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Message to the Linguistic Society of Nepal
from the Honorable James F. Moriarty,
United States Ambassador to Nepal

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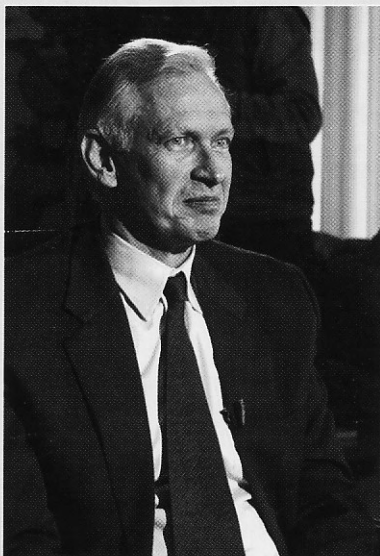
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Message to the Linguistic Society of Nepal from the Honorable James F. Moriarty, United States Ambassador to Nepal



It is with great pride that I offer congratulations to the Linguistic Society of Nepal on another successful year, and wish all of the participants at this year's annual meeting a productive and rewarding conference. Cultural and linguistic preservation are the noble and important goals of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, and I am pleased that the American Embassy in Kathmandu has this opportunity to support its achievements.

Nepal is rightfully proud of its rich cultural and linguistic heritage. The Linguistic Society of Nepal has made enormous strides toward understanding and preserving the many aspects of Nepalese indigenous languages. Estimates say there are 100 or more languages spoken by more than 100 ethnic communities throughout Nepal. Some languages are spoken by many, while others are spoken by only a few survivors. For this reason, Nepal is a linguist's paradise. I commend the Linguistic Society of Nepal for its dedication to the preservation of this great world treasure.

Since its founding in 1979, the Linguistic Society of Nepal has recognized the importance of cross-cultural education. Education is a shared value that transcends

cultural borders; it is the foundation of a society's future and passed on to the society's most treasured asset, its children.

History recognizes the importance of linguistic and cultural preservation as part of the overall educational process of a society. In a country as diverse as Nepal, linguistic preservation presents individuals with the ability to communicate across cultures and to forge new friendships and partnerships that would not otherwise exist.

Nepal is rich in tradition and home to many distinct cultures and languages.

As trade, globalization, and other developments affect Nepal, the Linguistic Society of Nepal's job is more important than ever. By recording, studying, and preserving the languages and cultures unique to itself, the society will help maintain Nepal's special place in the world community. The United States government applauds American, Nepali, and other academics who seek to promote this goal and welcomes further advancements in Nepali linguistic studies.

Contents

Linguistic problems of translation of medical text from English to Nepali	<i>Bal Ram Adhikari</i>	1
Computational disambiguation For Nepali language parsing	<i>Sudip Aryal Nabin Karmacharya and Kalyan K Ghimire</i>	10
Towards universal access to ICTS in Nepal	<i>Bal Krishna Bal, Srishtee Gurung and Pat Hall</i>	34
The 'be' verb in Danuwar	<i>Bhabendra Bhandari</i>	50
Small is beautiful: talking with hill people	<i>Govinda Raj Bhattarai</i>	64
Morphosyntax of baram nominals: An introductory outline	<i>Krishna Prasad Chalise</i>	68
Syntax of Darai negative morphemes	<i>Dubi Nanda Dhakal</i>	75
System for grammatical relations in Urdu	<i>Nadir Durrani</i>	91
Research on the typology of Nepal's languages	<i>Tej R. Kansakar</i>	106
Literacy in mother tongue: the practice and the outcome	<i>Anju Khadka</i>	129
Mood in Kumal language	<i>Krishna Prasad Parajuli</i>	142
Configurations of noun phrase in the languages of Nepal	<i>Madhav P. Pokharel</i>	150
Suprasegmental features in Dhankute Tamang	<i>Kedar Prasad Poudel</i>	162

Kirānti-Kōits identify crisis: an ethnolinguistic observation	<i>Lal-Shyākarelu Rapacha</i>	177
Beyond the barrio: an ethnolinguistic discourse in cisneros' "barbie-q"	<i>Bijay Kumar Rauniyar</i>	207
Honorific-neutralization in Nepali	<i>Bhim Narayan Regmi</i>	220
Suffixation driven syllabification in Urdu	<i>Hassan Sajjad and Sara Hussain</i>	230
Outline of Thakali language and clause combining	<i>Narayan P. Sharma (Gautam)</i>	240
Linguistic comparison and reconstruction Tibetan, Burmese, and Chinese	<i>R.K. Sprigg</i>	267
Case marking in Bahing	<i>Rajendra Thokar</i>	279
Problem of classification in Chhatthare Limbu	<i>Gōvinda Bahadur Tumbahang</i>	288
The conjunct-disjunct distinction in Kaike	<i>David E Waters</i>	300
The semantic behaviour of the Maithili compound verbs	<i>Dev Narayan Yadav</i>	320
Negativization in Kiranti-Rodung revisited	<i>Bag-Ayagyami</i>	
	<i>Yalungcha</i>	326
Presidential address 26 th annual conference of linguistic society of Nepal	<i>K. Rai</i>	344

LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS OF TRANSLATION OF MEDICAL TEXT FROM ENGLISH TO NEPALI¹

Bal Ram Adhikari

The paper is an attempt to present the linguistic problems of translation of technical texts in general, and translation of medical texts in particular from English to Nepali. The paper presents five major linguistic problems frequently occurred in the translation of medical terms from English to Nepali.

1. Introduction

We are living in an information hungry society. Language is obviously the most advanced, complex, and systematic means of storing, preserving and wielding the world information. Translation, an important technique of bridging an information gap between two speech communities by transferring information from one language to another, has been omnipresent in the present information hungry society. Technical translation (i.e. the translation of technical texts such as medical, legal, scientific as opposed to the translation of non-technical/ literary texts such as novels, short stories, poems) has been the prime focus of the information industry.

Due to the scientific and technical development and the explosion of knowledge, the proliferation of technical terms is occurring at an exponential rate. So much is obvious that these inventions or innovations are initially 'baptized' in the English language and later are translated into other languages. That is to say, the developing languages use English as a filter and/or a source language to expand the lexicon of its technical field like medical science. During the past few years, a large number of medical texts have been written in Nepali being based on the English medical texts, or the medical texts written in English have been translated into the Nepali language. Since translation is a bilingual as well as bi-cultural

endeavor, the translator faces different problems at the linguistic and extra-linguistic levels. Here an attempt is made to find out linguistic problems of translation of medical terms from English (the source language: SL) to Nepali (the target language: TL) through the study of a corpus of translations collected from English and Nepali medical texts.

2. Linguistic problems of translation of medical texts

Linguistically, syntactic and lexical sources are the prime sources of problems in translation. In the context of translation of medical texts, the central difficulty arises from the lexical sources, i.e. the problem of representation of lexical content of SL terms into TL. Terminological equivalence is the decisive yardstick for the qualitative assessment of any technical translation. Much of the concern of the technical translator has to do with terminology. Therefore, in a loose sense, technical translation (here medical translation) can be equated with terminological translation. On the basis of the analysis of English and Nepali medical terms, the following five types of linguistic problems of translation of medical terms are observed:

1. Translingual lexical ambiguity
2. Conceptual gap: lack of conceptual accuracy
3. Lexical gap: lack of lexicalization of the medical concept
4. Problem of transliteration
5. SL domination: linguistic prejudice

2.1 Translingual lexical ambiguity

Most of the linguistic problems of translation in general and terminological translation in particular emanate from 'translingual lexical ambiguity' (P.A. Bennett et al. 1986). Translingual lexical ambiguity refers to the lexical ambiguity due to the variations in the lexicons of source language and target language in a particular semantic field.

This problem is evident in the case when for a single term in the SL; there is more than one term in the TL with similar but not identical senses (Adhikari, 2002).

SL terms (English)	TL terms (Nepali)
Sterilization	nirmalīkaraṇ nirākaraṇ
heredity	bamśāṇugat guṇ purkhauli guṇ anuvāṁsitā vaṁśa paramparā
fusion	samāgam samīyojan
environment	pariyāvaraṇ vātāvaraṇ
organic	jaivik prāṅgārik

Here the translator faces with the problem of mapping one lexical item onto many possible, but not the identical equivalents. 'Sterilization', for example, has one reading equivalent to 'nirākaraṇ' while the second reading equivalent to 'nirmalīkaraṇ'. The prime question is which target term is to be selected in a particular context. Should the translator, for example, select 'jaivik' or 'prāṅgārik' for the SL term 'organic'. Provided the SL term 'organic' is translated independent of context, both TL terms can be the translational equivalents. However, 'jaivik' and 'prāṅgārik' cannot be used interchangeably.

2.2 Conceptual gap: lack of conceptual accuracy

Conceptual gap, herein, means the gap between the concepts expressed by the source language and target language terms.

4 / Linguistic problems...

In other words, it refers to the conceptual inaccuracy in the TL terms which results from a misnomer and / or arbitrary usage of the TL terms for the SL terms. The conceptual gap between English medical terms and their Nepali translations can be shown with the help of the following componential analysis:¹¹

SL term (English)	TL term (Nepali)
ovary	aṇḍāśaya
± animal	+ animal
+ female	+ male
+ organ	+ organ
+ producing egg	+ containing sperm

Since the components 'female' and 'male', and 'egg' and 'sperm' cannot replace each other in any context. The TL term (aṇḍāśaya) gives diametrically opposite concept to the SL term (ovary).

SL term (English)	TL term (Nepali)
testicle	aṇḍakoṣ
+ animal	+ mammal
+ male	+ male
+ sex gland	+ enclosing testes
	+ a skin bag

'Testicle' is a sex gland whereas 'aṇḍakoṣ' is a skin bag immediately below the male genital organ. Testicle produces sperm whereas 'aṇḍakoṣ' encloses the testicle and hence the TL term aṇḍakoṣ gives the meaning of scrotum.

SL term (English)	TL term (Nepali)
trunk bone	jiuko hāḍ
+ animal	+ animal
+ body	+ body
- head	
- legs & arms	

+ bone

+ bone

The paraphrase 'jiuko hād' does not encompass the basic components of the SL term 'trunk bone.' The SL term is specific and exclusive whereas the TL paraphrase is generic and inclusive and hence fails to capture the semantic restriction of the SL term.

SL term (English)

TL term (Nepali)

skull

khappar ko hād

+bone

+bone

+enclosing the brain

+ enclosing the brain

'khappar' is the set of bones of head enclosing the brain. The addition of the word 'hād' (bone) after the word 'khappar' (skull) distorts the understanding, as 'khappar' itself is a set of bones, it is not the bone of something else. The back translation of the TL paraphrase is 'the bone of skull'.

2.3 Lexical gap: lack of lexicalization of the technical concept

Lexical gap refers to the absence of a lexical item in a particular language that corresponds to a particular concept.

SL terms (English)

TL terms (Nepali)

kidney failure

mṛgaulāle kām garna nasakne avasthā

vascular malformation

raktanalīko vikṛti

meningitis

mastīškajhillīko soth

fulminant hepatitis

kalejoko ākasmik soth

aplastic anaemia

māsīko sustatāko kāraṇ hune rakta
alpatā

Where the SL has a single term for some medical concepts, the TL has no such terms and hence has to resort to paraphrase to express the same concepts. The TL paraphrase is more opaque than that of SL term. The descriptive and /or functional equivalence of the SL terms given through paraphrasing is 'too big to function effectively'. Descriptions

or definitions are also communicatively too heavy resulting in over-translation, which is not often welcomed in the technical field.

2.4 Problem of transliteration

Transliteration refers to the process of conversion of an SL term into TL script maintaining the SL pronunciation. The Nepali language has borrowed a large number of medical terms from English and are transliterated with or without noticeable morphophonemic change. Borrowing is probably the most frequently adopted procedure for the translation of medical terms. However we can see a lot of inconsistency in transliteration resulting in a bewildering array of alternatives. Such different transliterations for the same term is the evidence of the lack of standardization in a language.

SL terms (English)	TL transliteration (Nepali)
anemia	एनीमिया (enīmiyā) एनेमिया (enemiya)
bacteria	ब्याक्टेरिया (byākṭeriyā) ब्याक्टोरिया (byākṭoriyā)
protein	प्रोटिन (proṭin) प्रोटीन (proṭīn)
hormone	हर्मोन (harmon) होर्मोन (hormon)

It is found that different writers, sometimes the same writer in the same text, have used the different spellings for the same SL term.

2.5 SL domination: lack of preference for the existing TL terms

This is more sociolinguistic than linguistic problem. Prestige motivation towards the SL (here English) can be the source of this problem. The translators seem to be under the impression that English is not only developed but it also represents a perfect modern system of development, and transition to modernity can be possible through the successful adoption of the terms from this language. Such assumption may motivate the translator to borrow the SL terms without considering its long lasting effects on the target language.

SL term (English)	Hybrid term in TL (Nepali)	Existing term in TL (Nepali)
<u>male gamete</u>	bhāle <u>gyāmet</u>	<u>bījkos</u>
<u>motor nerve</u>	<u>motar</u> snāyu	<u>prerak</u>
<u>hinge joint</u>	<u>hinj</u> jorni	<u>kabjā</u>
<u>compound eyes</u>	<u>kampāund</u> ākhā	<u>samīyukta</u>

The underlined constituents of the TL hybrid terms are the constituents which are directly borrowed from English. Though there exist specific terms in Nepali to reflect the basic concepts of these underlined constituents, the already existing terms in Nepali have not got the preference.

SL term (English)	TL Translation (Nepali)	Existing term in TL (Nepali)
temporal	temporal	śaṅkhāsthi
bone marrow	bon myāro	asthisār
medulla oblongata	medulla ablengetā	suṣumnā śīrsa

Though there exist specific terms in Nepali to reflect the basic concept of the English medical terms, these already existing Nepali terms have not got preference.

3. Conclusion

It follows from the above given analysis that when the given SL term has more than one possible translation in the TL, the translator faces the problem of selection of a particular term in a particular context. The componential analysis of the SL terms and their TL translations shows that there exists a conceptual inaccuracy in the TL terms and hence the TL terms don't convey accurate scientific concepts. Due to the lack of standardization of the terms, obscurity and plurality of terms in the TL are observed.

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- i This paper was presented at the 20th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal November 26-27, 1999 held in Kathmandu.
- ii The analysis of the components of the terms is based on the definitions given in the English and Nepali monolingual dictionaries. For the English terms, Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (fifth edition) and Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1967) have been used. For the Nepali terms, 'Nepali Bṛhat Śabdakoś' (2052) and 'A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language' have been used.

COMPUTATIONAL DISAMBIGUATION FOR NEPALI LANGUAGE PARSING

Sudip Aryal, Nabin Karmacharya and Kalyan K Ghimire

This Paper presents an overview of the project that produces the parsed text format and the possible combination of ambiguous part of speech (POS) of Nepali Language. This project is mainly focused on the parsing and disambiguating the ambiguous sentence. Ambiguities occurring during word grouping are also resolved to some extent. Nepali being a semi free order language, fixed order word group extraction is essential for decreasing the load on the Nepali Language Parser. The parser paradigm is based on computational Paninian model. It is completed in three phases: the first phase tokenizes the paragraph in to constituent syllables of Nepali language. The second phase performs the morphological analysis of the word syllable and gives the result as the parsed text. The final phase will disambiguate the possible combination of the part of speeches into probable correct combination based on Syntactic Constraint Disambiguation using the Follow Lexical Tag Sequence (LSL) table. The final phase will disambiguate the possible combination of the part of speeches into probable correct combination based on semantic constraints for POS Tagging

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Understanding or producing sentences or texts in 'natural language' - the language we use every day - have become crucial elements in human-machine communication. They are therefore front-line research areas in the fields of Artificial Intelligence, Computational Linguistics and Cognitive Psychology. The problems to be attacked are numerous, and often highly complex. Work in this area is normally of a mid- or long-term nature. The variety of problems which surface is

considerable. These include the architecture of natural language systems, the efficiency of parsers, as well as questions of representing meaning and knowledge. The theoretical problems are also numerous, and formalisms which are found in classical computer science often turn out to be unsuitable. Therefore it has been necessary to invent new formalisms, new programming languages, and new methodologies. Sources of inspiration have been found in sciences such as linguistics, although their objectives and requirements might be quite different, necessitating a significant effort in remodeling and adaptation.

There are several possible approaches, globally, to the treatment of natural language. We have opted for a treatment based on rule since the work in this area in Nepal is at very primitive stage.

1.1.1 The general problem

The objectives of research in NLP are various. The principal areas of research are:

Developing and modelling linguistic systems; Conceiving and implementing models and systems of NLP; Evaluating such systems from the point of view of human machine interfaces. From the point of view of developing and modelling linguistic systems, it is necessary to adapt the theories of general linguistics in accordance with the ultimate objective(interfaces, machine translation, etc), the degree of sophistication of the processing that is desired, and the constraints associated with the question of automization (or computational implementation) itself.

Theories in general linguistics exist or have usually been developed without taking into account the needs of NLP systems. They are not oriented to NLP as such, and their transfer to and use in NLP often involves considerable modification and adaptation.

Particular features of natural languages often require modifications or extensions of the models used for formal languages or logics, resulting in specific theoretical properties. NLP research has also resulted in the development of original formalisms specifically for this purpose, for which too it is imperative to have a theoretical foundation so as to be able to ascertain their limits and powers of expression.

The development and implementation of an NLP system (for interfaces, machine translation, computer-assisted learning, etc) pose series of general problems such as the choice of architecture. The relationship between natural language and artificial intelligence is also crucial. In particular, the techniques and theories of knowledge representation influence significantly research in the semantics of natural language. The choice of computer and programming language are also important. Finally, an evaluation phase will allow us to judge the quality of the system, as much from the point of view of the reliability of its performance as of its user-friendliness.

1.1.2 Natural language vs artificial language

Artificial languages have existed side by side with natural language(s) for several centuries. They were created by humans for specific reasons, and are completely under human control. Artificial languages are symbolic systems, and in some cases the metaphor of 'language' - we talk of the vocabulary, syntax and semantics of artificial languages - might be slightly misleading. The artificial languages we are concerned with here are those which are found particularly in mathematics, computing and information science (we are not concerned here with artificial NL-like languages, such as Esperanto). The aim of an artificial language is, with the help of a very restricted vocabulary and relatively simple structures, to describe precisely certain phenomena or tasks. All artificial language permits us to model and represent phenomena at an abstract level. Amongst the qualities of such

a language, the most salient are non-ambiguity and the absence of non explicit data.

There are numerous differences between natural and artificial languages. These multiple differences are due as much to historical and sociological factors as to cognitive, communicational, stylistic and technical factors.

The differences are generally categorized into:

1.1.2.1 Infinite diversity of sentences

The first essential difference is that a natural language consists of a set of well-formed sentences which is a priori indeterminate i.e. one cannot characterize all the sentences of a language in a finite way. Other can be

The vocabulary of natural language is not completely known in particular because of the existence of specialized vocabularies; technical, medical, local etc.

The set of constructions is itself not completely predetermined.

The set of senses attributed to each word is also not completely predetermined, especially because a word often does not completely predetermined, especially because a word often does not really have a precise sense outside a particular context.

1.1.2.2 Tolerance of errors

The second crucial difference is to the notion of flexibility in understanding. A sentence in NL can be ungrammatical yet still comprehensible.

1.1.2.3 The presence of ambiguities

The presence of ambiguities in NL is particularly a complex problem. These ambiguities, which occur at various different levels of language, often are not explicitly apparent to humans, for whom the correct interpretation often seems very

obvious. The types of ambiguities are lexical, syntactic and semantic ambiguity.

1.2 About the project

We have developed a system that produces the parsed text format and the possible combination of ambiguous part of speech (POS). This project is mainly focused on the parsing and disambiguating the ambiguous sentence. It is completed in three phases: the first phase tokenizes the paragraph in to constituent syllables of Nepali language. The second phase will do the morphological analysis of the word syllable and results the parsed text formats. The final phase will disambiguate the possible combination of the part of speeches into probable correct combination.

2 Project overview

2.1 Project description.

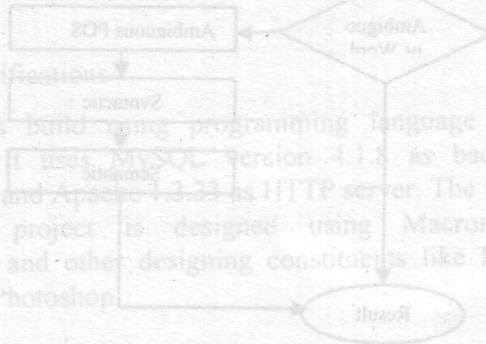
The Nepali language parser and computational disambiguation is a project developed with the aim to develop morphological analysis of the Nepali language and to disambiguate the part of speech using syntactic analysis and semantic analysis.

The project performs in a number of steps which is discussed briefly here. First the paragraph or document is passed to tokenizer a process which tokenize documents into subsequent sentences and which in turns tokenize into word and finally into the constituent syllable. Thus the final computing process of our parse is the syllable which assigns CV patterns based on finite state machine (FSM). Next the active syllable and word group are passed to Morphological analyzer which returns the set of lexical entries where each lexical entry stands for a root and its grammatical features. Since the morphological analyzer we have build is rule based

so a definite rule is used for analyzing the different part of speech (POS).

After this steps a parsed text with its constituent POS and associated grammatical features are returned. In the next phase of the project the POS are passed through the lexical tag sequence charts which perform the syntactic disambiguation test using the follow concept and return the most probable POS combination. Lastly we have performed the semantic analysis for the returned combination of the POS through syntactic disambiguation and return the maximum possible POS combination for the sentence.

The steps we have followed in our system are shown in the figure below:



2.3 Project specifications

This system is built using programming language PHP version 5.0.3. It uses MySQL version 4.1.5 as backend database server and Apache 1.3.33 as HTTP server. The front-end of this project is designed using Macromedia Dreamweaver and other designing constituents like Flash, Fireworks and Photoshop.

3 Project detail

Machine translation (MT) refers to the computational systems that translate any natural language text into another form with the utilization of software. The process is more complex due to the multiple meanings, grammatical structures in the 'to be mapped' natural language.

Paragraph

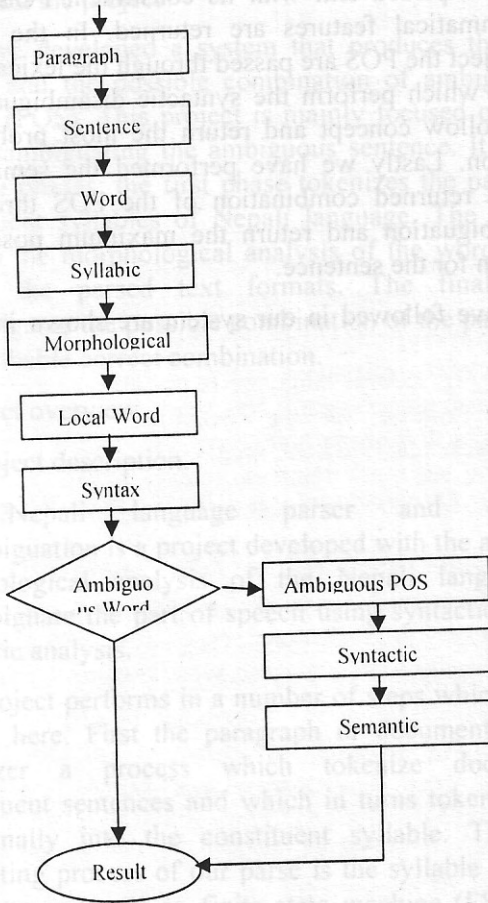


Fig 1. General steps followed in the system.

2.2 Project Assumptions

1. This systems has the capability for the analysis of mono clause declarative sentences, general interrogative sentences and some exclamatory and multi clause sentences.
2. The syllabic Tokenizer or Finite state Machine (FSM) used in this system may not correctly identify the correct syllables for all the words the overheads of the incorrect syllable are tried to syllable by program code.
3. The lexicon entries in the database are limited. But tried to cover variety of words.
4. The rules implemented in the system may not cover all the words.
5. The syntactic disambiguation chart may not be true for some ambiguous word order.
6. The semantic disambiguation only cover for Noun, Adjectives and Adverb and implemented for the first two consecutive words that is returned by the syntactic disambiguation process in the sentence so may not be true in all cases.

2.3 Project specifications

This system is build using programming language PHP version 5.0.3. It uses MySQL version 4.1.8 as backend database server and Apache 1.3.33 as HTTP server. The front-end of this project is designed using Macromedia Dreamweaver8 and other designing constituents like Flash, Fireworks and Photoshop.

3 Project detail

Machine translation (MT) refers to the computational systems that translate any natural language text into another form with the utilization of software. MT encounters many complexities due to the multiple meanings, grammatical structures in the 'to be mapped' natural language.

There have been many variants like lexical, morphological, syntactic, and possibly semantic components. One for each of the two languages for treating basic words, complex words, sentences and meanings and proceed until they produces a very abstract representation of the sentence.

The below two figures show the Machine Translation system used as global system and other used in our developed system.

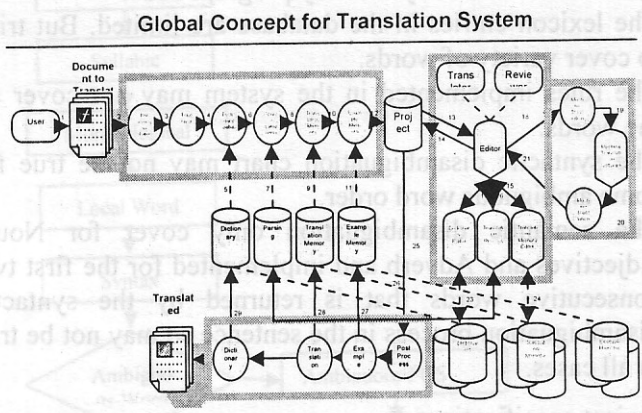


Fig 2. Global Machine Translation system

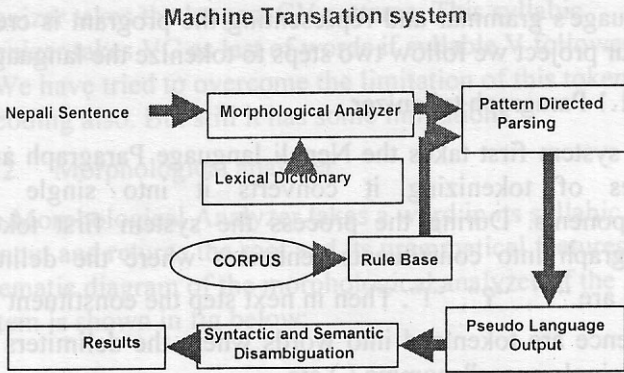


Fig 3. Block diagram of MTS of the system.

The system we have developed worked in the following categorical ways:

3.1 Language analyzer or parsing:

While the text of a program is easy for humans to understand, the computer must convert it into a form which it can understand before emulation or compilation can begin. This process is generally known as “parsing”. The parsing process consists of two distinct parts.

- a). Tokenizer
- b). Morphological Analyzer.

3.1.1 Tokenizer

The tokenizer also called “Lexer” or “Scanner” takes the source text and breaks it into the reserved words, constants, identifier, and symbols that are defined in the language. These “tokens” are subsequently passed to the actual ‘parser’ which analyzes the series of tokens and then determines when one of the language’s syntax rules is complete. As these completed rules are “reduced” by the parser, a format following the

language's grammar and representing the program is created. In our project we follow two steps to tokenize the language.

3.1.1.1 Paragraph tokenizer

The system first takes the Nepali language Paragraph and in series of tokenizing it converts it into single word components. During the process the system first tokenize paragraph into constituents sentences where the delimiters used are “|”, “?”, “!”. Then in next step the constituent input sentence are tokenized into words where the delimiters used are “single space”, comma (,) etc.

3.1.1.2 Syllabic tokenizer

After the paragraph tokenizer returns the word the syllabic tokenizer then assigns CV patterns to each word obtained from previous phase based on Unicode value which fed to the syllabic Tokenizer. The syllabic Tokenizer splits the CV patterns of words into syllables based on Finite State Machine (FSM). The FSM we used is shown below:

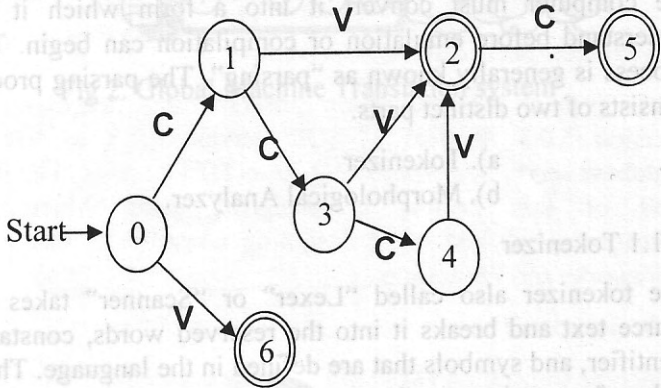


Fig 4. Syllabic tokenizer (1)

The above syllabic tokenizer recognizes CV patterns [V, CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC, CCCV, and CCCVC]. This syllabic

tokenizer takes the longest CV patterns. This syllabic tokenizer takes VC as last of words if syllable V followed by C. We have tried to overcome the limitation of this tokenizer by coding also. But still it has some limitations.

3.1.2 Morphological analyzer

The Morphological Analyzer takes a word in its syllabic form as input and returns the root and its grammatical features. The schematic diagram of the morphological analyzer of the system is shown in fig below:

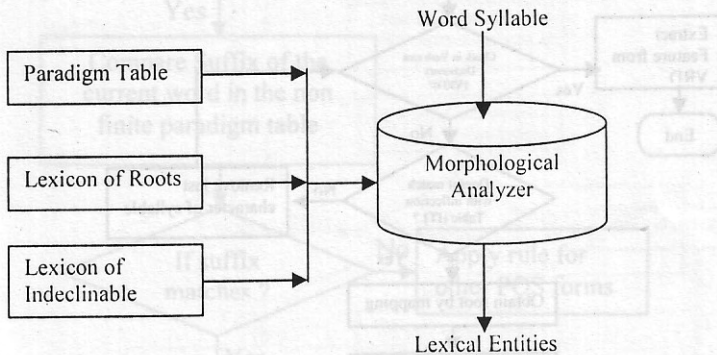


Fig 5. Morphological analyzer

The syllabic tokenizer splits the word in constituent tokens which are in the form of affixes (Prefixes, infixes, suffixes). Suffixes are primarily used for the extraction of grammatical features while the prefixes are used for the identification of root. The different rule based analysis for the part of speech is explained below.

3.1.2.1 Morphological analysis of verb

The morphological analysis of the verb identifies the root verb and the grammatical features of a given verb. The detail process is explained by the flowchart below.

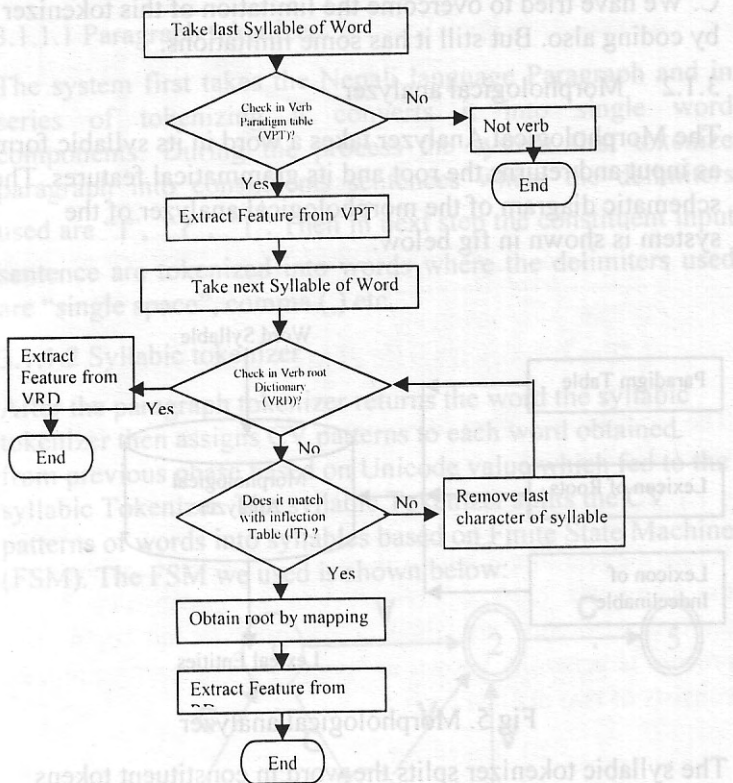


Fig 6. flowchart for morphological analysis of verb.

3.1.2.2 Local word grouping

The local word grouping is used to find the root and grammatical features of a group of words. While Nepali language is relatively of free word order form, there are units having fixed order. It is seen that in most of the cases main verb are followed by auxiliary verb sequences and Nouns

followed by postpositions. These units are called verb groups and noun groups respectively. Local word group can be formed using surface information and further processing of sentences.

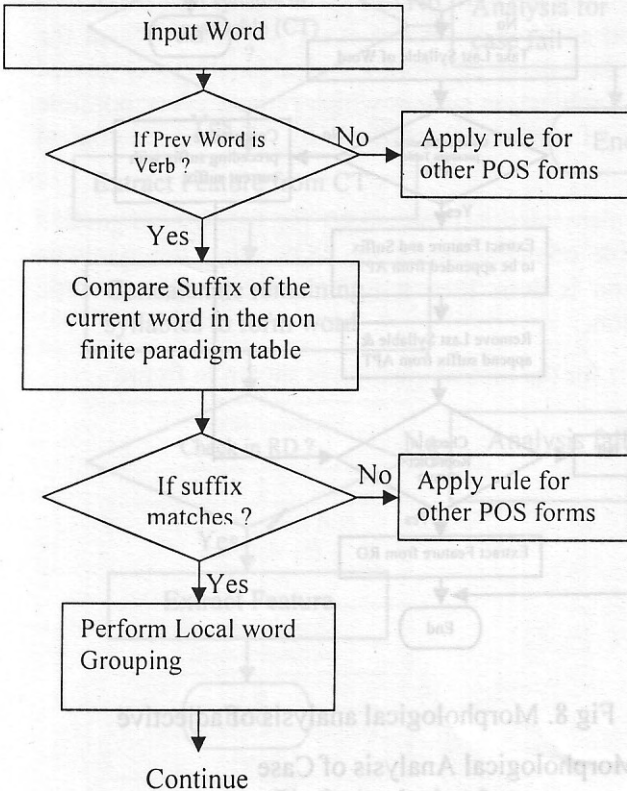


Fig 7. Flowchart for local word grouping

3.1.2.3 Morphological analysis of adjectives

This is used to identify the root and grammatical features of adjective.

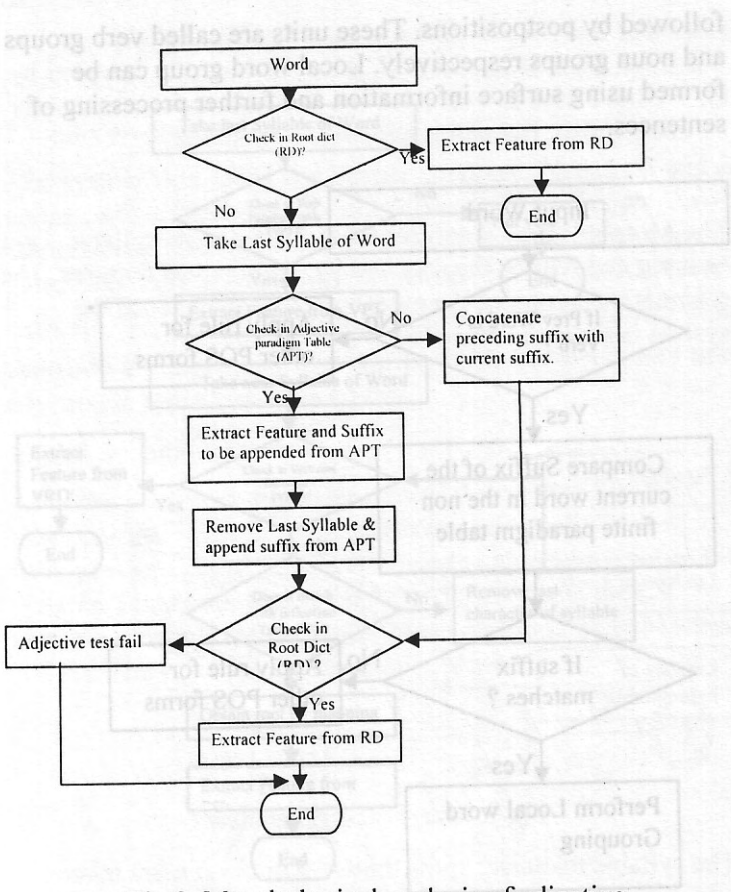


Fig 8. Morphological analysis of adjective

3.1.2.4 Morphological Analysis of Case

Case analysis identifies the root, case and grammatical features of noun/pronoun. This analysis is very important in case of Nepali language as it explores the relationship between Noun Phrase and Verb Phrase. The flowchart for case is given below:

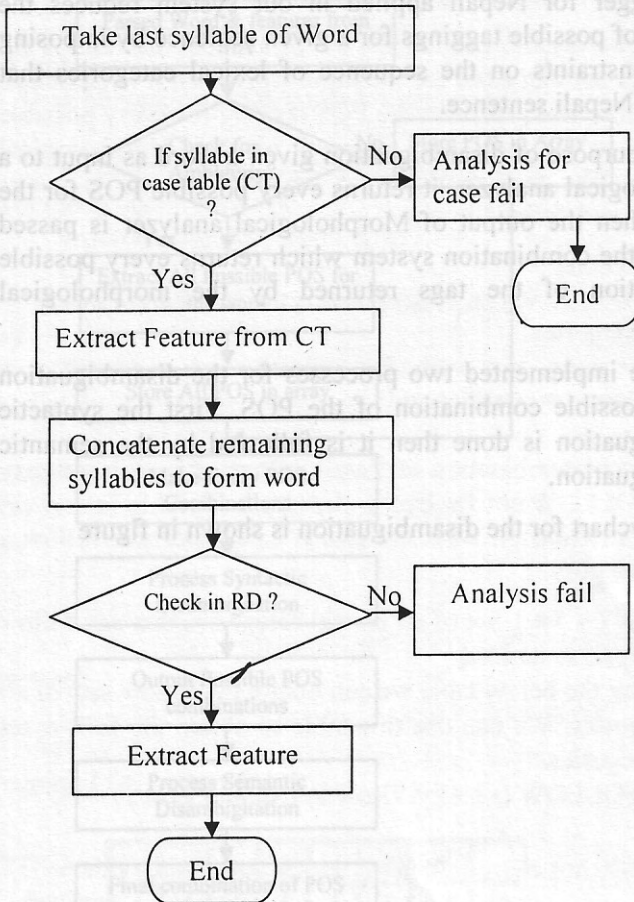


Fig 9. Analysis of case

4.2 Disambiguation of part of speech tagging:

While the parser can only extract the structural meaning of a sentence there are words in the sentence which have more than one part of speech tags. These words are to be verify and compute to generate a meaning of the sentence. The partial

POS tagger for Nepali applied in our system reduces the number of possible taggings for a given sentence by imposing some constraints on the sequence of lexical categories that occur in Nepali sentence.

For the purpose of disambiguation given a word as input to a morphological analyzer, it returns every possible POS for the word. Then the output of Morphological analyzer is passed through the combination system which returns every possible combination of the tags returned by the morphological analyzer.

We have implemented two processes for the disambiguation of the possible combination of the POS. First the syntactic disambiguation is done then it is followed by the semantic disambiguation.

The flowchart for the disambiguation is shown in figure below:

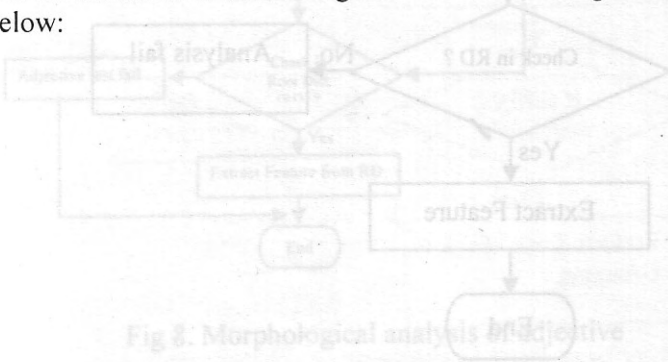


Fig. 8. Morphological analysis

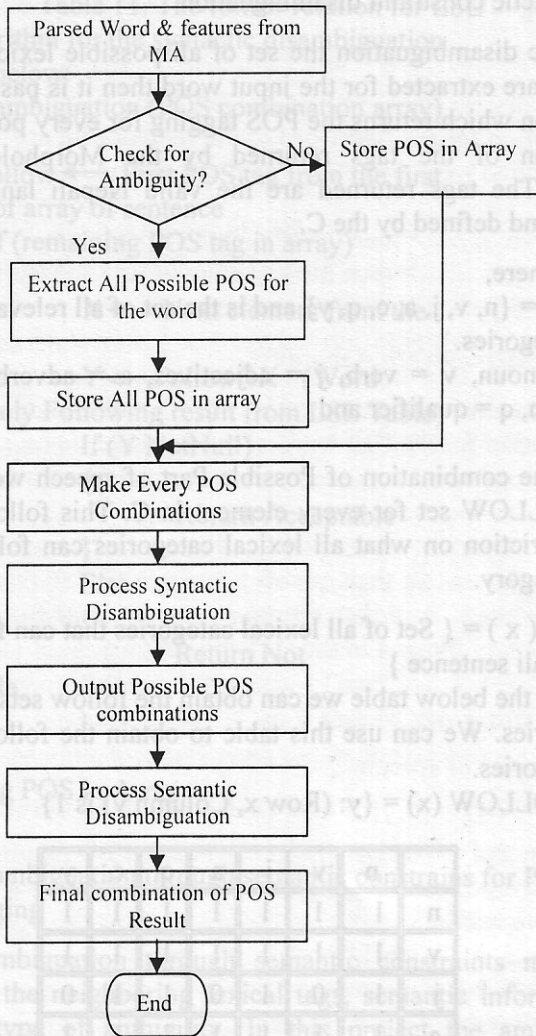


Fig 10. Flowchart for the disambiguation of part of speech

4.2.1 Syntactic constraint disambiguation

In syntactic disambiguation the set of all possible lexical tag sequences are extracted for the input word then it is passed to combination which returns the POS tagging for every possible combination of the tags returned by the Morphological Analyzer. The tags returned are the valid Nepali language POS tags and defined by the C.

Where,

$C = \{n, v, j, a, c, q, y\}$ and is the set of all relevant lexical categories.

Here n = noun, v = verb, j = adjectives, a = adverb, c = conjunction, q = qualifier and y = avyaas.

Now for the combination of Possible Part of speech we may define FOLLOW set for every element in C. This follow set puts a restriction on what all lexical categories can follow a lexical category.

$FOLLOW(x) = \{ \text{Set of all lexical categories that can follow } x \text{ in a Nepali sentence} \}$

Now using the below table we can obtain the follow sets of all the categories. We can use this table to obtain the follow set of all categories.

$FOLLOW(x) = \{y: (\text{Row } x, \text{Column } y) \text{ is } 1\}$

	n	v	j	a	q	c	y
n	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
v	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
j	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
a	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
q	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
c	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
y	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Table 11. The follow relation for LSL
The algorithm for the syntactic disambiguation
is given below:

```

Syn_Disambiguation (POS combination array)
{
    Follow ← First POS tag from the first
    element of array of sentence
    if (remaining POS tag in array)
    {
        X ← Next element from the
        Array
        Y ← Follow ∩ X (Word
        immediately Following result from LSL Table)
        If (Y NotNull)
        {
            Return Acceptable
        }
        Else
        {
            Return Not
            Acceptable
        }
    }
    Remaining POS in Array
}

```

4.2.2 Disambiguation through semantic constrains for POS tagging

The disambiguation through semantic constraints may be based on the neighboring lexical tags, semantic information and the type of ambiguity. In this project the ambiguity resolution through semantic is based on the lexical tags.

Here we use a qualifier and this semantic relation is only based for the first two ambiguous words in the sentence which is after syntactic disambiguation. Our finding is defined in the

following rules

1. Noun/adjective ambiguity:

If the syntactic ambiguity returns noun and adjective combination for the first word of the sentence then:

If the second word is the adjective then it favors towards noun.

$\langle n, j, \dots \rangle$ then qualify noun returns true.

$\langle j, n, \dots \rangle$ then qualify noun in first so return false.

$\langle j, j, \dots \rangle$ then return false.

2. Adjective/adverb Aabiguity

If the syntactic ambiguity returns adverb and adjective combination for the first word of the sentence then:

If the second word is the adjective then it favors towards noun.

$\langle a, j, \dots \rangle$ then qualify adverb returns true.

$\langle j, a, \dots \rangle$ then qualify adverb in first so return false.

$\langle a, a, \dots \rangle$ then returns $\langle q, a, \dots \rangle$ true for qualifier.

The Process followed in the system is shown below:

नबिन बल खेल्ल।

Possible part of speech:

PPOS (नबिन) = {n, j}; PPOS (बल) = {n, j}; PPOS (खेल्ल) =

{v}

If we draw possible tagging based on all combination of output we will get.

$\langle n, n, v \rangle$ $\langle n, j, v \rangle$ $\langle j, n, v \rangle$ $\langle j, j, v \rangle$

Thus when the given combination is tested using LSL table we get the results

$\langle n, n, v \rangle$ $\langle j, n, v \rangle$

Now using semantic disambiguation we get.

$\langle n, n, v \rangle$

5. Limitations and further works

This project is the vision of knowledge acquired through critically reviewing several research papers, case studies, thesis papers and real life applications from wide variety of sources. Several key aspects of our project have been identified and relevant documents have been referred to before proceeding with the design and actual implementation of chosen algorithms and technologies.

We interviewed the linguists from Linguistics Department of Tribhuvan University, and carried out intensive research on Nepali Grammar. However, the main motive of this paper is to give an overview of how we can solve the problem of Disambiguation and Local Word Grouping in Nepali Language. The finding of this preliminary research work does not in any sense capture all the computational aspects of Nepali Grammatical structure. Furthermore, the findings of the study might be subjected to changes as newer concepts and ideologies emerge. However, this research work can serve as a strong base document for further research. In future, we will implement Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) and Case Grammar (CG) to generate semantic meaning from the linguistic components.

6. Conclusion

The performance of the POS tagger and LWG has not been statistically tested due to lack of lexical resources but it covers a wide range of language phenomena and accurately captures the four major local dependencies in Nepali. The LWG will allow generation of near natural speech in Nepali languages by enabling phrase and clause level intonation and prosody rules to be automatically applied to a sentence. Also, a sturdy LWG enormously reduces the load of any parser that follows it. An idea of local fixed-order structures also helps in language generation, as in English (Knight and

Hatzivassiloglou, 1995). Future work resides in developing verb grouping constraints, and increasing the size of the rule base for POS tagging. The main initiative would be to develop a tagged corpus, and accordingly develop statistical models of POS tagging using a larger tag set. This project is the vision of knowledge acquired through critically reviewing several research papers, case studies, thesis paper and real life application from wide variety of sources. Several key aspects of our project have been identified and relevant documents have been referred before proceeding with the design and actual implementation of chosen algorithms and technologies.

Nepal, in the context of NLP, is in its primitive stage. There are no modules of NLP that has been developed for the aid of a Parser. The process of making a Parser has is a long one. It has to be started form the basics of NLP, step by step. In this paper, the proposed structure of the Computational Disambiguation of Nepali Language Parsing has been put forward so that we can visualize and understand the requirements and hence work on it as required. It's high time that linguists start to think computationally and software engineers start to think linguistically as well. It seems there is a gap between linguistics and engineering. The researchers feel there is an utmost need to shorten the gap between these two fields for the development of Computational Linguistics in Nepal.

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TOWARDS UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO ICTS IN NEPAL

Bal Krishna Bal, Srishtee Gurung and Pat Hall

Concerted work has taken place over many years to make computers accessible to the people of Nepal in their own languages, to move away from dependency upon English language skills before benefiting from computers. We describe a wide range of activities that have taken place over the last ten years, and look forwards to future developments.

1. Introduction

In late 2004 the Government of India together with MAIT held a Localisation Summit in Delhi. Much progress in localisation was reported at that Summit, and subsequently many groups around South Asia have been making steady progress, coordinating their efforts informally through Indlinux and other groups, and through the work of TDIL.

Work on localisation has also been taking place around the region, most significantly within the PAN Localisation project supported financially by IDRC (International Development Research Centre, one of Canada's agencies for international aid). This project (see www.PANL10n.net) is coordinating work in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal and Sri Lanka. India is currently not party to this project, though this project does cover three of India's scheduled languages, Bangla, Tamil and Nepali. In the extended Second Phase of the PAN Localization Project (May 2007-Jan 2010), there are plans to involve Mongolia and Tibet Autonomous Region of the Republic of China.

In Nepal work on localisation has almost exclusively been taking place at Madan Puraskar Pustakalya in Lalitpur. An important part of this work has been undertaken within the PAN Localisation project, though other work has been funded

from the EU and Leverhulme. This paper will summarise this work, and other important work that has taken place elsewhere in Nepal..

2. The access problem

It is widely believed, at least in the west, that economies based on information technologies are the way of the future (Castells, 1996). Joining this 'information society' was also seen as important for developing nations in the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). But there are many significant barriers to this uptake of information technologies.

To be able to join the information society people need computers, and a communications infrastructure to connect them to the Internet. Both these require electrical power. In developing countries electrical power is focused largely on major conurbations, while even basic telephony is absent. Computers are completely beyond most persons' economic reach. These barriers are being tackled in various ways:

- computers with low power demand are being developed, run from batteries charged by solar power or clockwork mechanisms
- wireless communications, including satellites, reach out into remote rural areas
- computers are shared through telecentres or commercial cyber cafes

Once these barriers have been overcome there remains the problem that these devices were created in just a few western countries, and embody the languages and cultures of those origins. This usually means that they work in English, and support work following western ways of doing things. This paper is about moves to overcome this set of barriers in Nepal

3. Languages in Nepal

Nepal is a relatively small country of population around 24 million, squashed between the world's two largest nations, India and China, each of populations in excess of one billion people. Historically Nepal has had strong relationships with both its large neighbours. Though Nepal was never conquered by the English, with an uneasy peace treaty established in 1815, Nepal has become an Anglophone country with English as the dominant foreign language, as with India to the south, but without the benefit of their infrastructure development.

Nepali is the official language of the country. It is written using the Devanagari writing system that is also used for Hindi, Marathi, and several other languages of South Asia. The written tradition of Nepali is relatively young, with the first novel in Nepali only published in the 1890s, and documents written in Nepali only appearing in significant volume from the end of the 1980s. To illustrate, when the Bhasha Sanchar project (see www.bhashasanchar.org) came to collect samples of Nepali writing across a range of genres from 1991, it found that technical writing was just not represented in 1991, though today, 15 years later, it is adequately represented.

In Nepal there are about another 100 or so languages (Turin, 2004). All languages have been viewed equal since 1991, but the previous two centuries of favouring Nepali under the slogan of 'one nation, one culture, one language' has left a legacy of Nepali dominance, with other languages still lagging far behind in resources to support them. English, the dominant world language (Crystal, 1997), is often used as the language of business and politics, but is only spoken by less than 5% of the population.

4. Computers in Nepal

The first computer came into Nepal in 1974, to process the

population census. Then in the 1980s PCs were imported into Nepal in reasonable numbers, and many administrative functions were computerised, with systems working in English. However, these systems seemed to have more to do with the flow of aid funds than government administration, and traditional methods of government continued with systems marginalised – to illustrate, an internal security system intended to stop undesirable people from entering the country involved filling in forms at Tribhuvan airport which were then sent several kilometers across the capital for data entry at the immigration department which would then make the checks – many days after the person had passed through the airport and disappeared. This was not a failure of the Nepalese administration systems so much as a failure of those who supplied the system and failed to integrate them into local working practices.

These newly acquired administrative systems worked in English, but people realised that computers were more versatile than that, and in the 1980s started using them for storing and printing text in Nepali, particularly for newspapers and magazines.

5. Nepali into computers

During the 1980s and 1990s, working in Nepali was achieved by producing TrueType fonts that could be installed on PCs – IBM compatibles and Macintoshes – following practices that were wide-spread across South Asia and South East Asia. These fonts were full of compromises in the way the writing was produced, and the way it was encoded internally – the approach can only be described as hacking and chaotic – but some capability for writing Nepali and some other languages of Nepal was created. Each ‘font’ embodied not just the visual appearance on screen and paper, but also embodied a keyboard layout and an internal encoding. Each ‘font’ did things differently. no standards were followed, with the

consequence that data could not be exchanged between computers unless they happened to use the same 'font'. But for desktop publishing, and even newspaper publishing, these 'fonts' sufficed. This chaos continued until the widespread adoption of Unicode on computing platforms during the early 2000s.

