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STRATEGIES FOR TEACHING MOTHER TONGUES IN NEPAL

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Discussing on the use of mother tongues in primary education, this paper emphasizes on its oral use while preparing textbooks and reading materials for children. It also discusses briefly the linguistic, literary, educational and administrative issues which need to be addressed while implementing mother tongue education in Nepal.

Background

Teaching of the mother tongues started in the country with the beginning of this century when primary schools were established in different parts of the country.¹ Some language schools, which used the Nepali language, opened by Rana Prime Minister Deva Shamsheer were limited in number and more schools were opened throughout the country after the advent of democracy in 1951. During the last six decades since then, the primary education of Nepal has taken a great stride but in comparison to other countries, Nepal is still lagging behind.

For years, it was assumed by the administrators and education planners that every child knew the Nepali language and textbooks for children were prepared only in that language. When complaints were made about the difficulties of the non-Nepali speaking children, teachers were allowed to explain the subject matter of the texts orally in their mother tongues. Most of the studies that were made about the problems and issues of primary education were directed towards the

¹ This is a revised version of a paper presented at a seminar on 23rd September, 1992 organized by Chetana Samaj in Kathmandu.

enrolment and drop-outs, parental awareness, quality of instruction, management and physical facilities etc. The linguistic problems and issues of the primary school children of this multi-lingual country were almost neglected. Even the Unesco recommendation for mother tongue education was left unnoticed and the linguistic causes of the lack of efficiency and relevancy in primary education were not properly investigated. Only after the restoration of democracy in the country, the intellectuals freely expressed their views on several language issues of the country including mother tongue education.

Constitutional provisions

The Constitution of Nepal 1990 not only identified Nepal as a multi-lingual country but also recognized all the languages of Nepal as national languages. The constitution of Nepal also guaranteed the right of every language community which reads as follows:

- (1) Every community residing within the kingdom of Nepal shall have the right to conserve and promote its languages, scripts and cultures.
- (2) Each community shall have the right to establish schools for imparting education in the mother tongue of the concerned child. (Article 18, Cultural and Educational Rights.)

The state policy of the nation given in the Directive Principle of the State also strengthens the constitutional right for the promotion of the languages, literature, scripts, arts and cultures of all, which reads as follows:

The state shall while maintaining the cultural divergence of the country adapt a policy towards the strengthening of the national unity by promoting healthy and cordial social relations among the various religious groups, casts and

classes, communities and linguistic groups of the society and by helping in the promotion of the languages, literatures and scripts, arts and cultures of all. (Article 26, State Policies).

The report of the National Education Commission submitted in the middle of 1992 discussed several factors of primary education and has recommended for mother tongue education. The commission suggested in the style of the constitution that a linguistic group can open a school to teach its children in their mother tongue. The commission recommended that in the absence of the textbooks in the mother tongue, the teachers should explain the content of the book in the mother tongue to accelerate children's learning activities. For this commission recommended for employing the teachers who know students' mother tongues. Commission also suggested for the inclusion of mother tongues as a subject of study in and beyond the primary classes.

The writing systems

Nepali, Newari, Maithili, Tibetan, Lepcha and Limbu are the languages with written records and literature. The first three of these are taught in the university up to the higher level and the Tibetan is used by the Buddhist in the monasteries while the Urdu is used by the Muslims and is taught in the traditional type of Madarasa in some Muslim populated centres. These and other languages of Nepal have been written down in Devanagari and some books are published in these languages. The Indo-Aryan languages like Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Rajbansi and others can easily be written in the Devanagari script but the Tibeto-Burman languages pose problems as they have special sounds.

Importance of mother tongue education

The importance of the mother tongue in primary education need not to be explained. Scholars claim that the language reflects our own culture, use of mother tongue in childhood

education becomes a symbol of group identity. Mother tongue is also a means of socialization in early childhood. The use of mother tongue in primary education leads to bridge the gaps between the home and school and learning becomes smooth and meaningful. A child learns fast in his mother tongue; he can think creatively and react logically to the environment. "It is the mother tongue that every human being first learns to formulate and express his ideas about himself and about the world in which he lives." (UNESCO, 1953). So, mother tongue education is not merely a political demand; it is a social, educational and psychological reality. Experts also believe that the use of mother tongue always accelerates the process of learning of the children while the use of other tongue may cause retardation and stagnation.

Oral and written languages

While oral form of the language is basic and the written variety is secondary, the unwritten status of many of the languages of Nepal compel us to find ways and means to use these languages effectively in primary education . Even the written languages with rich traditions can not develop well without using them in oral communication. This makes a parameter of language use as a medium and as a subject of study (as literature) in its oral and written forms as presented in Table 1.

The languages of Nepal need to be developed as written languages in order to make them capable of effective medium of education. For this the languages which are yet unwritten should have their scripts and standard spelling systems. Many languages can use a common script but each of them must have their own spelling system. Unless the phonological analysis of a language is done, it is difficult to devise an orthography for that language. It takes considerable amount of time to complete a phonological analysis of a language. In addition to this, the grammatical structure of the language

should be described and a dictionary should also be compiled. So, the studies of the structure and vocabulary are also part of language development which are pre-requisite for further use of the language in various fields including primary education.

Table 1: Language use as a medium and a subject of study

	Oral	Written
Language	is fundamental for wider communication and for use in instructions, explanations and discussions.	is basic for developing literacy skills such as reading and writing for the transfer of knowledge beyond the time and space.
Literature	is an integral part of particular linguistic group and an important aspect of the oral education.	is basic for teaching language arts in the mother tongue which reflect the creative genuine of the speakers of the particular language.

The use of literature

Literature of a particular language plays a significant role in its curriculum of language arts. For many of us teaching a mother tongue means teaching it as a subject of study. Various forms of oral literature have been used in many societies for centuries to educate their children. These forms of oral literature (folktales, songs, ballads, riddles, proverbs etc.) should be widely collected, retold and published. This will have two-fold objectives: preservation of the literary tradition of the group and utilization of these as reading materials. Some reading materials should also be translated from other languages to develop their understandings with other cultures. The curriculum of the language arts should contain original writings from the linguistic groups. It takes time to develop good literature in a language which is yet

unwritten, but it can be done if the writers are encouraged in creative writing.

Development of literature is considered pre-requisite for mother tongue teaching. The language arts curriculum usually contains various activities of oral and written use of the mother tongue which is designed with reference to the literature of that language. The teachers' guide should contain items about the structure and function of a language, problems of children in learning a second language, ways of teaching in mother tongues, use of oral literature and various activities to teach language arts in the mother tongue.

Teacher's guide and teachers trainings

The teachers' guides only will not be enough for effective implementation of mother tongue teaching, the teachers have also to be trained to teach the mother tongues as language arts and to use them in primary education as a medium. The trainings of the large number of the teachers already appointed and to be appointed are the matters to be handled at the administrative level. The teachers must know the languages of their children. It is certainly possible if all new appointments are carefully made and old teachers are properly trained. Various issues that need immediate attention for effective implementation of mother tongue education is given in table 2.

Table 2: Issues in the implementation of mother tongue education

Linguistic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making and standardization of the orthography - Writing of a grammar of the language - Compilation of a dictionary of the language
Literary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collection of materials from oral literature and publishing them in the original language - Develop creative writing in the language - Translate from other language
Educational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Curriculum designing

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Textbook preparations - Preparation of other reading materials - Preparation of the teachers' guides
Administrative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teacher' training - Employing teachers for mother tongue education

Policy decisions

Before the rights for the use of the mother tongue as a medium in primary education and promotion of the language are exercised, it is desirable to make policy decisions regarding the right choices from alternatives to solve the problems. Since these are basic for all other activities given in Table 2, which are presented here.

The main decision that has to be taken is about the model of the mother tongue education. There are several alternatives.

- (1) Use all the textbooks of the Nepali language available at present and explain everything in children's mother tongue.
- (2) Use mother tongue and Nepali simultaneously preparing basic reading materials in mother tongue and transfer to Nepali by the end of primary level.
- (3) Start classes in mother tongue after making all kinds of preparations.

The alternative (1) suggests for the use of mother tongue in the oral medium only. This has the benefit of starting the programme immediately. But the major drawback of this model is that it does not allow to use the mother tongue as a subject of study. While implementing this model may take no time, the alternative (3) may be too late to wait for the speakers of a mother tongue. It is certainly time consuming to accomplish all the activities given in Table 2 above. This monolingual approach of mother tongue education may

isolate the children of a linguistic group from the rest of the national life. So, a bilingual model suggested in (2) is recommended for a multi-lingual country like ours. This model suggests for the use of the mother tongue and the second language and transfer to the second language by the end of the primary education. This model suggests for the use of diglot materials in the beginning, enough reading materials in children's mother tongue. The details of this bilingual model are yet to be explained, but it is hoped that this would be helpful to meet the goals of education while using a mother tongue as a medium and promoting it as a subject of study.

Another policy level decision to be made is selection of a script for the unwritten languages. Devanagari has been used for Nepali, Newari, Maithili and for many other languages. Attempts have also been made to use Devanagari for Tamang, Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu and some other languages though the spellings are not standardized and made acceptable to all the native speakers. The advantage of the unwritten languages is that they can select a more practical script or devise new one. For example, we can select Devanagari, Roman or a Tibetan script for the Thakali language. But this may isolate a few thousand speakers of the language from the rest. A common script develops national integration and facilitates inter-group understanding. It also helps to transfer from the mother tongue to Nepali or other languages. If a different script is used in the mother tongue education at the primary level, Devanagari has to be learnt at the secondary level to use Nepali. Devanagari script will also be useful for the adult learners of various linguistic groups who need to be literate in Nepali for wider communication. Though the speakers of the language are the final decision makers about the script and spelling system of their language, interests of the larger community should be taken into consideration. As selection of a script is basic for further works in language development this problem needs to be solved as early as possible.

It is certainly time consuming to study all the languages of Nepal and develop them for the use in primary education. The linguists may come to analyze the languages, but the writers of the national languages should be ready to develop literatures in their languages. If education in the mother tongue is planned the writers should work hard to create reading materials. Since promotion of the languages and literatures is one of the state policies guaranteed by the constitution, it is desirable that the people involved should be helped and encouraged. For this the government should either establish an institute or give grants to the national non-government organizations. Suggestions have been made on various occasions for the establishment of a national level institute for the study and promotion of the national languages.

At the primary level teaching becomes meaningless if the teacher does not know the language of his or her students. So, the knowledge of the language of the children should be essential for a primary school teacher. For all new appointments of the primary school teachers, it would be worthwhile if decisions are made at the policy level that they should be qualified in mother tongue teaching.

The linguists can analyze the languages, but the writers of the national languages should be ready to develop literatures in their languages. Since promotion of the languages and literatures is one of the state policies guaranteed by the constitution, it is desirable that the people involved should be helped and encouraged.

Conclusion

Interests have been shown from various corners and voices have been raised for using mother tongues in primary education and also for protection and development of the national languages. Certainly, attempts are underway to

develop individual languages and to make them effective for primary education. It will be more practical not to wait for a complete preparation to use mother tongues in primary education but start earlier by focusing on the oral use of language, devising a tentative spelling systems for unwritten languages and preparing teachers to create and use teaching/learning materials. So, besides the linguistic and literary, the educational and administrative aspects are also discussed to invite attention to the concerned authorities to prepare strategies for teaching mother tongues in Nepal.

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MEWAHANG LANGUAGE: AN INTRODUCTION

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This paper presents phonological sketch, nominal system (gender, number system, case markers) and negativization process of the Mewahang in brief.

1. General background

Mewahang is a language spoken by Mewahang Rai people. This language is also called Newahang. Their place of origin is the surrounding area of Sankhuwakhola in Sankhuwasabha district in the eastern hills in Kosi Zone of Nepal. The language is spoken mainly in Bala, Yaphu, Mangtewa, Tamku and Sisa VDCs. Now, some of the people have also been migrated to Ilam, Morang, Sunsari, Bhojpur, Kathmandu and Darjeeling.

The Mewahang language is related to Sino-Tibetan family. It is grouped under the East Himalayish or Kirati languages of the Himalayish subsection of the Bodic section of the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan family. The Lohorung and Yamphu languages are close to Mewahang genetically and Kulung geographically.

According to the Population Census, 2001, the total population of Mewahang mother tongue speakers in Nepal is 904 which is less than 0.01% of the total population. Their largest number of speakers is found in Sankhuwasabha district. The Nepali language being an official language and Bantawa Rai being lingua franca among other Rai people, and so-called educated people's interest to educate their children through the medium of English, Mewahang mother tongue speakers are decreasing day by day. This language may

extinct in near future. As such, proper action needs to be taken by the concerned people and institutions for its preservation.

2. Phonology

The detailed study of Mewahang phonological system has not been taken yet. This preliminary study shows that Mewahang has seven basic vowels and 27 consonant sounds. So, there are altogether 34 sounds in the language.

2.1 Mewahang vowels

Mewahang language has the following vowel sounds:

i	ĩ	u
e	Λ	o
	a	

All these vowels have their long contrastive counterparts except that of i and Λ. That is to say that there is no /i/-/ĩ:/ and /Λ/-/Λ:/ contrast in the language. For example,

/i/	/ikΛba/	'teacher'	/e/	/khema/	'to go'
/i:/	/i:kΛba/	'bad man'	/e:/	/khe:ma/	'to buy'
/i/	/mi/	'of'	/i/	/siʔma/	'to hit'
/ĩ/	/mi/	'fire'	/e/	/seʔma/	'to kill'
/u/	/mu/	'mushroom'			
/o/	/coŋ /	'new'	/o/	/poŋ/	'ten'
/u/	/cuŋ/	'cold'	/a/	/paŋ/	'from'
/Λ/	/lΛpma/ (vi)	'to freeze'	/Λ/	/hΛŋma/	'anger'
/a/	/lapma/ (vt)	'to freeze'	/o/	/hoŋma/	'to pierce'
/u/	/suma/	'to put just cooked rice in warm place'			
/u:/	/su:ma/	'chilly-hot'			
/a/	/naʔma/	'to hit'	/o/	/coʔma/	'to join'
/a:/	/na:ʔma/	'to tear'	/o:/	/co:ʔma/	'to knead'

2.2 Mewahang consonants

The consonant system of Mewahang resembles with that of other Kirati languages. Voicing contrast is found in stop and affricate sounds. Similarly, aspiration contrast is found in bilabial, dental and velar sounds. They are presented in the following table:

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b ph bh	t d th dh				
Affricate			c j ch jh		k g kh gh	ʔ
Fricative			s			h
Nasal	m		n		ŋ	
Lateral			l lh			
Trill			r			
Glides	w			y		

Among these, j, jh are just found almost in the borrowed words from Nepali. They are not found in minimal pairs. Minimal pairs for the other consonants are as follows:

/p/	/peʔma/	'vomit'
/ph/	/pheʔma/	'to make play'
/b/	/beʔma/	'to blossom'
/bh/	/bheʔma/	'to be long'
/t/	/temma/	'be fat'
/th/	/themma/	'to float'
/d/	/demma/	'to business'
/d/	/dʌpkʌba/	'gum'
/dh/	/dhʌpkʌba/	'wide'
/k/	/koŋma/	'to win'
/kh/	/khoŋma/	'to cut'
/g/	/goŋma/	'to turn over'

/g/	/gotti/	'a kind of sore in throat'
/gh/	/ghotti/	'a kind of sore in tongue'
/ʔ/	/tɔʔma/	'to dig'
/t/	/toma/	'to get'
/k/	/tokma/	'to give support to creepers'
/c/	/cuʔma/	'to paint'
/ch/	/chuʔma/	'small'
/j/	/jyaŋma/	'to beat'
/c/	/cyaŋma/	'to cut'
/ch/	/chyaŋma/	'aunt'
/s/	/soŋma/	'to move'
/h/	/hoŋma/	'to make hole'
/m/	/maʔma/	'to touch'
/n/	/naʔma/	'to hit'
/ŋ/	/ŋaʔma/	'to beg'
/r/	/ryakphu/	'mango tree'
/l/	/lyakphu/	'pitch tree'
/l/	/le:ʔma/	'to plant'
/lh/	/lhe:ʔma/	'many'

3. Nominal system

3.1 Gender

In Mewahang, generally, suffixes –pa/-ba and –ma are found in the kinship terms to denote masculine and feminine gender. For example,

chadi-pa 'father-in-law'

chadi-ma 'mother-in-law'

nap-pa 'father of son-in-law or daughter in law'

nap-ma 'mother of son-in-law or daughter-in-law'

kha-ba 'father of grandfather's grandfather'

kha-ma 'mother of grandmother's grandmother'

la-ba 'grandfather's grandfather'
 la-ma 'grandmother's grandmother'

tu-ba 'grandfather's father'
 tu-ma 'grandmother's mother'

But not all the kinship terms have such –pa or –ma suffixes to distinguish the gender. Some kinship terms have no gender distinction i.e. some kinship terms refer to both masculine and feminine gender. For example,

necha 'younger brother/sister'
 yanmin 'grandchild'
 chapchi 'grandchild's child'

Separate lexical items are also found to refer to both male and female nouns. For example,

bubu 'elder brother'
 nana 'elder sister'
 kibu 'brother-in-law' (husband of elder sister)
 nini 'father's sister/ maternal uncle's wife'

Gender in the Mewahang language plays no role in agreement as in other Kirati languages and English. For example,

- (1) a. nana ca:ma ca-ʔa
 elder.sister rice eat-PST
 'Elder sister ate rice'
- b. bubu ca:ma ca-ʔa
 elder.brother rice eat-PST
 'Elder brother ate rice'.

3.2 Number system

Like most of the Kirati languages spoken in Nepal, Mewahang distinguishes three number systems (singular, dual and plural) in the first and second person pronouns, and in verbs but two number systems in the third person pronouns and nouns. Inclusive and exclusive of addressee distinction in

dual and plural first person pronouns is also found in this language. For example,

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	ka	kΛci kΛciga	ikin (inclusive) ekka (exclusive)
Second person	Λna	Λnaci	Λnin
Third person	o	oci oci	

Both dual and plural nouns are generally derived by adding suffix, <-ci> to the singular noun and verbs take <-ci> and <-mi> for the agreement of dual and plural respectively. e.g.,

- (2) a. necha ca:ma ca-ʔa
 younger.sibling rice eat-PST
 'Younger brother/sister ate rice'
- b. necha-ci ca:ma ca-ʔa-ci
 younger.sibling-d rice eat-PST-d
 'Younger brothers/sisters (dual) ate rice'
- c. necha-ci ca:ma ca-ʔa-mi
 younger.sibling-p rice eat-PST-p
 'Younger brothers/sisters (plural) ate rice'

3.3 Case markers

Ergetive -e : nicha-e yaba mus-u
 younger.sibling-ERG work do-PST
 'Younger brother did the work.'

Accusative -Ø bubu-e nicha- Ø mog-u
 elder.brother younger.sibling-ACC hit-PST
 'Elder brother hit his younger brother.'

Instrumental -e : rame camca-e ca-ʔa
 Ram-DIM spoon-INSTR eat-PST
 'Ram ate rice with a spoon.'

Ablative	-lam:	o-ci	kha-lam ta-ʔa-ci
		3d	field-ABL come-PST-d
			'They came from the field.'
Possessive	-mi:	kaŋ-mi	bubu
		1s-POSS	elder.brother
			'my elder brother'
		nana-mi	chagra
			'elder sister's goat'
Locative	-bi:	khim-bi	
			home-LOC
			'at home'
Commitative	-nuŋ:	nana-nuŋ	
			elder.sister-COM
			'with elder.sister'

4. Negativization

Affirmative imperative, past and non-past sentences are changed into negative with affixes Λ -, ma-, and -ni respectively. For example,

(3)	a.	ta-ʔe	Λ -ta-ʔe
		come-IMP	NEG-come-IMP
		'Please, come.'	'Please, don't come.'
	b.	o	ta-ʔa o ma-ta-ʔa
		3s come-PST	3s NEG-come-PST
		'He/she came.'	'He/she didn't come.'
	c.	o taʔ-no	o taʔ-ni
		3s come-NPST	3s come-NEG
		'He/she comes.'	'He doesn't come.'

5. Conclusion

Mewahang has altogether 34 sounds (7 basic vowels and 27 consonants). Like many other Kirati languages, it has eleven pronouns, three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd), three numbers (singular,

dual, plural), and also an inclusive and exclusive of addressee distinction in dual and plural first person. It has seven case markers (ergative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, possessive, locative, and commutative) and two negative prefixes <Λ->, <ma->, and one negative suffix <-ni> to negativize imperative, past and non-past sentences respectively.

The detailed linguistic study has yet to be done. It should be documented as soon as possible and should be promoted otherwise the peculiar features of the language will be lost day by day in the very rapidly changing world.

Abbreviations

1	First person	2	Second person
3	Third person	ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative	COM	Commutative
d	Dual	DIM	Diminutive
ERG	Ergative	IMP	Imperative
INSTR	Instrumental	LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative	NPST	Non-past
p	Plural	POSS	Possessive
PST	Past	s	Singular

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Appendix 1

Swadesh List (100 words)

1.	I	ka/aka	3.	you(s)	ʌna
2.	we(di)	kʌci		you(d)	ʌnaci
	we(pi)	ikin		you(p)	ʌnin
	we(de)	kʌciga			
	we(pe)	ekka			
4.	this	koʔo	5.	that	ako
6.	who	ʌsa	7.	what	imaŋ
8.	not	maʔa	9.	all	chubiŋ
10.	many	dhedheʔ	11.	one	ibom
12.	two	hikbom	13.	big	dheppa
14.	long	bhekkʌwa	15.	small	mechuke
16.	woman	mimcha	17.	man	wathakpa
18.	person	mina	19.	fish	ŋa
20.	bird	choŋwa	21.	dog	diliŋma
22.	louse	siʔ	23.	tree	phu:/siŋ
24.	seed	cʌlen/cʌsi	25.	leaf	siŋbaʔ
26.	root	sʌm	27.	bark	hoʔ
28.	skin	sahoʔ/hoʔ	29.	flesh	sa
30.	blood	heruwa	31.	bone	tipriʔ
32.	grease	sʌyab/chodaʔwa	33.	egg	wadin
34.	horn	taŋ	35.	tail	miriʔ
36.	feather	wasan	37.	hair	tajaʔ

38. head	takkhroʔ	39. ear	nʌbaʔ
40. eye	miʔ	41. nose	nʌphu
42. mouth	khambe	43. tooth	kyaŋ
44. tongue	lem	45. fingernail	senduma
46. foot	laŋ	47. knee	tʌmbʌkchʌ
48. hand	huʔ	49. belly	boʔ
50. neck	peʔla	51. breast	nunuʔ
52. heart	luŋma	53. liver	coʔwa
54. drink	duŋma	55. eat	cama
56. bite	ŋekma	57. see	khaŋma
58. hear	emma	59. know	lema
60. sleep	imma	61. die	si:ma
62. kill	se:ma	63. swim	phaʔma
64. fly	pe:ma	65. walk	dumma
66. come	tama	67. lie	te:ma goŋma
68. sit	pemma	69. stand	yeʔbma
70. give	piʔma	71. say	i:ma
72. sun	nam	73. moon	la
74. star	saŋaima	75. water	kiŋwa
76. rain	wʌri	77. stone	lokoʔwa
78. sand	segma	79. earth	bʌkha
80. cloud	mekkhuma	81. smoke	mekhuma
82. fire	mu	83. ash	thabiʔ
84. burn	dikma	85. path	lam
86. mountain	bobbobopa	87. red	hʌrʌppa
88. green	phiphike	89. yellow	hʌrdikke
90. white	bayappa	91. black	mʌgdoke
92. night	setta	93. hot	kukʌba
94. cold	cuj	95. full	cepkʌba
96. new	coŋ	97. good	nu:kʌba
98. round	tujkʌba	99. dry	syakʌba
100. name	n		

MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF VERBS IN NEPALI

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Morphology is the study of word formation and words can be formed from processes such as inflection and derivation which are quite common in Nepali. Here, we have focused on the inflection aspect of verb morphology and the compounding of verbs which are tested in segmentation of words focusing on verbs.

1. Introduction

Morphological variations in most languages can be attributed to the inflectional and derivational methods for word formation. Inflectional morphology in particular marks the variations based on relations such as person, gender, number, tense and case. By inflection we understand that the morphological variants of a lexeme will have the same syntactic category and reflects changes based only on such relations. We attribute the process of adding affixes as a major way to induce variations and it applies to nouns, pronouns and verbs in Nepali. Inflections are achieved mainly through attaching prefixes and suffixes to the roots. Derivational morphology, however, can generate words with different meaning and different syntactic category. In this paper our focus remains on inflectional morphology, suffixation to be precise and word compounding for verbs. Table 1 lists some of the inflections for the root गर् (do).

In Table 1, I1 and I2 are inflections to hold subject-verb agreement on gender. I3 and I4 are inflections to hold subject-verb agreement on number. I5, I6 and I7 are inflections to indicate the present, past and future tenses. I8 and I9 are

inflections to indicate honorific levels. I10 is an inflection to indicate mood. I11 is an inflection to indicate aspect.

Table 1: Example of verb inflections in Nepali for the root गर्

ID	Word	Relation
I1	गर्छ	gender
I2	गर्छे	gender
I3	गर्छु	number
I4	गर्छौ	number
I5	गर्छु	tense
I6	गर्थे	tense
I7	गर्नेछु	tense
I8	गर्छौ	honorific
I9	गर्छस्	honorific
I10	गर	mood
I11	गर्दैछ	aspect

Verb compounding is a characteristic seen in many South Asian languages. In short, compounding in verbs is a process of concatenating two verbs, the primary verb (also known as main or polar verb) and the secondary verb (also known as explicator, intensifier, operator, and vector). We prefer the primary and secondary terminology in this paper for the sake of simplicity. A detailed description on the origin, motivation and grammatical constructs of verb compounding refer to [6]. In [6] the author argues that Nepali is a head right language grammatically and semantically. The brief discussion of the rules and our assumptions on verb compounding is presented in the next chapter. Table 2 lists some examples of compounding in verbs. In Nepali one reason for verb compounding is that it is used to reflect the modality. Refer to [6] for details on verb compounding for Nepali.

Table 2: Examples of compounding in verb

Compound Verb	Verb1	Verb2
गरिहाल्नु	गर् + इ	हाल् + नु
खुत्याइदिनु	खुति + आइ	दि + नु
जिताउनुभएकोले	जित् + आउ + नु	हु + एको ले

Although documentation of computational analysis for Nepali is lacking, there have been a lot of work in languages that are similar to Nepali; languages that originated from Sanskrit such as Hindi and Bengali. In [2] rewrite rules are used to generate inflected words from a base form for Bengali. The system suffers from problems of exceptions and over-generations that a rule based system would suffer. However, there is no insight into the causes and extent of such over-generation. Work on similar line for Hindi includes [3], [4] and [5]. The rules are fairly simple and grouped according to case, gender, prefix and suffix that may be present in the word. Ramanathan et al. (2003). [3] also reports of under-stemming errors which come to 4.68% in addition to 13.84% over-stemming errors. This could be taken as a reflection on the rules governing the language. From that it could be inferred that word formation rules in language like Hindi are quite simple. However, the constraint on the applicability of rules needs to be carefully determined.

Nevertheless, there has been an attempt to build a working morphological analyser for Nepali such as in [1] which is a rule based approach that relies on an exhaustive list of root, affixes and dictionary of rules. Our approach is similar in that it is also rule based. The difference is that our system can segment a word as well as generate variants from a root and a suffix. We perform experiments to analyse word form generation and segmentation separately. The test data has been collected autonomously by crawling the web and is

available from our website¹ along with the executable of our tool. The true coverage of our rule based system would be better assessed by running over a large corpus which we plan to do in the future. In the next section we describe the intuitive working of our approach with some examples.

Although we understand that rules are not exhaustive for a language and a learning framework eventually would be required, we believe that a system like ours could act as an initial seed generation module or pre-processing in semi or minimally supervised setting. The usefulness of our work as a module, however depends on the coverage and error statistics which we try to present in this paper. The primary motivation for this paper is to release our tool to the community so that we can get a feedback on our approach. Our evaluation is a preliminary investigation to see if the intuition behind our rules and the assumed generalization of our rules does work in a small scale test scenario.

2. Morphological analysis of verbs

Separate modules for generating verb forms and verb segmentation are presented in this paper. The analysers both utilize carefully crafted rules along with compiled list of root and suffixes. As with all rules based systems we had to account for exceptions. We have eight exception rules for the root and suffixes in our database. Considering the size of the vocabulary covered by the rules, we consider this to be quite small. The evaluations which we discuss in the next chapter boost our belief about coverage of the rules.

¹ www.cs.york.ac.uk/~shailesh/Nepali/morpho.php

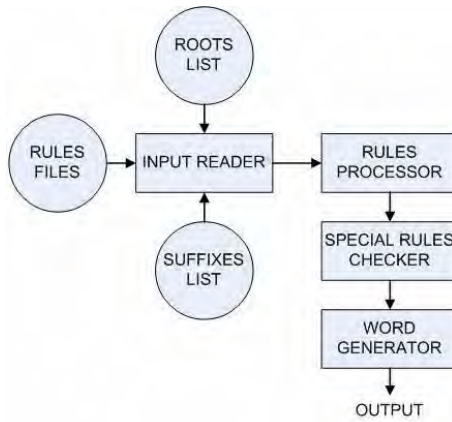


Figure 1: Verb forms generation module

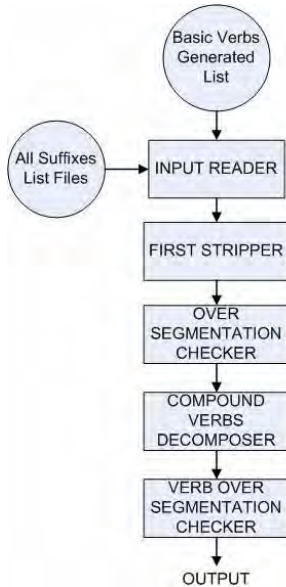


Figure 2: Segmentation module

Generation module

Figure 1 presents the modular overview of the generation engine. In the first step, the input reader module reads a root and a suffix from root list and a suffix list respectively. Currently in our root list we have 5217 verbs with their inflections. Suffix list contains 67 suffixes that generate variations to represent inflection on tense, gender, honorifics, number, mood and aspect. Based on the suffix selected, group rules are selected. Group rules basically are the set of manually constructed rules that can be applied to the specific suffix. Table 3 lists some of the suffixes and the rules applicable to them and Table 4 list the actual action denoted by the rule. Suppose the word and suffix we picked up are खा (eat) and खाँ respectively. From Table 3 we can see that this suffix belongs to class C5 and that rules R8 and R9 in Table 4 are applicable to this suffix. Rule number R8 checks the last character in the root खा, which is a vowel ा. The corresponding action is to add a consonant न् to the root and combine with the suffix resulting in खान्खाँ (eat: plural). Rule number R9 is not applicable in this case. We have also devised a set of special rules to handle exceptions in the classes. For example in this case special rule S3 is applicable since the last character of the root is a vowel. Hence खान्दखाँ eventually ends up as खाँदखाँ.

Table 3: Example of Class Rules

Class	Suffixes	Rule ID	Extra parameter
C1	अ	R1	Last character of root must be consonant
C2	इन्	R1, R2 R3, R4	

C5	छ, छन्, छस्, छिन्, छु, छेस्, छे, छौ, छाँ, छ्यौ, थिन्, थिस्, थी, थे, थें, थ्यौ, थ्यौँ, थ्यो	R8, R9	
----	---	--------	--

Table 4: Example of index rule

Rule ID	Last Character of Root	Action
R6	ि	Change last character to े
R7	ु	Change last character to ो
R8	ा, ि, ु, अ, इ	Add न् to the root
R9	उ	Add ँ to the root

Segmentation module

For the segmentation or stripping task suffix list and generated basic verbs are provided as an input. In the first step we move from left to right in order to find a maximum length suffix in our suffix list. For the case of गर्नुभएकोले (had done) we end up with गर्नुभएको+ले and on further iteration गर्नुभए+को+ले. The next module in the pipeline checks for over-segmentation. Here we find that को has been over-segmented (the heuristic being verbs usually end with एको) and thus combine it with the previous term which results in गर्नुभएको+ले. The compound verb identification is a part of the segmentation pipeline. Irrespective of the nature of the verb, simple or compound, it is passed on to this module. For our case गर्नुभएको is a compound verb and the result from this module is the segmented string गर्नु+भएको +ले. Furthermore, the primary verb is also segmented resulting in गर्+नु. The verb over-segmentation module is not applicable to this word as this is used for determining negation in verbs due to the presence of न as in भएकोरहेछ (did happen) and भएकोरहेनछ (did

not happen). The first stripper module in figure 2 uses a predefined list of postpositions, suffixes and plural markers (we call it post list) for segmentation. Hence for some cases this module will not be applicable and then passed onto compound verb decomposer in original form. For example, for the word गरिदिइहाल्लुभएहुन्थ्यो, it does not contain tokens in the post list. The compound verb decomposer then decomposes the word into गरि+दिइहाल्लुभएहुन्थ्यो. The secondary unit is again a compound verb which is further broken down as दिइ+हाल्लुभएहुन्थ्यो. After a few iterations we eventually end up with गरि+दिइ+हाल्लु+भए+हुन्थ्यो. Then normal segmentation process is carried out for each of the verbs to get the final segmented result गर्+इ+दि+इ+हाल्+नु+हु+ए+हु+थ्यो.

3. Evaluation

For the evaluation purpose, we choose 25 news text files on March 30, 2009 published on Mahanagar daily and are also available in our website. We perform this evaluation by manually counting the words which are processed and also are to be processed. This result shows two types of errors, one is incorrectly processed which includes incorrect and over-processed words and the other is unprocessed error which includes not processed words; these words were skipped during segmentation. As shown in Table 5, the total words have to be processed is 922 and the total error calculated is $\frac{42+4}{922} \times 100\% = 4.99\%$. So, this system shows the performance above 95% correct on average processing.

Table 5: Evaluation results on individual news files

S.N.	File Name	Correct	Incorrect	Over Processed	Not Processed	Total Processed
1	0.txt	43	0	1	0	44
2	1.txt	30	0	2	0	32
3	10.txt	31	0	2	0	33
4	12.txt	19	0	0	0	19
5	14.txt	10	0	1	0	11
6	15.txt	60	0	2	0	62
7	16.txt	27	0	1	1	28
8	17.txt	104	0	2	0	106
9	18.txt	33	0	5	0	38
10	2.txt	44	0	1	0	45
11	20.txt	32	0	2	0	34
12	23.txt	22	0	3	0	25
13	24.txt	30	0	0	0	30
14	27.txt	5	0	0	1	5
15	29.txt	5	0	0	0	5
16	3.txt	33	0	2	0	35
17	30.txt	11	0	0	0	11
18	32.txt	26	0	2	0	28
19	33.txt	41	0	2	0	43
20	35.txt	30	0	2	0	32
21	4.txt	38	0	1	0	39
22	5.txt	52	0	0	1	52
23	6.txt	40	0	1	0	41
24	7.txt	33	0	3	1	36
25	8.txt	77	0	7	0	84
Total		876	0	42	4	918

4. Conclusion

Our next aim is to test on a larger test set and focus also on nouns and pronouns. Although the paper would have been better served by a large scale evaluation, it was deemed

necessary to get a feedback from the linguistic community, computational linguistic community and end-users' in general. Thus, the aim of the paper is to release our tool. The tool and the test data can be downloaded from www.cs.york.ac.uk/~shailesh/Nepali/morpho.php. In our approach we have not only considered on the segmentation of words but also focused on the aspect of over-segmentation. Over-segmentation as we see accounts for most of the errors as described in papers for Nepali and languages similar to Nepali. Our evaluation which we have run over randomly selected words, collected by our web crawler sheds some light on what our rules are lacking in. However, the rules seem to be adequate in general. One of the directions we would eventually like to move towards is minimally supervised learning of morphology.

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SUBJECT PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN MENDE

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This paper, based on the data collected during the four week fieldwork training in InField 2008, UCSB, Santa Barbara, presents the analysis of different pronominal forms in subject position in terms of tenses and aspects in the Mende language.

1. Introduction

The Mende language is spoken by about 700,000 people in Southern Sierra Leone. It is closely related to the Mande language group, indicating that the Mende migrated from the Sudan to the north. The Mende are mostly farmers and hunters. The Mende are traditionally rice farmers who also produce yam and cassava as staple crops. Cocoa, ginger, groundnuts, and palm oil are the primary cash crops.

The Mende are divided into two groups: The halemo are members of the hale or secret societies and kpowa are people who have never been initiated into the hale. The Mende believe that all humanistic and scientific power is passed down through the secret societies. Most Mende art is associated with initiation and healing and includes wooden masks, twin figures, and medicine objects. (Wikipedia).

Mende language exhibits three-way contrasts for role in speech act situation and two way contrasts in number. So there are three persons: first, second and third; and two numbers: singular and plural. Table 1 shows the pronominal forms as they are used as subject in present simple.

Table 1: Present simple pronominal forms

person	Sg.	Pl.
1	ngá	má
2	bá	wá
3	á	tá

Mende doesn't show any honorific, gender and inclusive and exclusive distinctions.

- (1) a. ngá sélèí mélé ò fóló gbí
I eat banana every day.
- b. bá sélèí mélé ò fóló gbí
You eat banana every day.
- c. á sélèí mélé ò fólógbí
He eats banana every day.
- d. má sélèí mélé ò fólógbí
We eat banana every day.
- e. wá sélèí mélé ò fólógbí
You eat banana every day.
- f. tá sélèí mélé ò fólógbí
They eat banana every day.

They have different subject, object, and possessive forms. Table 2 shows the pronominal forms as they are used as object and possessive forms.

Table 2: Object and possessive pronouns

Person	Object pronouns		Possessive pronouns	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	nyá	mú	nyà	mù
2	bí	wú	bì	wù
3	ngí	tí	ngì	tì

2. The subject personal pronouns

There are a number of sets of subject personal pronouns which are based on the tense-aspect categories.

2.1 Past, present and future simple forms

Table 3 paradigms show the sets of subject personal pronouns which are used with simple forms of past, present and future tenses.

Table 3: Past, present and future simple forms

Person	Past simple		Present simple		Future simple	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	ngí	mú	ngá	má	ngá	má
2	bí	wú	bá	wá	bá	wá
3	í	tí	á	tá	á	tá

The table shows that the sets for present and future are exactly the same. So there is no distinction between present and future on the basis of subject pronouns.

But the past set is different from the rest of them so there is past vs. non-past distinction in subject pronoun system.

- (2) a. ngá yílí nyà lúmúí hũ ló b. bá yílí bì lúmúí hũ ló
I sleep in my room. You sleep in your room.
- c. á yílí ngè lúmúí hũ ló d. má yílí mù lúmúí hũ ló
He sleeps in his room. We sleep in our room.
- e. wá yílí wù lúmúí hũ ló f. tá yílí tì lúmúí hũ ló
You sleep in your room. They sleep in their room.
- (3) a. ngí yílíní nyà lúmúí hũ ló b. bí yílíní bì lúmúí hũ ló
I slept in my room. You slept in your room.
- c. í yílíní ngè lúmúí hũ ló d. mú yílíní mù lúmúí hũ ló
He slept in his room. We slept in our room.

- e. wú yílíng wù lúmúí hǔ ló f. tí yílíng tì lúmúí hǔ ló
 You slept in your room. They slept in their room

2.2 Past, present and future continuous forms

Table 4 shows the sets of subject personal pronouns which are used with progressive forms of past, present and future tenses.

Table 4: Past, present and future progressive forms

Person	Past progressive		Present progressive		Future progressive	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	ngí yè	mú yè	nyǎ	mùá	ngá	má
2	bí yè	wú yè	bìá	wùá	bá	wá
3	í yè	tí yè	tàá	tìá	á	tá

The sets presented here show some complications. The set for future is same to its corresponding present simple set but the rest are different. Past progressive has got past simple forms with extra *yè* with each of the members. The present continuous has only one form and each of them are different from their present simple counterparts. So it is rather difficult to identify which is the progressive marker. It is equally difficult to explain why there are two elements in past progressive and only one in present progressive.

It needs further investigations for the explanation.

- (4) a. nyǎ lí má b. bìá lí má
 I am going. You (sg.) are going.
- c. tàá lí má d. mùá lí má
 He/she/it is going. We are going.
- e. wùá lí má f. tìá lí má
 You (pl.) are going. They were going.

- (5) a. ngí yè lí má
I was going.
- b. bí yè lí má
You (sing.) were going.
- c. í yè lí má
He/she/it was going.
- d. mú yè lí má
We were going.
- e. wú yè lí má
You (pl.) were going.
- f. tí yè lí má
They were going.
- (6) a. ngá yélò sélèí mélé
I will be eating banana
- b. bá yélò sélèí mélé
You will be eating banana.
- c. á yélò sélèí mélé
He will be eating banana.
- d. má yélò sélèí mélé
We will be eating banana.
- e. wá yélò sélèí mélé
You (pl.) will be eating banana.
- f. tá yélò sélèí mélé
They will be eating banana.

2.3 Past, present and future perfect forms

Table 5 shows the sets of subject personal pronouns which are used with perfect forms of past and present tenses as there is no future perfect structure in Mende.

Table 5: Past, present and future perfect forms

Person	Past perfect		Present perfect	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	ngí	mú	ngí	mú
2	bí	wú	bí	wú
3	í	tí	í	tí

The past and present perfect forms are exactly the same and they are also exactly same to the past simple forms.

3. Generalizations

The discussion shows that the distinctions in subject pronouns are based on two parameters. The first is past vs. non-past (perfective vs. imperfective) and second is progressive vs. non-progressive. So subject personal pronouns in Mende language are not just pronoun forms as we find in English and several other languages. They are complex units of pronominal elements and TAM elements.

If we exclude the TAM elements from the complex we get the following set of basic subject pronouns in the language.

Table 6: Basic pronoun system of Mende

person	Sg.	Pl.
1	ng-	m-
2	b-	w-
3	Ø-	t-

This is just a preliminary work. We need more phonological intuition and knowledge of historical development of Mende to explain the TAM complex that occurs with the subject pronouns.

Abbreviations

1	First person	2	Second person
3	Third person	Sg.	Singular
Pl.	Plural		

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PLURI-FUNCTIONALITY IN THE MAGAR NOMINALIZATION SYSTEM

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The Magar nominalization system, specifically the suffixal paradigm, is pluri-functional. Nominalizers derive adjectives; they nominalize clauses which encode tense-aspect-mood distinctions, and relative and complement clauses. In this respect, the nominalization system of Magar conforms to observations made about the multi-functional and versatile nature of nominalization in Bodic languages in particular and in Tibeto-Burman in general.

1. Introduction

Magar belongs to the proposed Kham-Magar group of the Central Himalayish languages¹. It is spoken largely in central Nepal. There are two distinct dialect groups, which are distinguished by the presence or absence of subject-verb indexing (a.k.a. ‘pronominalization’²) and of split ergativity³. The Western dialects evince the former and the Eastern the latter. Data for this paper is drawn largely from Syangja dialect belonging to the Western group and Tanahu and Nawalparasi, belonging to the Eastern. Magars, are a relatively large indigenous group within Nepal. They make up 2.3% of the total population. However, despite their numbers, the language faces obsolescence. Largely because of its low

¹ This classification is proposed by Watters (2002:16).

² A term originally used by early scholars of Tibeto-Burman languages; for example, Grierson 1909: 179 and 276) and Hodgson (1857:116, 1880: 105) employed this term

³ The eastern dialects split ergativity according to aspect; the ergative aspect is marked only in the perfective.

mother tongue retention rate; Magar has the third lowest rate in Nepal, at 47.5% (Gurung 2003).

The focus of this paper is nominalization, a pervasive feature of Tibeto-Burman languages and particularly of the sub-group Bodic, to which Magar belongs. Nominalization in its core sense refers to the process by which nominal expressions are derived from non-nominal ones (Comrie & Thompson 1985); for example from verbs (e.g. *build* > *builder* > *building*), or adjectives (e.g. *narrow* > *narrowness*, *narrowing*). Clauses may also be nominalized (e.g. *awaken the public conscience* > *awakening (of) the public conscience*).

Noonan (1997, 2008, 2009 in press) has demonstrated the versatility of nominalizers in Bodic, specifically the Tamangic languages. Watters (2006), speaking of the Himalayish languages, has described “Nominalization is a multi-functional instrument.” Bickel (1999: 272) observed the morphological convergence of nominalization, relativization, genitivization, and non-embedded nominalizations and termed this “Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization.” The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the Magar nominalization system, specifically the suffixal paradigm, is true to its type, that is, it is pluri-functional. Nominalizers and nominalization constructions in Magar, in addition to deriving (or having derived) nouns from other parts of speech, have developed multiple and specialized functions. They serve to encode tense-aspect-mood distinctions and have become reanalyzed as part of finite verb paradigm. They also encode adnominals, both adjectives and relative clauses, and they mark complement clauses.

2. The nominalization system of Magar

Magar has four suffixal nominalizers: *-o*, *-mΛ*, *-cyo*, and *-ke*. Each of these derives lexical nouns to only a very limited degree; more frequently they perform specialized and

extended functions. Magar also has a fifth nominalizer, the prefix *me-*, which has been newly recruited as a result of the semantic extension and reanalysis of the older suffixes. It has no extended functions, and is itself, an extension of another part of the grammar ⁴; thus it will not be considered in this paper. In the sections that follow both the core and extended functions of each of the suffixal nominalizers will be examined in turn.

2.1 Pluri-functionality of nominalizer *-o*

The erstwhile nominalizer *-o* no longer derives nominals; only rare fossilized tokens exist, as in (1).

- (1) phe-nam-**o**
 CAUS?⁵-flat-NMZ
 'level ground ~ horizon'

The nominalizer *-o* has developed extended functions. It encodes habitual aspect, as in (2) and (3) and, in this function, it contrasts paradigmatically with the simple past, as in (4).

- (2) ka-yak-ij janai bu-mo sya jya-ke rΛ
 one-day-ABL sacred.thread wear-SEQ meat eat-NMZ and

 mudda ga-ke **ma-čanĥ-o=le-a**
 alcohol drink-NMZ NEG-become-NMZ=COP-PST
 'In the old days, the members of the upper castes who
 wore a sacred thread did not use to eat meat or drink
 alcohol.'

⁴ The prefix *me-*, and its allomorphs *mi-* and *mya-*, have two synchronic functions 1. it signifies inalienably possessed nouns, i.e. it expresses that one element is part of, or integral to, another entity. 2. *me-*(~ *mi-* ~ *mya*) is a productive derivational nominalizer.

⁵ Magar *phe* < *pe* (the phonation quality may come from the stem *nham*, meaning 'be.flat') bears a similarity to the Angami Naga productive causative prefix *pe*. (Matisoff, 1978:132).

- (3) bfiarma bfieret rafi-cʌ churu a-ule-e
 offering sprinkle come-ATT rice IRR-COP-IRR
 jauli-cho jauli-cho ज्या-के **yafi-o=le-a** ta
 gruel-rice gruel-rice eat-NMZ give-NMZ=COP-PST REP
 ‘They say, it might have been the offerings scattered (to the
 water god) that (the frog) would give to her to eat.’
- (4) a. ram-e **ga-o=le-a**
 Ram-ERG smoke-NMZ-COP-PST
 ‘Ram used to smoke.’ Lit. ‘Ram was a smoker.’
- b. ram-e **ga-a**
 Ram-ERG smoke/drink-PST
 ‘Ram smoked.’

In non-past contexts, the nominalizer *-o* signals mirativity, as in (5) and (6). Mirativity is the expression of surprise at what is “newly acquired and unintegrated information” for which the mind is unprepared (DeLancey 1986: 205). Noonan (1997, 2008) has observed that, in Bodic, miratives are frequently expressed in nominalized constructions. The mirative contrasts paradigmatically with the simple present tense, as in (8).

- (5) bfioya-e bul-ke gfiion-a rʌ
 younger.brother snake-DAT pick.up-PST and
ma-jik-o=le
 NEG-bite-NMZ =COP
 (To my surprise) ‘Younger brother picked up the snake and it
 didn’t bite him!’
- (6) bfiut wfi-a-o=le
 spirit move-NMZ=COP
 (To my surprise) ‘The spirit is moving!’
- (7) a. ram-e **ga-o=le**
 Ram-ERG smoke-NMZ-COP
 ‘(To my surprise) Ram smokes!’
 ~ Lit. ‘(To my surprise) Ram is a smoker!’

- b. ram-e **ga-le**
 Ram-ERG smoke-COP
 ‘Ram smokes.’ (statement of fact)

2.2 Pluri-functionality of nominalizer *-m*

The nominalizer *-m* rarely derives lexical nouns, examples are attested in (8). It can form lexical event nominalizations as in (9).

- (8) tisiniŋ mi-jhurum-aŋ nuŋ-naŋ ŋa-o
 yesterday POSS-assembly LOC go-SIM 1S-GEN
rik-m Λ yes-cis-a
 write-NMZ change-DTR-PST
 ‘Yesterday, while the meeting was going on, my pen was
 exchanged (with yours).’
- (9) tamakhu **ga-m Λ** bat **jat-m Λ** **lfiŋ-m Λ**
 tobacco smoke-NMZ chat do-NMZ sing-NMZ
syafi-m Λ jat=le rodi-aŋ
 dance-NMZ do=COP rodi-LOC
 ‘Tobacco smoking, chatting, singing and dancing are done at
 Rodi.’

Synchronically, the principal function of *-m Λ* is within the tense-aspect-mood system, where it encodes continuous aspect in both past and non-past tenses, as in (10) and (11).

- (10) A: naŋ-ko-e ho-laŋ hi
 2S-HON-ERG D.DEM-DEF-LOC what
 jat-m Λ =na-le-nis
 do-NMZ =2PRO-COP-2PRO
 ‘What were you doing there?’ (Syanja dialect)
- B: ŋa **mis-m Λ =ŋa-le-a-aŋ**
 1S sleep-NMZ=1PRO-COP-PST-1PRO
 ‘I was sleeping.’(Syanja dialect)
- (11) ho-se **mantəŋ- mantəŋ-m Λ =n Λ =le**
 D.DEM-DEF unstable- unstable-NMZ =EMPH =COP
 ‘He is (acting) confused.’

Constructions with nominalizer $-m\Lambda$ contrast with the simple (i.e. non-continuous and non-nominalized) tenses, as in (12a) and (12b).

- (12) a. ram-e **ga-m Λ =le**
 Ram-ERG smoke-NMZ-COP-PST
 ‘Ram is smoking.’
- b. ram-e **ga=le**
 Ram-ERG smoke-COP
 ‘Ram smokes.’

2.3 Pluri-functionality of nominalizer $-cyo$

The nominalizer $-cyo$, and its allomorph $\sim c\Lambda$ (used in Syangja and Yanchok dialects) also has limited ability to derive lexical nominals, some tokens exist, as in (13).

- (13) a. **armfus-cyo^x c Λ** b. **hil-cyo^x c Λ**
 be.good.smell-NMZ count-NMZ
 ‘perfume’ ‘money’

The nominalizer $-cyo$ does, however, derive agent nominals, as in (14), but even so this function is limited; it is possible only in plural forms⁶ (15a). In the singular, $-cyo$ functions adnominally, as in (15b), where it precedes and modifies the noun *bìormi* ‘person’.

- (14) hospital daktor de-cyo kura
 hospital doctor say-ATT matter
- hyok-cyo-ko-e** abo hospital-an alfi=le
 able-NMZ-PL-ERG now hospital-LOC carry-COP
 ‘As for hospitals, doctors and such things, those who are able, now, will take (their ill) to hospital.’

⁶ This suggests that in these instances the plural morpheme $-ko$ may ‘mark’ the phrase as nominal. Plural morphemes are attested to ‘act as a nominalizer’ in, for example, Rawang (LaPolla 2008: 49).

- (15) a. ram rΛ fita **rup-cyo-ko** ale
 Ram and Sita sew-NMZ-PL COP
 ‘Ram and Sita are tailors.’
- b. fita **rup-cyo** bñormi ale
 Sita sew-NMZ person COP
 ‘Sita is a tailor.’

The nominalizer *-cyo* is, however, highly productive in the derivation of adnominals, both adjectivals and relative clauses, as in (16) and (17) respectively.

- (16) a. **marñ-cyo** ja-ja-ko iskul-a ma-nuñ=le
 small- NMZ child-child-PL school-LOC NEG-go-COP
 ‘Small children do not go to school.’
- b. sita **bo-cyo** rña le-a
 Sita white-NMZ goat COP-PST
 ‘Sita had a white goat.’
- (17) a. [ña-o bñoya-ke **dus-cΛ**
 1S-GEN younger.brother-DAT help-NMZ
 bñormi] tañ-rañ-a
 person reach-come-PST
 ‘The man who helped my younger brother arrived.’
- b. [ho-se-i **sat-cyo** rña] fita-o ale
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG kill-NMZ goat Sita-GEN COP
 ‘The goat he killed was Sita’s.’

In addition, *-cyo* has also developed evidential functions. Like the nominalizer *-o*, it also encodes mirative mood, as in (18) and (19).

- (18) rΛ ho-se len-ja ja-ja-e
 and D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child-ERG
 kat ho-se siñ-ke siñ de-ñfiak-iñ
 one D.DEM-DEF branch -DAT branch say-front-ABL

jim-c Λ hahin ho-se jarayo-o
 hold- NMZ well D.DEM-DEF stag-GEN

mi-r η aŋ **le-c Λ** le-sa
 POSS- horn COP-NMZ COP-INFR
 ‘And the boy thinking he was holding onto a
 branch! Well, it turned out to be a stag's horn!’

Yanchok Magar (Shepherd, in Hale 1973: 301-434)

(19) cituwa rafi-a r Λ mi-ja-ke
 leopard come-PST and POSS-child-DAT

sat-a r Λ **kher-ak-c Λ**
 kill-PST and run-CAUS-NMZ
 ‘The leopard came, killed the baby and ran away with it!’

The nominalizer *-cyo*, when suffixed to a (pro-)nominal serves to focus, as seen in (20) where *-c Λ* is suffixed to draw attention to *mi-ja* ‘child’. This example also employs the *-o* mirative - *nuni-o*= *le-a* ‘took!’

(20) ho-ta-i yogi-e j Λ men-o
 D.DEM-SUP-FOC yogi-ERG EMPH 3-GEN

mi-ja-c Λ **nunfi-o= le-a** ta
 POSS-child-FOC.NMZ take-NMZ= COP-PST REP
 ‘They say, thereupon, indeed, the yogi (surprisingly) took(!)
 her child!’

