-unit with the words "के गरीराख्यो" (what he might be doing) but adds a few words which constitute a dependent clause. But after three syllables from the TRP, M exercises his rights to the floor and starts talking, thereby causing an overlap and cutting off F's additional turn-unit in the middle. The difference between this example and the other three preceding examples is that the additional tagged-on material in each of the Examples (11, 12 and 13) constitutes a turn unit brought to a completion by the current

speaker, whereas the additional material in this example does not end up as a completed turn-unit, because it does not get completed by the current speaker. This means that M's turn-beginning cuts off F's additional turn in the middle and prevents F from bringing her additional turn to a completion. M begins his new turn with the words "हैन दिदी" (Oh! No! Sister!) which overlaps F's words "राख्यो भनेर" (wondering what he might) and brings it (his turn) to full completion.

Example 15. (NTN:16: K/A)

Nepali:

1. A: ... पूर्णमाले मलाइ लेटरमा लेखेको छैन नी त
 यस्तो { खालको यस्तो मान्छे हो भनेर मैले त }
 2. B: { त्यै त, किन लेखीरे (...) } भन्छनी त

Gloss:

1. A: Purnima hasn't written in her letter (that
 this guy is this or type of person. I just
 2. B: { yeah, (you're right) they say why
 she should write

This fragment is an example of an overlap which has resulted from the addition of optional material to the already completed utterance by the current speaker, as the next speaker begins her talk near the TRP. In this fragment A's utterance reaches the TRP at the words "छैन नी त" (hasn't) and B's turn begins two syllables after the TRP thereby causing an overlap. Even with the early onset of overlap by B at two syllables after the TRP, A does not quite stop there but continues to utter several words in overlap before actually stopping at a non-TRP. The overlap begun one word after the TRP but continuing over several words in this fragment most probably implies that B already possesses the information that A is trying to supply her with, and that B begins her turn just a little after A's turn completion in line 2 by applying what Jefferson (1973) calls "no sooner" and "no later" constraints. Placing the utterance a little later than that would have rendered her utterance-placement irrelevant. B also orients to the understanding of the message provided by A and begins her turn with an overlap before A could complete her turn-unit.

6. Some Devices for Minimizing Negative Overlap Effects

There are ways of minimizing negative consequences of overlap by constructing the turn-beginnings in a particular way. The pre-placed appositional and the recycled turn beginning are the two commonly used techniques that next speakers make use of to minimize negative effects of overlap (Hopper, 1992, p. 123).

A pre-placed appositional is referred to by Schegloff (1987) as "an initial-to-the turn 'well', 'but', 'so', and 'you know', 'yeah', etc." (p.74). The appositionals can be placed at a turn-beginning even before a prior turn has been completed. These appositionals which occur regularly in turn-initial positions in natural conversation do the job of absorbing overlap with prior turns without impairing an actual beginning of a turn (Schegloff, 1987, p.74). The appositional begins a turn with an unnecessary filler or an empty word (e.g. like, well, maybe), a word which carries very little or no meaning. According to Sacks et al. (1978), appositionals are heavily used turn-entry devices and their overlap does not affect the "constructional development or the analyzability of the sentence they begin" (p.32).

Recycled turn beginning takes place when a turn part that initially occurs in overlap with a prior turn is repeated. Schegloff (1987) notes: "... identical repeats of turn beginnings, and identical repeats of rather long strings at turn beginnings, occur regularly when there has been an overlap of the turn beginning with the prior turn" (p.74). "The recycle begins precisely the point at which the 'new' turn emerges 'in the clear'; that is, as the overlap ends by the 'old' turn coming to its 'natural' or projected completion or by being stopped/withdrawn before its projected completion" (p.74). Schegloff (1987) points out that in some cases when the linear production of the new turn is too short to emerge from the overlap, the new turn confined in the overlap cannot be recycled (p.79).

Now let us look into some examples from Nepali and see how these norms or rules operate in Nepali conversation.

Example 16. (NTN:15: K's W/R)

Nepali:

1. F: अँ (कति) गते भन्या वाहुनले भन्यात दुइ गते भनेर भन्यो
 त्याँ (निर)
 2. M: (हैन) अनुजीको व्याहामात मलाइ पनि आउंछ निम्तो
 हगी अनुजीको व्याहामात निम्तो नआएपनि म आउंछु

Gloss:

1. F: yeah! (what) date did they say? They said the
 priest announced the date as the second
 there
 2. M: (that's not the point) I will also get an invitation to
 Miss Anu's marriage. I'll come even I don't get an
 invitation.

This is an example of a pre-placed appositional which occurs in turn-initial positions to absorb overlap with a prior turn without actually doing any harm to the turn-beginning. In this fragment, M begins his new turn at a point in which F's current turn is expected to be completed. F, however, expands her already completed turn by addition "त्यौं निर" (there) which overlaps with M's first word of his new turn-beginning. The first word of M's new turn-beginning is "हैन", a semantically empty word. Even if F did not hear this word, it did not matter and M's actual turn-beginning was not affected at all. It should, however, be noted that "हैन" can have multiple meanings depending on the context in which it is used. It means "negation" or "denial" in its original sense. But in the present context, it does not indicate negation or denial; in this fragment it simply functions as a turn-initial word which directs the attention of the current speaker to Miss Anu's marriage and its importance to him.

Example 17. (NTN:27: Kazi)

Nepali:

1. N: उमेर थाहा छैन (भन्या
 2. K: [ल] उमेर थाहाछैन

Gloss:

1. N: I don't know his age (O.K.
 2. K: [how come] you don't
 know his age.

In this fragment, overlap occurs when the current speaker N adds a word "भन्या" after the TRP marked by "छैन" (not) and K starts his new turn with "ल" (how come) exactly at this point. But "ल" used by K in his turn beginning is a pre-placed appositional which

contains no semantic reference or meaning. Here "ल" is used to indicate something like (how come) in the sentence "how come, you don't know his age". Because "ल" is an empty word semantically, the meaning of K's utterance is not affected, even if it is not heard in overlap. This example clearly indicates that pre-placed appositionals are routinely used in Nepali conversation as a device for counteracting some negative effects of overlap

Example 18. (NTN:27:Kazi)

Nepali:

74. N: फेरी हजुरब्बासँग जानुपथ्यो त्यो
 75. हजुरब्बा र हाम्रो 'त्यहाँ काम गर्नेके'
 76. K: { सानुमाँको | (•) } सानुमाँको छोरी छोरा?
 77. N: अँ
 78. K: त्यो अस्ति आजने त्यो हेर्दा पाक जस्तो चलाख छ नी त्यो

Gloss:

74. N: Again he had to be carried by grandpa
 75. Grandpa and our servant
 76. K: Aunt's Aunt's daughter son?
 78. K: The one who came the day after yesterday the one who is like a dumb person he is clever, that one.

In this fragment, speaker K begins a new turn immediately after N reaches TRP marked by the end of "त्यो" (he) in line 74. But right at this point N restarts her post-TRP utterance and consequently K's turn-beginning words "सानुमाँको" (aunt's) in line 76 overlaps N's post-TRP word "हजुरब्बा" (grandpa and) in line 75. Then N continues a couple of words further but stops at the word "गर्नेके" (servant) in line 75. Meanwhile, K keeps silent up to the point "गर्नेके" where K suddenly stops without completing her post-TRP utterance. Immediately after N's stopping, K recycles his turn-beginnings "सानुमाँको" and completes his utterance.

There is, however, some snag here. K's turn-beginning in overlap is just that compound word "सानुमाँको" which is completely overlapped by N's segment "हजुरब्बा र" after which N adds some four words "हाम्रो त्यहाँ काम गर्नेके" and stops. How to characterize the silence in K's utterance, the silence beginning after his compound

word "सानुमाँको" and ending with the last sound segment "के" in N's speech in line 75 is a problem. Should this silence be characterized as overlap like this one:

X type: A: { हजुरब्बा र हाम्रो 'त्यहाँ काम गर्नेके' }
 B: { सानुमाँको (•) }
 सानुमाँको छोरी (•) छोरा?

or it should be characterized as the following ?

Y type: A: { हजुरब्बा र } हाम्रो 'त्यहाँ काम गर्नेके'
 B: { सानुमाँको } (•) सानुमाँको छोरी (•) छोरा?

Irrespective of which characterization is adopted, one thing should remain unchanged – the description of the recycled turn-beginning in this fragment. Schegloff (1987) has mentioned that the recycle is done at precisely the point at which the trouble (overlap) ends, and at the possible point at which the repair can be done. According to this precise placement rule for recycles, the characterization should be like X type, such that the recycle began exactly where the overlap ended. Assuming that the overlap ended exactly where N stopped speaking, the recycling of "सानुमाँको" can be justified. But if we suppose that the overlap ended at the point "हजुरब्बा र" and that K's turn-beginning "सानुमाँको" could not emerge free from the overlap, then we do not know for sure whether this segment should or should not be recycled on the following. If we listen to the tape carefully we notice that the overlap ends at the end of K's "सानुमाँको" and at the end of N's "हजुरब्बा र" and that N, before stopping, adds four words "हाम्रो त्यहाँ काम गर्नेके" after "हजुरब्बा र" and K maintains silence or holds breath during this period of N's adding four words.

However, K begins recycling exactly at the point in time when N stops speaking in line 75. Schegloff (1987, p.75) notes: "Turn-beginning recycles, repeating a turn part that initially occurs in overlap with a prior turn, regularly display this remarkably precise relationship between the end of a prior, the emergence of the new turn from the overlap and the beginning of the recycle". According to this observation, it would appear that the case of recycled turn-

beginning presented in this example can be justified irrespective of which characterization type we choose to use.

Example 19. (NTN: 15: K's W/R)

Nepali:

1. F: ... यल्ले यसरी हात तान्याथ्यो
उ त जाँदैगएन [अनि]
2. M: °(उल्ले) उल्ले भनेछ (•) भनेछ उल्ले के
(•) भनेछ शिवले यो त फटाहा मान्छे

Gloss:

1. F: ... This one pulled his hand like this He did not go
at all [then]
2. M: [he] he said (•) said what
he said (•) (is) that Shiva called him a liar

This fragment is primarily a case of overlap caused by the addition of some extra element after the TRP. F produces an additional element "अनि" (then) after the TRP as if she were going to restart something. Just at this moment right after the TRP, M elects to begin his new turn with "उल्ले" (he) and overlaps with F's last word "अनि" in her turn. But unlike in examples 16 and 17, it is not a case of pre-placed appositional, because the overlapped word is not an empty filler but a semantically significant lexical item "उल्ले" (he), a pronoun. The possibility of its being a case of pre-placed appositional having been ruled out, we should explore the possibility of its being a candidate for recycled turn beginning.

According to Schegloff's (1987) claim that when an overlapped portion is at the turn beginning, that portion would be recycled in the same turn slot as soon as it emerges from the overlap before its possible completion (p. 79), "उल्ले" can be recycled and it was recycled as it emerged from the overlap at the end of F's word "अनि". But there is another word "भनेछ" which is also recycled, although the rules that we have discussed so far do not account for this kind of repetition. Schegloff (1987) notes: "Recycles or repeats at, and of, turn-beginnings is a technical object. Repeats and recycles otherwise located, by reference to a turn's organization or by reference to other orders of sequential organization, are not necessarily related in any way to this technical object" (p.85).

Example 20. (NTN: 27: Kazi)

Nepali:

160. K: पुङ्के जस्तो छनी(त)
161. N: पुङ्के त्यो
162. (5.00)
163. N: [फेरी राजपाउको छोरा]
164. K: [कति] तीन वर्ष(मा) त] स्कूल राख्छ हैन
165. N: (राजपाउको) छोरा र त्यो कस्तो भगडा गर्छ
166. K: अँ (1.00) राजपाउको छोरा कत्रो भो?

Gloss:

160. K: He is kind of short
161. N: Short he (is)
162. (5.00)
163. N: [Again Rajpau's son
164. K: [After three years he will be sent to school,
won't he?
165. N: Rajpau's son and he quarrel so very much
166. K: Yeah (1.00) how old is Rajpau's son?

In this fragment, the simultaneous on-set of talk at lines 163 and 164 has occurred after a 5-second pause at line 162. Because this pause occurs after a TRP, it belongs to neither N nor K. After the pause both speakers K and N have a right to the floor and both begin speaking at the same time producing simultaneous overlap, but N drops out after producing four words. K, however, continues to talk beyond the overlap and brings his turn to a completion. As soon as K completes his turn-unit, N begins a new turn continuing and recycling what she had begun in overlap at line 163. So, this appears to be a case in which the turn-beginning is recycled, not in the same turn slot, but in the next turn.

Schegloff (1987, p.77) claims that recycles are done almost entirely by speakers who overlap current speakers and not by continuing speakers and that the precise placement of a recycle occurs at the overlap's end. However, if we look into the present example, we find that line 163 of the current speaker which was "राजपाउको छोरा" (Rajpau's son) was overlapped by K and recycled by N only in the next turn to which N had a right following the completion of K's turn at the end of line 164. There are certain

things happening here which do not conform to the claim made by Schegloff.

First, the current example does not abide by the rule that recycles are done by speakers who overlap current speakers. In our fragment, N is the current speaker and embarks on the recycling of turn-begging, although the rule does not assign her (the continuing speaker) to do the recycling. Second, the rule that the placement of a recycle occurs at the overlap's end does not work in the current example, because the recycle does not occur at the end of the overlap's end (that is, at the end of "(मा) त" (after) at line 164), but it occurs after the completion of K's turn and at the beginning of N's new turn. Another thing to be noticed is that when N does the recycling, the word "फेरी" is dropped. Why is this word dropped? There is an explanation for this. The word "फेरी" as used in this fragment is an empty filler with no particular meaning, and it is also a pre-placed appositional which is normally used in turn-initial position in overlap. Schegloff (1987, p.80) argues that the pre-placed appositional which is used to absorb overlap should not be in the recycle, because it is no more overlap in the recycled portion. So "फेरी" needed to be dropped and is dropped from N's recycled turn beginning.

This example indicates that recycle is done and can be done by a current speaker or a continuing speaker when he/she is overlapped/interrupted at the turn-beginning by another speaker (next speaker) who does not relinquish the floor until he/she completes his/her turn-unit, and that such a recycling is done in the immediate next turn. It should be noted that if there are no such examples cited in English, I feel that it could possibly be an area for further research and investigation at least in comparing English and Nepali.

7. Interruptions vs. Overlaps

Interruption refers to simultaneous talk that does not occur at or near a transition-relevance place (Schegloff, 1987, p.85). Nofsinger (1991) notes: "When one participant begins to talk at a point where another (the current speaker) is taking a turn but not yet approaching a TRP we shall (in most cases) term the resulting simultaneous talk an interruption" (p.102). Drummond (1989) notes

that "interruptions constitute points at which a recipient attempts to obtain control of the floor, specially at non-projectible transition-relevance places" (p.151). West and Zimmerman (1983) define candidate interruption as "incursions initiated more than two syllables away from the initial or terminal boundary of a unit type" (p.104). West and Zimmerman (1983) also note that supportive utterances such as "yeah", "right" and "saying the same thing at the same time" do not qualify as interruptions (p.105). Their concept of facilitation and the two-syllable criterion are not always useful to identify and determine interruptions. Jefferson (1983) observes that "in the apparent chaos of overlapping talk one can begin to locate a series of 'fixed points' which collect and order an enormous amount of talk" (p.1). J. Cromdal (2001) notes: "... whether a given instance of simultaneous talk can be relevantly described as interruption can be shown only in terms of participants' orientation to that particular resolution event as disruptive" (p. 225). There are several other definitions of overlap but they are not very satisfactory either.

So far as discussions of interruptions in Nepali conversation are concerned the definitions of Schegloff (1987) and of Nofsinger (1991) will be considered useful for the purpose of analysis. Now let me examine some Nepali conversation fragments and see whether they can be regarded as interruptions or not.

Example 21. (NTN: 27: Kazi)

Nepali:

66. K: ...हैन बिरामीनै बेस्करी नभैकन जरो येसो फुटुक्क आउदैमा
(1.00) खबर गरेर
67. N: [निको] भैसक्यो भने पुग्छ हरे त्यो बेला
छोराले कस्तो दुख देको
68. K: के?

Gloss:

66. K: ... just because there is slight fever and because you are not actually very sick or anything, letting others [know]
67. N: [would] be enough to say you have recovered. Oh God! How much trouble the son was creating at that time.
68. K: What?

Looking at this example, it appears that the overlap is slight, almost like the overlaps in Examples 7 or 8 or 16. But occurrence of the overlaps in different environments and context does indeed reflect their different roles and functions. In this fragment, overlap by N begins much before the projected completion of K's utterance. K's utterance is incomplete and its disruption does not occur even near the TRP. N's abrupt beginning of a new turn at line 67 apparently throws K off balance and makes him relinquish the floor to N immediately following the onset of the overlap. When K stops talking right in the middle of his utterance, N continues his talk well into the completion point. What we notice here is a condition which is ripe for creating interruption. As Nofsing (1991) has pointed out, when a participant (e.g.: N) begins to talk at a point where another speaker (e.g.: K) is taking a turn but not yet approaching a TRP, we should call this overlap an interruption. And as Schegloff (1987) has noted, interruption is simultaneous talk which does not occur at or near a TRP. The present fragment shows that the overlapped talk does not occur at or near the TRP. Therefore, this is an example of interruption, according to these definitions.

Let us look at it from a different perspective. If it is a case of interruption then K should have been unhappy to be interrupted. But that does not seem to be the case here. When N begins her new turn overlapping K's last word in his ongoing talk, N seems to have understood what K was going to say. What N says in overlap and beyond is a kind of answer to K's complaint against a person's declaration of sickness without actually being sick. N in her new turn which she obtained after the overlap suggests that the sick person should have declared that he had already recovered. The important thing about this example is that K whose as-yet-incomplete turn was usurped in the middle by N does not even try to regain it following N's TRP at line 68.

It appears that the usurpation of K's turn in the middle has been tolerated by K because he knew that N understood what he was going to say. This is displayed through what she (N) said in and after the overlap, which means something like this: 'If someone had said, "well I am OK now", there would have been no need for anyone to go and see that (supposedly sick) someone by bringing her a gift of a 'biscuit'. When K knew that N knew what he was going to say, he

kept quiet after producing just a part of his utterance, there being no need to complete the turn-unit.

So, in view of such participant orientation, it appears that what seemed to be outwardly seemingly an interruption was not regarded by the participants as interruption, which is evidenced by their subsequent smooth and unperturbed turns at talk.

Example 22. (NTN: 27: Kazi)

Nepali:

183. K: ... चारबीस भन्दा असी पाँचबीस सय

184. N: हरे त्यो (हामीले) यो छनी

रीता सानीमाँ

185. K: तेस्तो पनि उ गर्ने सोधीराख्नुपर्छ

186. N: (रीतासानीमाँ रीतासानीमाँको) छोरा छनी

187. K: अँ

188. N: हरे (रीता)सानीमाँ भन्दा ठुलोचाँडको सानु छ ल

Gloss:

183. K: ...four twenties means eighty,
five twenties hundred

184. N: Oh! God! (we) that this one

Rita { aunt

185. K: Should you do ah ask that }

186. N: Rita aunt Rita aunt } you know

187. K: yeah

188. N: Oh! God! One taller than Rita aunt has a smaller
(head).

In this fragment, N begins her turn immediately after K completes his turn at line 183, but she had not even approached TRP when K initiates his turn abruptly at line 185 causing an overlap of his first word "तेस्तो" (that) with N's last word "सानीमाँ" (aunt). But N is not going to give up her turn and continues to talk, causing a six-word stretch of K's utterance to overlap with her own utterance. K does not quit until he completes his turn successfully at line 185. So there seems to be a tough competition for turn occupancy and K's entire turn which began as an overlap with N's turn in the middle was itself overlapped by N's recycled turn beginning at line 186. N actually recycles her last words of line 184 (which were cut off

because of K's new turn beginning) "रीतासानीमाँ" (Rita aunt) twice although in overlap and probably seeks K's acknowledgement of and attention to what she had been saying by using a question marker "छनी" to which K gives an affirmative response immediately by using an acknowledger "अँ" (yeah) in line 187. Immediately after K's acknowledgement N once again recycles the word "रीतासानीमाँ" in line 188 and accomplishes her turn completion.

The raised amplitude of N's voice when uttering the word "रीतासानीमाँ" (Rita aunt) during the overlap at line 186 and K's slightly perturbed utterance in overlap indicated by the use of the empty filler "उ" (the -u::h) indicate their competition for turn occupation. The filler "उ" used by K in his overlapped utterance in line 185 is an empty word which is used in place of a word or phrase which participants tend to forget for the time being when they are perturbed or in a rush. Despite this competition for turn and the resulting disturbance, the turn transition is accomplished satisfactorily at lines 187 and 188.

Although it appears to be a case of interruption because the overlap by K does not begin at or near TRP, the talk does not result in disruption or discontinuity. Technically, according to the definitions of interruption by Nofsinger and Schegloff, this example can be categorized as an example of interruption because the overlap here occurs not at or near TRP but way before or after a TRP. But functionally and operationally, this example does not seem to be a case of interruption, primarily because the participants do not seem to suffer any of the consequences of interruption such as anger or resentment or unpleasantness or disruption of conversation.

8. Other Overlap Types

There are other kinds of overlap which are a little different from the types that we have discussed. It would not be out of place here to include a couple of examples from Nepali which could add to such a variety. Here are some.

Example 23. (NTN:28: K's D/R)

Nepali:

1. F: हामी न्युरोड स्युरोड बजार गर्यौं तेल्ले कत्तिका
 2. M: (सामानहरु ल्याको सारीहरु उगरेम्) पसलमा
 3. F: (नव्वे रेकर्ड ल्याइछ हगी सबै सीनेमा देखाइछ)
 (अँ) लगेर बेचीदिएम् हगी अनि त्यै पैसाले के के सामानहरु
 किनेर अनि मलाइ यहाँसम्म टेम्पुमा पुच्याइदिए र राती यस्तै
 राती भैसक्या थ्यो अनि पछि उनीहरु फर्केर गयो

Gloss:

1. F: We went to New Road and did u::m (sell) in the shops lots
 2. M: (of goods and saris she had brought) with her
 She brought 90 records and
 showed movies to all
 3. F: (Yeah)! (we) took them (to the shop) and sold them. Then (they) bought many things with that money, then dropped me here on a three-wheeler. It had become dark like this and then (they) returned.

This is a unique example in which a next speaker's (second speaker's) turn begins and ends in overlap. In this fragment, overlap begins four syllables after the first TRP in F's turn when both M and F continue to speak. M completes his turn in overlap, but F continues to talk beyond the point of overlap until she reaches the next TRP.

The point where overlap begins seems to be the point where M had prior knowledge of the information that F was providing. With his overlapped speech M offered F some of the details that knew. Although F seems to have been slightly interrupted, not only does she manage to continue her speech in and beyond the overlap, but she also manages to acknowledge what M said in overlap by means of a quick acknowledge "अँ" (Yeah). That F was slightly interrupted is evidenced by the hesitation phenomenon that she manifests by using the word "उ" (the u::m) which is routinely used in place of a word or phrase that one fails to recollect while speaking fluently.

The interesting thing about this fragment is that overlap is negotiated or resolved in a very skillful way by the participants such

that M interrupts and exits while F is still continuing her talk up to the point of completion with a display of full understanding of what M said in overlap and why he said it.

Example 24. (NTN: 16: K/A)

Nepali:

111. A: हाम्रो नेपालमात

112. B: जस्तै पैसावाल भएपनि त्यो

आफ्नै साधारण (... गर्छनके)

113. A: साधारण (हुन्छ)

114. B: $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{केटीहरु हेरन त्यही} \\ \text{नेपालमा अलि} \end{array} \right]$ कति पैसा भो भने हेरन
केटीहरुको फेशन कस्तो छ

Gloss:

111. A: In our Nepal

112. B: However wealthy they may be they have their own

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{simple (things they do)} \\ \text{simple (they are)} \end{array} \right]$

113. A: $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{just look at girls there} \\ \text{In Nepal if they} \end{array} \right]$ are rich,
look at the girls fashion

At line 112 in this fragment, B's utterance is overlapped by A at a point a few syllables away from TRP. Although B's utterance is not that clear especially towards the TRP, it is clear that B successfully brings her turn to a completion despite the overlap. A's turn at talk begins by overlapping B's turn in the middle of the word "साधारण" (simple), but she begins her own turn with the same word "साधारण" (simple) giving us the impression that A was trying to complete or repeat parts of B's utterance. After emerging clear from the overlap, A completes her own turn asking B to look at girls in Nepal. But just as A is completing his turn, B overlaps A towards the last three words of A's turn ending and endorses A's views as to show fashionable are the girls in Nepal if they have money.

In this example the word "साधारण" is spoken almost at the same time by A and B, which indicates that both A and B know that Indian women's dress and costumes are "साधारण" (simple) compared to those of Nepali girls. This is akin to what West and Zimmerman

(1982) call persons' ability to display independent knowledge by saying the same thing at the same time.

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1. Introduction

The language spoken by Danuwar people is called Danuwar language. It is an Indo-European language. On the basis of linguistic characteristics, it is thought to have relation with **Magadhi Prakrit** (Bandhu, 2052:198). In this language, we can find variations in different areas. It is perhaps because of the influence of neighbouring languages. The Danuwar language spoken in the Terai is nearer to Maithili and Bhojpuri whereas in the hilly region, it is influenced by Nepali and by other Tibeto-Burman languages.

This paper is an attempt to describe the Danuwar aspect system based on the data collected from Kavre district.

2. Aspect

According to Crystal (1994:29), aspect is a grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb. It indicates whether the action of the verb is beginning, end, in progress, instantaneous, or repeated. Comrie (1981:3) has defined it as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." So, aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time point, but rather with internal temporal constituency of the situation.

The different aspects found in Danuwar language are as follows:

2.1 Perfective Aspect

Perfective is the aspect of the verb which shows that the action is perfected or completed in relation to some point in time.

In Danuwar language, there are two types of perfective aspects according to tense system. They are past perfective and non-past perfective.

2.1.1 Past Perfective

To obtain past perfective aspect in Danuwar language, '-lə' is suffixed to the verb stem and it is followed by past 'be' verb, e.g.,

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----|
| (1) a. | <i>kanu</i> | <i>mui</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>r-nu</i> | |
| | yesterday | I | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 1 S |
| | 'Yesterday, I had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| b. | <i>haməi</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-nuk</i> | | |
| | we | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 1 Pl | |
| | 'We had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| c. | <i>tui</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-ləs</i> | | |
| | you | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 2 S | |
| | 'You had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| d. | <i>torlok</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-ləi</i> | | |
| | you(Pl) | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 2 Pl | |
| | 'You had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| e. | <i>aphnəke</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-nən</i> | | |
| | you (H) | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 2 H | |
| | 'You had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| f. | <i>aphnəkelok</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-nən</i> | | |
| | you (H, Pl) | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 2 H | |
| | 'You had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| g. | <i>oi</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-lək</i> | | |
| | he-ERG | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 3 S, M | |
| | 'He had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| h. | <i>oi</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-lik</i> | | |
| | she-ERG | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 3 S, F | |
| | 'She had written a letter.' | | | | | | |
| i. | <i>oləkhe</i> | <i>ek-Ta</i> | <i>ciThi</i> | <i>lekh-lə</i> | <i>rə-la</i> | | |
| | they-ERG | one-CLASS | letter | write-PERF | be -PST | 3 Pl | |
| | 'They had written a letter.' | | | | | | |

The following table represents the past perfective aspect of *lekh-* 'write'.

Table 1: Past Perfective Aspect of *lekh-* 'write'

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>lekh-lə rə-nu</i>	<i>lekh-lə rə-nuk</i>
2	<i>lekh-lə rə-ləs</i>	<i>lekh-lə rə-ləi</i>
2 H	<i>lekh-lə rə-nən</i>	<i>lekh-lə rə-nən</i>
3 M	<i>lekh-lə rə-lək</i>	<i>lekh-lə rə-la</i>
3 F.	<i>lekh-lə rə-lik</i>	<i>lekh-lə rə-la</i>

2.1.2 Non- past Perfective

To obtain non-past perfective aspect in Danuwar language, *-rəi-* is suffixed to the verb stem and it is followed by past concord, e.g.,

- (2) a. *mui pəD- rəi-nu*
I read-be- PST 1 S
'I have read.'
- b. *haməi pəD- rəi-nuk*
we read-be- PST 1 Pl
'We have read.'
- c. *tui pəD- rəi-ləs*
you read-be-PST 2 S
'You have read.'
- d. *torlok pəD- rəi-ləi*
you(Pl) read-be-PST 2 Pl
'You have read.'
- e. *aphnəke pəD- rəi-nən*
you(H) read-be-PST 2 H
'You have read.'
- f. *aphnəkelok pəD- rəi-nən*
you(H, Pl) read-be-PST 2 H
'You have read.'
- g. *u pəD- rəi-lək*
he read-be-PST 3 S, M
'He has read.'

- h. *u pəD- rəi-lik*
she read-be-PST 3 S, F
'She has read.'
- i. *olok pəD- rəi-la*
they read-be-PST 3 Pl
'They have read.'

Non-past perfective aspect of the verb *pəD-* 'read' is presented in the following table.

Table 2: *pəD-* 'read' in Non-past Perfective Aspect

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>pəD-rəi-nu</i>	<i>pəD-rəi-nuk</i>
2	<i>pəD-rəi-ləs</i>	<i>pəD-rəi-ləi</i>
2 H	<i>pəD-rəi-nən</i>	<i>pəD-rəi-nən</i>
3 M	<i>pəD-rəi-lək</i>	<i>pəD-rəi-la</i>
3 F	<i>pəD-rəi-lik</i>	<i>pəD-rəi-la</i>

2.2 Imperfective Aspect

Imperfective is the aspect of the verb which shows that the action is not completed in relation to some point in time. In contrast to perfective, imperfective corresponds to a larger span of time and broadly it indicates continuity of an action or state of affairs.