In 1997 a group in Nepal produced a first national standard for Nepali encoding, exploiting the fact that software technology by then enabled the independence of keyboard layout, internal encoding, and visual appearance on screen and in print. Central to this standard was the encoding, with both an 8-bit tables and Unicode tables of Nepali-Devanagari. Subsequently the 8-bit encodings became irrelevant, and an attempt to get the Unicode tables accepted by the Unicode Consortium was rebuffed (Hall, 1998a, 1998b).

The Nepalese Government began to take an interest, and established the High Level Commission for Information Technology (HLCIT) in 2000 'to provide crucial oversight and policy guidance for the development of ICT sector in the country' (HLCIT, 2005). The HLCIT established the Nepali Language in Information Technology (NLIT) steering committee and the Forum for Information Technology Nepal (FIT Nepal).

Funding was obtained from IDRC in 1998 to undertake preliminary development of fonts and conversion routines, with MPP starting their move into software localisation by developing a Nepali Unicode CD. Further support came from UNESCO, and then again from IDRC via the PAN-localisation project, and then from the EU through the Bhasha Sanchar project. A complete localisation of Debian Linux and Open Office was formally launched in December 2005.

Meanwhile Microsoft had developed its own support for Indic languages using their Uniscribe renderer, and launched their

Language Interface Packs (LIPs) to support languages for which direct support by Microsoft was not commercially viable. Microsoft developed a LIP for Nepali, launched in November 2005 in truly spectacular Microsoft fashion.

A standard terminology for computing has been agreed, and was used for both the Nepali LIP and Nepalinux, and keyboard layouts are currently being standardised. Figure 1 shows the localisation process.

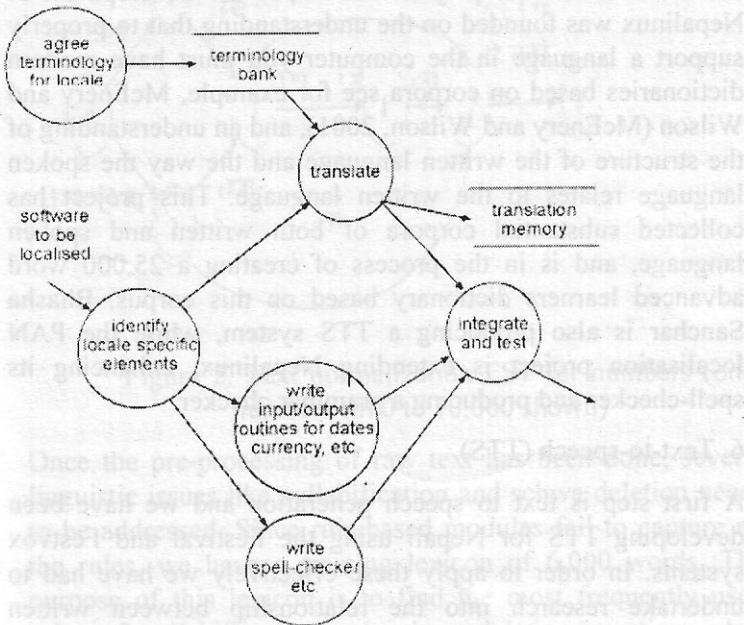


Figure 1. Localisation process workflow

By the end of 2005 Nepal was equipped with a choice of Unicode-compliant Linux and MS Windows platforms for developing their own software to work in Nepali, or for localising software from outside to work in Nepali.

A revised and more refined version of the NepaLinux, the 1.1 version is scheduled to come out in mid October 2006. This

new version of the NepaLinux is expected to be relatively bug-free both in terms of translations and technical-wise.

Works are underway for localizing handheld devices like the PDA and the mobile into Nepali, due to be released in December 2006. In the second phase of PAN Localization Project, we are planning to work in developing the Nepali Optical Character Recognition.

The Bhasha Sanchar project that helped the development of Nepalinux was founded on the understanding that to properly support a language in the computer you must have modern dictionaries based on corpora see for example, McEnery and Wilson (McEnery and Wilson, 2001), and an understanding of the structure of the written language and the way the spoken language relates to the written language. This project has collected substantial corpora of both written and spoken language, and is in the process of creating a 25,000 word advanced learners dictionary based on this corpus. Bhasha Sanchar is also producing a TTS system, while the PAN localisation project is extending Nepalinux, enhancing its spell-checker and producing a grammar checker.

6. Text-to-speech (TTS)

A first step is text to speech generation and we have been developing TTS for Nepali using the Festival and Festvox systems. In order to apply these effectively we have had to undertake research into the relationship between written Nepali and spoken Nepali, building rules for syllabification, a lexicon of pronunciation exceptions, and so on. We now have an understandable demonstration system, but only expect to have the production system by the end of this year.

Pre-processing of raw text is the first step of building any TTS system. A text normalization module for Nepali language has been developed – see Figure 2. This module is written in Perl script and maps Non Standard Words to Standard Words.,

such as expansion of dates, currency amounts, ordinal numbers, cardinal numbers, and abbreviation. This module uses simple mapping rules for expansion, with finite state machine implemented to disambiguate similar abbreviations with different expansions.

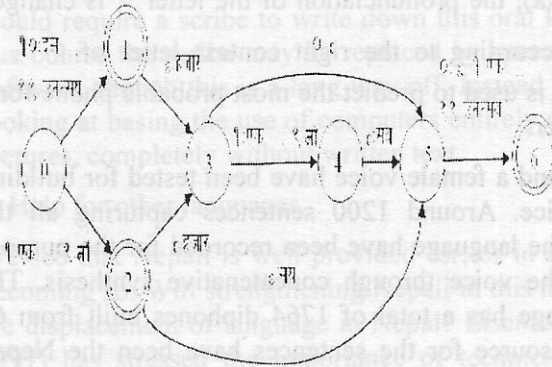


Figure 2: Text normalization FST for numbers (only numbers till 0 to 10,000 shown)

Once the pre-processing of raw text has been done, several linguistic issues like syllabification and schwa deletion needs to be addressed. Since rule-based modules fail to capture all the rules, we have a training lexicon of 6,000 words. The purpose of this lexicon is to find the most frequently used rules of syllabification and schwa deletion-insertion rules. After hand writing all the rules, this lexicon is used for letter to sound rule generation too. Festival provides a framework for semiautomatically building letter-to-sound rules, incorporating syllabification and schwa deletion-insertion rules. The set of allowables (letter to phones pair) has been built. This set of allowables consists of 24 letters along with their corresponding phones (the smallest unit of sound). These allowable pairs are required to predict the most

probable phone the letter will change into in context with the right occurring letter. For example: the pronunciation of letter $\circ \circ$ (nazal vowel sound) is changed as म (ma) if the right context of the letters is either प (pa), फ (pha), ब (ba) or भ (bha) as in the word पंफा (pampha), Similarly, in the word शंका (shang~ka), the pronunciation of the letter \circ is changed to ङ (ng~) according to the right context letter of $\circ \circ$. A CART model is used to predict the most probable phone for a particular letter.

Both a male and a female voice have been tested for building a Nepali Voice. Around 1200 sentences capturing all the diphones of the language have been recorded for the purpose of building the voice through concatenative synthesis. The Nepali language has a total of 1764 diphones built from 67 phones. The source for the sentences have been the Nepali National Corpus (still in the development phase) of size 7 million words. The voice was labeled using EHMM, an automatic labeling system recently developed by the CMU Speech Group. The labeling was further checked using Emulabel originally developed at Macquarie University. The results were found to be similar to that of hand labeling. This voice database contained a total number 35,817 phone entries excluding silences. The most dominant phone in our recorded speech was 'a' with 8,733 instances, while 'aa' and 'ha' followed it in order. The voice database contained total number of 36,451 instances of diphones.

Using the labeled speech, utterance structures were built for unit selection. And since the unit selection technique supports optimal coupling, the concatenation point of units is chosen at the most acoustically appropriate point at runtime. For every utterance, features like Mel Cepstrum Values were extracted. The parameters of pitch extraction are then tuned to our

speaker by adjusting the maximum and minimum pitch value. The unit selection voice was produced using unit clustering algorithm on the units of the database as described in chapter 12 (Black et al., 1999).

TTS is good for accessing existing knowledge available in Nepali. However, illiterate people also have valuable knowledge that should be shared with others. At present this would require a scribe to write down this oral knowledge. In due course the scribe may be replaced by speech recognition software, though this is a long way off. Instead we have been looking at basing the use of computers entirely on speech and pictures, completely without written text.

7. Help for other languages

We see that Nepali is well provided for, or in the process of becoming so. Will strengthening Nepali in this manner lead to the displacement of language in Nepal? Eisenlohr (Eisenlohr, 1997) has stressed the importance of technical support for languages from an anthropological perspective.

There are around 100 languages in Nepal, of which less than ten have any traditions of writing. Many languages have acquired writing systems recently, and may publish newspapers, and aspire to become the medium of instruction in schools, but their use is limited.

We encouraged people developing fonts for Newari and Maithili to attend the font design course we ran, and are planning to develop Open Type fonts for these and other writing systems. We have made preliminary contact with groups who, we hope, will develop corpora for their own languages. It is essential that the language communities themselves become involved and do the necessary work *pro bono*, we cannot expect to fund all the developments we have seen for Nepali from similar sized grants.

However most support for other languages will come from support for their use as speech in the next section. Why go through the process of creating a new writing system for a language when speech technologies are largely language neutral and will work for all languages.

8. Support for non-literate people

People who cannot read or write cannot use computers as they are currently constructed. The literacy rate in Nepal is less than 60%, and much lower in women than men. However non-literate people could also benefit from access to the internet and participation in the information society.

Making a computer work entirely on speech requires that the basic interactions with the computer and its operating system need to work on speech and icons, and this is where we have made our initial focus, simplifying the interface and drawing up more appropriate metaphors such as storage in a cupboard illustrated in Figure 3. Access control is done via password made up of a combinations of pictures.

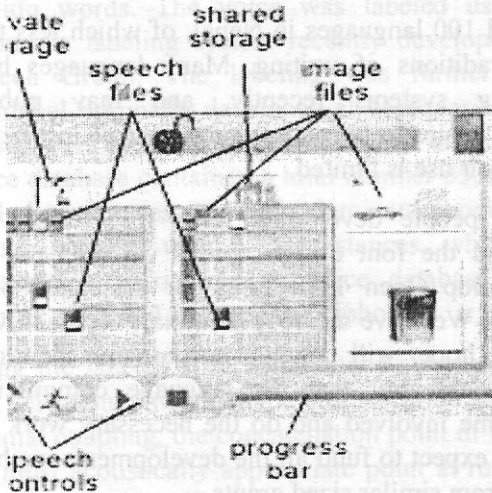


Figure 3. Visual interface for storing and retrieving

speech 'documents'

Bulk information must be stored as speech, and to help this we are also building a speech editor based on ideas originating in Xerox (Zellweger et al., 1998) and taken further in HP (Tucker et al., 2002). This speech editor has much in common with text editors, with the speech being made visible as passage of speech broken up by periods of silence, as seen in Figure 4.

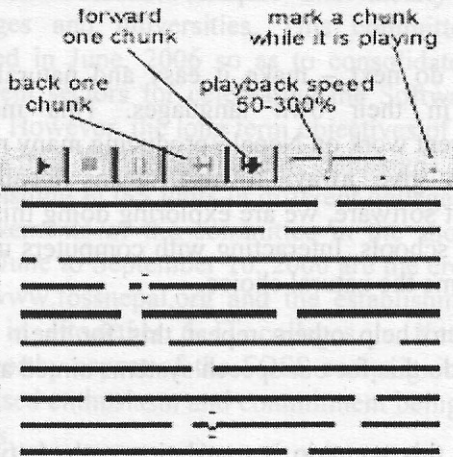


Figure 4. The speech editor interface.

In building our text-free system we are moving towards the new literacy envisaged by Kress and others (eg Kress 2003), which images are predominant and speech replaces text as labels and explanations.

In developing these systems we must keep in mind two issues. Firstly similar systems would be useful for the blind and partially sighted, though they could not rely on images for interaction. Secondly such systems might give the opportunity for literacy teaching using the same language subtitling technique – so whenever canned speech has been

included, we could have text pop-up to help people with their reading skills.

9. The way ahead

When the HLCIT held a meeting about what to do next, the response was lukewarm. While the discussions were all in Nepali, the overall view was ironically that since the people at the meeting worked effectively with computers using the English language interface, a Nepali interface was not necessary.

We know what to do next – make it easy and natural for people to work in their own languages. This means completing our current work on Nepali, producing many more fonts that we can give away. It also means localising nationally important software, we are exploring doing this for software for use in schools. Interacting with computers using Nepali should become the natural choice.

But we also need to help others repeat this for their own language, and also do this for our speech systems aimed at the illiterate.

What is missing in this scenario is translation paths between languages. If the knowledge you need is available, but not in your language, what do you do? A rule-based translator between Nepali and English has been developed (see <http://www.nlp.ku.edu.np>); while this gives reasonable ‘gist translations’ it still needs much refinement. We need to move away from handcrafted rule-based approaches to statistical approaches that the computer can learn to translate from examples of actual translations, parallel corpora. We need to do this for speech as well as writing. We will then have the potential to cover all the languages of Nepal.

Underlying this ambition for universal access to computers is the assumption that software will be available at affordable

prices, and in a form that can be localised. Proprietary software fails on both price and localisability, and instead we must turn to Free Open Source Software(FOSS).

Thus we have found ourselves leading the FOSS movement in Nepal, building up a strong FOSS Community. Initiatives towards such an attempt include the formation of a committee (FOSS-Nepal-Committee@googlegroups.com) made up of FOSS enthusiasts, students and faculty members of IT colleges and universities. This committee was officially formed in June, 2006 so as to consolidate the efforts from different sectors for celebrating the Software Freedom Day, 2006. However, the long term objectives of the committee are conducting FOSS awareness campaigns, FOSS activities, establishing FOSS units in different colleges etc. Some of the achievements of the committee in the short period of time from June to September 16, 2006 are the creation of the web-site www.fossnepal.org and the establishment of the FOSS units in altogether 6 IT colleges in Kathmandu. A very noteworthy aspect of the FOSS campaigning in Nepal is the increased enthusiasm and commitment being noted among the youths.

With localization work gradually gaining ground in Nepal, FOSS Community development in the making, telecenters being established in rural and semi-urban areas, research interests being generated among IT professionals, we can be optimistic regarding universal access to ICTs in Nepal.

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THE 'BE' VERB IN DANUWAR

Bhabendra Bhandari

1. Introduction

In this paper, I have tried to analyse the 'be' verb in Danuwar language. Attempts are made to analyse the three Danuwar words *ho*, *rə-* and *hok^h-* which are equivalent to English 'be' verbs. As this study is based on the variety of the language spoken in Kavrepalanchok district, the illustrations may not represent all the varieties of the language spoken in different places.

This paper is organized into five sections. The first section deals with the 'be' verb in general. In the second section, the verb *ho* is examined. The verb *rə-* is analysed in the third section. In the fourth section, I have attempted to analyse the verb *hok^h-*. Finally, the paper is summarised.

2. The 'be' verb

The 'be' verb has different functions in different types of constructions in the different languages of the world. The 'be' verb plays an important role in the syntax of Danuwar language. It exhibits the following functions in this language:

- predication of identification
- predication of existence
- predication of possession
- predication of general truth
- predication of future plan
- predication of propriety

Let us consider the following sentences where three different words equivalent to those of English 'be' verbs illustrate the above mentioned functions.

- (1) a. u kisan ho
 3 SG farmer be
 'He/She is a farmer.'
- b. ok^hrak g^hər kaṭ^hmandu-ma rə-is
 3 SG GEN house Kathmandu-LOC be-NPT 3 SG
 'His/Her house is in Kathmandu.'
- c. mərə/moro dui-ṭa g^hər rə-c^hət
 1 SG GEN two-CLF house be- NPT 3 PL
 'I have two houses.'
- d. hatti bəḍke hok^h-is
 elephant big be-NPT 3 SG
 'Elephant is big.'
- e. mui maṣṭər hok^h-c^hu
 1 SG teacher be-NPT 1 SG
 'I will be a teacher.'
- f. tui rəksi pe hok^h-is
 2 SG alcohol drink.INF be-NPT 3 SG
 'It is proper for you to drink alcohol.'

The above examples (1a-f) illustrate that the three 'be' verbs in Danuwar are ho, ra- and hok^h. ho is used for the predication of identity, whereas rə- and hok^h- have multiple functions. rə- is used for the predication of existence and possession, and hok^h- is used for the predication of general truth, future plan and propriety.

These verbs will be discussed in the following sections.

3. ho

ho is used to obtain identification of someone or something. It is the invariant, frozen form for all persons, numbers or honorificity levels, i.e. the verb does not inflect to agree with

numbers or honorificity levels.

persons, numbers, or honorificity of the subject NP. Let us consider the following examples.

- (2) a. mui sukram ho
 1 SG Sukram be.IDE
 'I am Sukraam.'
- b. olok mərə sat^hi(-lok) ho
 3 PL 1 SG GEN friend(-PL) be.IDE
 'They are my friends.'
- c. ap^hnəke mas^{tər} ho
 2 SG H teacher be.IDE
 'You (H) are a teacher.'

These examples show that ho does not get inflected to agree with different persons, numbers or honorificity levels of the subject NPs. The form of the 'be' verb ho is the same for first person singular subject (e.g. mui in (2a)), third person plural (e.g. olok in (2b)), or second person honorific subject (e.g. ap^hnəke in (2c)).

Unlike this, other verbs inflect differently to agree with the number, person, or honorificity level of the NP that is in the subject position. Examples (3a-c) illustrate this fact.

- (3) a. mui mas k^hai-c^hu
 1 SG meat eat-NPT 1 SG
 'I eat meat.'
- b. olok mas k^hai-c^hət
 3 PL meat eat-NPT 3 PL
 'They eat meat.'
- c. ap^hnəke mas k^hai-tən
 2 SG H meat eat-NPT 2 H
 'You (H) eat meat.'

The identificational 'be' verb *ho* always indicates present references, so its tense is non-past, because identification is introducing by pointing at a person or an object. Anything expressed in the past tense is beyond the reach of identification, because pointing at a person or thing that existed in the past and is not present to be identified does not seem to be possible. If anything or anybody is identified, it is assumed that the identified object exists around the speaker's proximity or at least its existence must be in present. Semantically, identification is timeless; *ho* is timeless verb.

The 'be' verb *ho* is generally described as copula as it links the two noun phrases, both of which refer to a single object. In the illustrations presented above, *u* and *kisan* (in (1a)), *mui* and *sukram* (in (2a)), *olok* and *mərə sat^hi* (in (2b)), and *ap^hnəke* and *masʃər* (in (2c)) which refer to the same persons are linked by *ho*.

3.1 Structure without *ho*

Frequently, the copula verb *ho* is deleted leaving the sentence as a nominal phrase. Examples (4a-b) illustrate this phenomenon.

- (4) a. *azu mərə zənmə din (ho)*
 today 1 SG GEN birth day be
 'Today is my birthday.'
- b. *i ramə-k g^hər (ho)*
 this Ram-GEN house be
 'This is Ram's house.'

3.2 Negativisation of *ho*

The negative form of the identificational 'be' verb *ho* is *boi*. Examples (5a-b) show the negative transformation of (4a-b). Similar to the verb *ho*, it has the same form for all persons, numbers or honorificity levels.

- (5) a. azu mərə zənmə din boi
 today my birth day be.NEG
 'Today is not my birthday.'
- b. i ramə-k g^hər boi
 this Ram-GEN house be.NEG
 'This is not Ram's house.'

4. rə-

Another 'be' verb found in Danuwar language is rə-. It can be used both as main verb and as auxiliary verb.

4.1. rə- as main verb

As a main verb it denotes the meaning of existentiality, i.e., the 'be' verb rə- as main verb focuses on the existence of the subject NP in space or time. Let us consider the following examples.

- (6) a. mui g^hər-ma rə-c^hu
 1 SG home-LOC be-NPT 1 SG
 'I am at home.'
- b. azu nəu bəze ropē rə-is
 today nine o'clock paddy plantation be-NPT 3 SG
 'There is paddy plantation at nine o'clock today.'

rə- is inherently locative in meaning, either in space or in time. Sentence (6a) expresses the locative meaning in space, whereas (6b) expresses the locative meaning in time. Unlike the verb ho, this verb is inflected to mark not only person, number, or honorificity of the subject NP, but also to mark the tense. Sentences (6a) and (6b) above can be translated into their corresponding past tense as in (7a) and (7b), respectively.

- (7) a. mui g^hər-ma rə-nu
 1 SG home-LOC be-PT 1 SG
 'I was at home.'
- b. kanu nəu bəze ropē rə-la
 yesterday nine o'clock paddy plantation be-PT 3
 'There was paddy plantation at nine o'clock today.'

The existential 'be' verb rə- of Danuwar language also functions as the predicator of possession. In (8a-b), rə- expresses the notion of possession.

- (8) a. mərə dui-ta c^həgre-lok rə-c^hət
 1 SG GEN two.CLF goat-PL be-NPT 3 PL
 'I have two goats.'
- b. ram-ək-səŋi g^hoḍa rə-is
 Ram-GEN-COM horse be-NPT 3S
 'Ram has a horse.'

4.1.1 Negativisation of rə-

In the non-past tense Danuwar language has two separate words for negative form of the 'be' verb rə-, viz. boike and boiken. boike is used for singular noun whereas boiken is used for plural noun. However, in the past tense, it is negativized by simply taking negative prefix boi-. Since the verbal inflection for the past tense in the negative sentence is -lə for all persons, numbers, genders or honorificity levels, the negation of the verb rə- in the past tense becomes boi-rə-lə for all persons, numbers, genders or honorificity levels. Sentences (9a-c) illustrate negativization of rə-.

- (9) a. bədri-k-səŋi bərda boike
 Badri-GEN-COM ox be.NEG NPT SG
 'Badri does not have any ox.'

b. azu ic^hi purk^hər-lək boiken
 today here man-PL be.NEG NPT PL

c. betjak ɡ^hər-ma boi-rə-lə
 son home-LOC NEG-be-PT
 'Son was not at home.'

4.2 rə- as auxiliary verb

An auxiliary verb is a verb which is used with another verb in a sentence and it helps to express such grammatical distinctions as tense, mood, and aspect. (Crystal, 1994; Richard, J. et. al., 1985). So, auxiliary verb supplements the main verb of the sentence.

The 'be' verb rə- serves the function of auxiliary 'be' in the structure of Danuwar syntax. It can be used as an auxiliary verb to give finite shape to the verbal complex provided that the verb is not in absolute form. Let us consider the following examples.

(10) a. mui b^hat k^hai-ti rə-c^hu
 1 SG rice eat-PROG be-NPT 1 SG
 'I am eating rice.'

b. oi b^hat k^hai-rəi-lək
 3 SG rice eat-be-PT 3 SG M
 'He has eaten rice.'

c. sitə-e ɡ^hās kaʔ-te rə-lik
 Sita-ERG grass cut-HBT be-PT 3 SG F
 'Sita used to cut grass.'

In the above examples, the presence of auxiliary 'be' rə- is obligatory as the verbs in these sentences are in aspectual forms. It gets inflected to mark the tense of the predicator and also to maintain agreement of the subject NP's number, person, gender or honorificity level. But in the following

examples, the 'be' verb *rə-* is not necessary because the verbs are in absolute tense.

(11) a. *haməi b^hat k^hai-nuk*
 1 PL rice eat-PT 1 PL
 'We ate rice.'

b. *oi b^hat k^ha-is*
 3 SG rice eat 3 SG
 'He/She eats rice.'

As exemplified in (10a-c) and (11a-b), the 'be' verb *rə-* is used as an auxiliary verb to give finite shape to the verbal complex when the verb is in aspectual forms, but it is not necessary when the verb is in absolute tense.

The auxiliary 'be' verb *rə-* is used differently to realise different aspects, viz. perfective, progressive, habitual or prospective aspects. These are discussed below.

4.2.1 *rə-* in perfect aspect

The auxiliary 'be' verb *rə-* is used in different ways to realise past and non-past perfect aspects in Danuwar language. To obtain past perfect aspect, an affix *-lə* is suffixed to the verb stem and it is followed by past concord of *rə-*. Sentences (12a-b) illustrate this fact.

(12) a. *kanu mui ek-ta ci^thi lek^h-lə rə-nu*
 yesterday I SG one-CLF letter write-PT be-PT 1 SG
 'I had written a letter yesterday.'

b. *ram-e b^hat k^hai-lə rə-lək*
 Ram-ERG rice eat-PT be-PT 3 SG M
 'Ram had eaten rice.'

The verb stem is followed by *rə-* and past concord to obtain non-past perfect aspect. This phenomenon is illustrated in examples (13a-b).

- (13) a. buma ai-rəi-lik
 grandmother come-be-PT 3 SG F
 '(My) Grandmother has come.'
- b. mərə buba ramajən pəḍ-rəi-lək
 1 SG GEN grandfather Ramayana read-be-PT 3 SG M
 'My grandfather has read the Ramayana.'

4.2.2 rə- in progressive aspect

As the auxiliary verb rə- is used differently in the past and non-past perfect aspects in Danuwar language, it is used in different ways to realise past and non-past progressive aspects, too. The past progressive aspect is obtained by suffixing the progressive marker -ti to the verb stem, which is, then, followed by the verb rə- with appropriate past concord. Examples (14a-b) exhibit this phenomenon.

- (14) a. olek^h-e b^hat k^hai-ti rə-la
 3 PL-ERG rice eat-PROG be-PT 3 PL
 'They were eating rice.'
- b. haməi ləḍjik-ma sana-ti rə-nuk
 1 PL stream-LOC bathe-PROG be-PT 1 PL
 'We were bathing in the stream.'

In non-past progressive aspect, the auxiliary 'be' verb rə- with non-past concord follows the verb stem which already took the progressive aspect marking suffix -ti. This phenomenon is exemplified in (15a-b).

- (15) a. ram-e b^hat k^hai-ti rə-is
 Ram-ERG rice eat-PROG be-NPT 3 SG
 'Ram is eating rice.'
- b. c^hwāṭe-lek^h-e bəl k^hela-ti rə-c^hət
 child-pl-ERG ball play-PROG be-NPT 3 PL
 'Children are playing ball.'

3.2.3. rə- in habitual aspect

To mark past habit of somebody, Danuwar language makes use of auxiliary 'be' verb rə-. The verb stem is, first, followed by habitual marker -te, and then by rə- with past concord resulting past habitual verbal complex in the Danuwar syntax. This fact is illustrated in (16a-b).

- (16) a. tui d^here kãḍ-te rə-ləs
 2 SG a lot cry-HBT be-PT 2 SG
 'You used to cry a lot.'
- b. mui d^hur-ma k^hela-te rə-nu
 1 SG dust-LOC play-HBT be-PT 1 SG
 'I used to play in the dust.'

3.2.4 rə- in prospective aspect

Past prospective aspect in this language makes use of the auxiliary 'be' verb rə-. To obtain the past prospective aspect, the infinitive form of the main verb is followed by k^hozlə, and then rə- with past concord follows this structure. Examples (17a-b) illustrate this phenomenon.

- (17) a. mui b^hat k^h-ja k^hoz-lə rə-nu
 1 SG rice eat-INF PROS-PT be-PT 1 SG
 'I was about to eat rice.'
- b. beṭek iskul z-ja k^hoz-lə rə-lik
 daughter school go-INF PROS-PT be-PT 3 SG F
 'Daughter was about to go to school.'

5. hok^h-

The 'be' verb hok^h- is used to refer to general truth, to indicate the notion of propriety, to express someone's future plan, or to show the change of state. Like other main verbs, it can be conjugated for person, number or honorificity level agreement.

- (18) a. ləɖjɪk-ma mac^ho hok^h-is
 river-LOC fish be-NPT 3 SG
 'There are fish in the river.'
- b. aɡi d^hipto hok^h-is
 fire hot be-NPT 3 SG
 'The fire is hot.'

In the above examples (18a-b), hok^h- signals generally acknowledged truths. Universal truths in Danuwar, like other languages such as English or Nepali, are expressed in the non-past tense, which semantically signals timelessness, and so the above sentences have no corresponding past. The 'be' verb hok^h- which convey the notion of general truth behave structurally exactly like other main verbs such as k^ha- 'eat', za- 'go', sana- 'bathe', etc.

This verb is also used to express the notion of propriety or permission which is exemplified in the illustrations (19a-b).

- (19) a. sete rəksi pe hok^h-is
 Sete alcohol drink.INF be-NPT 3 SG
 'It is proper for Sete to drink alcohol.'
- b. haməi məndir b^hitər z-ja hok^h-is
 I PL temple inside go-INF be-NPT 3 SG
 'We can go inside the temple.'

The 'be' verb hok^h- is also used to express someone's future plan, in the sense of 'to become' or to express 'change of state'. Consider the following examples.

- (20) a. mui ɖaktər hok^h-c^hu
 I SG doctor be-NPT 1 SG
 'I will be/become a doctor.'
- b. pāc bərsə pəc^həɖi i t^haũ-ma səhər hok^h-is
 five year after this place-LOC town be-NPT 3 SG
 'This place will be/become a town after five years.'

In sentence (20a) the 'be' verb *hok^h*- expresses the speaker's future plan and in (20b) it expresses the speaker's prediction of change of state of the place being pointed.

5.1 Negativisation of *hok^h*-

The auxiliary 'be' verb *hok^h*- is negativised by prefixing negative marker *nai-*. This phenomenon is illustrated in (21a-b).

- (21) a. *bomnə-i rəksi pe nai-hok^h-is*
 Brahmin-ERG alcohol drink.INF NEG-be-NPT 3 SG
 'It is not proper for Brahmin to drink alcohol.'
- b. *tui mastər nai-hok^h-c^həs*
 2 SG teacher NEG-be-NPT 2 SG
 'You will not be a teacher.'

6. Conclusion

The Danuwar language has three words, viz. *ho*, *rə-* and *hok^h*-, equivalent to English 'be' verbs. *ho* is used for the identification of someone or something. It is not conjugated to agree with the person, number or honorificity level of the subject NP. In many cases *ho* can be omitted resulting a nominative sentence. The negative identificational 'be' verb is *boi*.

rə- can be used both as a main verb or as an auxiliary verb. As a main verb *rə-* demonstrates two functions: predication of existence of somebody or something and predication of possession of something. *boike(n)* is the negative form of the verb *rə-* for all persons, numbers or honorificity levels in non-past tense, whereas it is *boirələ* in past tense. As an auxiliary 'be' verb *rə-* is essential to give finite shape to the verbal phrase when they are in different aspectual forms, such as perfective, progressive, habitual or prospective.

hok^h- also has multiple functions; it is used to express general truth, the notion of propriety, someone's future plan, etc. It is negativised by prefixing negative marker *nai-* to the verb stem.

Abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative case
2	second person	M	masculine gender
3	third person	NEG	negative marker
CLF	classifier	NOM	nominative case
COM	commutative case	NP	noun phrase
ERG	ergative case	NPT	non-past tense
EXI	existential	PERF	perfective aspect
F	feminine gender	PL	plural number
GEN	genitive case	PROG	progressive aspect
H	honorific	PROS	prospective aspect
HBT	habitual aspect	PT	past tense
IDE	identificational	SG	singular number
INF	infinitive marker		

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SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL: TALKING WITH HILL PEOPLE

Govinda Raj Bhattarai

A large, pocket-sized book titled *पहाडी बोलीचाली* (Talking with Hill People) has been released recently in the market. Two persons namely Anju Khadka and Keshar Jung Magar have prepared 613 pages of information and compiled in the present book form and the publication has been coordinated by Dr. Bidyanath Koirala, Professor of Education at the Central Department of Education, Tribhuvan University.

Small though it is, the publication is a unique and special work in the history of dictionary making, that is lexicography or writing a phrasebook or preparing a grammar book in Nepal. This publication belongs to none of these fields; however, this is at the same time all of these combined together. Out of more than 93 languages spoken in Nepal, these compilers have chosen seven languages spoken widely in the hills. These are namely, Limbu, Rai, Tamang, Newar, Gurung, Magar Pang (Kham) and Magar (Dhut).

Secondly, they have selected 24 topics or domains of language use what Wilkins would have called them notions. These notions are In the market, In hotel and lodge, In restaurant, In telephone, In the airport etc. For each such domain they have selected some basic or most frequently used language functions such as 'Greeting', 'Leave taking' 'Narrating etc.

For each of such expression the book presents equivalent forms in nine languages including English and Nepali. They have used two scripts-- first Roman followed by Devenagari script. For instance the following excerpt from page No, 41 illustrates the sample of their design:

Crystal, David. 1994. *An encyclopaedic dictionary of language and languages*. England: Penguin Books.

Katamba, Francis. 1966. *Morphology*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

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३४. छोरारोरीहरू के गर्छन् नि ?
Chhorachhorharu Ke Garchhan Ni ?
What are your children doing ?
(हवाट आर योर चिल्ड्रेन डोइङ ?)

	विविध भाषामा	रोमनमा
लिम्बू (Limbu)	केसाहा थे मेजोक्पे ?	Kesaha Tha Mejkope ?
राई बान्तवा (Rai Bantawa)	छाचि डि म च यि ?	Chhachi Di Ma Cha Yi ?
तामाङ (Tamang)	चह चमे ताजा लब सेम् ?	Ch-ha Chame Taja Laba Sem ?
नेवार (Newar)	काय् म्याप्यपिनि छु ज्या ?	Kaya Myampini Chhu Jya ?
गुरुङ (Gurung)	चह च्हम्मे तो लम ?	Ch-ha Ch-hamme To Lama ?
मगर पाङ (खाम) (Magar Pang (Kham))	जार कडि धोज्या नि ?	Jar Kachi Dhojya Ni ?
मगर डुट (Magar Dhu)	मीजाको ही जाट्ले नी ?	Mojako Hee Jatle Nee ?

41

Picture 1: Talking with hill people.

Unlike a bilingual or multi-lingual dictionary or a word book, the present work has a different purpose in mind. It was to initiate the work of co-existence and bring harmony among the people of various linguistic groups. It symbolizes a work of human harmony. The editors put it clearly thus:

Nepal has more than hundred languages. These languages need coexistence. For coexistence, one language group must learn others' language and every individual deserves rights to learn different languages. But the country lacks language co-existence policy. Consequently, some language deserved high status and others faced survival difficulty. Besides, 5 languages have their own script and others don't, 11 are already disappeared and 60 others are at the verge of disappearance. Educational materials have been developed in 13 languages for formal school and in 7 languages for no-formal education programs. We all are responsible for this

happening. The socio-political structures have aggravated this type of language injustice.

As a personal effort we are trying to promote language co-existence approach in Nepal. This is a journey to ensure the rights to learn each others' language and promote language co-existence in Nepal.

This is one of a very commendable work in the field of Nepali linguistics. It was envisaged with a noble purpose in mind—the compilers wanted the members of different linguistic groups to learn each other's language. It was however accomplished by non-linguists, it was in fact it was all labor of love; they have drawn from their experience and intuition and worked out without any sophistication, complexity so it is simply an over-simplified form of their effort.

The first motive behind this work is to enhance mutual understanding and support coexistence as the editors put it. This is a crucial factor in a society that is trying to practice actual *loktantra* (democracy in true spirit) where the old centers are deconstructed and new ones reshaped instead. They could have made it more valuable especially also for those who visit, study or work with these linguistic communities by adding some linguistic sophistication but it is the socio-anthropological as well as raw linguistic insight of these experts or compilers that has produced such a praiseworthy result. In fact this book attempts to introduce the survival skill useful for such tourists, visitors, researchers and newcomers.

The last five sections of the book contain some valuable information, though in passing, about Ethnic scripts, Ethnic groups and Areas of research, Indigenous organization, References and Glossary. These prove that the editors are deeply concerned about the development of different

languages, especially the indigenous group of people, their culture, language and their role in the struggle for survival.

One can see the list of the orthographic systems of these seven languages appended at the end. One can carry out a research even by simply comparing the size, shape and sounds of the letters of alphabet in these languages. It is a very interesting work.

A linguist could suggest these editors to draw a distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds that alphabets produce, the distinction between long and short vowels etc. They could have avoided the problems of distinguishing ताल and टाल by simply using Turners' transliteration symbols as tal and Tal; or दिल and डिल as dil and Dil, पनि and पानी as pani and pānī etc.

Despite such lapses it is really a great work in the field of Nepalese linguistics accomplished by these non-linguists. Linguists are glad to come across such a publication, which would have consumed lot of time and labor and a big project to accomplish this. We are really thankful to the researchers, editors, publishers and especially to the coordinator Dr. Bidyanath Koirala.

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MORPHOSYNTAX OF BARAM NOMINALS: AN INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE

Krishna Prasad Chalise

1. Introduction

Baram people belong to the Mongoloid community. 'Baram', 'Baramu' and 'Brahmu' are the alternative terms used to refer to both the people and their language. But in fact Baram people call themselves 'Bal Bang', and their language 'Bal Kura'.

They are found to be scattered along Daraundi River and its tributaries in the central part of Gorkaha district, in the Western Development Region of Nepal.

Baram language has been mentioned in different classifications of TB languages. Its closest genetic affiliation is found with Thami Language spoken in Dolakha District and its neighbouring districts.

Baram people are settled in a multilingual setting comprising Baram, Gurung, Magar, and Nepali. Nepali is the national language as well as the official language of Nepal. Gurung and Magar are TB languages, but they are more vital than Baram because they have larger number of speakers and are spoken in wider areas. So Baram Language exists under immense pressure from other languages.

The existing situation of Baram is too critical. According to the CBS Report 2001, the total population of Baram is 7800 out of which only 310 (approximately 4%) speak their language. They have gradually been switching to Nepali. The most surprising thing is that all of the speakers are bilingual and are in their old age. The young people and children don't use the language at all.

The language doesn't have its writing and it is neither used in mass media nor in education. In fact, it is on the verge of extinction.

Luckily, there are still some old people who are fluent speakers of Baram with good command over their language and use it in their day to day life. The language is also used in ritual and cultural functions. It is, therefore, important that this language be documented before it is lost to the posterity to come.

In this short article, I have tried to present a general morphosyntactic description of the major nominal items in Baram. The items I have discussed here are: gender, number, pronoun, adjective, adverb and case marking.

2. Gender

Baram has got natural gender system. The concept of male and female is marked with the masculine <-pa> and feminine <-ma> suffixes which are common to several TB languages like Tamang, Kham, etc.

2.1 Relations

(1)	abəi	'father'	aməi	'mother'
	ale	'brother'	abi	'sister'
	ale	'son'	ucuməi	'daughter'
	ukəi	'husband'	uməi	'wife'

The gender marking in relations can be further analyzed.

2.2 Common nouns

(2)	chaŋpa	'old man'	chaŋma	'old woman'
	goiba	'dog'	koima	'female dog'
	michya	'he goat'	misma	'she goat'

2.3 Human castes and occupational groups

- | | | |
|-----|------------|------------------|
| (3) | bawən papa | ‘Brahmin male’ |
| | bawən mama | ‘Brahmin female’ |
| | seŋmi papa | ‘Gurung male’ |
| | seŋmi mama | ‘Gurung female’ |

2. Number

Baram has no native plural marker native. Instead they use *-həru* which is a loan from Nepali. Sometimes *-həru* is realized as *-ru*.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|------------|----------|
| (4) | mih | 'man' | mih-(hə)ru | 'people' |
| | sya | 'cow' | sya-(hə)ru | 'cows' |

3. Pronouns

Baram pronominal system includes personal pronouns, interrogatives and demonstratives.

3.1 Personal pronouns

Baram distinguishes only six categories of personal pronouns: three persons and two numbers. The first person singular *ŋa* / *ŋə* and plural *ŋi* / *ni* are widely reflected in other TB languages. The singular *ŋa* / *ŋə* is a reflex of Proto-Tibeto-Burman form *ŋa*.

Second person pronouns can be categorized into two categories: singular *naŋ* and plural *nuŋ*. The pronoun *naŋ* is the reflex of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *naŋ*.

Third person pronouns don't seem to be real pronouns. They are far different from the first and second person pronouns. They are like demonstrative pronouns. It is natural for third person pronouns to be derived from the demonstrative pronouns. So, third person pronouns in Baram are also derived from demonstrative pronouns. This phenomenon is

common in several TB languages like Limbu, Dumi, Thami, etc.

The following table gives the full paradigm.

Pronouns	Singular	Plural
First Person	ŋəə / ŋə	ŋi / ni
Second Person	naŋ	nuŋ
Third Person	u tyo yo to	u-baŋ / u- hru yi- baŋ / yi- hru tyi- baŋ / tyi- hru

3.2. Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives that seem to have been borrowed from Nepali. They express distance and orientation with respect to the speaker. They two primary degrees of distance: proximal and distal.

- (5) yo 'this' yi 'these' (proximal)
tyo/to 'that' tyi 'those' (distal)

When locative case clitic is attached to the plural demonstrative pronouns they indicate location.

- (6) yi-ge (yigi) tyi-ge (tyi-gi)
prox-LOC dist-LOC
'here' 'there'

3.3. Interrogatives

There are found three types of interrogative pronouns: basic, derived, and borrowed. Basic are the simplest native forms, derived are derived from the basic ones and borrowed are loan form Nepali.

Basic:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|--------|-------|
| (7) | su | 'who' | khalan | 'how' |
| | hai | 'what' | hare | 'why' |

Derived:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------|-------|---------|
| (8) | su-gai | 'whom' | su-go | 'whose' |
|-----|--------|--------|-------|---------|

Borrowed:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------|---------|-------|--------|
| (9) | kun | 'which' | kæile | 'when' |
| | kuni | 'where' | | |

4. Adjectives

There are found two classes of adjectives: simple and derived. The simple are too limited in number but the derived are large in number and open in nature.

Simple:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| (10) | phaya | 'red' | cilin | 'black' |
|------|-------|-------|-------|---------|

Derived:

Most of the derived adjectives are derived from the verbal roots. The verbal roots are changed into adjectives with prefix <ki-/gi->. The adjectives derived indicate that the entity has already got the feature.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|----------|-------|----------|
| (11) | kekhya | 'bitter' | gyabo | 'white' |
| | gijyak | 'tasty' | keuwo | 'yellow' |

Some are derived from nouns.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|----------|--|--|
| (12) | asok | 'chilly' | | |
| | kyasok | 'hot' | | |

5. Adverbs

The adverbs in Baram can be classified into three classes: locational, directional and temporal.

5.1 Locational adverbs

There are three way distinctions in locational adverbs: proximal, distal and remote.

- (13) yigi 'here' tigi 'there' ugi 'there (far)'

5.2 Directional

There are two way distinctions in directional adverbs: (front) horizontal and vertical.

Horizontal: There are three way distinctions.

- (14) yidi 'this direction'
 hidi 'that direction'
 hudi 'that direction (far)'

Vertical: There are up vs. down and proximal vs. distal distinctions.

- (15) khun 'up near' ukhui 'up far'
 hyan 'down near' humæi 'down far'

5.3 Temporal adverbs

- (16) minya 'yesterday' tha 'later'
 taya 'today' thæi 'now'
 hogæi 'tomorrow'

6. Case clitics

The following clitics function as grammatical case markers. Of them the commitative marker is similar to Nepali.

Agentive / instrumental	{-e}
Source	{-gaŋ}
Objective	{-gæi/φ}
Genitive	{-go}
Comitative	{-səŋ}
Locative	{-ge}

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SYNTAX OF DARAI NEGATIVE MORPHEMES

Dubi Nanda Dhakal

This article explores a rich variety of forms which negation can take in the Darai language. Darai language has a morphological negation system. Negation is prefixed to the verb by means of the negative morphemes <nij->, (<nai-> (<na->)), and <j^hun->. In this article, my aim is to demonstrate the distribution of these morphological negative particles in the internal structure of the verb and their syntactic roles in the internal construction of the verbs. Typologically, the negative markers either precede or follow the verb in SOV languages. True to its type, they always precede the stem in the Darai language. Since the negative morphemes are associated with the verb or verb phrase, I will explore the distribution of negative morphemes in terms of tense, aspect and mood (TAM).

1. Introduction

Negativization in Darai is constituted with the three negative prefixes: <nij->, <nai-> (<na->), and <j^hun->. In the verbal constellation, all these negative morphemes are positioned immediately before the stems in all tenses, aspects and moods wherever they occur. They are constrained by their distributional properties, however. The finite form of the verb generally follows the formulation (1). Payne calls such negation as 'standard negation' (1985:198). Darai constitutes of such negation by means of the negative prefixes.

Formulation 1:

NEG (V) stem ((+ Aspect + Be) + Tense) + concord

As the formulation (1) shows, the verb stem and concord is almost obligatory whereas other elements are optional. The sentences (1a-c) are illustrative of this.

- (1) a. mæi kitab nij-pəð^h-tihin rəhə-m
 I book NEG.read.PROG be.P.1.SG
 'I was not reading a book.'
- b. hame kət^ha nai-kə-hī
 we story NEG.tell.nP.1PL
 'We don't tell a story.'
- c. j^hun-ja-uk
 NEG.go.IMP
 '(you) don't go.'

The sentences (1a-c) comprises the negative markers <nij->, <j^hun->, and <nai-> in the past tense, non-past tense and in the imperative mood respectively. This is the indicative of the fact that the negative morphemes in Darai language are governed by TAM. Sometimes, they also trigger syntactic alternations in the internal structure of the negativized verbs which I will attempt to discuss in the subsequent sections.

Analogous to several Indo-Aryan languages, Darai language includes both the finite and non-finite systems of the verbs. As presented in formulation (1), the verb constellation in their finite forms is discussed below in order to illustrate the distribution of the different negative morphemes conditioned by TAM. Since the Darai language has binary tense system (past and non-past), the negative morphemes that interact with them are discussed. Payne remarks that variation in the selection of negative particle according to tense and aspect is found in many languages (1985:223). This holds true for the Darai language. With reference to the Indo-Aryan languages, Masica comments, "Various patterns of choice among the possibilities (i.e. preposed, prefixed, postposed, suffixed, or inserted between the main verb and auxiliaries) may be seen in the individual languages" (1991:390). These negative morphemes within this language are typologically proven characteristic among Indo-Aryan languages.

2. Tense

2.1 Tense: Past

- (2) a. u-hĩ b^hat k^həi-li
 she-ERG rice eat.P.3.SG.F
 'She ate rice.'
- b. u-hĩ b^hat nij-k^həi-li
 he-ERG rice NEG-eat.P.3.SG.F
 'She did not eat rice.'

Example (2b) demonstrates, this negative marker <nij-> simply negates the proposition and occurs with both genders and with all number and persons in the past tense. The aforementioned condition is also applied to the unknown past tense as well.

- (3) a. u-hĩ b^hat k^həi-te-rəhəla-ĩ
 she-ERG rice eat.UN.P.3.SG.F
 'She ate rice.'(It was found)
- b. u-hĩ b^hat nij-k^həi-te-rəhəla-ĩ
 he-ERG rice NEG-eat.UN.P.3.SG.
 'She did not eat rice.'(It was found.).

2.2 Tense: present

On the other hand, the present tense employs <nai-> as the negative particle (prefix) with all persons and genders in the non-past (present) tense. The negative in the non-past tense should be looked into with two aspects. Firstly, it employs the negative particle <nai-> and secondly, it triggers some modification in the internal constituent of the verb. Let's look into the table (1) to illustrate this.

Table 1: Negative marker in the non-past tense

	Affirmative		Negative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st-	kər-tə-m	kər-ta-hī	nai-kərə-m	nai-kəri-hī
2nd-	kər-tə-s	kər-tah-səb	nai-kərə-s	nai-kərə-səb
3rd-	kəri-t	kər-tah-səb	nai-kərə-i	nai-kərə-səb

The transformation into negative particularly in the non-past (present) tense may be presented as:

Stem	Aspect	BE	Tense	Concord	Resulting form
kər-	-	-	+tə-	-m	(məi) kər-tə-m '(I) work'

The above structure changes into:

Negative	Stem	Aspect	BE	Tense	Concord	Resulting form
nai-	kər-	+tə-	-	-	-m	(məi) nai-kərə-m '(I) do not do'

We thus obtain the formulation (2).

Formulation 2:

Neg	Stem	present marker	concord	⇒	1	2	Ø	4
		-tə-						
1	2	3	4					

The non-past tense marker <-tə-> gets deleted when the negative prefix is attached to the verb stem. Therefore, this negative particle when prefixed with the non-past tense deletes the overt tense marker as mentioned in table (1), formulation (2) and in the sentences (4a-b).

- (4) a. u-hī b^hat 'na-k^ha-i
 he-ERG rice NEG-eat.nP.3.SG
 'He does not eat rice.'
- b. hame kət^ha nai-kə-hī
 we-NOM story NEG.tell.nP.1PL
 'We don't tell a story.'

The overt tense markers are not present in the sentences (4a-b). That is also justified by the table (1) where the tense markers have been absorbed (deleted) due to the prefixing of the negative morpheme. Although the tense distinction is neutralized or there is total loss of tense marking it is compensated by the person marking on the verbs. Since the verbs inflect for tense and gender in the past tense, the tense and person markers are the carriers of the tense marker that is overtly deleted by the negative prefix <nai->. Tense is thus one of the determinants of the selection of the negative morphemes.

3. Aspects

The perfective aspects are obtained, true to the type of Indo-Aryan languages, by the addition of aspectual markers which are then coupled with a tense carrying 'be'. In other words, tense and aspects are combined with finite form of 'be', yielding the past and non-past in the non-finite clause. All the perfective aspects, irrespective of personal terminations, take negative prefix <nij->. The negative prefix <nij-> occurs with the perfective aspects (both in the past and non-past). The examples (5-6) are illustrative of this.

- (5) a. mæi kam nij-kær-lə rəhə-i
 I-NOM work NEG.do.PERF be.P.1.SG
 'I had not done the work.'
- b. kləbe-ĩ karyəkrəm səp^həl nij-par-lə rəhə-i
 club-ERG program success NEG.make.PERF be.P.1.SG
 'The club had not made program a success.'
- (6) a. mæi b^hat nij-paka-lə baʒə-m
 I-NOM rice NEG-cook-PERF be.nP.1.SG
 'I have not cooked rice.'
- b. merə t^haho-m-kə nij-pəð^h-lə baʒə-i
 I.GEN son.1sg-NOM NEG.read.PERF be.nP.3.SG
 'My son has not read.'

Table 1. Negative marker in the non-past tense

The examples (5a-b) and (6a-b) are in perfective aspects, past and non-past respectively. Worthy of attention is the negative particle <nij-> with all perfective aspects. In the similar vein, this negative particle <nij-> also occurs with progressive aspect (past and non-past), durative aspect, habitual aspect in the past, and prospective aspect as well.

- (7) a. mæi b^hat nij-k^həi-tə k^həna ukraike t^sin-lə
I-NOM rice NEG.eat-DUR DUR he.ACC recognize.P.3.S
'I recognized him while I was not eating rice.'
(Lit. I had already recognized him before I was eating rice).'
- b. merə b^hai-m nij-pəɖ^hə-te k^həna mər-lə
I.GEN brother.ISG-NOM NEG.read-DUR DUR die.P.3.SG
'My brother died earlier to he read
(lit. My brother died while he was not reading).'
- (8) a. tæi-səb t^sit^hi nij-lek^hi-lələi baɖə-səb
you-NOM letter NEG-write-PROS be.P.2PL
'You are not to write a letter.'
- b. mæi t^sit^hi nij-lek^hi-lələi rəhə-m
I-NOM letter NEG.write-PROG be.P.1.SG
'I was not to write a letter.'
- (9) a. mæi t^sit^hi nij-lek^h-tihin baɖə-m
I-NOM letter NEG.write-PROG be.nP.1.SG
'I am not writing a letter.'
- b. u-hĩ kam nij-kər-tihin rəhə-i
he-ERG work NEG-do.PROG be-P.3.SG
'He was not doing the work.'
- c. u nij-jəi-te rəhə-i
he NEG-go-HAB be.P.3.SG
'He did not use to go.'

The examples in (7a-b) are in durative aspect, (8a-b) in the prospective aspect (non-past and past respectively), (9a-b) in the progressive aspect and (9c) is in the past habitual aspect

respectively. Since the habitual in the present is mainly expressed by means of non-past tense, its negative transformation is already discussed. Thus <nij-> is the negative prefix occurring with all the aspectual verb construction. Payne remarks, "the negative verbs in Tongan, and generally in Polynesian, do however possess two characteristics of which set them apart from other aspect. Firstly, the form of negative verb may vary according to aspect of the sentences (1985:209). This remark holds true for the Darai language.

4. Mood

The negative prefixes in the declarative and interrogative moods are conditioned by tense (and sometimes by aspects) as discussed earlier. On the other hand, the optative and imperative sentences take a distinct prefix, <j^hun-> in the process of negativization.

4.1 Imperative

- (10) a. t̄ai kam k̄ər-uk
 you work do.nP.SG.IMP
 '(you) do this work.'
- b. t̄ai kam j^hun-k̄ər-uk
 you work NEG.do.nP.SG.IMP
 '(you) do not do this work.'

4.2 Optative

- (11) a. ram g^hər ja-us
 Ram home do.nP.3.SG.OPT
 '(let) Ram go home.'
- b. ram g^hər j^hun-ja-us
 Ram home NEG.do.nP.3.SG.OPT
 '(let) Ram not go home.'