2.4 Pluri-functionality of nominalizer *-ke*

The morpheme *-ke* is used as a derivational nominalizer in only one dialect of Magar, namely, Nawalparasi and even in this dialect tokens are few; examples follow in (21) and (22).⁷

⁷ Other dialects used different nominalizers; for example *-cyo* (a) or *mi-* (b).

(a) gorak-aŋ ho-se-e n η is arm η is-cyo mi-rhu jya-le
 morning-LOC D.DEM-DEF-ERG two slimy-NMZ POSS-egg eat-COP
 ‘In the morning, he eats two slimy eggs.’

- (21) gorak-aŋ ho-se-e nɦis **armɦis-ke** jya=le
 morning-LOC D.DEM-DEF-ERG two slimy-NMZ eat-COP
 ‘In the morning, he eats two slimies (slimy eggs).’
- (22) **mɦinɦi-ke** ho-se-o mi-hut soɦi-ak-a
 ripe-NMZ D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-hand swell-CAUS-PST
 ‘The infection has caused his hand to swell.’

In all dialects, the morpheme *-ke* is productively used as an infinitival complementizer, where it embeds a clause as an argument of a matrix, such as in (23) and (24).

- (23) mi-sas **kɦyofi-ke** **yafi-ke**
 POSS-breath emerge-NMZ give-NMZ
 ma-chanɦi=le rʌksi ma-jyap=le
 NEG-become-COP raksi NEG-tasty-COP
 ‘The vapours should not be allowed to escape, (or the raksi) will not be tasty.’
- (24) magari ʀʌ thakuri-ko-e kuba-o
 Magar and Thakuri-PL-ERG mother's.elder.brother-GEN
 maha-ja mi-ja **rak-ke** chanɦi=le
 young.woman-child POSS-child bring-NMZ become=COP
 ‘Magar and the Thakuri's maternal uncle's daughters can marry (the mother's son).’

The nominalizer *-ke* also functions within the tense-aspect-mood system as an imminent aspect marker, as in (25) and (26). This form has further developed into a future tense marker, as in (27) and (28).

- (25) A: la nuŋ-iŋ
 Okay go-HORT
 ‘Okay, let's go.’

-
- (b) mi-mɦinɦi ho-se-o mi-hut soɦi-ak-a
 NMZ-ripe D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-hand swell-CAUS-PST
 ‘The infection has caused his hand to swell.’

- B: khalap ŋa-e cho **jya-ke=le**
 one.minute 1S-ERG rice.meal eat-NMZ=COP
 ‘Just a minute, I have yet to eat my meal.’
- (26) a-lak pʌtti-o le daja-o
 R.DEM-CIR side-GEN COP elder.brother-GEN

 mi-ja-e byafi jat-ke=le
 POSS-child-ERG marriage do-NMZ=COP
 ‘Over there, beside us, elder brother’s son is yet to be married.’
- (27) alam than-aŋ aŋ-ŋfiak-iŋ **syafi-ke=le**
 Alam shrine-LOC go-front-ABL dance-NMZ=COP
 ‘After going to the Alam shrine, we will have yet to dance.’
 → ‘After going to the Alam shrine, we will dance.’
- (28) pihin barfiʌmʌnyʌ **aŋ-ke=le** naŋ-ko
 Tomorrow Bariamanya go-NMZ=COP 2S-HON
 ‘Tomorrow, (I) have yet to go to Barhamanya, (what about) you?’
 → ‘Tomorrow, (I) will go to Barhamanya, (what about) you?’

3. Conclusion

As demonstrated, the suffixal nominalization system of Magar conforms to those generalization made by Noonan (1997, 2008, 2009), Bickel (1999) and Watters (2002, 2008), that is, it is pluri-functional. Though the suffixal nominalizers have largely lost their ability to derive nouns, they have developed other discrete and specialized functions, which are largely, but not exclusively, within the tense-aspect-mood system of Magar. The nominalizer *-o* marks habitual aspect and mirativity, the nominalizer *-m* marks continuous aspect, *-cyo* ~ *-c* marks mirativity and focus and derives adnominals, the nominalizer *-ke* marks imminent aspect and future tense as well as complement clauses. These developments in Magar

demonstrate not only pluri-functionality, but that nominalizers and nominalization constructions in the Tibeto-Burman languages are a seedbed for new forms, both lexical and clausal and that nominalization can be a particularly productive process for the formation of new finite verb forms.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	CAUS	causative
COP	copula	D.DEM	distal demonstrative
DAT	dative	DEF	definite
DTR	detransitivizer	EMPH	emphatic marker
ERG	ergative	FOC	focus
GEN	genitive	HON	honorific
INFR	inferential	LOC	locative
NEG	negative	NMZ	nominalizer
PL	plural	POSS	inherent possession
PRO	pronominal	PST	past
R.DEM	remote demonstrative	REP	reportative
SIM	simultaneous converb	SUP	superessive
1PRO	first person pronominal	2PRO	second person pronominal
3PRO	third person pronominal	1S	first person singular
1P	first person plural	2S	second person singular
2P	second person plural	3S	third person singular

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TOWARDS DEVELOPING A TAGSET FOR KASHMIRI

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This paper presents a tagset for Kashmiri, a morphologically rich language. The tagset is based on EAGLES Guidelines keeping in view the need for standardization so that the ultimate goal of cross linguistic MT is not ignored.

1. Introduction

Tagset development forms a foundation of any computational processing endeavor. It is generally accepted that, as a prelude to syntactic analysis of natural language by computers, a text must be annotated with tags indicating the POS. The first prerequisite for automated POS tagging is a tagset that is a set of exhaustive categories into which any token of the language can be placed. While the nature of the language is that there will always be words that are hard to classify, or are ambiguous between two categories, the tagset categories should be designed in such a way so as to minimize such problems. POS tagging also known as morphosyntactic categorization or syntactic word class tagging (Halteren 1999) is the process of assigning a part of speech or other lexical class marker to each word in a corpus. Tags are also applied to punctuation markers, thus tagging for natural language is the same process as tokenization for computer languages, although tags for natural languages are much more ambiguous.

For Indian languages, several tagsets have been developed. The most prominent among those is that developed under

ILMT (Indian Language Machine Translation) guidelines, which is designed for specific languages in a flat structure capturing only coarse-level categories. Another tagset which is designed for Indian languages is that of IL-POSTS (Indian Language Part of Speech Tagsets) hierarchical framework. IL-POSTS is a framework for Indian languages that allows language specific tagsets to be derived from it. An important consideration for its hierarchical structure and decomposable tags is that it should allow users to specify the morphosyntactic information applicable at the desired granularity according to the specific language and task.

1.1 General framework for Kashmiri POS tagging

For designing a Kashmiri tagset, apart from following the Eagles Guidelines and the Penn tree bank tagset, many other Indian tagging guidelines like IL-POST, ILMT and Sanskrit tagset were taken into consideration. The tagging schema for Kashmiri is designed taking into consideration both language features in general and the idiosyncratic features of Kashmiri. After careful consideration a hierarchical tagset was favored. The whole design of the tagset developed so far revolves around three distinct features into which the grammatical schema is distributed. The features are: Category, Type and Attribute.

Categories involve major grammatical categories like Nouns, Verbs etc. The type includes the type of those grammatical categories like Common Noun and Proper Noun for Noun category, Main Verb, Auxiliary Verb etc. for Verb category, and so on. The attribute level takes features within each type like Gender (masculine, feminine), Number (singular, plural), Case (dative, ergative, ablative, etc), Tense and Aspect etc into consideration. The category list includes all Kashmiri categories that can occur. The type list within a category includes all types of the category that can occur. The attribute

list includes all possible attributes of the type that can occur. A detailed account of the schema is given below

Table 1.1: Categories, types and their attributes used in the proposed Kashmiri POS tagset

Category	Types	Attributes
NOUN	Common Noun	Gender, Number, Case, Emphatic, Vocative
	Proper Noun	Gender, Number, Case, Emphatic
PRONOUN	Personal Pronoun	Gender, Number, Person, Distance, Case, Emphatic, Honorific
	Demonstrative Pronoun	Gender, Number, Person, Distance, Case, Emphatic, Honorific
	Reflexive Pronoun	Gender, Number, Case, Emphatic
	Reciprocal Pronoun	Gender, Number, Case, Emphatic
	Relative Pronoun	Gender, Number, Case, Emphatic, Honorific
	Possessive Pronoun	Gender, Number, Person, Distance Case, Emphatic, Honorific
	Indefinite Pronoun	Gender, Number, Case, Emphatic,
	Interrogative Pronoun	Gender, Number, Case, Honorific
VERB	Main Verb	Gender, Number, Person, Tense, Aspect, Finiteness, Honorific
	Auxiliary	Gender, Number, Person, Tense, Aspect, Finiteness
	Conjunctive Verbs	Gender, Number, Finiteness
	Causative Verbs	Gender, Number, Tense, Aspect, Finiteness, First place, Second Place, Third Place

ADJECTIVE	Qualitative	Gender, Number, Case, Emphatic
	Quantitative	Number, Case, Emphatic
QUANTIFIER	Cardinal	Number, Case, Emphatic
	Ordinal	Number, Case, Emphatic
GERUND	—	—
ADVERB	Time	—
	Place	—
	Manner	—
POSTPOSITION	—	Case
INTENSIFIER	—	—
INTERJECTION	—	—
PARTICLE	—	—
VOCATIVE	—	—
EQUATIVE	—	—
HONORIFIC	—	—
NEGATIVE	—	—
EMPHATIC	—	—
MULTI WORD EXPRESSIONS	Compound Words	—
	Reduplication	—
	Echo Words	—
	Part of Word	—
CONJUNCTION	Coordinating	—
	Subordinating	—
PUNCTUATION	—	—
SYMBOL	—	—
UNKNOWN WORDS	—	—

1.2 Attribute description

The table given below gives a detailed description of attributes which are used in the present tagset for annotating the corpus.

Table 1.2: Attributes and their values

Attribute	Value
GENDER	Masculine (mas)

	Feminine (fem) Neuter (null)
NUMBER	Singular (sng) Plural (plu) Dual (null)
PERSON	I Person (Ip) II Person (IIp) III Person (IIIp)
DISTANCE	III Person Proximate (prx)
	III Person Remote
CASE	Nominative(nom) Dative (dat) Ergative (erg) Ablative (abl) Genitive (gen)
TENSE	Present (prt) Past (pst) Future (fut)
ASPECT	Simple (smp) Progressive (prg) perfective (prf)
FINITENESS	Finite (fn), Non-finite (nfn)
EMPHATIC	emph
CAUSATIVE ATTRIBUTES	Ipl, IIpl,IIIpl
HONORIFICITY	honorific (hon)
VOCATIVE	voc

1.3 Tag structure

Using the above mentioned categories, types and attributes, the following tag structure is used for annotating the corpus.

<tag_cat><tag_types><attribute_list>

where *<tag_cat>* is used for the Main Category, *<tag_types>* is used for the Types of the Main Category and *<attribute_list>* denotes the sub features of the main category. The present tagset is hierarchical in nature and in

order to maintain that hierarchy, the main category tags for types and for attributes are placed between ‘<’ and ‘>’ in order to differentiate between the Main Category, Type and Attribute. Furthermore, there should be no white space in between the tags of a single word.

Consider *kaT'an* ‘boys-dat’. The tag structure of this token will be:

Table 1.3 : Example of tag structure

Example	Tag structure
<i>kaT'an</i>	<N><NC><mas><plu><dat>
‘boys-dat’	

1.4 Some issues and solutions

The above given list of categories and attributes is used for annotating the corpus but there are certain like how to tag, like handling Multi Word Expression (MWE). Multi-word expressions include Echo words, Compounding and Reduplication, and Part of Words.

1.4.1 Echo words

Indian languages have a highly productive usage of echo words. Echo words are very frequently used in Kashmiri and such words are tagged as ‘ECH’. First part of the Echo Word is tagged according to the category which it possesses and second part of it is tagged as ECH.

Table 1.4: Tag structure of echo words

Echo words	Tag
<i>ca:y sha:y</i>	<N><NC><fem><sng>
‘tea and the like’	<ECH>

1.4.2 Compounding

Compound words are made up of two constituents, each constituent either belongs to a Noun, Verb, Adjective or a

Postposition. The compound itself may belong to the categories of Noun, Adjective or Verb. The compound is categorized on the basis of its head. According to the present scheme of tagging, components of the compound words like Noun, Adjectival and Verbal compounds are treated as individual words and are tagged separately rather than giving a single tag to the whole word sequence (compound). That is, if a word is a compound then both of its components are tagged according to the category they possess, that is, if a word is an Adjective- Noun compound then the first component is tagged as an Adjective (with its type and attributes) and the second component is tagged as a Noun (with its type and attributes) and if it is part of a Compound Adjective (Adjective-Adjective Compound) then the category 'Adjective' is used for both the components and so on and so forth. This decision was arrived at after a great deal of thought and taking into consideration the inadequacy of handling multiple words (of a compound) under one tag (compound tag) without losing some intrinsic individual word (compound components) attributes and properties. Furthermore, it would be much more feasible to handle compounds at the Chunking level.

Some of the Kashmiri compound examples are given below:

Table 1.5: Tag structure of compounds

Compounds	Example		Tag
Compound Noun	<i>candl</i>	<i>tsu:r</i>	<N><NC><mas><sng><nom>
	pocket	thief	<N><NC><mas><sng><nom>
	'pickpocket'		
Adjectival Compound	<i>tsok</i>	<i>modur</i>	<JJ><QN><mas><sng>
	sour	sweet	<JJ><QN><mas><sng>
	'sour and sweet'		

1.4.3 Reduplication

When the same word is written twice with or without an internal change in it, and the resulting reduplicated form is grammatically or semantically significant, the process is known as reduplication. For such word combinations category, type and attributes of the first word is written followed by the tag 'RDP'

Table 1.6: Tag structure of reduplication

Reduplication	Example		Tag
Pronoun Reduplication	<i>panIn'-an</i>	<i>panIn'-an</i>	<P><PRF><mas>
	self-dat	self-dat	><plu><dat>
	'of self's'		<RDP>
Noun Reduplication	<i>ta:n-as</i>	<i>ta:n-as</i>	<N><NC><mas>
	organ-dat	organ-dat	<sng><dat>
	'every organ/body part'		<RDP>

1.3.4 Part of word

Part of word is used for those morphological words which are separated by an orthographic space and thus divided into two tokens as discussed below. For such words POW tag is used.

1.3.4.1 Word boundaries (token division)

In Kashmiri, because of orthographic compulsion a single morphological word may be divided into two tokens i.e. a single word can be broken with a white space in between unlike in languages like English, Hindi, etc. In tagging every orthographic white space is considered as a word break even if it occurs within a lexical word.

Table 1.7: Examples of token division

Example	Gloss
دُپُوز	'you should say'
<i>dəp'zi</i>	
نالِموت	'embrace'
<i>nallmot</i>	

Thus, the problem here was how to tag two tokens which

make up a single morphological word. After considering various solutions to this problem it was decided to use two separate tags to follow the tagging rules i.e. for such words first part will be tagged according to the category which the whole word (the two word components together) possesses and the second part of the same word will be tagged as POW (part of the word). That means if we have a Noun or an Adjective which is separated by an orthographic space then the first part of the word will be tagged as <N><....><...> or <JJ><....><...> and second part of the same word will be tagged as <POW>.

POW will also be used for those Nouns which take *-vo:l* as a suffix with them e.g. *d dlvo:l* ‘milkman’, *sabzi:vo:l* ‘vegetable seller’. Such constructions will be tagged as ‘<N><type><attribute> [^{SPACE}]¹<POW>’. Some examples are given as under.

Table 1.8: Tag structure of POW

Word	مِلّٽسا ر	نالہ موٽ	رئی تہ واد
	<i>milltsa:r</i>	<i>na:llmot</i>	<i>retIva:dl</i>
Tag	<N><NC><mas><sng> <POW>	<N><NC><mas><sng> <POW>	<N><NC><mas><plu> <POW>
Gloss	‘co-operation’	‘embrace’	‘months’

1.5 Proposed tagset for Kashmiri

The final tagset which is proposed for Kashmiri is given in a tabular form below:

Table 1.9: Proposed tagset for Kashmiri

S.No	Category	Tag name
1	Noun	N
1.1	Common Noun	NC

¹ [^{SPACE}] represents single white space

1.2	Proper Noun	NP
2	Pronoun	P
2.1	Personal Pronoun	PRP
2.3	Demonstrative Pronoun	PDM
2.4	Reflexive Pronoun	PRF
2.5	Reciprocal Pronoun	PRC
2.6	Possessive Pronoun	PPO
2.7	Relative Pronoun	PRL
2.8	Indefinite Pronoun	PID
2.9	Interrogative Pronoun	PIT
3	Adjective	JJ
3.1	Qualitative	QL
3.2	Quantitative	QN
4	Gerund	VGB
5	Verb	V
5.1	Main Verb	VM
5.2	Auxiliary Verb	VAUX
5.3	Conjunctive Verbs	VCNJ
5.4	Causative Verbs	VCUS
6	Adverb	ADV
6.1	Adverb of Location	ALO
6.2	Adverb of Time	ATM
6.3	Adverb of Manner	AMN
7	Particle	PRT
8	Postposition	PSP
9	Conjunction	CC
9.1	Coordinating Conjunction	CO
9.2	Subordinating Conjunction	SB
10	Interjection	INJ
11	Emphatic	EMP

12	Honirific	HON
13	Vocative	VOC
14	Question Words	QW
15	Equative	EQT
16	Intensifier	INTF
17	Negative	NEG
18	Quantifier	QTF
18.1	Cardinal	CRD
18.2	Ordinal	ORD
19	Reduplication	RDP
20	Echo Words	ECH
21	Part of word	POW
22	Symbol	SYM
23	Punctuation	PUNC
24	Unknown	UNK

1.6 Conclusion

The aim of this tagset is to provide clear instructions for annotating the Kashmiri corpus. The tagset developed so far is hierarchical in nature as it is divided into main word categories, types of the categories and their sub-features or attributes as discussed above. This tagset follows the Eagles guidelines, and here also word categories are obligatory, types are recommended and attributes are optional. The need for designing a hierarchical tagset is to capture the morphological richness of the language, and moreover it is effective in reducing confusions like ambiguities and inconsistencies that come up while annotating the corpus. A hierarchical design gives greater flexibility, extensibility and re-usability. Since hierarchical tagsets are more elaborative and comprehensive in nature, consequently the same tagset can be used at all levels - POS tagging, chunking, dictionary, morphological

analysis and deep parsing. As far as the design of the present Kashmiri tagset is concerned, it is designed in a way where there is linguistic compatibility with other languages as well. However, the tagset designed here is developed keeping in view the morphosyntactic features of the language into consideration thus the tagset here is more compatible with the Kashmiri language. However, there are certain feature (attributes) which are not present in Kashmiri but are included in the above mentioned guidelines taking into consideration the cross linguistic usage of the tagset. In this way, we can say the tagset developed here can be used for other languages as well with modifications and additions, wherever required.

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NASALITY OF KASHMIRI VOWELS IN OPTIMALITY THEORY

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This paper presents on the nasalization in Kashmiri vowel system from an optimality perspective. It focuses primarily on the distribution of nasalization feature in Kashmiri vowels whether it is phonemic, allophonic or both by taking constraints into consideration which will imply the Preservation and Neutralization of a said feature in a particular context.

1. Introduction

Optimality theory (OT) is usually considered as a development of generative grammar. It refers to the observed surface forms of a language which arise from the resolution of conflicts between competing constraints. A surface form is optimal if it incurs the least serious violations of a set of constraints taking into account their hierarchical ranking.

Within phonology, OT has largely supplanted rule-based frameworks. Rule based frame works account for linguistic patterns through the sequential application of transformations to lexical entries. For example, variation between two pronunciations of the English plural suffix— [s] in *cats* but [z] in *dogs* is explained by a rule that devoices the suffix after voiceless consonants (like [t] of *cat* in our example). The input *cat* + /z/, assembled from entries in the speaker's mental dictionary, is transformed by a rule into the output *cat*[s] i.e. the morpheme *cat* ends in a voiceless segment /t/ which devoices the voiced segment /z/ and the output formed is *cats*. In OT, the output is instead chosen through competition with

other candidates; a constraint requiring adjacent consonants to match in voicing favours cat[s] over cat[z].

In optimality theory, two functions are involved in the generation of utterances. These are GEN (Generator) and EVAL (Evaluation). GEN takes an input and returns a (possibly infinite) set of output candidates. Some candidates might be identical to the input, others modified somewhat and many others unrecognizable. EVAL chooses the candidate that best satisfies a set of ranked constraints; this optimal candidate then becomes the output.

The essential property of the GEN is that it is free to generate any conceivable output candidate for some input. This property is called FREEDOM OF ANALYSIS i.e. any amount of structure may be posited. The only true restriction imposed on all output candidates generated by GEN is that these are made up of licit elements from the universal vocabularies of linguistic representations, such as segmental structure, prosodic structure, morphology and syntax. Within these limits, 'anything goes'.

The EVAL is undoubtedly the central component of the grammar since it is burdened with the responsibility of accounting for all observable regularities of surface forms. Although any candidate output can be posited by GEN, the crucial role of EVAL is to assess the 'harmony' of outputs with respect to a given ranking of constraints. The constraint hierarchy contains all universal constraints (a set called CON), which are ranked in a language-specific way.

The constraints of EVAL are of two types: MARKEDNESS CONSTRAINTS which enforce well formedness of the output itself, prohibiting structures that are difficult to produce or comprehend. FAITHFULNESS CONSTRAINTS enforce similarity between input and output, for example requiring all input consonants to appear in the output or all morphosyntactic

features in the input to be overtly realized in the output. Markedness and faithfulness constraints can conflict, so the constraint ranking which differs from language to language determines the outcome.

In standard OT, constraints are *strictly ranked* and *violable*. Strict ranking means that a candidate violating a high-ranked constraint cannot redeem itself by satisfying lower-ranked constraints (constraints are not numerically weighted, and lower ranked constraints cannot gang up on a higher-ranked constraint). Violability means that the optimal candidate need not satisfy all constraints. EVAL can be viewed as choosing the subset of candidates that best satisfy the top ranked constraint, then, of this subset, selecting candidate that best satisfies the second-ranked constraint, and so on. Another way of describing EVAL is that A is optimal if and only if, for any constraint that prefers another candidate B to A, there is a higher-ranked constraint that prefers A to B.

The constraints are minimally violated in the sense that the form that surfaces is the one which incurs the least serious violations as compared to a set of possible candidates. The seriousness of a violation is defined in terms of hierarchies of constraints which are arranged by importance. The violations of higher ranked constraints take absolute *priority* over lower ranked constraints. The winning candidate need not, satisfy all constraints, as long as for any rival candidate that does better than the rival. OT attributes major importance to the surface level in the interaction of constraints, disallowing access to intermediary levels between the input and output.

2. Interaction of constraints

Optimality theory defines two types of constraints viz Markedness and Faithfulness. These constraints interact with each other and are ranked in a language specific hierarchy. The ranking schema of these constraints is responsible for the

various attested situations such as contrast, neutralization and allophonic variation. Whether some surface phonetic contrast (such as that between oral and nasal vowels) is allophonic or lexically distinctive in a language, depends on the interaction of these constraints. When markedness dominates faithfulness, the language achieves outputs that are minimally marked at the expense of a neutralization of lexical contrasts. But when faithfulness dominates markedness, the language makes the reverse choice, realizing its input contrasts at the expense of output markedness:

- a. Markedness >> Faithfulness (lexical contrasts are neutralized)
- b. Faithfulness >> Markedness (lexical contrasts are expressed)

This paper focuses on the PRESERVATION and NEUTRALIZATION of nasality feature in Kashmiri Vowels from an optimality perspective.

3. Nasalization feature in vowels

The feature of nasalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. Kashmiri shows the full contrast of nasal and oral vowels e.g. /pəz/ ‘truthful (f.s)’, /pə̃z/ ‘female monkey’, /god/ ‘hole’, /gōd/ ‘bouquet’, etc. But there is also a rule that whenever a vowel is followed by a nasal consonant, it becomes nasalized e.g. /pan/ ‘thread’, /an/ ‘get’, etc. In these words, the vowel gets nasalized feature in a context where it is followed by a nasal consonant. In the first case i.e. in /pə̃z/ and /gōd/, the vowel is nasal and this nasal feature is phonemic in the language as these words contrasts with /pəz/ and /god/ while as in second case i.e. in /pan/, /an/, the nasalization of a vowel is conditioned by the context. Thus, Kashmiri lexicon has both nasal and oral vowels and this nasality and orality is preserved in some context and neutralized in other context. Following are the required mappings in Kashmiri:

/god/ → god

/gõd/ → gõd

/an/ → ãn

/ã/ → ã

These mappings indicate that the distinction between oral and nasal vowels is neutralized in the context before a nasalized consonant but is faithfully preserved elsewhere.

4. Analysis

In OT analysis of the said feature, the following constraints are taken into consideration (Kager, 1999):

- i. IDEN-IO (nasal) — Faithfulness constraint
Corresponding segments in input and output have identical values for [nasal].
- ii. *VoralN — Context sensitive markedness constraint
Vowel must not be oral before a nasal consonant.
- iii. *Vnasal — Context free markedness constraint
Vowel must not be nasal.

IDEN-IO (nasal) is a faithfulness constraint, requires that surface values of nasality in vowels are identical to their underlying values:

*VoralN is a context-sensitive markedness constraint, since it states a connection between the nasality of a vowel and a nasal stop in its context.


*Vnasal is a context free markedness constraint which states that vowel must not be nasal in any context.

5. Ranking arguments

(i) Nasality is contrastive before oral consonants:


Input: / gõd/	IDEN-IO (nasal)	*Vnasal
a. gõd		*
b. god	*	


(ii) Vowels are neutralized to [+nasal] feature before a nasal consonant:


Input: / pan/	*VoralN	IDEN-IO (nasal)
a.  pān		*
b. pan	*	


In table (i), the nasality/orality contrast is preserved before oral consonant because faithfulness constraint IDEN-IO (nasal) dominates context free markedness constraint and in tableau (ii), this contrast is neutralized before a nasal consonant because context sensitive markedness constraint *VoralN dominates faithfulness constraint IDEN-IO (nasal). Therefore, the ranking schemata is:

*VoralN >> IDEN-IO (nasal) >> *Vnasal


(i) / pəz /	*VoralN	IDEN-IO (nasal)	*Vnasal
a. /pə̃z /		*	*
b.  /pəz /			


(ii) / pə̃z /	*VoralN	IDEN-IO (nasal)	*Vnasal
a.  /pə̃z /			*
b. /pəz/		*	

(iii) /god/	*VoralN	IDEN-IO (nasal)	*Vnasal
a. /gōd/		*	*
b.  /god/			

(iv) /gōd/	*VoralN	IDEN-IO (nasal)	*Vnasal
a.  /gōd/			*
b. /god/		*	

(v) /pan/	*VoralN	IDEN-IO	*Vnasal
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		(nasal)	
a.  /pān/		*	*
b. /pan/	*!		

 is used to indicate an optimal output, * indicates violation of a constraint, *! indicates that the violation of a constraint is fatal.

From these tableaux it is clear that a context sensitive markedness constraint dominates faithfulness constraint which in turn dominates context free markedness constraint. This all indicates that nasality/orality in vowels is contrastive before oral consonants but contrast is neutralized before a nasal consonant.

6. Conclusion

In the conclusion. One can say that in Kashmiri, the nasal/oral contrast in vowels is PRESERVED in the context before oral vowels e.g. /pəz/ ‘truthful (f.s)’, /pəz/ ‘female monkey’, /god/ ‘hole’, /gōd/ ‘bouquet’ but this contrast is NEUTRALIZED before a nasal consonant e.g. /pan/ ‘thread’, /an/ ‘get’, /amb/, etc. It means that even if we assume that a vowel in /pan/, /an/ or in any other word where it is followed by a nasal consonant is oral in a rich base, this orality is neutralized in a surface form i.e. vowel is neutralized to [+nasal] feature in the context before a nasal consonant.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF THE BARAM LANGUAGE

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This is an interim report on the sociolinguistic situation of the Baram language as a part of Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation of the Baram Language (LEDBL) project, funded by ELDP, SOAS, University of London, and hosted by Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Nepal. It is based on the findings of two field trips (10-16th June, 2007 and 4-24th October, 2007) in the Baram areas of Gorkha District in the Western Nepal. The survey will be continued through out the project period.

1. The background

The present situation of Baram language is very critical. According to the CBS report 2001, the total population of the Baram is nearly 7800. Of the total population only about 4.4 percent speak their language and 95.6 percent of them have completely shifted to other language(s). The speakers are old or aged. More serious case is that all the speakers are bilingual. They use the language in a few domains of communication. Some young people have passive knowledge of their language but generally they do not use it. The children do not have the knowledge of the language at all. It is found that Nepali language has marginalized it from daily use to a greater extent.

As the people report, in the past they used to hesitate to use their own language in front of other language-speaking

people. Barams were not permitted to join the army (Nepal Army, Indian Army and British Army) and police so they had to identify themselves as Gurungs and Magars for these purposes. In the field we met many Baram people with Gurung and Magar ethnic names.

But at present they are happy to use their language and identify themselves as Baram. They have become conscious about their identity. Some organizations have been established to promote their language and culture. 'Nepal Baram Association' the national level organization and 'Gurkha Baram Association' a district level organization have been working actively for the promotion of the language and culture.

2. Methodology

2.1 Survey location

This report is based on the information collected from the following Village Development Committees of Gorkha District



- a. Masel
- b. Baguwa
- c. Pandrung
- d. Panchkhuwa Deurali
- e. Takukot
- f. Tandrang
- g. Aru Arbang
- h. Thumi
- i. Aruchanaute
- j. Arupokhari

2.2 Selection of the respondents

Total	51	
Sex	Male	22
	Female	29
Range of age	16-79	The youngest speaker is 30 years old.
Education	Pre-literate	24
	Literate	19
	Educated	8
Location	From Dandagaun	15
	Out of Dandagaun	36
Baram Language	Speaker	15
	Non-speaker	36

2.3 Methods of gathering information

a. Questionnaires

We have prepared two sets of questionnaires: Set I for the language speakers and Set II for the non-speakers.

Set I:

It contains a set of questions divided into 8 sections. Its main focus is to investigate:

- i. the linguistic background and language proficiency of the language speakers,

- ii. the present sociolinguistic situation the Baram language,
- iii. the pattern of language loss in the Baram speaking area,
- iv. what they think about their language and
- v. how they feel about the endangered situation of their language.

Set II:

It contains a set of questions divided into 7 sections. Its main focus is to investigate:

- i. the sociolinguistic situation of the Baram language,
- ii. places where the language is spoken,
- iii. the pattern of language loss in the Baram communities where the language is not spoken and
- iv. the attitude of the non-speakers towards the language.

b. Informal conversations:

During the field trips we had informal conversations with the people about the different aspects of language and people and collected more information about the sociolinguistic situation of the Baram language.

c. Observation

In the field we also observed different sociolinguistic aspects of the language like use of the language, attitude of the people towards the language, etc. and collected information.

3. Findings

3.1 Name

3.1.1 Ethnonym

Baram people use *Bal Bang* as endonym which means 'people' or 'human kind' in their language. The terms *Baram*

and *Baramu* are exonyms of which *Baram* is much more popular among them. The native speakers of the language use the terms *bal bang* and *Baram* alternatively, but the non-speakers call themselves *Baram*. *Baram* is used as their authentic name by more than 90 percent of people. The people from other communities also call them *Baram*. The term *Baramu* is used as their authentic name by about 10 percent of the people, but other terms are not found in use. Which language the terms are from and what they mean is until unknown.

3.1.2 Glossonym

The Baram people both native speakers and non-speakers call their language *bal kura*. *Bal* is from Baram language which means 'people' and *kura* is from Nepali language which means 'language'. So the meaning of the term *bal kura* is 'human language'. Other communities living in and around the Baram language speaking areas also call the language *bal kura*. But the Barams and other communities in other places use the term *Baram language*.

3.2 Baram speaking Areas

Baram language is spoken in Takukot-8, Dandagaun and Takukot-5 Mailung in Gorkha district. In Danda Gaun, only 18 percent (129 out of 684) people speak the language and out of the speakers only 29.85 percent (38 out of 129) can speak fluently. Around 85 percent of the fluent speakers are above 60, 13 percent are above 40 and 2 percent are above 30 in age. Three people from the Nepali speaking community can speak Baram as the second language. A few and old people speak the language in Mailung.

The speakers of Baram in other places are very limited in number. Most of them are either married from Danda Gaun or learnt the language from there one or another way. We could not justify the CBS Report 2001 that there were 147 speakers

in Choprak and 163 in Swara. We will continue the survey during the project period to find further facts.

3.4 Language variation

3.4.1 Geographical dialects

Slight variations in limited items of pronunciation, vocabulary and intonation are found in the varieties spoken in Danda Gaun and Mailung.

3.4.1 Social dialects

No class and sex dialects are found.

3.5 Multilingualism

3.5.1 The setting

All the respondents (100%) answered that the most adjacent language of Baram is Nepali. It shows that Baram language, at present, is surrounded by Nepali language. Brahmins, Kshetries and so called Hindu lower castes are living in the areas around Baram speaking area. The relationship of Baram with Nepali speakers is very friendly, and they are in contact with them in their everyday lives. But Nepali is more vital than Baram because it has larger number of speakers and is spoken in wider areas. So Baram language exists under an immense pressure from Nepali.

3.5.2 Level of multilingualism

All the speakers replied that they can speak both Nepali and Baram. 13.33 percent replied they speak Baram better than Nepali, 60 percent replied they can speak both equally and 26.66 percent replied they can speak Nepali better than Baram. No monolingual speaker was found. 73.33 percent acquired Baram at home, 6.66 percent acquired from the community and 20 percent acquired after marriage.

The speakers use both the languages to think, curse, joke, scold, dream, abuse, talk about secret and domestic topics, recall the past, etc. They can understand heated arguments, jokes etc. in both the languages.

They use Baram especially with the seniors and the people of their own age from their own community, if they can speak. They do not use the Baram language with children and people from other communities. The language is used only in the village, agricultural works and local market but it is not used in the local offices. Not a single child uses the language.

3.6 Language attitude

A high majority (93.33%) of the speakers liked speaking Baram and 90 percent of the non-speakers are ready to learn the language if they get the chance. 86.66 percent of the total respondents love if their children learn reading and writing in the language in addition to Nepali and happy to introduce the language in primary education. All the speakers feel proud to speak their language and feel sorry to see the younger generation not speaking their language.

Both speakers and non-speakers showed a high level of affection and respect towards their language.

3.7 Vitality and endangerment

Out of the total speakers only 2 were monolingual in the childhood and rests of them were bilingual. 64.28 percent learnt Baram as their first language and 35.71 percent learnt as second language.

About 26.66 percent of them have a Baram speaking spouse. There is not a single Baram speaking child. The youngest non-fluent speaker is 30. The youngest fluent speaker is 52.

The data shows that the transmission of the language from one generation to another generation has been discontinued

completely. The process of language loss seems to have started two or three generations before because only 2 speakers were monolingual in the childhood and 35.71 percent acquired the language as second language. The facts show that Baram language is a seriously endangered language.

The reasons for the endangerment of Baram language are:

- i. The Barams live in a multilingual setting comprising languages such as Nepali, Gurung, Magar, and Baram. For them Nepali is the most influential. The pressure of the majority languages has forced them to shift from their language.
- ii. They shifted to Nepali because it is the lingua franca, language of education, and language that could provide jobs in the future.
- iii. Another reason is marriage. There is inter-village marriage system because the people in the same village generally have blood relations. When a language speaking boy from Danda Gaun marries a non-Baram speaking girl from another village, he has to give up speaking the language because the wife does not speak and their children also do not speak it. Similarly, when a girl marries a boy from another village she has to go to her husband's house where she does not find any speakers of the language and give up speaking it and her children also do not acquire it.
- iv. No remarkable attempts for the promotion and protection of the language were made in the past.
- v. Use of Baram language is in very limited domains. It is not used in education, mass media, and wider communication.

4. Conclusions

Takukot-8, Danda Gaun in Gorkha district is the only place where Baram language is spoken in day-to-day life. It is also spoken in Takukot-5, Mailung by a few speakers. There remain too few and old people in other villages who know the language to some extent but do not use it in daily lives. Most of them were married from Danda Gaun.

Baram language has been completely marginalized by the lingua franca, Nepali. The facts that all the speakers are bilingual and old, its transmission from one generation to another generation has been discontinued and it is used only in a limited domains of natural conversations justify it is at the verge of extinction.

But, both speakers and non-speakers seem to be very loyal towards their language and willing to preserve it. They are eager to make their children learn their own language along with Nepali and English.

Until there is a ray of hope for the revitalization of the language as there are primary schools in Baram villages in which there are around 80-90 percent of Baram children. If multilingual education is introduced in these schools, the future generations of Baram will be speaking their own language.

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WHAT USE IS PHONETICS?

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As the title suggests, this article is an effort to defend with some concrete grounds that the discipline of phonetics is not that theoretical as many assume since it does not only deposit to the storehouse of knowledge but has ample practical values which designate it as applied science.

1. Introduction

‘What use is phonetics, sir?’ This is the question I encounter every year at the outset of teaching of the course ‘*Phonetics and Phonology*’ in M. Ed. first year. It reminds me of my University days when the same query had stumbled upon my mind as a student and I had to satisfy myself with a tiny answer that ‘phonetics is useful in that it helps improve our pronunciation’. However, it does not seem to quench my students’ thirst fully. I think the students put the question because they either sense the discipline of phonetics to be more theoretical having a little significance in their further pedagogical career or maybe because of the popular thesis developing today ‘*pronunciation should be intelligible (comprehensible) to the listeners and that’s all*’, which, of course, implies that one does not require to acquire native or native like accent of the language they are learning. If this is true, why one should worry about recovering their pronunciation and what implications of teaching phonetics should drive one to pursue a course on phonetics. In this paper, I have tried to seek answers to my own and my students’ question on the worth of phonetics.

2. Phonetics: what it is

Phonetics is often defined as the science of human speech sounds that occur in the languages of the world. However, there are phoneticians more concerned with helping people speak a particular form of language such as English (Ladefoged, 2006). Further, the use of the term '*English phonetics*' puts this broader interpretation into trouble. The rational characterization, therefore, is that phonetics as a science is "concerned with describing speech sounds" (ibid: 1). The chief concern of phonetics is to provide methods for description, classification and transcription of the speech sounds produced by human vocal tract (Catford, 1988:1).

Although the study of speech sounds can be approached from three different angles-articulations (articulatory phonetics), transmission (acoustic phonetics) and reception (auditory phonetics), auditory classification of the speech sounds has not arrived at a decisive point yet.

3. The whys and wherefores of phonetics

O'Connor tries to quench our curiosity of why we need phonetics with an immediate but very basic answer: ... 'like any other branch of study it (phonetics) advances our knowledge of what things are and how they work in a certain limited area'(1973:273). In other words, phonetics like other disciplines adds to the repository of knowledge. However, Jespersen (1910) finds the question of '*what is the importance of phonetics?*' itself to be erroneous and unscientific as a person of scientific spirit carries out his investigation without asking at every point about the application of his study. He further opines that a man of true scientific character does not ask about profit and loss, but tries to append to the granary of human knowledge and to our intellectual understanding of the astonishing world that surrounds us. Altogether, an academic matter should not be judged in terms of gain or loss but in terms of educational enhancement. Yet, if a study fetches

some practical benefits, they are additionally encouraging and also helpful in resolving the issues pertaining to the discipline.

Sweet (1877: v) found phonetics unavoidable and thus maintained phonetics "...is the indispensable foundation of all study of language-whether the study be purely theoretical, or practical as well.... (Cited in Catford, 1988:1). Any person associated with language would do better if he/she has an essential awareness of phonetics.

Some of the practical usefulness of phonetics has been enumerated and elaborated in the following paragraphs:

3.1 Phonetics is a resourceful tool for a language teacher

Though all language teachers find phonetics worthwhile, specifically the knowledge of phonetics is essential for foreign language teachers. We witnessed in the past and still come across teachers correcting the erroneous pronunciation of their pupils in classroom which seems too monotonous and time consuming. Language teachers are supposed to be able to identify the articulation lapses and provide a remedy for them. To quote Catford (1988:1) "the teacher of languages, for example, including the teacher of English as a second language, must be able to diagnose the pronunciation errors made by students, and devise means of correcting them –this is impossible without both theoretical and practical knowledge of phonetics". Nevertheless, it is to be noted that phonetics is not an instant remedy for all pronunciation problems; it rather offers the means to develop good pronunciation through enhanced awareness of relevant aspects of speech. How good depends on motivation and long term goals.

A popular belief amongst us has been that the only way to acquire a good pronunciation of a foreign language is reside in a company of native speakers. According to O' Connor (1973) this is a misleading notion. There are many instances of foreign speakers who lived for years and years in a particular

community and never acquired near native pronunciation. On the contrary, there are plenty of examples of foreign speakers, who, on the first visit to England or the US, already have an extremely competent pronunciation because they have been taught phonetics adequately. Phonetics can provide the teacher the aptitude to make quick decisions about sounds by training his/her auditory memory, strengthening his/her capacity to relate what he hears to how it was produced and developing in him/her the capacity to give instructions which will help the learner. The learner does not need to know phonetic theory in greater detail, but a certain amount plus a lot of relevant practice will be valuable to speak like native speakers (*ibid.*).

The understanding of phonetics is equally useful to the teacher of mother tongue. He also has often to contend with imperfect articulations and vices of pronunciation in his pupils; he, too, will find that mistakes which at first he was inclined to attribute to organic defects, or which from other reasons he thought impossible to remove, are really due to the fact that the child has never been taught how to make proper use of the organs and that a few explanations together with a little systematic practice, will be of great assistance. In some cases, the mother tongue taught at school is like a foreign language as it is either different language or dialect from the one spoken at home.

The deaf-and-dumb teachers require phonetics more than other classes of teachers. Some of the earliest descriptions of the organic positions required for speech sounds are due to the first pioneers in the difficult art of teaching deaf-mutes to speak in the same way as hearing persons do. Now it has been realized that the teacher of articulation and of lip-reading (or, better, mouth-reading) in schools for the deaf-and-dumb must be meticulously aware of both theoretical and practical phonetics.

School authorities in several countries are now beginning to realize the importance of phonetics, and to require it as an effective tool of a language teacher. In Denmark knowledge of phonetics is now required from any one who wishes to obtain a teacher's certificate in any of the modern languages, either at or out of the university. But in England and Scotland the necessity of some training in the theory and practice of speech sounds has recently been recognized as part of the normal training of all teachers in primary schools (Jespersen, 1910).

In multilingual contexts, teachers need a good grasp of articulatory phonetics; a well-trained ear; knowledge of the phonology of both the mother tongue and the target language. Teachers will be able to predict likely problems owing to the mother tongue interference, notice and analyze actual problems as they occur using practical phonetic skills derived from ear-training experience, remedy the situation applying the knowledge of articulatory phonetic theory and pedagogy.

The amount of phonetic knowledge appropriate is relative. Teachers must have adequate knowledge of articulatory phonetics and the phonetics of the mother tongue(s) and target language of learners since target languages pronunciation errors cannot be addressed in isolation. School-age learners need guiding (no theory but lots of carefully structured, phonetically-informed practice); older learners need guiding and informing (facilitating self-help, including use of interactive websites). At tertiary level, it is ideal to launch any language program with a short introduction course in articulatory phonetics.

3.2 Phonetics is essential in spelling reform of a language

Spelling reform is one of the most burning linguistic issues that can be addressed by phonetics. A number of world languages namely English, French, German, Danish, Swedish, Russian and our own Nepali also are in the urgent need of

spelling reforms. In these languages, there is lack of one to one correspondence between spelling and letters. It is said that English orthography is an edifice of unreason. Jerkins (2006) said “the dogmatism of English orthography is a bond of lexicological freemasonry, a conspiracy against the laity”. There are many instances of words spelt otherwise than pronounced. The absurd spelling systems of the above mentioned languages cause a miserable loss of much valuable time which might be used profitably in many other ways, is spent upon learning that this word has to be spelt in this absurd manner, and that word in another equally absurd way, and why? Only a good phonetician can show what is to be reformed and what is to be the direction of change, because he alone knows what sounds to represent and how best to represent them.

Shakespeare is now nearly always reprinted in and read in the spelling of the nineteenth century instead of in that of the old editions. This is of course a welcome step. However, much has to be done to reform the dogmatic spelling systems of languages and phonetics is the only help.

3.3 Phonetics is a means to develop orthography

A large number of world languages do not have orthographic or writing systems. In other words, they are confined to their oral traditions. It is extremely essential to give them the written form if their preservation is to be ensured and spread is to be facilitated. The most satisfactory method of reducing languages to writing is based on sound. We already know that alphabetic writing and phonetic transcription in most of the languages is not identical, however satisfactory orthography can be developed only with adequate phonemic analysis of the language in question. Theoretical linguists who try to reduce unwritten languages or dialects to writing can see the fundamental value of the study of phonetics.

3.4 Phonetics can be of great assistance in speech therapy

Articulatory defects can be handled by the knowledge of phonetics. For instances, pronouncing voiceless labio-dental plosive /f/ as voiceless bilabial plosive is very common amongst Nepali learners of English. Articulatory instructions and training in discrimination will prove a remedy for the pronunciation error. Likewise, cleft palate patient of course has the inability of preventing air passing into the nasal cavity through the cleft in the palate. Surgical repair can be the only solution to this problem. However, the repair might not have been able to provide normal muscular function in the soft palate. Exercises must be provided to develop control over the raising and lowering of soft palate. Speech therapists need phonetics for general understanding of the working of organs of speech and for diagnosis and treatment of minor articulatory defects (Catford, 1988).

3.5 Phonetics is useful in improving communication systems

Acoustic and auditory branch of phonetics have progressed so much that it is possible now to produce reasonable syntheses of speech by rule. We can store rules in a computer so that when we subsequently feed it a sequence of phonemes it will operate a speech synthesizing machine. We are, therefore, at measurable distance of a speech typewriter which would give high grade speech simply from typing words of the messages.

Altogether, communication engineers, computer engineers and other speech scientists concerned with improvement of speech transmission system on speech synthesis and on automatic speech recognition need considerable knowledge of phonetics (Catford, 1988).

3.6 Pronunciation carries prestige

Although from social justice point of view, attachment of prestige to one form of pronunciation and not to others is not reasonable, reality is that accent and prestige are often found to be intimately linked to many speech communities. In other

words, one form of pronunciation carries greater prestige than others. Many people, particularly language teachers, have been found talking about the pronunciation in terms of right-wrong, good-bad, acceptable-unacceptable. I have been asked a lot of times by non-language teachers 'what is the correct pronunciation of the word.....? Which pronunciation is better...? What is the British pronunciation of the word....?and so on. I find the questions very thorny to answer. The reason is the answer that depends upon attitude towards a particular accent. For instance, /dairekt/ is acceptable if you acknowledge RP but /direkt/ is correct for American users. Stylistic variations pose another problem for the acceptability of pronunciation. Pronunciation of a particular expression by the same speaker can vary from situation to situation. The use of standard pronunciation such as BBC English or North American Standard English are usually said to carry more prestige than others.

3.7 Phonetics is an effective forensic tool

Phonetics is extremely advantageous for forensic (legal) purposes. The use of forensic phonetics has expanded over the last 20 years. It contains a number of areas including analysis of the recorded human voice. Forensic phonetics can be of great use in the areas such as speaker identification, disputed utterances, tape authentication and voice line-ups.

Forensic phonetics is extremely valuable in speaker identification – the question of whether two or more recordings of speech (from suspect and perpetrator) are from the same speaker. With regard to disputed utterances very poor quality of secret police recordings, there is often ample scope for a defendant to challenge the prosecution's version of what was actually said in the course of a recorded conversation. Forensic phoneticians may be asked to prepare a report on the quality of the recording and the intelligibility of the speech. Tape authentication is another area where

phonetics can be of use. Occasionally a defendant (or a civil litigant) may have a cause to question whether an audio recording has been tampered with in some way. Usually the claim is that certain sections have been excised or perhaps transposed. There may be evidence within the acoustic signal ('pops' or abrupt changes in either the signal itself or the background noise) which would be indicative of electronic editing. Voice line-up is yet another field of forensic phonetics. The practice of confronting witnesses of a crime with a tape recorded 'voice-line-up', where the voice of a suspect is included amongst a series of 'foils', may be used to obtain evidence of identification in cases where, in the course of committing a crime, an unseen or masked perpetrator has spoken in the presence of the witnesses.. A phonetician may be consulted on aspects of the construction of the tape and the administration of the confrontation.

3.8 Lexicography requires phonetics

Lexicography or dictionary making needs phonetic knowledge. Lexicographic phonetics is phonetics applied to the process of dictionary-making. It is concerned with issues such as: the choice of accent and transcription to represent in dictionaries, the extent of dialectal, phono-stylistic and idiosyncratic variation of pronunciation covered, the representation of stress and weak forms, etc. Although some of the reputable phoneticians have remarked that it is not necessary to indicate the pronunciation of an entry, others have strongly recommended to incorporate pronunciation in dictionaries. Today, when we no longer regard speech as a degraded form of writing, the pronunciation entry in dictionaries should be accorded much greater importance. The foreign learner will expect his information on pronunciation to be given clearly at the point of entry not to rely on general rules. The purpose served by pronunciation indication is to advise the user who is unsure of the spoken form of a word by recommending a suitable pronunciation for it.

4. Conclusion

There is no doubt to the fact that phonetics is essential from both academic and practical points of view. It is not only useful to the teachers and learners of language but also for linguists, students of language and linguistics, lexicographers, speech therapists, spelling reformers and also for the purpose of forensic use. It is impossible to do serious works in language and linguistics without prior knowledge of phonetics. It is possible to gain a good theoretical knowledge of phonetics by reading and even more so by working in a phonetics lab but the kind of superficial knowledge acquired in this way is quite inadequate in order to carry out the activities mentioned above. A competent phonetician must acquire a deep, internally experienced, awareness of what is going on within the vocal tract-an ability to analyze and hence describe and ultimately control, the postures and movements of organs of speech.

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MANAGING THE LANGUAGES OF NEPAL: THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS

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This article describes the language situation of Nepal and discusses about the educational development effort in relation to the roles of social structure and the meaning makers with both theoretical and practical points of view. It proposes change in the linear thinking of language rights for its development through co-learning and teaching process, and subverting ways of egoism of both majority and minority language groups.

Language situation and its development in Nepal

Nepal is a land of multiple languages. At least more than 90 language groups have been identified in Nepal (Census, 2001). Due to language diversity, it is difficult to keep reciprocal relationship between the language groups. But people have different experiences on the ground. For example, from eastern Mechi zone to western Mahakali zone of the Terai, different language groups communicate with each other by using the medium language Hindi. In the case of mountain and hill regions, the same situation can be found. For example, when there is a difficulty to understand each other people use the Nepali language in the mountain and hill regions (National language policy recommendation commission report, 2050 BS). It means whatever language groups we have; they are managing their problems with their best alternatives. However, one should not ignore the development of all languages of the country.

Instruction is one of the ways in the process of language development. As per the history, there have been used different modes of language for instruction. Sanskrit was the medium of instruction for the Hindus (Koirala, 1988). The Kulas (Deva Kula, Guru Kula, Raja Kula and Rishi Kula) were the learning centres. But these Kulas were inaccessible to the mass. This situation can be analyzed from the social action theory of Max Weber (Weikipedia, 2006). Under the Social Action theory, Max Weber talked about 'power', 'class' and 'status' to understand the structure of a society. Weber also holds the same argument which says that those people who have power, class, and status get access to different Kulas. But those who don't have access were and are alienated from the learning centres. Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) also said that some groups of people have loss of control and others have full control over the others (Summer, 1998). This implies that one language cannot dominate the others. For example, families and religious schools used the Nepali language for the medium of instruction. It means the dominant power of Nepali language emerged in the society because it was the language of ruling class people. Again, in the late 1940s, the government of Nepal formally started both formal and non-formal literacy classes through Nepali (Sharma 2058). This effort was systematized even after the implementation of the first five-year development plan (1954-1959). This indicates that state policy affects the other languages. As a result, the knowledge, culture and social practices of other languages remained as underdeveloped which eventually turned out to be burning problems over the years (Dahal 1999). Going through the history we can find different shifts in language policy from the first development plan of Nepal. They are (a) in the mid 1950s, we can see the imposition of the Nepali language as classroom instruction (b) in the late 50s, Hindi in southern plain and Nepali in the hills and mountains were used (c) in the late 1960s to 80s again

Nepali was enforced as classroom instruction (d) In the early 80s teachers were given freedom to use any language as classroom instruction and (e) in the 90s mother tongue (language first-L1) was encouraged. The encouraging situation of mother tongue education is the result of regained democracy in 1990. It means the structure of Nepalese society changed due to increased freedom of choice, individual heterogeneity and the multi-dimensional nature of the welfare (Sen, 1999).

Emerging language situation in Nepal from 1990 onwards

I/NGOs, individual and ethnic organizations reiterated the need of mother tongue education (Fishman, 1968 cited in CRED, 2005). Consequently, the country has developed primary school materials in 12 languages (ibid) and some multilingual literacy/NFE primers and some post-literacy materials have been developed. Coming to 2009, NFE/Literacy materials have been developed in 18 languages. In the case of those languages, which have not learning materials, literacy facilitators have been using the languages of the learners for instruction only. This situation provides the fact that there are more than a dozen languages that need to be thought out from mother tongue literacy promotion point of view.

Besides, in another side, the NCLPR (2051) recommended three language policy approaches to address the language issues of different groups. The three languages include mother tongue, official language, Nepali, and the international language, English. In some cases, we find contradiction as well. For example, Awasthi (2004) shows that even in the present context, the monolingual practices are still found in the classrooms. This means mother tongue of minorities has been ignored yielding educational problems for the children of the minority language groups. In other words, school structure itself follows the dominant language. In our case, Nepali

speaking language groups used the power and ignored the problems of minority language groups. This situation is exactly similar to what Bourdieu (1977) said that modern school is the hegemony of the cultural capital, which creates inequality. Similarly, in the argument of Foucault (1972), the Nepali language speaking group in schools has great power than others. This situation is not prevalent everywhere. In some schools, there is mother tongue education as well. In this regard, a study was conducted with the teacher, students and parents that showed that mother tongue education in primary school can provide good achievement (CRED, 2005). Similarly, another study suggested that students' language problems could be solved through code – switching approach to teaching in bilingual settings (Chirag, 2001). Apart from these situations, a study conducted with Tharu, Tamang, Newar and Limbu mother tongue literacy program showed that participants wanted to learn from literacy class from language transfer and code switching approach to teaching (Khadka, 2006). This implies that school structure, learners' interest, and the availability of the teachers are the determining factors for language choice.