Danuwar language introduces a number of distinct categories under imperfective aspect.

2.2.1 Habitual Aspect

'The feature that is common to all habituales ... is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period' (Comrie, 1981:27-28). In this aspect there is the repetition of an action.

This language exhibits both past and non-past habitual aspects.

2.2.1.1 Past Habitual

The past habitual aspect in Danuwar language is expressed by suffixing '-te' to the verb. It is immediately suffixed to the verb stem and followed by 'be' verb and past concord, e.g.,

- (3) a. *mui macho mar-te rə-nu*
I fish kill-HBT be-PST 1 S
'I used to fish.' (Lit. I used to kill fish.)
- b. *haməi macho mar-te rə-nuk*
we fish kill-HBT be-PST 1 Pl
'We used to fish.'
- c. *tui macho mar-te rə-ləs*
you fish kill-HBT be-PST 2 S
'You used to fish.'
- d. *torlok macho mar-te rə-ləi*
you(Pl) fish kill-HBT be-PST 2 Pl
'You used to fish.'
- e. *aphnəke macho mar-te rə-nən*
you(H) fish kill-HBT be-PST 2 H
'You used to fish.'
- f. *aphnəkəlok macho mar-te rənən*
you(H, Pl) fish kill-HBT be-PST 2 H
'You used to fish.'
- g. *u macho mar-te rə-lək*
he fish kill-HBT be-PST 3 S, M
'He used to fish.'
- h. *u macho mar-te rə-lik*
she fish kill-HBT be-PST 3 S, F
She used to fish.'
- i. *olok macho mar-te rə-la*
they fish kill-HBT be-PST 3 Pl
'They used to fish.'

Past habitual of the verb *mar-* 'kill' is presented in the following table.

Table 3: Past Habitual of *mar-* 'kill'

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>mar-te rə-nu</i>	<i>mar-te rə-nuk</i>
2	<i>mar-te rə-ləs</i>	<i>mar-te rə-ləi</i>
2 H	<i>mar-te rə-nən</i>	<i>mar-te rə-nən</i>
3 M	<i>mar-te rə-lək</i>	<i>mar-te rə-la</i>
3 F	<i>mar-te rə-lik</i>	<i>mar-te rə-la</i>

2.2.1.2 Non-past Habitual

Usually, non-past habitual and absolute non-past tense resemble in this language, but, sometimes, *-dhər* is suffixed to the verb stem which is then followed by non-past concord, e.g.,

- (4) a. *mui dhulikhel jəi-dhər-chu*
I Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 1 S
'I go to Dhulikhel. (habit)'
- b. *haməi dhulikhel jəi-dhər-chuk*
we Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 1 Pl
'We go to Dhulikhel. (habit)'
- c. *tui dhulikhel jəi-dhər-chəs*
you Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 2 S
'You go to Dhulikhel. (habit)'
- d. *torlok dhulikhel jəi-dhər-chəi*
you(Pl) Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 2 Pl
'You go to Dhulikhel. (habit)'
- e. *aphnəke dhulikhel jəi-dhər-tən*
you(H) Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 2 H
'You go to Dhulikhel. (habit)'
- f. *aphnəkəlok dhulikhel jəi-dhər-tən*
you(H, Pl) Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 2 H
'You go to Dhulikhel. (habit)'
- g. *u dhulikhel jəi-dhər-is*
he Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 3 S
'He goes to Dhulikhel. (habit)'

- h. *u dhulikhel jai-dhər-is*
she Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 3 S
'She goes to Dhulikhel. (habit)'
- i. *olok dhulikhel jai-dhər-chat*
he Dhulikhel go-HBT-NPST 3 PI
'He goes to Dhulikhel. (habit)'

Table 4 shows the non-past habitual aspect of *ja-* 'go'.

Table 4: *ja-* 'go' in Non-past Habitual Aspect

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>jai-dhər-chu</i>	<i>jai-dhər-chuk</i>
2	<i>jai-dhər-chəs</i>	<i>jai-dhər-chəi</i>
2 H	<i>jai-dhər-tən</i>	<i>jai-dhər-tən</i>
3	<i>jai-dhər-is</i>	<i>jai-dhər-chat</i>

2.2.2 Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect indicates that an action is incomplete, in progress, or developing. A progressive or continuous form emphasizes on the duration or frequency of an action. Two types of progressive aspects are found in Danuwar language. They are past progressive and non-past progressive.

2.2.2.1 Past Progressive

To obtain past progressive aspect in Danuwar language, the progressive marker *-ti* is added to the verb stem, and then it is followed by past 'be' verb, e.g.,

- (5) a. *mui dəuD- ti rə-nu*
I run-PROG be-PST 1 S
'I was running.'
- b. *haməi dəuD- ti rə-nuk*
we run-PROG be-PST 1 PI
'We were running.'
- c. *tui dəuD- ti rə-ləs*
you run-PROG be-PST 2 S
'You were running.'

- d. *torlok dəuD- ti rə-ləi*
you(PI) run-PROG be-PST 2 PI
'You were running.'
- e. *aphnəke dəuD- ti rə-nən*
you(H) run-PROG be-PST 2 H
'You were running.'
- f. *aphnəkelok dəuD- ti rə-nən*
you(H, PI) run-PROG be-PST 2 H
'You were running.'
- g. *oi dəuD- ti rə-lək*
he-ERG run-PROG be-PST 3 S, M
'He was running.'
- h. *oi dəuD- ti rə-lik*
she-ERG run-PROG be-PST 3 S, F
'She was running.'
- i. *oləkhe dəuD- ti rə-la*
they-ERG run-PROG be-PST 3 PI
'They were running.'

The following table (Table 5) summarizes past progressive aspect of the verb *dəuD-* 'run'.

Table 5: Past Progressive Aspect of the verb *dəuD-* 'run'

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>dəuD- ti rə-nu</i>	<i>dəuD- ti rə-nuk</i>
2	<i>dəuD- ti rə-ləs</i>	<i>dəuD- ti rə-ləi</i>
2 H	<i>dəuD- ti rə-nən</i>	<i>dəuD- ti rə-nən</i>
3 M	<i>dəuD- ti rə-lək</i>	<i>dəuD- ti rə-la</i>
3 F	<i>dəuD- ti rə-lik</i>	<i>dəuD- ti rə-la</i>

2.2.2.2 Non-past Progressive

To obtain non-past progressive aspect in Danuwar language, the progressive marker *-ti* is added to the verb stem, and then it is followed by non-past form of the 'be' verb *rə-*, e.g.,

- (6) a. *mui bhat khai-ti rə-chu*
I rice eat-PROG be-NPST 1 S
'I am eating rice.'
- b. *haməi bhat khai-ti rə-chuk*
we rice eat-PROG be-NPST 1 Pl
'We are eating rice.'
- c. *tui bhat khai-ti rə-chəs*
you rice eat-PROG be-NPST 2 S
'You are eating rice.'
- d. *torlok bhat khai-ti rə-chəi*
you(Pl) rice eat-PROG be-NPST 2 Pl
'You are eating rice.'
- e. *aphnəke bhat khai-ti rə-tən*
you(H) rice eat-PROG be-NPST 2 H
'You are eating rice.'
- f. *aphnəkelok bhat khai-ti rə-tən*
you(H, Pl) rice eat-PROG be-NPST 2 H
'You are eating rice.'
- g. *oi bhat khai-ti rə-is*
he-ERG rice eat-PROG be-NPST 3 S
'He is eating rice.'
- h. *oi bhat khai-ti rə-is*
she-ERG rice eat-PROG be-NPST 3 S
'She is eating rice.'
- i. *oləkhe bhat khai-ti rə-chət*
they-ERG rice eat-PROG be-NPST 3 Pl
'They are eating rice.'

The following table (Table 6) summarizes non-past progressive aspect of the verb *kha-* 'eat'.

Table 6: Non-past Progressive Aspect of the verb *kha-* 'eat'

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>khai-ti rə-chu</i>	<i>khai-ti rə-chuk</i>
2	<i>khai-ti rə-chəs</i>	<i>khai-ti rə-chəi</i>
2 H	<i>khai-ti rə-tən</i>	<i>khai-ti rə-tən</i>
3	<i>khai-ti rə-is</i>	<i>khai-ti rə-chət</i>

2.2.3 Prospective Aspect

If an action is going to start very soon, we have prospective aspect. In prospective form, 'a state is related to some subsequent situation, for instance where someone is in a state of being about to do something' (Comrie, 1981:64).

Danuwar language introduces both past and non-past prospective aspects.

2.2.3.1 Past Prospective

The past prospective aspect shows that an action was going to start very soon in the past. In Danuwar language, this aspect is obtained from the verb structure: -

V-INF + *khoj-lə* + 'be'-concord.

- (7) a. *mui bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nu*
I rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 1 S
'I was about to eat rice.'
- b. *haməi bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nuk*
we rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 1 Pl
'We were about to eat rice.'
- c. *tui bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-ləs*
you rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 2 S
'You were about to eat rice.'
- d. *torlok bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-ləi*
you(Pl) rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 2 Pl
'You were about to eat rice.'
- e. *aphnəke bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nən*
you(H) rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 2 H
'You were about to eat rice.'
- f. *aphnəkelok bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nən*
you(H, Pl) rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 2 H
'You were about to eat rice.'
- g. *oi bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-lək*
he-ERG rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 3 S, M
'He was about to eat rice.'
- h. *oi bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-lik*
she-ERG rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 3 S, F
'She was about to eat rice.'

- i. *oləkhe bhat kh-ya khoj-lə rə-la*
they-ERG rice eat-INF PROS-PST be-PST 3 PI
'They were about to eat rice.'

The verb paradigm of the verb *kha-* 'eat' in past prospective aspect is shown in the following table (Table 7).

Table 7: *kha-* 'eat' in the Past Prospective Aspect

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nu</i>	<i>kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nuk</i>
2	<i>kh-ya khoj-lə rə-ləs</i>	<i>Kh-ya khoj-lə rə-ləi</i>
2 H	<i>kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nən</i>	<i>kh-ya khoj-lə rə-nən</i>
3 M	<i>kh-ya khoj-lə rə-lək</i>	<i>Kh-ya khoj-lə rə-la</i>
3 F	<i>kh-ya khoj-lə rə-lik</i>	<i>Kh-ya khoj-lə rə-la</i>

2.2.3.2 Non-past Prospective

In this language, non-past prospective aspect is obtained from this structure: **V-INF + *khoji*-PST**, e.g.,

- (8) a. *mui bhat kh-ya khoji-nu*
I rice eat-INF PROS-PST 1 S
'I am about to eat the rice.'
- b. *haməi bhat kh-ya khoji-nuk*
we rice eat-INF PROS-PST 1 PI
'We are about to eat the rice.'
- c. *tui bhat kh-ya khoji-ləs*
you rice eat-INF PROS-PST 2 S
'You are about to eat the rice.'
- d. *torlok bhat kh-ya khoji-ləi*
you(PI) rice eat-INF PROS-PST 2 PI
'You are about to eat the rice.'
- e. *aphnəke bhat kh-ya khoji-nən*
you(H) rice eat-INF PROS-PST 2 H
'You are about to eat the rice.'
- f. *aphnəkəlok bhat kh-ya khoji-nən*
you(H, PI) rice eat-INF PROS-PST 2 H
'You are about to eat the rice.'

- g. *oi bhat kh-ya khoji-lək*
he-ERG rice eat-INF PROS-PST 3 S, M
'He is about to eat the rice.'
- h. *oi bhat kh-ya khoji-lik*
she-ERG rice eat-INF PROS-PST 3 S, F
'She is about to eat the rice.'
- i. *oləkhe bhat kh-ya khoji-la*
they-ERG rice eat-INF PROS-PST 3 PI
'They are about to eat the rice.'

The verb paradigm of the verb *kha-* 'eat' in non-past prospective aspect is shown in the following table (Table 8)

Table 8: *kha-* 'eat' in the Non-past Prospective Aspect

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>kh-ya khoji-nu</i>	<i>kh-ya khoji-nuk</i>
2	<i>kh-ya khoji-ləs</i>	<i>kh-ya khoji-ləi</i>
2 H	<i>kh-ya khoji-nən</i>	<i>kh-ya khoji-nən</i>
3 M	<i>kh-ya khoji-lək</i>	<i>kh-ya khoji-la</i>
3 F	<i>kh-ya khoji-lik</i>	<i>kh-ya khoji-la</i>

2.2.3 Inferential Aspect

Inferential aspect shows that the speaker is not aware of the action that happened in the past. This aspect indicates that 'the speaker is reporting some event that he has not himself witnessed, but about whose occurrence he has learnt at second hand (though without, incidentally, necessarily casting doubt on the reliability of the information)' (Comrie, 1981:108). So, in this aspect, the speaker comes to know that an event happened in the past by examining the proof which he finds in present.

To obtain the meaning of inferentiality in Danuwar language, the verb structure **V + PST marker + *chə*** is used. Empathetic particle '*tə*' is used with the subject and '*po*' is used with the object to show that the speaker is surprised, e.g.,

- (9) a. *mui tə bhat po phyāk-nu chə*
I PRT rice PRT throw-PST 1 S be
'I have thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'
- b. *haməi tə bhat po phyāk-nuk chə*
we PRT rice PRT throw-PST 1 Pl be
'We have thrown rice! (I am surprised/we are surprised.)'
- c. *tui tə bhat po phyāk-ləs chə*
you PRT rice PRT throw-PST 2 S be
'You have thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'
- d. *torlok tə bhat po phyāk-ləi chə*
you(Pl) PRT rice PRT throw-PST 2 Pl be
'You have thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'
- e. *aphnəke tə bhat po phyāk-nən chə*
you(H) PRT rice PRT throw-PST 2 H be
'You have thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'
- f. *aphnəkəlok tə bhat po phyāk-nən chə*
you(H, Pl) PRT rice PRT throw-PST 2 H be
'You have thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'
- g. *oi tə bhat po phyāk-lək chə*
he-ERG PRT rice PRT throw-PST 3 S, M be
'He has thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'
- h. *oi tə bhat po phyāk-lik chə*
She-ERG PRT rice PRT throw-PST 3 S, F be
'She has thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'
- i. *oləkhe tə bhat po phyāk-la chə*
They-ERG PRT rice PRT throw-PST 3 Pl be
'They have thrown rice! (I am surprised.)'

The following table (Table 9) summarizes the inferential aspect of the verb *phyāk*- 'throw'.

Table 9: Inferential Aspect of the verb *phyāk*- 'throw'

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>phyāk-nu chə</i>	<i>phyāk-nuk chə</i>
2	<i>phyāk-ləs chə</i>	<i>phyāk-ləi chə</i>
2 H	<i>phyāk-nən chə</i>	<i>phyāk-nən chə</i>
3 M	<i>phyāk-lək chə</i>	<i>phyāk-la chə</i>
3 F	<i>phyāk-lik chə</i>	<i>phyāk-la chə</i>

In the above examples the speaker is surprised to find himself and other people throw rice, perhaps they did, it unconsciously. He is reporting the event after examining the proof which he finds at present.

3. Conclusion

Aspects in Danuwar language (Kavre dialect?) are divided into perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspects are of two types; past and non-past perfective. Imperfective aspect is further classified into habitual, progressive, prospective and inferential aspect. Again, habitual, progressive and prospective aspects are divided into past and non-past.

Abbreviations

1- first person	NPST-	non-past
2- second person	PERF-	perfective
3- third person	Pl-	plural
CLASS- classifier	PST-	past
ERG- ergative	PROG-	progressive
F- feminine	PROS-	prospective
H- honorific	PRT-	particle
HBT- habitual	S-	singular
INF- infinitive	V-	verb
Lit. - literally		
M- masculine		

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Purpose

In our earlier paper (Rastogi and Fortier 2003), we put together evidence of cultural and linguistic features which tie together Rautes and Rajis who traditionally have lived as hunter-gatherers in the forests of Nepal and Kumaon, India. Through comparisons of lexical items we have established that there is a close relationship between their languages Khaamci¹ and Rawati.

The purpose of the present paper is to provide phonological comparisons to further show the relatedness of these languages as well as to shed some light on the historical relationship and affiliations of Khaamci and Rawati with both the Proto Tibeto-Burman (PTB) and other areal languages.² In language classification materials, speakers are grouped into three separate Tibeto-Burman languages, known as Raji, Janggali and Raute (Hale 1982, LaPolla 1989, VanDriem 2001).³ It is interesting to note that Sharma (1994), in contrast, places Raji into the Western Austro-Asiatic language family.

Notes

¹ Khaamci [Khaamci] is the autonym that Rautes use for their language.

Rawati is the autonym that Rajis use for their language.

² The following acronyms may be used in this article: TB=Tibeto-Burman; PTB=Proto-Tibeto-Burman; N=Nepali; K.=Kumaoni; Km.=Khaamci, also known as Raute; Rw.=Rawati, also known as Raji; Purbia (Nepal-side, Eastern) Raji=E.Raji; IA=Indo-Aryan, wAA=western Austro-Asiatic; M.=Mundic; H.=Hindi, Tib.=Tibetan.

³ The classification of Rautes and Rajis' language into the separate languages of "Raute", "Raji" and "Janggali" in Hale 1982 appears to be based on Warren Glover's lexicostatistical analysis of Swadesh 100-word lists in about 36 languages of Nepal, in the early 1970s. Dr. Glover, however, does not remember from whom he received vocabulary data for these languages (email correspondence, 4/13/03).

Broadly, Rawati and Khaamci⁴ may be tentatively characterized by 1) pronominalization, or verb enclitics that agree with both subject and object in some cases; 2) Checked consonants, glottalization; 3) Grouping of nominal stems into animate/inanimate classes; 4) Use of /-mi/ as a +animate, +human class marker suffix (in Khaamchi only); 5) Marking of plurality for animate classes only; 6) No honorary verb forms.

Compiling the language data

Data collection has been difficult for three main reasons. First, stating "God will be angry," Raji and Raute have historically refused to teach their language to outsiders (Fortier 2002). Rautes, for example, see their language as powerful and not something to give away or share with strangers. At present language attitude of the Rajis is little different and they have become indifferent towards their language. They prefer Kumaoni or Hindi as these languages help them to earn their bread and butter (Rastogi: 2002). Second, the areas where Rautes and Rajis live are fairly remote and inaccessible. This is compounded by the fact that many speakers are nomadic or semi-nomadic. Third, study of marginalized cultural groups such as Raute and Raji has not been a priority for ethnographers or linguists. Essentially, the "broken tribes" of the Himalayan foothills appeared to have little to offer in terms of theoretical insights into anthropological hunter-gather studies since they didn't fit the criteria of "pure" hunter-gatherers in that they barter with farmers for grain and carve wooden wares.

Briefly, Fortier conducted four months of ethnographic field research in 1997 with the nomadic Rautes in Jajarkot District, Nepal (Fortier 2000, 2001). During this time, language data was collected from two male elders with smaller contributions from other Rautes (two male, one female). Rastogi has spent a total of two months on various field research trips from 1998 to 2000. She visited four hamlets in Kumaon (Altodi, Kantoli, Jauljibi and Kimkhole) and collected data mainly from three male and two female informants. During field research, data was difficult to collect, crosschecking was difficult, and the reliability of some the

⁴ Given article length limitations, only consonants, not vowel systems, will be discussed.

data is not high. Questionable vocabulary that was not cross-checked, for example, is omitted for comparisons or historical reconstructions. Nevertheless, the data, we believe, may enable us to better understand the historical relations of the peoples and languages in the area.

Phonological Impressions⁵

Fieldwork yielding a thorough phonological analysis of Khamci and Raji has not yet been completed, therefore, the transcription used in the paper is phonetic. Nonetheless a number of general and specific observations may be made about both the languages. Tentatively there are a total of nineteen identifiable consonant phonemes for Khaamci.

Khaamci

Velar	g, k, ng ? h
Alveo Palatal	j, s', c'
Dental	d, t, n, s, r, l
Labial	p, b, m
Semi-Vowel	w, y

(Retroflex T, D, R are used in Nepali loan words)

Other features of note for Khaamci include-

- 1) possibly allophones with [k] and [q] as in 'elder, grandfather' *kokaa* being pronounced [qoqhaa].
- 2) Khaamci might make a meaningful distinction between the word final -h, -E, and nothing but this is unknown at this point.
- 3) Khaamci does not seem to have incorporated the IA retroflex sounds /T/, /D/ except when speaking Nepali and using Nepali loan words.
- 4) Khaamci has long geminate vowels with falling tones in word final position.
- 5) Women speakers used noticeable creaky tones.

Raji

It roughly has twenty-four consonants and seven vowels in its inventory.

Bilabial	p, b, m, mh
Alveo Palatal	s'
Dental	t, d, s, n, nh, l, lh
Retroflex	T, D, N, r, rh
Palatal	c, j, y
Velar	k, g, ng
Glottal	h
Semi Vowels	w, y

Other features of note for Raji include-

- 1) Nasalization of the vowels can be sporadic, possibly due to the influence of Hindi or Kumauni. /N/ is found only in loan words. There is a prominence of nasals in general.
- 2) Apart from a few examples retroflex and aspirated consonants are limited to loan terms.
- 3) Raji is a natural gender language that works at human nouns only.
- 4) Raji has two-way number contrast for nouns representing animate referents i.e. singular and plural.
- 5) Raji (and Khaamci) have original numerals upto six. Others are borrowed terms.
- 6) Raji speakers use flexible word order.

Comparison with PTB

Phones in Root Final Position

In both languages vowel-final syllables are most frequent. For consonants, the nasals e, m and n are common, as well as the liquid and semi-vowels r, l, y and w. Occasionally the velar ng, ? and stops t, k are employed. Rarely voiced consonants are found in syllable final position. Nepali loan words are often borrowed and refitted into Khaamci phonemic rules, e.g. Nep. *dudh* becomes *dudae* in Khaamci and *dudhang* in Raji. Conspicuously missing in syllable final position are the fricatives and voiced stops b, d, s, s', j, c', g. Sonants and sibilants are lacking in root-final and word final position and it appears that final velar forms in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) tend to be transformed into a second syllable with the addition of vowels, e.g., 'eye' **mik* > *mik* a [mi:hka]; 'hand' **lak* > *aka* [a:kha:]. Broadly, Khaamci as well as Raji final stops appear to be similar to PTB forms, but with addition of vowel-final root forms.

⁵ By "cognate" we mean words that have at least half of their syllables recognizable as the same phonological features

PTB final /s/ also is not maintained, e.g., Tibetan 'two' *nis* > Khaamci *ni* and Raji *nii*.

Phones in Root Initial Position

All known consonants in Khaamci and in Raji can be found in root initial positions. The following tables will give examples comparing Khaamci and Raji with Proto-Tibeto-Burman roots reconstructed and published in Benedict 1972.

The PTB /k/, /g/ and /t/ seem to be retained in Khaamci with exceptions where palatalization [k] > [c'], velarization [t] > [k] or [g], and/or voicing [t] > [d] occurs.

*k > k~kh~c'; *g > g; *t > t~tc'

Gloss	PTB	Khaamci	Raji
uncle	<i>kuw</i>	<i>kuwa</i>	<i>kakka</i>
speech	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka~kha</i>	-
dog	<i>kwiy</i>	<i>kwui(y)</i>	<i>kui</i>
skin	<i>kwc'ak</i>	<i>kir'i-kriya</i>	<i>khalyai</i>
mouth	<i>ku</i>	<i>ciü</i>	<i>kha-ber</i>
dance	<i>gan</i>	<i>gan</i>	<i>nacco</i> [IA]
dress	<i>gar</i>	<i>gar</i>	-
head	<i>gaw</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>gar'a</i>
water	<i>ti(y)</i>	<i>tc'i-ti-i</i>	<i>ti-i-chi</i>
spit	<i>tu-k</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>thuke</i>
neck	<i>tuk</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>gardhan</i> [IA]
black	<i>tyae</i>	<i>tokangya~tokanya</i>	<i>tuknaha</i>
émerge	<i>twak</i>	<i>'penis' tawaak</i>	-
put/place	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta-to</i>	-
sit	<i>tu-ng</i>	<i>guni</i>	<i>khu:ngya</i>
one	<i>tik</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>Da</i>

Unlike the velars, PTB /d-/ appears to have transformed into other forms, including /l-, h-, b-, p-, or n-/. In addition, there are a few cases of /t-/ transforming into other consonants.

Gloss	PTB	Khaamci	Raji
length	<i>due</i>	<i>langka</i>	<i>lang</i>
this, that	<i>day, (Tib) de</i>	<i>he('that'),</i> (this') <i>ai</i> ('this')	<i>i-i</i> <i>aiya</i> (that')
egg	<i>di</i>	<i>b-biya~bhbiya</i>	<i>anDa</i> [IA]
village	<i>dyal-tyal</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>nao</i>

For the PTB form /ts-/ , Khaamci data has only two comparative vocabulary items and one shows phonological change from /ts/ > /tw/ while the other shows either no change or possible limitation of the dental plosive.

Gloss	PTB	Khaamci	Raji
chop, cut	<i>tsywar</i>	<i>twaak</i>	<i>kaTTo</i> [IA]
red	<i>tsyak~ts'ak</i>	<i>ts'a~sha</i>	<i>tulhariya</i>

For the PTB form /dz-/ the Khaamci form appears to indicate possible palatalization toward /j/ or even velarization /dz/ > /g/ or /h/. But of the four comparative vocabulary items, each shows variations from the PTB form.

Gloss	PTB	Khaamci	Raji
eat	<i>dza</i>	<i>jaa~dza</i>	<i>jaa, jaa-le</i>
sister (of a man)	<i>dzar</i>	<i>ga-tu</i>	<i>goshina</i> (sister-in-law)
green	<i>dzim</i>	<i>hwa</i> ('dark green' <i>gagina</i>)	<i>hariya</i> [IA]
vulva	<i>dzuk</i>	<i>pi(y)</i> lexical item 'female')	(from <i>taru</i>)

For the PTB form /p-/ , Khaamci appear to retain the original phonological form in two of the cases for comparison. In other cases however, /p/ has changed into more soft, non-plosive forms such as /ph, h/ or been deleted altogether (**piy* > *iya*). In Raji it is changed in most of the places except in one word.

Gloss	PTB	Khamci	Raji
female	<i>pi(y)</i>	'vulva' <i>pi(y)</i>	<i>taru</i>
grandmother	<i>piy</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>ija</i>
father	<i>pa</i>	<i>paks'a</i>	<i>ba</i>
leaf	<i>pak</i>	<i>hwaa</i>	<i>huwaah, khuaa</i>
white	<i>plu</i>	<i>dhyaurya</i>	(E.Raji) <i>plong;</i> <i>dhaurya</i>
morning	<i>prang</i>	<i>yung</i>	<i>yung</i>
belly	<i>pu-k</i>	<i>doe, gu-doe</i>	<i>la do</i>
fly	<i>pyam</i>	<i>pharayi, bwaa</i>	<i>bo</i>
knee	<i>put</i>	<i>phuk-phuc</i>	<i>puhai</i>

The PTB /b/ appears to remain stable in contemporary Khaamci and Raji in the examples available for comparison except the two places where Rajis have started using loan words. The only exception in Khamci is the case in which /b/ > /m/, an example of plosive softening and nasalization.

Gloss	PTB	Khamci	Raji
give	<i>biy</i>	<i>biy</i>	<i>bai-ko, bai-y</i>
leg	<i>bop</i>	<i>baa</i>	<i>bhaa</i>
name	<i>brang</i>	<i>mingga-minggha</i>	<i>naam</i> [IA]
bird	<i>bya</i>	<i>bwaa~buwa</i>	<i>bos</i>
insect	<i>buw</i>	<i>bwaa~buwa</i>	<i>kiire</i> [IA]
come, go	<i>byon</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>bii, biir</i>

We won't go into all the possible consonant forms but conclude with the PTB forms /s/ and /s'/.
 s'ur'oh

Gloss	PTB	Khamci	Raji
three	<i>g-sum</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>khue</i> ('sum' in Sharma 1994)
louse	<i>s'ar~sar</i>	<i>s'ur'oh</i>	<i>sira</i>
kill	<i>g-sat</i>	<i>atho</i>	<i>hate</i>
tree	<i>sing</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>sing</i>
die	<i>siy-sy</i>	<i>s'i:s'iya</i>	<i>s'iya</i>
meat	<i>sya~s'a</i>	<i>s'yaa</i>	<i>sya</i>

In these cases, the PTB prefix /g/ is lost and in one case the word initial is deleted. It is unknown at this point whether /s/ and /s' act as allophones in some environments but [s] > [s'] in 4/5 of the examples for Khamci and 2/4 cases for Raji.

Tibeto-Burman Prefixes

Prefixed consonants in modern TB languages (s-, r-, b-, g-, d-, m-) appear to have either not been developed in Khaamci and Raji or contrarily have been subject to deletion. Terms where it has possibly been retained are found in only a few lexical items. As Benedict notes (1972:103). "rigid schematicizations found in modern TB languages have been developed secondarily" and probably were not developed in modern Khamci and Raji. Only two collected lexical items exhibit a prefixed element that have formed since the PTB era.

Gloss	PTB	Khamci	Raji
egg	<i>di</i>	<i>b-biya</i>	<i>anDa</i> [IA]
night	<i>ya</i>	<i>'yesterday' b-yaa(ra)</i>	<i>byaar</i>

Reviewing the diachronic changes from a reconstructed PTB ancestral language to contemporary ones, we are impressed with the continuity over time of the consonantal systems in Khaamci and Rawati. The trends appear to have been toward 1) palatalization of front consonants, 2) nasalization, 3) deletion of pre-consonants as well as 4) insertion of word final segments; 5) de-voicing; and 6) insertion of [V] into [C] [C] chains (e.g. *tyang > K. tokangya, *twak > K tawaak).