The sentence (10b) and (11b) are the negative forms of (10a) and (10b). Therefore, the negative prefix <j^hun-> is restricted to the imperative and optative moods. Furthermore, unlike in the non-past tense, they do not trigger any other alternation in the internal constituents of the verb. There are not any other ways of expressing negative commands/requests in this language.

5. Negative prefix with BE verbs

Irrespective of tense, the several functions of be verbs like possessive, identificational and existential and locative, employ the negative prefix <nij->. As Abbi has pointed out, negative makers occasionally trigger the dropping of an explicator or auxiliary from a sentence (2001:184). This phenomenon is functional in the case of the Darai language as well.

- (12) a. mæi bidyart^{hi} hək^hə-m
I student be.IDE.nP.1st.SG
'I am a student.'
- b. uskə nam bud^hni hək^hə-i
She.GEN name Budhini be.IDE.nP.3rd.SG.
'Her name is Budhini.'
- (13) a. ram g^həri-hī baʔə-i
Ram-NOM house.LOC be.EXI.nP.3rd.SG
'Ram is at home.'
- b. bəndipur-ñ dərəi-kə g^həna bæsti aʔə-i
Bandipur.LOC Darais dense settlement be.IDE.nP.3rd.SG
'There is a dense settlement of Darais in Bandipur.'
- (14) a. ram g^həri-hī rəhə-i
Ram house.LOC be.P.3rd.SG
'Ram was at home.'
- b. ram g^həri-hī aʔə-i
Ram house.LOC be.EXI.nP.3rd.SG
'Ram is at home.'

(15) a. merə kam aʈə-i
 I-GEN work be.nP.1.SG
 'I have work.'

b. merə kam nij
 I-GEN work NEG-be.nP.1.SG
 'I do not have work.'

Some of the uses of the 'be' verb are mentioned in the examples (12), (13), (14) and (15). They serve identificational, existential, locative in the past tense and possessive functions respectively. Identificational <hək^hə->, and existential <aʈə- baʈə-> form have their identical suppletive form <rəhə-> in the past tense. Interestingly, unlike in the regular verbs which possess different negative markers for the past and non-past, the 'be' verb does not satisfy these norms. Instead, these different forms employ the same negative marker <nij->.

When the identificational and existential including possessive construction with 'be' is negated in the non-past (present) tense, the form of 'be' gets optionally deleted.

(16) a. merə nam raju hək^hə-i
 I.GEN name Raju be.IDEN.nP.1.SG
 'My name is Raju.'

b. merə nam raju nij(hək^hə-i)
 I-GEN name Raju NEG-be.IDEN.nP.1.SG
 'My name is not Raju.'

(17) a. merə b^hai-m-kə kitab aʈə-i
 I-GEN brother-1SG-GEN book be.nP.3.SG
 'My brother has a book.'

b. merə b^hai-m-kə kitab nij (aʈə-i)
 I-GEN brother-1SG-GEN book NEG-be.POSS.nP.3.SG
 'My brother does not have a book.'

- (18) a. meṛa-ke p^hursəd aṭə-i
 I-ACC leisure be.nP.1.SG
 'I have leisure.'
- b. meṛa-ke p^hursəd aṭə-i
 I-ACC leisure NEG-be.nP.1.SG
 'I have leisure.'

The examples (16-18) demonstrate the negative constructions with the copular 'be' in identificational and possessive constructions. There is thus optional deletion of the 'be' verb in these sentences without altering its meaning. <nij-> as a negative marker therefore serves for at least three functions. To begin with, it negates the proposition. Secondly, this is also the reason for triggering the optional deletion of 'be'. Thirdly, this is the carrier of time of 'be' verb because the same construction in the past is not possible, where the presence of the suppletive form <rəhə-> is obligatory. In other words, when these sentences are transformed into the past tense, past form of identificational <hək^hə->, and existential <aṭə-/baṭə-> form, i.e. <rəhə-> is obligatory.

- (19) a. ram g^həri-hī rəhə-i
 Ram-NOM house.LOC be.EXI.P.3rd.SG
 'Ram was at home.'
- b. ram g^həri-hī nij-rəhə-i
 Ram-NOM house.LOC NEG-be.EXI.P.3rd.SG
 'Ram was not at home.'
- (20) a. merə b^hai-m-kə kitab rəhə-i
 I.GEN brother-1SG-GEN book be.POSS.P.3.SG
 'My brother has a book.'
- b. merə b^hai-m-kə kitab nij-rəhə-i
 I.GEN brother-1SG-GEN book NEG-be.P.3.SG
 'My brother did not have a book.'

- * (21) merə b^hai-m-kə kitab nij
 I.GEN brother-1SG-GENbook NEG-be.POSS.P.3.SG
 'My brother did not have a book.'

Ungrammaticality in sentence (21) is resulted from the fact that this is identical to the possessive construction in the non-past (present) tense. Had the example (21) been stated in the non-past tense, it would have turned grammatical. Masica states, "Be with a dative subject is perhaps more often dropped" (1991:393).

6. Negative suffixes in conditional and concessive clause

The negative prefixes in the conditional clauses are conditioned by the tense they carry. Therefore, in case the conditional clause is in the past tense (even if it is hypothetical), it takes the prefix <nij-> but if the conditional clause is in the non-past, it employs <nai-> which is analogous to the main verbs. The sentence (22a) is in conditional (non-past) whereas (22b) is in conditional (past) respectively.

- (22) a. pani nai-pər-ne-sit hame jəi-tahī
 water NEG-fall.CON we go-nP.1PL
 'If it does not rain, we will go.'
- b. pani nij-pər-lə b^həne hame jəi-laharihī
 water NEG-fall.P.3.SG CON. we go.
 'If it had not rained we would have gone.'

Since the negative prefix is chosen on the basis of tense they carry, the conditional clauses (or conditional clause) are not the determinants of the negative prefixes. On the other hand, the negative prefix <nai-> occurs with the concessive clauses.

- (23) a. pani nai-pər-ne-punusit hame jəi-tahī
 water NEG.fall.CONC we go.nPIPL
 'Even if it does not rain, we will go.'

7. Converbs, infinitives

The converbs are negativized by the negative prefix <nai-> as demonstrated in sentences (24a-b). This can be taken as an allomorph of the prefix <nai->, but it mostly occurs in converbs.

- (24) a. ram b^hat na-k^hai-kun rampur jəi-lə
 Ram work NEG.eat.CONJ Rampur go-P.3.SG
 'Ram went to school without eating rice.'
- b. ram b^hat na-k^hai-kun rampur na-jəi
 Ram work NEG.eat.CONJ Rampur go-nP.3.SG
 'Ram will not go home without eating rice.'

On the other hand, the infinitives are marked with the negative prefix <nij-> as demonstrated in the sentences (24a-b).

- (24) a. nij-jəilaɾ gaŋ-kə pəɪɖa j^hun-pu^{sh}
 NEG.go.INF village.GEN road NEG.ask.IMP
 'Don't ask for the road of the village you will not go.'
- b. nij-jəilaɾ b^hat
 NEG.eat.IMP rice
 'rice that (you) don't eat.'

8. Inherently negative expression (quantifiers)

Negation is formed by means of inherently negative quantifiers, analogous to English morpheme *no*, bound as in nothing, nobody, no-one, and none (Payne, 1985:204). Darai constitutes a small set of such expressions which have inherently negative quantifiers.

- (25) a. məi juiyā punu rəksi k^həi-tə-m
 I whenever also wine eat-nP.1.SG
 'I will always drink wine.'

- b. m̄ai k̄əhyā punu r̄aksi nai-k^ha-m
 I whenever also wine NEG-eat-nP.1.SG
 'I will never drink wine.'
- (26) a. u j̄əte punu ja-it
 he wherever also go-nP.1.SG
 'He will go anywhere.'
- b. u k̄əte punu na-ja-i
 he wherever also NEG.go-nP.1.SG
 'He will not go anywhere.'
- (27) a. t̄ai j̄ok^hake punu b^hət̄-t̄ə-m
 you whoever also meet-nP.1.SG
 'You will meet anybody.'
- b. t̄ai k̄ok^hake punu nai-b^hət̄ə-m
 you whoever also NEG-meet-nP.1.SG
 'You will not meet anybody.'

In the sentences (25-27), the pairs of sentences have the set of expressions that inherently function as negative quantifiers. The < j-> form words have neutral meaning whereas their < k-> form counterparts are inherently negative quantifiers. The use of these constructions presupposes that the sentences should be in negative. In case this condition is violated, the sentences turn ungrammatical. On the other hand, the sentences with < k->form constructions, which are inherently negative turn ungrammatical if they are constructed with the affirmative proposition.

- * (26) m̄ai k̄əhyā punu r̄aksi k^h̄ai-t̄ə-m
 I whenever also wine eat-nP.1.SG
 'I will never drink wine.'

The sentence (26) is ungrammatical.

9. Summary of the findings

This discussion is summarized in the table (2).

Table 2: Summary of findings

	<nij->	(<nai-> (<na->),	<j ^h un->
Tenses	past	non-past (obligatory tense marker deletion)	-
Aspects	perfective/ progressive/ past habitual	-	-
Mood	indicative/ interrogative	-	optative/ imperative
Conditional/ hypothetical	conditional	hypothetical	-
Concessive	-	concessive	-
Existential and Identificational	'be'optionall y deleted in non-past	-	-
Converb/ Infinitival	Infinitive - <lar->	<na->occurs mostly in converbs	-

10. Conclusion

True to the type of south Asian features, Darai language makes a distinction between imperative and non-imperative negatie markers. These prefixes all have the identical meaning in the degree of negativizing the proposition is concerned.

The choice of a negative particle is determined by the tense, and mood in Darai language. Thus the negation suffixes in Darai are constrained by their distributional properties and the syntactic functions they carry. Frequency count shows that the prefix <nij-> is of much wider application. The occurrence of <nai-> is merely confined to the non-past tense. The negative prefix <j^hun-> is constrained to the imperative and optative mood whereas <na-> as an allomorphe of <nai-> occurs with the converbs. The findings of these discussions have been summarized in the table (2). Among these morphemes, the morphemes <nij-> is capable of occurring as

an independent word (particle) whereas the other morphemes can not.

These three morphemes must have evolved from Old Indo-Aryan <nə->. As Masica has pointed out, "From the single Old Indo-Aryan negative particle <nə-> has grown up through fusion with other elements and other processes" (1991:389). On the other hand, it is difficult to trace the etymology of imperative and optative marker <j^hun-> because it does not resemble to the Hindi and Punjabi <mət->, Gujarati <ma-> and the like. Instead, it has similarity with Bote <j^hin->, and Danuwar <jun->. In the broad Indo-Aryan overview, the origin of the prefix <j^hun-> is rather obscure. The distribution of negative morphemes are not idiosyncratic but systematic and predictable.

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SYSTEM FOR GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN URDU

Nadir Durrani

Languages of the world exhibit tremendous diversity when it comes to defining their grammatical traits. Some of them act to be accusative while others behave ergative. The one's those are classified as ergative often have in fact dual personalities, which means occasionally they show nominative-accusative patterns and sometimes they display ergative-absolutive system. These are termed as split-ergative languages, whereby syntactic and/or morphological ergative patterns are conditioned by the grammatical context, typically person or the tense/aspect of the verb. This paper provides an analysis of split ergativity in Urdu using standard mechanisms of structural case and agreement licensing.

Keywords: Grammatical relations, Case markers, Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Ergative, Absolutive, Split ergative, Transitive, Intransitive

1. Introduction

Languages vary in cases that mark arguments, and lexical and syntactic conditions on specific cases. They also differ in the way the arguments of a verb are projected syntactically, as subject or objects or oblique arguments. In many of these, subject exhibit nominative case on the nominal phase and person/number agreement on the finite verb. Urdu concurs to this format partially. Finite verb agreement is only found with nominative DPs. This is not an unusual constraint in languages with a single set of agreement features (number, gender or person), reflected on the verbal complex consisting of 'V' and tense/aspect inflection (Davison, 2003).

In Urdu a split occurs between perfect and imperfect aspect. A verb in the perfect aspect makes its arguments to be marked using an ergative system, while the imperfect aspect triggers accusative marking. Urdu has an ergative case on agents in perfective aspect for transitive and ditransitive verbs, while

for other cases agents appear in nominative case. So the split-ergativity in Urdu is triggered by the case-markers specifically by ergative that appears on the subjects of transitive verbs when it carries perfect morphology.

2. Literature review

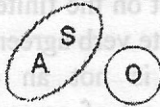
2.1 Background

Dixon (1979) has classified three core semantico-syntactic relations:

- Nominal argument of intransitive clause : S
- Agent like argument of transitive clause : A
- Patient like argument of transitive clause : O

Languages that treat S and A same morpho-syntactically and O differently are said to have nominative-accusative system. On contrary the grammatical pattern in which subject of intransitive clause S and object of transitive clause O get similar treatment while A is different is known as ergative-absolutive system. Examples:-

(1) Nom/Acc-Spoken Tamil [Hoop]



a. Avan-Ø ooD|inAA.

He-Nom ran.

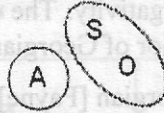
'He ran.'

b. Avan-Ø puLLayE paattAA.

He-Nom boy-Acc saw.

'He saw the boy.'

(2) Erg/Abs - Y'upik [Hoop]



- | | |
|------------|--|
| Nominative | |
|------------|--|
- a. Arnaq-Ø yruar-tuq.
 Woman-Abs dances
 'The woman dances.'
 - b. Angutem tangrr-aa arnaq-Ø.
 Man-Erg sees woman-Erg
 'The man sees the woman.'

Split Ergative languages combine the two systems. The languages that display partly ergative behavior employ different syntax and/or morphology (usually accusative) in some other context. As a matter of fact most of the so-called ergative languages are actually split-ergative.

The split in ergative languages is triggered by some of the following sentence properties (Dixon, 1994):

- Presence of a discourse participant. First or second person pronoun appears but exhibit nominative-accusative behavior. Example: Diyrbal.
- Use of tenses and/or aspect in verbs. Example: Indo-Iranian family of languages.
- Few languages displays ergative-absolutive prototype with respect to case marking, but nominative-accusative pattern in connection with agreement. Example: Sinaugoro.
- Agentivity of intransitive subject. Arguments of active verbs behave like transitive agents and those of inactive verbs act like transitive objects. Example Dakota.

Georgian, Warlpiri and Polish are few other languages that demonstrate split ergativity. The example given below shows split ergative behavior of Georgian:-

(3) Nom/Acc-Georgian [Payne]



a. Student-i midis
Student-Nom goes
'The student went.'

b. Student-i ceril-s cers
Student-Nom letter-Acc writes
'The student writes the letter.'

(4) Erg/Abs-Georgian [Payne]

a. Student-i mivida
Student-Abs went
'The student goes.'

b. Student-ma ceril-i dacera
Student-Erg letter-Abs wrote
'The student wrote the letter.'

In the following sections we will study how Urdu exhibits split ergativity.

2.2 Case markers in Urdu

This section talks about the case system that prevails in Urdu then we will highlight the case alternations which circumstance the split in Urdu. Most of the material covered in this section has been taken from (Butt and King, 2001) and (Davison, 2003).

There are six cases in Urdu. These are shown in table below:-

Table 1: Case markers in Urdu

Nominative	∅	∅
Ergative	ne	نے
Accusative	ko	کو
Instrumental	se	سے
Genitive	k-	ک-
Locative	me, par, tak, se	میں، پر، تک، سے

In this paper we are primarily concerned with the first three. Let us briefly go through how these case markers appear on subjects in Urdu.

2.2.1 Nominative Case

The nominative case marker can occur in all the tenses in transitive and intransitive forms. Example:

(5) Intransitive Nominative Forms

- a. Aslam-∅ roya
Aslam-Nom weep-Perf
'Aslam wept.'
- b. Aslam-∅ rota hai
Aslam-Nom weep-Impf be-Pres
'Aslam weeps.'

- c. Aslam-Ø roy-e-ga
Aslam-Nom weep-Fut
'Aslam will weep.'

(6) Transitive Nominative Forms

- a. Aslam-Ø saib-Ø kha ga
Aslam-Nom apple-Nom eat go-Perf
'Aslam ate apple.'

- b. Aslam-Ø saib-Ø khata hai
Aslam-Nom apple-Nom eat-Impf be-Pres
'Aslam eats apple.'

- c. Aslam-Ø saib-Ø khayee ga
Aslam-Nom saib-Nom eat -Fut
'Aslam will eat apple.'

2.2.2 Ergative case

The ergative case marker (۷) comes with subject of transitive verbs when the verb carries perfective aspect (-a/-i/-e), subject exhibits nominative case otherwise (Butt and King, 2001). When the verb is in perfect tense they are ergative in case they express volitionality (7a). The subject of unaccusatives whether perfect or non-perfect can not have ergative case. They are always nominative (7b). The ergative case also shows up with an infinitive in combination with a present or past form of hai (۷) "be" (7c).

(7) Intransitive ergative forms

- a. Aslam-ne gaaya
Aslam-Erg sing-Perf
'Aslam sang.'
- b. Aslam-Ø/*-ne gaaye-e-ga
Aslam-Nom/*Erg sing-Fut (Non-Perf)
'Aslam will sing.'

- c. Aslam-ne gaana hai
 Aslam-Erg sing-Inf be-Pres
 'Aslam will sing.'

The subject of transitive verbs, with perfective case will always shows ergative behavior (8a). The subject of unergative might optionally acquire ergative (5a) and (7a).

(8) Transitive ergative forms

- a. Aslam-ne/*-Ø chai-Ø banai
 Aslam-Erg/*Nom tea-Nom make-Perf
 'Aslam made the tea..'
- b. Aslam-Ø/*ne chai-Ø banayee ga
 Aslam-Nom/*Erg tea-Nom make-Fut
 'Aslam will make the tea.'
- c. Aslam-ne chai-Ø banani hai
 Aslam-Erg tea-Nom make-Inf be-Pres
 'Aslam will make the tea.'

2.2.3 Dative/accusative case

The Dative ko (کو) marks a goal or specify the experiencer (9a) as compared to ergative (نے) which marks agentivity (9b).

(9) Transitive dative and ergative comparison

- a. Bachay-ko billi-Ø dikhai dee
 Child-Acc cat-Nom sight give-Perf-F
 'The child saw the cat (got the sight of it).'
- b. Bachay-ne billi-Ø daikhi
 Child-Erg cat-Nom see-Perf-F
 'The child saw the cat (saw it purposefully).'

The presence or absence of 'ko' is related to specificity of the object rather than any relevant property of verb (Mahajan, 1990).

3. Methodology

In order to scrutinize grammatical relations three standard parameters are employed:-

- Case marking
- Verb agreement
- Constituent order

A language is analyzed in light these domains one by one. The approach used by (Payne) works by constructing a 3 X 3 matrix. **S**, **A** and **O** operate at x-axis and the above variables function at y-axis. Behavior of **S**, **A** and **O** is examined against each y-axis entry.

Table 2: Inspecting Grammatical Relations

	S	A	O
Case marking			
Verb agreement			
Constituent order			

A language is examined by looking at intransitive and transitive clauses. Against all the three parameters in y-axis behavior of **S**, **A** and **O** is noted to see if **S** acts more like **A** or **O**.

4. Results and discussion

From the study of sections 2.1 and 2.2 and the examples contained within it can be implied that Urdu demonstrates split ergative format. To elaborate further let us try to fill the above defined matrix.

4.1 Case markers

Urdu shows ergative morphology in the perfective and nominative-accusative otherwise. Consider the following example:-

(10) Nom/Acc behavior of Urdu

- a. Ali- \emptyset bhagay ga
Ali-Nom run-Fut
'Ali will run.'
- b. Ali- \emptyset sota hai
Ali-Nom sleep-Impf be-Pres
'Ali sleeps.'
- c. Ali- \emptyset guldaan-ko uthayee ga
Ali-Nom vase-Acc pick-Fut
'Ali will pick up the vase.'
- d. Ali- \emptyset Hamid-ko jagata hai
Ali-Nom Hamid-Acc wake-Impf be-Pres
'Ali wakes Hamid.'

The above example shows the case where Urdu shows nominative-accusative pattern. The subject of intransitive clause and transitive clause coincide.

Table 3: Nom-Acc Case Marking

Criteria	S	A	O
Case Marking	\emptyset	\emptyset	ko

Now consider another example where Urdu shows a completely different behavior:-

(11) Erg/Abs behavior of Urdu

- a. Ali- \emptyset bhaga
 Ali-Nom run-Perf
 'Ali ran.'
- b. Ali-ne/*- \emptyset kahani- \emptyset sunai
 Ali-Erg/*Nom story-Abs tell-Perf
 'Ali told the story.'

The verb with perfective case will not allow nominative subjects. They acquire subjects with ergative behavior. This is clear from example (11b) where the verb 'sunai' demands ergative case 'ne' with subject 'Ali' and is prohibiting 'Ali' to occur with nominative case. So 'Ali- \emptyset ' kahani- \emptyset sunai' is not a valid clause.

Therefore the S of intransitive clause and A of transitive clause do not coincide in this case. However O 'kahani- \emptyset ' of transitive verb 'sunai' coincides with S 'Ali- \emptyset ' since both have nominative case hence showing ergative-absolutive format.

Table 4: Erg-abs case marking

	S	A	O
Case Marking	\emptyset	ne	\emptyset

4.2 Agreement on verbs

All Urdu nouns belong to one of the two nouns gender, masculine and feminine. A verb in the clause agrees to the gender of noun. In (12) for example verb 'laugh' agrees with gender of subject.

(12) Gender agreement

- a. Larka-Ø hansa
 Boy -Nom-M-Sg laugh-Perf-M-Sg
 'The boy laughed.'
- b. Larki-Ø hansī
 Girl-Nom -F-Sg laugh-Perf -F-Sg
 'The girl laughed.'

The singular masculine form takes 'a' sound while the singular feminine form takes 'i' sound. In case of plural or singular form with 2nd or 3rd level of honor they take 'ay' (sound of bari yāy) and 'een' (sound of choti yāy with noon ghuna). The difference of singular and plural and honor level, however, is not relevant to this discussion.

The verb in perfective aspect (which takes ergative case) does not agree with agent of transitive clause. It rather agrees with the other argument of a multi-argument clause. In other cases nominative-accusative pattern is observed. Let us traverse through examples that we used in previous section:-

(13) Nom/acc format on verb agreement

- a. Ali-Ø sota hai
 Ali-Nom-M sleep-M-Impf be-Pres
 'Ali sleeps.'
- b. Nida-Ø soti hai
 Ali-Nom sleep-F-Impf be-Pres
 'Ali sleeps.'
- c. Ali-Ø Hamid-ko jagata hai
 Ali-Nom-M Hamid -Acc-M wake-M-Imp
 'Ali wakes Hamid.'

Ali-M	Ali-M	Gender
Nida-F	Ali-M	Agreement

- d. Nida- \emptyset Hamid-ko jagati hai
 Nida-Nom-F Hamid-Acc-M wake-F-Imp
 'Nida wakes Hamid.'

The verb 'sleep' gender agrees with **S** of intransitive clause similarly verb 'wake' agrees with **A** and not **O** of transitive clause thus showing nominative accusative pattern.

Table 5: Nom-acc gender agreement on verbs

	S	A	O
Gender Agreement	Ali-M	Ali-M	Hamid-M
	Nida-F	Nida-F	Hamid-M

In the perfective tense where **A** is marked with ergative case the verb instead agrees with **O** (patient like argument of multi-clause). Consider the following example:-

(14) Erg/abs format on verb agreement

- a. Ali- \emptyset bhaga
 Ali-Nom-M run-Perf-M
 'Ali ran.'
- b. Ali-ne/*- \emptyset kahani- \emptyset sunai
 Ali-Erg/*Nom-M story-Abs-F tell-Perf-F
 'Aslam told the story.'
- c. Nida-ne/*- \emptyset darwaza- \emptyset khola
 Nida-Erg/*Nom-F door-Abs-M open-Perf-M
 'Nida opened the door.'

Table 6: Erg-abs gender agreement on verbs

	S	A	O
Gender Agreement	Ali-M	Ali-M	Kahani-F
	Ali-M	Nida-F	Darwaza-M

The predicates 'sunai (tell-F)' and 'khola (open-M) in [Ex-14b-c] agree with the **O** arguments ['kahani (story-F) and 'darwaza (door-M)' respectively] of the clause and not with it's **A** argument 'Ali' with ergative case marker. So in this case **O** of transitive clause and **S** of intransitive clause follow identical pattern hence exhibiting ergativity.

4.3 Constituent order

Urdu normally follows AOV and SV structure. But this is not hard and fast rule, often changing the order structure to OAV instead produce exactly the same meaning. See the example below:-

(15) Constituent order in Urdu

- a. Aslam-ne Sultan-ko mara (AOV)
Aslam-Erg Sultan-Acc beat-Perf
'Aslam beat Sultan.'
- b. Sultan-ko Aslam-ne mara (OAV)
Sultan-Acc Aslam-Erg beat-Perf
'Aslam beat Sultan.'

Another extreme example which is not that common can be of AVO and OVA.

(16) Constituent order in Urdu-II

- a. Chor-Ø machayee shor-Ø (AVO)
'Thief-Nom make noise-Nom.'
- b. Shor-Ø machayee chor-Ø (OVA)
'Noise-Nom make Thief-Nom.'

So we can not rely on the constituent order when studying split ergative behavior of Urdu.

X	X	X	Constituent order
---	---	---	-------------------

If we try to sum up all that we have discussed and filling up (Table-2) with Urdu data we get (Table-7). In the section 'Gender agreement on verbs' we have also added the 'pred:' for predicate to give a clearer picture of it.

Table6: Chunk of table 7 agreement visualized

Ali(M)	Nida(F)	Darwaza(M)
Pred: Run(M)	Pred: Open(M)	Pred: Open(M)

Note: In the original image, there are double-headed vertical arrows between Ali(M) and Pred: Run(M), and between Darwaza(M) and Pred: Open(M). There is a crossed-out double-headed vertical arrow between Nida(F) and Pred: Open(M).

Table 7: Split ergative format in Urdu

Criteria	S	A	O
Case marking Nom-Acc	-∅	-∅	-ko
Case marking Erg-Abs	-∅	-ne	-∅
Gender agreement on verbs Nom-Acc	Ali-M	Ali-M	Hamid-M
	Pred: Sleep-M	Pred: Wake-M	Pred: Wake-M
	-----	-----	-----
	Nida-F	Nida-F	Hamid-M
Gender agreement on Verbs Erg-Acc	Pred: Sleep-F	Pred: Wake-F	Pred: Wake-F
	-----	-----	-----
	Ali-M	Nida-F	Darwaza-M
	Pred: Run-M	Pred: Open-M	Pred: Open-M
Constituent order	X	X	X

5. Conclusion

This paper evaluated Urdu as split-ergative language. The analysis was based on standard check-list of three fundamental parameters i.e. case markers, verb agreement and constituent order. We found out that a split pattern in Urdu is triggered by ergative case marking. The ergative case marker is requirement of perfective tense which does not allow nominative case marking to occur on subjects. Other than that nominative-accusative format is observed. We also found that with ergative case markers the verb starts agreeing with object of transitive/intransitive clauses which otherwise agree with subject again showing a split behavior. Much work has been done on non-nominative subjects in Urdu but this paper is first explicit attempt to prove Urdu a split-ergative language. Further research can be conducted by examining the patterns generated by other case markers in Urdu.

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RESEARCH ON THE TYPOLOGY OF NEPAL'S LANGUAGES¹

Tej R. Kansakar

1. Introduction

1.1 Linguistic diversity

Nepal lies in the heart of the Himalayas, and its mountainous character represents a region of great ethnic and linguistic diversity. The four great language families namely, Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic / Munda also include one – possibly two – linguistic isolates. The Sino-Tibetan (S-T) language family competes with Indo-European (I-E) language family for the title of the world's largest language family. There is however no reliable estimate of the actual number of languages spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2001 records the numbers of speakers for 92 languages, and also allows an additional category of 'other unknown languages' with close to half million speakers. Although the 2001 report is a vast improvement from previous censuses, there is no doubt that this list, too, is incomplete by a fairly wide margin. Since no other part of Nepal has been surveyed as completely as the Rai-Kiranti language districts by the Linguistic Survey of Eastern Nepal by the German Research Council, and the research teams of the Himalayan Languages Project based in Leiden University, surveys in other parts of the country would most certainly bring to light information about other, hitherto unknown languages. The current estimate is that there are at least 130 languages spoken in Nepal.

1.2 Language endangerment and documentation

The factors of language endangerment are not the immediate concerns of this paper. The main intention here is to point out

that the vast majority of Nepal's languages remains undocumented or undescribed. We do not know very much about the composition and migration of speakers, the structure of their languages and the nature and duration of their socio-linguistic relations. It is thus clear that many Nepalese languages are not only undescribed but also constitute minority languages (below 500 speakers) that are threatened and consigned to the extremely endangered list. The urgent need is to document these languages before it is too late. In this context it is extremely gratifying to see the resurrection of the Kusunda language long believed to be extinct, and the publication of a working grammar of the language by David Watters and the faculty of the Central Department of Linguistics. The linguists and language scholars working on the languages of Nepal are also very encouraged by the proposal to compile an Encyclopedia of the country's languages as an input to a more comprehensive project on the Linguistic Survey of Nepal in the years to come. Specific mention must be made of the Puma/Chintang project funded by VW Foundation and carried out by Leipzig University in collaboration with the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. Similarly, Bhasasanchar, an EU funded project is being conducted by Open and Lancaster Universities of UK in collaboration with Madan Puraskar Pustakalaya, the T.U Department of Linguistics, and some other academic institutions to localize Nepali language. The Interim Report of the Himalayan Languages Project (1996: 5) has rightly accorded primacy to descriptive fieldwork with focus on the S-T language family which they claim "is typologically the most heterogeneous collection of genetically related languages known to linguistics. Because diachronic processes in S-T have resulted in astonishing typological diversity, linguistic comparison of S-T languages is both of general typological interest and of historical linguistic importance". The proposal to include a course in Corpus and

Computational Linguistics in the M.A. linguistics syllabus from this academic session will also be an additional input to such research.

1.3 Historical relations

Another issue related to historical relationship is also an important one, but this is far from clear in many of Nepal's major and minor languages. In Nepal there are dozens of languages that have yet to be genetically classified without ambiguity or controversy. We have heard or read about considerable debate among S-T scholars concerning the sub-grouping of languages within the family. These debates naturally arise from gaps in our knowledge due largely to lack of relevant research and reliable documentation of languages. For those interested in S-T historical linguistics, the question of whether or not to reconstruct complex verbal morphology for Proto-Tibeto-Burman, or tone for Proto-S-T, for example, is still an unresolved issue. There have also been some hasty reconstructions of the verb morphology of Proto-T-B, Proto-Kiranti or Proto-Newar without adequate historical or comparative data. The resolution of such problems and debates will depend on the presence of solid descriptive materials. S-T obviously is an important field for the development of the theory and practice of historical linguistics, but reconstructions are only as good as the data on which they are based.

2. Typology of Language Clusters

The languages of Nepal affiliated to various language families form themselves into several identifiable language groups or clusters : (a) the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manange group in the west, (b) Tibetan and its numerous dialects, including Sherpa, Dolpo, Kagate and Lhomi in the north, (c) Nepali, Baram / Brahmui, Chepang, Magar, Kham, Raute, Newar of

the Central Himalayan region, (d) the complex Rai-Kiranti groups in the Eastern Himalayas, (e) Maithili, Tharu, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Magahi in southern Terai, and (f) the Austric and Dravidian cluster consisting of Santhali, Kharia, Mundari, Koruwa, Kurux / Urao~ spoken by minority groups in the South-Eastern districts of the country. The two known language isolates of Nepal, namely Badi (?) and Kusunda consist of nomadic speakers of indeterminate geographical locations. The existence of these multiple language clusters itself pose a big challenge to field work. Given the numerical density of Nepal's languages, it is disheartening to note that only about 35-40 of these languages have some grammatical descriptions and published collections of lexical items ranging from full dictionaries in a few cases to simple word lists for the majority. The remaining languages listed in the Census Report 2001 have no significant published documentation. This situation clearly shows that there have not been systematic research to determine the similarities and differences in the linguistic features between and among languages and language groups. A pioneer work on this line that can be cited here is that of Glover (1970) who attempted a cognate grouping of the western and central groups of T-B languages based on shared lexical counts. There is thus immense scope for the typological study of the languages by collecting information on the common characteristics and those that can classify languages into distinct types. We would need evidence to show whether the languages within a particular group share common features with minor variations or sharply opposed to each other. The latter approach seeks to study the differentiating linguistic features of selected languages in order to establish a typological classification of Nepal's languages. The differences that occur among languages can be determined by two factors, namely genetic relations and geographical proximity of language contact. A typological classification can thus be based on the approach

that divides languages into different families, or the assimilation of borrowed features of lexicon and grammar through migration and contact with speakers of other languages. The long periods of contact between speakers of T-B languages of different stocks have resulted in considerable lexical and grammatical borrowing, which has tended to obscure genetic relationships. While we may be able to predict the similarity of main features among languages of a particular family, there may also be significant differences among languages of the same family that allow us to sub-classify certain languages into smaller typological classes. The typological status of the Newar language in relation to other T-B languages and its network of dialects is a case in point in this context. Newar or Nepal Bhasa is a well documented language with a long history of written tradition, but its contacts with Sanskrit and Prakrit languages have been deep-rooted and very pervasive. The language therefore has been subject to extensive lexical and structural borrowings from Indo-Aryan (I-A) languages over several centuries. It is thus natural for the Kathmandu Valley dialects in particular to lose many of their original lexical and grammatical features. The most outstanding problem is that of the two systems of verb agreement that co-exist in the language today, namely the simple conjunct-disjunct agreement in the Kathmandu Valley dialects and the complex person-number agreement in Dolakha Newar of eastern Nepal with a residue reflex in the Badikhel Pahari (Kodpa) Newar dialect. This situation would compell us to recognize a typological sub-class for Dolkhae and Badikhel dialects which may later develop into full, independent languages.

Apart from the typological distinctions that arise between a language and its dialects, we also need to consider the different processes of grammaticalization that may have taken place within the language groups mentioned above. For example, a finite verb may be demoted to an auxiliary

function and further reduced to a bound morpheme. Such paths of grammaticalization are commonly attested in Newar where a verb like *kaa-ye* 'to take', for example, has been auxiliarised to *munaa-kaaye* 'gather-take', and morphologised to a causative bound morpheme *muna-k-e* 'cause to gather'. In aspect-prominent languages such as I-A Nepali, the development of past / non-past or past-present-future distinctions can be traced to earlier perfect / imperfect aspect categories. The mood-prominent T-B languages generally develop future / non-future or past / non-past distinctions from an earlier irrealis / realis frame of reference. The T-B languages also tend to develop an elaborate system of past and future tenses in terms of modal concepts like evidentiality, supposition, judgement etc. While such changes are widely attested in I-A and T-B languages of Nepal, we should not allow this to dominate or disguise the genetically inherited features which often co-exist with borrowed features.

3. A genetic approach to typological classes

The most obvious approach to the typological classification of languages is based on the genetic affiliation of languages to a particular family and the inherent linguistic features which differentiate languages of other families. However, the linguistic configuration of Nepal shows a very complex situation where languages of different families share many features in common. The T-B and I-A, for example, share phonological, morphological and syntactic features, while Austric and Dravidian languages share grammatical features of word order, case marking and verb morphology with that of I-A. It is therefore possible to show typological relationship between these language families. This approach would allow us to recognize those features that are unique to a particular family as well as those that are shared in common across genetic boundaries. I propose in this section to point out some

of the most interesting aspects of grammar that can be used to establish typological classification of Nepalese languages.

3.1 Prominence of verbal categories

Bhat (1999) argues that a typological distinction can be established among languages depending upon the relative prominence that they attach to tense, aspect and mood. He postulates that the grammars of I-A and T-B languages are generally biased towards tense when the distinctions are clearly aspectual or modal. The Austric and Dravidian languages, on the other hand, have tense markings in both finite and non-finite verbs. In my paper Kansakar (2001 : 131-158) I attempted to determine what syntactic features are typologically significant in the languages of Nepal and how the degrees of prominence in T-A-M can allow us to group actual languages into sub-types under one or other of these idealized languages. The prominence in one or other of these verbal categories can be distinguished in the same way as synthetic, agglutinating and isolating language types.

In a T-B language such as Tamang, finite verbs occur in independent clauses permitting formal contrasts of tense and mood, while non-finite verbs occur only in dependent clauses which lack these contrasts. Consider the following examples :

- (1) (a) dolmo kaan dhaai-baan moola

Dolmo food cook-Prog is
'Dolmo is cooking food.'

- (b) dolmo-se kaan caa-ji

Dolmo-Erg food eat-Pst
'Dolmo ate / has eaten her meal.'

- (2) (a) paasaang hyaar-baan khaa-ji

Pasaang run-Prg come-Pst
'Pasaang came running.'

- (b) aama-se thaana-baa mutaa-laa
 mother-Erg keep-Prf have-may
 'Mother may have kept it.'

The Tamang verbs also encode purely modal suffixes like < -sye > and < -nem > which, according to Chalise (1999: 43), 'always indicate future potentiality and inference of past event respectively, for example :

- (3) (a) ngaa-ni-ce cu taam the-daa syet-sye
 I-Plu (excl)-Erg this matter he-Dat tell-Potential
 'We will tell him about this matter.'
- (b) aale-cey ethung-nem
 brother-Erg milk.drink-Inference
 'Brother has drunk the milk'. (There was milk in the glass, now it is empty)

The prominence of mood in T-B is perhaps best exemplified in the greater number of modal distinctions as compared to tense and aspect distinctions. The two important concepts of evidentiality and volitionality are amply expressed in epistemic and deontic moods which are more clearly distinguished in T-B than in I-A languages.

The prominence of aspect in I-A has traditionally been described as tense-based. The distinction in these languages is not a temporal one of past / non-past but an aspectual one of perfective / imperfective. The aspectual contrasts in Nepali are typical of I-A languages. Examples :

(4) Simple vs progressive

- (a) ma bhaat khaan chu
 I rice eat am
 'I eat rice.'

- (b) ma bhaat khaan-dai chu / khaai-rahe chu
 I rice eat-Prog am / eat-Prg am
 'I am eating rice.'

(5) Present vs present perfect

- (a) ma dekh chu
 I see am
 'I see.'
- (b) mai-le us-laai dekh-e
 I-Erg he-Dat see-Prf
 'I have seen him.'

(6) Perfect vs Imperfect

- (a) us-le cithi lekh-yo
 he-Erg letter write-Prf
 'He wrote a letter.'
- (b) u cithi likhi-raheko thi-yo
 he letter write-Prg be-Prf
 'He was writing a letter.'
- (c) us-le cithi lekh-in-cha
 he-Erg letter write-Imprf-am
 'He will write a letter.'

Maithili also has a series of imperfective aspectual distinctions to denote simple present < -ch >, progressive / habitual past marked with < -ait > on the verb and < -al > on the auxiliary. The future perfect is marked with the perfective suffix < -ne > on the main verb and the future marker < -at > on the auxiliary to show the aspectual distinction, as can be seen in the following sentences :

- (7) (a) raam likh-ait ai-ch
 Ram write-Imprf aux-Prs.3.nh
 'Ram writes.'

(b) raam likh-ait ch-al
 Ram write-Imprf aux-Pst.3.sg.nh
 'Ram was writing / Ram used to write.'

(c) raam likh-ne rah-at
 Ram write-Prf Aux-Fut.3.sg.nh
 'Ram will have written.'

The Austric and Dravidian languages, on the other hand, have tense markings in both finite and non-finite verb forms. In Kharia, for example, there is person agreement but no number and gender agreement, and all verbs inflect for tense :

(8) (a) ing pe nog-ing
 I rice-eat-Prs.1.sg
 'I eat rice.'

(b) ing pe nokh-oi
 I rice eat-Pst.1.sg
 'I ate rice.'

(c) am pe nog-em
 you rice eat-Prs.2.sg
 'You eat rice.'

(d) am pe nokh-op
 you rice eat-Pst.2.sg
 'You ate rice.'

(e) haangkaar pe nog-e
 he rice eat-Prs.3.sg
 'He eats rice.'

(f) haangkaar pe nokh-o
 he rice eat-Pst.3.sg
 'He ate rice.'

In the Dravidian language Kurux / Urao~, simple verbs and periphrastic verb sequences are fully inflected for tense, as can be seen in the following examples (Ebert 1996: 6-7) :

(9) Present Perfect :

masc.		fem.
1.sg.	esk-an bee'e-d-an	isk-in bee'in
	'I have broken.'	
2.sg.	esk-ai- bee'e-d-ai	isk-ii bee'ii-dii
	'You have broken.'	
3.sg.	esk-as bee'e-d-as	isk-ii bii'ii
	'He/she has broken.'	

3.2 Distinctions in Parts of Speech

In T-B languages, adjectival words function as verbs, while in I-A languages the adjectivals are normally included in the category of nouns. The Austric languages, on the other hand, recognize adjectivals as a distinct word class. While it is true that some T-B languages have adjectivals distinct from verbs, there is no categorical distinction between the two especially when adjectival words continue to function as state verbs. In Newar, for example, adjectives can inflect for case and number when they function as noun phrase heads. The following examples use the adjective *ballaa* 'strong' :

(10)	Singular	Plural	Inanimate
Nom.	ballaa-mha	ballaa-pi~	ballaa-gu
Agt.	" -mha-ã	" -pi-sã	" -gu-li~
Com/Loc	" -mha-yaake.	" -pi~ke	" -gu-li:
Dat	" -mha-yaata	" -pi:~ta	" -gu-yaata
Gen	" -mha-yaa	" -pini-gu	" -gu-yaa

(11) Adjectives with verbal suffixes:

- (a) kothaa khwaau~la
room cold-Pst disj
'The room became cold.'
- (b) ji-i~ kothaa khwaau~k-ā
I-Erg room cold-Caus-Pst conj
'I made the room cold.'
- (c) cha-ā kothaa khwaau~kal-a
you-Erg room cold-Caus-Pd
'You made the room cold.'
- (d) kothaa khwaau~k-ā byu
room cold-Caus-Pc-Imp
'Make the room cold !'
- (e) we-ā ji-ta kothaa khwaau~k-ā bil-a
'S/he made the room cold for me.'

In I-A languages, the adjectival words can be identified as nouns as in Sanskrit noun phrase *rakt-am syut-am* 'red bag' does not indicate which of the two constituent elements is the attribute and which is the head. Some I-A languages like Nepali, Maithili have developed a class of adjectives distinct from nouns. These adjectives are inflected and agree for gender and number with the nouns they qualify (12 a-c), while nominal modification is also achieved by a periphrastic construction rather than by adjectives (12 a-d) Examples :

- (12) (a) yo ghar raamr-o cha
this house beautiful-sg is
'This house is beautiful.'

- (b) yi ghar-haru raamr-ā cha-n
 these house-Plu beautiful-Plu is-Plu
 'These houses are beautiful.'
- (c) miraa raamr-i ch-in
 Mira beautiful-Fem is-Fem
 'Mira is beautiful.'
- (d) kaam gar-ne maanche ga-i sak-yo
 work do-Inf person go-Pst Prf
 'The person who works has gone.'

3.3 Word formation

As noted above, the I-A languages do not distinguish between nouns and adjectives, and we can thus assume that the formation of nominal as well as adjectival words will be similar. The T-B languages, on the other hand, use the same processes for forming adjectivals and verbal bases. The two types of languages however differ in the formation of compound words. In I-A compounding is a process for deriving both nominal as well as adjectival words, as can be seen in (13 a,b,c) :

- (13) (a) n – n : ghar-jwaa-i~
 house-son-in-law
 'a son-in-law who lives in his wife's house'
- (b) adj – n : taajaa-khabar
 fresh-news
 'latest news'
- (c) v – n : gae-ko barsa
 go-Pst year
 'the past year'

In T-B, on the other hand, compounding is used only for deriving nominal bases, as can be seen in the following (Hargreaves 2003 : 377) :

- (14) (a) n - n : jaa-ti 'rice-broth';
 jyaa-khu~ 'work-thief' > 'idler / slacker'
- (b) adj - n : paau~khwa 'sour-face' > 'grumpy person';
 kwaa-ti 'hot-liquid' > 'bean soup'
- (c) v - n : naye - waa 'eat-tooth' > 'molar tooth';
 bwa-sala 'fly-horse' > 'type of mythical animal'.

Word formation in Newar also involve processes of suffixation and prefixation :

- (15) (a) jyaa 'work' > jyaa-mi 'worker'; jyaa-pu
 'farmer'; jyaapu-ni 'female farmer'
- (b) aelaa 'liquor' > aelaa-gulu 'drunkard'
- (c) na- 'eat' > na-saa 'food'
- (d) lwaa- 'fight' > lwaa-pu 'quarrel'; lwaa-bha
 'weapon'
- (e) gyaa- 'be afraid' > gyaan-pu 'fearful, dangerous';
 gyaa-ka 'fearfully'
- (f) tho 'this' > thu-li 'this much'; thu-khe 'this
 direction'; tha-na 'this place'; tha-the 'in this
 manner'; tha-bale 'at this time'; tha-paeco 'this
 extent / degree; tha-paaedha~ 'this big'.
- (16) kaa- 'take' > du-kaa 'take in'; pi-kaa 'take out';
 tha-kaa 'take up'; kwa-kaa 'take down'; nhya-kaa
 'take front'; li-kaa 'take back / remove'.

The role of suffixing and prefixing in word formation appears to be a productive process in T-B, but there are severe restrictions in the use of prefixes in I-A.. Another kind of difference can be noted in the classical I-A language Sanskrit where almost all words (nouns as well as verbs) can be derived from verbal roots, but in T-B the nominal and verbal roots are quite distinct.

3.4 Case marking

Case markers indicate the types of relations that occur between the verb and its arguments which define the case roles of actor (agent), patient (undergoer), instrument or the location or source of an action (ablative). The number of actions involved, however, may exceed the number of case markers in any given language. This situation has given rise to what is known as case syncretism where language types such as I-A, T-B and Dravidian tend to use the same case markers to show different case relations. For example, in I-A languages the case relations of actor and instrument are generally distinct, although Nepali tends to use the agentive < -le > to show certain instrumental functions as well. In Maithili the case marker < -sa~ > has both instrumental and ablative functions. In Newar the case suffix marked with various nasal vowels < -ã, ā~,i~,ũ > combines the functions of instrument, actor and source of action (ablative). In Dravidian the case marker < -inda > also denotes both instrument and source. The following examples from Nepali and Newar illustrate these usages :

(17) (a) raam-le kaam gar-yo
 Ram-Erg work do-Pst
 'Ram did the work.'

(b) lathi-le hirkaa-yo
 stick-Inst hit-Pst
 '(Someone) hit with a stick.'

(18) (a) wa-ã jaa nal-a
 s/he-Erg rice eat-PD
 'S/he ate rice.'

(b) wa jyaakuthi-i~ wal-a
 S/he office-Abl come-PD
 'S/he came from the office.'

(c) ji-i~ caku-ū taan-ā

I-Erg knife-Inst cut-PC

'I cut it with a knife.'

Although Nepali, Newar and Maithili differentiate the dative, comitative and genitive case markers, it is possible to establish a typological classification of Nepal's languages based on the distinct or overlapping functions of case markers and case relations.

3.5 Use of Classifiers

The use of classifiers in the languages of Nepal is very limited. According to Weidert (1984 : 185-210) Newar and Meche are the two T-B languages of Nepal with a full-fledged development of numeral and verbal classifiers. Tamang (Murmi) also shares the numeral classifiers with variations in word order, but other T-B languages which are immediate linguistic neighbours of Newar such as Lhasa Tibetan, Sherpa, Chepang, Kagate etc do not seem to have even the simplest forms of numeral classifiers. Malla and Kansakar (2000) also point out that 'the use of the classifiers with nouns may be an areal feature rather than an indigenous linguistic innovation'. Tamang has a simplified system of classifiers which categorize certain noun classes while Newar and Meche represent a complex classifier language type. There are therefore no other T-B languages with differential classifier systems. Among the I-A languages, Nepali and few others do have numeral-classifier constructions but most of the words that occupy the classifier slot are not true classifiers. We can thus distinguish languages with true classifiers (that occur as bound morphemes), semi-classifiers (that appear as non-unit counters) and non-classifiers (consisting of measure-unit quantifiers and reduplicatives). The following sentences illustrate these categories of classifiers in Newar, Meche, Tamang and Nepali :

(19) Newar : N-Num-Clf / Num-Clf-N

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) manu cha-mha (human) | 'one person' |
| khicaa cha-mha (animate non-human) | 'one dog' |
| saphu cha-gu (inanimate) | 'one book' |
| che~ cha-khaa | 'one house' |
| cosaa cha-pu | 'one pen' |
| de:maa cha-paa | 'one plate' |
| (b) la: cha-phuti | 'one drop of water' |
| caa cha-dhi | 'one lump of soil' |
| saphu: cha-pa~ | 'one pile of books' |
| (c) jaaki pha-chi | 'one pathi of rice grains' |
| bu~ cha-pi: | 'one ropani of land' |
| duru ku-chi | 'two manas of milk' |
| kaapa cha-saa | 'one bolt of cloth' |
| (d) palaa cha-palaa | 'one foorstep' |
| dhwa cha-dhwa | 'one line' |

(20) Meche : N-Clf-Num

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (a) mansi sa -tshe | 'one person' |
| tshaimaa ma-tshe | 'one dog' |
| dongphaang thong-tshe | 'one tree' |
| (b) mairong got-tshe | 'one grain of rice' |
| lekha gang-tshe | 'one sheet of paper' |

(21) Tamang : Clf-Num-N

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| (a) mhendo-gik mhi | 'one person' |
| gor-nhi naagi | 'two dogs' |
| (b) jor-gik paanaai | 'one shoe' |
| gor-som dhi:m | 'three houses' |

(22) Nepali : Num-Clf-N

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) dui-janaa manche | 'two persons' |
| ek-wataa caraa | 'one bird' |
| ek-wataa rukh | 'one tree' |
| (b) ek-daano aalu | 'one potato' |
| ek-dhiko dahi | 'one lump of yogurt' |
| ek-gedo caamal | 'one grain of rice' |
| ek-poti lasun | 'one whole garlic' |
| ek-kesro lasun | 'one section of garlic' |
| ek-kesro suntalaa | 'one section of orange' |
| (c) ek-pitko ghyu | 'one pot of ghee' |
| ek-cimti nu:n | 'one pinch of salt' |

3.6 Grammatical Relations

Grammatical relations has to do with the linguistic forms, the grammatical functions and meaning relations in a sentence. An understanding of these relations is required to describe the grammar of a language. The grammatical relations thus seek to establish how the subject is related to the verb and its direct or indirect object. Another notion concerns the semantic and pragmatic relations which define the communicative functions of language. Bhat (1991) argues that grammatical relations and semantic or pragmatic relations are two separate concepts, and it is possible to find languages that make use of communicative functions without grammatical relations. This means that grammatical relations do not apply to all languages of the world, and hence are not universal. Semantic relations like the volitional actor or causer, animate patient (affected individual), location or source of action are expressed directly by case-markers, not grammatical relations. Pragmatic relations like topic and focus too can be conveyed by changes in word order, uses of enclitics, pauses, emphasis and changes in voice quality. The nature of communication may also depend on the simple or complex structure of the noun phrase

or verb phrase which are more concrete and explicit than an abstract concept like grammatical relations.

As pointed out earlier, the notion of evidentiality of an action / event or the volitionality of an actant is far more important in T-B than the notion of transitivity which generally plays a central role in describing the formal grammatical relations of sentence structure. In other words, grammatical relations in T-B may be redundant to relate semantic roles to their morphemic representations. Another interesting point that needs to be noted here is that factive complements can occur only with non-volitional (mostly epistemic) predicates expressed by verbs like *loman-e* 'to forget', *wo-ye* 'to come', *kha-ye* 'to be true', *maal-e* 'to be necessary' etc. The non-factive complements, on the other hand, can occur only with volitional (mostly deontic) predicates like *dhaa-ye* 'to say', *nen-e* 'to ask', *khyaa-ye* 'to frighten, to threaten' etc. Bhat (1998: 28) notes that 'this distinction also cuts across the transitive-intransitive distinction', as can be seen in the following Newar examples :

- (23) (a) wa-ã dhaa-gu khã loman-a
 he-Erg say-Nom (factive) matter forget-PD
 '(I) forgot what he said'
- (b) wa wo-e-gu yaa:
 he come-NPC-Nom (factive) do,STAT
 'He comes (habitually).'
- (24) (a) ji-i~ wa-yaata daa-e dhakaa khyaan-ã
 I-Erg he-Dat beat-NPC (now factive) Comp threaten-PC
 'I threatened him that I would beat him.'
- (b) ji won-e-ta so-yaa
 I go-NPC-Purp (now factive) try-PC
 'I tried to go.'

Bhat also raises the question of whether 'a split ergativity system' can be used as a label to describe ergative-accusative relations in T-B. He advocates the view that since the notion of volitionality is more crucial than transitivity, 'we may have to regard T-B languages as neither ergative nor accusative, but as active'.

4. Typological isoglosses: an overview

We referred to the language families in Nepal as representing distinct groups or clusters. Among the I-A languages, Maithili-Bhojpuri-Tharu-Avadhī of South Terai represents a single group, while the T-B family represents several clusters divided by ethnic and geographical boundaries. These language groups offer immense scope for areal typological studies in which comparative morphological and syntactic data could establish a continuum of language contact and convergence or diversification of languages into multiple typologies. Noonan (1999) while elaborating on the extent of this diversification commented that the situation in Nepal goes beyond what Matisoff had labelled as Indosphere and Sinosphere as the country has two other clearly distinct influences, namely Ur-Himalayan and Austro-Asiatic. He then went on to provide a summary view of 'a large number of phonological, morphological, and syntactic isoglosses' which run through the country, resulting in a considerable degree of typological diversity for so small an area. (of 54,000 sq. miles = 142,000 sq. kilometres). A few of the more prominent isoglosses are listed below :

Phonological :

1. presence vs absence of retroflex consonants
2. true retroflex vs alveolar with rhoticized off-glide
3. presence vs absence of tone systems
4. presence vs absence of distinctive murmur
5. two-way vs three-way glottal timing contrasts

Morphological :

1. monosyllabic vs polysyllabic morphemes
2. largely isolating vs agglutinative morphology
3. presence vs absence of complex verb agreement systems
4. analytic vs inflectional reflexive
5. presence vs absence of conjunct / disjunct systems
6. mixed prefixing / suffixing systems vs wholly or predominately suffixing systems

Syntactic :

1. the presence vs the absence of finite subordination
2. converbial constructions vs serialization
3. use of nominalizations vs participles or relative clauses for clausal modification of nouns
4. consistently ergative syntax vs aspectually split ergative syntax vs split ergativity based on the animacy hierarchy vs inverse syntax vs accusative syntax.
5. presence vs absence of 'antidative' syntax
6. presence vs absence of 'dative subject' constructions
7. presence vs absence of 'vertical' case and 'vertical' verbs (Locative, Ablative & Allative cases which include vertical directionals)
8. presence vs absence of 'compound' case (compounding of locative case clitics)
9. presence vs absence of honorific verb and noun stems
10. presence vs absence of numeral classifiers.

The typological isoglosses outlined above provide strong evidence that many languages of Nepal are in transition along one or more of these parameters. Our research on the typology of Nepal's languages therefore needs to highlight how these transitions occur, and 'what happens to languages at the intersection of distinct typological areas'. In this connection, the south-eastern districts of Jhapa and Sunsari are certainly ideal areas for studies on contact-induced language changes. The Jhapa district in particular represents a meeting point of languages affiliated to all the four language

families spoken in Nepal, and collaborative plans need to be initiated for more intensive research in the area.

5. Conclusions

The sketch given above provides some of the important differences that occur in the languages of this country, but this is by no means exhaustive in coverage and content. More detailed surveys are obviously required to include the typological divisions that may be revealed through data collections from many other languages. We would also need to explore how the comparison of a set of features within a language group can help us to predict the presence or absence of a particular feature in any given language. For example, the phonological feature of aspiration occurs in many T-B languages, but its occurrence in the Rai-Kiranti group is not regular, and lexical tone is predictable only for select groups of Bodish languages such as Tibetan and Tamang-Manang. I believe that typological studies on these lines can be very fruitful, and the highly complex linguistic situation that prevails in the country presents a challenge as well as immense scope for future research.

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LITERACY IN MOTHER TONGUE THE PRACTICE AND THE OUTCOME

Anju Khadka

1. Background

Who is to be asked for language choice, the parents, the state, the community, or the learner? This question has not been raised in Nepal. But the evidences show that discussion has been made at the apex level. The apex level discussion yielded three ways: way of language enforcement, way of mother tongue instruction, and way of language transfer. It was only after the restoration of democracy in 1990, language activists have been raising this issue. The reason behind is that the constitution of Nepal declared the country as multilingual and multicultural land (National Language Policy Recommendation Commission, 2050 BS).

History shows that different modes can be seen in the use of language for instruction. Sanskrit was the medium of instruction for the Hindus. DEVA KULA, GURU KULA, RAJ KULA AND RISHI KULA used this language but these KULAs were inaccessible to the mass (Koirala, 1988). According to Koirala, after 1769 Shah Rulers neglected education and made education no one's business because they were busy in territorial expansion and in wars. Consequently, non-formal education (NFE) was confined to family business or the services of religious people. It was only in the late 1940s that the country started literacy classes from the government resources (Sharma, 2058 BS). This effort was systematized after the implementation of the first five-year development plan (1954–1959). From then on HMG/N developed and implemented various literacy/NFE programs. Both government and non-government agencies have been involved in making people literate and functional. Thus, in the

period of 1847-1950, and 1951-1990 also, only Nepali language was used as the medium of instruction in State's NFE programs.

With the changed context, after 1990s, the government and I/NGOs took initiatives on mother tongue literacy programs. Some of the ethnic organizations and Indigenous People's National Organizations also implemented mother tongue literacy programs in some parts of the country. Approximately, more than 92 language groups have been identified (Census, 2002) but only few languages have mother tongue literacy program. Some of these languages have orthography and others follow oral/literacy traditions. Languages such as Maithili and Newar have their literary traditions. Some of the languages such as Maithali, Newar, Limbu and Tamang have their own scripts. And some languages like Limbu and Tamang have their own orthography. In other words, these languages are using their own scripts. Most of other languages have only oral traditions i.e. they have neither literature nor orthography. These languages include Raute of the hill and Rajbanshi of Terai and others.

Like in the formal sectors, materials are developed in different languages in non-formal sectors as well. Interestingly only 7 languages such as Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Tharu, Abadhi, Maithili, and Limbu have their mother tongue literacy programs. Only literacy primers are available in Gurung, Magar, Tamang, and Limbu languages. Maithili, Abadhi, and Tharu have post-literacy materials as well. But in some languages, literacy facilitators have been using the languages of the learners for instruction only. In other words there are neither literacy primers nor post-literacy learning materials in them. This situation provides the fact that there is more than one language that needs to be thought out from mother tongue literacy promotion point of view. But what have been the

good practices of mother tongue literacy that can be shared at the national level? In order to answer this question, I had conducted empirical study to draw real picture of the communities. The conceptual framework, methodology and the findings of the study are presented in the following sections.

2. Conceptual framework

Mother tongue programs are living in critical situation due to state-imposed mono-lingual policy and utility reasons of Nepali language. As a result, only Nepali language has emerged as "internal colonial language". In other words, offices and schools have been the strong "state apparatus" to strengthen Nepali and limit other languages. Due to the less values given to the other languages than Nepali, the other languages remained as underdeveloped which eventually turned out to be a burning problems over the years (Dahal, 1999). Even in the present context, the trend of monolingual practice is observed in the classrooms and mother tongue of minorities have been invisible yielding educational problems for the children of the minority language groups (Awasthi, 2004). This monolingual practice was emphasized when the second educational plan (ARNEC, 1962) advocated for Nepali as the medium of instruction and this initiation was followed by other succeeding educational plan (NESP, 1970). The above scenarios imply that non-Nepali language speakers did not get an opportunity to learn in their mother tongue languages. So their language could not develop on one side and, on the other side, they faced initial difficulty to read, write and learn in literacy/NFE program.

The constitution of the kingdom of Nepal (1990; article 3:18:1&2) provided the rights for every group of people to promote and protect their own language and scripts and mother tongue education. Similarly, the succeeding education plans (NEC, 1992 and HEC, 2000) championed for mother

tongue education. However, the use of the mother tongue in literacy program can confine people in their own language. The study showed that grassroots beneficiaries of the literacy programs were facing difficulty when they would go to the market and government offices. Similarly, they feel difficulty when they want to talk with the people of other language groups. It indicates the fact that those persons who are literate in only mother tongue feel importance of Nepali language and the international language, English. This situation has challenged non-formal education sector (Khadka, 2006). Even the practice shows that people look for multilingual options for survival needs outside their homes (Acharya et al., 2006). For example, SOLVE Nepal and BASE have already developed multilingual dictionary for the literacy learner.

Development and multilingualism are related in one or other ways. So the developmentalists argue that development can only sustain if the existing ways of understanding are recognized, mobilized and made a part of the externally sponsored development program (Chhetri, 1994). Likewise, sustainable development is also relied on the extent of recognition of socio-cultural perception and practices of the local people (Llamas, 2003). In a nutshell, non-formal education of Nepal can / should be conceptualized as multiple programs to address the cultural, linguistic, thematic, ability multiplicities.

Different nomenclatures such as popular education, awareness education, adult education, rural education, permanent education demand mother tongue literacy programs. The functional school of non-formal education propagated by Philip Coombs and Manjoor Ahmed focuses on ruralization of the NFE contents and looks for mother tongue education for the learners' mobility; critical school of Paulo Freire uses the rural theme but tries to make people critically aware through what he calls conscientization through group process for active

learning and the active learning demands mother tongue; amicable school of Julius Nerere uses functional frame of Coombs and Ahmed and concentration frame of Paulo Freire. It also asks for active participation where mother tongue plays important role; and community literacy school of Brian Street and David Archer uses utility frame and makes non-formal as individual affairs. Like others it also advocates the need of mother tongue teaching.

In the above context I have made efforts to analyze the local perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and experiences with the facilitation by government line agencies and I/NGOs regarding the language context of Literacy/NFE of this study. And I tried to understand the good practices of mother tongue literacy that can be shared at the national level.

3. Methodology

This study, which I carried out in 2005 in association with other friends, is based on qualitative design. This study took one month long data collection time. Particularly, interactions, FGD, and meetings with people of different backgrounds such as ethnic groups, researchers, GOs and I/NGOs were used for data collection. Similarly, reflection session with language activists, literacy/NFE practitioners, and representatives of UNESCO Kathmandu was organized. Relevant books and reports were reviewed.

4. Study area

Eight settlements of the study VDC were selected. They were: Tamsepakha CLC in Nordevi Tole of Kathmandu district; Rajghat and Singh Devi VDC of Nibuwatar, Vaise, and Amvanjyang VDCs of Makwanpur district; and Dangaura and Chakhoura villages in Narayanpur VDC of Dang district. Particularly, the settlements were characterized by heterogeneity. The informants were drawn from Newar, Limbu and Tharu community.

5. Good practices on mother tongue literacy

5.1 Code switching as an approach to teaching in bilingual setting

Code switching is an approach, which was often used in classroom when different languages have to be used for teaching and learning. I found this approach when I visited the Literacy/NFE of Tamsepakha CLC of Kathmandu. One of facilitators of this CLC, Manohara Maharjan reported me that many of the people of 40+ age group are still illiterate and speak only Newar language at Nordevi area. It is in this community UNESCO assisted for mother tongue literacy. In each literacy class there were 25 participants facilitated by a facilitator. She was technically backed up through periodic visit, four days' refresher training, and individual mentoring. Language switching approach was used to teach them. The facilitators were also Maharjan and Shrestha who belong to the Newar community and were bilingual. Since the literacy learners of Tamsepakha did not understand the context and the language of the literacy primer, Nepali, the facilitator translated the context and the text in Newar language. She frequently shifted from *Naya Goreto's* language (Nepali) to the language of the literacy/NFE participants (Newar). "The language shifting approach of the facilitator helped me understand the content of the *Naya Goreto* in our language (Newar) and learn *parvate bhasa* (Nepali) from it. I think people like me are doubly benefited from this language shifting approach", remarked Mayaju Maharjan, a mother of five children who once was a literacy/NFE learner.

5.2 Teaching English to the literacy/NFE learners through real goods

After learning Nepali language, the beneficiaries of Tamsephaka CLC wanted to learn English because they had to face difficulty while they would go to market to buy goods

for household. According to learners demand, Tamsepakha CLC is teaching English showing real goods. But script used in teaching English is Nepali. For example, literacy/NFE learners are asked to bring any of the goods that they want to know their names in English. In one case, one of the literacy learners brought sugar. The sugar was packed in a satchel/packet. Then the word sugar was written in Nepali (सुगर) and pasted on the satchel/packet. Thus the literacy/NFE learners learnt the word sugar very easily. Consequently the learners obtained following skills:

- Literacy/NFE beneficiaries developed the habit of reading signboards, captions, and directions.
- Newar literacy/NFE beneficiaries developed confidence to speak in Nepali.
- Literacy/NFE beneficiaries got chance to go out of home to participate in the development activities.

5.3 People learn more and learn fast from the use of local language, script and culture

Language and culture are the identity of the people. In case of the indigenous people, they are working together to achieve mutually desired result on any issues, which is understood as identity of them. For example, Kirat Yakthumba Chumlung conducted mother tongue literacy classes in the all VDCs of Morang district. Even the local Limbus were involved in it. Those involved Limbus also conducted literacy class with the support of Kirat Yakthumba Chumlung in Sanichare, Jante and Tandi VDCs as well. In this initiative there was a great role of the local leader. These leaders awakened the villagers and made them active for smooth operation of mother tongue literacy class. Consequently, the mother tongue literacy/NFE programs become a movement at the local level. The reason

was that *sojatiya* institution ran this literacy class and *sojatis* were there to motivate the local people.

The beneficiaries reported me the following benefit for them through Limbu language literacy class:

- Singing songs style of teaching and learning encouraged the beneficiaries to participate in the class for more learning.
- Beneficiaries have got chance to choose contents for learning about the topics that they are interested in
- Ethnic institution evolved as literacy providers as well as the conservers of the language and script.

5.4 Changing Nepali to mother tongue and the mother tongue to Nepali language while teaching

Traditionally Tamangs have been learning from Gumba in Tamang script. But literacy in Tamang language was new to the community. So Nepal Tamang Ghedung Sangh organized mother tongue literacy/NFE classes in support of Plan Nepal. In case of language use, local beneficiaries reported me that Tamangs of this locality speak Tamang in daily life. They use Nepali language only if they go to government office. Moreover, the majority of women use Tamang language everywhere such as during travel, going to the fairs and festivals, working in the farm and jungle, living at home, celebrating customs and festivals, talking with family members and people of their bloods and kinships.

Hoashore (literacy primer of Tamang language) is a literacy primer similar to *Naya Goreto* (widely used in different parts of Nepal) of Nepali language. Initially, the Tamang literacy primer was written in Devanagari script and the contents of the primer were translated in Tamang language while teaching. Latter on the literacy primer was developed in Tamang script and the content was drawn from the Tamang

context. In both the cases, the facilitators used to switch the language i.e. from Tamang to Nepali and Nepali to Tamang. This language switching approach to teaching made the Tamang literacy learners easy to understand the concept and the content. Inclusion of the Tamang festival related contents such as *rimthim* made them easy to know about their own world as well. In other words, Tamang literacy and inclusion of cultural contents were good practices that were realized by the community.

5.5 Use of two languages

If heterogeneous students represent class, teachers should use two languages. Kisedi village of Vaise VDC of Makwanpur district represents this scenario. Most of the participants were Tamang and two participants were Nepali speakers. They were taught in both Nepali and Tamang language because they wanted to learn both. The reason was they had to use Nepali language at government offices.

This case yielded some impacts on the life of the Tamang community that are given below:

- Habit of reading and writing has been developed.
- Literacy beneficiaries developed “we” feeling.
- Literacy beneficiaries did not feel hesitation to go to the government offices. They claimed that now they could understand Nepali language as well.

Informants like Kamala Glan of Amvanjang VDC said, “Our women folks were living animal like life like me. But this mother tongue literacy class gave light to me and the women folks of my village. The problem with us is that there are no reading materials for us in Tamang language.”

5.6 Literacy program nurtured our way of life

In case of Narayan VDC of Dang district, BASE organized mother tongue literacy/NFE classes in support of World Education. In this Literacy/NFE classes, Tharus were taught in Tharu language about their culture, traditions, and ancestral history. They were also taught about the olden utensils, tools, words, and cultural practices that are either disappeared or are found at the verge of disappearing. For example, in Besahi community, Tharus celebrated *Astimki* festival by following the literacy/NFE primer. In a nutshell the mother tongue literacy program gave the following result:

- Literacy beneficiaries are more knowledgeable about their culture and practices through mother tongue.
- Literacy/NFE beneficiaries have articulated for language choice for them.
- Literacy/NFE beneficiaries felt proud of being Tharu.
- Literacy/NFE beneficiaries enjoy singing and composing songs in their language.

And yet the reality is that Tharus need Nepali language especially when going out of home for official business.

6. Implication for mother tongue literacy

Going through the above benefits of mother tongue literacy, I drew some implications. They are mentioned as (a) literacy/NFE learners felt easy to learn through their language but they demanded link materials to transfer from mother tongue to official language, Nepali (b) literacy/NFE learners developed pride in their culture and traditions but at the same time they looked for other cultures' pride as well (c) literacy/NFE learners saw the importance of Nepali and English languages to talk to their children who are already bilingual in school (d) literacy/NFE material developers could

blend local knowledge with the curricular knowledge prescribed by the Non-formal Education Center, and (e) ethnic organizations have emerged as mother tongue literacy/NFE providers. These good practices related to mother tongue literacy/NFE helped derive the following implications:

1. Since some of the informants of this study found mother tongue literacy easy to begin with, literacy/NFE organizers should develop materials that depict various culture and knowledge of Nepal. At the same time these materials should be developed as mosaic so that each ethnic/caste group feels we are one. This implies that culture transfer approach should also be emphasized in mother tongue literacy program.
2. Since some of the informants saw the importance of Nepali language while going to the market, talking to the people of different language groups, and going to the government offices, the implication is that bi/tri-lingual literacy programs should be conceived and nurtured.
3. Since some of the non-Nepali speaking neo-literates of mother tongue literacy programs faced difficulty in dealing with the government officials because of their limited knowledge of Nepali language, the implication is that each office should think of installing language desk/focal person to provide services to the needy people.
4. Since Limbu and Tamang used their scripts in mother tongue literacy program we have to think of script transfer approach to help participants learn Nepali from their orthographic standpoints.

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MOOD IN KUMAL LANGUAGE

Krishna Prasad Parajuli

1. Name and background

Nepal is a multilingual nation, where more than 92 languages (Population Census 2001, National Report) are spoken. These languages belong to four different language families: Indo-European, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Asiatic. Kumal is one of those languages, which belongs to Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European family. Etymologically Kumal refers to the people who make earthenware and sell them. It indicates their profession, too.

According to Shrivastava (1962:22), the term 'Kumal' has come from the word kumbhakar (Sanskrit) > kuhar (Prakrit) > kumale. But the question what led these people come to this land and be identified as Kumal is yet a subject to further research, since they don't have any evidence to prove it. The words like kumbhakaraka, kumhale, kumhal, kumhaali, kumale or kumal are synonymously used to refer to both the language and the people. Yadava (2004) has classified this language under potentially endangered language. It occupies 0.03% by the mother tongue and 0.44% by caste/ethnic groups and sex. The census report (2001) reveals that 6,553 people are the mother tongue speakers of this language. The word Kumal, therefore, refers both the people and the language spoken by them.

The article tries to focus on various types of moods found in Kumal language.

2. Declarative mood

The declarative mood in this language is indicated by the suffixes used in the verb. The inflected forms do have an agreement with the person, number, gender and honorific

system with the subject. The verb *dho* in Kumal means to wash. For each of the persons, the inflections are different either in the singular or in the plural number.

- (1) a. maïle kəpəða dhonu
I-E clothes wash-P1s
'I washed clothes.'
- b. hāre kəpəða dholi
we clothes wash-P1p
'We washed the clothes.'
- c. təïle kəpəða dhole
you-E clothes wash-P2s
'You washed the clothes.'
- e. usle kəpəða dholes
S/he clothes wash-P3s
'He washed the clothes.'
- f. usle kəpəða dholis
S/he-E clothes wash-P3sF
'She washed the clothes.'
- g. unle kəpəða dhonən
S/he-E clothes wash-P3sh
'S/he washed the clothes.'

In the above examples, the verb *dho* meaning 'wash' has *-nu* for indicating first person singular, *-li* first person plural, *-le* second person non-honorific, *-lə* second person honorific both for singular as well as plural, *-les* third person singular masculine gender non-honorific, *-lis* third person singular feminine gender and *-nən* for third person honorific both for singular and plural number.

3. Interrogative mood

There are two kinds of interrogative moods in Kumal language. The first one is yes/no type in which *-ke* is used in the initial position to inquire either yes or no answer. Yes/no type is also possible even if we do not use *-ke* naturally it seems that there is the use of suprasegmental features like: rising intonation. The second type of interrogative is Wh- (open) type with the use of the interrogative pronouns.

- (2) a. *tə̃le ghər kinle*
 you-E house buy-P2s
 'You bought a house?'
- b. *tə̃le ke kinle*
 you-E QPRT buy-P2s
 'What did you buy?'
- c. *ke tə̃le ghər kinle*
 QPRT you-E house buy-P2s
 'Did you buy a house?'
- d. *-tə̃le ghər kinle*
 you house buy-P2s
 'Did you buy a house?'

In the example (b) above, we find the interrogative marker *ke* functioning as Wh- or open type for a simple type of declarative sentence (a) whereas the same marker in the third sentence enquires the yes or no answer. Looking at number (d) we notice the absence of marker to indicate the question but it can be easily understood with the style the speaker has spoken. It leads us to infer that there is the use of the feature discussed earlier. Similar cases get repeated with a number of other examples illustrated above.

4. Imperative mood

The imperative mood generally refers to the term that asks the hearers to perform the action; the hearers being the second person. The imperative is not marked for most of the other categories associated with the verb, especially for tense and person (Palmer, 1986:108). This language shows that second person singular non-honorific is unmarked (a) and (b) in the following example) whereas honorific is marked by the suffix *-ə* (example c) in the imperative mood. These examples show us to conclude that the marker *-ə* stands for making an honour in second person both for singular and plural number.

- (3) a. *tāi pəsəl khol*
 you shop open-IMP
 'You open the shop.'
- b. *pəsəl khol*
 shop open-IMP
 'Open the shop.'
- c. *təru pəsəl kholə*
 you shop open-IMP_h
 'You open the shop.'

5. Causative imperative mood

Causative imperative mood is indicated by the suffix *-u* for the second person singular without any honorificity and *-o* for second person singular/plural with honorificity. In the following examples, the first is a morphological causative as the suffix marker *-u* is inflected in the verb *khel* meaning 'play' whereas in the second example a separate lexicon *ləga-u* meaning to cause is used. Having found this feature we can conclude that it is a syntactic causative.

- (4) a. *tāi bhaike khelau*
 you brother-D play-CAUS.IMP
 'You make brother play !'

- b. tã̃ bhaike khelã̃i lã̃gau
 you brother-D play-INF cause-IMP
 'You make brother play.'

6. Optative mood

Generally, the optative mood is used for verbal categories which are the expressions of wish or a desire. Optative mood in Kumal language is expressed by the inflections in the verb. As in the declarative mood, there is an agreement in person, number and honorific domain. Main verb in all of the sentences is *kãr* meaning 'do' and whatever inflection takes place after the verb reveals the agreement with different persons and their number.

- (5) a. mã̃i yo kam kãru
 I this work do-OPT1s
 'Let me do this work.'
- b. hã̃re yo kam kãri
 we this work do-OPT1p
 'Let's do this work.'
- c. tã̃i yo kam kãres
 you this work do-OPT2s
 'May you do this work.'
- d. tã̃ru yo kam kãre
 you this work do-OPT2sh
 'May you do this work.'
- e. u yo kam kãrus
 s/he this work do-OPT3s
 'May s/he do this work.'
- f. uni yo kam kãrun
 s/he this work do-OPT3sh
 'May s/he do this work.'

7. Causative optative mood

The causative verbs indicate their optative form by using the suffixes in the verb. As in the causative imperative mood, there are two types of causatives: morphological and syntactic. However, they differ in conveying the meanings. In the causative imperative they mean to command and order whereas in causative optative they express the desire or wish. In example (a), verb *khel* refers to play but when it is causativised, *-us* is used. It is common both in morphologically expressed causative (example (a)) and syntactically expressed causative *laga* meaning 'to cause to do' in (example (b)).

(6) a. daile bhaike bəl khelaus
 elder brother-E younger brother-D ball play.CAUS-OPT3s
 'May elder brother make younger brother play ball.'

b. daile bhaike bəl kheləi
 elder brother-E younger brother-D ball play-INF
 lagaus
 CAUS-OPT3s
 'May elder brother make younger brother play ball.'

8. Probabilitive mood

The probabilitive mood refers to the verbal expressions which indicate the uncertainty or probability. It is expressed in two different ways in Kumal language. The first one is a morphological process in which different suffixes are used in the verb. These suffixes agree with the person, number and honorificity of the subject. Secondly, this mood is expressed by using the syntactic process. The non-past tense form of the main verb + *hoi* (example (c) below) is used for first person plural and *ho* for first second and third person both in singular and plural number. In the examples (a-c) below, *a* is main verb meaning come. In example a, we find *-m* denoting probability. It is morphologically expressed indicating

probability of coming. Similarly, in (b), the lexicon *ho* also indicates probability but there is time adverbial *kali* that stands for tomorrow.

- (7) a. *məi am*
I come-PROB.1s
'I shall probably come'
- b. *məi kali anu ho*
I tomorrow come-nP1s PROB
'I shall probably come tomorrow.'
- c. *hāre kali əila hoi*
we tomorrow come-nP1p PROB
'We shall probably come tomorrow.'

9. Conclusion

The analysis, interpretation or argumentation of the paper is based on the speakers of Arghakhanchi district. According to the research carried out so far the language does have the declarative, interrogative, optative, probabilative and imperative mood. To make the analysis much more comprehensive and easily understandable, a descriptive approach is applied while interpreting and analyzing data taken during the field visit.

If we look at the other dialects of this language, there are likely to be slight variations with respect to the speakers of Arghakhanchi to that of Gorkha or Nawalparasi.

Abbreviations

E	Ergative	P	Past tense
1	First person	h	honorific
F	Feminine	M	Masculine
s	Singular	p	plural
2	Second person	3	Third person
QPRT	Question particle	D	Dative

CAUS	Causative	IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive	PROB	Probabilative
OPT	Optative	nP	Non-past

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CONFIGURATIONS OF NOUN PHRASE IN THE LANGUAGES OF NEPAL

Madhav P. Pokharel

1. Pronominalization

Darai (Kotapish and Kotapish 1975:142-3, Paudel 2003), an Indo-Aryan language, shows pronominalization even in the noun phrase, typically in a possessive construction.

- (1) mer Δ bhai-m
my brother-1s
'my brother'
- (2) ter Δ bhai-r
your brother-2s
'your brother'
- (3) ukr Δ bhai-k
his/her brother-3s
'his/her brother'

Here, the noun head is suffixed with the trace of the pronominal possessor. This kind of pronominalization is unique not only among the Himalayan languages but also among the South Asian languages.

Limbu has pronominalization of another type in the possessive phrase in that the pronominal modifier appears as a prefix to the following noun head, e.g. (Bairagi Kaila, p.c.).

- (4) an-sa (angga-in sa)
I-brother I-POSS brother
'my brother'

- (5) kɔn-sa (khɛnɛ-in sa)
you-brother you-POSS brother
'your brother'
- (6) kun-sa (khunɛ-in sa)
3s -brother he/she-POSS brother
'his/her brother'

The Limbu model of pronominalization is presumably found in other Kiranti languages in the possessive construction.

Kusunda, a language isolate, which does not fall in any of the four language families viz, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic and Dravidian, also supplies examples of pronominalization in the noun phrase structure, e.g. (Prem Bdr. Thakuri, Dang District)

- (7) a. ippi 'my head' b. n-ippi 'other people's head'
- (8) a. inlu 'my nose' b. n-inlu 'other people's nose'
- (9) a. uhu 'my teeth' b. n-ihu 'other people's teeth'
- (10) a. iinj 'my eyes' b. n-iinj 'other people's eyes'
- (11) a. ɔwi 'my hand' b. n-ɔwi 'other people's hand'
- (12) a. g-ippu 'my penis' b. n-ippu 'other people's penis'

In Kusunda tsi (<*ki<*gi) means 'I' and nu means 'you'. It means the n- in (b) examples presumably finds its origin from the second person singular form nu, but Kusunda has grammatically extended this form to mean 'other than mine' (non-reflexive).

In the Tanahun dialect of Kusunda, Bandhu (n.d) finds the following data:

- (13) a. ci-e ci-mat
I-POSS I-stomach
'my stomach'
- b. ni-e ni-mat
you-POSS you-stomach
'your stomach'
- c. gi-e gi-mat
he-POSS he-stomach
'his stomach'

Darai stands out in its model. The majority of the languages of Nepal do not show pronominalization in such a possessive construction.

2. Head-marking vs dependent-marking

This dichotomy of categories designed by Nichols (1986) is pertinent in the typology of noun phrase in the languages of Nepal. In the preceding Darai, Limbu and Kusunda examples (1-13), portions of the modifying or the dependent constituent of the phrase is attached to the head noun. These are the examples of 'head-marking' in the noun phrase structure of the languages of Nepal. Other Kiranti languages are also expected to follow the Limbu pattern.

With respect to 'head-marking' or 'dependent-marking' some languages of Nepal like Darai, Kusunda and the Kiranti group mark the head.

Nepali represents a dependent-marking language where number, gender and honorific categories of the head noun are attached to its dependent modifier, e.g:

(14) a. mer-o chor-o 'my son' b. mer-i chor-i 'my daughter'

(15) a. mer-a chor-a 'my sons' b. mer-a chor-i 'my daughters'

(16) mer-a chor-a 'my son' (honorific)

In this set of examples, the feminine category of noun marked by the suffix -i is attached to the dependent genitive (in 14b) while the nonfeminine class of noun marked by the suffix -o is attached to dependent genitive (in 14a). In example (15) the plural number of the noun marked by the suffix -a is attached to the dependent genitive. The plural form with -a is extended as the honorific singular in Nepali as exemplified in (15).

In some of the languages like Jirel, with respect to person agreement, there is neither head-marking nor dependent-marking, e.g. (Amrit Jirel, Jiri VDC-4)

- (17) a. $\eta a \eta jal\alpha n$ 'I slept' b. $kho \eta jalap$ 'you slept'

Marking of languages like Nepali may be categorized 'mutual marking', because both the head and the dependent constituents of an NP are marked in such languages.

3. Modifier-noun agreement

Some languages like Nepali show agreements of noun and its modifiers like adjective and genitive in number, gender and honorific, e.g:

- (14) a. $mer-o \text{ chor-o}$ 'my son' b. $mer-i \text{ chor-i}$ 'my daughter'

- (15) a. $mer-a \text{ chor-a}$ 'my sons' b. $mer-a \text{ chor-i}$ 'my daughters'

- (16) $mer-a \text{ chor-a}$ 'my son' (honorific)

Data from the Tanahun dialect of Kusunda (Bandhu, n.d) also show person agreement between the head noun and its modifier.

- (13) a. $ci-e \text{ ci-mat}$
 I-POSS I-stomach
 'my stomach'

- b. ni-e ni-mat
you-POSS you-stomach
'your stomach'
- c. gi-e gi-mat
he-POSS he-stomach
'his stomach'

The Darai examples given above (1-3) are also in a way examples of noun-modifier agreement.

On the other hand there are some others like Tamang and Gurung, which do not show such agreements.

Limbu also shows gender agreement between the head and the modifier in the noun phrase, e.g, (Kainla et al. eds., 2002:27)

- (18) a. cuk-pa khya-pa
black-MASC dog-MASC
'black dog'
- b. cuk-ma khya-ma
black-FEM dog-FEM
'black bitch'

4. Use of classifiers

Some Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali (Pokharel 1997) and Maithili (Gaderi 1997) and some Sino-Tibetan languages like Newar (see Bhaskararao and Joshi 1985) and Meche (a Bodo language of Nepal) are rich in numeral classifiers while the majority borrows classifiers from Nepali. Following are the data from Nepali:

- (19) ek koso kera
one CL banana
- (20) ek dano suntala
one CL orange

- (21) ek tyandro palungo
one CL spinach
- (22) ek jana manche
one CL man
- (23) ek mau gai
one CL cow
- (24) ek geḍo caml
one CL uncooked rice
- (25) ek sito bhat
one CL cooked rice

Maithili uses Ta, goTa or gora for all countable nouns, but there are specific classifiers for counting nouns of specific shape, size, material, consistency, etc. Following are Maithili examples (Gaderi, 1997)

- (26) tin ḍhesar l̥sun
three CL garlic
- (27) tin h̥tha adi
three CL ginger
- (28) tin bail m̥k̥li
three CL maize
- (29) tin sis g̥lum
three CL wheat

Meche [Bodo] examples are as follows, (Pagal Singh Meche, Ayabadi, Jhapa, p. c.).

- (30) thalit thai-che
banana CL-one
'a banana'

- (31) sambram dzer-che
garlic CL-one
'a garlic'
- (32) wa thoꞥ-che
bamboo CL-one
'a bamboo'
- (33) nokha thop-che
water CL-one
'a drop of water'

In these examples an extra word (called 'classifier') is obligatorily inserted between the numeral and the noun head and the appropriate choice of a classifier depends upon the size, shape, animacy, humanness, consistency, arrangement, material and the dimensions of the noun head.

This type of agreement between the head noun and the classifier is a phenomenon of East Pacific languages, but they have emerged in Nepali and Maithili, although they are Indo-Aryan languages.

Newar stands out in the use of classifiers, because there are not only noun classifiers but also verb classifiers in this language. Bhaskararao and Joshi (1985) compare the verbal classifiers of Newar to that of Thai (Haas 1942:205) and Garo (Burling 1961:52) and report four eight verbal classifiers that are productive and the remaining four are fossilized with single specific verbs. They say "If it [the classifier] occurs with a set of verbs, all the verbs of that set will have some semantic feature common". In Newar the classifier *dhu:(li)* "occurs with four verbs that denote deictic' locomotion", e.g. (Bhaskararao and Joshi 1985).

- (34) wΛ chΛ-dhu: wΛ-lΛ
he one-CL come-PAST
'he came once'

The classifier *dhu:* in this syntactic slot is replaced by *thu*, if the verb *wa* 'come' is replaced by any verb that denotes a sudden or momentary action, e.g. (Bhaskararao and Joshi 1985).

- (35) $w\lambda$ $ch\lambda$ -*thu* $musu$ - $t\lambda$ - $l\lambda$
 he one-CL cough-PAST
 'he coughed once'

Bhaskararao and Joshi give the detailed account of such verbal classifiers in Newar. Since this paper is limited on the configurations of noun phrase, the verbal classifier (that falls under VP) is out of our focus.

5 Constituent order

With respect to constituent order, some languages like Sherpa, Tamang, Gurung, and Meche show NA and NG order while the majority of the languages follow AN and GN. It means, the languages of Nepal are head-right except for the mentioned ones. There is high frequency of NA or NG order even in the Kiranti cluster of languages. The Meche (30-33) and the Sherpa (36-37) examples serve the evidence in contrast with the data from the rest of the languages.

Sherpa examples:

- (36) mi $d\lambda k r \lambda i$
 man one
 'a man'

- (37) mi ηi
 man two
 'two men'

(Manju Sherpa, Marbo VDC-5, Dolakha, personal communication)

6. Number of obligatory words

When we look at the preceding examples, we see that in Limbu and Kusunda even a single word may represent the maximally projected noun phrase with its dependent. In this respect, the rest of the Nepalese languages need at least two words to make a maximally projected noun phrase. In the Darai, Nepali, Sherpa, Jirel examples a noun phrase is a syntactic structure, but the Kusunda or the Limbu noun phrase makes a single word with complex morphology.

In classifier languages like Nepali, Maithili, Newar and Meche a maximally projected noun phrase may need classifier as an extra constituent. Thus, in the languages of Nepal, a noun phrase (with its dependent) is made up of a single word or more than one word.

7. Ego vs non-ego

Kusunda supplies another grammatical dichotomical category in the noun phrase structure of Nepalese languages (7-12). It is the category of 'ego vs. non-ego'. This category can be compared to 'reflexive vs non-reflexive' or 'active vs middle' categories in the verb phrase. The only difference is that the morphological category of reflexivity in the noun phrase is unique in Kusunda in that the speaker is interested to classify thing in terms of whether the noun belongs to him or anybody else.

8. Relativization

There are two types of relative constructions (Comrie 1989:138-163) in the languages of Nepal: the Indo-European type, with the help of relative complementizers and the other which may roughly be called the Dravidian or South Asian type which makes use of modifying participles. Following are the data from Nepali:

represent the internally headed relative clause, because the antecedent or the head noun (goru) is inside the relative clause. The South Asian type (38b) is the externally headed relative clause, because here the head noun (goru) is outside the relative clause. The majority of languages of Nepal fall into this type.

9. Nominalization

In a nominalized construction several syntactic categories come to interplay. The whole sentence, phrase and word of non-nominal category turn out into a nominal head preceded by the rest of the constituents.

10. Conclusion

These discussions show that the following grammatical categories are pertinent in the typology of noun phrase structure of Nepalese languages: pronominalization, number of obligatory words, use of classifiers, constituent order, head marking vs dependent marking, modifier-noun agreement, ego vs non-ego, relativization and nominalization.

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SUPRASEGMENTAL FEATURES IN DHANKUTE TAMANGⁱ

Kedar Prasad Poudel

1. Outline

Tamang language belongs to the group of non-pronominalising languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Hofer and MacDonald (as quoted in Varenkamp, 1996:9) have categorised the Tamang into Western and Eastern dialects, but Poudel (2002:24-25) has mentioned that the Tamang language spoken in Dhankuta districtⁱⁱ differs from the Eastern and Western dialects, and thereafter Poudel (2006) has given its term as Dhankute Tamang.

This paper consists of 5 main sections. Section 1 describes juncture, both open and closed. In section 2, stress is dealt with. Section 3 contains the pitch/tone in the word level. Intonation, and prosodic lengthening are portrayed in section 4 and 5, respectively. Finally, this paper contains conclusion in section 6.

2. Juncture

Both open and closed junctures occur in Dhankute Tamang. Here, the boundaries of syllables in open junctures are marked by plus (+) and closed junctures by period (.). The junctures are distinctive, i.e., meaning differentiating, e.g.,

- (1) a. ta.mu-la
be-be-NPt
'become(s)'

- b. ta+mu-la
horse-be-NPt
'(there) is horse'
- (2) a. mu.ta-la
be-be-NPt
'will be'
- b. mu+ta-la
sky-be-NPt
'(it) will be sky'
- (3) a. chjaŋ.di-mu-la
table-be-NPt
'(there) is table'
- b. chjaŋ+di-mu-la
wine-below-be-NPt
'wine is below'
- (4) a. paŋ.mu-la
tell-be-NPt
'tells'
- b. paŋ+mu-la
field-be-NPt
'(there) is field'
- (5) a. ph^a.mu-la
pay-be-NPt
'pay off'
- b. ph^a+mu-la
husband-be-NPt
'(there) is husband'

- (6) a. ro.le-mu-la
pestle-be-NPt
'(there) is pestle'
- b. ro+le-mu-la
friend-tongue-be-NPt
'(there) are friend and tongue'
- (7) a. saŋ.sij
neat-clean
'neat and clean'
- b. saŋ+siŋ
scent-wood
'scented sticks and wood'

Examples ('a' of 1-7) have closed junctures, as continuum is noticed in their pronunciation. Certain pause is felt in the pronunciation of ('b' of 1-7), as they contain open junctures. Because of junctures, examples ('a' of 1-7) are different from their succeeding examples ('b' of 1-7). They are meaning differentiating.

3. Stress

Stress in Dhankute Tamang occurs in two different types: phonetic and emphatic. They are described below:

3.1 Phonetic stress

Although stress is felt in the utterance, it is phonetic in Dhankute Tamang, i.e., stress is not distinctive. On the basis of their pronunciation, the following rules can be drawn:

- i. Stress falls on the syllable having longer peak, e.g.,

- (8) a.˘ja: 'ouch!'
- (9) a.˘ma: 'mother (VOC)'
- (10) a.˘mau 'oh! (fear/surprise)'

In the above examples (8-10) the words have two syllables each. The syllables having longer peaks are stressed.

ii. When both syllables have peaks of equal length, the syllable with onset and coda contains stress, e.g.,

(11) a.`sjaŋ 'maternal uncle'

(12) u.`dit 'a little'

(13) u.`sip 'sugarcane'

In the above examples (11-13), the peaks of both syllables have equal length but the syllables with onset and coda are stressed.

iii. If the syllables are of equal length and no syllable has both of the onset and coda, the initial syllable is stressed, e.g.,

(14) `a.maⁱⁱⁱ 'mother' (cf. a.ma: in 9)

(15) `bu.wa 'father'

(16) `na.na 'elder sister'

The above examples (14-16) consist of two syllables of equal length and no syllable has both of the onset and coda. As a rule, the first syllables are stressed.

3.2 Emphatic stress

Emphatic stress in Dhankute Tamang is phonetic and functional, e.g.,

(17) a. pa`saŋ `si:zi
 Pasang die-Pt
 'Pasang died.'

b. pa`saŋ si`zi

Pasang die-Pt

'Pasang died' (= the speaker is sure of his death).

Both sentences (17 a-b) have the same verb *si-zì*. The phonetic stress has to fall on the first syllable (see (iii) above). So, the sentence (17 a) is non-emphasized, whereas the sentence (17 b) is emphasized because the emphatic stress falls on *zi* of *si-zì*.

Emphatic stress may fall on bound or free form of a morpheme to contrast with the non-emphasized items, e.g.,

(18) a. `gita `dim-ri mu-la

Gita home-LOC be-NPt

'Gita is at home'

b. `gita dim`ri mu-la

Gita home-LOC be-NPt

'Gita is at home (but not outside the house).'

In (18 a) *dim-ri* has regular stress whereas in (18b) *dim`ri* consists of emphatic stress, and thereby the sentence (18 b) contrasts with the non-emphasized sentence (18 a).

Even the functional words may have emphatic stress, e.g.,

(19) ai ni.u `ki ŋa si-la

you go-IMP or I die-NPt

'You go or I will die (= if you don't go it's sure I will die.)'

The functional word *ki* contains emphatic stress in (19).

When the emphatic stress falls on the last syllable, the peak is lengthened, e.g.,

(20) sita-se kan ca`zi:

Sita-ERG rice eat-Pt

'Sita ate rice (it is sure she performed the work of eating.)'

The past marking *-zi* in (20) has emphatic stress and thereby it is lengthened as *zi:*.

4. Pitch / tone^{iv}

Tamang is said to be a tonal language but Dhankute Tamang does not contain any meaning differentiating distinct pitch levels in a word/syllable. The tones of the given syllables or words are diagrammed below:

(21) mar

a. cu k^hanaŋ mu.la?
this where be-NPt
'Where is this?'

b. mar
below
'(It is) below'.

c. cu tik la-la?
this what do-NPt
'What will this do?'

d. mar-la
press (oily seeds)-NPt
'This will press (oily seeds.)'

(22) m^har

a. cu tik j^hin-la?
this what be-NPt
What is this?

b. m^har
boiled butter
'(This is) boiled butter'.

- c. m^har
gold.
'(This is) gold'.
- (23) nam
- a. tik k^ha-zi?
what come-Pt
'What came?'
- b. nam
rain
'(It) rained'. (Lit: Rain came.)
- c. ram-se tik bor-mu-la?
Ram-ERG what bring-be-NPt
'What does Ram bring?'
- d. nam
grain
'(He brings) grain'.
- (24) kam
- a. cu tik j^hin-la?
this what be-NPt
'What is this?'
- b. kam
gall
'(This is) gall'.
- c. kam.
chin
'(This is) chin'

(25) sju/se

a. k^hala sju-ba?
 who go:HON-NML
 'Who will go?'

b. ai sju-go - ˆ -
 you go:HON-IMP
 'You please go.'

c. k^hala se-ba?
 who know-NML
 'Who will know?'

d. ai se-go - ˆ -
 you know-IMP
 'You (try to) know.'

(26) paŋ

a. t^he tik la-mu-la?
 s/he what do-be-NPt
 'What does s/he do?'

b. paŋ-mu-la - ˆ -
 tell-be-NPt
 '(S/he) tells.'

c. hoza-ri tik mu-la?
 that-LOC what be-NPt
 'What is there?'

d. paŋ mu-la ˆ - -
 field be-NPt
 '(There) is a field.'

(27) p^ha

a. sita tik la-mu-la?
 Sita what do-be-NPt
 'What does Sita do?'

b. p^ha-mu-la — ◊ —
 pay-be-NPt —
 '(Sita) pays off.'

c. hoza-ri k^hala mu-la?
 that-LOC who be-NPt
 'Who is there?'

d. p^ha mu-la ◊ — —
 husband be-NPt —
 'There is husband.'

From the above examples (21-27), the tones are not meaning differentiating but the underlined tonic syllables mar, m^har, nam, kam, paŋ, and p^ha have their own homonyms whereas sju and se are different phonemic roots.

mar in (21b, d) and m^har in (22b-c) are phonemically distinctive segments. mar in (117 b) is a postpositional adverb whereas mar in (21d) is a verb root. Though mar (21b) and mar (21d) are homonyms, they are syntactically different. The homonyms m^har in (22b) and m^har in (22c) are semantically different but phonologically the same.

nam is a noun in both sentences (23b-c) but in (23b) nam is a host to the light verb k^ha-zi whereas in (23c) nam is object to the verb group bor-mu-la.

kam in both sentences (24b-c) is a noun complement to the subject cu. Phonologically, they are pronounced alike but they are semantically different.

sju and se- in (24a-d) are different verb roots. Furthermore, they are not allomorphs as they have phonemically distinctive segments and different meanings. Stylistically, they belong to two different varieties - sju - to honorific and se to common core.

Syntactically, paŋ in (26b) is different from paŋ in (26d) as the former is verb root and latter a noun. They contain different junctures. paŋ in (26d) contains open juncture.

The junctures in (27b, d) are distinctive as (27b) has closed juncture and (27d) contains open juncture. Furthermore, p^ha in (27b) is a verb root, whereas in (27d) p^ha is a noun.

5. Intonation

Intonation in Dhankute Tamang is distinctive or meaning differentiating, e.g.,

(28) ai-se cja t^h:ŋ-zi
 you-ERG tea drink-Pt
 'You drank tea'.

(29) ai-se cja t^hŋŋ-zi?
 you-ERG tea drink-Pt
 'Did you drink tea?'

The sentence (28) has falling tone whereas the other (29) contains rising tone. In the sentence (28), the speaker is sure that his audience drank tea but in (29) he wants to know whether his audience drank or not.

As a rule, imperative, content question, optative sentence and statement contain the falling tone, e.g.,

(30) cu-ri k^hà-u
 this LOC come-IMP
 'Come here.'

(31) ai k^hanaŋ nǐ-zi?
 you where go-Pt
 'Where did you go?'

(32) ai c^herĩŋ-gai
 you long live-OPT
 'May you live long!'

(33) kai-blon mustaŋ nǐ-zi
 prime-minister Mustang go-Pt
 'The prime minister went to Mustang.'

The sentences (30-33) express certainty, completeness and independence. Polar question may have rising tone, e.g.,

(34) dim-ri ní-ba?
 home-LOC go-NML
 'Do you go home?'

The speaker in (34) is uncertain about the truth of the question whether the audience goes home or not. Greeting and dependent clause contain rising tone, e.g.,

(35) p^hjap^húllo
 greeting
 'Good morning/afternoon/evening!'
 (Equivalent to namaste in Nepali.)

(36) ca-sám ai ca-ba k^hàm-la
 eat-IRR you eat-NML can-NPt
 'If you like to eat, you can eat.'
 (Lit: If you eat, you are able to eat.)

For the greeting and farewell, the same term of (35) is used with a rising tone. *Irr* (36), *ca-sam* is used as a dependent clause containing the rising tone.

Fall-rise tone occurs to cause the contrastive focus, e.g.,

- (37) a. pema-se geŋ ca-zi
Pema-ERG bread eat-Pt
'Pema ate bread.'
- b. pema-se ca-zi geŋ
Pema-ERG eat-Pt bread
'What Pema did is eat bread'
- c. geŋ pema-se ca-zi
Bread Pema-ERG eat-Pt
'It is the bread that Pema ate.'

Sentence (37a) is a basic sentence having end-focus as it has obvious constituent order. Sentences (37b-c) contain contrastive focus and thereby take fall rise tone. The first deviated constituent in the sentence string consists of tonic syllable. *ca-zi* in (37b) and *geŋ* in (37c) are first deviated constituents viz. they are tonic syllables. The last stressed syllables are pronounced with a slight rise. Thus, the falling tone of the basic sentence (37a) is changed into fall-rise in other sentences.

6. Prosodic lengthening

Short vowels may undergo lengthening when the last syllable has a simple peak in a vocative case, e.g.,

- (38) c^he.˘sa:ŋ-au
<che.˘saŋ-au>
Chesang-VOC
'Hi, Chesang !'

- (39) rin.̀zi:-u
 <rin.̀zi-u>
 Rinzi-VOC
 'Hi, Rinzi'

In (38) c^he.saŋ has two syllables and as a rule the second syllable saŋ is phonetically stressed. The short vowel a of the syllable saŋ is prosodically lengthening in the morpheme [c^hesaŋ]. In (39) rin.zi has two syllables and as a rule the first syllable rin is phonetically stressed (see 3A). In a vocative case rin.zi-au, the last syllable of rin-zi has simple peak and thereby zi is prosodically lengthening as zi:.

7. Conclusion

Dhankute Tamang is rich in its suprasegmental features, as it contains juncture, stress, pitch/tone, intonation, and prosodic lengthening. They are summarised as follows:

- (i) Open and closed junctures are meaning differentiating.
- (ii) Stress is phonetic and emphatic but not contrastive.
- (iii) It lacks distinctive tone/pitch in the word level. Therefore, it is not a tonal language.
- (iv) Intonation is distinctive or meaning differentiating. The pitch may rise or fall on to the tonic syllable in a tone unit. Sometimes, the tonic stress may be shifted in a tone unit and thereby the unit contains fall-rise tone. Therefore, it contains three types of intonation— rise, fall, and fall-rise.
- (v) Prosodic lengthening occurs in a vocative case when the last syllable has a simple peak

Abbreviations

- ERG Ergative case marker
 IMP Imperative case marker

IRR	Irrealis Ergative case marker
LOC	Locative case marker
NML	Nominalizer
NPt	Non-past
OPT	Optative case marker
Pt	Past tense marker
VOC	Vocative case marker

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ⁱ Tamang people have come from Tibet of China and settled around Kathmandu Valley. For the details, see Hagen (in Tamang, 2052:8), Lama (2053:71), Varekamp (1996:10), Bista ([1967] 1996:55), and Konow (in Grierson, [1909] 1990:189). They form a large ethnic group in Nepal, as they are 5.22 percent of total population, i.e., 1,179,145 (see Population Census report 2001).

ⁱⁱ Total population of the Tamangs in Dhankuta district is 7,389 and this covers 5.947 percent of total population (see Population Census report 2001).

ⁱⁱⁱ In Dhankute Tamang short vowel \a\ as in English '*the*' does not occur. There occur long \a\ and very long \a:\.

^{iv} Generally, a study\ research of the language has to deal with what is in the language but here pitch\tone, which is not found in Dhankute Tamang, has been discussed because in other dialects of Tamang pitch\tone is found (see Mazaudon 1973:96, 106-107; Hari, Taylor and Pike 1970:98, 237; Tamang, 2054:22).

KIRĀNTI-KŌITS IDENTIFY CRISIS: AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC OBSERVATION¹

Lal-Shyākarelu Rapacha

Kirānti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman Mongoloid/Tibetonoid tribe of *Wallo* 'Hither/Near' Kirant, east Nepal is also known as 'Sun(u)war' and quite often as 'Mukhi(y)a' in its exo-glonyms whereas 'Kirānti-Kōits' itself is an auto-ethnonym. The same auto-ethnonym 'Kirānti-Kōits lo' suggests glossonym also. It is classified under one of the Western Kirānti languages in the Tibeto-Burman family. In recent past and contemporary use, the exo-glonym 'Sun(u)war' [< hydronym *Sunkoshi*] has gained a wider recognition popularly among researchers instead of their auto-ethnym.

However, the exo-glonym 'Sun(u)war' has undergone several problematic semantic transformations since the late 1960s and beyond giving birth to their identity crisis presently. This paper thus proposes to explore several pejorative semantic transformations of the term 'Sun(u)war' in relation to the Gurkha imperial title 'Mukhi(y)a' and other related -nyms for shedding light on misconceptions as well as misinterpretations in the past literature by digging out ethno-linguistic facts in order to salvage the Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe's authentic identity.

1. An introductory outline

Kirānti-Kōits (autoglotonym or autoethnonym and glossonym; spoken in Sikkim and *Vallo* Kirat, 'Hither/Near Kirat' eastern Nepal) as one of the Tibeto-Burman (T-B) languages, has a large number of indigenous clanonyms still overlooked by anthropologists, are morpho-semantically significant, which richly contribute to its lexicon. Most of these clanonyms, unfortunately scarcely heed to the native speakers of Kirānti-Kōits themselves except in occasional functions as in marital

ceremony (usually less often these days) only because of clan-exogamous practice among the community members, are almost obsolete and threatened of extinction since most of these clanonyms have been replaced by the problematic exonym ‘Sun(u)war’. Those clanonyms (See footnote 4) in morpho-semantic terms have indigenous structural symmetry of their ownⁱⁱ. As in Thangmi (Shneiderman and Turin 2000c), one of the ‘Greater-Kirānti’ (Driem 1992, 2001, 2004, Turin 2004 or elsewhere, Shneiderman and Turin 2000c or elsewhere) members of the T-B languages, Kirānti-Kōits also has at least three morpheme combinations in their ethnonym and clanonyms.