Despite the above findings and the recommendations, there has been an ongoing debate about the language issues in classroom, from the both Madhesi and Janajati students. Because of Nepalization and availability of all the teaching as well as learning materials in the Nepali language the problems have been mounted (Bista, 1982). For example, sometimes we heard news from the radio that many of the Madhesi and Janajati school children had to oblige leaving the school initially due to difficulty in language and because of the culturally different contents to be studied. This situation indicates that there is a lack of research or absence of research in the second language as to what Miller (1997) viewed research has not focused more on multilingual teaching methods and learning process.

On the other sides, in case of the Madeshi language, there is a raising voice that Hindi should be adopted as second official language because it serves as lingua franca for the people of the Terai. This gave the knowledge that lingua franca approach is another way to address the language problems of Madhesi and Janajati people. On the other hand, IPs have been advocating that all languages spoken in the country must be treated in an equal manner. According to them, any language should not be placed as superior. According to them, Supreme Court's verdict went against the provision of the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal and Local Self Governance Act 2055 BS. After analyzing the above situations, I hold the opinion that IPs and Madhesis are arguing to get the language rights rather than searching the different options for language development.

The above-mentioned scenario helped me to conclude that language development situation depends upon the role of nation, school structure, and subjectivity of the users. Besides, we have freedom to develop the language. I think it is a common topic of discussion and analysis in contemporary academic writing. Within IPs' languages as well, there are many dominant and minorities language groups as well. And every language group wants its mother tongue teaching in the classroom. This situation gave birth to a question 'is there any alternative to be nurtured?' The next question is 'who is to be asked for language choice, the parents, the state, the community, or the learner?' These two types of questions have not yet been raised in Nepal. I do believe that these questions can be answered from three perspectives: language enforcement, mother tongue instruction, and language transfer. In this context, I argue that the demand of language right is not the only way to language development, though it seems essential at the first stage. A study has shown that to be limited within only one language is not possible to live in this global world. Regarding this situation, Philips (1990: 5)

argued that “minorities also need the opportunity to learn majority or dominant language in order to participate in a wider society.” Similarly, in practice, the majorities or dominant groups have also to know the minority languages in terms of research contexts, traveling contexts and to keep relationship between the two or more language communities or people speaking different languages. For example, a study has shown that the mother tongue education affects the learners’ life and helps demand different languages as per their need (Khadka, 2006). After realizing the above-mentioned situations, I think there are many areas to develop languages. One area is to find out the differences between different languages and their scripts. The second area is to find out the relationship between the different languages and their scripts. The third area is why some language groups like Newar leave their own script and follow the Devnagari script. Besides, there are some questions such as 'what are the differences between the Newari’s own *Ranjana* and *Bhujimol* scripts?', 'Which are nearest language groups to each other?' Under the *Mahakiranti* family, there are many language groups. 'What are the interconnections between the language groups under the *Mahakiranti* family?' To answer these questions one needs to maintain the equitable development of multilingual Nepal. For this, there is a need find out the sociological/anthropological research contexts. On the other side, the above questions help generate various positive clues which guide people for planning their own development. Following paragraph displays the proposed language plan for our country.

Language development plan in Nepal

Nepal has more than 92 languages from four language families viz. Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian, and Austro-Asiatic. Among these, many languages use the same or the similar scripts with the same system. Thus, people can

easily learn each other's script. As a result, a person can write in more than two scripts and can speak in more than two languages. Therefore, on the basis of language-script situations, I can argue that if we use co-learning method for language development, we can easily learn more than one language at the same time, both writing and speaking. This is similar to the argument of Habermas (Popper, 1974, cited in Honeeth, 1987) who said that development should be interpreted by raising the issues/contingencies and looking for options and then only the social system would merely reproduce the status because human beings also have the capacity to learn. Similarly, Marx (1818 – 1883) viewed that development is the creative potential options (cited in Koirala, 1994). In this regard, postmodernist and structuralist, Derrida argued that in a moral and metaphysics, deconstruction comes step – by – step, where we can see many options in Powell (2000). Like these authors' argument state that determination policy is also important on the one hand and people themselves initiate policy on the other. Here, I argue that language development initiative can be started from people to state and state to people. For example, state can initiate the documentation of the language and people can support this initiation. Moreover, people's initiative can be more effective and sustainable as what Chhetri (1994) argues that the extent of socio-cultural interest, perception and practices of local people is real practice of sustainable development. For example, a study has shown that SOLVE Nepal and BASE have already developed multilingual dictionary for the literacy learners (Acharya and Koirala 2006) because people look for multilingual options for survival needs outside their homes. Likewise, according to Saussure, difference is based on relation and these relations produce meanings because they are elements in a system of difference (Powell 2000: 116). Language in this sense is also possible for producing the

relational meaning, though it can be found in different caste and ethnic group.

After analyzing the above discussion on language development plan, I came to the conclusion that we should internalize development ourselves and make it our culture and context friendly and enable people to do so accordingly. For this, there is a need to think development from a different mode. Both the outsider and targeted group themselves can initiate this process at some point. Furthermore, we need to think development from our own situations of learning. As Habermas (cited in Popper 1974) said, development should be easily interpreted by our own context through creative learning process. If we are aware of the role of an anthropologist (Peacock, 1997 cited in Okongwu and Mencher, 2000) to (a) shape public policy (b) assist in formulating the critical issues of the society (c) propose solutions that meet the desire and needs of the local people, and (c) create synergy between the theory and practices in the field of development as a branch of social theory and formulate positive proposals to communicate with political leaders and ordinary people. We can also identify the gap between the self-creating development approaches to the hierarchical and outer depended structural development of language. And then we can develop all languages at the same time through co-learning process.

The gist

In this article, I gave objective and subjective thought regarding the language development in Nepal. I introduced the language development structure scenario in Nepal. Within structure, I showed the varieties of language development trends. On the basis of different subjectivities, I argued that we have different areas to develop the language in Nepal: One, searching the language rights; two, school structural habitus (sets of dispositions); three, subjectivity of the

language groups themselves; four, sequence base need; and five, internationally needy structure. I asked many questions on the structure; on myself; and on hegemony of groups as well. Similarly, I also gave different ways to language development. For example, there is a way to research and the way to find out the relationship between the two and many languages. In doing so, I generated some of the gists: One, we should recognize the epistemology of language development. It can be obtained from the study of each language or word. Then one can explore development possibilities because only outsiders' possibilities can be futile as what Bourdieu (1977) said; culturally transferred knowledge creates the inequality. Two, we have many ways to understand the language development theory. Hence, we should analyze the overall structure of language development theories. All language development theories may not be compatible to our Nepalese context. It means we should make our own language development principle for addressing the overall Nepalese setting, which must enable us to teach or guide through instruction process. In theoretical sense, we should make local principle for the development of our language as Koirala (2063 BS) said that particular theories should be developed out of the lived context. It means understanding of language locality is essential subject matter for language development. Three, we should understand the interest of both language groups and individual as such. It means whose interest on what is to be found out because every individual deserves rights to learn different languages. Fourth, we should search language inclusive approach within our locality, own community, own IPs organization, and within our thoughts. Fifth, there must be language movement from all sides. Sixth, we should start language research. We should identify every language identification, inclusive study, movement study, subjectivity study, and sequential study. We should also make our own framework for these kinds of studies as what we find

in the Mourie. Seventh, we should not limit to a single option. For this, we should search the linkage between the subjectivity of one group to the other group regarding the language development. It means we should start to appreciate the good learning attitude of each others. It means we need co – existence between the learners as what Khadka, Magar and Koirala (2006) believe that Nepalese diversity of language needs co-existence approach for equitable language development. According to them, “one language group must learn others language and every individual deserve rights to learn different languages for co-existence. But the country lacks language co-existence policy.” Like the authors’ arguments, if we observe within the IPs organization as well they lack co – existence policy between each other. In doing so, we become the persons who nurture language co-existence. This practice ensures language development on the one hand and addresses lingual subjectivity on the other.

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CAUSATIVIZATION IN RAJI¹

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The purpose of this paper is to present the analysis of the causative processes in Raji. There are three basic ways in which a causative situation is expressed in terms of linguistic devices namely, morphological, lexical and syntactic constructions in the language. Raji has preserved many Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms of causativization.

1. Types of causativization in Raji

There are three basic ways in which a causative situation is expressed in terms of linguistic devices in a language, namely, morphological, lexical and syntactic constructions.

3.1. Morphological causativization

In Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal such as Raji a wide spectrum of event-type undergo morphology-based causativization process.

Type A

According to Benedict (1972: 104), the prefix **s-*², which functions as causative, directive, or intensive with verb roots, is reflected in aspiration or unvoicing of initials. Similarly, LaPolla (2003: 24) puts the view that quite a few scholars have assumed that the **s-* causative prefix was responsible for

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² The symbol *'*'* indicates the Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms.

all the voicing distinction now found in the family (LaPolla, 2003: 24). The reason behind devoicing of the initials is that the prefix *s- which is attached to verb roots and due to the progressive assimilation it extends its voiceless feature to the initials of the base and it is normally dropped without trace (Khatri, 2008: 21; Khatri and Sah 2008: 74). We find this process of causativization process in many Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages of Nepal such as Limbu, Hayu and Thulung (Ebert, 2003: 509), Sunuwar and Limbu (Watters, 1998: 213), Kham (Michailosky, 1999: 482), Newar (Hale and Shrestha, 2006: 64) including Raji. The unvoicing of initials of the root verb is found in action verbs such as ‘break’, ‘get wet’, ‘fall’, etc. The causative construction through aspiration is more frequent in movement and action verbs (Rai, 2008: 273). Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. gilasaᵛgoika (Barh Bandale)

gilasaᵛ goi -k -a
 glass break -SD -PST
 'The glass broke down.'

- b. ŋai³ gilasaᵛ koikã

ŋa -i gilasaᵛ koi -k -ã
 1SG -ERG glass break -SD -PST.1SG
 'I broke the glass.'

- c. siŋ damka (Naukule)

siŋ dam -k -a
 tree fall down -SD -PST
 'The tree fell down.'

³ The first person independent pronoun is *ŋa which is reconstructed as the PTB form (Benedict, 1972: 93; Matisoff, 2003:264 and Ebert 1994:76)

- d. $\eta\lambda$ si η thamka
 $\eta\lambda$ -i si η tham -k -ã
 1SG -ERG tree make fall -SD -PST.1SG
 'I made the tree fall down.'

In examples (1a-b) the verb is causativized by devoicing of the initial sound of the verb. In examples (1c-d) the verb is causativized first by devoicing and then being aspirated.

However, the prefix *s- is occasionally preserved before liquids or w (Benedict, 1972:104). This case of causativization is also found in Raji. The following are the examples:

- (2) a. tsa η luki (Barh Bandale)
 tsa - η lu -k -i
 son -1POSS bath -SD -NPST
 'My son takes a bath.'
- b. maui tsa \cup s η luki
 ma -u -i tsa-u s- \cup -k -i
 mother -3 POSS -ERG son -3POSS CAUS-bath -SD -NPST
 'His mother made the child take a bath.'
- c. jo η runika (Barh Bandale)
 jo - η runi -k -a
 brother -1POSS fall -SD -PST
 'My brother fell down.'
- d. $\eta\lambda$ jo η srunka
 $\eta\lambda$ -i jo - η sruni -k -ã
 1SG -ERG brother-1POSS fall down -SD -PST.1SG
 'I caused my brother fall down.'

In examples (2b-d) the prefix *s- is preserved before the verbs since their initial sounds are liquids (i. e, l and w).

- d. .ŋai bhau sʌkʌdikkā
 ŋa -i bhau sʌ- kʌdil -k -ã
 1SG -ERG brother CAUS fall -SD -PST.1SG
 ‘I make the brother fall down.’

In examples (4c-d) the prefix is attached to the verb and at the same time the initial sound of the verb is devoiced.

Type B

According to Benedict (1972:97), the suffix **-t* functions as causative or directive. Like Kachin, Limbu, Hayu (Vayu), Bahing, Khaling and Thulung (Michailovsky, 1999:483) this PTB prefix **-t* functions as the causativizer in Raji. However, according to Toba⁴, **-t* is missing in Khaling. The following are the examples:

- (5) a. nʌŋ⁵ sja (Barh Bandale)
 nʌŋ sja -Ø
 2SG dance -IMP
 ‘(You) dance.’
- b. nʌŋ jom sjat
 nʌŋ jom sja -t -Ø
 2SG brother dance -CAUS -IPM
 ‘You make the brother dance.’
- c. b^hwa sika (Barh Bandale)
 b^hwa si -k -a
 bird die -SD -PST
 ‘The bird died.’

⁴ Personal communication, November, 2008.

⁵ The second person independent personal pronoun is **naŋ* which is reconstructed as the PTB form (Benedict, 1972:93, Matisoff, 2003:264 and Ebert, 1994:76).

- d. ηλi b^hwa sɪtkã
 ηλ -i b^hwa si -t -k -ã
 1SG -ERG bird die -CAUS-SD -PST.1SG
 ‘I killed a bird.’

In examples (1a-c) the verbs are causativized by the suffixation of the *-t*.

Type C

The suffix *th-* or *ph-* can also causativize the verbs. For example,

- (6) a. matɪ tɪmfɪ rɪpkɪ (Barh Bandale)
 matɪ tɪm -fɪa rɪp -k -a
 ox river -LOC cross -SD -PST
 ‘The ox crossed the river.’
- b. tsuŋ nawafɪ *thatɪntɪnɪŋ* tɪmfɪ *θrɪpkã*
 tsu -ŋ nawa -fɪa θa -tɪnnɪŋ tɪm -fɪa
 son -1 boat -LOC put -PERF river -LOC-
 th -rɪp -k -ã
 CAUS cross -SD -PST.1SG
 ‘I made my grandson cross the river putting on a boat.’

Type D

Another morphological process of causativization is by the affixation of the *-u* to intransitive verbs. However, this process is only restricted to the intransitive verbs borrowed from the Nepali language. It can be argued that this causative suffix has been borrowed from Nepali since *-au* is a

causative suffix in Nepali (Regmi, 1999: 16). The following are the examples:

- (7) a. dz^hula mɔileka
 dz^hula mɔile -k -a
 shirt dirty -SD -PST
 ‘The shirt became dirty.’
- b. tsaŋi dz^hula mɔileuka
 tsa -ŋ -i dz^hula mɔile -u -k -a
 son -1POSS -ERG shirt dirty -CAUS -SD -PST
 ‘My son made the shirt dirty.’
- c. kursi d^hɔɔlika
 kursi d^hɔɔli -k -a
 chair fall -SD -PST
 ‘The chair fell down.’
- d. jomi kursi d^hɔɔlika
 jom -i kursi d^hɔɔli -u -k -a
 brother -ERG chair fall -CAUS -SD -PST
 ‘The brother made the chair fall down.’

3.2 Lexical causativization

Lexical causatives are concerned with pointing to their property of being morphologically unanalyzable, as in English verbs ‘kill’ and ‘open’, Shibatani (2001: 4).

One of the lexical processes of causativization in Raji is that the causative relationship between noncausative and causative verb is established through purely lexical means.

Lexical causative construction is formed in Raji either by replacement of sounds or by replacement of the whole lexical items. Each of them has been briefly discussed below:

Type A

Those verbs which need outside force to bring about the event is lexically expressed. The following are the examples:

- (8) a. $\text{m}\lambda\text{i}$ $\text{dr}\Lambda\text{pka}$ (Barh bandale)
 $\text{m}\lambda\text{i}$ $\text{dr}\Lambda\text{p}$ $-\text{k}$ $-\text{a}$
 fire burn $-\text{SD}$ $-\text{PST}$
 'The fire burnt.'
- b. $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\text{nts}^{\text{h}}\text{erni}$ $\text{m}\lambda\text{i}$ $\text{dz}^{\text{h}}\text{umka}$
 $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\text{nts}^{\text{h}}\text{ern}$ $-\text{i}$ $\text{m}\lambda\text{i}$ $\text{dz}^{\text{h}}\text{um}$ $-\text{k}$ $-\text{a}$
 cook $-\text{ERG}$ fire light $-\text{SD}$ $-\text{PST}$
 'The cook lit fire.'
- c. $\text{n}\Lambda\eta$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\text{m}$ (Barh Bandale)
 $\text{n}\Lambda\eta$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\text{m}$ $-\emptyset$
 2SG speak $-\text{IMP}$
 '(You) speak.'
- d. $\text{tsa}\eta$ nok
 tsa $-\eta$ $-\emptyset$ nok
 son $-\text{1POSS}$ $-\text{DAT}$ call
 '(You) call my son.'

In examples (8a-c) lexical causatives have no regularity to the formal relationship between two members of the pair.

Type B

The borrowed verbs from Nepali into Raji are also causativized following the causativization process in Nepali. According to Dahal, (1974:365-7), as quoted in Regmi (1999:14) twenty eight root verbs are causativized by vowel lowering i.e. close vowels Λ , i , u , are changed into a , e , and o in the Nepali language. Consider the following examples:

- (9) a. gotjaŋ loteka (Purbiya)
 gotja -ŋ lote -k -a
 brother -1POSS fall down -SD -PST
 ‘The brother fell down.’
- b. ŋai gotjaŋkʌna lotakã
 ŋa -i gotja -ŋ kʌna lot-a -k -ã
 1SG-ERG brother-1POSS -DAT fall -CAUS-SD -PST.1SG
 ‘I made my brother fall down.’
- c. rukha dhʌleka (Purbiya)
 rukha dhʌle -k -a
 tree fall down -SD -PST
 ‘The tree fell down.’
- d. ŋai rukha dhʌlakã
 ŋa-i rukha dhʌl-a -k -ã
 1SG-ERG tree fall down-CAUS -SD-PST.1SG
 ‘I made the tree fall down.’

In the examples (9a-c) the verbs are lexicalized by lowering the close vowel *e* into *a*.

3.3. Syntactic causativization

Syntactic construction is the process of causativization where syntactic device is used. Another common process of causative constructions in Raji is through the use of syntactic causative, *sla-which means* ‘to cause’. The syntactic causative follows the infinitive form of a main verb. The following are the examples:

- (10) a. ŋa rʌikã (Barh Bandale)
 ŋa rʌi -k -ã
 1SG laugh -SD -PST.1
 ‘I laughed.’

- b. $\eta\lambda i$ $kok\eta$ $r\lambda i fja$ $slak\tilde{a}$
 $\eta\lambda$ -i kok - η $r\lambda i$ - fja $sla-k$ - \tilde{a}
 1SG-ERG grandfather-1POSS laugh-INF CAUS-SD-PST.1
 ‘I made my grandfather laugh.’
- c. $\eta\lambda i$ $ruk^h\eta\eta$ $g\lambda k\tilde{a}$ (Barh Bandale)
 $\eta\lambda$ -i $ruk^h\eta\eta$ $g\lambda k$ -k - \tilde{a}
 1SG -ERG tree cut -SD -PST.1SG
 ‘I cut a tree.’
- d. $\eta\lambda i$ $tsa\eta fiati\eta$ $ruk^h\eta\eta$ $g\lambda k-k^h ja$ $slak\tilde{a}$
 $\eta\lambda$ -i tsa - η - $fiati\eta$ $ruk^h\eta\eta$ $g\lambda k-k^h ja$ $sla-k$ - \tilde{a}
 1SG-ERGson-1POSS-ABL tree cut-INF CAUS-SD -PST.1
 ‘I made the son cut a tree.’

4. Conclusions

In this paper we have attempted to analyze the causative constructions in Raji. There are three basic types of causative constructions namely, morphological, lexical and syntactic. The first type is that the prefix **s-* is reflected in aspiration or unvoicing of initials. The second type of morphological causativization is through the use of the suffix **-t* which functions as causative or directive. The third morphological process of causativization is through the suffixation of the *th-* or *ph-*. The last process of morphological causative constructions is by means of insertion of the suffix *-u* into the intransitive verb roots. This process is restricted only to the borrowed words from Nepali. The verbs in Raji are also causativized lexically either by lowering vowels in case of borrowed Nepali verbs or by using a separate lexical items. Lastly, the another type of causative constructions is through the use of syntactic causative, *sla-* which means ‘to cause’.

Abbreviations

1	First person	2	Secondperson
3	Third person	ABL	Ablative
CAUS	Causativiz	DAT	Dative
DU	Dual	ERG	Ergative
GEN	Genitive	IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive	INS	Instrumental
LOC	Locative	NPST	Non-past
PERF	Perfect	PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive	PST	Past
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman	SD	Same day
SG	Singular	TB	Tibeto-Burman

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SUBGROUPING IN THAKALI

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The Thakali language, as others, is not out of the natural law of language change; it has several variations, both geographically and socially. Though the language variations, in turn, vary depending upon the system of grouping languages on the basis of the shared cognate percentage in core vocabulary, the present study attempts to capture regional varieties in Thakali.

1. Introduction

A subgroup comprises a number of languages that are all descended from a common proto-language that is intermediate between the ultimate (or the highest level) proto-language and the modern language, and which are as a result more similar to each other than to other languages in the family (Crowley 1997: 167). There are several methods or say techniques of grouping languages in historical linguistics. Internal reconstruction, external reconstruction and glottochronology are a few to name. Lexicostatistics is an often used technique for subgrouping languages when there are limited amounts of data available. It allows us to determine the degree of relationship between two languages, simply by comparing the vocabularies of languages and determining the degree of similarity between them. There are two basic assumptions of lexicostatistics:

- i) a. There are some parts of the vocabulary of a language that are much less subject to lexical change than other parts, i.e. there are certain parts of the lexicon in which words are less likely to be completely replaced by non-cognate forms.

- b. This core of relatively change-resistant vocabulary is same for all languages.
- ii) The actual rate of lexical replacement in core vocabulary is more or less stable, and is, therefore, about the same for all languages over time.

The universal core vocabulary includes items such as pronouns, numerals, body parts, geographical features, basic actions, basic states etc. It is believed that items like these are unlikely to be replaced by words copied from other languages, because all people, whatever their cultural differences, have eyes, mouths, legs, etc. and know about the sky and clouds, the sun, and the moon, stones, and trees, and so on.

There is an another belief that there has been an average vocabulary retention of 80.5 per cent every thousand years. That is to say, after 1000 years a language will have lost about a fifth of its original basic vocabulary and replaced it with new forms.

If the given assumptions are true, then it should be possible to work out the degree of relationship between two languages by calculating the degree of similarity between their core vocabulary. So, if the core vocabulary of two languages are relatively similar, then we can assume that they have diverged quite recently, and that they therefore belong to a lower level subgroup. On the other hand, if their core vocabulary are relatively dissimilar, then we can assume that they must have diverged at a much earlier time, and that they, therefore, belong to a much higher level subgroup.

2. System of grouping languages

Two systems that have been widely used for classifying pacific languages are:

Level of subgrouping	Shared cognate percentage in core vocabulary
System 'A'	
Dialects of a language	81-100
Languages of a family	36- 81
Families of a stock	12-36
Stocks of a microphylum	4-12
Mesophyla of a macrophylum	1-4
System 'B'	
Dialects of a language	81-100
Languages of a sub-family	55- 81
Sub-families of family	28-55
Families of a stock	13-28
Stocks of a phylum	5-13

There is a big question-How long should the word list be? Some argue in favour of 1000-word list, others a 200-word list, and even some others a 100-word list. It would be awkward to insist on a 1000-word list for those languages where they are only sketchily recorded. Linguists do not have access to word list of this length. Many think that a 100-word list is too short and the risk of error is too great. So, most lexicostaticians tend to operate with 200-word lists. The most popular list of this length is the 'Swadesh list'. However, there are some problems with this word list also. The present research is primarily based on 210-word list provided by central department of linguistics, T.U., Nepal. The researcher categorizes the word list into ten phyla and lists them with some cognate and/ or non-cognate words from each language variety below.

C. Body parts

Kunjo	Naurikot	Larjung	Tukche	Chimang	Marpha	Syang	Thini	Meaning
li	sukpə	aŋ	aŋ	sʊwə	tʃju	sʊwə	sʊwu	'body'
tə	tə	tə	tə	kjə	kjə	kjə	kjə	'head'
tʃʰəm	tʃʰəm	tətʃʰəm	tʃʰəm	kjətʃʰəm	ketʃʰəm	kjətʃʰəm	kjətʃʰəm	'hair'
li:	li	li	li	kḷ	li	li:	li:	'face'
mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	'eye'
nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nəkum	nə	'ear'
nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	'nose'
suŋ	suŋ	sum	suŋ	suŋ	suŋ	suŋ	suŋ	'mouth'
sə	sə	sə	sə	so	sə	so	so	'teeth'
le	le	le	le	lə	le	lə	lə	'tongue'
---	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	'breast'
pʰo	pʰo	pʰo	pʰo	pʰo	pʰo	pʰo	pʰo	'belly'
ja	ja	ja	ja	ja	ja	ja	ja	'arm/hand'
---	---	jatu	---	kum	jaku	jakum	jakum	'elbow'
jaʃʰin	japa	jaʃʰin	japa	ja	jaʃʰin	---	---	'palm'
---	jari	jarə	jarə	jarḷ	jasi	jarḷ	jarə	'finger'
---	jasi	jasin	jasin	tʃʰin	jasin	jaʃʰin	jaʃʰin	'fingernail'
pəle	pəle	pəle	pəle	pəle	pəle	pəle	pəle	'leg'
tḷ	tḷ	---	tḷ	tḷ	tḷ	tḷ	tḷ	'skin'
nəti	nətti	nətti	nətti	nəki	noki	nəki	nəki	'bone'
ʃin	ʃin	ʃin	ʃin	ʃin	ʃin	ʃin	ʃin	'heart'

D. Geographical features

Kunjo	Naurikot	Larjung	Tukche	Chimang	Marpha	Syang	Thini	Meaning
ʃini	ʃini	ʃini	ʃini	ʃini	ʃini	ʃini	ʃini	'sun'
---	ləʃini	ləʃini	ləʃini	ləʃini	ləʃini	ləʃini	ləʃini	'moon'
mu	mu	mu	mu	mō	mḷ	mō	mḷ	'sky'
---	sər	sər	sər	sər	sər	sər	sər	'star'
---	nəm	nəm	nəm	nəm	nəm	nəm	nəm	'rain'
kju	kju	kju	kju	kju	kju	kju	kju	'water'
---	mḷ	mḷ	mḷ	mḷ	mḷ	mḷ	mḷ	'cloud'
nəmwər	nəmwər	nəmbər	nəmbər	nəmo	nəmbər	nəmu	nəmo	'wind'
Jupa	jupa	jupa	jupa	jḷma	jupa	jum	juma	'stone'
kem	kəm	kjəm	kjəm	kəm	kjəm	kjəm	kjəm	'path'

---	səpe	səpe	səpe	səpe	si	səpe	səpe	'sand'
mē	mē	mē	mē	mi	mi	mi	mi	'fire'
miku	miku	miku	miku	muki	miki	muki	juma	'smoke'
mēpra	mēpra	mēpra	mēpra	ņēpra	mipra	ņēpra	nēpra	'ash'
ṭəle	sə	ṭəle	ṭəle	ṭəla	tilja	ṭelja	ṭəla	'mud'
mər	mər	mər	mər	mər	mər	mər	mər	'gold'
ṭuŋ	ṭuŋ	ṭum	ṭuŋ	ṭuŋ	ṭuŋ	ṭuŋ	ṭuŋ	'tree'
lə	pə	pə	pə	pə	pə	pə	pə	'leaf'
pri	pri	pri	pri	pri	pri	pri	pri	'root'
jul	jul	jul	jul	jul	jul	jul	il	'village'
ṭim	ṭim	ṭim	ṭim	ṭim	ṭin	ṭim	ṭim	'house'
siŋ	sin	sin	sin	sin	mi	mi	mi	'firewood'

E. Basic actions

Kunjo Naurikot Larjung Tukche Chimang Marpha Syang Thini Meaning

tʃəu	tʃəu	tʃo	tʃəu	tʃo	tʃo	tʃo	tʃo	'(you) eat'
tʃi	tʃiwə	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi	tʃimu	tʃiwə	tʃi wə	'bites'
tʰuŋo	tʰuŋo	tʰuŋo	tʰuŋo	tʃo	tʰuŋo	tʰuŋu	tʰuŋo	'drink'
nuko	nuko	nuko	nuko	nuko	nuko	nuko	nubo	'sleep'
tuko	tuko	tu	tu	tu	sjuṭo	tu	tu	'(you) sit'
pino	pino	pino	pino	pino	pino	pino	pino	'(you) give'
sitʃi	sitʃi	sitʃi	sitʃi	sitʃe	sitʃi	sitʃe	sitʃimo	'died'
səiṭo	səiṭo	səikə	səiko	səiṭo	səiṭo	seko	səiṭo	'kill (a bird)'
prəku	prəko	prəko	prəko	prəko	prə	prəo	prə	'(you) walk'
ero	ero	joro	ero	joro	joro	joro	joro	'(you) go'
kʰəu	kʰəu	kʰo	kʰəu	kə	kə	tʃuikə	kə	'(you) come'
kəiṭeko	kəiṭeko	kəiṭeko	kəiṭeko	ləko	kəiṭeto	seto	kiləŋseto	'speak'
tʰeko	nəŋino	nəŋeŋo	nəno	nəŋeno	nəŋkəno	nəṭako	---	'(you) listen'
ŋeko	ŋjoko	ŋoko	jokəŋeko	njoko	tʃjakə	ŋjə	---	'(you) look'
puno	kəipuno	kəipuno	kəipuno	kəipuno	puno	kəipuno	---	'(you) sing'

F. Basic states

Kunjo Naurikot Larjung Tukche Chimang Marpha Syang Thini Meaning

ŋimwə	ŋimwə	ŋimwə	ŋimwə	kʰewa	ŋimwə	nimpə	nimwə	'old'
səmwə	səmwə	səmwə	səmwə	səmpə	səmwə	səmpə	səmwə	'new'
kjəwə	kjəwə	səwə	səwə	kəwə	səwə	kəwə	səwə	'good'
akjəwə	asəwə	asəwə	asəwə	akəwə	asəwə	akəwə	asəwə	'bad'

rimwə	rimwə	rimwə	rimwə	rumwa	rumwə	rumpa	rumwə	'long'
rimwə	reme	rimwə	rimwə	rumwə	rumwə	rumpa	rumwə	'short'
ləp	tʰəwə	tʰəwə	ləp	lɔ	tʰəwə	tʰəwə	tɔmo	'hot'
sim	sim	simwə	simwə	sim	pləwə	kənpə	kʰəŋmo	'cold'
tʰopə	tʰowə	tʰowə	tʰowə	tʰewa	tʰowə	tʰjowə	tʰejwə	'big'
tʃjanpə	tʃjanwə	tʃjanwə	tʃjanwə	tʃjanwa	tʃjəŋpa	tʃjanpə	tʃeme	'small'
liṗə	liwə	liwə	liwə	liwa	liwə	lipə	liwə	'heavy'
janpə	janwə	jawə	janpə	janwa	janwə	janpə	janwə	'light'
pʰiri	pʰiri	kəri	pʰiri	kono	pʰeraŋ	nowə	kəno	'above'
məri	meri	məri	puri	kjoro	ori	məna	tjoro	'below'
tər	tər	tər	tər	tər	tər	tər	tər	'white'
mlaŋ	mlaŋ	mlaŋ	mlaŋ	mlaŋ	mlaŋ	mlaŋ	mlaŋ	'black'
tʃtʃəm	tʃtʃəm	tʃjowə	juṭʃiwə	kiṭʃem	kiki	ki	tʃətʃiwə	'same'
təno	təno	təno	təno	wətəno	tən	təna	təno	'many'

G. Animals

Kunjo	Naurikot	Larjung	Tukche	Chimang	Marpha	Syang	Thini	Meaning
sjə	sjə	sjə	sjə	sjə	sjə	sjə	sjə	'meat'
tərŋə	tərŋə	tərŋə	tərŋə	tərŋa	tərŋa	tərŋa	tərŋa	'fish'
mḗ	mḗmomo	lulu	lulu	mḗmum	memomo	mḗ	mḗ	'cow'
ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	'horn'
mḗ	mḗ	mḗ	mḗ	mḗ	mḗ	mḗ	mḗ	'tail'
rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	'goat'
nəkju	nəkju	nəkju	nəkju	nəkju	nəkju	nəkju	nəkju	'dog'
puti	puti	puti	puti	puki	puti	puki	puki	'snake'
noto	noto	nəto	notok	noko	nokər	noko	noko	'ant'

H. People and habitation

Kunjo	Naurikot	Larjung	Tukche	Chimang	Marpha	Syang	Thini	Meaning
tʃəme	tʃəme	tʃəme	tʃəme	tʃəme	tʃəme	tʃəme	tʃəme	'daughter'
pʰə	pʰə	pʰə	pʰə	pʰə	pʰə	pʰə	pʰə	'husband'
pɛ	pɛ	pɛ	pɛ	pɛ	pɛ	pɛ	pɛ	'wife'
kola	piŋkola	pinkola	kola	pjuŋ	piŋkəla	pjuŋ	tʃə	'boy'
min	min	min	min	min	min	min	min	'name'
mɪ	mɪ	mɪ	mɪ	mɪ	mɪ	mɪ	mɪ	'man'
mrin	mrin	mrin	mrin	tʃəme	muntʃəme	mrin	muntʃəme	'women'
kola	kola	kola	kola	kəla	kəla	kəla	kələtʃəmi	'child'

awə	awə	awə	awə	awa	awə	awə	awə	‘father’
amə	amə	amə	amə	ama	amə	amə	amə	‘mother’
atʃjo	atʃjo	atʃjo	atʃjo	atʃjo	atʃjo	atʃjo	pon	‘elder brother’
ale	ale	ale	ale	tʃjon	ale	tʃjon	---	‘younger brother’
anə	anə	anə	anə	ana	anə	anə	anna	‘elder sister’
pitʃjan	pitʃjan	petʃjan	pitʃjan	riŋ/tʃjon	mitʃjan	riŋ	---	‘younger sister’
tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	tʃə	‘son’

I. Unit of time

Kunjo	Naurikot	Larjung	Tukche	Chimang	Marpha	Syang	Thini	Meaning
t̪iŋ	t̪iŋ	t̪iŋ	---	sja	t̪iŋ	sja	t̪iŋ	‘day’
ɲese	ɔna	m̪uŋ	hona	m̪uŋ	m̪uŋtʃe	m̪uŋtʃe	m̪uŋtʃe	‘night’
ɲeseɲese	ɲese	ɲese	ɲese	ɲese	ɲese	ɲese	---	‘evening’
t̪ilə	t̪ilə	t̪ilə	t̪ilə	t̪ili	t̪ilə	t̪ili	t̪ili	‘yesterday’
t̪iŋi	t̪iŋi	t̪iŋi	t̪iŋi	t̪iŋe	t̪iŋi	t̪ini	t̪ini	‘today’
namə	namə	namə	namə	nama	namə	nama	nama	‘tomorrow’

J. Plants and ingestibles

Kunjo	Naurikot	Larjung	Tukche	Chimang	Marpha	Syang	Thini	Meaning
m̪eŋto	m̪eŋto	m̪eŋto	m̪eŋto	m̪eŋto	m̪iŋto	m̪iŋto	m̪eŋto	‘flower’
t̪o	t̪o	t̪o	t̪o	k̪o	ko	k̪o	---	‘wheat’
raŋre	raŋre	raŋte	raŋre	raŋte	raŋte	raŋte	raŋte	‘millet’
m̪l̪əsun	m̪l̪əsun	t̪h̪əlen	m̪l̪əsun	m̪l̪əsun	m̪l̪əsun	m̪l̪əsun	m̪l̪əsun	‘rice’
t̪aja	t̪aja	t̪aja	t̪əja	t̪əja	t̪əja	t̪əja	t̪əja	‘potato’
k̪h̪oraŋ	k̪h̪oraŋ	k̪h̪oraŋ	k̪h̪oraŋ	k̪oraŋ	k̪oraŋ	k̪oraŋ	k̪h̪oraŋ	‘chilli’
n̪o	n̪o	n̪o	n̪o	n̪o	no	n̪o	n̪o	‘garlic’
t̪uŋ	t̪uŋ	t̪um	t̪uŋ	t̪uŋ	t̪uŋ	t̪uŋ	t̪uŋ	‘tree’
lə	p̪a	p̪a	p̪a	p̪a	p̪a	p̪a	p̪a	‘leaf’
p̪ri	p̪ri	p̪ri	p̪ri	p̪ri	p̪ri	p̪ri	p̪ri	‘root’
---	putʃu	putʃu	putʃu	putʃu	putʃu	putʃu	putʃu	‘thorn’

A problem is that each language variety lacks the corresponding word given in the table. However, if we count the number of pairs across the languages which are marked as cognates and those which are marked as non-cognates we will come with the following figure.

Kunjo					
93%	Naurikot				
93%	94%	Larjung			
93%	95%	90%	Tukche		
89%	88%	89%	89%	Marpha	
88%	87%	85%	87%	87%	Chibang
90%	88%	87%	87%	87%	93% Syang
86%	87%	86%	88%	89%	92% 92% Thini

To find out which languages in the data are most closely related to each other the researcher looks for figures that are significantly higher than any other figures in the table, which is an indication that these particular pairs of languages are relatively closely related to each other. The set of figures that are set in bold types are noticeable in this respect.

The data presented above clearly reflects that the languages spoken in Kunjo, Naurikot, Larjung, and Tukche are closely related to each other. Similarly, the languages spoken in Thini, Syang and Chibang are relatively closer to each other. To find the next level of linguistic relationship, the closely related sub-groups can be treated as single units by relabelling them. The researcher relabels the units as below.

Tukche	(= Kunjo, Larjung, Naurikot, Tukche)
Marpha	(= Marpha)
Syang	(= Thini , Chibang, Syang)

Now, the shared cognate percentages can be calculated between these three different lower level units in order to fill in the information on the table given. Of course, these new labels correspond to the several communities on the original table. In such a case the researcher can get the averages of the shared cognate figures in each block and enter them in the appropriate places in the new table. By doing this methodically for every pair of groupings, He will end up within the following table.

Tukche

89% Marpha

87% 88% Syang

If the basic assumptions of lexicostatistics that languages change their core vocabulary at a relatively constant rate are accepted, not only can the degree of relationship between two languages be worked out, but also the actual period of time that two languages have been separated from each other. Once the percentage of cognate forms has been worked out, then the following mathematical formula can be used to work out the time depth, or the period of separation of two languages.

$$t = \frac{\log c}{2 \log r}$$

Here,

't' stands for the number of years that two languages have been separated

'c' stands for the percentage of cognates as worked out by comparing basic vocabulary

'r' stands for the constant change factor (the value in this formula is set at 0.805)

So, by applying this formula we know how long it has been since Tukche, Marpha and Syang splitted off from one another.

So, in the case of Tukche and Marpha

$$\begin{aligned} t &= \frac{\log c}{2 \log r} \\ &= \frac{\log .89}{2 \log .805} \\ &= \frac{.117}{2 \times .217} \\ &= \frac{.117}{.434} \\ &= 0.269 \end{aligned}$$

=250 years (approximately).

Similarly, in the case of Marpha and Syang

$$\begin{aligned}
 t &= \frac{\log c}{2 \log r} \\
 &= \frac{\log .88}{2 \log .805} \\
 &= \frac{.128}{2 \times .217} \\
 &= \frac{.128}{.434} \\
 &= 0.294 \\
 &= 300 \text{ years (approximately)}.
 \end{aligned}$$

Similarly, in the case of Tukche and Syang

$$\begin{aligned}
 t &= \frac{\log c}{2 \log r} \\
 &= \frac{\log .87}{2 \log .805} \\
 &= \frac{.139}{2 \times .217} \\
 &= \frac{.139}{.434} \\
 &= 0.320 \\
 &= 350 \text{ years (approximately)}.
 \end{aligned}$$

3. Conclusion

All language varieties given above are just the dialects of the single Thakali language. The language variety spoken in Marpha is relatively closely related to that of Tukche rather than the language variety of Syang. Similarly, the distance of the relationship between Marpha and Syang is nearer to the relationship between Tukche and Syang.

Tukche and Marpha must have diverged 0.269 thousand years ago, which rounds of to about 250 years. Similarly, Marpha and Syang separated nearly about 300 years ago, and Tukche splitted off from

Syang about 350 years ago. If it is the case, what can be stated by analyzing the above findings of the relations between the dialects of the Thakali language is that the relation between Syang/Thini and Tukche seems to be longer than that of between Thini/Syang and Marpha or, between Tukche and Marpha. This in turn suggests that if the wave theory remained neutral so that the exchange of vocabularies did not take place between these communities, the oldest dialect of the Thakali language is the Thini/Syang, and therefore their older dwelling place rather than Marpha, Tukche or any villages of Thak-Sat-Sae.

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LINGUISTIC CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN CULTURE WITH REFERENCE TO LIMBU PALAM

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This paper is an attempt to show linguistic role in change and continuity of culture in Limbu Palam which embodies both consistency and dynamicity of language and culture. It manifests the cultural and linguistic relation in the society as a medium of linguistic reflection of human aspirations.

Introduction

Male youth:

se:kmuri andang phek-kelle-ga
aiyakko ambi hek-kelle-ga
nangsekwa thang adhappi-aa
sendhugen ka?ee abappi-aa¹

Female youth:

yangsanu kundhe yengmara-aa
sendhugen ka?ee semmara-aa
hukchole nipma khasengha-ga
ka?ee-ga semma ta?jengha-ga²

(Palam 1-3)

Such and the similar many other oral folksongs are sung and dances are performed in the community of Limbu³ Kirantis,

1 During when *se:kmuri andang* blooms, befalling snow and frost which may freeze us up resulting in as being a close relatives.

2 By understanding our possessions and by sorting out the bloodlines we need to go on screening in us so that we can have opportunity for singing and dancing.

the inhabitants of eastern part of Nepal namely, Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam, Sankhuwasabha, Tehrathum, Dhankuta, Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts known as farther Kirat or Limbuwan, and Sikkim, Darjeeling and Assam of India, and Bhutan and Union of Myanmar as well.

Limbus are rich in language, culture and literature as they have distinctive types of folklores, linguistic richness, folksongs and folkdances based on oral tradition, and *palam* is one of them. The *palam* is a traditional Limbu folksong, containing a linguistic grandeur, is sung between male(s) and female(s). The song which is a duet performance and therefore, the participation of female and male youths is a must to communicate with each other. Such folksongs and dances, performed in the community, have great socio-cultural and linguistic value in the life of Limbu people.

Among Limbu folksongs, *palam* is primarily a recreational kind of song. It can be sung at any place and on any occasion. Even though it is categorized under recreational song, it also provides us with a lot of past information, ongoing activities, and upcoming plans and aspirations, feelings of love and affection, experience of pain and pleasure through exceptionally melodious and heart-rending tune of *palam*, a folk song literally known as “a course of holding talks.” The *palam*, as in the view of Yanghang (1995), “is a *ya?lang* song, a medium to exchange feelings of love and affection, includes major elements of Limbu folk culture.”

The *palam* plays significant roles in unifying the whole society in one creating harmonious atmosphere. It has

³ The Limbu is an indigenous ethnic group of historical Kirant dynasty of Mongoloid family. They speak Limbu language that has characteristics of pronominalization and falls under the rubric of Tibeto-Burman Himalayan language of Sino-Tibet family of languages. Limbu language is also one among the Tibeto-Burman languages which has its own written form. Its script is called Srijanga.

endowed upon us with the source of knowledge - incorporating the knowledge of tradition, nature, culture and the universe. It is a medium of linguistic expression and reflection of human aspirations through various means of communication for example, dance, song, language, action, signal, gestures and so on. Linguistically, 'non-ranking' system of highly honorific Kiranti languages which Regmi (2008: 430), affirms "reduces some of the ambiguity". Similarly, there is a constant but dynamic set of practices, a change and continuity from which the traditional culture is transmitted to the new generations through the medium of song or here the *palam*. It's a unique cultural practice, a storehouse of socio-linguistic property as well as cultural representation, an amalgam of oral tradition and creativity, functional as well as recreational heritage, and so on. From these various perspectives and backgrounds this research paper mainly endeavours to assess the rationales why *palam* is a linguistic vehicle to demonstrate cultural change and continuity; what are the diverse elements that help qualify for the same; and how it helps to be a unique performing culture.

Constancy and dynamics of *palam*

The linguistic performances of such oral traditions may slightly vary from time to time and from place to place because the nature of oral context is often multi-leveled, fluid, and fleeting; however, it provides knowledge of the past history and relates it to the stories of the universe and origin of their people. Even though there seems variations in terms of *palam* performances that means they are not different from one another but just seem having slight variations and therefore, properly maintain its constancy and dynamicity of language.

Palam as a medium of linguistic reflection of human aspirations

Palam helps to convey those feelings and emotions, ideas and information from generation to generation. It also exposes cultural rights that are implicated through traditional knowledge and reflects the human aspirations as to how the youths while singing such contesting *palam* filled with queries and their responses exchange wide-ranging modes of ideas and knowledge, life experiences, creations of cosmos, nature and living beings, day today activities, love and faith, and the surroundings (without heeding the time limit). One of the prominent sociologists Dor Bahadur Bista (1967: 44) affirms that the youths during *ya?lang*, “prepare for future love adventures”. Hence, making plan for future perspectives of the youths are also found being reflected in the *ya?lang*.

Palam as a linguistic genre of oral poetry

The term ‘song’ is often used interchangeably with ‘poem’ in lyric sense and the quickest way “to suggest the scope of ‘oral poetry’ is to say that it largely coincides with that of the popular term ‘folk song’” (Ruth, 13). *Palam*, an oral versed-text composed with the past and the present experience and knowledge, expression of sacred love and affection untainted by the carnal desires, best represents the Limbu language and literature about how poetic it is. The Limbu language itself is highly poetic as most of the socio-linguistic and cultural activities are poetically performed; it is full of rhyme, rhythm and prosody.

Structurally, *palam* (song-text) requires two lines to make a couplet, each line generally having nine syllables (3+2+4). It is a versed poetry which, according to Nalbo, “consists of nine syllables in each line and the two of such lines form a couplet” (34). In such constitutive pairs of the first line known by *fekwa* is used basically for rhyming with the second line

known as *kap-fekwa* which, in fact, conveys the real meaning. Therefore, the *fekwa* and *kap-fekwa* consist of 18 syllables. Only the second line is used for conveying target sense while the first one which is not basically for fruitful sense as such but still communicates a kind of empirical knowledge. Both *fekwa* and *kap-fekwa* makes *kapfung-fekwa* or a couplet. The adjoining verse at the end of each *fekwa* is known as *fungfekwa* which is normally of six syllables- for example, *ha-ha ha-ha- ma- ha, kho-khai kho-khai kho-khai*, and so on. This *fungfekwa* may differ from place to place and as per the singers' preference.

hukchole nipma khasengha-ga ha - ha, ha - ha - ma - ha
ka?iga semma ta?jengha-ga ha - ha, ha - ha - ma - ha

The *palam*, etymologically, seems to be originated from the two words *pa?* and *lam* where *pa?* or *pa?ma* means “to speak” or “make speech” and *lam* means “the way” or “course.” That is why *palam* is a way or course of holding talks or speech. *Palam* can be arranged mainly into three parts – the first introductory part is known as *ka?i: semma* or finding out the blood relations and finding out whether they are allowed to hold their hands and dance together or not. It is both narrative as well as creative one which can be composed and sung in different ways. The following lines are presented just for an example how a male youth sings for *ka?i: semma*:

Thangben:	Male youth:
sekmuri, andang fek-kellega	When flowers <i>sekmuri, andang</i> blooms
aiyakko ambi hek-kellega	May freeze with precipitating frost and
aangsekwa tha-ang adhappi-aa	snows
sendugen ka?ee abappi-aa	Then [we] may be the near kinships
	Thus, let's find out about it.

(Palam, 2)

Palam seems mostly supportive and favouring to each other because the participants do not simply take it as a competition

or a contest. When the male sings the song (*palam*), then the female becomes receiver and vice versa, the receivers are required to take heed of full song so that, in their turn, they can give due responses. To this group *ya?lang* performance, one of the litterateurs or Limbu scholars Bairagi Kainla (2009) takes it as “a single stage but an individual act, not principally to watch but to perform,” where singers act as hero and heroine. Traditionally, no musical instruments are accompanied during *ya?lang* because the nature itself creates music to it; the song is a creation and re-creation of the same nature which helps create a feeling of proximity and acceptability between the duos. Such *palam* consists of, as Kainla says, “a collective memory and therefore no claim to have authorship.” It becomes the heritage of the society and the nation but not of an individual as there is no use of notation, reference and citation; and hence, it’s always living. One of the similar examples of a female youth’s response may be like:

Menchhin:	Female youth:
hukchole namdhek thektubelle	While hands block the sunlight
pa:ngwama la?ngma hekkebelle	While jokingly dance gets about
te?lagen lajam adhappi-aa	[We] may stitch up leaf-plates of
sendugen ka?ee abappi-aa	leaves
	[We] may be closer kith and kins

(Palam. 4)

When it is found that they are from different clans and not from closer blood relations, then they enter into the second part of *palam*. If they discover, from the process of *kai: semma*, that they are from closer blood relations then they stop singing and dancing by begging a pardon with due respect and start treating as per the relationships that they find it out. The second stage, also known as the phase of romantic love affairs or *mayapi*, holds the major part in *ya?lang* wherein they frankly but honestly express their feelings of

life, bring references to the creation of the world, put forward their views and opinions about life experiences, love affairs, usual activities, future perspectives, and so on. For an instance, the participant schemes:

Thangben:	Male youth:
yalumbho pekma chasikho-aa	Going to the storehouse for filling
yakthungba sakthi:m isikho-aa	grains
liplingkhe ijo pu?bahekkela	In accordance with the Limbuwan rites
ya?lakma pa:pma nubahekkela	Tightly plaited-rope seems to split
(Palam, 14)	Dancing and singing seems to be set

After having been confirmed that they are free virtuously to sing and dance and are matched with one-another then they fling themselves stepping ahead to exchange views, and ascertain common interests so that they seem to match in themselves. At this time, they express various types of inner human feelings, discuss on every possible topics that they think necessary, try to discover common interests, and come to a certain conclusion to end the session. This session ending may be a parting from one another, known as *semmui*: or valediction for the time being and meet in the next time, and such next meetings may lead to tie their knot as well.

Because of its cultural dynamicity and oral tradition, *palam* has a fluid nature and therefore, we find blend of various languages together. The following lines in the Nepali language remind us how the youths seem positive in their attitude while responding to each other and how they express their inner feelings filled with admirations and a kind request:

hajurko sundar bachanharu sundakheri
patra lekhi pauna aba pheri

Listening to your pleasing words of honour
Let me get a response again in the letter (collection)

The male or female youth who first begins singing *palam* sings a complete part for the time and then only the turn shifts

towards the next one. One complete part (usually it is more than twenty couplets or about an hour time) may consist of a certain length of expression of feelings, opinions and queries of an either side. Although the social norm in the community is that the dancing and singing *palam* is usually initiated by the male youth, the female youth may also begin it when a male youth comes to the girl's place being a guest.

Recently, some of the verses of *palam* seemed to have been drawn in from other languages, some of them are also found being mixed up among different languages, and some of them are borrowed from the English language as well which shows its dynamicity of an intangible cultural heritage.

bhangalo khola, tarinchha hola (Nepali)

washera yangdang phokpi-la-be (Limbu)

May the forked stream be crossed

laptonko bootle hiptungbaro (English-Limbu mixed-up)

akkheric ta?jeng patungbaro (Limbu) (collection)

We also find a blend of very interesting rhyme scheme even within a single line creating a perfect rhetoric that assimilates with the singers' daily activities. The singers, according the Chaitanya Subba (1995), “show their knowledge about the characteristics of particular places or objects and demonstrate their skills of poetic expressions and give sentimental touch in its delineation” (53). For an instance,

ya?-akma kangdhik lachchha pandhik

Spade for a digging object, a one subject.

Hence, *ya?lang* is a unique folk performing art which constitutes a variety of songs and dances over time and places. Sometimes, the words and idioms are used in such a way that it creates the local atmosphere which evokes both love and respect simultaneously, comparing to the beloved as *phung-e* or the flower, symbol of love and youth. Moreover, daily activities are expressed with the use of common items to

make it sound both formal and familiar request among one another. This again exposes their tradition of courtesy and respect. For example,

thakthami laget tel-lapnero
thikpandhik phung-e sel-lapnero

Befitting clothes due to borderline
one matter flower (beloved) I'd ask thine (collection)

Conclusion

Folk-songs embody an essential part of the cultural activity in the Limbu community. They are constant set of linguistic practices orally transmitted down from generation to generation. *Palam* (text) is performed in variety of ways because of fluid and multi-leveled nature of oral tradition. It is also a collective memory of the past and has no individual authorship, and therefore, it's a living culture. Zumthor (1985) observes oral tradition as history of communication, and mentions that oral poetry is "an art which arises spontaneously from language and the perpetuation of which is a constant of history, so much so that it could be called one of the factors by which man can be defined" (1). In this context, *Palam* has been living voice of the community which significantly helps to form a distinctive identity and definition to the Limbu people how they poetically communicate one another. There would not be any apparent opponent as such in *palam*, but both or all amicably collaborate in joining or piecing together so as to disseminate knowledge and ideas among one another and preserve such knowledge of the memory through performance. It manifests, as per Subba, "a means of communicating and sharing of feelings between acquainted and unacquainted young man and woman and enhancing understanding and cordiality" (54).

Additionally, it helps to create a unique identity forming a particular folk group, and also serves to affirm identity inside

and outside the wider Nepalese society. It is a collective creation, an exclusive cultural performance and cultural expression of Limbu community. As “Oral performance,” for Clifford Geertz, “is one of the notions at present crisscrossing academic boundaries and contributing to the metaphoric mix” (167), and the *palam*, too, gives the sense of an intangible but powerful connection to something deep and unknown, conveying narratives as well as creative ideas set in the human world, and pinpointed in the local geography.

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SUBORDINATION IN TAPLEJUNGE LIMBU

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This Paper is an attempt to describe the linking process between linguistic units so that they have different syntactic status in the Taplejung Limbu, a dialect of the Limbu language. Some simple kinds of subordinating markers which are found in this language are also presented.

1. Introduction

Limbu language is the language of Limbu which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family. The Limbus are called yakthumbas, one of the major ethnic groups in eastern Nepal and the language spoken by them is called yakthumba pan or Yakthung pan. Sirijunga lipi is the script of Limbu language. The origin of the Limbu language is the Eastern parts of Nepal, especially Panchthar, Taplejung, Terhathum, Dhankuta, Sankhuwasabha, Illam, Jhapa and Sunsari districts. This language is also spoken in some parts of India; mainly in Sikkim, Assam and Gangtok. The recent census of 2001 gives the number of mother tongue speakers as 3,33,633.