The intimate proximity of the relationship of these languages is evident in the form of large amount of shared or nearly identical vocabulary.

In comparing cognates using the Swadesh 100 word list, we find that there are actually only a total of 56 comparable terms since some terms are unknown and others are IA terms. Of these, Rawati and Khaamci derive 82 percent (47/56) of their terms from a common cognate. The other 44 terms are either unknown, unverified or double checked, or involve IA terms in either Khaamci or Rawati.

Swadesh 100 word list comparisons of Khaamci and Raji with other areal languages in Nepal indicates a medium-close affiliation with Chepang (approx. 44 percent cognates) and lower frequencies of affiliation with Kaike, Magar, and Kham (in the 25-31 percent range).

Comparison of Khaamci with Rawati and Other Himalayan Languages

Groups	Language of Comparison	Compared Items	Total ** Cognates	Total % of Cognats
West Central Himalayan TB	Chepang	87	38	44
	Rawati	56	46	82
	Raji (Kumaon Raji) (Nepal Raj)*	60	54	90
Central Himalayan	Kham	84	26	31
	Magar	84	21	25
	Kaike	84	20	24
Austro-Asiatic	Santhali	81	20	25
East Himalayish	Khaling	84	19	23
Bodic/Kiranti	Newari	84	19	22
	Thakali	84	17	20
	Gurung	84	13	15
Tibeto-Himalayan	Sunuwar	84	15	17
Central Him.Bodish	Tamang	84	15	17
	Sherpa	84	17	19
	Jirel	84	17	20

*Nepal side Raji material gratefully received from Johan Reinhard (personal research collection). Other materials from Hale 1982, MacPhail 1983, Caughley 2000.

The diachronic and areal synchronic comparisons indicate that Khaamci and Rawati are indeed closely related sister languages. They appear to show a great number of regular correspondances in their phonemic systems. They have a high percentage of lexical similarity. They probably have begun to diverge in the last hundred years, with more divergence geographically in the eastern and western sectors of the territorial range. Time and again it has been established that related languages are the historical continuations of

a single ancestral language which once, usually some thousands of years ago, was spoken by a culturally unified community in a continuous area. In terms of language affiliation, we suggest that languages under study be placed with either the western or west-central complex pronominalized Himalayan languages which include Chepang. In the end we would like to conclude by stating that while much more research on the grammar of these two groups needs to be done, a definite and close relationship between Khaamci and Rawati does exist. Without detailed morphological and grammatical comparison it is difficult to say whether they are two dialects of one language or two separate but closely related languages.

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Causative Construction in Kumal*

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1 Introduction

Kumal is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by a very few people in the hilly and inner Terai region of central Nepal. According to the latest report (2001), there are about 6553 speakers distribute in various districts of Nepal.

This paper deals with the causative construction in Kumal. To note, 'causative does not promote a term, but adds a new argument that represents the notional causer, which can be considered as having the new grammatical role of causer, placing it in subject position, while demoting the original subject to oblique or peripheral status' (Palmer 1994:214).

2. Types of Causative Construction

In Kumal language, two types of causative constructions are found.

2.1 Morphological Causative

Morphological causativization in Kumal is very much productive. It can be formed by the following processes.

2.1.1 Affixation

Causative marker *-a* is suffixed to the verb root to obtain the notion of causation as in (1, 2, 3).

1. a. *ram hās-əl*
Ram laugh-PST3S
'Ram laughed.'
- b. *ram-lai hās-a-il*
Ram-D laugh-CAUS-PST3S
'Ram caused to laugh.'
2. a. *māi ru-nu*
I weep-PST1S
'I wept.'

* This paper was presented at the 9th Himalayan Languages Symposium, CIIL, Mysore, India, December 9-12, 2003.

- b. *ram-le m̄arai ru-a-il*
Ram-E I-D weep-CAUS-PST3S
'Ram caused me to weep.'
3. a. *b̄lram uTh-əl*
Balram stand-PST3S
'Balram stood.'
- b. *b̄lram-ke uTh-a-il*
Balram-D stand-CAUS-PST3S
'(Someone) caused Balram to stand.'

2.1.2 Internal Modification

In the process of internal modification some verb roots of Kumal language are changed into transitive form by ablauting process. For example 4 and 5, consider the following:

- | | | | |
|--------------|--------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>m̄ar</i> | 'die' | <i>mar</i> | 'cause to die' |
| <i>s̄ar</i> | 'move' | <i>sar</i> | 'cause to move' |
| <i>khul</i> | 'open' | <i>khol</i> | 'cause to open' |
| <i>b̄al</i> | 'burn' | <i>bal</i> | 'cause to burn' |
| <i>Dh̄al</i> | 'fall' | <i>Dhal</i> | 'cause to fall' |
4. a. *b̄acca j̄anm-əl*
child born-PST3S
'The child was born.'
- b. *sita-le b̄acca j̄anm-a-il*
Sita-E child born-CAUS-PST3S
'Sita gave birth to a child.'
5. a. *ruk̄h Dh̄al-əl*
tree fall-PST3S
'The tree fell down.'
- b. *Dai-le ruk̄h Dh̄al-əl*
brother-ERG tree fall-CAUS-PST3S
'The brother fell down the tree.'

In examples 4 and 5, verb roots have been changed by ablauting process.

2.1.3 Cluster Simplification

The verb stem with consonant cluster is causativized by simplification of the cluster. Here vowel is inserted into the cluster as in (6 and 7).

6. a. *ghiu p̄agl-əl*
ghee melt-PST3S
'The ghee melted itself.'
- b. *ram-le gh̄iu p̄ag-a-l̄əl*
Ram-E ghee melt-CAUS-PST3S
'Ram melted the ghee.'
7. a. *mot̄ar baTo khul-əl*
motor road open-PST3S
'The motor road opened.'
- b. *mot̄ar baTo khol-əl*
motor road open-CAUS-PST3S
'The government opened the motor road.'

2.1.4 Affixation and Internal Modification

In the process of causativization some verb roots bear the phenomena of affixation and internal modification simultaneously.

8. a. *ram h̄ās-əl*
Ram laugh-PST3S
'Ram laughed.'
- b. *syam-le ram-ke h̄ās-a-il*
Shyam-E Ram-D laugh-CAUS-PST3S
'Shyam made Ram laugh.'

2.2 Syntactic/Periphrastic Causative

Generally, in this type of causative construction a 'vector' bearing causative meaning follows the infinitive form of a main verb. In Kumal language, the vector used in syntactic causative construction is *l̄aga-* which bears the meaning 'to cause'. In the process of derivation, the original subject is demoted to the object position and a new subject as a causer is introduced, with which the verb agrees as in (9-11).

9. a. *h̄ari h̄ās-əl*
Hari laugh-PST3S
'Hari laughed.'

- b. *māi hāri-ke hāsi ləgai-nu*
I-E Hari-D laugh.INF cause-PST1S
'I caused Hari laughed.'
10. a. *rāmes phuTbəl khel-əl*
Ramesh football play-PST3S
'Ramesh played football.'
- b. *rābi-le rāmes-ke phuTbəl khelai-ləga-il*
Rabi-E Ramesh-D football play.INF cause-PST3S
'Rabi caused Ramesh play football.'
11. a. *ram-le ukərai kəlam de-ləs*
Ram-E him pen give-PST3S
'Ram gave him pen.'
- b. *ram-le ukərai kəlam dei-ləgai-ləs*
Ram-E him pen give.INF cause-PST3S
'Ram caused him give pen.'

3. Conclusion

Causative construction in Kumal is highly productive. In morphological causative construction, affixation, internal modification and cluster simplification are identified. Likewise, in periphrastic construction, a vector <ləga> is used which bears the causative meaning.

Abbreviations

1-First Person	IMP- Imperative
2- Second Person	INF-Infinitival Participle ending
3- Third Person	I-Instrumental
CAUS- Causative	L-Locative
D- Dative	NEG-Negative
E-Ergative	PST-Past
G-Genitive	Pl-Plural
h-honorific	S-Singular

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1 Introduction

This study focuses on the ethnic varieties of Nepali, possibly a creole form based on Nepali. Almost all of the studies so far carried out examine the dialect variation of Nepali on the basis of geographical distribution. Pokharel (2031 BS) classifies dialects of Nepali as Eastern, Central, Western and Far Western. Bandhu (2052) classifies them as Eastern, Central and Western. These studies have subsequently classified the dialects into subdialects. Paudyal (2044 BS) analyses the Parbati dialect with reference to the previous studies and defines it as the variety that is spoken within the territory of Dhaulagiri and Gandaki. Thapa (2054) argues for subdialect variation and classifies the Parbati dialect into three classes such as Parbate, Galkote and Myagdi-Mustangi. All these classifications are based on geographical distribution of the speech communities of Nepali language.

Nepal is a rich country for linguistics and ethnic diversity. Being the national language or lingua franca Nepali has been in use in almost all ethnic communities for centuries. As a result, some peculiar varieties are observed in various ethnic communities that are different from geographical varieties and identify ethnic groups instead of regional group. The ethnic groups that were required to be incorporated into a single mainstream of language, culture and society for various reasons could develop such varieties. Such varieties can be studied as Nepali based creole languages.

The variety that is described here exhibits basic characteristics of Tibeto-Burman languages but uses Nepali vocabularies with various grammatical modifications. This variety is spoken in the Magar community of Dhaulagiri region, especially in Myagdi where the large Magar (ethnic group) people are in majority but do not speak Magar language. The children from these Magar communities acquire this peculiar variety as their first language. Apart from linguistic characteristics, political and ethnic history of

the region also supports the claim that this can be a Magar creole based on Nepali.

2 Phonology

This study does not focus on the detailed analysis of phonology nor does it aim to develop a separate phonemic inventory of the variety, since the variety does not depart too far from the phonological features of standard Nepali. Some phonemic changes are observed and are cited here to differentiate the variety. The following examples exhibit some phonological differentiation of the variety with standard Nepali.

1.	/c ^h /	/c/
a.	<i>a-ūc^hə</i>	<i>a-ncə</i>
	come-3S.M.NPt	come-3.NPt
b.	<i>ja-nc^hə</i>	<i>ja-ncə</i>
	go-3S.M.NPt	go-3.NPt
c.	<i>rəmau-c^hə</i>	<i>rəma-ncə</i>
	be pleased-3.S.M.NPt	be pleased-3.NPt

The evidence of sound change indicates that the variety avoids aspiration at the end. Besides this, the nasalized feature is realized as alveolar nasal as in 1a and 1c. Vowel /u/ is deleted in every example. It seems that after the realization of nasal phoneme, the vowel /u/ that carries nasalized feature is redundant and, hence deleted. Evidences show that not only the nasalized vowel /u/ but also the non-nasalized vowel /u/ has undergone the process of phonological deletion.

2.	/u/	/ə/
a.	<i>a-u-la</i>	<i>a-la</i>
	come-Mood.3S.M.NPt	come-3p.NPt
b.	<i>pau-la</i>	<i>pa-la</i>
	get-3S.MNPt	get-3.NPt
c.	<i>daura</i>	<i>dara</i>
	Firewood	firewood

The vowel /u/ is deleted in the verbal items in 2a and 2b as well as in nominal item in 2c. Evidences in 2a and 2b show that the variety does not focus on modality.

The suffix /-erə/, used to form conjunctive particle, is changed into /-irə/ for the same function.

- 3.
- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| /e/ | /i/ |
| a. <i>dek^h-erə</i> | <i>dek^h-irə</i> |
| see-CP | see-CP |
| b. <i>her-erə</i> | <i>her-irə</i> |
| look-CP | look-CP |
| c. <i>b^hən-erə</i> | <i>b^hən-irə</i> |
| say-CP | say-CP |

1st person marker and past tense marker /ē/ changes into /-iŋ/ for the same function.

- 4.
- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| /e/ | /iŋ/ |
| a. <i>a-ē</i> | <i>a-iŋ</i> |
| come-1SPt | come-1S.Pt |
| b. <i>gə-ē</i> | <i>gə-iŋ</i> |
| go-1S.Pt | go-1S.Pt |
| c. <i>ro-ē</i> | <i>ro-iŋ</i> |
| weep-1S.Pt | weep-1S.Pt |

The phonological feature nasalization is realized as velar nasal and the mid front vowel changes into high front vowel in as in examples 4a and 4c.

Another striking phonological characteristic of the variety is that the whole series of alveolar stops is absent or it can be used only as allophonic variation with dental stops.

Voiced dental stops are changed into alveolar trill /r/ as in the following examples.

- 5.
- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. <i>kodo</i> | <i>koro</i> |
| millet | |
| b. <i>g^hədi</i> | <i>g^həri</i> |
| watch | |

The variety has exhibited the phonological characteristics that are different not only from standard Nepali but also from other neighboring variety of Nepali spoken by Brahmin/Chhetri people. Such different phonological characteristics support to argue that this variety can not be included with the neighboring varieties of Nepali even though this lies with them geographically. So the division of dialects of Nepali as Parbati dialect can not explain this variety correctly. Rather this variety appears to be an ethnic variety or a separate creole language. Tone and breathy are the typical phonological features of this variety though these do not occur in

contrastive position. Such phonological characteristics widen the gap of intelligibility with its speakers.

3. Morphology

Various morphophonemic changes are observed and the realization of negative morpheme, plural morpheme and case morpheme are discussed here.

Infixation of negative morpheme is found in the verb while it carries the person marker as 1st person and 2nd person.

- 1
- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. <i>a-ncuŋ</i> | <i>a-n-naŋ</i> |
| come-1.NPt | come-NEG-1.NPt |
| b. <i>k^ha-ncuŋ</i> | <i>k^ha-n-naŋ</i> |
| eat-1.NPt | eat-NEG-1.NPt |
| c. <i>ja-ncuŋ</i> | <i>ja-n-naŋ</i> |
| go-1.NPt | go-NEG-1.NPt |

In examples 1a to 1c the negative morpheme /nə/ is involved in infixation. But it occurs as suffix if the verb carries the person marker for 3rd person as in the following examples.

- 2
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. <i>a-ncə</i> | <i>a-n-na</i> |
| come-3.NPt | come-NEG-NPt |
| b. <i>k^ha-ncə</i> | <i>k^ha-n-na</i> |
| eat-3.NPt | eat-NEG-3.NPt |
| c. <i>ro-ncə</i> | <i>ro-n-na</i> |
| weep-3.NPt | weep-NEG-3.NPt |

Plural morpheme is realized as /r/ and it occurs as suffix to the noun.

- 3.
- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. <i>mənc^hi</i> | <i>mənc^hi-r</i> |
| man | man-Pl |
| b. <i>kiti</i> | <i>kiti-r</i> |
| girl | girl-Pl |
| c. <i>to</i> | <i>to-r/tinə-r</i> |
| DEM. Pro | DEMPro-Pl |

These examples show that the plural morpheme /r/ can be inflected on the verbs as suffix. Likewise, case morpheme are too, inflected on the nouns as suffix as in the following examples.

- 4
- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| a. <i>mə</i> | <i>mə-l</i> |
| 1S | 1S-ERG |

b. <i>k^hola</i>	<i>k^hola-nə</i>
river	river-LOC
c. <i>beni</i>	<i>beni-bat</i>
Beni	Beni-SOURCE

In 4a the agent marker /l/ occurs with 1st person singular pronoun as a suffix and locative marker /nə/ and source marker /bat/ occur as suffix in 4b and 4c respectively.

Some new lexical items are found that are not used in the standard variety as well as in the neighboring variety.

5	<i>g^hati gərnu</i>	"to keep quiet"
	<i>ok^həl g^halnu</i>	"to vomit"
	<i>kəlla</i>	"peas"
	<i>kəlla geri</i>	"banana"
	<i>pogar</i>	"wall"
	<i>ce</i>	"be"
	<i>təmmas</i>	"very"

These and many other lexical items that are unfamiliar to the speaker of the standard variety as well as the neighboring variety supports the argument that it is a variety different from the so called Parbati dialect of Nepali.

4. Syntax

Syntactic analysis of the variety exhibits that the variety does not require the verb to agree with subject in gender and number while the agreement is found for person and honorific.

- gori anə ma-n-na*
Gori (F) come.INF like-NEG-3.NPt-?
"Gori doesn't like to come"

gore anə manna
Gore (M) come.INF agree-NEG-NPt-?
"Gore doesn't like to come"

In both examples 1a and 1b, the verb is not changed for gender agreement with the subject nouns, so it lacks gender marker. Likewise, the variety does not require the verb to be agreed for number with subject as in the following examples.

- a. *ek-ta məc^hi a-cə*
one-CL man come-3P.NPt
"one man came"

- b. *d^herrəi məc^hi-r a-cə*
many man-Pl come-3.NPt
"many people came"

Though the verb lacks gender and number agreement they can be inflected for honorific and person marker as in the following examples.

- a. *to-l k^hanu k^ha-ina*
3-ERG meal eat-NEG.Pt
"He/she did not eat meal"

b. *bəu-le k^hanu k^ha-ina-n*
father-ERG meal eat-NEG.Pt-Hon
"Father did not eat meal"
- a. *mə-l k^hanu k^ha-iŋ*
1-ERG meal eat-1.Pt
"I ate meal"

b. *to-l k^hanu k^ha-o*
3-ERG meal eat-3.Pt.NH
"He/she ate meal"

5. Conclusion

This is a variety spoken by the Tibeto-Burman people (Magar people) who are in a dominant position within their large ethnic community. They are in majority and have maintained their own separate identity in culture and society. This exhibits typical linguistic features of TB languages such as lacking subject verb agreement for number, lacking grammatical gender influence of tone and breathiness. Such linguistic characteristics and some quite different lexical items support the claim that this variety is a creole language that had been developed as pidgin during the unification of Nepal or earlier through their contact with Nepali speakers.

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Non-nominative Subjects and the Notion of Subjecthood in Newar

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1. Scope of the Paper

Many languages of South Asia have subjects which are not nominatives, and there have been a substantial amount of publications on non-nominative subject constructions especially in Indic languages. It is claimed that specific predicates require non-nominatives such as ergative, dative, genitive, comitative, instrumental or locative subjects, and attempts have been made to analyze their subject properties in terms of morphological codings in case marking and agreement between subject and predicate. The aim of this paper is to analyze the role of non-nominative subjects in Newar where the status of the subject has been ambiguous due mainly to interpretations regarding its grammatical and logical functions in a constituent structure. In recent literature, a Newar subject has often been defined as a volitional actor or agent rather than a category that is grammatically related to a transitive or intransitive verb. The agentive subject has thus been recognized as the only non-nominative that controls the verb. Given this constraint, it is obvious that the nominative and non-nominative subjects in Newar do not behave in the same way as in a subject-prominent language like English or other Indo-European languages where the subject-verb or subject-object relations are well established.

This paper is an attempt to explore the syntactic and semantic properties of non-nominative subjects in Newar with particular focus on the opposition between nominative-accusative and non-nominative-non-accusative contexts. The paper will, for this purpose, include three major topics: 1. A brief survey of non-nominative subject constructions in Newar, including reflexives and nominalized compounds as non-nominatives; 2. Non-nominative and non-accusativity arguments with particular reference to the opposition between ergative and non-ergative subjects; and 3. the proposal of a semantic framework to explain the nature of the

relationship between subject and object in the language. The paper will conclude with a brief summary of its main findings.

2. Non-nominative subject constructions in Newar

The non-nominative subjects are attested in a large number of South Asian languages of various genetic affiliations. Apart from the Indic languages of Nepal, these occur as a regular syntactic feature in many Tibeto-Burman languages including Newar. It is not clear whether non-nominative subjects are native to T-B or a borrowed feature, although Bickel (2001 :212) states that at least the dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-European type are not a general feature of T-B. The following are some of the relevant data on the occurrent non-nominatives in Newar, organized on the basis of Table 1.

Table 1 : Construction types and Distribution of Non-nominative subjects

Subjects	Objects
Type 1 : Nominative	----
Type 2 : Nominative	Nominative
Type 3 : Ergative	Nominative
Type 4 : Ergative	Dative
Type 5 : Ergative	Comitative
Type 6 : Ergative	Genitive
Type 7 : Dative	Nominative
Type 8 : Genitive	Nominative
Type 9 : Genitive	Instrumental
Type 10: Genitive	Ablative
Type 11: Comitative	Nominative
Type 12: Locative	Nominative

2.1 Basic forms (unmarked)

- (1a) *ji dyā wan-aa*
I sleep go-Pc
'I went to sleep.'
- (1b) *cha hathaae caal-a*
you hurry feel-Pd
'You were in a hurry.'

- (2a) *wa cha-mha jyaami kha:*
s/he Num-Clf workperson is
'S/he is a workperson.'
- (2b) *hari ji soyaa ta:mi*
hari I Cmp rich
'Hari is richer than me.'

2.2 Ergative subject Constructions

Ergative subject constructions normally involve perfective transitives in which the verbal predicate may be a dative, as in (3a-b), and the complement of a verb in the nominative form, as in (3c). Ergative subjects also has a more prominent role than the non-nominative patients with comitative (4a-b), and genitive (5a-b) case markers.

- (3a) *manju-ū cya:-yaa-ta bva: bil-a*
manju-Erg servant-Obl-Dat scold give-Pd
'Manju scolded the servant.'
- (3b) *maama-ā macaa-yaa-ta na-kal-a*
mother-Erg child-Obl-Dat eat-Caus-Pd
'The mother fed the child.'
- (3c) *khusi-ĩ manu cui-k-aa yen-kal-a*
river-Agt man flow-Caus-Pc take-Caus-Pd
'The river swept the man away.'
- (4a) *cha-ā manju-yaa-ke kaal-a*
you-Erg manju-Obl-Com take-Pd
'You took it from Manju.'
- (4b) *ji-ĩ chā-ke nyen-aa*
I-Erg you-Com ask-Pc
'I asked you.'
- (5a) *ji-ĩ mhiga:-yaa khā thul-a*
I-Erg yesterday-Gen matter understand-Pd
'I have understood about yesterday's matter.'
- (5b) *wa-ā nhaapaa-yaa khā syu-u:*
s/he-Erg past-Gen matter know-Stat
'S/he knows about past matters.'

2.3 Dative subject constructions

The Dative case typically indicates a grammatical relationship with the indirect object. The Dative can be marked on the subject or an indirect object of a transitive verb. The case roles of various categories of subject nouns in Newar can be identified as an agent, patient or dative experiencer. The indirect object of a transitive construction is marked for dative while the direct object is unmarked or in the nominative-absolutive case.

- (6a) *ji-ta tyaanul-a* (expiencer)
I-Dat tire-Pc
'I am tired / feel tired.'
- (6b) *wa-yaa-ta chu jul-a?*
s/he-Obl-Dat what be-Pd
'What has happened to him/her?'

The Dative subject constructions in Newar can be interpreted as passive sentences where the dative experiencer is recognized as a patient, as in (7a), and also as a compulsive-passive form, as in (7b).

- (7a) *misaa-yaa-ta khā thu-yaa wal-a*
woman-Obl-Dat matter understand-Pc come-Pd
'The woman came to understand the matter.'
- (7b) *ji-ta wan-e maa:-gu du*
I-Dat go-Inf need-Nom is
'I need to go.' ('It is necessary for me to go.')

2.4 Genitive subject constructions

The genitive case morpheme <-yaa> expresses a possessive relationship of animate nouns (8a) or certain close connections between inanimate nouns (8b).

- (8a) *wa-yaa ni-mha kijaa-pī du*
s/he-Gen num-Clf y.brother-Plu has
'S/he has two younger brothers.'
- (8b) *cikulaa-yaa sisaa-busaa*
winter-Gen fruits
'The fruits of winter.'

An animate noun can also be marked with a genitive case when expressing a habitual or compulsive action, as in (9).

- (9a) *gabhaaju-yaa sutha-e sutha-e tuta: bvon-e-gu*
priest-Gen morning-Loc morning-Loc sutra recite-NPc-Nom
calan du
practice is
'It is the practice of a Vajracarya priest to recite the sutras every morning.'
- (9b) *manju-yaa nhyī-nhyī philim sva-e maa:*
manhu-Gen every.day film look-NPc need
'Manju watches films everyday.'

The Genitive also alternates with the Instrumental case especially when quoting a rate or price of certain commodities.

- (10a) *laa dhaarni-yaa /-ī caerkaa tu:*
meat unit-Gen / -Inst eighty.rupees costs
'Meat costs eighty rupees per dharni.'
- (10b) *darjan-yaa /-ā jhirkaa jaka*
dozen-Gen / Inst ten.rupees only
'Ten rupees only for a dozen.'

A subject however does not occur in the instrumental case (as for example in Hindi) and is confined to an indirect object noun where it functions as a medium, vehicle or tool in an action described by the verb. The instrument can either be a part of an animate being (such as bodily parts), inanimate objects (such as tools, vehicles, etc) or abstract nouns (such as ideas, emotions or attitudes) used as medium or instrument.

- (11a) *shyaam-ā hari-yaa-ta tuti-ī pyē-kal-a*
shyaam-Erg hari-Obl-Dat leg-Inst kick-Caus-Pd
'Shyam kicked Hari with his leg.'
- (11b) *wa-ā mye-yaa-ta kathi-ī daal-a*
s/he-Erg buffalo-Obl-Gen stick-Inst hit-Pd
'S/he hit the buffalo with a stick.'

- (11c) *miraa rela-ã wal-a*
mira train-Inst come-Pd
'Mira came by train.'
- (11d) *wa-yaa jyaa tama-ã syen-a*
s/he-Gen work anger-Inst spoil-Pd
'His/her work was spoiled by anger.'

Joshi (1985: 91) also states that "in some cases, manner may be optionally realized in locative as well as in instrumental forms", and gives the following example :

- (12) *wa-ã tama-ã/-e khicaa-yaa-ta daal-a*
s/he-Erg anger-Inst / -Loc dog-Obl-Dat beat-Pd
'S/he beat the dog with / in anger.'

It may be noted that in Newar there is syncretism in the Ergative-Instrumental-Ablative case suffixes which are marked by similar sets of nasalized vowels. The essential distinction among these case functions is that instrumental and ablative forms normally do not occur as non-nominative subjects. The term 'ablative' refers to source of an action and functions as a shift from one location to another or from one situation to another. The ablative functions can be seen in (13 a-b).

- (13a) *wa-yaa dhana-ã wa:-gu ijata*
s/he-Gen wealth-Abl come-Nom prestige
'The prestige that comes from his wealth.'
- (13b) *ji mhiga: jaapaan-ã theka: wa-yaa*
I yesterday japan-Abl arrive come-Pc
'I arrived from Japan yesterday.'

2.5 Comitative subject constructions

Comitative case expresses accompaniment or association, and is marked with a < -ke > morpheme which is suffixed to a singular or plural noun or pronoun directly or following the oblique marker < -yaa/-i >. The comitative case marking is confined to animate nouns or pronouns.

- (14a) *ji-ke thva saphu: ma-du*
I-Com this book Neg-have
'I do not have this book.'
- (14b) *chi-mi-ke thva saphu: du lãa ?*
you-Plu-Com this book have Q
'Do you have this book ?'
- (14c) *wa-yaa /-i-ke da-e phu*
s/he-Obl-Com have-NPc may
'S/he may have it.'

2.6 Locative subject constructions

The locative case expresses the idea of location or place of action described by the verb. The locative suffix has several variants like < -i, -e, -lay, -nay >.

- (15a) *tũthi-i la: ma-du*
well-Loc water Neg-is
'There is no water in the well.'
- (15b) *keba-e swaã thva-e ma-te*
garden-Loc flower pluck-NPc Neg-Imp
'Do not pick flowers in the garden.'
- (15c) *dhau-lay cini ta-e dhun-a laa ?*
yogurt-Loc sugar put-NPc Perf-Pd Q
'Have (you) put sugar in the yogurt ?'
- (15d) *kã-nay lã thaan-aa cvan-a*
thorn-Loc garment stick-Pc Prg-Pd
'The garment is stuck on the thorn.'

The non-nominative categories, their morphological case forms and their semantic codings can be summarized as in Table 2 which gives a list of what contexts require what kind of non-nominative subjects and the kinds of semantic notions that may be involved in the choice of several non-nominative subjects.

Table 2: Non-nominative subjects: their morphological and semantic codings

Cases	Morphologica l suffixes	Semantic interpretations
Ergative	-ī /-ā /-aā /-ū	Agent (3-5)
Dative	-ta /-yaa-ta	Experiencer, Compulsion (6-7)
Genitive	-yaa	Possession (animate), close connection (inanimate) (8-9)
Instrumental	-ī /-ā	Intermediate agent of an action (10-12)
Ablative	-ī /-ā /-āā	Source of an action or shift in location (13)
Comitative	-ke /-yaa-ke	Association or accompaniment (14)
Locative	-i /-e /-lay/-nay	Spatial locations/deictics (15)

Subjecthood arguments

In the traditional sense, the subject has the semantic role of an agent or the actor who executes the action described by the verb. In Newar, the agent controls the verb agreement and thus may be the most likely candidate for the title of a true subject. We however need to consider whether the coding properties of the occurrent non-nominative subjects in the language coincide with their semantic properties. Consider the following examples :

- (16a) *phasa-ā nhaekā tajaat-a*
wind-Erg glass break-Pd /NVol
'The wind broke the glass.'
- (16b) *hari-ī nhaekā tachyaat-a*
hari-Agt glass break-Pd / Vol
'Hari broke the glass.'
- (16c) **phasa-ā nhaekā tachyaat-a*

The verbs *tajyaa-ye* and *tachyaa-ye* are commonly known as suppletive causatives (Malla 1985 : 97-99) which have similar morphological coding (i.e. past disjunct), but one implies a non-volitional event (16a) while the other implies an intentional action of a volitional agent (16b). It is obvious that a non-volitional subject cannot take a verb with volitional properties, as in (16c) which is semantically unacceptable. These examples thus clearly show that there is often a mismatch between the coding and semantic properties. Consider also the examples in (17).

- (17a) *raam-ā ghaa: laak-aa bil-a*
raam-Erg wound inflict-Pc give-Pd
'Ram inflicted the wound (on s.o.)'
- (17b) *raam-yaa-ta ghaa: laa-ta*
raam-Obl-Dat wound inflict-Pd
'Ram suffered the wound.'

The nominatives in the subject position in these sentences differ in morphological codings, where the subject in (17a) is a volitional agent, and in (17b) he is a dative experiencer which functions as a patient. The question of subjecthood in these cases therefore are based on morphological codings rather than on inherent semantic properties. This argument also applies to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person transitive subject which have conjunct-disjunct verb agreement, while the dative-experiencer counterparts do not control such agreement, as can be seen in the following pairs (18-19):

- (18a) *ji-ī dhebaa bi-yaa cho-yaa*
I-Erg money give-Pc send-Pc
'I gave away the money.'
- (18b) *cha-ā / wa-ā dhebaa bi-yaa chot-a*
you-Erg / s/he-Erg money give-Pc send-Pd
'You / s/he gave away the money.'
- (19a) *ji-ta dhebaa bil-a*
I-Dat money give-Pd
'I was given the money.'

- (19b) *chan-ta / wa-i-ta dhebaa bil-a*
 you-Dat / s/he-Obl-Dat money give-Pd
 'You / s/he was given the money.'

In these instances too, the agentive and the experiencer have different case-markings and there is verb agreement in (18) and not in (19). We can thus conclude that the non-nominatives in (18 a-b) have subject functions, while examples (19 a-b) are non-accusative constructions where the so-called dative subjects do not function as logical subjects. Mahajan (2001 : 473) in his paper on the origin of non-nominative subjects proposed "a correlation between non-accusativity and non-nominative subject phenomena" in his analysis of Hindi data. We thus need to examine the morphological and structural aspects of other non-nominative arguments to see if they can be viewed as true subjects.

4. Non-nominative arguments

Hook (1982), Masica (1991) and Mistry (2001) on the basis of data from various I-A languages, refer to three types of non-nominative constructions, namely, the predicate-governed (4.1), possession-governed (4.2), and modality-governed (4.3). In this section, I shall attempt to determine the subjecthood of non-nominative arguments in the light of these functions.

4.1 Predicate-governed constructions

A. Sentences in Newar with receptive verbs such as 'to be hurt' 'to be worried' etc show that the causee of the mental problem or the stimulant is expressed nominatively, while the undergoer / experiencer, datively as in (20). Bickel (2001: 212-218) refers to Dative non-nominatives as 'experiencer-as goal'.

- (20a) *wa-yaa-ta dhyaaacu nyē-k-u: guli nugala-e syaat-a*
 s/he-Obl-Dat complaint listen-Caus-Stat because of
 heart-Loc pain-Pd
 'S/he was hurt by being made to listen to the complaint.'
- (20b) *manju-yaa-ta tho jyaa syen-aa: dhandaa jul-a*
 manju-Obl-Dat this work spoil-Ptp worry be-Pd
 'Manju was worried as the work was spoilt.'

B. Sentences with cognitive verbs such as 'know', 'understand' also take the nominative theme and a dative experiencer, as in (21) :

- (21a) *paasaa-yaa-ta tho khā si-yaa wal-a*
 friend-Obl-Dat this matter know-Pc come-Pd
 'The friend came to know about this matter.'
- (21b) *manu-tae-ta tha-yaa-gu khā thui-k-e thaaku*
 person-Plu-Dat this-Gen-Nom matter understand-Caus-NPc
 difficult
 'It is difficult to make people understand about this matter.'

C. Sentences with complex predicate can consist of a concrete noun, a nominalized adjective (animate / inanimate) or an adverb followed by a verb of purpose, as in (22) :

- (22a) *ji-mi kehē-yaa-ta pasa: wan-e-ta dhebaa bi-yaa*
 I-Plu y.sister-Obl-Dat shop go-NPc-Purp money give-Pc
 '(I) gave money to our younger sister for shopping.'
- (22b) *chē-yaa-ta nhu-gu parjaa nyaa-e-ta pasa: wan-aa*
 house-Obl-Dat new-Nom curtain buy-NPc-Purp shop go-Pc
 '(I) went shopping to buy new curtains for the house.'
- (22c) *byaahaa-yaa-ta baalaa-ka daek-i dhakaa dhaa-yaa*
 marriage-Obl-Dat nice-Adv make-NPd Comp tell-Pc
tha-k-aa
 leave-Caus-Pc
 '(I) left instruction to have it made nicely for the marriage.'

4.2 Possession-governed constructions

Possession in Newar is expressed morphologically, not lexically or syntactically. The genitive marker < -yaa > is used with a possessor and a nominative possessee which can be an abstract or animate noun, as in (23a). The comitative suffix < -ke / yaa-ke > is used only with physical objects as possessee, as in (23b). The third type of alternation occurs with an inanimate possessor where the genitive < -yaa > is obligatory, as in (23c) where the comitative

variant < -yaa-ke > is not permitted. Bickel (2001: 212-218) refers to non-nominative comitatives as 'experiencer-as possession'.

- (23a) *hari-yaa anubhab / ni-mha kaae-pĩ du*
hari-Gen experience / two-Clf son-Plu has
'Hari has experience / two sons.'
- (23b) *hari-yaa-ke dhebaa du*
hari-Obl-Com money has
'Hari has money.'
- (23c) *chē-yaa avasthaa bālaa ma-ju*
house-Gen situation good Neg-be
'The situation in the house is not good.'

4.3 Modality-governed constructions

In Kansakar (2001: 131-158) I had indicated that Newar and many other T-B languages of South Asia are mood prominent. This means that such a language has several ways in its lexical or verbal morphology to show different referential meaning to particular events. For example, the modal auxiliary *phu* implies ability, but can also be used in an ambiguous verb phrase like *won-e phu* to mean 'able to go' or 'may go'. Similarly, verbs such as *kaa-ye* 'to take' and *bi-ye* 'to give' can express extended modalities in VP's like *dhandaa kaa-ye* 'to worry, to be anxious', or *cho-yaa bi-ye* 'to send away'. I had thus taken the view that Newar is not a tense-based language but based more on modal distinctions in verbs and verbal suffixes (as e.g. in Tamang or other languages of the T-G-M-TH group). The sentences in (24) below show how the case marking on the subject correlate to the modality expressed in verbs and verb phrases.

- (24a) *wa-ā cithi col-a* past/perfective
s/he-Erg letter write-Pd
'S/he wrote a letter.'
- (24b) *wa-yaa-ta cithi co-ye maal-a* feel necessity
s/he-Obl-Dat letter write-NPc need-Pd
'S/he needed to write a letter.'

- (24c) *wa-ā cithi ma-co-se ma-jyu:* obligative / Imperative
s/he-Erg letter Neg-write-Prt Neg-be
'S/he must write a letter.'
- (24d) *wa-ā cithi co-saa jyu* recommendative / suggestive
s/he-Erg letter write-Cond is.alright
'It will be good if s/he writes a letter.'
- (24e) *wa-yaa cithi co-ye maasti wal-a* desiderative
s/he-Gen letter write-NPc wish come-Pd
'S/he wished / wanted to write a letter.'
- (24f) *wa-ā cithi co-ye phu* ability / possibility
s/he-Erg letter write-NPc can / may
'S/he can / may write a letter.'
- (24g) *wa-ā cithi co-i-tini / co-he co-i* predictive / certainty
s/he-Erg letter write-NPd-Prt / write-Emph write-NPd
'S/he will be writing a letter / will definitely write a letter.'
- (24h) *wa-ā cithi co.laa col-a* evidential with doubtful result
s/he-Erg write write.Emph write-Pd
'S/he has written a letter, but ...'
- (24i) *wa-ā cithi co:-saa /-sāā* conditional/concessional
s/he-Erg letter write-Cond / -Cons
'If / even if s/he writes a letter.'
- (24j) *wa-ā cithi co-ye-gu yaa-aa* stative / habitual
s/he-Erg letter write-NPc-Nom do-Stat
'S/he does write letters.'

The above examples contain a majority of ergative subjects as the Newar corpus has a large number of agentives among the non-nominative subjects. It could in fact be argued that the ergative case occurs with an obligatory subject which provides convincing evidence for its subjecthood. Tsunoda (2001: 466-7) in his paper on "Non-Canonical Constructions" argues that the nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive constructions extend from the left end of the sentence, while the dative-nominative and dative-absolutive extend from the right end. The first pair of constructions is in the accusative case with verb agreement, and the second pair is clearly unaccusative without any agreement. I have for this reason regarded the ergative non-nominatives as distinct from other forms of non-nominative subjects.

5. Reflexive *tha*:

The reflexive *tha*: is used anaphorically and serves to co-reference a third person subject in a clause. The inanimate instrumental and locative non-nominative subjects, however, cannot be reflexivised. The reflexive thus has syntactic properties, as can be seen in examples (25-28) which involve Ergative, Dative, Genitive, and Comitative nominals.

Ergative nominals

- (25a) *duja:-ta tha:-pi-sā lhaapā mun-a*
member-Plu Refl-Plu-Erg donation collect-Pd
'The members themselves collected the donations.'
- (25b) *macaa-ā thama-ā he yaa-ye phat-a*
child-Erg him/herself-Erg Emph do-NPc able-Pd
'The child was able to do it him/herself.'

Dative nominals

- (26a) *manju-ū tha:-yaa-ta . jaka hal-a*
manju-Erg Relf-Obl-Dat only bring-Pd
'Manju brought only for herself.'
- (26b) *tha:-yaa-ta soyaa me-pin-ta bi:-maa:*
Relf-Obl-Dat Cmp other-Plu-Dat give-need
'One must give to others rather than oneself.'

Genitive nominals

- (27a) *wa-ā tha:-yaa bhīsā jaka sol-a*
s/he-Erg Refl-Gen good only look-Pd
'S/he considered his/her own welfare only.'
- (27b) *tha:-yaa swaastha thama-ā bicaa yaa-ye maa:*
Refl-Gen health Refl-Erg look.after do-NPc need
'One must look after one's own health.'

Comitative nominals

- (28a) *tha:-yaa-ke dhebaa ma-du, chu yaa-e*
Refl-Obl-Com money Neg-is what do-NPc
'(I) myself do not have money, what to do !'

- (28b) *tha:-tha:-yaa-ke tho gyaan da-e maal-a*
Refl-Refl-Obl-Com this knowledge has-NPc need-Pd
'Each and everyone needs to have this knowledge.'

6. Nominalized Compounds

A nominalized compound in Newar consists of a noun + verb which is suffixed by the nominalizer < -mha > for animate and < -gu > for inanimate nouns. This NV-Nom construction which functions as an adjectival can be followed by a variety of head nouns that may be animate, abstract or inanimate. Consider the examples in (29):

- (29a) *mana ludhā-gu nasaa*
mind satisfy-Nom food
'mind-satisfying food'
- (29b) *dewa-ā byu-gu dhana*
god-Erg give-Nom wealth
'god-given wealth'
- (29c) *tama-ā dhaa-gu khā*
anger-Erg say-Nom matter
'matter said in anger'
- (29d) *thō: kaa:-mha manu:*
beer take-Nom person
'a drunken person'
- (29e) *jyaa sa:-mha ka:mi*
work know-Nom carpenter
'a skilled carpenter'

All the nominalized compounds in (29 a-e) have subject functions in larger constructions, and are presented here to show that such relativized-adjectival compounds have an equal status as the non-nominatives in subject or object positions. Bickel (2001: 227) in this connection, makes an interesting distinction between relativization of nominative and relativization of ergative arguments to show that such constructions are restricted to what he calls 'a strict S / A pivot' in the Kiranti languages. The parallel examples in (30) and (31) demonstrate that in Newar too the S / A arguments can be relativized on a priority basis. The nominal subject in (30) has the role of an agent, while the agentive subject in (31) has the role of a patient.

(30) Relativization on nominative S-theme

- a. *manu cha-mha thana wal-a*
 person Num-Clf here come-Pd
 'A person came here.'
- b. *thana wa:-mha cha-mha manu*
 here come-Nom Num-Clf person
 'A person who came here.'

(31) Relativization on Ergative A-recipient

- a. *wa-ã lhaa: nal-a*
 s/he-Erg hand eat-Pd
 'S/he was beaten.'
- b. *lhaa: na:-mha manu*
 hand eat-Nom person
 'The person who was beaten.'

7. Non-nominative and non-accusativity

Mahajan (2001: 484) in the paper cited above claims that 'transitivity and non-accusative are two key ingredients that go into formulating the rule that will cover the distribution of non-nominative subjects'. Our Newar data on the syntax of non-nominative subjects indicate the need to make two kinds of distinctions, namely the opposition between NOM-ACC and ERG-ABS on the one hand, and between DAT-NOM (where DAT represents other non-nominatives as well) and DAT-ABS constructions on the other. Consider again the examples in (32) and (33) to illustrate this distinction.

- (32a) *ji thaũ wa-yaa*
 I today come-Pc
 'I came today.'
- (32b) *cha / wa thaũ wal-a*
 you/ s/he today come-Pd
 'S/he came today.'

- (33a) *khicaa syit-a*
 dog die-Pd
 'The dog died.'

- (33b) *wa-ã khicaa syaat-a*
 s/he-Erg dog kill-Pd
 'S/he killed the dog.'

Examples (32 a-b) illustrate the NOM-ACC type where the subject agrees with the verb predicate, while (33 a-b) manifest an ERG-ABS pattern which is commonly known as a 'split ergativity'. The second distinction involves other non-nominative subjects with dative, genitive or comitative case markings in the DAT-NOM and DAT-ABS patterns which we shall regard as unaccusative constructions as the non-nominative subjects do not indicate any agreement with the verb. The relevant contexts are repeated in (34) to show the case frames and the syntactic behaviour of the non-ergative nominals.

- (34a) *ji-ta tyaanul-a / nae-pityaat-a*
 I-Dat tire-Pd / eat-feel.hungry-Pd
 'I am tired / am hungry.'
- (34b) *chan-ta chu jul-a*
 you-Dat what be-Pd
 'What has happened to you?'
- (34c) *wa-i-ta dhebaa maal-a*
 s/he-Obl-Dat money need
 'S/he needs money.'

There is thus a need to recognize the ergative subject in Newar as a separate category of non-nominative subject which is associated with a volitional agent and transitivity of the verbal action. The ergative subject in this sense is clearly distinct from both nominatives and non-nominatives in subject positions. We can on this basis, establish a three-way opposition between nominative, ergative and non-nominative subjects in terms of their case frames and syntactic relations with the predicate argument. It is possible to justify an independent ergative subject in several ways. Firstly, the agentive as an active nominal is most commonly used in human discourse, or as Comrie (1981: 114) put it "humans have a strong tendency to select more agentive entities as topic of discussion".

Secondly, the ergative nominal is the primary candidate for subjecthood in Newar as opposed to the other non-nominates which normally function as benefactive / experiencer or possessive patients. There is therefore a need to classify the non-nominative subjects into two separate types, namely ergative vs non-ergative subjects. The ergative nominal, in other words, is a volitional actor or agent who as a logical subject is the only non-nominative which controls agreement with the verb. Newar therefore is not entirely a subjectless or a language where the notion of the subject is not required at all. Thirdly, the subject-predicate relation cannot be defined explicitly because the direct or indirect object does not agree with the verb, and there are limited contexts where objects are case-marked. As can be seen in Table 1 above, the object often occurs as an unmarked nominal but can be genitive or dative in the sense of a possessive or benefactive predicate construction.

8. The Semantics of Subject-Object Relations

Tsunoda (2001), in the paper cited above, proposed a semantic classification of patients on the basis of their degree of affectedness by the verbal argument. This typological framework, as shown in Table 3 thus has implications for the analysis of subject-object relations since it is the subject which initiates the action and defines the nature of its impact on the patient. This framework, as it applies to Newar, shows that the patient at the left end of the table is the most affected, and becomes less and less affected as we move down the cline to the right end of the table.

Table 3: Semantic Classification of two-place predicates

Type	1	2	3
Meaning	Direct effect on patient	feeling	relationship
Example	<i>daa -ye</i> 'to hit' <i>syaa-ye</i> 'to kill'	<i>ye-ye</i> 'to like, love'	<i>mhasi-ye</i> to be acquainted'

4	5	6
pursuit	perception	ability
<i>maal-e</i> 'to search'	<i>khan-e</i> 'to see' <i>so-ye</i> 'to look'	<i>pha-ye</i> 'to be able'

Type 1 verbs *daa-ye* 'to hit' and *syaa-ye* 'to kill' both have a direct, physical effect on the patient, while Type 6 verb *pha-ye* 'to be able' indicates a certain possibility, where the patient is not directly involved but only shows his/her potential involvement. Type 2 verb of feeling *ye-ye* 'to like, love' affects the patient more than the relationship expressed by *mhasi-ye* 'to be acquainted', while the verb *maal-e* 'to search' relates the actor to the patient more closely than the verbs of perception such as *khan-e* 'to see' or *so-ye* 'to look'. It may also be possible to divide these verbs into those that cause physical or mental changes in the patient as opposed to those that do not. Such semantic interpretations of the patient, I assume, is fully justified for a language like Newar where modal distinctions tend to take priority over the syntactic behaviour of subject-verb and subject-object relations.

9. Conclusion

I first attempted to identify the various construction types that accommodate non-nominative subjects in the Newar language. On the basis of this data, I went on to investigate some of the syntactic arguments such as the notion of subjecthood where I examined the morphological and semantic properties that define a subject. There is often a mismatch between morphological codings and the semantic information inherent in the subject. This has motivated the argument that nominals and agentives in the language function as true subjects with agreement control of the verb, while the other non-nominatives such as dative, genitive, comitative etc occur only in non-accusative contexts. I have thus supported Mahajan's (2001) proposal for a correlation between transitivity and non-accusativity to account for the distribution of non-nominative subjects. Mahajan also claims that this relationship may be typologically significant for a large number of South Asian languages. Secondly, I argue that the subject properties of other non-nominatives may be predicate-governed or possession-governed

where the focus is not on the subject but on the dative experiencer or benefactive patient. The modality-governed constructions, on the other hand, convey various referential meanings to events controlled by an active / volitional agent. Thirdly, the data presented on reflexives and nominalized-relativized constructions serve to indicate a distinction between S / A focus on the one hand, and non-nominative constructions on the other. There is thus a need to recognize a three-way distinction between nominative, ergative and non-nominative subjects in terms of subject-predicate relations in the language. Finally, I propose a semantic framework to show subject-object relations which in a T-B language like Newar cannot be defined explicitly by morphological or syntactic devices.

Abbreviations

Abs	absolute	NPc
	non-past conjunct	
Acc	accusative	NPd
	non-past disjunct	
Agt / Abl	agentive / ablative	Nom
	nominalizer	
Caus	causative	Neg
	negative	
Com	comitative	Nvol
	non-volitional	
Comp	complementizer	Pc
	past conjunct	
Cond	conditional	Pd
	past disjunct	
Cons	concessive	Prg
	progressive	
Cmp	comparative	Prt
	particle	
Dat	dative	Ptp
	participial	
Emph	emphatic	Purp
	purpose	
Erg	ergative	Plu
	plural	

Gen	genitive	Obl
	oblique marker	
Inst	instrumental	Q
	question marker	
Loc	locative	Stat
	stative / habitual	
	volitional	Vol

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Child Language Acquisition: A Case Study

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Introduction

There are theories and counter-theories on Language Acquisition, so is true of Child Language Acquisition. All the practicing linguists are familiar with most of them. And most of the theories are confined to the western studies, since these theories have originated and developed in the West. The practice in the East is, normally, to try these theories in their own context. This paper is also a part of that bandwagon simply because what has already been established as confirmed truth, nobody dares to refute it. But the purpose of the present paper is neither to prove nor disprove any particular theory or hypothesis. It's an attempt, using the universally accepted canons to trace the linguistic development of Poshak, a fifteen month old Nepali male child. The studies of this kind date back to 1930s in the West and innumerable books have been written since then in this area of study. However, in Nepal no such study has been done yet. At least, the authoritative mouthpiece **A Bibliography of Nepalese Languages and Linguistics** 2nd edition (1998) compiled by Sueyoshi Toba, Published by Central Department of Linguistics, does not show it. This study might add to that corpus of study, especially from this part of the world, which might contribute in a cross- cultural, cross- linguistic study of Child Language Acquisition.

Language Acquisition begins with the acquisition and production of 1st sounds uttered by the child - so should begin with the birth cry itself. Phonology of the child, though, forms the foundation for the language development; it does not constitute the language as such. Language actually begins to emerge at the morphological stage, when the child starts to combine vowel and consonant sounds and begins to produce one- word utterances. The boundary between phonology and morphology, at this stage, however, remains quite fuzzy, as it is difficult to demarcate clearly the phonological and morphological border. This paper will focus

mainly on morphological development of Poshak, though touching briefly on phonology and syntax. Poshak, the first born of the author, born on 14th August 2002, was 15 month 13 days as on 27th November 2003, the 2nd day of 24th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal, when this paper was presented. What follows is what he had acquired linguistically till then.

Phonology

Phonologically he had the following consonant and vowel sounds at his disposal:

Vowels: pure vowels-/I/, /i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /U/, /u/

Diphthongs-/əU/, / əI/, /ai/

Consonant: Stops-/p/, /b/, /k/, /g/
Affricates-/cə/, /dz/
Nasal-/m/, /n/
Dentals-/t/, /d/
Sibilants-/s/, /ʃ/

The sounds are marked highly by tone and pitch variation. The words that he forms are a combination of above sounds.

Morphology

Morphologically, he shows the simplest cvcv combination, reduplicated sometimes. Following is the chronological sequence of acquisition of his words.

5th month-*ba* (the sound of dog, which was extended to mean 'animal')

8th month-*baba* (just the reduplication of /ba/)

8 ½ month-*gəyol*, /gəi/ (anything that moved or disappeared)

9th month-*tai-tai* (imitation of peddler's cry), *grra* (imitation of vehicle's sound)

10th month-*ka* (flying object(s), from *kag* 'crow')

12th month-*ga* (insects flying: lasted only for two weeks)

13th month-*nai* 'no', *mama*, 'uncle' (mother's brother) *juju* (no particular meaning), *b* 'ball', *brrrr* (the sound of bike)

14th month-*nana* 'cloths', *bau* 'ball' *bai* 'bye bye', *baje* 'old man', clipped bilabial nasal sounds e.g. *mu* for *sammu* (his aunt's

name), *mi* for *simi* 'bean', *mo* for *moryo* 'died' (seeing a dead mosquito)

15th month-*me* 'mew of cat', *jai-jai* (prayer/worship), *aaija* 'come', *bu* 'milk', *babu* 'small kid(s)/himself', *gaai* 'vehicle' (from *gaadi*), *maammi* 'mother', *kaai* 'comb'

16th month-*dada* 'elder brother', *daai* 'pulse' (from *daal*), *daati* (from dirty), *maammu* 'mother', *naain* (for nine) *jojo* (picked from the ad of jojo chow-chow)

Some observations on genesis of acquisition

1) It is easy to trace the origin of above 'words' as most of them are the result of what he heard and when he heard them and his connecting the word to what it signifies. For example, *baa* is the imitation of the sound of the dog which he saw at home as early as when he was 5 month old and developed affection for the dog and started referring to it with what he heard of the dog: *ba* (reduced bark).

Similarly *tai-tai* is an imitation of peddler's cry, *grrr* imitation of the sound of vehicle, *me* of cat's mew.

2) But on the other hand, there are words told to him which he understands and uses. For example *ka* for bird, *shi* (onomatopoeic) for aeroplane, *nana* for cloths, *ba* for ball, *bai* for good bye, were told to him.

3) At times he sees a thing but because he doesn't have any word for it already, creates his own word as well. For example, when he saw screws, he started to call it *dzi*. So now all the nails and screws are /dzi/ for him, which of course, is his own word. When he saw his aunt's bruise marks, called it *a?-a?* in the manner of groaning sound, though no one had told him about this.

The words at this stage are one- syllabled or two syllabled. Mostly two syllabled words are reduplication of the first syllable, like *mama*, *juju*, *nana*, *ju-ju*, *tai-tai*. But not all. There are some two syllabled words which don't show reduplication, for example in *gəyo*, *baje*, *babu*, the words range from simple *ba* to a rather complex /aidzə/

Syntax

Syntactically, the language cannot be called as possessing well built syntax, as such. But there are certain utterances, which

have syntactical implication. The utterance can imply the sense of complete sentence. It can be broadly put into three groups –

I) One word syntax- *gəyo* 'It's not there/It has gone/ disappeared'
ka – ka? 'That's a book, paper, pen (?)'
aidzə 'come here'

II) Two word syntax - *mama bubu* 'mama I want milk'

III) Three word syntax - *dada kə-kə gəyo* 'dada went to school'

The third type is not yet a regular feature. It occurs very rarely- and even when it happens there is sufficient gap of utterance span in the three words. Something like: *dada --- kə-kə --- gəyo ---*

Other features

A. **Association:** Very often he sees one object and connects it to something else to which it is related or is associated with. For example (1) he sees a golf cap and says *mama*, that is, it 'belongs to mama' or 'mama wears it'. Here, *mama* is not mother, but uncle (mother's brother). (2) Sees the bottle used for bringing milk and says *ba* meaning something like 'taking this bottle we go where there is cow'. (3) On seeing the helmet says *bhrra*, that is like 'you wear it while driving bike/ or it is to do with bike'.

B. **One-word-for-many:** Because the organs of articulation are not yet properly developed at this stage, he can't produce different 'words' for different things, instead, he uses one word for many things, if those things have that sound. For example-

bai - for *bhai* 'younger brother' and bye-bye/ good bye.

ba - for ball, tooth brush

bu - for milk, *bulu-bulu* 'bath'

baba - for father, or animals

mama - for mother, uncle (maternal).

C. **Many-words-for-one:** But conversely, at times he uses more than one word for the same thing. The words emerge in different stages but stay together. For example-

vehicle: *grrr, gai*

mother: *mama, mammi, maammu* (*aamaa* rarely) (he has done this in a span of 13-16th months)

D. **Not always here-and-now world:** Though at this stage, the world view of the subject has not yet taken shape. Mostly he is concerned with what he sees in his immediate surrounding. But at

times he can connect to things distant in time and space. For example, he uses gestures(symbolically) to mean the following, which are absent, at the time of his reference:

- the 'uncle' with mobile went on a bike (with a gesture of holding mobile in ear and saying *brr*)

- mu got a wound (pointing to the finger and saying *a?-a?*)

-the kittens drunk milk (pointing to the plate and saying 'mew')

E. **Correction:** Sometimes he makes correction if another word is said instead of what he is familiar with, for a particular signified. For example, if something is dirty, as he understands dirtiness, he says /*dati*/ but when you find him going to a 'dirty' place and say alternative things like *gandu* or *maila* or *aa?* He responds by saying / *dati*/. This shows he has already registered one word to mean it, but can also understand alternative forms spoken within that context. It also shows the presence of different words in his mental lexicon for the same concept.

F. **Temporary acquisition:** Certain words acquired disappeared in the absence of the subject. Had temporary effect on the word acquired already. For example, he calls any flying object *baa*, but started calling flying insects *gaa* and stopped saying so after sometime and reverted to *baa* which is the word for animals, but when he saw a cat with its litters and heard them mewing, referred to them as *mew* and extended this to other animals as well, even a dog and a cow become *mew*, but when the cat took away the litters and he didn't see them for quite sometime, then all the animals become *baa* again, but cat was still *mia* whenever he saw it.

G. **Nursery Rhymes:** He was sung English nursery rhymes **Ba ba black sheep, Twinkle Twinkle little star, Johny, Johny yes papa and Stomach paining...** from 14 month onward. After a couple of days, he was able to recognize each of them and asks us to sing. He has his own ways of asking us to sing them. For **ba ba black sheep** he says *baba* For **Johny Johny** he says *haha*, for **Twinkle Twinkle** gestures with fingers and rubs his hand over the stomach for **Stomach paining** and pinches the back of the palm for **chi musu**. (a Nepali rhyme)

H. **Learnability:** We brought alphabet blocks (3rd Nov.) with pictures on them and started to show him the picture and tell their names, showing 3 or 4 at a time and by 27th Nov., in 24 days, he could recognize house, ball, umbrella, nest, aeroplane,

elephant (but confuses aeroplane and xylophone, probably because they had same colour.)

Among body parts, when asked, he shows nose, teeth, ear, hand and tongue.

If he wants to ask/enquire something, he points at it and says *mi* in rising tone, but if he needs something he says *aah, aah*.

I- Doing things and getting things done: If he is asked to pick up and bring things he is familiar with, or is asked to see who is on the door or calling someone from the next room, he does all that. But if he wants something he points at it and says *aah, aah*, which means he is asking for it.

J. Perception precedes production: It is well established finding that perception precedes production. This is seen in Poshak as well. There are things he cannot produce but understands and recognizes most of them, as in nursery rhymes, or pointing at things when he is asked to show things around him like helmet, TV, light, freeze, fan, though he cannot produce these words and he doesn't have any words for them either. He knows them all.

K. Mix of verbal and non-verbal behavior: He uses both verbal and non-verbal means to communicate. For example, in nursery rhymes he shows both. He utters *ba ba* and *ha ha* for **Ba ba black sheep** and **Johny Johny** respectively. But for **Stomach paining, twinkle twinkle, chi musu**, he uses hand gestures.

L. One language or many? It hardly makes any difference what language he is acquiring. Main thing is exposure and environment. Poshak shows understanding for both English and Nepali languages. Though, he can hardly distinguish, which is which.

Conclusion

Most of the features that Poshak shows are universal in language acquisition, but there are individual differences as well. What we discussed so far is only a description of what he acquired and at what stage. The question of how has not much been touched upon. But it is evident from the discussion itself that he picks up his language by what he hears and sees around him. The environment and richness of stimulus play an important part. The innate ability to learn and acquire a language is triggered off by his interaction with his immediate surrounding/ambience.

This is the first of its kind of study in the context of Nepal. It, however, is not a representative case. Many more similar studies need to be done before we can say definitely anything about 'Nepali Child Language Acquisition'. This study was possible because of the availability of the resource at home. If it was not done then, the linguistic data would simply disappear. A growing child is always in a state of flux. His perception, world view, language itself keep on changing as he keeps on evolving. Further findings in this longitudinal research will be presented in the subsequent editions.

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Abstract

Tamang descends from non-pronominalized group, Tibeto-Himalayan sub-branch, Tibeto-Burman branch and Sino-Tibetan language family. This study is based on the information collected from the Tamang communities of Dhankute district.

This paper consists of 4 sections. Section 1 describes case clitics along with their case relations and case marking system. In section 2, stem forms that refer to the cases in sentences are dealt with. Section 3 contains the postpositions that indicate different cases. Cases and grammatical relations are presented in section 4. Finally, this paper contains conclusion.

1. Case Clitics

1.1 Forms

The case clitics (CCs), which are bound morphological forms, mark the cases of the nominals and pronominals in Tamang. Such clitics along with their marked cases are as follows:

I. -se

The case clitic *-se* marks ergative and instrumental cases.

i. Ergative

Tamang has two ergative markers: *-i* and *-se*. Ergative case is possible when the NP (N\Pro +ERG) is subject to the transitive verb in the simple past tense and in perfective aspect, and subject to the modal verb *tola*, e.g.,

- (1) a. *phuri-se whai go-zi.*
Phuri-ERG song sing-Pt
'Phuri sang a song.'
- b. *phuri-se whai go-bala mu-la.*
Phuri-ERG song sing-PERF be-NPt
'Phuri has sung a song.'
- c. *phuri-se whai go-bala mu-thjo.*
Phuri-ERG song sing-PERF be-Pt
'Phuri had sung a song.'

- d. *phuri-se whai go-bala ta-la.*
Phuri-ERG song sing-PERF be-NPt
'Phuri will have sung a song.'
- e. *phuri-se whai go-ba tola.*
Phuri-ERG song sing-NML be:M
'Phuri must sing a song.'
- f. *phuri-se dim-ri ni-ban tola.*
Phuri-ERG home-ALL go-PROG be:M
'Phuri must be going home.'
- g. *phuri-se dim-ri ni-banon tola.*
Phuri-ERG home-ALL go-PERF. PROG be:M
'Phuri must have been going home.'
- h. *the-se whai go-zi.*
s|he-ERG song sing-Pt
'S|he sang a song.'
- i. *the-ni-se whai go-zi.*
s|he-Pl-ERG song sing-Pt
'They sang a song.'
- j. *ai-se whai go-zi.*
you-ERG song sing-Pt
'You sang a song.'

phuri-se in (1a-g), *the-se* in (1h), *the-ni-se* in (1i) and *ai-se* in (1j) have case clitic *-se* to mark ergativity. In (1a-e) *phuri-se* is subject to the transitive verbs: *go-zi* 'sing-Pt' (1a), *go-bala mu-la* 'sing-PERF-be-NPt' (1b), *go-bala mu-thjo* 'sing-PERF-be-Pt' (1c), *go-bala ta-la* 'sing-PERF-be-NPt' (1d), and *go-ba tola* 'sing-NML be:M' (1e). *phuri-se* is subject to the main + modal *go-ba tola* 'sing-NML be:M' in (1e). In (1f-g) intransitive verbs are followed by modal *tola*: *ni-ban tola* 'go-PROG-be:M' in (1f) and *ni-banon tola* 'go-PERF. PROG be: M' in (1g). The pronouns *the-se* in (1h), *the-ni-se* in (1i) and *ai-se* in (1j) agree with the same verb *go-zi*.

Ergative case occurs even in non-past transitive clauses to denote the obvious definiteness of the subjects, e.g.,

- (2) a. *puk^hri-se ai-da ca-la.*
snake-ERG you-DAT eat-NPt
'A snake will bite you.'
- b. *puk^hri curi k^ha-la.*
snake here come-NPt
'A snake will come.'
- (3) a. *doŋ-se t^he-ni-da sat-la.*
tree-se s/he-PI-DAT kill-NPt
'A tree will kill them.'
- b. *doŋ si-la.*
tree die-NPt
'A tree will die.'

In (2a, 3a) the case marker *-se* is restricted by the obvious definiteness of the subjects of transitive verbs.

Tamang intransitive clauses don't take ergative marker, e.g.,

- (4) a. *pasan si-la /si-zi.*
Pasang die-NPt /die-Pt
'Pasang dies/died.'
- b. *pasan si-bala mu-la /mu-ba.*
Pasang die-PERF be-NPt/be-NML
'Pasang has/had died.'

In (4a-b) ergative marker does not occur, as the sentences are intransitive.

Tamang transitive clauses have split ergative based on tense – aspect, e.g.,

- (5) a. *pasan kan ca-la.*
Pasang rice eat-NPt
'Pasang eats rice.'
- b. *pasan-se kan ca-zi.*
Pasang-ERG rice eat-Pt
'Pasang ate rice.'

- c. *pasan kan ca-ban mu-ba.*
Pasang rice eat-PROG be-NML
'Pasang was eating rice.'
- d. *pasan-se kan ca-bala mu-la.*
Pasang-ERG rice eat-PERF be-NPt
'Pasang has eaten rice.'
- e. *pasan-se kan ca-bala mu-ba.*
Pasang-ERG rice eat-PERF be-NML
'Pasang had eaten rice.'
- f. *pasan kan ca-banon mu-la.*
Pasang rice eat-PERF.PROG be-NPt
'Pasang has been eating rice.'

In (5b,d, e) the ergative marker *-se* occurs as the transitive sentences are in the past tense (5b) and in perfective aspects (5 d-e). Non-past sentence (5a) and progressive aspect (5c) and perfect progressive aspect (5f) lack ergative marker.

ii. Instrumental

The case clitic *-se* is affixed to the inanimate nouns or pronouns to mark instrumental case, e.g.,

- (6) *phurba camca-se kan ca-mu-la.*
Phurba spoon-INS rice eat-be-NPt
'Phurba eats rice with a spoon.'

In (6) *camca* is affixed by *-se* to mark instrumental case.

3. -i

Ergative case clitic *-i* is only affixed to the first person singular pronoun *ŋa*, e.g.,

- (7) *ŋa-i kan ca-zi.*
I-ERG rice eat-Pt
'I ate rice.'

In (7) *-i* of *ŋa-i* denotes the ergativity.

III. -da

Case clitic *-da* mark accusative and dative cases.

i. Accusative

The case clitic *-da* in Tamang is affixed to a definite human principal object and thereby marks accusative case, e.g.,

- (8) a. *p^huri-se m^hi sat-ci.*
Phuri-ERG man kill-Pt
'Phuri killed a man.'
- b. *p^huri-se zja-ba m^hi-da sat-ci.*
Phuri-ERG good-NML man-ACC kill-Pt
'Phuri killed the good man.'

Both *m^hi* in (8a) and *zja-ba m^hi-da* in (8b) are principal objects but *m^hi* in (8a) is not definite human object whereas *zja-ba m^hi-da* in (8b) is definite human principal object. As a rule, *zja-ba m^hi-da* has accusative case clitic and thereby is accusative case.

ii. Dative

The case clitic *-da* is affixed to the recipient of the principal object of a ditransitive verb and marks dative case, e.g.,

- (9) *ɲa-i ɲima-da c^hjo*i* pin-zi.*
I-ERG Ngima-DAT book give-Pt
'I gave Ngima a book.'

In (9) *c^hjo*i** is principal object and its recipient is *ɲima*, which is affixed with the dative case clitic *-da*.

IV. *-la*

- The case clitic *-la* in Tamang marks genitive case, e.g.,
- (10) *ɲa-la kalam bisi ram-la kalam zja-ba mu-la.*
I-GEN pen than Ram-GEN pen good-NML be-NPt
'Ram's pen is better than my pen.'
(Lit: Ram's pen is good than my pen.)

In (10) *ɲa-la* and *ram-la* are affixed with the genitive case clitic.

V. *-ri*

The case clitic *-ri* may mark the allative and locative cases.

i. Allative

The case clitic *-ri* is affixed to the noun or demonstrative and thereby marks the allative case, e.g.,

- (11) a. *ɲa dim-ri ni-mu-la.*
I home-ALL go-be-NPt
'I go home.'
- b. *ɲa hoza-ri ni-mu-la.*
I that-ALL go-be-NPt
'I go there.'

In (11a) *dim-ri* contains noun *dim* and clitic *-ri* whereas in (11b) *hoza* is demonstrative and it is affixed by case clitic *-ri*. These *dim-ri* and *hoza-ri* denote the destination of the movement verb *ni-mu-la*.

ii. Locative

The case clitic *-ri* is affixed to noun or demonstrative to mark the locative case. It may function as place adverb of stative verb, e.g.,

- (12) a. *ɲima namsa-ri mu-la.*
Ngima village-LOC be-NPt
'Ngima is in the village.'
- b. *ɲima iza-ri mu-la.*
Ngima this-LOC be-NPt
'Ngima is here.'

The case clitic *-ri* is affixed to a noun *namsa* in (12a) and to a demonstrative *iza* in (12b). The locative cases *namsa-ri* in (12a) and *iza-ri* in (12b) function as the place adverbs to the stative verb *mu-la*.

VI. *-u/-au*

The case clitic *-u* and *-au* may be allomorphs of the same morph *-au*. They are not free variants. *-au* is affixed to the words which do not end with *-a* whereas *-u* is affixed to the words ending with *-a*, e.g.,

- (13) a. *buriɲ-au, dim-ri a-ci-u.*
sister-VOC home-LOC NEG-stay-IMP
'Sister, don't stay at home.'

- b. *ama-u,* *ɲa* *kan* *ca-la.*
 mother-VOC I rice eat-NPt
 'Mother, I will eat rice.'

In (13a) *burij* does not end with *-a* so, vocative case clitic *-au* is added. *ama* in (13b) ends with *-a*, so vocative case clitic *-u* is affixed to it.

VII. *-gjam*

The case clitic *-gjam* mark the agentive and ablative cases.

i. Agentive

The case clitic *-gjam* is affixed to noun or pronoun to refer to an agent to perform the work, e.g.,

- (14) a. *pema-gjam* *gjat* *ta-bala* *mu-la.*
 Pema-AGE work be-PERF be-NPt
 'The work has been done by Pema.'
 (Lit: Work has become by Pema.)

In (14) *pema-gjam* is an agent to perform the work. The verb does not syntactically agree with the agentive case.

ii. Ablative

The ablative case clitic *-gjam* denotes the starting point of a movement or the point in time after which something takes place, e.g.,

- (15) a. *ɲa* *tilma-gjam* *kh^ha-zi.*
 I yesterday-ABL come-Pt
 'I have come since yesterday.'
 (Lit: I came since yesterday.)
 b. *ɲa* *hile-gjam* *kh^ha-zi.*
 I Hile-ABL come-Pt
 'I came from Hile.'

tilma-gjam in (15a) denotes the point in time after which the performance of coming takes place. In (15b) *hile-gjam* is the starting point of movement.

VIII. *-hense*

The case clitic *-hense* is free variant to *-gjam* in the sense of (VII.ii), e.g.,

- (16) a. *ɲa* *tilma-hense* *kh^ha-zi.*
 I yesterday-ABL come-Pt
 'I have come since yesterday.'
 (Lit: I came since yesterday.)
 b. *ɲa* *hile-hense* *kh^ha-zi.*
 I Hile-ABL come-Pt
 'I came from Hile.'

In (16a) *tilma-hense* refers to the point of time and in (16b) *hile-hense* indicates the point of place from which the work of coming starts.

IX. *-t^hen/-pre*

The comitative case clitic *-t^hen* occurs in free variation with *-pre*. When this clitic is affixed to animate noun, it gives the meaning 'in company with'. Inanimate noun with comitative case clitic means 'mixed up with', e.g.,

- (17) a. *rita* *ɲa-t^hen/-pre* *cu-ri* *klaɲ-mu-la.*
 Rita I-COM this-LOC play-be-NPt
 'Rita plays here with me.'
 b. *ɲa-i* *kan-t^hen/-pre* *kh^hu* *ca-zi.*
 I-ERG rice-COM curry eat-Pt
 'I ate rice with curry.'

In (17a) *ɲa-t^hen/-pre* is animate comitative meaning 'in company with me' whereas *kan-t^hen/-pre* in (17b) is inanimate comitative meaning 'curry mixed up with.'

X. *-dona*

The case clitic *-dona* is affixed to denote the destination of a movement or the point in time up to which something takes place, e.g.,

- (18) a. *pasat̪* *hile-dona* *ni-zi.*
 Pasang Hile-ALL go-Pt
 'Pasang went up to Hile.'
 b. *ai-se* *gik* *baze-dona* *gjat* *la-zi.*
 you-ERG one o'clock-ALL work do-Pt
 'You worked up to one o'clock.'

In (18a) *hile-dona* refers to the destination where Pasang went. In (18b) *gik baze-dona* denotes the point of time up to which you worked.

XI. *-dabisi*

Benefactive case is marked by the case clitic *-dabisi* that denotes for which/whom something is done, e.g.,

- (19) *ɲa* *ama-dabisi* *gjat* *la-la.*
 I mother-BEN work do-NPt
 'I will work for mother.'

In (19) *ama-dabisi*, for whom the work will be done, is benefactive case.

1.2 Case Clitics and Case Relations

The case clitics in Tamang establish three types of case relations (CRs), which are as follows:

- (20) i. CC1 → CR1
 ii. CC2 → CR1
 iii. CC1 → CR2

i. CC1 → CR1

One case clitic may refer to one case relation. Such case clitics are *-i*, *-la*, *-dona* and *-dabisi* which denote ergative (7), genitive (10), allative (18a-b) and benefactive (19), respectively.

ii. CC2 → CR1

Two case clitics may denote one case relation. Such clitics are: restrictive and free variants.

Ergative case clitics *-i* and *-se*, and vocative case clitics *-u* and *-au* are restrictive (1a-j, 7, 13a-b) whereas comitative case

clitics *-^hen* and *-pre*, and ablative case clitics *-gjam* and *-hense* are free variants (15a-b, 16a-b, 17a-b) but *-gjam* marks even the agentive case too.

iii. CC1 → CR2

One case clitic may also be used to show two different case relations. The case clitic *-se* shows ergative (1a-j, 2a, 3a) and instrumental (6) whereas *-da* stands for accusative (8b) and dative (9). The case clitic *-ri* represents locative (12a-b) and allative (11a-b). Similarly, same clitic *gjam* denotes agentive (14) and ablative (15a-b).

Taking the case clitics and case relations into consideration, the case marking system of clitics is summarized as follows:

Clitics	Cases	Examples
I. <i>-se</i>	i. ERG	(21) a. <i>ram-se kan ca-zi.</i> Ram-ERG rice eat-Pt 'Ram ate rice.'
	ii. INS	b. <i>ram-se kan camca-se ca-zi.</i> Ram-ERG rice spoon-INS eat-Pt 'Ram ate rice with a spoon.'
II. <i>-i</i>	ERG	c. <i>ɲa-i kan ca-zi.</i> I-ERG rice eat-Pt 'I ate rice.'
III. <i>-da</i>	i. ACC	d. <i>ɲa-i pemba-da ɲjot-ci.</i> I-ERG Pemba-DAT laugh-Pt 'I made Pemba laugh.'
	ii. DAT	e. <i>ɲa-i pemba-da pui-zi.</i> I-ERG Pemba-DAT carry-Pt 'I carried Pemba.'
3. IV. <i>-la</i>	GEN	f. <i>ram-la m^he mlaɲ-ba mu-la.</i> Ram-GEN cow black-NML be-NPt 'Ram's cow is black.'

V. -ri	i.ALL	g. <i>ram hile-ri ni-zi.</i> Ram Hile-ALL go-Pt 'Ram went to Hile.'
	ii.LOC	h. <i>t^hopo-ri tagi mu-la.</i> head-LOC cap be-NPt 'A cap is on the head.'
VI. -u/-au	VOC	i. <i>pemba-u /ram-au, kan ca-u.</i> Pemba-VOC Ram-VOC rice eat-IMP 'Pemba, \ Ram, eat rice.'
VII. -gjam	i. AGE	j. <i>hari-gjam ram-la si-ba ta-zi.</i> Hari-AGE Ram-GEN die-NML be-Pt 'Hari caused Ram's death.'
	ii. ABL	k. <i>ɽa hile-gjam basa-ri k^ha-zi.</i> I Hile-ABL bus-LOC come-Pt 'I came from Hile by bus.'
VIII. -hense	ABL	l. <i>ɽa dijale-hense basa-ri k^ha-zi.</i> I Diyale- ABL bus-LOC come-Pt 'I came from Diyale by bus.'
IX. -t ^h en/pre	COM	m. <i>ɽa cjon-t^hen/pre ni-zi.</i> I brother-COM go- Pt 'I went to (my) brother.'
X. -dona	ALL	n. <i>ɽa jambu-dona ni-zi.</i> I Kathmandu-ALL go-Pt 'I went up to Kathmandu.'
XI. -dabisi	BEN	o. <i>ɽa t^he-dabisi gjat la-mu-la.</i> I s\he-BEN work do-be-NPt 'I work for him\ her.'
XII. ϕ	NOM	p. <i>ram dim-ri ni-zi.</i> Ram home-ALL go-Pt 'Ram went home.'

2. Stem Forms

Nominative case in Tamang is morphologically unmarked,

e.g.,

(22)	a. <i>aŋ rita kan ca-la.</i> Ang Rita rice eat-NPt 'Ang Rita will eat rice.'
------	--

b. <i>sonam w^hai go-ban mu-la.</i> Sonam song sing-PROG be-NPt 'Sonam is singing a song.'
--

aŋ rita and *kan* in (22a), and *sonam* and *w^hai* in (22b) are nouns, which lack the case markers.

3. Postpositions

3.1 Forms

The postpositions in Tamang mark the cases. They are described below:

I. *n^haŋ* 'in/within'

i. Locative

The postposition *n^haŋ* refers to the place within something and period of time, e.g.,

(23)	a. <i>dim n^haŋ gik sarpa mu-la.</i> home in one snake be-NPt 'There is a snake in the house.'
	b. <i>pasang n^hi dina n^haŋ k^ha-la.</i> Pasang two day in come-NPt 'Pasang will come within two days.'

dim n^haŋ in (23a) refers to place whereas *n^hi dina n^haŋ* in (23b) denotes the period of time.

ii. Allative

The postposition may mark the allative case, e.g.,

(24)	<i>dim n^haŋ ni-u.</i> home in go-IMP 'Go into the home.'
------	---

Here, *n^haŋ* in (24) shows the destination of place inside.

II. *guŋ* 'between/middle'

Locative

The postposition *guŋ* is used together with the genitive clitic *-la* and thereby marks the locative case, e.g.,

(25) *n^{hi} doŋ-dugu-la guŋ mu-ba.*

Two tree-pl-GEN between be-NML
'You were between two trees.'

In (25) *guŋ* denotes the location.

III. *t^hori* 'up/over'**i. Locative**

The postposition *t^hori* points to a location over or up something, e.g.,

(26) *sita gaŋ t^hori mu-ba.*

Sita hill up be-NML
'Sita was on the hill.'

In (26), *t^hori* points to the location where Sita was.

ii. Allative

The postposition *t^hori* refers to the allative case, e.g.,

(27) *sita-se gaŋ t^hori krat-ci.*

Sita-ERG hil up climb-Pt
'Sita climbed up the hill.'

In (27), *t^hori* points to the destination of the place.

IV. *diri* 'down/below/under'**i. Locative**

The postposition *diri* refers to the locative case, e.g.,

(28) *m^{he} doŋ (-la) diri mu-la.*

cow tree (-GEN) under be-NPt
'A cow is under a tree.'

In (28), *diri* points to the location. The genitive clitic may or may not precede the location postposition *diri*.

ii. Allative

The postposition *diri* marks the allative case, e.g.,

(29) *doŋ (-la) diri ni-u.*
tree (-GEN) under go-IMP
'Go under the tree.'

In (29), *diri* shows the destination. Genitive clitic is optional before the postposition *diri*.

V. *zasaŋ* 'at this side'**i. Locative**

Locative postposition *zasaŋ* points to the location, e.g.,

(30) *ai sjoŋ zasaŋ gjat la-u.*

you river at this side work do-IMP
'You work at this side of river.'

In (30), *zasaŋ* refers to this side of the river but not beyond/across the river.

ii. Allative

The postposition *zasaŋ* refers to the destination up to this side of something, e.g.,

(31) *sjoŋ zasaŋ k^ha-u.*

river at this come-IMP
'Come to this side of river.'

zasaŋ in (31) refers to the destination.

VI. *kemsaŋ* 'across/beyond'**i. Locative**

The postposition *kemsaŋ* refers to the locative case, e.g.,

(32) *ŋa gaŋ kemsaŋ mu-ba.*

I hill beyond be-NML
'I was beyond the hill.'

kemsaŋ in (32) points to the location.

ii. Allative

The postposition *kemsaŋ* marks the allative case, e.g.,

- (33) *pema gaŋ kemsat ni-zi.*
 Pema hill beyond go-Pt
 'Pema went beyond the hill.'

kemsat in (33) shows the destination where Pema went.

VII. *p^hirgja* 'outside'

i. Locative

p^hirgja refers to the locative case, e.g.,

- (34) *pema dim p^hirgja mu-la.*
 Pema home outside be-NPt
 'Pema is outside home.'

p^hirgja in (34) points out the place where Pema is.

ii. Allative

p^hirgja denotes the allative case, e.g.,

- (35) *pema dim p^hirgja hjar-zi.*
 Pema home outside run Pt
 'Pema ran outside the home.'

p^hirgja in (35) refers to the destination where Pema ran.

VIII. *lisaŋ /licc^ha* 'behind/after'

i. Locative

Both *lisaŋ* and *licc^ha* are free variants. They may denote the location, e.g.,

- (36) *ŋa dim lisaŋ /licc^ha mu-ba.*
 I home behind be-NML
 'I was behind home.'

The postposition *lisaŋ* or *licc^ha* in (36) denotes the location where the speaker was.

ii. Allative

lisaŋ or *licc^ha* may refer to the destination, e.g.,

- (37) *ai dim lisaŋ /licc^ha ni-zi.*
 you home behind go-Pt
 'You went behind the home.'

The postposition *lisaŋ* or *licc^ha* in (37) denotes the destination.

IX. *ŋasaŋ /ŋacc^ha* 'in front of/before'

i. Locative

The postpositions *ŋasaŋ* and *ŋacc^ha* are free variants. They may mark the locative case, e.g.,

- (38) *ram dim ŋasaŋ /ŋacc^ha mu-la.*
 Ram home in front of be-NPt
 'Ram is in front of home.'

ŋasaŋ or *ŋacc^ha* in (38) refers to the location.

ii. Allative

The postpositions *ŋasaŋ* and *ŋacc^ha* show the destination, e.g.,

- (39) *ram dim nasat /ŋacc^ha ni-zi.*
 Ram home in front of go-Pt
 'Ram went in front of home.'

In (39) *ŋasaŋ* or *ŋacc^ha* refers to the destination.

X. *ker/w^hana* 'at about / near'

i. Locative

ker and *w^hana* are free variants. They may be used to refer to the location, e.g.,

- (40) *ŋa jambu ker/w^hana ci-mu-la.*
 I Kathmandu at about live- be-NPt
 'I live at about Kathmandu.'

The postposition *ker* or *w^hana* in (40) denotes the locative case.

ii. Allative

The postpositions *ker* and *w^hana* denote the allative case, e.g.

- (41) *ḡa jambu ker/w^hana ni-zi.*
 I Kathmandu at about go-Pt
 'I went towards Kathmandu.'
 (Lit: I went at about Kathmandu.)

The postposition *ker* or *w^hana* in (41) refers to the approximate destination.

3.2 Postpositions and Case Relations

The postpositions in Tamang indicate four types of case relations:

- i. one postposition referring to two case relations.
- ii. two postpositions referring to two case relations,
- iii. nine postpositions referring to one case relation, and
- iv. ten postpositions referring to one case relation.

i. One postposition may refer to two case relations.

The postpositions *n^haḡ* (23a-b, 24), *t^hori* (26-27), *diri* (28-29), *zasaḡ* (30-31), *kemsaḡ* (32-33) and *p^hirgjaḡ* (34-35) consist of two case relations each. They are: locative and allative. *lisaḡ*, *ḡasaḡ* and *ker* have their free variants *licc^ha*, *ḡacc^ha* and *w^hana*, respectively. *lisaḡ* / *licc^ha* (36-37), *ḡasaḡ* / *ḡacc^ha* (38-39) and *ker* / *w^hana* (40-41) have two case relations: locative and allative.

ii. Two postpositions referring to two case relations.

Two postpositions may mark two case relations. *lisaḡ* and *licc^ha* (36-37), *ḡasaḡ* and *ḡacc^ha* (38-39), and *ker* and *w^hana* (40-41) indicate two case relations: locative and allative.

iii. Nine postpositions referring to one case relation

Nine postpositions refer to allative case. Those nine postpositions are *n^haḡ*, (24), *t^hori* (27), *diri* (29), *zasaḡ* (31),

kemsaḡ (33), *p^hirgjaḡ* (35), *lisaḡ* / *licc^ha* (37), *ḡasaḡ* / *ḡacc^ha* (39), and *ker* / *w^hana* (41).

iv. Ten postpositions referring to one case relation.

Ten postpositions in Tamang denote locative case relation. They are: *n^haḡ* (23a-b), *guḡ* (25), *t^hori* (26), *diri* (28), *zasaḡ* (29), *kemsaḡ* (32), *p^hirgjaḡ* (34), *lisaḡ* / *licc^ha* (36), *ḡasaḡ* / *ḡacc^ha* (38), and *ker* / *w^hana* (40).

The postpositions and their case relations can be illustrated as follows:

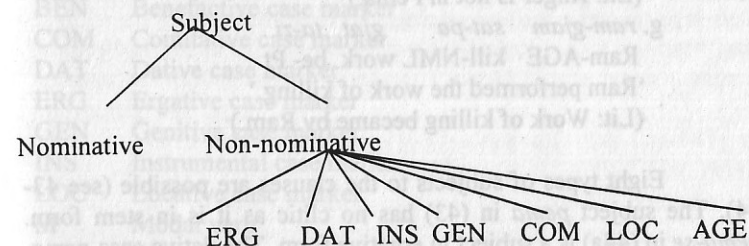
Postpositions	Case relations	Examples
I. <i>n^haḡ</i>	i. LOC	(42) a. <i>paḡsaḡ namsa n^haḡ mu-ba.</i> Pasang village in be-NML 'Pasang was in the village.'
	ii. ALL	b. <i>paḡsaḡ namsa n^haḡ ni-zi.</i> Pasang village to go-Pt 'Pasang went to the village.'
II. <i>guḡ</i>	i. LOC	c. <i>ai-la dim guḡ mu-la.</i> you-GEN home between be-NPt 'Your house is in the middle (of the village).'
	ii. ALL	d. <i>brabo doḡ t^hori mu-la.</i> boy tree up be-NPt 'A boy is on the tree.'
III. <i>t^hori</i>	i. LOC	e. <i>brabo doḡ t^hori k^ha-zi.</i> boy tree up come-Pt 'A boy came up to the tree.'
	ii. ALL	f. <i>m^he doḡ diri mu-la.</i> cow tree under be-NPt 'A cow is under a tree.'
IV. <i>diri</i>	i. LOC	g. <i>m^he doḡ diri ni-zi.</i> cow tree under go-Pt 'A cow went under a tree.'
	ii. ALL	h. <i>ai dim zasaḡ mu-la.</i> you home this side be-NPt
V. <i>zasaḡ</i>	i. LOC	

- ii. ALL i. *ai dim zasaŋ k^ha-zi.*
you home this side come-Pt
'You are at this side of the house.'
- VI. *kemaŋ* i. LOC j. *ai dim kemaŋ mu-ba.*
you home that side be-NML
'You were at that side of the house'
- ii. ALL k. *ai dim kemaŋ ni-zi.*
you home that side go-Pt
'You went to that side of the house.'
- VII. *p^hirgjaŋ* i. LOC l. *ai dim p^hirgjaŋ mu-la.*
you home outside be-NPt
'You are outside the house.'
- ii. ALL m. *ai dim p^hirgjaŋ ni-zi.*
you home outside come-Pt
'You went outside the house.'
- VIII. *lisaŋ /lic^ha* i. LOC n. *ai dim lisaŋ /lic^ha mu-ba.*
you home behind be-NML
'You were behind the house.'
- ii. ALL o. *ai dim lisaŋ /lic^ha ni-zi.*
you home behind go-Pt
'You went behind the house.'
- IX. *ŋasaŋ /ŋacc^ha* i. LOC p. *ai dim ŋasaŋ /ŋacc^ha mu-ba.*
you home before be-NML
'You were in front of the house.'
- ii. ALL q. *ai dim ŋasaŋ /ŋacc^ha ni-zi.*
you home before go-Pt
'You went in front of the house.'
- X. *ker/w^hana* i. LOC r. *ai dim ker/w^hana mu-ba.*
you home at be-NML
'You were at the house.'
- ii. ALL s. *ai dim ker/w^hana ni-zi.*
you home towards go-Pt
'You went towards the house.'

4. Cases and Grammatical Relations

The case markings in Tamang overlaps the grammatical functions as the subject of a clause may occur in different cases. They are shown as follows:

Subjects in different cases



The subjects of clauses occur in nominative and non-nominative forms, e.g.,

(43) *pema k^ha-ban mu-la.*
Pema:ϕ come-PROG be-NPt
'Pema is coming.'

(44) a. *pema-se kan ca-zi.*
Pema-ERG rice eat-Pt
'Pema ate rice.'

b. *pema-da p^hok-ren-zi.*
Pema-DAT hunger-stand-Pt
'Pema got hungry.'

c. *la^thi-se m^he sa:t-ci.*
stick-INS cow kill-Pt
'A cow was killed with a stick.'
(Lit: A stick killed a cow.)

d. *pasara-la zja-ba mriŋ mu-la.*
Pasang-GEN good-NML wife be-NPt
'Pasang's wife is good.'
(Lit: Pasang's is good wife.)

e. *pasarj-then* *paisa* *mu-la*.
 Pasang-COM money be-NPt
 'Pasang has money.'

f. *pema-ri* *bomo* *are*.
 Pema-LOC anger be:NEG
 'Pema has no anger.'
 (Lit: Anger is not in Pema.)

g. *ram-gjam* *sat-pa* *gjat* *ta-zi*.
 Ram-AGE kill-NML work be- Pt
 'Ram performed the work of killing.'
 (Lit: Work of killing became by Ram.)

Eight types of subjects to the clauses are possible (see 43-44). The subject *pema* in (43) has no clitic as it is in stem form. *pema-se* in (44a) is a subject in ergative form. The dative case *pema-da* in (44b), instrumental case *laThi-se* in (44c), genitive case *pasarj-la* in (44d), comitative case *pasarj-then* in (44e), locative case *pema-ri* in (44f) and *ram-gjam* (44 g) are all subjects.

5. Conclusion

The case is marked by stem form (i.e. zero inflection), case clitics and postpositions. Stem form marks only one case relation, viz. nominative. Case clitics denote twelve types of case relations: ergative, instrumental, accusative, dative, genitive, allative, agentive, locative, vocative, ablative, comitative and benefactive. The postpositions may mark locative and allative case relations. One case marker may denote more than one case relation and more than one case marker may refer to one case relation. Altogether there are 13 case relations: nominative, ergative, instrumental, accusative, dative, genitive, allative, agentive, locative, vocative, ablative, comitative, and benefactive. It suggests that there is no one-to-one relation between case markings and case relations. Similarly, no such relation holds between cases and grammatical relations. Along with nominative and ergative cases, for example, the other cases – dative, instrumental, genitive, comitative, location and agentive – may function as subjects.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative case marker
ACC	Accusative case marker
AGE	Agentive case marker
ALL	Allative case marker
BEN	Benefactive case marker
COM	Comitative case marker
DAT	Dative case marker
ERG	Ergative case marker
GEN	Genitive case marker
INS	Instrumental case marker
LOC	Locative case marker
M	Modal verb
NEG	Negative marker
NOM	Nominative case marker
NPt	Non-past
PERF	Perfect aspect marker
Pl	Plural marker
PROG	Progressive aspect marker
Pt	Past tense marker

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Exclusivity and Inclusivity in Chamling Rai

Bagdevi Rai

1. INTRODUCTION

Ebert (1997) has identified two dialects of Chamling, viz. the Northwestern (NW) and Southeastern (SE) dialects. It seems that these two dialects are mutually intelligible, but they have some slight differences in its phonological system.

Much of her work on Chamling grammar has focused mainly on data from the NW dialect. So far, very little in-depth studies have been carried out on the SE dialect. As a mother-tongue speaker of Southeastern Chamling, I would like to make a start on addressing this issue.

In Ebert's description (1997: 17) and (1994: 146-147), the tables of pronominal and tense affixes present the first person inclusive and exclusive affixes as being the same for both dialects. However, my data has revealed that this is not the case.

This paper presents my findings for the inclusive and exclusive distinctions for both the pronominal affixes as well as the tense affixes in South-Eastern Chamling. I will also point out the difference between my data and those of the North-Western dialect.

2. EXCLUSIVE AND INCLUSIVE PRONOMINAL AFFIXES

The following Table presents the pronominal exclusive and inclusive affixes for NW Chamling; whereas Table 2 presents those for SE Chamling Rai.

Table 1: Pronominal Exclusive and Inclusive Affixes for NW Chamling Rai

(Ebert 1997: 17)

		PATIENT					
		Intrans	2s	2d	2p	3s	3non-s
A G	1de	-c-ka	-na	-naci	-nani	-cka	-cka
	1pe	-i(m)ka	-na	-naci	-nani	-umka	-umcumka
E	1di	-ci				-ci	-ci
N	1pi	-i				-um	-umcum
T							

Table 2: Pronominal Exclusive and Inclusive Affixes for SE Chamling Rai

		PATIENT					
		Intrans	2s	2d	2p	3s	3non-s
AGENT	1d	-cka	-cka	-cka	-cka	-cka	-cka
	1p	-ka	-ika	-ika	-ika	-ika	-ika
	1di	-ci				-ci	-ci
	1pi	-ni				-ni	-ni

As shown earlier in Tables 1 and 2 the exclusive and inclusive pronominal affixes for intransitive verbs for both dialects are similar for the 1st person duals, but differ slightly for the 1st person plurals, in that the NW dialect has a transitional “-im” before “-ka” in the exclusive; whereas the SE dialect has a “-n-” before “-i” in the inclusive.

Table 1 shows that in the NW dialect, the exclusive and inclusive pronominal affixes for transitive verbs differ from the intransitive ones; whereas table 2 shows that in the SE dialect, the affixes remain the same for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

For both dialects, there is no distinction between past and non-past, and between the pronominal affixes for the IIIrd dual and plural patient.

3. EXCLUSIVE AND INCLUSIVE TENSE AFFIXES

Table 3 presents the exclusive and inclusive tense affixes for NW Chamling Rai, whereas Table 4 presents those for SE Chamling Rai.

Tables 3 and 4 show that for both dialects, the non-past and past tense are differentiated by “-e” and “-a” endings respectively in the exclusive affixes, and by “-e” and “-i” endings respectively in the inclusive affixes, as illustrated in examples 1 to 8 in the SE Chamling data.

Table 3
Exclusive and Inclusive Tense Affixes for NW Chamling Rai
(Ebert's data; 1994; p146-147)

		PATIENT											
		Intrans		2s		2d		2p		3s		3non-s	
		NPT	PT	N	P	N	P	N	P	NPT	PT	NPT	PST
AGENT	1de	-a-c-k-e	-a-c-ka							-a-c-k-e	-a-c-ka	-a-c-k-e	-a-c-ka
	1pe	-im-k-e	-im-ka							-u-m-k-e	-u-m-ka	-u-m-c-um-k-e	-u-m-c-um-ka
	1di	-a-c-e	-a-ci							-a-c-e	-a-ci	-a-c-e	-a-ci
	1pi	-i-e	-i							-u-n-e	-u-m	-u-m-c-um-e	-u-m-c-um

Table 4
Exclusive and Inclusive Tense Affixes for SE Chamling Rai

		PATIENT											
		Intrans		2s		2d		2p					
		NPT	PT	NPT	PT	NPT	PT	NPT	PT				
AGENT	1de	-a-c-k-e	-a-c-ka	-a-c-k-e	-a-c-ka	-a-c-k-e	-a-c-ka	-a-c-um-k-e/	-a-c-um-ka/				
	1pe	-i-k-e	-i-ka	-n-a-n-k-e	-n-a-n-ka	-n-a-n-k-e	-n-a-n-ka	-a-c-k-e	-a-c-ka				
	1di	-a-c-e	-a-ci										
	1pi	-i-n-e	-i										

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Cont....

Cont.. Table 4

AGENT	3s			3non-s		
	NPT	PT		NPT	PT	
1de	-a-c-um-k-e/ -a-c-k-e	-a-cc-um-ka/ -u-m-ka		a-c-um-k-e/ -a-c-k-e	-a-c-um-ka/ -a-c-ka	
1pe	-u-m-k-e			u-m-c-um-k-e/ -u-m-k-e	-u-m-c-um-ka/ -u-m-ka	
1di	-a-c-e	-a-c-i		-a-c-e	-a-c-i	
1pi	-u-m-n-e	-u-m		-u-m-c-um-n-e/ -u-m-n-e	-u-m-c-um/ -u-m	

- (1) *kya-cka lamt -acke*
we -1de walk -1de:NPST
'We walk.'
- (2) *kya-cka lamt -acka*
we -1de walk -1de:PST
'We walked.'
- (3) *kya -ci lamt -ace*
we -1di walk -1dl: NPST
'We walk.'
- (4) *kya -ci lamt-aci*
we -1di walk -1dl: PST
'We walked.'
- (5) *kai/ke-ka lamt-ike*
we -1pe walk- 1pe:NPST
'We walk.'
- (6) *kai/ke-ka lamt-ika*
we -1pe walk- 1pe:PST
'We walk.'
- (7) *kya/kai-ni lamt-ine*
we -1pi walk- 1pi:NPST
'We walk.'
- (8) *kya/kai-ni lamt-i*
we -1pi walk- 1pi:PST
'We walked.'

According to Tables 3 and 4, the exclusive and inclusive tense affixes for intransitive verbs for both dialects are similar for the 1st person dual, but differ slightly for the 1st person plurals, in that the NW dialect has an infix "-m-" before "-ke" in the exclusive; whereas the SE dialect has an infix "-n" before "-e" in the inclusive, as shown in example 7 above.

Tables 3 and 4 also show that in both dialects, the exclusive and inclusive tense affixes for transitive verbs differ from the intransitive ones.

In Table 3, the data are lacking for all forms of the 2nd person patient in NW Chamling. However, Table 4 shows that the SE Chamling does have tense endings for the 2nd person patient in the exclusive forms.

Table 3 also shows that two forms of tense affixes – a longer and a contracted one – exist for the dual exclusive agent

acting on the 2nd person plural or 3rd person singular patient. Two forms also exist for both the exclusive and inclusive agents acting on the 3rd person non-singular patients. The longer tense affixes, “-acumke”, “-umcumke”, and “umcumne”, are used by the older SE Chamling speakers, whereas the shorter versions, “-acke”, “-umke”, and “umne”, are used by the younger speakers. These are illustrated by the following examples from the SE Chamling data.

- (9) *kya-cka khuclai/khucilai id-acumke/-acke*
we-1de him3d give-1de:NPST
'We give them (both).'
- (10) *ka-ika khuclai/khucilai id-umcumke/-umke*
we-1pe them give-1pe:NPST
'We give them.'
- (11) *kai-ni khuclai/khucilai id-umcumne/-umne*
we-1pi them give-1pi:NPST
'We give them (both).'

It is interesting to note that in the NW Chamling data in Table 3, the affixes for the dual exclusive agent acting on the 3rd singular patient are the same as those for the dual exclusive intransitive affixes. Yet in the SE Chamling data in Table 4, it is the affixes for the dual exclusive agent acting on the 2nd singular and dual patient, and the shorter forms for the 2nd plural patient, that are the same as those for the dual exclusive intransitive. The longer affixes used by older SE Chamling speakers are the same for the dual exclusive agent acting on the 2nd plural and 3rd patients. The following examples illustrate the above points:

- (12) *kya-cka khaialai/(H) khyanlai id-acke*
we-1de you give-1de:NPST
'We give you.'
- (13) *kya-cka khyacilai/(H) khyancilai id-acke*
we-1de you give-1de:NPST
'We (both) give you (both).'
- (14) *kya-cka khyancilai id-acumke/-acke*
we-1de you give-1de:NPST
'We (both) give you.'
- (15) *kya-cka khulai id-acumke/-acke*
we-1de him give-1de:NPST
'We give him.'

- (16) *kya-cka khuclai/khucilai id-acumke/-acke*
we-1de him3p give-1de:NPST
'We give them.'

It is also worth noting that the affixes shown in the NW data in Table 3 for the plural exclusive agent acting on the 3rd person singular patient, are the same as those shown in the SE data in Table 4, not only for the plural exclusive agent acting on the 3rd person singular patient, but also for the shorter version of the same agent acting on the 3rd person non-singular patient. Moreover, the affixes shown in the NW data in Table 3 for the same agent acting on the 3rd non-singular patient are the same as those shown in the SE data in Table 4 for the same agent acting also on the 3rd person non-singular patient. Below are some examples from the SE Chamling data:

- (17) *ka-ika khulai id-umka*
we-1pe him give-1pe:PST
'We gave him.'
- (18) *ka-ika khuclai/khucilai id-umcumka/-umka*
we-1pe them give-1pe:PST
'We gave them.'
- (19) *ka-ika khuclai/khucilai id-umcumka/-umka*
we-1pe them give-1pe:PST
'We gave them.'

Both Tables 3 and 4 show that for both dialects, the affixes for the dual inclusive agent acting on the 3rd person patient are exactly the same. In both dialects, the 3rd person singular and non-singular patient affixes are the same, as shown in the SE data in examples 20 to 25:

- (20) *kya-ci khulai id-ace*
we-1di him give-1di:NPST
'We give him'
- (21) *kya-ci khulai id-aci*
we-1di him give-1di:PST
'We gave him.'
- (22) *kya-ci khuclai/khucilai id-ace*
we-1di them give-1di:NPST
'We give them(both).'

- (23) *kya-ci khuclai/khucilai id-aci*
we-1di them give-1di:PST
'We gave them(both).'
- (24) *kya-ci khuclai/khucilai id-ace*
we-1di them give-1di:NPST
'We give them.'
- (25) *kya-ci khuclai/khucilai id-ace*
we-1di them give-1di:PST
'We gave them.'

Tables 3 and 4 also show that for both dialects, the affixes for the plural inclusive agent acting on the 3rd person singular and non-singular are almost similar except for the "-n-" infix before "-e" for the non-past in the SE data, as shown in examples 26, 27 and 28:

- (26) *kai-ni khulai id-umne*
we-1pi him give-1pi:NPST
'We give him.'
- (27) *kai-ni khulai id-um*
we-1pi him give-1pi:PST
'We gave him.'
- (28) *kai-ni khuclai/khucilai id-umcumne/-umne*
we-1pi them give-1pi:NPST
'we give them(both).'

In conclusion, there are some notable differences between NW and SE Chamling Rai's exclusive and inclusive affixes. Because the SE dialect's affixes seem to be slightly more complex and diverse, there is some possibility that the SE dialect might be the older version of the two.

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The Morphosyntax of Relativization in Nepali: A Typological Perspective

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1. Introduction

There exist traditional, descriptive and formal studies of relativization in Nepali, for example, Sigdel (1919), Bhattarai (1976), Adhikari (1999) and Regmi (1978) are interesting to note.¹ This paper is an attempt to analyze the morphosyntax of relativization in Nepali within the three typological parameters, viz. (i) The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head, (ii) The mode of expression of the relativized NP (Case recoverability strategy), and (iii) Which grammatical relations can be relativized. (Noun phrase accessibility hierarchy) (Givón (1990/2001).

The paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 presents the general phenomenon of relativization in Nepali. In section 3, we analyze the relative clauses from the typological perspective. In section 4, we summarize the findings of the paper.

2. The phenomenon

There are two types of relative clauses in Nepali: participialized or non-finite and correlative or finite relative clause. Consider the following examples in (1).

- (1) a. *kurci-ma bas-eko manche*
chair-LOC sit-PP man
'The man who is sitting on the chair.'
- b. *ram-le kin-eko kalam*
Ram-ERG buy-PP pen
'The pen that Ram bought.'

¹ Sigdel (1919), Bhattarai (1976) are traditional studies whereas Adhikari (1999) is a descriptive one. Regmi (1978) is the formal study of relativization in Nepali within the TG grammar.

- c. [*jun kalam ram-le kin-yo*] *tyo kalam ramro cha*
 which pen Ram-ERG buy-PT that pen good is
 'The pen that Ram bought is good.'
- d. [*jasko kapal kalo cha*] *tyo keṭi meri bahini ho*
 whose hair black is-NPT that girl my sister is-NPT
 'The girl whose hair is black is my sister.'

The clauses in (1a and b) are non-finite relative clauses since the verb in each clause is suffixed with the participial marker – *eko*. Thus, these clauses are referred to as participialized relative clauses. They restrict or modify the head noun. But the clauses in the brackets in (1c-d) are finite relative clauses initiated by correlative pronouns like *jas*, *jun*. So they are referred to as correlative relative clauses.² The clauses in (1c-d) as the clauses in (1a and b) modify the head noun. Both non-finite or participialized and finite or correlative relative clauses are nominal modifiers in Nepali.

3. Typological parameters of the relative clauses

In this section we analyze the relative clauses in terms of the three typological parameters:

- (i) The position of the relative clause vis-a-vis its head
- (ii) The mode of expression of the relativized NP
- (iii) Grammatical relations that can be relativized

3.1. The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head

In Nepali, there are three types of relative clauses in terms of the position of the relative clause with respect to its head noun : externally headed (pre-nominal, post-nominal), internally headed and headless.

² In Regmi (1978) the non-finite and finite relative clauses have been referred to as incorporating and isolating relative clauses respectively.

3.1.1 External-headed relative clause³

In Nepali, there are two types of external-headed relative clauses: pre-nominal and post-nominal relative clauses.

3.1.1.1 Pre-nominal relative clause

In a pre-nominal relative clause the head noun is placed after the relative clause. Let us examine the following example.

- (2) [*jasai mai-le prasna sodhē*] *tyo mero bhai ho.*
 whom-DAT I-ERG question ask-PT that my brother is
 'The man whom I asked the question is my brother.'

In (2), the clause in brackets is a correlative relative clause which is placed before the head noun. This relative clause has 'normally' modified and restricted the head noun phrase '*tyo mero bhai*'

3.1.1.2 Post-nominal relative clause

In Nepali the correlative relative clause can occur after the head noun phrase.⁴ Let us consider the example in (3).

- (3) *tyo sabai-ko pyaro huncha*
 that all GEN liked be-3sNPT
 [*jo lok-ko kalyanka lagi kam gar-cha*]
 who society-GEN benefit-for work do-3sNPT
 'The man who works for the benefit of all the people is liked by all.'

In (3) the relative clause in the brackets has occurred after the head noun it modifies. In Nepali, this type of relative clause is

³ In an external-headed relative clause the head noun is outside the relative clause. For example, *Every student* whom Mary advised. In this example, the head noun phrase *every student* is outside the relative clause.

⁴ In linguistic typology, it is argued that the post-nominal relative clauses are the characteristic features of SVO languages like English. However, Nepali also does have post-nominal relative clauses in spite of the fact that it is predominantly an SOV language.

normally used for a pragmatic reason viz., focusing. The 'heavy' (focused) information is shifted to late in the clause.

3.1.2 Internal-headed relative clause

In Nepali the head noun can occur within the relative clause. Consider the following example.

(4) [*jati manche aghi thiye*] *hahile chainan*

As much people before were now are not
'There are not as much people as they were before.'

In (4) the head noun phrase is *manche* which is within the relative clause in the brackets.

3.1.3 Headless relative clause

In Nepali we find some relative clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify. In other words, there are headless relative clauses in Nepali. Consider these examples.

(5) a. [*jo bahira jancha*] *kuṭai khan-cha*
whoever go-3sNPT beating get-3s NPT
'Whoever goes out will be beaten.'

b. [*jo jancha*] *jaos*
whoever go-3sNPT let (him) go
'Whoever goes let him go.'

In both (5a) and (5b) the relative clauses themselves refer to the noun that they are supposed to modify.⁵

3.2 The mode of expression of the relativized NP

The grammatical role of the relativized noun phrase can be different from the role of its head noun within the relative clause. Such role can be identified in a natural language by using different syntactic strategies. In this section we discuss the main strategies which are used in the relative clauses in Nepali. They include gap, pronoun retention and the use of different correlative pronouns.

⁵ However the traditional Nepali grammarian Sigdel (1919) notes that in some clause the demonstrative pronoun is suppressed and the clause with suppressed pronoun is usually shorter than the clause with the pronoun.

The gap strategy

The relativized noun phrase can be left out in a relative clause. In other words, there can be a 'gap' after the correlative pronoun in a relative clause. This is a strategy to help identify the grammatical relation of the 'left out' noun phrase within the relative clause. Let us consider this sentence in (6)⁶

(6) *tyo manche [jas-le ma-lai kuṭ-yo] samat-i-yo*
that man who-ERG me-DAT beat-PT catch-PASS PT
'The man who beat me was caught.'

In (6) the gap is after the relativizer *jas/le*. This 'gap' is for the relativized noun *tyo manche*. The grammatical role of this noun phrase is the subject.

The pronoun retention strategy

In this strategy a pronoun that explicitly references the grammatical relation of the relativized noun phrase by its position, its form, or both is retained within the relative clause. Let us consider the following example in (7).

(7) *tyo tyahi manche ho*
that the same man is
[jo mai-le usko nam kahile samjhanna]
[who I-ERG his name never remember]
'That is the same man whose name I can never remember.'

In (7) the relative clause in the brackets has retained the possessive pronoun *usko*. This pronoun signals the grammatical relation of the relativized noun phrase. However, this type of strategy is not that much productive in Nepali.

⁶The sentence in (5) does not normally appear in common communication. However, this type of sentence probably comes into existence when we want to give especial focus on the head noun phrase. The interpretation of this sentence may read as follows: It is only that man which beat me was caught not other man.

The correlative pronoun strategy

The correlative relativizer *jo* (human singular), *jun* (human plural) and *je* (non-human) are used in the relative clauses in Nepali. Let us consider the following examples.

- (8) a. [*jo garib cha*] *us-le badhi kharca gar-cha*
 who poor is he-ERG much spend-NPT
 'The man who is poor spends much.'
- b. [*jo manche hijo ayeka thiye*] *uniharu*
 who men yesterday had come they
sabai samaja sebi thiye
 all social workers were
 'The men who came yesterday were all social workers.'
- c. [*je khana man lagcha*] *khau*
 whatever (you) like eat-IMP
 'Whatever you like, eat.'

In (8a) the relativizer *jo* suggests that the grammatical role of the relativized noun phrase is the subject. This subject is human and singular. Similarly in (8b) the relativizer *jun* shows that the relativized noun phrase is the subject. It is the plural human noun. In case of (8c) *je* is the direct object of the imperative verb '*khau*'.

3.3 Grammatical relations that can be relativized

Most of the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique and possessive can be relativized in Nepali. Let us discuss each of them in turn.

3.3.1 Subject

The noun phrase in the subject position can be relativized. Consider this example.

- (9) [*jasa-le maha kadh-cha*] *tyas-le hat caṭ-cha*
 who-ERG honey hunt-3sNPT he-ERG hand lick-3sNPT
 'The man who works naturally gets more than the others.'

In (9), the relativized noun phrase is *jasa-le jun manchele*. It is in the subject position.

3.3.2 Direct object

In Nepali the noun phrase in the direct object position can be relativized. Consider this example.

- (10) [*jas-lai mai-le aphno manche tha-ne*]
 whom-DAT I-ERG own man consider-PT
tyas-le ma-lai dhoka di-yo
 he-ERG I-DAT cheat-PT
 'The man whom I believed cheated me.'

In (10), the noun phrase '*jas-lai (jun manchelai)*' is relativized in the direct object position.

3.3.3 Indirect object

The noun phrase in the indirect object position can be relativized. Consider this example.

- (11) [*rames-le jas-lai kalam di yo*]
 Ramesh-ERG who-DAT pen give-PT
tyas-lai mai-le kapi di-yē
 he-DAT I-ERG exercise book give-PT
 'I gave the exercise book to the person whom Ramesh gave pen.'

In (11), the noun phrase '*jas-lai*' is the indirect object which has been relativized.

3.3.4 Oblique

In Nepali the noun phrase in oblique position can be relativized. Consider this example.

- (12) [*jo ghoḍa mathi cadh-cha*]
 Who horse on ride-3sNPT
tysa-lai ma ghrina gar-chu
 that-DAT I hate-1sNPT
 'I hate the man who rides the horse.'

In (12), the noun phrase '*jo ghoḍa mathi*' is the relativized noun which is in oblique case.

3.3.5 Possessive

In Nepali the noun phrase in the possessive position can also be easily relativized. Consider this example.

- (13) [*jas-ka sij lama chan*]*tys-lai ma man paraun-na*
 Whose-POSS horn long are that- DAT I like-1sNPT-NEG
 'I do not like the(cow) which has long horn'

In (13), the relativized noun phrase '*jas-ka sij*' which is in possessive position.

4. Summary

The analysis of the relative clauses in Nepali reveals a number of features of typological interest. In section 2 we presented two types of relative clauses: non-finite(participialized) and finite (correlative). However, they function in the same way as a nominal modifier of the head noun phrase. In section 3 we analyzed the relativization in Nepali with relation to its typological parameters. Firstly, in terms of its position with respect to its head the relative clauses in Nepali can be pre-nominal, post-nominal, internally headed and headless. The post-nominal relative clauses in Nepali are pragmatically motivated. Secondly, the role of the relativized noun phrase can be different from the role of its head noun within the relative clause. Such role can be identified in Nepali by using different strategies like gap, pronoun retention and use of correlative pronouns. However, the use of correlative relativizers seems quite significant in Nepali. Thirdly, most of the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique and possessive can be relativized in Nepali relative clauses. This shows that the choice of the relativized noun phrase in Nepali is not constrained by any specific grammatical relations.

Abbreviations

1	First person
3	Third person
DAT	Dative case
ERG	Ergative case
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
LOC	Locative

NEG	Negative
NPT	non-past
PASS	Passive
PP	Participialized
PT	Past
S	Singular

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Head Parameter System in NP of Thakali

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0. Introduction

Thakali is one of the important minority languages of Nepal spoken by an ethnic group of the same name. It is Tibeto-Burman family and share most of things to Gurung and Tamang languages.

This paper is an attempt to explore the head parameter for the NP in Thakali. It is a general property of phrases that every phrase has a headword. Head parameter determines whether a language positions heads before or after their complements. So, it determines the relative positioning of heads with respect to their complements (Radford, 1997). Cook and Mark Newson (1996) suggest that one of the locations of all heads within phrases can be specified once in the grammar of each language by setting the value of the head parameter. The head parameter specifies whether a language has heads that come first or last in the phrase. "Even where languages have the same categories, the precise rules for sentence formation may differ. But this variation is not random. For instance there are significant patterns that recur in language after language in terms of the position of heads within their phrases. To account for these patterns, we can posit a Head parameter that offers three options - head initial, head medial and head final" (O'Grady, 1997). The article is divided into eight sections. The first deals with demonstrative, the second with possessive, the third with adjective, the fourth numeral classifier, the fifth with nominal adjectival classifier, the sixth with adverb, the seventh with relative clause and eighth with the conclusion.

1. Demonstrative

Thakali language does not have separate articles. But it has demonstrative. Demonstratives imply "pointing to", or "demonstrating" the object they refer to (Payne, 1997). The demonstratives like this, that, these, those distinguish between proximal and distal deixis. Determiners are combined with their head nouns in a noun phrase structure. The demonstrative pronoun has an absolute fixed position in NP structure. It always precedes the head nouns as in (1).

1. a. *cu tihm*
this house
'This house.'
- b. *cə mih*
that man
'That man'
- c. *cu-cah name-cah*
this-Pl bird-Pl
'These birds'
- d. *cə-cah lokiwə*
that-Pl happiness
'Those happiness'

In (1a-d), demonstratives <cu>, <cə>, <cu-cah> and <cə-cah> precede their head nouns <tihm>, <mih>, <neme-cah> and <lokiwə> respectively.

2. Possessive

In many Himalayish languages, possessive pronouns are distinct from free pronouns. But Thakali does not have separate possessive pronouns. Genitives of personal pronouns serve as possessive pronouns. Thakali has a common possessive suffix <-e> for all possessors that is attached to the personal pronouns. Possessives always precede the head nouns in the noun phrase as in (2).

2. a. *ŋə-e nəkyu*
I-GEN dog
'My dog.'
- b. *the-e nokər*
s/he-GEN cat
'Her/his cat'
- c. *əsoj cu-preh-e ŋihn*
Aaswin ten-eight-GEN day
'The day of Aaswin 18'
- d. *birendrə pompə-e siwə*
Birendra king-GEN death
'The death of King Birendra'

In (2a-d), possessives <ŋə-e>, <the-e>, <əsoj cu-preh-e> and <birendrə pompə-e> precede the head nouns <nəkyu>, <nokər>, <ŋihn> and <siwə> respectively.

3. Adjective

An adjective is a word that can be used in an NP to specify some property of the head noun of the phrase (Payne, 1997). Adjectives follow the head nouns in Thakali as in (3).

3. a. *luhmpu tuhyəŋpə-e mih ploħ cah*
country poor-GEN man rich pl
'Rich people of poor country'
- b. *phə sohwa te peħ kyohwa*
husband good and wife pretty
'Good husband and pretty wife'
- c. *pulu wəla te pəplo tər*
cap red and shoes white
'Red cap and white shoes.'
- d. *neta pyəŋpə cah te mih coħlwə cah*
leader clever Pl and man innocent Pl
'Clever leaders and innocent people'
- e. *mriŋkola təhnə cah*
girl tall manyPl
'Many tall girls'

In (3a), adjective <tuhyəŋpə> and <ploħ> follow the head noun <luhmpu> and <mih> respectively. Similarly in (3b), adjective <sohwa> and <kyohwa> follow the head noun <phə> and <peħ> respectively. In (3c), adjective <wəla> follows the head noun <pulu> and another adjective <tər> follows the head noun <pəplo>, whereas in (3d), adjectives <pyəŋpə> and <coħlwə> follow their head noun <neta> and <mih> respectively. Likewise in (3e), both adjectives <nowə> and <təhnə> follow their head noun <mriŋkola>.

4. Numeral Classifier

Numeral classifiers in Thakali language do not play a prominent role. They occur with head nouns as an obligatory numeral suffix. They always follow the head as in (4).

4. a. *mih Tih te rə Tih*
man one and goat one
'One man one goat'
- b. *picyaŋ ŋih-cah te cəhme Tih*
sister two Pl and daughter one
'Two sisters and one daughter'
- c. *nimuŋ som cah te nokər ŋah cah*
mouse three Pl and cat five Pl
'Three mice and five cats'
- d. *kera cyu cah te mha nigs cah*
banana ten Pl and Son-in-law seven
'Ten bananas and seven Son-in-laws'

In (4a), both numeral classifiers <Tih> follow the noun head <mih> and <rə>. In (4b), numeral classifier <ŋih> follows the noun head <picyaŋ> and numeral classifier <Tih> follows the noun head <cəhme> where as in (4c), numeral classifier <som> and <ŋah> follow their noun head <nimuŋ> and <nokər> respectively. In (4d), numeral classifier <cyu> and <nigs> follow the noun heads <kera> and <mha> respectively.

5. Nominal Adjectival Classifier

As in adjective and numeral classifier, nominal adjectival classifier also follows the noun head in NP as in (5).

5. a. *mləh kilo plih cah te yupə mlaŋ som cah*
rice kg four Pl and stone black three Pl
'Four kgs of uncooked rice and three black stones'
- b. *nakamomo tər cyəŋpə som cah*
hen white small three pl
'Three small white hens'
- c. *tihm thowə təhnə cah*
house big many Pl
'Many big houses'

In (5a-c), nominal adjectival classifier <kilo plih>, <mlaŋ som>, <tər cyəŋpə som> and <thowə təhnə> follow their own noun head <mləh>, <yupə>, <naka-momo> and <tihm> respectively. Moreover, when the numeral classifiers occur with adjectival plural

noun heads, the plural marker in Thakali immediately follows its numeral classifier.

6. Adverb

Adverbs in Thakali language can be categorized into manner adverbs, temporal adverbs and spatial adverbs. Adverbs precede the head in Thakali. Adverbs are combined with noun heads in the NP as in (6).

6. a. *cu-ri-e kyəhm te cə-ri-e tuhŋ-cah*
this-LOC-GEN path and that-LOC-GEN tree-Pl
'The path of here and the trees of there'
- b. *jeThə curku-e ghəTna*
Jestha nineteen-GEN incident
'The incident of Jestha 19'
- c. *cyohri-e sim te tiŋl-e pətrika*
now-GEN cold and today-GEN newspaper
'Nowadays' cold and today's newspaper'
- d. *tihkyun-e tihar te tuhrmə-e dəsain*
last year-GEN Tihar and next year-GEN Dashain
'Last year's Tihar and next year's Dashain'

In (6a), spatial adverbs <cu-ri> and <cə-ri> precede the noun heads <kyəhm> and <tuhŋ> whereas in (6b), temporal adverb <jeThə curku> precedes its noun head <ghəTna>. In (6c), temporal adverbs <cyohri> and <tiŋl> precede their noun heads <sim> and <pətrika> respectively. Similarly in (6d), adverb <tihkyun> precedes the noun head <tihar> and other adverb <tuhrmə> precedes the noun head <dəsain>.

7. Relative Clause

A relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan, 1985). The use of a nominalized clause as a modifier of a noun is the basic pattern of TB relativization. Since the clause is syntactically a nominal, it is typically marked as genitive when it is subordinate to another nominal (DeLancy, 1999). The head in relative clause is the noun phrase that is modified by the clause. The relativized noun phrase is the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head noun. The restrictive clause

restricts the noun head. Relative clauses are combined with their noun heads in the NP as in (7).

7. a. *peh-ri maya la-wə-e phə*
 wife-DAT love do-INF-NOM husband
 'The husband who loves wife.'
- b. *tuhŋ tha-ci-wə-e mih*
 tree cut-PERF-NOM man
 'The man who cut the tree.'
- c. *the tu-wə-e tihm*
 s/he live-INF-NOM house
 'The house where s/he lives.'
- d. *kyahŋ-ce thuh-pə-e nyeh*
 you-ERG drink-INF-NOM milk
 'Milk that you drink.'
- e. *sikari-ce səy-lə myaŋ-pə-e cen*
 hunter-ERG kill-INF must-INF-NML tiger
 'The tiger that the hunter has to kill.'

In (7a), the relative clause <*peh-ri maya la-wə-e*> precedes the noun head <*pəh*>. In (7b), relative clause <*tuhŋ tha-ci-wə-e*> precedes the noun head <*mih*>. Similarly, in (7c), relative clause <*the tu-wə-e*> precedes its noun head <*tihm*>. In (7d), relative clause <*kyahŋ-ce thuh-pə-e*> precedes its noun head <*nyeh*> whereas in (7e), relative clause <*sikari-ce səy-lə myaŋ-pə-e*> precedes the noun head <*cen*>.

8. Conclusion

The head noun in Thakali phrase structure is initial in the case of adjective, numeral classifier and adjectival numeral classifier. But, the noun head in the Thakali phrase structure is final in the case of demonstrative, possessive, adverb and relative clause. Thakali uses one version of the phrase structure rule for AP, NCP, ANCP and another version for other phrases and sentences. Thus, the head comes sometimes at the first of the NP and sometimes at the end of the NP but the verb always comes at the end of the VP. Thakali shows split nature in head parameter: head initial and head final.

Abbreviations

DAT- Dative	NML- Nominalizer
ERG- Ergative	NOM- Nominative
GEN- Genitive	NP- Noun Phrase
INF- Infinitive	PERF- Perfective
LOC- Locative	PI- Plural

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Sueyoshi Toba

Introduction

We all know Nepal as a country with a rich diversity of animals, birds, butterflies as well as plants. Diversity also characterizes the human realm where we find diversity of languages and cultures abounding. While we can still observe diversity as inherited from the past, we also hear in these days, about serious endangerment of animal and plant species. Endangerment also characterizes languages and cultures and nowhere is there a safe haven. The National Census 2001 sets the number of Tilung speakers at 310. The actual number of speakers, however, may be much lower. Is this endangerment?

Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing (2000) lists endangered languages of Nepal according to the following degrees:

- 1) potentially endangered languages: Chantyal, Byangsi
- 2) endangered languages: Dumi, Dhimal and Tilung
- 3) seriously endangered languages: Chintang, Hayu, Bhramu
- 4) moribund languages: Saam, Bungla
- 5) extinct languages: Kusunda, Dura

Matissoff (1992, 208-209) adds more languages as endangered, namely, Koi, Mewahang, Raute and Tichurong. However, this is a guess that is not based on a field survey.

1. Rationale for studying Tilung.

When the Linguistic Survey of Nepal was conducted in the early 1980s an investigator took a language questionnaire to record the Tilung language at Chasmutar of Khotang district. At that time, it could not be ascertained whether Tilung was a language or a dialect. But because the collected data were insufficient and no other field data were available, it was impossible to verify the information from the questionnaire for accuracy.

In 2000, K.R. Khambu went to the Tilung area to collect words for a basic wordlist. But he was able to collect only 25 words of the Swadesh list. Later on fragmentary LSN notes supply us with

55 more words, so that we now have a total of 80 Tilung words in addition to some phrases and sentences to work from. This is a scant corpus of data but because it is urgent to document languages in the disappearing stage like Tilung, and because of my long-standing interest in Kiranti languages, I thought it is worth a try.

Hanßon (1991.98) writes about Tilung, "the least known Rai language among those which can be supposed to be still alive to some extent... may represent the relics of a larger language group that seems to have been absorbed above all by Chamling, to some extent also by Umbule and Bahing..." Van Driem (2001. 718) says that "the name of the language, the scant data available and its geographical location along the lower Dudh Kosi all raise the question whether Tilung could be an old relative of Thulung which moved downstream ... or some special variety of Chamling. At any rate the special features of this language are of comparative importance and hold the key to a deeper understanding of the population history of the Dudh Kosi basin, which is the major crossroads of Kiranti groups." We attempt this description, however tentative and limited by the paucity of data, in order to get a clearer picture not only of Tilung in its own right, but also of the position Tilung has in the group of Rai languages of the Dudh Kosi area.

2. Phonology.

With the Tilung data available, we can list the following phonemes:

2.1. Consonants.

p t c[ts] k
ph th ch[tsh] kh
b d j[dz] g
bh dh
s
m n ng
l r
w y

2.2. Vowels.

i u
e o
a

2.3. Diphthongs.

ai oi ui

2.4. Syllable structure

C (C) V (C)

3. Nominals**3.1. Pronouns and Possessives**

We do not have a complete list for these, but the following are found in the data.

Personal Pronouns	Possessive Pronouns	Possessive Prefix
1s nggo	ngga	ng-
1di		
1de		
1pi iing	ingga	ing-
2s igo	iga	i-
2d icung		
2p inungbu		
3s me	aga	a-
3d		
3p inung	inungga	

3.2. Case markers

Ergative/Instrumental	- so	'by'
Genitive	- ga	'of'
Locative	- mu	'in, on, to, into'
	- mo	'on'

Ablative	- ma	'on'
	- cang	'from'
	- mang	'from'
Directive	- nang	'from'
	- sang	'towards'

Note that there are variant forms for Locative and for Ablative. However, because there are few examples, conclusions as to the difference cannot be drawn. More data might show that morphophonemic rules can explain these variant forms.

3.3. Number markers

The plural forms of nouns are marked by an attached - bu as in kim-bu, 'houses'. If, however, the context shows plurality, the plural marker may be dropped.

4. Verbs.

The stative verb has only one form which remains the same, regardless of the number for subject or agent.

Past is distinguished from non-past by the past marker -te.

Pronominalization appears less frequently than in other Kiranti languages.

- (1) Sung - nang nggo ghlang - te - ngo
tree - from I fall - Past - pronominal suffix
'I fell from the tree'.

5. Syntax.

Tilung is a head - marking SOV language with a strict order of modifier preceding head, common also in other Kiranti languages. Negation always precedes the final verb form. Participants are marked on the verb and personal pronouns are not obligatory since pronominalization indicates the agent. But in the Tilung data we do not have a complete system, perhaps the system is in the state of disappearing as the language is conforming to surrounding languages of the area as well as to the national language, Nepali. Subject agreement is found in the available data:

- (2) nggo dambu beluka imma ma - cap - te - ngo
 I last night sleep Neg - can - Past - 1ps
 'I could not sleep last night'.

In descriptive clauses, the verb may be omitted as shown in the following example:

- (3) iga nung ma
 your name what
 'What is your name?'

The stative clause must have a verb:

- (4) me minakhung - ma musu - doimega go
 he horse - on sit - continuous is
 'He is sitting on a horse'.

There are no other clause patterns available in the Tilung data at hand.

6. Relationship with other languages.

Tilung shares 14% cognates with Thulung, 60% with Chamling, and 26% with Bahing. This indicates a close relationship with Chamling, but not whether this relationship is the result of recent adjusting or whether it was there to begin with. It is noteworthy that Tilung is so close to Chamling but not so to Umbule, although geographically very close to a village of Umbulespeakers. One guess may be that the Umbule speakers moved into that vicinity of the Tilung speakers in search for arable land as the population in the original Umbule area increased.

7. Conclusion.

It has become clear that with the limited data we cannot draw final conclusions as to the structure of the Tilung language, nor give it a definite place among the other languages of the general area. It may be a language, or it may be a dialect of Chamling.

The one thing that is definite is the fact that Tilung is a highly endangered language. It is for this reason that I studied Tilung data and would recommend further study of Tilung before it is too late. For it is not just words that are forgotten when a language "dies". There is much more to a language than just its vocabulary

and grammar. Language is inseparable from the culture of the speakers, it reflects their way of thinking, their system of values, their attitude to life, to nature, to their fellow men. History is conveyed by language, the spiritual sphere is approached and described by language. Most of all, language as the mothertongue of a people contains the sum of all this as a whole.

If we see in language a living organism, then we must say that its death is like the death of any living organism, an irretrievable loss. At this era of endangerment of species, languages are also in danger to become extinct. Before they are dying, these languages must be studied, preserved, and even, if possible, revived. It is my hope that this paper may inspire someone to study Tilung, to initiate efforts to preserve it, even to revive it.

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**Present Status of Research/Publication
On Languages of Nepal**

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INTRODUCTION

Nepal is a multilingual country and has a rich linguistic heritage. From the last century onwards many scholars studied and recorded languages. Some published the results in Europe, USA and Japan. Nepalese linguists worked on languages in Nepal also (see Toba, 1998).

It will be good to see what has been done so far and get an idea what should be done from now. To know and find out the following list will be helpful. I tried to get information from my bibliography as well as linguists. Your suggestions and information will be included in the next editions.

Grammar includes a short sketch if it covers a wide area of that language. Text means collected language corpus with interlinear or free translation in English. Wordlists should be around hundred words. Literature means published stories, proverbs, folklore etc.

	Phonology Grammar		Text Literature	Vocabu- lary Wordlist	Dictionar- y Glossary
1. Indo-European Family					
Eastern					
Bangali	*	*	*	*	*
Rajbanshi, Tajpuri/Koce	*	*	*	*	
Mid-Eastern					
Danuwar/Danuwar Rai	*			*	
Maithili	*	*	*	*	*
Magahi					
Majhi					
Musassa (Sindhuli Garhi)					
Tharu (Eastern)					
Central					

Bhojpuri	*	*	*	*	*
Bote/Kushar	*	*		*	
Darai	*			*	
Kumale	*	*	*	*	
Chitwan Tharu (Central)	*			*	
Western					
Awadhi	*		*	*	*
Dangaura Tharu (Western)	*			*	*
North-Western					
Chureti Nepali					
Dotyali Nepali					
Jumli Nepali	*	*			
Nepali/Gorkhali/K hasakura	*	*	*	*	*
Rana Tharu (Mahakali)	*			*	
2. Tibeto-Burman Family					
Western					
Brahmu/Baram				*	
Thami					
Chantel/ Chantyal	*	*	*	*	*
Chaudangsi (Mahakali)					
Darmiya (Mahakali)					
Dura				*	
Ghale/ Ghale Gurung	*	*		*	*
Gharti/ Bhujel (Tanahu)			*		
Gurung (Eastern and Western dialects)	*	*	*	*	*
Janggali (Mahakali)					
Kaike				*	

Magar	*	*	*	*	*
Manangawa/ Nyashang/Shang	*	*		*	
Poke/Humla Bhotiya/Dangali				*	
Raji				*	
Raute				*	
Rangkas (Mahakali Zone)					
Tamang/ Murmi	*	*	*	*	*
Thakali	*	*	*	*	*
Northern					
Baragaule/Kag					
Bhotiya/Bhote/Tib etan	*	*	*	*	*
Byansi	*	*		*	
Dolpo					
Jirel	*	*	*	*	*
Helambu Sherpa	*		*	*	*
Kagate/Syuba/Shu ba				*	
Kham	*	*	*	*	*
Larke					
Lo/Lopa/Loyu (Mustang)					
Lhomi (Sankhuwasabha)	*	*	*	*	
Nhupari					
Sherpa	*	*	*	*	*
Central and Western					
Chepang/ Praja	*	*	*	*	*
Newari	*	*	*	*	*
Pahari	*			*	
Eastern (Kiranti) Languages					
Eastern Sub-group					
Limbu	*	*	*	*	*

(Tamarkhole, Yangrupe, Panthare and Phedappe dialects)					
Chathare Limbu	*			*	
South-Western Sub- Group					
Athapaharia	*	*		*	
Belhariya	*	*		*	
Chhiling (Chhulung)					
Mugali/ Lambichong					
Phangduwali					
Lumba Yakkha	*		*	*	*
North-West Sub-Group					
Lohrong/ Yamphu Lohrong	*			*	
Timta					
Yamphu / Yamphe	*	*	*	*	*
Central Kirati/ Southern Sub-Group					
Bantawa (Dhankute, Hankhim, Dilpali and Kahatewang dialects)	*	*	*	*	*
Puma/ Pima			*	*	
Chamling/ Rodong	*	*	*	*	*
North-Eastern Sub- Group					
Mewahang (Eastern and Western)	*		*	*	*
Saam					
Northern Intermediate Group					
Chukwa/ Phohing					

Bungla					
North-Western Sub-Group					
Kulung	*	*	*	*	*
Sampang				*	
Nachering				*	
Dungmali					
Marginal Sub-Group					
Waling					
Western Kiranti					
Umbule/Chaurase/ Chaurasiya	*	*	*	*	*
Jerung					
Thulung	*	*	*	*	*
Lingkhim					
Bahing (Dialects: Rumdali, Nechali)	*	*	*	*	
Sunuwar	*	*	*	*	*
Surel				*	
Northern Group					
Khaling	*	*	*	*	*
Dumi	*	*	*	*	
Koi/Koyu				*	
Marginal Western Sub-Group					
Wayu/ Hayu	*	*	*	*	
Marginal Halesi Dand Sub-Group					
Tilung/Tiling					
Tichurong					
Other Eastern Languages					
Dhimal	*	*	*	*	*
Meche/ Boro	*	*			
Lepache/Lepcha/R ong/Ronke/Rongpa /Nonpa	*	*	*	*	*

Tseku (Mechi)					
3. Austro-Asiatic Family					
Khadiya	*	*		*	
Sattar/ Santhali	*	*	*	*	*
4. Dravidian Family					
Dhangar/ Jhangar/ Uraon	*	*		*	*
5. Unclassified Language					
Kusunda	*	*	*	*	

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Place and Order of Case Markers in the Verb Forms of Chhathare Limbu

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0. Introduction

Chhathare is one of the four dialects - Phedappe, Panthare, Taplejungge and Chhathare - of Limbu that belongs to the Kiranti group of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. It is spoken in the Koshi zone of the eastern part of Nepal. The area where this dialect is spoken is called Chhathar, which includes some villages of the Dhankuta and a few villages of the Terhathum district. As it is spoken in Chhathar, this dialect is called Chhathare by its area name. Chhathare is neither used as a lingua franca within the Limbu community nor is it used in religious rituals and social interactions. Therefore, it is limited only to Chhathar area and Chhathare people. Some works such as Wiedert (1985), Van Driem (1987) and Mikhailovsky (2002) have been done on Panthare, Phedappe and Taplejungge (Mewakhole) dialects but no work has been done on the Chhathare dialect of Limbu. It has been, hitherto, left undescribed and undocumented.

This paper is an attempt to locate the place the subject and object markers occupy and the order they follow in the clauses of verbal affixes. It is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the place of subject and object in the verb forms, second part deals with the order in which the subject and object markers occur and the last part presents the conclusion of the paper.

1. Place of subject and object in the verb forms

1.1. The second person subject occurs on the left of the verb root.

- (1)
- a. ka-nih-u
2S-see-3O
'You see him.'
 - b. ka-nih-u-si
2S-see-3O-nsO
'You see them.'

- c. ka-ni-ch-u
2S-see-dS-3O
'You see him.'
- d. ka-ni-ch-u-si
2S- see-dS-3O-nsO
'You see them.'
- e. ka-nih-u-m
2S-see-3O-pS
'You see him.'
- f. ka-nih-u-m-si-m
2S-see-3O-pS-nsO-pS
'You see them.'

As exhibited in (1) the second person subject marker is the prefix <ka-> which is affixed to the verb root. The third person object marker <-u> is suffixed to the verb root. The second person dual number is marked by the suffix <-ch> and third person non-singular number is marked by the suffix <-si>. The dual number marker for the second person subject occurs before the third person object as in (1c-d) whereas the plural number marker for it occurs after the third person object as in (1e-f).

1.2. Subjects of the first person singular, dual and plural exclusives are positioned on the right of the verb roots when they occur with the third person object in the transitive verb forms.

- (2)
- a. cepp-u-ng*
cut -3O-1S
'I cut him.'
 - b. cep-ch-u-ng-a
cut-dS-3O-1S-EXCL
'We cut him.'
 - c. cepp-u-m-m-a
cut-3O-pS-1S-EXCL
'We cut him.'
 - d. cepp-u-ng-si-ng
cut-3O-1S-nsO-1S
'We cut them.'

* ng is velar nasal

e. cep-ch-u-si-ng-a
cut-dS-3O-nsO-1S-EXCL
'We cut them.'

f. cepp-u-m-si-m-m-a
cut-3o-pS-nsO-pS-1S-EXCL
'We cut them.'

The first person subject marker is <ng>. When it occurs alone without a number marker, it functions as a first person singular subject. When it occurs with the number marking suffix <-ch>, it signals first person dual subject and when it occurs with the number marking suffix <-m>, it refers to the first person plural subject as indicated in (2). However, the first person subject marker <ng> changes to <-m> as indicated in (2c-f) due to the assimilation of the velar nasal /ng/ to labial nasal /m/ for a place of articulation. The suffix <-a> indicates exclusive feature of the first person subject.

1.3. Third person non-singular transitive subject appears on the left of the root.

- (3)
- a. an-ni-nga
1O/3nsS-see-1O
'They see me.'
- b. an-ni-chi
1O/3nsS-see-dO
'They see us.'
- c. an-ni-chi-nga
1O/3nsS-see-dO-1O
'They see us.'
- d. an-nih-i
1O/3nsS-see-pO
'They see us.'
- e. an-nih-i
1O/3nsS-see-pO
'They see us.'
- f. kan-ni
2O/3nsS-see
'They see you.'
- g. kan-ni-chi
2O/3nsS-see-dO
'They see you (two).'

h. kan-nih-i
2O/3nsS-see-pO
'They see you (many).'

The verb forms in (3a-f) indicate that the third person non-singular subject marker <n> follows the first person object marker <a> before the verb root. Similarly, in (3f-h) it appears after the second person object marker <ka> before the verb root. The third person non-singular marker <n> is derived from the third person plural subject prefix <mu> which loses its final vowel /u/ when it is affixed to the non-third person prefixes <ka> and <a>.

1.4. First person singular, dual inclusive subject or object surrounds the verb. The personal prefix occurs before the root and its number markers occur after it.

- (4)
- a. a-lAm-ma*
IO- beat-1sO
'He beats me.'
- b. a-nat-na
1O-chase-1sO
'He chases me.'
- c. a-gheng-nga
1O-bind-1sO
'He binds me.'
- d. a-lAm-chi
1O-beat-dO
He beats us.'
- e. a-nat-chi
'He chases us.'
- f. a-gheng-chi
1O-bind-dO
'He binds us.'
- g. a-lAm-ch-u
1S-beat-dS-3O
'We beat them.'

* A is rounded half-open back vowel

- h. a-nat-ch-u
1S-chase-dS-3O
'We chase him.'
- i. a-gheng-ch-u
1S-bind-dS-3O
'We bind him.'

In (4a-c) the first person is marked by the prefix <a-> and singular number is marked by <-ma> which is, in fact, <-nga>. The first person singular object is marked by the prefix <a-> and the suffix <-ma> which surround the verb roots. Similarly, in (4d-f) the first person object marker prefix <a-> and dual number marker suffix <-chi> surround the verb roots and constitute a first person dual object. In (4g-i) the first person prefix <a-> and the dual marker suffix <-ch> form the first person dual subject and they surround the verb roots.

1.5. First person plural inclusive subject surrounds verb root and object. The first person marker occurs before the root and the number marker occurs after the object. The first person marker alone can't be assigned the role of a subject.

- (5)
- a. a-nih-u-m
1S-see-3O-pS
'We see him.'
- b. a-dzug-u-m
1S-di-3O-pS-
'We did it.'
- c. a-bhar-u-m
1S-help-3O-pS
'We helped him.'

In (5) the first person marker prefix <a-> in combination with the plural suffix <-m> form the first person plural inclusive subject. These affixes surround the verb root and third person object <-u>.

1.6. Third person singular subject is unmarked and only the number for the dual subject is marked on the right of the verb root whereas plural subject is marked on the left of the root.

- (6)
- a. nih-u
see-3O
'He sees it.'
- b. nih-u-si
see-3O-nsO
'He sees them.'
- c. ni-ch-u
see-dS-3O
'They see it.'
- d. ni-ch-u-si
see-dIS-3O-nsO
'They see them.'
- e. mu-nih-u
3pS-see-3O
'They see it.'
- f. mu-nih-u-si
3pS-see-3O-nsO
'They see them.'

In the verbal affixes (6a-b) the third person subject is unmarked. The third person object is marked by the suffix <-u> and the non-singular number of the object is marked by the suffix <-si>. In (6c-d), only the dual number for the third person subject is marked by the suffix <-ch> which occur immediately after the root and before the third person object marker suffix <-u>. On the other hand, third person plural subject is marked by the prefix <mu> and occurs on the left of the verb root as indicated in (6e-f).

1.7. Third person objects are positioned on the right from the verb roots in transitive verbs.

- (7)
- a. cepp-u-ng
cut-3O-1sS
'I cut him.'
- b. ka-dzepp-u
2S-cut-3O
'You cut him.'
- c. cepp-u
cut-3O
'He cuts him.'

- d. cep-ch-u
cut-dS-3O
'They cut him.'
- e. cepp-u-ng-si-ng
cut-3O-1sS-nsO-1S
'I cut them.'
- f. ka-dzepp-u-si-m
2S-cut-3O-nsO-pS
'You cut them.'
- g. cepp-u-si
cut-3O-nsO
'He cuts them.'
- h. cep-ch-u-si
cut-dS-3O-nsO
'They cut them.'

In (7) the third person object marker is <-u> and it occurs on the right of the verb roots.

1.8. First person and second person non-singular objects surround the verb roots if they occur with third person singular subjects. But if they occur with the third person non-singular subjects, both subject and object surround the verb roots.

- (8) a. a-dzep-ma
1O-cut-1O
'He cuts me.'
- b. a-dzep-chi
1O-cut-dO
'He cuts us.'
- c. a-dzep-chi-nga
1O-cut-dO-EXCL
'He cuts us.'
- d. a-dzepp-i
1O-cut-pO
'He cut us.'
- e. a-dzepp-i-nga
1O-cut-pO-EXCL
'He cut us.'

- f. ka-dzep-chi
2O-cut-dO
'He cuts you.'
- g. ka-dzepp-i
2O-cut-pO
'He cuts you.'
- h. an-dzep-ma
1O/3nsS-cut-1O
'They cut me.'
- i. an-dzep-chi
1O/3nsS-cut-dO
'They cut us.'
- j. an-dzep-chi-nga
1O/3nsS-cut-dO-1O
'They cut us.'
- k. an-dzepp-i
1O/3nsS-cut-pO
'They cut us.'
- l. an-dzepp-i-nga
1O/3nsS-cut-pO-1S
'They cut us.'
- m. kan-dzep
2O/3nsS-cut
'They cut you.'
- n. kan-dzep-chi
2O/3nsS-cut-dO
'They cut you.'
- o. kan-dzepp-i
2O3nsS-cut-pO
'They cut you.'

In (8a-e) the third person subject is unmarked and the first person prefix <a-> and the dual number markers <-chi> or plural number marker <-i> surround verb roots. Similarly, in (8f-g) the second person prefix <ka-> in combination with the number markers form the second person object and surround the verb roots. In (8h-o) the third person non-singular subject <n-> and the first person and second person object surround the verb roots.

1.9. If the subject is the first person and object is the second person in the verbal paradigm, a portmanteau morph <na> appears immediately after the verb root and it indicates first person singular subject and second person singular object.

- (9)
- a. cep-na
cut-1S/2O
'I cut you.'
 - b. cep-na-chi-ng
cut-1S/2O-dO-1S
'I cut you.'
 - c. cep-na-ni-ng
cut-1S/2O-pO-1S
'I cut you.'

1.10. If the second person subject occurs with the first person object, the object is placed on the right from the verb root.

- (10)
- a. ka-dzep-ma
2S- cut-1S
'You cut me.'
 - b. ka-dzep-chi-nga
2S- cut-dS-1S
'You cut us.'
 - c. ka-dzepp-i-nga
2S- cut-pO-1O
'You cut us.'

2. Order of case markers in the verb forms

1. First person subject precedes second person object in a transitive verb paradigm.

- (11)
- a. cep-na
cut-1S/2O
'I cut you.'
 - b. cep-na-chi-ng
cut-1S/2O-dO-1S
'I cut you.'
 - c. cep-na-ni-ng
cut-1S/2O-pO-1S
'I cut you.'

2. Second person subject precedes the first person object.

- (12)
- a. ka-dzep-ma
2S- cut-1S
'You cut me.'
 - b. ka-dzep-chi-nga
2S- cut-dS-1S
'You cut us.'
 - c. ka-dzepp-i-nga
2S- cut-pO-1O
'You cut us.'

3. First person dual inclusive subject precedes the third person objects but its plural form surrounds it together with the verb root.

- (13)
- a. a-dzep-ch-u
1S-cut-dS-3O
'We cut him.'
 - b. a-dzep-ch-u-si
1S-cut-dS-3O-nsO
'We cut them.'
 - c. a-dzep-u-m
1S-cut-3O-pS
'We cut him.'
 - d. a-dzep-u-m-si-m
1S-cut-3O-pS-pO-pS
'We cut them'

In (13a-b) the first person dual inclusive subject occurs before the third person object whereas in (13 c-d) its plural form surrounds it along with the verb root.

4. Second person non-plural subject precedes the third person object whereas its plural form surrounds it together with the verb root.

- (14)
- a. ka-dzepp- u
2S- cut-3O
'You kill him.'
 - b. ka-dzep-ch-u
2S-cut-dS-3O
'You cut them.'
 - c. ka-dzepp-u-m
2S-cut-3O-pS
'You cut them.'

In (14a-b) the second person singular and dual subjects precede the third person object marker <-u> but in (14c) the second person prefix <ka-> and its plural marker <-m> form the second person plural subject and they surround the third person object marker <-u> along with the verb root.

5. Third person objects precede the first person non-exclusive subjects whereas the dual exclusive subject surrounds it

- (15)
- a. cepp-u-ng
cut-3O-1S
'I cut him.'
 - b. cepp-u-ng-si-ng
cut-3O-1S-nsO-1S
'I cut them.'
 - c. cepp-u-m-ma
cut-3O-pS-1S/EXCL
'We cut him.'
 - d. cepp-u-m-si-m-ma
cut-3O-pS-nsO-pS-1S/EXCL
'We cut them.'
 - e. cep-ch-u-nga
cut-dS-3O-1S/EXCL
'We cut him.'
 - f. cep-ch-u-si-nga
cut-dS-3O-nsO-1S/EXCL
'We cut them.'

In (15a-d) the third person singular object marker <-u> precedes the subject whereas in (15e-f) it occurs in between the subject.

6. Third person subject is unmarked. The third person non-singular subject is marked by the prefix <n-> which occurs with the non-third person prefix <ka-> or <a-> as a portmanteau morph.

- (16)
- a. a-dzep-ma
1O-cut-1O
'He cuts me.'
 - b. a-dzep-chi
1O-cut-dO
'He cuts me.'

- c. a-dzep-chi-nga
1O-cut-dO-1O
'He cuts us.'
- d. a-dzeppi
1O-cut-pO
'He cuts us.'
- e. a-dzeppi-nga
1O-cut-pO-1O
'He cuts me.'
- f. an-dzep-ma
1O/3nsS-cut-1S
'They cut me.'
- g. an-dzep-chi
1O/3nsS-cut-dO
'They cut us.'
- h. an-dzep-chi-nga
1O/3nsS-cut-dO-1eO
'They kill us.'
- i. an-dzeppi
1O/3nsS-kill-pO
'They cut us.'
- j. an-dzeppi-nga
1O/3nsS-cut-pO-1O
'They kill us.'
- k. ka-cep
2O-cut
'He cuts you.'
- l. ka-dzep-chi
2O-cut-dO
'He cuts you.'
- m. ka-dzeppi
2O-cut-pO
'He cuts you.'
- n. kan-dzep
2O/3nsS-cut
'They cut you.'
- o. kan-dzep-chi
2O/3nsS-cut-dO
'They cut you.'

p. kan-dzepp-i
2O/3nsS-cut-pO
'They cut you.'

7. Direct object is unmarked in the paradigm when it occurs in a ditransitive clause.

- (17)
- a. a khune sapla piy-u-ng
I him book give-3O-1S
'I give him a book.'
- b. a khene sapla pi-na
I you book give-1S/2O
'I give you a book.'
- c. khune a sapla a-bi-nga
he I book-1O-give-1S
'He gives me a book.'
- d. khene a sapla ka-bi-nga
you I book 2S-give-1S
'You give me a book.'
- e. khene khune sapla ka-biy-u
you him book 2S-give-3O
'You give him a book.'
- f. khune khene sapla ka-bi
he you book 2S-give
'He gives you a book.'

In (17a-f) *sapla* 'book' is the direct object and *khune*, *khene*, *a*, *a*, *khune* and *khene* are the indirect objects respectively. In the verb forms they are marked but the direct object is not marked.

3. Conclusion

The subject markers in Chhathare Limbu occur on the left and on the right of the verb roots. They can even surround the verb roots and verb roots plus object markers, too. Similarly, the object markers occur on the left and on the right of the verb roots. They can also surround the verb roots. First person singular subject marker co-occurs with the second person object marker in the form of a portmanteau morph <-na>. However, the dual number marker <-chi> and plural marker <-ni> for the second person object precedes the first person subject. The first person dual inclusive subject marker precedes the third person object marker but its plural form

surrounds it along with the verb root. The first person singular subject marker, on the other hand, follows the third person object marker. Second person subject precedes the first person objects and second person non-plural subjects precede the third person object but the second person plural subject surrounds the third person object. Third person singular subject is unmarked but its non-singular forms are marked.

Abbreviations

1	First person	O	Object
2	Second person	p	Plural
3	Third person	S	Subject
d	Dual	s	Singular
ns	Non-singular		

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**Address by the President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal
(2003)**

Professor Dr Yogendra P Yadava

Honorable Chief Guest Professor Dr Govind Prasad Sharma,
Tribhuvan University Vice Chancellor,
Distinguished linguists and scholars,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, I would like to extend my warm welcome to Professor Dr Govind Prasad Sharma, Tribhuvan University Vice Chancellor, for gracing and inaugurating the 24th annual conference of the Society as the chief guest. We welcome the Dean, Dr. Austin Hale, Professor C. M. Bandhu, other distinguished guests and linguists.

On this occasion, it is sad to mention the untimely demise of Professor Dr. Ballabh Mani Dahal, whom we miss as a LSN founder member, an insightful linguist and inspiring colleague and a champion of linguistic rights in Nepal. Late Professor Dahal, with his versatile genius, had been pioneering in various walks of Nepalese society. His death has been a great loss to all of us, esp. linguists' community. We pray for peace to the departed soul and courage to the bereaved family to endure this loss. His spirit would, we hope, keep us guiding in our ventures.

The Linguistic Society of Nepal has been holding its annual conferences for the last 24 years on a regular basis, apart from organizing periodic trainings, seminars and workshops. These conferences, participated by linguists from TU various language departments, foreign linguists and others, have served as linguists' fora for deliberations on general and applied linguistics, esp. related to Nepal. We are thankful to the past LSN presidents for maintaining this uninterrupted regularity.

In the last two years, the LSN and other related agencies pursued a number of linguistic activities. Some of the major works include the following:

- CBS.2001. *Population census*, NPC, Kathmandu.
- Eppele,...2003. "A sociolinguistic survey of Bantawa Rai", Kathmandu:
- Gurung, Hark .2002.*Janagananaa-2001 anusaar jaatiya tathyaank: prarambhik lekhaajokhaa*, Dhramodaya Sabha, kathmandu.
- Kansakar, Tej R and Mark Turin,eds.2003. *Issues in Himalayan Linguistics*, Kathmandu: (Proceedings of the 8th Himalayan Languages Symposium
- Nembang, Til Bikram.2002.*Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Nembang, Til Bikram, Yogendra P.Yadava,...2003. "The report of the thematic group on Indigeneous peoples and linguistic minorities, Education for All (EFA)", Kathmandu: The National Commission for UNESCO, MoE/HMG
- Neupane, Tank.2003. "Athpareko vyakaran", TU doctoral dissertation.
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In addition, we would also like to include a few ongoing linguistic activities such as the Volkswagen project on the study of two endangered languages (Puma and Chintang) (carried out by a joint team of Nepalese and German linguists and anthropologists including Balthasar Bickel, Novel K. Rai, Martin Gaenzle, and

others as a part of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LINSUN Project) and the Encyclopedia of Nepal project with the academic support of David Watters (University of Oregon). Keeping in view the recent global thrust on IT and computational linguistics, Dr. Alan Buseman conducted a week-long seminar on TOOLBOX computer program, designed for linguists to prepare the language database, interlinearization, and dictionary and grammar. This computer program will serve as a significant asset for the documentation of Nepal's languages by field linguists. It is also encouraging that there have been prepared elementary textbooks in as many as a dozen mother tongues. Recently, the national policy for Educational for All (EFA) has incorporated mother tongues as a medium and/ subject of instruction at the primary level of education. Tribhuvan University is also going to introduce the eligible mother tongues (starting with Limbu) at the Proficiency Certificate Level in near future.

These linguistic activities are positive signs for the development of Nepal's languages, their speakers and the nation as a whole. Now, it is time to focus on urgent issues such as endangered languages and their documentation, literacy, translation and language teaching and further plan and mobilize language as a social resource for development.

In this conference there will be presented 24 papers encompassing major aspects of linguistic analysis such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis and computational linguistics, by Nepalese and foreign linguists. We hope there will be useful and productive deliberations among the conference participants in these two days. We take pride in the fact that the LSN is going to celebrate its silver jubilee next year with more elaborate programs and activities.

Thank you!

**Abstracts of the Papers Presented at 24th Annual Conference of
Linguistic Society of Nepal
November 26-27, 2003**

Causativization in Danuwar

Bhabendra Bhandari

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This paper makes an attempt to describe the processes of causativization in Danuwar language. In this language, three types of causative construction are found: lexical, morphological and syntactic. In lexical causativization, the relationship between causative and non-causative verb is established through purely lexical means. Morphological causativization is productive in nature. Causative constructions can be obtained by morphological processes like affixation, internal modification etc. In syntactic causativization, the vector '*laai*' is used which bears the meaning 'cause'.

**The morphosyntax of relativization in Chhathare Limbu
A typological perspective**

Govind B Tumbahang & Yogendra P Yadava

Central Department of Linguistics, TU.

Chhathare is a dialect of Limbu, a Kiranti (Tibeto-Burman) language, spoken in the Dhankuta district of the eastern Himalayan region of Nepal. It is, however, unintelligible to speakers of other Limbu dialects but quite interestingly, its speakers can understand other Limbu dialects.

There exist descriptive studies of relativization in other Limbu dialects, e.g. Weidert and Subba (1985), van Driem (1987), and Ebert (1994)). The Chhathare dialect of Limbu has, however, been hitherto undocumented and undescribed. This paper is an attempt to analyze the morphosyntax of relativization in Chhathare Limbu within the three typological parameters (Givón, 2002), viz. (i) the position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head, (ii) the mode of expression of the relativized NP, and (iii) which grammatical relations can be relativized.

An analysis of relativization in Chhathare Limbu suggests a number of features of typological interest. To deal with these features, this paper has been organized into two main sections. In section 1 we try to present the phenomenon of relativization in Chhathare Limbu as a nominal modifier. Section 2 analyzes the relativization in Chhathare Limbu with relation to its typological parameters. First, in terms of its position with respect to its head, the relative clause in Chhathare Limbu can be prehead, posthead, headless, internally headed or correlative. Secondly, the role of a relativized NP can be different from the role of its head noun within a relative clause. Thirdly, most of the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object, indirect object, and various types of adjuncts can be relativized in Chhathare relative clauses. This shows that the choice of a relativized NP in this dialect of Limbu is not governed by specific grammatical relations. Finally, we sum up the typological bearings of relative clause strategies employed in this language.

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Non-Nominative subjects and the Notion of Subjecthood in Newar

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Many languages of South Asia have subjects which are not nominatives, and there have been a substantial amount of publications on non-nominative subject constructions especially in Indic languages. It is claimed that specific predicates require non-nominatives such as ergative, dative, genitive, comitative,

instrumental or locative subjects, and attempts have been made to analyze their subject properties in terms of morphological codings in case marking and agreement between subject and predicate. The aim of this paper is to analyze the role of non-nominative subjects in Newar where the status of the subject has been ambiguous due mainly to interpretations regarding its grammatical and logical functions in a constituent structure. In recent literature, a Newar subject has often been defined as a volitional actor or agent rather than a category that is grammatically related to a transitive or intransitive verb. The agentive subject has thus been recognized as the only non-nominative that controls the verb, and this could well be a syntactic typological feature of a group of T-B languages of Nepal. Given this constraint, it is obvious that the nominative and non-nominative subjects in Newar do not behave in the same way as in a subject-prominent language like English or other Indo-European languages where the subject-verb or subject-object relations are well established.

This paper is an attempt to explore the syntactic and semantic properties of non-nominative subjects in Newar with particular focus on the opposition between nominative-accusative and non-nominative-non-accusative contexts. The paper will, for this purpose, include three major topics: 1. A brief survey of non-nominative subject constructions in Newar, including reflexives and nominalized compounds which function as non-nominatives; 2. non-nominative and non-accusativity arguments with particular reference to the opposition between ergative and non-ergative subjects; 3. the proposal of a semantic framework to explain the nature of the relationship between subject and object in the language. The paper will conclude with a brief summary of its main findings.

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Language Use Among the Bantawa Rai

John W. Epele

This paper is based upon research among Bantawa-speaking people in Bhojpur district (and adjacent areas) in early 2003. Individuals from each of the demographic groups of this study reported using Bantawa in a broad range of communicative situations, including the home domains. The data would indicate that, although some degree of language shift towards Nepali may be underway, the Bantawa people have not yet shifted towards the exclusive use of Nepali on a large scale. Primary use of Nepali was more common among respondents from the Northern dialect area, the younger people, and the educated.

Negativization in Kiranti-Rodong revisited

Bagdevi Yalungcha

Rodung-Camling as one of the Kiranti languages, is very complex in negativization. This paper, thus proposes to examine the complexity of negative formation in Rodung. The process of negativization productively depends on transitivity-intransitivity of a given verb, tense, person and number.

Morphologically, *mi-*, *pa-*, *-um*, *-n-*, *-ine*, *-ina*, *-na/mna*, *-un*, *-/aina*, *paina*, *ai'* are negative morphemes, which frequently occur in the formation of negation.

Entering and classifying word collocations in a dictionary

Anna Maria Hari

Word collocations are quite fixed in Yohlmo, and often somewhat unusual for a Westerner, and some also for Nepali speakers. This mainly involves noun-verb collocations, but occasionally also other word categories. So in a language learner's dictionary, it seems important to register such collocations. This also entails giving them a part of speech designation. I chose the label pred.ph. (predicate phrase) for it.

Yohlmo is an ergative marking language, and so I also wanted to indicate whether the given collocation asks for an ergative marked actor or not. Looking at the transitivity status of the verb involved in the collocation, it became evident, that we most often cannot predict from it, whether an added actor will take the ergative marker or not; or whether the given collocation will fall into a receptive pattern or not.

So entering these collocations in the dictionary, apart from being helpful for the language learner, has the further pay-off that we have a slot for this unpredictable information. If we entered single words only, there would simply be no slot for it.

And a further pay-off is, that in studying the syntactic behaviour of these collocations, we realize that certain semantic patterns emerge which make the syntactic behaviour of the collocations predictable to some extent.

In this paper I want to elaborate a little bit on the categories of pred.phrases which had to be established, and on the semantic patterns which emerged for the predictability of the syntactic behaviour of the collocations.

Kathmandu, October 21, 2003

Tense and Time in Saptariya Tharu

Kedar Prasad Poudel

Mahendra M. Campus, Dharan

On the basis of number of population in Nepal, Tharu is in the fourth position in the Nepal. Two distinct dialects of Tharu are spoken in Sunsari district. They are: Saptariya and Morangiya. Furthermore, these Tharu females can be easily identified by their

dressings. Saptariya Tharu speakers are said to have been migrated there from Saptari district of Sagarmatha Zone.

This paper is based on field study. It focuses on both syntactic and semantic description of the tense and aspect. It is divided into four major sections: concept, tense, aspect and conclusion. Tense and aspects contain subsections, too.

Head Parameter System in NP of Thakali

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This paper is an attempt to explore the head parameter of NPs in Thakali. It is a general property of phrases that every phrase has a head word. It is assumed that the head parameter always has a uniform setting in a language. Either it is head initial, or it is head medial, or head final. However, although this would seem to be true of many languages, there are some languages which don't show the same uniform setting for the head parameter. In this respect, Thakali shows split nature in head parameter: head initial and head final. It is head initial in the case of adjectival modification, numeral classifier and post nominal adjectival classifier whereas it is head final elsewhere (demonstrative, possessive, adverb and relative clause, etc.).

Aspect and Narrative Time-line: Evidence from Manipuri Discourse

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This paper aims at the analysis of aspectual system in Manipuri discourse with emphasis on its discourse functions. In this regard, the treatment of aspect in natural languages is different in this paper that it used to be in the tradition of Comrie (1976) and his followers. This paper incorporates the roles played by the nominal arguments in the contribution of aspectual meanings. Hence, it is claimed that aspect is not just a verbal category. But it is to be treated as a clausal one.

Negativization of in Kumal

Krishna P Parajuli

The present paper is an attempt to show the process of negativization in respect of Kumal language based on the speakers of Arghakhanchi district.

nə functions as a negative marker. It is both prefixing and suffixing. Except in the non-past form of the identificational 'be' verb *nə* is prefixed.

A separate negative root *nak^h* is used in the non-past form of the existential 'be' verb. The root *nak^h* inflects for person, number, gender and honorificity of the subject. The table below is a synopsis of the negativization process in Kumal.

	Identificational 'be' verb	Existential 'be' verb	Others
Past	<i>nə-</i>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>nə-</i>
Non-past	<i>-nə</i>	<i>nak^h</i>	<i>nə-</i>

(Source: Parajuli, 2003, P. 91)

Causativization in Kumal

Bhim Lal Gautam

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This paper attempts to describe the morphological and periphrastic causativization in Kumal, which is one of the characteristics of South Asian languages.

1 Morphological Causativization

Morphological causativization in Kumal is very much productive. It can be formed by various processes.

1.1 Affixation

Causative marker *-a* is suffixed to the verb root to obtain the notion of causation as in (1).

1. *ram-lai hās-a-il*
Ram-D laugh-CAUS-PST3S
'Ram caused to laugh.'

1.2 Internal Modification

In the process of internal modification some verb roots of Kumal language are changed into transitive form by ablauting process. For instance.

bəl 'burn' *bal* 'cause to burn'

1.3 Cluster Simplification

The verb stem with consonant cluster is causativized by simplification of the cluster. Here vowel is inserted into the cluster as in (2).

2. *ram-le ghiu pəg-al-al*
Ram-E ghee melt-CAUS-PST3S
'Ram melted the ghee.'

1.4 Affixation and Internal Modification

In the process of causativization some verb roots bear the phenomena of affixation and internal modification simultaneously.

3. *syam-le ram-ke hās-a-il*
Shyam-E Ram-D laugh-CAUS-PST3S
'Shyam made Ram laugh.'

2 Periphrastic Causative

In Kumal language, the vector used in periphrastic causative construction is *ləga-* which bears the meaning 'cause'. In the process of derivation, the original subject is demoted to the object position and a new subject as a causer is introduced, to which the verb agrees as in (4).

4. *māi həri-ke hāsi ləgai-nu*
I-E Hari-D laugh.INF cause-PST1S
'I caused Hari laughed.'

Tamang Nominalized Clauses

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Tamang discourse is characterized by long sentences made up of several clauses, integrating different situations establishing different types of logical relations between and among the individual clauses. The combinations involve one independent and one or more dependent clauses occurs in which normally the independent clause occurs finally.

My attempt, in this paper, is to discuss about the syntax and semantics of the nominalized clauses in Tamang. A nominalized clause is formed by suffixing a nominalizing morpheme to the verb stem. The nominalizing morphemes are:

- i. <-pa/-ba>
- ii. <-pala/-bala> and
- iii. <-sye>

which are also the TAM markers.

Honorific-neutralization in Nepali

Bhim Narayan Regmi

Nepali language has several levels of honorific. These are expressed through pronouns, verbs and some special vocabulary and syntactic structures. But, sometimes, a speaker chooses honorific-neutral structures instead of using any honorific levels. For honorific-neutralization there are three ways in the language - 1. *-nu* or *-ne* ending non-finite verbs, 2. passive construction, and 3. pronouns *ehāā/yahāā* or *uhāā/wahāā*. This paper is a brief account of the honorific-neutralization techniques in the Nepali language.

The relative clauses in Nepali: A Functional-typological study

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This paper is a preliminary attempt to analyze the forms and functions of the relative clauses in Nepali within the framework of functional- typological model mainly by T. Givon (1990/2001). Nepali is an SOV language in terms of constituent order typology. At the surface level Nepali exhibits two types of relative clauses, namely, incorporating and isolating. Functionally, all the relative clauses are used as restrictive relative modifiers in the grammar of anaphoric reference and referential identification. However, syntactically, they show considerable cross-linguistic typological variability in terms of three basic parameters: the position of the relative clause vis-a-vis the head noun, the mode of expression of the relativized NP (Case recoverability strategy) and noun phrase accessibility hierarchy.

Some traditional and descriptive treatment of Nepali relative clauses, though sketchy in nature, can be found mainly in Sigdel (1919), Bhattarai (1976) and Adhikari (1999). Regmi (1978) deserves a special mention since it is the first formal study of relative clauses in Nepali. It is to be noted that it is a high time to formally and functionally analyze the relative clauses. The elicitation of the primary data for the analysis of the relative clauses largely depends on and conforms to my own linguistic intuition including the data used in Regmi (1978) and Adhikari (1999). The main objective of this study is to define the diversity of the structural types that encode the domain of relative clauses in Nepali and attempt to explain why some forms of the relative clauses in Nepali pair consistently with some functions than other functions.

This paper is organized into five sections. Section 1 defines the concept of functional domain of the relative clause. Section 2 deals with the position of relative clause with respect to the head noun in Nepali. In section 3, we examine the Noun Phrase recoverability strategy (the mode of expression of the relativized NP). Section 4 examines the Noun Phrase accessibility hierarchy in relation to relative clause in Nepali. Finally, we summarize the main findings of the paper.

A Database for Managing Linguistic Resources for Nepalese Languages - Update

P. Oatley

This is an update to a paper given in 2000. It will be a demonstration of the database.

Nepal contains a rich language culture that provides many opportunities for research. However, such diversity may give rise to fragmented or duplicated research. A large volume of reports, papers and books have already been published in many places but the task of tracking down relevant publications is not easy for the linguistic researcher. The Languages of Nepal Information Management System (LONIMS) project was begun in 1997, in response to the need for a centralised resource to aid linguistic research in Nepal.

LONIMS is a computer database that is capable of storing information about the languages of Nepal. It will contain two main types of data: data about the language itself and data about

resources. The language data is divided into several areas: typological, literacy, demographic, etc. Resource data will be linked to languages and other resource data by subject keywords.

LONIMS will therefore provide a resource for researchers who wish to discover what is known about a language or language family, what has been published and what data resources exist. It will also facilitate documenting the progress of research into the languages of Nepal.

Tibeto-Burman Nepali

Laxman Ghimire

Central Dept of Linguistics

This paper focuses on the social variation of Nepali dialects. Almost all of the studies that have been so far carried out examine the dialect variation of Nepali on the basis of geographical distribution. Pokharel (2046 BS) classifies dialects of Nepali as Eastern, Central, western and far western. Bandhu (2052) classifies them as Eastern, Central and Western. These studies have subsequently classified the dialects into subdialects. Paudyal (2044 BS) analyses the Parbati dialect with reference to the previous studies and defines it as the variety that is spoken within the territory of Dhaulagiri and Gandaki. Thapa (2054) argues for subdialect variation and classifies the Parbati dialect into three classes such as Parbate, Galkote and Myagdi-Mustangi. All these classifications are based on geographical distribution of the speech communities of Nepali language.

This is a universally accepted fact that Nepal is a multicultural and multilingual country. It is rich in linguistics and ethnic plurality. Being the language of the nation or as lingua franca Nepali has been in use in almost all ethnic communities for centuries. So the diversified ethnic communities have developed their own separate dialects and the geographical classification may not cover these social or ethnic variations.

This Paper argues for a variety of Nepali, a peculiar variety that exhibits basic characteristics of TB languages, as Tibeto-Burman Nepali. This study is based on the variety of Nepali language that is spoken in the Magar community of Dhaulagiri. Section 1 gives an introduction to the subject matter. Section 2 deals

with the phonological aspect of the variety, while the morphological and syntactic aspects of the variety are discussed in sections 3 and 4, respectively. Section 5 concludes the findings.

Typology of Tibeto-Burman Kiranti languages

Lal Rapacha

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This paper aims to describe some salient typological features viz. phonology, morphology and syntax of the Tibeto-Burman (T-B) languages in general and T-B Kiranti languages of the eastern Himalayan region of Nepal in particular. In order to achieve this objective, the data available will be compared intra-linguistically and trans-linguistically of all related languages represented in this paper. Most of the data are either elicited or cited from previous literature and the rest of them are first hand data collected by the researcher himself through correspondence, e-mail and translation.

AN INFORMANT-CENTERED APPROACH - Some Practical Aspects of Wordlist Elicitation For Pronouns & Directional Verbs

Maureen Lee

This paper presents a couple of simple wordlist elicitation methods for inclusive and exclusive pronouns and directional verbs. These are some of the methods that have evolved as a result of visits to 17 Bahing Rai villages to conduct, among other sociolinguistic survey activities, the elicitation of a 311-item wordlist in each village to attest lexical similarities for making decisions about dialect intelligibility testing. When both the elicitor and informant had to operate under time pressure amidst much environmental distractions, confusion was often inevitable, especially during the elicitation of a range of closely related words. Thus arose the need to streamline the elicitation process.

Exclusive & Inclusive Pronouns

Wordlist elicitation in the villages was conducted via the Nepali language, which, like English, makes no distinction between inclusive and exclusive first persons. Thus trying to elicit the

exclusive forms had tended to be highly problematic, as the informant would often give the second or third person forms instead. However, in the later stage of the survey, it was found that by using an informant-centered approach involving a couple of onlookers, the desired first person exclusive forms became very easily elicited. With such a change in approach, it was no longer necessary to use many extra examples, and the whole process took up only a fraction of the amount of time previously needed.

Directional Verbs

An informant-centered approach was also used for eliciting the verbs for "come" and "bring". As pointed out by various scholars, the Kiranti Rai languages have different words for "come" and "bring", depending on the directional source of the agentive subject. Thus Bahing Rai, like other Rai languages, have different single lexemes for "to come/bring from any direction", "to come/bring on level ground", "to come/bring from above", and "to come/bring from below".

During the elicitation process for these directional verbs, rather than complicating matters by using many extra examples, it was found that an effective method was to draw matchstick pictures to show quickly where the informant was supposed to be in relation to the subject at the start of the journey.

Vector Verbs in Bote

Kamal Poudel

Central Department of Linguistics

Verbs like *deh-*, *ghal-*, etc., called vectors, in Bote lose their lexical meaning when they occur with other verbs. The vectors can be used as main verbs in their own capacity. They function as aspect, modal carrier.

Discourse Analysis Helps Language Editing

Dr. Mary Morgan

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The purpose of this study is to analyze various discourse types of Dangauru Tharu written as a part of whole language literacy training in March of 2003. The study identifies four types of

discourse written by mother tongue Tharu speakers: narrative, song, hortatoty, and big book/language experience stories. The first three are closely tied to spoken discourse. The last type reflects present tense utterances elicited from mother tongue speakers on an appropriate topic or a selection of utterances which can be illustrated. These are made into meaningful reading material for new readers. Understanding these discourse features provides a basis for mother tongue writers and editors to better produce quality literature in their own language.

**Tilung, an endangered Kiranti language:
Preliminary observations**

S.Toba

Tilung is one of the least known Kiranti languages. It is spoken in the south of the Halesidanda range in Kotang district of Sagarmatha Zone.

The National Census Report 2001 puts the figure of Tilung speakers at 310. However, at a recent meeting with people from the area a considerably lower figure was suggested.

The Linguistic Survey of Nepal (1983) gives fragmentary data from Tilung speakers. In this paper, vocabulary items from neighboring languages are compared with Tilung. The percentage of shared cognates appears to be quite low.

Scholars disagree as to how Tilung became a separate language. The fact is, that the Tilung speaking villages are isolated and there is little contact with others.

In this paper, some phonological and grammatical description is attempted from the limited data available. It is certain that further research is urgent as Tilung is definitely to be considered an endangered language.

Property Concepts in Dzongkha

Steve Watters

In the Encyclopedia of Nepalese Languages Project, Dr. David Watters delivered a series of lectures in the Spring of 2003 in which he outlined some of the major topics to be covered in writing a functional-typological grammar. Each lecture described the way

that a functional-typologist might look at a particular feature of the grammar of a language. The hope of the lecture series was that the participants would take this knowledge and begin to apply it to the languages they work on. This paper, then, is an outcome of taking one of the lectures--the lecture on word classes--and looking at adjectives in Dzongkha through the eyes of a functional-typologist.

In this view of things, the linguist must ask whether or not a language has a distinct morpho-syntactically distinct class of adjectives, and if not, where words which have a descriptive or modifying function are derived from. Linguists working in the Tibeto-Burman languages have become increasingly aware of how these languages lexicalize property concept words, specifically that adjectives as a distinct morpho-syntactic category are sparse, and that words which give modifying or descriptive meanings are derived from other word classes i.e. primarily from verbs, but also from nouns.

In Dzongkha, unlike many Tibeto-Burman languages, however, there is a fairly large set of words which belong to the major word class "adjective". But, almost all of these words are derived from a verb stem plus an additional syllable through the derivational process of compounding. As such, words which belong morphosyntactically to the word class "adjective" are di-syllabic. When the adjective is stripped of its second syllable, the remaining verb stem behaves morphosyntactically like a verb, although this group of verbs takes only a limited set of verbal morphology. There is only one word that I am aware of which when stripped of its second syllable, the remaining root does not take any verbal morphology. This is the word /gsar/ 'new'. This is the only monosyllabic adjective in Dzongkha. In addition to the derivation of adjectives from compounding, modifying and descriptive functions are achieved through a number of different constructions like predicate nominal constructions, and an interesting set of reduplicative suffixes which can be added to descriptive verbs. This paper, then, describes the ways in which the above modifying and descriptive functions are achieved in Dzongkha.

Child Language Acquisition

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This paper will look into the linguistic development of Poshak, a fifteen month old male child. There are nth number of works done in this area in the West, but in the context of Nepal there isn't any (at least, to my knowledge). This is a modest attempt in this area. Though the linguistic development begins with the first sound uttered by the child (Phonological Development), this paper will consider the Morphological Development, the state in which language really begins to emerge, when the child begins to assign meaning to this utterances. Poshak, at this stage is moving from one word utterance to two, sometimes to three, but very rarely. So, he is in a transition stage from Morphology to Syntax.

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