The blanket term *Kirānti* has developed from the Sanskrit “Kirata” according to Chatterji (1998: 27-38 [orig. 1951]) and Driem (1993: XXI, 2) etymologically. However, there is another possibility of its accidental development from “Oirat” (cf. Rapacha 2004) a Mongoloidⁱⁱⁱ tribe (See Rupen 1983: 359-360 [*EAC* 1924]) elsewhere in Mongolia, Inner Mongolia (China) and other parts of China) to “Kirāt > Kirānti” (also a Mongoloid/Tibetonoid tribe), which is discussed moderately in Rapacha (2004: 21-25, See also Gaenzle 2000: 2-15) regarding its genesis.

The autoethnonym (i.e. “the name used by members of an ethnic group to refer to themselves or their language” (Shneiderman and Turin 2000c: 5)) *kōits* [कौइच] is more commonly known by an exonym or glotonym (UNESCO-term; Toba et al 2002; hereafter exo-glotonym) and a hydronym “Sun(u)war” [*N* सुनुवार *Sunuvār*] (mainly Hodgson (1847), Konow (in Grierson 1909), Schulze (elsewhere in her description), Bieri^{iv} (elsewhere in her description) and Hale (1982 and elsewhere), Egli (1999 and elsewhere) and so on or its offensive or derogatory interpretation as *Sunar* (*N* in I-A or Indic) ‘gold-smith, untouchable’ (Hagen 1961 [1980: 123 Indian rpt. English version] and so on); whereas “Kōits” is an

autoglotonym or auto-ethnonym for the people themselves and for their language. Another common exonym for the same is “Mukhia” (or less common is “Mārāpāche”) widely used in Darjeeling, Sikkim and further in Bhutan.

The autoglotonym or autoethnonym *kōits* [कौइच] as noun means ‘a guide, leader’ has been derived from *Kōitsā* (v.t) ‘to show, guide, lead’ (cf. Rapacha 2002). This verb can be dissected in two free morphemes as *kō* [कौ] ‘probability particle’ and *itsā* < *hitsā* (v.i इचा < हिचा) ‘to come down from the upper level, verticality’ in which [-tsā चा] or /-cā, चा/ is ‘infinitive marker’, whose conventional Roman-Gorkhali (hereafter R-G) orthography popularly written, at least amongst the South Asian common readers’-spelling is ‘-chā चा’ (R-G) and its minimal pair ‘-chhā छ’ (R-G) right down from the Queen’s Gurkha Officer (QGO) Lt Col Vansittart’s (1896) writing for Kirānti-Kōits and other Kirānti tribes like Bā?yung (>Bāhing due to linguistic change), Rodung (also Cāmling) and Kirāwā or Bo(ā)ntawā (>Bāntawā due to linguistic change). So in ‘-chā’ of *-hichā* > *ichā* [-hitsā > itsā], the prefix <-hi> > i-> is a reduced stem of the verb meaning ‘to come down (especially from up level, vertical)’.

Clanonyms, such as “rapacha” (/rā:pə-cā/) ‘make/cause something rot’, while in spoken form “rapach” /rā:pəc/ means ‘a catalyst’ is the combination of two verb roots and /-cā चा/ as infinitive marker, which is a near cognate of Kirānti-Bā?yung (Nepalized Bāhing) /-co चो/ (Rapacha 2000 and Michailovsky 1975, Kirānti-RwāDhu or Wāmbule /-cām चाम्/ (Opgenort 2002 and Dwarangcha 2000 [VS 2057]), /-co चो/ ‘person’ in e.g. /cāco चाचो/ ‘grandson, one’s son or daughter’s son’ (Opgenort 2002: 456) and Early Classical Newar(i) /-cə; च/ (Tamot 2002: 13-26 and 169-184) infinitival suffix morpheme. Other ethnonyms like Jirel (Gurung and Salter 1996: 59) and Surel (a branch of Tibeto-Burman Kirānti-Kōits speech community) also have this /-cā चा/ suffix in their

clanonyms whereas Kirānti-Kirāwā (Bāntawā) and Kirānti-Rodung (Cāmling) in their clanonyms have [-tshā] /-chā/ <-chā> in place of Kirānti-Kōits [-tsā] /-cā/ <-cā> morpheme. All these varied forms, which, in turn, are homonymic with each other and are closely related cognates in Tibeto-Burman proto-form **tsa* ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict 1972: 208) socio-historically and linguistically, which signifies as ‘±male /person’ marker (e.g. *səra-chā* ‘son’, *māri-chā* ‘daughter’ and *mə-chā* ‘daughter’s husband’) in Kirānti-Rodung’s modern vocabulary too.

2. Exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’

The term ‘Sun(u)war’ is an exo-glotonym or exo(ethno)nym [*N* सुनुवार *Sunuwār*] having several other derogatory implications (See below), which sprang out of the blanket term ‘Kirānti’ hyphenated with ‘Kōits’ (also known as ‘Mukhia’ and ‘Marapache’) when the tribe started settling on the east or west bank of the Sunkoshi river (cf. § 1.3), is a twice Nepalized i. e. Indo-Aryanized glotonym signifying the T-B speakers/tribes autochthonous to Sikkim, *Pallo* ‘Far’ Kirāt, *Majh* ‘Middle’ Kirāt and *Wallo* ‘Hither/Near’ Kirāt, eastern Nepal. Obviously, for a member of the International Bible Society (*New Testament* in Sunuwar 1992) or for a hardcore linguist such as a phonetician or a syntactician or historian or a commoner, the use of the exo-glotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ (autoethnonym ‘Kirānti-Kōits’ definition as cited earlier) may not really matter (since there exist discrimination and humiliation in the Hindu caste system) in a real sense of the term. But from ethno-indigenous and interdisciplinary point of view, for instance socio-anthropo-linguistics, the exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ [*N* सुनुवार *Sunuwār*] has several other problems as in Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member). Anthropo-linguists like Shneiderman and Turin (2000: 4) on the Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member) tribe observe,

“...many Thangmi pass themselves off as belonging to other more prominent ethnic groups such as Tamang, and less frequently, as Gurung or Rai. The reason that they give for this is simply that since few people in administrative positions have ever heard of the ethnic group admitting to being Thangmi may unwittingly result in a stream of questions about who they are and where they come from, such as inquiring whether Thangmi are **low caste Hindus** or **indigenous Kirānti** people. Moreover, when Thangmi introduce themselves to strangers, they are often mistaken for undesirable groups such as *kami* [N] ‘blacksmiths’ or [*dhami* N] ‘folk-healer’, due to similar sounding nature of their name.”

Turin (2003: 71) reviewing the previous literature comments, “Sadly, much of the early writing on the Thangmi is erroneous and betrays the ignorance and prejudices of the writers more than it informs the reader about features of this important Himalayan population and their little-known language.”

This problem (1980: 123 [1961, first edition in German] cited earlier) is quite more serious in ‘Sun(u)war’ [N सुनुवार *Sunuwār*] than it is in Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member). Then, we shall below provide a semantic survey of the exo-glotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ and its anthropo-sociological traits described in its earlier literature.

3. Meaning as hydronym

QGO Lt Col Vansittart (1896 and 1909) for the first time has explained/mentioned the etymology of the term ‘Sun(u)war’ as follows,

“Sunuwars or Sunpars, also called Mukhias: The names Sunuwar and Sunpar are said to be derived from the fact of these men residing either on the west or east of Sun Kosi river- Sunuwar ... West of Sun Kosi, Sunpar ... East (or across) Sun Kosi” (1992: 177 [1st edition 1896]).

Note that the two morphemes *-wār* [*N* -वार~वारी 'nearer/hither side'] and *-pār* [-पार~पारी 'farther/thither side'] suffixed to *Sun-* [*N* सुन- 'gold'] are of I-A (Indic) Nepali origin associated with the so-called hydronym 'Sun(u)war' derived from Sunkoshi [*N* सुनकोशी] when the tribe came to settle either on the west or east bank of the river (cf. also Yadava 2003: 144, Dahal 1985). Tikaram Mulicha and Tankaraj Susucha (1987 [VS 2044: 33 and 45]) also have supported the idea of this derivation without any further critical comments. Ghatak's (1993: 161-171) explanation of its (Sun(u)war) etymology (cf. Adhikari and Bhattarai 2005: 1021, Bam Rai 2001 [2058: 39-40]) also does not differ from Vansittart (ibid), Mulicha and Susucha (1987).

4. Shadows of misconceived meanings

There are quite often many available misinformed or misconceived meanings of the exoglotonym/exoethnonym 'Sun(u)war' such as *Sunar*, [*N* सुनार] *Kami*, [*N* कामी] and *Sornakar* [*N* स्वर्णकार]. The Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali word *Sunar/Kami or Sornakar* means 'goldsmiths, blacksmiths or untouchable caste' and also for the exoglotonym/exoethnonym 'Sun(u)war' Hagen (1980: 123; [1st edition in German 1961]) over-generalizes,

"...the principal settlement area of the Sunuwars lies on the upper course of the Sunkoshi river. They have made a name for themselves as excellent smiths and goldsmiths, and they have been associated to for a special smiths caste calling themselves the Kamis."

Following Hagen's erroneously-misinformed description of the T-B Kirānti-Kōits tribe (See Rapacha 2000: 8-10, 2002 and 2003 [VS 2060], Ananda (1987), Subedi et al (1998: 88 [VS 2055]; 1994 1st edition [VS 2051], Parajuli et al (eds.1983: 1359 and 1392), Acharya (1994), Prapannacharya (1993: 471-475; who does not differentiate between the two spellings Sun(u)war vs. Sunar, which is also repeated or

reiterated by Aryal (2003: 91-94 [VS 2060]), Shrestha and Bhattarai (2004) have also repeated the same misinformation. This I-A (Indic) Khas-Nepali caste *Kami or Sunar/Sornakar* as an over-generalized exoglotonym or exonym for the Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe is either obviously unwarranted or unjustified information as for Thangmi discussed earlier analogically.

5. Ethnicity lumped with the Manger/Gurung tribe

The exoglotonym or exoethnonym 'Sunuwar' [N सुनुवार *Sunuwār*], furthermore mistakenly has been associated with other more prominent ethnic groups such as Gurung and Manger (Sikkim spelling) by QGO Lt Col Vansittart (1992: 177-179 [1st edition 1896]). He notes,

"In appearance and physique they (Sun(u)war) very much resemble the ordinary Magar and Gurung. They are most undoubtedly of Mongolian descent ... The Magars, Gurungs, and Sunuwar are often called in Nepal "Duwal bandi", "two bound together", and sometimes "Okhar Pangro", viz. "Walnut and chestnut", the intention being to convey thereby that they are as closely related as one nut to another".

Undoubtedly, the author in both of his works *Notes on Nepal* and *Gurkhas: A Handbook* was tricked and misinformed (or his impressionistic observation was erroneous) when he describes Sunuwar, Gurung and Magar ambiguously as "*okharpangro baldyangro*" [N] which may mean that all these three tribes are of similar category. But on the contrary, these tribes are of different linguistic and cultural T-B groups, for instance linguistically, the Kirānti-Kōits language, which is one of the T-B Kirānti in indigenous languages and culturally the Magars and Gurungs celebrate *Ghātu Nach* 'Ghātu Dance' whereas the Sun(u)war celebrate *Shyādar Shyil* equivalent to *Sakela Sili* 'Sakela Dance' in other Kirānti speech communities. Their ancestors according to folklore studies are

Langlewa (Rai 2005: 7), *Wakudung* (Chamling-Rai 1998: 68 and 140), *Khinchi(hang)* (Khambu (1995 [VS 2052]), Lee (2005: 183-185) and Harkabung/Khinchihang (Chamling-Rai 2061: 4 and 6).

Two other QGOs, W. B. Northey and C.J. Morris (1987: 257 [orig.1927]) have continued the same socio-semantic tradition of Vansittart. They note thus,

“...the *Bara thar* [fallacious because no Tibeto-Burman tribes have such caste/class hierarchy as in Hinduism as pointed out earlier; *my personal note added*, See Gurung (2004: 32-33) also], or twelve tribes, have become almost entirely of the Hindu faith, and the priests who officiate at their religious ceremonies are said to be, nowadays, exclusively composed of Brahmans, of the Upaddhe class, although some of their tribes of the Magars and Gurungs, and are considered to resemble those tribes in many respects. The resemblance to the Magars and Gurungs is not strong, however, and the Sunwars retain, to a large extent, the characteristics and manners of the other main races of Eastern Nepal, the Limbus and Rais, into the latter of which many of their subdivisions are, it is said, rapidly being absorbed.”

Then in the mid sixties, Bista (1967), who is credited as the founder-father of Nepalese socio-anthropology, also has without acknowledgement paraphrased those Gurkha officers' impressionistic observations (to such an extent that “...they (Sun(u)war) are offshoots of the Magars...Sunuwar language seems only slightly different from the Magar dialect...1967: 64) and even the Kirat historian and culture specialist Chemjong (1967) has adopted the same meaning as Bista does without any original critical observation. Following them, Ukyab and Akhikari (2000: 57; translated version from Nepali into English) misleadingly have noted exaggerating,

“Because of their adherence to the Kirant (actually they are not adherence; *my note added*) religion, they are considered

closer to the Rais. However, sociologists opine that they are more akin to the language and culture of the Magars with whom they also share similar physical resemblance.”

Contrary to their exaggerated claim, the term ‘Rai’^{vi} as an exonym or exoethnonym having imperial-political implication, does not connote or even denote ethnonym of the multi-Kirānti ethno-linguistic tribes and Vansittart’s (1992: 177-179 [orig. 1896]), Northey and Morris’s (1987: 257 [orig. 1927]), Bista’s (1967) and Chemjong’s (1967) impressionistic generalization seems to be a priori (cf. also Rapacha (2002) for linguistic and cultural details) conclusion without providing concrete linguistic, anthropological and cultural evidence.

6. Linguistic identity lumped with the Mangar/Gurung tribe

Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, Ministry of Defense in 1965 anonymously published a book entitled *Nepal and the Gurkhas* from London. This book claims that the Sunuwar *kura* [N] ‘Sunuwar talk/speech/language’ is said to resemble (actually not; *my note added*) the Gurung and Magar *kura* [N]. Ukyab and Adhikari (2000) have inclined towards this generalization without acknowledging the source. If one compares linguistic descriptions available on those languages, s/he may not find validity or even justifiability of this claim (cf. also Rapacha (2002) for a basic interdisciplinary ethno-linguistic concepts among the Sunuwar, Jirel and Manger [Sikkim spelling]).

7. Meaning as ‘low caste’ Kshetriya Hindu

Adhikary (1999: 860) has claimed unusually that the Sunuwar(s) belong to one of the Hindu low castes, thus,

...Sunuwar Bahun purohit calaune Kshetriya bargakai
ek nimna shrenika hun.

“...सुनुवार बाहुन पुरोहित चलाउने क्षेत्रिय वर्गकै एक निम्न श्रेणीका हुन् ।”

and toponymic (cf. Rapacha 1999 and elsewhere) evidence(s)

(...The Sunuwar are one of the low status Kshetriya classes employing the Bahun [Brāhmin] priest *My translation*)

Neither any anthropological nor socio-cultural research until today to my mind has classified the Sun(u)war [Kirānti-Kōits] people/tribe [one of the Tibeto-Burman speakers] as low status Kshetriya class. His claim lacks scientific explanations whether Kiranti-Kōits tribe is low Hindu Kshetriya caste.

8. Identity lumped with Kinnar

Pokharel (1994[VS 2051: 43-44]) relying upon his late father Sharada Pokharel's verbatim opines that the word 'Sunuwar' (does not differentiate between Sunuwar vs. *Sunar*) has been derived from 'Kinnar>Kunar>Sunar'. Additionally, *Sunu dalit* (but the *Sanskrit-Nepali Brihat Shabadadosh* (2000: 1423 [VS 2057]) defines the 'Sunu' word as *paani* or *jal* 'water'), *Sundas* and *Suncikri* later developed as Sunuwar according to his random a priori presupposition.

On the contrary, he has not provided a single clue about Kinnauri/Kanwari (cf. Saxena (1992), Riaboff (2005)) tribe, who speak their own Mother Tongue genetically classified to Tibeto-Kinnauri, one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Himachal Pradesh. Kinnauri, here can be one of the best clues for this association with Kinnar because some recent anthropological surveys/studies viz., Sarkar (1996:336; in Singh, Gen.ed.) has mentioned referring legends that those Kinnauris were "born from Brahma's [a Hindu deity] toe", which obviously seems to be a purely mythological rather than anthropological description of those people. Therefore, Pokharel's guesswork is hardly justifiable regarding the genesis of the term 'Sunuwar' from 'Kinnar>Kunar >Sunar'.

Because of their adherence to the Kirant (actually they are not adherent; my note added) religion, they are considered

9. Meaning as Kshetriya or Khas

Some other authors, for instance, Prapannacharya (1993 [VS 2050], 2000 [VS 2056]) and Pokharel (ibid. also cf. Adhikary 1999: 860) without providing ethno-anthropo-linguistic facts (cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Gurung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [VS 2061]) claim generalizing that the Sun(u)war are Kshetriya or Khas, which hardly holds its ground as discussed earlier.

10. Meaning as Suryavamshi 'solar dynasty'

Unfortunately, some of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe members like Katicha-Sunuwar (1999: 70-71[VS 2056]), Sunuwar (1953 [VS 2010]) and Sunuwar (1956 [VS 2013]) themselves have reiterated the 'Sunuwar' as *Suryavamshi* सूर्यवंशी 'solar dynasty'; whereas Kirānti-Kōits (*Kiratbamshi* किरातवंशी cf. Pradhan 1999) as one of the members of Mongoloid stock (cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Grunung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [VS 2061]) anthropo-sociologically do not fit into this 'solar dynasty' definition and classification. It might obviously be the impact of Hinduization as discussed by Chelliah (2005: 169-216) on the Meitheis of Manipur, Northeast India.

11. Meaning as 'Kirat dynasty'

There are other groups of scholars like Sunuwar (1990: 23-32 [VS 2047]), Hanßon (1991), Rai (1992 [VS 2049]), Khambu (1995 [VS 2052]), Yakkha-Rai (1998 [VS 2055]), Yakkha-Rai (2002 [VS 2059]), Pradhan (1999), Camling-Rai (1998 [VS 2055]), Rai (2001 [VS 2058]), Camling-Rai (2004 [VS 2061]) and Kandangwa (2050: iv) and many more who opine that the Sun(u)war(s) belong to the Kirat dynasty. Linguistic, cultural, religious, historical, anthropo-sociological, folklore and toponymic (cf. Rapacha 1999 and elsewhere) evidence(s)

prove this classification authentic (also cf. Gaenszle 2000: 2-15, Gurung 2003: 10). Particularly, Kiranti folklore (Rapacha 2006 and forthcoming) is another reliable source and proof as well for tracing their ethno-historical identity as Kiranti linguistic and ethno-indigenous tribal group.

12. The term 'Mukhia' for 'Sun(u)war'

Another equivalent exoglotonym/exoethnonym used for 'Sun(u)war' [*N* सुनुवार Sunuvār] is 'Mukhia'. Regarding this 'Mukhia' term, Lt Col Vansittart (1896) indicating its political implication writes,

"Mukhia is the name given by the Gurkha conquerors, and corresponds exactly with Subah, or Rai, meaning chief" (1992: 177 [orig. 1896]).

Contrary to the above-mentioned emperio-political implication of the exoglotonym 'Mukhia', Driem (2001: 724) has observed its social implication as 'used by or applied to the Sunwar hypocoristically'; however for Vansittart (ibid.), it has political implication of the Gurkha imperialist-conqueror(s). As 'Subba' and 'Rai', the equivalent term 'Mukhia' instead of Sun(u)war has been popularly used in Bhutan, Darjeeling, Sikkim, Dehradun and possibly in some other parts of India and eastern Nepal (also cf. Adhikari 1999). During my fieldwork in Sikkim, I found that the nomenclature(s) such as 'Pirthwar' and 'Bhujumar' are also in use instead of 'Mukhia'. Both of these assumed ethnonyms are merely coinages in analogy with the ambiguous exoglotonym 'Sun(u)war'.

13. The equivalent term 'Marpache'

Fundamentally, the term 'marapache' [obviously Nepalized form from *mār* 'what'+*pə+tsā* (in Kirānti-Kōits mother tongue) 'to do'] implies an outsider's (mainly Bahun-Chetri Khas-Nepali speakers) joking phraseology to the Sun(u)war(s) currently. As suggested here by its compounded etymology in

the big brackets, a Kirānti-Kōits speaker utters the phrase, *mAr patsA* /mār pə.cā/ (मार~मर पचा) 'what to do?' when s/he is in dilemma or in such confusing or troublesome situation. In course of time, the common Kirānti-Kōits people started themselves identifying as 'Marapache' unknowingly.

Contrary to the above aspects of several generalized, degenerated and falsified meanings, Kirānti-Kōits people have their own language internal systems of clanonym nomenclature^{viii}, which have significance morpho-phonemically and morpho-semantically (See also Rapacha 2004 and 2005 for morpho-phonemic and semantic details along with written and spoken forms) as indicated in the beginning.

The same Kirānti-Kōits <-cā; चा> ethno-clan-nyms' morpheme (cf. Gurung and Salter 1996: 59) provided in footnote 4 frequently occur providing cognate-relationship in other T-B Kirānti tribes such as Kirānti-Bā'yung/Bāhing (*Wallo Kirat*) as <-cā; चा>, Kirānti-RwaDhu/Wambule (*Wallo Kirat* 'Hither Kirat'; cf. Opgenort 2002: 15-16) as <-cā; चा> or <-co; चो> (also in Kirānti-Kulung), Kirānti-Rodung/Cāmling (*Majh Kirat* 'Middle Kirat') as <-cha छा>, Kirānti-Bantawa (*Pallo Kirat* 'Far Kirat') as <-chā छा> or <-cā चा> and <-cho छो> less frequently in some other ethno-clanonyms (cf. E. Vansittart 1896 and 1909, C.J. Morris 1933, G. Khambu 2000 [VS 2057]). There is an obvious remote-relationship with /-cə; च/ of Early Classical Newar(i) (Tamot 2002: 13-26 and 169-184), one of the members of Greater-Kirānti.

These ethno-clanonyms in Kirānti-Kōits (footnote 4) as in Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member) as one of the T-B tribe particularly having the bilineal male clan (viz., *akal*, *kyangpole*, *areng*, *dumlam dhungguri*, *mosan thali* and *jaidhane*) and female clan (viz., *būdati*, *yantesiri*, *khatuseri*, *caltasiri*, *altasiri*, *bampasiri*, *khasasiri* and *apansiri*)

structure; whereas in Kirānti-Kōits it is only male, is very interesting in its semantic aspects of the oral history in Thangmi. Shneiderman and Turin (2000c: 15; website print page) write:

“The male clan names are said to have derived from the archery contest among the original seven Thangmi brothers and are largely related to tree or plant names. The first seven female clan names are based upon the work implements which the original seven Thangmi sisters are said to have used, while the eighth name, *apansiri*, derives from the word *apan* (T), (*ban Mānche N*), ‘jungle person’, and refers to a baby girl found abandoned in the woods by the seven Thangmi brothers and adopted as the eighth and youngest Thangmi sister.”

As cited in the language internal oral history of Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member), Kiranti-Kōits also have several ethno-clanonyms and their morpho-semantic aspects while interpreting in the mother tongue as in Thangmi (ibid.) related to several conceptual meanings in Kirānti-Kōits on the basis of morpho-semantic structures of the ethno-clanonyms (See Rapacha 2005 for further details on morpho-semantic interpretations) also as discussed in the beginning.

These language internal systems of nomenclature and their morpho-semantic details and provenance in the Kirānti-Kōits clanonyms suggest that these clanonyms are very genuine clues for their linguistic, cultural, historical, ethnological and anthropo-sociological identity as Oirat>Kirat (cf. Rapacha 2004: 21-25) rather than all other messy and pejorative meanings of their clanonym nomenclature.

14. Conclusions

In this paper, we examined and discussed several problematic meanings and classification of the exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as opposed to the ancient Kirānti-Kōits tribe classified in the Mongoloid stock (cf. Northey 1998: 94, Gurung 2004)

anthropo-sociologically. By way of analogy, we have cited examples of the problematic meanings from Thangmi (Shneiderman and Turin 2000: 4), another member of the Greater-Kirānti family. From the cultural and linguistic point of view based on the earlier stated evidence, Kirānti-Kōits tribe are very closer to Kirānti-Bā'nyung, Wambule [RāDhu], Jerung and others^{viii} and vice versa. We have hinted other Kirānti ethno-clanonyms also by providing morpho-etymological relationships among <-cā; चा>, <-cā; चा> or <-co; चो> (also in Kirānti-Kulung of *Wallo Kirat* 'Near/Hither Kirat'), Kirānti-Rodung/Camling (*Majh Kirat* 'Middle Kirat') as <-cha छा>, Kirānti-Bantawa (*Pallo Kirat* 'Far Kirat') as <-chā छा> or <-cā चा> and <-cho छो>. These ethno-morphological variations of clanonyms do have very close relationship also with Early Classical Newar(i) <-cə; च> as well and is a closely related cognate of Tibeto-Burman proto-form **tsa* 'child, grandchild' (Benedict 1972: 208) having socio-historical and linguistic relationship, which signifies as '±male /person' marker (e.g. *səra-chā* 'son', *māri-chā* 'daughter' and *mə-chā* 'daughter's husband') in Kirānti-Rodung's modern vocabulary.

The ethno-exoglotonym 'Sun(u)war' as presupposed to be derived from the hydronym 'Sunkoshi' found in my investigation not to be developed/derived earlier than the 14th century (i.e. 1325 AD; See Egli 1999, cf. Yakkha-Rai 2002 [VS 2059]: 85^{ix}) in the ethnological literature and history of Nepal available until recently. Their ethnic or linguistic identity lumped in Gurung and Magar, irrespective of their same Mongoloid^x or Tibetonoid stock, has been found false while comparing linguistic data and cultural facts (cf. Rapacha 2002). Similarly, the rest of the meanings: Mukhia, *Suryavamshi* 'solar dynasty', *Kshetriya* or *Khas* 'Indo-Aryan tribe', Kinnar, 'low caste' Kshetriya Hindu and Sunar/Kami 'goldsmith' except for *Marpache* [Kirānti-Kōits in origin], are all misnomers of the Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe.

As on Thangmi (Turin 2003), much of the earlier writing on the Kirānti-Kōits is “erroneous and betrays the ignorance and prejudices of the writers more than it informs the reader about features of this important Himalayan population [Oirat > Kirat; belonging to the Mongoloid stock [cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Gurung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutchinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [VS 2061]; *information added*] and their little-known language”. Their ethnonym ‘Kiranti-Kōits’ in their own Mother Tongue and those morpho-semantically significant auto-clanonyms genuinely make them different from any other misinterpreted-meanings mentioned earlier related to the Indo-Aryan sociology handed down from Manu because Kirānti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman language speakers fall outside the hierarchical ‘caste’ or any ‘*jāti*’ [I-A or Indic] system (cf. Abbi forthcoming, Joshi 2003: 334). Their language internal auto-ethno-clanonyms are meaningfully significant for their own ethnicity and identity rather than other falsified, ‘ignorant and prejudiced’ (as in Thangmi (Turin 2003)) meanings. Several Kiranti folklore(s) also have proved (cf. Lee et al 2005, Khambu 1995, Chamling (Khambu) n.d., Chamling-Rai 2004: 4 and 6, Vartaman 1998, Sampang-Rai 2005: 24, Yalungcha-Rai 1998:68 and 140, Thomros 2000:31, Rai 2005:7) them as one of the ethno-indigenous Kiranti tribes.

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ⁱ This paper is mainly based on my Doctoral (PhD) dissertation's (A Descriptive Grammar of Kiranti-Kōits (2005), CLE, SLL&CS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) some important discussions on ethnology of the Kiranti-Kōits tribe in Chapter One.

ⁱⁱ A recent discussion similar to Kiranti-Kōits clanonyms is Chelliah's (2005: 169-216) 'Meitheism' in which she has explored and interpreted personal name choices among the Meithei (a Tibeto-Burman tribe/language) of Manipur, Northeast India. The main socio-psycho-political basis in such personal name choice is: a native-Meithei style, a Hindu style introduced with the 18th c adoption of Hinduism by the Meithei, and a "resistance" style typified by previously unattested structures and clan names according to Chelliah. This revivalist concept of Meithei is suitably applicable in Kiranti-Kōits and other ethno-indigenous people of Nepal as well.

ⁱⁱⁱ On the Mongoloid tribes Chatterji (1974: 20 [orig. 1951]) paraphrasing Grierson notes that they "represent at least three distinct physical types- the primitive long-headed Mongoloids, who are found in the sub-Himalayan tracts, in Nepal and mostly in Assam; the less primitive and more advanced short-headed Mongoloids, who are found mostly in Burma and have expanded from Burma through Arakan into Chittagong; and finally the Tibeto-Mongoloids, who are fairly tall and have lighter skins and appear to be the most highly developed type of the Mongoloids, who came to India. These Tibeto-Mongoloids are the linguistically characterized Tibetans and their various off-shoots who arrived in India through the Himalayas, in comparatively

recent times, spreading from Bhotan and Sikkim to Ladakh and Baltistan.”

^{iv} M. Schulze and D. Bieri are together working on the Kiranti-Köits (under the exoglotonym Sunwar) since the late 1960s till today and have translated the *New Testament* in the mother tongue including many other linguistic descriptions.

^v Malla (1989: 456) citing Bandhu regarding the etymology of the term ‘Nepali’ writes, “...was used and made popular by the missionaries and British scholars... The feeling of Nepali linguistic nationalism that grew in India was able to replace the terms like *Khasa Kura*, *Parbatiya* or *Gorkhali* by *Nepali* in India. It also influenced the authorities in Nepal and the first word of *Gorkha Bhasha Prakashini Samiti* [Gorkha Language Publication Committee] was changed to Nepali.” Cf. also Gurung (1997: 175).

^{vi} Toba (1983: 11) regarding the terms ‘Rai’ and ‘Kirānti’ writes thus, “The name ‘Rai’ is given to a number of tribes or clans in the area as a generic term. ‘Rai’ means ‘chief’ or ‘headman’ (Vansittart (1992: 177 [orig. 1896], Bista 1972: 32) [If the meaning of ‘Rai’ is ‘chief or headman’, it cannot represent and signify ‘ethnonym’ (also cf. Leewine 2004: 67) at any degree. Another synonym for the same term is Jimdar (Konow (in Grierson (ed.) 1990 and 1994: 58 [orig. 1909] also Dewan) *My comment added*). Under the term Rai the following languages and dialects are included (to name the more representative ones): Athpare, Bahing (Rumdali), Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling (Dumi), Kulung (Sotang), Lohorong, Thulung, and Yamphu (Ketra). This is a narrow traditional grouping; however, from a linguistic standpoint, Sunwar has to be included with the Rai languages also (Glover 1974)... Some Tibeto-Burmanists use the term ‘Kirānti’ as a cover term to include Rai as well as Limbu and some other languages in the area. I decided against the use of this term because it is used both by historians and anthropologists in a very broad and general sense to refer to the mountain people, so that it would be misleading in the framework of this thesis.” Contrary to Toba’s framework, I preferably have used the generic hyphenated specific nomenclature with the generic one such as ‘Kirānti-Köits’ in order to specify the Tibeto-Burman tribe (ethnonym) and language (glossonym) of *Wallo* ‘near/hither’ Kirat, eastern Nepal

along with the majority of Tibeto-Burman linguists (e.g. Bradley 2003: 122, 2002: 81-82; Driem 2004: 413-416, 2001, 1997, 1992; Thurgood 2003: 15-16; Ebert 2003: 505-532), historians and anthropologists (cf. Gaenszle 2000: 2-15) use this ethnonym 'Kirānti' particularly for the tribes of the eastern hills of *Wallo* [N] 'Near/Hither' Kirat, *Majh* [N] 'Mid/Central' Kirat and *Pallo* [N] 'Far' Kirat, Nepal and also taking the post-90's movement of the indigenous peoples of Nepal into consideration. During the survey period of Grierson (1909), the traditional term 'Khambu' also was in use, where 16 dialects have been mentioned/listed.

- vii Such clanonyms include: Binicha, Bigyacha, Bujicha^a, Bramlicha, Darkhacha, Dasucha, Debbacha, Digarcha, Durbicha, Fatica, Gaurocha, Gongrocha, Jespucha, Jijicha, Jyenticha^b, Katicha, K^hunlichā, Kyabacha^c, Khyom(̃)paticha, Kyuinticha-Chuinticha, Kormocha, Laspacha Linocha, Lonkucha, Lunk(^h)icha, Mulicha, Nasocha, Ngawocha, Nomlichā Pargacha, Pretticha, Rapacha, Rapicha^d, Rawacha, Rudicha or Ruticha, Rujicha, Rupacha, Shyochu(l)icha, Susucha, Teppacha, Thangracha, Tholocha, Tonkucha, Thungucha, Turshucha, Wangdecha^e, and Yatacha^f. Also cf. Vansittart (1896, 1909), Morris (1933), Sunuwar and Kormocha (1990: 16-17), Mukhia (1998: 127-129), Rapacha (1996, 1999), Egli (1999: 78-9), Khambu (2000), Sunuwar (2004) and Sunuwar (2004: 44) [VS 2057]).
- ^a The Bujicha clan has been divided into four sub-groups viz., Gaurocha, Mulicha, Nasocha and Nomlichā according to Lokpriya Mulichā-Sunuwar (p/c 2004, cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). The morpheme '*-cha / *-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.
- ^b The Jye^hticha clan has been divided into six sub-groups viz., P/Halwa(cha), Hambacha, Mulicha, Namadi(cha) and Ratwa(cha) and Satwa(cha) according to Lokpriya Mulichā-Sunuwar (2004; cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). Additionally, Mukhia (1998: 128) mentions some other sub-group clanonyms such as Sabracha, Kholma(cha), Dinu(cha), Dalwa(cha) Palwa(cha) and Baruwa(cha). On the contrary, Vansittart (1992: 181 [orig. 1896]) has listed thirteen different sub-groups, which are hardly accurate, as the author himself believes them to be inaccurate or incomplete. The morpheme '*-cha / *-ca/' in slashes is my own

Bijay Kumar Rautiyar

- reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.
- ^c The Kyaba(cha) clan has been divided into two sub-groups viz., Ralali(cha) and Bagale(cha) according to Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar (p/c 2004, cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). The morpheme '*-cha /-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.
- ^d Information on this clanonym is based on B.B. Jeṭicha-Mukhia (p/c 2002, cf. Vansittart 1896: 180; Egli 1999: 78-9).
- ^e The Wangde(cha) clan has been sub-grouped under "ten clan Sunuwar(s)" by Eden Vansittart (1896; cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)) but this grouping as "ten and twelve" clan is a later development when the Kirānti-Kōits people came in contact with the Indo-Aryans. The morpheme '*-cha /-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.
- ^f The Yata(cha) clan has been divided into five sub-groups viz., Garshi(cha), Bamna(cha), Okhy(cha), Gutka(cha) and Namadi(cha) according to Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar (2004; cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). The morpheme '*-cha /-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms. However, the term like 'garshi' has its own meaning in Kirānti-Kōits related to botany. Other terms except for 'Gutka' are related to toponyms or most of them are meaningless in K-K and Gutka in K-K simply means 'coop'.
- ^{viii} Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar and Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar informed me that all the Kirānti tribes claiming Rai such as Bā?yung (Rumda(li) [clans: Thamrocha, Dilingpacha, Hajupacha, Diburcha], Pai/Rinamsacha [clans: Tolacha, Moblocha, Ripa(o)cha, Nambarsacha, Sechacha, Rallacha, Luticha], Necha(li), Hangu and Roke cf. Lee 2005), Wambule and Jerung of Wallo Kirat at present were Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war) in the past (p/c 2002). However, the Bā?yung migration mythological text as narrated by Buddhi Hangu(cha) relates their proximity with Kirānti-Rodung of *Majh* Kirat (cf. Maureen Lee and Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha (unpublished 2001 and published later in 2005) adapted by Rapacha (2002). Bhupadhoj Thomros-Kulung

claims that the illiterate Sun(u)wars still today claim themselves to be Rais but the learned ones only identify themselves as Sun(u)war (p/c June 2005).

^{ix} Yakkha-Rai (2002 [VS 2059]: 85) paraphrasing Panta (VS 2045-2050: 850 Part 3) notes that the term ‘Sun(u)war’ for the first time, was documented officially on 27 August 1797.

^x Nesturkh (1966: 26) notes that “Among the specific features of the many anthropological types of this race [Mongoloid] are the following: a broad face that projects moderately, the broad, projecting cheekbones giving it a flat appearance, the eyes are brown, the eye slit is medium in the majority but narrow in many cases; in some individuals external angle of the eye is disposed higher than the internal angle; there is a well-developed fold on the upper eyelid that in many cases extends to the cilia and crosses the lower lid, completely or partially covering the internal angle of the eye, including the lacrimal bay, to form the epicanthus; the nose is of medium width, slightly projecting and usually with a low bridge; in the majority of cases the nostrils are in the medium with their long axes at an angle of about 90° to each other: the lips are thin or medium; ...the chin ridge has medium development’ in very many individuals the head is mesocephalous. The skin is lighter in colour and the hair is black and not always stiff. The beard is scanty” (cited in Toba 1992: 8).

BEYOND THE BARRIO: AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC DISCOURSE IN CISNEROS' "BARBIE-Q"

Bijay Kumar Rauniyar

1. Introduction

Barrio is español means an area or neighborhood. It is inhabited by different ethnic groups. They are identified primarily by their unconventional, dialectic language or discourse. The present write-up attempts to deal with some ethnolinguistic aspects of American, and for that matter other, societies.

2. Barbie's evolution

Barbie evolved along with class, society, and women. It is still the prized possession of the young girls as it molded their psyche, and voiced their inner desire to belong to, and affect the highbrow society. The given text commingles diverse issues of women, race, and class, beside establishing a cross-cultural and / or class discourse. It is essentially heteroglossal or dialogic in nature in Bakhtin's terminology.

3. www.barbie.cisneros

Señorita Sandra Cisneros (b. December 20, 1954) complies with Bakhtin's idea as she is not a solo "speaking *individuum*" (Bakhtin, 1985:35). She is rather one of the seminal writers (numeras unas) of Chicano literature. Her short story "Barbie-Q" is from *Woman Hollering Creek* carves the story of 'what women want' and crave despite their socioeconomic and political position. It is regarded as her novel 'poetics of space' as well as linguistic experiment in which she breaks the set canon and conventions. She uses the barrio language to convey both the excitement and agitation of the characters.

The first person speaker in the story makes do with the improvised doll, with "a dress invented from an old sock" (Cisneros, 1991:14) full of holes, or with a barbie (charred) one bought from a flea market. Thus,

[y]ours is the one with mean eyes and a ponytail. Striped swimsuit, stilettos, sunglasses, and gold hoop earrings. Mine is the one with bubble hair. Red swimsuit, stilettos, pearl earrings, and wire stand (id.)

to keep it erect or from falling. The story recurs every time in which another Barbie is "roommates with my Barbie, and my Barbie boyfriend comes over and your Barbie steals him, okay? Kiss kiss kiss. Then the two Barbies fight" (id.). But next Sunday the two girls (dos chicas), stumble upon, and haggle a lot for, two junk Barbies in a flea market on Maxwell Street. One doll is attired in 'Career Gal' ensemble; another is cloaked as 'Sweet Dreams.'

At the next vendor's stand, they chance upon Bendable Legs Barbie "with her new page-boy hairdo" (ibid. 15). There are also her family members and friends like Midge, Ken, Tutti and Todd, beside "Francie, Barbie's MOD'ern cousin" (id.). The market is flushed with toys and everybody selling them, "damaged with water and smelling of smoke" (id.) when a bonfire gutted a big toy warehouse on Halsted Street. The smoke still stenches after several washings. But who knows what's underneath the prettiest doll, Francie, unless one lifts her dress.

4. Multiple messages

This nearly 50-year old doll teems with diverse and oppositional messages. It has aroused many passionate articles and conferences within and beyond academia. Some, according to Reid-Walsh and Mitchell, defend her for liberating the imagination of young girls and arousing their hope to become 'career gals.' Others, according to Rand,

attack her for incarnating and propagating through her physique and paraphernalia the women's sensuality. But the real Barbie is always stereotyped—white, sensuous, rich, heterosexual, popular, fashionable, and forever young, and above all, dominating.

In this regard, the story fails to create a new discourse or appropriate the iconic doll. Nevertheless, marginalized people cannot escape and construct an alternate and independent discourse. Yet they claim over the domineering language and symbols in order to create their own discourse and space since the oppressor can re-reclaim them any moment. Does it mean that the “Barbie-Q” text subverts the ubiquitous hegemonic power of the society under censure or reasserts ironically and even sarcastically the enormous power of the hegemonic discourse as it throttles any new discourse beyond itself? John Fiske answers only partly by saying that “[a]ll commodities can be used by the consumer to construct meaning of self, of social identity and social relations” (Fiske, 1989:11), that is every object probably betrays the values and practices of the given society.

5. Semiotics of Barbie Doll

Romo (2005) questions traditional ideals and values of the social class, as depicted in “Barbie-Q.” He says that Cisneros unveils the hegemonic ideology. It tries to subordinate and subjugate the social groups marginalized by the dominant class. Through the classic icon epitomizing the American feminine ideal, Cisneros highlights both the majority's feminine ideal in particular culture and society and the tension surrounding that ideal. She also juxtaposes corporate America (Mattel) against the disenfranchised (poor girls). The latter cannot afford the exuberant toy and its ensemble (costing fifty to hundreds of dollars). Thus Barbie underlines “the binary tensions” (ibid. 128) and “represents women according to the

(word play) in the title “Barbie-Q” allows the vulgar

ideal of the Anglo-Saxon-heterosexual-middle-class man” (id).

Fiske asserts that a commodity is a materialized ideology. Barbie reproduces the ideology of the system producing it. But Cisneros lent contradictory meanings to the text. By ‘barbecuing’ or ‘broiling’ the Barbie, she increases the plaything’s polysemy (multiplicity). Moreover, she impregnates her with novelty by exploiting internal inconsistency in the logic of her discourse and the opposition. Barbie’s different cloaks and careers show her liberating “roles [are] only as fixed as costumes” (Rand, 1994:190). But her diversely stocked closet betrays her oppressiveness; besides, “her body, with its permanently pointed breasts and feet, seems unalterably femme” (id.). These basic contradictions make Barbie an exemplary text of popular culture. It speaks of domination and the opportunities to send it, at the same time, athwart.

The wire stand holding the doll might stand for the scaffolding. It is Barbie’s bulwark to the society. Yet it mutes and mutilates her quality to stand independently by busting her as a mere puppet. The girls make do her outfits to become the glamorous glitterati of the dominant culture. Cisneros translates Barbie’s language for children,

teaching them the skills by which their future success will be measured: purchase of the proper high-status goods, popularity with their peers, creation of the correct personal appearance, and the visible achievements of ‘fun’ through appropriate leisure activities. (Motz, 1983:122)

Barbie has no financial and intellectual motivation or militancy. She “would never be a waitress” (Gellene, 1989:4) as her fashion designer, Kitty Black-Perkins, once noted. She must retain her power, pelf, prestige, and prettiness to sustain her bourgeoisie. Following the well-taut context, the proletariat protagonists invent a clumsy dress but dare not

deviate from the set decency. So Barbie, "a Million Dollar Doll" (Zinsser, 1964:72), must channel minorities and dissidents into high class mannerism and grandiloquence. Even the transient sense of the proximity of power benumbs the girls' usual sensibility and thrashes Cisneros' supposed antagonism. They incorporate, rather than expropriate, Barbie and her outfits forgetting their oppositional language as the incorporation strategy "deprives them of the means to speak their opposition and thus, ultimately of their opposition itself" (Fiske, 1989:18). In a way, it contains them by controlling their gesture of dissent and yet allowing them due liberty to make them feel rather content and gratified, and never think against the status quo. Thus they are subverting the meaning intended for the doll or 'queers' Mattel's intentions (Rand, 1995:15). Their imitation, far from being subversion, is "the appropriation of an object by the masses" (Fiske, 1989:15). They are prevented from "mak[ing] their own culture out of the resources and commodities provided by the dominant system" (id.). Rand sounds the same note of proscription:

[i]n a classic hegemonic move, Mattel has managed to carve out a permitted space for subversive play in which the subvertors [sic] actually abet dominant discourse. (Rand, 1994:198)

As a result, Barbie's behavior ensues chiefly from her wish to belong to, and please, men.

6. Binarism

Barbie mainstreams the dissidents and curbs any attempt to deviate from normative values. Her cultural discourse overpowers any other discourse trying to alter it. As a popular text, "Barbie-Q" ushers into highbrows' hegemony despite its anti-hegemonic tone (right from the title). Its language supercedes and grills the concepts and connotations of Barbie and spotlights the object differently. The power of the pun (word play) in the title "Barbie-Q" "allows the 'vulgar'

meanings to be seen as 'more true' and so more powerful than the official one" (Fiske, 1989:107). The unconventional and bizarre neologism allows the authoress to decry the rigid grammaticality as well as ridicule the status quo by relegating the doll to commonplace barbecue and making the likes helpless victims of fire. She seems to suggest that howsoever noble, these dolls as well as the noble men and women they represent are turned from 'dust into dust.' Her action "does more than allow a linguistic reexperience of social difference (or distance, alienation); it also misuses 'their' language. It is a refusal to submit to linguistic discipline, a momentary tactic by which the linguistic system is raided and used 'trickily,' disrespectfully" (Fiske, 1989:108). She makes her text rebellious by using a new form and defying the rules of punctuation: "[k]iss kiss kiss" (Cisneros, 1991:14); by the improper conjugation of verbs: "Everybody today selling toys" (ibid. 15); by reproducing the vernacular language of the lower class: "On the outside you and me skipping and humming but inside we are doing loopity-loops and pirouetting" (id.); and by presenting different dialogs within a descriptive prose sans quotation marks to indicate them: "You dumbbell! He's mine. Oh no he's not, you stinky!" (ibid. 14); and "How much? Please, please, please, please, please, please, until they say okay" (ibid. 15).

Cisneros further broils Barbie by robbing her seductive space and stuffing her amidst the decrepit stock. She claims Barbie as

a new signifier for the underprivileged by leveling her to the worn down and popular objects that once characterized the bourgeoisie and that are now seen as part of the lower class. (Romo, 2005:132)

These binary oppositions or dialogic technique runs throughout the text and creates a liberating discourse. Thus "Barbie-Q," along with other short stories in the anthology,

raises many racial, class, and above all, gender issues like U.S. repression, discrimination and exploitation against Chicanos. Corporate America imposes its values on the girls through a spate of messages and the fictional and unattainable world of imaginary and ever increasing characters like Ken, Skipper, Midge, Tutti Todd, Scooter, Ricky, Alan and Francie they pine for or hanker after. The girls cannot at all afford the fancy accoutrement nor pursue the careers of the doll women as promised by the American Dream. It is bound to be shattered on the very margin or periphery they stand. The centrifugal force of Bakhtin keeps them at a bay from the dreamy-n-pinky world of the white affluent.

7. Anti-establishment discourse

The text also creates an anti-establishment discourse by revealing the girls' impecunious situation:

Because we don't have money for a stupid-looking boy doll when we'd both rather ask for a new Barbie outfit next Christmas. We have to make do with your mean-eyed Barbie and my bubblehead Barbie and our one outfit apiece not including the sock dress. (Cisneros, 1991:15)

However, they are oblivious of their destitution. They cannot even think of grudging against their fate, or the discriminating political or social policies. Nevertheless, Cisneros makes her message clear that inequality and oppression do persist in the U.S. as is seen in the girls' desperate attempt to live within the rules dictated by the dominant class. Their joy over ultimately owning a Barbie mars the seriousness of the fire tragedy that probably tolled the life of many blue collar workers. They are too possessive or fetish about the burnt Barbie to see the dichotomy of interests of the two classes, or the implications of the incident in their community. Thus Cisneros delineates their alienation from their community experiences and goals. They show no solidarity or camaraderie nor any consciousness towards their lot (*meaning both fate and*

community). They fall an easy prey to “a false halo of freedom” (Romo, 2005:134) and succumb to the snaring ideology in their final surrender:

So what if our Barbies smell like smoke when you hold them up to your nose even after you wash and wash and wash them. And if the prettiest doll, Barbie’s MOD’ern cousin Francie with real eyelashes, eyelash brush included, has a left foot that’s melted a little—so? If you dress her in her new ‘Prom Pinks’ outfit, satin splendor with matching coat, gold belt, clutch, and hair bow included, so long as you don’t lift her dress, right?—who’s to know. (Cisneros, 1991:16)

Cisneros clearly commits blasphemy by singeing the classy doll. But the girls foil her attempt to oppose the hegemonic culture. The iconoclasm of Cisneros is pitted against the idolatry of her own characters. They dismiss the disfigured set of ideals disguised under the dolls’ garbs. They also disregard the fact that the much adored dolls are rendered unfit by the so-called upper class. The girls are so entrenched into the hyped values that they do not care if everything is just an illusion so long as they accept it.

According to Romo,

Cisneros may have mutilated and compromised the symbol used to represent and disseminate the values of the dominant class; but her characters, by failing to create new meanings with it, have reassured Barbie’s ideological power, and even more so by accepting the flawed doll after finding out that she is not perfect. (Romo, 2005:134)

The text’s content shows the girls molding their own sense of identity, values, and gender and conforming to the iconic norms. But the text’s structure opposes these norms and shows the complexity of the situation. Thus this short story shows, with a very postmodern discourse about gender and identity, that “gender identities are matters of costume,

performance, and posing as well as the importance of cultural products in identity construction" (Rand, 1994:202). Cisneros subverts the text by structurally exposing the internal mechanisms of the dominant ideology and by showing the difficulty in possessing the tools of disseminating it. So it dwindles between the narrator's rejection and the characters' reception of the doll and the hi-fi values it stands for. The girls express the same sense of eureka that our Else expresses at being able to see the little lamp inside the doll's house forgetting the stigma of being shooed out by Aunt Beryl, and in the same unconventional syntax: "I seen the little lamp" (Mansfield, 1991:172).

On the one hand, the internal structure of "Barbie-Q" reveals the contradiction between the dominant ideological forces at work and the content of the story. On the other, the readers very ably recognize the underlying contradicting discourse that shows whether the text attacks or abets the status quo. They are required to reconcile the contradictions manifest through the discrepancy between the text's content (story and plot) and the form (narrative expression or discourse).

Umberto Eco finds that the form allows the reader to decipher multiple meanings in the text. He writes,

Theoretically, this reaction [the process of contrasting one's experience to the text's message in order to find meaning] is endless, ceasing only when the form ceases to stimulate the aesthetic sensibility of the addressee" (Eco, 1989:37).

Cisneros fulfils her task by creating and shaping "Barbie-Q" with a goal. But the readers alone have to find out the truth between what they think Barbie signifies, and the text's image of the two girls playing with a burnt Barbie. They have to explore the ensuing contradictions and re-create the text, and determine its definitive meaning. Anyway, "Barbie-Q" fulfils all the requirements of a true popular text: it "is full of gaps, it

provokes its producerly viewers to write in their meanings, to construct their culture from it" (Fiske, 1989:122). It calls for the reader's cooperation asking him or her "to make a series of interpretative choices which even though not infinite are, however, more than one" (Eco, 1979: 4).

Popular culture promotes polyglottal readings and multiple inter-textual meanings. For that the readers must familiarize with the diverse materials a popular text is made up of. In the present context, they can decide about the text's dual purpose of being subversive or hegemonic, by analyzing the social context and the linguistic relationships of the given timeframe. According to Fiske, "Barbie-Q" might show that

[t]he densely woven texture of relationships upon which meaning depends is social rather than textual and it is constructed not by the author in the text, but by the reader. (Fiske, 1989:122)

But indeed it shows our true kind (rebellious or loyal) only "at the moment of reading when the social relationships of the reader meet the discursive structure of the text" (id.).

To say, what Cisneros constructs (i.e. rebellious dialog), her twin characters deconstruct (i.e. disown their individual identities and own the dominant class); and what Cisneros deconstructs (i.e. class hegemony), the readers reconstruct (i.e. read the differences, and make their free opinion). Thus they are enriched by the textual and structural information, and repay by enriching the text and structure with their own meanings. As a result, the story experiences recurrent reversals of text and context. The term (sub)version has an algebraic equation whereby meanings are mathematically multiplied.

Cisneros, for one thing, does not talk about somebody else's 'doll's house' or 'lost doll' or women living in Ibsenian 'doll's house.' She rather makes her characters possess one or two of them, dress them with their scanty means, enter, like

identity, that gender identities are matters of costume,

Alice, in the Wonderland of the topnotch corporate people. But like others, she also voices her antagonism towards the dolls and the women or society they represent by exposing their 'bedecked beauty' or 'undergarment ugliness.'

By lifting their dress, Cisneros unmasks the vignettes of the hi-fi, commercialized, mercantile, and too ideological world of the upper class that allows no deviation from, and subversion of, the hegemony. She aptly says that perennial beauty projected by the protruding 'titties' is a sheer impossibility. Her single voice reverberates the polyphony that permeates the novel, and like Dylan Thomas' radio play *Under Milk Wood* simultaneously synchronizes diverse discourses and courses of events. As Cisneros herself claims, it "contribute(s) to the whole—like beads in a necklace" (Cisneros, 1996:iv) and does "create a story like a collage" (ibid. v), montage or mosaic.

The message is loud and clear: So long as the Barbie exists, no matter how dilapidated, there will remain the class dichotomy. But sheer burning or burying it will not help as long as you burn with an agonizing desire to possess, and to belong to, it. The story has waged a war which present and future generations have to fight and finish, eradicating all class, ethnic and gender barriers, starting from the *barrio* (or *ghetto* as the case may be).

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As a conclusion of all these studies the following points can be noted about the honorific system of Nepal:

	Distal	Proximal	Honorific
	/urahi/	/urahi/	/urahi/
	/urahi/	/urahi/	/urahi/
	/urahi/	/urahi/	/urahi/

As a conclusion of all these studies the following points can be noted about the honorific system of Nepal:

Rajni (2003) has studied Dardik dialect of Nepal which contains higher levels of honorific.

impersonal - use of third person pronoun for second person. singular form with plural form for honorific. 2. use of honorific and the use of plural - replacement of the honorific structures. These are basic registers (I) and secondary registers (II). Each of these has two levels A and B. Among these Dalal (1974), Schmidt (1996), Angdamba (1999) presents binary division of honorific and the use of honorific. He shows five levels of note. Dalal (1974) presents the description on levels of honorific and the use of honorific (2003) are important to (1999), Bandhu (1999) and Regmi (2003) are important to

HONORIFIC-NEUTRALIZATION IN NEPALI¹

Bhim Narayan Regmi

1. Introduction

Nepali pronominals have honorific system of five levels: non-honorific, honorific1, honorific2, honorific3 and honorific4. All these levels depend on the social distance, solidarity, and formality. Beside these, Nepali has honorific-neutral constructions, which do not show honorific hierarchy. This article presents a brief descriptive account of honorific-neutralization.

2. Honorific system in Nepali

There are several studies on the honorific system in Nepali. Among these Dahal (1974), Schmidt (1996), Angdambe (1999), Bandhu (1999) and Regmi (2003) are important to note. Dahal (1974) presents the description on levels of honorific and the use of honorific. He shows five levels of honorific. Schmidt (1996) presents binary division of honorific structures. These are basic registers (I) and secondary registers (II). Each of these has two levels: A and B, and C and D respectively. According to her there are two dimensions of honorification: social distance and solidarity. Angdambe (1999) talks about two interesting techniques of honorification in Nepali: 1. use of plural - replacement of singular form with plural form for honorific, 2. use of impersonal - use of third person pronoun for second person. Regmi (2003) has studied Darbari dialect of Nepali which contains higher levels of honorific.

As a conclusion of all these studies the following points can be noted about the honorific system of Nepali:

1. It is expressed in three ways: a. through pronominal form, b. through verbal morphology, and c. through complex verb and a special set of vocabulary.
2. There are five levels of honorific in second person and four levels of honorific in third person.
3. There are three dimensions of Nepali honorific: social distance, solidarity and formality.

Since the article has the focus on neutralization, the devices for honorification are presented here. The pronouns are the devices to show the honorific levels in Nepali. These are presented in the table 1.

Table 1: Nepali pronouns

		Singular	Plural
1 st Person		mΛ	hami
2 nd Person	Nonhonorific	tā	timiharu
	Honorific1	timi	timiharu
	Honorific2	tapaī	tapaīhuru
	honorific3	hajur	hajurhuru
3 rd Person	Nonhonorific	Proximal	yo iniharu/ yinihuru
		Distal	u/tyo uniharu/ tinihuru
	Honorific1	Proximal	ini iniharu/ yinihuru
		Distal	uni/tini uniharu/ tinihuru
	Honorific2	Proximal	ehā/yāhā ehāhuru/ yāhāhuru

Bhimi Narayan Regmi

	Distal	uhā/wāhā/ tyāhā	uhāhəru/ tyāhāhar u
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Another device is the verbal morphology, i.e., the verbs are inflected for the different levels of respect. Those verbs also agree with the pronouns. The pronouns are presented here in the full sentences with the verbs. The example sentences are of two types: assertive and imperative.

- (1) a. tã bās-chās
you sit-Npt.2s.nH
'You sit.'
- b. timi bās-chāu
you sit-Npt.2s.H1
'you sit.'
- c. tɔpāi bās-nu hunchā
you sit-Npt.2s.H2
'you sit.'
- d. hājur bās-nuhunchā
you sit-Npt.2s.H3a
'you sit.'
- e. hājur bās-ibksinchā
you sit-Npt.2s.H3b
'you sit.'
- f. hājurraj hunchā
you sit-Npt.2s.H3c
'you sit.'

The sentences presented in example (1a-f) are assertive sentences. In (1a-e) pronouns and the verb agree and show the honorific level. The verb in example (1f) shows honorific level 3 with its special structure.

There are other examples in which the verbs do not agree and do not show the respect. But the pronouns show honorific levels. The following (2a-f) are the examples.

- (2) a. tã bas-ne
you sit-Npt.Hn
'You sit.'
- b. timi bas-ne
you sit-Npt.Hn
'you sit.'
- c. tãpã bas-ne
you sit-Npt.Hn
'you sit.'
- d. hãjur bas-ne
you sit-Npt.Hn
'you sit.'
- e. hãjur bas-ibaksi-ne
you sit-Npt.Hn
'you sit.'
- f. hãjurraj hu-ne
you sit-Npt.Hn
'you sit.'

The sentences presented in example (3a-h) are imperative sentences in which pronouns and the verbs agree and show the honorific level. Among these (3g-h) are the examples of complex verbs (noun+verb) which show high level of respect.

- (3) a. tã bas
you sit.Imp.2s.nH
'You sit.'

- b. timi bas- λ
 you sit-Imp.2s.H1
 'you sit.'
- c. t λ paĩ bas-nu hos
 you sit-Imp.2s.H2
 'you sit.'
- d. h λ jur bas-nuhos
 you sit-Imp.2s.H3a
 'you sit.'
- e. h λ jur bas-ib λ ksiyos
 you sit-Imp.2s.H3b
 'you sit.'
- f. h λ jur bas-ib λ ksela
 you sit-Imp.Hn
 'you sit.'
- g. h λ jur raj hos
 you sit-Imp.2s.H3c
 'you sit.'
- h. h λ jur raj ho-la
 you sit-Imp.Hn
 'you sit.'

There are other examples of imperative sentences in which the verbs do not agree and do not show the respect. But the pronouns show honorific levels. See the following examples (4a-d).

- (4) a. t λ bas-nu
 you sit-Imp.Hn
 'You sit.'

- b. timi bʌs-nu
you sit-Imp.Hn
'you sit.'
- c. tʌpɑi bʌs-nu
you sit-Imp.Hn
'you sit.'
- d. hʌjur bʌs-nu
you sit-Imp.Hn
'you sit.'

Some verbs do not inflect but show the respect through their special structures. These are the complex verbs of high level (level 5) honorific. The following are the examples.

- (5) a. raj hu-ne
sit-Npt.Hn
'sit.'
- b. raj ho-la
sit-Imp.Hn
'sit.'

3. Honorific neutralization in Nepali

Nepali language has several levels of honorific as presented in section 2 and the speaker is free to choose one of them depending on the social distance, solidarity and formality. But, sometimes, a speaker chooses honorific-neutral structure instead of using any honorific level. It happens in the conditions that the speaker does not want to show any of the levels of honorific.

There are some studies on the honorific neutralization in Nepali. Among these Schmidt (1996), Neupane (2045BS) and Pande (2057BS) are important in this respect. Schmidt (1976) takes -nu and -ne ending forms as neutral honorific levels. Neupane (2045BS) takes -nu and -ne ending forms and

passive forms as honorific-neutral constructions. Pande (2057BS) informs about *pādeboli* and the *chā/uhā* as neutral pronouns between *tapaī* and *hajur*.

For honorific neutralization there are three ways in the language. These are presented in the following subsections.

3.1 -nu or -ne ending non-finite verbs

-nu or -ne ending non-finite verbs are the devices to make honorific-neutral expressions of assertive and imperative sentences respectively. The examples (6a) and (6b) are honorific-neutral counterparts of the sentences presented in (1) and (2), and (3) and (4) respectively.

- (6) a. b_{AS-nu}
sit-Imp.Hn
'sit.'
- b. b_{AS-ne}
sit-Npt.Hn
'sit.'

3.2 Passive construction

Passive construction is another device for honorific-neutral expression. Intransitive passive construction does not have subject. So there is no question of agreement. Because the pronominal subject and the agreement are the indicators of the honorific level, The construction lacking both of these is honorific-neutral. See example (7).

- (7) $b_{AS-i-ch\Lambda}(inch\Lambda)$
sit-Pass.Npt.
'Am/is/are sat.'

All the passive constructions are not honorific-neutral. The passive construction with the auxiliary verb *baksinu*

maintains the honorific level by its special nature. See the example (8).

- (8) b_{AS}-ib_{AKS}inçh_Λ
sit-pass.
'Are sat.'

3.3 Pronouns ehã/γ_Λhã or uhã/w_Λhã.

The pronouns ehã/γ_Λhã or uhã/w_Λhã are used to neutralize t_{AP}ãi and hajur two levels of honorific, i.e., level2 and level3. Compare example (9) with examples (1c-f) and (2c-f).

- (9) a. ehã/γ_Λhã b_{AS}-nu hunch_Λ
you sit-Npt.2s.H2/3a
'you sit.'
- b. uhã/w_Λhã b_{AS}-nu hunch_Λ
he sit-Npt.3s.H2
'He sits.'

4. Conclusion

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 nonfinite verbs, 2. intransitive passive construction, and 3. pronouns - ehã/γ_Λhã or uhã/w_Λhã.

Abbreviations

Hn.	Honorific-neutral
nH.	Nonhonorific
Npt.	NonPast
2s.	Second person singular
3s.	Third person singular

H1.	First level Honorific
H2.	Second level Honorific
H3a.	Third level (low) Honorific
H3b.	Third level (mid) Honorific
H3c.	Third level (high) Honorific
Imp.	Imperative

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ⁱ This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 24th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2003.

SUFFIXATION DRIVEN SYLLABIFICATION IN URDU

Hassan Sajjad and Sara Hussain

Like other South Asian languages Urdu has a strong morphology and words frequently occur in their derived forms. Therefore determining phonological phenomena (like syllabification and stress assignment) for morphologically complex words is essential for Urdu. This paper investigates the changes in syllable structure that can arise due to the suffixation in Urdu. Current paper builds on earlier work on Urdu syllabification. It shows that suffixation, not only effects the syllables at stem-suffix boundary, but re-syllabification can occur across morpheme boundaries. Stress assignment for complex words is not discussed in this paper.

1. Introduction

Urdu is the national language of Pakistan and is spoken by more than 100 million people around the world (www.ethnologue.com). It is written in Arabic script in Nastaleeq style using an extended Arabic character set (Hussain, 2004). Syntax and morphology of Urdu is similar to Hindi. Its vocabulary consists of words borrowed from Hindi, Arabic, Persian, English and Turkish. Words borrowed in Urdu are frequently treated according to the rule of inflection peculiar to the language from which they are taken (Platts, 2002).

Suffixation, the process of attaching morphemes (suffixes) to the end of a word (Payne, 2006), is a well studied morphological process in Urdu (e.g. see Platts, (2002), Schmidt (1999), Rauf (2006) and Hussain (2004)). A morphological process changes lexical (underlying) form of a word to its surface (phonemic/orthographic) form. Morphological changes predominantly occur through suffixation in Urdu though a few prefixes are also present

(Hussain, 2004). In Urdu presence of non-concatenative morphology (including reduplication and interdigitation) is not fully established (Hussain, 2004). Suffixation in Urdu frequently occurs with verbs, nouns and adjectives (see Schmidt (1999), Hussain (2004) for details).

This paper investigates changes in syllable structure triggered by suffixation in Urdu. Results presented here have been derived from analysis on nominal morphology as given in (Hussain, 2004). This paper is organized as follows. The next section lists allowed syllable templates in Urdu. It also gives overview of the algorithm that has been used for syllabification. Section 3 explains processes involved in syllabification of complex words. This paper ends by a brief discussion on relative order of these processes, which is then followed by concluding remarks.

2. Syllabification of Urdu words (surface forms)

Urdu has a rich phonemic inventory with 44 consonants, 8 long oral vowels, 7 long nasal vowels, 3 short vowels and numerous diphthongs (set of Urdu diphthongs is still under analysis) (Hussain, 2004). Allowed syllable templates in Urdu in which these consonant and vowels can occur are listed in Nazar (2002) and Hussain (2005).

In Urdu each syllable is said to have an assigned weight (Hussain, 2005). This weight can be represented by moraic count of each syllableⁱ (Hussain, 2005). Syllable weights are used to assign stress in Urdu (for details see Hussain (2005)). Syllables in Urdu can be light (mono-moraic), heavy (bi-moraic) and super-heavy (tri-moraic) (Hussain, 2005). Table 1 lists syllable templates of Urdu for each category. The symbol VV represents a long vowel, V represents a short vowel, C represents a consonant.

Table 1: Urdu syllable templates categorized with respect to their weights

Light Syllable Templates	Heavy Syllable Templates	Super-heavy Syllable Templates
CV	CVV	CVVC
V	CVC	VVC
	VV	
	VC	

Algorithm for syllabification of Urdu (surface) words is described in Hussain (2005). Given a sequence of phonemic symbols for a word, this algorithm marks appropriate syllable boundaries. This algorithm traverses backwards from end to start of the word. It marks intervocalic consonants as onsets. Where there is an inter-vocalic consonant cluster, its last consonant is taken as onset and rest are taken up as coda consonants. However, there may be onset-less syllables if there is no intervocalic consonantal material available. This behavior remains un-changed for short and long vowels (for details see Hussain (2005)).

3. Processes involved in syllabification of morphologically complex words

Analyses show that morpheme boundary does not necessarily correspond to syllable boundary in Urdu. When suffixes are attached with stems, syllable structure of stems can be modified. The processes through which these syllable structures are formed are explained below. Context (or environment) in which these processes are triggered is dependent on: (1) vocalic/non-vocalic characteristics of the adjoining phonemes at stem-suffix boundary, and (2) syllables' weight of the newly formed word.

According to vocalic/non-vocalic characteristics we can have the following cases at the stem-suffix boundary.

- a. Stem ending with a consonant and suffix starting with a consonant (C+ⁱⁱ C)
- b. Stem ending with a vowel and suffix starting with a consonant (V+C)
- c. Stem ending with a consonant and suffix starting with a vowel (C+V)
- d. Stem ending with a vowel and suffix starting with a vowel (V+V)

The processes along with the context in which they are applied are explained next.

3.1 Syllabification at stem-suffix boundary

In this frequently occurring process, morphemes are simply concatenated together and then syllabified according to the syllabification algorithm presented in section 2. This process is used when ever the C+C, V+C and C+V case occurs. It can also be used in a V+V context. Examples showing C+C and V+C case are given in (1).

(1)	Lexical form	Surface form	Gloss
	ʔɪz.zəʔ + d̪ɑr ⁱⁱⁱ	ʔɪz.zəʔ.d̪ɑr	'Respectful'
	CVC.CVC + CVVC	CVC.CVC.CVVC	
	kur.si + jã	kur.si.jã	'Chairs'
	CVC.CVV + CVV	CVC.CVV.CVV	

The data in (1) also illustrates that in both these cases like morphemes, syllables are also concatenated and morpheme boundary maps to the syllable boundary of the surface form. Data in (2) shows examples for the C+V case.

(2)	Lexical form	Surface form	Gloss
	ki.t̥ab + ē	ki.t̥a.bē	'Books'
	CV.CVVC + VV	CV.CVV.CVV	
	li.dər + an	li.də.ran	'Leaders'
	CVV.CVC + VVC	CVV.CV.CVVC	
	rx.bar + aṭ	rx.ba.raṭ	'News papers'
	VC.CVVC + VVC	VC.CVV.CVVC	

Notice that in (2) re-syllabification has occurred across morpheme boundary. The coda consonant of stem's last syllable, which is the inter-vocalic consonant after suffixation, has moved as an onset to the next syllable (as discussed in the algorithm given section 2). Due to this movement stem's last syllable loses a moraic weight and is reduced to a comparatively lighter syllable. Consider (3) for examples of V+V case.

(3)	Lexical form	Surface form	Gloss
	d̥un.ja + ē	d̥un.ja.ē	'Worlds'
	CVC.CVV + VV	CVC.CVV.VV	
	t̥ə.mən.na + ē	t̥ə.mən.na.ē	'Wishes'
	CV.CVC.CVV + VV	CV.CVC.CVV.VV	

In (3) syllables have not been re-syllabified. This case resembles (1) where morpheme boundary maps to the syllable boundary of the surface form.

3.2 Vowel Deletion at stem-suffix boundary

In this process, last long vowel of the stem is first deleted. The morphemes are then concatenated together and

syllabified according to the syllabification algorithm presented in section 2. This process is used for V+V case. Few examples are shown in (4).

(4)	Lexical form	Intermediate form (after vowel deletion)	Surface form (after syllabification)	Gloss
	laɾ.kə + e	laɾ.k + e	laɾ.ke	'Boys'
	CVC.CV̄V + VV	CVC.C + VV	CVC.CV̄V	
	ʈɑ.lə + e	ʈɑ.l + e	ʈɑ.le	'Locks'
	CVV.CV̄V + VV	CVV.C + VV	CVV.CV̄V	
	gʊɾ.jɑ + ǎ	gʊɾ.j + ǎ	gʊɾ.jǎ	'Dolls'
	CVC.CV̄V + VV	CVC.C + VV	CVC.CV̄V	

In (4) after vowel deletion a C+V case occurs and syllables are re-syllabified. This is similar to the case presented in (2) above. Thus for V+V cases either the process of simple syllabification (section 3.1) or the process of vowel deletion and then syllabification (section 3.2) takes place. This paper does not further analyze the contextual difference in which these two processes are applied.

3.3 Formation of heavier syllables

This process applies when the C+V case occurs and stem's last syllable is re-syllabified, forming lighter syllables (see the case presented for (2) above). When a light (mono-moraic) syllable is formed due to this process, phonological process like vowel deletion and gemination can take place to create heavier syllables. In examples given in (5) a short intermediate vowel is deleted in each case and even the first syllable of the stem is re-syllabified.

(5)	Lexical form	Intermediate form (after syllabification at stem-suffix boundary)	Surface form (after vowel deletion and re- syllabification)	Gloss
	fə.səl + ē	fə.sə.lē	fəs.lē	'Crops'
	CV.CVC+VV	CV.CV.CVV	CVC.CVV	
	ə.sər + α t̪	ə.sə.rα t̪	əs.rα t̪	'Effects'
	V.CVC+VVC	V.CV.CVVC	VC.CVVC	
	ɣə.zəl + ɪ.jα t̪	ɣə.zə.ɪ.r.jα t̪	ɣəz.ɪ.r.jα t̪	'Ghazals'
	CV.CVC+V.CVVC	CV.CV.CV.CVVC	CVC.CV.CVVC	

For mono-syllabic stems heavier syllables are formed by geminating the coda consonant of the stem. Data in (6) shows examples of this process.

(6)	Lexical form	Intermediate form (after syllabification at stem-suffix boundary)	Surface form (after gemination of inter-vocalic consonant)	Gloss
	fən + ɪ.jα t̪	fə.nɪ.jα t̪	fən.nɪ.jα t̪	'Skills'
	CVC ₁ + V.CVVC	CV.C ₁ V.CVVC	CVC ₁ .C ₁ V.CVVC	
	səʃ + α	sə.ʃα	səʃ.ʃα	'truthful'
	CVC ₁ + VV	CV.C ₁ VV	CVC ₁ .C ₁ VV	

It seems Urdu applies methods like vowel elongation to create heavier syllables as well. For example lexical form of the word 'masters' is ma.lɪk+an (CVV.CVC+VVC). It is pronounced as ma.le.kan (CVV.CVVC) rather than as ma.lɪ.kan (CVV.CV.CVVC). That is a short vowel /ɪ/ is elongated to a long vowel /e/. A more thorough phonological investigation is however needed to prove this claim. Also

analysis needs to be done as to why there is no vowel elongation in words like li.də.rən (example given in (2)).

4. Process Ordering

The observations discussed above suggest the process ordering given in figure 1. The lexical form of a complex word goes through the processes discussed above before being realized in surface form. Syllabification in the two cases shown in figure 1 is achieved through the algorithm presented in section 2.

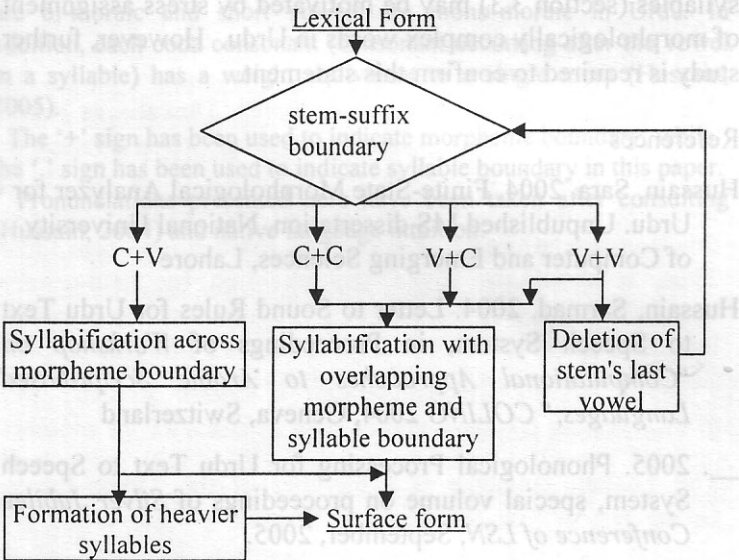


Figure 1: Syllabification of morphologically complex words

5. Conclusion

This paper has discussed various ways in which morphologically complex words of Urdu are syllabified. It has been shown that syllabification is triggered due to the vocalic/non-vocalic context arising at the morpheme

boundary. Also, due to suffixation, syllabification can occur across morpheme boundary. As a result, even the starting syllable of the stem can be re-syllabified.

Although processes involved in syllabification of complex words have been examined in this paper, (morphological and phonological) motivations behind these processes have not been evaluated. Further work needs to be done to investigate underlying reasons for these processes. For example, it is known that syllable weight is used for stress assignment in Urdu (Hussain, 2005). For this reason formation of heavier syllables (section 3.3) may be motivated by stress assignment of morphologically complex words in Urdu. However, further study is required to confirm this statement.

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ⁱ Long vowels are “heavier” than short vowels. Thus, long vowels are bi-moraic and short vowels are mono-moraic in Urdu. In addition, each coda consonant (consonant occurring after the vowel in a syllable) has a weight equivalent to a single mora (Hussain, 2005).

ⁱⁱ The ‘+’ sign has been used to indicate morpheme boundary, while the ‘.’ sign has been used to indicate syllable boundary in this paper.

ⁱⁱⁱ Pronunciations presented here have been taken after consulting (Hussain, 2004) and native language intuition.

OUTLINE OF THAKALI LANGUAGE AND CLAUSE COMBINING

Narayan P. Sharma (Gautam)

1. General Background

Thakali is one of the minority languages of Nepal spoken by an ethnic group of the same name as their mother tongue that belongs to Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum mostly related to Gurung and Tamang languages. The Thak Khola valley in Southern part of Mustang district and North of the Dhaulagiri (8,167 m.) and Annarpurna (8,078m.) himals, located in the mid Kali Gandaki river valley (Latitude 29° N Longitude $83^{\circ} 30'$ - 84° E), in North West Nepal is the homeland of Thakalis.

The 2001 Census report records 6,441 Thakalis as mother tongue speakers. Nepali language being lingua Franca and official language of Nepal, the tendency of using Thakali language is reducing day by day. No one can deny that even this language might be threatened by extinction in near future. Thus, it should be given due attention by field-oriented linguists as well as by research programs oriented towards linguistic upliftment from the government's side like proposed Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LINSUN) project.

2. The Thakali language

The Thakali language is a member of the Tibeto-Burman Group and within the group it is most closely allied with Gurung and Tamang. It is the minority language of the Tibeto-Burman Group because it is spoken by 6,441 ethnic Thakalis and the majority of the Thakalis living outside the Thak Khola valley speak Nepali as their first language, and many have little or no knowledge of the Thakali

languageⁱ(Vinding:1998). Based on this fact as well as the informants, it is difficult for them to hold even the meeting of Thakali Samaj Sewa Samiti (The Thakali Community Social Services Association) by using their own Thakali language because most of them either hardly understand their own language or not at all.

2.1 Dialects of Thakali language

The Thakali Language has three social dialects variants. They are: Tukuiche dialect, Marphatan dialect and Syang dialect. These three dialects of Thakali language can be distinguished by vocabulary, tone and pitch. Thus the dialects differ from one another in terms of phonology, nominal and verbal morphology and lexiconⁱⁱ. The Marphatan dialect is spoken with a higher tone and faster than the other Thakali dialects. Among the Tukuiche and Syang dialects, It is usually possible to identify the dialect on the basis of using vocabulary, tone and pitch. The Thakali dialects have 75 percent to 86 percent lexical similarity with each other as well as 91 percent to 97 percent inherent intelligibility (Grimes: 1996).²

2.2 Main dialects speaking areas

The Tukuiche dialect is spoken primarily in the village of Tukuiche by Thakalis as well as non-Thakalis alike and in the Thaksatsae that is divided into thirteen villages: Tukuiche, Khanti, Kovang, Larjung, Dampu, Naurikot, Bhurjungkot, Nakung, Tithi, Kunjo, Taglung, Lete and Ghansa. The Marphatan dialect is spoken primarily in the village of Marpha. The Syang dialect is spoken mainly in the village of Thini, Syang and Chimang.

2.3 Thakali linguistic area

The heartland of Thakali people is Thak khola in the Southern part of Mustang district but in the Northern part of Dhaulagiri Zone- along the upper riches of the Kali Gandaki River. The

core Thakali speaking area is surrounded by the languages belonging to both I-A and T-B language families. Thus, the population is heterogeneous representing Tibeto-Burman language by Magar, Thakali, Gurung and Chantel while Indo-Aryan language by Nepali. Nowadays, many Thakali people live outside their traditional homeland, the Thak khola valley. Kathmandu, Pokhara, Butwal and Bhairawa are the four major urban areas where the flow of migrant Thakalis is more concentrated.

2.4 Genetic affiliation

The language spoken by Thakali is known as Thakali language belonging to Tibeto-Burman. The classification of language is not an easy job. Thus, we get some variants in the classification of languages making by scholars to linguist.

Konow's classification, of Thaksya corresponds to Thakali under complex pronominalized group of Himalayan language, made on the basis of limited evidence, has been proved wrong (406). Thakali, however, appears to be non-pronominalized language with evidence that Thakali is closely related to Gurung and Tamang (Pittman 1-2). Shafer places Gurung, Tamang (Murmi) and Thakali (Thaksya) together in the Gurung Branch of the Bodish section under the Bodic division of the Sino-Tibetan family (qtd. in Watters 31).

Benedict groups Thakali, Tamang and Gurung together in the Bodish Group of Tibetan-Kanauri (Bodish Himalayish) of T-B under the Tibeto-Karen of the Sino-Tibetan (qtd. In Watters 31).

Glover supports Shafer's classification of Gurung, Tamang and Thakali appear to form a closely related group, from the point of view of cognate count. On Glover's calculations, the language pairs, Thakali-Gurung and Tamang-Gurung each share some 65 percent of the Swadesh 100 word list as

cognates, and the pair Thakali-Tamang shares 57 percent (23).

Egerod places Thakali, Gurung and Tamang together in the Bodish group of Bodish of Bodish-Himalayish Branch under Tibetic (qtd. in Watters 31).

DeLancey groups Gurung, Tamang together in the Bodish of Trans-Himalayish under the Tibetic of Tibeto-Burman (qtd. in Watters 31). Most of classifications made by the scholars are presented here to give a comparison of them. Figure 1 gives a comparison of four major classifications (adapted from Watters 31).

Shafer (1966) Benedict (1972) Egerod (1974) Delancey (1987a)

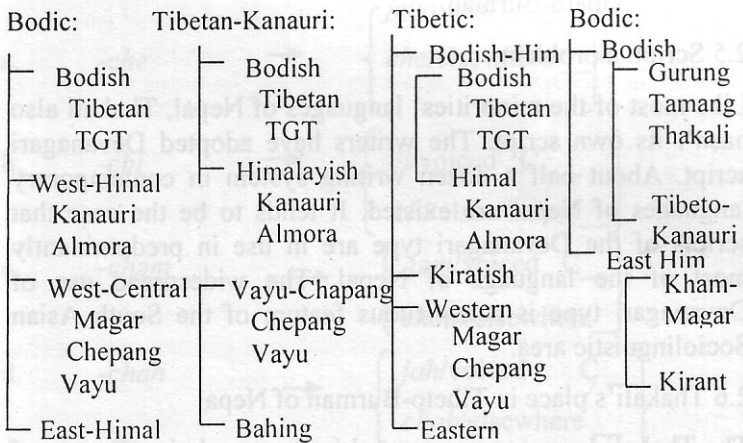


Fig.1: Four classification of Himalayan language.

Watter's classification of Tibeto-Burman language with Thakali is given below in fig. 2 (35).

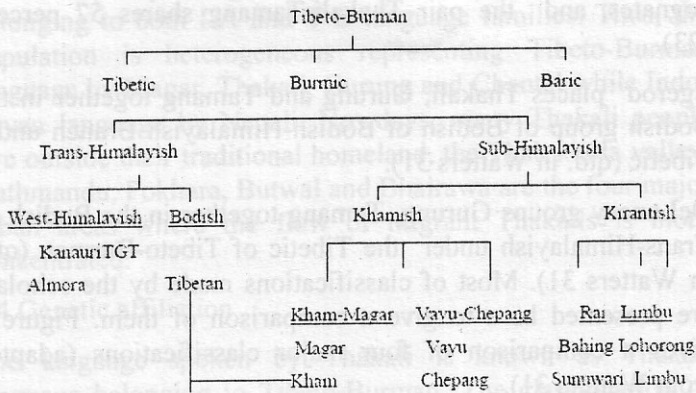


Fig. 2: The relationship of the Tibetic language within Tibeto-Burman.

2.5 Script: a problem

Like most of the minorities' languages of Nepal, Thakali also hasn't its own script. The writers have adopted Devanagari script. About half a dozen writing system in contemporary languages of Nepal are existed. It tends to be the case that scripts of the Devanagari type are in use in predominantly most of the language of Nepal. The widespread use of Devanagari type is conspicuous feature of the South Asian Sociolinguistic area.

2.6 Thakali's place in Tibeto-Burman of Nepal

The Thakali language as reported in the population Census of 1991, has acquired 11th largest position on Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal while Tamang is the 1st largest language. Similarly, the population of Thakali by ethnicity ranks it in again 11th largest ethnic group on Tibeto-Burman Group in Nepal and the 1st largest ethnic group is Magar. Moreover, in the case of second language, the rank of Thakali is 10th largest on Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal while the 1st largest is Rai-Kiranti language.

2.7 Identification of allomorphs

If different morphs represent the same morpheme, they are grouped together and they are called allomorphs of that morpheme. For example, the morphs <-z>, <-iz> and <-s> are grouped together as allomorphs of the same plural morpheme <-s> in English. Such allomorphs are in complimentary distribution having the same meaning. 'The various morphs which represent one morpheme are called allomorphs' (Elson and P.Velma:41). The ergative marker <-che>, the past marker <-chi>, the emphatic marker <-chəm> and the plural marker <-chah> are allomorphs in Thakali. Thus, the facts regarding the allomorphs in Thakali can be presented as follows:

- a. -*che* → { *je*/voiced C _
 che/elsewhere _ }
- b. -*chi* → { *ji*/voiced C _
 chi/elsewhere _ }
- c. -*chəm* → { *jəm*/voiced C _
 chəm/elsewhere _ }
- d. -*chah* → { *jah*/voiced C _
 chah/elsewhere _ }

2.7.1 Agentive suffix

The subject of transitive verbs takes the agentive suffix <-che>/<-je>; e.g.

- (1) a. *ŋə-je kən chə-ji*
 I-ERG rice eat-PT 1s
 'I ate rice.'

- b. ənup-che chiThi pruhp-chi
 Anup-ERG letter write-PT3s
 'Anup wrote a letter.'

2.7.2 Past tense suffix

The marker <-chi>/<-ji> is the past tense suffix in Thakali, e.g.,

- (2) a. dipti ramja-je khə-ji
 Deepti Ramja-ABL come-PT3s
 'Deepti came from Ramja.'
 b. sudip kyu-ri nup-chi
 Sudip water-LOC drown-PT3s
 'Sudip was drowned into water.'

2.7.3 Emphatic suffix

The suffix <-chəm> / <-jəm> emphasizes the word to which it is affixed, e.g.,

- (3) a. benup-che chiThi pruhp chəm
 Benup-ERG letter write-NPT3s EMPH
 'Benup writes a letter.'
 b. læptə læptə nimuŋ chəm kə thowə tə-chi-mu ro (TH1.12)
 doing doing mouse EMPH ATT big be-PERF-beNPT RS
 'At last, the mouse became the greatest one in the world.'

2.7.4 Plural suffix

The plural suffix <-chah>/<-jah> occurs with nouns and pronouns. e.g.,

- (4) a. pradip-che sip-chah kyuh-ji
 Pradip-ERG Sheath-Pl buy-PT3s
 'Pradip bought sheaths.'
 b. the-je rə-jah pah-ji
 he-ERG goat-Pl bring-PT3s
 'He bought goats.'

2.8 Gender

In Thakali, natural gender, i.e., masculine and feminine is distinguished in nouns that refers to persons. Separate lexical items are found to refer to both male and female nouns. Gender in Thakali language plays no role in agreement as in Kiranti languages and English.

- (5) a. $\eta\text{ə-e ch\text{ə}h}$ $\text{mla}\eta$ $\text{kh\text{ə}-chi}$
 I-GEN son-M black come-PT3s
 'My black son came.'
- b. $\eta\text{ə-e ch\text{ə}hme}$ $\text{mla}\eta$ $\text{kh\text{ə}-chi}$
 I-GEN daughter-F black come-PT3s
 'My black daughter came.'

In (5a) 'son' and in (5b) 'daughter' are as subjects but we do not see any variation in the agreement system.

2.9 Number

Some of the Tibeto-Burman languages especially most Kiranti languages spoken in Nepal distinguish dual and plural for nouns and pronouns while Thakali does not mark dual and plural. Like other Indo-Aryan languages, it has binary system of singular and plural.

However, we find exclusive and inclusive first person plural in Thakali. A number is usually not marked with inanimate. Plural nouns are generally derived by adding suffix *<-chah>* to the singular noun. Like gender in Thakali, number also plays no role in agreement.

- (6) a. peh Ta
 wife weep-NPT3s
 'Wife weeps.'
- b. peh-chah Ta
 wife-Pl weep-NPT3p
 'Wives weep.'

- (7) a. mih-che meh momo mraŋ-chi
 man-ERG cow see-PT3s
 'The man saw a cow.'
- b. mih-chah-che meh momo mraŋ-chi
 man-PI-ERG cow see-PT3p
 'The men saw a cow.'

From (6a-b) and (7a-b), it can be concluded that whether the main verb is in past or non-past tense, both singular and plural noun agree with same verb agreement.

3. Clause combining

Clause combining in Thakali languages is basically two types depending upon finite and non-finite verbs. Thakali clauses are presented here according to their nature of the verbs. It is generally assumed that there is a clear difference between finite and non-finite verbal forms. Finite forms are marked for tense-aspect and person, and can stand in independent clauses. Non-finite forms lack those markers and occur in dependent position. In this way, clause combining can be categorized according to finite and non-finite clauses.

a. Finite clauses

In finite clauses, the verb carries definite tense. So, finite forms show a contrast in tense and limit the verb to a particular number, tense, person, or mood. However, the verb doesn't show any kind of inflections with number, gender, and person. Finite form can function in a main clause and display differences of tense, mood and aspect. The finite clauses can further be categorized in the following ways:

- I. Relative clauses.
- II. Sequence clauses.
- III. Conditional clauses.
- IV. Quote clauses.
- V. Coordination

b. Non- finite clause

In non-finite clauses, the verb carries non-finite tense. Non-finite clauses are usually triggered by some type of reference identity. These types of clauses can further be categorized by the following ways:

- i. Infinitive clauses
- ii. Purposive clauses
- iii. Converb clauses
- iv. Participial clauses

3.1 Finite clauses

3.1.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan 141-170). 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 (DeLancey 1999:231). The head in relative clause is the noun phrase that is modified by the clause. The relativized noun phrase (NP rel) is the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head noun. The restrictive clause restricts the head noun.

There are various types of relative clause however the detailed description of these relative clauses is not presented here. The suffix markers are as varied as the relative clauses. Therefore, the relative clauses which are dealt here are formed by suffixing <-me/-lə> with the verb stem of dependent clause depending upon the tense, i.e. non past and past tense. The suffix <-me> is simple definite non-past tense question marker and other suffix <-lə> is simple past tense question marker which are identical with relative markers but functionally they are different, e.g.

- (8) kyahŋ su ih-me ŋə- che ŋose-si mu.
 You who be-NML I-ERG recognize-PERF be-NPT1s
 'I have known who you are.'
- (9) ŋə-che su-ri tiŋi mraŋ-lə tilə mraŋ-si mu-chi.
 I-ERG who-DAT today see-NML yesterday see-PERF be-PST1s
 'I saw the person yesterday whom I saw today.'
- (10) ŋə khətaŋ tu-me the chə-ri a-tu.
 I where stay-NML she this-PROX-LOC NEG-stay-NPT3s
 'She doesn't stay where I stay.'
- (11) chu kələm pin ihme khəwə ŋə-che kyuh- si mu.
 this-PROX pen blue be-NML which I-ERG buy-PERF be-NPT
 'This is the blue pen which I have bought.'

Some more other examples of relative clause in which each (II) clauses are relative clauses of (I).

- (12) a. I. ŋə- che tuhŋ tha-chi.
 I-ERG tree cut-PST1s
 'I cut the tree.'
 II. ŋə-che tha-chi-wə-e tuhŋ.
 I- ERG cut-PERF-NML tree
 'The tree I cut.'
- (13) b. I. mih si- chi.
 man die-PST3s
 'The man died.'
 II. si-chi-wə-e mih.
 die-PERF-NML person.
 'The person who died.'
- (14) c. I. the tihm-ri Tu.
 he house-LOC live-NPT3s
 'He lives in the house.'
 II. the Tu-wə-e tihm
 He live-INF-NML house
 'The house where he lives.'

3.1.2 Sequential clauses

The sequential (SEQ) clause is formed by adding the suffix <-si > to the verbal root. The suffix <-si > has cognates in all the other Tamangic languages and it is clear both from comparative and internal evidence that <-si > alone was once used to form the sequential converb in Chantyal. The sequential converbal suffixes in the other Tamangic languages are listed in 15. (Noonan, 1999:403)

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| (15) Gurung : | - i/si |
| Manangba : | - tse |
| Nar- Phu : | - ce / če / se / še |
| Tamang : | - cim |
| Chantyal: | - si-rə |

The sequential converb is a common component of Thakali discourse. In some discourse types, such as narrative discourse, these converbs occur frequently. The basic meaning of the sequential converb is that the event encoded is understood to have occurred prior to the event encoded in the matrix predicate.

In general, as the names imply, the sequential marker <-si > is used to join two or more cores (predicate and its arguments) which are in a sequential temporal relationship to each other. e.g.

- (16) *ŋə tihm-ri yəh-si kən cə- chi.*
 I house-LOC go-SEQ rice eat-PST1s
 'I went to house and ate rice.'
- (17) *the-che ŋə-ri toh-si kusmə khə-si*
 She-ERG I-DAT meet-SEQ Kusma come-SEQ
pəhlpuri ye-chi.
 Kathmandu return-PST3s
 'She met me and came to kusma and returned to kathmandu.'

- (18) the-che cithi pruhp-si pi-si " nə khəsi"
 he-ERG letter write-SEQ leave-SEQ " I come-SEQ
 mu-chi" pih-si pih-no pih-si yəh-chi mu.
 be-PST " say-SEQ say-IMP say-SEQ go-PST be-NPT
 'Writing a letter and leaving it, he went saying that "I
 had come".'
- (19) the-che kohy pum-si sye-si ale yaŋ-chi.
 She-ERG song sing-SEQ dance-SEQ money get-PST3s
 'She got money from singing and dancing.'
- (20) ... " mrakha thoŋ-si nə-ri pih-si pin-o." (TH1.27)
 Door open-SEQ I-DAT say-SEQ give-IMP
 "Open the door and let me go."

3.1.3 Conditional clauses

The conditional (COND) clauses are marked by adding the suffix < *yaŋ* > following the verb stem. So, verb stem □ *yaŋ* indicates the dependent conditional clause. ' *yaŋ* ' is a verb stem , meaning literally ' to get, to find', but affixed to another verb stem, it conveys the meaning of ' if'. The conditional clauses express the notion of condition in the clauses. e.g,

- (21) the-che nə-ri me-si mu yaŋ nə-che byah lə-wə mu-chi
 She-ERG I-DAT ask-PERF be COND I-ERG marriage do-INF be-PST1:
 'If she asked me, I would marry.'
- (22) muna-che nə-ri pih-si mu yaŋ nə tihm-ri yəh-wə
 Muna ERG I-DAT tell-PERF be COND I house-LOC
 mu-chi
 go-INF be-PST
 'If Muna told me , I would go to the house.'
- (23) Tu-lə myaŋ yaŋ Tu-si pim-cho.
 Stay-INF must COND stay-PERF give-IMP
 'If I must stay, I will stay.'

- (24) thəmā- chah yəh yaŋ ŋə chəm yəh – wə-kə.
 they-pl go COND I EMPH go-NPT1s
 'If they go, I'll also go.'

3.1.4 Quote clauses

Reported speech or thought is embedded by a quote particle, which most often has the form: “say” + SEQ, Moreover, reported speech particle “ro” is used at the end of an utterance to indicate the speaker is repeating somebody else’s words. In narratives “ro” is used at the end of almost every sentence, and there it is preferable to call it an attitude particle (Hari, 1970: 299).e.g,

- (25) “ŋə-che kən chə-chi” pih-si junu-che pih-chi
 I-ERG rice eat-PST QUOTE Junu-ERG say-PST
 “I ate rice” Junu said.
- (26) "chu mih dəktər ih mu” pih-si the-che pih-chi
 this person doctor be-NPT3s QUOTE she-ERG say- PST
 “This person is a doctor” she said.
- (27) "kyuh-cyo pih kitaŋ-ce ŋə-chəm si-lə myaŋpə tə-chi.(TH1.8)
 buy-HOR say COND-CONC I- EMPH die-INF must become-PST
 "If I buy, I must die."

3.1.5 Coordination

It is one of the main ways of making sentences more complex in which the clauses that are linked are of equal grammatical status. It is the process of joining more than one sentences together with the help of conjunction like ‘and’, ‘because’, ‘however’ etc. In the coordination process, all elements of the second sentence that are the same as the corresponding elements of the first sentence are deleted, while all elements of the second sentence that are different from the corresponding element in the first sentence are retained. In example (28) both sentences have identical subject ‘Elina’ and the second one is deleted in example(29).

- (36) a. sotowə-e tihm-ri nohr syaŋle mu-wə.
 There is only wealth in another house.
 b. sotowə- tihm-ri dhərmə syaŋle mu-wə.
 There is only religion in another house.

In example (36a) and (36b), the common elements are found. Both examples are identical except '*nohr*' and '*dhərmə*'. These examples are joined together with the help of conjunction 'and' < *te* >. e.g.,

- (37) sotowə-e tihm-ri nohr te dhərmə syaŋle mu-wə. (TH1.32)
 another-GEN house-LOC wealth and religion only be-NPT
 'There is only wealth and religion in another house.'

3.2 Non-finite clauses

3.2.1 Infinitive clauses

The infinitive (INF) clause is formed by adding the infinitival ending (-wə) to the stem of the verb. The suffix '- wə' is also occurred to the root of the verb in non-past tense with first person. Similarly, the marker (- wə) is used to form adjective in the combination with other marker as well as without any other marker. Thus, the stem used in the infinitive is unpredictable. The infinitive marker (-wə) is phonetically similar with adjective marker as well as non-past tense first person marker but functionally different. An infinitive can function as a verbal noun, as the verbal complement of a verb and as complement to modal verb and as the main verb of sentence. e.g.,

- (38) pēh cyun-e sihtaŋ-che phə-e nə tha-wə
 wife younger-GEN anger-INSTR husband-GEN nose cut-INF
 pih-si-wə chu cəm ihmu.
 say-PERF-NML this-PROX EMPH be-NPT
 'This is like cutting the nose of one's husband because of anger at one's co-wife.'

- (39) *noŋə-ri kor-wə kyohwə tə.*
 morning-LOC round-INF good become-NPT
 'To walk in the morning is good.'
- (40) *mih-cah-che chu lə-wə chu a-lə-wə*
 person-pl-ERG this-PROX do-INF this-PROX NEG-do-INF
pih-si-wə ŋə-ri səm-tə a-khə mu .
 say-PERF-NML I-DAT likeATT NEG-come be-NPT
 'I don't like people to tell me what to do and what not
 to do.'
- (41) *the-ri ŋose-wə pih-si-wə the-ri sam-tə khə-wə ihmu.*
 she-DAT recognize-INF say-PERF-NML she-DAT likeATT come-INF be-NPT
 'To recognize her is to like her.'
- (42) ... " *ŋə-che kyuh-wə a-tə-wə-e kəl kyuh-si thən-chi ... (TH1.11)*
 I-ERG buy-INF NEG-become-PERF-GENdeath buy-SEQ keep-PST1s
 'I bought the death and kept which I shouldn't buy.'

3.2.2 Purposive clauses

The purposive (PURP) clauses are formed by adding the suffix (*-wə/-pə-ri*) following the verb stem. These purposive clauses express that some one is or has moved somewhere in order to do something. e.g,

- (43) *ŋə-che pheləu-ri yəh-wə-ri kəy-bijnan ləhp-chi.*
 I-ERG out-LOC go-PURP language-science study-PST1s
 'I studied linguistics to go aboard.'
- (44) *the ŋə-ri ŋyoh-pə-ri khə-chi.*
 she I-DAT see – PURP come-PST3s
 'She came to see me.'
- (45) *neta-chah bhot rih-wə-ri yuhl-ri yəh-chi.*
 leader-pl vote beg-PURP Village-LOC go-PST3p
 'The leaders went to village to beg vote.'
- (46) *chə-chah swəsthani-e pe nəh ŋen-pə-ri*
 that-DIST-pl Swasthani-GEN story ear listen-PURP
yuhm tə-si mu.
 gather become-PERF be- NPT.
 'They gathered to listen the story of Swasthani.'

- (47) ... " khəntraə-khuntruŋ lə-men mra:kha Dhak Dhak
 noise-noise do-CONV door knock knock
 lə-wə-ri khə-chi mu.(TH1.23)
 do-PURP come-PST be-NPT
 'Making a noise , it came to knock the door.'

3.2.3 Participial clauses

The participial (PERF) clauses are formed by adding the suffix <-*chi* – *wə-e*> following the verb stem with the dependent clause. These participial clauses express the cause and effect relationship. e.g,

- (48) nə-chi-wə-e-che tilə ŋə skulə a- kha-chi.
 sick-PERF-INSTR yesterday I school NEG-come-PST1s
 'Because I was sick , I didn't come to school yesterday.'
- (49) sərkar-che tehn-chi-wə- e-che tiji
 Government-INSTR stop-PERF-INSTR today
 julus a-tə-chi.
 demonstration NEG-become-PST
 'Because the government prevented it, there was no demonstration today.'
- (50) kyahŋ-che məya a-lə-wə- e-che the
 You-ERG love NEG- do-PERF-INSTR she
 omtokyu-ri phucyum-si si-chi
 river-LOC jump-SEQ die-PST3s
 'Because you didn't love her, she died jumping in the river.'
- (51) the-che ŋohy-chi-wə-e-che ŋə ləmsaŋ tihm-ri yəh-chi.
 she-ERG call-PERF-INSTR I immediately house-LOC go-PST1s
 'Because she called me, I went home immediately.'

3.2.4 Converb clauses

The converb (CONV) clauses are marked by adding the suffix <-*men* /-*mən*> following the verb stem with a motion verb. The converb clauses express an action that accompanies the motion like singing, hurrying, laughing etc. as exemplified

in the following examples. The basic meaning of the progressive converb is that the activity expressed by the converb is presented as being simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate. The matrix verb is a generic verb of motion (e.g. go or come) and the converb is also a verb of motion but one specifying manner of motion along with the fact of motion. e.g,

- (52) the kohy puhm-mən khə-men mu
 he song sing-CONV come-PROG be-NPT3s
 'He is coming singing.'
- (53) the nə-chi-wə nə-si mu pih-wə ɲohnyaŋ-wə.
 she sick sick-PERF be-NPT say-INF know get-INF
 laŋnə the atur lə-men the-e nəgya-ri tohŋi-chi.
 soon he hurry do-CONV she-GEN bed-LOC reach-PST3s
 'He reached hurrying to her bed after knowing she was sick.'
- (54) the ɲə-nəŋse ɲye-mən Tu chi.
 she I-toward laugh-CONV sit-PST3s
 'She lay smiling at me.'
- (55) ɲə kyu thuŋ-men tihm-ri yəh-chi.
 I water drink-CONV house-LOC go-PST3s
 'I went to home drinking water.'
- (56) ... khətrəŋ-khutruŋ lə-men mrakha-ri Dhək Dhək
 noise-noise do-CONV door-LOC knock
 ləwə-ri khə-chi mu.(TH1.12)
 knock do-PURP come-PST be-NPT
 'Making a noise, it came to knock the door.'

4. Conclusions

Thakali has three social variants like Tukuiche dialect, Marphatan dialect and Syang dialect. Allophonic variation among ergative, past, emphatic and plural suffixes are found. Person, number, gender and adjective play no role in the

agreement system. The clauses are categorized as finite and non-finite clauses. Non-finite clauses can further be categorized into Infinitive, Purposive, Converb and Participial where as finite clauses can be categorized into Relative, Sequential, Conditional, Coordination and Quote clauses. Infinitive clauses are formed by suffixing the marker <-wə> to the verb stem. Similarly, purposive clauses are formed by suffixing the marker <-wə/pə-ri>, converb by <-men/mən > and participial by <-ci-wə-e >. The relative clauses are marked with the suffix <-me/lə>, sequential with <-si>, conditional with <-yan> following the verb stem and quote clauses with 'say+SEQ' where as coordinational clauses are marked with various conjunctions.

Abbreviations

1	first person	DAT	dative
LOC	locative	PROX	proximate
2	second person	EMPH	emphatic
M	masculine gender	PST	past
3	third person	ERG	ergative
NEG	negative	PURP	purposive
ABLT	ablative	F	feminine gender
NOM	nominalizer	Quote	quote marker
ATT	attitude	GEN	genitive
NPT	non-past	RS	reported speech
CONC	concurrent	IMP	imperative
p	plural	s	singular
COND	conditional	INF	infinitive
PERF	perfect	SEQ	sequential
CONV	converb	INSTR	instrumental
PROG	progressive		

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	6	4	2	2	2		
Bajura	2202	1101	1101	5			
Singlipalanchy	131	1	1	1	2	1	
Kayapalanchy	2371	1185	1186	287	1241	1	
Chitwan	205	102	102	21	201	2	
Moara	30	15	15	8	17	2	
Kathmandu	4	2	2	8	12		
Dhankuta	-	-	1	1	1		
Techapuri	1	1	1	1	1		
Dhading	10	5	5	1	1		
Baraboti	322	161	161	176	129	66	66
Makwanpur	101	50	50	4	3	1	2
Rajshahi	7	3	3	4	11		
Bara	2	1	1	1	3	2	1
Parsa	6	3	3	2			

Appendix-A

Population Figures

Distribution of Thakalis (2001)

Development Region	Ethnicity by Districts			Mother Tongue by Districts		
	Total Population	Male	Female	Total Population	Male	Female
<i>Nepal</i>	12973	6216	6757	6441	3063	3378
Eastern	148	85	99	560	266	294
<i>Mechi</i>	128	60	68	43	21	22
Taplejung	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panchthar	2	1	1	3	0	3
Ilam	2	1	1	17	13	4
Jhapa	124	58	66	23	8	15
<i>Koshi</i>	39	23	16	415	205	210
Morang	17	8	9	68	36	32
Sunsari	12	8	4	8	4	4
Dhankuta	7	4	3	-	-	-
Terhathum	1	1	0	4	3	1
Sankhuwasabha	1	1	0	-	-	-
Bhojpur	1	1	0	335	162	173
<i>Sagarmatha</i>	21	8	13	102	40	62
Solukhumbu	11	4	7	1	0	1
Okhaldhunga	3	0	3	5	3	2

Khotang	1	1	0	5	1	4
Udaypur	5	3	2	89	35	54
Saptari	1	0	1	1	1	0
Siraha	-	-	-	1	0	1
Central	2745	1323	1422	1113	549	564
<i>Janakpur</i>	<i>185</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>5</i>
Danusha	1	1	0	-	-	-
Mahotari	2	0	2	1	0	1
Sarlahi	18	10	8	-	-	-
Sindhuli	1	1	0	9	5	4
Ramechap	157	62	95	1	1	0
Dolkha	6	4	2	2	2	0
<i>Bagmati</i>	<i>2207</i>	<i>1068</i>	<i>1139</i>	<i>971</i>	<i>477</i>	<i>494</i>
Sindhupalchok	1	1	0	1	1	0
Kavrepalanchok	17	10	7	1	1	0
Lalitpur	326	159	167	105	53	52
Bhaktpur	11	5	6	7	2	5
Kathmandu	1835	882	953	841	408	433
Nuwakot	2	1	1	6	5	1
Rasuwa	5	3	2	8	6	2
Dhading	10	7	3	2	1	1
<i>Narayani</i>	<i>353</i>	<i>177</i>	<i>176</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>63</i>
Makwanpur	10	6	4	3	1	2
Rautahat	7	3	4	-	-	-
Bara	3	2	1	3	2	1
Parsa	6	4	2	-	-	-

Chitawan	327	162	165	123	63	60
Western	9014	4297	4717	4541	2140	2401
<i>Gandaki</i>	<i>2467</i>	<i>1157</i>	<i>1310</i>	<i>1479</i>	<i>675</i>	<i>804</i>
Gorkha	49	25	24	10	3	7
Lamjung	62	31	31	50	29	21
Tanahu	198	85	113	140	59	81
Syangja	77	38	39	35	19	16
Kaski	1997	930	1067	1241	564	677
Manang	84	48	36	3	1	2
<i>Dhaulagiri</i>	<i>4943</i>	<i>2495</i>	<i>2448</i>	<i>2626</i>	<i>1263</i>	<i>1363</i>
Mustang	2478	1235	1243	2005	979	1028
Myagdi	1397	763	634	371	166	205
Parbat	165	81	84	51	24	27
Baglung	903	416	487	199	94	105
<i>Lumbini</i>	<i>1604</i>	<i>774</i>	<i>830</i>	<i>641</i>	<i>301</i>	<i>340</i>
Gulmi	162	82	80	51	25	26
Palpa	154	73	81	30	12	18
Nawalparasi	176	88	88	38	17	21
Rupandehi	1056	503	553	310	144	166
Kapilbastu	53	26	27	3	1	2
Arghakhanchi	3	2	1	4	3	1
Mid-Western	822	405	417	205	99	106
<i>Rapti</i>	<i>426</i>	<i>202</i>	<i>224</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>
Pyuthan	193	96	97	1	1	0
Rolpa	50	19	31	3	1	2
Rukum	155	73	82	-	-	-

Salyan	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dang	28	14	14	6	4	2
<i>Bheri</i>	195	96	99	186	88	98
Banke	91	46	45	44	20	24
Bardia	-	-	-	3	0	3
Surkhet	104	50	54	135	65	70
Dailekh	-	-	-	3	3	0
Jajarkot	-	-	-	1	0	1
<i>Karnali</i>	201	107	94	9	5	4
Dolpa	42	18	24	-	-	-
Jumla	150	83	67	3	1	2
Kalikot	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mugu	4	3	1	1	1	0
Humla	5	3	2	5	3	2
Far-Western	208	106	102	22	9	13
<i>Seti</i>	182	90	92	21	9	12
Bajura	5	3	2	1	0	1
Bajhang	15	7	8	-	-	-
Achham	4	2	2	2	2	0
Doti	14	4	7	-	-	-
Kailali	144	71	73	18	7	11
<i>Mahakali</i>	26	16	10	1	0	1
Kanchanpur	21	14	7	-	-	-
Dadeldhura	5	2	3	-	-	-
Baitadi	-	-	-	1	0	1
Darchula	-	-	-	-	-	-

Chitawan	-	327	362	351	323	63	66	24
Western	2	984	429	707	747	282	1042	248
Gandaki	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Gorkha	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Lamjung	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Tanahunja	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Syange	0	277	383	39	53	91	61	10
Kaski	1	991	109	901	141	46	79	10
Manang	4	348	984	946	107	204	2	10
Dhaulagiri	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Mustang	2	142	123	101	102	100	100	100
Myagdi	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Parbat	0	161	118	148	315	442	72	10
Bajura	2	109	914	349	291	249	501	10
Far-Western	13	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Seti	13	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Bajura	1	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Bajura	12	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Achham	0	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Doti	2	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Kailali	1	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Mahakali	10	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Kanchanpur	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Palpa	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Baraha	2	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Darbhanga	-	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

ⁱ Vinding (1998) claims that the majority of Thakali (nearly 80 percent) live outside especially urban areas like Kathmandu, Pokhara, Butwal, Bhairawa, their traditional homeland the Thak Khola valley

ⁱⁱ Grimes (1996) has mentioned that the Thakali dialects have 75 percent to 86 percent lexical similarity with each other as well as 91 percent to 97 percent inherent intelligibility.

LINGUISTIC COMPARISON AND RECONSTRUCTION TIBETAN, BURMESE, AND CHINESE

R.K. Sprigg

It is generally assumed that the Tibetan language is as close to the Chinese as Tibet itself is to China; and all but a very few of the English audiences to whom I have give lectures and talks on my brief visit to Tibet, as far as Gyantse, in 1950, a few months before the Chinese occupation, were astonished to find that the Tibetan books I showed them were not written in Chinese characters. The fact that Tibetan is not written in the same way as Chinese does not, of course, prove anything about the closeness of the relationship of Tibetan to Chinese any more than the fact that Tibetan is written with letters derived from an Indian script proves it to be an Indian language; but even so, it is remarkable how much the attitude of the general public towards the Tibetan language and the people who speak it is shaped by misconceptions of this sort. Such people find the occupation of Tibet by Chinese easier to understand and accept if the Tibetan language can be thought of as a close relation of the Chinese, though it does not seem to occur to them that the very same argument could be used to justify the occupation of China by Tibetans.

Among specialists in linguistics, on the other hand, it has been accepted for a century or more that out of the major languages of central and eastern Asia it is Burmese that Tibetan most closely resembles. The credit for discovering this relationship, as long as 1853, must go to J.R. Logan. He is the author of two terms "Tibeto-Burman" and "Burman-Tibetan", in a series of articles in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* for the year 1853, one of which is entitled "General characteristics of the Burma-Tibetan, Gangetic and Dravidian languages".

In an earlier chapter of the same volume Logan considered the Tibeto-Burman group of languages in relation to the Dravidian, and at first came to the conclusion that "the non-Aryan languages of India, from their Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman members on the North East to the Tamil in the extreme south, have many features in common", but qualified this statement, a little further down the page, with the remark (with which not all of us will agree): "the phonology of the south is advanced, plastic and energetic, while that of the Tibeto-Burman languages has hardly wakened into life and motion" (p.105).

Whatever the relative merits of the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Burman groups of languages may be as regards plasticity and energy, there is no denying that in associating Tibetan with Burmese, or even, for that matter, in distinguishing them as a group from Tamil and other Dravidian languages, Logan's observations show remarkable insight, especially when one remembers how restricted, in 1853, his opportunities were for studying Tibeto-Burman languages, whether through published material or from observation at first hand. He was writing at the time of the Second Burma War (1852-3); his source material for Burmese was limited to "the grammars of Judson and Latter" (p.53); there was still less contact with Tibet and Tibetan-speaking areas: Darjeeling had, it is true, been 'ceded' to the East India Company eighteen years earlier but foreigners did not lightly travel in Sikkim, as Sir Joseph Hooker, the botanist, had discovered four years earlier; and another twelve years were to pass before Sir Ashley Eden's escape from Bhutan was to precipitate the Bhutan War. Only through Kashmir, occupied, with British support, by the Dorga rajah, Gulab Singh, in 1846, was there access of a sort to the Tibetan-speaking populations of Baltistan and Ladakh. Logan tells us (p. 106) that he had had to rely, for published material on Tibetan, on Csoma de Kőrös's Tibetan grammar

(1834) and Abel Rémusat's *Récherches sur les langues tartares*.

It is another twenty-five years before I again find the term "Tibeto-Burman" in a publication. This next occurrence is in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1878; and here it is important to remember, in establishing the climate of opinion of the time, that another seven years were to elapse before the Third Burma War resulted in the overthrow of the kingdom of Ava, another twenty six years before Younghusband's troops entered Lhasa, and three years and twenty-four years respectively before the publication of Jaschke's and of Das's Tibetan-English dictionaries. In that journal E.L. Brandreth writes: "The chief group we then come to is what has been called the Tibeto-Burman from the two principal languages included in it --- an immense group --- the boundaries of which in the present state of our knowledge are very doubtful" (p.8). Later in the same issue of the *Journal* Captain C.J.F.S. Forbes, of the Burmese Civil Commission, writes, somewhat disparagingly: "The Term 'Tibeto-Burman' has latterly crept into use as a convenient designation of a very large family of languages which appear more or less to approximate to each other" (p.210).

As a student of linguistics I too am obliged to recognize that there are linguistic grounds for dissatisfaction with the term Tibeto-Burman. This is because the reasons for adopting it were not so much linguistic as politico-cultural: Burmese and Tibetan were the two national languages of the group, with great literary prestige. From a linguistic point of view it would have been better to name the group from the languages at its extremes, from its two most diverse members, if, of course, it had been possible to establish which those languages were. This was not, however, even attempted; for Logan himself writes: "Tibetan, in many respects, takes a place between the

Burman and the more advanced postpositional languages" (p. 106).

Despite Forbes's strictures the term Tibeto-Burman was sufficiently well established by 1909 to give its name to Part III of the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

The sources that Logan used in arriving at his discovery were Csoma de Kőrös's *Grammar of the Tibetan language* (Calcutta, 1834) and Adoniram Judson's *A dictionary, Burmese and English* (Maulmain, 1852), containing, as an appendix, T. Latter's *A grammar of the language of Burmah* (Calcutta and London, 1845). Logan does not list the Burmese and Tibetan words that he had compared in order to arrive at this conclusion; but his article does contain such Tibetan words as lag(-pa) 'hand' (Burmese lak), mig 'eye' (Burmese myak), phag 'pig' (Burmese wak), gnyis 'two' (Burmese nhac), nga 'I' (Burmese ngā), rna-ba 'ear' (Burmese nā); sna 'nose' (Burmese nhā, and stong 'thousan' (Burmese 'a-thong); so it is likely that these words were among those which encouraged him to look for a systematic relationship between the two languages. Even so, words such as these, with a similar meaning and a matching similarity in spelling (and therefore, presumably, in pronunciation), are quite rare; so he probably realized that the relationship of Tibetan to Burmese was by no means close.

The degree of relationship between Tibetan and Chinese has been the subject of much discussion recently; this is largely due to the publication, in 1972, of P.K. Benedict's book *Sino-Tibetan a conspectus*. Benedict had at first come to the conclusion, in 1942-5, that "Tibeto-Burman and Karen are regarded as constituting a superfamily (Tibeto-Karen) standing in opposition to Chinese. The relationship between Tibeto-Karen and Chinese is a distant one, comparable with that between Semitic and Hamitic, or between Altaic and Uralic" (p.2), and, further, "the relationship between Tibeto-

Burman and Chinese is a remote one"; but by 1972 he had revived his earlier opinion, and criticizes it in these terms: "This is hardly an accurate statement: the term 'remote' should be applied to the state of our knowledge at that time (early 1940s) rather than to the relationship between TB (Tibeto-Burman) and Chinese. It is now quite clear that the great bulk of the core ST (Sino-Tibetan) vocabulary is shared by these two language groups, e.g. whereas in his earlier study (Benedict, 1941) the writer was hard put to find more than one basic kinship term --- shared by the two groups, he now recognizes a relationship for over half these basic terms" (p. 154, footnote).

Within the Tibeto-Burman group Benedict associates Tibetan particularly closely with Kanauri, in a Tibetan-Kanauri division, with "perhaps also Dzorgai, Lepcha, and Magari" (p.5); Burmese, correspondingly, he associates with Lolo, in a Burmese-Lolo division. The remaining five divisions within Tibeto-Burman he associates particularly with (i) the Kirantis, (ii) the Miris and Daflas, (iii) the Kachins, (iv) the Bodos and Garos, and (v) the Nagas.

In addition to his book Benedict has put forward his views on the relationship of Tibetan to Burmese and to Chinese at the yearly Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, the eight meetings of which have so far been held at various universities in the United States; and some of the papers read by him and others at the Conferences have been published in a new journal, *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, published from Berkeley, California.

Detailed studies of a number of the various Lolo languages, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, and others, especially by J.A. Matisoff, contributing editor of *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus*, have recently made it easier to see to what degree these languages, spoken in Burma, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam, as well as in the Yünnan and Szechuan provinces of China, are related to

each other and to Burmese within the Burmese-Lolo division, and therefore ultimately to Tibetan within the Tibeto-Burman group as a whole.

My own studies are for the most part limited to the Tibetan language, and concentrated on the more conservative dialects of Tibetan, those of Baltistan, to the west of Ladakh, and of the Goloks, from the north east of the Tibetan-speaking area, around Amne Machen. The latter dialect I have studied, and tape-recorded, with the help of Dodrupchen Rimpoche, of the Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok. The interest of these dialects from the remoter parts of the Tibetan-speaking area lies, for me, in their conservative pronunciation, to which the spelling system of Classical Tibetan corresponds much more recently, making it possible to guess what the phonological structure of the Tibetan language might have been like in the time of Thonmi Sambota (circa 650 A.D.) or the time when the Kangyur was first written, and what its pronunciation might have sounded like at the time. It is exciting for me, for example, to hear a dialect of Tibetan spoken in which the word written lcags ('iron') is pronounced with the sounds 'ks' at the end of it corresponding to the letters -gs, as is the case in the Balti Tibetan word pronounced 'hlchaks-i' 'of iron', or the sounds 'khs' corresponding to the letters -gs at the end of the word lugs, as in the Balti word 'lukhs-ingnu' 'concerning'. Only a very few of the very many Tibetan dialects have kept pronunciations such as these unchanged over the centuries; but these examples of mine make it clear that the dialect of Baltistan, in what is now Pakistan, is one of them. Other dialects, those of Lhasa and of Kham, for example, have developed a different kind of pronunciation, one that seems to have moved away from the ancient pronunciation and the spelling symbolizing it.

Indeed the so-called da-drag spellings to be found only in the Kangyur and in the most ancient of the Tibetan inscriptions,

in the syllable-final letters -ld, -rd, and -nd, for which Sarat Chandra Das's *Tibetan-English dictionary* gives kund and 'byord as examples (the modern kun and 'byor), suggest that in ancient Tibetan there were words ending in the sounds 'lt', 'rt', and 'nt' (or, perhaps, ld, rd, and nd). I should be even more excited if I could find a Tibetan dialect in which those syllable-final sounds still existed; but the words in which they occurred are now spelt with -l, -r, and -n, of course, and the pronunciation is now no different from that appropriate to the -l, -r, and -n spellings. What a pity that the ancient pronunciations symbolized by the da-drag spellings have not managed to survive to the present time. Even in the highly conservative Balti and Golok dialects there is no hint of a distinction in pronunciation corresponding to them.

From the Tibetan words containing the da-drag spellings it is clear that the pronunciation of the various Tibetan dialects, Khampa, Lhasa, Sherpa, Sikkimese, etc., have changed considerably over the centuries since the time of Thonmi Sambhota and Songtsen Gampo; but the speed of the change seems to have been less in Tibetan than in the many and varied dialects of Chinese; and it is in trying to guess what those different forms of Chinese might have sounded like in about the year 600 A.D., the time of Songtsen Gampo, and many centuries earlier, that scholars specializing in the history of Chinese have turned to Tibetan for help. While it is true that the most important source of clues for guessing at the pronunciation, or the different forms of pronunciation, of Chinese in those times is to be found within Chinese itself, through examining the lists of words to be found in the rhyme books written for the guidance of Chinese poets, important clues are also to be found in the way occasional Chinese words occurring in Tibetan documents have been spelt phonetically in the Tibetan script. A further source of clues to the pronunciation of Chinese in ancient times comes from comparing the pronunciation of Chinese words that has been

reconstructed in accordance with the indications to be found in the early rhyme books with the spelling of corresponding Tibetan words, especially archaic, and now obsolete, spellings such as the da-drag. These comparisons are made on the assumption that the further one goes back in time the more two related languages, like Tibetan and Chinese or Tibetan and Burmese, are likely to resemble each other, with the more conservative of the two languages shedding light on earlier stages of the less conservative language.

As a result of this sort of comparison of Chinese with Tibetan, N.C. Bodman, of Cornell University, had recently (1976) published articles in which he suggests that in early times some dialects of Old Chinese has syllable-final sounds similar to those which are symbolized in traditional Tibetan spelling by -bs and -gs. Influenced by the -bs of the Tibetan word for 'wave', spelt rlabs, for example, he has proposed a syllable-final -ps for reconstructing the corresponding Old Chinese word for 'wave', as *laps; and the Tibetan spelling 'gogs for a word meaning 'prevent', 'avert', with its final -gs, leads him to reconstruct a form *gwaks, ending in -ks, for an Old Chinese word meaning 'guard', 'protect'. These is pioneer work on Bodman's part, and still subject to discussion and controversy; but at least it serves to give some idea of the degree to which Tibetan and Chinese might be related, and of the service that the conservative spellings of Classical Tibetan words are rendering to scholars in the history of the Chinese language.

The relationship between Tibetan and Chinese may not be quite as "remote", perhaps, as Benedict first thought it was when he used that word to describe the relationship between the two languages in the early 1940s; but it is certainly not close; and Burmese is still generally agreed to have a closer relationship to Tibetan than Chinese has, though, compared with the close relationship to Tibetan of languages such as

Tamang, Gurung, and Thakali, in Nepal, even Burmese is bound to seem remote.

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CASE MARKING IN BAHING

Rajendra Thokar

1. Introduction

Bahing language one of the Kiranti languages of Tibeto-Burman group under the Sino-Tibetan Family is a pronominalized language (Grierson, 1909). According to Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2001), the total population of the Bahing is 2,765 and 0.01 percent of the total population of the whole country and the percentage of the native speakers is 99.89, which indicates the high degree of the language loyalty.

As in other Kiranti languages, in this language too, the same name is used for both its speakers and the language they speak. We can thus say 'Bahing People' and 'Bahing Language'. The Bahing People prefer to use 'Bayung', 'Pai Lo', 'Radi Lo (=Rai language)' (Toba et al., 2002:10) and 'Bahing Lo' (Thokar, 2002:1) to denote 'Bahing Language'. Here, 'Lo' stands for 'language' or 'speech' in Bahing Language.

The 'mainstream version' of Bahing is spoken by the majority of Rumdali and Pais. Some Rumdali people call this 'mainstream' version 'Rumdali'. The Pais simply refer to this version as 'Bayung' or 'Radi Lo'. It seems that there is no widely recognized distinction between the speech of the Rumdali and Pais. But a distinct variation of the above is found in the speech of the Nechalis (Bahing speakers of Chamling descent). The 'mainstream' variety of Bahing is mostly spoken in the Bahing communities found in north-eastern part of Okhaldhunga District in the following VDCs (mentioned roughly from west to east): Harkapur, Ragadip, Bigutar, Baruneswor, Okhaldhunga, Andheri Narayasthan, Barnalu, Mamkha, Rathmate, Serna, Diyale, and Bhadaure. The 'Phongkhu' variety of Bahing is mostly spoken in Bahing

communities found in the mid southern-eastern part of Okhaldhunga District, in the following VDCs: Ketuke (mostly found in Phongkhu Tol [village]), Moli, Waksa, and Ubu. The 'Nechali' variety of Bahing is spoken in Necha Batase and Sallyan VDCs, located in the southern tip of Solukhumbu District. (Toba et al., 2002:10ff.)

This paper is an attempt to describe the Bahing case marking suffixes based on the data collected for my M.A. Dissertation (Thokar, 2062VS).

2. Case marking

The following are the cases and corresponding case markers in Bahing. The use of each case marker is discussed in turn below.

Case	Form(s) of suffix
Ergative/Instrument	-mi; -cam(i)
Accusative/Dative	-lai
Genitive	-ke;-dim
Locative	-di; -gware; -agholā
Comitative	-nuŋ
Ablative	-laŋ; -diŋ
Allative	-la

2.1 Ergative/instrumental

Ergative and instrumental are marked identically in Kiranti languages (Ebert, 1994:81). In Bahing, ergative and instrumental case markers are identical. Ergative case is possible when the NP (N/pro + ERG) is subject to the transitive verb in the past tense. Bahing has two ergative markers: *-mi*; and *-cam(i)*. Here, ergative marker *-cam(i)* is used only with the third person singular pronoun, e.g.,

- (1) a. hʌri-mi dzaco dzap-ta
hari-ERG rice eat-PT
'Hari ate rice.'
- b. gu-mi dzaco dza-tʌŋ
I-ERG rice eat-PT.1s
'I ate rice.'
- c. am-cam(i) ɓʌku ty-ta
s/he-ERG water drink-PT
'S/he drank water.'
- d. *hʌri-cam ɓʌku ty-ta'
hari-ERG water drink-PT
'Hari drank water.'

The case marker *-mi*, marks instrumental case in Bahing which is affixed to the inanimate nouns, e.g.,

- (2) a. gu-mi betho-mi se cwar-tʌŋ
I-ERG khukuri-INS meat cut-PT.1s
'I cut meat with a Khukuri.'
- b. am-mi cʌkku-mi brjapco cwar-ta
s/he-ERG knife-INS finger cut-PT
'S/he cut finger with knife.'

2.2 Accusative

The accusative case marker *-lai*ⁱⁱⁱ in Bahing is affixed to human nouns, e.g.,

- (3) a. ga-mi am-lai typ-ti
you-ERG s/he-ACC beat-PT.2s
'You beat him/her.'
- b. gu-mi am-lai sa:-tʌŋ
I-ERG s/he-ACC kill-PT.1s
'I killed him/her.'

2.3 Dative

The dative case marker in Bahing *-lai* is affixed to the recipient of the principal object of a ditransitive verb, e. g.,

- (4) a. am-mi gu-ku-lai wabara jok-ta
 s/he-ERG I-1pl.excl-DAT mango share-PT
 'H/She shared mango to us.'
- b. gu-mi am-lai sīkλ gi-tλŋ
 I-ERG s/he-DAT book give-PT.1s
 'I gave him/her a book.'

In (4a) and (4b) *wabara* 'mango' and *sīkλ* 'book' are the principal objects and their recipients are *gu-ku* and *am* which are affixed to the dative case clitic *-lai*. *is* affixed.

2.4 Genitive

There are two different markers: *-ke* and *-dim* for employing genitive case. These two markers are used in different situations for the same meaning of possessiveness. The genitive case marker *-ke* is commonly affixed to animate and inanimate nouns, but *-dim* is affixed to inanimate nouns only, e. g.,

- (5) a. wainsa-ke khim
 man-GEN house
 'man's house.'
- b. warca-ke salama
 friend-GEN bag
 'friend's bag.'
- c. ru-ke hopo
 land-GEN owner
 'owner of the land.'

- d. k^him-ke c^hana
 house-GEN roof
 'roof of the house (not on the top of the house rather
 somewhere else).'
- e. kokte-ke suŋ
 skin-GEN hair
 'skin hair (hair may be somewhere else out of the
 skin or while giving response).'

The genitive case marker *-dim* has slightly different context for the same meaning of possessiveness, e. g.,

- (6) a. ru-dim hopo
 land-GEN owner
 'owner (unauthorized one may be) of the land.'
- b. kokte-dim suŋ
 skin-GEN hair
 'skin hair (hair grown on the skin).'
- c. k^him-dim c^hana
 house-GEN roof
 'roof of the house (actual roof of the house on the
 top).'

2.5 Locative

The locative case is marked by the postposition *-di/-gwarel/-aghola*. It marks the spatial location and goals, e. g.,

- (7) a. bikas k^him-di b λ
 bikas house-LOC be.NPT
 'Bikash is in the house.'
- b. s $\dot{\text{I}}$ k λ salama-di b λ
 book bag-LOC be.NPT
 'Book is in the bag.'

- c. gu-mi s̄ikΛ salama-gware pik-tɿŋ
 I-ERG book bag-LOC put-PT.1s
 'I put the book into the bag.'
- d. k^him-gware la-wø
 house-LOC go-IMP
 'Go into the house.'
- e. botɿl-aghola
 bottle-LOC
 'Into the bottle.'

In (7a) and (7b), *-di* refers to generally the inner space as in English meaning 'in'; in (7c) and (7d), *-gware* refers to the inner space but with motion as in English meaning 'into'; and in (7e) *-aghola* refers to the inner spatial location with the lengthy and round-like object as bottle.

2.6 Comitative

The suffix *-nuŋ* 'with' marks comitative case, e. g.,

- (8) a. am-nuŋ la-wø
 s/he-COM go-IMP
 '(You) Go with him/her.'
- b. am gu-nuŋ la-ta
 s/he I-COM go-PT
 'S/he went with me.'

2.7 Ablative

There are two ablative case markers *-laŋ* and *-diŋ*, e. g.,

- (9) a. bimal hetauda-laŋ kat^hmandu pi-ta
 bimal hetauda-ABL kathmandu come-PT
 'Bimal came to Kathmandu from Hetauda.'

- b. am k^him-laj pi-ta
s/he house-ABL come-PT
'H/She came from the house.'
- c. am kat^hmandu-dij atola la-ta
s/he kathmandu-ABL out go-PT
'H/She went out from Kathmandu.'
- d. bibek eke-dij meke la-ta
bibek here-ABL there go-PT
'Bibek went there from here.'

-laj in (9a) and (9b) denote 'coming from...' and *-dij* in (9c) and (9d) denote 'going from...'

2.8 Allative

The allative case marker is *-la*. It expresses the meaning of motion 'to' or 'towards' suggesting destination and goal, e. g.,

- (10) a. gu sabala-la la-ti
I forest-ALL go-PT.1s
'I went to/towards forest.'
- b. am k^him-la ra-ta
s/he house-ALL come-PT
'S/he came to/towards house.'

3. Conclusion

The subject of intransitive verbs is not distinguished by adding suffix. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent, which is formed by adding the suffix *-mi* and *-cam(i)*. The case of the agent is properly an instrumental. Case clitics denote nine types of case relations: ergative, instrumental, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, comitative, ablative and allative. 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.

Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative case marker
ACC	Accusative case marker
ALL	Allative case marker
COM	Comitative case marker
DAT	Dative case marker
ERG	Ergative case marker
excl	exclusive
GEN	Genitive case marker
IMP	Imperative
INS	Instrumental case marker
LOC	Locative case marker
NPT	Non-past
pl	plural
PT	Past
s	singular

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ⁱ This asterisk mark (*) denotes the sentence is unacceptable in Bahing language.

ⁱⁱ A Tibeto-Burman dative marker *-la* exists in Sherpa and other language of the area. The accusative and dative marker is probably borrowed from Nepali-*lai*.

PROBLEM OF CLASSIFICATION IN CHHATTHARE LIMBU

Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang

Chhatthare Limbu is one of the variants of Limbu language. It is spoken by the Limbus in the Chhatthar area, which includes some villages, east of the Arun river in the Dhankuta district and some villages west of the Nuwa Khola in the Terhathum district. It is a part of *Limbuwan* 'the land of the Limbus' which comprises Sangkhuwasabha, Terhathum, Dhankuta, Sunsari and Morang in the Koshi zone; Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam and Jhapa in the Mechi zone of eastern Nepal and up to the Tista river across the border. Thus, the hilly region ranging from the Arun river to the Tista river is called *Limbuwan*. Now, due to migration, Limbus are thinly scattered in Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts of mid-Nepal and populated in a good number in Assam and Meghalaya of Indian states. Their population is 3,33,633 in Nepal alone. 'Limbu' is both ethnonym and glossonym but in the native language Limbu people are called *Yakthung* or *Yakthungba* and the language spoken by them is called *Yakthungba pan* or *Yakthung pan*.

In Nepal, four major variants of Limbu - Tamarkhole, Panthare, Phedappe and Chhatthare are spoken in their respective areas. Among them, Chhatthare Limbu is very different from the other three variants in that it is unintelligible to those speakers who are not related to it by marriage, social contact or cultural touch. Similarly, the other non-Chhatthare variants are also unintelligible to those children who have been brought up purely in the Chhatthare Limbu socio-linguistic milieu. Minor differences in lexical and grammatical forms exist even within the non-Chhatthare variants but they are not as wide as those which are seen between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare variants. Likewise,

the differences among the Chhatthare variants are also minor ones. The non-Chhatthare variants spoken in Nepal are close to those variants spoken in West Bengal, Sikkim, Assam and Meghalaya of Indian states and in Myanmar and Bhutan among the third countries and they are mutually intelligible to their speakers. The standard Limbu dialect of Nepal which is very similar to Panthare dialect is intelligible to them. So, in Nepal there is nothing wrong in calling Tamarkhole, Phedappe and Panthare as the dialects of Limbu but it creates a problem in calling Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu from the viewpoint of acquiring primary education in the mother tongue. The difference between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu is ignored because their speakers can make matrimonial alliance and share the same culture, custom, religion, literature and script and in addition, recognize each other as *Yakthungba* and their language as *Yakthungba pan*. Chhatthare adults can understand the non-Chhatthare variants because they are used as a lingua franca for communication between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbus. Besides, on the occasions of religious rituals, cultural programs, marriage ceremony and death rituals, non-Chhatthare Limbu is used. Therefore, this intelligibility can not be called 'inherent intelligibility' but a 'learned one' developed out of social and cultural contacts. Chhatthare people feel that their language variant is different from other variants but do not want to speak this truth because he is emotionally and culturally one with other Limbus and, therefore, do not want to weaken the unity by raising the language difference issue. Other Limbu speakers, on the other hand, have not realized the need to see the difference as they have not ever felt the need to speak Chhatthare Limbu. If the speakers of the Chhatthare language are happy with the status of their language as 'dialect', the speakers of other Limbu dialects will hardly feel the need of classifying it as a different language.

After the establishment of East India Company, British government raised Gurkha regiments and recruited Limbu youths in army. The British diplomat like B. H. Hodgeson and army official like Major Senior took notes of Limbu words from them and listed in their books. Major Senior even compiled a dictionary of Limbu. Dr Konow wrote a grammar of Limbu on the basis of the parable of Limbu and other materials obtained from Major Senior who had collected data from Limbus belonging to different clans or places and assigned the status of dialect either according to the clan name or area name and then classified Limbu into Phedopia dialect, Fagu Rai dialect and Tamarkhola dialect (see Grierson 1909:297-304) without any linguistic analysis. In fact, the dialects of Limbu were designated on geographical basis such as Mewakhole, Maiyakhole, Tamarkhole, Yangrokke, Phedappe, Panthare, Chaubise and Chhatthare.

The first linguistic survey was carried out in the three zones - Mechi, Koshi and Sagarmatha of eastern Nepal between the years 1981-1984 by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal funded by the German Research Council with the support of CNAS, Tribhuvan University under the directorship of Prof. Winter. Wiedert was the field supervisor and Bikram Subba was his assistant. Though they might have visited Chhatthar area during the survey, they did not pay attention to the distinctive features of the Chhatthare Limbu. Without the study of field work report, they wrote *Concise Limbu Grammar and Dictionary* based on Panthare dialect and got it published in 1985. However, this is the first work which classifies Limbu into four dialects - Mewakhola and Taplejung dialect, Panthare dialect, Phedappe dialect and Chhatthare dialect on the basis of more or less linguistic considerations. The classification of Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu seems to be predominantly based on socio-linguistic consideration rather than on pure linguistic considerations. van Driem (1987:XXII-

XXIII) also classifies it as a dialect of Limbu following Wiedert and Subba (1985:6).

Hansson's *The Rais of the eastern Himalayas* by Warner Winter in the year 1991 classified it as a separate language on the basis of the field work carried out by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. Then, other linguists such as Karen Abert (1994) and Bradley (1997) supported it. Grimes (1996: 725) classifies it as a separate language under the Kiranti group of the eastern Himalayan family. It doesn't confirm it as a dialect and leaves it out with the remark 'survey needed'. But in the entry of Limbu, the same ethnologue describes Chhathare as a dialect of Limbu. Webster (2001:52-53) classifies it as a dialect of Limbu on the basis of mutual intelligibility. Kainla (2003:11) follows Wiederd and Subba, Van Driem and Webster in his classification of Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu and again Grimes (2005) follows them classifying Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu. The interesting thing about those who assign Chhatthare the status of dialect of Limbu is that they simply assign the status but they do not include any Chhatthare word as a dialectal variant in their dictionaries. As a native speaker of Chhathare Limbu, I feel that it is very different from other dialects such as Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungge and that Hansson (1991:110) is right in his classification of Chhatthare as a separate language on the basis of linguistic consideration. However, Chhatthare people are so strongly tied to this community culturally and emotionally that they do not want to call it a separate language because they fear that it might disrupt their unity, which they can not even imagine.

The fact that Chhatthare is very different from Phedappe is accepted by van Driem (1987:XXII). He says, "Limbu of Chhatthare speakers is virtually wholly unintelligible to Phedappe speakers of the village Tamphula..." Similarly, Kainla (2059 B.S.:11) says that Chhatthare is quite distinct

from other dialects. In spite of such realization, they still classify it as a dialect because Chhatthare Limbus call their language as Limbu language and they do not want to go against their spirit. Webster (2001) says that he recorded 3 minute story in Chhatthare Limbu, played it to the Chhatthare speakers for home test. After the test, he played it to other non-Chhatthare speakers. When he asked them questions related to the text, he found almost all answers correct. Then, he classified it as dialect. In the report (Webster 2001:58-59), he writes, 'Though with clear Chhatthare distinctiveness in its grammar and lexicon, this text was well understood in the Panthare test site. It does not seem warranted to classify Chhatthare, then, as a separate speech variety from Limbu.' However, in the same article (page65), he has not missed to report that ' For those who have mentioned Chhatthare, 14/17 said they did not understand it or understood little of it. This is very confusing. As a matter of fact, intelligibility as a criterion for the classification of dialect leads to an unexpected result in the classification of Limbu dialects. The Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu speakers can make relation by marriage. In a single family, mother-in-law might be Tamarkhole Limbu speaker, her eldest daughter-in-law might be Phedappe speaker, her elder daughter-in-law might be a Chhatthare speaker and the rest of the family members might be Panthare speakers. In such a family, due to social contact, non-Chhatthare Limbu speakers might understand Chhatthare Limbu. Chhatthare Limbu and Athpare Rai are two different languages in the vicinity. However, the speakers of each language can understand the language of other speakers. If three minute story recorded in one language is played to the speakers of other language and ask them questions related to the text, they will answer 100% correct. Can Webster call them the dialects of the same language on the basis of intelligibility? Of course, not. The intelligibility here is because of socio-linguistic milieu like the case in Chhatthare

and non-Chhatthare mixed family. His informants' backgrounds need cross-checking and his reports re-analyzing.

I have not conducted socio-linguistic survey like Webster. But as a native speaker of the Chhatthare Limbu and as my mother is the speaker of Chaubishe Limbu which is very similar to Panthare dialect, I am more or less aware of the difference between the Chhatthare Limbu and other Limbu dialects. In order to make a comparative study of Limbu variants, a three-day seminar on 'Comparative Study of words and verb paradigms of Limbu dialects' was conducted in Dharan from May 14-16, 2005 at the joint venture of National languages preservation institute, Lalitpur and Central Department of Linguistics, Kirtipur. In the seminar Swadesh's 100 word list was presented and from each variant group, gloss for each word was collected. When they were compared, it was revealed that Chhatthare has 48 different words out of 100 words. Similarly, out of 44 transitive verb forms, Chhatthare has 38 different forms in past form and 42 different forms in negative past transitive verb forms from other dialects. It is entirely different in demonstrative pronouns. The collected data exhibit that it is a different language. Prof. Dr. Madhav Prasad Pokhrel who was the expert in the seminar opines that it can not be called a dialect of Limbu on the basis of lexical and grammatical forms.

Now, I am in an embarrassing situation. As a student of linguistics, I want to call it as a separate language but as a member of Limbu community, I want to call it as a dialect of Limbu. I have strong logics to prove it both as a separate language and as a dialect. The little knowledge of linguistics forces me to present comparative lexical and grammatical forms of all four Limbu variants and argue strongly that it is a separate language. But the Limbu spirit in me stops me from

doing it and forces me to classify it as a dialect of Limbu. Then I take resort to following arguments:

1. David Crystal (2003) defines dialect as 'regionally or socially distinct variety of language' and it is 'identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures. Any language with a reasonably large number of speakers will develop dialects if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from each other, or if there are divisions of social class.' If we follow this definition of 'dialect', then we reach the conclusion that Chhatthare is a dialect because it is spoken in a certain region called 'Chhatthar' separated by geographical barriers like Nuwakhola on the east from where the Phedappe dialect diverges and by the Tamarkhola river on the south from where Panthare dialect starts and by the Arun river on the west from where Rai languages spread. Limbu language as mentioned in the preceding paragraph is spoken in a large area by a great number of population and it has, subsequently, developed dialects like Phedappe, Panthare, Taplejungne and Chhathare.
2. There is no really good way to distinguish between a 'language' and a 'dialect' because they are not objective scientific terms. By 'language' we mean generally accepted 'standard' or radio-talk languages of a country, while by 'dialects' we mean homely versions of it that vary from region to region and may not be pronounced the way the so-called 'language' is. If we accept this definition, again we are bound to classify it as a dialect as it is only a local version of Chhatthar. Radio Nepal doesn't air programmes in this variety of Limbu because it has no recognition as accepted 'standard'.
3. According to David Crystal (2003), if variations in pronunciation and lexical items are 'Mutually intelligible', they are, generally, considered 'dialects' but

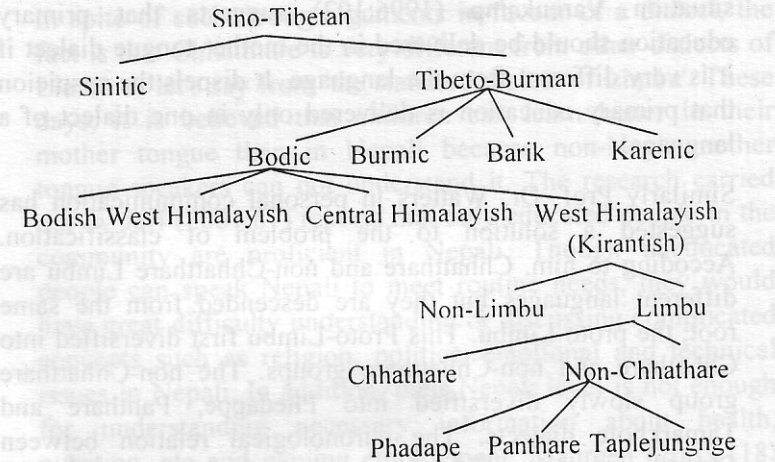
if they are 'mutually unintelligible' to the native speakers, they are different 'languages' from a linguistic perspective. It further states that in practice, this criterion, however, is non-functional because Swedes, Norwegians and Danes are 'mutually intelligible' but they are referred to as different 'languages' because of different culture and nationality. Conversely, Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka etc. are 'mutually unintelligible' but they are referred to as different 'dialects' of the Chinese 'language'. It means that 'dialects' are socially determined. If the speakers of the 'mutually unintelligible variants' are tied emotionally or culturally to each other, they can say that their linguistic variants are 'dialects' of the same 'language' but if they are emotionally unattached and culturally different, they can refer even 'mutually intelligible' variants as different 'languages'. Chhatthare Limbus are emotionally and culturally so tied to other Limbus that they don't want to designate the chhatthare variant as a separate 'language' other than a different 'dialect' of Limbu.

4. Max Weinreich is often quoted as saying "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy". It means that politics often decides what dialect will be a 'language'. Powerful or historically significant groups have a 'language' whereas smaller or weaker ones have 'dialects'. This expression is also contextual in determining the status of Chhatthare variant as a 'dialect' since it is weaker than other dialects in terms of the number of speakers and of the magnitude of the area. Moreover, government has set the 'standard dialect of Limbu' based on Panthare dialect and airs programs through radio in it. Apart from the use as a lingua franca among the Limbus, religious rituals are also performed in Panthare dialect. It naturally follows that all variants including Chhatthare are separate 'dialects' of Limbu.

In spite of such strong arguments in favour of a dialect, the fact is that Chhatthare is very different from other dialects of Limbu or let's say from 'the standard dialect of Limbu'. These days, it is believed that children can learn better in their mother tongue than in Nepali because non-Nepali mother tongue speakers can not understand it. The research carried out by Jeff (2001:67) reports that only educated people in the community are proficient in Nepali. Though uneducated people can speak Nepali to meet routine needs, they would have great difficulty understanding or discussing complicated concepts such as religion, politics, emotional and technical issues in Nepali. In addition, their Nepali level is not enough for understanding necessary information about health, nutrition, etc and gaining employment. Maureen (2005:118) reports that almost children and elderly people of Bayung community can't speak Nepali well. It is estimated that a Bayung child needs at least 1-4 years' time to acquire enough Nepali to understand the speech of Nepali speaking teacher. These children need primary education in their mother tongue to acquire functional literacy and math skills after which they are able to gain competence and confidence to tackle other challenges of learning in Nepali. Otherwise, only highly genius, persevering and resourceful child can complete the primary education in Nepali medium and proceed to acquire higher education. Almost all the children can't complete the primary education because of the language problem. This case is applicable even to the Limbu children. They need primary education in their mother tongue. As Chhatthare Limbu is very different from other dialects, its speakers need primary education in their mother tongue. If it is classified as a dialect of Limbu, then, primary education is not delivered in this medium as the present syllabi show. It is delivered only in the standard dialect. To the Chhatthare Children, there is no difference from the viewpoint of difficulty receiving education in Nepali and the standard Limbu dialect. In such a

situation Varenkamp (1996:102) suggests that primary education should be delivered in the mother tongue dialect if it is very different from the language. It dispels the suspicion that primary education is delivered only in one dialect of a language.

Similarly Prof. Dr. Watters in personal communication has suggested a solution to the problem of classification. According to him, Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu are different languages but they are descended from the same root, the proto-Limbu. This Proto-Limbu first diversified into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups. The non-Chhatthare group slowly diversified into Phedappe, Panthare and Tamarkhole dialects. The chronological relation between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare dialects is distant whereas the relation among the other dialects of the non-Chhatthare is close. Therefore, Chhatthare is hardly intelligible to the speakers of other dialects. On the basis of the above discussion, it can be said that in the highest node, there is Sino-Tibetan which splits into Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman. Tibeto-Burman, in turn, can be divided into Bodic, Burmic, Barik and Karenic groups. The Bodic or Tibetic group is divided into Bodish, West Himalayish, Central Himalayish and East Himalayish. The East Himalayish or Kirantish is divided into Limbu and non-Limbu sub-groups and Limbu is further classified into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare, which is further divided into Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungnge dialects. This phenomenon can be shown in the following tree diagram following Shafer (1966-1974) model:



I think it will be the best solution as it preserves the spirit of unity among the Limbus by demonstrating the close family relation between Chhathare and non-Chhathare Limbu. On the other hand, it clearly exhibits the marked differences between the two languages. Thus, both community spirit and language reality are preserved.

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THE CONJUNCT-DISJUNCT DISTINCTION IN KAIKE

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1. Introduction

In most Tibetan languages, as well as in Kathmandu Newar, there exists a category in verbal marking patterns which appears, at first glance, to be a rudimentary person agreement system. Indeed, at times it has been presented as such – first person agent participants are marked differently than second and third person agent participants (which are marked the same). It turns out, however, that “person” is not the primary motivating factor behind the system, but rather, “volitionality” and “locus of knowledge”. First person is opposed to second and third persons for precisely the reason that first person is a more reliable source of information than second or third persons.

The system is operative not only in independent clauses, but also in patterns of subordination. Hale (1980), in order to account for patterns of subordination in Kathmandu Newar, first coined the term “conjunct-disjunct”, and the term has since become thoroughly entrenched in Tibetan and Newar linguistic studies. I will use the same term in this paper, applied to Kaike. Hale noticed that in pairs of complement taking sentences like those in (1) and (2) below, when the agents of the matrix and subordinate clauses were coreferential, the complements were marked “conjunct”, as in (1), but when the agents of the two clauses were different they were marked “disjunct”, as in (2) (in these examples PC stands for ‘past conjunct’ and PD stands for ‘past disjunct’):

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 23, 2006, pp. 300-319

- (1) wā-ā wa ana wan-ā dhakāā dhāl-a
 he-ERG he there go-PC COMP say-PD
 'He_i said that he_i went there.'
- (2) wā-ā wa ana wan-a dhakāā dhāl-a
 he-ERG he there go-PD COMP say-PD
 'He_i said that he_j went there.'

In independent clauses, the conjunct form occurs with first person statements, i.e. where the narrator makes statements about his/her own actions, as in 'I went', while in statements about second or third person agents the disjunct form occurs, as in 'You went' or 'He went'. In questions, the system flips – the conjunct form occurs in questions directed to second person, as in 'Did you go?', and the disjunct form occurs with first and third persons, as in 'Did he go?' or 'What will I do?'

So far, the conjunct-disjunct distinction has not been reported in any of the languages of the TGTh (Tamangic) cluster, despite their relatively close relationship to the Tibetan group of languages. More importantly, the feature has been particularized as *not* occurring in some TGTh languages. For example, in Tamang, Mazaudon (2003:300) has stated that "whether the verb be main or subordinate there is no agreement with any argument of the verb..." (by which I understand her to mean the conjunct-disjunct distinction as well). Noonan (2003:323) is more specific. For Chantyal, he states that "verbs are not inflected for agreement with arguments, for direction, or for voice; they do not demonstrate a conjunct/disjunct distinction". Likewise, for Nar-Phu, Noonan (2003:345) states that there is not a conjunct/disjunct distinction, but he does describe a "direct/indirect" distinction in which the "direct" form is used to report situations that the speaker has witnessed, and the "indirect" form to report situations of which the speaker has only

indirect knowledge. Though not the same as a conjunct-disjunct distinction, the two systems may be conceptually relatable at a more abstract level.

2. Conjunct-disjunct parameters

Kaike, a language that appears to belong to the TGTh cluster, *does* have the conjunct-disjunct distinction, and, to my knowledge, is the first Tamangic language reported to demonstrate it. From here on, I will not use Newar or Tibetan to describe the particulars of the conjunct-disjunct distinction, but will further illustrate the system using Kaike examples. The conditions of use for conjunct forms in Kaike appears to be identical to the conditions of use for Newar, as laid down by Hargreaves (2003:376). The conditions are:

1. The verb is finite, *and*
2. the event is construed as involving an intentional action by the actor, *and*
3. the speech act is:
 - a. declarative with a first person subject, *or*
 - b. interrogative with a second person subject, *or*
 - c. reported speech where the main clause subject and the reported speech complement clause are coreferential.

2.1 Conjunct-disjunct in declarative clauses

I will begin by illustrating conjunct-disjunct forms in finite declarative clauses conjugated for past tense (CJ = conjunct, DJ = disjunct).

(3) Past Tense:

Conjunct:

- a. $\eta\text{ə-i}$ yim $do\eta\text{-pa}$
 I-ERG house make-PFV:CJ
 'I built a house.'

Disjunct:

b. na-i yim doŋ-bo
 you-ERG house make-PFV:DJ
 'You built a house.'

c. nu-i yim doŋ-bo
 he-ERG house make-PFV:DJ
 'He built a house.'

2.2 Conjunct-disjunct in interrogative clauses

In interrogative clauses, the conjunct form occurs with second person, now the locus of information. Using the same clause as we did in (3), we get:

(4) Disjunct:

a. ŋə-i yim doŋ-bo-yo
 I-ERG house make-PFV:DJ-Q
 'Did I build a house? (I can't remember)'

Conjunct:

b. na-i yim doŋ-pə-o
 you-ERG house make-PFV:CJ-Q
 'Did you build a house?'

Disjunct:

c. nu-i yim doŋ-bo-yo
 he-ERG house make-PFV:DJ-Q
 'Did he build a house?'

In the example sentences of (3) and (4), first person agent is marked conjunct in declarative clauses (3a), corresponding to Hargreaves' rule 3a, and second person agent is marked conjunct in interrogative clauses (4b), corresponding to Hargreaves' rule 3b. In both cases, the conjunct form occurs with the locus of information. In declarative forms, the speaker marks only his/her own actions with the conjunct

form, while in interrogatives the speaker marks the hearer as the locus of information.

Transitivity is not a factor here; the conjunct-disjunct distinction applies to intransitive volitional verbs as well, as in the following examples which utilize imperfective aspect:

(5) Declarative:

a. *ŋa woi-tse*

I go-IMPV:CJ

'I go.'

b. *na re woi-ŋə*

you also go-IMPV:DJ

'You also go.'

c. *nu re woi-ŋə*

he also go-IMPV:DJ

'He also goes.'

Interrogative:

d. *na woi-tsyə-o*

you go-IMPV:CJ-Q

'Do you go? / Are you going?'

2.3 Volitionality

Locus of information is not the only factor governing the distribution of conjunct-disjunct forms. Volitionality, too, is a factor. With transitive verbs of perception, like 'see', 'hear', 'know', or even 'want', the participant coded as subject is not a volitional agent, but rather some kind of 'dative' experiencer. Thus, even where the narrator speaks of his/her own experiences, only the disjunct form is appropriate, as in:

- (6) Non-volitional Transitives:
- a. $\eta a \text{ l} \ddot{a}i \quad \text{them-bo}$
I tongue bite.tongue-PFV:DJ
'I bit my tongue.'
 - b. $\eta \ddot{a}-n \ddot{a} \text{ khortsa mol-bo,} \quad \text{dep-po}$
I-GEN knife lose-PST:DJ, find-PST:DJ
'I lost my knife and found it.'
 - c. $\eta a \text{ lwe} \quad \text{t} \ddot{a}h\text{-bo}$
I talk hear-PFV:DJ
'I heard talk.'
 - d. $\eta a \text{ s} \ddot{a}i \quad \text{dza-yen} \quad \text{do}\eta\text{-}\eta \ddot{a}$
I food eat-SUFF want-IMPV:DJ
'I want to eat food.'
 - e. $\eta a \text{ golan} \quad \text{tw} \ddot{a}\text{-}\eta \ddot{a}$
I cloth need-IMPV:DJ
'I need cloth.'

In sentence (6b) both events are non-volitional – the losing of the knife and the finding of the knife. In (6e), the object of 'need' is a prototypical noun. However, sentential complements can also occupy the object slot for the verb 'need'. In such cases, the verb of the matrix clause and the verb of the embedded clause occur together in a concatenated form. The matrix verb 'need' imposes non-volitionality over the entire compound verb as can be seen in the following pair of examples:

- (7) Independent Volitional:
- a. $\eta a \text{ golan} \quad \text{r} \ddot{u}\text{-tse}$
I cloth buy-IMPV:CJ
'I am buying cloth.'

Embedded Non-volitional:

b. *ŋa golan rü-twə-ŋə*

I cloth buy-want-IMPV:DJ

'I want to buy cloth.'

Change-of-state intransitive verbs are the most common reserve of non-volitional arguments, and in this respect they contrast sharply with intransitive verbs having an agent argument. Possibly every human language displays at least some differences in behavior and control properties between the two intransitive types, and in Kaike the differences clearly surface in the conjunct-disjunct distinction. Agentive-intransitive verbs mark first person participants as conjunct, and patientive-intransitive verbs mark first person participants as disjunct.¹

(8) Agentive-Intransitive:

a. *ŋa tshyuŋ-pa*

I sit-PFV:CJ

'I sat down.'

Patientive-Intransitive:

b. *ŋa gusi-bo*

I hungry-PFV:DJ

'I am hungry.' (lit. 'I became hungry')

c. *ŋa naŋka-i nəi-bo*

I rain-INSTR soak-PFV:DJ

'I got soaked by the rain.'

d. *ŋa khyari rə-bo*

I cold become-PFV:DJ

'I am cold.' (lit. 'I became cold')

¹ Naturally, second person interrogatives with patientive-intransitive verbs are also disjunct, as in *na gusi-bo-yo* 'Are you hungry?'

2.4 'Ambi-volitional' verbs

As in other languages with a conjunct-disjunct distinction, some change-of-state verbs are what might be termed as 'ambi-volitional', reminiscent of 'active-stative' marking systems (the difference being that in conjunct-disjunct languages only first person is involved). In such verbs, the verb is marked conjunct if first person is a volitional agent, but disjunct if first person is a non-volitional patient/undergoer. Following are examples:

(9) Non-volitional Patient:

a. ŋa cyũ piŋ-bo
I water:IN sink-PFV:DJ
'I sank in the water.'

b. ŋa hoŋ-bo
I fall-PFV:DJ
'I fell.'

(10) Volitional Agent:

a. ŋa cyũ piŋ-pa
I water:IN sink-PFV:CJ
'I (made myself) sink in water.'

b. ŋa hoŋ-pa
I fall-PFV:CJ
'I (made myself) fall.'

2.5 Conjunct-disjunct in complement clauses

Complements of the verb 'to say' are marked conjunct on the embedded verb if the higher and lower participants are coreferential, but disjunct if not coreferential. Following are examples:

(11) Coreferential:

- a. nu-i woi-tse rwə-bo
 he-ERG go-IMPV:CJ say-PFV:DJ
 'He_i said that he_i will go.'

Non-coreferential:

- b. nu-i woi-ŋə rwə-bo
 he-ERG go-IMPV:DJ say-PFV:DJ
 'He_i said that he_j will go.'

Both sentences in (11) could be interpreted as instances of direct speech (i.e. 'He said, "I will go"' vs. 'He said, "He will go"'), in which case we are not looking at a true conjunct-disjunct distinction at all. Though the kinds of sentences that might clinch the answer to our question utilize a chaining 'co-subordinate' structure instead of embedding the complements directly, we can determine, at least for the sentences in (12), that we are dealing with indirect speech:

- (12) a. ŋa woi-tse rɔ rɔ nu-i rwə-bo
 I go-IMPV:CJ say say he-ERG say-PFV:DJ
 'He said (of me) that I will go.' (Not: 'He said, "I will go"')

- b. na woi-ŋə rɔ rɔ nu-i rwə-bo
 you go-IMPV:DJ say say he-ERG say-PFV:DJ
 'He said (of you) that you will go.' (Not: 'He said, "You will go"')

3. Analysis

In the Tibetan languages that demonstrate a conjunct-disjunct distinction, it appears that the distinction first occurred in the copular system, with conjunct versus disjunct forms for both equational and existential copulas, and that the system was extended, via the copulas, to function also in non-copular verbs as part of the aspectual system (DeLancey 1992).

Thus, copular verbs in Lhasa Tibetan are the following:

Table 1. Conjunct-disjunct forms in Lhasa Tibetan copulas

	Conjunct	Disjunct
Equational	<i>yin</i>	<i>red</i>
Existential	<i>yod</i>	<i>'dug</i>

DeLancey shows that eventually, through the grammaticalization of constructions which began as nominalized clause arguments embedded to copular verbs, the modern verbal endings have come to include the conjunct-disjunct values inherent in the copulas. Thus, taking the equational copulas as an example, we come up with the following conjunct-disjunct forms on main verbs in Lhasa Tibetan:

- (13) a. ngas byas-pa yin
 I:ERG do-PFV CJ
 'I did it.'
- b. khos byas-pa red
 he:ERG do-PFV DJ
 'He did it.'

3.1 Existential copulas

Kaike resembles Kathmandu Newar more than it does Tibetan in that the conjunct-disjunct forms do not originate in the copulas, but are a property of the finite verb morphology itself. Furthermore, though Kaike distinguishes equational *dzenpa* from existential *nipa*, only the latter has a conjunct-disjunct distinction, and that only in locative or possessive functions. As a true existential copula, *nipa* utilizes only conjunct forms. Thus, in answer to a question like *su su*

nipa 'Who all is there?',² the forms in (14) provide a felicitous answer:

- (14) Existential:
- a. *ŋa nipa*
I be:exist
'I am.' ('There's me')
 - b. *ŋə-nə pa re nipa*
I-GEN father also be:exist
'My father also is.' ('There's also my father')
 - c. *ta na re nipa*
now you also be:exist
'Now you also are.' ('Now there's also you')

3.1.1 Locatives and possession

As DeLancey has observed (1992:42), volitionality is irrelevant to the distribution of copulas, and the *Kaïke* material seems to be reflecting just that. The data that I have collected so far, however, seems to indicate that when the existential copula is used in a locative or a possessive sense, a conjunct-disjunct distinction is also possible, as in the following:

- (15) Location:
- a. *ŋa yim-ə nipa*
I house-LOC be:CJ
'I am in the house.'
 - b. *kələm tebəl-gə nya*
pen table-LOC be:DJ
'The pen is on the table.'

² 'There' in the English translation does not translate a locational 'there' but is only part of the existential, sometimes called the 'presentational there'.

(16) Possession:

- a. $\eta\text{ə-n}\text{ə}$ ηozo ti ɲipa
 I-GEN son one exist:CJ
 'I have one son.'
- b. $\text{nu-n}\text{ə}$ $\text{ts}\text{əme}$ ti ɲya
 he-GEN daughter one exist:DJ
 'He has one daughter.'

3.1.2 Mirativity

It is precisely in locative and possessive contexts that one other semantic feature of the conjunct-disjunct distinction comes into play – the marking of newly apprehended knowledge, i.e. mirativity. First person statements of possession using the conjunct existential (as in (16a)) imply first hand knowledge. Thus, in (17a) the speaker expresses first hand knowledge, while in the (17b) version he expresses surprise at just discovering it:

- (17) a. ηa $\text{rup}\text{əy}\text{ā}$ ɲipa
 I money exist:CJ
 'I have money.' (I know it)
- b. ηa $\text{rup}\text{əy}\text{ā}$ ɲya
 I money exist:DJ
 '(Hey!) I have money!' (I just discovered it)

The same holds true for negative statements, as in:

- (18) a. ηa $\text{rup}\text{əy}\text{ā}$ mipa
 I money NEG:exist:CJ
 'I don't have any money.' (I know it)
- b. ηa $\text{rup}\text{əy}\text{ā}$ $\text{m}\text{əy}\text{ā}$
 I money NEG:exist:DJ
 'I don't have any money!' (I thought I did)

Conjunct statements about third person participants imply the opposite of the mirative. That is, in place of newly apprehended, not fully assimilated knowledge, the conjunct marks epistemic knowledge about what 'ought' to be, though unobserved. Thus, in the following sentence (19), given the speaker's knowledge of the world, how far away 'there' is, and how fast his friend travels, he can say with some confidence:

- (19) syàh tshyuj-pa jipa
 there sit-NML exist-CJ
 'He should be sitting there (by now).'

3.1.3 The equational copula

With the equational copula, *dzenpa*, there is no conjunct-disjunct distinction, not even when a sentential complement is embedded to it, as in:

- (20) Equational:
 a. ja/na/nu dzenpa³
 I/you/he be:equative
 'It's me.' / 'It's you.' / 'It's him.'

With Embedded Complement:

- b. nu-i yim doŋ-pa dzenpa
 he-ERG house make-NML be:equational
 '(It's so/It's a fact) that he built a house.'

3.2 Summary of conjunct-disjunct verb endings in Kaike

As illustrated in many of the Kaike examples thus far, the conjunct-disjunct forms are, for the most part, unrelated to copulas, and, in fact, predate the grammaticalization of

³ The Kaike equative copula *dzen* likely has the same etymological source as the Tibetan equative *yin*, an etymon that also shows up in Cuona Monpa *jin* as an equative (DeLancey 1992:47).

existential conjunct-disjunct forms into the tense-aspect system (see §3.3). Perfective, imperfective and irrealis verb endings have both conjunct and disjunct forms entirely independent of copulas (unless they derive from an older, now opaque, layer of copulas). This is shown in Table 2:

Table 2. Conjunct-disjunct morphology on Kaike non-copular verbs

	Conjunct	Disjunct
Perfective	-pa ⁴	-bo
Imperfective	-tse	-ŋə
Irrealis	-ŋi ⁵	-dəra

The irrealis forms, which have not yet been illustrated, are shown in the following examples:

- (21) a. ŋa naptse woi-ŋi
 I tomorrow go-IRR:CJ
 'I might go tomorrow.'

⁴ Though the perfective *-pa* is identical in form to the nominalizer *-pa*, the two can be distinguished by the morphosyntactic environments in which they occur. There is a perfective *-pa* in Tibetan, too, that contrasts with imperfective *-kyi*, both followed by copular auxiliaries, as in *byas-pa red* (do-PFV DISJ) 'He did it' versus *byed-kyi yin* (do-IMPFV CONJ) 'I will do it'. It is generally assumed, I think, that the Tibetan perfective *-pa* comes from an erstwhile nominalization, but the Kaike material suggests that an imperfective reading may be original in such constructions.

⁵ The irrealis suffix *-ŋi*, though homophonous with *ŋi* in the existential *ŋipa*, is probably unrelated. The verbs on which it occurs are not nominalized as one would expect. Indeed, it *is* related to the copula in certain forms where the preceding verb is nominalized (see, for example, the sentence in (19)).

- b. na/nu naptse woi-dəra
 you/he tomorrow go-IRR:DJ
 'You/he might go tomorrow.'

3.3 Copular verbs as auxiliaries

Kaike resembles all other Bodish languages in that it is not without grammaticalized constructions in which erstwhile nominalizations are embedded to copular verbs. Such is the structure, for example, of perfect tenses. The existential copula *nipa* illustrated in (14) is tacked on at the end of a nominalized clause. As in locative and possessive uses of the copula (shown in (15) and (16)), the copular auxiliary manifests a conjunct-disjunct distinction, as in the following:

- (22) a. n̄ə-i sem-pa ji
 I-ERG see-NML CJ
 'I have seen it.'
- b. na-i re sem-pa nya
 you-ERG also see-NML DJ
 'You also have seen it.'
- c. nu-i re sem-pa nya
 he-ERG also see-NML DJ
 'He also has seen it.'

A question that comes to mind is whether the conjunct-disjunct distinction in the auxiliary copula, *ni* versus *nya*, developed before or after it was grammaticalized as an auxiliary. The observation we made earlier, that volitionality is irrelevant to copulas, is also true for locative and possessive copulas, and I suspect that *no* evidential distinction was the natural state of the two copulas *dzenpa* and *nipa* in earlier stages of the language. Only after being grammaticalized as auxiliaries did the distinction become relevant for the simple reason that the distinction was lost on the preceding

(non-finite) nominalized verb which ends in *-pa* (see 19), and the new distinction was fashioned on an analogy with the other finite verbal endings – *-pa* ~ *-bo*; *-tse* ~ *ŋə*; and *-ji* ~ *-dərə*.

Thus, on verbs without copular auxiliaries, *-pa* ~ *-bo* is a perfective conjunct vs. disjunct distinction. On verbs with copular auxiliaries, however, *-pa* is a nominalizer on the embedded clause, and the new *ji* ~ *ɲya* carries the conjunct vs. disjunct distinction, as in:

(23) Without Copular Auxiliaries:

a. *ŋə-i sem-pa*

I-ERG see-PFV:CJ

'I saw it.'

b. *nu-i sem-bo*

he-ERG see-PFV:DJ

'He saw it.'

(24) With Copular Auxiliaries:

a. *ŋə-i sem-pa ji*

I-ERG see-NML CJ

'I have seen it.'

b. *nu-i sem-pa ɲya*

he-ERG see-NML DJ

'He has seen it.'

With its implications of first person locus of knowledge, *ji* versus *ɲya* can now be exploited for purposes of epistemic certainty on bare existential verbs concerned with notions of location and possession as illustrated in examples (17) through (19). In fact, even with pure existentials, though there seems to be little difference between *ɲipa* and *ɲya* in exchanges like the following, there may be a difference in implied certainty:

(25) Question:

- a. su nipa / nya?
 who exist:CJ / exist:DJ
 'Who is there?'

Answer:

- b. simi nipa / nya
 person exist:CJ / exist:DJ
 'There's a person.'

3.4 Implications for Bodish

As DeLancey has pointed out in his 1992 article, there are arguments both for and against reconstructing the conjunct-disjunct distinction to any deep level – the level of Proto-Tibetan or beyond. Some of the arguments against a Proto-Tibetan reconstruction are: 1) the distinction does not appear to occur in Old/Classical Tibetan, 2) the distinction has not been reported in any of the related Tamang-Gurung-Thakali languages of Nepal,⁶ and 3) the distinction appears to be a relatively recent innovation in the Tibetan languages in which it does occur, and though parts of the system can be found in numerous Tibetan languages, the copulas involved are often not cognate.

Reconstructing the distinction to an even deeper level, especially to a level deep enough to accommodate Newar and Akha becomes even more difficult. In Akha, as DeLancey points out, most of the exponents of the system can be reconstructed internally (Thurgood 1986). In Newar, though some of the syntactic and pragmatic parts of the system are more-or-less comparable with Tibetan, there is no evidence that the distinction involves or has ever involved the use of

⁶ With the distinction now in Kaike, point #2 is no longer valid.

grammaticalized copulas (as it does in Tibetan).⁷

Of course, if it cannot be demonstrated that the various manifestations of the distinction represent retentions from a common inheritance, we are left either with independent but parallel innovations, or borrowing from neighboring languages which do have the distinction. This possibility exists for Kathmandu Newar, which has until quite recently had an extensive history of trade relations with Tibet. The ecological position of Kaike is similar. Until no more than thirty-five years ago, the economy of Kaike was based on a trading relationship between Dolpo Tibetans in the north and Kham speaking Magars in the south (Fürer-Haimendorf 1975; Fisher 1986).

The evidence from Kaike, however, suggests that the system was not borrowed from Dolpo Tibetan at all, but is a native feature. Like Newar, the conjunct-disjunct distinction is different in kind from the Tibetan system and does not involve the grammaticalization of conjunct-disjunct copulas. In fact, the use of copulas in the tense-aspect system of Kaike appears to be a later development, and conjunct-disjunct values for the copular system were developed on an analogy with a pre-existing conjunct-disjunct distinction in the earlier tense-aspect system. One scenario that DeLancey suggests (1992:52) for Tibetan is that the distinction predates at least the split between Lhasa and Shigatse and that the distinction was "independently relexicalized later in both dialects". The Kaike material, if not borrowed, which I believe it is not, puts the distinction well beyond the split between Lhasa and Shigatse, all the way back to Proto-Bodish,

⁷ This assumes that the original system in Tibetan involved the use of grammaticalized conjunct-disjunct copulas, and that because Newar does not, the two systems cannot represent a shared inheritance. From the Kaike material, this assumption appears to be no longer tenable.

with relexicalization in the copulas of all the modern Tibetan dialects. Kaike and Newar remain conservative.

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THE SEMANTIC BEHAVIOUR OF THE MAITHILI COMPOUND VERBS

Dev Narayan Yadav

1. Outline

This paper is a preliminary attempt to analyse the semantic behaviour of the Maithili compound verbs. By a compound verb in a language is meant a type of verbal sequence consisting of v1 and v2 that is pole and vector respectively, e.g. 'la leb' (to take away). The verbs have been purely classified on the basis of formal criteria and they also give some fresh insight. This analysis also helps us towards understanding Maithili compound verbs.

This paper is organized into three sections. Section 2 addresses itself to present the nature of Maithili compound verbs. Section 3 deals with the semantic modification with the help of vectors. The findings of this paper are summed up in the final section.

2. The nature of Maithili compound verbs

The meaning of the compound form is usually the same as the meaning of pole. The inflected verb, viz. the vector, therefore, does not have its own basic meaning but acts as a sort of auxiliary, to which the inflection is added. Vector serves to tone the force of pole or somewhat modifies its sense in a fashion similar to an adverbial particle which adds modality to a verb in English, e.g., up in the phrasal verb 'eat up', i.e., 'to complete eating'. In the process of compounding, it loses its original existence and add something to the pole. Consider the following examples in this respect:

- (1) hām bhat khāelāuh
I boiled-rice eat-past
'I ate boiled rice'

- (2) hām bhat kha lelāuh
 I boiled-rice eat up-past
 I ate up boiled rice'

The sentences (1) and (2) do not appear to be the same to the native speakers. Example (1) is a simple sentence, not having the meaning of compound form, but in example (2), it has the meaning of completion or finality because the doer has finished eating.

Here, vector *lelauh* adds the sense of completion to the pole, *kha*. In this way, a vector modifies the sense of a pole in the compound verbs of Maithili. For this reason, the vector has been referred to as 'semantically heteronomous'. In other words, a vector does not have its autonomous meaning which it has when used as a pole.

On the contrary, in a conjunctive verb (or a sequence of poles), the second pole retains its full lexical meaning, e.g.

- (3) a. hām pædqh (ke) zaeb
 I read-conj. go
 'Having read, I shall go'. (conjunctive verb reading)
- b. hām pædqh zaeb.
 'I shall finish reading'. (compound verb reading)

The vectors are usually employed to intensify the meanings of their poles. Hence, they have been termed as 'intensives'.

3 Semantic modification in the poles through vectors

Now we are going to show how different vectors intensify the meanings of their poles.

3.1 *leb*

leb ('to take') add intensity, reflexive and completeness of action affecting oneself, e.g.,

- (4) a. *khoiz leb* 'to search out' (intensity)
 b. *oirh leb* 'to wrap oneself up' (reflexiveness)
 c. *pi leb* 'to drink up/down completely' (completeness)

3.2 *deb*

deb ('to give') implies intensity, causative, completeness, permission of benefaction to another, thus retaining in the last two senses of the idea of 'giving', conveying suddenness e.g.

- (5) a. *phēik deb* 'to throw away' (intensity)
 b. *khāsa deb* 'to throw down/to cause to fall' (causative)
 c. *hāṭa deb* 'to remove completely' (completeness)
 d. *raikh deb* 'to lay by' (permission)

3.3 *zaeb*

zaeb ('to go') add finality, continuation and intensity showing suddenness, e.g.,

- (6) a. *kha zaeb* 'to eat up' (finality)
 b. *pāḍhāet zait achhi* 'goes on reading' (continuation)
 c. *bhaeg zaeb* 'to run away' (intensity)

3.4 *uḥāb*

uḥāb ('to rise/get up') is also one of the intensives that shows suddenness, e.g.,

- (7) *baiz uḥāb* 'to speak up' (intensity)

3.5 bəisəb

bəisəb ('to sit') suggests suddenness of completion with a shade of irrevocability and undesirability as in,

(8) mair bəisəb 'to beat all of sudden' (completeness)

3.6 bitəb

bitəb ('to ruin') denotes intensity, e.g.,

(9) la bitab 'to perish/be effaced/go down with' (intensity)

3.7 meṭəb

meṭəb ('to finish') shows intensity too, e.g.,

(10) məir meṭab 'to be annihilated/effaced' (intensity)

3.8 phḥsəb

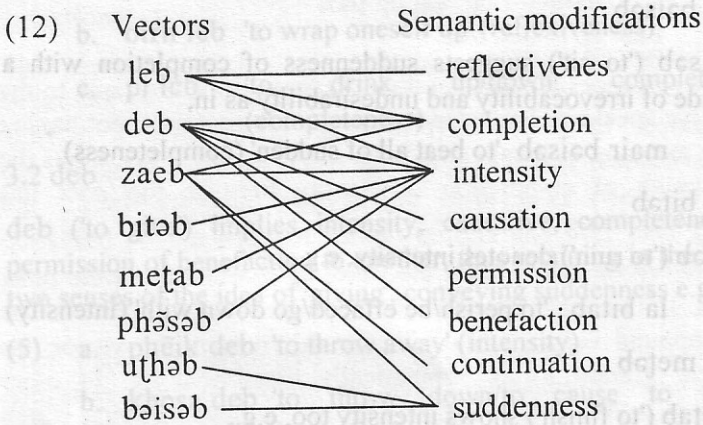
phḥsəb ('to be caught/entrapped') shows intensity, e.g.,

(11) za phḥsəb 'to be caught up' (lit to go and be caught)
'to be involved' (Intensity)

To conclude, the vectors in the Maithili compound verbs and the way they bring about semantic modifications in their poles can be presented as follows:

References

Grisson, G.A. 1909. An introduction to the Maithili of the Bihar language as spoken in North Bihar. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. Extra No. 2.



These clusters also indicate that leb, deb and zaeb are crucial vectors, carrying greater semantic load.

4. Conclusion

To sum up, a Maithili compound verb consists of two verbal constituents: pole and vector. It has been pointed that the vector is semantically heteronomous; it does not have its independent meaning (unlike the second pole in a conjunctive verb) but brings out modification in the reading of the pole. The vector constitutes a finite set while the pole can be any Maithili verb. Both of them, however, can be used independently as verbs. Vectors like leb, deb and zaeb are crucial where as vectors like uṭhəb, bitəb, bəisəb, meṭəb and phāsəb are limited and marginal. The vector is grammatically subservient since it does not govern its complements, but a pole does.

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NEGATIVIZATION IN KIRANTI-RODUNG REVISITED

Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha

1. Preliminaries

Kiranti-Rodung (Camling) as one of the Kiranti languages, spoken mainly in *Majh* 'mid' Kirant, Khotang district of eastern Nepal has a more complex and dynamic process of negativization than in any other Kiranti languages from *Wallo* 'hihter, near' to *Pallo* 'far' Kirat areas. The language mainly has two types of negatives. The first one is 'static' as bound and the second is 'procedural' as free negative. The 'static' negative markers *mi-*, *pā-* and, *-nā* are common to the procedural negative, and *-um*, *-ine/-n-* etc negativize lexemes or sentences in a complex manner. However, the second type is mainly retained in SE variety (Ebert 1997) of Kiranti-Rodung. The first type is of predictable in nature whereas the second is more dynamic.

2. Literature

Konow (in Grierson 1909:365) has mentioned only two negative particles *mi-* and *mai* (?). The optional form of *mai* (?) has been mentioned as *-dā* (cf Rai 2003:115 also). However, this optional morpheme does not exist in present-day Kiranti-Rodung. His claim of the negative morpheme *-i-* to be a suffixed or infix, is hardly reliable in modern data. Another claim of the prefix *ma-* in *mādung* 'without or literally probably not being' provides clues for diachronic study of Kiranti-Rodung because the present-day Kiranti-Rodung has its spoken form *mindung* only as in,

Grierson, G.A. 1909. An introduction to the Maithili of the Bihari language as spoken in North Bihar. *Journal Proceeding of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. Extra No.

Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 22, 2006, pp. 326-345.

- (1) wā minduŋ rō mi-cā-mā
 water without rice NEG-eat-INF
 'Don't eat rice without water.'

The lexeme '*mindung*' which negates a sentence, has not been noticed neither by Ebert (1994, 1997), Rai (2001) nor by Rai (2003).

Ebert's data clearly shows that there are three basic negativizing morphemes *pa-*, *-na* and *mi-* in Kiranti-Rodung. However, Ebert's explanation on negation in Kiranti-Rodung varies only in terms of dialectal variations. Some of her data are contradicted by Rai's data (cf. Rai 2003). His study is based on Balamta variety, Udayapur district, whereas Ebert's study on Kiranti-Rodung is based on the imaginary isogloss of Sapsu rivulet, a tributary of Sunkosi. On the basis of this isogloss, she has pointed out two main Kiranti-Rodung dialects, viz., N-W Kiranti-Rodung and S-E Kiranti-Rodung. Although both of these dialects are spoken in *Majh Kirat*, where almost all speakers of the Kiranti languages are found, S-E Kiranti-Rodung from historical point of view seems to be the core area of Kiranti-Rodung till recent studies. Let us see the following comparative data:

- | | S-E Ratanchha | Balamta |
|-----|--|---|
| (2) | pā-los-u-n-yo
NEG-sell-NPT-NPT
'S/he won't sell.' | pā-los-ō
NEG-sell-3s:NPT
'S/he won't sell.' |
| (3) | pā-losu-m-ne
NEG-sell-NEG-NPT
'We won't/don't sell.' | pā-los-um-mi
NEG-sell-
'We won't/don't sell.' |

Bag-Ayayami Yajungcha

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (4) | pā-k ^h ātā-c-əinā
NEG-go-3D-PT:NEG
'They didn't go.' | pā-k ^h āt-c-āi
NEG-go-3D-PT
'They didn't go.' |
| (5) | pā-k ^h āt-n-c-ui
NEG-go-NEG-3D-NP
'They don't go.' | pā-k ^h āti-c-ō
NEG-go-3D-NPT
'They don't go.' |
| (6) | pā- k ^h ātā-n-cui
NEG- go- NEG-3P-NP
'They don't go.' | pā-k ^h āt-u-co
NEG- go-3P
'They don't go.' |
| (7) | pā-k ^h ātā-n-c-uinā
NEG-go-NEG-3P/D-NEG:PT
'They did not go.' | pā-k ^h āt-u-cuinā
NEG-go-3P-PT
'They did not go.' |

The only difference on the above data is that the Balamta variety almost drops out the procedural negativizing morphemes whereas the S-E Kiranti-Rodung has retained its proto form.

Rai's (2001:39) four negativizing markers, *pā-*, *-əinā*, *-ine*, *-na* need further elaboration which we will discuss later.

Rai (2003) has mentioned only two, *mi-* and *pā-* as negativizing morphemes. And *-nā* has been left out without further description and data elicitation.

In the following data we will examine the complex negativizing process in the language.

4. Further data illustration

4.1 Transitive + present + past

	Affirmative	Negative
(8)	cā-mā eat-inf:NPT 'to eat'	mi-cā-mā NEG-eat-inf:NPT 'not to eat'

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (9) | cy-o
eat-PT
'ate' | pā-c-ui/əi
NEG-eat-PT
'didn't eat' |
| (10) | c ^h ām-mā
write-inf:NPT
'to write' | im-c ^h ām-mā
NEG-write-NPT
'not to write' |
| (11) | c ^h āpd-ā
write-PT
'wrote' | pā-c ^h āpd-əi/ui
NEG-write-PT
'didn't write' |
| (12) | i-mā
give-inf:NPT
'to give' | mi-i-mā
NEG-give-inf:NPT
'not to give' |
| (13) | id-yu
give-PT
'gave' | pā-id-ui/əi
NEG-give-PT
'didn't give' |
| (14) | pol-mā
touch-inf:NPT
'to touch' | mi-pol-mā
NEG-touch-inf:NPT
'not to touch' |
| (15) | pol-yu
touch-PT
'touched' | pā-pol-əi/ui
NEG-touch-PT
'didn't touch' |
| (16) | k ^h ā-mā
see-inf:NPT
'to see' | mi-k ^h ā-mā
NEG-see-inf:NPT
'not to see' |
| (17) | k ^h āŋ-u
see-PT
'saw' | pā-k ^h āŋ-ui/əi
NEG-see-PT
'didn't see' |
| (18) | dhə-mā
dig-inf:NPT
'to dig' | mi-dhə-mā
NEG-dig-inf:NPT
'not to dig' |

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (19) | dhəd-a
dig-PT
'dug' | pā-dhəd-əi
NEG-dig-PT
'didn't dig' |
| (20) | syu-mā
wash-inf:NPT
'to wash' | mi-syu-mā
NEG-wash-inf:NPT
'not to wash' |
| (21) | syu-wā
wash-PT
'washed' | pā-syu-wāi
NEG-wash-PT
'didn't wash' |
| (22) | wəi-mā
wash-inf:NPT
'to wash' | mi-wəi-mā
NEG-wash-NPT
'not to wash' |
| (23) | wāt-yu
wear-PT
'wore' | pā-wāt-u/əi
NEG-wear-PT
'didn't wear' |
| (24) | b ^h ā-mā
cut-inf:NPT
'to cut' | mi-b ^h ā-mā
NEG-cut-inf:NPT
'didn't cut' |
| (25) | b ^h -o
cut-PT
'cut' | pā-b ^h -uī
NEG-cut-PT
'didn't cut' |
| (26) | rā-mā
share-inf:NPT
'to share' | mi-rā-mā
NEG-share-inf:NPT
'not to share' |
| (27) | rās-yu
share-PT
'shared' | pā-rās-e/uī
NEG-share-PT
'didn't share' |

4.2 Intransitive verbs + present + past

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (28) | k ^h yā-mā
go-inf:NPT
'to go' | mi-k ^h yā-mā
NEG-go-inf:NPT
'not to go' |
| (29) | k ^h āt-ā
go-PT
'went' | pā-k ^h āt-ə/uī
NEG-go-PT
'didn't go' |
| (30) | k ^h ām-mā
weep-inf:NPT
'to weep' | mi-k ^h ām-mā
NEG-weep-inf:NPT
'not to weep' |
| (31) | k ^h āp-ā
weep-PT
'wept' | pa-k ^h āp-ə/uī
NEG-weep-PT
'didn't weep' |
| (32) | hui-mā
burn-inf:NPT
'to burn' | mi-hui-mā
NEG-burn-inf:NPT
'not to burn' |
| (33) | huid-yu
burn-PT
'burnt' | pā-huid-ui
NEG-burn-PT
'didn't burn' |
| (34) | ri-mā
laugh-inf:NPT
'to laugh' | mi-ri-mā
NEG-laugh-inf:NPT
'not to laugh' |
| (35) | ry-ā
laugh-PT
'laughed' | pā-ry-āi
NEG-laugh-PT
'didn't laugh' |
| (36) | hiŋ-mā
sit-inf:NPT
'to sit' | mi-hiŋ-mā
NEG-sit-inf:NPT
'not to sit' |

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (37) | hiŋ-ā
sit-PT
'sat' | pā-hiŋ-uī
NEG-sit-PT
'didn't sit' |
| (38) | im-mā
sleep-inf:NPT
'to sleep' | mi-im-mā
NEG-sleep-inf:NPT
'not to sleep' |
| (39) | ims-ā
sleep-PT
'slept' | pā-ims-ai/ui
NEG-sleep-PT
'didn't sleep' |
| (40) | k ^h um-mā
rise-inf:NPT
'to rise' | mi-k ^h um-mā
NEG-rise-inf:NPT
'not to rise' |
| (41) | k ^h ups-ā
rise-PT
'rose' | pā-k ^h ups-uī
NEG-rise-PT
'didn't rose' |
| (42) | yāl-mā
move-inf:NPT
'to move' | mi-yāl-mā
NEG-move-inf:NPT
'not to move' |
| (43) | yāld-ā
move-PT
'moved' | pā-yāld-ə/uī
NEG-move-uī
'didn't move' |
| (44) | bul-mā
angry-inf:NPT
'to be angry' | mi-bul-mā
NEG-angry-inf:NPT
'not to be angry' |
| (45) | bul-ā
angry-PT
'agreed' | pā-bul-ui/əi
NEG-angry-PT
'didn't angry' |
| (46) | pu-mā
speak-inf:NPT
'to speak' | mi-pu-mā
NEG-speak-inf:NPT
'not to speak' |

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|---|
| (47) | pus-ā
speak-PT
'spoke' | pā-pus-uī
NEG-speak-PT
'didn't speak' |
|------|------------------------------|---|

4.3 Person + present + past tense.

- | | Affirmative | Negative |
|------|---|---|
| 2SG | | |
| (48) | tā-c ^h āpdy-o
2SG-write-NPT
'you write' | tā-c ^h āpdyu-n-yo
2SG-write-NEG-2SG:NPT
'you don't write' |
| (49) | tā-c ^h āpdy-u
2SG-write-PT
'you wrote' | tā-c ^h āpdy-uinā
2SG-write-NEG:PT
'you didn't write' |
| 2D | | |
| (50) | tā-c ^h āpd-āc-e
2D-write-2D-NPT
'you write' | tā-c ^h āpd-āc-nāne
2D-write-2D-NEG:NPT
'you don't write' |
| (51) | tā-c ^h āpd-āc-i
2D-write-2D-PT
'you wrote' | tā-c ^h āpd-c-nā
2D-write-2D-NEG:PT
'you didn't write' |
| 2PL | | |
| (52) | tā-c ^h āpd-umne
2PL-write-NPT
'you write' | tā-c ^h āpd-um-nāne
2PL-write-2PL-NEG:NPT
'you don't write' |
| (53) | tā-c ^h āpd-um-i
2PL-write-2PL-PT
'you wrote' | tā-c ^h āpd-um-nāni
2PL-write-2PL-NEG:PT
'you didn't write' |

Present Perfect+ all persons +all Numbers

	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
1SG		
(54)	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-ōĩ NEG-write-stay-1SG:NPTperf 'I have not written.'	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-uŋā NEG-write-stay-1SG:PTperf 'I had not written.'
1Di		
(55)	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-āce NEG-write-stay-1Di:NPTperf 'We have not written.'	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-āci NEG-write-stay-1Di:PTperf 'We had not written.'
1De		
(56)	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-ācke NEG-write-stay-1De:NPTperf 'We have not written.'	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-āckā NEG-write-stay-1De:PTperf 'We had not written.'
1PLi		
(57)	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-umne NEG-write-stay-1De:NPTperf 'We have not written.'	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-um NEG-write-stay-1De:PTperf 'We had not written.'
1PLe		
(58)	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-umke NEG-write-stay-1Ple:NPTperf 'We have not written.'	mi-c ^h ām-ηās-umkā NEG-write-stay-1Ple:PTperf 'We had not written.'
4.4	Present perfect + past perfect	
	Present perfect	Past perfect
2SG		
(59)	mi-c ^h ām-tā-ηās-yo NEG-write-2SG-stay-2SG:NPTperf 'You have not written.'	mi-c ^h ām-tā-ηās-ā NEG-write-2SG-stay-2SG:PTperf 'You had not written.'

2D

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (60) | mi-c ^h ām-tā-ŋās-āce | mi-c ^h ām-tā-ŋās-āci |
| | NEG-write-2D-stay-2D:NPTperf | NEG-write-2D-stay-2D:PTperf |
| | 'You have not written.' | 'You had not written.' |

2PL

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (61) | mi-c ^h ām-tā-ŋās-umne | mi-c ^h ām-tā-ŋās-um(i) |
| | NEG-write-2PL-stay-2PL:NPTperf | NEG-write-2PL-stay-2PL:PTperf |
| | 'You have not written.' | 'You had not written.' |

4.5 Present perfect + past perfect

Present Perfect

Past Perfect

3SG

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (62) | mi-c ^h ām-ŋās-yo | mi-c ^h ām-ŋās-yu |
| | NEG-write-stay-3SG:NPTperf | NEG-write-stay-3SG:PTperf |
| | 'S/he has not written.' | 'S/he had not written.' |

3D

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (63) | mi-c ^h ām-ŋās-āce | mi-c ^h ām-ŋās-āci |
| | NEG-write-stay-3D:NPTperf | NEG-write-stay-3D:PTperf |
| | 'They have not written.' | 'They had not written.' |

3PL

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (64) | mi-c ^h ām-mi-ŋās-e | mi-c ^h ām-mi-ŋās-ā |
| | NEG-write-stay-3PL:NPTperf | NEG-write-stay-3PL:PTperf |
| | 'They have not written.' | 'They had not written.' |

5. -pa negative with first person singular, dual and plural:

Affirmative

Negative

1SG

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| (65) | c ^h āpd-ui | pā-c ^h ām-n-ui |
| | write-1SG:NPT | NEG-write-NEG-1SG:NPT |
| | 'I write.' | 'I did not write.' |

- | | |
|---|---|
| (66) c ^h āpd-uṅā
write-1SG:PT
'I wrote.' | pā-c ^h ām-n-uṅā
NEG-write-NEG-1SG:PT
'I did not write.' |
| 1Di | |
| (67) c ^h āpd-āce
write-1Di:NPT
'We write.' | pā-c ^h āpd-āc-umne
NEG-write-1Di-NEG:NPT
'We do not write.' |
| 1De | |
| (68) c ^h āpd-ācke
write-1De:NPT
'We write.' | pā-c ^h āpd-āc-umke
NEG-write-1De-NEG:NPT
'We do not write.' |
| 1De | |
| (69) c ^h āpd-āckā
write-1De: PT
'We wrote.' | pā-c ^h āpd-āc-umkā
NEG-write-1De-NEG: PT
'We did not write.' |
| 1PLi | |
| (70) c ^h āpd-yumne
write-1PLi: NPT
'We write.' | pā-c ^h āpd-yumne
NEG-write-1PLi-NEG: NPT
'We do not write.' |
| (71) c ^h āpd-yum
write-1PLi: PT
'We wrote.' | pā-c ^h āpd-yum
NEG-write-1PLi-NEG: PT
'We did not write.' |
| 1PLe | |
| (72) c ^h āpd-yumke
write-1PLe:NPT
'We write.' | pā-c ^h āpd-yumke
NEG-write-1PLe-NEG: NPT
'We do not write.' |

1PLe

- | | |
|--|--|
| (73) c ^h āpd-yumkā
write-1PLe: PT
'We wrote.' | pā-c ^h āpd-yumkā
NEG-write-1PLe-NEG: PT
'We did not write.' |
|--|--|

We should also note here:

1Di bound *pā+* -*umn-* free1De bound *pā+* -*um-* free1PLi bound -*mi+* -*um-* free1PLe bound -*mi+* -*um-* free

3SG

- | | |
|---|--|
| (74) c ^h āpdy-o
write-3SG:NPT
'He writes.' | pā-c ^h āpd-yu-n-yo
NEG-write-3SG-NEG-NPT
'He does not write.' |
|---|--|

3SG

- | | |
|--|---|
| (75) c ^h āpdy-u
write-3SG: PT
'He wrote.' | pā-c ^h āpd-yu-i
NEG-write-3SG-NEG-PT
'He did not write.' |
|--|---|

The bound morpheme *pā-* does not function as negative prefix in 3D and 3PL+ transitive verb in which the infix -n- always remains a negativizing morpheme.

We should also note here that in 3SG, *pa-* is negativizing prefix and also functions the same in 1SG, 1Di/e, and 1PLi/e.

Furthermore, the same bound morpheme *pā-* does not occur anywhere with second person singular, dual and plural, e.g.,

2SG

- | | |
|--|---|
| (76) tā-c ^h āpdy-o
2SG-write-NPT
'You write.' | tā-c ^h āpd-yu-n-yo
2SG-write-2SG-NEG-NPT
'You do not write.' |
|--|---|

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (77) | tā-c ^h āpdy-u
2SG-write-PT
'You write.' | tā-c ^h āpd-yui
2SG-write-NEG-PT
'You do not write.' |
|------|--|--|

2D

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (78) | tā-c ^h āpd-āce
2D-write-NPT
'You write.' | tā-c ^h āpd-āc-umnāne
2D-write-2D-NEG:NPT
'You do not write.' |
|------|---|---|

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (79) | tā-c ^h āpd-āci
2D-write-PT
'You wrote.' | tā-c ^h āpd-āc-umnā
2D-write-2D-NEG: PT
'You did not write.' |
|------|--|--|

2PL

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (80) | tā-c ^h āpd-umne
2PL-write-2PL:NPT
'You write.' | tā-c ^h āpd-um-nāne
2PL-write-2PL-NEG:NPT
'You do not write.' |
|------|---|---|

With 2nd person singular number *-n-* singular number *-n-* morpheme is negative marker whereas *-nā*, is negative morpheme with 2nd person dual and plural number non-past 2SG- *-n-* 2D+PL *-nā*- 3SG, 3D, 3PL.

3SG

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (81) | c ^h āpd-yo
write-3SG:NPT
'S/he writes.' | pā-c ^h āpd-inyo
NEG-write-3SG:NPT
'S/he does not write.' |
|------|--|---|

3SG

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (82) | c ^h āpd-yu
write-3SG: PT
'S/he wrote.' | pā-c ^h āpd-ēi
NEG-write-3SG: PT
'S/he did not write.' |
|------|---|--|

3D

- | | |
|--|---|
| (84) pā-c ^h āpd-āce
3D-write-3D:NPT
'They write.' | pā-c ^h āpd-āc-nāne
NEG-write-3D:NPT
'They do not write.' |
| (85) pā-c ^h āpd-āci
3D-write-3D: PT
'They wrote.' | pā-c ^h āpd-ācōinā
NEG-write-3D: PT
'They did not write.' |

3PL

- | | |
|--|---|
| (86) pā-c ^h āpd-e
3PL-write-NPT
'They write.' | pā-c ^h āpd-an-c-əī
NEG-write-NEG-3D-NPT
'They do not write.' |
| (87) pā-c ^h āpd-ā
3PL-write-PT
'They wrote.' | pā-c ^h āpd-ān-c-ui/-nā
NEG-write-NEG-3D-PT
'They did not write.' |

6. Intransitive base verb

- | | |
|--|---|
| (88) k ^h āt-e
go-3SG:NPT
'S/he goes.' | pā-k ^h āt-āne
NEG-go-3SG:PT
'S/he goes.' |
|--|---|

7. Verb 'to be' negatives

Phenomenon

əinā~ənne 'no, not'

Affirmative

Negative

- | | |
|--|--|
| (89) k ^h u sərəc ^h ā
he boy
'He is a boy.' | k ^h u sərəc ^h a əinā
he boy NEG
'He is not a boy.' |
| (90) kāṅā~kā minā
1:SG man
'I am a man.' | kāṅā~kā minā əinā
1:SG man NEG
'I am not a man.' |

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (91) | k ^h u ā-pā
he POSS-father
'He is my father.' | k ^h u ā-pā əinā
he POSS-father NEG
'He is not my father.' |
| (92) | tyuko c ^h āblā
DEM:that book
'That is a book.' | tyuko c ^h āblā əinā~ənne
DEM:that book NEG
'That is not a book.' |
| (93) | hije
is:PRES:EXT
'is' | pāinā
NEG
'no, not' |
| (94) | hijā
is:PT
'was' | pəinā
NEG
'was not' |

The Nepali affirmative '*ho*' (cf. Hutt & Subedi 1996: 36) in Kiranti-Rodung (examples (95-99)) is understood or not necessary on its surface structure. All the sentences are complete without '*ho*', whereas the negative forms '*əinā* or *ənne*' (both are equally used for animate-inanimate and human-nonhuman nouns) are inevitable to negate the sentences. Therefore, a noun without '*hije*' can stand to form a complete sentence in Kiranti-Rodung.

pəinā~poinā 'not'

- | | Negative | Affirmative |
|------|---|--|
| (95) | k ^h u k ^h innyāko hije
s/hegood:INTis:EXT
'S/he is good.' | k ^h u k ^h innyāko poinā
s/he good:INTNEG:EXT
'S/he is not good.' |
| (96) | kāṅā~kā mākācui hijui
1:SG blackis:EXT
'I am black.' | kāṅā~kā mākācui pəinā
1:SG black NEG:EXT
'I am not black.' |

- (97) emā k^him-dā hiŋe emā k^him-dā pəinā
 mother house-LOC is:EXT mother house-LOC NEG:EXT
 'The mother is in the house.' 'The mother is not in the house.'
- (98) tyuko c^hāblā tebəl-dā hiŋe tyuko c^hāblā tebəl-dā pəinā
 that book table-LOC that book table-LOC NEG:EXT
 'The book is on the table.' 'The book is not on the table.'
- (99) uko k^him mhəipā hiŋe uko k^him mhəipā pəinā
 this house big is:EXT this house big NEG:EXT
 'This house is big.' 'This house is not big.'
- (100) wāhui-dā ŋā hiŋā wāhui-dā ŋā pəinā
 river-LOC fish is:EXT:PST river-LOC fish NEG:EXT
 'There was a fish in the river.' 'There was not fish in the river.'

Now we shall re-examine Ebert's (1994, 1997) data in the following comparative table.

Table 1: Ebert's negative morphemes

1994		1997	
NPT	pā-/mnā pā-āinā	1s 1di	pā-k ^h ai-n-uŋā 'I did not go.' pā-k ^h ātā-ci-nā/-c-āinā/-c-ai
PT	pā-/N	1de 1pi 1pe	pā-k ^h ātā-ci-m-kā pā-k ^h āt-imnā/-umnā pā-k ^h āt-imkā/-umkā
nominal <i>mi</i>		2s	tā-k ^h āt-inā/-āinā/-ai
(ibid: 41)		2d	tā-k ^h ātā-ci-nā/-c-āinā/-c-ai
		2p	tā-k ^h āt-imnā/-umnā
		3s	pā-k ^h āt-inā/-āinā /ai
		3d	pā-k ^h āt-ci-nā-c-āinā/-c-ai
		3p	pā-k ^h āt-āinā/ -ai

8. Summary

Table 2: Negative morphemes in Kiranti-Rodung after Ebert

Transitive/Intransitive		
	NPT	PT
1 SG	<i>pā-, -n-</i>	<i>pā-, -n-</i>
1 Di	<i>pā-, -umne</i>	<i>pā-, -umnā</i>
1 De	<i>pā-, -umke</i>	<i>pā-, -umkā</i>
1 PLi	<i>pā-, -yumne</i>	<i>pā-, -um</i>
1 PLe	<i>pā-, -umke</i>	<i>pā-, -umkā</i>
2 SG	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-cuinā, -ui</i>
2 D	<i>-umnāne</i>	<i>-umnā</i>
2 PL	<i>-nāne</i>	<i>-umnā, -umnāni, -nāni</i>
3 SG	<i>pā-, -n-</i>	<i>pā-, pā-n-</i>
3 D	<i>-un-, -uine</i>	<i>-un-, -uinā</i>

Present perfect + all person + all number

Nonpast/Past Perfect

1SG, Di, De, PLi, Ple

2SG, D, PL

al)

3SG, D, PL

} *mi-*, +base of a given verb (e.g.40 et al)

We have in this paper recovered one lexical negative from Konow's (in Grierosn) study such as *mādung* 'without or literally probably not being' which in modern Kiranti-Rodung is spoken and written as *mindung* only. This negative lexeme was not noticed in the rest of the modern studies after Konow. More data have been provided on dynamic process of negativizing in Kiranti-Rodung in order to describe the rich process of negativization (as summarized in Table 2 above) of

the language amongst more than two dozen Kiranti languages spoken in eastern Nepal.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

26TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL

November 26-27, 2005

Novel K. Rai

When I get up in the morning and switch on the radio or as I sit down to watch the television, a sense of weariness engulfs me as I turn it off. Today we all Nepalese are going through hard times and I do not only refer to the conflict ridden situation of our state. That is to say, it is not an easy path that we are on, more so due to the discriminatory and dirty politics that has been practiced for many years, though our roles and contribution differ, we all Nepalese should take responsibility of the blame for the deteriorating circumstances of our nation. What the future has in store for us the picture is still hazy and shadowy.

There have been many changes in the political scenario but the sign of good governance has yet to be witnessed. As a result of it, people have developed an aversion to politics. A nation that is embroidered with dirty politics and refuses to engage itself with its history is certainly doomed. It cannot witness any economic growth and usher in development. Hence as a citizen of this country, I am aware that I will have to amend my ways.

So what should be done and where should we start from? The hour calls for commitment and change in our perception. In a developing country like Nepal, studies such as history, politics economics and linguistics are ignored for other technical subjects. The repercussions of such discriminatory and ignorant behaviour are severe since these are the subjects that bring the pressing issues of the country to the forefront. Hence

transformation of our education sector is one of the prerequisites. If the society and the state have to be steered towards a new direction, then programs like humanities and social sciences, which have been neglected for so long, should receive their due share of respect. There is an urgent need to revise the curriculum taught in colleges and universities personally think that a shift from the craze of producing technicians to developing minds that can argue, critically analyze and communicate their ideas coherently is long overdue. Social scientists too should be treated with the same reverence reserved for other natural scientists.

Looking at the brighter side, there have been many promising and encouraging activities in the field of social sciences and humanities. Linguistic Society of Nepal was established 26 years ago and till today has successfully managed to hold its Annual Conferences. An eclectic mix of national and international linguists has been participating in it with an untiring zeal, presenting their papers and sharing their research on diverse linguistic themes. November 26/27 has somewhat become analogous to a festival whereby all participants come to attend keeping their other commitments aside. They all gather under one umbrella to discuss and to debate on plethora of issues related to language. Last year Linguistic Society of Nepal celebrated its Silver Jubilee with grand success and its proceeding in the form of *Contemporary issues in Nepalese Linguistics* is in your hands. For this I would like to laud the efforts of Prof. Yogendra Yadava, the editor and would also like to congratulate his team.

Preparation of descriptive grammars and dictionaries of 4/5 languages by the Department of Linguistics with the financial aid provided by National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFDIN) is another exciting news. Only last year, Meche, Pahari, Rajbangshi, Byansi and Bahing languages have been documented. Research on Kusunda

language, already perceived as moribund, is being conducted right now, and an outline of its grammar has been prepared. The relationship between Central Department of Linguistics and NEFDIN has proved to be productive and mutually beneficial. Interest has been revived in areas of neglected and forgotten indigenous languages, giving rise to awareness that such languages have to be documented and preserved. Talking about collaboration, currently Central Departments of Linguistics, TU and University of Leipzig, Germany with the financial support of VW Foundation are involved in the digital documentation of two of the most endangered Rai Kirati Languages, viz. Chintang and Puma spoken in Eastern Nepal. Concurrently Central Department of Linguistics and Madan Pustakalaya have joined their hands to work on the project "Nepali Language Resources for Communication and Education". The project is financially supported by EU and has been working on developing Nepali National Corpus (NNC).

I would also like to share with you the good news and agreement has been reached to house the office of LSN within the premises of Central Department of Linguistics in Kirtipur. This has been possible due to the amicable relationship between the Department and LSN that was developed during due to the amicable relationship between the Department and LSN that was developed during their long journey together. One can rightly say that LSN gave birth to the Linguistic Department and in return the Department has sheltered LSN. Now both of these bodies have two common demands from the HMG – (a) it is exigent to conduct a Linguistic Survey in Nepal; and (b) it is essential to establish a Central Institute or Foundation of Languages dedicated to the study and research of all the languages of Nepal. This foundation will also be responsible in making detailed policies and guidelines regarding all the languages.

Towards the end I would once again like to stress the points mentioned above. If the country is to be steered in the right direction, then it is of utmost importance to focus on humanities and social sciences. Honorable Vice Chancellor of TU is present here amongst us today and I would use this opportunity to request him to take the initiation in improving the quality of social science and humanities. The curricula have to be revised and changes have to be made in the teaching and learning process. Studies and research of utmost excellence and superiority, suitable for the 21st century have to be carried out. We all have to attempt creating a conducive environment in order to conduct scientific researches of distinction by strengthening our interrelated departments and encouraging research centers. Our posterity should understand their history and inherit a culture that is rich in diversity. Good governance is the backbone of any nation and growth in economy is what drives the country forward. Hence our future generation should have ample opportunities to undertake any excellent study-be it politics, history, sociology or linguistics within their own country.

Towards the end of my tenure with LSN, I would once again like to express my heartiest gratitude to all the organizations and individuals that have extended support – especially ICIMOD, SNV Nepal, TU VC's office, UGC, SIL International, NFDIN and NEFIN. Taking all the individual's names that have supported us throughout would just not be possible given the restraint of time. But their generosity and encouragement are acknowledged nonetheless. I would also like to thank all the life members of LSN who have provided us their overwhelming support and have helped us foster this society. I am optimistic that LSN will keep on receiving your support and active participation. I thank you all.

Finally, I am indeed delighted to announce that we have decided to hold the 12th Himalayan Languages Symposium in 2006 in conjunction with the LSN 27th Annual Conference.

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We have tried our best to update the above list. We will accommodate due corrections / additions in future issues, for which your cooperation is highly expected. Thanks. – Editorial Board

NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

Linguistic problems of translation of medical text from English to Nepali	<i>Bal Ram Adhikari</i>	1
Computational disambiguation for Nepali language parsing	<i>Sudip Aryal, Nabin Karmacharya and Kalyan K Ghimire</i>	10
Towards universal access to ICTS in Nepal	<i>Bal Krishna Bal, Srishtee Gurung and Pat Hall</i>	34
The 'be' verb in Danuwar	<i>Bhabendra Bhandari</i>	50
Small is beautiful: talking with hill people	<i>Govinda Raj Bhattarai</i>	64
Morphosyntax of baram nominals: an introductory outline	<i>Krishna Prasad Chalise</i>	68
Syntax of Darai negative morphemes	<i>Dubi Nanda Dhakal</i>	75
System for grammatical relations in Urdu	<i>Nadir Durrani</i>	91
Research on the typology of Nepal's languages	<i>Tej R. Kansakar</i>	106
Literacy in mother tongue: the practice and the outcome	<i>Anju Khadka</i>	129
Mood in Kumal language	<i>Krishna Prasad Parajuli</i>	142
Configurations of noun phrase in the languages of Nepal	<i>Madhav P. Pokharel</i>	150
Suprasegmental features in Dhankute Tamang	<i>Kedar Prasad Poudel</i>	162
Kirānti-Kōits identify crisis: an ethnolinguistic observation	<i>Lal-Shyā'e3karelu Rapacha</i>	177
Beyond the barrio: an ethnolinguistic discourse in Cisneros' "Barbie-q"	<i>Bijay Kumar Rauniyar</i>	207
Honorific-neutralization in Nepali	<i>Bhim Narayan Regmi</i>	220
Suffixation driven syllabification in Urdu	<i>Hassan Sajjad and Sara Hussain</i>	230
Outline of Thakali language and clause combining	<i>Narayan P. Sharma (Gautam)</i>	240
Linguistic comparison and reconstruction Tibetan, Burmese, and Chinese	<i>R.K. Sprigg</i>	267
Case marking in Bahing	<i>Rajendra Thokar</i>	279
Problem of classification in Chhatthare Limbu	<i>Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang</i>	288
The conjunct-disjunct distinction in Kaike	<i>David E Watters</i>	300
The semantic behaviour of the Maithili compound verbs	<i>Dev Narayan Yadav</i>	320
Negativization in Kiranti-Rodung revisited	<i>Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha</i>	326
Presidential address 26 th annual conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal	<i>Novel K. Rai</i>	344