Taplejung Limbu is a dialect of four dialects of the Limbu language such as Panthare, Phedappe, Taplejung and Chhathare. This is a dialect spoken in the north of Phedap (Tehrathum) and specially the north of the Tamor river in Taplejung district and beyond. It includes three sub-dialects such as Tamorkhole, Yangrupe and MainwaKhole (Vandriem, 1987). This dialect is also called Tamorkhole dialect.

Some linguistic works (i.e. subordination) have been done in Limbu. Vandriem (1987) studied on general types of subordination in the Phedappe Limbu. Subba (2005) analysed

the clause combining process in Panthare Limbu. Similarly, Tambahang (2007) analysed the clause combining process in Chhathare Limbu. But, there is no document that studied on the subordination in Taplejung Limbu.

2. Subordination

In general, subordination refers to the combination of units such that one is dependent on the other. Crystal (1997: 443) defines 'subordination' as "a term used in grammatical analysis to refer to the process of linking linguistic units so that they have different syntactic status, one being dependent upon the other and usually a constituent of the other." So, subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators. Subordinators are the formal devices in making subordinating clauses. Let us consider the following example in Limbu;

- (1) *aŋa?* *nisamhim* *me-be-ga-n* [*t^hyaŋb^helle* *aŋa?* *tugaŋ* *we-yaŋ*]
 1SG school NEG- go –PST-NEG because 1SG sick be-PST
 'I didn't go to school because I was sick.'

In the example (1), *t^hyaŋb^helle aŋa? tugaŋ weyaŋ* is the subordinate clause of the matrix clause *aŋa? nisamhim mebeگان*.

3. Types of subordination¹

On the basis of potential form of subordination (of clause), we can distinguish into finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. Finite subclause includes full clause and relative clause. Likewise, non-finite subclause includes –ed clause, -ing clause, infinitive clause, absolute clause and verbless clause (Kies, 2007).

¹ All the linguistic terms and definitions of subordinate clauses are adopted from Kies (2007).

3.1 Finite subordinate clause

Finite subordinate clause contains the finite verb. A finite verb is a form of verb that can occur on its own in an independent sentence and shows tense ,aspect, mood contrasts.

3.1.1 Full clause

The subordinate clause which has its own subject and its own verb is called full clause. It is found in Limbu. For example;

- (2) [k^hunɛʔ ʔe-aŋ] k^heʔ-lle hara leru-aŋ pe
 3SG arrive-PST 3SG-ERG early leave-PST go-PST
 'Since he arrived, she left early.'

In the sentence given above (2); the subclause gets its own subject and own finite verb. Here, k^hunɛʔ ʔe-aŋ is the subclause of the matrix clause 'k^hunɛʔ hara leruŋ'.

3.1.2 Relative clause

In Limbu, -ba/ben are the prenominalized markers which make the process of relativization. Hence, prenominalized relative clauses are found in Limbu. For example;

- (3) [d^həran ke-yuŋ-**ben**] iŋaʔ amb^hu ro
 Dharan PRT-live-PNM 1SG brother be-NPST
 'He is my brother who lives in Dharan.'
- (4) [ku-laŋ keyek-**pa**] tebəl-nin iŋaʔ-in-ro
 leg break-PNM table-PRT 1SG-POSS-be-NPST
 'The table whose leg has broken is mine.'

However, in some very few cases, the post nominal relative clause can be found in Limbu. For example;

- (5) aŋaʔ mənən kusiŋniʔ-uŋ [**k^hanen** sapla kiburu-aŋ wə-ye] be-PST
 1SG man know-PST whom book give-PST be-PST
 'I know the man to whom you loaned the book to.'

3.2 Non-finite subordinate clause

Non-finite subordinate clause contains the non-finite verb. A non-finite verb is the form of the verb which occurs on its

own only in dependent clause, and lacks tense and mood contrasts.

3.2.1 *-ed* clause

In Limbu, *-ed* clause is marked by the presence of *-ed* verb form at the final of subordinate clause; in clause final position. For example;

- (6) [tʰonuyo posaŋ-**aŋ**] iŋaʔ təkʰa-n ler-u
 confusion become-PST 1SG room-PRT leave-PST
 'Covered with confusion, I left the room.'

3.2.2 *-ing* clause

In Limbu, the *-ing* verb form occurs in the clause final position of the subordinate clause. For example:

- (7) [iŋkʰəŋ kʰepsu-**ra**] kʰuneʔ hara ler-u
 news hear-PROG 3SG early leave-PST
 'Hearing the news, he left early.'

3.2.3 Infinitive Clause

In Limbu, the infinitive verb form (i.e. *-ma*) occurs in clause final position of the infinitive clauses. For example;

- (8) [iŋkʰəŋ-en kʰe-**ma**] kʰuneʔ hara ler-u
 news -PRT hear-INF 3SG early leave-PST
 'To hear the news, she left early.'

3.2.4 Verbless clause

There is a lack of any verb form in the verbless clauses. In Limbu, there can be found such kind of verbless clause. For example;

- (9) [nubasaŋ təpʰempasaŋ] apʰellesaŋ kʰuneʔ kʰezok co-k
 right wrong always 3SG worse do-NPST
 'Whether right or wrong, he always comes off worse in argument.'

3.2.5 Absolute clause

Absolute clause can be defined as much like the –ing clause, however it begins with a pronoun in the genitive or objective case that seems to function as subject of the '-ing verb'. It can be found in Limbu. For example;

- (10) [k^hunε-**in** iŋk^həŋ k^hepsu-aŋ] hara le-ru
 3SG-POSS news hear-PST early leave-PST
 'Her hearing the news, she left early.'

The phenomena of absolute clause is very close to –ing clause. In the sentence (10), the –ing clause begins with the pronoun (i.e. k^hunε-**in**) as genitive or objective case and it seems to be subject of the –ing verb. Here, the bound morpheme '-in' of the 'k^hunε-in' is the Limbu genitive case marker. The third person pronoun of the matrix clause is to be dropped.

4. Limbu subordinators²

Limbu subordinators generally occur as in clause final position of the subclause. The Limbu verb suffix plays an important role in making subordinate clauses because it occurs as both prenominalized and subordinating markers.

Some simple kinds of Limbu subordinators with their illustrations are given as follows:

a) t^hyaŋp^helle

- (11) aŋa? nisamhim me-pe-gan t^hyaŋp^helle aŋa? tugaŋ
 1SG school NEG-go-NEG because 1SG sick
 weyaŋ
 be-PST
 'I didn't go to school because I was sick.'

² Subordinators can be divided into simple, complex and correlative(see; Quirk, R et al 1985: 998).

b) -ille

- (12) aŋaʔ pu posaŋbasik-**ille** taŋsaŋ-t^haŋ peraŋ-pa
 1SG bird be-PST-if sky-POST fly-PRT
 'If I were a bird , I would fly in the sky.'

c) -aŋ

- (13) aŋaʔ send^hu-s-**aŋ** ut^hteraŋ me-bi-raŋ
 1SG ask-PST reply NEG-give-PST
 'Although, I asked for , he didn't reply.'

d) -nulle

- (14) k^huneʔ aŋaʔ-**nulle-aŋ** kelaba co-k
 3SG 1SG-than-PRT clever be-NPST
 'He is clever than I am.'

e) -sik

- (15) Krishna **ku-sik** iŋaʔ pim-ma me-suk-ŋan
 3SG as 1SG jump-INF NEG-can-NPST
 'I can't jump as Krishna does.'

f) haŋle

- (16) **haŋle** heŋaŋba sapma kaŋ-u k^hen menc^huma ro
 whose red pen be-PST that girl be-NPST
 'She is a girl whose pen is red.'

g) -ba

- (17) d^həran keyuŋ-**ben** iŋa amb^hu ro
 Dharan live-PNM 1SG brother be-NPST
 'He is my brother who lives in Dharan.'

h) -kəɾə

- (18) k^heneʔ kebek-**kəɾə** aŋaʔ me-be-k-ŋa-n
 3SG go if 1SG NEG-go-NPST-PRN-NEG
 'I will not go if you go.'

i) aṭi

- (19) aṭi k^heneʔ kesiraḡ^haŋ aŋaʔ k^haʔyo keṭ-na
 where 3SG like-PST 1SG there reach-NPST
 'I shall reach there ,where you like.'

j) -b^henne

- (20) k^huneʔ ʔe-aŋ-b^henne k^hen pe
 3SG arrive-PST- as soon as 3SG go-PST
 'She left as soon as he arrived.'

5. Conclusion

Taplejung is a dialect of Limbu language which is spoken in Taplejung district, the Eastern region of Nepal. Limbu has both the finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. The pronominalized relative clauses are found in this language. The Limbu verb suffix plays an important role in making subordinate clauses. Limbu has also simple kinds of subordinators such as t^hyaŋp^helle, -ille, -aŋ, -nulle etc which occur in clause final position of the subordinate clauses.

Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular	2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular	INF	infinitive
NEG	negation	NPST	non-past
PRN	pronominal	PST	past
PNM	pronominal	POST	postposition
POSS	possessive	PROG	progressive
PRT	particle	Sub	subordinate

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PASSIVIZATION IN BHOJPURI

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Bhojpuri sentences with an agent, a patient and a transitive verb agreeing with the agent are active and those with the patient, agent followed by a postposition *se* and the verb with suffix *-wala* or *-ala*; or perfective suffix *-il* or *-Al* followed by the verb *ja* 'go' are passive.

1. Introduction

Like the other Indo-Aryan languages, Bhojpuri has two types of transitive verbs: simple transitive & ditransitive. Both exist in a pair of related sentences, traditionally called active and passive but semantically alike. Active and passive sentences are differentiated as per the role of the verb in agreement with agent or otherwise. If the verb agrees with the agent, it's considered active, otherwise it's passive. For example, consider the following sentences:

- (1) a. $\text{f}\Lambda\text{m am k}^{\text{h}}\text{a-ile/ni}$
I mango eat-Npt.1s
'I eat a mango.'
- b. $\text{f}\Lambda\text{mra se am k}^{\text{h}}\Lambda\text{-wala/k}^{\text{h}}\text{a-il jala}$
me by mango eat-pass.3s.Npt/eat-pft go-3s.Npt
'A mango is eaten by me.'
- (2) a. $\text{f}\Lambda\text{m oke ci}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i lik}^{\text{h}}\text{-ile/eni}$
I him/her letter write-Npt.1s
'I write him/her a letter.'
- b. $\text{f}\Lambda\text{mra se oke ci}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i lik}^{\text{h}}\text{-ala/lik}^{\text{h}}\text{-Al jala}$
me by him/her letter write-pass.3s.Npt/write-pft go-3s.Npt
'A letter is written by me to him/her.'

Sentences (1a) and (3a) are considered active sentences consisting of NPs, both as a subject and an object, and a transitive verb. Sentences (1b) and (2b) are considered as passive sentences. The passive sentence consists of a subject NP, a postpositional phrase of the NP+ *se* and transitive verb with the particle suffix *-wala* or *-ala* or the perfect particle suffix *-il* or *-al* followed by the verb *-ja* 'go' in agreement with the subject NP.

Despite the vital grammatical differences, the pairs of sentences shown above in (1) and (2) are semantically the same. Both have the same truth condition, i. e., whatever assertion is made in 1.a is also made in 1.b, and vice versa.

Moreover, the semantic relations between the set of NPs and the transitive verbs in active sentences are manifested by the NPs and transitive verb in the passive sentences. Therefore, the subject NP *ɦam* 'I' either in active sentence (1a) or in (2a) and the object NP *ɦamra se* 'by me' either in passive sentence (1b) or (2b) have the same role of agent. Similarly, the NP *am* 'mango' in (1a) and (1b) and *citt^{hi}* 'letter' in (2a) and (2b) are patient. Likewise, the NP *oke* 'him/her' is dative both in sentences (2a) and (2b).

Therefore, the deep structure of either active or passive sentences in Bhojpuri is considered the same. For this purpose, the deep structure of sentences in (1) is provided below:

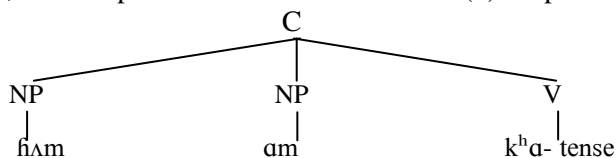


Diagram 1: Sentence tree

But Bhojpuri has also the tradition of passivization of intransitive verbs. Consider the following sentences:

- (3) a. $\text{ɦ}\lambda\text{m } \text{ɦ}\lambda\text{s-ile/eni}$
 I laugh-1s.Npt
 'I laugh.'
- b. $\text{ɦ}\lambda\text{mra se } \text{ɦ}\lambda\text{s-ala/ɦ}\lambda\text{s-}\lambda\text{l jala}$
 me by laugh-pass.3s.Npt/laugh-pf go-3s.Npt
 'It's laughed by me.'

Sentence (3a) is considered active and (3b) as passive.

2. Process of passivization

It is accepted that majority of the principal verbs in Bhojpuri are initially active and are passivized following certain processes. Consider the following verb patterns:

English	Root	Inf. active	Inf. passive	
'eat'	$k^h\text{a}$	$k^h\text{aeke}$	$k^h\lambda\text{waeke}$	$k^h\text{ail jaeke}$
'go'	ja	jaeke	$\text{j}\lambda\text{waeke}$	jail jaeke
'get'	pa	paweke	$\text{p}\lambda\text{waeke}$	$\text{paw}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'sing'	ga	gaweke	$\text{g}\lambda\text{waeke}$	$\text{gaw}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'drink'	pi	pieke	piaeke	$\text{pi}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'tailor'	si	sieke	siaeke	$\text{si}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'kill'	mar	mareke	maraeke	$\text{mar}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'burn'	jar	jareke	jaraeke	$\text{jar}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'steal'	cor	coraweke		$\text{coraw}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'cut'	$\text{k}\alpha\text{t}$	$\text{k}\alpha\text{teke}$	$\text{k}\alpha\text{taeke}$	$\text{k}\alpha\text{t}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'beat'	pit	piteke	pitaeke	$\text{pi}\text{t}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'victory'	jit	jiteke	jitaeke	$\text{jit}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'whiten'	gor	goreke	goraeke	$\text{gor}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'knit'	bin	bineke	binaeke	$\text{bin}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'cook'	nin^h	nin^heke	nin^haeke	$\text{nin}^h\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'laugh'	$\text{ɦ}\lambda\text{s}$	$\text{ɦ}\lambda\text{seke}$	$\text{ɦ}\lambda\text{saeke}$	$\text{ɦ}\lambda\text{s}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'weep'	ro	roeke	roaeke	$\text{ro}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'take'	le	leweke	liaeke	$\text{lel/lef}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$
'give'	de	deweke	diaeke	$\text{del/def}\lambda\text{ jaeke}$

The presentation of the verb patterns above shows that there are two ways of passivization in Bhojpuri: (a) occurring some phonemic changes; and (b) converting the infinitive into perfective followed by the root verb *ja-* 'go' infinitive.

a) Passivization due to phonemic changes

We see that suffix morpheme *-eke* symbolizes initial infinitive for active verbs. When they are passivized, mid-open vowel *-a* precedes it. For example,

English	Root	Infinitive active	Infinitive passive
'drink'	pi	pieke	pieake

But when the root ends with /a/, an unaspirated voiced bilabial glide /w/ comes between the final /a/ of the root and initial /a/ of the passive suffix. For example,

English	Root	Infinitive active	Infinitive passive
'eat'	k ^h a	k ^h aeke	k ^h Λwaeke

In this way it can be concluded that passivization in infinitive verbs of Bhojpuri occurs with the insertion of /a/ or /wa/, considered to be the allomorphs of /a/ between the root and infinitive morpheme *-eke*. But in this case, the final /a/ of the root is changed into half-open back vowel /Λ/ in most of the cases.

b) Passivation with perfective particle followed by *ja-* infinitive

Passivization of the active infinitive verbs followed by *ja-* infinitive is a bit simple. The principal verb is simply changed into perfective mood by adding the suffix *-il* or *-al* followed by *ja-* infinitive. For example,

English	Root	Infinitive active	Infinitive passive
'eat'	k ^h a	k ^h aeke	k ^h ail jaeke

'go'	ja	jaeke	jail jaeke
'get'	pa	paweke	pawal jaeke

Unlikely, there are some principal verbs in Bhojपुरi having their initial infinitive forms in passive. They are activated if needed. Consider the following verb patterns:

English	Root	Infinitive	
		Passive	Active
'die'	mΛr	mΛreke	mareke
'trap'	p ^h Λs	p ^h Λseke	p ^h Λsaweke
'fall'	gir	gireke	giraweke
'rise'	u ^t h	u ^t heke	u ^t aweke
'retreat'	fiΛt	fiΛteke	fiΛtaweke
'laugh'	fiΛs	fiΛseke	fiΛsaweke
'grow'	bΛ ^t h	bΛ ^t heke	bΛ ^t aweke

As passivization is the focal point of the discussion, is not necessary to discuss the activation process. But the presented verb patterns above illustrate that Bhojपुरi has both, the active verbs to be passivized and vice versa.

3. Structural description and structural change

Going through the above sample data, the structural description and structural change involving passivization in Bhojपुरi can be presented in tree diagram hereunder:

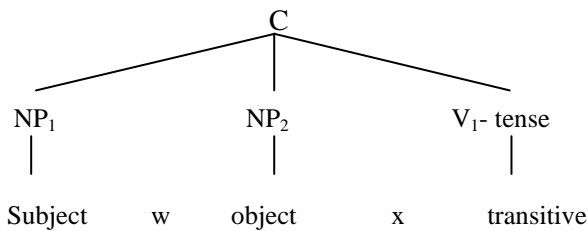


Diagram 2: Structural description (Active sentence)

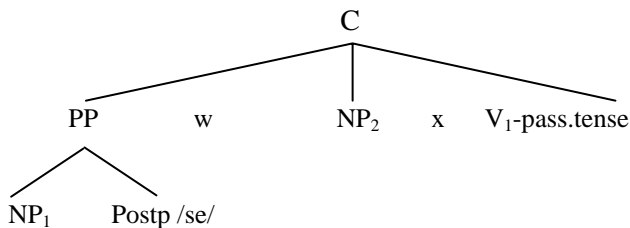


Diagram 3: Structural change (Passive sentence)

- (4) a. hΛm am k^ha-t bani/k^ha-tani/k^ha rΛfΛl bani
 I mango eat-ipf be-H.Np/eat-imp.H.Np
 'I am eating a mango.'
- b. hΛmra se am k^hΛ-wata
 me by mango eat-pass.3s.ipf.Np
 'A mango is being eaten by me.'

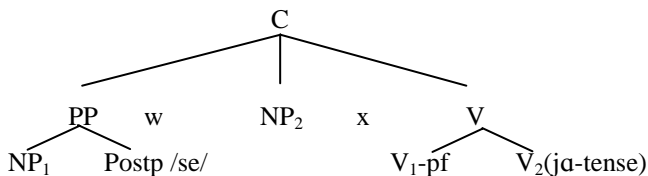


Diagram 4: Structural change (Passive sentence)

- c. hΛmra se am k^ha-il jata/k^ha-il ja rΛfΛl ba
 me by mango eat-pf go-ipf.3s.Np/eat-epf go live-imp be-3s.Np
 'A mango is being eaten by me.'

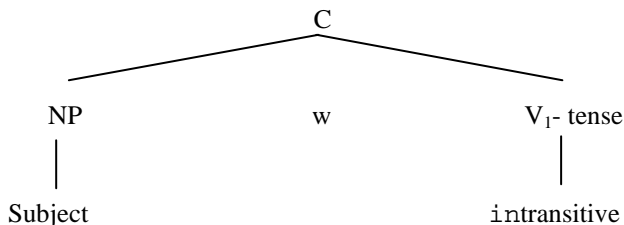


Diagram 5: Structural description (Active sentence)

- (5) a. u g^hʌr-e sut-ʌl.
 s/he home-postp(place) sleep-3s.Pt.nH.
 'S/he slept at home.'

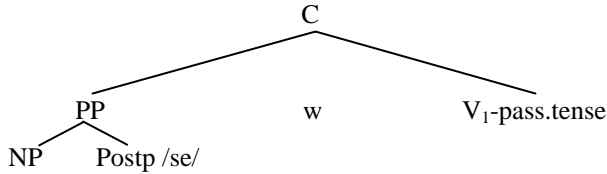


Diagram 6: Structural change (Passive sentence)

- b. okra se g^hʌr-e sut-ʌil
 him/her by home-postp(place) sleep-pass.3s.Pt.nH.
 'It was slept by her at home.'

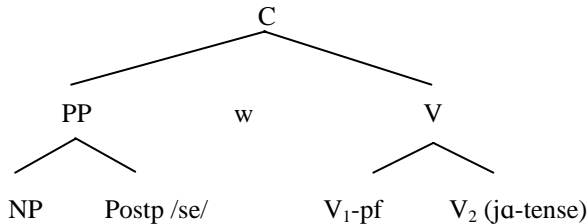


Diagram 7: Structural change (Passive sentence)

- c. okra se g^hʌr-e sut-ʌl gʌil
 him/her se home-postp(place) sleep-pf. go-3s.pt
 'It was slept by her at home.'

Hence w and x represent other lexical categories that may occur between NP₁ and NP₂ and between NP₂ and the following transitive verb, as well as between NP and intransitive verb.

4. Objectives of passivization

The active sentences in Bhojpuri are passivized to fulfill the following objectives:

- a) To neutralize the role of agent.

- (6) a. mofian kutta ke mar de-lak.
Mohan dog postp(ob) kill give-3s.pt.nH.
'Mohan killed the dog.'
- b. mofian se kutta mar di-ail
Mohan by dog kill give-pass.3s.pt.nH
'The dog was killed by Mohan.'
- c. kutta ke mar di-ail
dog postp (ob) kill give-pass.3s.pt.nH
'The dog was killed.'

Hence the role of agent is neutralized.

b) To neutralize honorificity.

- (7) a. pradh^hanmantri janata ke sambod^han ka-ini
Prime Minister people postp(ob) address do-pt.H
'Prime Minister addressed the people.'
- b. pradh^hanmantri se janata ke sambod^han
Prime Minister by people postp(ob) address

b^hil/ka-il ga-il
be-3s.pt.nH/do-pf go-3s.pt.nH
'The people were addressed by Prime Minister.'

c) To express capacity:

- (8) a. fiam gac^h kat-ile/eni
I tree cut-1s.Npt
'I cut the tree.'
- b. fiamra se gac^h kat-ala/kat-al ja-la
me by tree cut-pass.3s.Npt/cut-pf go-3s.Npt
'The tree is cut by me.'
'I have the ability to cut the tree.' (Expression of Capacity)

5. Conclusion

Bhojpuri principal verbs and sentences are found both active and passive initially but the majority is of active group.

Bhojpuri language has a rich tradition of passivization of the active infinitives and sentences. The processes of passivization are found at phonological and morphological levels. Deep structure and meaning are almost identical in corresponding active and passive sentences. Though the semantic relations of the agent and patient are considered the same, the passivization fulfills the objectives of neutralization of the role of agent and its honorificity as well as expression of capacity to perform. Moreover, this paper is an effort to arouse curiosity among Bhojpuri populace as well as learners and scholars to further their study and research to maintain the status of Bhojpuri as a living language.

Abbreviations

1s	First Person Singular	3s	Third Person Singular
Npt	Non-past	pass	Passive
pf	Perfect	NP	Noun Phrase
H	Honorific	nH	non-honorificity
V	Verb	postp	Postposition
pt	Past	ob	object

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IN SEARCH OF THE TIBETO-BURMAN GENES

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This paper is an agnostic response of a reader to two different papers published recently by Professor Georg van Driem of Leiden University, the Netherlands. They seem to be pleading for conflicting approaches to language or languages

Professor van Driem's paper on the Diversity of the Tibeto-Burman Language Family and the Linguistic Ancestry of Chinese is a major departure in his career as a historical linguist of great distinction

Like most of his admiring readers one may be wondering why he has abandoned his initial robust agnosticism, so articulately propounded in the *Languages of the Himalayas* (2001), where he was committed to keep Historical Linguistics away from the seductive temptations of Archaeology and Population Genetics.

For one thing, not too different from recorded human history, the timeframe of Historical Linguistics is too shallow and limited to a few millennia. Even where texts are available, (e.g., the Indus Valley Seals or the Rig-Veda) their textuality or chronology is fiercely debated. We don't know much about East Asian Archaeology but in South Asia, archaeology is in the doldrums, and the specialists are piecing together the prehistoric past, with everything erected on shifting sands, including the so-called "absolute chronology" of radiocarbon dating.

Is the *Rig-Veda* composed/compiled in 4000 BC (A.D. Pusalkar) or in 1500-1200 BC (Western Indologists)? Is there

continuity between the Indus Valley Civilization and the Indus-Gangtic cultures (Yes, W.S. Fairservis, *Inside the Texts*. edited by Michael Witzel, pp. 61-68. No, Classical Indologists of the West, led by Max Muller)? Are the Indus seals "scripts" (yes, say the Finnish scholars deciphering 2000 seals) or mere "symbols" (Witzel/Farmer)? If they represent a script, was the language the Dravidian, the Vedic Sanskrit, or was it Para-Munda? Was the corpus compiled by the "indigenous" Aryans, assembled around the domestic/public fireplaces in the Harrapa/Mohenjo-daro (Hindu/Vedic fundamentalists)? Did the Aryan "invaders" come roaring in hordes through the Khyber Passes with their horse-driven "chariots" (Western Indologists)? Were/weren't the horses already bred in the Indus valley (the on-going Witzel/Frawley controversy)?

In the vast corpus of Vedic literature, there is not a single reference to the migration of Aryans, and even the scanty passage cited, for example by Michael Witzel from the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (18:44:397-399), is challenged as a "fraud" just as its translation and syntactic interpretations were found faulty by, among others, George Cardona, for instance.

Were the iron ores found in South India "indigenous" or "meteoric fall outs"? They might be either, says Gregory Possehl, since the difference between the two sources is their nickel content. When did the Iron Age begin in India, 12th century BC (Chakrabarti) or late 8th century BC. (D.D. Kosambi)? Was the Mahabharata War fought in the battlefields of Kuru, actually fought with Neolithic clubs (B. Lal)? Kuru/Pā~cāla (Witzel) or Kośala-Magadha (Kosambi/Thapar) the earliest historical State? What happened to the Vedic India between the Indus Valley urbanization and the so-called "Second Urbanization" and the period of sixteen republics/kingdoms--contemporary with the Buddha? Indeed,

when was the Master born? Is there any infallible date in early India, other than Alexander's Invasion in 327-325 BC?

The answers to these numerous thorny issues are no longer assured, given on "falsifiable/verifiable" historical facts, but selected on the basis of one's "ideological" preferences so that even revered archaeologists like B.Lal have begun to say that "there is no real break in the cultural continuity between the Saraswati Valley (i.e., the Indus Valley) Civilization and the Classical 'Hindu culture' of later city-states built on the material culture and technology of Painted Grey Ware Pottery".

Van Driem's audacious survey of the Protohistory and Prehistory of Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman populations on the move from their homeland (wherever it may have been) is breath-taking on its own, unmatched even by the epic strides he took in the Himalayan Languages volumes.

But how does one verify/falsify one or other of "the contesting scenarios"? Obviously, with the help of Historical Linguistics based, we believe, on "long-range comparisons"? These lexical comparisons are in turn based on "sound correspondences" which are neither *regular*, nor *shared* widely within the TB/ST languages so that "cognacy judgments", as he put for Matisoff's, are still mostly inspired guess work, and protolanguage reconstruction is still an esoteric art.

The vicissitudes of Chinese Historical Phonology have just begun, looming larger by the day, with Baxter, Sagart, Li etc, each dismembering vintage Karlgren's , 1957 reconstructions of Classical Chinese piece by piece, still arguing whether Proto-Chinese had two vowels or four or six!. If one goes by Zev Handel (2007), the very existence of the Sino-Tibetan language family is "in a state of flux", if not dubious! And the status of a Tibeto-Burman sub-family is,

naturally, an article of faith, as van Driem (2004) put so eloquently while reviewing Thurgood and LaPolla (2003) volume.

The best studied and analyzed Protolanguage is the Indo-European. Yet, we may just note the title of Colin Renfrew's *Language and Archaeology: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (Cambridge: 1987). What Indo-Europeanists like Calvert Watkins (see, *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. Boston :Houghton Mifflin Co., 1985, pp. 17-24)) have done is reconstruct the material culture by means of a reconstructed Proto-Indo-European language, *not the other way round* , as we seem to be attempting.

The time-depth of language divergence with attested historical texts is about a millennium or a millennium and half, if one takes the example of Middle Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia, believed to have descended from the so-called Classical Sanskrit. Such a timeframe is too shallow for archaeology, more so for genetics.

In archaeology, frequently used terms like "Prehistoric Ages" have "degenerated into little more than archaeological shorthand --jargon, if you like," these are the caveat of the seasoned South Asian archaeologist , Stuart Piggott (1959: 5). A firm chronology of discrete material cultures or technologies based either on tools and implements in use, or on beads and ceramics such as pottery and crafts is still a far cry in South Asian archaeology.

The renowned Vera Gordon Childe (1956) thought that the Indus Valley Civilization/ cities were "examples of democracy at work." However, his peer, Eric Raymond Mortimer-Wheeler's excavations seemed to prove otherwise, and he wrote in his autobiography that "the bourgeois complacency of the Indus civilization had dissolved into dust, and instead, a thoroughly militaristic imperialism had raised

its ugly head among its ruins" (1955:192). However, his literal interpretation of the Rig-Vedic passages as “echoes of the Indo-Aryan invasion” is now in thorough disrepute among South Asian archaeologists!

A politically vocal right-wing “fundamentalist-Hinduttva” school condemns it as a hangover of racism! The Internet is now littered with websites debating “the Aryan Invasion Theory” for and against it, so that even the strongest spokesmen of this vintage theory (Witzel, Romila Thapar, Irfan Habib, R.S. Sharma, etc.) are arguing in mellow voice for its threadbare version as Aryan Migration Theory or Aryan Elite Influx Theory!

Most of us are not familiar with population genetics, much less with recent work on the DNA studies on the Tibeto-Burman populations, reporting shallow time-depth mutations that van Driem cites in his paper. We believe it was no other than Charles Darwin who announced in Chapter 14 of *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, that if the tree of genetic evolution were known it would enable the scholars to predict that of language evolution. This heroic optimism is echoed by Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza et al., 1988 who published the genetic tree of evolutionary origins of 42 world's populations, together with their linguistic affiliations, claiming that “the genetic clustering of world populations MATCHES that of languages” (*Scientific American*, November 1991:109). (Capitalization mine). However, they also said that the genetic markers did not cause the linguistic diversity, and secondly, in many cases the genes disagree so that the “correspondence” is not absolute: there was no Bantu gene that forced any group to speak that language.

However, the crux of the problem with the Mt-DNA sequences (total 147 known so far?) is that their mutations take place at an average interval of several millennia, 2-4%

per million years! The Y-Chromosome DNA sequence M-91 is believed to be the deepest ancestor of M-168 "the Eurasian Adam". One of his successors, M-172 is believed to have spearheaded the Neolithic Migration out of Africa, some 50,000 years ago. It is, of course, anyone's wildest guess whether he spoke a "click language" (Hadzabe/San, according to Wells, 2006: 149) or the Bantu!

How did this single "father language" give birth to more than 6000 existing "daughter languages" or mother tongues? Can the "crude" data of population genetics (to repeat van Driem's own words for some results) resolve this puzzle? At least, some studies reported for South Asia are too crude and sweeping. For example, a Utah, Louisiana, and Andhra University joint team reported that "the members of the upper castes are more genetically nearer to Europeans while lower caste members share more genetic similarities with Asians" (Bamshad et al., 2001: 998-1004). This unrevealing conclusion was arrived at by studying 250 unrelated individuals in Southern coast of India from "the 18 social castes".

The 21 attested DNA sequences of Y-chromosome of world's "male ancestors", on the other hand, diverge at an average time-depth of 10 millennia. These sequences, arguably, do NOT enable the Historical Linguist to identify a given sequence with a given language family, much less a speech community. *The Great Migrations of Human Race*, narrated for instance by Haywood (2008), are not less than 50 in the last two millennia, and there are hardly any geographical region now which is an ethnic/linguistic enclave. The utility of the data from Population Genetics for the Historical Linguist, who works within a shallow time-depth of a couple of millennium, is at best dubious. It is not clear if there is any shallower DNA sequence of Y chromosome that

can be *matched or correlated* with a single language family, a sub-family or a branch, or even with their dispersal .

Unlike in the past, we do not surf the Web a great deal these days. But not long ago, we found the following in a website named "Genetic Chaos", in a posting by Havelock, dated Thursday April 3, 2007:

By using 19 Y chromosome biallelic markers and 3 Y chromosome microsatellite markers, we analyzed the genetic structure of 31 indigenous Sino-Tibetan speaking populations (607 individuals) currently residing in East, Southeast, and South Asia. Our results showed that a T to C mutation at locus M-122 (i.e., the East Asian "Adam"--KPM) is highly prevalent in almost all of the Sino-Tibetan populations, implying a strong genetic affinity among population in the same language family..We, therefore, postulate that the ancient people, who lived in the upper-middle Yellow River basin about 10,000 years ago and developed one of the earliest Neolithic cultures in East Asia, were the ancestors of modern Sino-Tibetan populations.

Now, does this sound a familiar note to us? Are we anywhere nearer the "homeland of the Sino-Tibetan speakers"? Are these findings less valid than those reported by the Chinese groups or by van Driem's team? Do the findings of the group support the Tibetan social/historical documents analyzed, for example, by Stein, 1961 ?

The source of diversity among the Tibeto-Burman languages may very well be their kinship and marriage institutions, not unlike those of the Rai-Kiratis. In these fiercely exogamous communities, the husband doesn't understand the dialect of the wife so that they communicate in a creole, thus giving rise to more than 48 documented "mutually unintelligible" dialects/languages within the small geographic region of the

Dudhkosi/Arun River valleys. Genetic sampling of these population is not likely to provide any answer to this diversity.

Stanley Wolpert, Professor of Indian History at the University of California, Los Angeles wrote in his controversial textbook on Indian History, prescribed for 6th Graders in the state of California,

the final wave of tribal invasions may have come after the first Aryans started over the north-west passes. This was the most important of all invasions in India's history, since the Aryans brought with their Caucasian genes a new language—Sanskrit (Wolpert, 2008:27).

The problem with this neat theory is that it equates the Sanskrit language with “the Caucasian gene” while no genetic data can ever reveal such a correlation.

In the meantime, we must admire van Driem's "Dallas Manifesto" all the more for its sturdy empiricism and pragmatic plea for sound descriptive grammars and share his distrust of "pre-formatted style in grammar writing". However, his blanket condemnation of Chomsky's work as "sham" is, perhaps, too strong, loaded and sweeping. As all of us have not read major recent output of the Himalayan Languages Project we may not be able to tell if they are not inspired by ANY "theory of grammar/syntax". Was van Driem's Limbu Grammar or Dumi Grammar or the Djongkha Sketch drawn upon a *tabula-rasa*---a clean theoretically uninspired slate? What about HIS own Theory of Symbiosis?

Doesn't his Tibeto-Burman paper, delivered at Taipei, with its speculative sweep for synthesizing Genetics and Archaeology of East Asia with a Proto-Sino-Tibetan language and its multiple scenarios belie the Dallas Manifesto?

Like van Driem, most of us don't seem to have any more strong appetite for theories. They are a legion, each so densely laden with jargon these days, but with hardly any insights. However, few have yet reached a point in angry recoil to have to say that "everything old is gold", nor are all of us yet awe-struck with the Dutch grammatical treatises on the Japanese language produced in the 17th century, exclaiming in despair, "Blessed are the Innocent." One may believe theoretical innocence is one thing, but theoretical ignorance is quite another. However, we are still puzzled why van Driem calls his paper, The Dallas Manifesto, not a Leiden Charter!

Has it some connection with the impending crash of "Casino Capitalism", epitomized by American cities like Dallas, full of "fat cat CEOs"?

We believe that much sound work in Linguistics is done by typologists (Comrie, Croft, Whaley, the World Atlas of Language Structures group based in the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Department of Linguistics, <http://www.eva.mpg.de/Lingua> etc), or by functionalists (Givon, van Valin etc), or by Johanna Nichols, charting typological traits by geographic regions or time-depths, or by Nakhleh, Ringe and Warnow, working on mathematical/computerized models of "Perfect Phylogenetic Networks" (2005:382-420).

Most of us still think that it is better to compare one single word, or selected /diagnostic semantic domains, if you like, in all the languages of the putative family or its branches or sub-branches, or within a geographical region than trying to do everything within or beyond a language family by relying on methodologies beyond one's disciplinary reach.

A dictionary of TB synonyms, focused on a specific geographic region, say the Wollo Kirant or Pallo Kirant, covering a limited number of culturally neutral semantic

domains, is likely to yield more tangible results than wild etymological speculations on Protolanguages.

To our diehard conservative thinking, a bird in hand of the Comparative Linguist is still better than two chirping dimly in the dark prehistoric bushes of Genetics and Archaeology!

At old age, naturally we feel the need of some stable walking stick to find one's way in over-grown vegetation.

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ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF NEPALI JHYĀL¹

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Nepali *jaskel/jaskelo* ‘side door, window’ is proposed as the immediate source of *jhyāl* ‘window’, whose etymology has long been disputed. The origin of *jaskelo* remains unknown.

Nepali *jhyāl* ‘window’ appears to be a Nepalese lexical innovation, surrounded as it is, in neighboring Indo-Aryan languages (and even in the Nepali of Darjiling) by *khirkī/khidkī*. Turner proposed no etymology in his great Nepali dictionary (1965[1931]), and the word does not appear in his Indo-Aryan comparative dictionary (1966, 1985).

Other lexicographers have tried to fill this gap. Bal Candra Sharma, in the first Royal Nepal Academy dictionary (1962/1963), declared that the word was of Newar origin (cf. modern Newar *jhyā:*), a hypothesis which gave rise to lively controversy. In a characteristically polemical article, “*jhyāl kasko* [whose is window?]”, Mahananda Sapkota (V.S. 2027 = 1970 C.E.) refuted the idea of Newar origin and identified *jhyāl* as a descendant of Sanskrit *jāla* ‘net’. This etymology appeared in the second Royal Academy Dictionary (Pokharel 1983/4).

On the semantic side, Sapkota’s argument for *jāla* as the source for ‘window’ depends on the topological resemblance between lattice-windows, or even woven bamboo shutters, and nets. There is support for this connection in Sanskrit itself; Monier-Williams (1970: 419-420) cites ‘lattice-window’ as a secondary meaning of *jāla*. Turner, in his comparative

¹ Paper presented at the 25th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal, Kathmandu, November, 2005.

dictionary (1966, no. 5213), cites one or two instances where modern descendants of Sanskrit *jāla* have the secondary meaning ‘window’. But he was not moved to include Nepali *jhyāl* among these.

One point raised by Sapkota against Newar origin was quickly refuted by the Newar scholar Indra Mali. Newar origin does not imply the unmotivated addition of final *l* by Nepali speakers. Modern Newar *jhyā:* is a regular reflex of older Newari *jhyāl*, which itself continues a still older form *jhyār* (Mali 1970).²

My purpose is not to review this old controversy in detail, but to introduce a new piece of evidence. In the end, the best argument against an etymology is a more convincing one.

The controversy over *jhyāl* was fresh in my mind when, in 1972, in a Hayu village in Ramechhap, among houses which had no windows, I learned the Nepali word *jaskelo*, used for the small side door on the downhill side of the house. Turner (1965: 211) has the following:

jaskel, in *jaskel dailo* a small gate at the side of the house, wicket-gate.

jaskelo, s. A small window. [cf. *jaskel*.]

(I have since heard *jaskelo* used for small windows in Achham.) This, I thought, was the origin of *jhyāl*.

The word *jaskel* is not attested in other Indo-Aryan languages or in Newar.

Semantically, the relationship between ‘door’ and ‘window’ is a classic one. As Buck (1949: 469) remarks concerning Indo-European generally, “Words for ‘window’ are connected with those for ‘door’, ‘light’, ‘wind’, and ‘eye’.” Nepali *khirkī* and

² I do not know the precise phonetic significance of the final -r in this written form.

widespread related words in India (Turner 1966 no. 3770) are examples.

Phonetically, I do not know of any exact parallel to the change from *jaskelo* to *jhyāl*, but it appears less difficult than the complexification of *jāl*.³ In particular, the *e* of *jaskel* is a plausible source for the *yā* of *jhyāl*.

Accepting *jaskel* as the source of *jhyāl* leaves a number of questions unanswered, but it does appear to rule out any role for *jāla* ‘net’. The origin of *jaskel* itself, and the date and the authors of its transformation to *jhyāl* are questions that remain for further research.

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WH-QUESTION FORMS: EVIDENCES FROM THE DURA LANGUAGE¹

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This paper explores wh-question forms of Dura that exhibit fronting interrogative pronouns beginning with the phonological feature of an initial consonant *k* except in *hade* and incorporates distinction of morphological case marking suffixes.

1. Background

Nepal is situated linguistically between two major language families of the world, namely Indo-Aryan group and Tibeto-Burman group. These languages spoken in Nepal are specifically affiliated to the four language families: Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. In other words, linguistic diversity in Nepal is worth examining to account for seventy (Toba 2002: 254) one hundred and forty (<http://www.uwm.edu/noonan/iceland.handout.pdf>) and one hundred and twenty six (Griemes 2000: 471) languages and several dialects spoken in Nepal. The number of languages spoken in Nepal varies in several research and records because some dialects are interpreted as languages. The Dura had already been claimed to be extinct (Bandhu 2003: 9) whereas the government statistics enumerates Dura as a language spoken by 3397 speakers in Lamjung (CBS, 2001: 170) The

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented to the 28th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2008 I would like to express my gratitude to all the participants for their valuable comments and suggestion on the first draft of the paper.

Dura language and people were not included before as a distinct language and ethnic indigenous group of Nepal. The total population of Dura is 5,169 (CBS 2001: 170) and 5,676 (Dura Sewa Samaj 2054: 1)

2. The theoretical phenomena of wh-question forms

A sentence in Dura, as a level of grammatical hierarchy, is a stretch of speech, which contains one or more clauses, which has a final intonation pattern, and which can also stand alone as an acceptable proposition. Greenberg's (1966) six logically possible clause orders are acceptable clause orders which are found in the Dura language. However, the most common basic constituent order is S (subject) O (object) V (verb) like Gurung (Glover) Tamang (Taylor 1973) Manange (Genetti, 2004). The main reasons behind this are: the speakers' strong intuition to SOV, and least marked and pragmatically naturalness (Whaley 1997: 106) in terms of agreement pattern. The Dura language does not show person, number and gender agreement with the verb. Similarly it lacks the agreement pattern between the modifiers and modified nouns. In this way, we can classify Dura sentences in three types: declarative, integrative and imperative (Nagila 2007). These three types recur most frequently in the world languages which correlate respectively with speech act categories statement inquiry, and directive (a cover term for request, command, orders. Instruction and the like (Asher and Simpson, 1994: 3845). Similarly, there are hortatory verbs that they express a desire for action, whether by exhortation. The hortative employs the suffix *-aie* as the non imperative imperative. These are yet to be tested in my ongoing research on Dura. This paper contains a preliminary description of wh-question form of the language. To be precise, there are mainly different wh-question forms in the languages of the world following word order difference, clitic particles tag question and supra segmental phenomena i.e. intonation, and tone. Depending on language universals, all

the languages of the world are the same (Whaley 1997: 4). The interrogative pronoun in the Dura begins with the phonological feature of an initial consonant *k* sound. These Question words in Dura operate within a paradigm intersecting with the same locative suffixes like *-la* and *-na*. Before we look at paradigms, we need to look at the basic root morpheme.

The content question words are as follows:

kəla	'Where	kaləi	'Somewhere'
kala	'Where to	kudiije	'Anyway, at any cost'
komo	'When'	komo komo	'Rarely, sometimes'
kodo	'How'	kot ^h o	'What like'
kudru	'What-like'	hade	'What'
hadelatepəni	'Whatever'	suipotenəni	'Whoever'

3. Lexical case markers in Dura

Case is a system of marking in dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. (Blake 1994: 1) Case marks the relationship of nouns to a verb at the clause; level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another nouns at the phrase level. The morphological case marking in Dura establishes grammatical relation or semantic role to the clause. If the nominals are plural, it occurs after the plural markers. When an adjective follows the noun, the case marker comes after the adjectives. Dura is an ergative language. The object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb have the same case marking. These contents question words with lexical case markers in Dura are schematized as follows:

4. Wh question words in Dura

Who (nominative)	su-
Who (accusative)	su-re
Who (Dative to)	su-ni
Who (Dative for)	su-re
Who (Genitive)	su-ni

Who (commutative)	su-daci
Who (Ablative)	su-duge
Who/What (Instrumental)	su-ge
Where (Locative)	kəla -la, nkaidu, na
Where (Goal)	duge
Where (Ablative)	
How much (...)	kodo-da
How many (...)	kodo-da

Consider the following sentences:

- (1) a. pau bro ro-ba
tomorrow man come.NPT
'Man will come tomorrow.'
- b. pau su ro-ba
tomorrow who come-NPT
'Who will come tomorrow ?'
- c. bro komo ro-ba
man when come-NPT
'When will man come ?'
- d. pau kodu dzəna bro ro-ba
tomorrow how many man come.NPT
'How many men will come tomorrow ?'
- e. pau bro haməi ro-ba
tomorrow man why come-NPT
'Why will man come tomorrow ?'
- f. to ki-ni mere^h ro-duna
yesterday my-GEN daughter come.PT.PROG
'Yesterday my daughter was coming.'
- g. to na-ni mere ro-un-aie
yesterday your daughter come.PT.QUES
'Was your daughter coming yesterday ?'

The declarative sentence (1a) is in SOV constituent order in the Dura language because the verbs of declarative sentences often have a distinct form from those in other sentences in

Dura language. The Dura is also considered mood prominent language². The same sentence can be formed into content question or non polar question in (1b,1c,1d,1e) sentences using the content words *su*, *komo*, *kodu* and *hamai* respectively. The temporal adverbs *to* and *pau* are used to mark tense in the language. But the sentence (f) is also a declarative and its interrogative is sentence (g) The suffix *-aie* is inflected to the copular to form polar interrogative or yes/no question. As such, the polar interrogative do not involve question words. Interestingly, it is also marked with tone until the final syllable which is an upglide.

Let's consider the following sentences. in the realm of deontic modality:

- (2) a. su-ge dou pu-si
 who-Erg. win Ident.Cop.PROB
 'Who may win ?'
- b. ŋi k^hai-te-pəri-baie
 I go.OB. NPt
 'I must go?'
- c. no əŋredai pete k^həi-baie.
 you Eng. speak PoSS.Npt
 'Can you speak English?'

The sentence (2a) marks probability with the morpheme *si* and the content word *su* whereas the sentence (2b-c) express obligation and possibility respectively. Interestingly, the morpheme *aie* suffixed to make the polar or yes/no question and to imply politeness in the discourse. Consider the following copular sentences in the example:

- (3) a. na-ni kiu kala le
 you-Gen house where Iden.Cop.NPT.
 'Where is your house ?'

² Based on personal communication with Prof.Dr. T.R Kansakar.

- b. na-ni kiu kala po-una
 you-GEN house where Ident.Cop.PT.
 'Where was your house?'
- c. na-ni mere kodo-da po
 you-GEN daughter how-Cl exist.Cop.Npt
 'How many daughters do you have ?'
- d. na-ni mere kodo-dapo-una
 you-GEN daughter how .NUM exist.COP.Pt
 How many daughter did you have ?

There are two copular verbs in the Dura language: existential copular *po* and identification copular *le*. In the sentence (3a) the content question is made out of a copular sentence. In each sentence the content words *kala*, *kodo dzana* and *kodo da* are used to mark interrogative clause. The suffix *una* is attached to *po* and *le* to form past tense:

- (4) t^hono nibla-lu no-ge hade co-ba
 today morning-Loc you-Erg what eat-Npt.
 What did you eat today morning ?

The sentence (4) is in present tense with the present tense marking suffix *ba*. The content question is formed using the interrogative pronoun *hade*. Consider the following sentence in progressive tense.

- (5) a. no hada udumu
 you what do-Prog
 'What are you doing ?'
- b. ŋi penp^həi-dumu
 I rest-prog.
 'I am resting.'

The question sentence (5a) has progressive tense marker suffix *-dumu* to denote that the action was continuously done

at the movement of speaking. The wh-form of such a participle clause expects such an answer as in the sentence (5b).

The following sentences (6a-i) are common forms of questions asking time with positive and negative assumptions. The quantitative content questions manifesting an interrogative with a phrase comprising *kodo, kotho* plus a noun which belong to the same syntactic class as quantitative degree and clauses in non-interrogative sentences. In sentence (6g) the dummy object has no actual reference to nominal:

- (6) a. kodo hai-da
 what time-PT
 'At what time?'
- b. na-ni umer kodo la-da ?
 your-Gen age how become ?
 'How old are you?'
- c. kotho-po ?
 How Cop.Exist.
 'How are you?'
- d. i kodo kat^he po
 this how big cop.Exit.Npt
 'How big is it?'
- f. kodo rej po
 how long cop.Exit.Npt
 'How far is it?'
- g. i kodo kano po
 this how long cop.Exit.Npt
 'How long is it?'
- h. i hade le
 this what cop.Iden.Npt
 'What is it?'
- i. su-ge c^hiu le
 who said cop.Iden.Npt
 'Who said?'

But the following sentence (7) is an example of complex expression built on question word *Su*. Such *wh* forms serve both negative and positive presupposition in the discourse:

- (7) *sui-ge* *rote* *b^haka* *c̄oteti-ba*
 Whoever come.Np
 'Whoever comes get to eat.'
- (8) *p^hagupurne-la* *d^hai* *ro- ba- aie*
 phagupuone-LOC all com.PRES.QUES
 'Will all come at phagupurnima ?'

Consider the following sentences:

- (9) a. *su-ge* *c^hi^u-le*
 who-Erg say Iden.cop.Npt
 'Who says ?'
- b. *i* *ŋi* *le*
 It I Iden.cop.Npt
 'It's me.'

In this sentence (9a) the animate noun content question manifesting the question word *su* which belong to the same syntactic class as animate nouns in non-interrogative phrase and nouns in the sentence (9b):

- (10) *ram-ge* *hade* *p^hadi-ba ?*
 ram-ERG INTER read-PRES
 'What does Ram read ?'
- (11) *ŋo* *kala* *hudu-ba ?*
 you where stay-PRES
 'Where do you stay?'
- (12) *su* *market* *khai-da ?*
 whomarket go-PT
 'Who went to market ?'
- (13) *su* *tanu-da ?*
 whosleep-PT
 'Who slept?'

- (14) no kadu k^haute-po
 you where go.be
 'Where are you going ?'
- (15) no komo rou-na
 you when come
 'When did you come?'
- (16) i kudin bane-da
 this how make.PT
 'How did you make it ?'

The following sentences prove that there exist double form of question in the Dura language. The interrogative serve as rhetorical question too. In my conversation with the informant in direct form, such question(17a and 17b) occurred very rarely:

- (17) a. su-ge hade c̄o-da
 who what eat.P
 'Who ate what ?'
- b. su-ge hade ra-da
 who-Erg what brink
 'who bought what ?'

The following sentence (18a,18b) characterized by the presence of content question words are alternative question. In order to display the choice of the speaker or hearer such question is usually used and there is always correlative coordination missing. But the Dura mother tongue speaker are found to be using Nepali conjunction *ki* because they have intend to shift to Nepali, one of the geographically neighbouring language on the east of Dura village:

- (18) a. no hade kiu-ba c̄ija ki kəfi kiu-ba
 you what drink-Npt tea coffee drink-Npt
 'What do you drink tea or coffee ?'
- b. su ro-da re ki mere ro-da
 who come.Pt son or daughter.com.Pt
 'Who came son or daughter?'

The echo-formation question in the Dura express surprise because the new information is contradictory to the belief held by the speaker. The speaker repeats one of the words from the statement of his interlocutor with sharp rising tone. Consider the following question:

- (19) a. su skul khai-da ma-khai.
 who school go-Pt Neg-go.Pt
 ' who went school and didn't ?'

5. Summary and conclusion

The description of the question formation in the Dura reveals a number of features of holistic typological interest reported in most of the TB languages of Nepal. Thus, my linguistically significant assumption is that the wh-construction in Dura exemplifies a range of variations that derive the following deep universal elements. The data presented in this article demonstrate that the speaker's and hearer's presuppositions play important role in question formation in the Dura language. The phenomenon wh-in-situ i.e the question word that do not moves to the front of the sentence but remain in their normal structural position is prominent in this language.

Abbreviations

TB	Tibeto-Burman	Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative	COP	Copular verb
Com	Commitative	Dat	Dative
Fut	Future	Ins	Instrumental
Loc	Locative	Neg	Negative
Num	Numreal	Nom	Nominative
Obl	Obligatorily	Prob	Probability
Poss	Possibility	QM	Question Marker
θ	Zero or null		

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NEGATIVIZATION IN THE KUMAL LANGUAGE¹

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There are two processes of negative formation in the Kumal language - prefixation and suffixation and three negative markers *nə-*, *-nə* and *nakh-*. This paper details out these processes and the markers in the Kumal language.

1. Introduction

The preliminary studies show that in the Kumal language there are two types of 'be' verb. They are: Existential and Identificational. In the following sub-sections of this paper, we address the negativization processes of the verbs in the Kumal language. These will be followed by their non-past and past forms respectively.

2. Negativization of existential 'be' verb in the non-past form

This sub-section of the paper deals with the non-past form of the existential 'be' verbs in the Kumal language. The following examples clarify the above claim:

- (1) a. *məɪ̯ yã ba-təm*
I here be.EXI-nP1s
'I am here.'
- b. *məɪ̯ yã nakh-əm*
I here NEG.be.EXI-nP1s
'I am not here.'

¹ This is a revised version of the paper presented in the 24th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) Kathmandu Nov.26-27, 2003.

- c. hāre yā bat-i
we here be.EXI-nP1p
'We are here.'
- d. hāre yā nakh-i
we here NEG.be.EXI-nP1p
'We are not here.'
- e. u yā bat
s/he here be.EXI.nP3s
'He is here.'
- f. u yā nakh
s/he here NEG.be.EXI.nP3s
'He is not here.'
- g. u yā bəit
she here be.EXI.nP3sF
'She is here.'
- h. u yā naikh
s/he here NEG.be.EXI.nP3sF
'She is not here.'

As discussed in the introductory part of this paper, the negative marker *nakh-* is common (Except third person singular feminine (1g-h) for the first, second and third persons with respect to existential 'be' verb in the non- past form. We find that there is an agreement for person, number, and honorificity. In the examples above, examples (1b, d, f, and h) are the negativized sentences of examples (1a, c, e, and g) respectively. However, for the first person singular, honorific system, gender and plural number, it has separate markers. For example, for the first person singular *-əm*, first person plural *-i*, second person singular non- honorific *-e*, plural and honorific *-ə*, third person singular non-honorific masculine *nakh*, third person plural *-ə* third person singular non-honorific feminine *naikh*, and third person plural and honorific *-ə*.

The table given below presents the detailed illustration of the negative form of the non-past form of the Existential ‘be’ verb:

Table 1: Negative of the non-past form of the existential ‘be’ verb

Person \ Number	Singular	Plural
First Person	nakh-əm	nakh-i
Second Person	nakh-e	nakh-ə
Second Person h	nakh-ə	
Third	nakh	nakh-ə
Third F	naikh	nakh-ən
Third h	nakh-ən	

3. Negativization of existential ‘be’ verb in the past form

As far as the past form of the existential ‘be’ verb is concerned, the negative marker *nə-* is prefixed to the root of the very verb. Observations through (2a-f) below show that sentences 2 a, c, and e are the past form of the existential ‘be’ verb indicated by *rə-* and 2 b, d and f are the negativized sentences respectively. It is, therefore, clear that *nə-* is prefixed for making the sentences negative.

- (2) a. u tyā rə-i
s/he there be.EXI-P3s
'S/he was there.'
- b. u tyā nə-rə-i
s/he there NEG-be.EXI-P3s
'S/he was not there.'
- c. uni tyā rə-nən
s/he there be.EXI-P3sh
'S/he was there.'
- d. uni tyā nə-rə-nən
s/he there NEG-be.EXI-P3sh
'S/he was not there.'

- e. uni-həru tyã rə-nən
s/he-p there be.EXI-P3p
'They were there.'
- f. uni-həru tyã nə-rə-nən
s/he-p there NEG-be.EXI-P3p
'They were not there.'

4. Negativization of the identificational 'be' verbs in the non-past form

There are two types of identificational 'be' verbs. They are past and non-past. Negative marker for both the past and non-past is *-nə* itself. We make the sentences negative by the suffixation process for the non-past. As we observe the examples (3a-f), we derive the idea that there is not any significant difference between the Nepali and the Kumal languages with respect to the non-past form of the identificational 'be' verb. The reason might be the influence of the Nepali language on it.

- (3) a. məĩ kisan həi-nə
I farmer be.IDN-NEG. nP1s
'I am not a farmer.'
- b. hãre kisan həi-nə-ũ
we farmer be.IDN-NEG-nP1p
'We are not farmer.'
- c. tãĩ kisan həi-nə-s
you farmer be.IDN-NEG-nP2s
'You are not a farmer.'
- d. təru kisan həi-nə-u
you farmer be.IDN-NEG-nP2sh
'You are not a farmer.'
- e. u kisan həi-nə
s/he farmer be.IDN-NEG.nP3s
'S/he is not a farmer.'

- f. uni kisan həi-nə-n
s/he farmer be.IDN-NEG-nP3sh
'S/he is not a farmer.'

5. Negativization of the identificational 'be' verbs in the past form

Sentences in the past form of the identificational 'be' verbs are negativized by the prefixation process. In the sentences below (4 a, c and f), *bhə-* indicates that it is the past marker for the very verb. We also see that *nə-* is prefixed to produce the negative sentences (4 b, d, and f). Moreover, sentence number 4 c (*bhə-l*) clearly shows that it stands for the third person singular, masculine and non-honorific system. Similarly, sentence number 4 e shows that it stands for the third person singular feminine non-honorific system.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (4) a. məi pas bhəi-nu
I pass be.IDN-P1s
'I passed.' | b. məi pas nə-bhəi-nu
I pass NEG-be.IDN-P1s
'I did not pass.' |
| c. u pas bhə-l
s/he pass be.IDN-P3s
'He passed.' | d. u pas nə-bhə-l
s/he pass NEG-be.IDN-P3s
'He did not pass.' |
| e. u pas bhə-il
s/he pass be.IDN-P3sF
'She passed.' | f. u pas nə-bhə-il
s/he pass NEG-be.IDN-P3sF
'She did not pass.' |

6. Negativization of the main verbs in the non-past form

The verbs other than the existential and identificational 'be' verbs can be negativized by the process of prefixation. The negative marker *nə-* is used to the root of the verb. As in the Identificational and Existential 'be' verbs, these verbs are also of two types: past and non-past.

In the following sentences, 5 a and c are the declarative ones whereas 5 e is the imperative one. All of them are negativized by the prefixation of *nə-* to the root of the verb.

- (5) a. u ghər bec-la
s/he house sell-nP3s
'He sells the house.'
- b. u ghər nə-bec-la
s/he house NEG-sell-nP3s
'He does not sell the house.'
- c. tǎi bhat pəka-le
you rice cook-nP2s
'You cook rice.'
- d. tǎi bhat nə-pəka-le
you rice NEG-cook-nP2s
'You don't cook rice.'
- e. tǎi ja f. tǎi nə-ja
you go.IMP you NEG-go.IMP
'You go.' 'You don't go.' '(You) don't go.'

7. Negativization of the main verbs in the past form

bhuk (to bark) and *de* (to give) in 6 a and b are the main verbs. We negativize them (6 b and d) by using the negative marker *nə-* before the root of verb. Both 6 a and c mark for the third person, singular number, masculine gender and non-honorific system.

- (6) a. kukur bhuk-əl b. kukur nə-bhuk-əl
dog bark-P3s dog NEG-bark-P3s
'The dog barked.' 'The dog did not bark.'
- c. chora-le ama-ke pəisa deles
son-E mother-D money give-P3s
'The son gave money to his mother.'
- d. chora-le ama-ke pəisa nə-de-les
son-E mother-D money NEG-give-P3s
'The son did not give the money to his mother.'

8. Conclusion

From the above discussion, we conclude that in the Kumal language, there are two types of negative marker: *-nə* and *nakh-*. In case of *-nə*, it is both prefixed and suffixed whereas with regard to *nakh-*, it is always suffixed. To make it much clearer, we present the table as a summary of the processes of negativization in the Kumal language.

Table 2: Processes of negativization in the Kumal language

	Identificational	Existential	Negativization of the main verbs
Past	nə-	nə-	nə-
Non-past	-nə	nakh-	nə-

Abbreviations

1	First Person	2	Second Person
3	Third Person	EXI	Existential (Aux)
F	Feminine	h	honorific
IDN	Identificational (Aux)	NEG	Negative
nP	Non-past	P	Past
p	Plural	s	Singular
IMP	Imperative		

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CASE MARKERS IN GHALE¹

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This paper attempts to present an overview of three main areas of case marking in the Ghale language- case marking on vowel and consonant final stems, case marking on personal pronouns, and various case forms like absolutive, ergative, instrumental, ablative, dative, locative, associative, and genitive/possessive.

1. The Ghale language

Ghale is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 1649 people as mother tongue (Census of 2001) living mainly in the Barpak Village Development Committee of Gorkha district and the surrounding area in the western development region of Nepal. The possible genetic relationship of the Ghale language within the Bodic section of Tibeto-Burman is under the Tibetic sub-group of Bodish group (Noonan 2007). Yadava (2003) has categorized the Ghale language as an endangered one.

2. Case marking

In a general overview, we can distinguish three types of case formation in Ghale.

i. The absolutive is represented simply by the unmarked noun stem as in (1):

- (1) ɲe-de kəŋ cə-de
 I-ERG rice-ABS eat-PST
 'I ate rice.'

¹ This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 28th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held in Kathmandu on 26-27 November, 2008.

- ii. The ergative and locative (Layer I) cases are marked by case affixes that interact morphophonemically with the oblique stem of the pronoun: $\eta\theta + \text{dze (I+POSS)} = \eta\text{dzze}$
See more discussion in 2.2 and cf. Table 3.
- iii. The possessive/genitive (Layer II) cases combine transparently with the dative case in noun stem as in (2):

- (2) $\eta\text{in}\theta \text{ t}\theta\text{-dze-lagi}$
we village-GEN-DAT
'for our village...' (cf.GK.115)

2.1. Case marking on consonant and vowel final stems

In the following Table, we will see case marking system on vowel and consonant final stems of nouns. All case markers are normally directed by stem final phonemes, where the <de/te> is an ergative case marker.

Table 1: Case marking on vowel-final stems

Vowel	Stem	Stem+ERG
a	ka 'blood'	kade 'by the blood'
i	pai 'father'	paide 'by the father'
e	poe 'forehead'	poede 'by forehead'
θ	n θ 'nose'	n θ de 'by the nose'
u	kju 'water'	kjude 'by the water'
o	kjo 'dog'	kjode 'by the dog'

Table 2: Case marking on consonant-final stems

Cons.	Stem	Stem+ERG
p	t θ p 'leg'	t θ p θ te 'by the leg'
k	puk 'hole'	puk θ te 'by the hole'
r	η ur 'mouth'	η ur θ de 'by the mouth'
η	k θ η 'hill'	k θ η θ de 'by the hill'
m	kim 'house'	kim θ de 'by the house'
n	cen 'tiger'	cen θ de 'by the house'

In the above Tables (1 and 2), the case marker is directed by the preceded consonant types. The voiceless consonants, i.e. /p/ and /t/, make the ergative case *-te* and the voiced consonants /r/, /ŋ/, /m/ and /n/ make the ergative case *-de*. Thus, the voicing contrast will be more applicable in case marking.

2.2. Case marking on personal pronouns

The case marking on personal pronoun in Ghale is interesting from the point of view of sound change when one or more than one suffix, either case or plural marker is attached to personal pronoun. See Table-3 for illustration.

Table 3: Case marking on personal pronouns

	SG		DL		PL	
		POSS		POSS		POSS
1 st	ŋə	ŋi-dze /ŋei-dze	ŋi-ŋi	ŋi-ŋi-dze	ŋi-ju	ŋi-ju-dze /ŋi-ŋu-dze
2 nd	nə	nəi-dze /nei-dze	nəmə-ŋi	nəmə-ŋi-dze	nəmə-ju	nəmə-ju-dze /nəmə-ŋu-dze
3 rd	ŋu	ŋu-dze	*ŋu-ŋi	*ŋu-ŋi-dze	*ŋu-ju	*ŋu-ju-dze
(demonstrative)	thim (bə) (that)	thim-dze	thimi-ŋi	thimi-ŋi-dze	thim-ju	thim-ju-dze /thim-ŋu-dze

Table 3 presents a general overview of case marking system on personal pronoun with possessive case marker abbreviated as POSS. There are three personal pronouns and one demonstrative, which are presented on the first column of singular pronoun, i.e. *ŋə*, *nə*, and *ŋu* as personal pronouns and *thim(bə)* as demonstrative. In the second column of singular pronouns; they are presented with possessive marker *-dze*,

where the pronouns are changed or modified to some extent, but in the third person pronoun, the possessive markers do not make any morphophonemic alteration in which it is attached.

In the first column of dual number, there are three pronouns, two personal, i.e. *ŋi-ŋi*, and *nəmə*, and one demonstrative, i.e. *thimi-ŋi*. Like possessive marker in second column of singular, the dual-marker in second column of dual, i.e. *-ŋi*, also modifies or changes the pronouns. But the possessive marker in the second column of dual pronoun can't make further changes than by dual marker in the first column.

Similarly, in the first column of plural, the plural marker *-ju* changes the basic pronoun either in personal or in demonstrative. The case of second column of plural is different from the second column of dual, where the possessive marker can't make further change than one made by the dual. There are two possible ways to express the plural marking: possessive with personal and demonstrative pronouns. Like possessive in dual, the possessive in plural can't make further changes than the one made by the plural. But there are also other forms that exist in personal and demonstrative pronoun, where the possessive marker changes the plural marker in all pairs except in the third person pronoun.

Although, the third person dual with possessive marker, and the third person plural with possessive markers are possible to be presented in a table, the native speaker can't accept this form as well. Therefore, these are presented with the ungrammatical (*) symbol.

There are four types of personal pronouns based on stem alteration when a suffix is attached. This is illustrated by the following diagram (1).

- a) No change in basic pronoun by any marker
- b) Change in basic pronoun by case marker
- c) Change in basic pronoun by case and other markers (i.e. dual and plural)
- d) Change in basic pronoun by other markers, but not by case marker

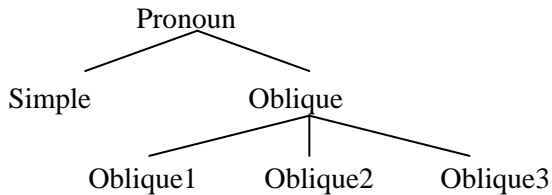


Diagram 1: Personal pronouns based on stem alternation

Simple: There is only one third person pronoun which is not changed in basic stem by any marker, either by case or by dual marker as in *ŋu + dze* (3SG+POSS) = *ŋudze*.

Oblique 1: There are three types of personal and demonstrative pronoun which are presented in oblique1-3 in the above Diagram. The pronouns which change in basic stem when a case marker is attached, as in (3a-b) in the following example, are taken within oblique1 category:

- (3) a. *ŋə + dze* (1SG+POSS) = *ŋeidze* ‘my’
 b. *nə + dze* (2SG+POSS) = *neidze* ‘your’

Oblique 2: The pronouns which change in basic stem when a case and other, i.e. dual and plural marker, is attached, as in (4a-b) in the following example, are taken within oblique 2 category:

- (4) a. *ŋə + ju* (1SG+PL) = *ŋiju + dze (+POSS)* = *ŋiŋudze*
 b. *nə + ju* (1SG+PL) = *nəməju + dze (+POSS)* = *nəməŋudze/nəŋudze*

Oblique 3: The pronoun which changed in the basic stem when other markers, either dual or plural marker, are attached. These types of pronouns are not changed by case marker as in (5a-b) in the following example, are taken within oblique 3 category:

- (5) a. $\eta\theta + \eta i$ (1+DL) = $\eta i \eta i + dze$ (+POSS) = $\eta i \eta i dze$
 b. $n\theta + \eta i$ (2+DL) = $n\theta m\theta \eta i + dze$ (POSS) = $n\theta m\theta \eta i dze$

2.3. Case marking system

Based on the assumption presented in Comrie (1989: 125) Ghale is an ergative-absolutive case system language. The ergative case marks the agent in the transitive clause morphologically. 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:

- (6) a. $\eta\theta - \emptyset$ kli-i
 I-ABS go-PST
 'I went'
- b. $\eta\epsilon - de$ kəŋ cə-de
 I-ERG rice-ABS eat-PST-1.SG
 'I ate rice.'

Based on this short description of how marking patterns is seen in Ghale, this may be the evidence towards a system of morphological ergativity in the language. More research on Ghale case marking is needed before a true syntactic either ergative/absolutive system or split ergative system can be argued for or against.

2.4. The case forms

As shown in Table 6 below, there are only five case forms in Ghale which are used for eight case names, including the genitive and possessive together in one case name.

Table: 6 Ghale case inventories

Cases	Forms
Absolutive	-Ø
Ergative, Instrumental and Ablative	-de
Dative, Locative	-ne
Sociative	-be
Genitive/Possessive	-dze

2.4.1. The absolutive -Ø

The absolutive case form is the unmarked form -Ø of the noun stem in transitive, as in (7a) and intransitive as in (7b):

- (7) a. cen-Ø si-de
 tiger die-PST
 ‘The tiger died.’
- b. ŋei-de cen-Ø si-de
 I-ERG tiger-ABS kill-PST
 ‘I killed the tiger.’

2.4.2. Ergative, instrumental and ablative -de

2.4.2.1. The ergative

The agent of the transitive clause, human as in (8a) and nonhuman as in (8b), always takes the ergative case marker -de:

- (8) a. ŋu-de ci thung-jə
 he-ERG wine drink-NPST
 ‘He drinks wine.’
- b. cen-de rə-ne jouŋ-de
 tiger-ERG got-DAT take-PST
 ‘The tiger took the got.’

2.4.2.2. The instrumental

The instrumental case appears voiced *-de* as in (9a) and voiceless *-te* as in (9b):

- (9) a. dzit-de əmbə cəkku-de sjə cel-de
 Jit-ERG this knife-INS meat cut-PST
 ‘Jit cut the meat by this knife.’
- b. ram-de top-te ʈəri-de
 Ram-ERG leg-INS hit-PST
 ‘Ram hit by his leg.’

2.4.2.3. The ablative

The ablative case marker is *-de* in both past, as in (10a) and non-past, as in (11b):

- (10) a. norja phuŋ-de joŋtə-de
 ant hole-ABL come-PST
 ‘The ant came from the hole.’
- b. ŋə tuŋgo-de ten-jə
 I tree-ABL fall-NPST
 ‘I fall from the tree.’

Not only affirmative clause uses the ablative marker, but also the question clause as in (11) below:

- (11) ŋənə ghəle jəb-ə kər-de rə-Ø
 we Ghale say-PRF where-ABL come-PRF
 ‘Being Ghale, from where we have come here?’

Sometimes, the ablative suffix is used with postposition also as in (12) below:

- (12) phjə-de lə rə-de
 above-ABL ox come-PST
 ‘The ox came from above.’

In corpus, the postposition *məise* ‘after’ normally comes with the ablative case marker, as in (13) below:

- (13) hor-de məise bə ci thung-ə ŋinə
 there-ABL after PRT wine drik-PRF we

 mi-te wə
 man-ERG PRT
 ‘After that, our man has drunk the wine.’ (cf. GK.046)

2.4.3. The dative and locative *-ne*

2.4.3.1. The dative

Dative case marker is *-ne* as in (14a) below:

- (14) ghəle radza-ne bə ə-ne gorkha-dze
 Ghale king-DAT PRT here-LOC Gorkha-GEN

 sahə radza-de...
 Shaha king-ERG
 ‘To the Ghale king, by the Shaha king of Gorkha...’

2.4.3.2. The locative

The locative form *-ne* normally occurs with inanimate noun, non-abstract as in (15a) and abstract as in (15b):

- (15) a. kim-ne ‘in home’ *pai-ne ‘in father’

 b. muru ghəle radzdze-dze min-ne
 yesterday Ghale kingdom-POSS name-LOC
 ‘Yesterday, in the name of Ghale kingdom...’(cf.GK.111)

Sometimes, the locative marker comes with unmarked \emptyset as in (16a) and with *wh*-words as in (16b) below:

- (16) a. ŋə khəireni- \emptyset pri-jə
 I Khaireni-LOC go-NPST
 ‘I go to Khaireni.’

- b. n̄ai-dze kim ke-ne
 you-POSS house where-LOC
 ‘Where is your house?’

2.4.4. The associative *-be*

The associative case marker is <-be>, as in non-human (17a) and as in human (17b):

- (17) a. n̄ə s̄jə-be kəŋ ci-jə
 I meat-ASSO rice eat-NPST
 ‘I eat rice with meat.’
- b. ale tai-be kil-i
 yonger-brother elder-brother-ASSO go-PST
 ‘Yonger brother goes with elder brother.’

2.4.5. The genitive/possessive *-dze*

The genitive case in Ghale is marked by the suffix *-dze*, as in (18a-b):

- (18) a. əmbə mi-dze bani cjə khjə̃
 that man-GEN habit good be.NPST
 ‘The habit of that man is good.’
- b. gorkha-dze sahə radza-de...
 Gorkha-GEN Shaha king-ERG
 ‘The Shaha king of the Gorkha...’ (cf. GK.026)

Genitive is deleted in the following example in corpus. This is illustrated in (19a-b):

- (19) a. kəmbə-ju-Ø pə
 old-PL-GEN matter
 ‘The matter of old man’ (cf. GK.001)

The possessive/genitive case combines transparently with the dative case in noun stem as in (20a), see also case marking in (Layer II), 2-iii, above:

- (20) a. η ineə tə-dze-lagi
 we village-GEN-DAT
 ‘for our village...’ (cf.GK.115)

2.5. Conclusion

In the Ghale language, the case marker is directed from the preceded consonant types but there is not any alternation on vowel final personal pronoun. Similarly, case marking system on personal pronoun can be categorized into four types: no changed in basic pronoun by any marker, changed in basic pronoun by case marker, changed in basic pronoun by case and other marker and changed by other marker but not by case marker. Finally, this paper is attempted to present five case inventories in Ghale which are marked for eight cases.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ABL	ablative
ABS	absulative	ADJZR	adjectivizer
ASSO	associative	cf	compare for
CL	classifier	CNV	converb
COND	conditional	Const	consonant
DAT	dative	DL	dual
ERG	ergative case	GEN	genitive
GK	Ghale King (text)	INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental	lit.	literal
LOC	locative case	NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case	NPST	non-past tense
NTVZ	nativizer	PER	perfective aspect
pg	page	PL	plural
POSS	possessive	PRF	perfective
PRG	progressive	PRT	particle
PT/PST	past tense	SG	singular

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THE SYNTACTIC ALIGNMENTS ACROSS THREE-ARGUMENT VERBS IN NEPALI

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Although there is some literature on compound and complex verbs (Boyé 1999, Pokharel 1999, Lohani 2003), on finite verbs (Genetti 1999), no work has been done on three-argument verbs and its alignments in Nepali. The data were collected following the Questionnaire (Comrie et al. 2009) and (Malchukov et al. 2009).

1. Introduction

Nepali is a language in the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family.¹ It is the major lingua franca in Nepal². It is also spoken in some parts of India, Bhutan and Burma. Many linguists (e.g. Turner 1931, Abadie 1974, Verma 1992, Klaiman 1987, Masica 1991, Li 2007, and Butt & Poudel 2007) have described it as an ergative or a split ergative language. A general look shows that there is a tense/aspect split in the distribution of ergative case in Nepali.³ The agent

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2 I also acknowledge the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst) scholarship (A/06/91690) to work on my PhD research.

3 The examples without further source are the author's whose mother tongue is Nepali. Moreover, all the examples have also been verified with other native speakers. I am also indebted to Prof. Balthasar Bickel, Prof. Edith A. Moravcsik, Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Diana Schackow and Robert Schikowski for helpful comments and discussions on this paper. Special thanks to Prof. Madhav P. Pokharel and Tika Poudel for helping me with their syntactic intuitions.

(A) of a transitive verb is always marked with the ergative marker in perfective or in past tense. However, it is not only restricted to the past and perfective domain, it is further extended to (Masica 1991, Li 2007) certain non-past forms as well. According to Li (2007), the ergative marker is optionally used with the simple present tense, the present progressive tense, the past progressive tense, the past habitual tense, and with the simple future tense. Moreover, it also appears with a few intransitive subjects (S).

Subject is the most important argument in Nepali. Most of the grammatical operations such as agreement, case assignment, reflexivization, subject raising, object raising and one of the nominalization strategies are controlled by the subject or the agent (Kärkkäinen 1994).

In the following sections, I describe and analyse the coding properties and different types of syntactic alignments. I also address the effect of animacy and definiteness in differential object marking in Nepali.

2. Syntactic alignment

Nepali ditransitive patterns are primarily encoded by case marking and do not share a single alignment system. Some verbs favor indirect object alignment where the recipient (R) is treated differently from the monotransitive patient (P) and theme (T), i.e. $T = P \neq R$. The theme (T) is encoded in the same way as P; it usually bears the unmarked nominative case. Other verbs tend to favor double object alignment i.e. both the T and R argument are nominative. There is yet another group of verbs where R is marked as nominative and T as instrumental. Apart from this, there are some verbs which align their arguments in locative-instrumental pattern. In addition to this, there is also a tripartite alignment system where all the major arguments get distinct cases, i.e. $A \neq P \neq T \neq R$.

In this paper, I use the recipient argument R to refer to the R like argument as it is described in (Malchukov et al. 2009), moreover, I use it in an extended sense of goal argument which remains either stationary or is manipulated to some extent (cf. Bickel et al. 2009).

2.1 Case and agreement

There are very few core cases like *-le* for Ergative, *-lāi* for dative, and *-ko* for genitive. Most of the grammatical relations are shown by postpositions which mark oblique arguments.

The A argument of the transitive clause is obligatorily marked with the ergative marker *-le* when it is in perfective, while the S argument of an intransitive clause remains unmarked. The dative marker *-lāi* is used on both the (P) and (R) arguments of monotransitive and ditransitive verbs only when the P and R arguments are animate or definite. Even the inanimate R is also marked with dative when it is definite.

The summary of case marking is as follows: with transitive and ditransitive verbs animate P and R are dative and the T is in the nominative. In the case of primary objects, the animate P and R are in the dative while the T is either in instrumental or in Nominative depending on the verb. In the direct object constructions, the case is rather different--both animate and inanimate P and T are nominative, but the R or the most goal like argument gets the locative case. The following examples illustrate the ergative, dative and nominative marking on the A, the P and the R:

- (1) a. hari-le kalam bhāc-yo
 H.-ERG pen[-NOM] break-PST.3s
 ‘Hari broke a pen.’

In addition to the past forms, we find *-le* in non-past constructions to express obligation or a necessity as in (1b):

- b. gitā-le kām gar-nu par-cha
 G.F-ERG work[-NOM] do-INF must-NPST.3s
 ‘Gita must work.’

All the recipient like direct objects, names, pronouns whose antecedents are persons are marked with the dative suffix *-lāi*, even if they are indefinite. Plural animate nouns are also marked with the same marker *-lāi* in various situations, as in (2b):

- (2) a. mai-le us-lāi kuṭ-ē
 1s-ERG 3s-DAT beat-PST.1s
 ‘I beat him.’
- b. us-le hāmi-haru-lāi nikkai lakḥet-yo
 3s-PL-ERG we-PL-DAT much chase-PST.3s
 ‘He chased us away.’

Inanimate and non-human nouns are not marked with the dative marker. It is ungrammatical to add *-lāi* to an inanimate object and non-human patient, as in (3a,b):

- (3) a. ramesh-le thailo bok-yo
 R.-ERG pack[-NOM] carry-PST.3s
 ‘Ramesh carried a pack.’
- b. *mai-le ghar-lāi kin-ē
 1s-ERG house-DAT buy-PST.1s
 ‘I bought a house.’

However, the dative marker *-lāi* appears with a few inanimate nouns when they are definite or modified by any demonstrative. In the example (4), the object is marked with dative when it is modified with a demonstrative:

- (4) mai-le tyo ghar-lāi bec-ē
 1s-ERG DEM house-DAT sell-PST.1s
 ‘I sold that house.’

All the above examples show that Nepali marks different objects in different ways. It distinguishes among animate, inanimate and definite objects which is known as differential

object marking (DOM) as described by Bossong (1985). Like in many other languages including Hindi, objects higher on the animacy/definiteness hierarchy are case marked in Nepali, and the inanimate and indefinite objects remain unmarked.

2.2 Case-marking in three-argument constructions

The distribution of case marking shows four distinct lexical valency classes for three-argument verbs in Nepali. All of them are illustrated below with proper examples from Nepali and other languages as well.

I. Dative-nominative construction

In this type of construction, the T always appears as nominative and the R as dative. However, the P can only be dative when it is either animate or definite. All the inanimate and indefinite Ps remain unmarked. Thus, it covers both the indirective and secundative alignment types.

In the examples above (2a,b), the animate P, and the R in the example below (5a,b), are marked with dative. The dative Rs are flagged by the dative case:

- (5) a. us-le bhāi-lāi patra paṭhā-yo
 3s-ERG brother-DAT letter[-NOM] send-PST.3s
 ‘He send a letter to his brother.’
- b. mai-le gitā-lāi kalam di-ē
 1s-ERG G-DAT pen[-NOM] give-PST.1s
 ‘I gave a pen to Gita.’

Unlike in Bangla/Bengali (Bhattacharya & Simson 2007), Korku (Nagaraja 1999) and Hindi where both the R and T are marked with the same object marker *-ke* when they are animate, as in (6a,b). However, in Nepali only the recipient (R) is marked with the dative marker:

- (6) a. Hindi: (own knowledge)
 laḍkā laḍki-yō-ko bacce-ko detā hai
 boy girl-PL-DAT child-DAT give AUX
 ‘The boy gives the child to the girls.’

- b. Hindi: web corpus
 laḍkā laḍki-yō-ko pāni detā hai
 boy girl-PL-DAT water[-NOM] give AUX
 ‘The boy gives water to the girls.’

In this respect, Nepali is different from other South Asian Indo-European and Munda languages. Both the inanimate (5a,b) and animate (6c,d) T arguments are unmarked in Nepali:

- c. mai-le hari-lāi chori di-ē
 1sA-ERG H.-DAT daughter[-NOM] give-PST.1s
 ‘I gave my daughter to Hari.’
- d. gopāl-le dulāhā-lāi dulahi dekhā-yo
 GERG bridegroom-DAT bride[-NOM] show-PST.3s
 ‘Gopal showed the bride to the bridegroom.’

However, pronouns behave differently in Nepali. Unlike nouns, if the T argument is a pronoun, it is marked with the dative case. Thus, the P, the T, and the R are encoded in the same way (T = P = R). In this pattern the T argument usually precedes the R argument in Nepali, as in (6e):

- e. mai-le un-lāi rām-lāi di-ē
 1sA-ERG her-DAT R.-DAT give-PST.1s
 ‘I gave her to Ram.’ (usually in a marriage situation)

The animacy and definiteness of the P determines which alignment it should follow. If the P is animate or definite, then it follows the secundative alignment. On the other hand, the inanimate or indefinite P adopts indirective alignment.

In some limited contexts, even an inanimate recipient or a goal like argument gets dative case when it is definite, and is treated as if it is animate, as in (7a,b):

- (7) a. us-le khet-lāi khād bād-yo
 3s-ERG field-DAT manure[-NOM] divide-PST.3s
 ‘He divided the manure for the field.’

- b. mai-le sansthā-lāi chori di-ẽ
 1sA-ERG organization-DAT daughter[-NOM] give-PST.1s
 ‘I gave my daughter to the organization.’

tirnu ‘to pay’, *becnu* ‘to sell’, *thagnu* ‘to cheat’, *paskānu* ‘to serve’, *bāñnu* ‘to distribute’, *lekhnu* ‘to write’, are common three-argument verbs which fall under this group.

II. Nominative/dative - instrumental construction

There are some verbs like *tālnu* ‘close’, *thunnu* ‘block’, *kuṭnu* ‘beat’, *kāṭnu* ‘cut’, *khāñnu* ‘thresh’, *lipnu* ‘smear’, *potnu* ‘coat’, *phornu* ‘to break something’ and and so on, where the R is marked as nominative and the T as instrumental:

- (8) a. keṭo-le kapadā-le doulo tāl-yo
 boy-ERG cloth-INS hole[-NOM] close-PST.3s
 ‘The boy covered the hole with a piece of cloth.’
- b. mahilā-le pachaura-le baccā dhāk-i
 lady.F-ERG shawl-INS child[-NOM] cover-PST.F
 ‘The lady covered the child with the shawl.’

But if the R argument is animate and definite, it is marked with dative and the T as instrumental, as in (9a,b):

- (9) a. un-le tyo koṭhā-lāi pāni-le pakhāl-in
 3s.F-ERG DEM room-DAT water-INS wash-PST.3s.F
 ‘She washed that room with water.’
- b. keṭā-haru-le bhāi-lāi lauro-le hān-e
 boy-PL-ERG brother-DAT knife-INS hit-PST.3ns
 ‘The boys hit the brother with a stick.’

In addition to *ghocnu* ‘to pierce’ and *pakhālnu* ‘to wash/clean’, there are some verbs like *hānnu* ‘to beat’, *kāṭnu* ‘to cut’, *chināunu* ‘to cut something apart’, *cimoṭnu* ‘to pinch’, and so on.

III. Locative-nominative construction

In this syntactic pattern, the P and the T are treated alike, while the R is marked with a locative case. Consider the following data in (10a):

- (10) a. *keṭi-le gilās-mā ciya bhar-i*
 girl-ERG glass-LOC tea[-NOM] fill-PST.3sF
 ‘The girl filled the glass with tea.’

It is also possible to have alternation with the ‘fill’ verb:

- b. *keṭi-le gilās ciya-le bhar-i*
 girl-ERG glass[-NOM] tea-INS fill-PST.3sF
 ‘The girl filled a glass with tea.’

(10a) and (10b) are constructions which occur in complementary distribution to each other. These are examples of alternation, rather than splits:

- (11) a. *mai-le bākas-mā kapadā rākh-ē*
 1s-ERG box-LOC cloth[-NOM] keep-PST.1s
 ‘I kept cloth on the box.’
 b. *keṭo-le kokro-mā baccā hāl-yo*
 boy-ERG cradle-LOC baby[-NOM] put-PST.3s
 ‘The boy put the baby into the cradle.’

It is also possible to have an animate R with locative case in the locative-nominative syntactic pattern. However, it is only possible with very few verbs like ‘keep’ or ‘put’, and is used in certain specified contexts, as in (11c):

- c. *bhāi-le amā-mā dhuṅgā rākh-yo*
 brothr-ERG mother-LOC stone[-NOM] keep/put-PST.3s
 ‘The brother put a stone on mother.’

In addition to the verb *bharnu* ‘fill’, and *rākhnu* ‘keep’ in examples (10a) and (11), this also covers verbs like *hālnu* ‘put’, *banāunu* ‘make or draw’, *lagāunu* ‘paint or apply’, *bernu* ‘pack or wrap up’, *bāḍhnu* ‘tie or fasten’, *lapetnu* ‘fold up or roll up’ and so on.

IV. Nominative-nominative construction

There are very few three-argument verbs in Nepali which behave like double object verbs, where all the object arguments are treated alike. In (12a,b,c), both the theme and the recipient like arguments are in nominative. In this type, the R argument appear in nominative even if it animate and definite, as in (12b). It is completely different from the constructions with ‘give’ verb where unlike ‘send’ verb, the R is always marked with dative. It seems the R or the goal like arguments are unmarked when they are locations:

- (12) a. rām-le ghar ciṭṭhi paṭhā-yo
 R.-ERG home[-NOM] letter[-NOM] send-PST.3s
 ‘Ram sent a letter to home.’
- b. mai-le chori iskul paṭhā-ē
 1s-ERG daughter[-NOM] school[-NOM] send-PST.1s
 ‘I sent my daughter to school.’

But if the T argument is definite, focused and animate, then it is marked with dative. However, the choice between the patterns mostly depends on definiteness rather than animacy in most of the cases:

- (13) mai-le bhai-lāi bidesh paṭhā-ē
 1s-ERG brother-DAT abroad[-NOM] send-PST.1s
 ‘I sent my brother abroad.’

In the same way, the R argument is also marked with a locative if it is definite and focused. Thus, both arguments can be marked when they are definite, as in (14a,b):

- (14) a. rām-le keṭo-lāi khet-mā paṭhā-yo
 R.-ERG boy-DAT field-LOC send-PST.3s
 ‘Ram send the boy to the field.’ (not to any other place)

If the recipient (or ‘goal’ in this case) argument is animate, then it will be marked with a combination of genitive and locative case, as in (14b):

- b. rām-le keṭo-lāi Hari-ko-mā paṭhā-yo
 R.-ERG boy-DAT H.-GEN-LOC send-PST.3s
 ‘Ram send the boy to Hari.’

Table: Distribution of alignment

Construction	Reference	P	T	R	Alignment
DAT-NOM	ANIM	DAT	NOM	DAT	PO (marked)
	INANIM	NOM	NOM	DAT	DO (marked)
NOM/DAT-INST	ANIM	DAT	INST	NOM	tripartite
	INANIM	NOM	INST	NOM	PO (un marked)
LOC-NOM	ANIM	DAT	NOM	LOC	tripartite
	INANIM	NOM	NOM	LOC	DO (marked)
NOM-NOM	ANIM	DAT	NOM	NOM	marked P
	INANIM	NOM	NOM	NOM	neutral

The following table presents a detailed summary of alignment patterns across three-argument verb constructions in Nepali. The table highlights that there are two distinct types of direct object constructions and two types of primary object constructions. It also shows that there is neutral, marked P, and tripartite alignments in Nepali.

3. Conclusion

This paper presents an in depth study of all kinds of three-argument verbs of Nepali. It typologizes all the three-argument verbs in four different groups and analyses them in terms of their syntactic and semantic behaviour. Nepali ditransitive constructions differ in terms of case-marking, and do not share a single alignment pattern. Different verbs tend to align their arguments differently. Moreover, animacy plays a significant role in syntactic alignment of the arguments. P aligns with R when the P is animate and definite, however, the inanimate and indefinite Ps usually align with the T argument.

Abbreviations

1,2,3	person	A	agent
ABL	ablative	ANIM	animate

AUX	auxiliary	DEM	demonstrative
DO	direct object	ERG	ergative
F	feminine	G	goal
GEN	genitive	INANIM	inanimate
INF	infinitive	INS	instrument
LOC	locative	NOM	nominative
P	patient	PL	plural
PO	primary object	PST	past
R	recipient	s	singular
S	subject	T	theme

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LINGUISTIC STRATIFICATION AND LANGUAGE PLANNING: A CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF NEPALESE CONTEXT

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This article, a part of my study “Exploring ethnolinguistic identity in Nepal”, analyses whether or not present language policy of Nepal has accommodated ethnolinguistic identities. The study indicates that although the policy is gradually shifting from monolingual to multilingual ideology, still, it has not addressed the identities of ethno-indigenous people.

1. Introduction

Tollefson (1991) argues that the question of inequality in language planning is linked with the political system of a nation-state. If the political system excludes the local communities from the decision making process, they may not be able to access the decision making institutions that prevents them from raising voices. Due to the discriminatory polity of the nation-state, the indigenous language speakers shift to the dominant language and they demand their right to use their own language. Thus, the studies in the area of language planning seem to focus on language rights from the political as well as historical perspective (May, 2001). Linking this with the ethnolinguistic identity, this paper deals with what language planning and policy (LPP) is, the ways/types of language planning policy, how they are related to the issue of identity, and power and hegemony in language policy with reference to Nepal.

2. Language planning: an ongoing debate

Weinstein (1983) defines language planning as a “government-authorised, long-term sustained conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language’s function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems” (p. 37). However, considering the language planning only as a government-authorised political activity may create socio-political problems like misunderstanding among different language communities in a multilingual society. Moreover, the political perspective may not look at the grassroots reality, lives and attitudes of speakers. Most importantly such a view does not seem serious in analysing the identities that people construct through the multiple languages (Block, 2007). Furthermore, the government-authorised efforts might undermine the role of the non-government organisations, communities and individuals to maintain their own language, culture and identity. In this regard, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) mention *micro-language planning* in which language planning takes place at the local level which is different from *macro-language planning* in which planning happens at the government level.

The studies mentioned above suggest that the government-based language policy does not necessarily promote the diversity of languages as they may not be aware of the local context and the aspiration of people (Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008). Likewise, the policy adopted by the government is mostly based on the top-down approach in which communities’ voices may not be addressed. In addition, although the community-initiated-activities raise awareness about the preservation of the language and identity, without their legitimisation from the government, those initiations may just be an ad hoc, that is, they are not legally recognised. However, there is still a lack of discussion on how to plan languages by integrating the efforts of the government and

community. There is still an absence of a clear framework in the academic discussion to establish the government and language-communities nexus (Ricento, 2000; Johnson, 2009).

Although I acknowledge the political interpretation of the language planning, I think that due to too much political interpretation of the language issues, both by the government and community, the debate of language planning may go in an irresolvable direction. On the one hand, the minority language communities seem to raise their voices from the political ground (human rights) and on the other hand, the governments seem to ignore their voices in order to maintain the linguistic uniformity through one language. This suggests that there is an ongoing conflict between the government-authorised language policy and the discontent from various language groups.

3. Language planning in Nepal: ethnic vs. national identity

In the following section, I discuss briefly about the hegemony of one language and the marginalization of indigenous languages in Nepal.

3.1 Hegemony of one language

The past rulers – Shahs (1722-1846) and Ranas (1846-1950) – paid attention only for the development of the Nepali language (Dahal, 2000). Even in the multiparty democratic system after 1951, only Nepali was promoted as the official language by setting up the legal provision to discourage the use of the indigenous languages in education, the mass media and public places. During the Panchayat system (1960-1990), in which Kings had executive power, the ideology of “one nation, one language, one religion and one political system” was promoted which threatened the identity of the ethno-indigenous languages in Nepal (Dahal, 2000). However, there were different linguistic movements in different parts of the country in spite of the suppression of the government.

3.2 Liberal language policies and the ethnolinguistic identity

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal-1990 (Article 6, Part 1) mentions that (i) the Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the nation's language. The Nepali language shall be the official language, and (ii) all the languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the national languages. However, the constitution itself has created confusion that how the nation's language and national languages are different. This further implies that there is no positive attitude of the government towards the identity of the languages other than Nepali. However, the constitution has set up the provision of the mother tongue education (MTE) at primary level (Article 18.2, Part 1) and it has articulated the fundamental right to preserve culture and languages (Article, 26.2, Part 1). But due to the lack of support from the government, these provisions have not been implemented effectively.

Likewise, the *Local Self-Governance Act-1999* paved the way to the use of local languages as the official language for the local government. Thus, the local government of Dhanusha/Rajbiraj districts and Kathmandu metropolitan decided to use Maithili and Newari as the official language respectively. But the Supreme Court announced its final verdict on July 1, 1999 deciding the use of local languages in offices unconstitutional. This suggests that even after the restoration of democracy, the country does not seem positive to recognize the identity of the indigenous languages. Furthermore, the Interim Constitution- 2007, made some significant provisions about the identity of the indigenous languages in Nepal. It states that: (i) All the languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal, (ii) The Nepali language in the Devanagari script shall be the language of official business, and (iii) Notwithstanding whatever is written pursuant to clause (2), the use of mother

tongue in local body or office shall not be considered a barrier. The state shall translate the language used for such purpose into the language of official business for record.

Although the constitution removed the distinction between the nation's language and national language, yet again, Nepali has been recognized as the official language without barring the local languages in the local government. Moreover, it has not set up a clear policy to address the linguistic diversity of the country. This suggests that although the ethnolinguistic identity has not been fully recognised, there is a positive development. Sonntag (1995) asserts that although there are some changes, the ethnolinguistic differentiation as claimed by the ethno-indigenous nationalities has not been addressed in the language policy. Based on the study of the ethnolinguistic identity of two major indigenous languages – Tamang and Tharu – Sonntag (1995) argues that as the country has introduced some indigenous languages in education and media, the speakers of these languages feel that their ethnolinguistic identity has been recognized by the government. The study suggests that, to Tamangs, the use of Tamang in education and the mass media meant 'aggregating and creating a shared identity to promote the language to gain access to resources' and for Tharus, it is for 'creating a language to assure access to resources' (p. 113). However, the indigenous people still doubt over the governments' long hegemonic language policy of the past. They feel strong alienation both in society in general and especially in schools since their identity has not been accepted or respected.

3.3 Language-in-education planning

Language-in-education planning, also called acquisition planning, which is concerned with the selection of language (s) as the medium in education, is designed with a view 'to bring citizens to competence to the languages designated a national, official or medium of instruction' (Wright, 2004: 61). Wright gives three major driving forces for the acquisition planning: nationalist ideology, modernity and minorities-in-nation-building. The nationalist ideology aims to foster the national identity by introducing one or few languages in education. Likewise, the ideology of modernity is concerned with the selection of languages (like English) which is used in science and information communication technology and in education. However, both ideologies have been criticised as they do not address the identity of the indigenous and minority languages. Thus, Wright (2004) provides minorities-in-nation-building ideology which focuses on the mother-tongue based education.

4. Research questions

The above discussion reflects that there is an ideological conflict between nationism (national integration) and nationalism (respecting the diversity of indigenous languages) (Fishman, 1968). This indicates that the debate of language planning in the multilingual country like Nepal is ongoing where there is a conflict between the ethnic and national identity. Against this backdrop, this paper has tried to answer two major questions: How do the ethno-indigenous people comment about the present language policy of Nepal? and What do they say about their ethnolinguistic identity in the multilingual context of Nepal?

5. Method of the study

I have adopted the critical ethnography (Anderson, 1989) which refers to the “reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgements of meaning and method to challenge research, policy and other forms of human activities” (Thomas, 1992: 4). The participants of the study were five Limbus who could speak Limbu (their mother tongue), Nepali and English. I have used letters A, B, C, D and E to keep the name of the participants anonymous. I have used G and P to mean the group and the personal interview respectively.

After I briefly explained the purpose of the study, first, we had a group discussion and after a week we had individual discussion on the issue of the language identity and the language policy which emerged from the group discussion. The whole discussion was audio-recorded, transcribed and translated. Moreover, the translated data was given to the second person to check the accuracy of the translation.

6. Results and discussion

6.1 Multilingual nation, monolingual policy: a paradox

PB contended that the language policy of the country in the past was grounded on the ideology of one language, one religion and one nation (Awasthi, 2004). Due to this policy the indigenous language speakers were forced to speak Nepali as the national language and they could not see any value of their own languages. In this sense, the history of the ethnolinguistic identity shift and loss begins with the suppression of the country. PB added that the language policy even after the restoration of democracy in 1990 is discriminatory as follows:

[...] even after the restoration of democracy in 1990 ... only Nepali was recognised as the official language ... Constitutions made provisions for primary mother tongue education but its implementation is weak ... there is no vacancy for the mother tongue teacher. ... There is still discrimination ... Sanskrit is almost a dead language but there is Nepal Sanskrit University and the government allocates a huge amount of money. We are 350, 000 Limbu speakers but for us even a single teacher is not available.

Similarly, GC commented; “Even after the restoration of democracy, the concept of one language, one religion is continued. Individuals, governments and policies are changed but the attitude is not changed ... The attitude of not giving equal importance to the languages other than Nepali is not removed” [*Translation*]¹. All the participants agreed with PB and GC that the attitude of the country towards the minority languages is not positive even after the restoration of democracy. Moreover, GA criticised: “Due to the imposition of one language, they [Nepali speakers] came up and we are using others’ language. But if a multilingual policy was adopted, this situation probably could not have come” [*Translation*]. The participants think that the policy has imposed only the Nepali language which they call *others’ language*.

6.2 Mother tongue education: a lollipop

GE called present MTE a *lollipop*. He contends that the government has introduced MTE only to show the indigenous communities that it wants to recognize the identity of indigenous languages too. But, in fact, the government is not serious about the implementation part. Now, three languages – a local language, Nepali and English – have made their place at primary level. These three languages have unequal power

¹ [*Translation*] refers to the translation of participants’ views in Nepali to English.

relationships: English as a global language is the most powerful and prestigious and Nepali as the official language is also more powerful than Limbu. A school has become the site for the competition for three languages. Instead of promoting the minority languages, by introducing the world's powerful language (English) along with Nepali from the beginning of schooling, the government has created an unfavourable ecology for the promotion of the ethnolinguistic identity. In this connection, GD commented

[...] introducing three languages in a class is like planting a tree on dry sand. The tree is planted but they need favourable ecology to grow. ... It [Limbu] should also be used as an official language and lingua franca. What can be done after learning Limbu? English is utilised in daily life but Limbu is not [Translation].

We see that present MTE policy is like a *bad cheque*, that is, it exists only in policy level but does not necessarily help to maintain/promote the Limbu ethnolinguistic identity. As GD argued, without promoting the status of Limbu, the shift of it cannot be stopped as Limbus are obliged to learn other languages in order to improve their access to wider socio-economic opportunities. However, GA commented, “[...] the educated people who advocate for MTE do not send their children in the schools where Limbu is taught” [Translation]. This indicates that as the educated individuals do not send children in the schools where mother tongue is taught, other Limbus do not see the relevance of maintaining their ethnolinguistic identity.

6.3 Ethnolinguistic, national and global identities: which matters first?

PC argued; “There is our identity but for additional progress we must learn English along with Nepali” [Translation]. Likewise, GB put English, Nepali and Limbu in the first, second and last position respectively in terms of the value of these languages. But he agreed with other participants that in terms of identity

he prefers to say himself a Limbu and then Nepali and English. However, GA contended “What do we call ourselves if not Limbu? First, we are Limbu, then Nepali and English.”

Moreover, all the participants agreed that whatever is the hierarchy of languages, one can maintain his/her ethnolinguistic identity even by learning multiple languages to construct multiple social identities. This suggests that the shift of the ethnolinguistic identity may not be traumatic in the context where individuals have to negotiate different identities through different languages (Cameron, 2007). In this regard, the present language policy of Nepal seems to be an amalgamation of three overt identities – commodified, national identity and ethnolinguistic – which are constructed through English, Nepali and mother tongues respectively.

6.4 From exclusion to expulsion: a neglect to linguistic diversity

We see that ethnolinguistic identity is intricately linked with the discriminatory language policy of the country. Through the review of literature and the participants’ views, it is clear that owing to the monolingual policy of the country, the minority languages were not used in any domain before 1990 i.e. they were excluded. Thus, the ideology of one language nationalism eroded the linguistic diversity. Although the participants acknowledged the liberal language policies like the implementation of MTE, they still feel that the country is not serious about addressing the issue of the vanishing ethnolinguistic identity.

By introducing three languages (English, Nepali and mother tongue) having unequal power relationships from the Grade One, the government seems to force the minority language speakers to shift to Nepali and English. This happens because, as mentioned above, they desire to achieve the positive social identity by accessing wider opportunities through

English/Nepali. Such a desire galvanizes them to learn English/Nepali and obliges them to ignore their ethnolinguistic identity on the economic ground. However, they are not aware of the loss of identity and problems they have been facing while learning English and Nepali by ignoring Limbu. Seeing that the educated individuals use English and Nepali, they also want to learn them. This suggests that the present MTE policy has not enhanced the Limbu ethnolinguistic identity yet rather it is indirectly forcing Limbus to shift to English and Nepali.

7. Conclusion

The study implies that the issue of ethnolinguistic identity is often superseded by the commodified view of language in this globalised world. It further implies that there is a need of redefining the language policy of Nepal not only to foster the national and commodified identity through Nepali and English respectively but also to value the ethnolinguistic identity. For this, the trend of research should also incorporate the issue of identity to provide a balanced argument on the language shift and loss. At the same time, the studies should also look at how globalisation has created a challenge to address both global and local needs (Canagarajah, 2005) of the minority language speakers. To respond to this challenge a localised language planning, supported by the national policy and ideology to integrate the ethnolinguistic, national, and global identities, seems essential in the context of Nepal.

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MOOD AND MODALITY IN DHANKUTE TAMANG

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As a grammatical category, mood applies to the inflectional system of verb in Dhankute Tamang. There occur some lexical items with modal meanings. Some operator and non-operator catenatives can also refer to certain modalities. Along with the moods, other structures or items that refer to modalities are separately described and analysed.

1. Introduction

Tamang is spoken in hilly areas of Nepal, India and Tibet of China. They form a large ethnic group in Nepal (see, Tamang 1992:2). Population Census Report 2001 shows that it possesses the fifth position in Nepal (Yadava 2003: 169). Hofer and MacDonald (as quoted in Varenkamp 1996: 9) have categorized Tamang into two dialects: Western and Eastern. Poudel (2002) describes another Tamang spoken in Dhankuta. Later, it has been named as Dhankute Tamang in Poudel (2006).

Moods and modality are studied on the basis of the language corpus collected in the communities where this dialect is spoken. Moods are basically syntactical, whereas modality is the matter of meaning. Consequently, moods are studied on the basis of their verbal inflections, i.e. grammatical markings, and modality analyses speaker's knowledge of the situation and reference of the permission, prohibition and obligation.

2. Moods in Dhankute Tamang

In Dhankute Tamang moods are categorised into five groups on the basis of the grammatical markings added to the verbs.

They are: indicative, imperative, hortative, optative and irrealis. They are described in detail in (2.1-2.5).

2.1. Indicative mood

In Dhankute Tamang, adding tense and aspect markings in the usual sentence pattern of SOV forms all basic clauses, e.g.,

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-----|----------------------------|-------------------|----------|--------|
| (1) | pasan | ch ^h joi | pin- la. | (2) | t ^h e | tilma | dim- ri | ni-zi. |
| | Pasang | book | give-NPt | | s/he | yesterday | home-ALL | go-Pt |
| | 'Pasang will give a book.' | | | | 'She went home yesterday.' | | | |
| (3) | ai | dim- ri | ni- la ? | (4) | ai | k ^h ai | ni-la ? | |
| | you | home-ALL | go-NPt | | you | where | go-NPt | |
| | 'Will you go home?' | | | | 'Where will you go?' | | | |
| (5) | ŋa | kan | a- ca- la. | | | | | |
| | I | b. rice | NEG-eat-NPt | | | | | |
| | 'I do not eat rice.' | | | | | | | |

On the basis of the word order, these sentences do not differ to a great extent. They have S (A) (O) V. Based on meaning, sentences (1-2) are declaratives. Sentences (3-4) contain question marks. Sentence (3) contains a rising tone, and thereby it is a polar question. Sentence (4) has the same structure but contains an interrogative word that forms an information question. Sentence (5) has negative marker *-a* as a prefix to the verb.

Consequently, the above-mentioned examples of indicative mood denote facts. Grammatically, all declaratives, negatives and interrogatives end at tense markers.

2.2. Imperative mood

The mood suffixes *-o*, *-u* and *-go* are added to the base verb to mark the imperative mood, e.g.,

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------|-----|--------------|---------------------|
| (6) | gaDi | k ^h ap-o | (7) | cu- ri | k ^h a-u. |
| | vehicle | overtake-IMP | | this-LOC | come-IMP |
| | 'Overtake the vehicle.' | | | 'Come here.' | |

2.4. Optative mood

In Dhankute Tamang the optative mood is indicated by base - gai to express the wishes, e.g.,

- (11) ai c^hiriŋ-gai
 you live long-OPT
 'May you live long!'

The speaker expresses the best wishes to the audience in sentence (11).

Even the curse may be expressed using the same type of structure, e.g.,

- (12) ai si-gai
 you die-OPT
 'May you die!'

In (12), the speaker curses the audience that he wants the death of the audience.

2.5. Irrealis mood

The irrealis mood¹ in Dhankute Tamang is indicated by the suffix *-sam* added to the 'base,' or 'base+ aspect marker'. This mood may refer to an independent statement to lament the irreality of something, e.g.,

¹ The time reference of irrealis mood is indicated by the tense of the principal clause. So, irrealis mood seems to be a non-finite clause but a few people, in the communities where this work has been conducted, use tense markings even in irrealis clause, e.g.,

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----|-------------------|
| a. | ca- la- sam | b. | ca- zi- sam |
| | eat-NPt-IRR | | eat-Pt-IRR |
| | 'If (someone) eats' | | 'If(someone) ate' |

- (13) ηa $ni-$ sam
 I $go-$ IRR
 'If only I go!'
- (14) ηa $ni-$ $bala-$ sam
 I $go-$ PERF-IRR
 'If only I had gone!'
- (15) t^he-ni $ni-$ $ban-$ sam
 s/he-Pl $go-$ PROG-IRR.
 'If only they were going!'

The irrealis mood marking may follow the base as in (13) and it may follow base + aspect as in (14-15).

The irrealis mood may occur as a dependent clause in a sentence, e.g.,

- (16) ηa $ni-$ sam t^he- da $pa\eta-$ $ta-$ $la.$
 I $go-$ IRR s/he-DAT tell-be-NPt
 'If I go, I will tell him/her.'

ηa $ni-sam$ in (16) is a dependent clause to t^he-da $pa\eta-ta-la$, as in this sentence ηa $ni-sam$ may not complete the sentence without depending upon the main clause.

3. Modalities

In this study modalities are dealt with on the basis of meanings. They are classified into epistemic uses and deontic uses.

3.1. Epistemic uses

Speaker's knowledge of the situation may be expressed in Dthankute Tamang as follows:

- (17) $pasan\eta$ dim ni ba k^h am- $la.$
 Pasang home $go-$ NML may-NPt
 'Pasang may go home.'

- (18) pasañ-se dim ni-ba to-la.
 Pasang-ERG Home go-NML must-NPt
 'Pasang must go home.'
- (19) pasañ dim ni-bala ta-ba k^ham-la.
 Pasang home go-PERF be-NPt may-Npt
 'Pasang may have gone home.'

In (17) the speaker is not sure whether Pasang goes home, or rather, s\he may not know exactly but thinks to be possible to take place. Example (18) refers to the situation in which the speaker may have noticed some clues and thereby deduces something to take place. Here, based on some clues, s\he deduces that Pasang has to go home. Without having any direct observation, the speaker in (19) predicts as s\he has not seen Pasang to go home but makes a prediction.

3.2. Deontic uses

Deontic uses of modalities refer to the binding concerned with permission, prohibition and obligation in Dhankute Tamang. Modal verb *k^ham-la* may refer to permission, whereas its negativity *a-k^ham-la* denotes prohibition, e.g.,

- (20) ai sjau ca-ba k^ham-la.
 You apple eat-NML may-Npt
 'You can\may eat apple(s).'
- (21) ai sjau ca-ba a- k^ham- la.
 You apple eat-NML NEG-may-Npt
 'You can't\mayn't eat apple(s).'

Sentence (20) is permission given to the listener by the speaker to eat apples, whereas in (21) the speaker prohibits the listener to eat them.

Obligation can be imposed to the listener by the main verb plus emphatic marker *-non* and modal verb *to -la*, e. g.,

- (22) ai hoza- ri ni- ba- non to-la.
 you that-LOC go-NML-EMPH may-Npt
 'You must go there.'

In (22) the listener is imposed on going there.

The speaker may put his\her obligation of undertaking certain duty by using emphatic marker *-non* with adverbial, and base plus modal *-ta-la*, e.g.,

- (23) ŋa ai- la paisa nangar- non pin- ta- la
 I you-POS money tomorrow-EMPH Give-be-NML
 'I will certainly pay your money tomorrow.'

In (23) emphatic marker *-non* and verb phrase *pin-ta-la* are used to express the obligation of taking responsibility.

4. Conclusion

Verbs in Dhankute Tamang inflect for five different moods: indicative, imperative, hortative, optative and irrealis. Tense markers *-zi* and *-la* refers to indicative mood. Stem final and its preceding consonant restrict the mood markers *-u*, *-o* and *-go* in imperative mood. Hortative *-ge*, optative *-gai* and irrealis *-sam* contain one marker each.

Grammatical moods obviously refer to certain modality. Besides, modality can be divided into Epistemic and Deontic uses. Epistemic uses deal with the speaker's knowledge of situation. Possibility, deduction and prediction can be expressed by using modals: *k^ham-la* and *to-la*.

Deontic uses refer to the permission, prohibition and obligation. In Dhankute Tamang modal verbs *k^ham-la* and *a-k^ham-la* are used to refer to permission and prohibition, respectively. Obligation can be expressed by *to-la* and *pin-tala*.

Dhankute Tamang, therefore, is productive in mood and rich in modality.

Abbreviations

ALL	Allative	DAT	Dative
EMPH	Emphatic	ERG	Ergative
HORT	Hortative	i	Inclusive
IMP	Imperative	IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative	OPT	Optative
NML	Nominalizer	Npt	Non-past
PERF	Perfect	Pl	Plural
POS	Possessive	PROG	Progressive
Pt	Past		

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HONORIFICITY IN NEWAR

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This paper re-introduces honorificity in Kathmandu Newar. It attempts to define the different levels of honorificity with respect to the degree of politeness, formal/informal situation, attitude, and social/spatial distance between the speaker and the listener. The researcher has taken sample through the direct interview with the speakers of the Kathmandu city.

1. Introduction

1.1 The background

The Newars are the original inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley. They speak their own ethnic language (*Newa: bhae*) that belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Sino-Tibetan language family with rich ancient and modern literatures going back to the fourteenth century. *Nepalbhasha* is the official name of their language.

1.2 Distribution of the speakers

The Newars are the sixth largest ethnicity in the country. The majority are concentrated in the valley of Kathmandu (63%), the capital of modern Nepal. The latest Nepal Census report of 2001 places the number of ethnic Newars at 1, 245,232 (5.48 %) of the total population of Nepal (22,736,934), (CBS: 2001) and the number of active speakers at 825,458 (66.28% of the Newar population) which indicate a decline of 419,774 (33.71%) speakers in the country.

The latest population census of Nepal reports that Newars are spread in all the 75 districts of the country. The population of

the Newars is the least in the 'Terai' and the densest in the valley of Kathmandu. Comparing to the western Nepal, the Newars are found more in eastern part. In the eastern region they are found mostly in the district headquarters and the important urban centers such as Sindhupalchok, Kabhrepalanchok, Dolakha, Chisanku, Manjh-Kirat, Bhojpur, Chhathum, Dhankuta, and Tehrathum. In the western Nepal, where the Gurkhas predominate, the Newars are found at the district headquarters. These include Nuwakot, Dhading, Gorkha, Tanahu, Lamjung, Kaski, Syangja, Palpa (Tansen), Baglung and Gulmi. Coming towards the south, just below the Eastern hills, the important places in the plains where the Newars to be found are Biratnagar, Sindhuligarhi, Udaypurgarhi, Birgunj and Makwanpur. In the Western Terai, where the Newars are found are Butwal, Bhairahawa, Nepalgunj, Kailali. Within the Kathmandu valley they are mostly concentrated in the towns of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur and in such big hamlets as Lubhu, Siddhipur, Harisiddhi, Chapagaun, Bungmati, Pharping, Kirtipur, Thankot, Ichangu, Phutung, Tokha, Sankhu, Nagarkot, and Thimi.

The Nepabhasa dialects have tentatively been categorized by Shakya (1992) as: 1) Kathmandu-Patan 2) Bhaktapur 3) Pahi 4) Citlang 5) Dolakha.

1.3 Genetic classification

The earliest statement on the genetic affiliation of Newar was made by Hodgson (1828) who concluded that "the root and stock of Newar are trans-Himalayan and northern". Shafer places both 'Pahari' and 'Newari' within the Newarish section of the Bodic division of Sino-Tibetan. Glover (1970) places Newar among the Himalayish Languages. Benedict has shown Newar as belonging possibly to the Kiranti Nucleus. The classificatory works surveyed above seem to indicate uncertainty about the placement of Newar. The Indian

scholars have separated Newar from the "Tibetan" group and the basically pronominalized Himalayan languages at an early period of its history. Hence, Kansakar (1997:20) concludes saying that, "the truth perhaps lies in the fact that Newar is a language evolving from mixed ethnic/linguistic influences that do not lead easily to a neat classification". Bradley (2002: 80) puts Newar in the Himalayan sub-branch of Western Tibeto-Burman.

2. The socio-economic life

Traditionally, the Newars are Urban-centered, live in joint families. However, due to the urbanization many of the families have been migrated to the different sub-urban areas. Hence, numbers of nuclear families are found increasing these days. The Newars prefer 'trade' as their occupation. This occupation is largely confined to the upper strata of the Newar society. Agriculture is the primary means of substance among the lower strata of the Newar society. Handicraft is taken as the secondary occupation by the Newars. It includes metal working, carpentry, house building, weaving, oil pressing and liquor distilling, pottery and many others. These occupations still continue to be the hereditary means of livelihood for the special groups.

Lastly, another important means of livelihood, not of hereditary nature, is that of employment in the government service. This occupation is therefore next in importance only to trade. Besides these, they are also found involved in the academic field, mass media, health services and many other occupations. Since those in the higher strata in the society have more opportunity for higher education which naturally favors an intellectual and modern type of or secular occupations, the process of handing down traditional knowledge and expertise on art and architecture from father to son is now threatened.

3. Honorificity

The Newars have a complex life-style which depends upon the complex institutional network dominated by feasts and festivals. In most festivals many castes participate and each caste has to fulfill its specific duty. Honorificity is as complex as the society itself with different honorific levels depending on the different situations in the society.

3.1 Levels

The Newar language has honorificity of three levels: ordinary (H1), honorific (H2) and highly honorific (H3). All these levels are based on the attitude, social status, the social or spatial distance between the speakers and the listeners, and the degree of formality. It has been found that most of the time honorific terms (H2 & H3) are used in formal situations, such as in the dialogue between teachers-students, colleagues, acquaintances, and priests. Whereas ordinary honorific terms (H1) are found used mostly among persons having intimate relationships such as between the two closest friends, within the family (among the parents and children, grand parents and grand children), among siblings, between the spouses etc. Sometimes, honorificity also defines social status such as a person belonging to higher caste or higher social status uses H1 to those in lower status and the person in lower status refer or address to those in higher social status using H2 or H3.

3.2 Strata

The Newar community has been categorized into four divisions in terms of profession: a) the priests, b) the rulers, c) the traders and, d) the attendants. The people belonging to the priestly caste use H3 to address among themselves. Those in the other levels in the division use H3 to those belonging to the priestly caste. It is also used to address Gods and Goddesses.

3.4 Formality vs informality

Within a family, usually, there is an intimate relationship between the parents, grand parents and their children. So, the children most of the times do not use H2 or H3 while addressing their parents and grand parents. But as opposed to the daughters and sons, the daughters-in-law and the sons-in law use H2 or H3 to their parents-in-law. Similarly, another option for using the honorific terms is the physical distance between the subject whom you are talking about and the position of the listener in front of whom you talk about the subjects. If one's father-in-law is sleeping inside the house and s/he is physically distant from him, then, s/he usually does not use the honorific terms to address him if the second person (the listener) is similar or lower in rank to the speaker and vice versa.

3.5 Gender

Honorificity is also expressed in terms of gender. The Newar society is apparently patriarchal in structure, and men work and stay outside the house, so they are less closer to the children and grandchildren. Hence, the children in the families are very close to their mothers and grand mothers. So, they use H1 while addressing them. Whereas the fathers/grand fathers are addressed using H2 or H3.

Honorificity is expressed in 3 ways: a) through pronominal form, b) through verbal morphology, and c) through complex verb. The three levels of honorific system explained above are:

Table 1: Newar Pronouns

			singular	plural
1p			ji	ji-pī
2p	H1		chə	chi-pī
	H2		chi	chikə-pī
	H3		chə:-pī/ chələpolə	chə:-pī/ chələpolə -pī
3p	H1	proximal	thwə:	thu-pī
		distal	wə:	u-pī
	H2	proximal	thwəkə:	thwəkə:-pī
		distal	wəkə:	wəkə:-pī
	H3	proximal/distal	wəsəpolə	wəsəpolə-pī

The verbs are inflected for different levels of honorificity. Those verbs also agree with the pronouns. The verbs are inflected for the different levels of respect. They agree with the corresponding pronouns. Following are the three types of sentences reflecting honorificity. In the first column are the assertive sentences, in the second column are imperatives and, in the third and the fourth column are interrogatives.

Table 2a

	Assertives (3p)	imperatives(2p)
H1	wə̃ ja-i he-ERG do-NPD 'He does (it)'	chə̃ ja! you-ERG do 'You do (it)'
H2	wəkə-lə̃/chi-ĩ jan-a:-di: he (H2)-ERG/you (H2)-ERG do-CONV (H2) 'He/you do/does (it)'	chi-ĩ jan-a:-disə̃! You (H2)-ERG do-CONV-H2 'You do (it)'
H3	wəsəpolə-ə̃ jan-a:-bidzja-i he (H3)-ERG/you (PL) -ERG do-CONV (H3) NPD 'He/you do/does'	chələpolə-ə̃ jan-a:-bid zjaũ! you (H3)-ERG do-CONV-H3 'You do (it)'

Table 2b

	Interrogatives (2p)	Interrogatives (3p)
H1	chẽ ja-e-gu-la? you-ERG do-INF-DET-Q 'Do you do (it)?'	wẽ ja-i la? He-ERG do-INF EMPH 'Does he do (it)?'
H2	chi-ĩ jan-a:-di:-gu-la? you (H2)-ERG do-CONV -H2-Q 'Would you do (it)?'	wẽkə-lə jan-a:-di la? he-ERG do-INF (H2) EMPH 'Will he do (it)?'
H3	chə:pĩ-sẽ/chələpələ-ẽ jan-a: -bidzja-gu-la? You (PL)-ERG/you (H3) -ERG do-CONV-H3-DET-Q 'Would you do (it)?'	wəsəpələ-ẽ jan-a: -bidzja-i la? he (H3)-ERG do-INF- H3-INF-EMPH 'Will he do (it)?'

4. Neutralization

When the speaker does not like to use H3 and yet s/he can not use H1 either, s/he may use the honorific-neutral terms. Such expressions have two types of constructions: a) using the term 'self' [thə:], b) using the H2 or H3 pronouns but not making the verbs agree with them. The first type of construction can be taken as normal and acceptable. They are used in the case of undefined relationship when the speaker and the listener are strangers or acquaintances and they are unknown or unaware of their respective social status. Whereas the second type can be taken in derogatory sense. The listeners feel insulted when they are addressed using the second type of construction. The following paradigm illustrates the neutralized honorificity:

Table3

Neutralization in the second person interrogatives:	Neutralization in the second person imperatives:
thwə dzja thə:-pī-sā jan-a:-gu khə-la? this work self-(PL)-ERG do-DET-COP-Q 'Did you do this?'	thwə dzja thə:-pī-sā ja! This work self-PL-ERG do 'Do this work by yourself !'
thə:-pīni-gu əphis gənə le? self-PL-CLASS office where EMPH 'Where is your office?'	thə:-pī əphis hū ! self-PL office go 'You go to the office!'
thə:-pīni-gu dzja sidəl-ə la? self-PL-CLASS work finish-NPD EMPH 'Did you finish your work?'	thə:-pinsā hē dzja sidē-ki ! Self-PL-ERG EMPH work finish 'You will finish the work!'
chi nə nē-gu-la? you (HON)also eat-INF-DET-Q 'Are you also interested to eat (it)?'	chi nā nə le ! You (HON) also eat EMPH 'You will also eat (it)!'

Looking at the table 1 we can conclude that the shortest pronouns are lesser in honorificity and the longest ones are more honorific. This can be taken as natural phenomena for different languages. The word for 'eat'. According to the three levels of honorificity: H1<H2<H3, we have imperatives of different honorific levels:

- 1) nə:<bhəpi<bhəpi-ya-bidzjaū 'eat'!
- 2) wa:<dzha-sā<bidzjaū 'come'!
- 3) hū<dzhaja-disā/dzha-sā<bidzjaū 'go'!
- 4) phetu<disā/phetu-na-disā<phetu-na-bidzjaū 'sit'!
- 5) djā<dhā jan-a-disā<dhā jan-a-bidzjaū 'sleep'!

There are also a set of formal vocabularies which are found used in honorific communications, like, [dzjona] 'lunch', [bjɛli] 'dinner', [dhā] 'sleep', [bhəpi] 'eat' etc. These terms

are only co-referential with honorific expressions. The H1 form [dza nɛ-dhuna la?] 'Have you had your meal?' can be converted into H2 as [dzjona yan-a-di:-dhun-ə la?] 'Have you had your lunch?' or, [beli jan-a-di: dhun-ə la?] 'Have you had your dinner?' Similarly, the H3 forms of it are: [dzjona jan-a-bidzja-ɛ-dhun-ə la?] 'Have you had your lunch?' and [beli jan-a-bidzja-ɛ-dhun-ə la?] 'Have you had your dinner?' Some honorific verbal morphologies change their forms corresponding to the degree of politeness/honorificity/formality. A few verbs have different forms for several degrees of politeness. In ordinary (P1) situation you say [nə] 'eat', if you are slightly polite (P2), you say [bhəpi] or, [nə-ja-dis̃], if you are more polite (P3), you use double honorific form, [bhəpija-dis̃]. But, if you are very polite (P4), [bhəpija-bidzjaũ].

Table 4

P1	P2	P3	P4
nə	nə-ja-dis̃ /bhəpi	bhəpija -dis̃	bhəpija-bidzjaũ
t̃	ton-a-dis̃ /bhəpi	bhəpija -dis̃	bhəpija-bidzjaũ
c̃ /phetu	phetu-na -dis̃	dis̃	phetu-na-bidzjaũ

5. Conclusion

The sketch given above is based on interviews with native speakers of the Newars of Naradevi, Ason, Indrachwok, Kilagal, Kathmandu who are above 40. But this is by no means an extensive coverage. More detailed observation is obviously required to include all the sociological aspects pertaining to honorificity. We would also need to explore whether the new generation speakers of Newar is using honorific terms; if so, to what extent they have been applied in

the daily usage. Whether the pattern of honorificity has been changed, is needed to be explored.

Abbreviations

CLASS	classifier	CONV	converb
COP	copula	DET	determinant
EMPH	emphatic	ERG	ergative
H1	ordinary	H2	honorific
H3	highly honorific	INF	infinitive
NPD	non-past disjunct	PERF	perfective marker
PL	plural marker	Q	question

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MORPHOSYNTAX OF SAMPANG NOMINALS: A BRIEF DISCUSSION

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This short article is an outcome of my short field work in Sampang, a Tibeto-Burman. For this study, I have taken the data from its native speakers¹. In this short article, I have tried to deal with an introductory outline of Sampang major nominals, especially nouns, pronouns, numbers, and case.

1. Introduction

The Sampang language is a member of Rai Kirati language which falls under the Tibeto-Burman group. The Sampang language is spoken by the same ethnic group Sampang in several VDCs of east Nepal. The main settlement places of Sampang people are Patheka, Baspani, Khartamchha and Phedi VDCs of Khotang district of east Nepal although they have now scattered in different places of Nepal as well as abroad like India, the UK, the USA, etc. According to CBS report (2001), they number 10810 altogether but the majority Sampang people do not accept this population because it is suspected that there are many numbers than that of CBS report. There is contradiction about the terms because there are two terms, namely Sampang [sampaŋ] and Sangpang [saŋpaŋ] used to refer both the people and their language.

¹ I am grateful to many native speakers of Sampang for discussions but I am especially thankful to my main informants. For this study, my main informants are Agni Kumar Rai, a Graduate student, Patheka-7, Tanka Bahadur Rai, a M.Ed. student, Patheka-7, Khusubu Rai, a certificate student, Phedi-4, Yasup Rai, a certificate student, Phedi 4, Asok Rai, an eighth grade student, Phedi-4.

Most of the native speakers prefer to use Sampang rather than Sangpang. However the term Sangpang has been frequently used in the official documents. I have neglected the term Sangpang and used the term Sampang. The Sampang language is mainly spoken in four VDCs of Khotang districts and there might be dialectal variants as my informants informed me. But my present purpose is not to find out the dialectal variants among them. Present study is based on Phedi VDC but I have also crosschecked with a few native speakers from Patheka VDC of Khotang.

Similar to other Kirati languages, the Sampang language is a verb final language (SOV) and pronominalized language. The most striking feature of the Sampang language is its extremely complex verbal system. In the verb, not only both the actor and the undergoer are marked but also tense and aspect are marked. In this short article, I have tried to deal with a general morphosyntactic description of the major nominal morphology of Sampang language. The nominal items discussed here are nouns, pronouns, numbers, and case. All of them are explained very briefly.

2. Nouns

Nouns are the basic and fundamental components of all languages of the world. In Sampang, there are basic nouns as well as productive nouns. Basic nouns refer to the nouns which cannot be further broken down morphologically and they are monomorphemic. Besides basic nouns, there are derived and compound nouns. In Sampang, some nouns are derived from verb. The following examples given below illustrate derived nouns more clearly:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) | chāpma 'to write' | chāpmaki 'a person who writes' |
| (2) | ghima 'to laugh' | ghimaki 'a person who laughs' |

By examples, when the bound morpheme *'-ki'* is attached to the verbs, they change into the nouns. The nouns which are derived from the verbs are called derived nouns.

Besides, derived nouns, there are other type of nouns. They are compound nouns. In compound nouns, two independent words are joined together and make a new noun. This process of noun formation is called the compound. The following examples mentioned below illustrate the structure of compound nouns clearly:

- (3) mupur-tā 'eyelash [mu 'eye' and tā 'hair']
 (4) nakhi-wa 'mucus' [nakhi/nabu 'nose' and wa 'water']

3. Echo words

Echo words are also found in Sampang language. For echo words, /s/ phoneme is used in initial position of the second pair of the words. The following examples illustrate clearly:

- (5) mina sina 'man like'
 (6) kāwa sāwa 'water like'

4. Pronouns

4.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns of Sampang can be analyzed in terms of persons and numbers. Sampang personal pronouns are divided into first, second and third persons in terms of person and singular, dual and plural in terms of number.

4.1.1. First person pronouns

The first person pronoun refers to the addressor or the speaker. Similar to the other Kirati languages, there are five first person pronouns in Sampang language altogether. First person pronouns in Sampang language are divided into singular, dual and plural in terms of number. Similarly, this language distinguishes inclusive and exclusive of hearer

distinction in the first person dual and plural pronouns. The following table shows the first person pronouns clearly:

singular	dual		plural	
kāl	excl	incl	excl	incl
	ka-ci-ka	ka-ci	ka-ye-ka	ka-ye

4.1.2. Second person pronouns

The second person refers to the hearer or addressee. In Sampang, second person pronouns are divided into singular, dual and plural in terms of number. In most of the Kirati languages, there is no honorific term but in Sampang, they use second person plural for honorificity though the person being addressed is a single. The following table shows the second person pronouns clearly:

singular	dual	plural+honorific
ana	ana-ci	ana-ni

4.1.3. Third person pronouns

The third person pronoun refers to the person or the thing beyond the speaker and hearer. This refers to something else. In Kirati language, the third person pronouns are quite different from those of English and Nepali languages. In Kirati languages including Sampang, there is no human and non-human and gender distinctions in personal pronouns which are found in the Indo-Aryan languages. The third person pronouns in Kirati languages treat rather as the demonstrative ones. Thus, some linguists treat them as the demonstratives (Rai, 1985) but I prefer to treat them as both third person pronouns and demonstratives. In Sampang like many Kirati languages, the third person dual and plural difference is neutralized but the ambiguity between them is resolved by verb agreement forms. There are a few Kirati languages like Chhulung which has both dual and plural (Rai,

attached to all personal nouns for possession. The following table shows the possessive pronouns clearly:

possessives		
prefix	personal pronouns	possessive pronouns
	kā	āmi ā-
acuka-	kacika	kacikami-
acu-	kaci	kacimi-
aṅka-	kayeka	kayekami-
e-	kaye	kayemi-
am-	ana	ammi am-
amcu-	anaci	amcumi-
amnu-	anani	amnumi-
um-	nako	nami/nakomi um-
umcu-	naci/nakoci	nacimi/nakocimi
um-	mako	mami/makomi um-
umcu-	maci/makoci	macimi/makocimi-
um-	khako	khami/khakomi um-
umcu-	khaci/ khakoci	khacimi/makocimi-

7. Reflexive pronouns

Only one reflexive marker is discovered in Sampang language but possessive prefixes are also attached to the reflexive pronoun *hāpa* or *bhāpa*. The following examples illustrates this:

Personal pronouns	Reflexives	English
kā	ā-hāpa	myself
kacika	acuka-hāpa	ourselves
kaci	acu-hāpa	ourselves
kayeka	aṅka-hāpa	ourselves
kaye	e-hāpa	ourselves
ana	am-hāpa	yourself
anaci	amcu-hāpa	yourselves
anani	amnu-hāpa	yourselves
nako	um-hāpa	himself/herself

nʌkoci/nʌci	umcu-h̄lpa	themsleves
mʌko	um-h̄lpa	himself/herself
mʌkoci/mʌci	umcu-h̄lpa	themsleves
khʌk	um-h̄lpa	himself/herself
khʌkoci/khʌci	umcu-h̄lpa	themsleves

8. Interrogative pronouns

There are two types of interrogatives, namely basic and derived. The following interrogative pronouns are discovered in Sampang language:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (9) asa 'who' | (10) yʌtʌma 'in what way' |
| (11) yʌ 'what' | (12) dh̄lma/yʌma 'why' |
| (13) hako 'which' | (14) hallo 'when' |
| (15) hapi 'where' | (16) dhʌi 'how' |
| (17) haptu 'in which place' | (18) asami 'whose' (derived) |
| (19) asalai 'to whom' (derived) | |

9. Numbers

For numbers, dual and plural is neutralized and there is only one morpheme *-ci* used to refer both. The following examples illustrate this fact:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| (20) mina 'man' | (21) minaci 'men' |
| (22) hoga 'dog' | (23) hogaci 'dogs' |

10. Case markers

In Sampang, the following case markers are discovered.

10.1. Comitative

The bound morpheme *-lo* 'with' exhibits comitative case in Sampang which expresses possession of something with somebody/something. The following examples shows this clearly:

- (24) k̄l sa-lo ca c-̄l
 1s meat-COM rice eat-1sS
 I eat rice with meat.

- (25) kã bubu-lo bajara khat-ã
 1s brother-COM market go1sS
 I got to market with brother.

10.2. Allative

The bound morpheme *-lampe* marks allative case in Sampang which expresses the meaning of the motion 'to' or 'towards'. The following examples display this:

- (26) kã bajara-lampe khat-ã
 1s market-ALL go-1sS
 I go to market.
- (27) ana dhankuta-lampe khat-i-na
 2s dhankuta-ALL go-NPST-2S
 You go to Dhankuta.

10.3. Genitive

The bound morpheme *-mi* marks genitive case in Sampang which expresses the meaning of possession. The following examples illustrate it very clearly:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(28) nako ã-mi khim
 3sPROX 1-GEN house
 This is my house.</p> | <p>(29) nako ram-mi khim
 3sPROX ram-GEN house
 This is Ram's house.</p> |
|---|--|

10.4. Locative

The bound morpheme *-pi* marks locative case which expresses the concept of location of an entity or an action. The following example shows this feature:

- (30) ram khim-pi tui
 ram house-LOC COP
 Ram is in the house.

Instrumental: The bound morpheme *-wa* marks instrumentive case which expresses the meaning like 'by means of'. The following examples present this feature:

- (31) $k\bar{\lambda}$ $k\lambda\lambda m$ -*wa* $cithi$ $ch\lambda b$ - $\bar{\lambda}$
 1s pen-INS letter write-1sS
 I write a letter with a pen (by means of a pen).

10.5. Ergative

The bound morphemes *-ŋa*, *wa*, *sa* mark ergative case which expresses the agent of a transitive verbs. *-ŋa* is used with first person, *-wa* is used with second person, and *-sa* is used with third person but *-wa* can also be attached after *-sa* in third person. The examples below show this:

- (32) *ana-wa* $cithi$ $chab$ - u - η
 1s-ERG letter write-PST-1sS
 You wrote a letter.
- (33) *ana-wa ca c-o-na*
 2s-ERG rice eat-PST-2s
 You ate rice.
- (34) $n\lambda ko$ -*sa*/ $n\lambda ko$ -*sa-wa* ca c - o
 3s-ERG rice eat-PST
 He/she ate rice.

10.6. Ablative

The bound morpheme *-pika* marks ablative case which expresses the locative meaning 'from'. The example is as follows:

- (35) $k\bar{\lambda}$ $bajara$ -*pika* ban - $\bar{\lambda}$
 1s market-ABL come-1sS
 I come from market.

10.7. Absolutive

It is a term used in grammatical description of languages with ergative system. This system has a formal parallel between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive one which is referred to as 'absolutive'.

- (36) ana ca c-o-na
 you rice eat-PST-2s
 You ate rice.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ABL	ablative
ANP	anaphoric	COM	comitative
COP	copula	d	dual
DIST	distal	ERG	ergative
excl.	exclusive	GEN	genitive
incl.	inclusive	INS	instrumental
LOC	locative	NOM	nominative
NPST	nonpast	p	plural
PROX	proximate	PST	past
s	singular	S	subject
VDC	village development committee		

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TAM IN DUMI LANGUAGE

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Dumi, an endangered language, is currently spoken mainly in the Northern Khotang district of eastern Nepal. It genetically belongs to the Kiranti group in the Himalayish branch of T-B language family. This paper presents the glimpse of tense, aspect and mood (TAM) in Dumi and a brief summary of its main findings.

1. Tense

According to Comrie (1985: vii), 'tense is defined as the grammaticalization of location in time'. The Kiranti languages have two basic tense forms. In this regard, the Dumi language has two basic tense forms: an unmarked aorist or Past (PST) and marked imperfective or non-past (NPST). Tense can be marked in two positions: (a) after the stem, and (b) after the personal suffixes.

In the base form of the verb, such contrast provided is 'mu-na' (do-INF) 'to do':

	Non-Past (NPST)		past (PST)
(1)	a. 1SG	mʊŋto 'I do'	məŋu 'I did.'
	b. 1DUi	muti 'We ^{DUi} do'	muji 'We ^{DUi} did.'
	c. 1DUe	mutu 'We ^{DUe} do'	muju 'We ^{DUe} did'
	d. 1PLi	mukti 'We ^{PLi} do'	mukki 'We ^{PLi} did'
	e. 1PLe	mukta 'We ^{PLe} do'	mukku 'We ^{PLe} did'
	f. 2SG	amuta 'You do'	amu 'You did'
	g. 2DU	amuti 'You ^{DU} do'	amuji 'You ^{DU} did'
	h. 2PL	amotani 'You do'	amoni 'You ^{PL} did'
	i. 3SG	muta 'S/he does'	mu 'S/he did'
	j. 3DU	mutasi 'They ^{DU} do'	musi 'They ^{DU} did'
	k. 3PL	mutani 'They ^{PL} do'	muni 'They ^{PL} did'

1.1 The past tense morpheme $-\phi$

The past tense marker in Dumi is not overtly marked to the verb and is indicated by zero morpheme $-\phi$ as in the following examples (2) and (3):

- (2) a. aṅu bulto b. aṅu bulo
 I run-NPST-1.SG I run-PST-1.SG
 'I run.' 'I ran.'
- (3) a. aṅua anulai donta
 I-ERG you-DAT see-NPST-1.SG
 'I see you.'
- b. aṅua anu-lai don-n- ϕ -ə
 I-ERG you-DAT see-PST-1.SG
 'I saw you.'

1.2 The non-past tense morpheme $-t$

The morpheme $-t$ as the non-past tense marker in the 'be verb' form is illustrated in the example (4) below:

- (4) suptulu kim-gobi go -t -a.
 hearth house-LOC be -NPST -3SG
 'The hearth is inside the house.'

As shown in Table: 1 below, the non-past tense allomorph of reflexive morpheme vary in both inclusive and exclusive nature of the first person plural, which has suffix $-k$ in the verbs:

Table: 1 Reflexive marker in Dumi verb, *khə-na* 'self to go'

	1s	1di	1de	1pi	1pe	2s
NPT	khusto	khusti	khustu	khɣkti	khɣkta	akhusta
PT	khucu	khuci	khucu	khɣkki	khɣkku	akhucu
	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
NPT	akhusta	akhusti	akhustani	khusta	khusti	hamkhusta
PT	akhucu	akhuci	akhusni	khucu	khuci	hamkhuci

1.3 The first person plural (past tense) morpheme *-k*

In Dumi, the 1st person plural past tense morpheme *-k* can be found in both inclusive and exclusive verb forms. This is illustrated in examples (5a-b) as follows:

- (5) a. *iŋki chəm-k-ii* b. *uŋku chəmku*
 we dance-PST-INCL we dance-PST-EXCL
 'We^{Pi} danced.' 'We^{Pe} danced.'

1.4 The first person singular morpheme *-ŋ*

Dumi has a first person singular morpheme *-ŋ* in the past form of the vowel ending paradigm as in (6b-c), but not in the non-past tense as in (6a) below:

- (6) a. *moto* 'I stay' b. *moŋu* 'I stayed.'
 c. *təŋu* 'I kept.'

1.5 The 1s→3/PT morpheme *-u*

In Dumi, the relation between the 1st person singular agent and the 3rd person singular patient is indicated by the morpheme *-u*. It can be found in both negative and affirmative sentences in the past tense. This is illustrated in examples (7a-b) below:

- (7) a. *aŋu-a* *um-lai* *dit-ϕ-u*
 I-ERG he-DAT follow-PST-1s→3
 'I followed him'.
 b. *aŋu-a* *um-lai* *ma-dit-ϕ-u*
 I-ERG he-DAT NEG-follow-PST-1s→3-NEG
 'I didn't follow him'.

There is a different morpheme *-ϕ* in the relation to the 1st person singular agent and the 3rd person singular patient as in *huŋ* 'wait', *huŋo* 'I waited him'.

1.6 The non-first person subject morpheme *-a*

The non-first person subject morpheme *-a* acquires in the non-past tense whereas it becomes morpheme *-i* in the past tense as in (8a-c) below:

- (8) a. um-a dza khip-t-a b. um-a dza khip-t-i
 he-ERG rice cook-NPST-2/3 he-ERG rice cook-PST-2/3
 'He cooks rice.' 'He cooked rice.'
- c. anci-a dza a-khip-φ-i
 you-ERG rice 2-cook-PST-2/3
 'You^{DL} cooked rice.'

1.7 The non-first person dual morpheme *-si*

In Dumi, non-first person dual morpheme *-si* is used in both: past and non-past tense of intransitive form, as in the examples (9a-b) below:

- (9) a. unci-a dza dzu-t-a-si
 they-ERG rice eat-NPST-2/3-DL
 'They^{DL} eat rice.'
- b. unci-a dza dzu-φ-si
 they-ERG rice eat-PST-3.DL
 'They^{DL} ate rice.'

1.8 The negative morpheme *-nə*

The negative suffix *-nə* is affixed to all the negated simple forms in both past and non-past forms of the verbs. But the negative past morpheme *ma-* is mutually exchanged with the 3rd person plural subject morpheme *ham-*. The negative suffix *-nə* has allomorph *-no* in case of the 1st person as in (10a-b) below:

- (10) a. aŋu bul-o b. aŋu ma-bul-o-no
 I run-PST1.SG I NEG-run-PST-1.SG-NEG
 'I run.' 'I didn't run.'
- c. uni-mu ham-bul-nə
 they-PL 3.PL-run-NEG
 'They^{PL} didn't run.'

- d. uni-a dza ma-dzu-n-i-nə
 they-PL-ERG rice NEG-eat-PL.3-NEG
 'They^{PL} didn't eat rice.'

2. Aspects

Aspect is the internal temporal structure of a situation (Trask 1993: 21). Comrie (1981: 3) has defined it as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.' According to Crystal (1994: 29), aspect is a grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb. It indicates whether the action of the verb is beginning, end, in progress, instantaneous, or repeated. The Dumi language is rich in verb morphology and in syntax as well. There are many numeral and verbal classifiers found in this language. In addition, there is also the complex aspects system as another special feature of the Dumi language. The distinctions of progressive and perfective aspects can be found in Dumi which are combined with tense distributions.

2.1 Perfective aspect

Perfective is telic action (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252). In the Dumi, this type of aspect is marked by the suffix *-im*, which is then combined with the copular 'be verb' to make past and non-past perfective aspect in both negative and affirmative verb forms. This is illustrated in (11a-b) below:

- (11) a. balhaŋ-a soda cur-im go-t-a
 Balhaŋ-ERG money pay-PRF be-NPST-3S
 'Balhang has paid money.'
- b. balhaŋ-a soda cur-im maŋ-gu
 Balhaŋ-ERG money pay-PRF NEG- be.NPST
 'Balhang has not paid money.'

2.2 Imperfective aspect

Imperfective is also known as 'atelic' (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252) action which involves an auxiliary verb while

describing an incomplete ongoing performance. This shows the action which is not completed in relation to some point of time. In broad sense, it indicates the continuity of an action or state of affairs which are illustrated in (12a-b) below:

- (12) a. suhaŋ-a soda cur-thætta
 Suhaŋ-ERG money pay-PRF
 'Suhang is paying money.'
- b. əabi-a soda cur-thætta-nə
 Pabi-ERG money pay-PRF-NEG
 'Pabi is not paying money.'

2.3 Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect is a regular or consistent performance or occurrence of an action. In Dumi, it is marked by the suffixes *-thiŋo* and *-thədu* for intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. This is illustrated as in (13a-d) below:

- (13) a. aŋu cenkim khus-thiŋo b. aŋu-a ci tuŋ-thədu
 I school go-HAB I-ERG beer drink-HAB
 'I used to go to the school.' 'I used to drink beer.'
- c. aŋu-a ci ma-tuŋ-thədu-nə
 I-ERG beer NEG-drink-HAB-NEG
 'I used not to drink beer.'
- d. um disse bul-kubi-khus-t-a
 he morning run-HAB-NPST.3SG
 'He goes for walking in the morning.'

2.4 Progressive/durative aspects

Progressive Aspect shows an event as having no initial or terminal boundaries. In other words, it indicates an action which is incomplete, developing or in progress. In the Dumi language, there are two types of progressive aspects: Non-past progressive and past progressive aspects. These are illustrated respectively as in the example (14a-b) and (15a-b) below:

- (14) a. aŋu cenkim khus-thiŋ-t-o
 I school go-PRG-NPST-1SG
 'I am going to the school.'

- b. um bul-rhiŋ-t-a
 he run-PRG-NPST-3SG
 'He is running.'
- (15) a. aŋu cenkim khus-thiŋom-gə
 I school go-PRG-PST-1SG
 'I was going to the school.'
- b. um bul-thiŋum-gə
 he run-PRG-PST-3SG
 'He was running.'

3. Mood

'Mood is known as the expression of the degree or kind of regularity of a proposition as perceived by the speaker. Its distinctions appear to be universally present in languages and are expressed by inflection of the verb or by the use of specialized lexical items called modals' (Trask 1993: 174-175). Like any other Tebeto-Burman languages, in Dumi, mood is expressed with 'modal auxiliaries' appended to various finite and non-finite verbal forms, quite often with the expression of tense or aspect.

3.1 The indicative mood

The indicative mood in Dumi is generally expressed as an unmarked utterance with the true beliefs of speakers. This is exemplified in (16a-b) as follows:

- (16) a. cuɸcu lamthi-thiŋ-t-a
 child walk-CONV-NPST-2/3.SG
 'Child is walking'
- b. pabi kim khus-t-a
 Pabi house go-NPST-2/3.SG
 'Pabi goes to the house.'

3.2 Interrogative mood

The interrogative mood in the Dumi language is expressed by two types of questions: yes/no question as in example (17a) and wh-questions as in example (17b) below:

- (17) a. ninam kim khus-t ?
 Ninam house go-NPST-2/3.SG
 'Does Ninam go to the house?'
- b. najem-a bhīm gu mui-s-i ?
 Nayem-ERG like what cloth wear-PST-2/3.SG
 'What sort of cloth did Nayem wear?'

3.3 The imperative mood

The imperative mood in the Dumi language is generally used to express direct command or order etc. as in (18a-b) below:

- (18) a. ani tejo khu-c-a
 you now go-NPST-2.SG
 'You go now.'
- b. ani dumo ma-dz-e
 you much NEG-talk-2.SG. NPST
 'You don't talk much more.'

3.4 The optative mood

The optative mood in the Dumi language is generally used to express wish or desire of the speaker as in (19a-b) below:

- (19) a. aŋu ŋai-st-u
 I sit-NPST-1.SG
 'I sit down.'
- b. iŋki ri-kt-i
 we (DU-INCL) laugh-NPST-1PL.INCL
 'We^{pl} laugh.'

3.5 Probabilitive mood

The probabilitive mood in Dumi is generally used to express probability or uncertainty of the speaker as in (20a-b) below:

- (20) a. uni-mu ham-ho-t-a je
 they-PL PL-come-NPST-2/3 EMP
 'They might come.'
- b. tejo puma pu-c-i je
 now flower bloom-PST-3SG EMP
 'The flower might bloom now.'

3.6 Obligative mood

The obligatory mood in the Dumi language is generally used to express obligation, duty, responsibility etc. of the speaker as in (21a-b) below:

- (21) a. ani-mu dən-na chuk-t-a
 you-PL unite-INF must-NPST-3.SG
 'You must unite together.'
- b. ani-a bhisoka khojo chəm-na chuk-ta
 you-AGT anyhow dance-INF must-NPST-3.SG
 'You must dance anyhow.'

3.7 Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood in Dumi is generally used to express the relation between the cause and effect as in (22) below:

- (22) hu je-t-a kho nam mut-a-nə
 rain fall-NPST-3.SG if sun do-NPST-3.SG-NEG
 'If it rains, there won't be the sun.'

4. Conclusion

To sum up, there are the following remarkable features of tense, aspect and mood found in the Dumi language. Inflectionally, tense can be categorised into two types: past and non-past tense. Similarly, aspects are divided into two parts: perfective and imperfective. perfective aspects again are splitted into two parts: past and non-past. On the other hand, the imperfective aspects can be categorised as habitual, progressive which are further divided into past and non-past forms. Likewise, there are indicative, interrogative, imperative, optative, probabilitive, obligative and subjunctive mood in Dumi.

Abbreviations

ϕ	Zero	1	First person
2	Second person	3	Third person
SG	Singular	D/DL	Dual
Di	Dual inclusive	De	Dual exclusive

PL	Plural	Pi	Plural inclusive
ERG	Ergetivity	HAB	Habitual
INF	infinitive	LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative	NPST	Non-past tense
Pe	Plural exclusive	PRG	Progressive
PST	Past tense	EMP	Emphatic
PRT	Particle	CONV	Converb
DAT	Dative	AUX	Auxiliary
PRF	Perfective	INCL	Inclusive
EXCL	Exclusive		

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MORPHOSYNTAX OF KOYEE NOMINALS: AN INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE¹

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This paper is an attempt to analyze the morphosyntactic description of the major nominal items in Koyee. The items discussed here are: gender, number, pronoun, adjective, adverb, and case marking.

1. Introduction

Koyee² 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*: *baʎa*. 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, Kathmandu by the migrated speakers.

Koyee is one of the endangered and least studied languages of Nepal. There is a close genetic relationship between Dumi and Koi (Hanßon, 1991). CBS (2001) reports 2641 Koyee

¹ This is a revised version of the paper presented in 29th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held on 26-27th November, 2008 at CEDA Hall, Tribhuvan University, Nepal.

² 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 as diphthongs. As the ethno names like Koyu in Bhojpur, Koi, Koimee in Udayapur are prevalent where they do not speak Koyee language. Koyu people in Bhojpur have adopted Bantawa language whereas Kirati Rodung (Chamling) language by the Koi/Koimee people in Udayapur.

speakers in Nepal which is 0.01 percent of the total population of Nepal 22736934. But the distribution of the speakers mentioned in the Census 2001 is not reliable which needs more exploration.

The sections below outline the detail discussion of the topic. The second section deals with the nominal item gender. In the third section, the number is examined. The pronoun is analyzed in the fourth section. The fifth section deals with the adjective. The nominal item adverb is discussed in the sixth section. The seventh section talks about the case marking. Finally, the discussion is summarized.

2. Gender

Koyee has got natural gender system. The concept of male and female is marked with the masculine *-pa* and feminine *-ma* suffixes which are common to other Tibeto-Burman languages like Tamang, Kham, Chamling etc.:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------|
| (1) | pa-pa 'father' | ma-ma 'mother' |
| | tʌ̃-pa 'husband' | tʌ̃-ma 'wife' |
| | sariwa-pa 'cock' | sariwa-ma 'hen' |
| | natsukep-pa 'sheep/M' | natsukep-ma 'sheep/F' |
| | sibir-pa 'the youngest brother' | |
| | sibir-ma 'the youngest brother's wife' | |

Some of the male genders do not possess the gender markers:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| (2) | ts ^h ubʌ | 'pig (male)' | ts ^h ubʌ-ma | 'pig (female)' |
| | gurd ^h uŋ | 'horse (male)' | gurd ^h uŋ-ma | 'mare' |

There are some few animates which consist of the common gender though they take the gender markers *-pa* and *-ma*:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------|
| (3) | gʌŋgʌk-pa 'spider (F/M)' | muni-ma 'cat (F/M)' |
| | jurup-pa 'ant (F/M)' | mesi 'buffalo(F/M)' |

Few others are found having not gender markers as well as the gender suffixes:

- (4) kira 'tiger' ŋoksu 'beer'
 pi 'hen' silpi 'bird'

3. Number

There are three number systems- the singular, the dual, the plural. The suffix of the plural for nouns and third person pronoun is *-tsʌ* and that of the dual *nusi*. The duality of nouns and pronouns in Koyee is marked with the suffix *-nusi*. But the first person and second person non-honorific pronouns possess different types of marking system to indicate duality and plurality. The dual markers for the first person are *-tsi* in inclusive and *-tsu* in exclusive. The dual marker for the second person inclusive is *-tsi* and second person exclusive is *-nusi*. The plural markers for the first person inclusive and exclusive *-ki* and *-kʌ* respectively. The plural marker for the second person is *-ni* (honorific and nonhonorific both):

Table 1: Dual and plural markers

	dual	plural
First Person	tsi (incl), tsu (excl)	ki (incl), kʌ (excl)
Second Person	tsi (incl), nusi (excl)	nitsʌ
Third Person	nusi	tsʌ

Koyee consists of few uncountable nouns having plural form.

- (5) dosam 'hair' dosam-tsʌ 'hair'
 semʌ 'dream' semʌ-tsʌ 'dreams'

But some uncountable plural nouns which are unacceptable are presented as follow:

- (6) kΛηk^ha 'water' *kΛηk^ha-tsa
kuhu 'cloud' *kuhu-tsa
olon 'milk' *olon-tsa

4. Pronoun

Koyee includes personal, interrogative, demonstratives and reflexive pronouns (Regmi, 2003).

4.1 Personal pronouns

Pronouns in most respects are inflected like nouns. The pronouns of the first person have double set of the dual and plural, one including and the other excluding the person addressed. The dual suffix marker is *-nusi*, the plural marker is *-tsa*; the genitive suffix marker is *-na* and the accusative suffix marker in Koyee is zero. In the second person pronoun *-ni* is a suffix used for honorific as well as plural marker. The third person distinguishes for pronominal form. There is no gender distinction in the third person pronoun. The ergative suffix marker is *-wa*, *-ja*, *-a*.

Table 2: Koyee personal pronouns

		Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	Inclusive		intsi	iŋki
	Exclusive	aŋ	Λntsu	Ληka
2nd person	Non-honorific	an	antsi	ani
	Honorific	ani	antsinusi	anitsa
3rd person	Proximal	idΛ	idΛnusi	idΛtsa
	Distal	umu	umunusi	umtsa
	Far distal	jam	jamnusi	jamtsa
	Referential	d ^h am

4.2 Demonstratives

There are three types of demonstrative pronouns in Koyee. They are proximal, distal, and far distal. They are illustrated below with some of the examples:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (7) | a. proximal | b. Distal |
| | id Δ 'this' | umu 'that' |
| | id Δ nusi 'these (two)' | umunusi 'those(two)' |
| | id Δ t Δ 'these' | id Δ t Δ 'these' |
| | c. Far distal | |
| | jam 'that (over there)' | |
| | jamnusi 'those(those, over there)' | |
| | jamt Δ 'those (over there)' | |

4.3 Interrogative pronouns

There are two kinds of interrogatives in Koyee language. They are basic and derived:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (8) | asu 'who' | Habo 'how much' |
| | g Δ m 'which' | g Δ pa 'where' |
| (9) | asu-n Δ 'whose' | g Δ m-pu 'which one' |

4.4 Reflexive pronouns

In Koyee, *hobu* is used as the reflexive pronouns. Some examples are given below:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (10) | Δ -hobu 'myself' | a-hobu 'yourself' |
| | umu-hobu 'themselves' | |

5. Adjectives

The majority of adjectival and verbal roots are common. They are separated by the adjectivizing suffix <-am> or the

infinitive marker *-mu*. So most of the adjectives are derived from verb roots:

- (11) k^hli-mu 'go' k^huts-am 'gone'
 ts^hΛ-mu 'ripe' ts^hΛʔ-am 'ripen'

The suffixes like *-ka* /*-pa* are also common to denote verbal participle:

- (12) d^hum-mu 'earn' d^hummu-pa 'earned'
 sen-mu 'look' senmu-pa 'looked'
 koʔ-mu 'know' koʔk-ka 'known'

Other some common suffixes applied to form adjectives are *-bu*, *-pa*, *-se*, *-ts^ha*, *-∅* in the case of male whereas *-ma*, *-me* in the case of the female:

- (13) lΛmlu-bu 'the eldest brother' lΛmlu-ma 'the eldest sister'
 waku-se 'the third brother' waku-ma 'the third sister'
 sibi-ts^ha 'the youngest brother' sibir-ma 'the youngest sister'
 sΛ:lΛ 'young boy' sΛ:lΛ-me 'the young girl'

Some canonical (not derived) adjectives are as follows:

- (14) haʔa 'hot' sopa 'long'
 haŋam 'dry'

6. Adverbs

The adverbs in Koyee can be classified into three classes: Locational/directional, temporal, and manner.

6.1 Locational/directional adverbs

There are four distinctions in locational adverbs: proximal, distal, far distal and referential:

- (15) idΛbi 'here' umbi 'there' jambi 'there (far)'

6.2 Temporal

(16) asina 'yesterday' sela 'tomorrow' amna 'today'

6.3 Manner

(17) d^hawa 'slowly' nap^ham 'easily' haloja 'sometimes'

7. Case clitics

Koyee has generally seven case clitics³. They are ergative/instrument, accusative/dative, locative, commitative, genitive, ablative, allative. Of them Accusative and Dative 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.

The following clitics function as grammatical case markers:

Table 3: Case clitics

Case	Form(s) of suffix
Ergative /Instrument	- <i>a, -ja, -wa</i>
Accusative /Dative	- \emptyset
Locative	- <i>bi</i>
Commitative	- <i>ka</i>
Genitive	- <i>na, -bim</i>
Ablative	- <i>bika, -laŋka</i>
Allative	- <i>lambo</i>

³ Rai (2009) has analyzed the case clitics in the article 'Case system in Koyee' published in *Nepalese linguistics* 29. 281.

8. Conclusion

In this paper we have analyzed major Koyee nominals: gender, number, pronoun, adverb, adjective and case clitics. It consists of natural gender system. The male is marked with *-pa* where as female is marked with *-ma* suffixes. There are some few animates which consist of the common gender though they take the gender markers *-pa* and *-ma*. Few others are found having not gender markers as well as the gender suffixes. So far the number system is concerned in Koyee, there are three: the singular, the dual, the plural. The suffix of the plural for nouns and third person pronoun is *-tsA* and that of the dual *nusi*. The duality of nouns and pronouns in Koyee is marked with the suffix *-nusi*. But the first person and second person non-honorific pronouns possess different types of marking system to indicate duality and plurality. The dual markers for the first person are *-tsi* in inclusive and *-tsu* in exclusive. The dual marker for the second person inclusive is *-tsi* and second person exclusive is *-nusi*. The plural markers for the first person inclusive and exclusive are *-ki* and *-kA* respectively. The plural marker for the second person is *-ni* (honorific and nonhonorific both). Pronouns in Koyee are in most respects inflected like nouns. The pronouns of the first person have double set of the dual and plural, one including and the other excluding the person addressed. The dual suffix marker is *-nusi*, the plural marker is *-tsA*; the genitive suffix marker is *-nA* and the accusative suffix marker in Koyee is zero. In the second person pronoun *-ni* is a suffix used for honorific as well as plural marker. The third person distinguishes for pronominal form. There is no gender distinction in the third person pronoun. The ergative suffix

marker is *-wa*, *-ja*, *-a*. There are three types of demonstrative pronouns in Koyee. They are proximal, distal, and far distal. Similarly there are found two kinds of interrogatives: basic and derived. Majority of adjectival and verbal roots are common. They are separated only by the adjectivizing suffix *-am* or the infinitive marker *-mu*. So most of the adjectives are derived from verb roots. The suffixes like *-ka* /*-pa* are also common to denote verbal participle. Other some common suffixes applied to form adjectives are *-bu*, *-pa*, *-se*, *-ts^hu*, *-∅* in the case of male whereas *-ma*, *-me* in the case of the female. The adverbs can be classified into three classes: locatinal/directional, temporal, and manner. There are seven kinds of case marking suffixes found in Koyee language. They are ergative/instrument, accusative/dative, locative, commitative, genitive, ablative, allative. Of them the accusative and dative remain unmarked.

Abbreviations

CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics	excl	exclusive
F	female	incl	inclusive
M	male	VDC	Village Development Committee

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LANGUAGE LOSS AND THEIR PRESERVATION IN NEPAL

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The paper talks about the reason of language endangerment in Nepal, supplies linguistic evidences of how indigenous language are fighting a losing battle in their effort to survive and provides an example of how language documentation helps in language preservation and promotion.

Nepal has been a multilingual country since antiquity but her multilingualism is at present threatened. Majority of the languages spoken in Nepal belong to the Tibeto-Burman family but their number of speakers are less in comparison to the less number of languages which belong to the Indo-European family with more speakers. Languages particularly, indigenous languages of Nepal are dying fast.

Policy of the state in the past

Language policy is quite new in Nepal. In fact, language policy in its real sense was started only in the new millennium. Before 2000, although the state planned and implemented some language related programmes, it never framed a language policy nor it felt the need of doing so. Prior to the political unification of Nepal by Prithwi Narayan Shah, different languages were spoken in different parts of the country such as Newari in the Kathmandu valley, Limbu in the eastern hilly regions called Limbuwan, Maithily and Tharu in the eastern Terai, and different Rai languages in Khambuwan. These regions were ruled by the local rulers but when they were defeated by the Gorkhalis, they were forced to speak the Khas language (also known as Gorkhali or Nepali) which was the language of the winner. This was the language which later developed in the present Nepali

language. People were discouraged to use their languages, and were warned of grave consequences if they used them: they were harassed, humiliated and even punished if they were found using their language. This policy was maintained and severely implemented during the Rana regime and carried on until recently. Among the various reasons, 'one nation one language' policy of the HMG was the most prominent one.

Gorkha bhasha (the Nepali language) is not widespread yet. The languages of the barbarians such as Magar, Gurung, Limbu, Sunuwar, Danuwar and Tharu, etc. are still in use. Until and unless Gorkha bhasha does not push other barbarian languages out, it can neither develop nor become the chief language (Aryal and Joshi 1917).

This kind of biased attitude of suppressing other languages in favour of Nepali was maintained until recently. The year of 2007 V.S. saw the dawn of democracy. However, not much was done to change the linguistic situation let alone preserve and promote different languages of the country. In 2014 V.S. government declared its language policy based on the recommendation of the National Education Committee Bandhu (2050 VS). Nepali with Devanagari script was recognized as the national language, which was to be used as the medium of instruction. The data collected by the Committee on the people opinion of language policy education clearly showed that majority of people were in favour of their mother tongues to be the medium of instruction at least in primary schools. (Yadava 1990). Nevertheless the government went on with its 'one nation one language policy', which became a slow poisoning to the indigenous languages, and made Nepali a 'killer' language Rai (2005).

The constitution of Nepal (1991) declared Nepali as the national and official language, and other languages as 'languages of the nation' whatever that means. It guarantees the right of the citizens to preserve and promote their

language and culture. In practice, however, the support by the government for the preservation and promotion of languages and cultures is negligible. Neither language communities nor linguists and language activists are satisfied.

The suppression of the indigenous languages at the expense of Nepali continued even in the 20th century. Conversion of the local names of place and mountains which was started by historian Babu Ram Sharma (Malla 1999) is still ongoing. Mr. Sharma invented the name *Sagarmatha* for the Mt Everest which was known in the native language as Chomolongma ‘mother goddess of the valley’ for no apparent reason.

...in the course of the Hindu political-cultural domination by the Licchavis (AD 464-879), the Mallas (AD 880-1200), and Thakuris (AD 1201-1769), the tribals were Hinduised or Sanskritised; and in the process, different species of tribal toponyms were Sanskritised, including the name of the country itself (Malla 1999).

Some more examples of Nepalization of place names are given below.

<u>Local</u>	<u>Nepalization</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Nepalization</u>
Thimi	Madhyapur	Wāde	Campāpurī
Pāṇā	Śaṅkharapurī	Khopā	Bhaktapur
Cāṇu	Doālgirī	Katuḷe	Varuṇapur

(Source: Himavatkhanda (Varanasi: YogapracāriṇI 2013 VS)

Today formation of a new Constitution Assembly is in the air, and the speakers of many different language communities are waiting (among many other things) how it is going to address the language issues in Nepal.

Linguistic evidences of the languages losing their features

There are many reasons of language endangerment and death (migration, education, inter-caste marriage, etc.) which are also true in Nepal. The paper does not talk about them. It

rather presents some linguistic evidences which show how features of indigenous languages are slowly disappearing. The evidences are from two languages, Puma and Chamling both of which belong to Rai Kiranti group and fall in Tibeto-Burman language family.

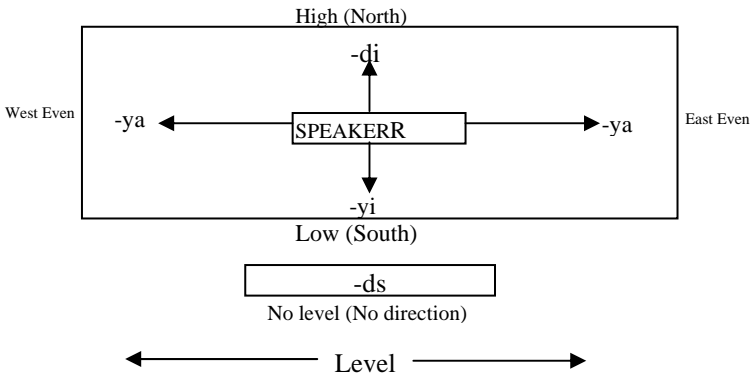
Phonology

The following sounds are disappearing.

1. /ŋ/ → /k/: *kʌphe ŋwa* /kʌphekwa (money) glottal stop being replaced with the velar one (Puma)
2. /ü/ → /u/: *mük/ muk* (eye) unrounded high back being replaced with the rounded high back one (Puma)
3. /u:/ → /Ø/: *mu-u-ŋ/ mu-ŋ* the vowel /u:/ is disappearing (Puma)
4. /ɔ/ → /o/ neutral mid back being replaced with the rounded high back one (Chamling)
5. /ɲ/ → /n/ palatal nasal being replaced with the alveolar nasal (Chamling)

Morphology

The locative case markers in Chamling as shown in the diagram below are in deteriorating stage. It is highly likely that they will be lost with the death of the elderly people. Only -da will be used.



direction	high	low	even	suffixes
north	+	-	-	-di/dhi
south	-	+	-	-yi
east	-	-	+	-ya
west	-	-	+	-ya
0	-	-	-	-da

1. *pΛ-ben-nΛŋ-yaŋ* → *pΛ-ben-yaŋ*: double negative is replaced with the single one. NEG-come-NEG-IPFV → NEG-come-IPFV
2. *.ŋapəŋ-ci* → *ŋapəŋ-hΛru*: the Puma plural marker <-ci> being replaced with the Nepali priest-priest-ns → priest-ns
3. *khu-lai*: Puma speakers use Nepali dative marker <-lai> 3s-DAT
4. *hiŋe-kothio*: Chamling speakers use Nepali perfect marker <-kothio> AUX-PFV

Explanation

The features are disappearing because of the influence of the Nepali language. As the native speakers have no choice but to use Nepali more and their languages less, and because these features are lacking in Nepali so they are dying a slow death. This phenomenon is hard to detect because the speakers sometimes use the original Puma or Chamling sounds but if the researcher asked them to repeat the sounds they switch over to the Nepali ones. It is generally believed that borrowing strengthens a language: this is not true in the case of Puma and Chamling. Borrowing from the Nepali language has been a slow poison for these languages. However, they are fighting desperately for their survival which they do through the process of nativization, that is, they nativize the borrowed words before they accept them. Some examples of how the borrowed words from Nepali, Maithili and English are nativized in the Puma language are given below:

(a) Voiced bilabial, alveolar and velar take /a/ (Nep.) kam → *kama* 'work' (Maith.) pag → *paga* 'turban'

(b) Voiced bilabial changed into voiceless bilabial /b/ → /p/:

ΛrΛb → ΛrΛp 'Arab'

(c) Both (a) and (b) processes are mixed e.g., (Nep.) kitab → *kitapa* ‘book’

(d) Puma suff. can be added to Nepali words: *-ma* → *-ni*: (Nep.)
bhAdAi-ni → *bhAdAi-ma* ‘niece’

(e) Nep.N + Pum.N: *nari+khong* = *narikhong* ‘ankle’

More complicated processes

- Nep-Pum: *mAjja-bo* (good-GEN) *mAjjabo* ‘interesting’
- Nep-Nep-Pum: *nA-mAjja-bo* (NEG-good-GEN) *nAmAjjabo* ‘uninteresting’
- Pum-Nep-Pum-Pum: *kA-risa-ket-ku* (ACT.PTCP-anger-V.NATIV-CAUS-NMLZ) ‘an angry man’
- Nep-Pum-Pum-Pum: *kam-a-kA-mu* (work-N.NATIV-ACT.PTCP-work) ‘worker’
- DAT –*lagi*: *kitap-a cha-ci-bo-lagi las-I* (Converse-02.48) (book-N.NATIV child-ns-GEN-DAT bring-3P) ‘To bring the children’s book.’
- FOC –*caĩ*: *ã pAj uj-dipa cAĩ demko sal-do si-a* (Tikamaya 12) (FILL CONN 1sPoss-uncle FOC which year-LOC die-PT) ‘So, which year my uncle died.’
- FILL –*abo/–kere*: *conçibuñ-ci abo demni mA-ben* (DA marry 1.65) (relative-p FILL how.many 3p-come) ‘How many relatives come (to reach the bride).’
- VOC: *lohái*: (DA_Samkha 44) (“*lohAi ca-pukd-a-nAm*”) “O! eat-take-IMP-ns”
- MIR–*rAçhA*: (L.M._01.18) *tAna Akta inçfıyái-ku mAnna rAçhA* PART one India-GEN man MIR ‘It was a man from India.’

Language preservation and promotion

The state

The state has not yet started education through mother tongue which has been declared by the constitution. However, education through mother tongue has been started on pilot

basis with the technical support from the Finland Government which has shown very good result. This important step of education through mother tongue was started under multilingual education programme which is being given in 5 languages viz. Tamang, Tharu, Uraon, Athpahariya and Magar. The Ministry of Education, in principle, has decided to start multilingual education on 1-3-5 basis that is, from Grade 1-3 mother tongue then introduction of the national language Nepali and then the international language English. But this decision is contradictory in itself because it has decided to start the primary education through mother tongue with gradual introduction of the national and the international languages in one hand and English teaching has been introduced right from Grade 1 on the other. This shows that either the people with power and/or people who are responsible to frame language and education policy are not serious about these issues and so they keep postponing things on this or that pretexts or they do not know how to frame language and education policies.

Language communities

In comparison to the State, language communities are very enthusiastic to preserve and promote their language and culture. For example, Yayokha (the apex body of Rai Kiranti community) has a section on preservation and promotion of Rai Kiranti language and culture. Similarly other communities such as Tamang, Newar, Limbu and many other have their own organization which, in addition to other things, are working to preserve and promote their language and culture. Several indigenous languages (Baltawa, Chamling, Limbu, Tamang, etc.) are being taught as a subject in the primary schools. Despite so many challenges and problems the languages are still being taught but if the government does not support them, the teaching of these languages may be discontinued. This wave of awareness among different speech

communities was partially created by language documentation which is one of the best ways of language preservation

Documentation of language

Some vernacular and indigenous languages of Nepal (Bantawa, etc.) are being taught in primary education. This became possible because these languages were already documented and described. Thus the linguistic documentation and description of a language is the first step towards its preservation and promotion. Many native and foreign scholars have studied Rai Kiranti languages (Allen 1975; van Driem 1993; Ebert 1991, 1997; Bicekl 1997; Toba 1984; Rai 1985, Opgnort 2000, Rai 2059 V.S; Rai 2003, 2005) and published numerous grammar and articles. They are scholarly works but a documentation programme is always more effective than these individual efforts. For example, Chintang Puma Documentation Project (CPDP)* funded by Volks Wagon Foundation, and jointly run by a team of linguists, anthropologist and psycholinguists from Institute for Linguistics, Leipzig University, Germany, and the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Nepal, finished documenting the two highly endangered Rai Kiranti languages viz. Puma and Chintang. How it played an important role in the preservation of the languages is briefly described here.

Audio-video recordings of songs, myths, stories, rituals, etc. were done which were transcribed and translated into Nepali and English. The data was entered into the toolbox –a software that helps in linguistic glossing by creating a dictionary. Eventually, the final glossing was entered into ELAN where the speaker or speakers/performers could be seen and heard speaking or performing rituals with the linguistic glossing that appear beneath the movies and could be read as well.

There is no doubt to the fact that documentation of a language enormously helps in its preservation because the data is put into archive and stored safely forever and the language can be revived by using the stored data if the community wish to do so. In addition to a large corpus stored in archive, CPDP had following outcomes in the Puma language.

- A large corpus for further scientific research and for the language revival
- A trilingual dictionary and a sketch grammar
- A book on Puma conversational practice
- A vast store of rituals (rites of passage) that can be seen and heard
- An awareness among the community that their language and culture can be saved

Similarly, documentation of the Baramu language funded by SOAS is being done by a team of Nepalese linguists which will come out of similar outcomes and impacts. The best thing about documentation is that it creates awareness in the community about their language and culture. It activates the love for their language which is in dormant state. It became possible in case of Puma because the educated members of the community took part in the documentation project. These young enthusiasts have started publishing magazine in their own language and are trying to introduce their language in the primary education.

Future of languages in Nepal

Nepal is standing at the threshold of being a federal state. At present, Nepali is the national and the official language of the country which everybody accepts. But in addition to Nepali, the State should also make other languages the official language of the country. Not long ago, a proposal was made to make Newari and Maithili the official languages of the Valley and some of the eastern Terai districts respectively. It

was opposed by the Nepali fanatics on the ground of one nation, one language notion and the matter went to the court. It was very unfortunate that the Supreme Court gave its verdict against the proposal. Therefore, the State should start it by passing an act about other languages being the official language of the country.

There is no alternative to the multilingual policy in Nepal. This means that in order to recognize and promote the language of the nation, the concept of regional languages should be developed. The language which is spoken by the majority of people in certain region (e.g. Maithili in Saprtari, Siraha and Dhanusha districts; Avadhi in Lumbini and Kapilbastu districts; Newari in Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts; Limbu in Panchthar, Terahthum and Taplejung districts; Chamling in Khotang and Udaypur districts, etc.) should be introduced as the official language. Thus, in each region there should be two official languages – the local language and the Nepali language but the priority must be given to the local language. There is no harm to follow this policy. On the contrary, there are only benefits. Firstly, the fundamental purpose of democracy is to serve the people and people cannot be served well if the state does not use their language. Common people can express what they need and feel better only in their own native language and the bureaucrats and the government official must know the language of the local people to serve them well. Only then the purpose of democracy can be achieved.

Secondly, multilingual policy helps to preserve and promote language. The state talks about the preservation and promotion of the minority language and culture and about education through mother tongue. These are just talks –correct in principle only. They are good to hear. But what good does education through mother tongue bring to its speakers who are from an indigenous community? Why should a Tamang

parents educate their child in Tamang? Education means prosperity and development. Does education through Tamang ensure prosperity and development to the Tamang child. If not, then why should the parents give education through their parents to their children? In such case, it would be a crime to ask the parents to educate their children in their native language. But if we make Tamang the official language in the regions with majority of Tamang speakers, then they will willingly go for mother tongue education for their children because they would know that their children would get the job opportunities in the region. Thus, the development of regional languages in to the official languages will help in preservation and the promotion of the language because its learning and use will secure jobs for its users.

Thirdly, this multilingual policy should be two way, that is, even the native Nepali speakers and the speakers of other languages should learn the regional language in that particular region. This brings three benefits (a) the non-regional language speakers will learn the regional language, (b) they will have job opportunities in that region (because only those who learn the regional language will get the job in that region) and (c) it will foster good will and cooperation in a multilingual community (in fact, there is lack of goodwill between the people from the hills *Pahade* and the people from the Terai *Madhese* in our country because Pahade either don't know Madase's language or even if they know the language they don't want to speak it: they always expect Madhese to speak the Nepali language). Living together in the same region with goodwill and friendship is possible only when people respect and speak each other's language, and digest and celebrate each other's culture.

Education is essential for the development of a person, community and/or nation and the best education is through mother tongue. The preservation and promotion of mother

tongue is, therefore a must which is not possible if there is no multilingual policy. This policy not only helps in the preservation and promotion of language but it also fosters goodwill and cooperation between different speech communities.

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REDUPLICATION IN THĒTHI DIALECT OF MAITHILI LANGUAGE

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The paper presents the reduplication process in Thēthi dialect of the Maithili language. Reduplication, a phonological-cum-morphological process, is a widely used feature inherent in Thēthi. It has full/total, modified and discontinuous reduplication. It stands for the various meanings such as plurality, continuation, manner, medium, etc.

1. Background of language

Thēthi is a colloquial dialect of the Maithili language spoken by a vast majority of people inhabited from the western part of Mahottari district to the eastern and central part of Sarlahi district down the east-west highway. The language also exists in the adjoining areas of Bihar. Almost 30-40 million of people speak the language. It lacks the written form.

2. Introduction

Words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating single word (phonological word), partially or completely are known as the case of reduplication (Abbi: 2001).

Reduplication, a morphological-cum-phonological process of repeating the root/ the part of it, is much prevalent in the Thēthi dialect. It's an inflectional process used in inflections to serve many functions like numerous, continuation, manner, and intensification. As a morphological process it's also useful for the creation of new lexical item.

Reduplication involves the repetition of all or part of the base form. Some of the issues of reduplication include:

- How much material is copied: the whole word, just one syllable, just a CV sequence?
- If less than the whole word is copied, which specific portions are copied: which syllable, or which CV sequence?
- Where does the copy attach? Reduplication most often occurs as a prefix or suffix (i.e. at an edge of the stem to which it applies); but reduplication infixes are also found.
- Is the reduplicated element an exact copy, or are there changes in vowel quality, initial consonant, etc.? (Kroeger: 2005)

3. Typology and formation

In this language, reduplication is both a phonological process whereby normally a syllable, consonant or vowel, is repeated. It's a morphological process whereby a constituent is repeated too. In Thēthi reduplication, reduplicant is repeated only once. Unlike other languages, Thēthi dialect inherits three forms of reduplication. They are: Full reduplication, Modified reduplication and Discontinuous reduplication.

3.1 Full reduplication

In this reduplication, the entire root is reduplicated. The reduplicated copy is attached to the base form as suffix. Sometimes, there are some changes in the base in this reduplication process. It has different form of meaning. Such as:

khetekhete	‘through fields (way)’
ghəreghəre	‘in many houses (plural)’
ðhireðhire	‘slowly (manner)’
salesale	‘every year (continuation)’
kemhərkemhər	‘where? (Repetition)’
khərekhəre	‘by standing (manner)’
əgadiəgadi	‘moving forward (manner)’

chotechote ‘in small pieces (Size)’

A significant point to be noted is that some of the reduplicated words stand distinctive in the existence. For instance;

læblæb, tæltæl, rafsaf, chælchæl, ðhireðhire

The formation of most of the reduplicated phrases is made by just repeating the root e. g.

ægadi	‘forward’	ægadiægadi	‘moving forward’
chæl		chælchæl	‘sense of naughtiness’
kəhã	‘where’	kəhãkəhã	‘here and there’

In the reduplication of time adverbial, the process is somewhat different.

Some of the processes change the root by adding any vowel to it at the final position and then the derived root is repeated to form the reduplication. Like;

Root	Meaning	suffix	derived root	reduplication	
sal	‘year’	-e	sale	salesale	‘every year’
ðin	‘day’	-e	ðine	ðineðine	‘everyday’
gor	‘foot’	-e	gore	goregore	‘on foot’
hat	‘hand’	-e	hate	hatehate	‘by hand’

Likewise, in the action word, the root is suffixed with te, e and le and hence derived root is repeated which means by + v-ing e.g.

Root	Meaningsuffix	derived root	reduplication
ðhær	‘hold’	-te	ðhærte ðhærteðhærte
pædh	‘Read’	-te	padhte padhtepadhte
sut	‘Sleep’	-le	sutle sutlesutle
bøith	‘Sit’	-le	bøithle bøithlebøithle
khæra	‘stand’	-e	khære khærekhære

3.2 Modified (partial) reduplication

This process of reduplication involves the copying of only part of the word which is repeated either as a prefix in the beginning, or a suffix in the end or as an infix in the middle position. The modified reduplication in Thēthi, albeit the suffixal form, has different process of duplication. First the onset and nucleus of first syllable, or sometime the onset of the first syllable only, from the base is replaced by any of the consonant or vowel sounds like *u*, *s*, *t*, *ðh* and *c*, sometimes deleting the initial consonant. Then the rest of all the parts from coda of first syllable of the base are repeated being added as a suffix in the base. This process has the constant meaning i.e. 'something similar to'

Root	Meaning	Syllabification	Reduplication
mas	'meat'	<u>m</u> -a-s	masus 'meat or something similar to meat'
ðuðh	'milk'	ð <u>u</u> -ð ^h	ðuð ^h uð ^h
sabun	'soap'	<u>s</u> -a-b-u-n	sabunubun
təl	'oil'	<u>t</u> -e-l	təlul
vat	'cooked rice'	v <u>a</u> -t	vatut
cəuki	'wooden bed'	<u>c</u> -ə <u>u</u> -k-i	cəukiuki
ənera	'emerge of itself'	ə-n-e-r-a	əneradhunera
kam	'work'	<u>k</u> -a-m	kamdham
puran	'old'	p <u>r</u> -u-r-a-n	purandhuran
pətiya	'mat'	p <u>ə</u> -t-i-y-a	pətiyasətiya
tivi	'TV'	t <u>i</u> -v-i	tivisivi
raf		r <u>a</u> -f	rafsaf (clear)
zena	'like'	z-e-n-a	zenatena
phatəl	'torn'	<u>ph</u> -a-təl	phatəlcitəl (torn and ragged)

3.3 Discontinuous reduplication

This process of reduplication refers to the addition of a clitic *se* between the two identical roots to make it discontinuous generally in the qualifiers and quantifiers to refer to the degree of the adverb e.g.

kəm	‘low’	kəm se kəm	‘at least’
bəhut	‘more’	bəhut se bəhut	‘maximum’
khətəm	‘rubbish’	khətəm se khətəm	‘worst’
ðhənik	‘rich’	ðhənik se ðhənik	‘richer’

4. Meaning and usage

The reduplication in Thēthi shows varieties of grammatical usage and meaning. They are as follows;

a. Numerous - The reduplicated word sometimes extends the notion of one to many in number, e.g.,

ghər	‘house’	ghəreghəre	‘to many houses’
ðura	‘yard’	ðureðure	‘to many yards’

b. Manner- many forms of full reduplication have the sense of manner i.e.

gor	‘foot’	goregore	‘on foot’
ðhire	‘slow’	ðhireðhire	‘slowly’
kena	‘how’	kenckena	‘somehow, how’

c. Continuation- some forms of full reduplication have the sense of continuation.

sal	‘year’	salesale	‘every year (year wise)’
məhina	‘month’	məhineməhine	‘every month’
ghəri	‘time’	ghərighəri	‘every time’
ðin	‘day’	ðineðine	‘every day’

d. Action- Most of the reduplicated terms show the action and process. Such as;

chəmchəm ‘form of playing’ hulbul ‘here and there’
hulbulhulbul ‘repetition of action’ ləbləb ‘sense of naughtiness’

e. Size and way- some reduplicated words also stand for size and way of doing things e.g.

chotechote ‘into small pieces’
khetekhete ‘through the fields’
hatehate ‘little by little (in doing any action)’
zortor ‘encouragingly’

f. All the modified partial reduplications have the same meaning i.e. something similar to:

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is revealed that Thēthi shows the simple case of reduplication process such as full, modified (partial) and discontinuous having the different typology, meaning, process and formation. For the detailed analysis, the language needs to be studied typologically and historically in all the respective areas of linguistics.

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CONVERB CLAUSES IN KAIKE¹

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This paper discusses the converb clauses in Kaike, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. Kaike exhibits both sequential and simultaneous converb clauses as in other TB languages; however, unlike other TB languages, it presents interesting typological features in the expression of these converb clauses.

1. Introduction

This paper presents a linguistic analysis of the converb clauses in the Kaike language from the functional-typological perspective. 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 speakers amounts to 792. There are two types of converb clause: Sequential and simultaneous in Kaike.

This paper is organized into five sections: In section 2 we present the morphological properties of the converb clauses, i.e. sequential and simultaneous converbs in Kaike. Section 3 examines the semantic properties associated with 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.

¹ This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 29th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2008.

2. Morphological properties

As in other Tibeto-Burman languages, Kaike employs non-finite converbal clauses. The sequential converb in this language is formed by reduplication of the verb root, as in (1):²

- (1) a. harije sai jaja bajar woi-bo
 hari-je sai ja-ja bajar woi-bo
 Hari-ERG rice eat-SEQ market go-PST
 'After having eaten rice Hari went to market.'
- b. t^hya nyaje anayeŋ tun
 t^hya nya-je ana-yeŋ tun
 Today evening-LOC this-DAT curry
 dondon jatowanān
 don-don ja-towa-nan
 prepare-SEQ eat-OBLG-NMLZ
 'In the evening, after having prepared this as curry we have to eat it.'
- c. ram iskul woiwoi yim sowabo
 ram iskul woi-woi yim sowa-bo
 Ram school go-SEQ house come-PST
 'After having gone to school Ram came to house.'

In the examples (1a-c), the sequential converb is formed by the reduplication of the verb root. In (1a) the verb root *ja* 'eat', in (1b) the verb root *don* 'prepare', and in (1c) the verb root *woi* 'go' have been reduplicated to mark the sequential converb in Kaike.

The simultaneous converb in Kaike is formed by attaching the suffix *-yeŋ* to the verbal root, as in (2)

² In Hayu, a Kirati language, the sequential converb consists of a reduplicated root followed by the ergative-instrumental marker *-ha* (Ebert, 1999: 380). In Chantyal, reduplication of the verb base is followed by the durative marker in simultaneous converb clauses (Noonan, 1999: 406)

- (2) a. η a jaye η leye η yim woipa
 η a ja-ye η le-ye η yim woi-pa
 1SG eat-SIML walk-SIML house go-PST
 'While eating and walking I went home.'
- b. η a jaye η loeye η do η k^hepa
 η a ja-ye η loe-ye η do η k^he-pa
 1SG eat-SIML talk-SIML work do-PST
 'While eating and talking I worked.'

The marker used for the simultaneous converb in (2) has other functions as well. Apart from being used as dative marker in (1b) it is also used as durative marker, as in (3).

- (3) η ai yim donye η k^hepa
 η a-i yim don-ye η k^he-pa
 1SG-ERG house make-DUR do-PST
 'I was making the house.'

3. Semantic properties

The basic meaning of the sequential converb is to encode the event which is understood to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate (Noonan, 1999). Consider the following examples:

- (4) a. η yopa jaja simi puru aatabo
 η yopa ja-ja simi puru aa-ta-bo
 Meal eat-SEQ man all sleep-PRF-PST
 'After having taken the meal all the people had gone to bed.'
- b. ramje cit^hi sarsar p^heppo
 ram-je cit^hi sar-sar p^hep-po
 Ram-ERG letter write-SEQ send-PST
 'After having written the letter Ram sent it.'

Both sentences (4a-b) contain the core meaning viz. temporal priority. This phenomenon is common in other South Asian languages, too. Apart from this type of the core meaning Kaike may make use of non-specialized sequential converts which present a variety of other contextual meanings as well. One of them is to show the cause as in (5).

- (5) doŋ madepdep nu yim sowabo
 doŋ ma-dep-dep nu yim sowa-bo
 Work NEG-find-SEQ 3SG house return-PST
 'After not having found work he returned home.'

Simultaneous converbal constructions are used to express an activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate. It is exemplified in (6).

- (6) ŋa raiyeŋ iskol woipa
 ŋa rai-yeŋ iskol woi-pa
 1SG laugh-SIM school go-PST
 'I went to school, laughing.'

4. Syntactic properties

4.1 Position of the converb clauses

Normally, in Kaike, both the converb clauses: sequential (as shown in (1a-c)) and simultaneous (as shown in (2a-b)) occur inside the matrix clause. In marked constructions they can also be postposed as a discourse strategy such as afterthought or focus. Following are the examples:

- (7) ŋa iskol woipa raiyeŋ
 ŋa iskol woi-pa rai-yeŋ
 1SG school go-PST laugh-SIM
 'I went to school, laughing.'

4.2 The scope of tense and aspect

The tense and mood of the matrix clause have a broad scope which extends to the simultaneous and sequential converbs in Kaike. According to Noonan (1999) 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. sai jaja ŋa tablã woipa
 sai ja-ja ŋa tablã woi-pa
 Rice eat-SEQ 1SG jungle go-PST
 'After having eaten rice I went to the jungle.'
- b. raksi t^huŋyeŋ ŋa tablã woipa
 raksi t^huŋ-yeŋ ŋa tablã woi-pa
 Alcohol drink-SIM 1SG jungle go-PST
 '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, Noonan (1999) notes that the aspect is inherent in the converbs, i.e, the sequential converb is associated with the perfective aspect whereas the simultaneous converb can be analyzed as imperfective aspect.

4.3 The scope of negation and question

There is a narrow scope of the negation and question in both sequential and simultaneous converbs in Kaike. Following are the examples:

- (9) a. nui low t^hut^hu nyoppa majabo
 nu-i low t^hu-t^hu nyoppa ma-ja-bo
 3SG-ERG body bathe-SEQ meal NEG-eat-PST
 'After having bathed I did not take the meal.'
- b. nu raiyeŋ iskol mawoibo
 nu rai-yeŋ iskol ma-woi-bo
 3SG cry-SIM school NEG-go-PST
 'He never went to school laughing.'

In (9a-b) the scope of the negation does not extend to the sequential and simultaneous converbs. In other words, the scope of the negation is restricted to the matrix clauses.

Similar to the negation, there is a narrow scope of the question in both sequential and simultaneous converbs in Kaike. Following are the examples:

- (10) a. sai jaja su woibo
 sai ja-ja su woi-bo
 rice eat-SEQ who go-PST
 'Who went after having eaten rice?'
- b. raksi t^huŋyeŋ su c^huŋbo
 raksi t^huŋ-yeŋ su c^huŋ-bo
 Alcohol drink-SIM who dance-PST
 'Drinking alcohol, who danced?'

In the examples (10a- b) the converbs lie outside the scope of question of the matrix in Kaike.

4.4 Control of subject

Kaike shows two options as to the subjects of the converbal constructions: either a null NP, viz. PRO or a lexically overt NP, as in (11).

- (11) a. nun loe tata ŋa sutubo
 [PRO_i nu-n loe ta-ta] ŋa_i sutu-bo
 His talk hear-SEQ 1SG become.angry-PST
 'After having heard his talk I became angry.'
- b. ramje hari jala poŋpoŋ nambo
 [ram-je hari jala poŋ-poŋ] nam-bo
 Ram-ERG Hari door open-SEQ make.sit-PST
 'After having opened the door, Ram made Hari sit down.'

In (11a) the subject of the converbal construction is a null NP, viz. PRO whereas in (11b) it is a lexically overt NP.

Kaike 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) nun loe tata ŋa sutubo (=11a)
 [PRO_i nu-n loe ta-ta] ŋa_i sutu-bo

4.5 Lexically overt subject and cases

Kaike overtly allows subjects without enforcing any case demotion rule. Both ergative and absolutive cases are allowed in a converb clause as in (13).

- (13) a. *ŋai sai jaja nu yim woibo*
 ŋa-i sai jaja nu yim woi-bo
 1SG-ERG rice eat-SEQ 3SG house go-PST
 'After I have eaten he went to his house.'
- b. *yim bowabowa cuppa simi sibo*
 yim bowa-bowa cup-pa simi si-bo
 House fall-SEQ ten-CLF person die-PST
 'Ten persons died after the house had fallen.'

5. Summary

There are a cluster of features of the converb clauses (sequential and simultaneous) in Kaike: morphological, semantic and syntactic. Both converbs are expressed morphologically in Kaike. The sequential converb in this language is formed by reduplication of the verb root. It is one of the interesting typological features. The simultaneous converb consists of the verb root suffixed by *-yeŋ* which is also used as durative marker. 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 whereas the simultaneous converb expresses an activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate. Besides the core meaning viz. anteriority or temporal priority in common with other South Asian languages, Kaike employs non-specialized sequential converbs which present a variety of other contextual meanings. In Kaike, the tense and aspect 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 Kaike have the same subject as their main clause. Kaike 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	3SG	third person singular
DAT	dative	ERG	ergative
NEG	negation, negative	PRF	perfect
PRH	prohibitive	PST	past
SEQ	sequential	SIM	simultaneous

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PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN BHUJEL, CHEPANG AND BANAKARIYA

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This paper examines the participant reference in Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya. Typologically, referred to as “pronominalizing” languages, they mark, in common, person and number in the complex of the verb. However, Bhujel strikingly differs from others in “direct marking” in the verb.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the system of participant reference in three languages, viz., Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya forming a cluster under Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. Bhujel is an endangered language spoken by 10,733 (i.e. 9.1%) of the 1, 17,664 ethnic Bhujel (Gurung et al. 2006). Chepang is spoken by 36,807 (i.e.70.5 %) of the 52, 237 the ethnic Chepang mainly living in Makawanpur, Dhadhing, Chitwan and Parsa districts of Nepal (Gurung et al. 2006; Gurung, 2005). Similarly, Bankariya is a seriously endangered language spoken by an estimated 5 (i.e. 7.8 %) of 64 ethnic Banakariya exclusively living in Ward No.7 of Handikhola Village Development Committee of Makawanpur district of Nepal (Bhattachan, 2005). Typologically, they have been described as the “pronominalizing” languages. The verb in these languages provides a potential second reference referred to as cross-reference to certain participants by means of pronominal affixes (Caughley, 1982). Basically, the verb in these languages provides referential information for only one participant, either the agent or patient at a time. However, they differ strikingly in some of the patterns of marking of the

role of the speech-act participants. Caughley (1999) has noted a number of similarities and differences between Chepang and Bhujel in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. Watters and Regmi (2008) presents a linguistic analysis of “Direct-inverse” in Bhujel and Chepang from typological perspective. However, no attempt has yet been made to analyze the patterns of participant reference in these languages, viz. Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya from functional-typological perspective.

This paper is organized as follows: In section 2 we examine the pattern of indexing the person of the participant in the verb. Section 3 looks at number indexing in the complex of the verb. In section 4, we analyze ‘inverse- direct’ indexing in the languages in question. Section 5 summarizes the findings of the paper.

2. Person indexing

Exclusively based on the hierarchical ranking, Bhujel and Banakariya commonly index the person of the participants, either agent or patient, one at a time, by the suffix- η . Table 1 presents a synopsis of person indexing in these two languages:

Table 1: Person indexing in Bhujel and Banakariya

		UNDERGOER		
		1SG/NSG	2SG/NSG	3SG/NSG
A C T I O N	1SG		Σ - η	Σ - η
	1PL		Σ - η -	Σ - η -
	1DU		Σ - η -	Σ - η -
	2SG	Σ -te- η		Σ -te- η
	2DU	Σ -te- η		Σ -te- η
	2PL	Σ -te- η		Σ -te- η
	3SG	Σ - η	Σ - η	Σ
	3DU	Σ - η	Σ - η	Σ
	3PL	Σ - η	Σ - η	Σ

Note: Σ stands for verb stem.

Table 1 shows the highest ranking participants, either agent or patient, are cross-referenced in the verb in these languages. Following are the examples:

- (1) a. η ai dyokay dāk^haləŋ [Bhujel]
 η a-i dyo-kay dāk^h-al-u-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘I beat him/her.’
- b. η akay ukay g^hannaŋ [Banakariya]
 η a-kay u-kay g^han-na-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-NPST-1/2
 ‘I beat him/her.’

In (1a-b) the highest ranking participant, agent is indexed on the verb by the suffix *-ŋ*. In the same way, in (2a-b), the first person (i.e. the highest ranking participant), patient is indexed in the verb:

- (2) a. dyokay η akay dāk^haləŋ [Bhujel]
 dyo-kay η a -kay dāk^h-al-a-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘S/he beat me.’
- b. ukay η akay g^hannaŋ [Banakariya]
 u-kay η a-kay g^han-na-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-NPST -1/2
 ‘S/he beat me.’

However, in a transitive configuration of 3→3, neither the agent nor the patient is indexed by the suffix *-ŋ*, as in (3):

- (3) a. dyokay dyokay dāk^hal [Bhujel]
 dyo-kay dyo-kay dāk^h-al
 3SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST
 ‘S/he beat him/her.’
- b. ukay ukay g^hanna [Banakariya]
 u-kay u-kay g^han-na
 3SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-NPST
 ‘S/he beat him/her.’

Unlike Bhujel and Banakariya, the verb in Chepang does not consistently provide referential information for the participant by the suffix *-ŋ*. Apart from this, all the three languages lack inclusive-exclusive distinction in independent pronoun forms. However, they all show the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the complex of the verb. Moreover, unlike in Chepang, the second person is marked by the suffix *-te* in Bhujel and Banakariya. In Chepang it is marked by the suffix *-naŋ*. Table 2 presents a comparative synopsis of person indexing in these three languages:

Table 2: Person marking in Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya

Number Persons	Singular			Dual			Plural		
	BJL	CPG	BNK	BJL	CPG	BNK	BJL	CPG	BNK
IEXCL	-ŋ	-ŋa	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋa	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ
IINCL				ta-ŋ	-tayh	tay-ŋ	ta-ŋ	-tayh	tay-ŋ
Second	-te-ŋ	-naŋ	-te-ŋ	-te-ŋ	-naŋ	-te-ŋ	-te-ŋ	-naŋ	-te-ŋ
Third	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ

BJL=Bhujel, CPG=Chepang, BNK=Banakariya

Table 2 shows that like Bankariya and Bhujel, Chepang verb also carries the suffix *-ŋ* in the complex of the verb. However, unlike in Bhujel and Banakariya it encodes only first person exclusive as in (4):

- (4) a. ŋa?i ?ow?kay g^hanna?ŋ? [Chepang]
 ŋa-?i ?ow?-kay g^han-na?-ŋ?
 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-NPST-1E
 ‘I beat him/her.’
- b. ow??i niŋkay g^hanna?ŋ?
 ?ow?-?i niŋa-kay g^han-na?-ŋ?
 3SG-ERG 2SG-DAT beat-NPST-1E
 ‘S/he beat you.’

As shown in Table 2 the inclusivity reference of the agent participant in Chepang is indexed on the verb by the suffix

-tayh. In Banakariya, it is marked by the suffix *-tay* whereas in Bhujel it is marked by *-ta* along with the common person marking. Following are the examples:

- (5) a. *ɲicikay dyokay dāk^htaalaŋcu* [Bhujel]
ɲici-kay dyo-kay dāk^h-ta-ala-ŋ-c-u
 1DU-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-INCL-PST-1/2-DU-DIR
 ‘We (two) beat him/her.’
- b. *ŋa naŋkus krawnaʔtayhca* [Chepang]
ŋa naŋ-kus kraw-naʔ-tayh-ca
 1SG 2SG-COM flee-NPST-INCL-DU
 ‘I will flee with you.’
- c. *nicikay am jenaŋtaycu* [Banakariya]
nici-kay am je-na-ŋ-tay-cu
 1DU-ERG rice eat-NPST -1/2 -INCL-DU
 ‘We (you and me) eat rice.’

Unlike Bhujel and Banakariya, Chepang may encode two participants, viz. agent and patient, at a time in the verb, referred to as double cross-reference (Caughley, 1982:56), as in (6):

- (6) *ni-kay ʔowʔ-mayʔ-ʔi ghan- naʔ-s-u-naʔ-ta-ŋ-i*
 1PL-DAT 3SG-CPL-ERG Beat-NPST-PL-AGT-NPST-PAT-1E-PL
 ‘They beat us.’

In (6) the agent marker (AGT) *-u* and patient marker (PAT) *-ta* are both indexed in the complex of the verb.

Unlike in Bhujel and Banakariya, in Chepang part of the second person form may be repeated more than once as in (7):

- (7) *niŋkay ŋaʔi bayʔnenanananŋsa*
niŋ-kay ŋa-ʔi bayʔ-ne-na-na-na-ŋ-sa
 2SG-DAT 1SG-ERG give-NPST-2-2-2-1E-PL
 ‘I will give to you all.’

Apart from the reduplication of the part of the second person form as in (7) the possessor of a participant may be cross-

referenced in the verb, instead of the participant itself. For example,

- (8) η ako? co? rya?na?battaŋ?
 η a-ko? co? rya?-na?-bat-ta-ŋ?
 1SG-GEN child cry-NPST-POSS-GOAL-1E
 ‘My child is crying.’

In (8) the possessor is cross-referenced in the verb by the suffix *-bat*.

3. Number indexing

The number of the participants is also indexed in the complex of the verb in these three languages. Table 3 presents a synopsis of number marking of the participant in Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya:

Table 3: Number marking in Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya

Number Person	Singular			Dual			Plural		
	BJL	CPG	BNK	BJL	CPG	BNK	BJL	CPG	BNK
First	-∅	-∅	-∅	-ca	-ca	-cu	-i	-i/-sa	-i/-su
Second	-∅	-∅	-∅	-ja	-ja	-ji	-i	-sa	-i/-su
Third	-∅	-∅	-∅	-ca	-cu	-cu	-i	-i/-sa	-i/-su

BJL=Bhujel, CPG=Chepang, BNK=Banakariya

Table 3 shows that Bhujel in common with Chepang and Banakariya marks three categories of number of the verbal arguments on the verb: singular, dual and plural. Singular is morphologically unmarked. The plural is marked by *-i* for all persons. The suffix *-ja* marks the second person dual. However, the first and third person duals are marked by *-ca*. The following are the examples:

- (9) a. η ici kim alnaŋca
 η ici kim al-na-ŋ-ca
 1DU house go-NPST-1/2-DU
 ‘We (two) go home.’

- b. niŋjikay am jetenaŋju
 niŋji-kay am je-te-na-ŋ-j-u
 2DU-ERG rice eat-2-NPST-1/2-2DU-DIR
 ‘You (two) eat rice.’
- c. ŋilam kim alnaŋi
 ŋilam kim al-na-ŋ-i
 1PL house go-NPST-1/2-PL
 ‘We go home.’

Similar to Bhujel, Bankariya verbs inflect for three categories of number: singular, dual and plural. Singular is morphologically unmarked. The suffix –ji marks second person dual whereas the suffix –i/-su marks for plural in all persons. Similarly, the suffix –cu marks for first and third person dual. The following are the examples:

- (10) a. nicikay am jenaŋcu
 nici-kay am je-na-ŋ-cu
 1DU-ERG rice eat -NPST-1/2-DU
 ‘We (two) eat rice.’
- b. niŋjikay am jetenaŋji
 niŋji-kay am je-te-na-ŋ-ji
 2DU-ERG rice eat-2-NPST-1/2-2DU
 ‘You (two) eat rice.’
- c. niŋlami am jenaŋi/su
 niŋlam-i am je-te-na-ŋ-i/su
 2PL-ERG rice eat-2-NPST-1/2-PL
 ‘You (Plural) eat rice.’

Similar to Bhujel and Banakariya the number of the participants in Chepang is distinguished as the verbal affixes. The following are the examples:

- (11) a. nicii? ʔamh jeʔnaŋʔcu
 nici-i? ʔamh jeʔ-na-ŋʔ-c-u
 1DU-ERG rice eat -NPST-1E-DU-AG
 ‘We (two) eat rice.’

- b. $\eta i?i$ $bay?na\eta?su$
 $\eta i-?i$ $bay?-na-\eta?-s-u$
 1PL-ERG give-NPST-1E-PL-AG
 ‘We give.’

4. ‘Inverse-direct’ indexing

Chepang exhibits a direct–inverse system in the verb complex. In other words, the semantic role of the participants can always be identified by examining the morphological structure of the predicate in the clause (Caughley 1978, 1982). The “direct” relationship, i.e. that the participant indexed in the verb is an agent, is indicated by the suffix *-u* /*-n* whereas an “inverse” relationship, i.e. that the participant indexed in the verb is a patient is indexed by *-ta*/*-t^ha*/*-t^hay*. Following are examples from Caughley (1982):

(12) DIRECT:

- a. $ni-ci-?i$ $?amh$ $je?na-\eta?c-u$
 1PL-DU-ERG food eat-NPST-1E-DU-DIR
 ‘We two eat food.’
- b. $\eta a-?i$ $co?-lam-kay$ $bay-?ala-\eta?-s-u$
 1SG-ERG child-PL-DAT give-PST-1E-PL-DIR
 ‘I gave to the children.’

(13) INVERSE:

- a. $gopal-?i$ $\eta a-kay$ $say?-?a-ta-\eta?$
 Gopal-ERG 1SG-DAT hear-PST-INV-1E
 ‘Gopal heard me.’
- b. $nyam-?i$ $\eta a-kay$ $raw?-na?-ta-\eta?$
 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:

(14) 3RD PERSON DIRECT:

- a. ?amapa-nis-?i raj c^hap-na?-c-u
 Parent-DU-ERG field clear-NPST-DU-DIR
 ‘The parents clear the field.’
- b. ram-?i gopal-kay g^han-?aka-n
 Ram-ERG Gopal-ACC beat-PST-DIR
 ‘Ram beat Gopal.’

(15) 3RD PERSON INVERSE:

- c. ?amapa-nis-?i co?-lam-kay g^han-na?-t^ha-sa
 Parent-DU-ERG child-PL-ACC beat-NPST-INV-PL
 ‘The parents beat the children (PL).’

In Chepang the 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.

Contrary to Chepang, Bhujel does not mark the inverse relation in the verb. Interestingly, the direct relations such as 1→2, 1→3, and 2→3 are marked by the suffix *-u* apart from person and number suffixes. However, the verb remains unmarked in 2→1, 3→1, or 3→2. (Nor does it occur in 3→3). Table 4 presents the patterns of marking of direct relations in Bhujel:

Table 4: Patterns of marking of direct relations in Bhujel

→	1	2	3
1	**	-u-	-u
2	**	**	-u
3	**	**	**

In the following “direct” relations, the direct marker *-u* is attached to the verb:

- (16) a. 1→2 η ai naŋkay dāk^haluŋ
 η a-i naŋ-kay dāk^h-al-u-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘I beat you.’
- b. 1→3 η ai dyokay dāk^haluŋ
 η a-i dyo-kay dāk^h-al-u-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘I beat him/her.’
- c. 2→3 naŋi dyokay dāk^haluŋ
 naŋ-i dyo-kay dāk^h-al-u-ŋ
 2SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘You beat him/her.’

In the following “indirect” relations the direct marker-u is not attached to the verb:

- (17) a. 2→1 naŋi η akay dāk^haluŋ
 naŋ-i η a-kay dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 2SG-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘You beat me.’
- b. 3→1 dyoi η akay dāk^haluŋ
 dyo-i η a-kay dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘He beat me.’
- c. 3→2 dyoi naŋkay dāk^haluŋ
 dyo-i naŋ-kay dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 2SG-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘S/he beat you.’
- d. 3→3 dyoi dyokay dāk^hal
 dyo-i dyo-kay dāk^h-al
 3SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST
 ‘S/he beat him/her.’

The configurations in (16 a-c) and (17 a-d) represent direct and inverse relationships, respectively. In direct relationships the verb is marked by *-u* and in inverse relationships the verb

is unmarked. In Banakariya, neither the direct as in Bhujel nor inverse and direct as in Chepang is marked in the verb.

5. Summary

Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya reveal a number of shared cluster features in the domain of cross-reference of the participant in the complex of the verb. All the three languages are 'pronominalized' languages. Both Bhujel and Banakariya index, the person and number of the participants in the complex of the verb are exclusively based on their hierarchical ranking, not on their semantic or grammatical roles. In all these three languages, the inclusive-exclusive distinction is marked only in the verb. Normally in these languages only one participant, either agent or patient, is cross-referenced in the complex of the verb. However, there are some differences in Bhujel and Banakariya, Chepang in the patterns of participant reference. Unlike in Bhujel and Banakariya, Chepang may encode two participants, viz. agent and patient, at a time in the verb. Unlike in Bhujel and Banakariya, in Chepang part of the second person form may be repeated more than once in the verb. In the same way the possessor of the participant is also indexed in the verb of Chepang unlike in Bhujel and Banakariya. Moreover, unlike Chepang and Banakariya, Bhujel has developed a unique type of verb agreement pattern referred to as 'direct marking' (Regmi, 2007).

Abbreviations

1E	first person exclusive	1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular	3SG	third person singular
1/2	first or second person	ACC	Accusative
COM	Comitative	CPL	Collective plural
DAT	dative	DIR	direct marker
DU	Dual	ERG	ergative
INV	Inverse	NEG	negation, negative
PST	past		

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PRONOMINALIZATION IN RAJI

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Raji is a complex pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language in which the personal pronouns representing the subject and sometimes the object of the sentence can be affixed to the verb. The suffix is based on a hierarchy of the participants 1→2, 1→3, 2→3. However, it is not based on grammatical role of the participants.

Introduction to pronominalization

According to Grierson and Konow (1909), pronominalization refers to the use of pronominal suffixes for indicating the person and number of the subject (and sometimes the object as well) among the Himalayan Languages. Pronominalization has to do with the affixation of pronouns –like formatives to the root verb to indicate agreement to the subject and object (Kansakar, 1993).

Raji is a complex pronominalized language in which the personal pronouns representing the subject- occasionally also the object- of the sentence, can be added in suffix form to the verb.

In order to understand pronominalization in Raji, it is necessary to look at the personal pronouns. A brief overview of personal pronouns is presented in table 1.

The first person and second person independent personal pronouns are **ɲa* ‘I’ and **naŋ* ‘thou’ (Benedict 1972: 93, Matisoff 2003: 264, Ebert, 1994: 76). The first and second person singular pronouns are identical to the pronouns

reconstructed for Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ŋa ‘I’ and *naŋ ‘you’ in Raji.

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Raji

Person \ Number		Singular	Dual	Plural
First person		ŋa/ na ‘I’	ŋʌdzi ‘we (two)’	ŋʌi ‘we’
Second person	LHON	nʌŋ ‘you’	nʌŋdzi ‘you (two)’	nʌŋni ‘you’
	MHON	nʌŋdzi ‘you’		
	HHON	nʌŋni ‘you’		
Third person	Proximal	in ‘this’	ingiŋ ‘these (two)’	inla ‘these’
	Distal	fiun ‘that’	fiungiŋ ‘those (two)’	fiunla ‘those’
	Remote	an ‘that’	angiŋ ‘those (two)’	anla ‘those’

The suffix attached to the verb is based on the hierarchy of the speech participants. Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. ŋʌi nʌŋdzi ɾʌisa ɓʌikʌnʌdzi
 ŋʌ -i nʌŋ -dzi ɾʌisa ɓʌi -k
 1SG -ERG 2 -DU money give -SD
 -ã -na -dzi
 -PST.1 -2 -DU.1
 ‘I gave money to you (two).’
- b. fiuni ŋa ɾʌisa ɓʌikã
 fiun -i ŋa ɾʌisa ɓʌi -k -ã
 3SG -ERG 1SG money give -SD PST.1
 ‘He gave money to me.’

- c. $\eta\lambda i$ $f i u n g i \eta$ $p \lambda i s a$ $b \lambda i k \tilde{a} t s i$
 $\eta\lambda$ $-i$ $f i u n$ $-g i \eta$ $p \lambda i s a$ $b \lambda i$ $-k$
 1SG -ERG 3 -DU money give -SD
 $-\tilde{a}$ $-t s i$
 -PST.1 -DU.1
 'I gave money to them (two).'
- d. $f i u n \lambda a i$ ηa $p \lambda i s a$ $b \lambda i k \tilde{a}$
 $f i u n$ $-l a$ $-i$ ηa $p \lambda i s a$ $b \lambda i$ $-k$ $-\tilde{a}$
 3 -PL -ERG 1 money give -SD -PST.1
 'They gave money to me.'

There are two marking systems in Raji.

1. Single marking:

- (2) a. ηa $b \lambda t a \eta$ $d z a k \tilde{a}$
 ηa $b \lambda t a \eta$ $d z a$ $-k$ $-\tilde{a}$
 1SG rice eat -SD -PST.1
 'I eat rice.'

The pronoun $-\eta a$ gets attached to the verb:

- b. $\eta \Delta d z i$ $b \lambda t a \eta$ $d z a k \tilde{a} t s i$
 $\eta \Delta$ $-d z i$ $b \lambda t a \eta$ $d z a$ $-k$ $-a$ $-t s i$
 1 -DU rice eat -SD -PST DU.1
 'We (two) ate rice.'

The dual marker $-d z i$ is suffixed to the verb to agree with the subject. When it is attached to the verb root, it gets devoiced and becomes $-t s i$.

Table 2: The transitive paradigm of the verbs in Raji

Person \ Number	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	V ¹ -ŋ	V-tsi	V-ĩ
2nd person	V-∅	V-tsi	V-i
3rd person	V-∅	V-tsi	V-i

2. Double marking

In double marking, both the subject and the object pronouns are represented in the verb. For example,

- (3) a. ηλi nλŋi ρλisa bλikāsĩ
 ηλ -i -i nλŋ -ni ρλisa bλi
 1 -PL -ERG 2 -PL money give
 -k -ã -sĩ
 -SD -PST.1 -PL.1
 ‘We gave money to you (more than two).’
- b. ηλi nλŋ ρλisa bλikāna
 ηλ -i nλŋ ρλisa bλi -k
 1SG -ERG 2SG money give -SD
 -ã -na
 -PST.1 -2
 ‘I gave money to you.’
- c. ηλi nλŋdzi mokk^hānatso
 ηλ -i nλŋ -dzi mok -k^h
 1SG -ERG 2 -DU beat -SD
 -ã -na -tso
 -PST.1 -2 -DU.1
 ‘I beat you (two).’

¹ V stands for the position of root verb.

In the example (3a- c) the first and second person pronouns are attached to the verb.

Table 3: The double marking system in Raji verb

Person Subject		1 st person			2 nd person			3 rd person		
		SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
1 st Person	SG	V-ŋ-na V-ŋ-na-dzi V-na-ni V-ŋ								
	DU	V-ŋ-tsi								
	PL	V-ŋ-so								
2 nd Person	SG	V-ŋ								
	DU	V-ŋ								
	PL	V-ŋ V-ŋ-si								
3 rd Person	SG	V-ŋ V-ŋ-tsi V-ŋ-tsi V-ŋ-tsi V-ŋ-tsi V-ŋ-tsi V-ŋ-tsi								
	DU	V-ŋ-si								

The verbal paradigm of the Raji language is characterized by agreement with speech act participants and number agreement with subjects in intransitive verbs and with the subjects and objects in transitive verbs.

Abbreviations

1	First person	2	Second person
3	Third person	DU	Dual
ERG	Ergative	GEN	Genitive
PL	Plural	POSS	Possessive
PST	Past	SD	Same day
SG	Singular		

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A MORPHOSYNTAX OF RELATIVIZATION IN URANW
(DHANGAR/JHANGAR):¹ A FUNCTIONAL
TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE^{2, 3}

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This paper attempts to describe the morphosyntax of relativization of the very language from its functional typological perspective. There found two types of relative clauses in Uranw: participialized or non-finite and correlative or finite relative clause. Both finite and non-finite clauses can be modifiers of nouns in Uranw. This paper is an attempt to explore the categories of relative clauses in Uranw in terms of their several typological parameters.

1. Introduction

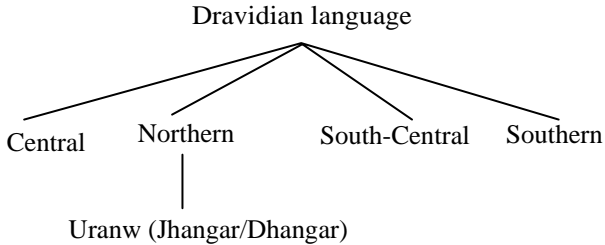
Uranw belongs to one of Dravidian language families spoken in Nepal. Uranw is a member of the northern branch of Dravidian language family. Though it shows a great divergence in its vocabulary and grammar, it is said to be a regional variant of Kurux spoken in Jharkhand state of

¹ The name Jhangar/Dhangar is given by the outsiders. Though the government has identified them as Jhangar, they do not like themselves to be called by Jhangar/Dhangar. They call themselves Uranw. So, in this paper the term Uranw has been used throughout.

² This paper is based on the data taken in 2006 with the financial support of The National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities in collaboration with Central Department of Linguistics, T.U.

³ This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 29th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, on 26-27 November, 2008.

India (Gordon, 1976, Yadava, 2001). The genetic affiliation of Uranw 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 and language.

According to the 2001 census, the total population 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 Uranw. The rate of language retention is found to be high. Though the Uranw language is 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, Uranw speakers have remained in close contact with the speakers of Indo-Aryan languages. Naturally then, there pervades large-scale diffusion of Uranw 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. Uranw is one of them. In Nepal, it is found not to be used in education, administration and in local media too.

This paper attempts to describe the morphosyntax of relativization of the very language from its functional typological perspective.

2. Relative clause

Relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier (Payne, 1997: 235). Relative clauses, also referred to as adjective clauses, are typically found as modifiers of a noun (Whaley, 1997:259). A relative clause is a subordinate clause that is linked to a higher clause.

2.1 The phenomenon

There are two types of relative clauses found in Uranw; participialized or non-finite and correlative or finite relative clause e.g.,

- (1) a. [moxaro tupi ləg-bac-ka kukos]eŋ-ɖis
 black cap wear-PP-PT boy my brother
 hik-ɖ-ə-s
 be-HNPT 3sg.M.
 'The boy who is wearing a black cap is my brother.'
- b. [cix-na maya] eŋ-d ī ma-hik-e
 weep.PP babygirl my sister NEG-be-NPT-3sg.F.
 'The baby girl who weeps is not my sister.'
- c. [eka kukos cix-ɖ-ə-s] as iŋ-ɖis
 which boy weep-H.NPT.3sg.M this my brother
 hik-ɖ-ə-s
 be-H-NPT-3sg.M.
 'The boy who weeps is my brother.'
- d. [ne moxaro tupi ləg-bac-ka-rəs]
 who black capwear-PPbe-NPT.3sg.M
 a kukos eŋ-ɖis hik-ɖ-ə-s
 that boy my brother be-H-NPT-3sg.M.
 'The boy who is wearing a black cap is my brother.'

The clauses in (1a-b) are non-finite relative clauses since the verb in each clause is suffixed. Thus, these clauses are referred to as participialized relative clauses. They restrict or modify head noun. But the clauses in (1c-d) are finite relative clauses initiated by correlative pronouns *ekka*, and *ne* since they employ correlatives; they are referred to as correlative relative clauses. As the clauses (1a-b), the clauses (1c-d) too modify the head noun. So, both non-finite and participialized and finite or correlative clauses are modifiers of nouns in Uranw.

2.2. Typological parameters

There are several typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped (Payne, 1997:326). Some are:

- i) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun.
- ii) the mode of expression of the relativized NP.
- iii) Grammatical Relations (GRs) that can be relativized.

2.2.1 The position of the clause with respect to the head noun

In terms of the position of the clause with respect to its head, the relative clauses in Jhangar can be external headed (pre-nominal and post-nominal) internal headed and headless at all.

2.2.1.1 External-headed

In the external-headed relative clause the head noun occurs outside the relative clause. Uranw has two types of external-headed relative clauses: pre-nominal and post-nominal relative clauses.

2.2.1.1.1 Pre-nominal relative clause

Pre-nominal clause places its head noun after it or head noun occurs after the relative clause, e.g.,

- (2) [ne kukos cixa-ləg-ɖ-ə-s] as iŋ-ɖis hik-ɖ-ə-s
 who boy weep-PROG.NPT.M that my brother be-H-NPT-3sg.M.
 'The boy who is weeping is my brother.'

The clause within brackets in illustration (2) is a correlative relative clause which is placed before the head noun. This is normally modified and restricted by the head NP.

2.2.1.1.2 Post nominal relative clause

In Uranw, the correlative relative clause can occur after the head noun too i.e. the clause occurs after the head. Though in linguistic typology, it is not considered over all characteristics of SOV language like Uranw, it employs it for pragmatic value viz: focusing, e.g,

- (3) a. logə-r p^həɖa ho-or [ne təm-hae
 the man-pl benefit get-NPT-3pl who boss-pl-ACC
 urba-r-in sewa nən-or]
 they-GEN serve do-NPT-3pl
 'The men who get benefited (but not other) will serve to their boss.'

The heavy focus information shifted to let in the clause.

2.2.1.2 Internal-headed

In internal headed relative clause, the head noun occurs within the relative clause. Uranw employs this type e.g.,

- (4) [jya bəgge səməsyə pəhle raca] əkun abəgge mala
 as much problem before be-PT now that much NEG
 'There is not much problem as it was before.'

The head noun *jya bəgge* 'as much' on the above illustration (4) which occurs within the relative clause is in the brackets.

2.2.1.3 Headless

In Uranw, some relative clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify can be found. The head noun is non-specific in this type of relative clause e.g.,

- (5) a. [ne kaḍ-ə-s] as-in kal-a-ca
 Whoever go-NPT-3sg.M he-ACC go-NPT.2sg
 'Who ever goes let him go.'
- b. [ne bahri kal-o-s] d^hər-o-s
 who outgo-3sg.M arrest-PASS.NPT.3sg.M.
 'Whoever goes out will be arrested.'

Both the illustrations (a) and (b) have no head nouns which themselves refer to the noun that they modify.

2.2.2 The mood of the expression of the relativized NP

In some relative clauses, we can find some way of identifying the role of the referent of the head noun within the relative clause. Such role of the cases can be identified in Uranw by using different syntactic strategies. This parameter is sometimes stated as a 'case recoverability' problem (Payne, 1997: 330). Some of the case recoverability strategies are employed to observe the case role within relative clauses in Uranw.

2.2.2.1 The gap strategy

The relativized NP can be left out in a relative clause by leaving a 'gap' after the correlative pronoun in a relative clause to identify the grammatical relation of the 'left out' NP with in the relative clause. e.g.,

- (6) a logəs ne raməs-in pit-a-s]
 the man-3sg.M who ram-ACC kill-PT-3sg.
 d^hər-a-s
 arrest-PASS.PT.3sg.
 'The man who killed Ram was arrested.'

In the illustration (6) above, the gap is after the relativizer *ne* this gap is for the relativized noun *raməs*. The grammatical role of this NP is the subject.

2.2.2.2 The pronoun retention strategy

In this strategy, a pronoun that explicitly references the grammatical relation of the relativized NP, by its position, its form, or both, is retained within the relative clause (Payne, 1997: 331) e.g.

- (7) as ənne log-əs hik-ɖ-ə-s [ne-xæe name
that same man-3sg.M. be-H-NPT.3sg.M who-GEN name
iklahu jaɖ ma-mən-i]
never remember` NEG-be-NPT
'That is the same man whose name I never remember.'

The relative clause has left the possessive pronoun *ne-xæe* in the brackets. This pronoun signals the grammatical relation of the relativized NP. Uranw uses this type of strategy to provide especial focus on the P to otherwise this is not productive in Uranw.

2.2.2.3 The correlative pronoun strategy

In this type of strategy correlative pronouns *ne* 'who', *ekɖa* 'which', *je* 'what', *lek^ha* 'what-so-ever' etc. are used in the Uranw relative clause:

- (8) [a logəs ne mehnəɖ nən-ɖ-ə-s] səp^həl
the man-3sg.M. who labor do-H.NPT-3sg.M succeed
mən-o-s
be-NPT.3sg.M.
'The man who labors will be successful.'

2.2.3 Grammatical relations that can be relativized

Most of the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique and even possessive can be relativized in Uranw.

Subject

The NP in subject position can be relativized. For example,

- (9) [ne sewa nən-o-s] as p^həl pəb-o-s
 who serve do-NPT-3sg.M he benefit gain-NPT-3sg.M.
 'The man who works hard gets benefited.'

Direct object

The NP in direct object position can be relativized. For example,

- (10) [ne-ka pəisa cic-k-a-n] as byaj ci-ca-s
 whom-DAT money give-M-PT-1sg. he interest give-PT-3sg.M.
 'The man who works hard gets benefited.'

Indirect Object

The NP in the position of IO can be relativized. For example,

- (11) [raməs neka-ge ona-ci-ca-s] bas
 ram whom-DAT eat-give-PT-3sg.M he-DAT I shelter
 cic-k-a-n
 give-M-PT-1sg.
 'I gave shelter to the man whom Ram gave food.'

Oblique

The NP in oblique place can be relativized. For example,

- (12) [ne gərib ra-n-ə-r] ar-in mədɛt̚ nəna-pəɖar-o
 who poor be- they-DAT help do-MOD-NPT
 'They must be helped who are poor.'

Possessive

The NP in possessive position can, too, be relativized in Uranw. For example,

- (13) ekɖa-ge bəgge dud^hhi mən-i əɖi-hi ɖam
 that-POSS much milk give-3sg.F. she-GEN price
 besi mənɪ
 much be-NPT-1sg.F.
 'That (cow) gives much milk costs a lot.'

Comrie (1977) observed that any given relative clause strategy will allow relativization on a continuous segment of the following hierarchy:

Subject > Direct object > indirect object > oblique > possessor > ...

The NP accessibility hierarchy

If one position on this hierarchy is relativizable, all positions to the left will also be relativizable. So the universality of this is that no language, however, allows relativization of direct object but not subject.

3. Conclusion

From the above discussion on the morphosyntax of relative clause in Uranw from its typological functional perspective, the relative clauses are grouped on the basis of three typological parameters viz. i. position of the clause with respect to the head noun, ii. mode of expression of the relativized NP and iii. there are some grammatical relations (based on Payne, 1997) and their sub-categories can be relativized.

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	LOC	Locative
M	Masculine	NEG	Negative
NP	Noun Phrase	NPT	Non-Past Tense
pl	Plural	PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximal	PT	Past Tense
REQ	Request	sg	Singular

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SHERPA ORTHOGRAPHY IN SAMBHOTA SCRIPT

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Sambhota script is used in different languages of Tibeto-Burman family including different varieties of Tibetan. It is useful to deal with tones and homonyms. The writing system based on Sanbhota may differ from one language to another due to the language specific phonological features. However, this article deals only with Sherpa orthography.

1. Basic Sherpa alphabet

The Sherpa has adopted the Lhasa Tibetan alphabet and its writing system. However, this alphabet doesn't completely represent all the Sherpa phonemes.

Sherpa alphabet is read by pronouncing each letter with the vowel [a], which is default or implicit. In the initial five rows, the first column contains voiceless high tones, the second column has aspirated, the third column has voiceless low tones and the fourth column alphabets are nasals except in the fifth row. But the remaining series don't show this type of patterned phonetic features. The vowel markers are written above and below the consonants. It is said that initially there was no tone in Tibetan, but it was acquired over the time as a convergence of voiced and voiceless consonants has created tonal contrast. Since this basic alphabet is the conventional minimum set of letters, it doesn't reflect all the Sherpa phonemes. Most of the remaining phonemes are represented and tones are marked by combination (affixation, super and subscription) of these basic alphabets.

Vowels

དབྱེད་ལྷོ་ལྷོ། [jáŋ.ji]

ཨི	[i]	ཨུ	[ú]	ཨེ	[é]	ཨོ	[ó]
----	-----	----	-----	----	-----	----	-----

Consonants

གསལ་བྱེད་གསལ་བྱེད། [sál.tʃe.súm.tʃu]

ཀ	[ká]	ཁ	[k ^h a]	ག	[kà]	ང	[ŋà]
ཅ	[tʃá]	ཆ	[tʃ ^h a]	ཇ	[tʃà]	ཉ	[ɲà]
ཏ	[tá]	ཐ	[t ^h a]	ད	[tà]	ན	[nà]
པ	[pá]	ཕ	[p ^h a]	བ	[pà]	མ	[mà]
ཙ	[tsá]	ཛ	[ts ^h a]	ཝ	[dzà]	ཞ	[wa]
ཞ	[ʃà]	ཟ	[sà]	འ	[à]	ཡ	[jà]
ར	[rà]	ལ	[là]	ག	[ʃá]	ས	[sá]
ཧ	[há]	ཨ	[á]				

2. Composition of syllable

There are maximum seven letters in a syllable in traditional orthography. A syllable consists of a root letter corresponding to one of the alphabets as a compulsory element. Then a syllable may contain a prefix; a superscript joined with or placed above the root; a vowel accent placed above or below the root; and a subscript joined with the root or below it; then the first suffix and finally the post or second suffix. Sambhota is written without any gap between words so that a syllable is

separated with the syllable breaker mark [']. The letter which can take both super and sub scripts can be staked.

Table 1: Composition of a syllable

གཞུང་ [kjór]						
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
བ	མ	ཀ	ུ	ོ	ར	ད
Prefix	Superscript	Root	Sub-script	Vowel Diacritics	Suffix	Post Suffix

2.1 Superscripts

There are three superscripts attached just over the root letter. These superscripts are useful to deal with homonymy and tone.

Table 2: Three superscripts

མགོ་ཚན་གསུམ། [go.tʃen súm]						
ར་མགོ་བརྩ་གཉིས། [ra.go.tʃu.ɲí]					Explanations	
༡	Can be super-scripted with twelve letters	ཀ	ཁ	ཙ		Same pronunciation with roots
		ཁ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	Loss of aspiration/ changed to voiced
		ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	Shift to high tone
ལ་གོ་བརྩ། [la.go.tʃu]					Explanations	
༢	Can be super-scripted with ten letters	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	Preserving pronunciation of the root letters
		ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	ཀ	Loss of aspiration/ changed to voiced

		ཀུ	ཀུ				Shift to high tone
ས་མགོ་བཟུ་གཅིག། [sa.go tʃu.tʃik]							Explanations
ས	Can be super-scripted with eleven letters	ཟུ	ཟུ	ཟུ	ཟུ		Same pronunciation with root
		ཟུ	ཟུ	ཟུ			Loss of aspiration/ changed to voiced
		ཟུ	ཟུ	ཟུ	ཟུ		Shift to high tone

2.2 Subscripts

Similarly, there are four subscripts in traditional orthography. These subscripts are treated as a separate letter in Tibetan rather than clusters of consonants.

Table 3: Four subscripts

རོག་ཅན་བཞི། [go.tʃen.ʃi]				Explanations	
ལ	Subjoined with seven letters	ལྷ	ལྷ	ལྷ	Combination results (cluster of velar stops + palatal approximant)
		ལྷ	ལྷ	ལྷ	ལྷ
ཏ	Subjoined with thirteen letters	ཏྷ	ཏྷ	ཏྷ	Results voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop.
		ཏྷ	ཏྷ	ཏྷ	Results aspirated alveolar stop.
		ཏྷ	ཏྷ	ཏྷ	Results voiced unaspirated alveolar stop.
		ཏྷ	ཏྷ		Results same pronunciation with roots except with the nasal.

		ལ	ལ			Shift to high tone.
ལ	Subjoined with six letters	ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	Shift to high tone and subscribe become root letter.
		ལྔ				
		ལྔ				Results completely different sound [da] (i.e. voiced dental).
ལ	Subjoined with sixteen letters	ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	Identical pronunciation with the root letter.
		ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	
		ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	
		ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	ལྔ	

2.3 Prefixes

Similarly, there are fix prefixes which can precede certain letters only.

Table 4: Five prefixes

ལྔལྔལྔལྔལྔ [ŋon.dʒuk.ŋá]							Explanations	
ལྔ	Used before ten letters	ལ	ལ	ལ	ལ	ལ	ལ	Same pronunciation with radicals
		ལ						
		ལ	ལ	ལ				Shift to high tone
	Used before	ལ	ལ				Same pronunciation with radicals	

འ	six letters	ག	བ				Loss of aspiration/ changed to voiced
		ང	མ				Shift to high tone
བ	Used before ten letters	ཀ	ཅ	ཉ	ཙ	ལ	Same pronunciation with radicals
		ག	མ				
		ག	ད				Loss of aspiration/ changed to voiced
མ	Used before eleven letters	ཁ	ཆ	ཟ	ཛ		Same pronunciation with radicals
		ག	ཇ	ད	ཏ		Loss of aspiration/ changed to voiced
		ང	ཉ	ན			Shift to high tone
ལ	Used before ten letters	ཁ	ཆ	ཟ	ཛ	ཞ	Same pronunciation with radicals
		ག	ཇ	ད	བ	ཏ	Loss of aspiration/ changed to voiced

The five prefixes are usually silent but they play a crucial role in the production of tones and neutralization of aspiration: the low aspirated loses aspiration and becomes voiced when preceded by any of the prefixes; and the four nasals become high tone, if prefixed.

2.4 Suffixes

In traditional Sherpa, there are ten suffixes which can be joined with any other letters. These suffixes function as coda part in the syllable structure.

Table 5: Ten suffixes

རྗེས་འཇུག་བཟུ། [dʒe.dʒu.ktʃu]									
ག	ང	ད	ན	བ	མ	ས	ར	ལ	འ
[kà]	[ŋà]	[tà]	[nà]	[pà]	[mà]	[sá]	[rà]	[là]	[à]

Except these ten letters, other letters never occur in syllable final position in native words. But for transliteration of words from other languages, other letters can occur in any position in a syllable. Basically, these suffixes are never pronounced with their default vowel. Moreover, some of these suffixes also change the sound of the root letter as well as the whole syllable too.

2.5 Post suffixes

There are two post suffixes in traditional Sherpa. However, modern Sherpa doesn't use these post suffixes frequently.

Table 6: Two post suffixes

ཡང་འཇུག་གཉིས། [jaŋ.dʒuk.ɲí]					
ད	Is used after	ར	ན		
ས	Is used after	ག	ང	བ	མ

2.6 Other letters

There are some other letters which are useful for transliteration of loan words from other languages. There are six reversed letters.

Table 7: Six reversed letters

ལོག་ལོག་རྒྱལ། [lok.jik.t ^h uk]					
འ	ཡ	ཇ	ཉ	ལ	ལྷ
[t ^h á]	[t ^h á]	[d ^h è]	[ná]	[ʃá]	[k ^h jà]

These letters are the marginal, and don't feature in the basic alphabet of thirty letters. There are other spellings to represent these sounds.

Similarly, there are five heavy sounding letters. These heavy sounding letters are subjoined of ལྷ[ha]sound. They are breathy voiced sounds.

Table 8: Five heavy sounding letters

མཐུག་པོ་ལྷ། [t ^h ok.po ŋá]				
གྷ	དྷ	བྷ	ཙྷ	ལྷ
[g ^h á]	[d ^h á]	[b ^h á]	[dz ^h á]	[d ^h á]

These heavy sounding words are also not included in the basic alphabet. They are used to transcribe texts or mantras from Sanskrit and other languages. These borrowed sounds don't belong to the Sherpa phonological system.

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THE GRAMMAR OF GAMA:

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Nepalese have changed from subjects to citizens as per Interim Constitution, 2007. Kathmandu is the power centre of country and home-town of Newars. Kathmanduites use the term *Gama*: to outsiders. The word means *a villager* but it has derogatory meanings, too. The activists should correct this malpractice for the betterment of the community.

1. Background

Nepal is declared a democratic federal country by the Interim Constitution; 2007. This became possible after more than a decade long Peoples' War¹ and 19 days' People's Movement in 2005. Politically, Nepalese people have changed from subjects to Citizens. Newars are one of the cultured ethnic communities of Nepal. Newars are also highly defined as feudalistic society. Kathmandu is socio-economic and political power centre of this ethnic group. The elites are using the term *Gama*: to non - Kathmanduites. The word literally means a villager but it has derogatory meanings such as one who is uncivilized, uneducated or vulgar in speech and behaviour. The word is used to the addressee by the addressor to show that the former is inferior to the speaker.

2. Objective

This paper attempts to discuss the term *gama*: from the view point of Kathmanduites / yami.

¹ 1995-2006

3. Methodology

This paper explains the answers to the questions like:

- Who use it?
- Why is it used?
- To whom is it used?
- In what context is it used?

4. Morphology of *Gama*:

gama: is the derivation of a Sanskrit compound word *gramāpalā* 'the chief/guard of a village'. This compound undergoes through these morphophonemic processes.

- (1) gram 'village' (SKT), pala 'guard' (SKT)
gram + palā > grampalā
> grampalā (derotization)
> gamawalā (p>w/ #-#)
> gamwalā (deletion of middle vowel)
> gamalā (depalitalization)
> gamal (deletion of final syllable)
> gama: (Compensatory lengthening)
'the guard of a village'

e.g.,

raśtrapalā	'the guard of a Nation',
rajyapalā	'the guard of a State',
dīkpala	'the guard of a direction',
kshetrapalā	'the guard of an area'
dharmapalā	'the guard of a religion'
Gopalā	'the guard of the cows'
bhupalā	'the guard of the land'

Likewise other compounds are presented, as:

- (2) desha + palā > deshāpalā
> deshawalā (p>w/ #-#)
> deshwalā (deletion of middle vowel)
> deshālā (depalatalization)
> deshar (rotatization)

- > desha: (deletion of ultimate letter)
 > desa: (Compensatory lengthening)
 'the guard of a city'
- (3) supa 'taste' + karə> supkarə (across syllbification)
 > suwkarə (p>w/ #-#)
 > suwarə (devocalization)
 > suwalə (derotization)
 > suwalə (deletion of ultimate letter)
 > suwa: (compensatory lengthening)
 'the cook'
- (4) kotə 'palace' + palə 'guard' > kotapalə
 > kutapalə (verb raising)
 > kutupalə (progressive assimilation)
 > kutuwalə (p>w/ #-#)
 > kutuwa: (Compensatory Lengthening)
 'The royal guard'
- (5) dhala 'canal' > dhə: (compensatory lengthening)
 palə 'guard' > pa: (compensatory lengthening)
 dhə: + pa: > dhə:pə:
 'the canal keeper'
- (6) ghətə 'mill' > ghət (deletion of ultimate letter)
 > ghə: (Compensatory length)
 walə > wal (deletion of ultimate letter)
 > wa (Compensatory length)
 > ghə:+wa: > ghə:wa: > ghə:wa:
 'the miller'
- (7) thu 'owner' + walə 'folk' > thuwalə
 > thuwal (deletion of ultimate letter)
 > thuwa: (Compensatory length)
 'the owner'

5. Semantics

The conservative Newars from the core city of Kathmandu use four derogatory catchwords for the peripherals and valley outsiders: a) *gama:* b) *Pakhya:* c) *Gā: Newa:.* and d) *Gū*

Newa:² In general *gama*: is frequently used. These words carry the meaning of: a) 'uncivilized / illiterate', b) 'residents of hilly / mountainous areas (borrowed from Nepali)' c) 'Newars of remote areas' d) 'Newars of hilly area'. These terms applied to different communities: a) except the core denizens of Kathmandu, b) denizens of rim / fringe area, c) valley outsiders, and d) people of remote districts. This practice of giving inferior and uncivilized status to the speaker has been practised for centuries based on the feudalistic system. This unhealthy attitude of core denizens touched / chilled the hearts of the peripherals and outsiders. Even the core denizens of Bhaktapur, few years back, did not use Newar as a medium of communication between Kathmanduites since they were / are insulted of the term *gama*:. These malpractices day by day weakened the cultural and linguistic bond between the speakers of Newars. Consequently, the census record shows the declining number of Newars compared to other language speakers despite their recognized social strata³.

6. Cultural practices

Kathmanduites from one locality call *gama*: 'man from a village' or *gama:ni* 'the lady from a village' to the person from another locality. This practice is so wide spread that a person of one locality addresses others as *gama*: or *gama:ni* within the core city area.

² 'the clown / uncivilized' to the peripherals, *pākhyā*: 'the steep resides' to the valley rim resides, *gā*: *Newa*:, 'Newar of remote hamlets' to the Newars of outside the valley and 'gū *Newā*': 'Newars of jungle area' to the remote areas of the country.

³ Newar (NB) was the state language during the Malla reign. The language was depicted as *desbhāśā*, *Nepālbhāśā*. For details see the copper inscription of Srinivas Malla, dated NS 785 /AD1665, at Patan Durbar, Mulchowk.

7. Distribution of Newars

Newars are settled across the country and few people are residing in India, Tibet and the USA. The total population of the Newars in the country is 1,245,232(2001; CBS). Kathmandu valley is dominated by the Newars. They have occupied 63% out of their total population in Kathmandu. Their main settlement areas are core of the cities in and out of the valley.

Among the total population, the urban Newars are 578,545 (Male: 290,440, Female: 288,105) (17.92%) (CBS, 2001: 4), whereas rural Newars are 666,687 (3.42%) (M: 329,773, F: 336,914).

No	Area	%	Total	M	F
1	Nepal	5.48	1,245,232	620,213	625,019
2	Urban	17.92	578,545	290,440	288,105
3	Rural	3.42	666,687	329,773	336,914
4	Himal	4.34	65,261	32,617	32,664
5	Mountain	9.56	962,963	478,134	484,129
6	Terai	1.95	217,008	109,462	107,546
7	Eastern	3.58	189,351	94,276	95,075

8. Conclusion

The minority of people ruled over the majority, which is an unnatural and undemocratic attitude. This unhealthy attitude of core denizens touched / chilled the hearts of the peripherals and outsiders. Even the core denizens of Bhaktapur, few years back, did not use Newar as a medium of communication between Kathmanduites since they were / are insulted of the term *gama:*. These malpractices day by day weakened the cultural and linguistic bond between the speakers of Newars. Consequently, the census record shows the declining number of Newars compared to other language speakers despite their recognized social strata. The county has been changed from feudal to federal democratic but the Newars are reluctant to

age-old feudal illusion. Number of heads too matters in the present context. In this case the term *gama*: is proved a sharp razor of the feudal Newars to decline the numbers of Newars. The activists should correct this malpractice for the betterment of the community.

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LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS: IN THE CONTEXT OF NEPAL

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This article is an attempt to link human rights to the language issues in the Nepalese context and discuss the world view in relation to linguicide, language endangerment, relationship of human and language with ecology, and constitutional provisions in Nepal.

Linguistic human rights (LHRs)

The first multilateral instrument covering minority rights (including language rights) was the *Final Act of the Congress of Vienna* in 1815 (Capotorti, 1979:2). Many language rights were included in the post-1919 territorial treaties that fixed the political map of Europe. The Capotorti report, commissioned by the UN in 1971 and published in 1979, is a major survey of juridical and conceptual aspects of the protection of minorities. It concluded that most minorities, including linguistic ones, needed more substantial protection.

Human rights have a pedigree going back several centuries, to the transition from absolutism to more democratic social structures in Western societies. The treaties signed at the conclusion of the 1914-1918 war attempted to ensure international recognition of the rights of many minorities in central and eastern Europe.

Since 1945, a substantial effort has been made into codifying and extending 'universal' declaration, with the aim of establishing generally agreed minimal conditions necessary for a just and human social order. The primary goal of all declarations of human rights, whether national or international, is to protect the individual against arbitrary or unjust treatment.

A promising example is the UN Human Rights Committee's General Comment on Article 27 (UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.5.), UN *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966*, Article 27 still grants the best legally binding protection to languages:

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE, the Helsinki accords) also seeks to guarantee the rights of minorities in participating countries: there are, for instance, several clauses guaranteeing linguistic rights in the closing document of the Copenhagen meeting, June 1990.

An International seminar on Human Rights and Cultural Rights held in October 1987 in Recife, Brazil and organized by AIMAV (the International Association for Cross-cultural Communication) with UNESCO support, elaborated an extensive rationale expounding the need for linguistic human rights to be explicitly protected, and recommended that steps be taken by the United Nations to adopt and implement a *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (cited in Phillipson, 2007: 96).

Within the UN system, there are several interesting developments. The *Draft Universal Declaration of Indigenous Rights* (as contained in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/25) constitutes a step in the right direction, as it establishes fundamental human rights that indigenous peoples should have:

⁹ The right to develop and promote their languages, including an own literacy language, and to use them for administrative, judicial, cultural, and other purposes.

¹⁰ The right to all forms of education, including in particular the right of children to have access to education in their own

languages, and to establish, structure, conduct, and control their own educational systems and institutions.

A conference on linguistic human rights was held at UNESCO in Paris in April 1989, organized by the Fédération International des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes (FIPLV). It expanded the Recife Declaration and endorsed the call for a Universal Declaration of Language Rights.

In this enforced language regime, the children undergoing subtractive education, or at least *their* children, are effectively transferred to the dominant group linguistically and culturally. This also contributes to the disappearance of the world's linguistic diversity, when a whole group changes language. Optimistic estimates of what is happening suggest that at least 50% of today's spoken languages may be extinct or very seriously endangered ('dead' or 'moribund') around the year 2100. Pessimistic but still completely realistic estimates claim that as many as 90-95% of the spoken languages may be extinct or very seriously endangered during this century. Most of the disappearing languages will be indigenous languages, and most indigenous languages in the world would disappear according to these estimates. (UNESCO, 2003c)

"Denial of rights of the speakers of minority mother tongue and 'non-standard' varieties to use their languages often leads to educational failure and lack of social mobility." (Mohanty & Misra, 2000:34)

With regard to the right to education, at least two major United Nations instruments create binding obligations, the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (henceforth: ICESCR) of 1966, (in force 1976), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) of 1989. Article 13, paragraph 1 of the ICESCR provides that the states Party to the Convention recognizes the right of *everyone to education*.

United Nations General Assembly Minorities Resolution (UNGA Minorities Resolution 1992), Article 4, paragraph 3 of

which provides that "States *should* take *appropriate* measures so that, *whenever possible*, persons belonging to minorities have *adequate* opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instructed in their mother tongue."

International Labor Organization's (ILO's) 1989 definition may be the strongest legally: "... peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions." Self-identification is included within the ILO definition "as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply."

Language Rights are an existential issue for the political and cultural survival of individuals and communities worldwide, ranging from large minorities/peoples such as the 25-40 million Kurds in several countries in the Middle East or the 8 million Uyghurs in China, to the 70 million users of probably thousands of Sign languages worldwide, and small indigenous peoples such as Ánar Saami in Finland (fewer than 300 speakers) and Kusunda, Raute, Dura (in Nepal). *Language rights are a current research concern of social theorists, international and constitutional lawyers, political scientists, sociolinguists, educationists, and many others.*

Individual and collective language rights that every individual has because of being human, in order to be able to fulfill her/his basic needs and live a dignified life. In theory, Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) are so inalienable that no state or person may violate them. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994)

Linguistic genocide (Linguicide)

We have already discussed that language is an organism. So,

any language does not die itself. The dominant language causes it to die. So, such causing to die stands for killing; a serious crime. The dominant language happens to commit such crime over the other indigenous and minority languages. Such killing aspects over the indigenous and minority languages are as follows:

- The deliberate elimination of a language, without killing its speakers;
- Forcing speakers to give up a mother tongue through "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group";
- "Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group" (United Nations International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948, E 793, Articles 2e and 2b);
- "Prohibiting the use of the [mother tongue] in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group" (from the 1948 Final Draft of the above, not part of the Convention).
- The dominant-language medium education system happens to cause to disappear indigenous and minority languages.

Language endangerment

Language endangerment is a situation in which intergenerational transmission is proceeding negatively, with fewer children in each generation acquiring the language in childhood. Other criteria include low number of speakers, reduced number of communicative domains, and low status. 50 to 90 percent of the world's spoken languages may be extinct or seriously endangered by 2100 (Krauss, 1992; UNESCO 2003).

Human rights perspective on language ecology

Ecology of Languages is the study of languages in their ecological and socio-cultural context; is a perspective on the relationship between languages guiding language policy strategies, with the goal of achieving a harmonious balance

between all languages in a given environment (Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi, & Harmon, 2003).

While all language users should enjoy LHRs (HRs are universal), from the point of view of the global ecology, what is most urgent LHRs for those indigenous and minority groups/peoples who have a long-lasting connection to a certain territory, which they know so well that phenomena in the ecosystem have been lexicalized. According Mühlhäusler (2003), this takes minimally 300 years. The knowledge about how to maintain a balanced ecosystem is encoded in these languages and is often more detailed and accurate than western science, according to the International Council for Science (ICSU, 2002, see also Posey, 1999).

Signed by 150 states at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, the Convention on Biological Diversity, dedicated to promoting sustainable development, is the most important international treaty on ecology. It recognizes that biological diversity is about more than plants, animals and microorganisms and their ecosystems - it is also about people and their environment (see <http://www.biodiv.org/convention/default.shtml>).

Further work on the Convention stresses the interlocking of language and ecology in traditional knowledge and its intergenerational transfer:

Traditional knowledge refers to the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities around the world. Developed from experience gained over the centuries and adapted to the local culture and environment, traditional knowledge is transmitted orally from generation to generation. It tends to be collectively owned and takes the form of stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, community laws, local language, and agricultural practices, including the development of plant species and animal breeds.

In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. Diversity is directly related to

stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years. Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus, language and cultural diversity maximizes chances of human success and adaptability. (Baker, 2001:281)

Indigenous community and language: context of Nepal

We can easily know that where the indigenous peoples are residing, the surrounding environments are safe. They have close relationship with the nature. They have their own indigenous or traditional knowledge to assimilate with the environment. Their indigenous knowledge has played vital role to keep the environment safe. They have their own distinct way of living. They do not need modern facilities, such as reading, writing, medication, etc. They name flora and fauna in their own mother tongue. The flora and fauna are distinctively categorized in their own native linguistic terms. They know very well what kinds of plants are to be used for medicinal purposes. So, the indigenous people have their own native linguistic value over the environment that keep their lives move on smoothly, and their lives and linguistic aspects are very closely related to the environment. Nevertheless, in Nepal, the government is still ignoring the importance of the indigenous and traditional knowledge what is being preserved in their native languages correlating directly to the environment.

Linguistic right and constitution in Nepal

There is a hot debate on language issue in Nepal. Some linguists say that there are 70 languages; and on the other hand, some say that more than hundreds of languages are spoken in Nepal. According to Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2001), there are 92 languages and others unidentified languages in Nepal. The confusion on the number of languages spoken in Nepal will be settled down when

Linguistic Survey of Nepal completes. To date, only the Nepali language has received maximum utilization of government facilities, resources, support, and official and national identity. And, the rest of the languages pertinent to indigenous communities are out of these categories.

Article 44 of the Constitution of 2004 BS reads: "Talk, discussion, etc. in Assembly of Parliament shall be in National language 'Nepali language'". It indicates that other languages save for Nepali language, are deprived of getting their rights to employ in official level.

Sub-article (1) of Article 14 of the Interim Constitution of 2007 BS reads: "The State shall not discriminate any citizen on the basis of religion, caste, ethnicity, gender, birth place and related other such subjects". Here, the Interim Constitution 2007 BS remains silent on the language issue. It means that linguistic right remains only on the Nepali language.

Likewise, the Constitutions of 2015 BS and of 2019 BS also remain silent on the language issue as in the Interim Constitution of 2007 BS. It means that the continuity of linguistic discrimination is prolonged.

Sub-article (1) and (2) of Article 18 of Part 3 of the Constitution of 2047 BS read: "The right to protect and promote own language, script and culture shall be on the hand of each community who reside within the Nepal Kingdom" and "Each community shall have the right to conduct schools to educate their children in their own mother tongue up to primary level." The Constitution of 2047 BS seems liberal on the issue of the speech communities and their mother tongues, but does not speak about guaranteeing the support (physical and financial) for the speech communities for conducting schools for educating their children.

The Sub-articles (2) and (3) of Article 13 of the Interim Constitution of 2063 BS read: "No citizens shall be discriminated on the basis of religion, color, gender, caste,

ethnicity, origin, language or reliance on thought in general law" and "The State shall not discriminate citizens on the basis of religion, color, caste, ethnicity, gender, origin, language, reliance on thought". The Interim Constitution of 2063 BS guarantees of not making any discrimination on the language issue.

It has paved the way to develop and protect the languages spoken in Nepal. Nevertheless, we still need to wait to see whether it would be practical or not in the country. Let's hope the new constitution that is going to be written will address the burning issues of the Nepalese indigenous peoples and their linguistic human rights along with the federal structure of the country.

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PERSONAL PRONOUN IN DONE BHASA (DANUWAR)¹

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Personal pronoun in Done Bhasa (Danuwar) has twelve pronominal categories in terms of person, number and honorificity. It has two numbers and three levels of honorificity in the second person. The selection and use of honorificity in the language is determined by the participants in a speech act event. Present details out these categories.

1. Introduction

The objective of this paper is to provide a description of personal pronoun in Done Bhasa (Danuwar). Danuwar is an Indo-Aryan language. It is spoken by Danuwar people. In the earliest publication, the term 'Danuwar' is most commonly used in linguistic and other literature to correspond to the 'Danuwar people' and 'the language of Danuwar'. By the now, Danuwar people introduce themselves as 'Done' and their language 'Done Bhasa'. According to Census 2001, the total number of Danuwar people is 53229 (0.23% of the total population) and the population of Danuwar speakers is 31849 (0.14%).

2. Personal pronouns

Danuwar language distinguishes twelve pronominal categories in terms of person, number and level of honorific. Danuwar personal pronouns are divided into three persons-

¹ This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 29th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2008.

first, second and third. Demonstrative is divided into two categories in terms of remoteness: proximal and distal. This language shows singular and plural in number. The plural pronoun is marked with plural marker-lak. The second and third person plural pronouns are marked with plural marker but the first person plural is unmarked. Danuwar pronominal system exhibits three levels in second person- neutral, honorific (H) and high honorific (HH). The level of honorific is restricted to Danuwar people. The selection and use of honorific term is determined on the participants in a speech act event. Others participants do not receive these forms. The personal pronouns in Danuwar are presented in the following table:

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Danuwar

Number → Person ↓	Singular	Plural
First	mui 'I'	ɦamɦi 'We'
Second	t̥ui 'You'	t̥or-lak/t̥o-lak 'You'
Second (H)	t̥olk ^h e 'You'	t̥orlk ^h e-lak 'You'
Second (HH)	ap ^h nake 'You'	ap ^h nake-lak 'You'
Third proximal	i 'this'	e-lak 'these'
Third distal	u 'that'	o-lak 'those'

In Danuwar, personal pronouns trigger verb-agreement. The verb takes the agreement markers that are coreferential with person, number and level of honorifics of subject pronoun. However, number distinction is not prominent on verb agreement with honorific pronouns. The language does not show gender morphologically, however it is partially marked in verb-agreement on third person singular when there exists tense distinction specially on the past tense.

2.1. First person pronouns

The first person pronouns are *mui* (SG) and *hamΛi* (PL):

- (1) a. *mui g^hΛr dzΛi-ts^hu*
 1SG home go-NPST.1SG
 ‘I go home.’
- b. *mui g^hΛr dzΛi-ts^hnu*
 1SG home go-PST.1SG
 ‘I went home.’
- (2) a. *fiamΛi g^hΛr dzΛi-ts^huk*
 2PL home go-NPST.2PL
 ‘We go home.’
- b. *fiamΛi g^hΛr dzΛi-nuk*
 2PL home go-PST.2PL
 ‘We went home.’

2.2 Second person pronoun (neutral)

The second person pronouns (neutral) are *tui* (SG) and *torΛk* (PL):

- (3) a. *tui g^hΛr dzΛi-ts^hΛs*
 2SG home go-NPST.2SG
 ‘You go home.’
- b. *tui g^hΛr dzΛi-lΛs*
 2SG home go-PST.2SG
 ‘You went home.’
- (4) a. *tor-lΛk g^hΛr dzΛi-ts^he*
 2-PL home eat-NPST-2PL
 ‘You go home.’

- b. tor-lak $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{Ar}$ dzai-le
 2-PL home go-PST.2PL
 ‘You went home.’

2.3. Second person pronoun (honorific)

The second person honorific pronouns are $\text{tolk}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$ (SG) and $\text{tolk}^{\text{h}}\text{elak}$ (PL). The degree of honorificity is shown in the form of a pronoun but the agreement resembles with the second person neutral plural:

- (5) a. $\text{tolk}^{\text{h}}\text{e g}^{\text{h}}\text{Ar}$ $\text{dzai-ts}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$
 2SG home go-NPST.2SG.H
 ‘You go home.’
- b. $\text{tolk}^{\text{h}}\text{e g}^{\text{h}}\text{Ar}$ dzai-le
 2SG home go-PST.2SG.H
 ‘You went home.’
- (6) a. $\text{tolk}^{\text{h}}\text{e-lak}$ $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{Ar}$ $\text{dzai-ts}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$
 2PL home go-NPST.2PL.H
 ‘You go home.’
- b. $\text{tolk}^{\text{h}}\text{e-lak}$ $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{Ar}$ dzai-le
 2PL home go-PST.2PL.H
 ‘You went home.’

2.4. Second person pronoun (high honorific)

The second person high honorific pronouns are $\text{ap}^{\text{h}}\text{nake}$ (SG) and $\text{ap}^{\text{h}}\text{nake}^{\text{h}}\text{elak}$ (PL):

- (7) a. $\text{ap}^{\text{h}}\text{nake}$ $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{Ar}$ $\text{dzai-ts}^{\text{h}}\text{h}^{\text{h}}\text{t}$
 2SG home go-NPST.2SG.HH
 ‘You go home.’

- b. ap^hnʌke g^hʌr dzʌi-nʌn
 2SG home go-PST.2SG.HH
 ‘You went home.’
- (8) a. ap^hnʌke-lʌk g^hʌr dzʌi-ts^hʌt̚
 2PL home go-NPST.2PL.HH
 ‘You go home.’
- b. ap^hnʌke-lʌk g^hʌr dzʌi-nʌn
 2-PL home go-PST.2PL.HH
 ‘You went home.’

2.5. Third person pronoun

The third person pronouns are *u* (SG) and *oʌk* (PL). Here, gender distinction is found in the past tense if the subject pronoun indicates female, the marker *-i* is attached. And if the subject pronoun indicates male, *-ʌk* is the marker. But this distinction does not exist at present tense:

- (9) a. u g^hʌr dzʌi-s
 3SG home go-NPST.3SG
 He/she goes home.
- b. u g^hʌr dzʌi-lʌk
 3SG home go-PST.3SG.M
 ‘He went home.’
- c. u g^hʌr dzʌi-li
 3SG home go-PST.3SG.F
 ‘She went home.’
- (10) a. o-lʌk g^hʌr dzʌi-ts^hʌt̚
 3PL home go-NPST.3PL
 ‘They go home.’

- b. o-lak g^hAr dzai-la
 3PL home go-PST.3PL
 ‘They went home.’

3. Case pattern

Personal pronouns take different forms of cases: ergative, dative, genitive, commutative, allative and ablative. The first person and second person singular pronouns do not take ergative case overtly. The ergative marker is conditioned by the form of nominal stem. If the nominal stem ends with consonant then the ergative marker is -e, and if it ends with vowel beside i then the marker is -i. If it ends in -i it does not receive ergative case overtly. The genitive case comes with ablative and commutative case. It is marked differently on first person singular and plural as well as on second person singular, moro ‘my’, fiamro ‘our’ and țoro ‘your’.

Table 2: Personal pronoun and their case forms

Persons↓		Cases→		
		ERG -i/e	DAT -lai	GEN -lak
1SG	mui	mui	ma-lai	moro
1PL	hamai	hamai	ham-lai	hamro
2SG	țui	țui	țo-lai	țoro
2PL	țorlak/țolak	țorlek ^h e/ țolek ^h e	țorlak ^h Λ-lai	țorlak ^h -lak
2SG (H)	țolk ^h e	țolk ^h e	țolk ^h -lai	țolk ^h -lak
2PL (H)	țolk ^h e lak	țolk ^h e lek ^h -e	țolk ^h Λ-lai	țolk ^h Λ lak ^h - lak
2SG (HH)	ap ^h nake	ap ^h nake	ap ^h nakelai	ap ^h nakek
2PL (HH)	ap ^h nakelak	ap ^h nakelek ^h - e	ap ^h nakelak ^h - lai	ap ^h nakelak ^h - lak

3SG	u	oĩ	ok ^h -lɪi	ok ^h r-ɬk
3PL	oɬk	olek ^h -e	oɬk ^h ʌ-lɪi	oɬk ^h -ɬk
3PL(prox)	eɬk	elek ^h -e	eɬk ^h ʌ-lɪi	eɬk ^h -ɬk

Cases→		ABL -baɕe	COM -sɬɟe	ALL -pak ^h a
Persons↓				
1SG	mui	moro-baɕe	moro-sɬɟe	moro-pak ^h a
1PL	hamɪi	hamro-baɕe	hamro-sɬɟe	hamro-pak ^h a
2SG	ɕui	ɕoro-baɕe	ɕoro-sɬɟe	ɕoro-pak ^h a
2PL	ɕorɬk/ ɕolɬk	ɕorɬk ^h ʌk- baɕe	ɕorɬk ^h ʌk- sɬɟe	ɕorɬk ^h ʌk ^h pak ^h a
2SG (H)	ɕolk ^h e	ɕolk ^h ʌk-baɕe	ɕolk ^h ʌk-sɬɟe	ɕolk ^h ʌk-pak ^h a
2PL (H)	ɕolk ^h eɬk	ɕolk ^h ʌɬk ^h ʌk -baɕe	ɕolk ^h ʌɬk ^h ʌk -sɬɟe	ɕolk ^h ʌɬk ^h ʌk- pak ^h a
2SG (HH)	ap ^h nɬke	ap ^h nɬke- baɕe	ap ^h nɬkek- sɬɟe	ap ^h nɬkek- pak ^h a
2PL (HH)	ap ^h nɬkelɬk	ap ^h nɬkelɬk ^h ʌk-baɕe	ap ^h nɬkelɬk ^h -sɬɟe	ap ^h nɬkelɬk ^h ʌk- pak ^h a
3SG	u	ok ^h rɬk-baɕe	ok ^h rɬk-sɬɟe	oɬk ^h rɬk-pak ^h a
3PL	oɬk	oɬk ^h ʌk-baɕe	oɬk ^h ʌk- sɬɟe	oɬk ^h ʌk-pak ^h a
3PL prox	eɬk	eɬk ^h ʌk-baɕe	eɬk ^h ʌk- sɬɟe	eɬk ^h ʌk-pak ^h a

4. Summary

Danuwar language shows twelve pronominal categories. Two types of number system are found in this language. The second person shows the level of honor: neutral, honorific (H),

high honorific (HH). The verb agrees with person, number and level of honorifics of subject pronoun. Number distinction is not prominent on verb-agreement with honorific pronouns. The language does not show gender morphologically in pronoun, however it is partially marked in verb-agreement on the third person singular when there exists tense distinction specially on the past tense. Personal pronouns take different forms of cases: ergative, dative, genitive, commutative, allative and ablative. The ergative marker is conditioned by the form of nominal stem. If the nominal stem ends with a consonant then the ergative marker is *-e*, and if it ends with a vowel beside *-i* then the marker is *-i*. If it ends in *-i* it does not receive ergative case overtly.

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BRIAN H. HODGSON'S CONTRIBUTION TO HIMALAYAN LINGUISTICS

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Brian H. Hodgson came to Nepal as a British diplomat. He used the spare time to study the people and languages of Nepal. Since he was not allowed to go beyond the Kathmandu valley, he trained people to collect data and found many languages in spite of being limited in his travels.

1. Introduction.

Who was Brian Houghton Hodgson and what did he do? No doubt, many of you know the name, and you may have seen books about him or books he authored. But why should we talk about him in relation to linguistics?

Brian Hodgson was a British civil servant employed by the British East India Company. He stayed in Nepal from 1820 until 1843 as the British Resident to Nepal. Besides his work as a diplomat, he used his time for the study of this Himalayan region. His interests covered daily life, culture, nature, History – anything that he came across. And he wrote about all these things, mostly in reports to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He collected Buddhist manuscripts written in Sanskrit, tried to understand them with the help of a pundit, and wrote about them. His work as an ornithologist and zoologist is well known among specialists in these fields even today. Hodgson also studied the architecture of Kathmandu valley and wrote about it in his ethnographic papers. All this is all the more impressive since it was accomplished by a self-taught man. In order to work as a civil servant of the British East India Company, Hodgson was trained at Fort William College in

Calcutta. His field of studies there were languages such as Bengali, Persian, Hindustani, and the laws of India as laid down by the Company.

Remarkably, Hodgson not only collected, studied, and described, but also donated his huge collection of specimens and drawings, and his writings to libraries and museums in Europe. But somehow his great contributions in all these fields were forgotten for so long. Only recently scholars like Harihar Raj Joshi (2002; 2003; 2004) David Waterhouse (2004), Carol Inskipp (in Waterhouse 2004), among others discovered Hodgson so to speak and made him known in Nepal and elsewhere. Recently, Ramesh Dhungel has published new discoveries of his studies of Hodgson's manuscripts (*Kathmandu Post*, 16 November, 2007).

2. Hodgson the field linguist.

When Hodgson came to Kathmandu, he easily picked up Nepali due to his knowledge of related languages before. He used Nepali in his contacts with the Nepali people he met. As the British Resident in Nepal, Hodgson was confined to Kathmandu valley, but he discovered right there that Nepal is a land of many different languages. Most probably his curiosity was aroused by the different attire of people he saw in the streets of Kathmandu. He invited those people to his office to do language studies, beginning with Newari and Tibetan. But he also discovered and studied other languages like Gurung, Tamang, a number of Kiranti languages, Lepcha, Sherpa, and Sunwar as distinct ethnic groups with their own distinct languages. In 1849 he published his first short paper about his findings.

When he left Kathmandu and moved to Darjeeling, Hodgson did more studies on Kiranti languages, in addition to Dhimal, Meche and Koch. From Darjeeling, his linguistic fieldwork extended into Tibet, where he recorded a number of Tibetan-related languages, and Assam, where he discovered the Garo

language. Such a wide range of study is amazing as the work of one person. Of course Hodgson employed a host of language teachers and research assistants. He does not name them in his articles, but Ramesh Dhungel pointed out that Jit Mohan Singh was Hodgson's chief assistant both in Nepal and in Darjeeling.

Hodgson's method of working on so many languages is not known. It is indeed amazing that he could find so many speakers of different languages while staying in the Kathmandu valley. But we can make a guess that he hired as his teachers people of different ethnic groups as he found them and employed them to work with him over periods of time. He recorded their information, differentiating speaker by speaker in his notes. He made English checklists for vocabulary, somewhat classifying groups of words, including basic key words.

Hodgson's comparative wordlists by languages are useful even though some languages are put in the wrong place or given a wrong name. In fact, he was a meticulous linguist when he recorded accent marks. He also noted when he could not find a corresponding word for his English wordlist, such places are marked by the Latin 'caret' meaning "lacking". The published vocabulary has footnotes that give detailed analysis of some words, and meanings of word components. For example, 'si' "fruit" as generic part for 'lengaksi', "banana" in Khaling.

3. Hodgson the analyst.

In Hodgson's 'Bahing Grammar' we can see details of the morphological complexities of this language. George van Driem (in Waterhouse 2004) notes "None who have ventured to work on Bahing since have even come close to the detail of his account...the rigor of Hodgson's description renders the Bahing conjugational system readily and analyzable within a modern morphological conceptual framework." The Bahing

grammar shows Hodgson's analytical ability on one of the more complex languages of Nepal.

The discovery of Kusunda data by Ramesh Dhungel indicates that there are still unpublished linguistic notes in boxes of Hodgson's work in archives in Europe.

4. Conclusion.

Since Hodgson's time, linguistics as a science has grown and is still growing today. Some languages of Nepal have been studied carefully, yet there are still unstudied languages and unstudied aspects of languages. Compared to Hodgson's time, linguists today have a multitude of tools to discover the intricacies of languages. Doing fieldwork as well as analysis, computers with a variety of programs for linguists are a tremendous help. Language groups inaccessible in Hodgson's times, can be reached quite easily nowadays. However, today's linguists must realize the urgency for linguistic field research and documentation. We all know that in our days, the languages of the smaller ethnic groups are disappearing fast. This short paper, by extolling the pioneer work of Brian Hodgson, would like to encourage Nepalese linguists to continue and complete the linguistic research with the curiosity and dedication of Brian H. Hodgson.

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REFLEXIVE VERB IN LIMBU

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Reflexive verb in Limbu exhibits both the characters of transitive and intransitive verbs. It shows the character of an intransitive verb in form but the character of a transitive verb in expressing meaning. This article presents this situation with data from Chhatthare Limbu.

Reflexive verb

According to Crystal (2003) reflexive is “a term used in grammatical description to refer to a verb or construction where the subject and the object relate to the same entity.” In Indo-European languages such as English and Nepali reflexive pronoun is used as an object to express this relationship. For example, in English “he cheated himself” and in Nepali *usle aphailai thagyo*, “himself” and *aphai* are reflexive pronouns. However, in Limbu reflexive pronouns are not used to express the relation between the subject and the object. It is expressed by the verbal suffix *-chin*. For example,

- | | | | |
|--------|--|----|--|
| (1) a. | a phon-chin-na
I hang-REFL-IsS
'I hang myself.' | b. | Khene ka-ghen-chin
you 2S-bind-REFL
'You bind yourself.' |
| c. | khune yɔŋ-chin
s/he shiver-REFL
'S/he shivers by herself/himself.' | | |

In (1a) the subject and the object are the same person 'I'. In (1b) the subject and the object are the same person 'you'. In (1c) the subject and the object are the same 's/he'. This relation is expressed by the suffix *-chin*. However, the object does not occur in the sentence and is also not marked on the verbs.

- (4) a. a siŋ cep-ma b. Khene pu ka-set
 I faggot cut-1sS You bird 2S-kill
 'I cut faggot.' 'You kill a bird.'
- c. Khune cebha nat
 S/he monkey chase
 'S/he chases a monkey.'

The verbs in (4) resemble reflexive verbs in form and meaning but unlike the reflexive verbs they take objects in sentences.

Reciprocal or reflexive meaning

In dual form reflexive marker –chin changes into –ne, which marks both reciprocity and reflexivity. For example,

- (5) a. anchi a-ləm-ne-chi
 we (di) 1di-beat-REFL/RECIP-dS
 'We beat ourselves.' Or 'We beat each other.'
- