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# Nepalese Linguistics

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# TENSE AND ASPECT IN MECHE<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

The Meche language genetically belongs to Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is spoken by the Meche, an indigenous nationality inhabiting particularly in Jhapa district, in the Eastern Nepal. They are also scattered in small number in different places of neighbouring districts-Morang and Sunsari. According to the population census 2001, the total population of the Meche is 3,763 and the total number of the speakers of this language is 3,101.

The Meche of Nepal and the Bodo of Asam, India seem to have a very close connection. They are closer to the Bodos in civilization, too. The Meches of Nepal identify themselves as Bodo. Outside Nepal, they are found in Sikkim, West Bengal, Asam and Bhutan (Dahal 2000).

Though the census 2001 shows 82.40% of the population speaks the language, our experience is - most of the young Meche people do not use this language in their day-to-day life. Because of this, they are gradually forgetting it. Yadava (2004) keeps the Meche language under the category of endangered languages.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal held at CEDA Hall, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu on 26-27 November, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> He categorizes the languages of Nepal into seven levels of endangerment, viz. safe languages, almost safe languages, potentially endangered languages, endangered languages, seriously endangered languages, moribund languages and extinct/nearly extinct languages. According to the criteria he follows, the

This language is one of the least studied languages of Nepal. Bhattarai (1998), Bhatta and Rai (2005), Bhatta (2005), and Bhandari (2008) are a few studies to name. This paper is based on Bhandari (2008).

## 2. Tense

Tense is a grammatical category, which refers to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb takes place. Tense is 'grammaticalized expression of location in time' (Comrie 1985). Natural languages may have different ways of locating a situation in time such as temporal adverbs, pragmatic devices and tense. It is empirically claimed that tense is expressed by means of grammatical categories associated with verbs and it is also true that all natural languages may have no tense system.

The speakers make reference point to locate the situation. The moment of speech usually serves as the reference point. Logically, a situation can be located prior, simultaneous and posterior to the moment of speech. This is the reason we think of the past, present and future tenses.

Tense involves primarily, though not exclusively, an experience or concept of time as points in a sequence, and thus the notions of precedence and subsequence are important in the theory of tense (Givón 2001). The tense system reflects two fundamental features of our concept of time: sequentiality and point of reference. The moment of speech is reference point and sequentiality either precedes or follows the time of speech. The time of speech is the time axis (Givón 2001). The time axis may be absolute or relative (Comrie 1985). The time

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languages in this group (endangered languages) 'are confined to a very small size of elderly and sometimes adult speakers and are no longer spoken by their children, let alone their response to new domains and media and materials for language education and literacy'.



of speech is taken as reference point. Tenses, which take the time of speech as reference point, are called absolute tenses. So in principle, three absolute tenses are possible: past, present and future.

Inflectionally, tense in Meche can be categorised into past, present and future. This section deals with the tense-system in the indicative sentences of the Meche language.

### 2.1 The past tense

As discussed above, past tense simply locates the situation in question prior to the present moment, and says nothing about whether the past situation occupies just a single point prior to the present moment, or an extended time period prior to the present moment, or indeed the whole of the time up to present moment (Comrie 1985: 41).

In this language, the past tense is marked by a morpheme *-bai*, which is suffixed to the verb stem, e.g.,

- (1) ram-ma əŋk<sup>h</sup>am za-bai  
 Ram-ERG rice eat-PST  
 'Ram ate rice.'
- (2) gita-ja əŋk<sup>h</sup>am tsoŋ-bai  
 Gita-ERG rice cook-PST  
 'Gita cooked rice.'
- (3) bi gəwəŋgiŋ p<sup>h</sup>ərai-bai  
 he/she a lot read-PST  
 'He/She read a lot.'

The above examples (1-3) show the same past tense marker *-bai* is used for all person, number, gender, etc., i.e. there is no distinction of person, number, gender, etc. in the subject-verb agreement in the Meche language.

#### 4 / Tense and aspect in Meche

##### 2.2 The present tense

Present tense indicates that the location of situation is contemporaneous to the present moment. In this language, the present tense is marked by *-jə/ə*, e.g.,

(4)    sit<sup>h</sup>a-ja    p<sup>h</sup>ərai-jə  
      Sita-ERG read-PR  
      ‘Sita reads.’

(5)    aŋ    əŋk<sup>h</sup>am    za-jə  
      I    rice        eat-PR  
      ‘I eat rice.’

Due to morphophonemic change *-jə* may have different alternative forms, such as *-nə*, *-wə*, e.g.,

(6)    nəŋ    laizam    liŋ-nə  
      you    letter    write-PR  
      ‘You write letter.’

(7)    aŋ    hu-hau        haba    mau-wə  
      I    farmland-LOC work do-PR  
      ‘I work in the farmland’

From the above examples, it is clear that like the past tense suffix *-bai*, the same present tense marking morpheme *-jə/ə* is used for all person, number, gender, etc.

##### 2.3 The future tense

Future tense suggests that the event or activity is subsequent to the moment of speaking. The invariant morpheme *-nai* is suffixed to the verb root to mark future tense in this language, e.g.,

(8)    zəŋ    iskul        t<sup>h</sup>aŋ-nai  
      we    school     go-FUT  
      ‘We will go to school.’

- (9)    nəŋ    laizam   liʈ-nai  
       you    letter    write-FUT  
       ‘You will write a letter.’
- (10)   ram-ma   həri-k<sup>h</sup>əu    bu-nai  
       Ram-ERG   Hari-DAT    beat-FUT  
       ‘Ram will beat Hari’
- (11)   jəi        əŋk<sup>h</sup>am    tsoŋ-nai  
       mother    rice        cook-FUT  
       ‘Mother will cook rice.’

Similar to the past and present tense suffixes, the future tense suffix *-nai* remains same for all person, number, gender, etc of the subject NP.

### 3. Aspect

Aspect defines the shape, distribution, or internal organisation of the event in time. Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation (Comrie 1981: 3). So, indicating ‘situation-internal time’ is in aspect and ‘situation-external time is in tense. Consider these examples:

- (11)    Ram eats rice.  
 (12)    Ram ate rice.

The difference between the above two sentences depends on tense, as it relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking. Now, consider the following examples

- (13)    Ram writes stories.  
 (14)    Ram is writing a story.

Both sentences (13) and (14) are in the same tense i.e. the present tense. The difference between these sentences does not depend on tense rather on aspect.

Aspect is a common inherent verbal category. Its function is to highlight the internal temporal unfolding of the predication. Essentially aspect indicates whether an event, state, process or action that is denoted by a verb is completed or in progress. (Katamba 1996).

Aspects in Meche are expressed mainly by morphological means. The different aspects attested in this language are discussed below.

### 3.1 Perfect aspect

Perfect is the aspect of the verb which denotes that the action is perfected or completed in relation to some point in time. In this language, there are three types of perfect aspect according to tense system. They are- past perfect, present perfect and future perfect.

#### 3.1.1 Past perfect

To obtain past perfect aspect in Meche, the perfect marker -*k<sup>h</sup>aŋ* and past tense marker -*bai* are suffixed to the verb stem, followed by the past form of be verb *mən*, e.g.,

- (15) zəŋ isk<sup>h</sup>ul t<sup>h</sup>aŋ-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai mən  
 we school go-PERF-PST be.PST  
 ‘We had gone to school.’
- (16) nəŋ no-hai p<sup>h</sup>əi-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai mən  
 you home-LOC come-PERF-PST be.PST  
 ‘You had come home.’
- (17) mira-ja əŋk<sup>h</sup>am tsoŋ-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai mən  
 Meera-ERG rice cook-PERF-PST be.PST  
 ‘Meera had cooked rice.’

## 3.1.2 Present perfect

To obtain present perfect aspect, *-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ* which marks perfect aspect is suffixed to the verb stem followed by the past tense marker *-bai*, e.g.,

- (18) aŋ əŋk<sup>h</sup>am      za-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai  
 I    rice            eat-PERF-PST  
 ‘I have eaten rice.’
- (19) zəŋ p<sup>h</sup>əi-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai  
 we   come-PERF-PST  
 ‘We have come.’
- (20) nəŋ maigoŋ    ha-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai  
 you   vegetable   chop-PERF-PST  
 ‘You have chopped vegetables.’
- (21) rəsmi    no-hai      t<sup>h</sup>aŋ-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai  
 Rashmi   home-LOC   go-PERF-PST  
 ‘Rashmi has gone home.’

## 3.1.3 Future perfect

To obtain future perfect aspect, the perfect marker *-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ* along with the adjectiviser *-naini* is suffixed to the verb stem, and then *za-nai* follows it, e.g.,

- (22) aŋ    za-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-naini      za-nai  
 I    eat-PERF-ADJVR    be(come)-FUT  
 ‘I will have eaten.’
- (23) nəŋ    p<sup>h</sup>ərai-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-naini    za-nai  
 you   read-PERF-ADJVR   be(come)-FUT  
 ‘You will have read.’

- (24) bi laizam liṭ-k<sup>h</sup>aŋ-naini za-nai  
 he/she letter write-PERF-ADJVS be(come)-FUT  
 ‘He/she will have written a letter.’

### 3.2 Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect indicates that an action is incomplete, in progress, or developing. A progressive or continuous form emphasises on the duration or frequency of an action. Three types of progressive aspects- past, present and future- are attested in this language.

#### 3.2.1 Past progressive

To obtain past progressive aspect in this language, progressive marker *-gats<sup>h</sup>en* is suffixed to the verb stem, which is followed by *dəŋmən*, e.g.,

- (25) aŋ əŋk<sup>h</sup>am za-gats<sup>h</sup>en dəŋ-mən  
 I rice eat-PROG be-be.PST  
 ‘I was eating rice.’

- (26) nəŋ-ts<sup>h</sup>ər p<sup>h</sup>əi-gats<sup>h</sup>en dəŋ-mən  
 you-PL come-PROG be-be.PST  
 ‘You were coming.’

- (27) bi-ts<sup>h</sup>ər t<sup>h</sup>aŋ-gats<sup>h</sup>en dəŋ-mən  
 he/she-PL go-PROG be-be.PST  
 ‘They were going.’

#### 3.2.2 Present progressive

To obtain present progressive aspect in this language, progressive marker *-gats<sup>h</sup>en* is suffixed to the verb stem followed by *dəŋ*, e.g.,

- (28) aŋ maigoŋ ha-gats<sup>h</sup>en doŋ<sup>3</sup>  
 I vegetable chop-PROG be  
 ‘I am chopping vegetables.’
- (29) nəŋ lek<sup>h</sup>a p<sup>h</sup>ərai-gats<sup>h</sup>en doŋ  
 you book read-PROG be  
 ‘You are reading a book.’
- (30) rek<sup>h</sup>a p<sup>h</sup>əi-gats<sup>h</sup>en doŋ  
 Rekha come-PROG be  
 ‘Rekha is coming.’

### 3.2.3 Future progressive

To obtain future progressive aspect in this language, progressive marker *-gats<sup>h</sup>en* is suffixed to the verb stem, followed by *t<sup>h</sup>anai*, e.g.,

- (31) gawan aŋ be-belau lek<sup>h</sup>a  
 tomorrow I this-time book  
  
 p<sup>h</sup>ərai-gats<sup>h</sup>en t<sup>h</sup>a-nai  
 read-PROG be-FUT  
 ‘I will be reading book at this time tomorrow.’
- (32) sunibar be-belau nəŋ əŋk<sup>h</sup>am  
 Saturay this-time you rice  
  
 za-gats<sup>h</sup>en t<sup>h</sup>a-nai  
 eat-PROG be-FUT  
 ‘You will be eating rice Saturday at this time.’

---

<sup>3</sup> *doŋ* and *dəŋ* are the allomorphs. If it is not followed by any morpheme, it is *doŋ*, and it is *dəŋ* if followed by other morphemes.

- (33) əmit p<sup>h</sup>əi-gats<sup>h</sup>en t<sup>h</sup>a-nai  
 Amit come-PROG be-FUT  
 ‘Amit will be coming.’

### 3.3 Habitual

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

In this language, past and present habitual aspects are marked differently.

#### 3.3.1 Past habitual

The verb stem is followed by *-jə mən* to mark the past habitual aspect, e.g.,

- (34) aŋ t<sup>h</sup>aŋku ts<sup>h</sup>əp-jə<sup>4</sup> mən  
 I cigarette smoke-HBT be.PST  
 ‘I used to smoke.’

- (35) nəŋ gəwəŋgin gabbai-jə mən  
 you a lot weep-HBT be.PST  
 ‘You used to weep a lot.’

- (36) ram-ma bidot za-jə mən  
 Ram-ERG meat eat-HBT be.PST  
 ‘Ram used to eat meat.’

#### 3.3.2 Present habitual

*-jə* is suffixed to the verb stem to get present habitual, e.g.,

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<sup>4</sup> *-yə* marks both the present tense and habitual aspect.



- (37) aŋ p<sup>h</sup>ərai-jə  
 I read-HBT  
 'I read.'
- (38) nəŋ gəwəŋgin gabbabai-jə  
 you a lot weep-HBT  
 'You weep a lot.'

*-jə* may have different allomorphs due to morphophonemic change, e.g.,

- (39) bi-ts<sup>h</sup>ər zəu luŋ-nə  
 he/she-PL liquor drink-HBT  
 'They drink liquor.'

### 3.4 Inferential aspect

Inferential aspect shows that the speaker is not aware of the action that happened in the past. This aspect indicates that the speaker is reporting some event that he has not himself witnessed, but about whose occurrence he has learnt at second hand (Comrie 1981: 108). So, in this aspect, the speaker comes to know that an event happened in the past by examining the proof which he finds in present.

To obtain the meaning of inferentiality in the Meche language, *-baisə* is suffixed to the verb stem, e.g.,

- (40) aŋ əŋk<sup>h</sup>am za-bai-sə  
 I rice eat-PST-INFR  
 'I have eaten rice (but I was not aware of it).'
- (41) nəŋ-ts<sup>h</sup>ər hət<sup>h</sup>i-hau t<sup>h</sup>aŋ-bai-sə  
 you-PL market-LOC go-PST-INFR  
 'You went to market (but I was not aware of it).'

- (42) ram-ma gəwəŋgin p<sup>h</sup>ərai-bai-sə  
Ram-ERG a lot read-PST-INFR  
'Ram has read a lot (but I was not aware of it.)'

#### 4. Summary/Conclusions

To sum up this paper, there are the following remarkable features of tense and aspect found in the Meche language.

Inflectionally, tense in Meche can be categorised into three tenses: past, present and future. Past tense is marked by *-bai*, present tense is marked by *-jə/ə*, and the future tense is marked by *-nai*. There is no distinction of person, number, gender, or honorificity level in the inflection of the verb that marks tense.

In this language, aspect is divided into perfective and imperfective. The perfect aspects are of three types: past perfect, present perfect and future perfect. Past perfect is marked by *-k<sup>h</sup>aŋbai mən*. Similarly, *-k<sup>h</sup>aŋbai* and *-k<sup>h</sup>aŋnaini zai* mark present perfect and future perfect aspects, respectively. Imperfective aspect is further classified into habitual, progressive and inferential aspects. There are two habitual aspects- past and present. Past habitual aspect is marked by *-jə mən*, whereas *-jə* marks the present habitual aspect. Progressive aspects are of three types- past progressive, present progressive and future progressive. *-gats<sup>h</sup>en dəŋmən*, *-gats<sup>h</sup>en doŋ* and *-gats<sup>h</sup>en t<sup>h</sup>anai* mark past progressive, present progressive and future progressive aspects, respectively. Inferential aspect, on the other hand is found only in the past tense. It is marked by *-sə*.

## Abbreviations

|       |                    |      |               |
|-------|--------------------|------|---------------|
| ADJSR | adjectiviser       | NPT  | non-past      |
| DAT   | dative             | PERF | perfective    |
| ERG   | ergative           | PL   | plural        |
| FUT   | future             | PR   | present       |
| GEN   | genitive           | PROB | probabilitive |
| HBT   | habitual aspect    | PROG | progressive   |
| INFR  | inferential aspect | PT   | past          |
| LOC   | locative           | SRP  | surprise      |

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## COMPLEX ASPECTS IN MECHE

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### 1. Introduction

Being residents of the Mechi river and the neighbourhoods in the district of Jhapa, they are called the Meches. They are closer to the bodos in civilization. Meches were nomadic until a few decades ago. Their myth connects them with Limbus. They became settlers when the land range and forest frontiers of their free roaming became demarcated and restricted. They are animist and Ali Bali Khungri and Batho Barau are their principal deities. They also worship the deities of the forest. They are at present engaged in farming. The Meches of Nepal do not have their written literature. Meches are very much fond of songs and dance. Drums, pipe and bamboo split canes are their musical instruments. They celebrate both the planting and harvesting of crops. They have thirteen clans. For them, Siudi (milky thorny plant) is a plant where god and goddess live. They do not worship idols nor do they have temples to god or goddess. Agriculture itself is their main profession. Like wise, some of them go for haunting and fishing.

Meche as a Tibeto-Burman language is not rich only in verb morphology but also in syntax. There are many numeral and verbal classifiers found in Meche. In addition to classifier, complex aspects system in Meche is another special feature to be discovered.

Aspectology has been long concerned with the fact that grammatical (or view point) aspects interacts in systematic ways with the temporal characteristics of predicates or whole proposition (e.g Garey 1957, Forsyth 1970, Johanson 1971, Smith 1983). The aspectual information in a clause provides information on how the language user conceives of the

internal temporal constituency of the situation and concerns the internal temporal structure of situations (Comrie 1976). More specifically, aspect indicates whether the situation is conceptualized as unbounded (imperfective aspect) or as bounded (perfective aspect). Comrie (1976) refers to perfective and imperfective processes as actions (Involving change) and states (involving no change), respectively. Actions are subdivided into processes (extended in time) and achievements (not extended in time).

What is more, one fully can not understand what grammatical aspect does to verbs without understanding first their inherent aspectuality. Givon (1984) comments that 'the best way to observe the inherent aspectuality of verb is to combine them with various grammatical aspects'. Therefore, the term aspect is used in both a narrower sense, in which it refers to grammatical categories which have to do with the structure of situation of the speaker perspective on it and a wider sense, in which it also covers lexical and notional (semantic) categories relating to the classification of situation, states of affairs. Hence, The aspectuality can be best observed when the grammatical aspects intensify the inherent aspects of the lexical verb and what I assume is that sometime the inherent lexical meaning of the verb and grammatical patterns also fail to determine the actual aspectual system in terms of perfective and imperfective since it falls between them as in example (9).

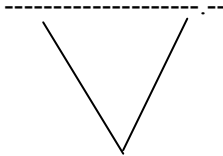
The aspect system in Meche seems interesting since it is said to be quite different from other Tibeto- Burman Language. It is very systematic, scientific and practical. Here, my attempt will be to explore the aspect system in Meche based on the aspectual opposition of Comrie (1976) and functional approach of Givon (1984). The first part of this paper describes imperfective and perfective aspects and secondly, the perfect and persistent aspect of perfect.

## 2. Imperfective Aspect

Imperfective explicit references to the internal temporal structure of situation, viewing the situation from within (Comrie, 1976) thus, imperfective aspect establishes a shift from an ‘external’ Viewpoint position to an ‘internal’ one. According to Givon (1984), imperfective indicates the perspective focus away from termination and boundness. For example,

aŋkhəu galam doŋ

I am feeling hot.



Point of view

### 2.1 Progressive

The progressive aspect describes activity, which is ongoing at reference time. It is terminated activity. In Meche suffix/-doŋ/ inflected with root shows progressive aspects.,

- (1) bi haba mau doŋ  
3SG.NOM work do -PROG  
He is working
- (2) aŋkhəu galam doŋ  
1SG-ACC hot- PROG  
I am feeling hot.
- (3) nəŋ barab-doŋ  
2SG angry -PROG  
You are angry.

- (4) ramma ghaŋsə hadoŋmən  
ramm-ERG grass cut-PROG.PST  
Ram was cutting grass.

Here, in (1) indicates repeated cut which is an on going process but (2) is quite different since it is more stative than (1). (3) does have the lexically different meaning with (1) and (2) since it prevails the inherent meaning of the verb that denotes the state of anger. (4) is the past progressive which is illustrated by the suffix /-mən/.

## 2.2 Habitual

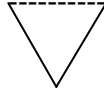
Habitual is an aspect which expresses actions that take place habitually or repeatedly. It does not refer to any particular event, and is therefore not about any particular event-time. Consequently, it lacks one of the crucial features of tense (Givón 1984: 286). Therefore, habitual in this paper is treated as an imperfective aspect, rather than a tense. In Meche the habitual aspect results when the suffix /-ya/ -ŋa/, are inflected with root and whereas /-ya/ refers present habitual and /-yamən/ past habitual as in example (5) and (6).

- (5) bi curot jayamən  
3SG. cigarette smoke-HA.PST.  
He used to smoke (repeated)
- (6) aŋ thaŋkhu thaŋmən da chuch thaŋŋa  
1SG. tobacco take.NEG.HA.PST now take.NEG.HA.  
I used to take tobacco but now I do not.



### 3 Perfective Aspect

mohə̀nna harikhə̀u bubai  
 Mohan hit hari



Point of view

A very frequent characterization of perfectivity is that it indicates a completed action. It means, completed not complete. Perfective does indeed denote the complete situation with beginning middle and end. The use of 'completed' however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of situation, whereas the use of perfective puts no more emphasis on the termination, necessarily, on the end of situation than on any part of situation rather all parts of situation are presented as a single whole (Comrie 1999). In the perfective aspect, the focus is on termination and boundedness, and there is a strong association with the past tense. The perfectivity in Meche results when suffix /-bai/ is inflected with root.

- (7) mohə̀nna harikhə̀u bubai  
 Mohan-ERG hari-ACC hit.PERF  
 Mohan hit hari
- (8) bi goli gaubai  
 3SG gun shoot.PFV  
 he shot the gun.
- (9) bechən rojobai  
 3SG sprout -IPFV (?)  
 'The plant is sprouting.'

- (10) gedet phonɓai dauchen sithatbai  
big brother bird kill-PFV  
big brother killed a bird.

In above mentioned examples (7) and (8) are sharply bounded at both ends inception and termination since they are compact verbs which have extremely short duration. Similarly, (9) is static which is long lasting and (10) is the activity verb with short duration. In brief, all these verbs share the features of perfectivity but in the case of (9), the inherent meaning of the verb, does not suit it in the category of perfective but grammatical pattern categorizes it as perfective. So, in my view, it is in between perfective and imperfective so I think, it is better to treat it as '-perfective' (?) and also, it has strong association with past.

4. Way of measuring perfective and imperfective from inherent meaning of verb

#### 4.1 Lexical entries for verbs

On the basis of the following lexical entries of the verb, we can finalize whether it is perfective or imperfective.

mohænna harikhəu bubai  
mohan-ERG hari-DAT hit-PST  
Mohan hit Hari.  
bu: V(PRED) = 'hit(SUBJ)( OBJ)  
(AUX) = -  
(FIN) = +  
(TERM) = +  
(PERFECT) = -  
(TIME\_REF) = PAST  
(VIEWPOINT) = PERFECTIVE  
(PROG) = -  
(STATIVE) = -

In the above mentioned lexical entries, the verb/bu/ takes two arguments, both the agent and patient. Terminated with end point with finite verb having the time reference past and also with the property of dynamic verb denotes perfectiveness.

rojo: V(PRED) = 'sprout <(SUBJ)  
 (AUX) = -  
 (FIN) = +  
 (TERM) =  
 (PERFECT) = -  
 (TIME\_REF) = PAST  
 (VIEWPOINT) = -PERFECTIVE  
 (PROG) =  
 (STATIVE) = +

ha: V(PRED) = 'cut <(SUBJ)(OBJ)>  
 (AUX) =  
 (FIN) = +  
 (TERM) = -  
 (PERFECT) = -  
 (TIME\_REF) = PAST  
 (VIEWPOINT) = IMPERFECTIVE  
 (PROG) = +  
 (STATIVE) = -

## 5. Perfect

Perfect is furthermore similar to the perfective past in that it involves a feature of completion and accomplishment before the reference time (perfectivity). However, in the perfect-marked sentence, the terminal boundary can be moved near to or even up to the reference time (Givon 2001). For example, in examples (11), (12), and (13) there is a terminal boundary but it is prior to reference. Similarly, in example (8), the verb seems out of sequence link in the temporal chain. However, these verbs show the completion or accomplishment.

(11) Phagla khaməni maukhaŋbai

3SG work do-PRFT-.PST

He has worked.

(12) aŋ aŋkham jakhaŋbai

1SG rice eat-PRFT -PST

I have eaten rice.

(13) jobraya thakhaŋ baimən

sick man die.PRFT-PST-PST

The man had already died.

From the above mentioned examples it is clear that /-khaŋ/ is not other than Perfect marker but it is different in terms of interiority since (11) does have same speech and reference time but (12) lacks since reference time follows the time of speech. The difference between past perfective and perfective on the following parameter proposed by Givon (1984).

Comparison between Perfect and Perfective with examples (7) and (8).

| Feature       | past | perfect |
|---------------|------|---------|
| Anteriority   | +    | +       |
| Absolute ref  | +    | -       |
| Perfectivity  | +    | +       |
| Termination   | +    | +       |
| Lingering     | -    | +       |
| Sequentiality | +    | -       |

#### 6. Perfect of persistent situation

This kind of perfect describes a situation that started in the past but continuous (persists) into the present. In Meche, / -tha/ suffixed with root+bai.

- (14) jəŋ alu jabai tha-dəŋ  
 1PL potato eat-PST-PRFT-PROG  
 We have been eating potato.
- (15) bi pharaibai thadoŋ  
 3SG read PST PRFT- PROG  
 He had been reading

The interesting point in persistent is that the perfect marker /-tha/ is distant with the root where there does not seem a bond between the verb and perfect marker as in example (16).

## 7. Conclusion

Lastly, the aspect system in Meche is quite complex. However, in Meche the aspect system has been analyzed based on grammatical pattern and inherent meaning of the verb. The aspectuality can be best analysed when the grammatical aspects intensify the inherent aspects of the lexical verb but sometimes the inherent lexical meaning of the verb and grammatical patterns does not determine the actual aspectual system in terms of perfective and imperfective since it falls between them. However, the method of lexical entries and distinctive features can be best observed while finalizing the aspectual system. But still, it is the matter of wider research and deep analysis.

## Abbreviations

|      |                       |      |                        |
|------|-----------------------|------|------------------------|
| 1SG  | first person singular | 2SG  | Second person singular |
| 3SG  | Third person singular | ACC  | Accusative             |
| Aux  | Auxiliary             | CON  | Conjunction            |
| ERG  | Ergative              | FUT  | future                 |
| IPFV | imperfective          | NEG  | Negative               |
| NOM  | Nominative            | PERF | Perfective             |
| PL   | Plural                | PRED | Predicate              |
| PROG | Progressive           | PST  | past                   |
| REF  | Reference             | TERM | Terminated             |

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# AN EXPERIENCE OF TRANSLATING NEPALI GRAMMAR INTO ENGLISH

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## 1. Introduction

Translating a grammar from one language to another sounds impossible because two languages differ basically in terms of grammar which stands for different components from sound to discourse units. Despite this fact, the world has translated grammar between languages, as it is the most authentic door to enter into another language, its structure, form and function. Greek grammars were translated into Latin and it is from Latin that many western grammars have been reshaped, some in translation, some in adaptation and others in considerable degree of borrowing as well. The grammars of all young languages undergo such a process in course of evolution. This applies to Nepali as well. Pande's *Chandrika Gorkha Bhasa Vyakaran* (1912) and Sharma's *Madhya Chandrika* (1919) (quoted in Schmidt and Dahal 1993: x) are some seminal works in Nepali grammar. These works in their attempt to codify and describe the Nepali language adopted the model of Sanskrit grammar. The modern Nepali grammar has evolved through a long and exacting process.

Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* (1879) is a best example of translation of classical grammar into contemporary languages. There have been some efforts made in Nepali too. Some works like Ayton (1820), Turnbull (1888) Kilgour and Duncan (1922), Turner (1931), Clark (1963) and Matthews (1984) border between translation and restructuring. Many other foreign scholars have contributed towards writing Nepali grammar till date. They have laid the foundation stone of Nepali grammar in English. Similarly, the works by Nepali

scholars such as Sharma (1983), and Acharya (1991), and Schmidt and Dahal (1993) deserve a special mention from both linguistic and pedagogical viewpoints. However, we felt a dire need of such a Nepali grammar as is written by the Nepali scholar and translated/interpreted by native speakers available in English so we selected a modern text *Samasamayik Nepali Vyakaran* (A Contemporary Nepali Grammar) written by a prominent Nepali grammarian Hemanga Raj Adhikari.

The project took a whole year to accomplish the impossible task. It may still require months to bring this to a final desirable size and shape, and standard. This involves many revisits and a good deal of re-editing. However, at this moment we feel Contemporary Nepali Grammar (CNV) will be the first and complete work (grammar book) in English.

This article is the recount of the translation process and product, and experience of we three (writer Hemanga Raj Adhikari, translator Bal Ram Adhikari and editor Govinda Raj Bhattarai). We concentrate specifically on linguistic problems though translating involves many more like cultural, social, philosophical, etc.

## 2. Translating Nepali grammar

To write with Chomsky a grammar is a systematic description of the linguistic abilities of the native speaker of a language which enable him to speak and understand his language fluently (quoted in Radford 1981: 2). Nepali grammar, like any language i.e. its grammar, is characterized by the following distinct types of properties:

- i) absolute universals (the absolute properties which all grammars of languages share without any exception such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs)



- ii) relative universals (the properties which reflect a general tendency in languages with some exceptions such as postpositions, cases, case-endings)
- iii) marked properties (the properties which go against general tendencies and are hence exceptional in some way. These properties are almost unique to the languages concerned, such as intransitive passive, honorific concord, gender concord in Nepali.)

We faced different problems while rendering these properties of the source language (SL) Nepali into the target language (TL) English. Absolute universals and relative universals were relatively easier to translate than marked properties. In other words, most of the linguistic problems in translation of grammar emanated from the SL properties absent from or foreign to the TL, particularly its relative and marked properties such as *nipat*, gender concord, oblique forms, honorific concord and others.

### 3. Samasamayik Nepali Vyakaran

Modeled on the modern linguistic theories, Samasamayik Nepali Vyakaran shows its departure from the tradition of writing Nepali grammar in the Sanskrit framework, though it has retained much of the traditional grammatical terminology that seems relevant to and inevitable for the description and analysis of the Nepali language. The book systematically describes forms, structures and major trends of the Nepali language. This grammar can be regarded as a synthesis of knowledge about the grammatical properties of Nepali, with its prime focus on the descriptive approach and stylistic variations well supported by copious illustration. The book was first published in 1993 and is now in its third edition. It is the reference grammar of the language, prescribed for the university level teachers and students. Divided into three

major sections such as Phonology, Syntax and Lexicon, the book comprises the following fifteen chapters:

1. Phonology
2. Parts of speech
3. Concord
4. Verbs and their types
5. Verbs : tense, aspect and mood/modality
6. Inflection of verbs
7. Negation
8. Voice
9. Causatives
10. Components, functions and semantic roles of a sentence
11. Case-endings and their functions
12. Types of sentences: simple and complex
13. Complex and embedded sentences
14. Narration
15. Derivation

Grammar, like science, has its own terminology and a special vocabulary. The source text abounds in technical terms and numerous words with a special grammatical significance. Thus, our prime concern was to maintain the terminological equivalence between the SL and the TL. For this we have adopted the procedures such as :

- Literal translation (for example, the use of the terms such as 'vowel', 'consonant', 'syllable' and 'noun substitute' for the terms 'swar, 'byanjan', 'achyar', 'namsthanik' respectively)
- Paraphrasing (for example, 'the word ending with a vowel  $\Lambda$ ', 'the word ending with a consonant' and 'intransitive passivisation' for the ' $\Lambda$ janta', 'halanta' and 'bhabe prayog' respectively),
- Substitution ( for example, the use of the terms such as 'particles', 'regular suffixes' and 'conditional' for

'nīpat', 'sarbādhatok pratyaya' and 'śanketarthak' respectively.)

- Borrowing (for example, ति, तिणन्त, dWanda, bahūbrihi, tatpuruṣ, tadhdit)
4. Translating some marked grammatical properties of the Nepali language

Since languages generally differ radically in both grammatical structures and lexicalization of the concepts, they in most of the cases defy one to one formal correspondence. However, it certainly does not mean that we cannot render them into another language, for untranslatability is a matter of degree and it depends on the nature of the text to be translated and the translators' competence, apart from 'equivalent' similarities available. Based on this assumption, we have adopted the translation procedures, such as substitution, paraphrasing, adaptation and borrowing to translate those grammatical components which are absent from the English language. Here we confine our discussion to the translation of the following marked properties of the Nepali language:

#### 4.1 Nipats

*nā, nī, lā, tā, ke, kī, po, caḥī, re*, etc. are *nipats*, translated as particles. Acharya (1991: 86) calls them 'nuance particles', while Hari (1973) has used the terms 'attitudinal particles', 'undefined particles' and 'emphasis particles' (quoted in Acharya 1991: 142). These particles, though syntactically dependent upon phrases or sentences, can be omitted without impairing the syntactic constructions in which they occur. They should not be mistaken for English particles, which express some connective or limiting relation or a perfective meaning in phrases such as *beat up* and *cut up* and their omission impairs the constructions in which they occur. Nepali particles are employed to highlight the meaning of the immediate words they precede or follow, or the sentence

itself, and they lack any specific meanings unless used in sentences and hence their independent or literal translation is next to impossible. Their meanings, therefore, have to be predicted from the context only. Let us consider the following examples:

- (1) a.  $ty\Delta h\bar{a}$   $her\Delta$   $n\Delta$ .  
Look there please./Do look there.
- b.  $ram$   $yah\bar{a}$   $b\Delta sch\Delta$   $h\Delta I$ .  
Ram sits here. Okay?
- c.  $ram$   $bholI$   $a\bar{u}ch\Delta$   $re$ .  
They say/someone says Ram will come tomorrow.
- d.  $l\Delta$   $m\Delta$   $bholI$   $a\bar{u}ch\bar{u}$ .  
Okay/Well, I will come tomorrow.

(Adhikari 1993: 69-71)

In these sentences  $n\Delta$  adds urgency or politeness to the command,  $h\Delta I$  implies insistence,  $re$  implies indirectness or indifference and  $l\Delta$  an assurance, and we have used *please/Do*, *Okay?*, *They say/someone says* and *Ok/Well* respectively to give the contextual meanings of these particles in English. The English expressions used for the particles like these serve as the contextually approximate expressions only.

#### 4.2 Case endings

*le*, *lai*, *ma*, *dwara*, *baḷa*, *ko* are case endings also called case suffixes or case markers. These bound morphemes affixed to nouns or noun substitutes express cases or semantic roles which in English are expressed by means of word order and prepositions. In most of the cases English translation of the Nepali sentences with case endings suffer the structural gap. They are semantically reflected though, for example:

- (2) a. ram-le suntala khayo.  
Ram ate an orange.
- b. mal-ai nidra lagyo.  
I feel sleepy. (Adhikari 1993: 193)

Apart from this, case endings in Nepali govern the form of the words to which they are affixed, making the oblique form obligatory. Here the English translation fails to reflect this morphological property:

- |     |                          |                        |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (3) | Simple form              | Oblique form           |
| a.  | keṭo bhat khancha.       | keṭa-le bhat khancha.  |
| b.  | The boy eats rice.       | The boy ate rice.      |
| c.  | ḍoko ramro cha.          | ḍoka-ma ke cha?        |
|     | The basket is beautiful. | What is in the basket? |
|     |                          | (Adhikari 1993: 203)   |

Because of the application of the case endings, the *o*-ending nouns change into *a*-ending. According to Crystal (2003: 205), this phenomenon, also called government, is not readily applicable to a language like English.

#### 4.3 Concord and cross reference

Concord, the inflectional agreement or adaptation between the words used in a sentence, poses another serious problem for the translator. In Nepali, both adjectives (modifiers) and nouns (heads) agree in terms of number and gender which is not observed in English. As a result, the gender, which is morphologically marked in adjectives and their heads in Nepali, cannot be reflected in English translation, nor can the number marked in adjectives be reflected:

- |     |    |                      |                        |
|-----|----|----------------------|------------------------|
| (4) | a. | kalo sīchyak         | kali sīchika           |
|     |    | black (male) teacher | black (female) teacher |
|     | b. | mahilo choro         | mahili chori           |
|     |    | second eldest son    | second eldest daughter |

- |    |           |           |
|----|-----------|-----------|
| c. | moṭo keṭo | moṭɪ keṭɪ |
|    | fat boy   | fat girl  |

(Adhikari 1993: 77)

Gender, unlike in English, is a grammatical property in Nepali. The verb both in the past and non-past encodes gender:

- |     |    |                        |                         |
|-----|----|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (5) | a. | ṛḷḷḷḷḷḷ. (m. non-past) | ṛḷḷḷḷḷḷe. (f. non-past) |
|     |    | Literally: reads       | reads                   |
|     |    | He reads.              | She reads.              |
|     | b. | ṛḷḷḷḷḷḷo. (m. past)    | ṛḷḷḷḷḷḷɪ. (f. past)     |
|     |    | Literally: read        | read                    |
|     |    | He read.               | She read.               |

(Adhikari 1993: 138)

In such cases, the English translation has to supply the gender encoded in the verbs by means of the subject.

Verbs in Nepali can make reference to various grammatical properties of the subject which may be absent from the sentence but can be recovered from the context, while English verbs other than in the imperative mood ( which always makes reference to the second person subject) make no such reference. Optative and imperative verb forms in Nepali, for example, can encode person, honorification and number of the subject and they can occur as a complete sentences.

- |     |    |                |
|-----|----|----------------|
| (6) | a. | khaõ .         |
|     |    | Literally: eat |
|     |    | May I eat.     |
|     | b. | khaḷõ .        |
|     |    | Literally: eat |
|     |    | May we eat.    |

c. *khaos*.

Literally: eat

Let him/her eat. (Adhikari 1993: 149)

Here the verb *khaos*, for example, implies that the subject is the third person singular masculine or feminine form, which has to be explicitly stated in the English translation to fill in the syntactic and semantic gap.

Likewise, the translator faces with similar type of problems while translating the following type of sentences in which the gender is marked in verbs, not in subjects:

(7) a. *sathı aũchΛ*

The friend (male) comes.

*sathı aũche*

The friend (female) comes.

b. *bıramı-le panı magyo*

The patient (male) asked for water.

*bıramı-le panı magı*

The patient (female) asked for water.

c. *sũmΛn bΛjar gΛyo.*

Suman (male) went to the bazaar.

*sũmΛn bΛjar gΛyı*

Suman (female) went to the bazaar.

(Adhikari 1993: 77)

The subjects *sathı*, *bıramı* and *sũman* are unmarked for gender, but their verbs are not. Here it is the verb that determines the gender of the subject which in English translation has to be specified by using the word male or female.

#### 4.4 Simple present into simple future

Nepali employs the present tense form for both present and future, while English mainly employs the future indicator modal 'will' for the latter. This requires the translator to render the Nepali simple present form into the English simple future:

- (8) a. हARI पाढ्छ। (present)  
Hari reads. (present)
- हARI भोलि पाढ्छ। (present)  
Hari will read tomorrow. (present)
- (Adhikari 1993: 118)

Though some educated people make the conscious efforts of using the participle suffix *-ne* with the verbs such as *पाढ्ने च्छ*, *जान्ने चु* to contrast the future from the present, it does not display any functional value.

#### 4.5 Unknown aspect

The unknown aspect is another area that creates a problem for translators. The unknown aspect refers to the state indicated by the verb that was unknown in the past and has only just been discovered. The forms of the unknown aspect is almost impossible to translate literally. According to Clark (1963: 83), the use of forms in this aspect for which there is no equivalent in English, implies that what has just come to the notice of the speaker. Usually the translator has to resort to paraphrasing:

- (9) a. syam-le dherAI padhech।  
I did not know Shyam has read much.
- b. mA tA nidaechu।  
I fell asleep, I see.
- c. u ghara gaech।  
He has gone home, I see/ I did no know.
- (Adhikari 1993: 125)



Although we sometimes come across the use of the verb 'happen', which suggests the notion of chance, to translate the verbs in the unknown aspect; this verb fails to capture the wide range of meaning implied by the unknown aspect.

#### 4.6 Intransitive passive

The intransitive passive is evident primarily in intransitive verbs. English lacks constructions equivalent to Nepali intransitive passive constructions, which topicalise the action encoded in the verb as the passive constructions do in English:

- (10) a.  $y\lambda hi\ b\lambda s\ i\ n\ c\ h\ \lambda$ .  
 here pres be stayed (by first person or second person)  
 I/We/You stay here.
- b.  $k\ \lambda\ h\ i\ l\ e\ a\ i\ y\ o\ ?$   
 When -past come (by second person) ?  
 When did you come?
- c.  $d\ h\ e\ r\ \lambda\ i\ r\ o\ i\ y\ o$ .  
 much past be cried by (first person or second person)  
 I/We/You cried much. (Adhikari 1993: 166)

The intransitive passive forms like *b $\lambda$ s $\ i$  n $\ c$ h $\ \lambda$* , *a $\ i$ y $\ o$* , *r $\ o$ i $\ y\ o$* , *s $\ u$ t $\ i$ n $\ c$ h $\ \lambda$*  cannot be translated into English reflecting their formal and even semantic features. Generally, they are translated into non-passive forms which leads to the loss of focus intended by the speaker.

In almost all cases the subject of the intransitive passive is dropped, while its translation in English is to be supplied with the subject implied in the source construction. For this, the translator has to resort to the context.

#### 4.7 Honorification

Unlike in English honorification in Nepali is a grammatical category in that it shows concord with the verb in a sentence. Moreover, the translation of most of the Nepali honorific forms into English appears out of question. English, for example, has only one pronoun (you) for the five different forms (*tāl*, *tīmī*, *tāpāī*, *aphū* and *hājūr*) of the second person pronoun in Nepali. As a result, the level of honorification encoded in these different forms and intended by the user by means of these forms is inherently lost in English translation.

By the same token, the honorific forms govern the choice of the form of a verb in Nepali:

- (11) a. *tāl aijΛ*. (Low/Non Honorific)  
You come.
- b. *tīmī au*. (Middle Honorific)  
You come.
- c. *tāpāī aunūhos*. (High Honorific)  
You come.
- d. *aphū aunūhos*. (Special Honorific)  
You come.
- e. *hājūr aunūhos*. (Higher Honorific)  
You come.
- f. *mΛSUpH aṛbΛksiyos*. (Highest Honorific)  
Your Majesty come. (Adhikari 1993: 92)

For six different forms of the Nepali verb *aunū* (to come), we are bound to use only one form of the English verb 'come'. Thus, the honorification expressed by the honorific forms and reflected in the verbs is almost lost in English. We have employed the terms such as Low Honorific, Middle Honorific, High Honorific, etc. in the English translation to mitigate this

sort of morphological, semantic and pragmatic loss, which seems inevitable, though certainly not desirable.

#### 4.8. Transliteration

When it comes to the transliteration of the Nepali script in English, our transcription is not orthographic as conventionally used by the scholars writing or translating Nepali grammar in English; it is phonetic. The system of transcription adopted in this book is our own adaptation of Turner (1931), Clark (1963), and the International Phonetic Alphabet (1993). For this, we have followed the basic assumption of transliteration, which is defined as the process of conversion of SL words into the TL script maintaining the SL pronunciation. As there is no any distinction of quality or quantity between /ɛ̄/i/ and /ɛ̃/i/ in spoken Nepali, we have used only one symbol /i/ for both graphic symbols. The distinction between them is marked only in writing (Adhikari 2004: 57). The same is true of /ɛ̄/u/ and /ɛ̃/u/ for which we have used only one symbol /u/.

#### 5. Conclusion

Translating Nepali grammar into English was a strenuous task, the first experience of its type, which involved a lot of time, study, interpretations and multiple visits. However, coming to the end, we feel that we have ventured an impossible task and landed successfully in a remarkable space. Some 350 pages in Nepali amounted to more than double the number in English. Naturally, the definitions required interpretations, and the illustrations involved sometimes three steps of rendering viz,

- a) transliterating Nepali text in Roman script
- b) glossing/grammatical information
- c) supplying English translation (literal/free)

There were innumerable word level gaps and sentence level skewings which naturally needed much contemplation and circumlocution as well. Despite this, we hope SNV will be the first grammar translated (available) in English.

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# COMPOUND CASE MARKING IN DANGAURA THARU<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

This paper is based on a preliminary description of case marking in Dangaura Tharu<sup>2</sup>. Masica's (1991: 230-248) typological analysis of the three layers of case markers (Layer I, II, and III) in Indo-Aryan (IA) is taken as the starting point, with special attention given to several typological variations found in Dangaura Tharu, especially the double and triple compounding of case markers at the Layer II level involving the genitive (GEN), locative (LOC), and ablative (ABL). Specifically, two instances of double compounding, LOC + ABL and GEN + LOC, and one instance of triple compounding, GEN + LOC + ABL, are analyzed.

It will be shown that the trigger for the LOC + ABL compound case marking is when the point of origin of a particular motion is +INSIDE/OUTSIDE or +ON/OFF and the GEN + LOC marking occurs when an animate being is the point of origin for either an inanimate thing or an animate being further down the animacy hierarchy. The triple compound, GEN + LOC + ABL, occurs as a result of a GEN + LOC situation with the addition of motion away from the animate being.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revised version of the paper presented at the 28th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal held in Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Dangaura Tharu is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in five districts of western Nepal from Kanchanpur to Dang. The variety of Dangaura Tharu examined in this paper is the one spoken in the western part of Dang district, the original homeland of the Dangaura clan.

## 2. Limitations of research and analysis

This paper is limited by several factors:

- analysis is very preliminary/exploratory rather than exhaustive and definitive
- example data are largely from elicited sentences, rather than from natural texts

Semantics and semantic roles, as well as the case frames associated with various verbs have not been studied in-depth

## 3. Background—Case marking typology in IA

In IA languages as a whole it is common to have several layers of forms with case-like functions, called (following Masica 1991: 231) Layer I, II, III. Table 1 below summarizes<sup>3</sup> the case markers from the two national languages with which Dangaura Tharu speakers have the most contact, namely, Nepali and Hindi:

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<sup>3</sup> Summaries of case marking in IA languages is notoriously difficult. Masica says that "... case is easily the most problematic category in NIA [= modern IA], whether for cross-linguistic, historical, or single-language descriptive analysis.

Table 1: Hindi and Nepali Case Markers

|        | Case                    | Layer I            | Layer II                    | Layer III        |
|--------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Nepali | Oblique                 | ∅                  |                             |                  |
|        | Agentive                |                    | -le                         |                  |
|        | Dative/Acc <sup>4</sup> |                    | -lai                        |                  |
|        | Genitive                |                    | -ko                         |                  |
|        | Locative                |                    | -ma                         |                  |
|        | Ablative                | ↓                  | -batΛ/<br>ḍek <sup>hi</sup> |                  |
|        | Benefactive             |                    | -ko +                       | -lagi            |
|        | Sociative               |                    | ∅                           | -siṭa/-sa        |
| Hindi  | Oblique <sup>5</sup>    | -e (s) / -ō<br>(p) |                             |                  |
|        | Agentive                |                    | -ne                         |                  |
|        | Dative/Acc              |                    | -ko                         |                  |
|        | Genitive                |                    | -ka                         |                  |
|        | Locative                |                    | -me/-par                    |                  |
|        | Ablative                |                    | -se                         |                  |
|        | Benefactive             |                    | -ke +                       | liye             |
|        | Sociative               | ↓                  | -ke +                       | saṭ <sup>h</sup> |

<sup>4</sup> The dative marker functions as the accusative in many IA languages, since there is no accusative (Masica 1991: 365). Masica (365) says that the dative marker functions as an accusative in two different instances: (1) the Direct Object is human, or (2) the Direct Object is nonhuman and Definite.

<sup>5</sup> To illustrate, in Hindi the word *larka* 'boy', inflects to *larke* in the phrase *larke se* 'from the boy'. Similarly, the plural *larke* 'boys', inflects to *larkō* in the phrase *larkō se* 'from the boys'.



In Table 2 the characteristics of each layer is summarized. Note that not all IA languages have all three layers and not all languages have the same case functions marked on the same layer.

Table 2: Characteristics of Case Marker Layers

|           | Characteristics   |
|-----------|---|
| Layer I   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-usually a stem-change operation on the noun stem</li> <li>-does not occur by itself, but only in combination with Layer II</li> <li>-more common in "Western Hindi" languages like Hindi, Kumauni, Braj</li> <li>-usually absent in "Eastern Hindi" varieties such as Nepali, Maithili, etc.</li> </ul> |
| Layer II  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-the heart of the case marking system, where most semantic case distinctions are encoded</li> <li>-can have morphophonemic variants</li> <li>-may be either an agglutinative suffix or analytic particle, often monosyllabic</li> </ul>  |
| Layer III | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-may be longer than one syllable</li> <li>-mediated by a Layer II, often the genitive case</li> <li>-lacks morphophonemic variants</li> <li>-usually has a transparent connection to an independent word</li> <li>-semantically more specific</li> <li>-may be considered a postposition</li> </ul>      |

While the list of case markers shown above is by no means exhaustive<sup>6</sup>, it provides sufficient background to give a basic understanding of how Tharu fits into the overall IA typology.

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<sup>6</sup> For example, more specific locatives occur in both Nepali and Hindi in Layer III (again often mediated by the genitive), such as

## 4. Overview—Case marking in Dangaura Tharu

The basic case marking system of Dangaura Tharu, parallel to that shown above, is summarized in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Case marking in Dangaura Tharu

| Case                  | Layer I | Layer II                | Layer III |
|-----------------------|---------|-------------------------|-----------|
| General Oblique       | -Λ (?)  |                         |           |
| Agentive              |         | ∅                       |           |
| Dative/Acc            |         | -hΛnΛ <sup>7</sup>      |           |
| Genitive              |         | -Λk                     |           |
| Locative <sup>8</sup> |         | -mΛ / -t <sup>h</sup> e |           |
| Ablative              |         | -se                     |           |
| Benefactive           |         | -Λk (GEN)<br>+          | -lag      |
| Instrumental          |         | -le                     |           |
| Sociative I           |         | -se                     |           |
| Sociative II          |         | -Λk (GEN)<br>+          | -sΛŋ      |

Overall the case markers are not remarkable; they follow the IA typology very closely in that the majority of the markers

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'behind' (*-ko pacc<sup>h</sup>adi*, Nepali; *-ke picc<sup>h</sup>e*, Hindi), 'ahead' (*-ko ag<sup>h</sup>i*, Nepali; *-ke somne*, Hindi), etc.

<sup>7</sup> The accusative/dative has many variations of this basic form, including -hə, -hi, -hihənə. When conjoined with a pronoun, even further variations are possible.

<sup>8</sup> 't<sup>h</sup>e' more generally marks the location of an argument and doesn't have as wide a semantic range as 'mΛ'. 'mΛ' (which also appears as the allomorph 'Λm') is by far the most common, and is the focus of this paper

occur in Layer II, and cases like Sociative II and Benefactive combine a Genitive + Layer III morpheme, in which that morpheme has a transparent semantic relationship to an independent lexical item (sAŋ 'friendship', 'friend'; lAŋna 'to apply, engage, stick, etc.'). Also, Tharu does not have a separate accusative case marker, but borrows the dative (cf. footnote 4 above). Unlike Hindi and Nepali, Tharu does not have an agentive case marker (whether ergative or otherwise), but this is not atypical in IA as a whole (Masica 1991: 365). However, several typological variations involving compounding of case markers are worthy of further discussion and it is to this that we now turn.

### 5. Layer II—Compound case markers

One of the more interesting deviations from standard IA typology in Tharu case marking is the double and sometimes even triple compounding of Layer 2 case markers. The possible combinations of double compound marking are LOC + ABL, GEN + LOC, and LOC + GEN<sup>9</sup>. In this paper, we will focus on the first two, since they are the building blocks for the most spectacular of the combinations: the triple compound GEN + LOC + ABL. But in order to understand the origins of the triple compound, it is first necessary to understand the double compounding of GEN + LOC and LOC + ABL respectively. For typological comparison, it should be noted that Hindi, Gujarati, and Marathi have a LOC + GEN (Masica: 372), and Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, and Punjabi have a double compound of LOC + ABL (Masica 1991: 236). But in the IA

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<sup>9</sup> An example of the LOC + GEN case marking is:

|  |                  |              |                 |
|--|------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>u</i>                               | <i>gAŋ-mA-kA</i> | <i>su-ar</i> | <i>kin-la</i>   |
| he/she                                 | village- LOC-GEN | pig-p        | take-3s.PST.LGH |
| 'He bought pigs from/of that village.' |                  |              |                 |

literature surveyed to date, a triple compound of Layer II markers has not been noted or discussed.

## 5.1 Double compounding

### 5.1.1 Locative + Ablative (LOC + ABL)

In the examples below we observe several instances of the LOC preceding the ABL in Tharu where many IA languages would only have an ABL.

#### 5.1.1.1 Obligatory double compound marking (LOC + ABL)

In order to understand what triggers the double compound marking of LOC + ABL, we will look at two ends of the spectrum: when LOC + ABL is grammatically obligatory, and when it is ungrammatical. Then we will look at cases in between where for a given verb the double marking is optional depending on the pragmatics of the situation.

First, let's look at instances when LOC + ABL is grammatically obligatory. In 1a-c, the verbs *lena* 'to take' and *p<sup>h</sup>ankana* 'to jump' show the motion of animate and inanimate arguments away from inanimate points of origin.

- (1) a. u            gΛgri-m-se            pani    li-hΛl  
           he/she water.pot-LOC-ABL water take-3s.PST  
           'He took water out of the water pot.'

[Note: the LOC, *mΛ*, has several allomorphs, including *-m*, as in 1a above, and also *Λm* as in 2b and other places.]

- b. mΛi    tebul-mΛ-se    kapi            lenu  
       I    table-LOC-ABL copybook take-1s.PST  
       'I took the copybook from the table.'

- c. mΛi            tebul-mΛ-se            p<sup>h</sup>ankΛ-nu  
       I    table-LOC-ABL            jump-1s.PST  
       'I jumped off of the table.'

In each instance above, it would be ungrammatical to use just the ABL marker to encode the notion of ‘off of/from’. The point of origin of the motion is either a container of some kind or surface from which something/someone is moving out of or off of. And as mentioned above, the point of origin is inanimate in each case.

While semantics and semantic roles, as well as the case frames associated with various verbs have not been studied in-depth, it appears that certain verbs have an obligatory case frame that includes +LOC. Such is the case with the verb *nikra $\nu$*  ‘to come out/go out/emerge’. And as shown in 2 below the LOC case is obligatory, even when the verb is used figuratively, as in 2b.

- (2) a. m $\lambda$ i g<sup>h</sup> $\Delta$ r- $\Delta$ m-se nikra $\nu$ -nu  
 I home-LOC-ABL come out-1s.PST  
 ‘I have come out of the house (in situations where the house is relatively close by).’
- b. m $\lambda$ i g<sup>h</sup> $\Delta$ r- $\Delta$ m-se nikra $\nu$ -nu  
 I home-LOC-ABL come out-1s.PST  
 ‘I have left home (and am living somewhere else).’
- c. \*m $\lambda$ i g<sup>h</sup> $\Delta$ r-se nikra $\nu$ -nu  
 I home-ABL come out-1s.PST  
 ‘I have come out of the house.’

When one ponders the semantic content of this verb the obligatory LOC marking makes sense, since it is inherently means to come out of something. The starting point is always inside of a container of some kind, even if an abstract one as in 2b.

## 5.1.1.2 Obligatory single case marking (ABL)

On the other end of the continuum, we find instances where double marking is ungrammatical, and the ABL marker alone is employed to encode motion away from one location to another as shown in 3a.

- (3) a. mɔi Ram-se kapi lenu  
 I Ram-ABL copybook take-1s.PST  
 ‘I took the copybook from Ram.’

As opposed to 1 and 2 above, in 3a the original starting point or starting ‘location’ is animate and as opposed to 1 above an inanimate object is moved from one to another. It makes sense that in this case the double marking is not employed, since the copybook was not taken ‘out of’ Ram but ‘from’ him. We see, however, that if the copy book is taken from Ram’s hand (presumably construed as inanimate) then the double marking does occur as shown below:

- b. mɔi Ram-ɔk hã<sup>h</sup>-ɔm-se kapi lenu  
 I Ram-GEN hand- LOC-ABL copybook take-1s.PST  
 ‘I took the copybook from Ram’s hand.’

3b has a somewhat negative sense to it. In normal situations, one would use 3a, whereas 3b has a sense that perhaps the copybook wasn’t given willingly.

The double marking also occurs when there is motion away from other body parts besides the hand, even if the object being moved is animate, as shown in 3c.

- c. u wakar k<sup>h</sup>ɔnd-ɔm-se p<sup>h</sup>ɔnk-ɔl  
 he his.GEN shoulders-LOC-ABL jump-3s.PST  
 ‘He jumped off of his (a different person’s) shoulders.’

### 5.1.1.3 Pragmatic factors influencing LOC + ABL double case marking

We have now established the two extremes of the continuum, when double case marking is obligatory and when it is ungrammatical. We, now, turn to instances where a certain verb may or may not trigger the double case marking depending on the pragmatics of the situation.

In 4a below, the verb ‘to come’ triggers the double LOC + ABL marking as above.

- (4) a. mʌi u g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-ʌm-se yʌhã ai-nu  
 I that house-LOC-ABL here come-1s.PST  
 ‘I came here from/out of that house/building.’

But in 4b, the counterpart of 4a, only the ablative occurs.

- b. mʌi g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-se ai-nu  
 I home-ABL come-1s.PST  
 ‘I came from home.’

What is it that triggers the addition of the locative in 4a and not in 4b? In order to answer this question, we need to spell out the context in which both 4a and 4b would be grammatical answers. Imagine both 4a and 4b as providing an answer to the question, ‘Where did you come from?’ 4a would be a grammatical answer when the speaker has just come out of the house. In such an instance the house is seemingly viewed as a container and the starting point of the motion beginning inside this container (i.e., the house) is construed by the speaker as relevant to the conversation. Perhaps they were doing some work in the house that is relevant to the conversation, etc. In some ways the usage of the locative has a contrastive function. The speaker is saying, I was in the house just now before I came here, not anywhere else (that the hearer might be imagining as viable alternatives).

In 4b, by contrast, the speaker is perhaps some distance away from the house, say in the bazaar, many kilometers away from the village. In the speaker's mind, the person who is asking the question, 'Where did you come from?' has no interest in whether they come from inside the house, but rather whether they have come from their own village or some other village or the like. In 4b, the house/home is viewed as a point, or whole, and its relevance is in relationship to other possible points of origin.

Now let's imagine another situation similar to 4a, where the speaker has just come out of the house, and perhaps is still standing in the courtyard adjacent to the house. In this instance, it would be ungrammatical for the speaker to use just the ABL.

- c. \*mɪ u            g<sup>h</sup>ʌr-se yʌhã    ai-nu  
 I        that    house-ABL    here    come-1s.PST  
 'I came here from that house/building.'

We should note that in 4a-c, we could substitute 'gʌũ' for 'g<sup>h</sup>ʌr' and the same case marking with all its implications would apply, given that the same pragmatic factors are in place in each instance.

With respect to entities larger than a village, say a town, the occurrence of the LOC + ABL is very infrequent. In most cases where a named city or town is the point of origin, it is unusual to mark motion away from it with the double case marking, as shown in 5a-c.



- (5) a. m $\lambda$ i tulsipur-se ai-nu  
 I Tulsipur-ABL come-1s.PST  
 ‘I came from Tulsipur’
- b. \*m $\lambda$ i tulsipur-m $\Lambda$ -se ai-nu  
 I Tulsipur-LOC-ABL come-1s.PST  
 ‘I came from Tulsipur’
- c. \*m $\lambda$ i tulsipur-m $\Lambda$ -se nikr $\Lambda$ -nu  
 I Tulsipur-LOC-ABL come out of-1s.PST  
 ‘I came from Tulsipur’

However, if we speak of coming from the Tulsipur bazaar, which would be considered ‘inside’ of the city, the LOC marking occurs, but is most natural if the verb used in such a situation is *nikr $\Lambda$ na*:

- d. m $\lambda$ i tulsipur b $\Lambda$ jar-m $\Lambda$ -se nikr $\Lambda$ -nu  
 I Tulsipur-LOC-ABL come out of-1s.PST  
 ‘I came out of Tulsipur bazaar.’

In the Tharu world view, it appears that a larger place, such as a town or city, is not conceived of as a closed, contained entity with an inside and outside, but rather is construed as a whole when talking about it as a point of departure. In this sense the town or city is parallel to Ram in 3a above.

#### 5.1.1.4 Summary of LOC + ABL

In summary, the LOC + ABL compound case marking appears to be triggered when the point of origin of a particular motion or change of location has the feature +INSIDE/OUTSIDE in the case of enclosed container like things or places, or +ON/OFF in the case of surfaces like tables, etc. In other words, if the point of origin starts, or is construed as starting, inside of a container or place and ends up outside of said container/place (or starts on a surface and ends up off of it), then the LOC +

ABL marking is obligatory. Inanimate objects like water jugs or tables are always +INSIDE/OUTSIDE or +ON/OFF, no matter the pragmatics of the situation. In addition, for certain verbs, or at least for *nikrana* the LOC + ABL case marking is obligatory.

In contrast, the singular ABL case marking appears to be triggered when the point of origin of a particular motion has the feature –INSIDE/OUTSIDE. This is most obvious when a person is the point of origin in the motion of some object away from him/her, and the motion away is part of a reciprocal give-and-take of said object. In such a situation, there is no question of inside/outside. The person is a whole entity, and is seen as a point of origin as a whole, rather than having some kind of internal parts or structure relevant to the motion.

For places like a house or village the LOC + ABL marking is conditioned on the pragmatics of the situation, that is, whether the speaker is in an +INSIDE/OUTSIDE situation, such as just having come out of a house or village, or whether they are further away and therefore the place of origin is construed as a whole or point, rather than having an inside/outside distinction.

### 5.1.2 Genitive + Locative (GEN + LOC)

In 6a and b we have the encoding of location with just the Locative case marker ‘*ma*’ in what appears to be the unmarked instantiation:

- (6) a. *tebul-mΛ macc<sup>hi</sup> ba*  
 table-LOC fly is.EXT-3s.PRES  
 There is a fly on the table.
- b. *tebul-mΛ hila ba*  
 table-LOC mud is.EXT-3s.PRES  
 There is mud on the table.

In 6c-f, on the other hand, the double case marking of GEN + LOC encodes location.

- c. *surΛ-k-mΛ macc<sup>hi</sup> ba*  
 pig.m-GEN-LOC fly is.EXT-3s.PRES  
 There is a fly on the pig/boar.
- d. *surΛ-k-mΛ hila ba*  
 pig.m-GEN-LOC mud is.EXT-3s.PRES  
 There is mud on the pig/boar.
- e. *mwar-mΛ macc<sup>hi</sup> ba*  
 I.GEN-LOC mud is.EXT-3s.PRES  
 There is mud on the pig/boar.
- f. *mwar-mΛ hila lag-Λl*  
 I.GEN-LOC mud stick-3s.PST  
 There is a mud on me.

[Note: the GEN case, *-Λk* has several allomorphs, including *-k* as shown in 6c and d. Also, the GEN case when applied to pronouns is fused and therefore is not separated as shown in 6e and f above and 6h below]

From comparing these two sets of data, it is obvious that the GEN case occurs when the location of the subject is an animate/volitional being, whether human or animal.

One hypothesis that accounts for this ‘extra’ case marker in the case of 6d and f is that the default, unmarked situation is for an animate argument to fill the semantic role of AGENT and an inanimate argument (an object/place) to fill the role of LOCATION. Thus, an animate being filling the role of LOCATION is marked.

In 6c and e, a similar phenomenon could be at work. If we imagine an animacy hierarchy with humans at the top and insects somewhere near the bottom, then we might expect that a situation in which the insect is the AGENT and the human is the LOCATION to be a marked situation and thus be encoded morphosyntactically similarly to the cases just discussed.

But someone may ask, why the GEN case marker? One possible explanation is that an animate being is volitional and able to make choices, so the fact that it has something located in or on it, is different than if something were located in/on an inanimate thing, which cannot make choices. The animate being could even be construed as in some way ‘possessing’ whatever is located in/on it until it chooses to get it off.

Interestingly, this concept is encoded even for abstract things like virtues, etc. with the GEN + LOC marking on the “container” or location of the virtue, as shown below:

g. hukʌn<sup>h</sup>-ʌk-mʌ            rʌhʌ-pʌrʌnʌ            gun  
 they-GEN-LOCremain-DEO    virtue  
 They did not have the virtue which

*nʌi-rʌ-lʌhʌ-n*  
 NEG-remain-3p.PST-OBL  
 they should have.

h. hukrʌ wakʌr-mʌ            biswas nʌi-kʌr-lʌ  
 they 3s.GEN-LOC    believe NEG-do-3p.PST  
 They didn’t believe in/trust him.

### 5.1.2.1 Summary of GEN + LOC

The GEN + LOC case marking is triggered when an animate being becomes the location for either an inanimate object or substance or an animate being further down the animacy hierarchy. Such a situation is considered marked because an animate being is normally the AGENT and an object or place is the LOCATION and not the reverse as illustrated in the examples above.

### 5.2 Triple compounding (GEN + LOC + ABL)

Thus far, we have observed instances of double compounding which, though not widespread in IA, does occur in several other languages. But in Dangaura Tharu we also see instances of triple compounding as in 7a and b.

- (7) a.  $sur_{\Lambda}k-m_{\Lambda}se$   $macch^hi$   $ur-las$   
 pig.m-GEN-LOC-ABL fly fly-3s.OBL  
 A fly flew off of the boar.
- b.  $sur_{\Lambda}k-m_{\Lambda}se$   $d^hur$   $ur-las$   
 pig.m-GEN-LOC-ABL dust fly-3s.OBL  
 Dust flew off of the boar.

Further, we see that it is ungrammatical for there to be only the double case marker LOC + ABL:

- c.  $*sur_{\Lambda}m_{\Lambda}se$   $macch^hiur-las$   
 pig.m-LOC-ABL dust fly-3s.OBL  
 A fly flew off the boar.
- d.  $*sur_{\Lambda}m_{\Lambda}se$   $d^hur$   $urlas$   
 pig.m-LOC-ABL dust flew  
 Dust flew off the boar.

A question that we should ask ourselves is: is the triple marker a function of (GEN + LOC) + ABL or GEN + (LOC + ABL)? From comparing 6c with 7a it seems quite clear that it

is a function of (GEN + LOC) + ABL. It is also possible that it may be a merger or overlap of sorts of the two. So, in essence, the triple marking occurs when an animate/volitional argument has another argument located 'on' or 'in' it which is either inanimate or further down the animacy hierarchy. Further, this inanimate/lower animacy argument then moves away or is moved away from its 'location'.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper we have looked at compound case marking in Dangaura Tharu and have shown that Dangaura Tharu is typologically unique in IA as a whole in that it features a prolific use of double compounding of Layer II case markers (primarily LOC + ABL and GEN + LOC), and even instantiates obligatory triple case marking (GEN + LOC + ABL). It appears that the trigger for LOC + ABL double case marking is the feature +INSIDE/OUTSIDE or +ON/OFF, while the trigger for the GEN + LOC occurs when an animate being is the point of origin for either an inanimate thing or an animate being further down the animacy hierarchy. The triple compound, GEN + LOC + ABL, occurs as a result of a GEN + LOC situation with the addition of motion away from the animate being.

Further research, especially looking at semantic case frames of verbs and natural discourse in texts is needed to further expand and strengthen this analysis.

## Abbreviations

|     |               |      |                     |
|-----|---------------|------|---------------------|
| 1   | first person  | 3    | third person        |
| ABL | ablative case | Acc  | accusative case     |
| DEO | deontic mood  | EXT  | existential         |
| GEN | genitive case | LGH  | low grade honorific |
| LOC | locative case | m    | masculine           |
| NEG | negative      | OBL  | oblique             |
| p   | plural        | PRES | present tense       |
| PST | past tense    | s    | singular            |

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# PASSIVE LIKE CONSTRUCTION IN DARAI<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

Some of the features discussed in accounting for passive construction are verb morphology, case marking, word order, transitivity restrictions, restriction on tense, aspect, mood and verbal class, frequency of occurrence, discourse conditions and pragmatic functions etc. Prototypically, passive as a valence decreasing operation is accounted for in several studies. Keenan (1985) in a pioneering essay dealt with the features like 'topicalization', 'dislocation' etc. Payne (1997) describes the passive as 'demotion of agent and promotion of patient', in which process verb possesses 'language specific formal properties'. He explains the morphological passive is very common cross-linguistically.

This paper deals with the sentences which are like passive in Darai. This appears typologically interesting among minor Indo-Aryan languages in Nepal. It is difficult to claim whether Darai has prototypical passive structure for two reasons. Firstly, Darai does not have specific verb morphology to mark the passive. Secondly, the language does not have any regular periphrastic passive construction either. Although many Indo-Aryan languages have passive constructions either morphologically or periphrastically, Darai allows neither.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the revised paper read at 27th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal, Kathmandu. I would like to thank all who made critical comments on the first draft of my paper.



## 2. Basic clause structure

The clause structure of Darai is basically SOV. The subject is expressed by noun phrase (NP) which is also cross-referenced by a pronominal suffix that agrees with the noun. In this sense, Darai is predominantly dependent-marking language which also allows head-marking.

- (1) merə      bhai-m      əi-lə  
 I.GEN    brother-1SG    come-PST  
 'My brother came.'

## 2. Passive construction

We will analyze the data from Darai on the basis of Keenan (1985), Shibatani (1985) and Haspelmath (1990). Keenan (1985: 246) states that some languages of the world do not have passive at all. He describes the passiveless languages of the world. He includes Tamang, a Tibeto-Burman language in this category. Keenan (1985: 246) maintains:

It appears however that languages without passives have somewhat more grammaticalized means for expressing functional equivalents of basic passives. Perhaps the most common means is to use an active sentence with an 'impersonal' third plural subject. By impersonal here we mean simply that the third plural element is not understood to refer to any specific group of individuals.

- (2) veera                      ego                      ubili  
 Yesterday                  they                      killed (3PL)  
 'Yesterday they killed him' =  
 'Yesterday he was killed.' (Keenan 1985: 248)

A possibly less common alternative to passive is to eliminate the subject of the active. This possibility is also realized in some languages. Keenan highlights the fact that the semantics of passive can be achieved by eliminating the agent of the active construction.

Shibatani (1985: 837) characterizes passive prototype as: 'defocusing of agent', 'semantic valence' or valence reduction, and so on. He talks about the passive continuum and puts (1985: 837):

This kind of continuum is also seen between active and passive sentences...The facts that agents are defocused and the patients are placed in subject position indicate the form's passive nature, while the verb morphology retains transitive characteristics.

In these discussions, strict morphological passives are obtained by internal modification in the verb whereas periphrastic passives are achieved by means of 'auxiliary verbs' and so on.

Shibatani (1985: 822) talks about the continuum for the analysis of passive and sentences which are like passive. He further adds that it is not necessary to say whether a sentence is passive or not:

...a description must be offered in terms of how such a construction is similar to or different from the prototypical passive. This view requires a definition of a passive prototype against which a questionable construction can be measured. Further, this view of grammar considers that various constructions exist along a continuum; certain ones are prototypical, others are similar to the prototype to a limited degree, and still others share no similarities with the prototype.

He also mentions an example a sentence which is like passive (from Kimbundu). The sentence (3) is passive to the extent that agent is defocused and the patient is placed in subject position. The verb morphology is transitive, however.

- (3) wan re-liila-O ree-i (kwa mame)  
John they-kill-him by me  
'John was killed by me.'

Haspelmath (1990) summarized the rules for passive constructions. He says that passive marker is attached to verb in several languages of the world. Therefore, passive marker is considered an essential element in 'morphological passive'.

### 3. Passive in Indo-Aryan languages

We will briefly try to how passive constructions are achieved in some Indo-Aryan languages in Nepal. It is achieved by morphological means (Sharma 1980) in Nepali, but passive construction is also related to volitionality. In Maithili it is achieved by periphrastic construction (Yadav 1997). In Marathi, passive is possible with only one class of verb among four categories of verbs (Joshi 1993). Personal and impersonal passives are common in Kashmiri (Wali and Koul 1997) and two main types of passives are common in Punjabi (Bhatia 1993). Thus, passivization is not the same in all Indo-Aryan languages. In this context Masica (1991: 316-17) states, "The initial raw material for the NIA system comes as usual from Sanskrit – from the passive in {-ja}... in MIA, the passive developed as -ijja. Marwari, siraiki -ij-, Sindhi -i-, ... NIA languages turned to periphrastic methods of expressing a passive..." This gives a general picture that the passive can be made by both morphological and periphrastic means.

### 4. Some passive like sentences in Darai

We will briefly see some examples of passive sentences found in Darai. We can change a sentence into passive neither morphologically nor by periphrastic construction. Verb agreement (appendix) reveals that there is verb agreement between the subject and verb.

- (4) a. hame citwən-jē dərāi-səb pau-ta-hī  
 we Chitwan-LOC Darai-PL find-NPST-1PL  
 'We find Darais in Chitwan.'

- b. *citwən-jǝ      dərəi-səb pau-ta-hĩ*  
 Chitwan-LOC Darai-PL find-NPST-1PL  
 'Darais are found in Chitwan'.'  
 = (We) find Darais in Chitwan
- (5) a. *hamrə              dzənmə              pərəmpərə*  
                     we.GEN              birth and death  
  
*əru-se              phərək              pau-ta-hĩ*  
 other              different              find-NPST-1PL  
 'The birth tradition of Darai is found different from others.'
- b. *ama-kə              masu      k<sup>h</sup>u-wa-ta-hĩ*  
 mother-DAT meat eat-CAUS-NPST-1PL  
 'The mother is given meat.'
- c. *bəʃi-čawa-kə              sat      dinə-jǝ*  
 girl-child-GEN              seven      day-LOC  
  
*uʃhəuni              kər-ta-hĩ*  
 naming ceremony              do-NPST-1PL  
 'The naming ceremony of a girl is done on the seventh day.'

The examples (4a and 5a-c) show that the agent is eliminated whereas the patients are taken to the subject position without altering verb morphology. We observe that there is no change in verb morphology in passive sentences. If the sentences in (4a) and (5a-c) are placed in active/passive continuum they are slightly on the passive side. The facts that agents are defocused and the patients are placed in subject position indicate the passive nature of the sentences.

According to Keenan (1985: 255–256) passives may exhibit different agreement patterns from corresponding active constructions: passive verbs may fail to agree with their subjects completely, or they may have a different set of

agreement affixes from active verbs. Agreement is also used to distinguish between personal and impersonal passives. However, in the examples mentioned above, there is no change in verb morphology.

As Keenan points out, although passive marking on verb is widespread throughout the languages, it is not only the central to the characterization of passive morphology. The passive in Darai would pose a problem in this case.

In fact, Darai does not have a prototypical passive sentences. However, it seems as if passive sentences are gradually nativized into the language. Let us consider the examples (6a-d):

- (6) a. dzəgga        bec-i-lə  
 Land            sell-PASS-PST  
 'The field was sold.'
- b. tirija         dekh-i-lə  
 star            see-PASS-PST  
 'The star was seen.'
- c. sor    kaʈ-i-lə  
 pig    cut-PASS-PST  
 'The pig was cut.'
- d. dzhəgəɖa    məcc-i-lə  
 quarrel        start-PASS-PST  
 'The quarrel was started.'

The examples (6) reveal that the morpheme *-i* codes a passive marker which appears very rarely. This is also restricted to the past tense. It is difficult to say exactly how this morpheme is accepted in examples (6a-c), but we may hypothesize that this might be a borrowing from other languages like Nepali.

- (7) \*a. chipa        mas-i-lə  
 plate            clean-PASS-PST  
 'The plate was cleaned.'

\*b. ghās                      kaɽ-i-lə  
    grass                      cut-PASS-PST  
    'The grass was cut.'

It is interesting to note that the same verb gets passivized in (6c), but not with (7b). The examples reveal that there is no prototypical passive in Darai. The meaning is expressed simply by other means. Since Darai has imbibed influences from some Tibeto-Burman languages, the lack of prototypical passive may also be attributed to this.

## 5. Conclusion

A few arguments may be made to state that Darai lacks prototypical passive sentences, and label this kind of passive as indefinite, impersonal or suppressive. We present syntactic evidences to show that passive in Darai displays only a few key features we would expect from a prototypical passive sentences.

A few facts claim that there is no prototypical passive in Darai. Firstly, no passive marker is found in Darai. Secondly, Darai does not allow periphrastic construction to change a sentence into passive. Thirdly, in many places, passive meaning is achieved simply by demoting the agent and promoting the patient without altering verb morphology. Therefore, there is passive without passive morphology in the Darai language.

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## Appendix

### Verb agreement in the non-past tense in Darai

Table 3: Inflection of the verb 'to bring' *anike* in the non-past tense

|               | Singular | Plural      |
|---------------|----------|-------------|
| First person  | an-tə-m  | an-ta-hī    |
| Second person | an-tə-s  | an-tahə-səb |
| Third person  | an-i-t   | an-tahə-səb |



# COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HINDI AND PUNJABI LANGUAGE SCRIPTS

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## 1. Introduction

Hindi and Punjabi are closely related languages. Both the languages are originated from Sanskrit (Masica 1991). The Punjabi language is mostly used in the region of Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Himachal Pardesh, Jammu & Kashmir and in some areas of Pakistan namely Punjab, Sindh and Blochistan. On the other hand, Hindi is a national language of India and is spoken and used by the people all over the country. But the main regions are Haryana, Uttar Pardesh, Rajasthan, Bihar and Chattisgarh. The script of the Hindi language is Devanagari and the script of the Punjabi language is Gurmukhi. In this paper, closeness between Hindi and Punjabi languages is explained which includes script, consonants, vowels, conjunct consonants, numerals, punctuation, abbreviations, alphabetic orders in both the languages.

## 2. Writing system

Writing System is a form of human communication by means of a set of visible marks that are related, by convention, to some particular structural level of language. The writing is in principle the representation of language rather than a direct representation of thought and the fact that spoken language has a number of levels of structure, including sentences, words, syllables, and phonemes (the smallest units of speech used to distinguish one word or morpheme from another), any one of which a writing system can “map onto” or represent.

The invention of the first writing systems is roughly contemporary with the beginning of the Bronze Age in the

late Neolithic of the late 4th millennium BC. The oldest-known forms of writing were primarily logographic in nature, based on pictographic and ideographic elements. Most writing systems can be broadly divided into three categories: logographic, syllabic, and alphabetic (or segmental). A logogram is a single written character which represents a complete grammatical word. Most Chinese characters are classified as logograms. In syllabic writing system, a syllabary is a set of written symbols that represent (or approximate) syllables, which make up words. Devanagari and Gurmukhi come under the category of syllabic writing system. In alphabetic writing system, an alphabet is a small set of *letters* — basic written symbols — each of which roughly represents or represented historically a phoneme of a spoken language.

The true origin of writing in India has not been ascertained yet nevertheless scholars believe that the starting point was the Brahmi script used in the inscriptions of emperor Asoka (300 BC). It is, however, known that reference to writing is seen in the ancient scriptures of India, which have also defied proper dating.

Devanagari and Gurumukhi are descendants of Brahmi. Devanagari writing system is ultimately an off-shoot of North Indian variety of Brahmi Script of undertermined origin.

### 3. Script and language

#### 3.1 Gurmukhi script

Gurmukhi Script, derived from the Sharada script and standardized by Guru Angad Dev in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was designed to write the Punjabi Language (Gill and Gleason 1963). The word Gurmukhi is commonly translated as “from the mouth of Guru”. However, the term used for the Punjabi script has somewhat different connotations. The opinion given by traditional scholars is that as the Sikh holy writings, before they were scribed, were uttered by the Gurus, they came to be

known as Gurmukhi or the “Utterance of the Guru”. And consequently, the script that was used for scribing the utterance was also given the same name. However, the prevalent view among Punjabi linguists is that as in the early stages the Gurmukhi letters were primarily used by Gurmukhs, or the Sikhs devoted to the Guruy, the script came to be associated with them. Another view is that as the Gurmukhs, in accordance with the Sikh belief, used to mediate on the letter ਵ, ਚ, ਗ, ਚ which jointly forms ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ or God in Sikhism, these letters were called Gurmukhi or the “Speech of the Gurmukhs”. Subsequently, the whole script came to be known as Gurmukhi.

Like most of the north indian writing systems, the Gurmukhi script is a descendent of the Brahmi script. It is believed that Gurmukhi script was invented by the second Sikh Guru, Guru Angad Dev. However, it would be correct to say that the script was standardized rather than invented by the Sikh Gurus. E. P. Newton (Panjabi Grammar, 1898) writes that at least 21 Gurmukhi characters are found in ancient manuscripts : 6 from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, 12 from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and 3 from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Apparently, the first Sikh Guru, Guru Nanak Dev also used the Gurmukhi script for his writings. The usage of Gurmukhi letters in Guru Granth Sahib meant that the script developed its own orthographical rules. In the following epochs, Gurmukhi became the prime script applied for literary writings of the Sikhs. Later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the script was given the authority as the official script of the Eastern Punjabi Language. Meanwhile, in Western Punjab a form of the Urdu script, known as Shahmukhi, is still in use.

Gurmukhi is a form of writing system called an Abugida, as each consonant has an inherent vowel (a) that can be changed using vowel signs. Modern Gurmukhi has forty one consonants (Vianjans), nine vowel symbols (Laga Matra), two symbols for nasal sounds (Bindi and Tippi) and one symbol

which duplicates the sound of any consonant (Adddak). In addition, four conjuncts are used : three subjoined forms of the consonants Rara, Haha and Vava and one half-form of Yayya. Use of conjunct forms of Vava and Yayya is increasingly scarce in modern contexts. Gurmukhi has been adapted to write languages, such as Sanskrit, Hindi and Braj Bhasha.

### 3.2 Devanagari script

The Devanagari script, used for writing Sanskrit and other Indian languages, had evolved over a period of more than two thousand years. Devanagari emerged around 1200 AD out of the Siddham script, gradually replacing the earlier, closely related Sharada script (which remained in parallel use in Kashmir). Both are immediate descendants of the Gupta script, ultimately deriving from the Brāhmī script attested from the 3rd century BC; Nagari appeared in approximately the 8th century as an eastern variant of the Gupta script, contemporary to Sharada, its western variant. The descendants of Brahmi form the Brahmic family, including the alphabets employed for many other South and South-East Asian languages.

*Nāgarī* in Sanskrit is the feminine of *nāgara*. The feminine form is used because of its original application to qualify the feminine noun *lipi* "script". There were several varieties in use, one of which was distinguished by affixing *deva* "divine, deity" to form a tatpurusha compound meaning the "divine urban(e) [script]". However, the widespread use of "Devanagari" is a relatively recent phenomenon; well into the twentieth century, and even today, simply "Nagari" was (and is) also in use for this same script. The rapid spread of the usage of "Devanagari" seems to also be connected with the almost exclusive use of this script in colonial times (particularly by European scholars) to publish works in Sanskrit (held by many to be the language of the gods), even

though traditionally nearly all indigenous scripts have actually been employed for this language. This has led to the establishment of such a close connection between the script and Sanskrit that it is erroneously widely regarded as "the Sanskrit script" today.

#### 4. Consonants

There are thirty three basic consonantal signs in Devanagari script and thirty five in Gurmukhi script which are as follows. In the following table, the correspondence between basic consonants in both the scripts are presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1 : Basic Consonants

|            |     |    |    |       |   |
|------------|-----|----|----|-------|---|
| Devanagari | क   | ख  | ग  | घ     | ङ |
| Gurmukhi   | ਕ   | ਖ  | ਗ  | ਘ     | ਙ |
| Devanagari | च   | छ  | ज  | झ     | ञ |
| Gurmukhi   | ਚ   | ਛ  | ਜ  | ਝ     | ਞ |
| Devanagari | त   | थ  | द  | ध     | न |
| Gurmukhi   | ਤ   | ਥ  | ਦ  | ਧ     | ਨ |
| Devanagari | ट   | ठ  | ड  | ढ     | ण |
| Gurmukhi   | ਟ   | ਠ  | ਡ  | ਢ     | ਣ |
| Devanagari | प   | फ  | ब  | भ     | म |
| Gurmukhi   | ਪ   | ਫ  | ਬ  | ਭ     | ਮ |
| Devanagari | य   | र  | ल  | व     |   |
| Gurmukhi   | ਯ   | ਰ  | ਲ  | ਵ     |   |
| Devanagari | श   | ष  | स  | ह     |   |
| Gurmukhi   | ਸ਼  | ਸ਼ | ਸ  | ਹ     |   |
| Devanagari | °ड़ | °उ | °अ | °इ. ए |   |
| Gurmukhi   | ੜ   | ਉ  | ਅ  | ੲ     |   |

The characters marked with \* symbol in the above Table 1 are not basic consonants. Basic alphabet ऋ is supplemented with a dot diacritic. In this chart, to show the corresponding transliteration for Devanagari basic consonant ऋ and ऌ, has been shown.

Similarly, the characters marked with \*\*symbol in the Table 1 above are not basic consonants. Basic alphabet ऍ is supplemented with a dot diacritic.

#### 4.1 Dead and Live Consonants

Devanagari employs a sign known in Sanskrit as the *virama* or vowel omission sign. In Hindi, it is called *hal* or *halant*, and that term is used in referring to the virama or to a consonant with its vowel suppressed by the virama. The virama sign (◌̣) nominally serves to cancel (or kill) the inherent vowel of the consonant to which it is applied. When a consonant has lost its inherent vowel by the application of virama, it is known as a *dead consonant*; in contrast, a *live consonant* is one that retains its inherent vowel or is written with an explicit dependent vowel sign. It is to note that there are no dead consonants in Gurmukhi Script.

#### 4.2 Consonant Conjuncts

The Indic scripts are noted for a large number of consonant conjunct forms that serve as orthographic abbreviations (ligatures) of two or more adjacent letter forms (Michael, 1986). This abbreviation takes place only in the context of a *consonant cluster*. An orthographic consonant cluster is defined as a sequence of characters that represents one or more dead consonants followed by a normal, *live* consonant letter.

Table 2: Conjunct Consonants

|             |        |      |      |      |
|-------------|--------|------|------|------|
| Devanagari  | ज़     | क्ष  | श्र  | त्र  |
|             | ज़् ज़ | क् श | श् र | त् र |
| ***Gurmukhi | ਗਿਅ    | ਕਸ਼  | ਸ੍   | ਤਰ   |

Corresponding to the consonants mentioned in Devanagari mentioned in Table 2, no corresponding consonant conjuncts in Gurmukhi script are present. But the corresponding transliterations have been shown in the Table 2.

In Table 1, the corresponding transliteration for Gurmukhi basic consonant ੜ, has been shown. Similarly, ਅ, ਙ, ਞ, ਤ are not considered consonants and just to show Devanagari equivalents of Gurmukhi ਓ, ਅ, ਓ has been mentioned in this chart.

Some of the basic alphabet is supplemented by the following letters with a dot diacritic:

Table 3

|            |    |    |    |    |    |          |    |    |
|------------|----|----|----|----|----|----------|----|----|
| Devanagari | क़ | ख़ | ग़ | ज़ | फ़ | ढ        | श/ | .. |
| Gurmukhi   | ਕ਼ | ਖ਼ | ਗ਼ | ਜ਼ | ਫ਼ | ੜ<br>ੜ੍ਹ | ਸ਼ | ਲ਼ |

In Gurmukhi, only three types of conjunct consonants are used. In all bases, a modified form of the second consonant is subjoined to the unaltered form of the first. In the first type, a form of ਚ is subjoined.

Table 4

| Base | Form | Devanagari Equivalent | Example |
|------|------|-----------------------|---------|
| ३    | ३    | ढ                     | प३      |
| ठ    | ठ    | न्हं                  | ठेर     |
| ल    | लु   | ल्ह                   | लु      |
| म    | मु   | म्ह                   | मैस     |

In the second type of conjunct, a form of ३ is subjoined to certain consonants, most commonly stops. These occur only in tatsamas (Those words that are directly borrowed from Sanskrit with little or no phonetic alteration) like प३, व३, म३ etc.

In Devanagari, when र is served as the second member of a cluster, it is indicated by a small diagonal slash (going in the opposite direction from that of the virama) written under the sign for the first member of a conjunct : क ष ढ र

When र is served as the first member of a conjunct, the sound is indicated by a small hook placed on the top of the rekha for the second consonant: के ई र्श र्मे . This hook is deferred until after any matra written to the right side of the conjunct like र्थी र्मी . In the third type of conjunct, a form of ३ is subjoined. For

example: मृ in Gurmukhi is written as स्व in Devanagari , Similarly, मृर in Gurmukhi is written as स्वर in Devanagari.

Several Devanagari conjunct are so irregular as to preclude the immediate recognition of their components. The most



important of these are क क्ष ज क द द्ध ञ . The consonant श has a special combining form श्र that is often used in place of श् in some clusters.(e.g. श्र, श्च) . Slightly irregular conjuncts exist in which ह stand as the first element (e.g. ह्र ह्र ह्र ह्र ह्र).

#### 4.3 Geminate (Doubled) consonants

In Gurmukhi, gemination is written by the sign ੳ (addak) above and before the consonant to be doubled. In Devanagri, doubled consonant cluster, gemination is written by writing the first component of the consonant cluster as the truncate form of the consonant (which is frequently built from the independent version of the latter consonant by the deletion of the vertical bar that appears on the right side of many Devanagri characters and the second component of the consonant cluster is, the unaltered full symbol for the second consonant. E.g. पक्की (ਪੱਕੀ in Gurmukhi), कच्चा (ਕੱਚਾ in Gurmukhi). Similarly, in Gurmukhi, clusters of unaspirated stop plus homorganic aspirate stop are written by the use of ੳ (addak) before the letter for the aspiration. In Devanagri, this cluster is written with the short form of unaspirated stop plus full form of homorganic aspirate stop. For example: अच्छा (ਅੱਛਾ in Gurmukhi), पक्खी पँधी in Gurmukhi).

In a small number of cases, the components of a consonants are sting out in a horizontal line (e.g. न्न ), arranged vertically or juxtaposed in some less regular manner ( द्ध, द्ध ). Similarly, in the Gurmukhi two geminates /nn/ and /mm/ are written with /tippi/ (ੳ) e.g. पँना (पन्ना in Devanagari) , पँमा (पम्मा in Devanagari).

It must be noted that there are no short forms like in Devanagari for consonants. So, while transliterating the short form of Hindi consonant, it is transliterated into full form of that consonant in Gurmukhi like मग्न in Devanagari will be transliterated into ਮਗਨ.

## 5. Vowels

Both the Scripts possess two different forms for each of the vowels - full form and short form.

### 5.1 Full form

In Devanagari, a full form is employed for a vowel that does not immediately follow a consonant or consonant cluster, i.e. in word-initial position or when the second of a sequence of vowels. Whereas in Gurmukhi, when a vowel is not preceded by a consonant, it is written with one of the three vowel bearers - consonant like signs – ਓ , ਅ , ਏ indicating the absence of consonant.

### 5.2 Short form (or *matra*)

In Devanagari, short form is used when the vowel immediately follows a consonant or consonant cluster. These short forms consist of lines, hooks or combination of both above, below or to the side of the consonantal characters. These vowels are written around ( that is, below, above, to the right, and to the left) the consonant signs.

The following table shows the both of the above forms of vowels for both the scripts and correspondence of the vowels between both the scripts are also shown.

Table 5

| Devanagari |           | Gurmukhi   |           |
|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Short Form | Full Form | Short Form | Full Form |
| No Sign    | अ         | No Sign    | ਅ         |
| ा          | आ         | ਾ          | ਆ         |
| ि          | इ         | ਿ          | ਇ         |
| ी          | ई         | ੀ          | ਈ         |
| ु          | उ         | ੁ          | ਉ         |
| ू          | ऊ         | ੂ          | ਊ         |
| े          | ए         | ੇ          | ਏ         |
| ै          | ऐ         | ੈ          | ਐ         |
| ो          | ओ         | ੇ          | ਓ         |
| ौ          | औ         | ੌ          | ਔ         |
| ं          | ---       | ੰ / ੰ      | ---       |
| ँ          | ---       | ं / ੱ      | ---       |
| Conjunct   | ---       | ੱ          | ---       |
| ृ          | ---       | ੜ          | ----      |

### 5.3 Inherent a

One vowel, 'a' has no special short form. The absence of a *matra* adjacent to a consonant suffices to indicate the presence of this vowel. At the end of a word, the inherent 'a' is not normally vocalized.

#### 5.4 Nasalized vowels

The two signs are used for nasalization. In Devanagari, *anusvara* (ँ) and *anunasika* (ं) also called *candrabindu*. Indian grammarians have formulated rules for their usage. The first of these, *anusvara* is always used when the vowel marking protrudes above the rekha (e.g. ईँ, ऐँ, औँ, आँ). With other vowel signs, both *anusvara* and *anunasika* can be used. Whereas In Gurmukhi, *tippi* (ੰ) is used with (ਅ, ਊ, ਿ) and with (ੌ) when they come final position.

#### 6. Punctuation

Only *viraama* (।) or a double vertical line (||) was used in traditional writing for marking end of sentence and the end of a verse respectively. In modern writings, period, comma, hyphen, semicolon, exclamation sign, question mark and dash have also been used. Similarly, in Gurmukhi Script (।), *viram* is used at the end of the sentence.

#### 7. Abbreviation

Abbreviations are formed in Hindi by the use of either a small circle (◦) or a dot after the first syllable of the word to be abbreviated: प्रो◦, डा◦, ई◦, यू◦ whereas in Gurmukhi Script, sign (:) is used to mark abbreviation like ਪ੍ਰੋ: , ਡਾ:

#### 8. Numerals

The following chart shows the correspondence between the numerals of both the scripts:

Table 6

| Devanagari | Gurmukhi |
|------------|----------|
| ०          | ੦        |
| १          | ੧        |
| २          | ੨        |
| ३          | ੩        |
| ४          | ੪        |
| ५          | ੫        |
| ६          | ੬        |
| ७          | ੭        |
| ८          | ੮        |
| ९          | ੯        |

### 9. Alphabetic Order

The alphabetic order of Devanagari is a model of logic and rational design, reflecting a keen understanding of the phonetic properties of the sounds designated by the various characters in the system. In Devanagari, Vowels precede consonants with the latter divided up into groups containing stops and nasals, semi vowels, sibilants, and h respectively.

The full alphabetic order of Devanagari as used for Hindi is as follows:

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ए ऐ ओ औ क (क़) ख (ख़) ग (ग़) घ ङ च छ ज झ  
झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त्र थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल व श ष स ह

The full alphabetic order of Gurmukhi as used for Punjabi is as follows:

ਆ ਇ ਈ ਉ ਊ ਏ ਐ ਓ ਔ ਸ ਸ਼ ਹ ਕ ਖ ਖ਼ ਗ ਗ਼ ਘ ਙ ਚ ਛ ਜ ਜ਼ ਝ ਵ ਟ  
ਠ ਡ ਢ ਣ ਤ ਥ ਦ ਧ ਨ ਪ ਫ ਫ਼ ਬ ਭ ਮ ਯ ਰ ਲ ਲ਼ ਵ ਝ

In Hindi, sequence under each consonants is the letter without any symbol, then followed by vowel symbols ा, ि,ी, ु, ू, े, ै, ो, ौ

In Punjabi, Sequence under each consonant is the letter without any symbol, then followed by vowel symbols ਾ, ਿ,ੀ, ੁ, ੂ, ੇ, ੈ, ੋ, ੌ.

## 10. Conclusion

Hindi and Punjabi belong to the same sub-group of the Indo-European family and hence are closely related languages. Not only the languages are descendant of the same stock, but also their scripts are. The writing system of both the scripts is similar but there are some interesting and significant differences. These are not simply in the form of the letters, but in the structure of the writing system. Most interesting differences are those in the writing of initial vowels, geminate clusters, other clusters, and of course writing of tone. This comparative study for writing system is very beneficial and important during the development of Machine translation system from Hindi to Punjabi and vice versa.

## 11. Future Works

Researchers working in this field can use this comparison in machine translation system development. Moreover, this work can be extended to comparison of Hindi and Punjabi word inflections. Even this work can be taken as a basis for comparing the speech system of Hindi and Punjabi and other similar languages.

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## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN KAIKE AND TAMANGIC

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### 1. Introduction

Kaike is an indigenous language spoken by approximately one thousand people in the Dolpa district of Nepal.<sup>1</sup> The existence of the language has been well known in literature, e.g., Snellgrove (1989 [1961]), von Fürer-Haimendorf (1988 [1975]), Jest (1975), and Fisher (1987). However, the language has not been studied much linguistically, and, to date the main source of information on the language has been a word list collected by James Fisher, which is incorporated into Austin Hale's compilation (1973).<sup>2</sup> The words contained in the list are not phonologically transcribed; nevertheless, the list has enough data to lead us to suspect that Kaike is genetically very close to Tamangic languages.

My aim, in this paper, is to provide more data on Kaike, which was obtained in my own fieldwork on the language, and by doing so, to contribute toward a better understanding of its historical relation to Tamangic languages. More

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to David Watters for his invaluable comments during and after the 12th HLS, in Kathmandu. Discussions with him on the sound system of Kaike eventually led me to collect more data and to revise my earlier analysis of the Kaike phonological system that was presented in the symposium. Needless to say, I am alone responsible for any mistakes and faults.

<sup>2</sup> Honda (2004) provides ethnographic information on Kaike and presents a preliminary analysis on the sound system of the language.

specifically, this article will be devoted to an analysis of lexical items shared by Kaike and Tamangic languages.

## 2. Early classifications of Tamangic and Kaike

Tamangic is a language group belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family. In Shafer (1955), this language group is called Gurung Branch, and three languages, Gurung, Murmi, and Thaksya, the latter two being now more commonly known as Tamang and Thakali, are included in the group.<sup>3</sup> Later in his *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, Shafer defends his view by positing thirty-five lexical similarities shared by Gurung, Murmi, and Thaksya (1967: 126-7). Since then, the unity of the group has been widely accepted. It has generally been agreed by now that we should add to the group, at least, languages known as Manangba, Nar-Phu, Seke, and Chantyal (Mazaudon 1978, 1996; van Driem 2001; Noonan 2008c).

The similarity between Gurung and Tamang has been already recognized in Brandreth (1878) and Grierson (1909). In Grierson (1909: 180), Sten Konow further suggests that they are closely related to the Tibetan dialects. Shafer (1955) followed Konow by classifying the Tamangic group (i.e., his Gurung branch) into his Bodish Section, together with the Tibetan dialects and others, such as Takpa, Tsangla and Gyarong. As will be mentioned shortly, to date the proposition that Tamangic languages are close relatives of

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<sup>3</sup> The language group has also been known as ‘Tamang group’ (e.g., Nishi 1982, 1990), ‘Tamang-Gurung-Thakali’ or its abbreviated form, ‘TGT’ (e.g., Pittman and Glover 1970; Watters 2002), or ‘TGTM’, which is an abbreviated form of ‘Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manang’ (e.g., Mazaudon 1978, 1996, 2003).

Tibetan has rarely been questioned, albeit with Nishi (1990, 1991) as rare exceptions.

Meanwhile, the linguistic position of Kaike was estimated, probably for the first time, in Glover (1970) on the basis of a Kaike word list supplied by A.C. Day, which contains 38 words only. In this study, Glover groups Kaike together with Tibetan under the name of Bodish Branch, which is connected with the Tamangic group under a higher category called Bodish Section. Later, Glover changed his view on the position of Kaike when he made another lexicostatistic study in Glover (1974). This study uses a Swadesh 100 word list of Kaike supplied by David Watters and estimates that the cognate percentage between Kaike and Gurung, the latter representing the Tamangic group, is 39%, while Kaike and Tibetan show the same level of the cognate sharing, i.e., 40%. Based on these figures, Glover (ibid: 9) conjectures that Kaike, and also Ghale which shows 45% cognate percentage with Gurung and 33% with Tibetan, can be put somewhere between Tibetan and Tamangic.

A similar, yet, slightly different conclusion was drawn in Nishi (1990) and Nishi (1991). In these studies, Nishi made a careful examination of James Fisher's word list of Kaike. Although the list does not contain many important lexical items, it enabled him to suppose that Kaike is genetically close to the Tamangic group. He points out that Kaike vocabulary exhibits a number of cognates of the Tamangic words that he considered 'characterize the Tamang group [i.e., Tamangic] in one way or another' (Nishi 1990: 57). Among them are *pingma* 'green', *khārpā* 'dry', *rāngbo* 'see', *Diŋ* 'heart', *kāpā* 'rooster', *kāmā* 'hen', *kā'chā* 'chick' and *kā pum* 'egg'. In Nishi (1991: 91), some more Kaike lexical items are mentioned to support his view that Kaike is a close relative of

Tamangic, e.g., *mhyāmma* ‘black’, *mar* ‘gold’, *le* ‘leg’, *nam* ‘village’, and *rhup* ‘rope’. Those Kaike words led him to conclude, though tentatively, that Kaike and the Tamangic group constitute a language cluster, together with Ghale that shares very important lexical similarities with Tamangic and Kaike. This language cluster is then called ‘TGK’ (an abbreviated form of Tamang group, Ghale, and Kaike).<sup>4</sup>

Nishi (1991: 92) conjectures that Ghale is probably much closer to Tamangic than Kaike is. This is based partially on a lexicostatic study where Kaike and Ghale words are compared, not with Gurung words as in Glover (1974), but with the Proto-Tamangic forms that Nishi himself reconstructed. According to the study, the cognate sharing percentage on Swadesh 100 word list between Tamangic and Ghale is 51%, which is much higher than the figure given in Glover (1974), whereas the figure between Tamangic and Kaike is 37%, which is similar to or even less than the figure Glover (*ibid*) estimates.

Regarding the relation between the Tamangic group and Tibetan, Nishi is cautious. To those who propose the close genetic link between Tamangic and Tibetan on the basis of a large number of lexical correspondences between them, i.e., Shafer and Glover, he questions if those correspondences indeed indicate their close genetic relation. Nishi (1990: 56) states:

However, almost all the reconstructed PTam [Proto-Tamang] roots, included in Swadesh 100-word list and shared by

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<sup>4</sup> All of the Kaike forms mentioned in this paragraph are from the original articles, which are in turn cited from Fisher’s word list (Hale 1973). Phonological transcriptions for those words will be given in section 3.

Tamang group and either Tibetan or Burmese, or both, for instance, will probably go back to PTB, and thus if we should enlarge our list of basic roots for comparison, lexical correspondences alone would not be likely to lead to any decisive conclusion.

Nishi is unconvinced either by Thurgood (1985) which argues that the presence of a velar-initial second person singular pronoun is one piece of evidence for the unity of Bodish because within the Tibeto-Burman it is found in the Tibetan dialects (cf. WT *khyed*, *khyod*) and the Tamangic group (e.g., TU *kyāŋ*) and is thus a shared innovation. This is based on the assumption that a velar-initial second person singular pronoun is reconstructable for the Proto-Tamangic, but forms found in Eastern Tamang (cf. RI *ʔai*; Mazaudon 2003) and Western Tamang (cf. SA *ʔe:*) led Nishi to express his doubt on this reconstruction.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, he contends that the presence of a velar-initial second person singular pronoun alone does not constitute convincing evidence for subgrouping. Thus, in his opinion, ‘it is clear that all the so far proposed subgroupings of Tibetan and Tamang group as the collateral members need reconsideration’ (ibid: 58). On the other hand, he reserves judgment as to the relation among Tibetan, Kaike and Ghale because of the paucity of the data on the latter two.

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<sup>5</sup> I agree with Nishi who suspects that the velar initial pronouns, such as TU *kyāŋ*, and the forms found in RI and SA are from different origins because all of the former type are under either tone 3, e.g., MA *ʔki*, or tone 4, e.g., TU *kyāŋ*, both of which are basically (i.e., in many dialects) with a lax voice, or in the case of Chantyal *kfi*, it has a lax voice, whereas the latter two are under tone 2, which is with a clear voice.

The linguistic position of Kaike is mentioned or proposed in some other recent literature, such as Bradley (1997), van Driem (2001), and Watters (2002, 2003). In Bradley's classification, both Tamangic and Kaike (and Ghale as well) are members of his West Bodish subgroup, which is one of the three subgroups within the Bodish group (the other two subgroups are Central Bodish, which is made up of Tibetan dialects, and East Bodish, which includes various languages spoken in Bhutan, such as Bumthang). This classification of Kaike is similar to that of Nishi in the respect that Kaike (and Ghale) is not put into the Tamangic group itself but is linked to Tamangic under a higher-level category. However, they differ in two respects, at least. First, in the former Kaike and Ghale are given an equal status within West Bodish, whereas in the latter Ghale is regarded as being much closer to Tamangic than Kaike is. Second, Bradley's classification considers Kaike (and Ghale and Tamangic languages as well) to be genetically very close to Tibetan, Nishi has repeatedly expressed his reservations concerning the proposition that the closest neighbor of Tamangic languages, Kaike, and Ghale is Tibetan. Bradley (*ibid.*: 4) surmises that Kaike and Ghale are closer to Tibetan than Tamangic is and thus that they are 'perhaps transitional between West Bodish and Tibetan.' In these two respects, Bradley's classification is similar to that of Glover (1974).

An intimate connection between Kaike and Tamangic is proposed in the strongest way in van Driem (2001: 979) and Watters (2002: 15; 2003), both of which assert that Kaike is a member of the Tamangic group. This proposition can be viewed as resulting from an expansion of the notion 'Tamangic' to include Kaike; yet it should be noted that while he includes Kaike into the Tamangic group, van Driem (*ibid.*: 984) clearly states, 'Ghale is a language which appears to be

intermediate between Bodish and Tamangic.’ The exclusion of Ghale from the Tamangic group is in marked contrast to Bradley’s West Bodish, and particularly, to Nishi’s TGK where Ghale is considered to be much closer to Tamangic than Kaike is.

To sum up, Glover, Nishi, Bradley, van Driem, and Watters all suggest that Kaike is genetically very close to Tamangic languages.<sup>6</sup> Their views differ, but only as to the positions of Kaike and Tamangic relative of Tibetan and Ghale. The differences are in large part due to the paucity of the data on Kaike and Ghale, and this forced them to express some reservations on their classifications.

## 2. The language of Kaike

### 2.1. The location and the people

The language of Kaike is spoken in an area known as Tichyurong. In this area, a Tibetan dialect called Tichyurongbā (henceforth TI) is dominant, and Kaike is spoken only in five settlements, all of which are located on the left side of the Bheri river.<sup>7</sup> The main center of Tichyurong

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<sup>6</sup> After the 12th HLS, I found that quite a different view is expressed by Michael Noonan in his classification of Bodic languages (Noonan 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; 2008d). In this classification, Kaike is put, together with Kham, Magar, and Raji, into ‘Kham-Magar’ group, which is grouped together with ‘Newari’, ‘Hayu-Chepang’, ‘Thangmi-Baraam’, and ‘Kiranti’ under his Central Himalayish, while Tamangic languages and Ghale are grouped together with the Tibetan dialects under a higher order group called ‘Tibetic’.

<sup>7</sup> In Tichyurong, there is one village called Riwa where Nepali is spoken.

is Sahar Tārā (NEP; lit. ‘star town’), which is the biggest Kaike speaking village. The village is called Tarangpur in Fisher (1987), but my informants call it /tā:raŋ/ in Kaike (TI *bā*). Other Kaike speaking villages and settlements are TarākoT (NEP; lit. ‘star fort’; KE /coŋ/; TI *joŋ* ‘fort’), Tupa Tārā (NEP; KE /tumu/; TI *tupā*), Thā:ti (NEP; KE /sāmteliŋ/; TI *sāmteliŋ*) and Beluwa (NEP; KE /beltān/; TI *belden*).<sup>8</sup>

Most people in Tichyurong villages identify themselves as Magars. However, they clearly recognize that they are ethnically distinct from those who speak *Magarkura* (i.e., Magar language) and those who speak *Khamkura* (i.e., Kham language) and call themselves (and are known by outside people as) Tārāli or Tārāli Magar. Clan names (as they understand by the Nepali term *jāt*) found in Tichyurong include *Burā*, *Rokaya*, *Garti*, *Rānā*, and *Banāri* (cf. Fisher 1987: 211-2, fn. 27).

The Kaike speaking people do not constitute an endogamous group, and marriages with a Tichyurongbā speaking spouse are not rare instances. This is particularly so with a spouse from Gomba Tārā (NEP; KE /kommā/, lit. ‘monastery’; TI *Dikhung*), a nearby village where, Dānsā, the main monastery of Tichyurong, is situated. Fisher (1987: 43) thus states ‘The three Kaike-speaking villages of Tarangpur, Tupa, and Tarakot, plus Gomba village are, taken as a unit, relatively endogamous.’ As a consequence, many of the Kaike

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<sup>8</sup> The latter two, i.e., Thā:ti and Beluwa, are small settlements and are thus not mentioned in Fisher (1987).



speakers are trilingual - Kaike, Tichyurongbā, and Nepali, although fluency varies from individual to individual.

## 2.2. Phonology and transcriptions

The Kaike lexical items presented in this paper are all phonologically transcribed.<sup>9</sup> In Kaike, there are 6 short vowels, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ā/, and /a/. Vowel length is contrastive, and nasalization occurs on all of the six vowels. Besides, there are eight diphthongs, /ui/, /oi/, /oə/, /oe/, /ai/, /āi/, /au/, and /āu/.

For the word-initial consonant, the following system of contrasts is recognized.

Table 1: Initial consonants in Kaike<sup>10</sup>

|                       |                |                |                |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| unaspirated stop      | p              | t              |                | k              |
|                       | b              | d              |                | g              |
| aspirated stop        | p <sup>h</sup> | t <sup>h</sup> |                | k <sup>h</sup> |
| unaspirated affricate |                |                | c              |                |
|                       |                |                | j              |                |
| aspirated affricate   |                |                | c <sup>h</sup> |                |
| fricative             |                | s              |                | h              |
| nasal                 | m              | n              |                | ŋ              |
| voiceless liquid      |                | L              |                |                |
| voiced liquid         |                | l              | r              |                |
| voiced glide          |                |                | y              | w              |

<sup>9</sup> The phonological analysis presented in the 12th HLS was abandoned after the symposium, and a revised analysis is adopted in the current article.

<sup>10</sup> The glottal stop is heard in several monosyllabic words, but since its status is still not totally clear, it is not included in this chart.

In Fisher's word list, there are many words whose initials are written by the capital *T* or *D*, e.g., *Tai* 'what', *Tangpu* 'tree', *Tyu* 'water', *Tuppā* 'smoke', *Ding* 'heart', but it turned out that all of them are /t/, i.e., /tai/ 'what', /taŋpu/ 'tree', /tyu/ 'water', /tuppā/ 'smoke', and /diŋ/ 'heart'. The letters *ch* and *chh* found in Fisher's list regularly correspond to /c/ and /c<sup>h</sup>/, which is a usual exercise when Nepali is transcribed in alphabet; e.g., *chā* 'salt' and *chham* 'hair' in Fisher's list are, in my analysis, /cā/ and /c<sup>h</sup>am/.

The maximal syllable template in Kaike can be represented as (C<sub>1</sub>) (C<sub>2</sub>) V (V) (C<sub>3</sub>), where a glide /y/ (and only marginally /w/ and /r/ also) can occur in the C<sub>2</sub> position.

The analysis of the suprasegmental system of Kaike is still under way. In the 10th Himalayan Linguistics Symposium held in Thimphu, Bhutan, I presented a preliminary analysis on the sound system of Kaike (Honda 2004) and reported that Kaike is a tonal language. However, the tonal analysis presented at that time and also in the 12th HLS, in 2006, was revised, and the revised analysis should be discussed in detail somewhere else. In this paper, therefore, no suprasegmental feature will be described, yet, for the sake of comparison with Tamangic languages, it should be mentioned that the Kaike tone system is not the same as the modern Tamangic tone system, nor as the old Tamangic three manner/two-tone system proposed by Mazaudon (1976, 1978), from which the modern Tamangic two manner/four tone system is considered to have evolved.

### 3. Lexical correspondences between Kaike and Tamangic

This section presents a list of lexical correspondences between Tamangic and Kaike and examines to what extent each pair

can be considered as evidence for supporting a genetic link between them.<sup>11</sup>

As mentioned above, Shafer (1967: 126-7) presents thirty-five lexical similarities shared by Tamang, Gurung and Thakali that he believed indicate a close genetic link. In his view, those lexical items are ‘stems for which no parallels have been found in other Sino-Tibetan languages, and which at the same time further illustrate the unity of the [Tamangic] group’ (ibid: 126). However, as Nishi (1991: 81, 123-126, fn. 36) points out, some of the lexical correspondences should be discounted because they are either 1) found in many other TB languages, or 2) relatively recent borrowings from a neighboring language.<sup>12</sup> Despite this shortcoming, the list provides us

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<sup>11</sup> In this paper, the following abbreviations for languages and language groups will be used (sources of information are also indicated); CP: Chepang (Hale 1973; Watters 2003); HPTB: Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Matisoff 2003); KE: Kaike (my own data); KH: Kham (Watters 2003; 2004); MA: Marpha (Mawatan Thakali; Georg 1996); MG: Magar (Hale 1973; Watters 2003); MN: Manangba (Hildebrandt 2004; my own data); NEP: Nepali (Turner 1996 [1931]); PKH: Proto-Kham (Watters 2004); PLB: Proto-Lolo-Burmese (Matisoff 2003); PST: Proto-Sino-Tibetan (Matisoff 2003); PTAM: Proto-Tamangic; RI: Risiangku (Eastern Tamang; Mazaudon 1973; Others); SA: Sahu (Western Tamang; Hale 1973; Others); SM: Southern Mustang Tibetan (Kretschmar 1995); STC: Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Benedict 1972); SY: Syang (Yhulkasom Thakali; my own data); TA: Tangbe (Seke; my own data); TAM: Tamangic; TE: Tetang (Seke; my own data); TI: Tichyurongbā (my own data); TIB: Tibetan; TU: Tukche (Tamang Thakali; Hale 1973); WB: Written Burmese; WT: Written Tibetan (JYaschke 1881); ZH: Zhangzhung.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, [buffalo] (Gurung *mai*; cf. GH *ma'gi*, *mu'i*, *mu'gi*, *ma'i*, *mai*; Murmi, i.e., Tamang *mahi*; cf. SA *²maki*; RI *²mahi*;

with a number of lexical correspondences that appear to support, quite strongly, a genetic affiliation among Tamangic languages.

What is important in our discussion on the relation between Tamangic and Kaike is the fact that Kaike also shares some of those correspondences. The number of such examples is not so large, but they constitute a set of evidence that most strongly support a genetic relation between Kaike and Tamangic.<sup>13</sup>

|           | KE  | TAM                 | Others  |
|-----------|-----|---------------------|---|
| [1] gold  | mar | RI <sup>4</sup> mar | ZH mar; cf. STC *tsyak=*tśak                    |
| [2] cow   | mi  | RI <sup>4</sup> me  |   |
| [3] blood | ka: | RI <sup>2</sup> ka: | WT khrag; cf. SM Thak;<br>STC *s-hwy = *s-hyway |

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Thaksya, i.e., Thakali *mai*) and [slave] (Gurung *ghe-ba*; cf. GH *keb*; Tamang *kya-pa*; cf. RI <sup>4</sup>*kyapa*; cf. TA <sup>4</sup>*kyappa*) are probably relatable to WT *ma-he* ‘buffalo’ or NEP *mahiṣ* ‘buffalo bull’ (cf. Sanskrit *mahiṣa*-) and to WT *g-yog-po* ‘servant’, respectively (while TA <sup>4</sup>*yokpo* must be a much more recent borrowing from a neighboring Tibetan dialect; cf. SM *jōkpo*). Another example is *hansa* ‘duck’, a form found both in Gurung and Tamang (cf. RI <sup>2</sup>*haṅsa*), which is most likely to be from NEP *hās* ‘duck’.

<sup>13</sup> In this paper, I do not attempt to reconstruct the Proto-Tamangic forms, with which Kaike forms should be compared, but, instead, one (or often more than one) of the forms found in the group will be presented. In many cases, the presented form(s) are those that can be considered to be the most conservative among the group.

|                   |       |       |   |
|-------------------|-------|-------|---|
| [4] <sup>14</sup> | black | myān- | SA <sup>2</sup> mלאָ PST *s-mאָ = *s-mאַ;<br>HPTB *ha:ŋ |
| [5]               | red   | lo:-  | SA <sup>2</sup> wלאָ<br>TU <sup>2</sup> ola             |
| [6]               | green | piŋ-  | RI 'piŋ PKH *piŋ; MG phi-; CP pli-;<br>STC *s-riŋ       |

The KE and TAM forms for [3] ‘blood’ may have a link to WT *khrag*, but the lack of the aspiration in them appears to indicate that its relation, if any, is only distant.

The correspondence found in [4] ‘black’ is probably specific to Kaike and Tamangic (and also in Ghale; cf. Nishi (1982)). Although the KE form does not contain the medial *l* that the SA form has, the glide *y* in the C<sub>2</sub> position seems to indicate that the immediate relative of the TAM form is the Kaike form *myān-*, but not forms like Tangkhul *maŋ* ‘black’, Lushai *màaŋ* ‘black’, on which PTB \**ha:ŋ* ‘black’ (Matisoff 2003:268) is based, nor WB *maŋ*, *hmaŋ* ‘ink’, Old Chinese *mək* ‘ink’, *xmək* ‘black’ (ibid: 522), on which PST \**s-maŋ* = \**s-mak* ‘black’ is based.

The other lexical similarities, [1] ‘gold’, [2] ‘cow’, [5] ‘red’, and [6] ‘green’ are also unique, and the Kaike and Tamangic forms are not readily comparable to the PTB roots. It should be noted, however, that, as far as [1] and [6] are concerned, the similarities are shared by some other languages; i.e., in the

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<sup>14</sup> For the sign indicating ‘A and B are co-alloforms of a single etymon’ which is used in Matisoff (2003), this paper uses = sign instead.

case of [1] ‘gold’, ZH *mar*, and in the case of [6] ‘green’, KH (PKH) \**piŋ*, MG *phi-* and CP *pli-*.

The next set of lexical correspondences include those which Nishi mentioned in his articles as examples supporting the unity of the Tamangic group and also indicating a special link between Kaike and Tamangic.

|                         | KE      | TAM   | Others   |
|-------------------------|---------|---|--|
| [7] milk cow            | ne-     | SA <sup>3</sup> nye-  |  |
| [8] thread              | rup     | TA <sup>H</sup> Rup<br>RI <sup>2</sup> Tup                  | HPTB * <i>krəw</i> , * <i>kriŋ</i> ; WB <i>khrañ</i> ,<br><i>krûi</i>                    |
| [9] heart               | diŋ     | RI <sup>1</sup> tiŋ   | STC * <i>s-niŋ</i> ; Kinnauri <i>stiŋ</i> ; cf.<br>WT <i>snyiŋ</i> ; SM <i>ñiŋ</i>       |
| [10](be) dry            | khār-   | SA <sup>1</sup> khar-<br>TU <sup>2</sup> khar-              | cf. Manchad <i>kar-</i> ; STC * <i>kan</i> ,<br>* <i>kaŋ</i> ‘dry up’                    |
| [11] <sup>15</sup> snow | liŋ     | RI <sup>4</sup> kliŋ  | cf. STC * <i>kyam</i>  |
| [12] hen                | kā:     | RI <sup>1</sup> naka<br>TA <sup>H</sup> nā <sup>H</sup> khā | cf. HPTB * <i>k-rak</i> ‘fowl, chicken’  |
| [13] egg                | kā:-pum | RI <sup>2</sup> phum  |  |
| [14] lay eggs           | phum-   | SA <sup>2</sup> phum-                                       | PKH * <i>pum</i> , MG <i>puŋ-</i> , CP<br><i>ʔumʔot-</i> ‘(of a hen) to brood or<br>set’ |

For [8] ‘thread’, the Tamangic group has forms with the voiceless liquid initial, e.g., TA <sup>H</sup>*Rup*, TU <sup>H</sup>*Rup* (Mazaudon 1978), and those with the retroflex initial, e.g., MN <sup>2</sup>*Tu*, RI

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<sup>15</sup> Nishi (1991: 120, fn. 24) mentions Thebor *əŋ* and Rangpa *aŋ* ‘snow’ as possible cognates of the Kaike and Tamangic forms for ‘snow’.

<sup>2</sup>*Tup*, and because of this, to date two PTAM forms, *\*srup* (Nishi 1991:91) and *\*trup<sup>B</sup>* (Mazaudon 1978: 175), have been reconstructed. However, there seems to exist another possibility that both types of the modern Tamangic forms and Kaiké *rup* resulted from an early *\*kr-* cluster (cf. HPTB *\*krəw*, *\*kriŋ*, Note, however, STC *\*s-kra* > TAM, e.g., SA *'kra* ‘head’, RI *'kra* ‘hair’).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> As to retroflex stops found in the modern TB languages, Matisoff (2003: 22) states, ‘Most of these retroflex stops derive from TB clusters of \*velar-plus-liquid.’ His reconstruction of PTB *\*krəw*, *\*kriŋ* ‘thread, plait’ is based on this observation and forms like WB *khrañ* and *krûi* ‘thread, string, chain’ (ibid: 199). The reconstruction of *\*sr-* is also in accordance with Matisoff’s (ibid: 53) observation that ‘... voiceless resonants (hl, hr, hw, hy) in TB languages generally derive from \*resonants preceded by the \*s- or \*ʔ- prefix.’ However, the development of *R* from an old *kr-* cluster is attested in some of the modern Tibetan dialects. In modern Tibetan dialects, the developments WT *kr-* > *T* and WT *kr-* > *R* are both attested. In Southern Mustang, a Tibetan dialect spoken in the Upper Mustang, Nepal (Kretschmar 1995), for instance, WT *dkr-*, *bkr-* developed into the retroflex *T*, e.g., WT *dkrug-* > *Tük-* ‘to stir’; WT *bkra-shis* > *Tāši* ‘blessing’, whereas WT *skr-* resulted in the voiceless liquid *R*, e.g., WT *skra* > *Ra* ‘the hair of the head’. In other dialects, e.g., in Kyirong (Huber 2002), WT *dkr-*, *bkr-*, and *skr-* all ended up *T*, e.g., WT *skra* > *Tā* ‘hair’. This may explain the variation found in Tamangic languages for ‘to swell’; i.e., TA <sup>H</sup>*Rāŋ-*; CH, TE, SY <sup>H</sup>*Raŋ-*; MA <sup>ʔ</sup>*Raŋ-*; TU <sup>ʔ</sup>*Rāŋ-*; MN <sup>H</sup>*Taŋ-*; SA, RI <sup>ʔ</sup>*Taŋ-* (cf. WT *skraŋ-ba* ‘to swell’; SM *Raŋ-*), although Nishi (1990:66) reconstructs PTAM *\*sraŋ*. There is one more example where *R* in Seke and Thakali corresponds to *T* in Manangba,

The Kaike and Tamangic forms for [9] ‘heart’ are suspected to be reflexes of the PTB form (STC) *\*s-niŋ* ‘heart’ and to have gone through an innovation shared by Kaike and Tamangic (and Ghale; *tiŋ* ‘heart’). However, unlike Kinnauri, a West Himalayish language spoken in Northern India, where there are other instances to indicate the development *\*sn- > st-* (Shafer 1967: 134; Nishi 1991: 82, 130, fn. 43), there is little foundation in Tamangic and Kaike to support this type of development.<sup>17</sup>

There are many other lexical correspondences between Kaike and Tamangic. The following Kaike and Tamangic words are probably reflexes of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms, and their cognates are widely attested in many other TB languages.

|                  | KE   | TAM                  | Others   |
|------------------|------|----------------------|--|
| [15] excrement   | khyi | RI <sup>1</sup> kli  | STC <i>*kliy</i> = <i>*kløy</i>                                  |
| [16] one         | ti:  | TA <sup>H</sup> tik- | STC <i>*t(y)ik</i> = <i>*(g-)tyik</i>                            |
| [17] nose        | nā   | RI <sup>1</sup> na   | STC <i>*s-na</i> ~ <i>*s-na-r</i> ; WT <i>sna</i> ; SM <i>nā</i> |
| [18] to rest     | nā-  | RI <sup>3</sup> na-  | STC <i>*na</i> ; KH <i>nah</i> ; MG <i>nat</i> ; CP <i>nyas</i>  |
| [19] nasal mucus | nap  | RI <sup>2</sup> nap  | STC <i>*s-nap</i> ; WT <i>sna</i> ; SM <i>nāp</i>                |
| [20] seven       | ne   | RI <sup>2</sup> nis  | STC <i>*s-nis</i>  |
| [21] thin        | bā-  | RI <sup>1</sup> pa-  | STC <i>*ba</i> ; cf. WT <i>phra-</i> ; SM <i>Tha</i>             |
| [22] eye         | mi:  | RI <sup>2</sup> mi:  | STC <i>*mik</i> ~ <i>*myak</i> ; WT <i>mig</i> ; SM <i>mīk</i>   |

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Western Tamang, and Eastern Tamang; that is, [sweat]: TA, TE <sup>H</sup>Ruk; SY <sup>H</sup>Ru; MA <sup>2</sup>Ru; MN <sup>H</sup>Tu; SA, RI <sup>2</sup>Tu:.

<sup>17</sup> Nishi (1991:82) reconstructs PTAM *\*-Tiŋ* ‘year’ (cf. TA *-tiŋ* ‘year’) and suggests that this supports the change *\*sn- > PTAM \*t-* (cf. STC *\*s-niŋ* ‘year’). However, no parallels are found in Kaike.



|                           |     |  |   |
|---------------------------|-----|--|---|
| [23] name                 | min | RI <sup>1</sup> min                      | STC * <i>rm-iŋ</i> ; HPTB * <i>mi:n</i> ; WT <i>miŋ</i> ; SM <i>m̄in</i>    |
| [24] fire                 | me  | RI <sup>1</sup> me                       | STC * <i>mey</i> ; WT <i>me</i> ; SM <i>m̄e</i>                             |
| [25] tongue               | lai | SA <sup>2</sup> le                       | STC * <i>m-lay</i> ~ * <i>s-lay</i> ; cf. WT <i>lee</i> ; SM <i>tšē</i>     |
| [26] month                | lā  | RI <sup>2</sup> la                       | HPTB * <i>la</i> ; WT <i>zla-ba</i> ; cf. SM <i>tawa</i>                    |
| [27] <sup>18</sup> ladder | li  | MA <sup>2</sup> li<br>SY <sup>2</sup> Li | HPTB * <i>lay</i> = * <i>ley</i>  |
| [28] heavy                | li- | RI <sup>3</sup> li:-                     | STC * <i>s-liy</i> ; HPTB * <i>løy</i> ; WT <i>lci-</i> ; cf. SM <i>tšē</i> |

The following Kaike and Tamangic items may have correspondences with the Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms and/or with forms in some modern TB languages, but similarities between the Kaike and Tamangic forms appear to indicate their close relationship.

|                                | KE                                  | TAM   | Others   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| [29] break<br>(e.g., firewood) | kyut- '(tr.)'<br>cf. gyut- '(itr.)' | SA <sup>1</sup> kyup-<br>TU <sup>2</sup> kyu- | HPTB * <i>ket</i> 'break off a piece'; cf. KH * <i>klah</i> /<br>* <i>kyah</i> ; MG <i>gya</i> ; CP <i>khayh</i>                                       |
| [30] plough, dig               | khəə-                               | RI <sup>1</sup> khwa-<br>TA <sup>1</sup> kho- | STC * <i>d-kew</i> = * <i>d-k(h)ew</i> ;<br>* <i>klaw</i> 'dig out'; * <i>r-ko-t</i><br>=* <i>r-go-t</i> ~ * <i>r-ko-t</i> 'dig up';<br>WT <i>rko-</i> |
| [31] borrow/lend               | khyi-                               | SA <sup>2</sup> khit-                         | STC * <i>kroy</i> , * <i>s-kiy</i> =<br>* <i>s-kəy</i> ; WT <i>skyi-</i>   |
| [32] <sup>19</sup> field       | khye                                | TU <sup>H</sup> ke                            | cf. WT <i>kluŋs</i>  |

<sup>18</sup> No cognate is found in RI and SA (cf. RI '*cam* 'ladder'; SA '*ca:m* 'ladder').

<sup>19</sup> No cognate is found in RI and SA.

|                |       |                       |                    |  |
|----------------|-------|-----------------------|--------------------|--|
|                |       |                       | MA <sup>1</sup> le |  |
| [33] chest     | gu    | RI <sup>1</sup> ku    |                    | cf. STC *(s)-kuw =<br>*(s)kəw ‘body’; WT sku<br>‘body’ |
| [34] borrow    | ŋan-  | RI <sup>1</sup> ŋan-  |                    | cf. STC *r-ŋya   |
| [35] nest      | cāŋ   | RI <sup>3</sup> caŋ   |                    | WT tshaŋ; SM tshaŋ                                     |
| [36] bridge    | cām   | RI <sup>1</sup> cam   |                    | HPTB *dzam; WT<br>zam-pa; cf. SM sampa                 |
| [37] daughter  | came  | RI <sup>4</sup> came  |                    | HPTB *tsa = *za  |
| [38] hang, tie | cun-  | TA <sup>H</sup> cin-  |                    |  |
|                |       | RI <sup>1</sup> cheŋ- |                    | WT ‘ching- ‘bind’                                      |
| [39] knead     | cyen- | TU <sup>2</sup> cyen- |                    | cf. WT ‘chiŋ-  |
| [40] hair      | cham  | RI <sup>2</sup> cham  |                    | STC *tsam = *tsâm ~<br>*sâm                            |
| [41] lift      | thi-  | RI <sup>1</sup> thi:- |                    | cf. WT ‘deg(s)-; STC                                   |
|                |       | TA <sup>H</sup> thik- |                    | *tyak = *tək   |

The following correspondences may also support the close link between Kaike and Tamangic.

|                                |      |                      |  |
|--------------------------------|------|----------------------|--|
|                                | KE   | TAM                  | Others                                 |
| [42] measure<br>(e.g., length) | kāt- |                      | cf. HPTB *graŋ =<br>*kraŋ ‘to measure’ |
| [43] <sup>20</sup> portion     | kāl  | TU <sup>2</sup> kal  |  |
| [44] burn                      | ko-  | RI <sup>1</sup> kro- |  |

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<sup>20</sup> e.g., TU *<sup>H</sup>som* *<sup>2</sup>kal-pe* *<sup>2</sup>ti-kal* ‘one-third’  
three k.-? one-k.  
KE *sum* *kāl-lai* *kāl-ā* *ti:* ‘one-third’  
three k.-from k.-? one

A cognate of the KE and TU forms is found in all three dialects of Seke and other two Thakali dialects, but probably not in other TAM languages.

|                                |        |  |  |
|--------------------------------|--------|--|--|
| [45] weigh                     | kot-   | RI <sup>2</sup> kot-                         |  |
| [46] shake                     | khār-  | RI <sup>2</sup> khar-                        |  |
| [47] feed                      | khoə:- | RI <sup>2</sup> khwa:-                       |  |
| [48] grandfather               | khye   | TA <sup>1</sup> khe<br>RI <sup>1</sup> akhe  |  |
| [49] suck                      | ŋup-   | SA <sup>4</sup> ŋap-                         |  |
| [50] cook, put<br>on the stove | cu:-   | RI <sup>4</sup> cu:-<br>TA <sup>L</sup> cuk- | cf. WT <sup>t</sup> shod-                |
| [51] <sup>21</sup> now         | cō:    | MA <sup>3</sup> coŋ                          |  |
| [52] count                     | jyer-  | RI <sup>4</sup> cya:-                        | cf. SM <sup>t</sup> šəŋ-; STC<br>*r-tsiy |
| [53] what                      | tai    | SA <sup>2</sup> ta:                          |  |
| [54] receive                   | tā:-   | RI <sup>2</sup> ta:-                         |  |
| [55] post, pillar              | tā:    | RI <sup>3</sup> ta:                          |  |
| [56] spread                    | tit-   | RI <sup>1</sup> tit-                         |  |
| [57] this year                 | tiriŋ  | SA <sup>1</sup> ti: <sup>1</sup> tiŋ         |  |
| [58] meet                      | do:-   | TU <sup>3</sup> to-                          |  |
| [59] need to                   | toə-   | RI <sup>1</sup> to:-<br>TA <sup>H</sup> tok- |  |
| [60] today                     | tyā    | RI <sup>2</sup> tini                         |  |
| [61] full                      | nāŋ-   | SA <sup>1</sup> naŋ-                         |  |
| [62] tomorrow                  | nāpɕye | TA <sup>H</sup> napɕe                        |  |
| [63] garlic                    | noə    | RI <sup>4</sup> no                           |  |
| [64] break (itr.)              | noŋ-   | RI <sup>3</sup> noŋ-                         |  |
| [65] <sup>22</sup> fear        | nyin-  | TU <sup>3</sup> ŋin-                         | cf. WT <sup>d</sup> ŋaŋ-                 |

<sup>21</sup> A clear cognate of the KE and MA forms is found only in SY; but cf. GH *coro'*, *jxoro'* 'now; nowadays'.

<sup>22</sup> No cognate is found in SA and RI.

|                           |    |                      |                      |               |
|---------------------------|----|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|
|                           |    |                      | MA <sup>3</sup> nin- |               |
| [66] <sup>23</sup> go     | yā | RI <sup>4</sup> yar- |                      | cf. STC *byon |
| [67] marker of<br>hearsay | ru | TU <sup>H</sup> ro   |                      |               |
|                           |    | RI -ro               |                      |               |

The relationship between Kaike and Tamangic is also indicated by the following set of lexical correspondences, where the Kaike form must be related only to a part of the Tamangic form. This type of correspondence was already seen in [5] ‘red’ (KE *lo:-*; SA <sup>2</sup>*wala*, TU <sup>2</sup>*ola*) and [12] ‘hen’ (KE *kā*; RI <sup>1</sup>*naka*).

|                              |       |                         |  |
|------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|--|
|                              | KE    | TAM                     | Others                                       |
| [68] <sup>24</sup> village   | nām   | RI <sup>2</sup> namsa   | PKH *nam                                     |
| [69] dog                     | khyu  | RI <sup>1</sup> nakhi   | STC *kwiy = *kwøy; WT khyi                   |
|                              |       | TU <sup>1</sup> nakyu   |  |
| [70] fly (insect)            | baraŋ | SA <sup>1</sup> na:praŋ | STC *(s)-braŋ; WT<br>sbraŋ-ma; cf. SM raŋma: |
| [71] fish                    | ŋā    | SA <sup>2</sup> tarŋa   | STC *ŋya; WT nya                             |
| [72] <sup>25</sup> foot, leg | le    | TU <sup>3</sup> pale    | STC *g-la                                    |

<sup>23</sup> The Kaike form is used only in Prohibitive constructions, and no verbal suffix is attached to it.

<sup>24</sup> No cognate is found in Thakali, Seke and Manangba, where a form that appears to be a Tibetan loan, e.g., TA <sup>4</sup>*yul* (cf. WT *yul* ‘place, an inhabited place’), is used instead.

<sup>25</sup> A cognate of TU <sup>3</sup>*pale* is found in Seke, Chantyal, Manangba, Gurung, and in two other dialects of Thakali. It is not found in Hale (1973) or in Mazaudon (1973), but, according to Varenkamp (1996: 53), it is widely attested in the Eastern Tamang dialects that he calls ‘Outer Eastern Tamang’.

‘foot’ ‘leg’

There is little doubt that Kaike *nām* ‘village’ is related to the first elements of RI <sup>2</sup>*namsa*, SA <sup>2</sup>*namsa* and GH *nāā’sa* ‘village’. Their cognates are found in Kham (PKH *\*nam*; Watters 2004), and less certainly, as Shafer (1967: 126) and Nishi (1991: 128, fn. 38) suggest, in Dafla (*nam* ‘house’), Thulung, Thangmi (*nem* ‘house’), and Barām (*nam* ‘house’; Turin 2004: 101). The form *-sa* found in the Tamangic forms is, as Shafer (1967: 126) and Nishi (1991: 128, fn. 38) point out, probably related to WT *sa* ‘earth’ (cf. PTB *\*sa*) and to modern reflexes of the PTAM form for ‘soil, earth’, e.g., RI <sup>1</sup>*sa*.

In the other correspondences, the Kaike form must be related to the second syllable of the Tamangic form. Shafer (1967: 126) implies that the form *na* found in Tamangic words ‘dog’ (e.g., RI <sup>1</sup>*nakhi*) has a connection to Lisu *a-na*, while Nishi (1991: 128, fn. 38) refers to Chaudangsi *nau-khvi* and Byangsi *nikhi* ‘dog’ (Grierson 1909: 543). Nishi (ibid) further suggests a possibility that this prefix-like element may be related to forms found in the first syllables of [12] ‘hen’ (e.g., RI <sup>1</sup>*naka*), [70] ‘fly’, e.g., SA <sup>1</sup>*na:praŋ*, and ‘ant’, e.g., SA <sup>2</sup>*nakkhru*.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The relation between the first syllables of ‘dog’ and ‘hen’ seems more probable since they both have the same tone, i.e., tone 1 (cf. MA, TU <sup>1</sup>*nakyu*, SA <sup>1</sup>*naki* ‘dog’; MA <sup>1</sup>*nākā* ‘Huhn’, but SA <sup>2</sup>*naka* <sup>4</sup>*pha:le* ‘rooster’). Their link to the first elements of ‘fly’ and ‘ant’, on the other hand, seems less certain because it is not clear if the

The second syllables of the Tamangic forms, and the corresponding Kaike form as well, on the other hand, find their cognates in many other TB languages. This clearly indicates that those Tamangic words are historically compounds, and since they all can be traced back to the PTAM stage, those compounds must have already been developed by that stage. Those developments must be unique to Tamangic and is not shared by Kaike. Although the evidence seems less strong, the same may be said for [5] ‘red’, [12] ‘hen’, and [68] ‘village’.

The Kaike form for [12] ‘hen’ and the second elements of the corresponding Tamangic words require some comments. This correspondence is paid special attention to in Nishi (1990), where another correspondence found in [13] ‘egg’ is also studied in detail. In his view, the second elements of the Tamangic forms for ‘hen’ are derived from the earlier *\*kak* (> PTAM *\*hna-kaa*<sup>3</sup>) which is eventually related to PTB *\*k-rak* ‘fowl’. Based on this, he suggests that sure cognates of the form *\*kak* are not found in languages geographically close to Tamangic and Kaike but only in Trung (Dulong), Anung, Rawang, and Northern Monpa; cf. for ‘fowl’, Trung (Du-long) *kǎʔ<sup>55</sup>*, (Nu-jiang) *khǎʔ<sup>55</sup>*, Anung (Fu-gong) *khaʔ<sup>55</sup>*, Rawang *hka*, Northern Monpa (Ma-ma) *khΛʔ<sup>53</sup>*, (Wen-lang) *kha<sup>55</sup>*.

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latter two had, at the PTAM stage, a short vowel. Note that many cognates of SA *'na:praŋ* ‘fly’ have the vowel /ā/, which is known to be a modern reflex of /\*a:/ (cf. CH *<sup>H</sup>nāpraŋ*, TE *<sup>H</sup>nā<sup>H</sup>phraŋ*, and MA *'nāpraŋ*; but TU *ʔnaprāŋ*). The reconstruction is more difficult for ‘ant’ (cf. CH *<sup>H</sup>nākro*, TE *<sup>H</sup>nāhokpa*, TU *ʔnaTo*, MN *nòkro*, GH *na'bburu*).

This observation (and other circumstantial evidence) led him to conjecture that the ‘Tamangic group, and possibly Ghale and Kaike, too, may have moved to the present habitats at the relatively late date, and the original habitats of these languages may be somewhere near those of Trung group and Northern Monpa’ (ibid: 67), i.e., in Yunnan, China, and Northern Burma. Leaving aside his suggestion concerning the original habitats of his Tamangic-Ghale-Kaike group, it seems to me that the Tangbe form for ‘hen’  $^Hnā^Hkhā$  and the Tetang form  $^Hnāha$  now makes us suspect that the forms with the initial *kh*, such as Anung (Fu-gong) *kha*?<sup>55</sup>, are indeed likely cognates. Besides, other TB forms, such as Newar *mā-khā* ‘hen’ (Hale 1973; also cf. Nishi 1990: 65) must also be studied.

In the next, and the final set of correspondences, we can see that initial consonant clusters ( $C_1C_2$ ), i.e., *pr-*, *pl-*, *mr-*, *ml-*, in Tamangic correspond to  $C_2$  in Kaike. Note that the correspondence [Kaike *k-*: Tamangic *kl-*] has been already illustrated in [11] ‘snow’ (KE *liŋ*; RI  $^Hliŋ$ ), and that we have already seen one exceptional case in [4] ‘black’ where Tamangic *ml-* corresponds to Kaike *my-*. Needless to say, this is not a kind of sound correspondence that can be considered as solid evidence to establish a close affinity between Kaike and Tamangic.

|              | KE   | TAM                   | Others  |
|--------------|------|-----------------------|---|
| [73] grind   | ra:- | SA <sup>3</sup> pra:- | cf. HPTB *pwan = *pwat,<br>*kri:t               |
| [74] cliff   | ra:  | RI <sup>4</sup> pra:  | cf. STC *brak ‘rock’; WT<br>brag ‘rock’; SM Tak |
| [75] four    | li   | RI <sup>4</sup> pli   | STC *b-liy = *b-løy                             |
| [76] flatten | lep- | SA <sup>1</sup> plek- | STC *lyap ‘flat’; WT                            |

|      |        |  |   |
|------|--------|--|---|
|      | dough  |  | lep-mo ‘flat’; STC *plen<br>‘flat surface’  |
| [77] | see    | raŋ- SA <sup>1</sup> mraŋ-                   | STC *mraŋ; PLB *mraŋ;<br>WB mraŋ  |
| [78] | smile  | rai- SY <sup>2</sup> mre:-<br>‘smile, laugh’ | STC *rya-t ‘laugh’  |
| [79] | penis  | lu MA <sup>3</sup> mle                       | STC *m-ley; WT mje  |
| [80] | forget | let- RI <sup>2</sup> mlet-                   | STC *b-la:p   |
| [81] | rice   | lā RI <sup>3</sup> mle                       | HPTB *ma = *may =<br>*mey; ‘local grain (NEP<br><i>cini cāmal</i> )’ cf. STC<br>*(b-)ras cf. lū: ‘rice’ |

In the previous section, I stated that Kaike does allow the initial cluster with *r* but only marginally. This statement is based on the sole instance of *br*- cluster found in *rāŋ-brā*: ‘flour of sweet buckwheat (*Fagopyrum esculentum*)’; cf. *rāŋ-barau*: ‘sweet buckwheat’. The second element of this compound must be cognate with RI <sup>4</sup>*pra* ‘flour’, but the *pr*-cluster of the latter word also corresponds to *r*- in Kaike, e.g., *rā:pi* ‘flour’, *bar-rā*: ‘flour of bitter buckwheat (*Fagopyrum tataricum*)’; cf. *barau*: ‘bitter buckwheat (*Fagopyrum tataricum*)’.

|      |       |          |                     |  |
|------|-------|----------|---------------------|--|
| [82] | flour | rā:pi    | RI <sup>4</sup> pra | cf. WT <i>phye</i> ‘flour, meal’;<br>SM <i>phe</i>             |
|      |       |          |                     | cf. ‘flour of sweet buckwheat ( <i>Fagopyrum esculentum</i> )’ |
|      |       | rāŋ-brā: |                     | ‘flour of bitter buckwheat’                                    |
|      |       | bar-rā:  |                     |  |



On the other hand, there are two instances where the bilabial-liquid cluster is broken up by an intervening vowel in Kaike. One of them was already presented in [70] ‘fly’ (KE *baraŋ*; SA *ʰna:praŋ*), and the other one is found in [83] ‘buckwheat’.

[83] buckwheat barau: TA <sup>3</sup>pre WT bra-bo; cf. SM Top

Since the TA form *pre* finds its cognate in other Seke dialects and Thakali only, it is possibly a borrowing from Tibetan (cf. WT *bra-bo*), and this might also be the case for the Kaike form.

Now, in many of the above examples, i.e., [74] ‘cliff’, [75] ‘four’, [76] ‘flatten dough’, [77] ‘see’, [79] ‘penis’, and [80] ‘forget’, where the Tamangic form is more directly relatable to the PTB form than the Kaike form is, it appears that the bilabial in the C<sub>1</sub> position of the Tamangic form is a retention from the PTB form, rather than an innovation, and thus that the Kaike form is a result of losing it. Therefore, in these examples no special link between Kaike and Tamangic is indicated. For instance, both the Kaike form and the Tamangic form for [75] ‘four’ must have descended from the PTB *\*b-liy* = *\*b-ləy* ‘four’, and the latter must have resulted from the loss of the initial bilabial. The relation of the Kaike and Tamangic forms for [74] ‘cliff’ to PTB *\*brak* ‘rock’ and to WT *brag* ‘rock’ is not totally clear, but the initial cluster with a bilabial is also found in Thulong Rai [Thulung] *broa* ‘cliff, steep place’ (Matisoff 2003: 319). In the case of the Tamangic form for [76] ‘flatten dough’, e.g., SA *plek-*, it is possibly related to STC *\*lyap* ‘flat’, but it seems more likely to

be a reflex of STC *\*pleŋ* ‘flat surface’. The *pl-* cluster is also found in neighboring languages, e.g., PKH *\*plek* ‘flat’. The Kaike form is, on the other hand, possibly related to, or a relatively recent borrowing from TIB (cf. SM *lep*). The initial *m-* of the Tamangic form for [80] ‘forget’ must also be explained, but note that the initial bilabial nasal is found in many other TB languages; e.g., Jingpho (Kachin) *məlap* ‘forget’ (STC #335), KH *mehŋ-*, MG *mhyak-*, CP *hmeʔ-*, Lusei [Lushai] *hmai-*, Burmese *me-* (Watters 2003, 2004).

In the case of [78] ‘smile’, the relation of the Kaike form *rai-* to PTB *\*rya-t* ‘laugh’ is obvious since the former means not only ‘to smile’ but also ‘to laugh’. The Kaike form may also be related to the SY form *²mre-*, but since the latter appears to be an innovation, as in the above correspondences, no special relation between Kaike and Tamangic is indicated in this correspondence. It should also be noted that the SY form is unique even in the group; i.e., no cognate is found in other Tamangic dialects.

Tamangic forms for [81] ‘rice’, e.g., RI *³mla* ‘uncooked rice’, may possibly have a link to KE *lū:* ‘husked rice’ but seem more likely to be related to KE *lā* ‘unhusked local rice (NEP *cini cāmal*); *Panicum miliaceum*’ (Fisher 1987: 56). In either case, the existence of the *l* sound in both Kaike and Tamangic forms may be an indication of a close relation between Kaike and Tamangic, although their relation to KH *məla:* ‘rice’ (Watters 2004) is also suspected. Overall, this and the remaining two other examples, [73] ‘grind’ and [82] ‘flour’, may be considered to be evidence for a special link between Kaike and Tamangic.

#### 4. Conclusion

The previous section demonstrates that there are a large number of lexical correspondences shared by Kaike and Tamangic languages. Many of the correspondences appear to be traced back to the PTB roots and/or to find their cognates elsewhere in other modern TB languages. Yet, still more than fifty others remain to be explained. The existence of such lexical correspondences leads me to agree with Glover, Nishi, Bradley, van Driem, and Watters, all of who conclude, either tentatively or definitely, that Kaike is genetically close to Tamangic languages.

However, the examples [5], [12], and [68]-[72], where the Kaike form appears to be related only to a part of the corresponding Tamangic form, suggest that Kaike is not so close to Tamangic languages that one can reasonably say that it is a member of the group. The modern Tamangic forms in those correspondences must be historically compounds, and the developments that must have created them are unique to Tamangic but are not shared by Kaike. The proposition that Kaike is a member of the Tamangic group is not supported either by the examples [74]-[77], [79], and [80] because, in these examples, the initial cluster with a bilabial in modern Tamangic languages, which can be reconstructable at the PTAM stage, is not found in Kaike.

Kaike is very different from Tamangic languages in many other aspects. As stated above, Kaike is a tonal language, but its tone system is quite distinct from the Tamangic two manner/four tone system which all of the modern Tamangic languages, except Chantyal, exhibit. Another example of their differences is their pronominal systems. One of the most crucial discrepancies in their pronominal systems with respect to Thurgood's (1985) proposal is that the Kaike second person singular pronoun is *nā* (cf. Ghale, e.g., Barpak *nA*;

Nishi 1990: 167), which is clearly a reflex of PTB *\*na* or *\*naŋ*, and no cognate of it is found in the Tamangic group. Thus, if we believe Thurgood's proposition that a velar-initial second person singular pronoun is evidence for a special genetic link between Tibetan and the Tamangic group, the Kaike second person singular pronoun indicates that Kaike does not belong to this subgroup, i.e., his Bodish, because Kaike does not share this innovation.

With respect to the genetic relation of Tamangic and Kaike to Tibetan, I am less dubious than Nishi mainly because of the existence of a couple of sound correspondences between Tamangic and Tibetan (and East Bodish as well) proposed in Michailovsky and Boyd Mazaudon (1994). Nevertheless, there are a number of the very basic lexical items that Tamangic and Tibetan do not share, and the number of lexical correspondences that may indicate a special link between them does not seem to be so large. This must be explained in order to establish their special genetic link.

The relation of Kaike and Tamangic to Ghale is beyond the scope of this study (this is why most of the lexical similarities shared by Kaike and Ghale are not mentioned in this article), but even a cursory look at Nishi's Swadesh 100 word list on Ghale (Nishi 1982) makes us convinced that Ghale is much closer to Tamangic than Kaike is, which is in accordance with Nishi's observation.

In order to establish a shared genetic relationship between Kaike and Tamangic, we have to, at the next stage of investigation, find out clear sound correspondences and shared innovations. In addition, not only lexical correspondences but also similarities and differences in their morphological and syntactic features must be studied. The study of the relation between Kaike and Tamangic in this

article should thus be regarded as an initial attempt to find out a basis for further discussion and investigation.

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## PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION IN SRINAGAR VARIETY OF KASHMIRI

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### 1. Introduction

The Kashmiri language, also called *kəʃur*, is a native language of Kashmir. Apart from Kashmir, this language is also spoken by migrant population in other parts of India and abroad. In the ancient period, Kashmiri became an important centre of Sanskrit learning, in the medieval period, Persian had a great influence and the modern period indicated the influence of Urdu and English. This has resulted in large scale borrowing from Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and English into Kashmiri, particularly at the lexical level.

Kashmir valley has been divided into three areas as per the local variations of speech mostly on lexical basis.

- (i) *kamra:z* - This variety is spoken in the northern and north-western region of Kashmir.
- (ii) *yamra:z* - It is called the Srinagar variety of Kashmir and is considered as the Standard one. It is spoken in central Kashmir.
- (iii) *maraz* - It is spoken in the southern and south-western region of Kashmir.

Grierson (1919) mentions two religious dialects of Kashmiri viz. Hindu Kashmiri and Muslim Kashmiri. The main argument in dividing Kashmiri on the basis of religion has been that the users of these two dialects at times use different vocabulary. Kachru (1969) renames these as Sanskritized

Kashmiri and Persianized Kashmiri respectively. He brings out the difference by listing certain pronunciation variations, morphological variations and lexical variations. Sanskritized Kashmiri shows more Sanskrit influence and Persianized Kashmiri shows more Persian and Arabic influence.

Languages are continuously changing i.e. the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and other features of language are modified over time. There are two sources of change in language i.e. Internal and External. Internal changes occur within the language itself where as External changes refer to changes introduced from other languages. These sources may cause a ripple effect that ends up altering other aspects of the borrowing language. Different phonological processes occur in phonological variation.

## 2. Phonological Processes

There is no single definition of phonological processes. Stampe (1979) describes phonological processes as being ‘phonetically motivated’, that is, due to articulatory, perceptual or acoustic factors. He further defines them as ‘innate mental operations’ that apply in speech to substitute a less difficult class of sounds or sound sequence for one that is more difficult. These processes operate on the child’s mental representations of adult speech, which Stampe sees as being basically equivalent to the adult surface forms, ‘minus the predictable phonetic detail’. He makes a distinction between ‘processes’, which are innate and natural, and ‘rules’ which are ‘imposed by the language’ and which have to be learned.

Ingram (1974, 1976) who was more directly responsible for the application of phonological processes in the field of speech-language pathology, referred to ‘general simplifying processes’ that affect classes of sounds. He discusses three general categories of processes, including ‘syllable structure processes’, such as cluster reduction e.g. ‘bik’ for ‘brick’,

assimilatory processes, such as velar harmony e.g. ‘geik’ for ‘gate’, and substitution processes, such as fronting e.g. ‘tau’ for ‘cow’. Ingram discussed several ‘general phonological rules’ that operate in normal language acquisition, including weak syllable deletion e.g. ‘nə’ for ‘banana’, cluster reduction e.g. ‘tik’ for ‘trick’, voicing e.g. ‘bin’ for ‘pin’ and assimilation, which are more typically referred to as processes.

The present paper discusses phonological variation in the Srinagar variety (yamraz) and discusses the different phonological processes involved in variation.

### 3. Methodology

The data for this paper was collected from 35 informants who are native speakers of Srinagar variety of Kashmiri (yamraz). The data basically comprised of recordings of casual conversations. These recordings were transcribed and subjected to rigorous phonological analysis.

The symbols used in this paper are given in a following chart:

#### Consonants

|            |        | Bilabial |     | Labio-dental | Dental |     | Retroflex |     | Palatal |     | Velar |     | Glottal |
|------------|--------|----------|-----|--------------|--------|-----|-----------|-----|---------|-----|-------|-----|---------|
|            |        | Vl.      | Vd. | Vd.          | Vl.    | Vd. | Vl.       | Vd. | Vl.     | Vd. | Vl.   | Vd. | Vl.     |
| Stops      | Unasp. | p        | b   |              | t      | d   | ʈ         | ɖ   |         |     | k     | g   |         |
|            | Asp.   | ph       |     |              | th     |     | ʈʰ        |     |         |     | kh    |     |         |
| Affricate  | Unasp  |          |     |              | ts     |     |           |     | c       |     |       |     |         |
|            | Asp.   |          |     |              | tsh    |     |           |     | ch      | j   |       |     |         |
| Fricative  |        |          |     | v            | s      | z   |           |     | ʃ       |     |       |     | h       |
| Nasal      |        |          | m   |              |        | n   |           |     |         |     |       | ŋ   |         |
| Lateral    |        |          |     |              | l      |     |           |     |         |     |       |     |         |
| Trill      |        |          |     |              | r      |     |           |     |         |     |       |     |         |
| Semi-vowel |        |          | w   |              |        |     |           |     | y       |     |       |     |         |

## Vowels

|      | Front |      | Central |      | Back  |      |
|------|-------|------|---------|------|-------|------|
|      | Short | Long | Short   | Long | Short | Long |
| High | i     | i:   | ɪ       | ɪ:   | u     | u:   |
| Mid  | e     |      | ə       | ə:   | o     | o:   |
| Low  | ɛ     | ɛ:   | a       | a:   | ɔ     | ɔ:   |

Kashmiri sound system (from Kak and Panzoo, Forthcoming)

## 4. Analysis

The data which was collected clearly showed the evidence of phonological variation. This variation was observed to involve different phonological processes. The various types of phonological processes observed in the data include:

## 4.1 Epenthesis

This involves the insertion of vowel within a consonant cluster e.g.

| Basic word              | Variation               | Gloss           |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| dry                     | ɖɾɪy                    | 'swear by'      |
| prazna:va:n             | parzɪna:va:n            | 'to recognize'  |
| ɖɾɪyka:kan <sup>1</sup> | ɖɾɪɪka:kan <sup>1</sup> | 'sister in law' |

These examples show that the cluster is broken by the insertion of a vowel. However, this insertion may not be present in isolation but may be accompanied by other changes like deletion of /y/ as in ɖɾɪyka:kan<sup>1</sup>. In case of prazna:va:n, the first rule is metathesis and then epenthesis as shown below:

prazna:va:n → parzna:va:n → parzɪna:va:n

Here the transposition of segments takes place first (metathesis) as segment /r/ and /a/ exchange their places and then epenthesis takes place (insertion of (ɪ)).

## 4.2 Cluster Reduction (Cluster Simplification)

Here, a consonant is deleted from a cluster e.g.

| Basic word    | Variation    | Gloss                     |
|---------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| tsrɑ:riʃəri:f | tsɑ:riʃəri:f | ‘a site of a holy shrine’ |
| trakur        | takur        | ‘stiff, hard’             |
| sron          | son          | ‘deep’                    |
| trakır        | takır        | ‘pair of scales’          |
| tɪ:nts        | tɪ:nts       | ‘ear ring’                |
| drup          | dup          | ‘sound of falling’        |
| lacikricam    | lacikicam    | ‘to twist the tail’       |

In the above data, simplification of the consonant cluster takes place by dropping of the second liquid sound /r/ which causes variation.

## 4.3 Substitution

The substitution of one sound by another is found to occur at all the three positions within the word e.g.

a. Substitution at the initial position:

| Basic word | Variation | Gloss  |
|------------|-----------|--------|
| kru:r      | kyu:r     | ‘well’ |
| brə:r      | byə:r     | ‘cat’  |

b. Substitution at the medial position:

| Basic word         | Variation                        | Gloss            |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| ju:rith            | ju:ɖith                          | ‘connected/tied’ |
| avkin <sup>1</sup> | am <sup>1</sup> kin <sup>1</sup> | ‘that is why’    |
| ja:lɑgdu:z         | ja:lakdu:z                       | ‘craftsman’      |
| kho:vur            | kho:fur                          | ‘left’           |

c. Substitution at the final position:-

| Basic word | Variation | Gloss                 |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| dəriya:v   | dəriya:b  | ‘river’               |
| rov        | rof       | ‘kashmiri folk dance’ |
| bruāh      | bruāṭh    | ‘in front’            |

From the above examples it is clear that except for a few exceptions, the phonemes which undergo substitution have the same place of articulation as that of the substituted phonemes. Examples include ‘ja:lagdu:z-ja:lakdu:z’, ‘rov-rof’, ‘kho:vur-kho:fur’, etc.

#### 4.4 Addition

Here a consonant phoneme is inserted in a word e.g.

| Basic word          | Variation            | Gloss              |
|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| sama:n              | samba:n              | ‘collect’          |
| bumsin <sup>1</sup> | bumbsin <sup>1</sup> | ‘earthworm’        |
| bum                 | bumb                 | ‘eye brow’         |
| pampuaʃ             | pampbuaʃ             | ‘lotus’            |
| buam                | buamb                | ‘sad face or mood’ |
| kamar               | kambar               | ‘back’             |

The above data indicates that just as in the previous case of substitution, the consonant which is inserted has the same place of articulation as that of the consonant which is adjacent to the added consonant, e.g. ‘bumsin<sup>1</sup>-bumbsin<sup>1</sup>’, ‘bum-bumb’, ‘kamar-kambar’, etc. Furthermore, it is also observed that the consonant phoneme which is added is /b/ and the consonant phoneme which is adjacent to it is normally the phoneme /m/. This can be represented by a following rule:

$$\phi \rightarrow [+con, -voc, +ant, -cor, +vcd, -asp, -nas] / [+cons, -voc, +ant, -cor, +nas] \_ (C)V$$

This rule states that a voiced bilabial stop /b/ is added after a bilabial nasal /m/ which precedes either a consonant or a vowel. Though at other places, /m/ is at final position (following a vowel).

#### 4.5 Elision

Connected speech frequently has fewer segments in it than one might imagine. Both vowels and consonants are elided

(deleted) especially in rapid speech. In very fast and casual speech, entire syllables can be lost. This process causes variation in the words. All the examples given below show variations due to the deletion of a consonant e.g.

| Basic word  | Variation  | Gloss               |
|-------------|------------|---------------------|
| bombur      | bomur      | ‘wasp’              |
| sāqtar      | sātar      | ‘orange’            |
| kandīʃarbat | kanīʃarbat | ‘a sweetened drink’ |
| haŋtīmaŋı   | haŋımaŋı   | ‘all of a sudden’   |
| ku:nj       | ku:n       | ‘corner’            |
| za:mudɔd    | za:mudɔd   | ‘curd’              |

#### 4.6 Metathesis (transposition of segments)

Here the segments are reordered. It is sometimes found in the lexical phonology of languages, though it is not obvious that it is ever observed as an automatic, connected speech process. It frequently occurs in all languages as a type of speech error and is a common feature of child phonology. The following examples show the variation in terms of metathesis e.g.

| Basic word   | Variation  | Gloss               |
|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| ruva:ŋan     | ruŋa:van   | ‘tomato’            |
| martsıvā:ŋan | matsra:ŋan | ‘pepper’            |
| aldıbadal    | adlıbadal  | ‘one for the other’ |
| imtiha:n     | intiha:m   | ‘examination’       |

The above words clearly show that variation is the result of transposition of segments. In a word martsıvā:ŋan-matsra:ŋan, elision process is also found to occur in addition to metathesis. In this word phonemes /ts/ and /r/ show transposition and /l/ and /v/ are elided as shown below:

martsıva:ŋan → matsrıva:ŋan → matsra:ŋan

The phonological variation in the above data involves the various types of phonological processes in relation to



consonants. However, variation is also observed in the vowels as shown in the next sub-section:

#### 4.7 Variation in Vowels

| Basic word | Variation | Gloss        |
|------------|-----------|--------------|
| dih        | duh       | ‘smoke’      |
| tha:v      | thav      | ‘keep/leave’ |
| tulkatur   | tilkatur  | ‘ice’        |
| kū:z       | kūz       | ‘key’        |
| da:man     | da:ma:n   | ‘flair’      |
| pa:ntsah   | pantsah   | ‘50’         |
| krakh      | krekh     | ‘cry’        |
| piʃul      | piʃo:l    | ‘smooth’     |
| asma:n     | a:sma:n   | ‘sky’        |
| za:mutur   | za:mɪtur  | ‘son-in-law’ |
| azkal      | a:zkal    | ‘now-a-days’ |
| akh        | a:kh      | ‘one’        |
| thapiar    | tha:piar  | ‘slap’       |
| ba:dam     | ba:da:m   | ‘almonds’    |
| mu:sim     | mo:sam    | ‘weather’    |
| na:ma:va:r | na:mɪvar  | ‘well known’ |

In the above data, it is observed that long vowels are reduced to short vowels and short vowels are lengthened. Furthermore, it is also observed that front vowels are substituted by back vowels and at other places back vowels are substituted by central vowels.

#### 5. Conclusion

The phonological variation in the Srinagar variety of Kashmiri occurs in the form of Insertion, Deletion, Substitution, Cluster Reduction (Cluster Simplification), etc. All the words in the data are frequently used by people and they seem to be

unaware of this variation, or rather one can say that their linguistic repertoire consists of both the variants, however, they choose to use one form only and comprehend both the forms. Variation seems to be restricted to the place of articulation i.e. the sounds which are deleted or substituted have the same place of articulation as that of the adjacent sound. It is also observed that the crux of the variation revolves around making articulation easier, so, one of the consonant cluster members may either be deleted or a vowel inserted within a cluster to make articulation easier.

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# CASE SYSTEM IN MAITHILI: FROM SEMANTIC PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

Maithili is one of the most prosperous New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA) spoken in two bordering nations-Nepal and India. It is used by around 30 million populace altogether. According to International P.E.N (Poets, Essayists and Novelists), it is the 16<sup>th</sup> largest language of India. In Nepal, Maithili enjoys the second position in terms of its speakers, Nepali, being the first in rank. Some 12% of Nepal's total population – specifically, Terai people spread in different districts namely, Siraha, Sunsari, Morang, Saptari, Udaypur, Dhanusha, Mahottari and Sarlahi use Maithili as their mother tongue. No attempt has yet been made to determine the number of people who can use Maithili as their additional language. Maithili, which is written in the Devanagari script nowadays, had its own script known as Tirihuta or Mithilakshar previously. Besides, Mithilakshar, Kaithi script was also used by Kayasthas, the caste of writers and clerks especially in keeping written records at government and private levels. However, for the sake of ease in learnability and printing, they have virtually been replaced today by Devanagari which is the script used in writing some Indo-

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<sup>1</sup> This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2007. The paper was based on my thesis “A Comparative Study of Cases in Maithili and English” which was carried out in partial fulfillment of Master's Degree in English Education in 2004.

Aryan languages such as Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri etc. (Yadav, 1999).

Being a dominant language, Maithili has attracted a good number of research scholars to carry out studies on its different aspects. A number of efforts have been made to investigate different phonological and grammatical aspects of Maithili, particularly by the students of M.Ed. majoring in English and those doing M.A. in linguistics at Tribhuvan University (T.U.). The present paper is an attempt to identify grammatical category-cases in Maithili analyzing the previous characterizations. Precisely, this article proposes a set of deep structure (semantic) cases in Maithili.

This write-up is arranged into four sections. The first part is an overview of grammatical category-case in general. Likewise, the second section analyses earlier descriptions of Maithili cases critically. The third enumerates the drawbacks in the characterizations. The fourth one proposes an inventory of semantic cases in Maithili. Eventually, the article has been summed up.

## 2. Grammatical cases: an overview

The term case derives from Latin-*casus* which means falling or deviation. "It was Stoics who gave the word 'case' the more particular sense that has since borne in grammatical terminology" (Lyons, 1971: 289). Traditionally, case is one of the two inflexional categories of noun; the other being the number. "Cases are inflected forms for nouns which fit them for participation in key constructions relative to verbs" (Hockett, 1970: 234). Nesfield maintains "the relation in which a noun stands to some other word or the change of form by which this relation is indicated is called the case-grammatical relation as well as the change of form" (cited in Verma et al, 1989: 185).

Traditionally, the term case refers to inflectional marking and typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to an adposition (preposition or postposition) or another noun at the phrase level.

In traditional grammar, case is morphologically identified, that is, cases are identified through the forms taken by nouns, and only then explained by reference to the functions of nouns within the larger constructions.

(Malmkajar, 1995: 66)

Cases are also deemed to indicate grammatical functions in a greater phrase or clause such as, role of subject, direct object, that of possessor etc. In traditional sense, cases are the inflectional categories of a noun as tenses are that of a verb.

Summing up, conventionally cases are morphologically and syntactically identified. Whether a noun has been used in the nominative, accusative, or genitive case or in any other case is ascertained on the basis of the morphological marker at the end of the noun. The cases have also been determined on the basis of the grammatical functions in the sentence, such as subject of, object of.

### 2.1. Inconsistency in interpretation

While explaining the cases, some grammarians have considered meaning, whereas others have employed both the form and meaning. For others, it is grammatical function which is central in recognizing case. Western traditional grammars defined cases morphologically and syntactically. On the contrary, Eastern Paninian grammars defined cases in terms of meaning. Most of the grammars of the Indo-Aryan languages have imported the Paninian style in defining and describing the term. This has resulted into inconsistency in the interpretation of the term. The discrepancy could be observed in terms of the number of cases as well. The number of cases in a particular language varies from linguist to linguist or from

one grammar book to another. Nevertheless, in recent days attempts have been made to recognize cases as universal concepts and they have been defined semantically rather than on the basis of morphological forms they take and the grammatical functions they perform in sentences.

## 2.2 Revival of Panini

Charles Fillmore, an American linguist and a well known adversary of Noam A. Chomsky plausibly revived Panini, the first grammarian in the history of world when he proposed Case Grammar in 1968 and defined cases in terms of semantic roles. Like Panini, Fillmore maintained the distinctions between cases and case forms. Whereas cases are language universals, case forms are language specific. Robins (1979) stated that Fillmore's principle of case is much similar to the Paninian cases. Cases are known as *karak* and case forms are called *bibhakti* in Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali, Hindi, and Maithili etc. Cases and case markers are different. Cases can be realized through case markers. A case marker is an affix and a case is a complete word. Cases and case relations which they express can be distinguished. The case relations refer to syntactic relations such as subject, direct object. Grammatical relations need not be in one to one correspondence with cases. Fillmore attempted to identify cases in terms of the semantic roles carried out by the noun phrases in relation to verb in a sentence, which Panini did a long time ago. Therefore, Fillmore seems to be the successor of Panini. Panini has given us the following cases: karta (agent), karma (that which is designated by the karta, karma (instrumental), sampradan (one whom the agent has in view in the act of giving something), apaadaana (movement from a point or place), and adhikaran (the locus of action). As Sanskrit is the mother of many of the languages in Eastern tradition, most of the languages seem to have adopted the

Sanskrit case system without much consideration and scrutiny.

### 2.3 Cases redefined

Of late, ‘Case Grammar’ has been associated with Charles Fillmore. He defines cases as the semantic roles, which noun phrases have with respect to their verbs. In 1968, he produced his seminal article “The case for case” in a book entitled ‘Universals in Linguistic Theory’ edited by E. Bach and R.T. Harms stressing the semantic relationship of different constituents in a sentence. “Case for Fillmore is a universal type of syntactic–semantic relationship which may or may not manifest itself in the form of morphological markers on the surface” (Thakur, 1998). He defines case as follows:

The case notions comprise a set of universal, presumably innate concepts which identify certain types of judgments human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgments about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, and what got changed.

(Fillmore, 1968: 24)

He maintained that “the sentence in its basic structure consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with a verb in a particular case relation” (1968: 21).

In Case Grammar, verb is considered to be the most important part of the sentence and has a number of semantic relationships with various noun phrases. And these relationships are called cases.

(Richards et al, 1985: 35).

It is apt to claim that it is the semantic role which is dominant in Case Grammar.

For case grammarians, it is the case relations between the constituents of a sentence that specifies the underlying semantic structure of the sentence and it is case relation in



terms of which the syntactic organization of a sentence can be explained most satisfactorily.

(Thakur, 1999)

Fillmore neither identifies cases morphologically nor on the basis of syntactic function of the constituent noun phrases but solely on the basis of their stable semantic notions. The following examples will clarify the point:

*The children enjoyed the joke.*

*The joke pleased the children.*

Neither of the sentences above have any inflection case marker. If described in terms of case relations indicated in terms of their functions in the sentence, the noun phrase-*the children* is in nominative in the first but objective in the second. Likewise, the noun phrase-*the joke* is in objective in the first sentence but nominative in the second. Fillmore identifies such notions as 'subject of', 'object of' as notions definable at the surface structure of a sentence. Case grammar describes the two sentences mentioned above as the two transformational variants of the same deep structure.

#### 2.4 Case: a language universal

Case is a property or feature shared by all the languages of the world. Though case marker is language specific, case relation is a universal feature of language. For Fillmore, cases are the set of universal linguistic concepts. He stressed that in the deep structure of virtually all the languages, there remain certain cases. He argued that case relations deserve a place in the base component in the grammar of every language. In many languages, there are a very few surface markers to indicate case relations. Thus, case forms vary from language to language. Nevertheless, case is a universal linguistic phenomenon.

### 3. Traditional classification of Maithili cases

Many Maithili Grammars have defined case in terms of semantic roles. A sentence can have one or more than one noun phrase. The role of a noun phrase in execution of the action expressed by a verb is called case. “The things (noun phrases) that help a verb to perform actions are called cases” (Jha, 1979: 26). Similar definition has been offered by Jha G. (1989: 28) “The word that helps in the origin of a verb is case”.

However, the classification of cases seems to be structural or inflectional in that cases are morphologically identified. Some grammarians do have emphasized on relation between the noun phrase/s and the verb in a sentence while explaining the category of case. The relation that holds between the verb and the noun phrases in a sentence has been defined as case. Yadav (1996) in his book *The Reference Grammar of Maithili* has explained the cases in terms of their grammatical functions in the sentences.

Although most of the traditional Maithili Grammars have maintained that there are eight cases in Maithili, namely nominative (karta), accusative (karma), instrumental (karan), dative (sampradan), ablative (aapadan), genitive (sambodhan), locative (adhikaran) and vocative (sambodhan), they have confessed that the description is fundamentally based on Sanskrit case system and therefore has got plenty of loopholes. Some of the Maithili grammars (Jha, 1979: 27-38; Yadav, 1996: 70-97) have refuted the characterization upon close scrutiny. Both the grammarians have blamed the descriptions to be the carbon copy of the Sanskrit case system. Whereas Jha (1979) has ruled out the existence of genitive (sambodhan) and vocative (sambodhan) and dative (sampradan) in Maithili, Yadav (1996: *ibid*), in addition to naming vocative case forms *forms of address*, has claimed that “the distinction posed between accusative and dative is a

clear case of over differentiation". Jha does not find it appropriate to call genitive and vocative as cases as they do not take part in the execution of action to be expressed by verb. Likewise, Yadav is of the opinion that morphological analysis of Maithili nouns does not support an accusative-dative contrast as both take clitic-ke/ke to mark.

The following description is stereotypical as it has either characterized cases morphologically i.e. on the basis of markers the nouns take or syntactically i.e. on the basis of the grammatical functions of the noun phrases. In fact, the description has not taken into account the semantic aspect while explaining the cases. Though some definitions have been semantic, interpretation and identification have been either morphological or syntactic or the amalgamation of both.

#### Nominative (Karta)

One who performs an action is known as Nominative case. The noun in nominative case performs the grammatical function of subject. It is zero marked. Example:

- (1)   mohan kitab parh-əinh  
       Mohan book read-PST.3H  
       'Mohan read the book.'

#### Accusative (Karma)

This is the undergoer of an action. This case is also known as Affected. The noun in the accusative case performs the grammatical function of direct object. Where as human nouns in accusative are marked by clitic-ke, non-human noun in accusative remains unmarked. Examples:

- (2)   a.   hun-kaa pit-al   ge-l  
        3H-ACC beat-PCL go-PST  
        'He got beaten.'

- b. rites b<sup>h</sup>aat khait-chhathi  
 Ritesh rice eat-PRES.3H  
 ‘Ritesh eats rice.’

#### Instrumental (karan)

It is something used to perform an action, typically inanimate.

This instrumental case is marked by the use of clitic *sã/sə* and optionally by the suffixation of the case marker *-ẽ/e*.

Examples:

- (3) a. priya pencil *sã* likh-l-ak  
 Priya Pencil INS write-PST-3NH  
 ‘Priya wrote with a pencil.’
- b. dahina hath-*ẽ* kha-u  
 right hand-INSTR eat-IMP.2H  
 ‘Eat with (your) right hand.’

#### Dative (sampradan)

The case for which verb performs the action.

The noun in the place of subject expresses experiences such as liking and disliking, states of health or sickness, happiness etc. However, it can function as indirect object of verbs governing two objects. It can also function as direct object of transitive verbs governing one object when the object is personal. Dative is obligatorily marked by the clitic *-ke/kalel/hetu*.

- (4) a. nokar *kẽ* bokhar çhæk  
 Servant DAT fever be-PRES  
 ‘The servant has a fever.’
- b. ram ke pac rupaia nahi debai-nhi  
 Ram DAT five rupees-Not give-FTR  
 ‘I will not give Ram five rupees.’

### Ablative

The ablative case is the form –case and is used where ‘expulsion’ ‘removal’, ‘release’, ‘fear’ and ‘similar ideas’ are to be expressed (Jha, 1958: 594) Ablative case in Maithili is marked by the case marker *sṛ̃*. Example:

- (5) rag<sup>h</sup>ab ji apan gaṃ sṛ̃ ai-l-ən  
 Raghav H self village SRC/ABL Come-PST-3H  
 ‘Raghav came from his village.’

### Genitive

The case which has relation with the nominative case or any other case in the sentence. “The proper value of genitive is adjectival, it belongs to and qualifies a noun....” (Jha, 1958: 596). The Genitive case in Maithili is marked by the case marker *-k* when the noun phrase ends in a consonant and by *-ək* when it ends in a vowel. It basically performs adjectival function. Examples:

- (6) ham kitab ək lel/baste ae l chi  
 I book GEN P Come PCL Aux.1  
 ‘I have come for the book.’

### Locative

The case that is the base of the verb in the sentence is locative. The Locative case in Maithili is marked by the use of the clitic- *me / par*. The case expresses the location. Examples:

- (7) prem ji ghar par çhaith  
 Prem H room LOC Aux.3H  
 ‘Prem is at home.’

### Vocative

This case is used to draw the attention towards the self. The word that is addressed in order to help verb perform the actions is vocative. Example:

- (8)   yau bidyarthi lokin aha sab thik-sā padh-u  
Students!    VOC you 2H well    read-IMP  
‘You students! Study well.’

Many of the grammarians consider vocative case forms as *forms of address* and therefore should be enumerated “as vocative particles elsewhere in the grammar” (Yadav, 1996: 71).

#### 4. Drawbacks of the characterizations

The above characterization of cases in Maithili has not been adopted from the single author but that is the adaptation of the characterizations done in various standard works in Maithili.

Nevertheless, close and careful analysis of the case system of Maithili leads us to claim that the characterization of Maithili cases proves to be inadequate. It is because “these descriptions tend to superimpose wholesale the Sanskrit case system upon Maithili without sufficient consideration of the facts of Maithili grammar” (Yadav, *ibid*). The classification has a number of shortcomings. Some of them are as follows:

- a. The above description has either characterized cases morphologically i.e. on the basis of markers the nouns take or syntactically i.e. on the basis of the grammatical functions of the noun phrases. The description has not taken into account the semantic aspect while explaining the cases. Thus, inflectional cases are surface structure cases, not deep ones.
- b. Vocative case forms may be viewed as *forms of address*. As vocative forms do not manifest any relation with the verb, they should be included elsewhere as vocative particles in the grammar.
- c. The distinction posed between accusative and dative is a clear case of over differentiation. The morphological

analysis of Maithili nouns does not support an accusative-dative contrast as both take clitic-ke/ke to mark.

- d. As a matter of fact, genitive should not be considered as a case since it does not have any relation with the verb which is the central component of the sentence. Jha (1958: 596) maintains that “The proper value of genitive is adjectival, it belongs to and qualifies a noun ...”
- d. Yadava (2001: 5) explicitly hints at the fact that characterization of cases in terms of the grammatical functions in the sentence is faulty:

In Maithili, as in several other Indo-Aryan languages, there exists no one to one relation between the grammatical relations of nominals and their cases. A nominative nominal, for example, can be the subject of a clause, but it can also function as the object in other construction. On the other hand, the subject is typically coded with nominative subjects, however it can also be realized with other case markings.

- e. Inflectional cases are not deep structure cases but surface structure ones. The cases need to be explained on the basis of semantic functions.

### 5. Interpreting Maithili cases semantically

Fillmore brought to the fore the notion that there is a universal set of semantic roles. In 1968, in his seminal article *The Case for Case*. He proposed six cases and which he later revised and extended to eight. Later, Chomsky in 1979, modified his TG Grammar and named it Government –Binding Theory. Here, Chomsky incorporated the deep structure cases and interpreted cases semantically unlike in his previous versions. Though there is no consensus on universal inventory of cases, there are tends to be in agreement on salient roles like agent, patient, source and instrument. Although the linguists do not

agree on the universal inventory of roles, they tend to adhere to a common set of practices in assigning roles:

- a. The inventory is kept small.
- b. A role can be assigned only once in a clause
- c. No dependent can bear more than one role
- d. Roles remain constant under paraphrase

Adhering on the principles mentioned above, I am proposing the following deep structure cases in Maithili. I do not claim this to be the ultimate inventory of cases in Maithili, as further study of Maithili cases may extend the number.

#### Agent

Agent is the doer or instigator of the action or event. The one who performs an action, typically animate.

- (9) mohan kitab parh-l-əinh  
Mohan book read-PST-3H  
'Mohan read the book.'

#### Patient

It is the entity which moves or changes or whose position or existence is under consideration or the undergoer of the action or event.

- (10) raja janak janakapur sahar basə-l-əinh  
King Janak Janakpur town establish PST-3H  
'King Janak established the town of Janakpur.'

#### Experiencer

It is the living entity that experiences action or event. It is appropriate for perception and psychological involvement, inherently animate. Examples:

- (11) a. nokar kē bokhar çhə-ik  
servant DAT fever be-PRES-3NH  
'The servant has a fever.'



- b. hun-kaa bhukh lag-l-ainh  
 3h hunger feel-PST-3H  
 'He felt hungry.'

#### Instrument

The medium by which the action or event is carried out or something used immediately to perform an action typically animate. Examples:

- (12) a. priya pencil - sã likh - l - ak  
 Priya pencil – INS write – PST –(3NH)  
 'Priya wrote with a pencil.'
- b. dahina hatḥ -ẽ kha. -u  
 right hand - INSTR eat - IMP - (2H)  
 'Eat with (your) right hand.'

#### Source

The location or entity from which something moves or the place from which something moves, the starting point, the earlier state, the start of a time period. Examples:

- (13) a. rag<sup>h</sup>ab ji apan gaṃ sã ai-l-ən  
 Raghav H self village SRC/ABL Come-PST-3H  
 'Raghav came from his village.'
- b. gach sã pat khas-al  
 Tree SRC leave fall-PST  
 'Leave fell from the tree.'

#### Locative

The specification of the place where the action or event is situated. It identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb, e.g.

- (14) nikita ghar-par çha -ith  
 Nikita room-LOC Aux-3H  
 'Nikita is at home.'

### Benefactive

The animate being on whose behalf an activity is carried out, e.g.

- (15) ø beta-ke-lel khelauna kin-lak  
He (3NH) son-BEN doll buy-PST  
'He bought a doll for the son.'

### Purpose

This refers to the purpose of an activity carried out by the verb, e.g.

- (16) hum d<sup>h</sup>an-ak lel mehnati kar-ait ch-i  
I wealth-PUR labour-PRES  
'I labour for wealth.'

### Goal

The direction to which something moves is the Goal. It is the end point of a movement.

- (18) bikas skul ge-l.  
Bikash school-GL go-PST  
'Bikash went to school.'

### Factitive

This is the entity that comes into being as a result of the action or state identified by the verb. For example,

- (19) bhattarai ji kitab likh-ai chaith  
Bhattarai H book-FAC write-PRES  
'Bhattarai writes books.'

### Comitative

This case indicates the notion of togetherness, e.g.

- (20) bidhyarthisab shikshak sathe/sange aaib-raham-achi.  
Students teacher-COM with come-PROG AUX be  
'Students are coming with the teacher.'

## 6. Conclusion

In most of the previous descriptions, Maithili cases have been identified and explained either morphologically or syntactically or on the basis of both which is deemed inadequate in a number of ways. Morphological analysis of cases suggests that emphasis is there on case forms rather than case relations. Likewise, identifying cases in terms of grammatical functions in a sentence is full of shortcomings as there does not exist one to one correspondence between cases and grammatical functions they express. Thus, here, an effort has been made to characterize Maithili cases in terms of semantic notions i.e. on the basis of the principle forwarded by Fillmore. The inventory of Maithili cases proposed above is, by and large, comprehensive and sensible, I think, for it meets the common set of principles employed by most linguists while assigning case roles. Nevertheless, I can not rule out the modifications and expansions to the list.

### Abbreviations

|     |               |      |               |
|-----|---------------|------|---------------|
| 1   | First Person  | GEN  | Genitive      |
| 2   | Second Person | GL   | Goal          |
| 3   | Third Person  | H    | Honorific     |
| ABL | Ablative      | INS  | Instrumental  |
| ACC | Accusative    | LOC  | Locative      |
| AUX | Auxiliary     | NH   | Non-honorific |
| BEN | Benefactive   | NOM  | Nominative    |
| COM | Comitative    | PCL  | Participle    |
| DAT | Dative        | PRES | Present       |
| FAC | Factitive     | PROG | Progressive   |
| FTR | Future        | PST  | Past          |
| PUR | Purpose       |      |               |

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# SOUND SYSTEM FOR STANDARDIZATION OF THE BHOJPURI LANGUAGE

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## 1. Introduction

Traditional grammarians define grammar as a genre of study that teaches how to speak and write a language correctly. But from the linguistic point of view, this definition seems grammar to be primary and the language to be secondary phenomena, whereas the reality is upside down. The reason is clear. There are so many languages living in the world without any written grammar in existence but without language a grammar is out of imagination. Certainly, grammar should only follow the language, not the vice versa. But it is also true that a language can never be studied systematically in the absence of grammar. It reveals that there must be grammar if a language exists. Besides, a mother very easily teaches her language to her children without any theoretical knowledge of grammar. The fact is convincing, where there is a language, there is grammar, and no matter it is concrete or abstract.

Therefore, grammar may be defined as a scientific system to study a particular language so that anyone who masters the vocabulary and have knowledge of grammar of a language can learn and study the language.

When we talk about the Bhojpuri Grammar, either it is not in concrete written form in the very language or it is copied from the Sanskrit Grammar. Though the script is same for a number of languages in the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family, the way of pronunciation and written symbols'

existence are not the same everywhere. For example,  $\text{है}$  is pronounced /hæ/ in Hindi but /hɛi/ in Nepali.

In this way, the Bhojpuri language should also be explored on its sound system and updated in the present context of the tongue of the native speakers. This article is thought to be an effort to address this.

## 2. Sound system

A language is first listened and spoken then it is read and written. The sound that helps a language to be listened, spoken and understood is said to be a 'Phone'. When any two phones are used in the same environment and the meanings differ, the phones are considered to be 'Phoneme', independent to each other; but in case the meanings do not differ, they are considered to be 'Allophone' of the same phoneme, e. g.

/paʈa/ 'yoke'    /pata/ 'leaf'    (ʈ and t are phonemes)  
 /deʃ/ 'country'    /des/ 'country' (ʃ and s are allophones of s)

Hence /ʃ/ is still in written form as श, but not in spoken form. So, /deʃ/ is only pronounced /des/ in Bhojpuri.

### 2.1 Consonants

Consonant sounds involve stoppage, friction or notable turbulence of the air stream as they pass through the vocal tract.

Bhojpuri consonants may be classified accordingly in the following ways:

#### 2.1.1 On the basis of manner of articulation

##### a. Stop

When the air stream is momentarily stopped by closure at some point of the oral cavity with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity, e. g. /p/, /t/, /k/.

b. Fricative

When the air stream is forced through a narrow opening in the oral cavity with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity; e. g. /s/, /ʃ/.

c. Affricate

When with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity, the air stream is momentarily stopped in the oral cavity as in the production of a 'stop' but the stop immediately be released rather forcibly into a 'fricative' — so quickly as to give the impression of a single scraping sound rather than of a stop followed by a fricative; e. g. /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/, /dʒ/, /dʒʰ/.

d. Nasal

When the air stream is momentarily stopped by closure at some point of the oral cavity but simultaneously allowed to escape through the nasal cavity; e. g. /ŋ/, /n/, /m/.

e. Lateral

When the air stream is allowed to flow freely through the oral cavity along the sides of the tongue but stopped along the medial line of the mouth by the tongue with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity; e. g. /l/.

f. Flap

When the air stream is momentarily stopped by a single flap or quickly repeated multiple flaps; e. g. /ɾ/ , /ɾ̥/.

g. Trill

When the trill of the tip of the tongue against alveolar ridge occurs as the air flows through the oral cavity; e. g. /r/.

h. Glide



When the body of the tongue glides towards or away from a more prominent adjacent vowel; e. g. /y/, /w/.

### 2.1.2 On the basis of place of articulation

#### a. Bilabial

When the point of articulation is meeting the upper and lower lips; e. g. /p/, /p<sup>h</sup>/, /b/, /b<sup>h</sup>/, /m/.

#### b. Dental

When in articulation, the tip of the tongue touches the back of the upper teeth; e. g. /t/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /d/, /d<sup>h</sup>/.

#### c. Alveolar

When in articulation, the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge behind the upper front teeth; /n/, /l/, /s/, /j/.

#### d. Retroflex

When in articulation, the tip of the tongue is curled back slightly and placed near or against the hard palate at the top of the mouth; e. g. /ʈ/, /ʈ<sup>h</sup>/, /ɖ/, /ɖ<sup>h</sup>/, /ɳ/

#### e. Palatal

When in articulation, the front part of the tongue, but not the tip which is kept down, presses against the hard palate at the top of the mouth; e. g. /ç/.

#### f. Velar

When in articulation, the back of the tongue touches the soft palate at the back of the mouth; e. g. /k/, /k<sup>h</sup>/, /g/, /g<sup>h</sup>/, /ŋ/.

#### g. Glottal

When vocal cords are brought together to obstruct the passage of the air; e. g. /ɦ/.

## 2.1.3 On the basis of manner of production

## a. Voiced

If the vocal cords vibrate during production; e. g. /g/, /g<sup>h</sup>/, /ŋ/, /j/, /j<sup>h</sup>/.

## b. Voiceless

If the vocal cords do not vibrate during production; e. g. /k/, /k<sup>h</sup>/, /c/, /c<sup>h</sup>/.

## c. Aspirated

If there is an audible burst of air produced at the time of release; e. g. /k<sup>h</sup>/, /g<sup>h</sup>/, /c<sup>h</sup>/, /j<sup>h</sup>/.

## d. Unaspirated

If there is no audible burst of air produced at time of release; e. g. /k/, /g/, /c/, /j/.

The table below lists the Bhojpuri consonants according to the classifications shown above.

|           |       | Bilabial       |                | Dental         |                | Alveolar |    | Retroflex      |                | Palatal        |                | Velar          |                | Glottal |
|-----------|-------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------|
|           |       | Vl             | Vd             | Vl             | Vd             | Vl       | Vd | Vl             | Vd             | Vl             | Vd             | Vl             | Vd             | Vd      |
| Stop      | Unasp | p              | b              | t              | d              |          |    | ʈ              | ɖ              |                |                | k              | g              |         |
|           | Asp   | p <sup>h</sup> | b <sup>h</sup> | t <sup>h</sup> | d <sup>h</sup> |          |    | t <sup>h</sup> | d <sup>h</sup> |                |                | k <sup>h</sup> | g <sup>h</sup> |         |
| Fricative |       |                |                |                | s              |          |    |                |                |                |                |                |                | ɦ       |
| Affricate | Unasp |                |                |                |                |          |    |                |                | c              | j              |                |                |         |
|           | Asp   |                |                |                |                |          |    |                |                | c <sup>h</sup> | j <sup>h</sup> |                |                |         |
| Nasal     | Unasp |                | m              |                |                |          | n  |                | ɳ              |                |                |                | ŋ              |         |
| Lateral   | Unasp |                |                |                |                |          | l  |                |                |                |                |                |                |         |
| Flap      | Unasp |                |                |                |                |          |    |                | ɽ              |                |                |                |                |         |
| Trill     | Unasp |                |                |                |                |          | r  |                |                |                |                |                |                |         |
| Glide     | Unasp |                | w              |                |                |          |    |                |                |                | y              |                |                |         |

## 2.2 Contrasts for the Bhojpuri Consonants

| Initial Contrasts                 |                       | Medial Contrasts                    |                    | Final Contrasts     |                 |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| /par/                             | 'beyond'              | /upar/                              | 'uprooted'         | /jap/               | 'prayer'        |
| /p <sup>h</sup> ar/               | 'plough share'        | /ubar/                              | 'left over'        | /jab/               | 'mouth-bar'     |
| /bar/                             | 'hair'                | /sʌp <sup>h</sup> a/                | 'clean'            |                     |                 |
| /b <sup>h</sup> ar/               | 'weight'              | /sʌb <sup>h</sup> a/                | 'assembly'         |                     |                 |
| /tar/                             | 'wire'                | /mata/                              | 'mother'           | /mat/               | 'murder'        |
| /t <sup>h</sup> ar/               | 'plate'               | /mat <sup>h</sup> a/                | 'head'             | /mat <sup>h</sup> / | 'head'          |
| /dar/                             | 'excellent'           | /bʌdi/                              | 'un-popularity'    | /nad/               | 'tub'           |
| /d <sup>h</sup> ar/               | 'edge'                | /bʌd <sup>h</sup> i/                | 'neck-thread'      | /nad <sup>h</sup> / | 'to yoke'       |
| /ʈar/                             | 'postpone'            | /mʌʈa/                              | 'red ant'          | /kaʈ/               | 'cut'           |
| /t <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>h</sup> / | 'cold'                | /mat <sup>h</sup> a/                | 'butterless curd'  | /kaʈ <sup>h</sup> / | 'wood'          |
| /dʌr <sup>h</sup> /               | 'branch'              | /kʌŋdʌ/                             | 'yam'              | /ʌŋd/               | 'egg'           |
| /d <sup>h</sup> ar <sup>h</sup> / | 'pour'                | /kʌŋd <sup>h</sup> a/               | 'a poisonous root' | /ʌŋd <sup>h</sup> / | 'a rural deity' |
| /cal/                             | 'movement'            | /bacʌl/                             | 'read'             | /kac/               | 'to slice'      |
| /c <sup>h</sup> al/               | 'bark'                | /bac <sup>h</sup> ʌl/               | 'separate'         | /kac <sup>h</sup> / | 'skim'          |
| /jal/                             | 'net'                 | /bajʌl/                             | 'rung'             | /baj/               | 'ring'          |
| /j <sup>h</sup> al/               | 'cymbal'              | /baj <sup>h</sup> ʌl/               | 'entangled'        | /baj <sup>h</sup> / | 'entangle'      |
| /kal/                             | 'death time' or       | /j <sup>h</sup> ʌkʌn/               | 'lid'              | /tak/               | 'look'          |
| /k <sup>h</sup> al/               | 'skin'                | /j <sup>h</sup> ʌk <sup>h</sup> ʌn/ | 'anxiety'          | /tak <sup>h</sup> / | 'rack'          |
| /gʌr/                             | 'neck'                |                                     |                    | /bag/               | 'garden'        |
| /g <sup>h</sup> ʌr/               | 'house'               |                                     |                    | /bag <sup>h</sup> / | 'tiger'         |
| /yam/                             | 'one-eighth of a day' | /maya/                              | 'love'             | /gay/               | 'cow'           |
| /ram/                             | 'lord Rama'           | /mara/                              | 'killed'           | /ray/               | 'suggestion'    |

|       |                  |        |               |       |                |
|-------|------------------|--------|---------------|-------|----------------|
| /lal/ | 'red or son'     | /mala/ | 'garland'     | /mal/ | 'commodity'    |
|       |                  | /lawā/ | 'roast-grain' | /gaw/ | 'sing'         |
| /sal/ | 'year'           | /lasa/ | 'gum'         | /gas/ | 'tight'        |
| /ḥal/ | 'condition'      | /lala/ | 'uncle'       | /gal/ | 'cheek'        |
| /mal/ | 'commodity'      | /lama/ | 'long'        | /kam/ | 'work'         |
| /nal/ | 'barrel or drum' | /jana/ | 'worker'      | /kan/ | 'ear'          |
|       |                  | /jʌŋʌ/ | 'forest'      | /rʌŋ/ | 'colour'       |
|       |                  | /jʌnʌ/ | 'known'       | /rʌn/ | 'battle-field' |
|       |                  | /jʌmʌ/ | 'frozen'      | /rʌm/ | 'enjoy'        |

### 2.3 Vowels

Vowel sounds contrast with consonants in the way that they do not involve stoppage, friction or notable turbulence of the air stream as it passes through the vocal tract.

The Bhojpuri vowels can be classified as hereunder:

#### 2.3.1 On the basis of the height of the tongue

While articulating a vowel sound, the tongue may come nearest or go farthest or may be anywhere between the two positions. In this manner there are four kinds of vowels in Bhojpuri:

##### a. Close or High

When the tongue is the nearest to the palate; e. g. /i/ and /u/.

##### b. Half-close

When the tongue is a little bit lower than close; e. g. /e/ and /o/.

c. Half-open

When the tongue is lower than half-close but not completely in open position; e. g. /ʌ/.

d. Open

When the tongue is at the lowest point from the palate; e. g. /ɑ/.

2.3.2 On the basis of advancement of the tongue

a. Front

When the articulation is made by the front of the tongue; e. g. /i/ and /e/.

b. Central

When the articulation is made by the mid part of the tongue; e. g. /ə/.

c. Back

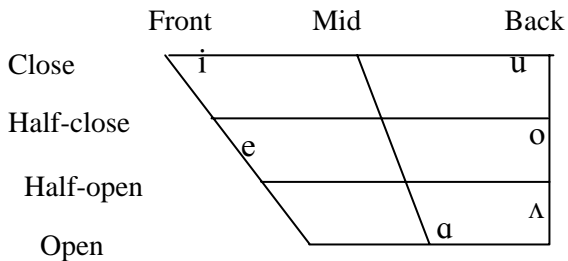
When the articulation is made by the back of the tongue; e. g. /u/, /o/ and /ʌ/ .

The vowels in Bhojpuri can be presented in a vowel quadrilateral as hereunder.

In the quadrilateral only the pure vowels of Bhojpuri are presented.

Like the other languages, in Bhojpuri too, sometimes two vowels come together but so close that it is difficult to separate them. In such a case the combination of the pair is known as diphthongs.

ʌi & ʌu are the Bhojpuri diphthongs among others.



### 3. Writing system

The earlier records indicate that Bhojpuri was using its own script, Kaithi, previously. The very name has come from a traditional clerk caste, Kayastha, who were using this script. In those days all official records were maintained in the same script but now it is almost extinct. Still some scholars claim that Kaithi was itself a variety of Devanagari script. Any how, now it is written in Devanagari script. Besides, the other new Indo-Aryan Languages such as Nepali, Hindi, Maithili and Awadhi even including some Tibeto-Burman languages like Newari are also being written in Devanagari script these days.

The Devanagari script used in Bhojpuri mainly transcribes the spoken form of the language into the written one. It is due the fact that there exists a close correspondence between the phonemes and their written symbols in the language unlike in Modern English, where pronunciation and its related spelling are mostly arbitrary. As pointed by Shukla (1981: 62), all the alphabets in this script are not, however, distinctive and phonemic.

The Bhojpuri language being written in Devanagari script has the alphabets almost correspond to the phonemes of Devanagari script. The Bhojpuri alphabets are as follows:

### 3.1 Consonants

प फ व भ म  
 त थ द ध न  
 ट ठ ड ढ ण  
 च छ ज झ ञ  
 क ख ग घ ङ  
 य र ल व श ष स ह क्ष त्र ज्ञ

### 3.2 Vowels

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ

### 3.3 Vowel Diacritics (matra)

The vowels following consonants in writing get changed into matra. For example no consonant alphabets in Bhojpuri are complete unless followed by a matra of vowel अ /ʌ/.

e. g. क read as /kʌ/ is a combination of क् + अ and, therefore, the sign known as hælənt ( ˘ ) is used after a complete consonant to drop vowel अ from there. Besides अ, the other matra symbols for vowels in Bhojpuri are as here under:

आ = ा for /a/, इ = ि for /i/, ई = िी for /i:/, उ = ु for /u/, ऊ = ू for /u:/, ए = े for /e/, ऐ = ै for /æi/, ओ = े for /o/ and औ = ै for /əu/.

But there is no semantic difference due to vowel length in Bhojpuri only i is used for either इ or ई and only u is used for उ or ऊ these days.

3.4 sirbindu or mæste ( ˘ ) and cəndrəbindu ( ˘ ) : sirbindu or mæste symbolizes the nasal consonant whereas cəndrəbindu symbolizes the nasalized vowels in Bhojpuri.

### 4. Bhojpuri Alphabet and Spoken Traditions:

Till date, Sanskrit alphabet is used in Bhojpuri, almost one-to-one correspondence with phonemes initially. But the current situation is as follows:

- (a) व or /v/ is no more in use either in spoken or written form.
- (b) ण or /ɲ/ is living in writing but not in speaking. It's pronounced as न or /n/ : /rɲ/ = /rɲ/ .
- (c) In most of the cases व or /w/ is pronounced as ब or /b/ : /wikas/ is pronounced as /bikas/ .
- (d) श or /ʃ/ is pronounced as स and ष or /ʂ/ is pronounced as स or /s/ and ख or /k<sup>h</sup>/ : /ʃex/ is pronounced as /ses/ or /sek<sup>h</sup>/ .
- (e) Vowel length is dropped.

#### 5. Recommendations for Sound System for Standard Bhojpuri

As it is made clear that the spoken feature of a language is primary, so, the written pattern must follow it. If not, the language might be isolated like Sanskrit, no matter it has the most scientific alphabetical system. Keeping the facts shown above the following recommendations have been made for an easy writing system as per its existing sound system discussed above:

- (a) व, ण, श and ष should be excluded from the Bhojpuri alphabet chart.
- (b) As ढ /d<sup>h</sup>/ and ढ /t<sup>h</sup>/ are the only allophones of ढ, ढ and they should only be continued in written practice.
- (c) व /w/ should only be written where its pronunciation is easy.
- (d) As vowel length is meaningless in Bhojpuri, only इ /i/ and उ /u/ with their respective diacritics (ँ) and (ँ) .



- (e) There is no need to nasalize the vowel following a nasal consonant. So, *sirbindu* or *maste* should only be used to represent nasal consonants with their cluster presence with the following consonants.

## 6. Conclusion

For longer existence of the language, efforts are continue to promote writing system as per its sound system. This article is a very brief effort to standardize the Bhojpuri language on the basis of promoting its writing system as per its phonology. The process of standardization must be cautious to write and read the language with minimum written symbols; separate symbols for phonemes but not for allophones. Healthy criticism and suggestions are always welcomed.

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# ASPECTS: EVIDENCES FROM DURA LANGUAGE<sup>12</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

This paper now focuses on Comriean framework (1976) to determine the aspectual classes in Dura, a lesser known Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. As such, there is no agreement of gender, number, and person to the verb in Dura language.

## 2. Tense

Tense locates a situation in relation to some point in time, usually to the moment of speaking (Comrie 1979: 2). We

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper was presented to the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual conference of the Linguistic society of Nepal on 26<sup>th</sup> November, 2007. I would like to express my gratitude to all the participants for their valuable comments and suggestion on the first draft of the paper.

<sup>2</sup> A seriously endangered language spoken by two elderly speakers (one has already died in August 2007) is affiliated to West Bodish sub-phyla of Tibeto-Burman phyla of Sino-Tibetan language family (Bradely 1997, Toba 2002, Van Driem 2001, Ethnologue 2005, Nagila 2007). The Report (1994) has catalogued Dura in the second position in endangered languages right after Hayu. The geographically adjacent languages are Gurung on the north Nepali on the east and Manange on North West of Duradada whereas the genetically neighboring languages are Gurung Tamang, Thakali and Manange (Noonan 2002). Shafer (1955, 1966-70) Voegelin (1964-66) and Benedict attempted to cover the Sino-Tibetan as a whole while the treatment by Grierson and Konow (1903-1928) represents an areal survey of Tibeto-Burman languages (Kanskar, 1993). Some Dura speakers lost their language but moved up the social ladder by posing as Gurung and Magar (Van Driem 2001: 811). Ghimire (1993) is the first and foremost linguistic research in Dura but it was carried out randomly without applying specific methodology. However, his attempt to describe Dura has been great milestone in my interest to document Dura language (Nagila 2006) and Nagila (2008). During the period, I have gone through the conversation with Singh Bahadur Dura (80), Dhana Maya Dura (76), Nar Bahdur Dura (82), Sun Bahadur Dura (73), Jaman Singh Dura (80) Dan Bahdur Dura (75), Ram Bahdur Gurung (72). All of them are interested to speak their mother tongue even though they have converged and shifted to Nepali language setting and culture.

typically choose time of speaking as the reference. For this reason, tense has been considered as a deictic category (Comrie 1976: 2; 1985: 14). Tense marking can be either past or non past or present, past and future or non future as tense marking is debated because future is often considered the category of modality. Dura has two tenses: past and non past. The non past marker in Dura is <ba> and non past tense has aspectual and modal function apart from conveying the relation between reference and event time.

Let us consider the following sentences.

- (1) mithun to ro-da  
Mithun yesterday come-Pt  
'Mithun came yesterday.'
- (2) thono ghekla-ge chi co-ba  
today ox-Erg grass eat-Np  
'An ox eats grass today.'
- (3) pau ni kathmandu khai-ba  
tomorrow I Kathmandu go-Np  
'I will go to Kathmandu tomorrow.'

The suffix <da> in (1) is the past tense marker and the main function of past tense in Dura is to code events that has occurred before the time of speech as mentioned in (1). The marker <ba> in (3) is non past tense marker suffixes. In (3) the adverb [pau] denotes future but the tense marking suffix is the same with that of (1). So, this description provides justification that the Dura has two tense marking suffixes.

Now let us examine the following sentences.

- (3) hui-ge bhaka co-da  
he-Erg rice eat-Pt  
'He ate rice'

- (4) hui-ge bhaka ma- co  
 he-Erg rice Neg.eat-PT  
 'He did not eat rice' .
- (5) hui-ge bhaka co-ba  
 he-Erg rice eat-Np  
 'He eats rice'
- (6) hui-ge bhaka ma-co  
 he.Erg rice Neg.eat-Np  
 'He does not eat.'

The suffix <da> in (3) is the past tense marking suffix and <ma> in (S-4) is negative marker prefixed to the verb [coi] making the tense marker <da> unmarked. Similarly, non past tense marking suffix <ba> in (5) and <ma> in (6) remains unmarked in negativization. So ,the non past tense marking suffix <ba> is unmarked after prefixing negative marker <ma> to the verb stem. But it is marked in progressive proposition after suffixing <mu> to the verb in (7) and (8).

- (7) hui-ge bhaka cod-umu  
 he-Erg rice eat-Prog  
 'He is eating rice'
- (8) hui-ge bhaka mo-co-dumu  
 he-Erg rice Neg.eat-Prog  
 'He is not eating rice.'

The morpheme <-mu > in (7) is the progressive marker suffixed to the verb [coi] and mo in (8) is the negative marker prefixed to the verb [coi]. The tense is marked in progressive negation when the negative marker is prefixed to the verb.

Let's consider the following sentences with the copulars.

- (7) hui aie le  
 she girl Cop-IDEN-Npt  
 'She is a girl.'

- (8) hui aire male  
 She girl Neg.Cop.Npt  
 'She is not a girl.'
- (9) kini rami mən rupa le  
 My name man rupa Cop.Iden-Nnt  
 'My name is Mana Rupa.'
- (10) kini rami mən rupa male  
 My name Mana Rupa Neg-Cop.Iden-Npt  
 'My name is not Mana Rupa.'
- (11) kini dzethi didi hakim po  
 my elder sister officer Cop.Exit-Np  
 'My elder sister is an officer.'
- (12) kini dzethi didi hakim ma-pi  
 my elder sister officer Neg.Cop.Iden-Npt  
 'My elder sister is not an officer '
- (13) alere cəlakh po  
 boy Adj. Cop.Iden-Npt  
 'The boy is clever'
- (14) alero cəlkakh ma-pi  
 boy Adj. Neg-Cop.Iden-Npt  
 'The boy is not clever.'
- (15) gusa chiu po-una  
 cow fat Cop-Pt  
 'The cow was fat.'

The morpheme <le> in (7) is identificational copular and the prefix <ma> is placed to it as in (8) to make negative. In (11) po is the existential copular and has become negative after prefixing ma to it in (12). Similar is the case in terms of the (13) and (14). But <-pouna > in (15) is past existential copular.

### 3. Imperfective aspect

In imperfective aspect the focus is no longer in termination and boundedness. The stative verb often occurs in the imperfective aspect. It is usually interpreted as repetitive. As a result, the combination of inherent and grammatical aspects produce new shades of meaning.

Let us see the followings

- (16) *ŋi-ge sədhəi məi kiju-ba*  
 I-Erg always wine drink.Np.Imperf  
 'I drink wine every day.'
- (17) *ram bədzar-la khai-dumu*  
 Ram market -Loc go-Prog  
 'Ram is going to market.'

### 4. Real and unreal aspect

If the participles in the suffix <-pouna> is unreal while the one without <-pouna> is real in that <-pouna> participial followed by the past verb 'to be' expresses the so called unreal past of traditional English grammar and if it is followed by the unmarked counterpart of <-pouna>. Thus future in Dura language is not a tense, it just an aspect with the structural definition 'unreal unmarked tense.'

- (18) *hui-ge bhaka coni-po-una*  
 he- Erg rice eat.Unrpt  
 'He would have eaten rice.'
- (19) *hui-ge bhaka coi-po*  
 he-Erg rice eat.Cop.Unrpt  
 'He will eat rice.'

### 5. Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect is characterized by the present tense marker suffix <-ba>.

- (20) hui-ge            sadhai    bhaka            c̄o-ba  
 he- Erg            always rice            eat-Habt.  
 'He always eats rice.'
- (21) ni            sadhi            aspatal            khai-ba  
 I always            hospital go-.Hab.Np  
 'I always go to hospital'
- (22) no            s̄ad̄ai    aspatal    khai-ba  
 You    always hospital go-.Hab.Np  
 'You always go to hospital'.
- (23) hui-domo    s̄ad̄ai    aspatal    khai-ba  
 they.Pl            always    hospital go-Hab.Np  
 'They always go to hospital.'
- (24) ŋi-ge    mai    kju po-una  
 I-Erg    wine    drink.Hab.Pt  
 'I used to drink wine'
- (26) hjaro-domo-ge    mai    kju-po-una  
 they-Pl.Erg            wine    drink.Hab-Pt  
 'They used to drink wine.'
- (27) hui-ge            m̄āya    ui-po-una  
 He/she.Erg    love    do.Hab.Pt  
 'He/she used to love.'

#### 6. Perfect aspect: witnessed and unwitnessed

Perfectivity is concerned with temporal boundedness and duration of a situation. A situation can be regarded as sharply or diffusedly bounded in time, and as of being of short or long duration. In the perfective aspect, the focus is on termination and boundedness, and there is a strong association with the past time reference. The morphological definition of perfect aspect is the participial suffix <mu> followed optionally by <po> is witnessed (inferential; perfect' Comrie 1976) perfect while the rest of the combination are categorical witnessed.



Unwitnessed :

- (28) hui-ge bhaka cou-po  
 he-Erg rice eat.Perf  
 'He was lately known to have eaten rice.'

(29) Witnessed:

- a. hui-ge bhaka co-i  
 he-Erg rice eat.Perf  
 'He has eaten rice.'
- b. hui-ge bhaka coude-po-una  
 he-Erg rice eat. Perf  
 'He had eaten rice.'
- c. hui-ge bhaka coude-po-una  
 he- Erg rice eat. Perf  
 'He had eaten rice.'

The functional definition of unwitnessed (or inferential) perfect in Dura is that when some actions come to the knowledge of the speaker not immediately, but lately, we use this aspect. Usually, such an action is unwitnessed by the speaker or else if it is witnessed, it is not witnessed promptly and immediately.

#### 7. Progressive and stative aspects

The progressive aspect is defined both by the presence of constraints of the participial suffix <-dumu>. This is, in fact, the emphatic form of suffix <-ni>.

#### 8. Progressive aspect

At every successive second (or phase) if the state of an action is different, the verb is said to be active or progressive. In Dura only the active verb can tolerate the participial suffix <-ni>. In addition the <-ni> participle can be associated with

all the three adverbs like [*thuno*] 'today', <*bharkhərəi*> 'just how' and [*dipla*] 'at once'.

- (30) hui thuno bhako co.do.po  
 he today rice eat-Prog  
 'He is eating today.'
- (31) hui bhark<sup>h</sup>ərəi bhaka co.du.po  
 he just now rice eat-Prog.Exit.Cop  
 'He is just now eating rice.'
- (32) hui cadai bhaka co-dumu-po  
 he soon rice eat-Prog.Cop.  
 'He is going to eat rice soon.'
- (33) ŋi-ge bhaka codumu  
 I-Erg rice eat-Prog.Hab  
 'I am eating rice.'
- (34) ŋi-ge ti kjudomu  
 I-Erg water drink.Prog.Hab.  
 'I am drinking water'
- (35) hjro-domo-ge khai-dumu  
 they-Pl.Erg go-Prog.Hab  
 'They are going.'
- (36) ŋi cithi hapride-po-una  
 I letter write-Prog  
 'I am writing a letter'
- (37) ram bhaka conipona  
 ram rice eat-Prog  
 'Ram was eating rice.'
- (38) gusa roni ron-po-una  
 cow come come-Prog  
 'A cow was coming.'

- (39) *ŋi cithi hapripouna*  
 I letter write-Prog  
 'I was writing a letter.'

### 9. The stative aspect

The stative always describes a state of affairs with unlimited duration. It, thus, overlaps in meaning with the perfect and the progressive. The form in (40) may be interpreted as “he is in the state of feeling hungry at the point of speaking and has been in the state from an unspecified point in time in future”. In other words, At every successive second the state of an action remains as it is with the stative verb (hence the name 'stative'). The stative verbs do not tolerate the progressive marking suffix <ni>. If it tolerates <-ni> it can not be associated with 'ahile' [thuno] 'today'.

- (40) *ŋi-ge bhok laite.mu*  
 I-Erg hungry feel-Perf  
 'I feel hungry.'
- (41) *əhile ŋi-ge bhok laite-mu*  
 now I-Erg hungry feel-Perf  
 'I feel hungry now.'
- (42) *ŋi-ge bhok laditede-mu*  
 I-Erg hungry feel.Perf  
 'I feel hungry'

The stative verb is of two types: If the <-ni> participle can be associated with [b<sup>h</sup>ərək<sup>h</sup>ərəi] 'just now' the aspect of the verb is inchoative in that this kind of stative verb always indicates inception or incidence of some state [laite-mu]

### Abbreviations

|     |            |        |              |
|-----|------------|--------|--------------|
| Adj | Adjective  | Asp    | Aspect       |
| Cop | Copula     | Erg    | Ergative     |
| Imp | Imperative | Imperf | Imperfective |

|       |                 |       |             |
|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------|
| Loc   | Locative        | Neg   | Negative    |
| Np    | Non Past        | Perf  | Perfective  |
| Pperf | Past Perfective | Prog  | Progressive |
| S     | Sentence        | Unrpt | Unreal Past |

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# GHALE LANGUAGE: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

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## 1. Introduction

The Ghale language is called *lila ke* by its native speakers. The distinct language, spoken by Ghale indigenous people is known as Ghale language. The language name (glossnym) is derived from a community or tribe name (ethnonym).<sup>1</sup> The total number of Ghale mother tongue speakers amounts to 1649 (Census: 2001). The sociolinguistic situation of the Ghale language, i.e. the bilingualism, multilingualism, language attitude, language transmission etc. has not been formally studied.

The Ghale language is spoken in a small area in the central part of Gorkha district, Gandaki zone, Nepal. This area contains thirty-three villages where Ghale is said to be the primary language of daily communication. Among these villages, Barpak, a relatively well off village with nearly six hundred and fifty houses, is apparently the central of pivot of the area (Nishi: 1982). The language might have imbibed influences from the other neighboring languages. Since the population of these languages is greater compared to the language of the Ghale language, there might be several dialectal differences of the Ghale language spoken in the different regions.

Ghale belongs to Tebeto-Barman language family of Sino-Tibetan languages. Noonan categorized the Ghale language within Tibetic of Bodish subgroup of Bodic group (Noonan:

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<sup>1</sup> The identification of Ghale languages is not without controversies (Dhakal (trans) 1994:6).

2007). In the same way, Ethnologue (2008) classifies the language as Tebeto-Barman. In a sociolinguistic overview, Yadava categorizes this as an endangered language (2003). The data in this article was obtained from Barpak VDC of Gorkha.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Phonology

A brief look at the phonological system of Ghale leads to the positioning of the following consonant system.

Table 1: Ghale consonants<sup>3</sup>

|           |        | Bilabial       |     | Dental         |     | Alveolar       |     | Palatal        |      | Velar          |     | Glottal |    |
|-----------|--------|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|------|----------------|-----|---------|----|
|           |        | Vl             | Vd  | Vl             | Vd  | Vl             | Vd  | Vl             | Vd   | Vl             | Vd  | Vl      | Vd |
| Plosive   | Unasp. | p              | (b) | t              | (d) | ʈ              | (ɖ) |                |      | k              | (g) |         |    |
|           | Asp.   | p <sup>h</sup> |     | t <sup>h</sup> |     | ʈ <sup>h</sup> |     |                |      | k <sup>h</sup> |     |         |    |
| Affricate | Unasp. |                |     |                |     |                |     | c              | (dz) |                |     |         |    |
|           | Asp.   |                |     |                |     |                |     | c <sup>h</sup> |      |                |     |         |    |
| Fricative |        |                |     |                |     | s              |     |                |      |                |     |         | f  |
| Nasal     |        |                | m   |                |     |                | n   |                |      |                | ŋ   |         |    |
| Lateral   |        |                |     |                |     |                | l   |                |      |                |     |         |    |
| Trill     |        |                |     |                |     |                | r   |                |      |                |     |         |    |
| Glides    |        |                | (w) |                |     |                |     |                | j    |                |     |         |    |

The voiced sounds within small bracket seem to be allophones of the equivalent voiceless sounds. [w] is an allophone for /p/.

<sup>2</sup> I thank Jit Ghale, Ganesh Ghale, Surendra Ghale, Prathibi Narayan Ghale, Karna Bahadur Ghale, Rudra Ghale, Birkha Raj Ghale, Shyam Ghale, Aryan Ghale and all members of Barpaki Society for the data.

<sup>3</sup> Nishi (1982) presented hr [r] hw [w] and yh [ç] as Ghale consonants but I have not found any minimal pairs of them in my data.

These allophones word-medially, mostly between vowels and after voiced consonants. In a few words [b] and [g] occur also word-initially, therefore, they could possibly be considered as real phonemes.

The consonant system of Ghale resembles several other Tibeto-Burman languages like Gurung, Thakali and Tamang. Voicing contrast is not found in stops and affricates. Similarly, aspiration contrast is found in place of articulation like bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal and velar. At least six vowel sounds are evident in Ghale. There is no length contrast in vowels.

Table 2: Ghale Vowels<sup>4</sup>

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| i   | u |
| e   | o |
| (ə) |   |
| a   | ɑ |

### 3. Lexicon

Although the Ghale language is still in to the oral tradition and it is predominant by the Nepali speaking environment in the Ghale speaking areas, the language has been able to retain some of the vocabulary of its own origin. Following are some native vocabulary items.

|     |      |            |      |           |
|-----|------|------------|------|-----------|
| (1) | cimi | 'daughter' | ceun | 'brother' |
|     | cen  | 'tiger'    | cwoa | 'fat'     |
|     | chə  | 'root'     | ʈə   | 'head'    |
|     | ʈwə  | 'warm'     | tə   | 'knee'    |

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<sup>4</sup> /ə/ vowel, tentatively, is a phoneme which is found in some limited sets of minimal pairs. Sometimes this comes as an allophone of the /ɑ/ phoneme. So this is given within small brackets.



#### 4. Nominal morphology

##### 4.1 Number

Ghale language has two way distinctin of singular and plural. The plural marker in this language is <-ju> as shown in (2a-b).

- (2) a. mədipicə-ju som-φ  
 girl-PL three-CL  
 'Three girls'
- b. kitə-ju som-φ  
 cow three-CL  
 'Three cows'

The interesting feature of this language is that without plural marker a sentence is ungrammatical.

##### 4.2 Gender

Ghale language does not use grammatical gender, so it does not distinguish masculine and feminine nouns as well as adjectives. Lexical gender is rarely found. Following are the examples that distinguish feminine from masculine nouns.

- (3) a. cə 'son' cimi 'daughter'  
 ləpə 'ox' kitə 'cow'
- b. mai 'mother' pai 'father'  
 məidzə 'boy' pəidzə 'girl'

Example (3b) shows that the morphology of the gender marking system is <*m*> for feminine and <*p*> for masculine. This is related to prototypical Tibeto-Burman feature.

### 4.3 Pronouns

Ghale has the first, second and third person pronouns. The pronouns are presented in table (3). There are no honorific pronouns. Thus, Ghale has the following nine personal pronoun forms. The dual system exists in Ghale.

Table 3: Ghale personal pronouns<sup>5</sup>

|                        | Singular | Dual  | Plural |
|------------------------|----------|-------|--------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> person | ᲗᲐ       | ᲗᲗᲗ   | ᲗᲗᲗ    |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> person | ᲗᲐ       | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ  | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ   |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> person | ᲗᲗ       | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ  |

The declensions of Ghale pronouns are presented in table (4) for different cases like nominative, dative, ablative, genitive, ergative cases.

Table 4: Declensions of personal pronouns

|     |          |          | CASE          |          |          |
|-----|----------|----------|---------------|----------|----------|
|     | NOM      | ERG      | DAT           | ABL      | GEN      |
| 1SG | ᲗᲐ-Ვ     | ᲗᲗ-Ვ     | ᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗ         | ᲗᲗ-Ვ     | ᲗᲗ-Ვ     |
| 1DL | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗᲗ       | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    |
| 1PL | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗᲗᲗ     | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   |
| 2SG | ᲗᲐ-Ვ     | ᲗᲐ-Ვ     | ᲗᲐ-ᲗᲐ         | ᲗᲐ-Ვ     | ᲗᲐ-Ვ     |
| 2DL | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗᲗ       | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    |
| 2PL | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗᲗᲗ     | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   | ᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ   |
| 3SG | ᲗᲗ-Ვ     | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗᲗ       | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    | ᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ    |
| 3DL | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ  | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ  | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ   | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ  | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ  |
| 3PL | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ | ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ-Ვ |

<sup>5</sup> This is possible to be the third person dual and plural pronoun as *ᲗᲗᲗᲗ* and *ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ* but these are said to be ungrammatical for the native speaker.

#### 4.3.1 Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns

Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns are mentioned in (4) and (5) respectively.

(4) Interrogative pronouns in Ghale

cə 'what'    su 'who'    kene 'where'  
 kələŋ 'when'    kumbə 'which'    kola 'how many'

(5) Demonstrative pronouns in Ghale

əmbə 'this'    timbə 'that'

#### 4.3.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns in Ghale are presented below in table (5), where the <-dze> is the possessive marker.

Table 5: Ghale possessive pronouns

|                        | Singular   | Dual         | Plural       |
|------------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> person | ŋe-dze     | ŋeŋi-dze     | ŋeju-dze     |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> person | nəi-dze    | nəŋi-dze     | nəju-dze     |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> person | thəmbə-dze | thəmbəŋi-dze | thəmbəju-dze |

#### 4.3.3 Relative pronouns

There are parallel sets with interrogative words (what, which, who, where etc.) to make relative pronoun in Ghale. This is illustrated by the following example in (6).

(6) Relative pronouns in Ghale

cə 'what'    su 'who'    kene 'where'  
 kələŋ 'when'    kumbə 'which'    kola 'how many'

In comparison with example (4), where the interrogative pronouns are presented, the relative pronouns are also same.

Some of the relative pronouns take the case markers as in table (6).

Table 6: Relative pronouns and case markers in Ghale

|       | NOM           | ERG      | GEN       | DAT      |
|-------|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| who   | su- $\phi$    | su-de    | su-dze    | su-ne    |
| what  | cə- $\phi$    | cə-de    | cə-dze    | cə-ne    |
| where | kene- $\phi$  | kene-de  | kene-dze  | kene-ne  |
| which | kumbə- $\phi$ | kumbə-de | kumbə-dze | kumbə-ne |

#### 4.4 Adjectives

Various kinds of adjectives are listed in (7).

- (7) cjə 'good' khərebə 'dry' əncjə 'bad'  
 dzindəŋ 'far' rəŋə 'long' tjarəŋ 'near'  
 ʈhunja 'short' gen 'big' sim 'cold'  
 dzidə 'small'

The colour names are listed in (8).

- (8) kər 'white' mələm 'red'  
 ləŋ 'black' ŋidjaŋ 'green/blue'

#### 4.5 Adverbs

The postpositions and numerals are listed in (9-10) below.

- (9) Postpositions

phjane 'above' nəŋ 'below'

- (10) Numerals

tja 'one' ŋis 'two' som 'three' si 'four'  
 ŋə 'five' ra 'six' ni 'seven' jet 'eighth'  
 ku 'nine' sju 'ten'

### 5. Nominal case marker: An overview

Ghale is an ergative-absolutive case system language. In a short overview, Ghale case marking shows the ergative absolutive system. The morphological case marks only agent in transitive clause is ergative. Similarly, another morphological case that marks both: subject in intransitive clause and patient in transitive clause is absolutive. This is illustrated in the following example.

- (11) a.  $\eta\theta\text{-}\phi$      $kli\text{-}i$   
           I-ABS go-PST  
           'I went'
- b.  $\eta\epsilon\text{-}de$      $k\theta\eta\text{-}\phi$      $c\theta\text{-}de$   
           I-ERG rice-ABS eat-PT-1.SG  
           'I ate rice'

An overview of Ghale nominal cases markers is presented in table (7).

Table 7: Cases markers in Ghale<sup>6</sup>

| Case                      | Marker  |  | Case     | Marker |
|---------------------------|---------|--|----------|--------|
| Nominative/<br>Absolutive | $-\phi$ |  | Ergative | $-de$  |
| Instrumental              | $-de$   |  | Locative | $-ne$  |
| Ablative                  | $-de$   |  | Genitive | $-dze$ |
| Locative                  | $-ne$   |  |          |        |

<sup>6</sup> Along with these cases,  $\langle -ne \rangle$  is a locative case marker which is restricted, generally, for human being. Thus,  $\textit{teb\theta lne}$  'on table' is normally considered grammatical but  $\textit{*ramne}$  'on Ram' is not grammatical. So this is given with star (\*) symbol.

## 6. Verb morphology

A Ghale simple stem consists of a verb stem and an affix indicating tense but it doesn't show agreement for person and number. This is illustrated as in the following paradigm < *thuə* > 'to wash' in both: non-past and past tenses in table (8) below.

Table 8: past and non-past paradigm of verb *thuə* 'to wash'

| Subject | non-past     | past         |  | Subject | non-past     | past         |
|---------|--------------|--------------|--|---------|--------------|--------------|
| 1SG     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |  | 2PL     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |
| 1DL     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |  | 3SG     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |
| 1PL     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |  | 3DL     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |
| 2SG     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |  | 3PL     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |
| 2DL     | <i>thuja</i> | <i>ṭhude</i> |  |         |              |              |

The citation form or the infinitive in Ghale ends in < -ə > like *upə* 'to cover', *kjərpə* 'to lie', *komə* 'to fill', *cəwə* 'to eat', *təŋə* 'to see' and so on.

## 6.1 Tense

Like in other Tibeto-Burman languages Gurung, Thakali and Tamang, for example, two way tense distinctions, namely past and non-past is found in Ghale. Past tense marker is < -de >, as in (12b) with its allomorph < -te > as in (14a) and < -i >, as in (4b). Examples (12-14) are illustrative of this.

- (12) a. *timbə-ju kola ṭhu-ja*  
 they-PL cloth wash-NPST  
 'They wash the cloth.'

b. timbə-ju kola ʃu-di  
 they-PL cloth wash-PST  
 ‘They washed the cloth.’

(13) a. khumən ke-jə  
 thief run-NPST  
 ‘The thief runs.’

b. khumən ke-i  
 thief run-PST  
 ‘The thief ran.’

(14) a. ram-de mur up-te  
 Ram-ERG mouth cover-PST  
 ‘Ram covered the mouth.’

When the negative prefix <ən-> is used in the verb stem, the past tense marker is deleted in all person and number paradigm. This is illustrated in table (9) below.

Table 9: Inflection of the verb cə ‘eat’ in the past tense

|     | Singular |      | Dual |      | Plural |      |
|-----|----------|------|------|------|--------|------|
|     | NPST     | NEG  | NPST | NEG  | NPST   | NEG  |
| 1st | cide     | əncə | Cide | əncə | cide   | əncə |
| 2nd | cide     | əncə | Cide | əncə | cide   | əncə |
| 3rd | cide     | əncə | Cide | əncə | cide   | əncə |

The non-past tense marker is <-ja>, as in (13a) with its allomorph <-jə> as in (13a). Examples (12-14) are illustrative of this above.

As in the past tense, the non-past tense marker is deleted in the verb stem of all person and number paradigm when the

negative prefix <ən-> is used. This is illustrated in table (10) below.

Table 10: Inflection of the verb cə 'eat' in the non-past tense

|     | Singular |      | Dual |      | Plural |      |
|-----|----------|------|------|------|--------|------|
|     | NPST     | NEG  | NPST | NEG  | NPST   | NEG  |
| 1st | cijə     | əncə | cijə | əncə | cijə   | əncə |
| 2nd | cijə     | əncə | cijə | əncə | cijə   | əncə |
| 3rd | cijə     | əncə | cijə | əncə | cijə   | əncə |

## 6.2 Aspects

### 6.2.1 Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect is obtained by the suffix <-ə>, which is then combined with the copular be verb to make past and non-past perfective aspect in both negative and affirmative verbs. This is illustrated in (15a-b) below.

(15) a. ram-de          mur      ub-ə          khjəŋ  
          Ram-ERG    mouth cover-PRFT be.NPST  
          'Ram has covered the mouth.'

      b. ram-de          mur      un-ub-ə          khjəŋ  
          Ram-ERG mouth NEG-cover-PRFT be.NPST  
          'Ram has not covered the mouth.'

### 6.2.2 Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect is obtained by the suffix <-nə> which is then combined with the copular be verb to make past and non-past progressive aspect. This is illustrated in (16a-b) below.

(16) a. ram-de          mur          up-nə          khjəŋ  
          Ram-ERG mouth      cover-PRG    be-NPST  
          'Ram is covering the mouth.'



- b. ram-de      mur      un-up-nə      khjəŋ  
 Ram-ERG    mouth    NEG-cover-PRG    be-NPST  
 'Ram is not covering the mouth.'

### 6.2.3 Habitual Aspect

Habitual aspect is unmarked, however, be verb <-*khjə*> serves as the habitual which is combined with verb stem. This is illustrated in (17).

- (17) ŋə      iskol      prə      khjə  
 I      school      go      be-PST  
 'I used to go to the school.'

## 6.3 Mood

### 6.3.1 Indicative Mood

The indicative mood in Ghale is generally expressed as an unmarked utterance with the true believes of speakers, as in (18).

- (18) ram      iskol      prə      khjəŋ  
 Ram    school    go      be.NPST  
 'Ram goes to school.'

### 6.3.2 Imperative Mood

Only a verb stem comes in imperative mood. There is no any different marker for the affirmative and negative mood, as in (19a-b). The regular negative prefix <*ən-*> is attached with the verb stem to make negative from affirmative. The illustration is given in (19) below.

- (19) a. ram      mur      up  
 Ram    mouth    cover  
 'Ram! Cover the mouth.'

- b. ram        mur        ən-up  
 Ram        mouth        NEG-cover  
 'Ram! Don't cover the mouth.'

### 6.3.3 Conditional Mood

Conditional mood marker in Ghale is *<-lo>* as in (20a-b) below.

- (20) a. ram-de    mur    up-lo        cǰə-ki        raun-de  
 Ram-ERG    mouth    cover-COND    good-ADJZR    be-PST  
 'If Ram covers the mouth, it would be better.'
- b. ram-de    mur        un-ub-lo    cǰə-ki        raun-de  
 Ram-ERG    mouth    NEG-cover    good-ADJZR    be-PST  
 'If Ram doesn't cover the mouth, it would be better.'

### 6.4 Be verb

The identificational 'be' verb is *<-khjəŋ>* as in (21c) in both past and non-past tenses. However, the existential verb does not occur in the sentence as in (21a-b).

- (21) a. əmbə-ju    bə        ram-ce        cə-ju  
 this-PL    PRT    Ram-GEN    son-PL  
 'These are sons of Ram.'
- b. əmbə    wə        ram  
 this    PRT    Ram  
 'This is Ram.'
- c. kitap    ʔebəl-ne        khjəŋ  
 book    table-LOC        be.NPST  
 'The book is on the table.'

## 7. Syntax and syntactic processes

In this section, a brief introduction to negativization, causativization, and clause combination will be presented. The passivization is not found in Ghale.

### 7.1 Negativization

The regular negative prefix is <ən->, in both past and non-past tenses Table (9).

### 7.2 Causativization

One important lexical feature of Ghale is that it has some intransitive-transitive/causative pairs differing only in tone from each other. There have been no such pairs found in the Tamang group of languages. Besides, for none but the stem for 'fall down' or 'drop'(tr.).

#### Gale Intransitive-Transitive/ Pairs

| Intransitive     |       | Transitive/Causative |       |
|------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| 1. return        | lwà   | 1. give back         | lwá   |
| 2. fall (down)   | tàl   | 2. drop              | tal   |
| 3. get scattered | thàr  | 3. scatter           | thar  |
| 4. break (pots)  | pàr   | 4. break (posts)     | pǎr   |
| 5. light         | nàn   | 5. light             | nǎn   |
| 6. become torn   | pryàŋ | 6. tear              | pryǎŋ |
| 7. get untied    | phwà  | 7. untie             | phwǎ  |
| 8. break (rope)  | prà   | 8. break (rope)      | pra   |
| 9. melt          | nyòl  | 9. melt              | nyǒl  |

(Nishi: 1982, pg. 13)<sup>7</sup>

The syntactic causativization process, however, is existed in Ghale language. Followings are the illustrations.

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<sup>7</sup> Here is some different transcription, e.g. /y/ in *pryaŋ*. I have transcribed /j/ symbol for this phoneme in this paper.

- (22) a. ram    sja-te  
          Ram    dance-PST  
          'Ram danced.'
- b. hari-de    ram-ne    sja-se    pin-de  
          Hari-ERG Ram-DAT dance-PUR give-PST  
          'Hari caused to Ram to dance.'

#### 7.4 Clause combining

Clauses are combined using the converb in Ghale as a process of subordination. In (23) the two sentences are combined using the converb <-*dəbe*>.

- (23) a. nimel-ne    tuŋ-dəbe    thimi-dze    ci  
          Nimel-LOC sit-CNV    they-GEN    wine  
  
          pisə-ne    cwa-i  
          leak-PST    sand-LOC  
          'They made their wine leak on sand in Nimel.'

The coordinating conjunctions in Ghale is *de* 'and' which combines both phrase and clause level constructions as in (24a-b).

- (24) a. cju    de    tja  
          ten    and    one  
          'Ten and one' (lit. eleven)
- b. ram    sja-te    de    kim-ne    prə-te  
          Ram    dance-PST and    house-LOC    go-PST  
          'Ram danced and went to the house.'

#### 8. Conclusion

The Ghale language, which is spoken in a small area in the central part of Gorkha district, belongs to Tebeto-Burman language family of Sino-Tibetan languages. It has no voicing

contrast in consonant. The language has two way distinction in number. This language does not use grammatical gender. The dual system exists in pronoun. Ghale is an ergative-absolutive case system language. A Ghale simple stem consists of a verb stem and an affix indicating tense but it doesn't show agreement for person and number. The citation form or the infinitive ends in <-ə>. Two way tense distinctions, namely past and non-past is found. The non-past tense marker is <-ja>. The past tense markers are <-de> with its allomorph <-te> and <-i>. When the negative prefix <ən-> is used in the verb stem, the past or non-past tense marker is deleted. Perfective aspect is obtained by the suffix <-ə> and the progressive aspect is obtained by the suffix <-nə>. The habitual aspect is unmarked, however, be verb <-khjã> serves as the habitual which is combined with verb stem. The indicative mood in Ghale is generally expressed as an unmarked utterance with the true believes of speakers. There is not any different marker for the affirmative and negative mood, only a verb stem comes in imperative mood. Conditional mood marker is <-lo>. The identificational 'be' verb is <-khjəŋ> but the existential, normally, does not come in the sentence. The regular negative prefix is <ən->, in both past and non-past tenses. The syntactic causativalization process, however, is existed in Ghale language. The passive construction is not found. Clauses are combined by using several devices like the use of converb as a process of subordination. The coordinating conjunctions in Ghale is *de* 'and' which combines both phrase and clause level constructions.

### Abbreviations

|      |                   |       |                                  |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| 1    | first person      | 2     | second person                    |
| 3    | third person      | ABL   | ablative                         |
| ABS  | absulative        | ADJZR | adjectivizer                     |
| CL   | classifier        | CNV   | converb                          |
| COND | conditional       | DAT   | dative                           |
| DL   | dual              | ERG   | ergative case                    |
| GEN  | genitive          | GEN   | genitive                         |
| GEN  | genitive case     | INF   | infinitive                       |
| lit. | literal           | LOC   | locative case                    |
| NEG  | negative          | NOM   | nominative case                  |
| NP   | noun phrase       | NPST  | non-past tense                   |
| PER  | perfective aspect | pg.   | page                             |
| PL   | plural            | PRFT  | perfective                       |
| PRG  | progressive       | PRG   | progressive                      |
| PRT  | particle          | PST   | past tense                       |
| SG   | singular          | VDC   | Village Development<br>Committee |

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# AGREEMENT PATTERNS IN DARAI: TYPOLOGICAL STUDY

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## 1. Introduction

Agreement with both Agent and Object marking is a typologically less common feature of the languages of the world. It is rare in Indo-European/ Indo-Aryan languages. However, it is widespread in many Sino-Tibetan languages including Kiranti, Siberian and Caucasian languages as well. Darai stands out in this respect from other Indo-European languages not only because it has poly-personal agreement where both the subject and the object trigger agreement in transitive clause, but also due to its linear agreement of arguments in terms of person hierarchy. Besides this, it is also unique for hierarchical agreement marking where the highest-ranking non-first person argument triggers the agreement in some persons of the paradigms. This is reported to be an uncommon feature of the languages of the world; and it has not been observed yet in South Asian languages. But it has been reported for a number of Native American languages (Mithun 1991, 1999, Jany 2008).

Darai (ISO 639-3: dry) is one of the endangered languages of Nepal. Because of the strong pressure of various socio-political factors and wide use of Nepali as a lingua franca, Darai people are losing their language day by day. However, after the restoration of democracy (1990), the younger generation of Darai seems to be aware of its language and culture. Darai population has increased according to the 2001 census report. They number 10210. But hardly one-third of them can speak their language.



The Darais mainly inhabit in Tanahu, Gorkha, Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Palpa and Dhading districts of Nepal. However, the majority of Darai people still live in several parts of the Tanahu district. In the same way, Chitwan occupies the second position in terms of number of Darai people. They communicate in their own language, which lacks a separate script.

There are three dialects of Darai i.e Chitwan, Pipaltar and Damauli. At a purely lexical level, based on cognate counts from the Swadesh 100 word list, the similarity between the major branches of Darai is about 50 to 60 percent; which exhibits a high level of intelligibility between them. The count between Chitwan and Damauli, for example, is 57 percent. Intelligibility between Chitwan and Pipaltar is lower in comparison to Chitwan and Damauli (Paudyal 2003).<sup>1</sup> I have mostly used the data from Pipaltar dialect of Darai which is considered to be an archaic variety of the language.

Though some of Darai people have Mongoloid look, their language is affiliated to Indo-Aryan. A genealogical development route of Indo-Aryan languages shows that Old Indo-Aryan languages (OIA) split into several Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) dialects; among them the most popular were Maharashtri Prakrit, Sauraseni Prakrit and Magadhi (Jain

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<sup>1</sup> ISO 639-3: dry. The data were collected in 2003 while carrying out the research for MA. I am grateful with Prof. Madhav Pokharel for his very helpful guidance and supervision both in the fieldwork and during the thesis writing. It is verified with Kotapis and Kotapis 1973.

I also acknowledge the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst) scholarship (A/06/91690) to work on the Chintang language for my PhD degree. This opportunity helped me to compare Chintang and other Kiranti languages with Darai.

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2003) and Ardhamagadhi Prakrit. Darai along with other languages, Bote, Majhi, Danuwar, Tharu, Kumal, Bengali, Oriya, Asamese, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Maithili form a linguistic group. Their source is traced back to the Ardhamagadhi Prakrit or Eastern Prakrit, which was brought to this area from Magadh. Lassen (in Clark 1924) tried to prove that the Prakrit dialect spoken in the Prabodhacandrodaya by the Digambara Jain monk, by the pupil of the Carvaka, and by the messenger from Orissa is Ardhamagadhi. Bhattacharya (1993) notes that Magadhi was the spoken language of eastern India, which was inhabited by a large number of fishermen. He summarizes that Magadhi has some strong phonetic similarities which scholars think are due to its close contact with Non-Aryan languages. It is true with Darai people who were prominently boatmen and fishermen. But, instead of phonetic and phonological features, the syntactic and inflectional morphological features of Darai are similar to Non-Aryan languages.

The Darai language is called Darai Kura by the Darais themselves and the speakers of other neighboring languages as well. This is the language that Grierson (1903) calls *Darhi* and *Dahi* and Hodgson (1874) calls it *Dadhi*.

### 1.1 Language typology

Darai is a verb final language. Topics normally occur in the initial position. The dominant unmarked word order of the major constituents of the sentence is SOV. It is a nominative/accusative language rather than an ergative/ absolutive language. It shows SOV, GN, AN, NREL, V AUX order. It is a suffixing language.

The following isolated sentence exemplifies unmarked word order, e.g.,

- (1) m<sup>h</sup>ai b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>ai-t<sup>h</sup>-m  
 1s rice eat-NPST-1s  
 S O V  
 'I eat rice.'

Darai is a head-marking language where the core arguments are obligatorily marked on the verb; possession is marked on the possessed. Like other South Asian languages, there is no preference in the order of nominal elements.

A typological survey of Darai shows that its phonology and the nominal morphology follow the patterns of other Indo-Aryan languages of South-Asia. But the inflectional morphology and the agreement patterns in the syntax distinguish Darai from other languages of the same family. It is amazing that the agreement pattern based on person hierarchy of Darai is not only different from Nepali and Hindi but also it is completely different from Bote, Kumal (Gautam 2000, Parajuli 2000), Danuwar (Bhandari 2001), Majhi languages which are the close sister languages of Darai. In terms of inflectional morphology and syntactic relations, Darai shares some features of Tibeto-Burman languages.

## 2. Darai agreement

In this section, I will discuss the various agreement patterns of Darai which function to copy features from possessive onto noun phrase and noun phrase onto verbal inflections.

### 2.1 Possessive agreement

Unlike other Indo-Aryan languages, the possessive agreement system of Darai is similar to the Chintang and other Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal. In both languages, there are possessive markers that are at least in some persons distinct from regular personal pronouns. However, the languages vary as to whether these markers are themselves pronominal stems or affixes. Darai marks possession with various suffixes (see

table 1), which are clearly different from pronominal stems. These suffixes cannot be inflected for case and they are strictly restricted for nominal stems.

However, Chintang, Puma (Gautam et al. 2005)<sup>2</sup> and number of other Kiranti languages employ prefixes to mark possession.

- |     |                   |     |                             |
|-----|-------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| (2) | Chintang          | (3) | Puma (Gautam et. al 2005)   |
|     | ak-ko a-khim      |     | khokku-bo k $\Lambda$ -khim |
|     | 1s-GEN Poss-house |     | 3s-GEN 3sPOSS-house         |
|     | My house          |     | 'His house'                 |

All possessive markers in Darai are phonologically bound i.e. procliticized and are attached to the head. In such cases, agreement in person and number is obligatory between possessors and possessed. When ownership is expressed, the cross-reference is optionally marked. In the examples, (4-9), the suffixes *-m*, *-Ø*, *-r*, *-u*, *-k*, and *-ikan* are attached to the corresponding pronouns. These markers probably reflect various stages of historical developments of free pronouns into bound agreement markers.

#### i. Expressions of kin relationship

- |     |   |     |  |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| (4) | me-r $\Lambda$ b <sup>h</sup> ai-m<br>1s-POSS brother-1s<br>'My brother.'   | (5) | ham-r $\Lambda$ b <sup>h</sup> ai-Ø<br>1p-POSS brother<br>'Our brother.'     |
| (6) | te-r $\Lambda$ b <sup>h</sup> ai-r<br>2s-POSS brother-2s<br>'Your brother.' | (7) | teu-r $\Lambda$ b <sup>h</sup> ai-u<br>2p-POSS brother-2p<br>'You brothers.' |

---

<sup>2</sup> Puma possessive markers for the first and second persons function as pronominal stems, but the third person functions as prefixes. (See Personal pronouns and Possessive pronouns in Puma Southern Kiranti, Gautam et al.)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (8) ik-ra b <sup>h</sup> ai-k<br>3s-POSS brother-3s<br>'His brother.' | (9) onen-k <sub>Λ</sub> b <sup>h</sup> ai-kan<br>3p-POSS brother-3p<br>'Their brothers.' |
|---|--|

The examples (4-9) show possessor-possessed agreement in Darai.

If a language has possessive agreement system with kin relationship, this does normally extend to ownership as well. This holds true with Darai. The examples 10-15 show that the pronouns agree with inanimate noun.

#### ii. Ownership

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (10) me-r <sub>Λ</sub> g <sup>h</sup> Λr-em<br>1s-POSS house-1s<br>'My house.'        | (11) te-r <sub>Λ</sub> g <sup>h</sup> Λr-er<br>2s-POSS house-2s<br>'Your house.'      |
| (12) ik-r <sub>Λ</sub> g <sup>h</sup> Λr-ek<br>3s-POSS house-3s<br>'His house.'       | (13) ham-r <sub>Λ</sub> g <sup>h</sup> Λr-Ø<br>1p-POSS house-1p<br>'Our house.'       |
| (14) teu-r <sub>Λ</sub> g <sup>h</sup> Λr-eu<br>2p-POSS house-2p<br>'Your (p) house.' | (15) onen-k <sub>Λ</sub> g <sup>h</sup> Λr-ekan<br>3p-POSS house-3p<br>'Their house.' |

Possessive agreement of these types is not a common feature of Indo-European/Indo-Aryan languages. It is rare not only in the Himalayan but also among the South Asian languages (Pokharel 2006).

However, probably due to the strong influence of Nepali and Chitwan-Tharu, the Chitwan dialect of Darai has completely dropped the possessor agreement noted by Kotapish and Kotapish (1975), and Paudyal (2003), which is still found optionally in the Pipaltar variety of the same language. This can be observed in the examples (16-17), where the first and

second person pronouns do not agree with the noun  $g^h\Delta r$  'home' and  $gai$  'cow'.

- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| (16) | me-r $\Delta$ $g^h\Delta r$ - $\emptyset$<br>1s-POSS house<br>'My house.' | (17) | te-r $\Delta$ $gai$<br>2s-POSS cow<br>'Your cow.' |
|------|---|------|---|

Table 1: Personal Pronouns and possessive marking suffix

|    | Pronouns                     | possessive marker |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1s | <i>m<math>\Delta</math>ĩ</i> | <i>-m</i>         |
| 1p | <i>hamẽ</i>                  | <i>-\emptyset</i> |
| 2s | <i>t<math>\Delta</math>ĩ</i> | <i>-r</i>         |
| 2p | <i>tahẽ</i>                  | <i>-u</i>         |
| 3s | <i>u</i>                     | <i>-k</i>         |
| 3p | <i>unen</i>                  | <i>-kan</i>       |

## 2.2 Verb agreement

This is the most typical feature of Darai, which makes this language quite different from other languages of the same group. In verb agreement, pronominal marking is obligatorily on both intransitive and transitive predicates. An other interesting fact is that it does not make a difference whether coreferential nominal is present in the clause or not.

- (18) de-ta-m-is  
give-NPST-1s-2s  
'I give to it you.'

Though, both the agent (A) and recipient (R) are missing from the clause, the example (18) is a grammatical sentence in Darai. But it may not be an interesting feature when we see the general trend of the languages of this area—'South Asian languages in general have the ability to pro-drop any and all arguments' (Butt 2001). The various types of verb agreement found in Darai are described below:

### 2.2.1 Dative agreement

Dative subject construction (Davision 1985) or Experience Subject construction (Verma 1990) or Experiencers goal construction (Bickel 2004), which is a general characteristic feature of South Asian languages throughout most of Indo-European and its neighboring languages, is also found in Darai. A general trend of Dative agreement in Indo-European/Indo-Aryan languages is that an experiencer qualifies as an agreement trigger if the argument is in the nominative, but not if it is in the dative (Bickel 1999, Ghimire 2002).

(19) Nepali (Bickel 1999)

ma bhut sanga ḍarā-ẽ

1s.NOM ghost with fear-1s.PST

'I was afraid of the ghost.'

(20) Nepali (Bickel 1999)

ma-lāi bhut sanga ḍar lag-yo (\*lā-ẽ)

1s-DAT ghost with fear feel-3s.PST

'I was afraid of the ghost.'

The Nepali agreement rule illustrated above (19-20) reflects a general trend of Indo-Aryan languages (Bickel 1999) where an oblique experiencer does not take part in the agreement.

But unlike Nepali and other Indo-Aryan languages, the case suffixes (either ergative or dative) do not function as blocking element with regard to the agreement morphology in the Darai language, the overtly case marked subject nominal (dative marked here) can trigger agreement on the verb.

(21) mer $\Lambda$ -ke b<sup>h</sup>ok lag $\Lambda$ -t $\Lambda$ -m

1s-DAT hunger touch-NPST-1s

'I am hungry/ I feel hungry.'

- (22) *ter* $\Lambda$ -ke b<sup>h</sup>ok lag $\Lambda$ -t $\Lambda$ -s  
2s-DAT hunger touch-NPST-2s  
'You feel hungry.'
- (23) *ukr* $\Lambda$ -ke b<sup>h</sup>ok lag $\Lambda$ -ta-k  
3s-DAT hunger touch-NPST-3s  
'He feels hunger.'
- (24) *hamr* $\Lambda$ -ke b<sup>h</sup>ok lag $\Lambda$ -ta-ir  
1p-DAT hunger touch-NPST-1p  
'We feel hunger.'
- (25) *teur* $\Lambda$ -ke b<sup>h</sup>ok lag $\Lambda$ -ta-u  
2p-DAT hunger touch-NPST-2p  
'You feel hunger.'
- (26) *onen*-ke b<sup>h</sup>ok lag $\Lambda$ -ta-kan  
3p-DAT hunger touch-NPST-3p  
'They feel hunger.'

These examples (21-26) show that the subject nominals are overtly case marked with dative case suffix *-ke*. The verb stem, however, takes the agreement markers that are coreferential to the subject nominal. In example, (21), the subject nominal is first person singular *mer* $\Lambda$ -ke 1s-DAT and the agreement marker that occurs with the verb stem *-m* entails the dative agreement. There is also a semantic restriction for the occurrence of the dative case clitic. In general, it is restricted to the animate nominals.

### 2.2.2 Possessive of experience

Himalayan languages code experiencers in two broad areal patterns (Bickel 2004). The most common across the Indo-European languages is experiencer-goal or Dative subject construction, which is already discussed in the 2.2.1 of this paper. In the Himalayas, it is universal in the Indo-Aryan



languages, but has also spread into adjacent Tibeto-Burman languages (and into Burushaski; Bashir 1985). It is vigorously attested in the Newar and the Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal, and also in the western Tibetan language Balti (Bickel 2004). Apart from Dative subject construction, in the Northeastern part of the Indic subcontinent, there occur the Experiencers-possessor constructions, which spread all over South-East Asia (including Myo-Yao, Mon Khmer, and Tai-Kadai languages). It is widely found in the Kiranti languages, but apart from a few examples in Newar it is not a common feature of other Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages. In Indo-Aryan, except for Maithili (Yadava 1996) and Marathi in the majority of South Asian Indo-Aryan languages, a verb does not agree across a postposition (Kachru, 1980). However, the recent research shows that in Darai a verb agrees with the possessor typically in comparative situation of the Dative Subject construction, which is sometime termed as 'Possessive of experience' or 'Experiences-possessor'. Such constructions recapitulate the pan-Southeast Asian theme of what Matisoff (1986) calls psycho-collocations or haplogologized, psychollocations. Among Indo-Aryan languages, it is also found to some extent in Assamese, Bangla and Oriya adjacent to the Tibeto-Burman world (Bickel 2004).

These examples (27-32) show that the possessive subject agrees with the verb.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (27) me-rΛ peT bot <sup>h</sup> a-im<br>1s-POSS stomach hurt-1s<br>'I have a stomach ache.' | (28) te-rΛ peT bot <sup>h</sup> a-ir<br>2s-POSS stomach hurt-2s<br>'You have a stomach ache.' |
| (29) ik-rΛ peT bot <sup>h</sup> a-ik<br>3s-POSS stomach hurt-3s<br>'He has a stomach ache.' | (30) ham-rΛ peT bot <sup>h</sup> a-it<br>1p-POSS stomach hurt-1p<br>'We have a stomach ache.' |

- (31) teu-rΛ peT bot<sup>h</sup>a-iu                      (32) onen-kΛ peT bot<sup>h</sup>a-ikan  
 2p-POSS stomach hurt-2p                      3p-POSS stomach hurt-3p  
 'You (pl) have a stomach ache.'              'They have a stomach ache.'

### 2.2.3 Object verb agreement

It is well known that objects whose features are high on one of the animacy/topicality hierarchies (e.g human, specific, first person, etc.) are more likely to trigger agreement (Comrie 1981, Das 2006). However, this generalization has not been easy to capture in formal syntactic theories because the actual conditions on object agreement differ considerably from language to language. The following examples show object verb agreement in Darai:

- (33) u teurΛ-ke cin-tΛ-s                      (34) u de-tΛ-is  
 3s 2s-DAT know-NPST-2s                      3s give-NPST-2s  
 'He recognizes you.'                              'He gives to you.'

The verb in examples (33-34) agrees with the object or the recipient instead of the subject. Such type of agreement occurs when there is a third person subject and a second person object in the specific statement. In this case, the verb does not agree with the third person subject but with the second person object, i.e. the highest ranking participant 2>3.

In the structural theory of object agreement, according to Chomsky 1992, it can occur if an object moves out of the VP to the object agreement position, Spec Agr-O. Objects that remain inside VP do not trigger agreement. In a language where all objects agree, all the objects move to Spec Agr-O (perhaps because case is not available inside VP). In a language with no object agreement, objects remain inside the VP or the language family simply lacks overt object agreement.

The problem is how to handle a language like Darai in which only some objects trigger agreement. For this, Chomsky 1992

proposes two possible approaches. The simpler approach would be one in which all objects move to Spec Agr-O, but because of the gaps in the inventory of overt agreement morphemes, only some objects trigger overt agreement. The next approach explains that only the agreeing objects move, while the non-agreeing objects remain in the VP.

#### 2.2.4 Subject object agreement and person hierarchy

Darai shows poly-personal agreement when the speech act participants are in the subject and object positions. Both the subject and object trigger agreement when the person higher in animacy is in the subject position and the object is lower in person hierarchy than the subject. The following are the examples of the subject and object agreement:

(35) mΛī de-ta-m-is  
1s give-NPST-1s-2s  
'I give to you.'

(36) mΛī de-ta-m-ik  
1s give-NPST-1s-3s  
'I give to him.'

(37) mΛī de-ta-m-iu  
1s give-NPST-1s-2p  
'I give to you.'

(38) mΛī de-ta-m-ikan  
1s give-NPST-1s-3p  
'I give to them.'

(39) tΛī de-ta-s-ik  
2s give-NPST-2s-3s  
'You give to him.'

(40) tΛī de-ta-s-ikan  
2s give-NPST-2s-3p  
'You give to them.'

This direct form is used when the subject has higher obviation status in terms of person hierarchy i.e. 1>2>3. It means, there is poly-personal agreement when a subject is the first person and an object is either second or third person. It is illustrated in examples (35-40) above. In the same way it also occurs when the subject is second person and object is third person. It is illustrated in the examples (39-40) above.

However, there is no poly personal agreement when the subject (pronoun) is lower in animacy hierarchy than the object. It is illustrated below in (41-43).

- (41) tɿ me-ke de-tɿ-s                      (42) u merai-ke di-t-Ø  
 2s 1s-DAT give-NPST-2s                  3s 1s-DAT give-NPST-3s  
 'You give to me.'                          'He gives to me'
- (43) u hamrɿ-ke di-t-Ø  
 3s 1p-DAT give-NPST-3s  
 'He gives to us.'

In the above examples, the subject is lower in person hierarchy than the object. The first person pronoun is acting as an object in all the examples. In this case, the object does not trigger any agreement with the verb. There is no first person agreement (either singular or plural) when it appears as an object in Darai. In this case, there is no hierarchy-based agreement.

But the second person behaves differently in Darai. It outranks third person and even first person object. It always triggers agreement no matter whether it is in agent or recipient role. In the examples below, the second person is a recipient object and it is taking part in verb agreement. Like North American languages mentioned earlier, Darai exhibits a person hierarchy based agreement when the speech act participants are second and third person in inverse relation i.e.  $3 \rightarrow 2 = 2$ .

- (44) u de-ta-is                                  (45) u tɿhe-ke de-tɿ-iu  
 3s give-NPST-2s                              3s 2p-DAT give-NPST-2p  
 'He gives to you.'                          'He gives to you (p)'

Agreement with first person plural subject:

The recipient does not trigger agreement if the subject is first person plural. In the examples (46-49), the first person plural

subject agrees with the verb *de* ‘give’. It seems the first person plural can be a most powerful argument to fill the subject slot in a transitive clause. But it loses its strength when it has to appear as an object (see example 41-43).

- |      |   |      |   |
|------|---|------|---|
| (46) | hame terai-ke de-t $\Lambda$ -ir<br>1p 2s-DAT give-NPST-1p<br>‘We give to you’.     | (47) | hame ukrai-ke de-t $\Lambda$ -ir<br>1p 3s-DAT give-NPST-1p<br>‘We give to him’  |
| (48) | hame teurai-ke det $\Lambda$ -ir<br>1p 2p-DAT give-NPST-1p<br>‘We give to you (p)’. | (49) | hame onen-ke de-t $\Lambda$ -ir<br>1p 3p-DAT give-NPST-1p<br>‘We give to them’. |

A transitive verb paradigm is presented in Table 2 which is illustrated by *de*, ‘give’.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> A transitive verb paradigm in table 2 shows that the object is accompanied with an extra *-i* phoneme (or may be a morpheme?), which still needs to be defined for an elegant analysis. In its primary analysis, it can be analyzed as a recipient marker. As it appears with all the persons in the paradigm, it can be a default recipient marker that prepares a foundation for the true recipient object! But this hypothesis does not work with the forms when the second person plural acts upon third person singular and plural: 2p→3s/3p; the recipient object which is in third person both singular and plural forms, is not supported by *-i*. We can again adopt two hypothetical rules for this *-i* to overcome this problem and to prove it a recipient marker in Darai. For the first rule, we can postulate a phonological rule, where the recipient marker *-i* is deleted when it is preceded by *-u*. So Darai phonology does not accept the forms like *\*de-t $\Lambda$ -u-ik* ‘You (p) give him’. But we do not have sufficient corpus of Darai to verify this rule. The next hypothesis can be ‘an exceptional rule’. Simply, we can treat the Darai second person plural forms in different way to adjust this phenomenon. But again we do not have enough paradigms to prove it.

On the other hand, this *-i* can also be a third person singular/plural Agent when the third person acts upon second or third person. If this rule is true, it will kick away the hierarchy-based agreement from Darai. One needs to have enough corpora to analyze such complex features of languages. This is a good topic for future research!

Table 2: Transitive verb paradigm: NPST

|    | 1s      | 1p      | 2s         | 2p         | 3s         | 3p           |
|----|---------|---------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1s |         |         | de-tΛ-m-is | de-tΛ-m-iu | de-tΛ-m-ik | de-tΛ-m-ikan |
| 1p |         |         | de-tΛ-ir   | de-tΛ-ir   | de-tΛ-ir   | de-tΛ-ir     |
| 2s | de-tΛ-s | de-tΛ-s |            |            | de-tΛ-s-ik | de-tΛ-s-ikan |
| 2p | de-tΛ-u | de-tΛ-u |            |            | de-tΛ-u-k  | de-tΛ-u-kan  |
| 3s | di-t    | di-t    | de-tΛ-is   | de-tΛ-iu   | de-tΛ-ik   | de-tΛ-ikan   |
| 3p | de-tΛ-t | de-tΛ-t | de-tΛ-is   | de-tΛ-iu   | de-tΛ-ik   | de-tΛ-ikan   |

In brief, poly personal agreement in linear order occurs only when the object is lower than the subject on the person hierarchy: 1>2>3. Thus, 1→2, 1→3, 2→3 all have subject object agreement.

In the semantic inverse, 2→1, 3→1 or 3→2 (41-45) the verb agrees with one person only the highest-ranking non-first person.

The Darai agreement system typologically resembles to a number of Native American languages. In both cases, there is agreement on the basis of person hierarchy. But still there is a very interesting difference between them. In general, only one core argument is marked on the predicate following a hierarchy whereby speech act participants, i.e. first and second persons, are favored over third person in North American languages (Jany 2008), especially in Chimariko (50-51). But the Darai language marks the both core arguments when they are in direct relation; it marks the highest-ranking non-first person only in the inverse relation.

(50) m-oko-xana-<sup>?</sup>  
 2s-tattoo-FUT-Q  
 'Are you going to tattoo her?' (Chimariko: Jany 2008)

(51) q<sup>h</sup>a-k'o-<sup>?</sup>na-<sup>?</sup>  
 2p-talk-APPL-Q  
 'Was he talking to you?' (Chimariko: Jany 2008)

The example (50) shows the pattern  $2>3\Rightarrow 2$  and the example is 51)  $3>2\Rightarrow 2$ . In both cases, the second person is favored over the third person. However, in clauses where only speech act participant occur, both participants are marked.

- (52) m-e-xota                      (53) m-ixota  
 2s-1s.P-look.at                      2s-look.at  
 ‘You look at me’.                      ‘You look at it’.  
 (Chimariko: Jany 2008)

All the possible agreement relations are shown in the Table 3

Table 3: Person hierarchy in Darai and Chimariko

| Darai (Nepal)                    | Chimariko (North America)                 |
|----------------------------------|---|
| $1>3\Rightarrow 1+3$ both marked | $1>3\Rightarrow 1$ agent marked           |
| $2>3\Rightarrow 2+3$ both marked | $2>3\Rightarrow 2$ marked                 |
| $3>1\Rightarrow 3$ agent marked  | $3>1\Rightarrow 1$ patient marked         |
| $3>2s\Rightarrow 2s$ marked      | $3>2s\Rightarrow 2$ marked                |
| $3>2p\Rightarrow 2p$ marked      | $3>2p\Rightarrow 2p$ patient marked       |
| $1>2\Rightarrow 1+2$ both marked | $1>2\Rightarrow 1$ agent marked           |
| $2>1\Rightarrow 2$ agent marked  | $2>1\Rightarrow 2$ marked+1patient marked |
| $3>3\Rightarrow 3$ marked        | $3>3\Rightarrow 3$ marked                 |

In general, Darai marks the both core arguments when they are in hierarchical linear order i.e.  $1>2>3$  in direct relation. But the basic trend of Chimariko is that it marks only one core argument on the predicate following a hierarchy. In both the languages first and second persons are favored over third person. However, unlike Darai and Chimariko, Kadiweu, a South American language, exhibits a ‘second person over first’ in the agreement system, i.e.  $2>1$  order (Sandalo 2008).

### 2.2.5 Subject verb agreement

In some Indo-Aryan languages, the case markers appear to be a constraint in mediating the agreement between verbal elements and the argument. But Darai agrees with both the marked and unmarked nominal.

In this section two types of subject verb agreement are discussed: Subject Agreement with intransitive verb and subject agreement with transitive verb. In Darai, agreement is restricted to the Non-past environment.

i) Subject agreement in intransitive clause

Most of the intransitive verbs in Darai show agreement with their subjects. These examples of intransitive verbs (54-55) show that they are one place predicate with regard to argument structure. The verbs of these clauses agree with their subjects in person, number, and gender. However, it is possible that the intransitive verb optionally takes a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, but the verb does not agree with it.

(54) mλī λi-tλ-m  
1s come-NPST-1s  
'I come.'

(55) hamē λi-ta-ir  
1p come-NPST-1p  
'We come.'

(56) tλī λi-tλ-s  
2s come-NPST-2s  
'You come.'

(57) tλhē λi-ta-u  
2p come-NPST-2p  
'You (p) come.'

(58) u λi-t  
3s come-NPST-3s  
'he comes.'

(59) onen λi-ta-t  
3p come-NPST-3p  
'They come.'

These (54-59) examples show agreement in intransitive clauses. The following are the affixes for various pronominal cross-references.

Table 4: Cross referent suffixes

| Person / Number | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------|----------|--------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | -m       | -ir    |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | -s       | -u     |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | -Ø       | -t     |



## ii) Subject agreement with transitive verb

In a transitive clause, there is an external and an internal argument that is the subject and direct object respectively. The verb in the following sentences (61-63) shows agreement with nominative subject.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (60) <i>m</i> āi kitap an-t $\Lambda$ -m<br>1s book bring-NPST-1s<br>'I bring the book.'     | (61) hamē kitap an-ta-ir<br>1p book bring-NPST-1p<br>'We bring the book.'          |
| (62) t $\Lambda$ i kitap an-t $\Lambda$ -s<br>2s book bring-NPST-2s<br>'You bring the book.' | (63) t $\Lambda$ hē kitap an-ta-u<br>2p book bring-NPST-2p<br>'2p bring the book.' |

First person *m*āi 'I' triggers agreement with the transitive verb *an* 'bring' (60); pronominal marker of the first person *-m* is attached to the verb. In the same way, the first person plural, second person singular and plural also appear on the verb (61-63).

### 3. Animacy hierarchy and morphosyntactic alignment

Animacy can also influence the nature of morphologies of languages which are split-ergative. In such languages, participants, which are more animate, are more likely to be the agent of the verb, and therefore are marked in an accusative pattern: unmarked in the agent role and marked in the patient or oblique role. Likewise, less animate participants are inherently more patient-like, and take ergative marking: unmarked when in the patient role and marked when in the agent role. The hierarchy of person/animacy generally, but not always, is ordered in the following way:

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person > proper names > humans > non-humans > animates > inanimate

The location of the split (the line which divides the inherently agentive participants from the inherently patientive

participants) varies from language to language, and in many cases the two classes overlap, with a class of nouns near the middle of the hierarchy being marked for both the agent and patient roles.

In a direct-inverse language clauses with transitive verbs can be expressed either using a direct or an inverse construction. The direct construction is used when the subject of the transitive clause outranks the object in salience or animacy but the inverse is used when the object outranks the subject. Both types of constructions are found in Darai.

#### 4. Conclusion

Poly personal agreement or biactantial agreement is not a common feature of Indo-European/Indo-Aryan languages. However, it is noted in number of Sino-Tibetan languages including Kiranti. Darai is a unique Indo-Aryan language, where one can find not only biactantial agreement, but also a very clear linear order of arguments in agreement i.e. 1>2>3. In its inverse relation, Darai also shows person hierarchy based agreement that has been a topic of concern in typological studies for a long time. It is a very common phenomenon in North and South American languages. But it was not observed in the languages of South-Asia.

From the typological standpoint, this phenomenon relies on a tight relationship between morphological expression and constructional markedness hierarchies. Such markedness hierarchies predict which arguments are more likely to take the function of subjects. Arguments high on the scale make better subjects and those low on the scale are better objects.

#### Abbreviations

|      |              |     |               |
|------|--------------|-----|---------------|
| 1    | First person | 2   | Second person |
| 3    | Third person | A   | Agent         |
| APPL | Applicative  | DAT | Dative        |

|      |                   |      |                |
|------|-------------------|------|----------------|
| FUT  | Future            | NPST | Non-past       |
| O    | Object            | OIA  | Old Indo-Aryan |
| MIA  | Middle Indo-Aryan | P    | Patient        |
| p    | plural            | PST  | Past           |
| Q    | Question          | R    | Recipient      |
| s    | Singular          | S    | Subject        |
| POSS | Possessive        | VP   | verb phrase    |

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## GRAMMATICALIZATION OF CLAUSE COMBINING IN THE INSCRIPTIONAL NEPALI

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Grammaticalization is a process of evolving new structures and grammatical categories by reorganizing and reshaping the old resources of a language (See Heine et al 1991). If we examine the inscriptional Nepali in a chronological order, we will find that many of the synchronic grammatical structures and categories are missing in earlier dates and there is a gradual evolution of structures and categories by using the already existent resources in the language.

Timilsiana (2062VS) and Chalise (2063VS) are notable research works on the inscriptional Nepali. Timilsina supplies word meanings of inscriptional Nepali while Chalise has worked on how grammatical structures are evolved in the language through time, but the grammaticalization of clause combining is out of Chalise's focus. However, both Timilsina and Chalise have supplied appendices of Nepali inscriptions in a chronological order and this paper is based on those data.

Middle Indo-Aryan languages reached the New Indo-Aryan stage towards the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Sircar 1965). Nepali also may have reached the NIA stage around the same time. Purna Prakash Nepal Yatri (2039VS)<sup>1</sup> has claimed that one of the Nepali inscriptions from Dullu belongs to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but it has been proved (Pokharel 2000) that the inscription cannot be dated earlier than the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This

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<sup>1</sup> The dates cited in the paper from the inscriptions are given in the Vikram Era. To convert a date from the Vikram Era (VS) to AD we should roughly reduce 57 years. However, the centuries mentioned in the paper are all given in AD.

situation has laid the foundation that in spite of some problems with dating; Asokchalla's (13<sup>th</sup> century) may be the earliest Nepali inscription at our disposal.

Since the earliest authentic inscription (1270VS) on Nepali, use of Participles, Light Verbs and Compound Verbs have been found playing significant roles in Clause Combining. Among the participles Converb (or Conjunctive or Absolutive Participle) has been discovered as one of the earliest strategies. This strategy dates back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

## 1. Converb

### 1.1 <-i>

(1) ghal-i  
pour-CNV  
'by pouring' (Jumla 1327VS)

(2) k-i      Δkr-i  
do-CNV do-CNV  
'has been done' (Jumla 1327VS)

(3) kΔr- i  
do-CNV  
'by doing' (Dailekh 1878VS)

Nepali Perfective suffix <-yo> was developed through the following template:

(4) Sanskrit /i + tΔh/ → Prakrit /i-o/ → Nepali /y-o/

The Converbial suffix <-i> is developed from the deletion of the final 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular nonfeminine marker <-o> whose plural counterpart is <-a>. The Converbial suffix <-i> implies the Completive/Sequential meaning. The plural

<-a> is extended for the grammaticalization of the honorific meaning in the following data:

1.2 <-ya>

- (5) kΛr-i      Λkr-ya      bhasa      pΛsa      bhΛ-i  
do-CNV   do-CNV.PL   language   grant   be-PFV  
'While doing something, this order was granted'.  
(Jumla 1394VS)

- (6) d̥ho-ya  
carry-CNV.PL.OBL  
'for carrying something'      (Jumla 1413VS)

The structure of this Converb was further developed in Modern Nepali (after the unification of Nepal) by suffixing <rΛ> 'and' and is witnessed even in the writings of Bhanu Bhakta, eg:

1.3 <ya + rΛ>

- (7) sut-ya + rΛ  
sleep-PFV-AND  
'slept and...'      (Bhanu Bhakta)
- (8) sut-e + rΛ      (Modern Standard)

Light Verb and Compound Verb also date back to the 13th century. These structures also presumably developed through the grammaticalization of biclausal structures, e.g.:

2. Light Verb

- (9) rΛs-yo + bΛs-yo      kΛr-i  
enjoy-PFV+live-PFV      do-CNV  
'facilitating to consume.'      (Jumla 1327VS)



- (10) pAsa k-i  
 grant do-CNV  
 'doing favor' (Jumla 1327)  
 (Grammaticalization of <kΛr > 'do')

### 3. Compound Verb

- (11) kΛr-i Λ-kr-ya  
 do-CNV PT-do-PFV.PL/OBL  
 'has done' (Jumla 1327VS)
- (12) pAsa k-i Λ-kr-i  
 grant do-CNV PT-do-PFV.FEM  
 'has been granted' (Jumla 1327VS)
- (13) pasa bhay-a cha-n  
 grant become-PL be-PL  
 'have been granted' (Bajhang 1373VS)  
 (Grammaticalization of BE)
- (14) bhakha pasa bha-i cha  
 promise grant become-CNV is  
 'promise has been granted' (Bajhang 1373VS)  
 (Grammaticalization of BE)
- (15) kar-i pas-a k-i Λ-kr-yā chū  
 do-CNV grant-FEM do-CNV PT-do-PFV am  
 'After doing ..., I have granted it' (Dailekh 1378VS)  
 (Perfect Aspect/ Ergative-Nominative Agreement/  
 Grammaticalization of DO)
- (16) pas-a k-i Λ-kry-ã ch-Λũ  
 grant-FEM do-CNV PT-do-PFV.OBL be-PFV.1.PL  
 'We have granted' (Achham 1485VS)

- (17) inu bramhan le sankalpa ghal-i di-nu  
 this Brahmin ERG promise put-CNV give-IMP  
 'This Brhamin should issue the promise' (Doti 1677VS)

The verb root meaning GIVE has been used as a Vector of the Compound Verb as a strategy of engineering Benefactive Construction since the 14th century, eg:

4. Benefactive Construction: Grammaticalization of <de>  
 'GIVE'

- (18) manis lai Doli Doko cADh-a-i dinu  
 man DAT hammock basket offer-CAUS-CNV GIVE  
 'Manage to offer hammock and basket to the people'  
 (Jajarkot 1446VS)

The 14<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the evolution of five other participles namely, Infinitival (V-n $\Lambda$ ), Protasis (V- $\Lambda$ ), Durative (V-da), Habitual (V-do) and Prospective (V-nya) as additional strategies of Clause Combining, e.g:

5. Infinitival (<V-n $\Lambda$ >) Participle

- (19) kōhi lAD-n $\Lambda$  n $\Lambda$ -paw- $\Lambda$   
 anybody fall-PROS NEG-get-OPT  
 'May nobody fight' (Bajhang 1373VS)

- (20) k $\Lambda$ r-n $\Lambda$  n $\Lambda$ -paw- $\Lambda$ -n  
 do-PROS NEG-get-OPT-PL  
 'May nobody do' (Jumla 1393VS)

6. Protasis (<V- $\Lambda$ >) Participle

- (21) ko-hi je gh $\Lambda$ c k $\Lambda$ r- $\Lambda$  t $\Lambda$ ... S2  
 who-IND If disturbance do- $\Lambda$  PART  
 'If anybody disturbs...' (Bajhang 1378VS)

## 7. Durative (&lt;V-da&gt;) Participle

- (22) kaTak aũ-da jã-da ghΛc nΛ-k-iy-Λ  
 war come-DUR go-DUR disturbance NEG-do-OPT  
 'May nobody disturb during the army marches for war'  
 (Bajhang 1378VS)

- (23) kΛr-i Λ-kr-ya hũ-da...  
 do-CNV PT-do-PP be-DUR  
 'for doing something' (Doti 1675VS)

## 8. Habitual (&lt;V-do&gt;) Participle

- (24) hath-Λi ko chΛnd-do  
 hand-EMPH POS be-PRP  
 'something at hand' (Jumla 1415VS)

- (25) baniya ko hun-do  
 trader POS be-PRP  
 'for the benefit of businessmen' (Jumla 1434VS)

## 9. Prospective (&lt;V-nya&gt;) Participle

- (26) V-nya ubho  
 V-PP above  
 'in addition to doing something' (Myangdi 1434VS)

The development of these participles was coupled in the later half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the grammatical extension of Postpositions and Adverbial Particles positioned after them as further extension of Clause Combining strategies and this strategy continued in the following centuries, e.g:

## 10. &lt;V-nΛ ma&gt;

- (27) ghal-i-nΛ ma sasΛn k-i  
 pour-PASS-PROS LOC governance do-FEM  
 'it was managed to be disturbed' (Doti 1409VS)

11. <V-ya ko> Participle

- (28) mer-i            janmΛuti            Dhoy-a            akhΛr  
 my-FEM    horoscope    carry out-CONV    letters  
  
 pΛDh-a-ya            ka            pΛsa  
 read-CAUS-PT.OBL    POS.OBL    grant  
 'for making my horoscope and teaching'  
(Jumla 1413VS)

- (29) bΛs-al-i            di-ya            ko            chΛ  
 sit-CAUS-CNV    GIVE-PT.OBL    POS    is  
 'has been fixed'    (Jajarkot 1446VS)

12. <V-ya ma>

- (30) tyΛhā    hamro    sΛbΛr    bhΛ-ya            ma...  
 there    our    control    become-PP    LOC  
 'If there were our control'            (Jajarkot 1446VS)

13. <V-e pachhi>

- (31) gar-e            pachhi  
 do-PP    later  
 'after doing'            (Jumla 1455VS)
- (32) mΛya    bhΛ-ya            ko            jΛga  
 grant    become-PP    POS    land  
 'granted land'            (Jumla 1648VS)
- (33) seba    la-ya            ko,    saTo            pa-ya    ko  
 service    apply-PP    POS    exchange    get-PP    POS  
 'received for doing service'            (Jumla 1648VS)
- (34) hamrΛ    le            pa-ya            ko            chΛ  
 our    ERG    get-PP    POS    is  
 'Ours has got'            (Jumla 1648VS)

- (35) tamrΛpΛtrΛ mΛya bhΛ-ya ka bintyaru  
copper plate grant become-PP POS-OBL applicant  
'the applicant who has been granted' (Doti 1677VS)
- (36) bhΛ-yo chΛ/bhΛ-ya ko chΛ  
become-PFV.sg is/become-PP POS is  
'has become' (Achham 1736VS)
- (37) maTo le gΛ-ya ka din  
land ERG go-PP.OBL POS.OBL day  
'days passed on behalf of land' (Bajhang 1752VS)

## 14. &lt;V-ya ma&gt;

- (38) tyΛhã hamro sΛbΛr bhΛ-ya ma...  
there our control become-PP.OBL LOC  
'If we win there...' (Jajarkot 1446VS)

## 15. &lt;V-ta/da ko&gt;

- (39) V-ta ko cauthaanga tol-i  
V-DUR POS one-fourth weigh-CNV  
'weighing one-fourth of doing something'  
(Achham 1494VS)
- (40) N1 pau-da ko N2  
N1 get-DUR POS N2  
'N2 when it got N1'?? (Bajhang 1503VS)

## 16. &lt;V-nu le&gt;

- (41) sΛk-na le  
can-NOM.OBL ERG  
'for being able to do something'  
(Mugu/Jumla 1550VS)

17. <V-da le >

- (42) hū-da le  
 be-DUR ERG  
 'for being' (Jumla 1671VS)

Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century the structure of IF-Sentence is also found developed as another strategy of clause combining. Use of participles often postposed by Discourse Marking Particles has been instrumental in the engineering of the Protasis of IF sentences, eg:

18. Protasis

18.1 <V-tΛ >

- (43) ko-hi je ghΛc kΛr-Λ tΛ ... S2  
 anybody IF disturbance do-PROT PART  
 'If anybody disturbs' (Bajhang 1378VS)

18.2 <V-ya... > (Myangdi 1434VS)

- (44) S bhΛn-ya khel-yo bhΛn-ya  
 play-PFV SAY-PP  
 'If anybody plays' (Jumla 1648VS)

Relative-Correlative structure has also been found pertinent since the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as another strategy of clause combining, eg:

19. Relative-Correlative Structure

- (45) jo ... ghal-Λ ghΛl-aw-Λ ... S2  
 REL disobey disobey-CAUS-PROT  
 'he who violates and promotes anybody to violate'  
 (Jumla 1413VS)

(46) jo... so...  
REL COR (Jumla 1413VS)

(47) jo... tas ko...  
REL COR POS (Jumla 1413VS)

Reflexivization appears with the reflexive anaphora in the inscriptions since the 14th century, eg:

#### 20. Reflexivization with <aphu >

(48) apn-a dyopitΛr  
self-PL gods and forefathers  
'one's gods and ancestors' (Jumla 1413VS)

Compound Postposition in Nepali syntax has emerged since the 15th century, eg:

#### 21. Compound Postposition <maha ko >

(49) sirti maha ko ek  
Sirti LOC POS one  
'one of those who are in Sirti' (Bajhang 1497VS)

Clause Chaining and Serialization as Clause Combining structures appear 16th century onwards, eg:

#### 22. Clause Chaining

##### 22.1 <V-nu thi >

(50) bhumi din-i th-i  
land give-FEM was-FEM.PFV  
'The land was to be granted' (Doti 1615VS)

##### 22.2 <V-nu cha >

(51) gar-nu chΛ/ khanu chΛ  
do-NOM is/ eat-NOM is  
'has to do/'has to eat' (Jumla 1761VS)





and is witnessed even in the writings of poet Bhanu Bhakta (19<sup>th</sup> century).

- 6 Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century the structure of IF-Sentence is found developed as another strategy of clause combining. Use of some Participles often postposed by Discourse Marking Particles has been found instrumental in the engineering of Protasis.
- 7 Light Verb also dates back to the 13th century. Light Verb and Compound Verb were both presumably developed through the grammaticalization of biclausal structures.
- 8 Relative-Correlative structure has also been found pertinent since the middle of the 14th century as another strategy of clause combining.
- 9 Reflexivization appears with the reflexive anaphora in the inscriptions since the 14th century.
- 10 The syntax of Compound Postposition has appeared since the 15th century with implicational effects on Clause Combining.

#### List of abbreviations

|      |                |      |                    |
|------|----------------|------|--------------------|
| CAUS | Causative      | CNV  | Converb            |
| COR  | Correlative    | DAT  | Dative             |
| DUR  | Durative       | EMPH | Emphatic           |
| ERG  | Ergative       | FEM  | Feminine           |
| IND  | Indefinite     | LOC  | Locative           |
| N    | Noun           | N1   | First Noun         |
| N2   | Second Noun    | NEG  | Negative           |
| NIA  | New Indo Aryan | NOM  | Nominal Participle |
| OBL  | Oblique        | OPT  | Optative           |
| PART | Particle       | PASS | Passive            |
| PFV  | Perfective     | PL   | Plural             |
| POS  | Possessive     | PP   | Past Participle    |
| PROS | Prospective    | PROT | Protasis           |

|     |                        |     |               |
|-----|------------------------|-----|---------------|
| PRP | Progressive Participle | REL | Relative      |
| S   | Sentence               | S1  | First Clause  |
| S2  | Second Clause          | SG  | Singular      |
| V   | Verb                   | VS  | Vikram Samvat |

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## DHANKUTE TAMANG ADVERBS

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### 1. Introduction

Dhankute Tamang is a dialect of Tamang that belongs to the group of non-pronominalising languages of Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. This dialect is spoken in Dhankuta district of Nepal.

This paper deals with Dhankute Tamang adverbs focusing on the forms and functions. It is divided into 3 major parts. First part deals with formation of adverbs, whereas second part describes positions of adverbs. Classification of adverbs is mentioned in third part. Lastly, conclusion is drawn.

### 2. Formation of adverbs

Adverbs in Dhankute Tamang form a separate word class, e.g.,

- (1) a. l<sup>h</sup>akpa zya -na le                      dim - ri        ni -zi.  
Lhakpa good-NML-MAN    Home-ALL    go-Pt  
'Lhakpa went home well.'
- b. l<sup>h</sup>akpa audi                      ca- mu- la  
Lhakpa much                      eat-be-NPt  
'Lhakpa eats much.'
- c. l<sup>h</sup>anan zya-ba                      m<sup>h</sup>i        k<sup>h</sup>a -ban- mu-la.  
Very good-NML    man        come-PROG be-NPt  
'A very good man is coming.'

Adverbs zya- na- le and dim ri in (1a) modify the verb ni zi with respect to manner and direction (place), respectively. audi in (1b) modifies the verb group

ca -mu- la, whereas l<sup>h</sup>anan in (1c) modifies the adjective zya- ba in a noun phrase l<sup>h</sup>anan zya-ba m<sup>h</sup>i.

Structurally, Dhankute Tamang adverbs can be categorized into three different groups: Non-derived adverbs, derived adverbs, adverbial phrases.

### 2.1 Non-derived adverbs

Non-derived adverbs in Dhankute Tamang can be categorized into three groups: Temporal, locative and degree. Some common non-derived adverbs are given below:

#### i. Temporal adverbs

- |     |    |                      |                        |
|-----|----|----------------------|------------------------|
| (2) | a. | n <sup>h</sup> aŋgar | 'tomorrow'             |
|     | b. | dande                | 'now'                  |
|     | c. | reni                 | 'day after tomorrow'   |
|     | d. | one                  | 'day before yesterday' |
|     | e. | tilma                | 'yesterday'            |
|     | f. | tini                 | 'today'                |
|     | g. | sjori                | 'morning'              |

#### ii. Locative /directional adverbs

- |     |    |                       |                |
|-----|----|-----------------------|----------------|
| (3) | a. | kemaŋ                 | 'beyond'       |
|     | b. | zasaŋ                 | 'this side'    |
|     | c. | p <sup>h</sup> irgyap | 'out'          |
|     | d. | ŋacc <sup>h</sup> a   | 'in front'     |
|     | e. | ker                   | 'at that side' |
|     | d. | lisaŋ                 | 'behind'       |
|     | g. | lacc <sup>h</sup> a   | 'behind'       |

#### iii. Degree adverbs

- |     |    |                     |                   |
|-----|----|---------------------|-------------------|
| (4) | a. | l <sup>h</sup> anan | 'very\ much\many' |
|     | b. | alík                | 'a bit'           |

- c. udidi 'a little\ a few'  
 d. l<sup>h</sup>a-l<sup>h</sup>anan 'very\ much\many'  
 e. tikpe 'little'  
 f. tikpe -tikpe<sup>2</sup> 'so little'

All temporal and locative adverbs mentioned in (2 a-f ; 3 a-f) are originally Tibeto-Burman words. Degree adverbs like l<sup>h</sup>a-l<sup>h</sup>anan and tikpe -tikpe contain repetition of first syllable, and the whole word only for the emphasis. So, they are emphatic forms of l<sup>h</sup>anan and tikpe, rather than new adverbs. Besides, alik is borrowed from Nepali, their lingua franca, and tikpe from Sherpa, their neighbouring language. Phonemically and originally, l<sup>h</sup>anan and udidi are only found as the degree adverbs in Dhankute Tamang.

## 2.2 Derived adverbs

Adverbs in Dhankute Tamang can be derived from demonstratives, nouns, adjectives and verbs. Their derivational suffixes along with the examples are illustrated in Tables 1-2.

Table 1: Derived temporal adverbs

| Derivational suffix | Derived from                       |            | Derived form                       |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
|                     | Word                               | Word class |                                    |
| ri                  | syor                               | N          | syor-ri 'in the morning'           |
|                     | di-ni                              | N          | di- ni -ri 'in the day time'       |
| dona                | gone                               | N          | gone ri 'in Shrawan'               |
|                     | l <sup>h</sup> o c <sup>h</sup> ar | N          | l <sup>h</sup> o-c <sup>h</sup> ar |

<sup>1</sup> Copy of the first syllable indicates much emphasis, but here it refers to 'very much' or 'too much'.

<sup>2</sup> Copy of the complete word indicates much emphasis, and thereby it means 'very small quantity'.

|                |                   |   |   |
|----------------|-------------------|---|---|
|                | m <sup>h</sup> un | N | dona 'up to Lhochhar'                   |
|                |                   |   | m <sup>h</sup> un dona 'up to night'    |
|                | kartik            | N | kartik dona 'up to Kartik'              |
| gyam\<br>hense | sjor              | N | sjor-gyam 'from the morning'            |
|                | tihar             | N | tihar-gyam 'from the Tihar.'            |
|                | m <sup>h</sup> un | N | m <sup>h</sup> un-gyam 'from the night' |

Table 2: Derived directional adverbs

| Derivational suffix | Derived from Word | Word class | Derived form adverbs          |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| -ri                 | namsa             | N          | namsa-ri 'to village'         |
|                     | bazar             | N          | bazar-ri 'to bazaar'          |
|                     | hoza              | Dem        | hoza-ri 'there/to that place' |
| -dona               | yambu             | N          | yambu-dona 'up to Kathmandu'  |
|                     | namsa             | N          | namsa-dona 'up to village'    |
|                     | hoza              | Dem        | hoza-dona 'up to that place'  |
| -gyam /<br>-hense   | dim               | N          | dim-gyam 'from the house'     |
|                     | namsa             | N          | namsa-gyam 'from the village' |
|                     | hoza              | Dem        | hoza-gyam 'from that place'   |

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<sup>3</sup> Derivational suffixes -gyam and -hense are free variants.

Table 3: Derived locative adverbs

| Derivational suffix | Derived from       |            | Derived form adverbs                |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|
|                     | Word               | Word class |                                     |
| -ri                 | namsa              | N          | namsa- ri 'in the village'          |
|                     | t <sup>h</sup> opo | N          | t <sup>h</sup> opo-ri 'on the head' |
|                     | c <sup>h</sup> joi | N          | c <sup>h</sup> joi-ri 'in the book' |
|                     | cu                 | Dem        | cu- ri 'here'                       |
|                     | hoza               | Dem        | hoza- ri 'there'                    |

Table 4: Derived manner adverbs

| Derivational suffix | Derived from           |            | Derived form adverbs                   |
|---------------------|------------------------|------------|--|
|                     | Word                   | Word class |  |
| -le                 | tun- ba                | V          | tun-na-le 'curtly'                     |
|                     | c <sup>h</sup> yar- ba | V          | c <sup>h</sup> yar-na-le 'sharply'     |
|                     | ron- ba                | V          | roŋ-na-le 'deliciously'                |
|                     | c <sup>h</sup> em- ba  | V          | c <sup>h</sup> em- na- le 'vigorously' |
|                     | lep -pa                | V          | lep -na- le 'hotly'                    |
| -se                 | alaŋ                   | Adj.       | alaŋ-se 'immaturely'                   |
|                     | kukθiŋ                 | Adj.       | kukθiŋ-se 'twistingly'                 |
|                     | liŋgaða                | Adj.       | liŋgaða-se 'nakedly'                   |
|                     | loŋcyur                | Adj.       | loŋcyur-se 'timidly'                   |

From the above-mentioned tables (1-4), the derivational suffixes are -ri, -dona, -gjam / hense, -le and -se, which are used to derive adverbs from other word classes.

Both temporal and directional adverbs (see, Tables 1-2) share the same suffixes -ri, -dona and -gjam / -hense. They are understood only in pragmatics.

Locative suffix *-ri* is shared by the temporal and directional adverbs (see, Tables 1-3). Manner adverbs contain derivational suffixes *-le* and *-se* (see, Table 4).

### 2.3 Adverbial phrases

Functionally, even the phrases in Dhankute Tamang can convey the adverbial sense. Such phrases can be: nominal, postpositional, and reduplication.

#### i) Nominal phrases

Structurally, nouns, which can have pre-modifiers, may refer to the adverbial meanings. Some such phrases are in Tables 5-8.

Table 5: NPs as temporal adverbs

| Pre-modifiers                        |            |                       | Head<br>(N)  | NPs as temporal adverbs |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Word                                 | Word class | Word                  |  |                         |
| <i>gik</i>                           | NUM        | <i>din</i>            | <i>gik din</i> 'one day'                                   |                         |
| <i>som c<sup>h</sup>a</i>            | NUM        | <i>l<sup>h</sup>o</i> | <i>som-c<sup>h</sup>a l<sup>h</sup>o</i> 'third year'      |                         |
| <i>n<sup>h</sup>i c<sup>h</sup>a</i> | NUM        | <i>syor</i>           | <i>n<sup>h</sup>i-c<sup>h</sup>a syor</i> 'second morning' |                         |
| <i>cu</i>                            | DEM        | <i>bela</i>           | <i>cu bela</i> 'at this time'                              |                         |
| <i>hoza</i>                          | DEM        | <i>din</i>            | <i>hoza din</i> 'that day'                                 |                         |
| <i>hoza</i>                          | DEM        | <i>nyase</i>          | <i>hoza nyase</i> 'that evening'                           |                         |

Numerals and demonstratives in (Table 5) pre-modify the nouns and mark the temporal adverbs.

Table 6: NPs as manner adverbs

| Pre-modifiers |            |      | Head<br>(NML) | NPs as manner adverbs |
|---------------|------------|------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Word          | Word class | Word |               |                       |



|               |   |                   |                                    |
|---------------|---|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| dwa 'pig'     | N | raŋ- ba<br>'like' | dwa raŋ-ba 'very<br>slowly\lazily' |
| dabraŋ 'crow' | N |                   | dabraŋ raŋ-ba 'cleverly'           |
| syauri 'ant'  | N |                   | syauri raŋ-ba 'laboriously'        |

More gravity of meaning is on the pre-modifier and noun raŋ- ba is not a postposition. Rather, it is syntactically a nominalizer, as -ba is added to -raŋ. These NPs function as manner adverbs.

Table 7: NPs as sentential adverbs

| Pre-modifiers |            | NPs as sentential adverbs |                             |
|---------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Word          | Word class | Head (N)                  |                             |
| ŋo-la         | N-GEN      | tam                       | ŋo-la tam 'luckily'         |
| syam          | Adj        | tam                       | syam tam 'moreover'         |
| gik           | NUM        | bicar                     | gik bicar 'on the one hand' |

Sentential adverbs<sup>4</sup> are formed in the way as to how a noun phrase is formed. The genitive, adjective or numeral may modify noun.

Table 8: Nominal phrases as frequency adverbs

| Pre-modifier        |            | Head (N) | NP as frequency adverbs              |
|---------------------|------------|----------|--------------------------------------|
| Word                | Word class |          |                                      |
| gik                 | NUM        | rem      | gik rem 'once'                       |
| n <sup>hi</sup>     | NUM        | rem      | n <sup>hi</sup> rem 'twice'          |
| som                 | NUM        | rem      | som rem 'thrice'                     |
| l <sup>h</sup> anan | Quan       | rem      | l <sup>h</sup> anan rem 'many times' |

---

<sup>4</sup> Sentential adverbs modify the whole clause or sentence.

Numerals like *gik*, *n<sup>hi</sup>* and *som* or quantifiers like *l<sup>h</sup>anan* are compounded to nouns to form frequency adverbial phrases.

Structurally, pre-modifiers may be numeral, adjective, demonstrative and noun, whereas the head word may be noun or verb + NML (Tables 5-8).

### ii) Postpositional phrases

Dhankute Tamang NPs may have postpositions and thereby they are functionally adverbials, e.g.,

- (5) *sarpa*      *gik*      *dim- n<sup>h</sup>aŋ*      *mu-la*.  
 snake      one      home-inside      be-NPt  
 'A snake is inside the house.'

*- n<sup>h</sup>aŋ* in (5) is a postposition, which changes the noun *dim* into adverbial one. Such postpositions in Dhankute Tamang are:

*-n<sup>h</sup>aŋ*, *-guŋ*, *-t<sup>h</sup>ori*, *-diri*, *-zasaŋ*, *-kemsan*, *-p<sup>h</sup>irgyap*, *-li saŋ*, *-ŋac<sup>h</sup>a*, *-ŋasaŋ*, *-lic<sup>h</sup>a*, *-ker* and *-w<sup>h</sup>ana*. Such N+ Postposition phrases may function as temporal, locative and directional adverbs, e.g.,

- (6) a. *n<sup>hi</sup> baze lisaŋ*      b. *dim lisaŋ*  
 two o'clock-PP      house-PP  
 'after two o'clock.'      'behind the house'
- c. *dim ŋasaŋ*  
 house-PP  
 'in front of the house'

*n<sup>hi</sup> baze lisaŋ* in (6a) is time adverbial, whereas *dim lisaŋ* and *dim ŋasaŋ* in (6 b-c) are place (locative and directional) adverbials.

### iii) Reduplication

Adverbs can be formed by reduplication, e.g.,

- (7) a. syo-syo                      b.    din -din  
       morning-RED                day-RED  
       'early morning.'            'always'
- c. dim- dim  
       home- RED  
       'door to door'

Nouns are reduplicated in (7a-c).

Adjectives may be changed into adverbials by reduplication, e.g.,

- (8) a. golc<sup>h</sup>e- golc<sup>h</sup>e              b.    yona -yona  
       slow-RED                      quick-RED  
       'slowly'                        'quickly'

Adjectives *golche* and *yona* in (8a-b) are reduplicated to form adverbials.

### 3. Positions of adverbs

Dhankute Tamang adverbs are placed immediately before an adverb, adjective or a verb, e.g.,

- (9) a. pemba golc<sup>h</sup>e-se ni-la.  
       Pemba slow-MAN go-NPt  
       'Pemba will go slowly.'
- b. p<sup>h</sup>urba nikai yona-n bra-la.  
       Phurba very fast-EMP walk-NPt  
       'Phurba will walk very fast.'
- c. c<sup>h</sup>oisang udidi mlaŋ-ba mu-la.  
       Chhoisang a bit black-NML be-NPt  
       'Chhoisang is a bit black.'

golc<sup>h</sup>e -se, nikai, and udidi in (9a-c) precede the verb ni- la, adverb yona-n and adjective mlaŋ- ba, respectively.

#### 4. Classification of adverbs

Dhankute Tamang Adverbs can be categorized into temporal, locative, directional, manner, degree and frequency.

##### 4.1 Temporal adverbs

Two calendar terms in Dhankute Tamang refer to past and future as in Table 9.

Table 9: Temporal calendar adverbs

| Time   | DAY                             | YEAR                                |
|--------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| PAST   | onema<br>'day before yesterday' | nagyuy<br>'2 years before'          |
| ↑      | tilma 'yesterday'               | tugyuy 'last year'                  |
| NOW    | tini 'today'                    | cu diŋ 'this year'                  |
| ↓      | n <sup>h</sup> aŋgar 'tomorrow' | k <sup>h</sup> a-ba-diŋ 'next year' |
| FUTURE | rai-nu/ren '2days later'        | rai-diŋ '2 years later'             |

Temporal adverbs may refer to both definite and indefinite time, e.g.,

- (10) ŋa dande ni-la.  
I now go-NPt  
'I am going now.'
- (11) ŋa lisaŋ ni-la.  
I later go-NPt  
'I will go later.'

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<sup>5</sup> In Dhankute Tamang most adverbs contain verb (Infinitive) marker -ba

dande in (10) and lisaŋ in (11) refer to definite and indefinite time, respectively.

#### 4.2 Locative adverbs

Directional demonstratives (iza, toza, hoza, maza and keza) in Dhankute Tamang are changed into locative adverbs by adding derivational suffix -ri. Such adverbs are ego-centred and environmental:

Table 10: Derived locative adverbs

|                              |                                       |  |       |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|-------|
| Environmental                |                                       | Ego-centred                              |       |
| ↓                            |                                       | →  |       |
|                              | toza- ri<br>that-LOC<br>'up there'    |  | High  |
| iza-ri<br>this-LOC<br>'here' | hoza-ri<br>that-LOC<br>'over there'   | keza- ri<br>that-LOC<br>'far over there' | Level |
|                              | maza- ri<br>that- LOC<br>'down there' |  | Low   |
| Proximate                    | Distance                              | Far distance                             |       |

Locative adverbs denote ego-centred location, i.e., proximate, distance and far distance. They also refer to environmental location, i.e., high, low and same level location in relation to the reference point.

#### 4.3 Manner adverbs

Dhankute Tamang adverbs of manner are derived from adjectives and nominalizers as well as reduplication.

- (12) pema yona-n bra-mu- la.  
 Pema fast-EMP walk-be-NP<sub>t</sub>  
 'Pema walks fast.'

Manner adverb *yona-n* in (12) modifies the verb group *bra mu la* to indicate how the work of walking is performed.

#### 4.4 Directional adverbs

Derivational suffixes *-ri*, *-dona* and *-gjam / -hense* in Dhankute Tamang are added to nouns or demonstratives to derive directional adverbs, which are marked by the movement verbs in the sentences (see, Table 2).

- (13) *ŋa dim-ri ni-la.*  
 I home-ALL go-NPt  
 'I will go home.'

*dim-ri* in (13) is a directional adverb, as it is followed by a movement verb *ni-la*. When such adverb is not followed by a movement verb; functionally, it becomes a locative adverb. The above-mentioned adverb *dim-ri* can be used as locative adverb with a static verb *mu-la* in example (14)

- (14) *ŋa dim-ri mu-la.*  
 I home-LOC be-NPt  
 'I am at home.'

*dim-ri* in (14) is locative adverb as it is followed by static verb *mu-la*.

#### 4.5 Degree adverbs

Dhankute Tamang contains a small number of degree adverbs, which are non-derived., e.g.,

- (15) a. *pema udiri mlaŋ-ba mu-la.*  
 Pema A bit black-NML be-NPt  
 'Pema is a bit black.'

*udidi* in (15) restricts the deverbal adjective *mlaŋ-ba*. The other degree adverbs are mentioned in (4a-f).

#### 4.6 Frequency adverbs

In Dhankute Tamang numerals and nouns are compounded to form frequency adverbs (see Table 30), e.g.,

- (16) a.     $\eta$ a           dinaunu       hoza-ri       ni-mu-la.  
           I           always       that-LOC     go-be-NPt  
           'I always go there.'

Frequency adverb dinaunu in (16) refers to the occurrence of the speaker's going to a distant place.

#### 5. Conclusion

Structurally, both derived and non-derived adverbs exist in Dhankute Tamang. Adverbial phrases may function as adverbs. In the constituent order of basic sentence, adverbs are optional. Semantically, there are seven types of adverbs: temporal, locative, manner, directional, degree and frequency. In conclusion, Dhankute Tamang is rich in the formation of adverbs/adverbials.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

|      |                    |     |                      |
|------|--------------------|-----|----------------------|
| Adj. | Adjective          | ALL | Allative Case marker |
| DEM  | Demonstrative      | EMP | Emphatic Marker      |
| LOC  | Locative marker    | MAN | Manner adverbial     |
| N    | Noun               | NML | Nominalizer          |
| NPt  | Non-past tense     | NUM | Numeral              |
| Prog | Progressive aspect | Pt  | Past Tense           |

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# MODALITY IN MANIPURI<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

The elements of modality have not been fully explored in Manipuri. In this article, I present the syntactic and the semantic aspects of modality in this language. I take a broader concept of modality and argue that every sentence consists of a proposition and an element of modality. The proposition consists of the basic semantic core expressed by the predicate and its arguments and the modality consists of different types of the judgments of the speaker with regard to the proposition. The temporal system of tense and aspect is a subsystem of modality. The present framework can be summarized as:

- (1) Sentence structure in natural languages
  - a.  $S \rightarrow [\text{PROP MOD}]$
  - b.  $\text{PROP} \rightarrow [\text{PRED ARG}]$
  - c.  $\text{MOD} \rightarrow [\text{Modal system}]$  (slightly revised from Poudel 2007:40)

The element of modality is the non-propositional element of a sentence. It is a semantic/pragmatic device that signals a speaker's attitude towards a proposition or his opinion of the proposition. The sentences in (2-11) exemplify the most common types of modal elements in Manipuri.

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- (2) tombə-na      lairik   pa-i  
 Tomba-ERG      books   read-REAL  
 ‘Tomba read books.’
- (3) tombə              lairik   pa-i  
 Tomba.NOM      books   read-REAL  
 ‘Tomba is reading books.’
- (4) tombə              lairik                      pa-gə-ni  
 Tomba.NOM      books                      read-IRR-COP  
 ‘Tomba will read books.’
- (5) tombə-na      lairik   pa-ba              phə-i  
 Tomba-ERG      book   read-NMLZ      good-REAL  
 ‘It is good that Tomba read books.’
- (6) oja-na      tombə-da      lairik   pa-u      ha-i  
 teacher-ERG   Tomba-LOC   book   read-IMP   say-REAL  
 ‘The teacher told Tomba to read books.’
- (7) tombə-na      lairik   pa-rə-gədi  
 Tomba-ERG      book   read-PFV-COND  
 ‘If Tomba reads books...’
- (8) tombə-na      lairik   pa-də-e  
 Tomba-ERG      book   read-NEG-REAL  
 ‘Tomba did not read books.’
- (9) tombə      lairik   pa-u  
 Tomba      book   read-IMP  
 ‘Tomba, read books.’
- (10) tombə-na      lairik   pa-bə-ra  
 Tomba-ERG      book   read-NMLZ-INTR  
 ‘Did Tomba read books?’
- (11) tombə-na      lairik   pa-rəm-loi  
 ‘Tomba-ERG book read-PTR-IRR.NEG  
 ‘(The speaker does not believe that) Tomba read books.’

In (2-11), *tombə lairik pa-* ‘Tomba read books’ constitutes the proposition. In this propositional frame *tombə* ‘Tomba’ is the subject/agent, *lairik* ‘books’ the object/patient, and *pa-* ‘read’ the predicate i.e., the transitive event of the propositional frame. This propositional frame is unaffected by the modality in each of the sentences in (2-11). In (2-4), the speaker asserts that the proposition is true. Such sentences are the least marked and very close to the proposition. I do not discuss such sentences further in this article because they can be better investigated within the subsystem of tense and aspect. In (5) and (6), the modality is expressed with the lexical items in which the speaker considers meaning expressed by the proposition i.e., Tomba’s reading books is good (5) and he instigates Tomba to read books (6). Conditional, negation, imperative, interrogative and doubt express different shades of modality in (7-11) respectively within the same propositional frame. Besides, the different clause types also have different modal meanings and I concentrate on this aspect of modality in this study.

The importance of the study is that it provides the detailed syntactic and semantic analyses of modality in Manipuri and it provides a framework for the closely related languages of the region as well. The findings of this paper are significant because, for the first time, it establishes that modality, not aspect or tense, is the finiteness marker in Manipuri. This article is organized as follows:

Section 2 distinguishes the notion of modality from the morphological category of mood. Section 3 explores how the elements of modality get expressed in the language. Section 4 discusses the epistemic and deontic modal systems in Manipuri. Section 5 further explores the interrelationship between modality and different clause types in Manipuri and, finally, section 6 outlines the findings of the present study.

## 2. Mood and modality

All the leading previous literature on Manipuri (Pettigrew 1912, Bhat and Ningomba 1995, Chelliah 1997, Singh 1997) do not distinguish between mood and modality but I argue that this distinction is significant in understanding the actual organization of the Manipuri TAM system (Poudel 2007). Mood refers to a formally grammaticalized category of the verb, which has a modal function (Bybee and Fleischman 1995:2). The category of mood is marked through verbal morphology in Manipuri:

- (12) Realis mood <Manipuri>  
 tombə-na          cak      ca-i  
 Tomba-ERG      rice      eat-REAL  
 ‘Tomba ate rice.’
- (13) Irrealis mood <Manipuri>  
 tombə              cak      ca-gə-ni  
 Tomba              rice      eat-IRR-COP  
 ‘Tomba will eat rice.’

This is not unique feature of Manipuri; other Himalayan languages also have similar patterns. Kusunda, the language isolate of Nepal, also makes grammatical contrast between realis and irrealis:

- (14) Realis <Kusunda> (Watters 2005:68)  
 t-ə̃m-ə̃n  
 1SG-eat-SG.REAL  
 ‘I ate.’
- (15) Irrealis <Kusunda> (Watters 2005:68)  
 t-ə̃m-du  
 1SG-eat-SG:IRR  
 ‘I will eat.’

Santali, the northern Munda language, also has similar contrast. Santali treats imperative, conditionals, etc. as irrealis and sentences equivalent to English declarative as realis.

(16) Realis <Santali> (From my field notes)

buṇa buru-Then manti-ked-a-i  
 god goddess-DAT promise-PST:TR-IND 3SG.SBJ  
 'She/He made promises to gods and goddesses.'

(17) Irrealis <Santali> (From my field notes)

buṇa buru-Then manti-lekhaj  
 god goddess-DAT promise-CND  
 'If she made promises to god and goddesses...'

On the other hand, modality is a semantic notion. Modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event. It is broadly defined as a semantic/pragmatic device that signals a speaker's attitude towards a proposition or his opinion of the proposition, or the relationship between the predicate and its subject. In other words, it refers to the non-propositional elements of a sentence (Palmer 1986:15). In Manipuri, the notion of modality is expressed morphologically, lexically and syntactically.

The contribution of morphology in the expression of modality is well documented in the previous literature but lack consistency in the approach. In the next section we explore the different strategies that Manipuri employs in expressing the category of modality.

### 3. Expression of modality

Manipuri has three different ways of coding the category of modality:

- Mood
- Modal verbs
- Lexical verbs

## 3.1 Mood

In Manipuri, mood, which contrasts between realis and irrealis, is a formal category, which inflectionally marks the finiteness of the verbs. The distinction between realis and irrealis is defined as distinguishing between actual and non-actual events (Chung and Timberlake 1985:241). The realis portrays situations as actualized, knowable through direct perception. The verbal inflection  $-i^2$  is the realis marker in Manipuri, for example:

- (18) prithvi                    mətum                    ta-i  
 earth.NOM                  round                    fall-REAL  
 ‘The earth is round.’                    <Realis statement>

In Manipuri, realis is used for denoting past, present and habitual situations:

- (19) ηəraŋ                    noŋ                    ta-i  
 yesterday rain.NOM                  fall-REAL  
 ‘It rained yesterday.’                    <Past situation>

- (20) ənaŋ                    tum-mi  
 child.NOM                  sleep-REAL  
 ‘The child is asleep.’                    <Present situation>

- (21) əi    nuti-gi                    puŋ    əma lairik    pa-i  
 1SG everyday-GEN    hour    one book    read-REAL  
 ‘Everyday I read books for an hour.’  
 <Habitual situation>

On the other hand, the irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable through imagination (Mithun 1995:368). In Manipuri, irrealis mood is marked by different inflectional morphemes expressing wide range of meanings such as the imperative  $-u$ , interrogative  $-\square\square$ ,

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<sup>2</sup> After the perfective suffix  $-la$  and the negative suffix  $-ta$ , it is phonologically realized  $-e$ .

optative *-ke*, the prohibitive *-nu*, the hortative *-si*, and the permissive *-sanu*.

The imperative forms express the semantic notion of directive. By directive we mean: an X makes Y do something. In its polite form it conveys request and in its non-polite form command or order. The structure of imperative can be schematized as in (22) (Poudel 2007:55):

(22) S → (IMP (PROP))

Functionally it is as in (23) (Poudel 2007:55):

(23)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} com \\ req \end{array} \right\}$  (PROP)

The imperative constructions in Manipuri distinguish three levels of honorificity—low, mid and high. If the level of honorificity is low, the force of utterance is command and high honorificity level construes politeness leading to request. However, politeness and request are two different notions<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Betholia (2005) argues that Manipuri uses three verbal suffixes—benefactive-*pi*, reflexive-*ca* and suggestive-*si* for politeness. But the politeness is their extended sense as they are context dependent, for example, with the imperative the benefactive means request (1) but with the optative suffix *-ke* it is simple benefactive (2):

(1) əi-na            hai-pa-si            ta-pi-y-u  
1SG-ERG    say-NMLZ-DET    listen-BEN-y-IMP  
'Please listen to me.' (Betholia 2005:73)

(2) əi                thəbək-tu            təu-bi-ge  
1SG                work-DET            do-BEN-OPT  
'I will do the work (for you).' (Betholia 2005:71)

The reflexive-*cə* never expresses request but it can have polite form. In (3), the speaker is talking to someone whom he has to show respect:

All requests are polite but all polite statements are not requests.

- (24) *lairik pa-ro*  
 book.NOM read-IMP.NH  
 ‘Read books.’ <Imperative, Low honorific>
- (25) *lairik pa-u*  
 book.NOM read-IMP.MH  
 ‘Read books.’ <Imperative, Mid honorific>
- (26) *lairik pa-bi-y-u*  
 book.NOM read-BEN-y-IMP  
 ‘Read books for me.’ <Imperative, High honorific>

To negate an imperative, the prohibitive form is used, for example:

- (27) *thəbək əsi təu-gənu*  
 work.NOM this do-PROH  
 ‘Don’t do this work.’

Interrogative forms ask questions. We can capture the interrogative by the rule given in (28):

- (28)  $S \rightarrow (\text{INTR (PROP)})$

In Manipuri equative sentences, the yes/no interrogative marker *-la* is directly added (29) but in non-equative sentences the verb needs to be nominalized with the

- (3) *əi cak ca-jə-ge*  
 1SG.NOM food eat-REFL-OPT  
 ‘I will have the food.’ (Betholia 2005:72)

The suggestive-*si* can have both suggestive and request senses:

- (4) *cak ca-si* (5) *imaibema leŋ-sin-bi-si*  
 food eat-SUG mother.HON move-DIR-BEN-SUG  
 ‘Let us have food.’ ‘Mother, please be seated.’  
 (Betholia 2005:84)



nominalization suffix *-pa* before adding the yes/no interrogative marker *-la* as in (30).

(29) məhək oja-ra  
3SG.HH teacher-INTR  
'Is he a teacher?'

(30) ma thəbək cət-pə-ra  
3SG work go-NMLZ-INTR  
'Has he gone for work?'

The irrealis suffix *-kə* with the copula *ni* expresses indefinite future the optative is expressed with the suffix *-ke*. Following are the examples:

(31) əi həyeŋ imphal cət-kə-ni  
1SG.NOM tomorrow Imphal go-IRR-COP  
'I will go to Imphal tomorrow.'

(32) əi lairik pa-ge  
1SG.NOM book read-OPT  
'I want to read a/the book.'

In a hortative construction the speaker suggests the addressee to do something and both of them are expected to involve in the activity. The hortative marker in Manipuri is *-si*.

(33) əsi thəbək əikhoi məyam təu-si  
this work 1PL all do-HRT  
'Let's all do this work.'

On the other hand, in the permissive, the speaker will not be involved in the activity. The inflectional suffix *-sanu* is used to express permissive in Manipuri.

(34) məkhoi-gi thəbək mə-sa mə-sa-na təu-sənu  
3PL-GEN work 3-REFL 3-REFL-ERG do-PERM  
'Let them do their own work.'

### 3.2 Modal verbs

Modal verbs often create analytical problems for every linguist. There is no common agreement among the linguists about the exact semantics of modal verbs even in the well-studied languages such as English and German (Kratzer 1997, Sweetser 1990). Not much attention has been paid in the study of modal verbs in Manipuri, lest South Asian languages in general. Modal verbs usually have idiosyncratic properties. In most South Asian languages the modal meanings are expressed with the complex predicates in which the second element is a light verb (Abbi and Gopalkrishnan 1991). These light verbs also have the main verb forms in the language and the light verbs are usually considered as the grammaticalized forms of the main verbs (Hook 1974).

Manipuri uses *ta-* and *ya-* as light verbs. The light verb *ta-* is used to express external obligation and *ya-* to express possibility (cf. §4.2.1). In this construction, the light verbs occur after a main verb, which is nominalized. Like many light verbs in South Asian languages, the light verbs in Manipuri also have main verb forms. Here, I illustrate for *ta-* (35-38)<sup>4</sup>. As main verbs, *ta-* can function as dynamic verb, perception verb, stative verb or a weather verb.

- (35) əŋaŋ      isiŋ-da      ta-i  
 child      water-LOC      fall-REAL  
 ‘The child fell into the water.’      <Dynamic verb>

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<sup>4</sup> Although in modern Manipuri the main verb *ta-* has very unrelated meanings, historically all these meanings are related to the meaning of ‘fall’. In old Manipuri the word for ‘hear/listen’ was *na ta-* literally ‘fall in the ear’. Similarly, the sense of situate is also related to the meaning of ‘fall’ as it can be assumed that something is in stative position after the fall.

- (36) oja-na        ŋaŋ-ba        əi        munnə ta-i  
 teacher-ERG speak-NMLZ 1SG carefully listen-REAL  
 ‘I listened carefully what the teacher said.’  
 <Perception verb>
- (37) manipur-na    bharət-gi    nonpok-ta ta-i  
 Manipur-ERG India-GEN east-LOC situate-REAL  
 ‘Manipur is situated in eastern India.’ <Stative verb>
- (38) noŋ        ta-i  
 water        fall-REAL  
 ‘It is raining.’        <Weather verb>

A closer look at the diachrony of the verb shows that it has passed through the process of grammaticalization. In old Manipuri, the meaning of ‘listen’ was expressed as ‘the sound falls into the ear’. Thus from a purely dynamic verb, it turn to perception verb, then stative and weather verb. This is the indication of its semantic bleaching as such verbs get grammaticalized as Bybee et al. (1994:6) come to similar conclusion in the wide range of languages. As expected, this verb is also in use as a light verb of a complex predicate as in (39):

- (39) nəŋ pərikha tha-ba        ta-re  
 2SG exam        appear-NMLZ        fall-PFV.REAL  
 ‘You have to appear the exam.’

As illustrated in (39), Manipuri expresses the obligation sense with a complex predicate, in which the main verb is always in non-finite form marked by nominalization suffix *-pa* and the modal verbs marking the finiteness of the clause. Modal verbs in Manipuri make distinction between anteriority and non-anteriority. The anteriority is more common with first person subject and non-anteriority with non-first person subjects. Let’s consider the sentences in (40-41):

(40) əi həyeŋ yum cət-pa ta-re  
 1SG tomorrow home go-NMLZ fall-PFV.REAL  
 ‘I have to go home tomorrow.’

(41) nəŋ əsi thəbək təu-ba ta-i  
 2SG this work do-NMLZ fall-REAL  
 ‘You must have to do this work.’

### 3.3 Inherent modality of lexical verbs

In Manipuri, some lexical verbs are inherently modal. We can distinguish factive modal verbs from non-factive modal verbs.

(42) Factive (Poudel 2007:74)

i) Positive

*khəŋba* ‘know’, *gyan taba* ‘understand’, *phəŋba* ‘find out’, *yəŋba* ‘see’, *niŋsiŋba* ‘remember’, *kauba* ‘forget’, *niŋəmdəba* ‘regret’, *ceksinba* ‘be aware’, etc.

ii) Negative

*əhai ipa saba* ‘pretend’, *məcin thiba* ‘lie’

(43) Non-factive (Poudel 2007:75)

i) Positive:

*khənbə* ‘think’, *thajaba* ‘believe’, *ciŋnəba* ‘suspect’, *oiba yaba* ‘suppose’, *asa tauba* ‘hope, expect’ *warep leppa* ‘decide’, *pamba* ‘wish’, *yanəba* ‘agree’, *taba* ‘hear’, *phauba* ‘feel’, *haiba* ‘say’, *həŋba* ‘ask’, *nibə* ‘demand’, etc.

ii) Negative:

*ciŋnəba* ‘doubt’, *əŋəkpa* ‘wonder’, *yaniŋdəba* ‘deny’, *ikhəŋ khəŋba* ‘be afraid’, etc.

### 3.3.1 Syntactic tests for factive predicates

In a sentence with a factive predicate, the speaker commits himself to the view that the information expressed by the complement clause is true. Let's consider the sentence in (44) in which, it is implied that 'Tomba did the work properly in time'.

- (44) tombə-na            ədu        thəbək mətəm cana  
 Tomba-ERG            that        work    time    properly  
 loi-sin-ba                    ηəm-me  
 finish-DIR-NMLZ            be\_able-PFV.REAL  
 'Tomba was able to finish that work in time.'

But such commitment is not warranted in the case of non-factive predicates. Let's consider the sentences in (45).

- (45) əi-na            əmerika cans    phəŋ-bə-ni  
 1SG-ERG    America    chance    get-NMLZ-COP  
 cət-nə-bə-gi  
 go-PROS-NMLZ-GEN  
 'I had an opportunity to go to America.'

Here, we look at the syntactic criteria of adverbs to distinguish factive predicates from non-factive predicates. In factive predicates the adverb modifies both the matrix and the complement clause as in (46).

- (46) məithei-na        1891-da        british-pu  
 Manipuris-ERG    1891-LOC    British-FOC  
 maithi-ba            pi-ba            ηəm-me  
 defeat-NMLZ        give-NMLZ    be\_able-PFV.REAL  
 'People of Manipur were able to defeat the British in 1891.'

But in non-factive sentences the scope of the adverb is limited within the matrix and the complement clause remains neutral from the effect of the adverb.

- (47) tombə-na            hannə ma-gi            mə-ca  
 Tomba-ERG            earlier 3SG-GEN            3-child
- dilli-da    lairik    təm-hən-ba            pam-mi  
 Delhi-LOC book    study-CAUS-NMLZ    want-REAL  
 ‘Long ago, Tomba wanted his child to study in Delhi.’

#### 4. The classification of modality

I discuss the modal system of Manipuri within the subsystems of:

- Epistemic modality
- Deontic modality

##### 4.1 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality has its scope over the whole proposition and deals with the truth-value of that proposition (Butler 2004:4). It codes the semantic levels such as truth, degree of probability, certainty, evidence, belief, etc. With epistemic modality the speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition. Epistemic modality can be of two types—factual and non-factual (Givón 2001). Factual epistemic modalities can have either presupposition or realis assertion. When a proposition is taken for granted to be true and the hearer does not challenge its truth, we say that the proposition contains presupposition. A realis assertion is one in which the speaker asserts a proposition to be true and has evidence for its truth-value, if its truth is questioned. All the modally neutral verbs express factual epistemic modality.

On the other hand, non-factual epistemic modality expresses irrealis or negative assertion. Non-factual epistemic modalities are of three types:

- speculative,
- deductive, and
- assumptive.

#### 4.1.1 Speculative

The speculative can be interpreted in terms of what is epistemically possible. Speculative modality expresses the speculation of the speaker towards the proposition.

- (48) əhem      ophis-ta      ləi-rəm-ba      ya-i  
 Ahem.NOM office-LOC be-PTR-NMLZ possible-REAL  
 ‘Ahem might be in her office.’

#### 4.1.2 Deductive

The deductive can be interpreted in terms of what is epistemically necessary. In deductive modality, the speaker expresses his deduction, which is based on certain premises, towards the proposition.

- (49) əhem      soidəna      ophis-ta      ləi-ni  
 Ahem      surely      office-LOC      be-COP  
 ‘Ahem may be in her office.’

#### 4.1.3 Assumptive

In assumptive modality, the speaker has some assumptions towards the proposition. For example, in (50) the speaker assumes that Ahem is in her office. Assumptive is stronger form of future prediction.

- (51) əhem      ophis-ta      ləi-gə-ni  
 Ahem      office-LOC      be-IRR-COP  
 ‘Ahem will be in her office.’

#### 4.2 Deontic modality

With deontic modality, the conditioning factors are external to the relevant individual. Thus deontic modality is related to obligation or permission, emanating from an external source.

The most common types of deontic modality are the directives where the speaker tries to get others to do things. Deontic modality can be subdivided into agent oriented and speaker oriented modality.

#### 4.2.1 Agent-oriented modality

According to Bybee et al. (1994:177), agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate. According to them, it includes the meaning levels such as obligation, necessity, ability, and desire. The sentence in (51) is a typical example of agent-oriented modality in Manipuri.

- (51) əi            həyeŋ    imphal   cət-kə-dəw-ba    ləi  
 1SG.NOM tomorrow Imphal   go-IRR-OBLG-NMLZ COP  
 ‘I have to go to Imphal tomorrow.’

##### 4.2.1.1 Obligation

One of the primary semantic notions of obligation is that of force dynamic. The subject is expected to fulfill certain duty or norms as established in the speech community. Failure to fulfill such duty or norms, the subject is considered rude or outcast as in (52). The marker of obligation is a string of affixes *-ka* irrealis marker, *-dəw* obligation marker, *-pa* nominalizer and copula *-ni*.

- (52) əhən-na    hai-ba        ingə-dəw-bə-ni  
 old-ERG    say-NMLZ    follow-OBLG-NMLZ-COP  
 ‘The sayings of elders ought to be followed.’

##### 4.2.1.2 Ability

Reporting of the existence of internal enabling condition in the agent with respect to the predicate action is called ability. In Manipuri nominalizer *-pa* and *ŋəm-* ‘be able’ express ability as illustrated in (53):



- (53) tombə                    puŋ        əmə-da                    əsi        ciŋ  
 Tomba.NOM            hour        one-LOC                    this        hill  
 ka-ba    ŋəm-mi  
 climb-NMLZ be\_able-REAL  
 ‘Tomba can climb this hill in an hour.’

The most important lexical source of the marker of ability is ‘be able to do something physically or mentally’ as observed in Bybee et al. (1994:190) and this is true with Manipuri. The physical ability verb *ŋəm* ‘win’ in Manipuri is extended to mental ability and has become the markers of general ability. The light verb, marking ability in Manipuri, is the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb *ŋəm*—‘win’. The sense of winning is related to the sense of *get, obtain or manage to* i.e., being able.

#### 4.2.1.3 Possibility

In Manipuri, the nominalized verb and the light verb *ya*—express the meaning of giving permission, which has the sense of deontic possibility. This form of expressing permission has extended to express possibility and this fact is in accordance with the finding of Bybee et al. (1994:193). The light verb in the complex predicate expressing permission and possibility is the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb *ya*—‘agree’. As a marker of possibility it takes the realis suffix *-i* (54) and as a marker of permission it takes the perfective marker *-lə* followed by the realis variant *-e* (55).

- (54) tombə                    lak-pa                    ya-i  
 Tombe.NOM            come-NMLZ            agree-REAL  
 ‘It is possible that Tomba will come.’
- (55) nə-khoi    cəŋ-ŋək-pa                    ya-re  
 2-PL            go\_in-DEIC-NMLZ            agree-PFV.REAL  
 ‘You can go in.’

This fact is not surprising as in the case of possibility the speaker takes it to be something like knowable, may be from some inferences at the time of the utterance, though the action is yet to happen. Similarly in the case of permission the use of perfective can be explained in terms of the speaker's position, which enables him to give the permission to the listener. The Manipuri possibility construction nominalized verb plus the light verb *ya-i* 'agree-REAL' always has future time reference. To mark the past possibility Manipuri has the construction in which the light verb is nominalized and the copula is added as in (56):

- (56) *tombə lak-pa ya-bə-ni*  
 Tomba.NOM come-NMLZ agree-NMLZ-COP  
 'It was possible that Tomba would come.'

The lexical verb *man-* 'seem, appear' also expresses possibility in Manipuri.

- (57) *mə-hak lairik təm-ba mal-li*  
 3SG-HH book study-NMLZ seem-REAL  
 'It is possible that he is studying.'

#### 4.2.1.4 Necessity

Necessity is a physical condition in which the agent is compelled to complete the predicate action. In Manipuri, The markers of necessity are *-kə* 'irrealis marker', *-dəw* 'obligation marker', *-pa* nominalizer and copula *-ni*. In (58) the speaker imposes the necessity of coming next day upon his hearer.

- (58) *nəŋ həyeŋ əyuk lak-kə-dəw-bə-ni*  
 2SG tomorrow morning come-IRR-OBLG-NMLZ-COP  
 You have to come tomorrow morning.

#### 4.2.1.5 Desire

Reporting the existence of internal volitional condition in the agent with respect to the predicate action is called desire. In Manipuri, desire is expressed with the desiderative suffix *-niŋ* (59) and lexical verb *pam-* ‘want’ (60) respectively.

(59) əi yum cət-niŋ-i

1SG home go-DES-REAL

‘I want to go home.’

(60) əi-na pam-bə-di nəŋ  
1SG-ERG want-NMLZ-FOC 2SG

cət-lə-ga əŋəŋ ləu-bə-ni  
go-PFV-COM child take-NMLZ-COP  
‘What I want is you go and take the child.’

#### 4.2.2 Speaker-oriented modality

Speaker oriented modality includes directives such as commands, demands, requests, asking, warnings, exhortations and recommendations, and the speaker granting permission to the listener. The speaker-oriented modality is different from the agent-oriented modality in the sense that the latter reports the existence of conditions on the agent but in the former the speaker imposes such condition on the listener. The grammatical forms expressing speaker-oriented modality are: imperative (24-26), prohibitive (27), hortative (33) and permissive (34).

#### 4.3 Epistemic and non-epistemic distinction

Epistemic modality is the unmarked category, unlike the agent-oriented modality, which is the marked one. This is clearly indexed in the morphological system of the language. The finding of Bybee (1985:109), that epistemic modalities are expressed by inflection or bound morphemes but lexical

items or more complex morphology is used to express agent-oriented modalities, also supports this fact. Consider the sentence in (61). The speaker epistemically asserts that ‘Tomba has come’ and it is expressed with the minimum number of inflections.

- (61) tombə                      lak-le  
       Tomba.NOM            come-PFV.REAL  
       ‘Tomba has come.’

On the other hand, the sentence in (62) expresses necessity; a sub division of agent-oriented modality and the morphological marking is quite complex:

- (62) tombə-na              lak-kə-dəw-bə-ni  
       Tomba-ERG            come-IRR-OBLG-NMLZ-COP  
       ‘It is necessary for Tomba to come.’

The clauses expressing non-factual epistemic can be negated in two ways. The speculative epistemic sentence in (50) can have the following two forms of negation.

- (63) əhem            ophis-ta    ləi-rəm-də-ba    ya-i  
       Ahem.NOM    office-LOC    be-PTR-NEG-NMLZ    agree-REAL  
       ‘It is necessary that Ahem is not in her office.’
- (64) əhem                      ophis-ta              ləi-rəm-loi  
       Ahem.NOM              office-LOC              be-PTR-IRR.NEG  
       ‘It is not necessary that Ahem is in her office.’

The difference between the two types of negation can be explained with the notions of epistemic possibility and necessity. In (63), the proposition is negated and it can be interpreted as ‘necessary not’. When the proposition is negated, we have a complex predicate with the light verb *ya-* ‘agree’ and the negation marker occurs with the first item of the complex predicate. In (64), the modality is negated and it can be interpreted as ‘not necessary’. When the modality is negated, the verb takes the past time reference marker *-lam*

and the irrealis negative marker *-loi* is added.

But, non-epistemic modality allows only the negation of modality. Consider the following examples. The sentence in (52) repeated here as (65) expresses obligation, a sub type of agent-oriented modality. With it, the negation of the proposition is ruled out but the negation of modality is available (66):

(65) əhən-na hai-ba ingə-dəw-bə-ni  
 old-ERG say-NMLZ follow-OBLG-NMLZ-COP  
 ‘The sayings of elders ought to be followed.’

(66) əhən-na hai-ba in-lə-roi-dəw-pə-ni  
 old-ERG say-NMLZ follow-PFV-IRR.NEG-OBLG-NMLZ-COP  
 ‘The sayings of elders ought not to be followed.’

## 5. The distribution of modality

### 5.1 Modality and clause types

The main declarative affirmative clause, which is unmarked, has realis modal status. The insertion of realis adverbs gives the sense of emphasis. On the other hand, the insertion of irrealis adverbs changes the modal status of the sentence from realis into irrealis.

#### 5.1.1 Modality in nominalized clauses

In Manipuri, one of the most productive ways of clause chaining is to nominalize the subordinate clause. An adverbial clause of time is nominalized and temporal connective is added. The modal status of such clauses is dependent on the matrix clauses. The subordinate clause in (67) has irrealis modal status because its matrix clause is irrealis. On the other hand, the subordinate clause in (68) has realis modal status because the matrix clause has realis modal status.

- (67) nəŋ          nə-yum-da          ləi-ri          kanda  
 2SG          2-home-LOC          be-DUR          while  
 əi noi-da lak-kə-ni  
 1SG          2.home-LOC          come-IRR-COP  
 ‘While you are at home I will come to your home.’
- (68) əi                  lak-pa                  kanda  
 1SG.NOM          come-NMLZ          while  
 mə-khoi cət-khi-rəm-le  
 3-PL          go-EVD-PTR-PFV.REAL  
 ‘When I came they had already gone.’

On the other hand, the relative clauses should be distinctly marked for irrealis modality. Otherwise, the interpretation is that of realis modality. In (69), we do not have any specific marker for modality; hence, the interpretation is realis. In (70), the irrealis marker *-ka* leads to irrealis interpretation.

- (69) əi-na          pa-ba                  lairik-tu  
 1SG-ERG          read-NMLZ          book-DEF  
 əi-khoi-gi          oja-na                  i-bə-ni  
 1-PL-GEN          teacher-ERG          write-NMLZ-COP  
 ‘The book I am reading is written by our teacher.’
- (70) əi-na          pa-gə-dəw-ba          lairik-tu  
 1SG-ERG          read-IRR-OBLG-NMLZ          book-DEF  
 dəlhi-da          phong-bə-ni  
 Delhi-LOC          publish -NMLZ-COP  
 ‘The book I have to read was published in Delhi.’

### 5.1.2 Modality in main declarative clauses

Manipuri does not have epistemic adverbs. The different degree of certainty sense is achieved through grammaticalized suffixes and auxiliaries marking this notion. The highest certainty is expressed with the irrealis marker *-kə* and the copula suffix *-ni* as exemplified in (71).

- (71) tombə            həyeŋ            yum    cət-kə-ni  
 Tomba.NOM    tomorrow    home   go-IRR-COP  
 ‘Tomba will go home tomorrow.’

To express lower certainty, Manipuri requires a complex predicate with the light verb *ya-* ‘agree’ marked with the realis suffix *-i*, for example:

- (72) tombə            həyeŋ    yum    cət-pa ya-i  
 Tomba.NOM    tomorrow    home   go-NMLZ agree-REAL  
 ‘Tomba may go home tomorrow.’

We get the sentences expressing the lowest certainty by inserting of the past time reference marker *-lam* in between the verbal root and the irrealis marker *-kə* in the sentences expressing highest certainty, for example:

- (73) tombə    yum    cət-ləm-gə-ni  
 Tomba.NOM    home   go-PTR-IRR-COP  
 ‘Tomba might have gone home.’

### 5.1.3 Modality in non-declarative speech acts

The non-declarative speech act of *wh*-question is strongly associated with presupposition. Hence, it falls under the scope of realis modality. Consider:

- (74) kəna-na    lairik    ləu-i  
 who-ERGbook    buy-REAL  
 ‘Who bought the book?’ (>Somebody bought the book)
- (75) tombə-na            kəri    ləu-i  
 Tomba-ERG            what    buy-REAL  
 ‘What did Tomba buy?’ (>Tomba bought something)
- (76) tombə-na lairik    kədai            thəm-mi  
 Tomba-ERG book            where            keep-REAL  
 ‘Where did Tomba put the book?’ (> Tomba put the book somewhere)

- (77) tombə-na            ədu lairik            kəduŋəi ləu-i  
 Tomba-ERG            that book            when    buy-REAL  
 ‘When did Tomba buy that book?’ (>Tomba bought the  
 book at certain time)

*Yes/no* questions fall under the scope of lower epistemic certainty (78). This restriction rules out the occurrence of *yes/no* questions in the conditional clauses. The *yes/no* question of the complex predicate with the light verb *ya-* ‘agree’ has the meaning of the deontic certainty rather than epistemic one (79).

- (78) . tombə            həyeŋ            yum cət-kə-dəw-ra  
 Tomba.NOM tomorrow home go-IRR-OBLG-INTR  
 ‘Will Tomba go home tomorrow?’

- (79) tombə həyeŋ            yum cət-pa.  
 Tomba.NOM    tomorrow            home go-NMLZ  
 ya-gə-dəw-ra  
 agree-IRR-OBLG-INTR  
 ‘Should Tomba go home tomorrow?’ (\*Tomba may go  
 home tomorrow.)

In manipulative speech-acts the speaker makes the listener do something. Therefore a manipulative speech act may be either very strong (80) or weak (81) or very weak (82) and it is expressed by imperative structures in Manipuri.

- (80) cət-lo  
 go-IMP  
 ‘Go!’                            <Strong manipulation >
- (81) nəŋ            yum            cət-pa            ya-re  
 2SG.NOM home go-NMLZ agree-PFV.REAL  
 ‘You can go home.’            <Weak manipulation>
- (82) nəŋ            yum cət-ləm-ba            ya-re  
 2SG.NOM home go-PTR-NOM agree-PFV.REAL  
 ‘You might go home.’ <Very weak manipulation >



## 6. Conclusions

In this article, I have shown that Manipuri has many different ways of coding modality. Morphologically, Manipuri makes modal contrast of realis and irrealis through verbal suffixes. These modal markers on the verb also mark finiteness of the verb. Majority of lexical verbs are neutral from modal perspective but there are quite a few lexical verbs, which are inherently modal. Further, Manipuri uses light verbs to express modal meanings of possibility, necessity and permission. Syntactically, I have shown that different clause types are related with different modality meanings.

### Abbreviations

|      |               |      |                     |
|------|---------------|------|---------------------|
| ARG  | argument      | BEN  | benefactive         |
| CAUS | causative     | COM  | comitative          |
| COND | conditional   | COP  | copula              |
| DEF  | definite      | DEIC | deictic             |
| DES  | desiderative  | DET  | determiner          |
| DIR  | directional   | ERG  | ergative            |
| EVD  | evidential    | FOC  | focus               |
| GEN  | genitive      | HH   | high-honorific      |
| HON  | honorific     | HRT  | hortative           |
| IMP  | imperative    | INTR | Interrogative       |
| IRR  | irrealis      | LOC  | locative            |
| MH   | mid-honorific | MOD  | modality            |
| NEG  | negative      | NH   | non-honorific       |
| NMLZ | nominalizer   | NOM  | nominative          |
| OBLG | obligation    | OPT  | optative            |
| PERM | permissive    | PFV  | perfective          |
| PL   | plural        | PRED | predicate           |
| PROH | prohibitive   | PROP | proposition         |
| PROS | prospective   | PTR  | past time reference |
| REAL | realis        | REFL | reflexive           |
| S    | sentence      | SG   | singular            |
| SUG  | suggestive    |      |                     |

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# COMPUTATIONAL ANALYSIS OF NEPALI BASIC VERBS (WRITTEN FORMS)

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## 1. Background

The Nepali language is rich in its morphology. Verbs in Nepali inflect for Tense, Aspect, Mood and honorificity. Inflections in the verbs also indicate the agreement for person, number, gender and honorificity. Thus, a verbal inflectional suffix in Nepali verbs contains a complex set of both inflectional and agreement features. The spoken language normally differs from the written forms. Nepali writing system (i.e. Devnagari) is very close to the spoken form; however, there are some differences. In this paper, only written forms are considered for the analysis. The character encoding system is UTF-8.

### 1.1 Verbs

Structurally Nepali verbs can be classified into three major classes, namely, underived verbs, derived verbs and compound verbs.

#### a. Underived verbs

They consist of single independent morpheme (i.e. verb stem) and at least one affix to indicate some grammatical functions such as inflection and agreement. The detail analysis of the basic verbs is done in the following section.

#### b. Derived Verbs

Derived verbs are composed of one non-verbal stem and at least one derivational affix, and at least one inflectional affix.

### c. Compound Verbs

Compound verbs consist of at least two independent morphemes of a basic verb and at least one inflectional affix to indicate the grammatical function.

This paper attempts to classify the basic verbs on the basis of their endings, identify the change rules while the affix gets attached to the stem, and design a finite state automaton for the recognition of the basic verbs by the computer programs which can also be used as a lexicon of basic verbs.

## 2. Basic Verbs

As discussed in (1.1a) Nepali basic verbs are underived verbs which can be classified into two main classes, namely verb stems ending with consonants and verb stems ending with vowels.

### a. Verb stems ending with consonants

This group of the verb stems can further be grouped into two classes, namely (i) verb stems ending with voiced consonants and (ii) verb stems ending with voiceless consonants. In both classes, [्] is used to indicate the consonant ending since in Devanagari writing system each consonant symbol inherits the ə [अ] sound. The examples of the verb stems in this class are shown in Table 1 and Table 2 respectively.

Table 1: Verb stems ending with voiced consonants

| Devnagari | IPA   | Gloss      |
|-----------|-------|------------|
| लाग्      | Lag   | attach     |
| अँगाल्    | ʌgal  | embrace    |
| कोतर्     | kotʌr | scratch    |
| खाँद्     | Khãd  | press down |
| गन्       | gʌn   | count      |

Table 2: Verb stems ending with voiceless consonants

| Devnagari | IPA               | Gloss           |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|
| करेप्     | kʌrep             | hold tightly    |
| डट्       | ɖʌt̪              | Take a stand    |
| बस्       | bʌs               | Sit             |
| चाख्      | tsak <sup>h</sup> | taste           |
| पाछ्      | pats <sup>h</sup> | scratch by leaf |

## b. Verb stems ending with vowels

This group of the verbs can further be classified into two subclasses, namely (i) verb stems ending with single vowel and (ii) verb stems ending with two vowels. The examples of the former class are illustrated in the Table 3, 4, 5 and 6, and the examples of the latter class are illustrated in the Table 7.

Table 3: Verb stems ending with i [ि]

| Devnagari | IPA                | Gloss |
|-----------|--------------------|-------|
| दि        | di                 | give  |
| लि        | li                 | Take  |
| घोरि      | g <sup>h</sup> ori |       |

Table 4: Verb stems ending with u [ु]

| Devnagari | IPA              | Gloss |
|-----------|------------------|-------|
| रु        | ru               | Cry   |
| धु        | d <sup>h</sup> u | wash  |

Table 5: Verb stems ending with a [ः]

| Devnagari | IPA              | Gloss |
|-----------|------------------|-------|
| जा        | Dza              | Go    |
| खा        | k <sup>h</sup> a | Eat   |

Table 6: Verb stems ending with ʌ [अ]

| Devnagari | IPA                | Gloss    |
|-----------|--------------------|----------|
| कल्प      | kʌlp               | imagine  |
| खस्क      | k <sup>h</sup> ʌsk | drop     |
| तम्स      | tʌms               | be ready |
| बिग्र     | Bigr               | spoil    |

Table 7: Verb stems ending with vowel sequence

| Devnagari | IPA               | Gloss     |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| आउ        | Au                | come      |
| जिउ       | Dziu              | survive   |
| छाउ       | c <sup>h</sup> au | make-roof |
| नुहाउ     | Nuhau             | bathe     |

### 3. Affixes

The affixes in Nepali are of both derivational and inflectional types. Due to time and space limitation, only the inflectional affixes of the ‘be’ verb छ and simple present tense inflectional affixes are discussed and finite state automaton that accepts the ‘be’ verb and verbs with the simple present tense affixes is designed.

The inflectional suffixes with ‘be’ verb छ and with basic verbs that indicate simple present tense are presented in Table 8 and Table 9 respectively.

Table 8: Inflectional suffixes with 'be' verb छ (Adhikari, 1993)

| Person     | Singular | Honorific | Plural |
|------------|----------|-----------|--------|
| First      | -उ       |           | -ौँ    |
| Second [M] | -स्      | -ौ        | -ौ     |
| [F]        | -ेस्     | -्यौ      |        |
| Third [M]  | -        | -न्       | -न्    |
| [F]        | -े       | -िन्      |        |

Table 8: Inflectional suffixes with basic verbs indicating the simple present tense (Adhikari, 1993)

| Person     | Singular | Honorific | Plural |
|------------|----------|-----------|--------|
| First      | -छु      |           | -छौँ   |
| Second [M] | -छस्     | -छौ       | -छौ    |
| [F]        | -छेस्    | -छ्यौ     |        |
| Third [M]  | -छ       | -छन्      | -छन्   |
| [F]        | -छे      | -छिन्     |        |

Comparing Table 8 and Table 9, it is clear that the 'be' verb along with the affix behaves as the suffix when it gets attached with the basic verb stem. Thus, a single automaton can be designed to accept both the 'be' verb with its inflectional suffixes and basic verbs with their suffixes.

#### 4. Computational framework

In the computational linguistics, the finite state automaton has been the foundation for all sorts of works carried out in the natural language processing. A finite state automaton is an abstract theoretical device (machine) or tool for the description of the regular language.



Formally a finite state automaton is defined by the following five parameters.

$Q$ : a finite set of  $N$  states  $q_0, q_1, \dots, q_N$

$\Sigma$ : a finite input alphabet of symbols

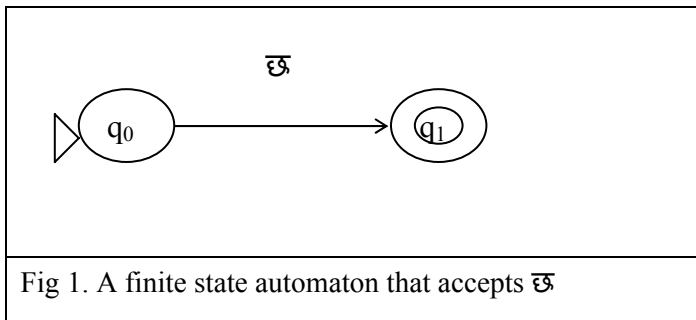
$q_0$ : the start state

$F$ : the set of final states,  $F \subseteq Q$

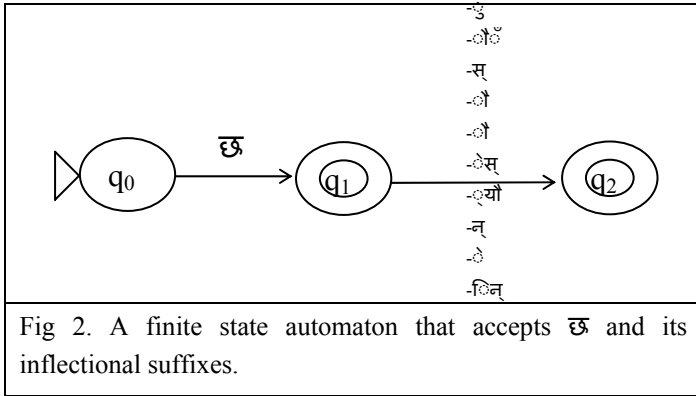
$\delta(q,i)$ : the transition function or transition matrix between states (Jurafsky D. and Martin J.H. 2000).

Now, on the basis of the above definition, a finite state automaton will be designed that recognizes the various forms of verb  $\overline{\text{छ}}$  'be' and other basic verbs.

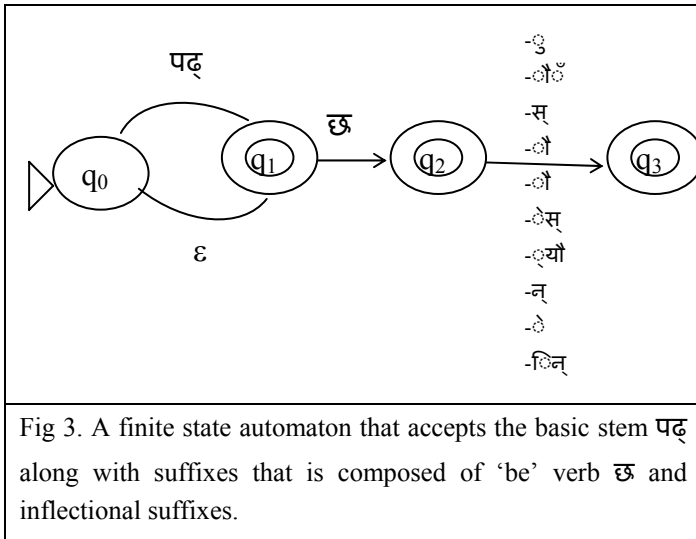
The table 8 shows that third person single form is the basic one. The Fig 1 shows an automaton that accepts the 'be' verb  $\overline{\text{छ}}$ .



The 'be' verb  $\overline{\text{छ}}$  inflects for person, number, gender and honorificity. And those inflectional suffixes can be added to this automaton. Therefore, the automaton shown in Fig 1 can be now extended to accept other suffixes of table 8.



The 'be' verbs accepted by the automaton in Fig 2 such as छ, छु, छाँ, छस्, छाँ, etc. behave like the suffixes. So now, this automaton can simply be attached to the automaton that accepts the basic verb stems, which is given in Fig 3.



The finite state automaton in Fig 3 can accept only the verb stem पढ् with the present tense inflectional suffixes and the 'be' verb with its various forms. To accommodate all the verb stems in the automaton in Fig 3 needs to supply all the verb stems in the transition where पढ् is located. When all the verb stems are included in the automaton, then the various changes are involved. In this article, the detailed discussion of the changes are not included but they are enumerated as follows and these changes can also be incorporated into the automaton presented above.

### 5. Changes

When various verb stems encounter with various inflectional and derivational suffixes, the following changes occur. Some changes and the examples are illustrated as follows:

| Changes |                              | Examples          |
|---------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| ◌ → ◌   | addition of vowel <i>ɪ</i>   | पढ्+अ → पढ        |
| ◌ु → ◌ी | <i>u</i> changes to <i>o</i> | रु+यो → रोयो      |
| उ → ◌   | <i>u</i> deletion            | नुहाउ+यो → नुहायो |
| ◌ → ◌ँ  | nasal insertion              | नुहाउ+छ → नुहाउँछ |
| ◌ → न्  | <i>n</i> insertion           | खा+छ → खान्छ      |
| ि → े   | <i>i</i> changes to <i>e</i> | दि+ला → देला      |

### 6. Conclusion

It is clear from the illustration made in the above discussion that the behaviour of the basic verb stem and inflectional suffixes is predictable and a computational model, the finite state automaton for the recognition of the verbs can be designed in full length including all the changes. But it needs further investigation from the computational perspective.

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# CAUSATIVES IN RAJI<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

Raji is a Tibeto-Burman language (Grierson 1909, Glover 1973, Acharya 2040 vs, CNLPRR 1993, Grimmes 1996, Sharma 2001, Giri 2057 vs, Giri 2059 vs, van Driem 2001, Yadava 2002, Toba et.al. 2002, and Gorden 2005) spoken by Raji people in some remote villages of Surkhet, Kailali, Kanchanpur, Bardiya and Banke districts of Nepal and Uttaranchal state of India. Although speakers are scattered over a large geographical area, total population of Raji people is 2,399 and the Raji language speakers has been reported to be 2413 (CBS 2001).

Grierson (1909) is, perhaps, the first scholar who has collected twenty five Raji words but he has used the term 'Janggali (Almora)' not 'Raji'. Giri (2057vs) has suggested to use the term 'Phaan' instead of 'Raji'.

It has four dialects Bandali (Barh Bandale), Naukulya, Purbya and Kumaoni (Rai 2008). This article is a brief attempt to deal with the processes of causative constructions in morpho-syntactic prospective including causative verb formation to syntactic arguments in sentence or clause level of Bandali dialect of Raji originally spoken in Ghatgaun village of Surkhet district, western Nepal. The data used here has been collected from Dhangadhi municipality of Kailali district. The language informants are Thaggu Raji, Syam Raji, Sushila Raji, Hemant Raji and Basanti Raji from the same family,

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<sup>1</sup> This article is the revised version of the paper presented at the 29<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2007.

permanent inhabitants of Himmatpur Ex-Kamaiya settlement Monera.

## 2. Causatives

Causative construction is a universal phenomenon found across all the languages of the world. 'Causative doesn't promote a term but adds a new argument that represents the notional causer, which can be considered as having the new grammatical role of causer, placing it in subject position, while demoting the original subject to oblique or peripheral status' (Palmer 1994).

Causative constructions can be formed on the basis of intransitive or transitive caused events. Causative predicates always involve one more argument than the caused predicate. Therefore, if the caused event is intransitive, the causative is transitive. If the caused event is transitive, the causative is bi-transitive (Payne 1999:176).

In Raji, non-causative constructions are changed into causative through applying three processes viz. phonemic, morphological and lexical in main verb. Valency increment is common in causative verbs. Intransitive verb changes into transitive, transitive into bi-transitive, and bi-transitive into tri-transitive. Thus, the subject and the object in non-causative have new grammatical role in causative. The subject is demoted to object and direct object is demoted to indirect object. Agent of non-causative sentence is displaced to patient by new agent that occurs as an increase argument of the causative verb.

### 2.1 Phonemic

Devoicing, and devoicing-aspiration in initial voiced plosive and devoicing in voiced affricate phoneme of the main verb are processes to change non-causative into causative is dealt with as phonemic process of causative.

This process is more frequent in movement and action verbs.

- (1) a. ts<sup>h</sup>ʌlya k<sup>h</sup>or-fia beŋ-ka  
 goat trap-LOC enter-PST  
 'The goat entered into the trap.'
- b. got<sup>h</sup>al-ai ts<sup>h</sup>ʌlya k<sup>h</sup>or-fia p<sup>h</sup>eŋ-ka  
 shepherd-ERG goat trap-LOC enter.CAUS-PST  
 'The shepherd entered the goat into the trap.'
- (2) a. bʌtaŋ biŋ-ka  
 rice cook-PST  
 'Rice is cooked.'
- b. ram-mai bʌtaŋ p<sup>h</sup>iŋ-ka  
 ram-ERG rice cook.CAUS-PST  
 'Ram cooked rice.'
- (3) a. ɣʌiya ɣoi-ka  
 cow return-PST  
 'Cow returned.'
- b. got<sup>h</sup>ala-i ɣʌiya k<sup>h</sup>oi-ka  
 shepherd-ERG cow return.CAUS-PST  
 'The shepherd returned the cow.'
- (4) a. ʌtthi gre-ka  
 stick break-PST  
 'Stick broke.'
- b. ram-mai ʌtthi kre-ka  
 Ram-ERG stick break.CAUS-PST  
 'Ram broke stick.'
- (5) a. ʌtta dzek-ka  
 cloth wet-PST  
 'Cloth wet.'

- b. ram-mai    latta    tsek-ka  
 Ram-ERG cloth    wet.CAUS-PST  
 'Ram wet cloth.'

In (1a) main verb *beŋ* 'to enter' means the subject goat moves to the trap independently. The causative of *beŋ* is *p<sup>h</sup>eŋ* 'some body causes the goat to move to trap'. Here, the goat moves by force. Initial phoneme /b/ changes into /p<sup>h</sup>/ by applying devoicing and aspiration together. This process is repeated in (2) and (3). But only devoicing is seen in examples (4) and (5) in which the main verbs are action verbs. Here voiced-plosive /g/ in (4a) is devoiced as /k/ in (4b) and voiced affricate /dz/ in (5a) is changed into voiceless affricate /ts/ in (5b). In short, initial phonemes change as /g/ ⇒ /k<sup>h</sup>/, /g/ ⇒ /k/, /b/ ⇒ /p/, /b/ ⇒ /p<sup>h</sup>/, /dz/ ⇒ /ts/, etc. respectively.

## 2.2 Morphological

Causatives are formed by suffixing the instrumental case marker to the NP representing the causer and prefixing [ha~hai] to the main verb (Krishnan 2001:472). His analysis is based on the data from Uttaranchal state of India. According to the data used here, causatives are constructed by both suffixation and prefixation in non-causative verbs. Suffix /-hasla/ is used in native verbs and suffix /-u/ with nativizer /-e-/ or /-ei-/ in Nepali loan verbs to change non-causative into causative.

- (6) a. ram    sya-ki  
       ram    dance-NPST  
       'Ram dances.'
- b.   ɦari ram    sya-hasla-ku  
       hari ram    dance-CAUS-NPST  
       'Hari makes Ram dance.'



- (7) a. ram-mai tsit<sup>h</sup>i kra-ka  
 ram-ERG letter write-PST  
 'Ram wrote letter.'
- b. h̥ari-ai ram-fia tsit<sup>h</sup>i kra-fiasla-ka  
 hari-ERG ram-DAT letter write-CAUS-PST  
 'Hari made Ram to write letter.'
- (8) a. panna palt-e-ka  
 paper fold-NAT-PST  
 'Paper folded.'
- b. ram-mai panna palt-e-u-ka  
 ram-ERG paper fold-NAT-CAUS-PST  
 'Ram folded paper.'
- (9) a. h̥anda h̥ar-ai-ka  
 pot fill-NAT-PST  
 'Pot filled.'
- b. ram-mai h̥anda h̥ar-e-u-ka  
 ram-ERG pot fill-NAT-CAUS-PST  
 'Ram filled the pot.'
- (10) a. ti tāt-ei-ka  
 water heat-NAT-PST  
 'Water heated.'
- b. ram-mai ti tāt-e-u-ka  
 Ram-ERG water heat-NAT-CAUS-PST  
 'Ram heated water.'

In example (6) and (7), the verbs are the native words which are causativized by suffix /-fiasla/. On the other hand, verbs in (8), (9) and (10) are borrowed from Nepali. The verb *palt* has been borrowed from Nepali *palt-i-nu* 'to fold'. Likewise, the loan words *h̥ar* from *h̥ar-nu* 'to fill', and *tāt-ei* from *tāt-au-nu* 'to heat' taken from Nepali. Suffixing /-u/ makes causative in such loan verbs.

Prefixes /k-/ and /s-/ in non-causative verbs which contain initial phonemes breathy /ɾ/ or /l/ is used to change the verb into causative. In this case, breathy will be non-breathy as follows.

- (11) a. lʌtt<sup>h</sup>ia    ɾe-ka  
 stick        break-PST  
 'The stick broke.'
- b. ram-ai        lʌtt<sup>h</sup>i    kre-ka  
 Ram-ERG    stick    break. CAUS-PST  
 Ram broke the stick.'
- (12) a. belefɯ    ɭu-ki  
 child        bath-NPST  
 'Child baths.'
- b. mʌu-i        belefɯ    slu-ku  
 mother-ERG child    bath.CAUS-NPST  
 'Mother baths child.'

In given data, /k-/ in *ɾe* 'break itself' (11) and /s-/ in *ɭu* 'bath' (12) are causative prefixes, by which, breathiness in initial phonemes remain non-breathy as /ɾ/ to /r/ or /l/ to /l/ in causative form in (11b) and (12b).

Suffixes and prefixes that occur in verbs applying morphological process of causative construction can be summarized as:

- Suffixes  
 in native verbs: -fiʌsɭa  
 in loan verbs: -u  
 Prefixes:            k-, s-

### 2.3 Lexical

In the lexical causatives neither phonemic nor morphological processes are applied to form causatives, instead, the non-

causative verbs are replaced by causative verbs by which the valence is increased.

- (13) a.  $\lambda$ tt<sup>h</sup>i-a      ʁe-ka  
stick-PART break-PST  
'The stick broke.'
- b. ram-mai  $\lambda$ tt<sup>h</sup>i    kre-ka  
ram-ERG stick break.CAUS-PST  
'Ram broke the stick.'
- (14) a.  $\lambda$ tta lek-ka  
cloth wet-PST  
'The cloth wet.'
- b. ram-mai  $\lambda$ tta    tsek-ka  
ram-ERG cloth wet.CAUS-PST  
'Ram wet the cloth.'

In (13a) *lek* refers 'wet' whereas it changes into *tsek* for 'cause to wet' in (13b). Likewise in (14) non-causative verb *lek* is replaced by *tsek* in causative.

Besides these, there are some exceptional cases where no change in verb may make the verb causative. The same verb functions both non-causative and causative. Its valency determines whether it is non-causative or causative. Only valency increment is applied in example (15).

- (15) a. ts<sup>h</sup>ɔlya    k<sup>h</sup>or-fiatiŋ    toŋ-ka  
goat trap-ABL come-PST  
'The goat came from the trap.'
- b. got<sup>h</sup>ala-i ts<sup>h</sup>ɔlya    k<sup>h</sup>or-fiatiŋ    toŋ-ka  
shepherd goat trap-ABL come-PST  
'The shepherd caused the goat to come from the trap.'

There are three arguments in (15a) that are subject *ts<sup>h</sup>ɔlya* 'goat' verb *toŋ-ka* 'came' and adverbial *k<sup>h</sup>or-*

*hīatiŋ* 'from the trap', it is non-causative. The same verb *toŋ-ka* is repeated in causative (15b) but there is another argument that is subject *got<sup>h</sup>ala-i* 'by the shepherd' in the place of former subject *ts<sup>h</sup>alya* 'goat' and it is demoted to have a new grammatical role, object. Pragmatic meaning of (15a) refers to 'the goat came from the trap independently' whereas (15b) means 'the goat came from the trap by force or by the help of other initiator, shepherd'. Thus, the same verb *toŋ-ka* is used in both non-causative and causative constructions.

### 3. Conclusion

Non-causative constructions are changed into causative by applying phonemic, morphological and lexical rules in main verb in Raji. Devoicing and devoicing-aspiration in initial plosive and affricate phoneme are processes to change non-causative into causative. Suffixes /-ɦasla/ and /-u/ and prefixes /k-/ and /s-/ are morphological causativizers. Causatives are also formed by changing a lexeme. Besides, in some exceptional cases, same forms of non-causative verb repeats in causative. Valency increment is common feature in all types of rules in causative.

### Abbreviations

|      |          |      |           |
|------|----------|------|-----------|
| ABL  | Ablative | CAUS | Causative |
| DAT  | Dative   | ERG  | Ergative  |
| LOC  | Locative | NAT  | Nativizer |
| NPST | Non-past | PST  | Past      |

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## CASE SYSTEM IN KOYEE

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### 1. Introduction

Koyee<sup>1</sup> is one of the Rai Kirati languages of Tibeto-Burman group under Sino-Tibetan family. The term Koyee refers to the people as well as the language they speak. The language they call is *Koji: baʔa*. This is originally spoken in Sungdel VDC of Khotang district of eastern Nepal. It is also spoken in some other places of Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, and Kathmandu by the migrated speakers.

Koyee is one of the endangered and least studied languages of Nepal. There is an obviously close genetic relationship between Dumi and Koi (Hanßon, 1991). CBS (2001) reports 2641 Koyee speakers in Nepal which is 0.01 percent of the total population of Nepal-22736934.

This article is a modified version of the paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 2007. It presents a brief account of Koyee case system. Since this is a descriptive study, the cases found so far in this

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<sup>1</sup> The original speakers of this language prefer to be called by Koyee. However, Hanßon (1991) has mentioned that renderings like Koi or Koyi (Koyee) from Koyu or Koyo appeared to result through a strong tendency in this language to pronounce a disyllabic of two vowels, not diphthongs. As the ethno names like Koyu in Bhojpur, Koi, and Koimee in Udayapur are prevalent where they do not speak the Koyee language. Koyu people in Bhojpur have adopted Bantawa language whereas the Kirati Rodung (Chamling) language by the Koi/Koimee people in Udayapur.

language are classified and presented with sentences as examples.

## 2. Case marking

The cases and corresponding case markers found so far in Koyee are discussed in the following subsections:

### 2.1 Ergative/Instrumental

Ergative and instrumental are marked identically in Kiranti languages (Ebert, 1994). In Koyee, ergative and instrumental case markers are identical. Ergative case is possible when the NP (noun or pronoun +ERG) is subject to the transitive verb in the past tense. Koyee has three ergative markers which occur through the morphophonemic processes.

The suffix <-a> is used in the first person singular number *aŋ*, the second person non-honorific *an*, the third person singular proximal and distal pronouns *idʌ* and *umu*. But the phoneme /-u / from the third person singular distal pronoun and /-ʌ/ from the third person proximal is deleted due to the assimilation process, e.g.,

- (1) a. aŋ-a                      dza:        k<sup>h</sup>ipd-u-ŋa  
       I.SG-ERG        rice        cook-PST-AGR  
       'I cooked rice.'
- b. an-a                      dza:        k<sup>h</sup>ipd-u-na  
       You.SG-ERG        rice        cook-PST-AGR  
       'You cooked rice.'
- c. idʌ-a                      dza:        k<sup>h</sup>ipd-u  
       this.Prox -ERG        rice        cook -PST  
       'This person cooked rice'.



Ergative marker <-ja> is suffixed with all the dual number of each person. Since the final sound of the dual number is <-i>, it changes into <-ja> by the assimilation process.

d. intsi-ja                      dza:    k<sup>h</sup>ipd-u-si  
     we.DU.INCL- ERG    rice    cook- PST-RFL  
     'We cooked rice.'

e. ani-ja                      dza:    k<sup>h</sup>ipd-u-ni  
     you.DU.HON- ERG    rice    cook -PST-AGR  
     'You cooked rice.'

The suffix <-wa> is used in the rest of the pronouns as in nouns.

f.  $\Delta\eta k\Lambda$ -wa                      dza:    k<sup>h</sup>ip-e-k  
     we.PL.EXCL-ERG    rice    cook- NPST-AGR  
     'We cook rice.'

The case marker <-wa>marks for instrumental case.

(2) a. hiu-wa                       $\lambda$ mtsuka                      hak-u  
     wind -INS                      door                      open- PST  
     'The wind opened the door.'

b. umu-wa                      barts<sup>h</sup>a-wa                      s $\Delta$ :    koʔm-u  
     s/he -ERG                      knife-ERG                      tree    cut-PST  
     'S/he cut the tree with the knife.'

## 2.2 Accusative

Accusative case is unmarked in Koyee.

(3) a. mintsuma-wa                      pipi –  $\emptyset$                       d<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>-o  
     girl- ERG                      grandmother-ACC                      seePST-AGR  
     'The girl saw the grand mother.'

b. munima-wa                      utsubu-  $\emptyset$                       k $\Delta$ ld-u  
     cat-ERG                      rat-ACC                      chase -PST  
     'The cat chased the rat.'

## 2.3 Dative

Dative marker is not found in Koyee .

(4) a. umu-wa                      durga-  $\emptyset$                       bulu    bi-da  
       3SG -ERG                      durga- DAT                      money give-NPST-AGR  
       'S/he gives money to Durga.'

b. hʌri-wa                      umu-  $\emptyset$                       dza:    bi-da  
       Hari-ERG                      3.SG.-DAT                      rice    give-PST  
       'Hari gave rice to him/her.'

## 2.4 Locative

Locative is marked by the post position <-bi>. It marks the spatial location,e.g.,

(5) a. k<sup>h</sup>iba                      kim-bi                      moʔ-o  
       dog                      house-LOC.                      live- NPST-AGR.  
       'The dog lives in the house.'

b. b<sup>h</sup>u:                      kʌŋk<sup>h</sup>a- bi                      jʌ                      moʔ-o  
       snake                      water - LOC                      also                      live-NPST-AGR.  
       'Snake also lives in the water.'

## 2.5 Comitative

The suffix <-kʌ> is used for comitative case,e.g.,

(6) a. umu-a                      k<sup>h</sup>ijulʌm- kʌ                      dza:                      dza-da  
       3.SG-ERG                      ghee -COM                      rice                      eat -NPST-AGR  
       'S/he eats rice with ghee.'

b. ram-wa                      bʌktsi-kʌ                      dza:                      dza-da  
       ram -ERG                      brother-COM                      rice                      eat -NPST-AGR.  
       'Ram eats rice together with his younger brother.'

## 2.6 Allative

The allative case marker is <-*lambu*>. It expresses the meaning of motion 'to' or 'towards' suggesting destination and goal, e.g.,

(7) a. umu            kim-lambu        k<sup>h</sup>uts-a  
           s/he.SG house - ALL    go- PST  
           'S/he went towards house.'

b. bubu                sapla-lambu        k<sup>h</sup>uts-a  
           elder brother    forest - ALL    go- PST  
           'Elder brother went towards the jungle.'

## 2.7 Genitive

There are two markers: <-*nA*, -*bim*> for employing genitive case. These markers are used in different situations for the same meaning of possessions. The genitive case marker <-*nA*> is commonly affixed to animate and inanimate nouns, but <-*bim*> is affixed to inanimate nouns only, e.g.,

(8) a. idA                    umu-nA            tsi  
           this.Prox            s/he.SG -GEN    son  
           'This is his/her son.'

b. kim-nA                lam                tsuk-a  
           house -GEN        varanda            break- PST.  
           'The varanda of house was broken.'

c. del-bim                mina            k<sup>h</sup>uts-a  
           village-GEN        man            go-PST  
           'The man of village went.'

- d. kim-bim            tso-bi            silpi-tsa go:di  
 house –GEN        peak-LOC        bird-PL    be-NPST  
 ‘Birds are on the peak of the house.’

## 2.8 Ablative

There are two ablative markers <-bika, lɿŋka> in Koyee.

- (9) a. umu        k<sup>h</sup>otaŋ bika        oʔ-di  
 s/he.SG    khotang- ABL    come-NPST  
 ‘S/he comes from Khotang.’
- b. d<sup>h</sup>am        mina        pak<sup>h</sup>a-bika        oʔ-di  
 that Ref. man    jungle-ABL    come-NPST  
 ‘That man comes from the jungle.’
- c. umu                    bɿdzar-lɿŋka        kim        k<sup>h</sup>uts-a  
 s/he.SG    market- ABL    house    go -PST  
 ‘S/he went to home from market.’
- d. d<sup>h</sup>am        k<sup>h</sup>iba        dz<sup>h</sup>or –lɿŋka        K<sup>h</sup>uts-a  
 that.Ref. dog    bush –ABL        go-PST  
 ‘That dog went out from bush.’

<-bika> in (9,a)and (9,b) denote ‘coming from’ and <-lɿŋka > in (9,c) and (9,d) denote ‘going from.....’

Table1: Koyee case and case suffixes

| Case                 | Form(s)of suffix |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Ergative /Instrument | - a, -ja, -wa    |
| Accusative /Dative   | - ø              |
| Locative             | - bi             |
| Commitative          | -ka              |
| Genitive             | -na, -bim        |
| Ablative             | -bika, -lɿŋka    |
| Allative             | -lɿmbo           |

### 3. Conclusion

This descriptive study can be concluded with the findings about Koyee case system. Koyee has generally seven case clitics whereas there are two more cases: Accusative and Dative which remain unmarked. 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 *-a, -ja, -wa*. The post position may mark locative and allative case relations. One case marker may indicate more than one case relations and vice versa.

#### Abbreviations

|      |              |      |               |
|------|--------------|------|---------------|
| 1    | First person | 2    | Second person |
| 3    | Third person | ABL  | Ablative      |
| ACC  | Accusative   | AGR  | Agreement     |
| ALL  | Allative     | COM  | Comitative    |
| DAT  | Dative       | ERG  | Ergative      |
| EXCL | Exclusive    | GEN  | Genitive      |
| INS  | Instrumental | LOC  | Locative      |
| NPST | Non past     | NP   | Noun phrase   |
| Pro  | Pronoun      | Prox | Proximal      |
| PL   | Plural       | PST  | Past          |
| Ref  | Referential  | SG   | Singular      |

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# NOTES ON THE TYPOLOGY OF T-B KIRANTI LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

This paper is a rudimentary description and comparison of some salient typological features (viz. phonology, morphology and syntax) of some selected Tibeto-Burman languages in general and Tibeto-Burman Kiranti languages of eastern Nepal in particular. Phylogenetically<sup>2</sup>, all Tibeto-Burman languages are usually regarded as part of the Sino-Tibetan family and are located in the mountainous northern and north eastern border countries of South Asia. According to Zograph (1982) out of the great mass of Tibeto-Burman speakers in Tibet-China and Burma, only some 6.8 million are to be found in South Asia, where they live on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, in Assam, Manipur and Tripura (4.2 million in India, 1.8 in Nepal, 650,000 in Bhutan and about 150,000 in Bangladesh).

Grierson (1909) has mentioned a total of one hundred and thirteen languages and eighty-two dialects spoken on the modern territory of India and Bangladesh alone. Matisoff's

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is mainly based on my MPhil/PhD term paper submitted at the Centre of Linguistics and English, SLL&CS, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in April 2003 and its abstract (see LSN abstract 2003) was prepared and sent with several revisions to present it in the 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal held on 26-27 November, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'phylogenetic' has preferably been used by Nettle (1991: 115) after Nicholas' (1990) term 'genetic' in order to avoid confusion with genetics in the sense of DNA. Therefore, I have also here used phylogenetic in place of genetic.

(1991) estimation on the total number of Tibeto-Burman languages is more than fourteen hundred including along with their autonym, exonym, paleonym, neonym and loconyms.

The Tibeto-Burman Kiranti languages of Nepal (cf. Hanßon 1991a, Nishi 1992, Bright 1992 and van Driem 1992 and 1997) are grouped under pronominalised ones, where the grouping of Kiranti-Kõits (exonyms: Sun(u)war, Bhujwar, Pirthwar, Mukhi(y)a)<sup>3</sup> under non-pronominalised group (see Sharma 1997: 377-385 for the process of pronominalization) is either erroneous or misinterpreted with insufficient data of all regional variations. We shall provide evidence on this issue later on these Kiranti languages, geographically less-accessible and ‘nearly extinct’ (cf. Crystal 2000: 20), are still spoken in the eastern hills of Nepal from Tamakoshi-Khimti-Likhu rivers to the west further across the Nepal-border of northeast, India viz. Sikkim and Darjeeling. The generic phyla ‘Kiranti’ under Tibeto-Burman include not less than thirty-two (cf. Rai 1985, Hanßon 1991a, Nishi 1992 and Pokharel 1994) scantily described languages or most of them are awaiting linguistic description and further documentation in any form of grammar or dictionary. I safely prefer to number them more than two dozen (27 in recent study; cf. Rapacha et. al. 2008 in press) in terms of some degree of their vitality in their respective vicinity wherever these are spoken.

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<sup>3</sup> I preferably use the auto-ethnonym ‘Kõits’ because the neonym, exonym or hydronym ‘Sun(u)war’ (Mukhi(y)a) has been misinterpreted to have its derogatory meanings in the Hindu social caste-strata ‘i.e. Sunar or goldsmith’ (see Vansittart (1896), Morris (1927), Hagen (1961), Bista (1967), Chemjong (1967), *Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh* (1983 and 2001), Subedi (1994), Adhikary (1991) and Sharma (2001)) which has a negative impact on their ethno-linguistic identity.



## 2. Structural features of Tibeto-Burman

Matisoff (1991: 484) observes that the overwhelming cultural importance of China and India has shaped the development of East and south-east Asian linguistic area, but diversity is the hallmark of the region. This hallmark of diversity can easily be observed not only from cultural point of view but also from linguistic point of view. The Tibeto-Burman languages, having a great variety, represent so many different stages of development that they vary widely from each other, both lexically and semantically (Zograph 1982: 188). Some of the general characteristic features exemplified by the group as a whole are described as follows:

### 2.1 Phonology

Albeit DeLancey (1990: 803) states that the correct understanding of Proto-Tibeto-Burman phonology is uncertain, past researches have made a considerable progress in the area of comparative Sino-Tibetan phonology as given in the segmental inventory in the table below.

Table 1: The consonants of Proto-Tibeto-Burman

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| p | t | k |
| b | d | g |
| m | n | n |
|   | s |   |
|   | z |   |
|   | l | r |
|   | w | y |

(ibid: 804)

These segmental(s) are commonly found in Lolo-Burmese, Written Tibetan, Burmese, Jingpo~aw and several other languages of the family. We shall here examine and compare

the reconstructed inventory with respect to the Tibeto-Burman Kiranti languages as in § 2. The number of phonemic vowels in Kiranti varies freely from language to language (see § 2), however Proto-Tibeto-Burman had no more than five phonemic vowels, and there remains some question about the Proto-Tibeto-Burman status of the mid vowels (ibid 804). Zograph (1982) states that the most noteworthy phonological feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages in general is their use of tones to convey phonemic distinction (see § 2.1, J (30) a, b, c). But on the contrary, not all these languages of the family are ‘tone-prone.’ This is a lost feature today in most of them.

DeLancey (1990: 805) comments on the origin of tone in Tibeto-Burman that phonemic tone can develop in the course of the loss of distinctions between syllable-initial and/or -final consonants. Moreover, he claims that the loss of a voicing contrast typically in initial consonants results in a phonemic high/low distinction, with earlier voiced initial syllables developing low tone and voiceless initial syllables developing high tone, while the depletion of the inventory of possible syllable-final consonants results in a distinction between open syllables and those ending in a glottal stop or constriction, with the latter eventually giving rise to rising of falling tones, e.g. in central Tibetan dialects, Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman branches of Sino-Tibetan. Another particular striking feature in the Tibeto-Burman languages is the high frequency of the velar nasal /ŋ/, which is distributed in all three positions, at least in Kiranti-Kõits (see (29) a, b, c).

## 2.2 Morphology

Predominantly, all of the Tibeto-Burman languages have deviatinal and compounding morphemes as in Burmese (cf. Wheatley 1990: 848) and some others like Kiranti languages spoken in the eastern hills of Nepal, Sikkim and Darjeeling in Northeast, India have inflectional, agglutinative and compounding morphemes. This feature is also true to Proto-

Sino-Tibetan. Chinese and its several dialects (see Li and Thompson 1990: 817) tend to have compound and derivational morphemes rather than inflectional ones. So Chinese is the best example of ‘isolating’ language in terms of morphological features of the languages of the world. Grammatical genders in all Tibeto-Burman and special forms for plural are missing, whereas in Kiranti-Kõits, e.g. ‘pikyə~piki~pik~puki~puk~pək’ all variations imply plural marker as /-ci/ or [-tsi] in Kiranti-Rodung and some other Kiranti languages. Postpositions express case relations, e.g. <-mi> ‘locative or instrumental’ in Kiranti-Kõits.

Zograph (1982: 189) observes that attributive connection is expressed syntactically only, i.e. by juxtaposition of the qualifier with the qualified. Adjectives are not normally distinguished from nouns in Kiranti-Kõits, e.g.

- |     |                |       |     |              |            |
|-----|----------------|-------|-----|--------------|------------|
| (1) | rim-šo         | āl    | (2) | mə-rim-šo    | wāĩsāl     |
|     | good-ADJ       | child |     | NEG-good-ADJ | male:child |
|     | ‘a good child’ |       |     | ‘a bad boy’  |            |

Kirānti-Rodung:

- |     |                         |       |     |             |         |
|-----|-------------------------|-------|-----|-------------|---------|
| (3) | k <sup>h</sup> unnyā-ko | yāyā  | (4) | ise-ko      | sərəchā |
|     | good-ADJ                | Child |     | bad-ADJ     | boy     |
|     | ‘a good child’          |       |     | ‘a bad boy’ |         |

The pronominalized group of languages share several traits in common with the Austro-Asiatic family (especially the Munda languages), such as pronominal suffixes, a dual (cf. Corbett 2000: 4-5 and 23-30), inclusive-exclusive forms of the pronouns and vigesimal system of counting.

DeLancey (1990: 807) mentions that in a number of modern languages (e.g. Gyarung, Chepang, Nocte), the verbs also marks in transitive clauses whether the subject is higher or lower than the object on a 1>2>3> or 1=2>3 person hierarchy, and this ‘direct/inverse’ marking system is probably also to be

reconstructed for the Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbs. Let us observe the following tables:

Table 2: Intransitive agreement affixes in Gyarong (Suomo dialect)

|                        | Singular | Dual     | Plural |
|------------------------|----------|----------|--------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> person | V-ŋ      | V-č      | V-i    |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> person | tə-v-n   | tə-v-n-č | tə-v-ň |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> person |          | ∅        |        |

V= position of the verb stem (ibid 807)

Table 3: Transitive verb affixes in Gyarong (Suomo dialect)

| Object          | 1 <sup>st</sup> person |  |          | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person |            |          | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person |
|-----------------|------------------------|--|----------|------------------------|------------|----------|------------------------|
|                 | SG                     | DU   | PL       | SG                     | DU         | PL       |                        |
| Subject         | SG                     | } <td>tə-ə-V-n</td> <td>tə-ə-V-n-č</td> <td>tə-ə-V-ň</td> <td>V-ŋ</td> | tə-ə-V-n | tə-ə-V-n-č             | tə-ə-V-ň   | V-ŋ      |                        |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> | DU                     |  |          |                        | V-č        |          |                        |
|                 | PL                     |  |          |                        | V-i        |          |                        |
|                 | SG                     | } <td>kə-u-V-ŋ</td> <td>kə-u-V-č</td> <td>kə-u-V-i</td> <td>tə-V</td>  | kə-u-V-ŋ | kə-u-V-č               | kə-u-V-i   | tə-V     |                        |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> | DU                     |  |          |                        | tə-a-V-n-č |          |                        |
|                 | PD                     |  |          |                        | tə-V-ň     |          |                        |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> | u-V-ŋ                  | u-V-č  | u-V-i    | tə-u-V-n               | tə-u-V-n-č | tə-u-V-ň | V-u                    |
|                 |                        |  |          |                        |            |          | u-V                    |

V=position of the verb stem (ibid 808)

This Gyarong (spoken in Sichuan) system probably has the closest attestation to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman system. The <-ŋ> and <-n> suffixes reflect the Proto-Tibeto-Burman pronouns \*ŋā (Kiranti-Kõits \*ŋo >go) and nā(ŋ), while the dual and plural suffixes <-č> and <-i> are reconstructable for Proto-Tibeto-Burman (DeLancey 1990: 808). Both <u-> and

<a-> are direct/inverse system. Most of the Tibeto-Burman languages including Kirānti are mono-syllabic. None of them have relative pronouns.

### 2.3 Syntax

In all Tibeto-Burman languages, with the exception of Karen (DeLancey 1990: 806) the normal word order is S, O and V (also cf. Kansakar 1993), albeit this is not always observed everywhere rigorously. Zograph (1982: 189) accounts that subordinate clauses are not properly typical of Tibeto-Burman syntax, but under the influence of Indo-Aryan neighbours, are widely used in certain individual members of the family. Another generally accepted fact on this family amongst linguists is that apart from Tibetan, Burmese and Newa(ri), which have developed their written literature, the great majority of Tibeto-Burman languages have no written forms. Hopefully, Kiranti-Yakthung (Limbu or Tsong; can be suitable for all Kiranti languages with considerable reformation) (see van Driem 1987, Limbu 1998 and *LNED* 2002) has a considerable history of writing and has received its scripts known as Srijunga in recent years. Furthermore, it has developed its own literature which provides the written record for syntactic analysis from historical point of view.

DeLancey's (1990: 806-807) investigation shows that a number of case marking typologies occur in the family, including consistently ergative marking (Gurung), aspectual split ergative or active/stative patterns (Newa(ri) and various Tibetan dialects, split ergative marking in which third person transitive subject take ergative case while first and second person do not (Kiranti and Gyarong) are variations on a more-or-less nominative-accusative topic marking scheme (most Lolo-Burmese languages). In the following example (ibid. 807) in which third person but not first and second transitive subjects are case marked (this system of ergative marker is often identical to the instrumental and ablative postposition),

while the verb shows pronominal concord with any first or second person argument, regardless of its grammatical role.

Gyarong:

- (5)     $\eta\text{a}$      $\text{m}\text{ə}$      $\text{nas}\eta\text{-}\eta$     (6)  $\eta\text{ə-}\eta\text{j}\text{ə}$      $\text{m}\text{ə}$      $\text{nas}\eta\text{o-}\check{\text{c}}$   
       1.SG s/he scold-1.SG       1.SG-DU s/he scold-1.DU  
       ‘I scold him/her.’         ‘We two scold him/her.’
- (7)     $\eta\text{ə-}\tilde{\text{n}}\text{i}\text{e}$      $\text{m}\text{ə}$      $\text{nas}\eta\text{o-i}$     (8)  $\text{m}\text{ə-k}\text{ə}$      $\eta\text{a}$      $\text{u-nas}\eta\text{o-}\eta$   
       1.SG-PL s/he scold-1.PL    S/he-ERG 1.SG DIR-scold-1.SG  
       ‘We<sup>pl</sup> scold him/her.’       ‘S/he scolds me.’
- (9)     $\text{m}\text{ə-}\tilde{\text{n}}\text{i}\text{e-k}\text{ə}$         $\eta\text{a}$      $\text{u-nas}\eta\text{o-}\eta$   
       S/he-DU-ERG    1.SG    DIR-scold-1.SG  
       ‘They two scold me.’
- (10)    $\text{m}\text{ə-k}\text{ə}$              $\eta\text{ə-}\eta\text{j}\text{ə}$      $\text{u-nas}\eta\text{o-}\check{\text{c}}$   
       S/he-ERG            1.SG-DU DIR-scold-1.DU  
       ‘S/he scolds us two.’

Kiranti-Kõits:

- (11)    $\text{g}(\eta)\text{o}$          $\text{m}\text{eko-k}\text{əli}$          $\text{hui-nu-}\eta\text{ə}\sim\eta$   
       1.SG        s/he-DAT        scold-NPST-1.SG  
       ‘I scold him/her.’
- (12)    $\text{g}(\eta)\text{o-nimp}^{\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}}$     $\text{m}\text{eko-k}\text{əli}$          $\text{hui-}\eta\text{ə-sku}$   
       1.SG-DU        s/he-DAT        scold-NPST-1.DU  
       ‘We two scold him/her.’
- (13)    $\text{g}(\eta)\text{o-piki}$      $\text{m}\text{eko-k}\text{əli}$          $\text{hui-ni-ki}$   
       I-PL        s/he-DAT        scold-NPST-1.PL  
       ‘We<sup>pl</sup> scold him/her.’
- (14)    $\text{m}\text{eko-mi}$          $\text{g}(\eta)\text{o-k}\text{əli}$          $\text{hui-b}\text{ə}\sim\text{b}$   
       S/he-ERG    1.SG-DAT        scold-3.SG  
       ‘S/he scolds me.’

- (15) mɛko-nimp<sup>h</sup>ā-mi ɲo-kəli hui-nə-si  
 S/he-DU-ERG 1.SG-DAT scold-NPST-3.SG  
 ‘They two scold me.’
- (16) mɛko-mi g(ɲ)o-nimp<sup>h</sup>ā- kəli hui-bə~b  
 S/he-ERG 1.SG-DU-DAT scold-3.SG  
 ‘She scolds us<sup>we</sup> two.’

Here I myself as a native speaker have translated the Gyrarong sentences into Kiranti-Kõits with the help of gloss provided by DeLancey.

Kirānti-Rodung:

- (17) kǎŋā~kǎ k<sup>h</sup>u-ləi k<sup>h</sup>āŋ-u-ŋā  
 1.SG S/he-DAT see-1.SG  
 ‘I saw him/her.’
- (18) k<sup>h</sup>u-wā kǎ-ləi pa-k<sup>h</sup>āŋ-u-ŋā  
 S/he-ERG 1.SG-DAT 3A-see-1:SG  
 ‘S/he saw me.’
- (19) k<sup>h</sup>ānā k<sup>h</sup>u-ləi tǎ-k<sup>h</sup>āŋ-u  
 you s/he-DAT 2-see-DIR  
 ‘You saw him/her.’
- (20) k<sup>h</sup>u-wā k<sup>h</sup>ānā-ləi ta-k<sup>h</sup>āŋ-ā  
 S/he-ERG you-DAT 2-see-PST  
 ‘S/he saw you.’
- (21) kǎ k<sup>h</sup>ānā-ləi k<sup>h</sup>ǒ-hā  
 1:SG you-DAT see-2  
 ‘I saw you.’
- (22) k<sup>h</sup>ānā kǎ-ləi tǎ-k<sup>h</sup>āŋ-u-ŋā  
 you I-DAT 2-see-1:SG  
 ‘You saw me.’
- (23) k<sup>h</sup>u-wā k<sup>h</sup>u-ləi k<sup>h</sup>āŋ-u  
 S/he-ERG S/he-DAT see-DIR  
 ‘S/he saw me.’ (Ebert 1987: 474-475)

The ergative postposition <-kə> marking in Gyarong, <-mi> in Kiranti-Kōits and <-wā> in Kirānti-Rodo(u)ng but not first person subjects and the fact that both person and number agreement are always with the person participant, whether it is subject or object. Here both the pronominal and the verb agreement systems certainly distinguish dual as well as singular and plural numbers.

### 3. Structural features of the T-B Kirānti languages

Before accounting for the specific data on phonology, morphology and syntax of some selected Kiranti languages, we shall note some structural features of these languages investigated by Ebert (1994). I have included some more languages in this paper. Some typological general features of these languages are:

- (a) verb is characterized by a complex system of person, patient and number markers,
- (b) agreement system is sensitive to the pragmatic constellation and agent-patient are usually marked on verb,
- (c) gender distinction is marginal,
- (d) they are morphologically ergative, where Kiranti-Rodung or Camling and Kiranti-Thulung exhibit a split between speech act participants, whereas in Yakthung nouns and pronouns,
- (e) the coding of space is a fascinating part,
- (f) make extensive use of compound verbs,
- (g) they are SOV languages with a rather strict order of modifiers before heads,
- (h) south eastern Kiranti languages are mainly agglutinative and words can easily be split up into morphs, whereas the



north eastern languages have more stem variation in portmanteau forms,

- (i) make little use of converbs and participles in subordination- the Northern and ‘western languages somewhat more than the Southern languages are Kiranti-Yakthung. Hayu, the westernmost language, has only non-finite forms of subordination; Kiranti-Yakthung the easternmost language, has no converbs, but uses participles more frequently than Kiranti-Athpare and Kiranti-Rodung. Most subordinate clauses have fully inflected verbs followed by a case marker (often without an intervening nominalizer) or some other subordinator, and
- (j) their phylogenetic grouping and sub-groupings proposed till today (cf. Grierson 1909, Shafer 1953, Benedict 1972, Zograph 1982, Matisoff 1978, Hanßon 1991, Bright 1992, van Driem 1992, 1997) are all rather tentative due to a poor documentation of most members of the group.

### 3.1 Phonology

In this section, we shall account for the phonological system of some selected Kiranti languages and compare and contrast the system intra-linguistically and trans-linguistically among the languages of the family and with their Proto-Tibeto-Burman reconstructed segmental phonemic inventory (see Table 1 § 1.1). The first three represented languages are ordered alphabetically, whereas the rest geographically.

Kiranti-Bayung:

Table 4A: Vowel phonemes

|          | Front | Central/Rounded | Back |
|----------|-------|-----------------|------|
| High     | i     | y               | u    |
| High mid | e     | ø               | o    |
| Low mid  | ɛ     | œ               | ə    |
| Low      |       | a               |      |

Table 4B. Consonant phonemes

|                           |    |     |    |     |   |  |
|---------------------------|----|-----|----|-----|---|--|
| Stops and nasals          |    |     |    |     |   |  |
| Velar                     | k  | kh  | g  | gh  | ŋ |  |
| Alveolar affricated       | ts | tsh | dz | dzh |   |  |
| Dental                    | t  | th  | d  | dh  | n |  |
| Bilabial                  | p  | ph  | b  | bh  | m |  |
| Imploded                  | ɓ  |     |    |     |   |  |
| Continuant and fricatives |    |     |    |     |   |  |
| Palatal approximant       |    | j   |    |     |   |  |
| Alveolar tap              |    | r   |    |     |   |  |
| Lateral                   |    | l   |    |     |   |  |
| Labiovelar approximant    | w  |     |    |     |   |  |
| Alveolar fricative        | s  |     |    |     |   |  |
| Glottal                   |    | h   |    |     |   |  |

(Michailovsky 1975a: 186)

## Kiranti-Kõits:

Table 5A: Vowel phonemes

|          | Front | Central | Back |
|----------|-------|---------|------|
| High     | i/~   |         | u/~  |
| High mid |       |         | o/~  |
| Low mid  | ɛ/~   |         | ə/~  |
| Low      |       | ā/~     |      |

(~ tilde stands for nasal vs. oral contrast)

Table 5B: Consonant phonemes

| Stops and nasals             |   |     |      |    |    |   |
|------------------------------|---|-----|------|----|----|---|
| Velar                        |   | k   | kh   | g  | gh | ŋ |
| Alveolar affricated          |   | ts  |      | dz |    |   |
| Apico-alveolar/<br>retroflex | T | Th  |      |    |    |   |
| Dental                       |   | t   | th   | d  | dh | n |
| Bilabial                     |   | p   | ph   | b  |    | m |
| Imploded                     |   |     | ɓ*   |    |    |   |
| Continuant and fricatives    |   |     |      |    |    |   |
| Palatal approximant          |   |     | j(y) |    |    |   |
| Apico-alveolar/retroflex     |   |     | r    |    |    |   |
| Lateral                      |   |     | l    |    |    |   |
| Labiovelar approximant       |   |     | w(ʋ) |    |    |   |
| Alveolar fricative           |   | s š |      |    |    |   |
| Glottal                      |   |     | h ʔ  |    |    |   |

(Bieri and Schulze 1971: 2-14, cf. Schulze 1995 also)

\*see Michailovsky (1988: 31)

Kirānti-Hayu:

Table 6A: Vowel phonemes

|      | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | I     |         | u    |
|      | I     |         | U    |
| Low  | ε     | a       | ə    |

Table 6B. Consonant phonemes

|                           | Stops       | Nasals | Fricatives |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------|------------|
| Glottal                   |             |        | h/(?)      |
| Velar                     | k kh g      | ŋ      | χ          |
| Laminal/palatal affricate | c ch j      | ś      |            |
| Apico-alveolar affricate  | ts tsh dz s |        |            |
| Dental                    | t th d      | n      |            |
| Bilabial                  | p ph b      | m      |            |
|                           | Continuants |        |            |
| Palatal approximant       | j           |        |            |
| Labio-velar approximant   | w           |        |            |
| Alveolar tap              | r           |        |            |
| Alveolar lateral          | l           |        |            |

(Michailovsky and Mazaudon 1973: 140-142)

Table 7A: Vowel phonemes

| Yakthung |       |      | Athpare |       |      |      |
|----------|-------|------|---------|-------|------|------|
|          | Front | Back | Front   | Back  |      |      |
| Close    | i/i:  |      | u/u:    | I     | u    |      |
|          | e     | ə    | o       | e     | o    |      |
|          | ɛ/ɛ:  |      | o/o:    |       | a    |      |
| Open     |       | a/a: |         |       |      |      |
| Bantawa  |       |      | Camling |       |      |      |
|          | Front |      | Back    | Front | Back |      |
| Close    | I     | i[w] | u       | I     | u    |      |
|          | e     | (ə)  | oe      | (Λ)   | o    |      |
| Open     | a     |      |         |       | a    |      |
| Thulung  |       |      | Khaling |       |      |      |
|          | Front |      | Back    | Front | Back |      |
| Close    | i/i:  | u/u: | u/u     | I     | üu   |      |
|          | e/e:  | o/o: | o/o:    | e     | ö    | o    |
| Open     |       | a/a: |         |       | ä a  | â[o] |

Table 7B. Consonant phonemes

| Limbu:      |      |      |       |      |      |    |
|-------------|------|------|-------|------|------|----|
|             | Bl   | Dl   | Rx    | Pl   | Vr   | Gl |
| Stops       |      |      |       |      |      |    |
| -voiced     | p ph | t th | c[ts] |      | k kh | ʔ  |
| +voiced     | b    |      |       |      |      |    |
| Fricatives  |      | s    |       |      |      | h  |
| Nasals      | m    | n    |       |      | ŋ    |    |
| Continuants | w    | l    | r     | y    |      |    |
| Athpare:    |      |      |       |      |      |    |
| Stops       |      |      |       |      |      |    |
| -voiced     | p ph |      | T Th  | c ch | k kh |    |
| +voiced     | b bh |      | D Dh  | j jh | g    |    |
| Fricatives  | s    |      |       |      | h    |    |
| Nasals      | m    | n    |       |      | ŋ    |    |
| Continuants | w    | l    | R(Rh) | y    |      |    |
| Bantawa:    |      |      |       |      |      |    |
| Stops       |      |      |       |      |      |    |

|             |      |      |      |      |      |   |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|---|
| -voiced     | p ph | t th |      | c ch | k kh |   |
| +voiced     | b bh | d dh |      | j    | g    |   |
| Fricatives  |      | s    |      |      |      | h |
| Nasals      | m    | n    |      |      | ŋ    |   |
| Continuants | w    | l    | r    | y    |      |   |
| Camling:    |      |      |      |      |      |   |
| Stops       |      |      |      |      |      |   |
| -voiced     | p ph | t th |      | c ch | k kh |   |
| +voiced     | b bh | d dh |      | j jh | g    |   |
| fricatives  |      | s    |      |      |      | h |
| nasals      | m mh | n nh |      |      | ŋ ŋh |   |
| continuants | w    | l lh | r rh | y    |      |   |
| Thulung:    |      |      |      |      |      |   |
| Stops       |      |      |      |      |      |   |
| -voiced     | p ph | t th | T Th | c ch | k kh |   |
| +voiced     | b bh | d dh | D Dh | j jh | g gh |   |
| Fricatives  |      | s    |      |      |      | h |
| Nasals      | m    | n    |      |      | ŋ    |   |
| Continuants | w    | l    | r    | y    |      |   |
| Khaling:    |      |      |      |      |      |   |
| Stops       |      |      |      |      |      |   |
| -voiced     | p ph | t th |      | c ch | k kh |   |
| +voiced     | b bh | d dh |      | j jh | g gh |   |
| Fricatives  |      | s    |      |      |      | h |
| Nasals      | m    | n    |      |      | ŋ    |   |
| Continuants | w    | l    | r    |      |      |   |

(Ebert 1994: 14-16)

First of all, we shall critically and comparatively comment on the phonemic inventory of Ebert (1994), then proceed to compare the phonological system of all nine languages. The six languages represented in Ebert's study show that these languages lack fricatives except for /s/ and /h/. Voiced stops are rare phonemes in the southeast languages. Initial phonemes /h, gh, j, jh/ are restricted mainly to loan words from Nepali. This claim is only partially true (these phonemes lack minimal pairs only rather than restricted to loan words), which will be explained later.

In Kiranti-Yakthung, voiced stops are allophones of unvoiced consonants after nasal, glottal stop and in intervocalic position; the only voiced phoneme in word final position is /b/ (e.g. *lā:b\** *la:ba* (*LNED* 2002: 413 and 613)) ‘moon’ versus *lā:p* ‘wing’). In the northern languages Kiranti-Thulung and Kiranti-Khaling, voiced and voiceless initials are approximately equal in frequency. Aspiration is phonemic in all six languages.

Although these generalizations seem to be very simplistic at first sight, her phonemic inventory is in a loss at least in the case of Kiranti-Rodung (Camling from Camlung), Kiranti-Kirawa (Ba(o)ntawa) and Kiranti-Yakthung as van Driem (1997: 474) points out that Tibeto-Burman comparativists are at a loss to distinguish with confidence between loan words, the result of sound laws, and the effect of analogy. One obvious reason is mainly because there are no exhaustive research on the phonetics and phonology of these languages. Similar case persists in Kiranti-Bayung, Kiranti-Kõits including Kiranti-Hayu in terms of dialectal or even idiolectal variations.

Till this date no linguist is confident on the possible total number of phonemes operating in any Kiranti languages given to him/her whatever literature available. In this case, “the-*elephant-and-the-blind man*” principle is at work. Another reason of this inconsistency or loss is that there are no written records of these spoken languages from time immemorial. Only Kiranti-Yakthung is an exception having its written records. As a result, Ebert (1994) is also inconsistent while making the phonemic inventory of Rodung. Ebert (1994: 14) has listed twenty-nine consonant phonemes (see Table 7 B) and six vowels (see Table 7 A), where she has listed /ʌ/ as optional vowel phoneme. This inventory is self-contradicted in her later grammar of Camling (1997b: 8-10) in which she has mentioned thirty consonants out of which four phonemes,

e.g. (j) [dz], (jh) [dzh], g, and (gh) as optional. The number of optional vowel has been increased up to three, e.g. /ə, ʌ, o/ (p 10) based on Nerpa dialect. Her inventory has been challenged only with twenty-seven consonant and eight vowel phonemes by Yalungcha's *Camling-Nepali Dictionary* (2003) based on Ratanchha dialect. Both of these dialectal areas are not very far geographically. Recently, the Balamta dialect of Udayapur district with its palatalized [tʃ] has given much trouble of orthography representation and originality issues. This issue has almost been politicized among speakers.

Ebert (1994: 14) is nearly accurate on listing the phonemes of Bantawa but has missed out one glottal stop (ʔ) phoneme which has been listed in Bantawa's (1998) grammar and again Bantawa's (1999) dictionary. Bantawa (1998: 2ff) has listed six vowel phonemes (1998: 1-4), whereas Ebert has listed seven vowel phonemes with (ə) as optional (p16). But surprisingly, both of these grammarians seem to have left out or have not noticed the breathy-voiced /lh/ consonant phoneme in the phonology of Bantawa, e.g. Bantawa (1998: 34) has listed two words representing the phoneme /lh/ as in,

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| (24) a. lo-mā    | b. lho-mā        |
| say-INF 'to say' | run-INF 'to run' |

The example lexemes in (24 a. and b.) are contrastive in meaning because of the presence of /l/ in opposition to /lʰ/. Rai (1985) also has not mentioned this contrastive pair in his analysis of Rabi variety of Kirawa (Ba(o)tawa). This phonemic feature is mainly available in Middle Kirant's Kiranti-Rodung.

Similarly, the *LNED* (2002) has overshadowed all other previously available literature on the Yakthung language and linguistics. Ebert's phonemic inventory of Kiranti-Yakthung is not such exception. The *LNED* (p.19) has listed twenty-five consonant phonemes out of which nine are allophones and



only sixteen consonants have phonemic status, whereas Ebert (p. 14) has listed eighteen consonants (see Table 7 B) as phonemes. The number of vowel phonemes is also inconsistent between (Ebert 1994) and *LNED* (p.19ff).

So far as Bieri and Schulze's (1971b) Kiranti-Kõits phonemic inventory (see Table 5 A and B) is concerned, they have missed out identifying two historically lost implosive stops /ɓ/ and /ɓ̄/. Both of these remnants in some speakers are not noticed in Rapacha (1996, 1999 and 2002) also. However, it is predominant in Kiranti-RaDu, a close sister language of Kiranti-Kõits. One of the most difficult problems Bieri and Schulze have faced is in the orthography of Kiranti-Kõits /k/ in place of glottal /ʔ/ which has made the language queer (cf. *Yabe-aa Lowa* 1992). The basic number of vowel phonemes in Kiranti-Kõits is six (/i, ε, u, o, ā, ə/ with nasal contrast in all) rather than ten. Michailovsky's (1988) identification of the imploded consonant phoneme /ɓ/ is purely an historical trace rather than synchronic present-day use in Kiranti-Kõits, e.g.

(25) ɓā > bɓā 'fowl' (not chick)

Michailovsky is the only senior western (Paris, France-based) linguist who has identified the imploded /ɓ/ in Kiranti-Bayung and Kiranti-Kõits (1998: 31-32, cf. Opgenort 2004, 2004, 2004 also), however his evidence lacks contrastive pairs in his data or it may purely be due to sound change historically. Only after five years of Michailovsky's identification of /ɓ/ in these two neighbouring and closely related sister languages, Toba (1993 also 1995) has identified /ɓ, ɓ̄, ɓ̄/ in another neighbouring Kiranti language, RaDu or Wambule (not included in this paper). For both /ɓ and ɓ̄/, Toba has provided evidence on minimal pairs, whereas /ɓ̄/ given in addendum, lacks minimal pairs seeking further research, e.g.

(26) a. ɓi'tso 'woman'                      b. ɓi'tsam 'to obey'

- (27) a. dabu ‘ear’   b. dwa-tsam ‘to dig’  
 (28) a. l’am ‘path, road’                                       b. ...?

Michailovsky’s imploded /b/ in present day Kiranti-Kõits, has possibly been fossilized in daily use. This can be reconstructed language internally (cf. Aitchison 1978: 144) only in \*bā <bw(6)ā ‘fowl’ and \*bārde < bw(6)ārde ‘hawk’ lexemes by replacing 6→b and its compensatory insertion of /w/ before vowel. A similar case of sound change might have taken place in \*po < pwo ‘pig’ β→p.

In addition to these general and specific comparative and critical observations, a few other comparative phonotypological observations are:

- (a) majority of all represented nine languages here have the reconstructed consonant phonemes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman (See Table 1, § 1.1),
- (b) the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ is productive and occurs in all three positions of these Kiranti languages, e.g. in
- (29) a. ŋoro    b. mə-ŋā-cā   c. roŋ  
       ‘dumb’    NEG-weep-INF ‘not to weep’    ‘cliff’
- (c) Kiranti-Kõits, Kiranti-Athpare and Kiranti-Thukung have retroflex /T, T<sup>h</sup>/ -voiced in common but Kiranti-Kõits lacks /D, D<sup>h</sup>/ +voiced of Kiranti-Athpare and Kiranti-Thulung and the rest of the languages have neither of them,
- (d) all these languages have aspiration as phonemic at least in /k, k<sup>h</sup>/ and /p, p<sup>h</sup>/ pairs,
- (e) except for Kiranti-Bayung and Kiranti-Thulung, there are gaps in phonological symmetry,

- (f) in all languages /s, h/ are common fricatives, whereas in Kiranti-Kõits /ʃ/, in Wayu /χ/ and /ʔ/ in Kiranti-Yakthung is additional fricative,
- (g) laminal-palatal affricates /c, c<sup>h</sup>, j/ of the westernmost Kiranti-Hayu are alien to the rest of the languages,
- (h) in the represented languages Kiranti-Kõits and Kiranit-Khaling only are tonal, e.g. in Kiranti-Kõits as follows:
- (30) a. né ‘uncertainty’ (wanting to make sure again)  
 b. nê ‘mirativity’ (hearsay knowledge)  
 c. nē̄ ‘nose’ (figurative: prestige, reputation)  
 d. né̄ ‘name’ (literal sense)
- (i) the range of vowel phonemes is between six to thirteen,
- (j) the unrounded vowel phoneme /i/ of Kirawa is very rare in other Kiranti languages except for Dumi and Chulung,
- (k) glottal stop (ʔ) in Kiranti-Yakthung the easternmost languages, and Kiranti-Kõits and in its neighbouring language Kiranti-Bayung (should have but not mentioned in Michailovsky) and Kiranti-Hayu, e.g.

Kiranti-Kõits:

- (31) a. gā̄?-cā                      b. gā̄-cā  
           walk-INF                    torn -INF  
           ‘to walk’                    ‘to be torn’

### 3.2 Morphology

This section explores some salient morphological typology of these Kiranti languages. Some observations in general are:

- (a) all the languages represented here have the infinitival suffix with the base form of the verb, e.g.

Kiranti-Hayu:

- (32) hā-to give-INF ‘to give’ (Michailovsky 1973: 146)

Kiranti-Kõits:

(33) gɛ-cā give-INF ‘to give’ (My own data)

Kiranti-Bayung:

(34) ge-co give-INF ‘to give’ (My own data)

Kiranti-Yakthung:

(35) thāŋ-mā come up- INF ‘to come up’ (Rai 2002)

Kiranti-Kirawa (Bantawa):

(36) thāŋ-mā come up- INF ‘to come up’ (ibid 2002)

Kiranti-Rodung:

(37) sə-mā come up- INF ‘to come up’ (ibid 2002)

Kiranti-Khaling:

(38) k<sup>h</sup>o-ne come up-INF ‘to come up’ (ibid 2002)

Kiranti-Thulung:

(39) ge-mu come up-INF ‘to come up’ (ibid 2002)

Kiranti-Athpare:

(40) māp-mā say-INF ‘to say’ (Ebert 1994: 55)

(b) almost all these languages have negative marker before the verb and some of them are close cognate to the related proto-Tibeto-Burman form of negation like mâ-qay ‘not go’, mâ-chu ‘not be fat’ in Lahu (Matisoff 1991: 495), and some Kiranti examples include,

Kiranti-Hayu:

(41) ma-thop NEG-knock down ‘not knock down’ (Park 1994: 116)

Kiranti-Kõits:

(42) mə-k<sup>h</sup>lol-cā NEG-knock down-INF ‘not to knock down’

## Kiranti-Bayung:

- (43) ma-dza-co NEG-eat-INF ‘not to eat’ (Data elicited from Tara Hangucha-Rai, p/c June 2002)
- (c) all these languages have dual number (as in Fijian, Arabic, Lihir, Sanskrit) etc. (cf. Corbett 2000)) and some of them have a special form of dual marking as a separate lexeme, e.g.

## Kiranti-Hayu:

- (44) nakpu ‘dual/two’ (but not numeral) (Park 1994: 112)

## Kiranti-Kõits:

- (45) nimp<sup>h</sup>ā ‘dual/two’ (but not numeral) (My own data)

## Kiranti-Bayung:

- (46) nimp<sup>h</sup>o~ŋ ‘dual/two’ (but not numeral) (Data elicited from Tara Hangucha, p/c June 2002)

## Kiranti-Wambule:

- (47) nimp<sup>h</sup>ā ‘dual/two’ (but not numeral) (My own data)
- (d) most of the languages except Kiranti-Yakthung or some other have converbal patterns (see Rapacha (1999) for example in Kiranti-Kõits and Ebert (1994) for other Kiranti languages),
- (e) these languages are pronominal (see Sharma 1997),
- (f) exhibit a pattern of split ergativity (see §1.3). So ergativity is rather superficial trait of Kiranti morphology, where all third person or demonstratives are marked but not all first person, e.g.

## Kiranti-Rodung:

- (48) a. cāpcā k<sup>h</sup>oli-dā wāṅā  
tiger forest-LOC go up

‘The tiger went into the forest.’

- b. cāpcā-wā      bose l<sup>h</sup>āpu  
 tiger-ERG      pig catch-DIR  
 ‘The tiger caught a pig.’ (Ebert 1987: 476)

Kiranti-Kōits:

- (49) a. dzoi wāki-gā      wo-t~ə/dzoi wākyε-mi      wo-t~ə  
 tiger forest-ALL enter-PST/tiger forest-LOC enter-PST  
 ‘The tiger entered into the forest.’

- b. dzoi-mi      po-kəli      gyāit-tā-wə~w  
 tiger-ERG pig-DAT catch-PST-3:SG  
 ‘The tiger caught a pig.’ (My own data translated  
 from Ebert’s (1987: 476) example)

- (g) all these languages are rich in deictics. Some  
 representative examples are:

- (50) a. Proximate demonstrative pronouns

|                |                |                   |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Kiranti-Kirawa | Kiranti-Rodung | Kiranti-Khaling   |
| o-du           | u-dhi          | tya:-tu ‘up’      |
| o-yu           | u-hi           | tya:-yu ‘down’    |
| o-ya           | u-hya:         | tya:-yo ‘level’   |
| o-da:          | u-da:          | tya:-bi ‘neutral’ |

- b. Remote demonstrative pronouns

|                 |                 |                   |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Kiranti-Bantawa | Kiranti-Camling | Kiranti-Khaling   |
| mo-du           | ti-di           | mya:-tu ‘up’      |
| mo-yu           | ti-hi           | mya:-yu ‘down’    |
| mo-ya           | ti-hya:         | mya:-yo ‘level’   |
| mo-da:          | ti-da           | mya:-bi ‘neutral’ |

- c. Referential demonstrative pronouns

|                     |        |                      |                       |
|---------------------|--------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Kiranti-Bantawa     |        |                      |                       |
| k <sup>h</sup> o-du | ‘up’   | k <sup>h</sup> o-ya  | ‘level’               |
| k <sup>h</sup> o-yu | ‘down’ | k <sup>h</sup> o-da: | ‘neutral’ (Rai: 2002) |

(h) Kiranti languages are noted for mirativity (cf. Abbi 2001: 151-152) in their morphology, e.g.

- (51) a. mā̄r dɛ̃-nɛ      ńɛ?  
 what say-3:SG PART  
 ‘What did you say?’ (confirming information)
- b. mɛko~mɛ? k<sup>h</sup>ĩ    mə-lāi-b      nɛ̃  
 3.SG      house NEG-go-3.SG MIR  
 ‘S/he does not go home.’ (hearsay knowledge) (My own data, cf. (30) a and b also)

(i) since all Kiranti languages do not have grammatical gender, the number agrees to the verb, e.g.

Kiranti-Kõits:

- (52) a. g(ŋ)o k<sup>h</sup>əmə dzāi-nu-ŋ  
 1.SG rice eat-NPST-1.SG  
 ‘I eat rice.’
- b. g(ŋ)o-nimp<sup>h</sup>ā k<sup>h</sup>əmə dzāi-nə-sku  
 I-DU rice eat-PNPST-1.DU  
 ‘We two eat rice.’
- c. g(ŋ)o-piki k<sup>h</sup>əmə dzāi-ni-ki  
 I-PL rice eat-NPST-1.PL  
 ‘We (pl.) eat rice.’ (My own data)

Kiranti-Rodung:

- (53) a. kāŋā~kā̄ rə̃ cui-ne~cui  
 1:SG rice eat-1:SG ‘I eat rice.’
- b. kyāc-kā̄ rə̃ cā-cke<sup>exl</sup>      kyāc-i      rə̃ cā-ce<sup>incl</sup>  
 DU-exl. rice eat exl.      DU-incl. rice eat-incl.  
 ‘We two eat rice.’      ‘We two eat rice.’

c. kəi-kā rə̃ cā-mke<sup>exl</sup>  
 we-exl. rice eat-exl.  
 ‘We<sup>pl</sup> eat rice.’

kai-kā rə̃ cā-mne<sup>incl</sup>  
 We-incl rice eat-incl.  
 ‘We<sup>pl</sup> eat rice.’

(Data elicited through e-mail, translator-consultant Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha 2003)

(k) all Tibeto-Burman Kiranti languages, as in other verb final languages (cf. Subbarao et al. 1999) have postpositions (Greenberg’s Universal 3), e.g.

Kiranti-Kõits:

(54) k<sup>h</sup>ĩ-mi  
 house-LOC ‘in the house’ (My own data)

(l) in those languages genitive precedes (cf. ibid 1999) the governing nouns (Greenberg’s universal 2), e.g.

Kiranti-Kõits:

(55) təm(i)-kε~ā k<sup>h</sup>yõpət  
 daughter-GEN book ‘daughter’s book’ (My own data)

## 2.2 Syntax

In this section, we shall observe the basic word order in Kiranti languages. As pointed out in § 1.3, these languages have SOV which Matisoff (1991: 386 and also cf. Masica 1976: 27-30) remarks as ‘undoubtedly the original Sino-Tibetan word order’. This word order of Kiranti satisfies Greenberg’s non-absolute/implicational universal 5 and 21 (Song 2001:6-7, Comrie 1981: 19) having postposition and NP order string as,

{ ‘DEM+GEN + Num + ADJ/ATTR+poss+N’.  
 poss (pron)  
 (Ebert 1994: 100)



The complex sentences in Kiranti are basically of two types on the basis of the degree of reduction. Ebert further observes that in the non-finite verb which does not carry finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted. These sorts of clauses are maximally reduced, whereas the minimally reduced clauses are finite. The origins of subordinator in Kiranti are commonly quotatives and inflectional morphemes, as in,

Kiranti-Rodung:

- (56) tyuko-ci hākā-po k<sup>h</sup>in-e-ko                      mārichā-ci  
 that-DU two-CL be-nice-NPT-NML woman-DU  
 ‘those two beautiful women’ (Ebert 1994: 100)

Kiranti-Kōits:

- (57) mɛ? niʔsi    rim-šo mismuru/mɛ? rim-šo mismuru niʔsi  
 3.SG two.DU nice-NML woman/3.SG nice-NML  
 woman two ‘those two beautiful women’ (My own data)

In both languages, the inflections <-ko> and <-šo> show the variational semantic functions (cf. Matisoff 1978) in pragmatically-oriented use, such as in,

Kiranti-Kōits:

- (58) k<sup>h</sup>əmə dzə-šo    nolɛ...  
 rice eat-PCPL after... ‘After eating rice...’  
 (in the sense of ‘having eaten’) (My own data)

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper we have examined some typological aspects of Kiranti grammars. Also irrespective of time and space constraints, we have compared the similarities and dissimilarities between the Kiranti grammars and across Proto-Tibetan-Burman phonology and morphosyntax. These nine Tibeto-Burman Kiranti languages represented in this paper out of more than two dozen are not sufficient enough to

draw conclusions in general. To do so would either be hasty or even erroneous one. But having examined all possible available data provided from the previous literature one can point out on the basis of comparison and typology of these languages towards the close as well as distant or alien phylogenetic relationships rather than a mere areal feature or borrowing.

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# PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN KAIKE <sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to analyze the pronouns in Kaike. They may be functionally categorized into personal pronouns and pro-forms (Bhat, 2004). The personal pronouns indicate the two speech roles, namely, 'being the speaker' and 'being the addressee' respectively. The proforms or non-personal pronouns have different functions. Some of them include identifying the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants, referring back or forward to other expressions that occur in the utterance or in previous utterances and indicating the scope of question, or exclamation.

Kaike is a seriously endangered and poorly described Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodish group spoken in three villages, viz. Sahartara, Tupatara and Tarakot under Sahartara Village Development Committee of Dolpa district of Nepal. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, the total population of the speaker amounts to 792. Typologically, Kaike is a non-pronominalized language. There is a conjunct vs. disjunct distinction not in terms of person agreement system but in terms of 'volitionality' and 'locus of knowledge' in Kaike (Watters, 2006). Moreover, Kaike does not show the gender and number distinction in the verb as in other Bodish languages.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2007.



This paper is organized as follows: In section 2 we analyze the personal pronouns in terms of persons and numbers including inclusive/exclusive distinction. Section 3 briefly discusses the patterns of cases in the personal pronouns in the Kaike language. In section 4 we deal with the pro-forms in brief. Section 5 sums up the findings of the paper.

## 2. Personal pronouns

In this section we attempt to analyze the personal pronouns and their grammatical categories such as persons, numbers and cases in the Kaike language.<sup>2</sup> The personal pronouns show three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinctions. Table 1 presents the personal pronouns in Kaike.

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Kaike

| Number<br>Persons |          | Sing-<br>ular | Dual                 |       | Plural                |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|
|                   |          |               | Incl.                | Excl. |                       |
|                   |          | ŋa            | nywa                 | jima  | ŋi                    |
| First person      |          |               |                      |       |                       |
| Second person     |          | na            | ŋem                  |       | ŋen                   |
| Third<br>person   | Proximal | ana           | anaŋem               |       | k <sup>h</sup> yuim   |
|                   | Distal   | nu            | k <sup>h</sup> yunya |       | k <sup>h</sup> yukaim |

Table 1 shows that Kaike distinguishes 13 pronominal categories, viz. first, second and third person singular, dual and plural, and there is an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in the first person dual. It is to be noted here that the first person plural in Kaike does not exhibit inclusive/exclusive distinction. It needs further investigation. The third person

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<sup>2</sup> The basic framework of the analysis is the functional-typological grammar developed mainly by Talmy Givón (2001).

pronouns are divided into two categories in terms of the remoteness: proximal and distal.<sup>3</sup>

The following are the examples:

- (6) a. First person singular

ŋai na p<sup>h</sup>yaŋta  
 ŋa-i            na        p<sup>h</sup>yaŋ-ta  
 1SG-ERG      2SG      beat-PST  
 'I beat you.'

- b. First person dual (inclusive)

nywa yim woice  
 nywa            yim        woi-ce  
 1DU.INCL      house      go-NPST  
 'We (you and I) go home.'

- c. First person dual (exclusive)

nima yim woice  
 nima            yim        woi-ce  
 1DU.EXCL      house      go-NPST  
 'We (he and I) go home.'

- d. First person plural

ŋi yim woice  
 ŋi        yim        woi-ce  
 1PL      house      go-NPST  
 'We go home.'

---

<sup>3</sup> The third person personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns are formally homophonous and functionally almost the same in Kaike in common with many TB languages.

- e. Second person singular  
 na yim woice  
 na yim woi-ce  
 2SG house go-NPST  
 'You go home.'
- f. Second person dual  
 ŋem yim woice  
 ŋem yim woi-ce  
 2DU house go-NPST  
 'You (two) go home.'
- g. Second person plural  
 ŋen yim woice  
 ŋen yim woi-ce  
 2PL house go-NPST  
 'You go home.'
- h. Third person singular (proximal)  
 ana yim woice  
 ana yim woi-ce  
 3SG.PROX house go-NPST  
 'S/he goes to the house.'
- i. Third person dual (proximal)  
 anaŋem yim woice  
 anaŋem yim woi-ce  
 3DU.PROX house go-NPST  
 'They (two) go to the house.'
- j. Third person plural (proximal)  
 k<sup>h</sup>yim yim woice  
 khuim yim woi-ce  
 3PL.PROX house go-NPST  
 'They go to the house.'

k. Third person singular (distal)

nu yim woibo  
 nu                    yim            woi-bo  
 3SG.DIST          house          go-PST  
 ‘S/he went to the house.’

l. Third person dual (distal)

k<sup>h</sup>yunya yim woibo  
 k<sup>h</sup>yunya            yim            woi-bo  
 3DU.DIST          house          go-PST  
 ‘They (two) went to the house.’

m. Third person plural (distal)

k<sup>h</sup>yukaim yim woice  
 k<sup>h</sup>yukaim          yim            woi-ce  
 3PL.DIST          house          go-NPST  
 ‘They go went to the house.’

From examples (1a-m), apart from three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinctions, the following observations may be made about the personal pronouns in Kaike:

- a) There are two categories of the third person pronoun in terms of the parameters such as proximal and distal.
- b) The personal pronouns do show inclusive/ exclusive distinction in the first person dual.
- c) Personal pronouns do not show gender distinction in Kaike.

3. Patterns of cases of the personal pronouns

The personal pronouns take different forms of cases. Table 2 presents the different categories of personal pronouns and their case forms.

Table 2: Personal pronouns and major case markers

| Cases→<br>Persons↓ |                       | ERG<br>-je/<br>i | ABS<br>- ø | INS<br>-je/-i | DAT<br>-ga |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| 1SG                | ŋa                    | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 1PL                | ŋi                    | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 1DU.INCL           | ŋywa                  | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 1DU.EXCL           | ŋima                  | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 2SG                | na                    | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 2DU                | ŋem                   | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 2PL                | ŋen                   | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 3SG PROX           | ana                   | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 3DU PROX           | anaŋem                | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 3PL PROX           | k <sup>h</sup> yuim   | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 3SG DIST           | nu                    | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 3DU DIST           | k <sup>h</sup> yunya  | +                | +          | -             | +          |
| 3PL DIST           | k <sup>h</sup> yukaim | +                | +          | -             | +          |

| Cases→<br>Persons↓ |                       | COM<br>-nyabo | ABL<br>-lai | GEN<br>-na | LOC<br>-ga |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| 1SG                | ŋa                    | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 1PL                | ŋi                    | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 1DU.INCL           | ŋywa                  | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 1DU.EXCL           | ŋima                  | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 2SG                | na                    | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 2DU                | ŋem                   | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 2PL                | ŋen                   | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 3SG PROX           | ana                   | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 3DU PROX           | anaŋem                | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 3PL PROX           | k <sup>h</sup> yuim   | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 3SG DIST           | nu                    | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 3DU DIST           | k <sup>h</sup> yunya  | +             | +           | +          | +          |
| 3PL DIST           | k <sup>h</sup> yukaim | +             | +           | +          | +          |

Table 2 shows that the personal pronouns can take the entire major case role such as ergative, absolutive, dative, commutative, ablative, genitive and locative except the instrumental case role. The reason is that personal pronouns only refer to human referents in the clause which cannot be used as instruments.

#### 4. Pro-forms

In this section we deal with pro-forms in Kaike. They include demonstratives/ definite pronouns, interrogatives/indefinite pronouns, possessives and reflexives. They are discussed as follows:

##### 4.1 Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

In Kaike demonstrative and definite pronouns make a single paradigm. So do the interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Table 3 presents paradigm of demonstrative/ definite pronouns and interrogative/ indefinite pronouns with their scope.<sup>4</sup>

Table 3: The paradigms of pro-forms

| Pronouns<br>Scope | Demonstrative/<br>definite pronouns |                   | Interrogatives/<br>Indefinite pronouns |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--|
|                   | Proxi-<br>mal                       | Distal            |  |
| Nominal           | ana                                 | anna              | tai/su 'what/who'                      |
| Place             | si                                  | s <sup>h</sup> ya | k <sup>h</sup> a 'where'               |
| Source            | analai                              | annalai           | sulai 'from where'                     |
| Type              |                                     | cowa              | tai                                    |
| Quantity          |                                     |                   | hati 'how much'                        |
| Manner            | tai                                 | aju               | kajuk <sup>h</sup> ke 'In what way'    |

<sup>4</sup> In Yidiny (Dixon, 1977) interrogatives and indefinite pronouns make a single paradigm.

|      |  |       |       |
|------|--|-------|-------|
| Time |  | taŋbo | hatau |
|------|--|-------|-------|

It can be observed from Table 3 that the demonstrative pronouns and the third person personal pronouns are formally homophonous and functionally almost the same. As we discussed already the demonstrative pronouns may be used to identify the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants.

#### 4.2 Reflexive pronouns

There appears a bound form for reflexive pronoun in Kaiké. It is marked by *-cei*. It is suffixed to a personal pronoun, e.g.,

- (2) ŋacei  
 ŋa-cei  
 1SG-REFL  
 ‘Myself’

The reflexive pronouns are one of the valence decreasing operations, the others being reciprocals, passives, and antipassives (Payne, 1997: 196). In a prototypical reflexive construction the subject and the object are the same entity. Thus, in the reflexive construction in (3) the semantic valence is not two as it is supposed to be in a transitive construction because the pronoun acting as the subject and the reflexive pronoun functioning as the object are the same entity fulfilling the two semantic roles. In generative terminology the anaphor i.e. reflexive and the antecedent i.e. the subject refer to the same person.

- (3) ŋai ŋacei p<sup>h</sup>yaŋta  
 ŋa-i      ŋa-cei      p<sup>h</sup>yaŋ-ta  
 1SG-ERG   1SG-REFL   beat-PST  
 ‘I beat myself’

The reflexive pronouns in Kaike can be distinguished in terms of different sub- categories like person, number, and proximity. It is shown in the following table.

Table 4: Reflexive pronouns in Kaike

| Number        |               | Singular | Dual                                   | Plural                       |
|---------------|---------------|----------|--|------------------------------|
| Persons       |               | ŋacei    | jewacei<br>(INCL)<br>ɲimacei<br>(EXCL) | ŋicei                        |
| First person  |               |          |  |                              |
| Second person |               | nacei    | ŋemcei                                 | ŋencei                       |
| Third person  | Proxi-<br>mal | anacei   | anaŋemcei                              | k <sup>h</sup> yuimcei       |
|               | Distal        | nucei    | k <sup>h</sup> yuŋyacei                | k <sup>h</sup> yukai<br>mcei |

#### 4.3 Reciprocal pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun in Kaike is expressed lexically. The lexical reciprocal word is *syɔŋa* 'each other'.

- (4) sita ra gopal syɔŋa ci k<sup>h</sup>ẽ  
 sita ra gopal syɔŋa ci k<sup>h</sup>ẽ  
 Sita CONJ Gopal RCPL love do.NPST  
 'Sita and Gopal loved each other.'

#### 4.4 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronoun in the Kaike language consists of a personal pronoun and possessive case marker *-na* as in (5)

- (5) na -na  
 2SG-POSS  
 'your'

Kaike does not make a distinction in terms of types of possession such as alienable/ inalienable, temporary/ permanent, persons / animals / things, or present /past.



The following forms of the possessive pronouns are distinguished in the Kaike language, as in Table 5

Table 5: The possessive pronouns in Kaike

| Number Persons |          | Singular | Dual                                 | Plural                  |
|----------------|----------|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|                |          | ŋana     | ŋewana<br>(INCL)<br>ŋimana<br>(EXCL) | ŋina                    |
| First person   |          |          |                                      |                         |
| Second person  |          | nana     | ŋemna                                | ŋenna                   |
| Third person   | Proximal | anana    | anaŋemna                             | k <sup>h</sup> yuimna   |
|                | Distal   | nuna     | k <sup>h</sup> yuŋyana               | k <sup>h</sup> yukaimna |

#### 4. Summary

In this paper, we first analyzed the pronouns and their grammatical categories in Kaike. The personal pronouns show three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinctions. The first person dual shows the distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity. The third person personal pronouns are divided into two categories in terms of the remoteness: proximal and distal. The personal pronouns can take the entire major case role such as ergative, absolutive, dative, commutative, ablative, genitive and locative except the instrumental case role. The motivation for this is that personal pronouns only refer to human referents in the clause which cannot be used as instruments. The proforms in Kaike are demonstratives/ definite pronouns, interrogatives/indefinite pronouns, possessives and reflexives. In Kaike demonstrative and definite pronouns make a single paradigm, so do the interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns may be used to identify the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants. The reflexive pronouns are morphologically bound forms.

The reciprocal pronoun in Kaike is expressed lexically. The possessive pronoun in the Kaike language consists of a personal pronoun and possessive case marker.

#### Abbreviations

|      |                        |
|------|------------------------|
| 1SG  | first person singular  |
| 2SG  | second person singular |
| 3SG  | third person singular  |
| DAT  | dative                 |
| DIST | distal                 |
| ERG  | ergative               |
| EXCL | exclusive              |
| INCL | inclusive              |
| NPST | non-past               |
| PL   | plural                 |
| POSS | possessive             |
| PST  | past                   |
| PROX | proximal               |
| RCPL | reciprocal             |
| REFL | reflexive              |
| SG   | singular               |

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# CONVERB CLAUSES IN BHUJEL<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

This paper presents a linguistic analysis of converb clauses in Bhujel.<sup>2</sup> Bhujel is an endangered and previously undescribed Tibeto-Burman language spoken by 10,733 (i.e.9.1%) of the 1, 17,568 ethnic Bhujel (Gurung et al. 2006). Based on the field survey, this language is actually spoken by an estimated 3,923 of 5418 (i.e. 72.4%) ethnic Bhujel, most of them living along the Mahabharata mountain range of Tanahun District of Nepal (Regmi, 2007).

Similar to most of the South Asian languages Bhujel typically employs non-finite subordinate clauses instead of finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage (Yadava, 2005). There are two types of converb clauses in Bhujel: Sequential (sequencing events in narrative; anterior events or states) and simultaneous (expression of progressive senses; simultaneous events). These clauses exhibit a cluster of properties: morphological, semantic and syntactic. In this paper we try to analyze some of the morphological, semantic and syntactic properties associated with these two types of converb clauses in Bhujel.

This paper is organized as follows: In section 2, we present the morphological properties of the converb clauses in Bhujel. Section 3 examines the semantic properties associated with

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<sup>1</sup> This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> The basic framework of the analysis is the functional-typological grammar developed mainly by Talmy Givón (2001).

the converb clauses whereas in section 4 we analyze some of the syntactic features of the converb clauses in the language. In section 5 we sum up the findings of the paper.

## 2. Morphological properties

The simultaneous converb in Bhujel is formed by attaching the suffix *-t<sup>h</sup>ai* to the verbal root, as in (1).

- (1)    *ηai git rest<sup>h</sup>ai doko kyakaluη*  
          *ηa-i        git    res-t<sup>h</sup>ai    doko kyak-al-u-η*  
          1SG-ERG song sing-SIM basket weave-PST-DIR-1/2  
          'While singing song I made a basket.'

The sequential converb is formed by adding the suffix *-bet* to the verbal root, as in (2)

- (2)    *ηai am jebet bazar alalan*  
          *ηa-i        am        je-bet        bazar al-al-aη*  
          1SG-ERG rice    eat-SEQ    market go-PST-1/2  
          'After having eaten rice I went to bazaar.'

## 3. Semantic properties

Like Chantyal (Noonan, 1999), Bhujel also employs the simultaneous converbal constructions to express an activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate. It is exemplified in (3).

- (3)    *hau kryapt<sup>h</sup>ai iskul alal*  
          *hau    kryap-t<sup>h</sup>ai iskul        al-al*  
          Sister cry-SIM school        go-PST  
          'The sister went to school, crying.'

Bhujel makes extensive use of the sequential converb in narrative and procedural discourses. The sequential converb basically refers to 'anteriority' i.e. the event occurring immediately prior to the event encoded in the following verb,

which may be another sequential converb or a finite verb in the matrix clause (Yadava, 2005). In other words, the major function of the sequential converb is to encode the event which is assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate (Noonan, 1999). Following are the examples:

- (4) a. *ŋai pujaʊ rak<sup>h</sup>bet doko*  
*ŋa-i pujaʊ rak<sup>h</sup>-bet doko*  
 1SG-ERG worship do-SEQ basket  
*kyakbet am jealʊŋ*  
*kyak-bet am j e-al-u-ŋ*  
 Weave-SEQ rice eat-PST-DIR-1/2  
 'After having worshiped the gods and made the baskets I ate rice.'
- b. *hauʊ doko kyakbet am jeal*  
*hau-i doko kyak-bet am je-al*  
 Bro.-ERG basket weave-SEQ rice eat-PST  
 'After having made a basket the younger brother ate rice.'

Both sentences in (4a-b) contain a sequence of the events. Apart from the core meaning viz. anteriority or temporal priority (as shown in (4a-b)) in common with other South Asian languages, Bhujel employs non-specialized sequential converbs which confer a variety of other contextual meanings, including cause (as shown in (5)) and manner (as shown in (6)). Following are the examples:

- (5) *kam cewmabet dyo kim payek<sup>h</sup>yal*  
*kam cew-ma-bet dyo kim payek<sup>h</sup>-yal*  
 Work find-NEG-SEQ 3SG house return-PST  
 'After not having found work he returned home.'

- (6) n<sup>h</sup>bet ηai jindagi bityalunŋ  
 n<sup>h</sup>i-bet ηa-i jindagi bita-ya-l-u-η  
 Laugh-SEQ 1SG-ERG life pass-PST-DIR-1/2  
 ‘I passed the life happily.’

#### 4. Syntactic properties

##### 4.1 Position

Both the converb clauses: simultaneous (as shown in (1)) and sequential (as shown in (2)) are normally joined to the left of the matrix clause in Bhujel. In marked constructions they can also be postposed as a discourse strategy to express afterthought or focus. Following are the examples:

- (7) a. dyo kim payek<sup>h</sup>yal kam cewmabet  
 dyo kim payek<sup>h</sup>-yal kam cew-ma-bet  
 3SG house return-PST work find-NEG-SEQ  
 ‘After not having found work he returned home.’
- b. momcoco waŋal krap<sup>h</sup>ai  
 momcoco waŋ-al krap-<sup>t</sup>ai  
 Daughter come-PST cry-SIM  
 ‘Crying, the daughter came.’

##### 4.2 Tense, aspect and mood

In Bhujel the tense and mood of the matrix clause have a broad scope which extends to the simultaneous and sequential converbs. Noonan (1999) notes that the time reference of the converbs is secondary, *i.e.* relative to the primary tense of the main clause, and thus does not independently establish a time reference relative to the moment of speaking. Following are the examples:

- (8) a. am jebet ηa p<sup>h</sup>ui alalaŋ  
 am je-bet ηa p<sup>h</sup>ui ala-al-aŋ  
 Rice eat-SEQ 1SG jungle go-PST-1/2  
 ‘After eating rice I went to the jungle.’

- b. nyamtyau tuŋt<sup>h</sup>ai ŋa p<sup>h</sup>ui alalaŋ  
 nyamtyau tuŋ-t<sup>h</sup>ai ŋa p<sup>h</sup>ui ala-la-ŋ  
 alcohol drink-SIM 1SG jungle go-PST-1/2  
 'While drinking alcohol I went to the jungle.'

In these sentences the tense of the sequential (8a) and simultaneous (8b) converbs match with the past tense of the verbs in the matrix clauses. However, as observed in Noonan (1999: 413) the aspect is inherent in the converbs. Accordingly the sequential converb is associated with the perfective aspect which indicates an action happened to the anterior to that of the main verb. Similarly, the simultaneous converb can be analyzed as imperfective aspect indicating that the action indicated by the non-finite clause is simultaneous with the main verb.

#### 4.3 Negation and question

In both sequential and simultaneous converbs the negation and question have a narrow scope. It means that the scope of the negation and the question does not extend to the sequential and simultaneous converbs. Let us first see the scope of the negation in the converbs:

- (9) a. k<sup>h</sup>odo badbet ŋa p<sup>h</sup>ui alŋal  
 k<sup>h</sup>odo bad-bet ŋa p<sup>h</sup>ui al-ŋ-al  
 river increase-SEQ 1SG jungle go-1/2-NEG  
 'After the river flooded I did not go to the jungle.'
- b. ŋa krap<sup>t</sup>ai kahilai iskul alŋal  
 ŋa krap-t<sup>h</sup>ai kahilai iskul al-ŋ-al  
 1SG cry-SIM never school go-1/2-NEG  
 'I never went to school weeping.'

In (9a-b) the scope of the negation is restricted to the matrix clauses. Consider the following examples to see the scope of the question in the converbs:



- (10) a. nyamtyau tuŋt<sup>h</sup>ai su p<sup>h</sup>ui alal  
 nyamtyau tuŋ-t<sup>h</sup>ai su p<sup>h</sup>ui al-al  
 alcohol drink-SIM who jungle go-PST  
 'Drinking alcohol, who went to the jungle?'
- b. nyamtyau tuŋbet su sijeal  
 nyamtyau tuŋ-bet su si-je-al  
 Alcohol drink-SEQ who die-PRF-PST  
 'Drinking alcohol, who had died?'

It is clear from the examples (10a and b) that the converbs lie outside the scope of question of the matrix in Bhujel.

#### 4.4 Control of subject

Bhujel shows two options as to the subjects of the converbal constructions: either a null NP, viz. PRO or a lexically overt NP. This is exemplified in (11).

- (11) a. kim waŋbet aite sijeal  
 [PRO<sub>i</sub> kim waŋ-bet] aite<sub>i</sub> si-je-al  
 house come-SEQ Aitedie-PRF-PST  
 'After having arrived at home Aite had died.'
- b. maŋgale kim waŋbet sijeal  
 [maŋgale kim waŋ-bet] si-je-al  
 Maŋgale house come-SEQdie-PRF-PST  
 'After having arrived at home Maŋgale had died.'

In (11a) the subject of the converbal construction is a null NP, viz. PRO whereas in (11b) it is a lexically overt NP.

In sequential converbal construction in Hindi, Nepali and Maithli the controllers of obligatorily null NP or PROs are the nominative / ergative subjects (Yadava, 2005: 447). As Bhujel is a consistently ergative language the controllers of obligatorily null NP or PROs are the absolutive / ergative subjects. This also holds true for the simultaneous converb clauses. Following are the examples.

- (12) a. kim waŋbet aite sijeal (=11a)  
 [PRO<sub>i</sub> kim waŋ-bet] aite<sub>i</sub> si-je-al
- b. kim waŋbet aite am jeal  
 [PRO<sub>i</sub> kim waŋ-bet] aite-i<sub>i</sub> am je-al  
 House come-SEQ Aite-ERG rice eat-PST  
 'After having arrived home Aite ate rice.'

Apart from the absolutive or ergative subjects the dative subject can also control the gaps or PROs in the sequential converbial construction as in (13).

- (13) dyokoy ŋur saybet ŋakoy duk<sup>h</sup> lagal  
 [PRO<sub>i</sub> dyokoy ŋur say-bet] ŋa -kay<sub>i</sub> duk<sup>h</sup> lag-al  
 His matter hear-SEQ 1SG-DAT pain feel-PST  
 'After having heard his matter I felt unhappy.'

It is clear from the example (13) that the converbial constructions in Bhujel have the same subject as their main clause. They do not only show referential coherence but also temporal coherence in Bhujel.

#### 4.5 Lexically overt subject

Hindi does not allow nominative/ergative and dative cases to appear on S/A arguments in the sequential converbs; however, an S/A argument is acceptable if it is demoted to genitive case (Yadava, 2005: 448). Bhujel like the contact language Nepali overtly allows subjects without enforcing any case demotion rule. Both ergative and absolutive cases are allowed in a converb clause. Following are the examples.

- (14) a. ŋai tomabet naŋ am tajeal  
 ŋa-i to-ma-bet naŋ am ta-je-al  
 1SG-ERG say-NEG-SEQ 2SG rice PRH-eat-NEG  
 'Without my permission do not eat rice.'

- b. naŋ n<sup>h</sup>ibetlai ŋai naŋkoy  
 naŋ n<sup>h</sup>i-bet-lai ŋa-i naŋ-koy  
 2S laugh-SEQ-FOC 1S-ERG 2S-DAT

gotaluŋ

got-al-u-ŋ

call-PST-DIR-1/2

'I called you only because you smiled when I saw you.'

## 5. Summary

The converb clauses (sequential and simultaneous) in Bhujel exhibit a cluster of properties: morphological, semantic and syntactic. Both converbs are expressed morphologically in Bhujel. The main function of the simultaneous converb is to express an activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate whereas the main function of the sequential converb is to encode the event which is assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate: a sequence of the events. Besides the core meaning viz. anteriority or temporal priority in common with other South Asian languages, Bhujel employs non-specialized sequential converbs which confer a variety of other contextual meanings, such as cause, and manner. In Bhujel, the tense and mood of the matrix clause have a broad scope which extends to the simultaneous and sequential converbs. However, the negation and question have a narrow scope in both sequential and simultaneous converbs in the language. Moreover, the converbal constructions in Bhujel have the same subject as their main clause. The converbal constructions do not only show referential coherence but also temporal coherence in Bhujel. Bhujel like the contact language Nepali overtly allows subjects with ergative and absolutive without enforcing any case demotion rule.

### Abbreviations

|     |                       |     |                        |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|------------------------|
| 1SG | first person singular | 2SG | second person singular |
| 3SG | third person singular | 1/2 | first or second people |
| 3SG | third person singular | DAT | dative                 |
| DIR | direct marker         | ERG | ergative               |
| NEG | negation, negative    | PRF | perfect                |
| PRH | prohibitive           | PST | past                   |
| SEQ | sequential            | SG  | singular               |
| SIM | simultaneous          |     |                        |

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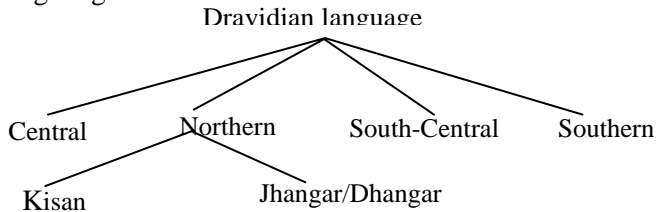
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# PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN DHANGAR/JHANGAR<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

Dhangar/Jhangar belongs to one of Dravidian language families spoken in Nepal. Dravidian language family includes two languages in Nepal one of which is Dhangar/Jhangar, and the other is Kisan. Dhangar/Jhangar is a member of the northern branch of Dravidian language family. Though it shows a great divergence in its vocabulary and grammar, it is said to be a regional variant of Kurux spoken in Jharkhand state of India (Gordon, 1976, Yadava, 2001). The genetic affiliation of Dhangar/Jhangar is presented in the following diagram.



In Nepal, there exist two names for this language: Dhangar and Jhangar. Kosi River is the boundary line between these names. It is known as Dhangar on the west of the river and Jhangar on its east. The speakers of both Dhangar and Jhangar, however, uniformly use 'Uranw' as their surname.

According to the 2001 census, the total population of Dhangar/Jhangar is 41764, i.e. 0.18%, out of which 20892 are male and 20872 are female. This language is spoken by 28,615, i.e. 69% of the total population of the Dhangars.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 27<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal and 12<sup>th</sup> Himalayan Language Symposium held at Kathmandu, 26-28 November, 2005.

The rate of language retention is found to be high. Though Dhangar/Jhangar language spread over almost ten districts of the nation, Sunsari has the largest number of its speakers. It is spoken in the south-east part of the country.

For a long time, Dhangar/Jhangar speakers have remained in close contact with the speakers of Indo-Aryan languages. Naturally then, there pervades large-scale diffusion of Dhangar/Jhangar with its contiguous Indo-Aryan languages, esp. Maithili and Hindi as well as Nepali in recent times.

Most of the languages in Nepal are still confined to their oral traditions. Dhangar/Jhangar is one of them. In Nepal, Dhangar/Jhangar is found not to be used in education, administration and in local media too.

## 1.2 Personal Pronouns

This paper presents the findings of the 'person pronouns' in Dhangar/Jhangar. The tables (1, 2, 3 and 4) below summarizes the total personal pronouns found in Dhangar/Jhangar.

Table 1 : First person pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar

| Case         | Singular               | Plural exclusive       | Plural inclusive        |
|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Nominative   | en- $\phi$             | em- $\phi$             | nam- $\phi$             |
| Accusative   | eŋ-ən                  | em-ən                  | nəm-ən                  |
| Genetive     | eŋ-hae                 | em-hae                 | nəm-hae                 |
| Dative       | eŋ-gage/ga             | em-age/a               | nəm-a/age               |
| Locative     | eŋ-hae-nu              | em-hae-nu              | nəm-hae-nu              |
| Ablative     | eŋ-hae- $\ddot{t}$ i   | em-hae- $\ddot{t}$ i   | nəm-hae- $\ddot{t}$ i   |
| Instrumental | eŋ-hae-ləke            | em-hae-ləke            | nam-hae-ləke            |
| Commitative  | eŋ-hae-səŋge/gəne      | em-hae-səŋge/gəne      | nəm-hae-səŋge/gəne      |
| Allative     | eŋ-hae- $\ddot{t}$ ərə | em-hae- $\ddot{t}$ ərə | nəm-hae- $\ddot{t}$ ərə |

Table 2 : Second person pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar

| Case         | Singular  | Plural   |
|--------------|---|--|
| Nominative   | nin- $\phi$   | nim- $\phi$  |
| Accusative   | ni $\eta$ - $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ n  | nim- $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ n  |
| Genetive     | ni $\eta$ -hae  | nim-hae  |
| Dative       | ni $\eta$ -gag $\text{\textcircled{e}}$ /ga                                       | nim-a/age  |
| Locative     | ni $\eta$ -hae-nu   | nim-hae-nu   |
| Ablative     | ni $\eta$ -hae- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ i  | nim-hae- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ i  |
| Instrumental | ni $\eta$ -hae-l $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ke                                      | nim-hae-l $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ke                                      |
| Commitative  | ni $\eta$ -hae-s $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\eta$ ge/g $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ne | nim-hae-s $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\eta$ ge/g $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ne |
| Allative     | ni $\eta$ -hae- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ er $\text{\textcircled{a}}$              | nim-hae- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ er $\text{\textcircled{a}}$              |

Table 3 : Third person proximate pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar

| Case         | Singular  |   | Plural  |
|--------------|---|---|---|
|              | Masculine   | Feminine  |   |
| Nominative   | is- $\phi$  | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ - $\phi$   | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er- $\phi$  |
| Accusative   | is-in   | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ -in  | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er-in   |
| Genetive     | is-hi   | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ i-hi   | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er-hi   |
| Dative       | is-ge   | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ i-ge   | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er-ge   |
| Locative     | is-nu   | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ i-nu   | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er-nu   |
| Ablative     | is- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ i  | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ i- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ i  | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ i  |
| Instrumental | is-l $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ke                                      | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ i-l $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ke                                      | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er-l $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ke                                      |
| Commitative  | is-s $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\eta$ ge/g $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ne | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ i-s $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\eta$ ge/g $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ne | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er-s $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ $\eta$ ge/g $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ne |
| Allative     | is- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ er $\text{\textcircled{a}}$              | i $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ i- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ er $\text{\textcircled{a}}$              | ib $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ er- $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ er $\text{\textcircled{a}}$              |

Table 4 : Third person distal pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar

| Case         | Singular      |                                | Plural                           |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|              | Masculine     | Feminine                       |                                  |
| Nominative   | as- $\phi$    | a $\check{d}$ - $\phi$         | əb $\check{d}$ ər- $\phi$        |
| Accusative   | as-in         | a $\check{d}$ -in              | əb $\check{d}$ ər-in             |
| Genetive     | as-hi         | a $\check{d}$ i-hi             | əb $\check{d}$ ər-hi             |
| Dative       | as-ge         | a $\check{d}$ i-ge             | əb $\check{d}$ ər-ge             |
| Locative     | as-nu         | e $\check{d}$ i-nu             | əb $\check{d}$ ər-nu             |
| Ablative     | as-ti         | e $\check{d}$ i-ti             | əb $\check{d}$ ər-ti             |
| Instrumental | as-ləke       | a $\check{d}$ i-ləke           | əb $\check{d}$ ər-ləke           |
| Commitative  | as-səŋge/gəne | a $\check{d}$ i-<br>səŋge/gəne | əb $\check{d}$ ər-<br>səŋge/gəne |
| Allative     | as- tərə      | e $\check{d}$ i- tərə          | əb $\check{d}$ ər- tərə          |

Personal pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar show distinctions in term of four grammatical features: person, number, gender and case.

### 1.2.1 Person

As in several other languages, personal pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar have three persons: first, second, and third, and they are shown in Table 1 above.

#### 1.2.1.1 Number

All the three persons make singular and plural distinctions. The first person is lexically realized as *en* 'I' in singular. See the example (1).

- (1) en        ond-k-a-n  
       I        eat-M-PT-1sg  
       'I ate.'

The first person plural pronouns show two-way contrast: inclusive and exclusive. The inclusive form is *nam* and the exclusive form is *em*, as shown in the examples (2a-b) below.



- (2) a. em            ond-k-a-m  
       we.EXCL    eat-M-PT-1pl.  
       'We ate.'
- b. nam            ond-k-a-ṭ  
       we.INCL    eat-M-PT-1pl.  
       'We ate.'

The second person singular pronouns in Dhangar make a binary contrast for number. Thus, there are two types of these pronouns: the second person singular is *nin* 'you' and the second person plural is *nim* 'you'. The examples (3a-b) make this clear.

- (3) a. nin            mṇḍi            ond-k-a-e  
       you.sg        rice            eat-M-PT-2sg.  
       'You ate rice.'
- b. nim            mṇḍi            ond-k-a-r  
       you.pl        rice            eat-M-PT-2pl.  
       'You ate rice.'

The third person singular pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar make a binary contrast for gender; the third person masculine and the third person feminine with the binary contrast for proximate and distal. The masculine proximate is *is* 'he' and the masculine distal is *as* 'he'. Likewise, feminine proximate is *iḍ* 'she' and distal is *aḍ* 'she'. See the examples (4a-d).

- (4) a. as            mṇḍi            on-o-s  
       he.DIST      rice            eat-NPT-3sg.M  
       'He eats rice.'
- b. aḍ            mṇḍi            on-o-ḍ  
       she.DIST    rice            eat-NPT-3sg.F  
       'She eats rice.'
- c. is            mṇḍi            on-o-s  
       they.PROX    rice            eat-NPT-3sg.M  
       'He eats rice.'

- d.  $i\dot{d}$                        $m\dot{a}n\dot{d}i$      $on-o-\dot{d}$   
 she.PROX    rice            eat-NPT-3sg.F  
 'She eats rice.'

The third person plural has contrast between proximate form *ibḍər* 'they' and distal *əbḍər* 'they'. The examples (5a-b) clear more.

- (5) a.  $ib\dot{d}\dot{a}r$                        $m\dot{a}n\dot{d}i$      $ond-a-r$   
 they.PROX    rice            eat-PT-3pl.  
 'They ate rice.'
- b.  $\dot{a}b\dot{d}\dot{a}r$                        $m\dot{a}n\dot{d}i$      $ond-a-r$   
 they.DIST    rice            eat-PT-3pl.  
 'They ate rice.'

### 1.2.3 Case

Dhangar/Jhangar personal pronouns are morphologically characterized by 9 cases. They are described below.

#### 1.2.3.1 Nominative case - $\phi$

In this language nominative case is zero-marked for a personal pronoun in subject position, for example;

- (6)  $em-\phi$                                        $m\dot{a}n\dot{d}i$      $ond-k-a-m$   
 we .EXCL-NOM    rice            eat-M-PT-pl.EXCL  
 'We ate rice.'

#### 1.2.3.2 Accusative - $\dot{a}n/in$

Personal pronouns in the language are marked by *ən* and *in* to denote their accusative case. The following (7a-c) are the examples.

- (7) a.  $e\eta-\dot{a}n$                                        $mex-k-e$   
 I-ACC                      call-M-NPT.1sg  
 'Call me.'

- b. en nim-ən            mex-o-n  
 I    you.PI-ACC    call-NPT-1sg  
 'I will call you.'
- c. is-in                    en pəs-o-n  
 he.PROX-ACC I    beat-NPT-1sg.  
 'I beat him.'

The accusative case form *ən* occurs with first and second person pronouns, while *in* occurs with third person pronouns.

### 1.2.3.3 Genitive *-hae/hi*

Personal pronouns in the language are marked by *-hae* and *hi* to denote their genitive case. The case *-hae* is marked for first and second person and *-hi* is restricted to third person. The examples (82-b) are given below.

- (8) a. nəm-hae            eḍa            bər-c-a  
 we.INCL-GEN    goat            come-3sg-PT  
 'Our goat came.'
- b. as-hi            kitap-ən            en    xinq-k-a-n  
 he-GEN    book-ACC    I    buy-m-PT-1sg.M.  
 'I bought his book.'

### 1.2.3.4 Dative *-gage/a/ga/ge*

Dative case has four forms – *gage*, *a*, *ga* and *ge*. They are morphophonemically conditioned in first and second person. See the examples (9a-b).

- (9) a. eṅgage/ga    kiṭap    cə-a  
                   I.DAT    book    give-NPT  
 'Give me a book.'
- b. em-a/age    pəisa    cə-a-nə  
 we-DAT    money    give-NPT-REQ  
 'Please give us money.'

### 1.2.3.5 Locative: *-nu*

Personal pronouns are marked by *-nu* to denote locative case. It is marked in composite form with first and second person. Examples (10a-b) show its form.

- (10) a. eŋ-hae-nu bes gun rə-i  
 I-GEN-LOC good habit be-NPT  
 'I have good habit.'
- b. as-nu je ʔuluk rə-i niŋ-hae-n  
 he-LOC which habit be-NP you-GEN-LOC  
 məll-a  
 be.NEG-NPT  
 'Which habit is in him is not in you.'

#### 1.2.3.6 Ablative *-ti*

An ablative case *-ti* is used to mark personal pronouns. It occurs with genitive case form with first person and second person pronouns, for example;

- (11) a. en niŋ-hae-ʔi əm oŋdr-ka-n  
 I you.sg-GEN-ABL water bring-PT-1sg.  
 'I brought water from you.'
- b. en asɒis-ʔi kitap oŋdr-ka-n  
 I he-ABL book bring-PT-1sg  
 'I brought a book from him.'

#### 1.2.3.7 Instrumental *-ləke*

Instrumental case has three forms *ləke*, *leke* and *ʔuru* which occur frequently in free variation. It occurs in a composite form of genitive with instrumental itself with first and second person pronouns, for example;

- (12) a. em-hae-ləke nim ujja oŋda-r  
 we.EXCL-GEN-INST you survive can.NPT-2pl.  
 'You can survive by us.'

- b. as-ləke      en ij-k-a-n  
 he-INST      I stand-M-PT-1sg.  
 'I stood with/ by him.'

#### 1.2.3.8 Allative - *ṭərə*

Personal pronouns are marked by *-ṭərə* to denote allative case which captures the meaning of motion 'to' or 'towards' a place. The first person and second person pronouns are marked by *-hae* plus *-ṭərə* that is composite form. See the following examples (13a-b).

- (13) a. en nim-hae-ṭərə ka-d-ə-n  
 I you-GEN-ALL go-NPT-M.1sg  
 'I go towards you.'
- b. nam əbdər-ṭərə kala-ləg-ḍə-ṭ  
 we.INCL they-ALL go-PROG-NPT-1pl  
 'We are going towards them.'

#### 1.2.3.9 Commutative - *gəne/səŋge*

Personal pronouns are marked by *gəne/səŋge* with genitive marker *-hae* in composite form to denote commutative case. See the examples (14a-b).

- (14) a. en as-gəne xəl ker-k-a-n  
 I he-COM farm go-M-PT-1sg.  
 'I went to farm with him.'
- b. em səŋge-r-gəne kəṇḍi  
 we.EXCL friend-pl-COM marble  
 bic-k-a-m  
 play-M-PT-pl.EXCL  
 'We played marble with friends.'

Owing to closer contact with Maithili speaker, commutative marker *-gəne* has conversed with its Maithili equivalent -

*səŋge*. As personal pronouns in this language are marked by nine cases, they can be organized in fairly a common manner to the other languages. The organization of case system is generally thought to adhere to the following hierarchy:

Nominative>accusative>genitive>dative>locative>ablative>instrumental>commutative>allative.

### 1.3 Verb agreement

The affixes coded by personal pronouns are restricted to the first person and third person pronouns and by nouns too on the verb by copying full phonetic form of personal pronouns with nominative case role. See the examples (15a-b).

- (15) a. en as-gəne xəl ker-k-a-n  
 I he-COM farm go-M-PT-1sg.  
 'I went to farm with him.'
- b. em sənge-r-gəne kənɖi  
 we.EXCL friend-pl-COM marble  
 bic-y-a-m  
 play-F-PT-1.pl.EXCL  
 'We played marble with friends.'

In above illustrations (1a, b), the phonetic form <-n> and <-m> of the first person singular pronoun en 'I' and the first person plural *em* 'we' appear respectively with the verb. The first person and second person pronouns do not mark for gender. See the examples (16a-c).

- (16) a. is-ϕ kal-o-s  
 he go-PT-3sg.  
 'He goes.'
- b. aɖ mənɖi on-o-ɖ  
 she.DIST rice eat-NPT-3sg.F  
 'She eats rice.'

- c.    *ibḍar*            *māndi*            *ond-a-r*  
       they.PROX    rice                eat-PT-3pl.  
       'They ate rice.'

The phonetic form <-s> and <-ḍ> of the third person singular masculine *is* 'he' and feminine *aḍ* 'she' are appeared in the verb with the same suffixes <-s> and <-ḍ> respectively. The plural suffix <-r> for the third person appear in the pronominalized form.

#### 1.4 Conclusion

Personal pronouns in Dhangar/Jhangar show distinctions in terms of four grammatical features: person, number, gender and case. It has three persons: first, second, and third. The three persons make singular and plural distinctions. The first person is lexically realized as *en* in singular. The first person plural pronouns show two-way contrast: inclusive and exclusive *nam* and *em* respectively. Likewise, the second person singular pronouns make a binary contrast for number singular is *nin* and the plural is *nim*. The third person singular pronouns make a binary contrast for gender; the third person masculine and the third person feminine with the binary contrast for proximate and distal. The third person plural has contrast between proximate form distal. The personal pronouns are morphologically characterized by 9 cases, viz; nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, ablative, instrumental, commutative and allative. Morphologically, Dhangar/Jangar has productive value for its personal pronouns with their verb agreement.

#### Abbreviations

|     |               |     |              |
|-----|---------------|-----|--------------|
| ϕ   | Zero          | 1   | First Person |
| 2   | Second Person | 3   | Third Person |
| ABL | Ablative      | ACC | Accusative   |
| ALL | Allative      | COM | Commutative  |

|      |              |      |                |
|------|--------------|------|----------------|
| DAT  | Dative       | DIST | Distal         |
| EXCL | Exclusive    | F    | Feminine       |
| GEN  | Genitive     | INCL | Inclusive      |
| INST | Instrumental | NP   | Noun Phrase    |
| LOC  | Locative     | NPT  | Non-Past Tense |
| M    | Masculine    | pl   | Plural         |
| NEG  | Negative     | PROG | Progressive    |
| PROX | Proximal     | PT   | Past Tense     |
| REQ  | Request      | sg   | Singular       |

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# THAKALI LANGUAGE: A PHONEMIC OVERVIEW

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## 1. Introduction

The language spoken by Thakali is known as the Thakali language belonging to Tibeto-Burman group. Puma has twenty-one consonant sounds. The bilabial /p/, the dental /t/ and the velars /k/ have their aspirated counterparts /ph/, /th/ and /kh/ respectively. Their counterparts /b/, /d/ and /g/ can be found only in loan words (Sharma, 2001). Each pair again differs in voicing, the first member of each pair is voiced whereas the second member is voiceless.

A general overview of phonemically contrastive consonants and vowels in Thakali is presented in this paper.

## 2. Consonants

There are twenty-one consonants in Thakali occurring at seven points of articulation - bilabial, dental, alveolar, post alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. All consonants are licensed to occur in the onset of a syllable, while only a limited inventory is licensed in the coda. The consonant phonemes were established on the basis of minimal pairs. Table 1 gives the full consonant phonemic inventory of Thakali using orthographic symbols. This chart has been adapted from Hari (1970) and Sharma (2003).

Table 1: Consonant chart

|            | Bi-labial | Dental | Alveolar | Post-Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|------------|-----------|--------|----------|---------------|---------|-------|---------|
| Stops      | p ph      | t th   | T Th     |               |         | k kh  |         |
| Affricates |           |        |          | c ch          |         |       |         |
| Fricates   |           |        | s        |               |         |       | h       |
| Nasal      | m         | n      |          |               |         | ŋ     |         |
| Lateral    |           |        | L l      |               |         |       |         |
| Trill      |           |        | R r      |               |         |       |         |
| Glide      | w         |        |          |               | y       |       |         |
| Loan Words | b         | d      | D        | j             |         | g     |         |

### 2.1 Supplementary sets of minimal pairs for consonant phonemes

The following are supplementary sets of minimal pairs for consonant phonemes to support the phonemic contrasts among the segmental phonemes. The purpose of presenting these sets is not only to show the phonemic contrasts but also to provide supplementary data that would support the validity of findings as well as provide a resource to the phonological analysis of Thakali for further researches. The minimal pairs are listed in 11 sets.

#### Set 1: Bilabials

Contrasts for voiced bilabial stops: -aspirated vs aspirated, e.g. /p/ vs /ph/.

|        |            |         |               |
|--------|------------|---------|---------------|
| /pi/   | ‘leaves’   | /phi/   | ‘bark’        |
| /pewə/ | ‘shy’      | /phewə/ | ‘to come out’ |
| /pilə/ | ‘to leave’ | /philə/ | ‘to describe’ |

## Set 2: Dentals

Contrasts for -voiced dental stops: -aspirated vs aspirated, e.g. /t/ vs /th/.

|        |             |         |                 |
|--------|-------------|---------|-----------------|
| /tə/   | ‘horse,axe’ | /thə/   | ‘hawk’          |
| /te/   | ‘and’       | /the/   | ‘s/he’          |
| /tewə/ | ‘to fall’   | /thewə/ | ‘to hear’       |
| /tiwə/ | ‘to spread’ | /thiwə/ | ‘to through up’ |

## Set 3: Alveolars

Contrasts for -voiced alveolar stops: -aspirated vs +aspirated, e.g. /T/ vs /TH/.

|        |            |         |           |
|--------|------------|---------|-----------|
| /tewə/ | ‘to climb’ | /Thewə/ | ‘to tear’ |
| /tuwə/ | ‘to stay’  | /Thuwə/ | ‘to wash’ |

## Set 4: Post Alveolars

Contrasts for -voiced alveolar stops: -aspirated vs +aspirated, e.g. /c/ vs /ch/.

|        |              |         |                 |
|--------|--------------|---------|-----------------|
| /cə/   | ‘that/nerve’ | /chə/   | ‘burning place’ |
| /cəwə/ | ‘to eat’     | /chəwə/ | ‘fever/hot’     |
| /coy/  | ‘remains’    | /choy/  | ‘limit’         |
| /cuwə/ | ‘to bark’    | /chuwə/ | ‘entertaining’  |

## Set 5: Velars

Contrasts for -voiced alveolar stops: -aspirated vs +aspirated, e.g. /k/ vs /kh/.

|      |         |       |               |
|------|---------|-------|---------------|
| /ka/ | ‘blood’ | /kha/ | ‘neck’        |
| /ke/ | ‘field’ | /khe/ | ‘grandfather’ |

|        |         |         |                |
|--------|---------|---------|----------------|
| /kiwə/ | ‘easy’  | /khiwə/ | ‘window; bind’ |
| /ku/   | ‘chest’ | /khu/   | ‘broth’        |

Set 6

Contrasts for -voiced alveolar stops: -aspirated vs stops. e.g., /p/, /t/, /T/ and /k/.

|          |                 |          |             |
|----------|-----------------|----------|-------------|
| /pah/    | ‘mask’          | /tah/    | ‘post’      |
| /pimlə/  | ‘to lend’       | /kinlə/  | ‘to borrow’ |
| /ta/     | ‘what’          | /Ta/     | ‘to weep’   |
| /Te/     | ‘waist’         | /ke/     | ‘field’     |
| /kohələ/ | ‘to understand’ | /tohələ/ | ‘to meet’   |

Set 7

Contrasts for voiceless aspirated stops e.g. /ph/ /th/ and /tʰ/ /kh/.

|         |            |         |           |
|---------|------------|---------|-----------|
| /phalə/ | ‘to play’  | /thalə/ | ‘to cut’  |
| /thilə/ | ‘to raise’ | /khilə/ | ‘embrace’ |

Set 8

Contrasts for nasals e.g. /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/.

|        |              |        |           |       |            |
|--------|--------------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|
| /mə/   | ‘reed’       | /nə/   | ‘nose’    | /ŋə/  | ‘I’        |
| /mah/  | ‘son-in-law’ | /nah/  | ‘pus’     | /ŋah/ | ‘five’     |
| /moh/  | ‘cloud’      | /noh/  | ‘garlic’  | /ŋoh/ | ‘forehead’ |
| /mi/   | ‘eye’        |        |           | /ŋi/  | ‘we’       |
| /mih/  | ‘man’        |        |           | /ŋih/ | ‘two’      |
| /məwə/ | ‘low pitch’  | /nəwə/ | ‘painful’ |       |            |

## Set 9

Contrasts for fricatives e.g. /s/ and /h/.

/saŋ/ 'incense' /haŋ/ 'court yard; open'

## Set 10

Contrasts for glides e.g. /y/ and /w/

/wah/ 'so' /yah/ 'yak bull'

## Set 11

Contrasts for bilabial stop and nasal e.g. /p/ vs /m/

/pləh/ 'spirit' /mləh/ 'uncooked rice'  
/pin/ 'blue' /min/ 'name'

## 3. Vowels

There are six basic vowel sounds in Thakali. Table 3 gives the full inventory of basic Thakali vowels using orthographic symbols.

Table 3: Vowel Phonemes

|      | Front  | Central | Back   |
|------|--------|---------|--------|
|      | -round |         | +round |
| High | i      |         | u      |
| Mid  | e      | ə       | o      |
| Low  |        | a       |        |

All vowels in Thakali are contrastive in breathiness. Orthographically, breathy vowels are marked by an /h/ immediately following the basic vowel symbol as in /ih/, /eh/ and /oh/ etc. Thus, Table 4 gives the full inventory of breathy vowels.

Table 4: Breathy Vowels

|      | Front  | Central | Back   |
|------|--------|---------|--------|
|      | -round |         | +round |
| High | ih     |         | uh     |
| Mid  | eh     | əh      | oh     |
| Low  |        | ah      |        |

The following Table 5 gives the summary of full inventory of both basic and breathy vowels in Thakali.

Table 5: Clear and Breathy Vowels

|      |         | Front  | Central | Back   |
|------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
|      |         | -round |         | +round |
| High | Clear   | i      |         | u      |
|      | Breathy | ih     |         | uh     |
| Mid  | Clear   | e      | ə       | o      |
|      | Breathy | eh     | əh      | oh     |
| Low  | Clear   |        | a       |        |
|      | Breathy |        | ah      |        |

### 3.1 Features of Thakali Vowels

- a. Nasalization of vowels is non-contrastive.
- b. Length of vowels is non-contrastive.
- c. Voice quality is contrastive for all vowels.
- d. Lax quality (breathiness) is contrastive for all vowels and is represented by /h/ following the basic vowels.
- e. Clear vowels are found in any position of the morpheme.
- f. Any vowel can be breathy.
- g. Breathy vowels can be found only in the onset of a syllable.
- h. All vowels are syllabic.

### 3.2 Supplementary sets of minimal pairs for vowel phonemes.

The supplementary sets of minimal pairs for vowel phonemes in Thakali are presented in eight sets.

#### Set 1

- a. Contrasts for front high clear and mid clear vowels e.g. /i/ vs /e/.

|        |             |        |           |
|--------|-------------|--------|-----------|
| /ki/   | ‘feces’     | /ke/   | ‘field’   |
| /tiwə/ | ‘to spread’ | /tewə/ | ‘to fall’ |

- b. Contrasts for front high clear and mid clear vowels e.g. /i/ vs /ih/.

|       |           |        |          |
|-------|-----------|--------|----------|
| /mi/  | ‘eye’     | /mih/  | ‘person’ |
| /tim/ | ‘at once’ | /tihm/ | ‘house’  |

- c. Contrasts for Front mid clear and mid clear and breathy vowel e.g. /e/ vs /eh/.

|       |              |        |             |
|-------|--------------|--------|-------------|
| /le/  | ‘tongue’     | /leh/  | ‘act’       |
| /pen/ | ‘small frog’ | /pehn/ | ‘young man’ |

- d. Contrasts for front high breathy and mid breathy e.g. /ih/ vs /eh/.

|         |              |         |                 |
|---------|--------------|---------|-----------------|
| /tihwə/ | ‘to stammer’ | /tehwə/ | ‘to drive away’ |
|---------|--------------|---------|-----------------|

#### Set 2

- a. Contrasts for central mid clear and low clear vowels e.g. /ə/ vs /a/.

|      |               |      |          |
|------|---------------|------|----------|
| /sə/ | ‘tooth/earth’ | /sa/ | ‘breath’ |
| /tə/ | ‘horse/axe’   | /ta/ | ‘what’   |

- b. Contrasts for central mid clear and breathy vowels e.g. /ə/ vs /əh/.

|       |         |        |                |
|-------|---------|--------|----------------|
| /cə/  | ‘that’  | /cəh/  | ‘son’          |
| /tər/ | ‘white’ | /təhr/ | ‘a silk cloth’ |

- c. Contrasts for central low clear and breathy vowels e.g. /a/ vs /ah/.

|      |          |       |        |
|------|----------|-------|--------|
| /sa/ | ‘breath’ | /sah/ | ‘lost’ |
|------|----------|-------|--------|

### Set 3

- a. Contrasts for back -mid-clear and high clear e.g. /o/ vs /u/.

|        |                          |        |         |
|--------|--------------------------|--------|---------|
| /ro/   | ‘reported speech marker’ | /ru/   | ‘horn’  |
| /sowə/ | ‘hot’                    | /suwə/ | ‘dense’ |

- b. Contrasts for back mid clear and breathy vowel e.g. /o/ vs /oh/.

|       |                |        |            |
|-------|----------------|--------|------------|
| /ŋo/  | ‘hair parting’ | /ŋoh/  | ‘forehead’ |
| /toŋ/ | ‘new moon’     | /tohŋ/ | ‘spindle’  |

- c. Contrasts for back high clear and breathy vowel e.g. /u/ vs /uh/.

|       |           |        |           |
|-------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| /kyu/ | ‘water’   | /kyuh/ | ‘sheep’   |
| /tum/ | ‘to wrap’ | /tuhm/ | ‘to spin’ |

- d. Contrasts for back mid breathy and high breathy vowel e.g. /oh/ vs /uh/.

|         |           |         |         |
|---------|-----------|---------|---------|
| /tohwə/ | ‘to meet’ | /tuhwə/ | ‘tired’ |
|---------|-----------|---------|---------|



## Set 4

a. Contrasts for high clear vowel e.g. /i/ vs /u/

|         |                |         |            |
|---------|----------------|---------|------------|
| /ki/    | ‘feces’        | /ku/    | ‘nine’     |
| /khilə/ | ‘embrace/lend’ | /khulə/ | ‘to steal’ |

b. Contrasts for high breathy vowel e.g. /ih/ vs /uh/

|        |        |        |        |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| /Tih/  | ‘one’  | /Tuh/  | ‘six’  |
| /plih/ | ‘four’ | /pluh/ | ‘seed’ |

## Set 5

Contrasts for mid clear and breathy vowels, e.g. /e/, /ə/, /o/, /eh/, /əh/ and /oh/.

a. /e/ vs /ə/

|      |         |      |        |
|------|---------|------|--------|
| /Te/ | ‘waist’ | /Tə/ | ‘head’ |
|------|---------|------|--------|

b. /eh/ vs /əh/

|        |         |        |           |
|--------|---------|--------|-----------|
| /preh/ | ‘eight’ | /prəh/ | ‘hundred’ |
|--------|---------|--------|-----------|

c. /eh/ vs /oh/

|        |         |        |             |
|--------|---------|--------|-------------|
| /preh/ | ‘eight’ | /proh/ | ‘small pox’ |
|--------|---------|--------|-------------|

d. /ə/ vs /o/

|      |        |      |                             |
|------|--------|------|-----------------------------|
| /rə/ | ‘goat’ | /ro/ | ‘reported speech particles’ |
| /ŋə/ | ‘I’    | /ŋo/ | ‘bird’                      |

e. /əh/ vs /oh/

|       |       |       |         |
|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| /cəh/ | ‘son’ | /coh/ | ‘point’ |
|-------|-------|-------|---------|

/kəhy/ 'cradle'      /kohy/ 'song'  
/nəwə/ 'painful'      /nowə/ 'high pitch'

f. /ə/ vs /oh/

/ŋə/ 'I'      /ŋoh/ 'forehead'  
/mə/ 'reed'      /moh/ 'cloud'  
/nə/ 'nose'      /noh/ 'garlic'

### Set 6

Contrasts for high front and Low central vowels e.g. /i/, /ih/, /a/  
and /ah/.

a. /i/ vs /a/

/ki/ 'feces'      /ka/ 'blood'

b. /ih/ vs /ah/

/ŋih/ 'two'      /ŋah/ 'five'  
/mih/ 'man'      /mah/ 'son-in-law'

c. /i/ vs /ah/

/mi/ 'eye'      /mah/ 'son-in-law'  
/ŋih/ 'we'      /ŋah/ 'five'

### Set 7

Contrasts for front high and back mid vowels e.g. /i/, /ih/, /o/ and  
/oh/.

a. /i/ vs /o/

/ŋi/ 'we'      /ŋo/ 'bird'  
/siwə/ 'to die'      /sowə/ 'hot'

b. /ih/ vs /oh/

|       |       |       |            |
|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| /mih/ | ‘man’ | /moh/ | ‘cloud’    |
| /ɲih/ | ‘two’ | /ɲoh/ | ‘forehead’ |

Set 8

Contrasts for mid clear and high clear vowel e.g. /e/ vs /u/.

|      |         |      |        |
|------|---------|------|--------|
| /ke/ | ‘field’ | /ku/ | ‘nine’ |
|------|---------|------|--------|

#### 4. Phonation Contrasts

Phonation types play a crucial role in the Thakali tonal system (Hari, 1970). There is a large number of clear and breathy pairs which contrasts in meaning. Thus, some contrastive pairs between normal (‘modal’) phonation and lax phonation are presented below:

| <u>Modal</u> |                | <u>Lax</u> |                |
|--------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| cə           | ‘that’         | cəh        | ‘son’          |
| cəcə         | ‘salt’         | cəhcə      | ‘baby’         |
| kyu          | ‘water’        | kyuh       | ‘sheep’        |
| le           | ‘tongue’       | leh        | ‘act’          |
| mi           | ‘eye’          | mih        | ‘person’       |
| ɲo           | ‘hair parting’ | ɲoh        | ‘forehead’     |
| pen          | ‘small frog’   | pehn       | ‘young man’    |
| paŋpə        | ‘to abstain’   | phaŋpə     | ‘to quarrel’   |
| sa           | ‘breath’       | sah        | ‘lost’         |
| tər          | ‘white’        | təhr       | ‘a silk cloth’ |
| rimpə        | ‘short’        | rihmpə     | ‘long’         |

## 5. Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters within the syllable (consonant clustering) occur only in the onset of a syllable and there are a very small number of combinatorial possibilities. It doesn't take into account like the exceptional CCC sequence noted in phryawə 'thin'.

The number of consonants which can occur in the second C - slot is very limited. In each of the consonant cluster, second segment should necessarily be a liquid or glide (Hari, 1970). The following Table 6 expresses the combinatorial possibilities for the onset syllable CC -Clusters.

Table 6: Possible combinatorial Consonant Clusters

| First Consonant | Second Consonant |
|-----------------|------------------|
| /p/             | /r/              |
| /ph/            | /l/              |
| /m/             | /y/              |
| /k/             |                  |
| /kh/            |                  |
| /c/             |                  |
| /ch/            |                  |
| /s/             |                  |
| /ŋ/             |                  |
| /t/             | /r/              |
| /k/             | /w/              |

### Illustrations of C- Clusters

|       |            |          |           |
|-------|------------|----------|-----------|
| /pre/ | 'together' | /prəhwə/ | 'to walk' |
| /pro/ | 'snack'    | /preh/   | 'eight'   |

|          |                 |          |                   |
|----------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| /prih/   | 'root'          | /pluh/   | 'seed'            |
| /plih/   | 'four'          | /plah/   | 'vegetable'       |
| /puyŋ/   | 'man'           | /pyaŋ/   | 'pathi'           |
| /pyah/   | 'hoof'          | /phrən/  | 'to unfasten'     |
| /phlelə/ | 'to open'       | /phya/   | 'broom'           |
| /mrin/   | 'woman'         | /mra/    | 'weed'            |
| /mrəm/   | 'wooden chest'  | /mlaŋ/   | 'black'           |
| /mləh/   | 'uncooked rice' | /myaŋ/   | 'must'            |
| /kyu/    | 'water'         | /kyəlwə/ | 'to swim'         |
| /kyəhm/  | 'path'          | /kyoro/  | 'down'            |
| /kyulə/  | 'break'         | /khyawə/ | 'through away'    |
| /cyəŋpə/ | 'small'         | /cyəh/   | 'tea'             |
| /syə/    | 'louse'         | /syə/    | 'meat'            |
| /syuhwə/ | 'sit(H)'        | /ŋyeh/   | 'breasts'         |
| /ŋyewə/  | 'to laugh'      | /ŋyahŋ/  | 'we (inc)'        |
| /chyə/   | 'direction'     | /chyəw/  | 'earring in lobe' |
| /truhmə/ | 'next year'     |          |                   |
| /kwahri/ | 'up there'      | /kwawə/  | 'to feed'         |

## 6. Syllables and Syllabification

The syllable is the minimum unit of the morpheme and consists of a nucleus filled by a vowel with consonants occurring optionally in pre- and post-nuclear position. Like other languages, Thakali has various patterns of syllable. It is basically a monosyllabic language. Most of the morphemes are formed of a single syllable.

In a syllable, a vowel functions as syllable. Optionally, the onset can be preceded by one or two consonants while the coda followed by one consonant. There are six types of the syllable

structures in Thakali. Moreover, the basic syllable in Thakali is ( C ) ( C ) V ( C ) or C<sup>2</sup> . V. C.

i) V

/u/ 'cave'

ii) CV

/pho/ 'belly' /mi/ 'eye'

/khe/ 'grand father' /su/ 'who'

/Tih/ 'one'

iii) CCV

/plih/ 'four' /preh/ 'eight'

/syē/ 'louse' /pluh/ 'seed'

iv) VC

/ur/ 'yellow'

/ohm/ 'to entice'

v) CVC

/min/ 'name' /pehn/ 'young man'

/cham/ 'hair' /suŋ/ 'mouth'

/pin/ 'green' /tər/ 'white'

vi) CCVC

/mrin/ 'woman' /pyahŋ/ 'tune'

/kyahŋ/ 'you' /pyuŋ/ 'man'

/mlaŋ/ 'black'

## 7. Tone

Tone is an important characteristic of Tibeto-Burman languages. The study of tone on Thakali has been made in detail by Hari (1970). The Thakali tone system may be characterized in terms of two kinds of contrasts - contrasts for breathiness and contrast for pitch contour.

The contrast between breathy and clear is relevant only to the onset of a morpheme while the pitch contour of a morpheme extends over the whole morpheme (Hari, 1970). But in this paper only breathy and aspirated phonemes have been described.

## 8. Conclusion

Six vowels and twenty-one consonants, altogether 27 twenty-seven phonemes, are found in the Thakali language. /b/, /d/, /D/, /j/ and /g/ are found only in loan words. All vowels in Thakali are contrastive in breathiness. Orthographically, breathy vowels are marked by an /h/ immediately following the basic vowel symbol as in /ih/, /eh/ and /oh/ etc. Clear vowels are found in any position of the morpheme and breathy vowels can be found only in the onset of a syllable.

Phonation types play a crucial role in the Thakali tonal system. Consonant cluster within the syllable (consonant clustering) occurs only in the onset of a syllable and there is a very small number of combinatorial possibilities. The basic syllable structure in Thakali is (C) (C) V (C) or C<sup>2</sup> . V. C. The contrast between breathy and clear is relevant only to the onset.

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# INVENTORY OF SHERPA PHONEMES

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## 1. Introduction

Sherpa is one of the indigenous communities originally living in northern mountainous region of Nepal. The name ‘Sher-pa’ or ‘Sher-wa’ means ‘easterner’ in their language. Initially, majority of Sherpa people settled in the northern region of Solukhumbu district in eastern Nepal. Gradually, they emigrated from this region to other districts such as Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhupalchowk, Taplejung, Sankhuwasabha, Okhaldunga etc. Now, Sherpa people are living in more than 15 districts of Nepal including Kathmandu.

Sherpa is one of the syllabic tonal languages under Tibeto-Burman family. The census shows 129,771 active speakers out of 154,622 Sherpas throughout the mountain regions in Nepal (CBS, 2001). But, Sherpa language is spoken far and abroad, within and outside the country. Sherpa language has its own script known as Sambhota script<sup>1</sup>. However, Sherpa can be written in Roman as well as Devanagari scripts.

Regarding dialects, Lee (2000) has mentioned three dialects: Khumbu, Solu, and West (Ramechhap and Dolakha) dialect. But, there is a lack of sufficient evidences to show the dialectal differences in Sherpa. However, further studies in this area are needed to identify the different dialects in Sherpa. All the data presented in this paper and the analysis is

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<sup>1</sup> Sambhota Script was developed by Thönmi Sambhota, one of the ministers of 33<sup>rd</sup> King of Tibet Shrong Chon Gompo during 7<sup>th</sup> century. The script was developed in north western province of India during ‘569-649’ AD mainly to translate the religious texts of Buddhism from Sanskrit to other Tibetan language.

based on Sherpa spoken in Solu region in Solukhumbu district. Studies have shown Solu variety has higher level of intelligibility among other varieties.

## 2. Sherpa Phonemes

Many linguists have studied different aspects of Sherpa language including Sherpa sound system. But, it is unfortunate that the findings of these studies were not utilized for the development and promotion of the language. Regarding Sherpa phonemes, most of the linguists came up with similar findings and conclusion.

Sherpa has 30 pulmonic egressive consonant phonemes. They show four-way contrasts: place of articulation, manner of articulation, voicing, and aspiration. The following table shows the inventory of Sherpa consonants:

Table 1: Sherpa Consonants

| Manner of Articulation |     | Place of Articulation |        |                 |                 |         |                |         |
|------------------------|-----|-----------------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|---------|----------------|---------|
|                        |     | Bi-labial             | Dental | Alveolar        | Post Alveolar   | Palatal | Velar          | Glottal |
| Stop                   | Vl  | p                     | t      | t̪              |                 |         | k              |         |
|                        | Asp | p <sup>h</sup>        | t      | t̪ <sup>h</sup> |                 |         | k <sup>h</sup> |         |
|                        | Vd  | b                     | d      | d̪              |                 |         | g              |         |
| Affricate              | Vl  |                       |        | ts              | tʃ              |         |                |         |
|                        | Asp |                       |        | ts <sup>h</sup> | tʃ <sup>h</sup> |         |                |         |
|                        | Vd  |                       |        | dz              | dʒ              |         |                |         |
| Nasal                  | Vd  | m                     |        | n               |                 |         | ŋ              |         |
| Trill                  | Vl  |                       |        | r <sup>h</sup>  |                 |         |                |         |
|                        | Vd  |                       |        | r               |                 |         |                |         |
| Fricative              | Vl  |                       |        | s               | ʃ               |         |                | h       |
| Approximant            | Vd  | w                     |        |                 |                 | j       |                |         |
| Lateral                | Vl  |                       |        | l <sup>h</sup>  |                 |         |                |         |
| Approximant            | Vd  |                       |        | l               |                 |         |                |         |

Most of the linguists who have studied Sherpa sound agree with six vowels in Sherpa, which are: /a, ɑ, e, i, o, u/. There are high, mid and low; and front, central and back vowels in Sherpa in terms of height and place of tongue respectively.

Regarding the length of vowels, there is an agreement among linguists that there is no length. However, Gordon (1969)<sup>2</sup> and Watters (1999)<sup>3</sup> have figured some lengthened quality, but they treated them as allophones and vowel quality respectively. Hale and Schoettelndreyer (1971) have also presented the nasal counterparts of Sherpa vowels. The following figure shows the vowels and possible diphthongs in Sherpa:

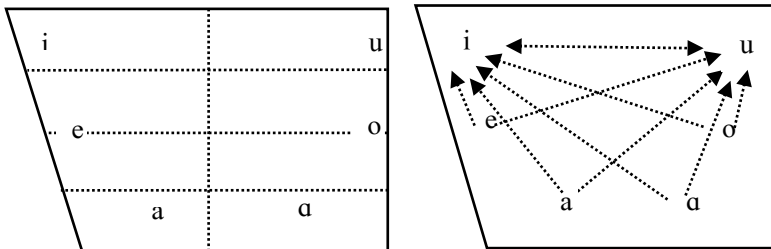


Figure 1: Vowels and Diphthongs

Similarly, Lee (2004) has presented four diphthongs: /ai/, /au/, /ɑi/ and /ei/ in Sherpa. But, there are some more possible diphthongs such as /ui/, /au/, /ɑu/, /iu/, /eu/, and /iu/ in Sherpa (Sherpa, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> “All vowels with exceptions of /ɑ/ have lengthened allophones /ɑ/ has proportionately longer allophones that /i, e, u, o/, and /ɑ/, (which is) an inherently short vowel, does not manifest lengthened allophones (Gordon, 1969, P.: 31).”

<sup>3</sup> Watters has also found some intuition of length from mother tongue speakers especially in lower vowel /ɑ/, but defined them as different vowel quality, not vowel length. See Watters (1999, P: 3).

## 3. Minimal Pairs

All the sound segments listed in table 1 and figure 1 are separate phonemes in Sherpa languages - these sounds contrast in identical environments in word initial positions in the following examples:

Table 2: Minimal Pairs

| Sherpa Phonemes   | Minimal Pairs         |                                      |         |            | Meaning (अर्थ)          |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|------------|-------------------------|
|                   | Transcription         | Transliteration in different scripts |         |            |                         |
|                   |                       | Roman                                | Sambota | Devanagari |                         |
| /p/               | /pe.tu/               | petu                                 | पेटु    | पेतु       | spilling<br>(पोखिनु)    |
| /p <sup>h</sup> / | /p <sup>h</sup> e.tu/ | phetu                                | पेहु    | फेतु       | Bite (टोकु)             |
| /b/               | /be.tu/               | betu                                 | बेटु    | बेतु       | open<br>(खोल्नु)        |
| /t/               | /tuŋ/                 | tung                                 | तुङ     | तुङ्       | frog<br>(पानी भ्यागुतो) |
| /t <sup>h</sup> / | /t <sup>h</sup> uŋ/   | thung                                | थुङ     | थुङ्       | drink (Imp.)<br>(पिउ)   |
| /d/               | /duŋ/                 | dung                                 | दुङ     | दुङ्       | nail (खिल)              |
| /t/               | /tu/                  | tu                                   | तु      | दु         | boat (नाउ)              |
| /t <sup>h</sup> / | /t <sup>h</sup> u/    | thu                                  | थु      | डु         | holy water<br>(अमृत जल) |
| /d/               | /du/                  | du                                   | दु      | डु         | food grain<br>(अन्न)    |
| /k/               | /ka/                  | kaa                                  | काण     | का         | mountain<br>(हिमाल)     |
| /k <sup>h</sup> / | /k <sup>h</sup> a/    | khaa                                 | खाण     | खा         | snow (हिउँ)             |
| /g/               | /ga/                  | gaa                                  | गाण     | गा         | happiness<br>(खुशी)     |
| /ts/              | /tsa/                 | tsa                                  | उ       | च          | grass (घाँस)            |

|                    |                        |       |        |        |                              |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------|--------|--------|------------------------------|
| /ts <sup>h</sup> / | /ts <sup>h</sup> a/    | tsha  | ཅ      | छ      | salt (नुन)                   |
| /dz/               | /dza/                  | dza   | ཇ      | ज      | rainbow<br>(इन्द्रेणी)       |
| /tʃ/               | /tʃe.tu/               | cetu  | ཅེ་ཏུ  | च्येतु | cut/trim<br>(काटनु)          |
| /tʃ <sup>h</sup> / | /tʃ <sup>h</sup> e.tu/ | chetu | ཅེ་ཏུ  | छ्येतु | break/stop<br>(टुटनु)        |
| /dʒ/               | /dʒe.tu/               | djetu | ཇེ་ཏུ  | ज्येतु | forget (बिसर्नु)             |
| /s/                | /si/                   | si    | ཤ      | सी     | tell (Imp.)<br>(भन्नु)       |
| /ʃ/                | /ʃi/                   | shi   | ཤི     | शी     | beads(माला)                  |
| /m/                | /ma.u/                 | maau  | མཉམ་ལུ | माउ    | cousin<br>(काकीको छोरा)      |
| /n/                | /na.u/                 | naau  | ནཉམ་ལུ | नाउ    | fallen sick<br>(बिरामी भएको) |
| /ŋ/                | /ŋa.u/                 | ngaau | ངཉམ་ལུ | ङाउ    | become strong<br>(छिप्पीनु)  |
| /r/                | /ra/                   | ra    | ར      | र      | goat (बाघ्रा)                |
| /r <sup>h</sup> /  | /r <sup>h</sup> a/     | hra   | རྩ     | ह      | hair (कपाल)                  |
| /l/                | /la/                   | la    | ལ      | ल      | hill (पहाड)                  |
| /l <sup>h</sup> /  | /la/                   | lha   | ལྷ     | हल     | God (देवता)                  |
| /w/                | /wan.ba/               | wanba | མཚན་པ  | वन्बा  | deaf (बहिरो)                 |
| /j/                | /jam.ba/               | yamba | ཡམ་པ   | यम्बा  | other (अरु)                  |
| /h/                | /ham.ba/               | hamba | ཏམ་པ   | हम्बा  | obstinate<br>(जिद्दी)        |
| /a/                | /k <sup>h</sup> a/     | khaa  | ཁམ     | खा     | snow (हिउँ)                  |
| /a/                | /k <sup>h</sup> a/     | kha   | ཁ      | ख      | mouth (मुख)                  |
| /e/                | /te.tu/                | ṭetu  | ཏེ་ཏུ  | टेतु   | scratch<br>(कोट्याउनु)       |

|     |          |       |     |      |                 |
|-----|----------|-------|-----|------|-----------------|
| /i/ | /t̥i.tu/ | t̥itu | ṭṭṭ | टीतु | drag (घिसार्तु) |
| /u/ | /gu/     | gu    | गु  | गु   | nine (नौ)       |
| /o/ | /go/     | go    | गो  | गो   | head (टाउको)    |

#### 4. Tone in Sherpa

Sherpa language is one of the tonal Tibeto-Burman languages. Some linguists have made efforts to describe the more sophisticated tonal system of Sherpa language and most of them agree that there are two tones: high and low. But they come up with different views on the contours and intonation pattern.

As a native speaker, based on my intuition, there are two clear tones: high verses low. Sherpa language has level tone with falling contour and tone is distinctive only in the word initial syllable. Tone is phonemic phenomenon in Sherpa - tone expresses both the lexical as well as grammatical meaning. Contours can be realized in words too but it gives grammatical meaning rather than lexical ones. So, contour tone is a part of intonation in Sherpa.

Table 3: Tone in Sherpa

| Phonemes | Examples               |                  |
|----------|------------------------|------------------|
|          | High Tone              | Low Tone         |
| /p/      | /pú/-make whole        | /pu/-blow air    |
| /t/      | /tún/-water frog       | /tuŋ/-shell cone |
| /t̥/     | /t̥á/-hair <i>hon.</i> | /t̥a/-wheat      |
| /k/      | /kúr/-bread            | /kur/-tent       |
| /tʃ/     | /tʃá/-rot              | /tʃa/-bird       |

|     |                               |                     |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| /s/ | /sé.tu/-to kill               | /se.tu/-to worn out |
| /ʃ/ | /ʃiŋ/-wood                    | /ʃiŋ/-field         |
| /m/ | /már/-root                    | /mar/-butter        |
| /n/ | /núp/-mix <i>com.</i>         | /nup/-younger bro.  |
| /ŋ/ | /ŋá/-five                     | /ŋa/-1              |
| /l/ | /lá/-salary                   | /la/-hill           |
| /w/ | /wáŋ.tʃ <sup>h</sup> a/-power | /wan.ba/-deaf       |
| /j/ | /júl/-smear <i>com.</i>       | /jul/-village       |
| /h/ | /húr.tak/-attempt             | /hoŋ.gu/-to come    |

## 5. Summary

Only the voiceless unaspirated stops; nasals; approximants; voiced laterals; fricatives; and unaspirated voiceless affricatives have both high and low tones in word initial syllable. In Sherpa, normally, the aspirated sounds have high tone, and voiced stops, affricatives, and fricatives have only low tone.

### Sherpa Alphabet (Consonants)

|   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ग | क | ख | ग | ङ |
| च | ट | ठ | ड |   |
| ज | त | थ | द | न |
| झ | प | फ | ब | म |

|   |     |     |     |     |     |   |   |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|---|
| उ | च्य | क   | छ्य | फ   | ज्य |   |   |
| उ | च   | क   | छ   | फ   | ज   |   |   |
| श | स   | ष   | थ   | ह   | ह   |   |   |
| र | र   | य   | ल   | क्ष | व   | य | य |
| ह | ह   | क्ष | हल  |     |     |   |   |

Vowels

|   |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| अ | अ | अः | आ | ई | इ | उ | उ |
| ए | ए | एँ | ओ |   |   |   |   |

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# THE INTENSIFIERS IN NEPALBHASHA

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## 1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the intensifiers of Nepalbhasha (Newar language = NB). Newar intensifier includes adjectives and adverbs. Verbal intensifier is quasi-intensifier. Semantically the intensifiers are those forms that enhance the degree the intensity of the meaning.

## 2. Morphological studies

Morphologically the adjectival prefixes t̄ə: 'big' and ci 'small' work as an intensifier followed by the vowel / consonant length before the classifiers in the Newar language. t̄əsək̄ 'greatly', ȳəkko 'huge', sikk̄ 'deadly', sap 'a lot', p̄əti 'short' bh̄əti 'a bit' apa: 'a lot' are the lexical intensifiers. The vowel length, a syllable final intensifier, enhances the degree of both the morphological and lexical intensifiers. -k̄ə is the adverbial intensifier whereas -se is adjectival as well as adverbial intensifier. Morphological and lexical intensifiers are prepositional whereas -k̄ə and -se are word final suffixes in the Newar language.

### 2.1 Adjectival Intensifiers

In this case vowel length, consonant length and lexical forms like t̄əsək̄ 'greatly', ȳəkko 'huge', sikk̄ 'deadly', sap 'a lot', p̄əti 'short', bh̄əti 'a bit', apa: 'a lot' work as the intensifiers.

## 2.1.1 Phonological

### 2.1.1.1 Vowel length

More the vowel length added in the adjective or adverb more the intensification happens.

- |     |        |             |                      |                  |
|-----|--------|-------------|----------------------|------------------|
| (1) | tə:pa: | 'big'       | tə: <sup>1</sup> pa: | 'bigger (flat)'  |
| (2) | cəkḥ:  | 'bright'    | cə:kḥ:               | 'more bright'    |
| (3) | tapa:  | 'far'       | ta:pa:               | 'more far'       |
| (4) | bāla:  | 'beautiful' | bā:la:               | 'more beautiful' |

### 2.1.1.2 Consonant length

In this category vowel l is replaced by the initial sound of the following words, eg.

- |     |        |              |        |                  |
|-----|--------|--------------|--------|------------------|
| (5) | tə:pa: | 'big (flat)' | təppa: | 'bigger (flat)'  |
| (6) | cəkḥ:  | 'bright'     | cəkkḥ: | 'more bright'    |
| (7) | tapa:  | 'most'       | tappa: | 'far most'       |
| (8) | bā la: | 'beautiful'  | bālla: | 'most beautiful' |

## 2.1.2 Morphological:

In this category suffixes or prefixes will be added in the adjectives.

### 2.1.2.1 Lexical forms

The lexicons like təsəkḥ̃ 'greatly', yəkko 'huge', sikkə 'deadly', sap 'a lot', pəti 'short', bhəti 'a bit', apa: 'a lot' are prefixed to intensify the meaning of the adjectives, eg:

---

<sup>1</sup> tə:, the ultimate form with compensatory form of təwə 'great / big' is intensified with vowel length. In a single sound double length does not exist, since these lengths are merged in a single length. But the speakers are practicing double length. Anyway, in written Newar, we use only single vowel length.

- |      |        |        |                       |
|------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| (9)  | təsəkã | balla: | 'mighty strong'       |
| (10) | yəkko  | bãlla: | 'more beautiful'      |
| (11) | sikkə  | bãlla: | 'extremely beautiful' |
| (12) | sap    | bãlla: | 'most beautiful'      |
| (13) | pəti   | hakə:  | 'short length'        |
| (14) | bhəti  | bãlla: | 'a bit beautiful'     |
| (15) | apa:   | taku'  | 'highly condensed'    |

#### 2.1.2.2 Adjectival prefixes:

In this category of intensifiers adjectival prefixes tə: 'big' and ci 'small' are added in the classifiers and archaic words. In the examples (16) tya: 'round', (17) gwə: 'object', are classifiers whereas in (18) mi 'man' is an archaic word for man.

- |      |         |              |        |                |
|------|---------|--------------|--------|----------------|
| (16) | tə:tya: | 'big round'  | citya  | 'thin'         |
| (17) | tə:gwə: | 'big object' | cigwə: | 'small object' |
| (18) | tə:mi   | 'rich (man)' | cimi   | 'poor'         |

#### 2.1.2.3 Vowel length

In this category -se is lexical intensifier that refers to the degree of intensification. The vowel length further enhances the degree of intensification.

- |      |          |         |           |              |
|------|----------|---------|-----------|--------------|
| (19) | hakuse   | 'black' | ha:kuse   | 'more black' |
| (20) | takuse   | 'thick' | ta:kuse   | 'more thick' |
| (21) | chwaluse | 'thin'  | chwa:luse | 'more thin'  |
| (22) | yəcuse   | 'clean' | yə:cuse   | 'more clean' |
| (23) | paūse    | 'sour'  | pa:ūse    | 'more sour'  |

### 2.1.2.4 Consonant length

The vowel length changes into the initial consonant sound of the following word, eg

- |      |          |         |           |              |
|------|----------|---------|-----------|--------------|
| (24) | hakuse   | 'black' | hakkuse   | 'more black' |
| (25) | takuse   | 'thick' | ta kkuse  | 'more thick' |
| (26) | chwaluse | 'thin'  | chwalluse | 'more thin'  |
| (27) | yəcuse   | 'clean' | yəccuse   | 'more clean' |
| (28) | paūse    | 'sour'  | paū: se   | 'more sour'  |

## 2.2 Adverbial intensifiers

Adverbial intensifiers are derived from adjectives followed by the suffixation of <- kə> and <- se>

### 2.2.1 Phonological

#### 2.2.1.1 Vowel length in adverbial Suffix - se

Adjectives like chwasu 'loose' (29), kwatu 'tight' (30) and casu 'irritate' are changed into adverbs with the help of *-se* suffixation. These adverbs are intensified with the help of vowel length.

- |      |          |                |           |                     |
|------|----------|----------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (29) | chwasuse | 'loosely'      | chwa:suse | 'more loosely'      |
| (30) | kwatuse  | 'tightly'      | kwa:tuse  | 'more tightly'      |
| (31) | casuse   | 'irritatingly' | ca:suse   | 'more irritatingly' |

#### 2.1.3.1.2 Consonant length in adverbial suffix - se

Vowel lengths are replaced with the duplication of consonantal sound of the following syllable known as consonantal length, which intensifies the meaning of the adverbs, eg

- |      |          |           |           |                |
|------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| (32) | chwasuse | 'loosely' | chwassuse | 'more loosely' |
| (33) | kwatuse  | 'tightly' | kwattuse  | 'more tightly' |

(34) casuse 'irritatingly' cassuse 'more irritatingly'

### 2.2.1.3 Vowel length in adjectival suffix - *se*

The intensified adjectives with the help of *-se* suffixation like *hakuse* 'black' (35), *takuse* 'thick'(36), *chwaluse* 'thin' (37), *yəcuse* 'clean' (38) are more intensified with the help of vowel length.

(35) hakuse 'black' ha:kuse 'more black'

(36) takuse 'thick' ta:ku se 'more thick'

(37) chwaluse 'thin' chwa:luse 'more thin'

(38) yəcuse 'clean' yə:cuse 'more clean'

### 2.2.1.4 Consonant length in adjectival suffix - *se*

Vowel lengths are replaced by the duplication of consonantal sound of the following syllable known as consonantal length, which intensifies the meaning of the adjectives, eg

(39) hakuse 'black' hakkuse 'more black'

(40) takuse 'thick' takkuse 'more thick'

(41) chwaluse 'thin' chwalluse 'more thin'

(42) yəcuse 'clean' yəccuse 'more clean'

## 2.2.2 Morphological

### 2.2.2.1 *-kə* in the adjectives:

The adjectives with suffixation of *-kə* changes into adverb are intensified with the help of vowel length. In the given examples (43-56) the semantic differences of the adverb *bāla* 'beautiful' are also shown.

(43) sækələ 'learnt perfectly'

bā:lakə 'more perfectly'

- |      |                                  |  |
|------|----------------------------------|--|
| (45) | bālakə mē halə<br>bā:lakə        | 'sang beautifully'<br>'more beautifully'         |
| (47) | bālakə mē halə<br>bā:lakə        | 'cleaned neatly'<br>'more neatly'                |
| (49) | bālakə chē dənə<br>bā:lakə       | 'built house properly'<br>'more skillfully'      |
| (51) | bālakə nəkhə: hənə               | 'Celebrated the festival in an<br>organized way' |
| (52) | bā:lakə<br>bālakə mo:lhu-lə      | 'more organized way'<br>'took bath properly'     |
| (54) | bālakə<br>bālakə akhə: senə      | 'Completely'<br>'taught properly'                |
| (56) | bā:lakə                          | 'more properly'                                  |
| (58) | mirikə bhukachō lhonə<br>miri:kə | 'easily moved by quake'<br>'Completely'          |
| (60) | luchukə lhonə<br>luchu:kə        | 'raised easily'<br>'more easily'                 |
| (62) | əpukə<br>ə:pukə                  | 'easily'<br>'more easily'                        |
| (64) | yaūkə jya sidhələ<br>yaū:kə      | 'easily finished the task'<br>'more easily'      |

### 2.3. Verbal intensifiers (A quasi intensifier)

In this case, the more the vowel length the more the degree of certainty for past as well as non-past is recorded.



## 2.3.1 Past

- (65) yatə > yatə: 'certainly did'  
 (66) nələ > nələ: 'certainly ate'  
 (67) dhalə > dhalə: 'certainly said'  
 (68) wənə > wənə: 'certainly went'  
 (69) yatə > yatə: 'absolutely did'  
 (70) nələ > nələ: 'absolutely ate'  
 (71) dhalə > dhalə: 'absolutely said'  
 (72) wənə > wənə: 'absolutely went'

## 2.3.2 Non-past

- (73) yai > yai: 'certainly do/es'  
 (74) nəi > nəi: 'certainly eat/s'  
 (75) dhai > dhai: 'certainly say/s'  
 (76) wəni: > wəni: 'certainly go/es'  
 (77) yai > yai: 'absolutely do/es'  
 (78) nəi > nəi: 'absolutely eat/s'  
 (79) dhai > dhai: 'absolutely say/s'  
 (80) wəni: > wəni: 'absolutly go/es'

## 3. Semantic Study

Semantically Newar intensifiers as English (Quirk and Greenbaum; 2000:214) can be divided into three basic categories.

3.1 Emphasizer: It is produced with the help of emphatic particles like <he>.

- (81) məjilə ji he məjilə 'completely failed'  
 (82) to:tələ to he to: tə-lə 'at least (s/he) left'

(83) nələ nə he nə-lə 'Any (s/he) ate'

3.2 Amplifiers: They scale upward. For NB Vowel length (:), /tə-/ and /ci-/ function as the Amplifiers.

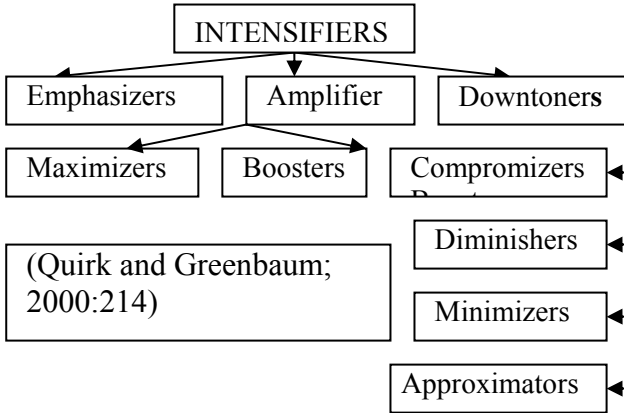


Figure 1: Types of intensifier

3.3 Downtoners scale downward. For NB Vowel length (:), and ci function as the Amplifiers. Besides this, /-ca/ suffixation followed by the noun and adjective works as downtoner, eg

(84) babu 'boy' babuca 'smallboy'

(85) nani 'girl' nanica 'samall girl'

#### 4. Syntatic Study

##### 4.1 Reduplication

In the sentence level construction reduplication works as an intensifier, e.g.,

- (85) wã: wə kə:miya thæ: wən a: guhali phwã phwã: dhalə  
 'She went to the workman and begged for help'  
 (Hale and Shrestha; 2006:71)
- (86) mhə he bamhə bamhə pi tə chwəya mye halegu  
 'We sing and put half our body out [the window]'  
 (Hale and Shrestha; 2006:72)

### 5. Dialectal difference

Vowel and Consonantal length, the matter of Kathmandu (Yë) and Patan (Yələ) dialectal differences, yields the same meaning.

|      | Yələ   | Yë     | gloss       |
|------|--------|--------|-------------|
| (91) | tə:pa: | təppa: | 'big(flat)' |
| (92) | cə:kã: | cəkkã: | 'wide'      |
| (93) | ta:pa: | tappa: | 'far'       |
| (94) | bã:la: | bãlla: | 'beautiful' |

Vowel length is the characteristics of Patan (Yələ) dialect whereas consonant length is the marker of Kathmandu (Yë) dialect of the Newar language.

### 6. Conclusion

vowel length, consonant length and lexical forms like təsəkã 'greatly', yəkkə 'huge', sikkə 'deadly', sap 'a lot', pəti 'short', bhəti 'a bit', apa: 'a lot' work as Adjectival intensifiers.

Adverbial intensifiers are derived from adjectives followed by the suffixation of <- kə> and <- se>.

The more the vowel length the more the degree of certainty shows past as well as Non-past in the case of Verbal intensifiers (A quasi intensifier).

Moreover, Vowel length is the characteristics of Patan (Yələ) dialect whereas consonant length is the marker of Kathmandu (Yě) dialect of the Newar.

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# TAMANG: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SCENARIO

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## 1. Introduction

Though Tamang settlement is found across the country, their dense population remains in the surrounding districts of the Kathmandu Valley. The districts where Tamang settlement is found are: Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Dhading, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Kavrepalanchok, Dolakha, Makawanpur, Ramechhap, and Sindhuli.

Nothing has been said decidedly about the origin of the Tamang people so far (Tamang, 1992: 4). However, they are considered to have settled down in Nepal for centuries (Tamang, 2052: 17-20; Lama, 2053: 71, cited in Poudel, 2006: 1).

With the reference of monasteries, Lama (2053: 71, cited in Poudel, 2006: 1) concludes that the Tamang people settled around Kathmandu Valley many years before 214 A.D. Varenkamp (1996: 10) writes,

In the mid-seventh century, the Tibetan king, Songtsen Gampo, marched into present-day Nepal with an army possibly made up of the Tamangs' ancestors. It is most likely that they came down from Kyirong in Tibet via the Bhote Koshi valley, and continued south to the Kathmandu Valley and beyond into India. According to tradition, many of these soldiers decided to stay and spread out to the east and west and make a living for themselves in this new land of promise.

Sir Herbert Risley's following conclusion seems to be more convincing:

Their physical characteristics and the fact that their exogamous divisions (thars) bear Tibetan names, seem to

lend support to the opinion that they are descended from a Tibetan stock, modified more or less by intermixture with Nepalese race (in Grierson, [1909] 1990: 189).

Tamang people are one of the major indigenous ethnic groups in Nepal pertaining to the Mongoloid sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman community. They have their own language, culture, tradition and a distinct life style. They embrace different perception about their societies, different notions of living and maintaining livelihood, different sets of ideas akin to their customs and tradition. The word 'Tamang' refers to both the people and the language they speak. The available information and evidences show that the oldest use of the word 'Tamang' dates back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

According to McDonald (1989: 170, cited in Yonjan 2003: 3), the oldest historical record of the Tamang people appears to be the genealogical history of *Ngari Gungthan* kings by *Kah-tog rigdzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu*. Quoting the list of forts founded by king *Bum-lde mgon* who reigned from 1253 to 1280 AD, the fort is mentioned as:

Ta-mang se-mon kha gnon-dul  
glo-smad mu-khun srin-rdzong brtsegs

McDonald (Ibid) translates this as to mean 'in order to suppress the Se-Mon Tamang, in lower Glo, he built the Sri fort at Muktinath'. The term 'Tamang' was banned to use for Tamang people as clan name for a long period until 1932 AD.

The Tamang language is one of the largest minority languages in Nepal. Two major dialects, the Eastern and the Western varieties, are mutually unintelligible, and may legitimately be referred to as separate languages. The Eastern variety can further be subdivided into two major dialects - Central Eastern and Outer Eastern (Varenkamp 1996). Taken together, the two Eastern Tamang dialects alone (without the inclusion of Western Tamang) have a greater number of speakers.

## 2. Demography

According to the population census 2001 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001), the Tamang people are found spread in all the districts of Nepal. Among the 75 districts, the three districts comprise highly dense Tamang population such as Makawanpur (185,874), Kavre-palanchok (130,261) and Nuwakot (111,112). On the other hand, the least number of the Tamang population in the three districts is in Jajarkot (15), Argha-khachi (15) and Rukum (18). The major Tamang populous areas fall within the Central Region of Nepal and the least Tamang populous areas fall within the whole western part of Nepal. Gurung et al. (2006: 82-83) present the detailed table and map about the distribution of the Tamang people in all the 75 districts of Nepal.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), the Tamang constitutes 5.64 percent of the country's population, records a total of 12,82,304 and fixes the number of active speakers at 11,79,145 (5.19%). The dense population of Tamang in 10 districts of Central Development Region are mainly in Rasuwa (63.75%), Makawanpur (47.34%), Nuwakot (38.52%), Sindhupalchowk (30.93%), Kabhrepalanchowk (33.78%), Sindhuli (25.36%), Dhading (21.54%), Ramechhap (20.56%), Dolakha (13.52%). The Table 1 below displays the numeral strength of Tamangs in and around the Kathmandu Valley.

Table 1: Distribution of Tamang population of Kathmandu Valley and its adjacent districts

| SN  | Districts      | Total Population | Tamang Population | Percentage of Tamang |
|-----|----------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1.  | Rasuwa         | 44,731           | 28,515            | 63.74                |
| 2.  | Makawanpur     | 392,604          | 185,874           | 47.34                |
| 3.  | Nuwakot        | 288,478          | 111,112           | 38.51                |
| 4.  | Sindhupalchok  | 305,857          | 94,614            | 30.93                |
| 5.  | Kavrepalanchok | 385,672          | 130,261           | 33.77                |
| 6.  | Sindhuli       | 279,821          | 70,968            | 25.36                |
| 7.  | Dhading        | 338,658          | 72,476            | 21.40                |
| 8.  | Ramechhap      | 212,408          | 43,669            | 20.55                |
| 9.  | Dolakha        | 204,229          | 27,619            | 13.52                |
| 10. | Lalitpur       | 337,785          | 40,059            | 11.85                |
| 11. | Bhaktapur      | 225,461          | 14,728            | 6.53                 |
| 12. | Kathmandu      | 1,081,845        | 92,378            | 8.53                 |
|     | Total          | 4,097,549        | 912,273           | 22.26                |

Table 1 above indicates the strength of the Tamangs and constitutes the largest Tibeto-Burman language group in Nepal and occupies the fifth position among the largest language speaking ethnic group in the country by mother tongue. The focal point here is the number of mother tongue speakers of the Tamang language. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), 1,179,145 people claim Tamang as their first language making Tamang the largest Tibeto-Burman language in the country.<sup>1</sup> The matter of fact is that a significant number of people from other ethnic groups also speak it as their mother tongue. The position of the Tamang population by mother tongue is shown in the Table 2 below.

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<sup>1</sup> Although the Magar people outnumber the Tamangs, many no longer speak the Magar language.



Table 2: Position of Tamang Population by mother tongue  
(Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001)

| S.N. | Mother Tongue | Total Population | Percentage |
|------|---------------|------------------|------------|
| 1.   | Nepali        | 11,053,255       | 48.61      |
| 2.   | Maithili      | 2,797,582        | 12.30      |
| 3.   | Bhojpuri      | 1,712,536        | 7.53       |
| 4.   | Tharu         | 1,331,546        | 5.86       |
| 5.   | Tamang        | 1,179,145        | 5.19       |
| 6.   | Newar         | 825,458          | 3.63       |
| 7.   | Magar         | 770,116          | 3.39       |
| 8.   | Awadhi        | 560,744          | 2.47       |
| 9.   | Bantawa       | 371,056          | 1.63       |
| 10.  | Gurung        | 338,925          | 1.49       |

In general, the core areas of Tamang encompass all the districts surrounding Kathmandu Valley; it means higher concentrations of Tamang in the Central and Eastern Development Regions than in any of the Western Regions.

### 3. Ethnography

#### 3.1 Settlement Pattern

By and large, the Tamangs are swidden and peasant agriculturalists. Besides, Tamangs are also associated with certain non-agricultural activities such as porters, *tempo* and taxi drivers, as well as carpet weavers and *thanka* painters in the Kathmandu Valley. At present, the Tamang people are gradually oriented towards the education sector from basic level to the higher education level to pursue their study.

In many villages, the Tamangs comprise the majority of population, however, there are a few exclusively Tamang villages. Most of them are mixed with Newars, Sherpas, Brahmins, Chhetris, or other ethnicities, which greatly influence language use.

In some ways, the Tamang blend in with the surrounding peoples, house styles and agricultural practices tend to be interchangeably based on the practice and influence of the neighbors. They are found from the highlands all the way down to the sub-tropical Terai. The different lifestyles seem to reflect a pragmatic adaptation related to their wide geographical distribution. The migration of the Tamang from the hills towards Terai is a significant way of changing life. More specifically changing of Tamang life in modernization process through migration is seen in city, and both bilingual and literacy in the national language is on the rise in Tamang community. At the same time, there is a movement within the larger Tamang community to preserve traditional language and culture. Nepal Tamang Ghedung, a national organization of Tamang people, have been making their concerted efforts for preserving and promoting of Tamang language and culture.

### 3.2 Ethnic Group

*Janajati*, the term used to denote ethnic group, *refers* to people with own language, culture and native area. The data on ethnicity/caste, however, were not processed or published due to the state's policy of cultural homogenization.

The census of 1952/54 is considered more scientific and comprehensive. As it came in the aftermath of the establishment of democracy in 1951, this census included questions on caste/ethnicity as well as religion and mother tongue. However, the census report published the data on religion and mother tongue but not on ethnicity/caste.

Ethnicity/caste data were brought about for the first time in the 1991 census. The population census 2001 has comprised more ethnic and caste groups than the 1991 census.

Gurung (in Gurung et al. 2006: 3 Table-c) mentions Tamang in the categorization of Most Numerous Ethnic/Caste Groups

with the 6th and 5th rank with the census of 1991 and 2001 respectively, which are as follows:

Table 3: Most Numerous Ethnic/Caste Groups

| Group                          | 1991 |      | 2001 |      | Native Area | Social Group |
|--------------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------------|--------------|
|                                | %    | Rank | %    | Rank |             |              |
| Chhetri                        | 16.1 | 1    | 15.8 | 1    | Hill        | Caste        |
| Bahun                          | 12.9 | 2    | 12.7 | 2    | Hill        | Caste        |
| Magar                          | 7.2  | 3    | 7.1  | 3    | Hill        | Ethnic       |
| Tharu                          | 6.5  | 4    | 6.8  | 4    | Tarai       | Ethnic       |
| Tamang                         | 5.5  | 6    | 5.6  | 5    | Hill        | Ethnic       |
| Newar                          | 5.6  | 5    | 5.6  | 6    | Hill        | Ethnic       |
| Muslim                         | 3.5  | 9    | 4.3  | 7    | Tarai       | Religious    |
| Kami                           | 5.2  | 7    | 3.9  | 8    | Hill        | Caste        |
| Yadav                          | 4.1  | 8    | 3.9  | 9    | Tarai       | Caste        |
| Rai                            | 2.8  | 10   | 2.8  | 10   | Hill        | Ethnic       |
| Percentage of total Population | 69.4 |      | 68.5 |      |             |              |

### 3.3 Social Organization

Despite considerable cultural diversity evidenced between Tamang speaking communities, there are significant linguistic religious and cultural features that point to a single ethnic identity. Höfer (1981: 8-9, cited in Varenkamp, n.d.: 4), for example, cites their unique kinship system of preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

The most prominent feature of the Tamang social structure is the clan system. Clan membership is an important aspect of ethnic identity, but serves most importantly to regulate marriage patterns (Höfer 1981: 9, cited in Varenkamp, n.d.: 4) which are exogenous and patrilineal. Clans do not seem to be hierarchically structured and, in fact, Tamang society is usually egalitarian (Fricke 1993: 31).

### 3.4 Religion

The Central Bureau of Statistics (2001) presents that the Tamang follow different religions such as Hindu, Buddhism, Kirati, Jain, Christianity, Shikha, Bahai and others. Among the total Tamang population of 1282304, the ones that follow the different religions as mentioned above are 98593, 1157461, 1000, 101, 24235, 139, 14 and 761 others respectively.

Though the shamanic elements have also been found with greater significance in the Tamang religion, they identify themselves with the Buddhist religious tradition. In practice, the daily religion of most Tamangs is an amalgam of Buddhism, Animism, and Hinduism. There are three main ritual specialists such as *bombo*, *lhabon* or *lhataba*, and *Lama* in Tamang religious practices. They have their distinctive areas of operations in the interpretation and construction of cosmological world as well as in practical performances of their ritual practices. The *bombo*, a practitioner with close ties to the local deities and whom the Tamangs call on for daily concerns, is associated with the healing and appeasement to the evil spirit for prosperous and better social life. The *lhabon* with his shamanic background is more concerned with worshiping of the 'clan deities', evoking the genealogical history through the mythical accounts of the past. The *Lama*, the Tamang priest, is Buddhist priest who presides over significant life events such as births, deaths, marriages, etc. and uses Tibetan scripts and chants in his rituals. The Lamas often study in Tibetan-Buddhist monasteries. A third religious practitioner, the *tamba*, acts as a

keeper of tradition within his own community, regulating and directing rituals.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. Ethnicity and language

Nepal being a multiethnic and multilingual nation provides the shelter for various ethnic communities and languages. In Nepal, Tamang is one of the ethnic communities, which hold their own distinct language. But, the name of the ethnic community and the language is not separate rather than is the same - 'Tamang'. The word 'Tamang' denotes both the Tamang ethnic community and the language they speak. In this case, it can be said 'one tribe one language'. That is to say, there is one-to-one relation between Tamang ethnicity and Tamang language - both are denoted by single term 'TAMANG'.

While comparing the data of censuses 1991 and 2001, the Tamang Mother Tongue Retention seems increased by 4% up. The increase by 4% in the mother tongue retention within a decade in Tamang people denotes that they are preserving the strong language viability and loyalty in the Tamang language.

Trend in Tamang Mother Tongue Retention between the censuses 1991 to 2001 is presented below.

Table 4: Trend in Tamang Mother Tongue Retention, 1991-2001

| Ethnic Group | 1991  | 2001 |
|--------------|-------|------|
| Tamang       | 88.8% | 92%  |

Source: Gurung, 2003, Table 9 (cited in Gurung et al. 2006: 6)

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<sup>2</sup> Höfer (1969, 1971, 1974, 1981, 1994), Holmberg (1989) and Steinmann (1987) have contributed major works on the Tamang religious system.

## 5. The Tamang language

Gurung et al. (2006: 76 and 89) presents the clear and detailed table and map pertinent to Tamang native speakers in Nepal. The map clearly shows that the majority of Tamang native speakers live in the three districts of the Central Region of Nepal such as Makawanpur (177,625), Kavre-palanchok (128,931) and Nuwakot (106,084). On the other hand, the least number of Tamang native speakers live in Rukum (2), Baitadi (3), Argha-khachi (3) and Jajarkot (4) districts in the west part of Nepal. Among the 75 districts, the three districts such as Kalikot, Dolpa and Salyan comprise no Tamang native speakers.

The Tamang native speakers comprise of 5.64 percent or 1282304 people in Nepal. Among them, 5.19 percent or 1179145 Tamang people employ Tamang language in their daily activities. The present name of this language is derived from the Tamang ethnicity which is first mentioned in 1205 A.D. The Tamang language is known under several appellations such as 'Tamang Tam', 'Tamang Lengmo', 'Tamang Kat', 'Tamang Kayi', 'Tamang Gyot', and 'Tamang Gyoyi' within the Tamang communities (Tamang, 2002: 6). Of these words, 'Tamang Tam', 'Tamang Lengmo', 'Tamang Kat', 'Tamang Kayi', 'Tamang Gyot', and 'Tamang Gyoyi' stand for 'Tamang sound' or 'Tamang speech' or 'Tamang voice', that is to say the 'Tamang Language'.

The core linguistic area where the Tamang language is used is the central part of the hilly region of the country, mainly comprising the adjacent districts of the Kathmandu Valley. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), Tamangs are found to have high degree of language loyalty, i.e. 88.88 percent. Most of the Tamangs wherever they are scattered, employ their own mother tongue, even outside of the country viz. Darjeeling, Sikkim, Assam, and Nagaland states of India, and other countries such as Burma and Bhutan.

## 5.1 Genetic affiliation

The Tamang language falls into the Sino-Tibetan Family under the sub-family branch of Tibeto-Burman. Some people believe that the Tamang language is a dialect of the Tibetan language but Mazaudon (1993: 23, cited in Yhonjan-Tamang, 2003: 5) disagrees with this view and writes as

Tamang is a language of the Tibeto-Burman language family, belonging to the same branch as classical Tibetan, but it is not a descendent of classical Tibetan, it is not a Tibetan dialect. To use a family metaphor, Tamang is a grandnephew of classical Tibetan, not a grand child.

Many linguists, who have worked on Himalayan languages, have shown the Tamang language in diverse group and sub-groups. Grierson (1909) has classified the Tamag language under the Himalayan group of languages along with Gurung, Magar, and Newar. He called Tamang as 'Murmi'.

Shafer (1966, cited in Yhonjan-Tamang, 2003: 6) has included Tamang into Gurung Branch of Bodic division. According to him, Tamang is part of the Gurung Branch. Gurung Branch comprises Tamang, Gurung, and Thakali.

Benedict (1972, cited in Yhonjan-Tamang, 2003: 6) has included Tamang into Bodish of Tibetan Kanauri branch of Tibeto-Burman group along with Gurung, Tamang, and Thakali.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1964-1965, cited in Yhonjan-Tamang, 2003: 6) have included Tamang into the Non-pronominalized sub-group of Gurung-Mishme Family along with Gurung.

Glover (1974, cited in Yhonjan-Tamang, 2003: 6) supporting the classification of Shafer includes Tamang into Gurung group. This group includes Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, and Manangwa. His comparisons show Tamang closely related to

Gurung (65%), Thakali (57%), Manangi (62%), and Tibetan (24%). Unlike, Shafer (1966) and Glover (1974), Mazaudon (1973) identify this group as Tamang group.

Driem (1998, cited in Yhonjan-Tamang, 2003: 6) also supports Mazaudon's classification (1973, 1978) and includes Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Manangba, and Nar languages into Tamang group. Noonan (1998: 1) has classified Tamang, Gurung, Manange, Nar, Thakali and Chhantyal languages as a Tamang group. He sub-grouped it into two groups as follows:

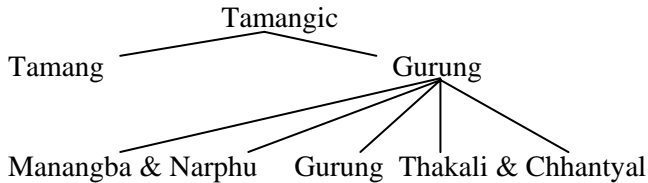


Fig. 1: Classification of languages of Tamangic Group (Noonan, 1998, cited in Yhonjan-Tamang, 2003: 6)

## 6. Sociolinguistic situation

### 6.1 Second language of Tamang

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), the Tamangs use Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Newar, Magar, Awadhi, Bantawa, Gurung, Limbu, and others as their second language. Among the Tamang population of 1179145 by the Tamang mother tongue, the second language for 929660 people is Nepali; 390 people speak Maithili; 56 Bhojpuri; 75 Tharu; 971 Newar; 1928 Magar; 10 Awadhi; 1317 Bantawa; 7314 Gurung; 1096 Limbu; and 5237 others; while for 388 people no language is reported.

This provides the sociolinguistic scenario of adopting the different second languages by the Tamang peoples as per the diverse social linguistic setting in the diverse geographical setting of the nation.



## 6.2 Multilingualism and language attitude

The Tamang language exists within the context of a national language, Nepali. Most schools available to Tamang children are Nepali medium, and as education levels rise, so does bilingualism in Nepal. As mentioned above, there are a few exclusively Tamang villages where children are exposed to other languages early on in life, particularly the national language. However, this does not mean that everyone is proficiently bilingual. Both testing and anecdotal information show that many if not most rural Tamang children are monolingual until school age. A few gain real bilingual proficiency until they complete five years of schooling (Webster 1995: 81, cited in Varenkamp, n.d.: 6). Many village women are also essentially monolingual.

While the Tamang people have historically held a low status in Nepali society, there is a growing sense of ethnic pride among Tamang speakers. Even in the city, they speak their language openly and without apology in almost any informal setting, although, if able, they will switch to the national language if joined by a non-Tamang person. There is now a Nepal-wide Tamang society, Nepal Tamang Ghedung, which is dedicated to promoting the Tamang language and culture. Members of the Ghedung are active in national politics as well as in Tamang affairs (Kramer 1995: 45, cited in Varenkamp, n.d.: 7)

## 6.3 Language maintenance, transmission and vitality

The issue of language viability is an important one for any minority language in Nepal, given its complex multi-lingual context, as well as a history of linguistic oppression. However, as the country's fifth largest linguistic community, the number of Tamang speakers is actually on the rise, from 904,456 in the 1991 census to 1,179,145 in 2001. In addition, many people of other ethnic groups now speak Tamang as

their mother tongue. Add to this the enormous impact of the 1990 constitution of Nepal, which brought new freedom and enthusiasm for language development. Moreover, the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2063 B.S. has paved the way more freedom and enthusiasm for native languages to be used in local administrations, and it is safe to assume that the Tamang language will have great vitality for years to come.

The great amount of literature and other media productions in Tamang attests to the great number of contexts in which Tamang is used. Periodicals such as *Syo Mhendo*, *Damphu Masik*, and *Lhaso* are being produced monthly or semi-monthly, and there are a number of Tamang newspapers, such as *Rautahat Times* and *Tamang Today* (Kathmandu Post, February 2, 2002). Yhonjan (1993) produced a conversational Tamang language-learning book, *Tamang Bhasha Bolchal*, as did the Akhil India Tamang Buddhist Association, Kalimpong, India (1993), *Koko Mhendo*. Literacy materials have been developed and used in non-formal education programs both in Western Tamang, *Ngayhangmaa Kheppa Lopke [Lets us learn to read, Parts 1-3]* (Bimala Tamang and Hepburn 1993), and Eastern Tamang, *Chharthim [New method], Parts 1 and 2* (Yhonjan 1992a).

Since the middle of August 1994 (1 Bhadra 2051), Radio Nepal has started broadcasting a daily five-minute summary of news in Tamang. The dialect selected for the broadcast is the Risankhu-Sailung dialect (Yhonjan 1994a). Other Tamang radio programs can be heard regularly on different radio stations in Nepal. Tamang artists from different areas have also produced a number of recordings of Tamang songs. The first Tamang language video film *Semari Chhornan*, meaning 'awareness of the mind', was produced by Cinema (*Rising Nepal*, August 31, 1996).

The transmission and use of the Tamang language from old generation to the young is not discouraging. Still the young

generations in Tamang community employ their own mother tongue (Yadava, Thokar, et. al. 2007). It should, however, be noted that high levels of proficiency in a second language throughout the entire community do not necessarily indicate lower vitality of the mother tongue, and the chances are very high for Tamang to remain actively in use for a long time.

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# KIRANTI PEOPLE AND LANGUAGES OF NEPAL

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## 1. Introduction

Linguistically, the term “Kiranti” refers to Sunuwar, Rai, Yakkha and Limbu. These people are the ancient dwellers of eastern part of Nepal. Kirant land has been divided into three parts- *Wallo Kirant* “this side Kirant”, *Majh Kirant* “Middle Kirant” and *Pallo Kirant* “that side Kirant”. Wallo Kirant has been inhabited by majority of the Sunuwar with scanty population of the Hayu. Central Kirant is inhabited by majority of the Rai and Pallo Kirant by the Limbu with scanty population of the Yakkha or the Dewan. Gurung (2006) enumerates 6,35,151 population of Rai, 3,59,379 population of Limbu, 17,003 population of Yakkha, 95,254 population of Sunuwar and 1,821 population of Hayu. Thus, the total number of Kiranti population is 10,08,608.

The exact number of Kiranti languages is hard to ascertain for different linguists have listed different numbers. Some ethnics have lost their language though they have retained their ethnic name, while some others have retained only a few words of their languages. Due to the difficulty in differentiating between language and dialect, confusion has risen. This paper is an attempt to initiate the discussion about Kiranti people and languages of Nepal.

## 2. People

The Kiranti are the ancient dwellers of eastern Himalyas. Their references are there in the *Atharvaveda* vol.11, book X, Hymn 1V, verse 14 (Griffith 1968:16).The verse describes a young maid of Kiranta race performing her task of digging on the hill ridge. The verse runs:

The young maid of Kirat race, a little damsel, digs  
 the drug,  
 Digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high  
 ridges of the hills

Chatterji (1951:26) writes that in *Yajurveda*, *Kiranti* or *Kirant* is used to refer to an alpine cave dwelling people of the Mongoloid race living in the northeast. Other references to Kirants in *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Visnu Purana* and *Kiratarjuniya* portray the Kirants as fierce, warlike and handsome savage hunters living in densely forested eastern Himalaya. Their golden complexions gave them appearance very different from the Indo-Aryan inhabitants of the Gangetic plain. Chatterji (1951: 37-38) suggests that the term *Kirant* is a common term for all the Mongoloid people living along the northeastern fringe of the subcontinent. These things prove that the Kirants are the ancient settlers of the land. According to Dange (1969:59):

the Kirats, the Sabaras and the Nisadas, thus, form a sort of a group whom the Aryans, probably overran and subjugated, the distinct reason being that there were non-Aryan tribes not having the way of sacrifice etc. as the Aryans had. To this group later added the Mlecchas and the Yavanas, the symbolic success being always suggested by their being eaten by Garuda.

Thus, the references of *Kiranta* in *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Mahabharata*, *Visnupruna* portay them as a race distinct from the Aryan race living in hills, forests and caves by hunting. Apte (1963:149-50) defines *Kiranta* as 'a mountaineer'. Lal (1980:382) points out the reference of *Kiranta* in *Mahabharat* in a sense of 'a tribe of forest-dwellers and hunters'. MacDonell (1965:68), defines *Kiranta* as 'of a barbarous mountain tribe of hunters'. MacDonell et al (1920:VI. 1:157-158) say that the Kirantas were located in Eastern Nepal in Vedic time.

Kirantis' original habitat is a hill can be justified linguistically. They have different words to mean 'to come from above, below and across' whereas in Nepali a single word *aunu* 'to come' is enough for all these differences. The reason could be that the Nepali speakers, particularly the Bahuns and Chhetris, are originally from the plains, and they do not perceive the locational differences as the hill people do. Similarly, on the basis of language and culture, we can say that these people's occupation in the beginning was hunting. They have different words for cutting meat into different ways. For example, *sa cepma* means 'to cut meat with a dagger lifting it up', *sa kHəkma* means 'to cut meat into pieces with a dagger lifting it up', *sa həkma* means 'to cut meat with sword or dagger or any cutting instrument by catching the piece of meat on both ends'. These concepts are expressed in Nepali only by '*masu katnu*'. Similarly, the Kirantis sacrifice animals to gods and goddesses to propitiate them. They make mud- idols of god and goddess together with weapons such as arch and bow. Now, some Kirantis of Satyahangma sect do not sacrifice any animal in their religious rituals following the Josmanipath, but it is a recent practice under the influence of the Hindu religion and culture. The construction of arch and arrow in the holy place of god and goddess is reminiscent of their original culture.

Regarding the ethnic groups under Kiranti race, there are diverse opinions. Some have narrow opinion whereas some have very broad opinion. Hodgson (1880 Reprint 1992:398) mentions *Wallo Kirant* "Hither Kirant", *Manjh Kirant* "Middle Kirant" and *Pallo Kirant* "Further Kirant. In Wallo Kirant , Yakkha, Limbu, Lohorung and Chhintang are listed. In Majh Kirant Bantawa, Rodong, Dungmali, Khaling, Dumi, Sangpang, Balali, Lambichhong, Bahing, Thulung, Kulung, Waling and Nacchering are listed. In Further Kirant, only Chaurasya is listed. He lists only the Rai (Khambus) under the



Kiranti group but says Yakkha and Limbu can be included under it as they can intermarry. He excludes Vayu and Sunuwar from it. Vansittart (1906:99) agrees to it and says:

By right the term Kiranti' should apply to the Khambus (Rais) only. The Yakkha claim to be a separate nation and so do the Yakthumbas (Limbus). But as Khambus, Yakkas, and Yakthumbas can and have intermarried for many generations, the three nations, although at one time quite separate, have for all practical purposes, been fused into one and the same nationality, hence we find their manners, customs, religious ceremonies, and appearances almost the same. To the Khambus, Yakkas, and Yakthumbas, therefore, might for all practical purposes be applied the term Kirantis.'

Northey and Morris (1928:215) also include Limbu, Khambu and Yakkha under it. However, Chemjong (1967, Reprint 2003:3) says that Khambos (Rais), Mangols and Chinese are included under the Kiranti group on the basis of *Mundhum*. McDougal (1979:1) identifies Khambu and Yakkha as Rai and says that Rais and Limbus are descended from the ancient Kiranti, and even today, they refer to themselves, or are referred to by others, as *Kiranti*. Kandangwa (1990) says that 'Raya' was a title conferred by the rulers upon the Kiranti leaders and this title 'Raya' later became 'Rai'. The Kirants of Nepal were called 'Rais' during the rule of Sen Kings of Makawanpur and the Rais living in the east of Arun river were called *Limbus* by Gorkha rulers after the annexation of *Pallo Kirant* 'far Kirant'. At present Hayu and Sunuwar are also included in Kiranti group.

### 3. Language

Linguistically, Hayu, Sunuwar, Rai, Yakkha and Limbu are grouped together under the Kiranti languages. Hodgson (1880 Reprint 1992:378) lists Yakkha, Limbu, Lohorung and Chhintang as the languages spoken in Wallo Kirant or Hither

Kirant, Bontawa, Rodong, Dungmali, Khaling, Dumi, Sangpang, Balali, Lambichhong, Bahing, Thulung, Kulung, Waling, Nacchering as languages spoken in Middle Kirant or Majh Kirant and Chaurasiya as spoken in Pallo Kirant or further Kirant. Shafer also did the same. He (Shafer 1966-73) named languages spoken in China and Tibet as Sino-Tibetan and classified it into Sinitic, Daic, Bodic, Burmic, Baric and Karenic divisions. He further made the division into section, branch and unit. Under Bodic division he places Bodish section, West Himalayish section, West Central Himalayish section and East Himalayish section. He divides East Himalayish section into Western and Eastern branches. He places Rai under Western branch and Kiranti under eastern branch of East Himalayish Section as the names of different languages. The use of 'Rai' and 'Kiranti' to denote different languages confuses the modern readers because they take 'Kiranti' as an umbrella term for 'Rai', which includes several clans and languages under its cover.

Grierson (1909) does not use the term 'Kiranti'. He includes Dhimal, Thami, Limbu, Yakkha, Khambu, Bahing, Rai, Vayu, and other Nepal dialects such as Chepang, and Kusunda. Benedict (1972) does not use the term 'Kiranti' but his Bahing group includes all Kiranti languages of Hodgson.

Egerod (1974), divides Kiranti into Western Kirantish and Eastern Kirantish. Wiedert and Subba (1985:1) list 20 languages under Kiranti group. They are Sunuwar, Hayu, Bahing, Ombule/Jeronge, Thulung, Khaling, Kulung, Dumi, Koi, Chamling, Puma, Mewahang, Sampang, Bantawa, Chhintang, Yamphe/ Yamphu, Lohorung, Dungmali, Yakkha, Athpariya and Limbu. Hanson (1991:110) classifies Kiranti into Western, Central and Eastern Kiranti groups. He lists, under Eastern Kiranti group, Eastern Kiranti, Limbu, Chhatthare Limbu, Athpahariya, Belhariya, Chilling, Mugali (Lambichhong), Phangduwali, Lumba-Yakkha, Yakkha,

Lorong (Southern), Yamphu, Yamphe, Lorung (Norung). Under Central Kiranti, he lists Bantawa, Puma, Chamling, Meohang group, Eastern Meohang (Meohang Khanawa1) also Newahang, Jimi, Western Meohang (Meohang Khanawa2), (Hodgeson's Balali), Sam group (perhaps one language SAAM), Sambhya, Pungyong, Bungla, Chukwa (Pohing), Sangpang, Kulung, Nacchering, Dungmali, Waling, Khandung.

Under the western group he lists, Umbule, (Chaurase), Jerung (Zero mala or jero mala), Thulung, Lingkhim, Bahing, Sunuwar, Khaling, Dumi, Koi, Wayu (Hayu, Wayo), Tilung, Choksule (no data), Dorungkecha. In addition to these 41 languages, he has listed 47 languages which are yet to be identified and classified. Hansson is the first linguist to give the status of language to Chhathare Limbu.

Ebert (1994) lists 32 languages under the Kiranti family of languages. They are Khaling, Chukwa, Mewahang, Yamphu, Kulung, Saam, Lohorung, Sunuwar, Thulung, Nacchering, Hayu, Bahing, Dumi, Koi, Sangpang, Yakkha, Lumba, Umbule, Tilung, Dungmali, Mugali, Limbu, Phangduwali, Chamling, Bantawa, Chhathare Limbu, Jerung, Puma, Belhare, Athpare, Chhintang and Chhulung.

Population census 2001 records the population of Hayu, Sunuwar, Limbu, Yakkha, Bahing, Bantawa, Chamling, Chhilling, Chhintang, Dumi, Dungmali, Jero/Jerung, Khaling, Koi/Koyu, Kulung, Lingkhim, Lohorung, Mewahang, Nacchering, Puma, Sam, Sangpang, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Yamphu/Yamphe. It does not record Athpare and Belhare though some Ph. D. works have already been done on these languages. It proves the gross negligence of the census recorders. In fact, the linguists before Hanson (1991) listed Kiranti languages on the basis of Hodgson's work and Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India. Hanson's *The Rai of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping* is a report

prepared on the basis of field work carried out by Linguistic Survey of Nepal in the early 1980s. After him till now, other linguists have mainly based their number of Kiranti languages on his report. As Hanson himself was not clear about the status of verbal expressions regarding their status whether they are dialects or different languages, it is but natural that their number should be different as they are counted among dialects by some and languages by others. Thus, the number of Kiranti languages is still not clear. Only after the detailed linguistic survey, this problem can be sorted out.

#### 4. Some Kiranti languages

##### 4.1. Khaling Rai-

###### 4.1.1. Area

Khaling is spoken in Kanku, Basa, Taksindo, Jubhing, Phuleri and Waku villages around the Dudh Kosi river of the Solukhumbu district and in Khotang, Ilam, Sangkhuwasabha, Sunsari and other districts by 9,288 people. The language of the Khalings is called “Khaling” which belongs to Kiranti group of Tibeto-Burman language family.

###### 4.1.2. Consonants

Khaling has twenty -five consonants. They are / p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, c, ch, j, jh, k, kh, g, gh, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w and y /. They can be divided into stop, fricative, nasal, continuant and glide on the basis of manner of articulation and labial, dental, alveolar and velar on the basis of place of articulation. It has voiced and voiceless stops with aspirated and unaspirated contrasts and the stops include both plosives and affricates. /p/, /t/, /c/ and /k/ are voiceless, labial stop, voiceless, dental stop, voiceless, alveolar stop and voiceless, velar stop respectively. /b/, /d/ and /g/ on the other hand, are voiced, labial stop, voiced dental stop, voiced, alveolar stop

and voiced, velar stop respectively. /ph/, /th/, /ch/ and /kh/ are voiceless, aspirated labial stop, voiceless, aspirated dental stop, voiceless, aspirated alveolar stop and voiceless, aspirated, velar stop respectively. Similarly, /bh/, /dh/ /jh/ and /gh/ are voiced, aspirated labial stop, voiced, aspirated dental stop, voiced, aspirated alveolar stop and voiced aspirated velar stop. The voiced, aspirated stops are called breathy sounds. It has voiceless, labial, dental and glottal fricatives such as /s/ and /h/. It has labial, dental and velar nasals such as /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. It has dental and alveolar continuants such as /l/ and /r/. It has labial and alveolar glides such as /w/ and /y/.

#### 4.1.3. Vowels

Khaling has altogether nine vowels. They are /i, ɸ, u, e, œ, o, a, ə and /a/ vowels. They can be divided into high, mid and low on the basis of tongue height, and front, centre and back on the basis of backness of tongue. /i/ is an unrounded high front vowel whereas /ɸ/ is a rounded high front vowel. /u/ is a rounded high, back vowel but it has no unrounded counterpart. /e/ is an unrounded mid front vowel and /œ/ is a rounded, mid front vowel. /o/ is a rounded mid back vowel with no unrounded counterpart. It has an unrounded front low vowel /a/. It has low central vowel /ə/ and unrounded low back vowel /ɑ/.

#### 4.1.4. Syllable

Khaling has seven contrastive syllable patterns. The syllable may contain only one vowel such as i 'your', it may contain a vowel and a consonant (VC) such as uŋ 'I' or a consonant and a vowel (CV) such as rɔ 'cliff', or a consonant, a vowel and a

consonant (CVC) such as nel ‘day’, or two consonants and a vowel (CCV) such as grə ‘it burns’, or two consonants, one vowel and a consonant (CCVC) such as khlep ‘dog’ or three consonants and a vowel (CCCV) such as phlwaamnə ‘to kneed’. It has two contrastive tones. They are high tone such as renə ‘to write’ and low tone renə ‘to build’.

#### 4.2. Dumi Rai:

##### 4.2.1. Area

Dumi is spoken in Baksila, Sapteswar, Sasarka, Kharmi and Makpa villages around Rawa and Tap rivers in Khotang district of eastern Nepal. Now, it is rarely spoken in Sunsari, Udayapur, Jhapa and Morang by 5,271 people. It belongs to Kiranti group of Tibeto-Burman family with its closest relation to Kohi and Khaling. It has four major dialects. They are : Sapteswar dialect, Sasarka and Kharmi dialect, Baksila dialect and Makpa dialect. Lamdija is believed to be the ancestral Dumi homeland and it lies within the area of the Baksila ridge .

##### 4.2.2. Consonants

Dumi has 27 consonants. They are /k/, /kh/, /g/, /gh/, /ŋ/, /c/, /ch/, /d/, /dʰ/, /t/, /th/, /d/, /dh/, /n/, /p/, /ph/, /b/, /bh/, /m/, /y/, /r/, /l/, /w/, /s/, /h/ and /ʔ/. They can be divided into stop, fricative, nasal, continuant and glide on the basis of manner of articulation and labial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, velar and glottal on the basis of place of articulation. It has voiced and voiceless stops with aspirated and unaspirated contrasts and the stops include both plosives and affricates. /p/, /t/, /c/, /ch/, /k/ and /ʔ/ are voiceless, labial stop, voiceless, dental stop, unspirated voiceless, alveolar stop, aspirated, voiceless alveolar stop, voiceless, velar stop and glottal stop

respectively. /b/, /d/, /j/, /jh/, /d͡/ and /g/ on the other hand, are voiced, labial stop, voiced dental stop, voiced, alveolar stop, voiced alveolar breathy stop, voiced, retroflex stop and voiced, velar stop respectively. /ph/, /th/, /ch/ and /kh/ are voiceless, aspirated labial stop, voiceless, aspirated dental stop, voiceless, aspirated alveolar stop and voiceless, aspirated, velar stop respectively. Similarly, /bh/, /dh/ /jh/, /d͡h/ and /gh/ are voiced, breathy labial stop, voiced, breathy dental stop, voiced, breathy alveolar stop, voiced breathy alveolar stop and voiced breathy velar stop. It has voiceless, labial, dental and glottal fricatives such as /s/ and /h/. It has labial, dental and velar nasals such as /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. It has dental and alveolar continuants such as /l/ and /r/. It has labial and alveolar glides such as /w/ and /y/.

#### 4.2.3 Vowels

Dumi has 13 vowels. It has five long vowels: /i:/, /u:/, /e:/, /o:/ and /a:/ and eight short vowels: /i/, /ī/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /œ/, /ə/ and /a/. They can be divided into high, mid and low on the basis of tongue height, and front, centre and back on the basis of frontness of tongue. They have length contrast. /i/ is a short high front vowel whereas /i:/ is a long high front vowel. /u/ is a short high back vowel whereas /u:/ is a long high back vowel. /e/ is a mid front vowel. /o/ is a short mid back vowel whereas /o:/ is a long mid back vowel. /ə/ is a mid central vowel. /ɒ/ is a low central vowel and it has a long counterpart /ɒ:/. /e/ has rounded counterpart /œ/ and /i/ has a rounded counterpart /o/. It also has the diphthongs /e:y/, /əy/, /oy/, /o:ə/ and /ai/.

#### 4.2.4 Syllable

The canonical shape of Dumi syllable is CV(C). A syllable contains a consonant plus a vowel such as *ki* 'water', vowel plus consonant *im* 'sleep', consonant plus vowel plus consonant such as *lam* 'path'. It has initial consonant clusters such as *pyerni* 'pinch with tweezers', *mwo* 'what' etc.

### 4.3. Yamphu Rai

#### 4.3.1 Area

Yamphu is spoken by 1,722 people in the area between the mountainous region east of the Arun, traditionally known as “Far Kirant” or *Limbuwan* “Land of the Limbus” and the region immediately to the west of the Arun traditionally known as “Middle Kirant” or *Khambuwan* “Land of the Rais”. It comprises the villages - Tungkhalin, Karmaran, Pepuwa, Mansima Num Seduwa and Walun. These villages are found on both sides of the Arun within the Sangkhuwasabha district. The Yampus call their language *Yakkhaba khap*. It belongs to the Kiranti group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is closely related to Lohorung. It has dialectal variations such as Hedangna, Seduwa, Walun and Num. Hedangna dialect differs from the other three dialects phonologically and morphology whereas difference among the other three dialects is only minor and idiolectal.

#### 4.3.2. Consonants

Yamphu has 19 consonants. They are /p/, /ph/, /b/, /t/, /th/ , /c/, /ch/, /k/, /kh/, /ʔ/, /s/, /h/ /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/, /l/, /y/ and /w/. They can be divided into stop, fricative, nasal, continuant and glide on the basis of manner of articulation and labial, dental, alveolar, velar and glottal on the basis of place of



articulation. It has aspiration contrast and the stops include both plosives and affricates. /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/ and /ʔ/ are voiceless, labial stop, voiceless, dental stop, voiceless, alveolar stop, voiceless, velar stop and glottal stop respectively. /b/ is the only voiced stop. /ph/, /th/, /ch/ and /kh/ are voiceless, aspirated labial stop, voiceless, aspirated dental stop, voiceless, aspirated alveolar stop and voiceless, aspirated, velar stop respectively. It has voiceless, labial, dental and glottal fricatives such as /s/ and /h/. It has labial, dental and velar nasals such as /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. It has dental and alveolar continuants such as /l/ and /r/. It has labial and alveolar glides such as /w/ and /y/. Most verb stems consist of a single vowel nucleus. Only the voiceless unaspirated stops /k/ and /p/, the glottal stop /ʔ/, and the nasal consonants /ŋ/ and /m/ can occur in the word-final position. The alveolar stop /t/ occurs only before a alveolar plosive such as /t/, /c/ or /ch/. The alveolar nasal /n/ only occurs before the following alveolar obstruent: /t/, /c/, /ch/ or /s/ or before another /n/.

#### 4.3.3 Vowels

Yamphu has twelve vowels. They are /i/, /i:/, /e/, /e:/, /ɛ/, /ɛ:/, /a/, /a:/, /o/, /o:/, /u/, /u:/. They can be divided into close, half close, half open and open the basis of tongue height, and front, centre and back on the basis of frontness of tongue. /i/ is a close front short vowel whereas /i:/ is a close front long vowel. /u/ is a close, back short vowel whereas /u:/ is a close back long vowel. /e/ is half close front short vowel whereas /e:/ is a half open front long vowel. /o/ is a half close back short vowel where as /o:/ is a half close back long vowel. /ɛ/ is a half open front short vowel where as /ɛ:/ is a half close front long vowel. /a/ is a open back short vowel. /a:/ is an open back long vowel. Yamphu has only two diphthongal vowel phonemes /ai/ and /au/.

#### 4.3.4. Syllables

The canonical shape of Yamphu syllable is (C)V(C). The syllable may contain a vowel such as o 'far', consonant plus vowel such as la 'moon', consonant vowel plus consonant such as laŋ 'leg'. The syllable may have initial sequence as in cwæk 'full to the brim'.

### 4.4. Chhatthare Limbu

#### 4.4.1 Area

Chhatthare Limbu is spoken in the Chhatthar area which spreads from the Arun river in the west to the Nuwa Khola in the east, where it borders Phedap. On the south, it borders Panchthar and Chaubish at the Tamor River. The northern boundary extends from the Tamar river along the Tangkhuwa river, which is the border of the Chhatthar area on the southwest. The river flows from the hill ridge of Sindhuwa, from where its area widens and again extends westward along the ridges. Thus, it includes Marekkatahare, Leguwa, Arkhaule Jitpur, Ghorlikharka, Sanne, Hattikharka, Murtidhungnga, Tangkhuwa, Teliya and Parewadin VDCs in the Dhankuta district and Panchakanya Pokhari, Phakchamara, Hamarjung, Okhre, Sudap, Angdim, Dangappa, Phulek and Basantapur in the Terhathum district. It is called *Chhatthare pan* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba pan* 'Chhatthare Limbu language' in the mother tongue.

#### 4.4.2 Consonants

Chhatthare has twenty consonants. They are / p, ph, b, t, th, c, ch, k, kh, g, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w and y/. They can be divided into stop, fricative, nasal, continuant and glide on the basis of manner of articulation and labial, dental, alveolar, velar and glottal on the basis of place of articulation. It has voiced and voiceless stops with aspirated and unaspirated contrasts and

the stops include both plosives and affricates. /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/ and /ʔ/ are voiceless labial stop, voiceless dental stop, voiceless alveolar stop and voiceless, velar stop and glottal stop respectively. /b/, /d/ and /g/ on the other hand, are voiced labial stop, voiced dental stop and voiced velar stop respectively. /ph/, /th/, /ch/ and /kh/ are voiceless aspirated labial stop, voiceless aspirated dental stop, voiceless aspirated alveolar stop and voiceless aspirated velar stop respectively. The voiced, aspirated stops are called breathy sounds. It has voiceless dental and glottal fricatives such as /s/ and /h/. It has labial, dental and velar unaspirated nasals such as /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, and it has unaspirated dental and alveolar continuants such as /l/ and /r. It has labial and alveolar glides such as /w/ and /y/.

#### 4.4.3 Vowels

Chhatthare has seven vowels. They are /I, u, e, o, ε and ə, a/. They can be divided into close, half close, half open and open the basis of tongue height, and front, centre and back on the basis of frontness of tongue. /i/ is a close front vowel and /u/ is a close, back vowel. /e/ is half close front vowel and /o/ is a half close back vowel. /ε/ is a half open front vowel and /ə/ is a half open back vowel. /a/ open central vowel. Front vowels are unrounded and back vowels are rounded.

#### 4.4.4 Syllable

In Chhatthare Limbu, a syllable may contain only a vowel such as I ‘he moves around’, consonant and vowel such as si ‘he dies’ and consonant, vowel and consonant such as sen ‘he departs’. In Chhatthare Limbu consonant sequences occur in the onset position as in cwaʔ ‘water’ and pyaŋ ‘give me’. Sequences such as –pt-, -pk-, -tp-, -sp-, -hp-, -lp-, -lt-, -lk-, -lm-, -ln-, -lŋ-, -nm-, -nk-, -mk-, ,

-sk-, -sp-, -st-, -tm-, -tj-, -sl- are not permitted. It contains from one syllable to five syllable words.

#### 4.5. Chamling Rai

##### 4.5.1 Area

Chamling is spoken by 44,093 people in the middle and most parts of the south of the Khotang district and Balamta, the central north of the Udayapur district. They are spoken throughout the districts of Panchthar and Ilam, the southern parts of Taplejung district, the hill region of Morang district, the southwest part of Dhankuta district, the southern parts of Sangkhuwasabha district and southwest part of Bhojpur district.

It is called *Chamling la* ‘Chamling language’ or *ila* ‘our language’. They have the same name *Chamling* for both language and tribal group. It belongs to central group of Kiranti languages with genetic affiliation to Mahakiranti, Himalayish, Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan family of languages. The Chamlings constitute the largest population next to Bantawa. Some Chamlings call their language *Rodong* but it means *Kiranti* not *Chamling*. Likewise, some Bantawa speakers call their language *Chamling*. Given their population distribution, the Chamlings constitute the largest population next to Bantawa. Hanson (1991:20) points out three major dialects of Chamling. They are Balamta, Khotang and Diktel dialects. However, they show very little differentiation. There are slight differences among them, but there do not exist any important isogloss lines which would justify the sub-grouping of these dialects. Ebert (1977:6) classifies it into two major dialects- north-west and south east dialects.

#### 4.5.2 Consonants

Chamling have thirty consonants. They are / p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, c, ch, j, jh, k, kh, g, gh, f, s, h, m, mh, n, nh, ŋ, l, lh, r, rh, w and y/. They can be divided into stop, fricative, nasal, continuant and glide on the basis of manner of articulation and labial, dental, alveolar and velar on the basis of place of articulation. It has voiced and voiceless stops with aspirated and unaspirated contrasts and the stops include both plosives and affricates. /p/, /t/, /c/ and /k/ are voiceless, labial stop, voiceless, dental stop, voiceless, alveolar stop and voiceless, velar stop respectively. /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/ are, on the other hand, voiced, labial stop, voiced dental stop, voiced, alveolar stop and voiced, velar stop respectively. /ph/, /th/, /ch/ and /kh/ voiceless, aspirated labial stop, voiceless, aspirated dental stop, voiceless, aspirated alveolar stop and voiceless, aspirated, velar stop respectively. Similarly, /bh/, /dh/ /jh/ and /gh/ are voiced, aspirated labial stop, voiced, aspirated dental stop, voiced, aspirated alveolar stop and voiced aspirated velar stop. The voiced, aspirated stops are called breathy sounds. It has voiceless, labial, dental and glottal fricatives such as /f/, /s/ and /h/. It has labial, dental and velar unaspirated nasals such as /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, and labial and dental aspirated nasals such as /mh/ and /nh/. It has unaspirated dental and alveolar continuants such as /l/ and /r/, and aspirated dental and alveolar continuants such as /lh/ and /rh/. It has labial and alveolar glides such as /w/ and /y/.

#### 4.5.3 Vowels

Chamling has seven vowels . They are / I, u, e, ɤ, o, a and ə/. They can be classified into high, mid and low on the basis of tongue height, and front, mid and back on the basis of frontness of tongue. /i/ is a high front vowel and /u/ is a high, back vowel. /e/ is a mid front vowel and /o/ is a mid back

vowel, which has an unrounded counterpart /ɤ/. It has low central vowel /a/ and mid central vowel /ə/.

#### 4.5.4. Syllable

The canonical syllable structure of Chamling is CV(C). The syllable may contain one vowel such as I ‘he comes down’, consonant plus vowel such as ta ‘he comes’ and consonant plus vowel plus consonant such as saŋ ‘he comes up’. The north western dialect has initial consonant clusters such as khlipa ‘dog’, khrupsa ‘he got up’, prata ‘he shouted’ and phloma ‘he helps’ (Ebert 1997:12). The southeastern dialect does not, however, have such sequences. The second sounds r and l do not occur in it.

### 4.6. Athpare Rai

#### 4.6.1 Area

Athpare Rai is spoken in Dhankuta municipality and Bhirgaun VDC of the Dhankuta district. Its area extends up to the Tangkhuwa river in the east, Bakhre Khola river in the west, Guranse in the north and the Tammar river in the south. It is called *athpare ring* ‘Athpare language’ in native language. It is distinct from other Kiranti languages and very close to Chhatthare Limbu and Lohrung Rai.

#### 4.6.2 Consonants

Athpare has twenty- six consonants. They are / p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, c, ch, j, jh, k, kh, g, gh, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, rh, w and y/. They can be divided into stop, fricative, nasal, continuant and glide on the basis of manner of articulation and labial, dental, alveolar, velar and glottal on the basis of place of articulation. The stop phonemes have voiced and voiceless counterparts, and the voiceless stops have aspirated and unaspirated counterparts. The stops include both plosives and affricates.

/p/, /t/, /c/, /k/ and /ʔ/ are voiceless labial stop, voiceless dental stop, voiceless alveolar stop, voiceless velar stop and glottal stop respectively. /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/ on the other hand, are voiced, labial stop, voiced dental stop, voiced, alveolar stop and voiced, velar stop respectively. /ph/, /th/, /ch/ and /kh/ are voiceless aspirated labial stop, voiceless aspirated dental stop, voiceless aspirated alveolar stop and voiceless aspirated velar stop respectively. Similarly, /bh/, /dh/ /jh/ and /gh/ are voiced aspirated labial stop, voiced aspirated dental stop, voiced aspirated alveolar stop and voiced aspirated velar stop. The voiced, aspirated stops are called breathy sounds. Athpare has voiceless, dental and glottal fricatives such as /s/ and /h/. It has labial, dental and velar unaspirated nasals such as /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, and labial. It has unaspirated and aspirated dental continuants such as /l/ and /rh/. It has labial and alveolar glides such as /w/ and /y/.

#### 4.6.3 Vowels

Athpare has five vowels. They are / I, u, e, o and a / They can be classified as high, mid and low vowels on the basis of tongue height and front, centre and back on the basis of frontness of the tongue position. /i/ is a high front vowel whereas /u/ is a high back vowel. /e/ is a mid front vowel where as /o/ is a mid back vowel. /a/ is an low central vowel. Back vowels are rounded whereas front vowels are unrounded. Two diphthongs such as /ai/ and /ui/ occur in a few words.

#### 4.6.4 Syllable

The canonical syllable structure of Athpare Rai is CV(C). The syllable may contain consonant plus vowel such as ta ‘he comes’, consonant, vowel plus consonant such as nok ‘he returns’.

## 5. Conclusion

The exact number of Kiranti languages is hard to ascertain due to the lack of detailed socio-linguistic survey. However, the phonemes that exist in the available languages exhibit rich phonological varieties in Kiranti. The number of Kiranti consonants ranges from nineteen to thirty. Yamphu has nineteen consonants whereas Chamling has thirty consonants. Languages like Khaling has phonemic tone, Dumi, Yamphu, Chhatthare Limbu and Athpare have phonemic glottal stop, Chamling has a labial fricative /f/, labial and dental aspirated nasals such as /mh/ and /nh/ and aspirated dental and alveolar continuants such as /lh/ and /rh/. Aspiration is phonemic in Kiranti languages. Voicing contrast seems to be weak in Chhatthare and Yamphu. In Chhatthare only /p/ and /k/ has voiced counterparts /b/ and /g/. In Yamphu only /p/ has voiced counterpart /b/.

The number of vowels ranges from five to thirteen. Athpare has five vowels whereas Dumi has thirteen vowels. Dumi and Yamphu have contrastive vowel length. Chmaling has rounded mid back vowel /o/ and unrounded mid back vowel /ɤ/. Dumi and Khaling have unrounded front close vowel /i/ and rounded front close vowel /ɸ/ and unrounded front half close vowel /e/ and rounded front half close vowel /œ/. Khaling, Dumi, Chamling and Athpare have high, mid and low vowels whereas Yamphu and Chhatthare have close, half close, half open and open vowel.

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## BHUJEL “DIRECT–INVERSE”<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Introduction

Bhujel is an endangered and undocumented Tibeto-Burman language spoken by an estimated 3,900 people, most of them living along the Mahabharat mountain range of Tanahun District.<sup>2</sup> In the 2001 Nepal census, they were recognized for the first time as one of the 92 languages spoken in Nepal. Related to Chepang, it forms a “Chepang–Bhujel” cluster under the Central Himalayish branch of languages, somewhat tentatively related to Magar and Kham–Magar.<sup>3</sup> As such, Bhujel is one of the “pronominalizing” languages of Nepal, carrying person and number indices in the verb, sometimes for the agent participant and sometimes for the patient (but usually not for both).

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<sup>2</sup> The data in this paper was collected in Andimul village (Ward No. 1 in Anbu-Khaireni VDC) and in Ward No. 8, Bandipur VDC, both in Tanahun District. The Nepal census of 2001 reports that only 9.8% of the total Bhujel population speaks its mother tongue. Based on Dan Raj Regmi’s fieldwork, however, it appears that more than half of a population of about 7,200 (3,900) speak the language.

<sup>3</sup> Caughley (1982, 1999) refers to the people who speak this language as *Gharti*, and their language sometimes *Bujheli* and sometimes *Western Chepang*. The speakers themselves, however, refer to themselves as *pukhgyal* and their language as *puk<sup>h</sup>gyal ŋur* [=Bhujel talk].

Caughley (1999) noted a number of similarities and differences between Chepang and Bhujel, and since then, Bhujel has become the focus of a more prolonged and detailed study by Dan Raj Regmi. This paper explores the development of a “direct” marker in the Bhujel verb.

## 2. Hierarchical verb-agreement patterns

Agreement patterns in the so-called “pronominalizing” Tibeto-Burman languages are based on a hierarchical ranking of participants – 1/2 → 3 – rather than on their semantic or grammatical roles. Thus, at the core of the system, agreement is with the first or second person in preference to the third, and with the object where both participants are the first or second person (DeLancey 1981, Watters 2002). Within this language type, a transitive configuration of 1 → 3 or 3 → 1 yields first person agreement (the highest ranking participant), and a configuration of 2 → 3 or 3 → 2 yields second person agreement (also the highest ranking participant).

Most modern Tibeto-Burman languages have enlarged upon the basic pattern by devising means to disambiguate the role of the marked participant – whether it is an agent or a patient. In some languages this is accomplished by introducing an inverse marker anywhere the highest ranking participant (the one marked in the verb) is in a patient role. Likewise, in numerous Kiranti languages a certain amount of agreement information for a second, “non-ranking” participant has been admitted into the verbal paradigms, usually number, thereby reducing some of the ambiguity. At least one Tibeto-Burman language, Taka Kham, has gone so far as to develop double participant marking in all transitive configurations, effectively converting the system to subject/object agreement. Bhujel remains conservative here, marking only a single participant (the highest ranking one) in the verb. Chepang, a closely related language, is likewise conservative in this respect, but has developed a direct-inverse system such that the semantic

role of the participant can always be identified (Caughley 1978, 1982). Thus, where *-u* /*-n* occurs in the paradigm, it indicates a “direct” relationship, i.e. that the participant indexed in the verb is an agent; and where *-ta* /*-t<sup>h</sup>a* /*-t<sup>h</sup>ay* occurs, it indicates an “inverse” relationship, i.e. that the participant indexed in the verb is a patient. Following are examples from Caughley (1982):

## (1) DIRECT

- a. ni-ci-ʔi ʔamh jeʔna-ŋʔc-u  
 1PL-DU-ERG food eat-NPST-1E-DU-DIR  
 ‘We two eat food.’
- b. ŋa-ʔi coʔ-lam-kay bay-ʔala-ŋʔ-s-u  
 1SG-ERG child-PL-DAT give-PST-1E-PL-DIR  
 ‘I gave to the children.’

## (2) INVERSE

- a. gopal-ʔi ŋa-kay sayʔ- ʔa-ta-ŋʔ  
 Gopal-ERG 1SG-DAT hear-PST-INV-1E  
 ‘Gopal heard me.’
- b. nyam-ʔi ŋa-kay rawʔ-naʔ-ta-ŋʔ  
 sun-ERG 1SG-DAT blaze-NPST-INV-1E  
 ‘The sun blazes down on me.’

The following examples, also from Caughley (1982), show that in Chepang, the direct–inverse relationship can be extended to 3→3 configurations as well:

## (3) 3RD PERSON DIRECT

- a. ʔamapa- nis-ʔi raŋ c<sup>h</sup>ap-naʔ-c-u  
 parent-DU-ERG field clear-NPST-DU-DIR  
 ‘The parents clear the field.’
- b. ram-ʔi gopal-kay g<sup>h</sup>an-ʔaka-n  
 Ram-ERG Gopal-ACC beat-PST-DIR  
 ‘Ram beat Gopal.’

## (4) 3RD PERSON INVERSE

- c. ʔamapa-nis-ʔi coʔ-lam-kay g<sup>h</sup>an-naʔ-t<sup>h</sup>a-sa  
 Parent-DU-ERG child-PL-ACC beat-NPST-INV-PL  
 ‘The parents beat the children (PL).’

It appears, however, that direct and inverse marking is optional in at least some constructions or in some configurations. Apparently, inverse marking cannot occur unless the object NP is marked by *-kay*. It is not exactly parallel to *-kay*, however, in that it does not occur in all *-kay* contexts.

## 3. The Bhujel direct

In the early stages of Bhujel studies, it appeared that “transitivity marking” was an obligatorily category of the verb – a suffix *-u* was found to occur in transitive verbs, but never in intransitive verbs. As such, it appeared to be a diagnostic marker of a clause’s inherent transitivity, as in the following:

## (5) INTRANSITIVE

- a. ɲa kim al-al-aŋ  
 1SG house go-PST-1S  
 ‘I went home.’

## TRANSITIVE

- b. ɲa-i am je-al-u-ŋ  
 1SG-ERG rice eat-PST-TR-1S  
 ‘I ate rice.’

Further study, however, revealed that *-u* occurs only in *some* transitive relationships, not in *all*. It does *not* occur in 2→1, 3→1, or 3→2, all inverse relationships. (Nor does it occur in 3→3.) But it *does* occur in 1→2, 1→3, and 2→3, all direct relationships. The transitive suffix *-u*, then, is a marker of “direct,” and its absence in transitive verbs indicates “inverse.”

## (6) OCCURRENCE OF -U

1→2:

- a.     $\eta\alpha$ -i                 $na\eta$ -kay                 $d\check{a}k^h$ -al-u- $\eta$   
       1SG-ERG            2SG-DAT                beat-PST-DIR-1S  
       ‘I beat you.’

1→3:

- b.     $\eta\alpha$ -i dyo-kay  $d\check{a}k^h$ -al-u- $\eta$   
       1SG -ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1S  
       ‘I beat him.’

2→3:

- c.     $na\eta$ -i                dyo-kay  $d\check{a}k^h$ -te-tal-u- $\eta$   
       2SG-ERG            3SG-DAT beat-2-(2)-PST-DIR-2S  
       ‘You beat him.’

## (7) NON-OCCURRENCE OF -U

2→1:

- a.     $na\eta$ -i                 $\eta\alpha$ -kay  $d\check{a}k^h$ -te-tal-a $\eta$   
       2SG-ERG            1SG-DAT beat-2-(2) PST-1S (INV)  
       ‘You beat me.’

3→1:

- b.    dyo-kay  $\eta\alpha$ -kay  $d\check{a}k^h$ -al-a $\eta$   
       3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-PST-1S (INV)  
       ‘He beat me.’

3→2:

- c.    dyo-kay  $na\eta$ -kay  $d\check{a}k^h$ -al-a $\eta$   
       3SG-ERG 2SG-DAT beat-PST-2S (INV)  
       ‘He beat you.’

We assume that *-u* is very likely related to the old third person patient marker found in Kiranti languages, but that its use was

extended to 1→2,<sup>4</sup> and dropped in the 3→3 relationship (which may have been original).

This means, of course, that direct relationships are marked in Bhujel, while inverse relationships are not. This seems somewhat counter to universal expectations, that the direct should be the marked category, while inverse is the unmarked. Perhaps we need to seek an alternative functional explanation for the phenomenon.

#### 4. An alternative explanation

A different explanation, one that does not invoke notions of direct–inverse or deictic directionality *per se* (DeLancey, 1980, 1981, n.d.) is one in which the function of *-u* is simply to disambiguate the single person index found in the verb complex. Anywhere it occurs it marks the person index as an agent, and anywhere else the person index is a *patient*. In this sense, *-u* is only an agentive marker. Agent is the marked category, absolutive is the unmarked category. Recall our earlier observation that in some TB languages agent–patient disambiguation is accomplished by introducing a marker anywhere the highest ranking participant is in a *patient* role. In Bhujel, the marker occurs anywhere the ranking participant is an agent.

But it is also significant that only one of two participants gets marked in the verb. The creation of our so-called “direct,” then, is a two-step process. First of all, the highest ranking participant gets marked in the verb by virtue of hierarchical person marking, and secondly, when that person is an agent it gets marked by *-u*. Thus, though the result is tantamount to direct marking, its functional motivation is only the

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<sup>4</sup> Chepang has a special 1→2 form here, and does not need to mark this configuration as direct.



disambiguation of semantic role – an “agent identifier” (not a direction marker).<sup>5</sup> In such a formulation, *-u* gets tied, first and foremost, to agentivity, and then to directionality only as a “derivative” category. Direction marking (‘high→low,’ or ‘low → high’) is coincidental. Only high is marked, and secondarily, the semantic role of high. The ‘choice’ of grammaticalizing either a direct or an inverse category, then, is decided by the source domain of the diachronic morphological material employed – inverse can derive from a cislocative ‘come’ (see footnote 5), and, as we have seen in Bhujel, *direct* can derive from agent marking.<sup>6</sup>

Since the original *-u*, marking third person patient, occurred only in paradigms where first or second persons were agents, i.e. in 1→3 and 2→3 configurations, its extension to the 1→2 configuration was only a matter of time once *-u* began to be interpreted as a first or second person agent identifier. It might also explain its absence in 3→3 configurations (unless, of course, its absence in 3→3 is original).

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<sup>5</sup> DeLancey (n.d.) notes that a source for inverse marking in many languages is the grammaticalization of the cislocative verb ‘to come’ – clearly a directional source.

<sup>6</sup> It would be interesting to know the source of the Chepang inverse marker ‘ta/*t<sup>h</sup>a*,’ whether it is rooted in a cislocative or not. We must assume that the Chepang direct marker *-u* has the same source as the Bhujel marker (although its distribution is now somewhat different).

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# THE RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION IN MAITHILI: A FUNCTIONAL-TYPOLOGICAL STUDY<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to analyze the forms and functions of the relative clauses in maithili within the framework of functional-typological grammar (henceforth FTG) developed mainly by Givon (2001). Generally, a relative clause refers to a clause, which describes the referent of a head noun. It often restricts the reference of the head noun. For example, consider the sentence in (1).

(1) I saw the man who kicked the ball.

In (1), "*the man who kicked the ball*" is the relative expression. "*The man*" is the head of the relative expression, and "*who kicked the ball*" is the relative clause. "*Who*" refers to the relative pronoun. Moreover, in this example, the referent of the head noun "the man" is restricted by the relative clause "*who kicked the ball*".

Within the framework of the FTG the relative clauses are analyzed from functional and formal perspectives. Functionally, the relative clauses are clause size modifiers embedded as the subordinate clauses within the head noun phrases of the matrix clause.

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A relative clause is a clause which describes the referent of a head noun or pronoun. The relative clause often restricts the reference of the head noun or pronoun.

There exist some definitions of the relative clause in the literature. Mention may be made of Payne (1997) and Givon (2001). They have tried to define the relative clauses as follows:

Relative clauses are clause size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase. To some extent their syntax parallels that of other major type of subordinate clause-verbal complements embedded in the verb phrase. Functionally REL-clauses, together with other noun modifiers, partake in the grammar of referential coherence, furnishing either anaphoric or cataphoric clues for referent identification.

(Givon 2001:175)

A relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier.

(Payne 1997:235)

The relative clause is not necessarily a constituent of the noun phrase containing the head noun it modifies. Example (English).

(2) The plumber arrived who we had called earlier. (who we had called earlier has been extraposed from its normal position after plumber and is not a member of the noun phrase containing plumber.) Examples (English)

(3) The man who went

(4) Passengers leaving on Flight 738

In this paper we will deal with those subordinate clauses which function as modifiers of noun phrases; such modifying subordinate clauses are called relative clauses. The modifying clauses are of two types: those that restrict the potential referent of the noun phrase are restrictive relative clauses and

those that provide an added piece of information about a noun-phrase referent which is already fully specified are non-restrictive relative clauses.

A relative clause in Maithili is formed by the use of a relativizer, which is the relative pronoun *je* and its inflected forms. The following examples illustrate the restrictive and the non-restrictive relative clauses respectively:

(5) ham [je kitab məhəg ch-əik  
I REL book expensive be-PRES.3NH

se/uo nəi le-b

COREL that not take-FUT.1

‘I won’t buy the book which is expensive.’

(6) mukesh [je neta chəith] ai bhasən  
Mukesh REL leader be-PRES.3H today speech

dətah

give-FUT.3H

‘Mukesh, who is a leader, will deliver a speech today.’

## 2. Restrictive Relative Clauses and their Types

In a restrictive relative clause, the relativized NP consists of the relativizer *je* (in its various forms) with or without an accompanying common noun: when the latter is present the relativizer serves as a determiner. The NP of the relative clause is coreferential with the head NP of the main clause. The head NP consists of the correlative pronoun *se* (in its various forms) or the demonstrative pronoun *itu* (in its various forms), either with or without an accompanying common noun. Both the relativized and the head NP may be either present or suppressed—depending upon the relative word order of the head noun and the relative clause. The following examples illustrate the syntactic strategy used in the formation of the restrictive relative clauses in Maithili: sentences are relative subordinate clauses:

(7) [je khet həriyəṛəich] se o/u  
 REL field green be-PRES.3NH COREL that  
 həm-əṛ əich  
 I-GENIT be-PRES.3NH.I  
 ‘The field that is green is mine.’

(8) u bidyarthi [je o rait pədəl] (se)  
 that student Rel night read-PST.3NH  
 o ekhən sutəl əich  
 COREL now asleep be-PRES.3NH  
 ‘The student who read last night is now asleep.’

## 2.1 Types of Restrictive Relative Clause

Basing our analysis on the relative position of the head NP vis-a-vis the relative clause, there are three types of restrictive relative clauses in Maithili; postnominal, prenominal and internal.

### 2.1.1 Postnominal

In a postnominal relative clause the head NP (consisting of a determiner and a common noun or a personal pronoun) occurs outside the relative clause and the relative clause follows the head NP. The typical word order is thus: determiner + head + relative clause. The examples which follow illustrate:

(9) u master [je iskul me nəi ch-əl]  
 that teacher REL school in not be-PST.3NH  
 se hət-a de-l ge-l  
 COREL move-CAUSI give-PSTPCPL go-PST.3NH.  
 ‘The teacher who was not in the school was sacked.’

- (10) *mithiles-ək bhai [jin-kər taŋ rel me*  
 mithilesh-GENIT brother REL.H-GENIT leg train in  
*kəit gel-əinh] (se) æ-l*  
 cut Go-PST.3NH.3H COREL come-PERF  
*ch-əith*  
 AUX-PRES.3H  
 ‘Mithilesh’s brother whose leg got cut in the train has  
 come.’

Sentences (9) and (10) are all postnominal relative clauses as the head *u mastar* (9), and *mithiles-ək bhai* (10) occur outside the relative clauses and the relative clauses follow the head NPS. The relative clauses are marked by the relativizer *je* and its honorific and case – inflected forms. The common noun which might otherwise accompany the relativizer within the relativized NP has been deleted in all sentences.

### 2.1.2 Prenominal

In a prenominal relative clause the head NP occurs outside the relative clause and the relative clause precedes the head NP. The Typical word order, thus, is: relative clause + determiner+ head, as exemplified below:

- (11) [*je kailh rait nac-əl] se/*  
 REL yesterday night dance-PST.3NH COREL  
*u nətua əkhən sutəl əich*  
 DEMONS dancer now asleep be-PRES.3NH  
 ‘The dancer who danced last night is now asleep.’
- (12) [*jək-ra əhā nəi rəkh-l-əhi]*  
 RELACC/DAT you.H not keep-PST.2H.3NH  
*tahi/ ohi nokər ke həm raikh*  
 COREL DEMONS servant ACC/DAT I keep  
*le-ləhū*  
 take-PST.I.3NH

Note that unlike postnominal relative clauses, pronominal relative clauses require that their head NP contains a correlative/demonstrative determiner.

### 2.1.3 Internal

In an internal relative clause (traditionally known as relative-correlative) the head NP occurs inside the relative clause. The main clause too may have the head NP repeated in it, in which case the head NP is preceded by the correlative-demonstrative-determiner; usually, however, the head NP is deleted and only a correlative-demonstrative-third person pronoun is used. The following examples are illustrative:

- (13) [je serpa ebhrestpər pəhine cərh-əl]  
 REL sherpa Everest on first climb-PST.3NH  
 se/ u tenjiŋ ch-əl  
 REL he Tenzing be-PST.3NH  
 ‘The sherpa who climbed Mt. Everest first was Tenzing.’
- (14) [je nətua rait nac-əl]  
 REL dancer night dance-PST.3NH  
 ok-ra/ ohi nətua ke  
 he(NH)-ACC/DAT DENONS dancer ACC/DAT  
 mahendrə pāc rupəiya de-l-thinh  
 mahendra five rupees give-PST.3H.3NH  
 ‘Mahendra gave five rupees to the dancer who danced last night.’

Although prenominal and internal relative clauses are treated above as two separate types of restrictive relative clauses, it may be possible to treat them as subtypes of what have traditionally been called the correlative clauses.

A fourth type of relative clause, termed the “extranominal relative clause”, also exists in Maithili. In such a construction,



the head NP contains an indefinite determiner, the indefinite determiner is usually the numeral *ek* 'one' followed by the classifier *ta*, or an indefinite pronoun-both of which may optionally be followed by such pronominal adjectives as *ehan/ohan* 'of such type'. The relative clause is marked by the relativizer *je* and it follows the main clause:

- (15) *ek-ta            ehan nokar rakh-u            [je o*  
 one-CLAS    such    servant keep-IMP-(2H)    REL  
*achop            nai ho-e]*  
 untouchable    not    be-OPT.3NH  
 'Hire (such) a servant who is not an untouchable'.
- (16) *kono bidyarthi æl            ch-əl            [je o*  
 any    student    come-PERF    AUX-PST.3NH REL  
*əha    ke            tək-əit*  
 you.H    ACC/DAT    look-IMPERF  
*ch-əl]*  
 AUX-PST.3NH.2H  
 'A student had come who was looking for you.'

Note that the common noun within the relativized NP is obligatorily deleted in the extranominal type of relative clauses.

### 3. Other Types of Relative-like Clauses

In addition to the four types of relative clauses mentioned above, a few relative-like clauses also exist in Maithili.

3.1 Nonrestrictive clauses: Nonrestrictive clauses are also marked with the relativizer *je*. But unlike the restrictive relative clauses, nonrestrictive clauses occur with proper nouns and personal pronouns (whose potential referents are by definition, definite). Such nonrestrictive relative clauses are of two types:

(17) ram babu [je neta ch-əith aib  
 Ram HP REL leader be-PRES.3H come  
 ge-l-ah  
 go-PST.3H  
 ‘Ram babu , who is a leader, arrived.’

(18) a. manoj piecdi kə rəhəl ch-əith  
 Manoj Ph.D. do PROG AUX-PRES.3H  
 [je nik bat əich]  
 REL good matter be-PRES.3NH  
 ‘Manoj is doing his Ph.D., which is a good thing.’

b. əhã bəd mehnət kə rəhəl  
 You.H much labor do PROG  
 ch [je bərhiya bat  
 AUX-PRES.2H REL good matter  
 əich]  
 be-PRES.3NH  
 ‘You are working very hard, which is a good thing.’

In sentence (17), the relative clause provides an added piece of information about the head NP, whose reference is already specified because it is a proper noun. In sentences [18a,b], the relative clauses provide a comment on the entire proposition, i.e., the entire main clause.

Sentences (17-18) also demonstrate that the Maithili nonrestrictive relative clauses are set off by the use of a comma intonation from the main clauses and can occur only in postnominal and extranominal positions.

### 3.2. Participial relative clauses

Participial verb forms used attributively to modify a noun may perform the role of a modifying relative clause-like structure and yield reduced relative clauses:

- (19) u sut-əl bəcca ke  
 he.NH sleep-PSTPCPL child ACC/DAT  
 utt-a de-l-kəik  
 rise-CAUS1 give-PST.3NH.3NH  
 ‘He woke up a child who had fallen asleep.’
- (20) ehən sār-əl kera ke khæ-tʔ  
 such rot-PSTPCPL banana who eat-FUT.3NH  
 ‘Who will eat a banana which is so rotten?’
- (21) o khəs-əit am ke  
 he(H) fall-PRSTPCPL mango ACC/DAT  
 loik le-l-khinh  
 catch (in the air) take-PST.3H.3NH  
 ‘He caught the mango which was falling (from the tree).’
- (22) gopal dub-əit bəcca ke bəca  
 Gopal drown-PRESPCPL child ACC/DAT save  
 le-l-kəik  
 take-PST.3NH.3NH  
 ‘Gopal saved the child who was drowning.’

#### 4. Which NPs can be relativized?

Maithili is quite generous in its strategies for relative-clause formation. Thus, noun phrases functioning as subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor in the possessive construction and object of postpositions are all accessible to relative-clause formation, as exemplified below:

- (23) a. nokər kəpra dho rəhəl əich  
 servant cloth wash PROG AUX-PRES.3NH  
 ‘The servant is washing clothes.’

b. u nokər [je kəpra dho rəhəl  
 that servant REL cloth wash PROG  
 əich  
 AUX-PRES.3NH  
 ‘The servant who is washing clothes.’

(c) u kəpra [je nokər dho rəhəl  
 that cloth REL servant wash PROG  
 əich  
 AUX-PRES.3NH  
 ‘The clothes that the servant is washing.’

(24) [əhã jək-ra/ jahi bidyarthike  
 You.H REL-ACC/DAT REL student ACC/DAT  
 aŋreji pərhəu-l-iəik] se bidyarthi/  
 English teach-PST.2H.3NH COREL student  
 se/ u ai amerika ge-l  
 COREL he today America go-PST.3NH  
 ‘The student whom you taught English left for America  
 today.’

(25) [jək-ər beti bazzar me hera  
 REL-GENIT daughter market in lose  
 ge-l-iəik] se məugi se/ u  
 go-PST.3NH.3NH COREL woman COREL she  
 khub cicia-it ch-əl  
 much cry-IMPERF AUX-PST.2NH  
 ‘The woman whose daughter got lost at the fair was  
 crying a lot.’

- (26) [əhã    jahi kothri    me    rəh-əit  
 You.H    REL room    in    live-IMPERF  
 ch-i]                    se/            u    bəd    ganda  
 AUX-PRES.2H    COREL    that    much    dirty  
 əich  
 be-PRES.3NH  
 ‘The room in which you live is very dirty.’

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has tried to analyze the relative clause in Maithili from the functional typological perspective. To sum up, the relative clause in Maithili is characterized by a set of properties. At the surface level, there are two types of relative clauses, viz. incorporating and isolating. Despite the fact that they differ in terms of structures, they function as modifiers of the head noun phrase. Functionally, there exist two types of relative clauses in Maithili: restricting the head noun and non-restricting the head noun. Apart from this, typologically, there exist all the types of relative clauses attested in the languages of the world, namely, external-headed, internal-headed and headless. There are two types of external-headed relative clauses in Maithili: Pre-nominal, Post-nominal and Internal. It has been argued that the post-nominal relative clauses in Maithili are pragmatically motivated. In case of case recoverability, Maithili relative clauses employ three types of strategies: the gap, pronoun retention and use of correlative relativizers. However, the use of correlative relativizers seems quite significant in Maithili. At last, the relative clause in Maithili also attests the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy.

## Abbreviations

|     |              |      |               |
|-----|--------------|------|---------------|
| 1   | First Person | 2    | Second Person |
| 3   | Third Person | ACC  | Accusative    |
| AUX | Auxiliary    | CAUS | Causative     |

|          |                     |        |               |
|----------|---------------------|--------|---------------|
| CLAS     | Classifier          | COREL  | Correlative   |
| DAT      | Dative              | DEMONS | Demonstrative |
| FUT      | Future              | H      | Honorific     |
| IMP      | Imperative          | IMPERF | Imperfective  |
| N        | Non-honorific       | NP     | Noun Phrase   |
| OPT      | Optative            | PERF   | Perfective    |
| PRES     | Present             | PROG   | Progressive   |
| PRSTPCPL | Present Participial | PST    | Past          |
| PSTPCPL  | Past Participial    | REL    | Relative      |

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# KIRANTI-RODUNG COMPOUNDING<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

The Kiranti-Rodung (exonym: Chamling Rai) represents one of the ethnic mosaic of eastern Nepal. Approximately, thirty-eight Kiranti languages (Pokharel, 1994: 26-7) including Kiranti-Kõits (exonyms: Sun(u)war, Bhujumar, Pirthwar, Mukhiya, Surel) and Kiranti-Yakthung (exonym: Subba, also known as Limbu, Tsong) spoken in Nepal. The number of 38 Kiranti languages now has been reduced into 27 (Rapacha et al. 2008 in press) in a recent study. Kiranti-Rodung is one of them. Its glossonym among the native speakers is Rodung *la* (means language or speech). The language is genetically affiliated to the Tibeto-Burman family.

Its core area is Khotang district, also known as middle Kirant traditionally. Balamta of Udayapur district also has a considerable number of its speakers. According to the District Profile of 1971 and 1981, the number of speakers recorded was 42,672 and 10,257 respectively. This number has been very slightly increased up to 44,093 in 2001 census report. As a matter of fact, Kiranti-Rodung is one of the minorities and endangered languages spoken in Nepal with no written tradition and literature of its own but is the primary language of communication amongst the Kiranti-Rodung speaking community in their respective area. It is expected that it will be taught to some primary school children in middle Kirant Khotang and Udayapur districts.

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, 26-27 November 2007, Kirtipur.



Kiranti-Rodung as a living language has no evidence of its own script except for Sirijunga. Till this date, the language has been written in the Devanagari script. There are some articles, poems, one novel and folklore (see Rapacha et al. in press) written in the same script. Besides, Kiranti-Rodung is less familiar and has not sufficiently been documented, recorded and described for research and academic purposes except for Ebert's preliminary description 1997 except the primary level school textbook which has been published since 2005 and Chamling Rai Dictionary has also appeared in 2007, which is a trilingual one in its content. Moreover, it has been facing a gradual loss of its speakers.

The number of languages in the Tibeto-Burman family is greater whereas the number of speakers is much less. Kiranti-Rodung is not an exception to it. But the speakers continue to use Kiranti-Rodung as a medium of communication in their respective community. For a better understanding of sociological, anthropological and cultural background of the Kiranti-Rodung, an understanding of their language is inevitable.

Consequently, a better understanding of Kiranti-Rodung's morphological system will enhance any language development efforts, particularly in the fields of non-formal and mother tongue education at the primary level or in grammar writing. These tasks can help to impart primary education and language loyalty within the Kiranti-Rodung speaking community and thus maintain their linguistic identity more than anything else in a society of diverse language contacts and rapid linguistic changes.

## 2. Compounding phenomenon

Kiranti-Rodung in its compounding strategy has four basic  $V+N = N$ ,  $N+N=N$ ,  $N+V=N$  and  $V+V=V$  combinations in its

morphology as a part of grammar. We will below describe this process of morphological patterns at the lexical level.

### 2.1 Verb and noun compound

The formation of a noun is possible through V+N yielding N as shown in (1-5).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) rhyām-mā + sun<br>stand-INF+wood<br>'pillar'              | (2) chām-mā + ri<br>write-INF+thread<br>'pen/pencil' |
| (3) sāi-mā + dim<br>ask-INF+talk<br>'question'                | (4) ring-mā + dim<br>tell-INF+talk<br>'sentence'     |
| (5) mu-mā + k <sup>h</sup> ām<br>do-INF+part<br>'unit/lesson' |  |

### 2.2 Noun and noun compound

Besides V and N compounding yielding Noun, N and N also can be compounded for reproducing another new N, e.g. (6-9).

- (6) tã + kimkhã  
hair+one which cuts  
'scissors'
- (7) wã + likhã  
water + from where it comes  
'stream'
- (8) wã + kãlimã  
water + on which/who takes out  
'dragonfly'

- (9) wā + lakhā  
 water+from where one takes out  
 'well'

### 2.3 Noun and verb

Another possibility of combination for the reproduction of N is N+V as in (10-11).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (10) sāyā + ryam-mā<br>prestige-CUL stand-INF<br>'cultural respect' | (11) wā-dhim-mā<br>water hit-INF<br>'river' |
|---|---|

### 2.4 Verb compounds

There are two verbs in a verbal compounding. The first verb is called the main verb or pole and the second one is called a vector. Both verbs are inflected in Kiranti-Rodung. They consist of a nonfinite main verb and a finite post-verb (V<sup>2</sup>). The sequence is contracted to a certain degree. Prefixes occur on 2sg V<sup>1</sup> and suffixes added to V<sup>2</sup>.

### 2.5 Verb and verb

Two verbs can be compounded for yielding another new verb mainly classified in 12 classes, a-l throughout the following description.

Class a *kās* 'throw' as second verb in the combination as in examples (12-21) from Rai (2001).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (12) mai-mā      kya-mā<br>forget-V <sup>1</sup> -INF throwV <sup>2</sup> -INF<br>'forget forever' | (13) mind ung-kās-ungā<br>forget-1sg-V <sup>2</sup> -TEL-1sgPST<br>'I forgot it.' |
| (14) mindā-kāsā-ci<br>forget-V <sup>2</sup> .TEL-DL.inc.PST<br>'We forgot it.'                     | (15) min-e-kain-e<br>forget-1sg-V <sup>2</sup> .TEL.IPFV<br>'I will forget you.'  |

- (16) pā-mind-i-kās-ikā  
 INV-forget-1sg-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-1sg.PST  
 'He forgot us.'
- (17) tā-mind-um-kās-i-ke  
 2sg-forget-2sg-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-1PL-IPFV  
 'You will forget us.'
- (18) mind-um-kās-um-cum  
 forget-1PL-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-1P-3PL.PST  
 'We forgot them.'

The above examples show that '*mind*' (also 'maid' Ebert 1997: 35) is the main verb and '*kās*' is the second verb. They are inflected according to person, number and tense (Rai 2001). Two verbs are inflected independently in the examples (19-20) from Rai (2001) and (21) from Ebert (1997: 35).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(19) mind-yu-kās-yo<br/>         forget-3sg.TEL-3sg.IPFV<br/>         'He will forget.'</p> | <p>(20) khuid-yu-pid-yu-cyu<br/>         pour-3sg-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST<br/>         'He poured it for them.'</p> |
|--|--|
- (21) tā-c-yo-pāk-u  
 2sg-eat-3sg-V<sup>2</sup>.TEL.3sg.PST  
 'You ate it up.'

The first verbs are mainly verbs of motion of position. The Kiranti-Rodung second verb is similar to the South Asian Languages. They are mostly telicizers i.e. they indicate that an event is conceived as having an inherent limit. Kiranti-Rodung 'cāmā' is an active verb meaning 'eat,' the compound verb cāmā-pāmā (eat up) is an accomplishment verb. Kiranti-Rodung initio-transformative verb means both 'fall asleep' and 'sleep'. The compound verb immā-dāmā specifies the transformative meaning component 'fall asleep' (Ebert 1997: 35). The post- verb has transitive, intransitive or bi-transitive

forms in accordance with the main verb. The post- verbs are used in the following ways as described in Class b.

Class b *chhud* 'arrive' and *chhungs-* 'send' and *chhod-* 'send to' denote their full verb meanings as verb V<sup>2</sup>. They signal completion of movement towards a speaker and away from the speaker respectively (Ebert 1997). <*chhad-*> is used as a motion verb in (22-26).

- (22)   bya-mā            chu-mā  
          come-INF        neutral-V<sup>2</sup>rich-INF  
          'arrive from same level'
- (23)   bān-ā-chhud-ā  
          come-PST.neutral-V<sup>2</sup>arrive.PST  
          'she arrived from same level.'
- (24)   sāng-ā-chhud-ā  
          Come-PST:up-V<sup>2</sup>arrive.PST  
          'He arrived from below.' (Rai 2001)

Class c. *chhungs-/ chhod-* 'send/ send to ' (Ebert 1997: 36) denotes bi-transitive shape in accordance with the main verb.

- (25)   hors-yu-chhungs-yu  
          throw at-3sg.PST- V<sup>2</sup>.send-3sg.PST  
          'Threw it.'       (Rai 2001)
- (26)   hord- yu-chhod-yu  
          throw at-PST-V<sup>2</sup>send to-3sg.PST  
          'Threw it at someone.' (Rai 2001)

Class d. *dā/ dyo-*

In Kiranti-Rodung <-*dā*> is usually used as the locative case. Moreover, it is atelicizing verb which indicates that someone or something stays or is left behind. The post verbs vary only

in number and person. These verbs also have intransitive and transitive forms in accordance with the main verb (27-33).

- (27) *chhi-mā dā-mā*                      (28) *khā-chhit-ā-dā*  
 leave-INF V<sup>2</sup>-INF                      1s-leave-PST-V<sup>2</sup>.TEL  
 'leave behind'                      'I left behind.' (Rai 2001)
- (29) *tā-chhit-ā-dā*  
 3PL-leave-PST-V<sup>2</sup>.TEL  
 'You left behind.' (Rai 2001)
- (30) *pā-chhit-ā-dā*  
 3PL-leave-PST-V<sup>2</sup>.TEL  
 'They left it behind.' (Rai 2001)
- (31) *chhit-i-dyo*  
 leave-PST.3sg-V<sup>2</sup>.TEL  
 'She left it behind.' (Ebert 1997: 36)
- (32) *hors-i-dyo*  
 throw-3sg-PST-V<sup>2</sup>.TEL  
 'He threw it.' (Ebert 1997: 36)
- (33) *ims-ā-dā*  
 sleep-3sg-PST-V<sup>2</sup>.TEL  
 'Fell asleep.' (Rai 2001)

The above examples show that <-*dā*> used with 1st person singular number, 2nd person singular number and third person plural number. The <-*dyo*> postverb is used with the third person singular only. In (33) <-*dā*> is used intransitively (Rai 2001).

Class e. *dhā-/dhās-* 'fall/descend'

The telicized verb is used in a straight forward way. This verb is the aorist and indicates the endpoint of a downward movement of the last destination (Ebert 1997: 36).

- (34) dhāps-yu-dhas-i  
 pull-3sg-PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'He pulled her down.' (Ebert 1997: 36)

'*dhāps-yu-dhasi*' is pragmatically distinctive because she vs. he and her vs. him are in underlying structure itself (Rai 2001).

Class f. *khāt-* 'go' and *'khaid-* 'take'

Pragmatically these postverbs are similar in meaning. They indicate movement away from the speaker or a disappearance of an object (Ebert 1997) as in (35-38).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (35) wang-khāt-ā<br>enter-V <sup>2</sup> .TEL.PST<br>'Went into' (Ebert 1997) | (36) sang-khāt-ā<br>come-V2.TEL.PST<br>'Came into' (Rai 2001)                   |
| (37) mā-khāt-ā<br>loss-V <sup>2</sup> .TEL.PST<br>'Lost' (Rai 2001)           | (38) per-ā-khāt-ā<br>fly-PST-V <sup>2</sup> TEL.PST<br>'Flew away.' (Rai 2001)' |

Class g. *kās* - 'spill'

This is also indicating movement away from a speaker and disappearance of an object as in (39-41) from Rai (2001).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (39) mabdkā-kās-ā<br>spil-PST-V <sup>2</sup> .TEL.PST<br>'Was spilled.' | (40) hors-ā-kās-ā<br>throw-PST-V <sup>2</sup> .TEL.PST<br>'Threw away.' |
| (41) kus-ā-kās-ā<br>hide-PST-V <sup>2</sup> .TEL.PST<br>'Hide away.'    |   |

Class h. *Pāk-* 'put'

This post-verb indicates that something is done completely in such a way that the object ceases to exist (Ebert 1997).

- (42) chh-yu-pāk-u                      (43) c-yo-pāk-u  
 tie-3sg-PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST      eat-3sg-PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'Tied up.' (Rai 2001)                  'Ate up.' (Ebert 1997)

Class i. *si-/set-*'die/kill'

According to Masica (1976: 145) this is not an explicator verb (=V<sup>2</sup>), because in contrast to all other compounds, it would be V<sup>1</sup>, as in 'kill by hitting.' To my mind the translation 'hit to death' seems equally correct. The verb V<sup>2</sup> indicates completion in the sense that finishing off a living being means killing it (Ebert 1997: 37). The examples of such verbs are given in (44-46).

- (44) āp-u-set-yu  
 shut-3sg-PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'He shot him dead.'
- (45) wāpt-yu-set-yu  
 scratch-3sg.PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'He scraatched her to death.'
- (46) chaidh-yi-set-yi  
 beat-3sgPST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'She beat him to death.'

Class j. *ngās-* 'stay, remains, keep'

As a second verb, this is grammaticalized as a progressive perfect (Ebert 1997). The following examples (47-48) serve to clarify this process.

- (47) byald-i-ngās-yu  
 stir-2sg PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-2sg.CONT  
 'Keep on string.' (Rai 2001)
- (48) khungs-yu-ngās-yu  
 hang-2sg.PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-2sg.CONT  
 'Keep on hanging.' (Rai 2001)



Class k. *lai-* 'take out'

In Kiranti-Rodung the postverb <-*lais*> seems to have an inchoative meaning (Ebert 1997). For example:

(49) khups yu-lais-yu  
 make-3sg.PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'Wake her up.' (Rai 2001)

(50) tyolh-u-lais-yu  
 push-3sg.PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'Pushed him aside.' (Rai 2001)

Class l. *pid-* 'give'

This post-verb stands as V<sup>2</sup> which is used as a benefactive marker (Ebert 1997) in (51-53).

(51) maid-yu-pid-yu  
 make-3sg.PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'He made it for him. (Rai 2001)

(52) dhāmd-yu-pid-yu  
 pull-3sg.PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'He pulled it for him.' (Rai 2001)

(53) chhapd-yu-pid-yu  
 write-3sg.PST-V<sup>2</sup>TEL-3sg.PST  
 'He wrote it for him.' (Rai 2001)

### 3. Conclusion

Some other possibilities of compounding in Kiranti-Rodung are yet to be observed and discovered. Only two processes of four basic V+N = N, N+N=N, N+V=N and V+V=V combinations do not seem as productive as are its negativizing morphemes in Kiranti-Rodung's morphology.

### Abbreviations

|     |                  |      |               |
|-----|------------------|------|---------------|
| 1   | first person     | 2    | second person |
| 3   | third person     | CONT | Continuous    |
| CUL | cultural concept | DL   | dual          |
| inc | inclusive        | IPF  | imperfective  |
| INF | infinitive       | INV  | inverse       |
| N   | noun             | PL   | plural        |
| PST | past             | sg   | singular      |
| TEL | telicizers       | V    | verb          |

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28<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF LINGUISTIC SOCIETY  
OF NEPAL  
NOVEMBER 26-27, 2007

Prof. Jai Raj Awasthi  
President, LSN

Honorable Chief Guest Dr Kamal K Joshi, Chairman,  
University Grants Commission

Former Presidents of LSN

Distinguished linguists, and guests from home and abroad

LSN Colleagues, media personnel, ladies and gentlemen

It is indeed a matter of great pleasure for me to speak to this august gathering of both linguists and non-linguists and would be linguists. People who have an ardent love and interest in the field of languages would never miss to mark their calendars on November 26-27 every year. We have been convening this meeting on its birth day every year since 1980. Linguists from home and abroad take this forum as a meeting of minds on linguistic matters pertinent to different languages of this region and elsewhere. All the practicing linguists who had taken this opportunity as a starting point of their linguistic journey have now excelled in their academic pursuit. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Linguistic Society of Nepal has encouraged many young academicians to explore the wide horizon of this linguistic diversity. Started by a small group of linguists 27 years ago, the Society has expanded its family now with more than 215 life members and the equal number of annual/ student members. The interest towards the society is ever growing. This has been evident from the number of aspirants to register for this conference. Many of them were kept on waiting list yesterday. On this occasion, I would like

to express my gratitude to my predecessors who had maintained the legacy of the past.

During these years the Society has unfailingly published the Linguistic Journals containing articles from very renowned linguists to the practitioners. This conference brings another memorable issue of the LSN publication as proceedings of the papers that were presented in the last year's LSN and HLS in a new name: *Recent Studies in Nepalese Linguistics (2007)*. The team of editorial board: Prof NK Rai, Prof YP Yadava, Mr BN Regmi and Mr BR Prasain deserve special thanks for their untiring and meticulous work to bring out the volume in your hand.

The theme of the 28th conference is "Endangered Languages". Thus, the conference is very unique in that it is not only dominated by the marginalized and endangered languages of this country but also by the indigenous linguists of all ages- five generations unlike in the past when we were outnumbered by the foreign presenters. The papers on languages such as Rajbanshi, Baram, Meche, Dura, Puma and Kasmiri have crossed the political and geographical boundaries. In addition, the papers cover both theoretical and applied linguistics including some on computational linguistics. The corpus and computational linguistics course inducted last year at the Central Department of Linguistics has started yielding linguistic fruits so early. In this regards, I appreciate the interest shown by the people of young generation towards linguistic studies in Nepal.

The research works carried out in the Departments of English Language Education under faculty of Education has exceeded more than 600 on both theoretical and applied linguistics. The number of students growing every year is overwhelming. Similarly, the researches carried out at the Central Department of Linguistics have unearthed many endangered languages of Nepal. Nonetheless, the effort towards addressing the

languages which are at the verge of extinction has not been put forth by any quarter. The Census report, if taken in 2011, will record the extinction of many languages in this country. However, it is a piece of happy news that I want to share with you today, which used to be one of the issues that I myself raised last year and so did my predecessors in the past, that the government of Nepal is willing to conduct a Linguistic Survey of Nepal. Our neighbors had conducted such surveys long back. The survey proposed will bring out the real status of the languages of this country. It is coincidence that Nepal English Language Teachers' Association (NELTA) is also planning to conduct the ELT Survey this year and the work has already been initiated.

It gives me pleasure to mention here that the issue of Nepali as a second language I raised last year has been taken up positively by many NRNs and initiation for the preparation of materials addressing the needs of their children to teach them Nepali embedded with Nepali culture and tradition has already been started. This effort of the NRN will bring a new impetus in the teaching of Nepali to the majority of non-native children studying this language in this country.

I recall the generous support extended to us by many institutions and organizations at this juncture to make this event successful. I, on behalf of LSN, would like to express my sincere gratitude to University Grants Commission, Central Department of Linguistics, TU, and Center for Asian Studies, TU, Little Angels' School System, and National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities, Bhrikuti Academic Publications, Central Department of English, Central Department of Education, Principal's Office, University Campus, CEDA and many more to mention here.

Since this is the second year of the present executive committee and the new committee will be formed soon, I would like to extend a deep sense of appreciation to all the

institutions and people who showed their ever helping hands to keep this Society going on. I also take this opportunity to call upon the energetic young linguists to spare some of their valuable time for this society to see its growth and development in future. We should not forget the legacy of our predecessors who have brought this society in our hands. I hope my colleagues will help it get registered before we hand it over to the new elected body.

There are a few issues that still need to be addressed in order to maintain linguistic harmony in this country.

- As I mentioned earlier, some NRNs are trying to initiate the project of Nepali as a second language for their children living in different parts of the world. However, Nepali as a second language has to be planned and developed for academic purposes. This will require expertise in the field of SLA. Similarly, other languages spoken in this country need special attention from the government for their promotion and development.
- In order to formulate plans and policies regarding the language of this country, we strongly need a Language Academy. LSN and the Central Department of Linguistics had jointly made a proposal to the concerned authority for the formation of such an Academy in the past but our voice seemed to be too low for the authority to listen to. As such, a consolidated effort to this end is the dire need of the time for the people working in the field of linguistics.
- It is essential that we maintain linguistic harmony giving due importance to all the languages spoken in this country. We have to make every one feel proud that he /she speaks a language which has local as well as national importance.

- We have to make the government realize that LSN is a forum of expertise in different languages as such they have to be invited to design courses and materials for mother tongue education as envisaged by the government.

The growing number of participants in the conference and the retiring age of the CEDA hall might have made the participants and presenters a little upset. But we can not imagine a better place within the university premises for a few more years. Therefore, we would like to apologize for the inconvenience you may have in this regard. I quote here what I said last year as the situation has not improved yet. “During these years we spent our treasury in warfare rather than caring for the educational institutions. This hall is an example of the state in which we spent last 27 years. I hope the recently signed comprehensive peace treaty will bring a ray of hope for all the Nepalese people and we would start building a new *Lok Tantra Nepal* by including all the languages, ethnic groups, disadvantaged people, and the people living in the utmost remote geographical areas of the country into the mainstream of development.”

I hope the seven parties would realize the need of the day and become responsible to bring lasting peace and harmony in the country.

I hope that everyone will have fruitful deliberations today and tomorrow.

Thank you all.

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CDE Central Department of English  
CDL Central Department of Linguistics

CDN Central Department of Nepali  
CIL Campus of International Languages  
CPDP Chintang and Puma Documentation Project  
DEE Department of English Education

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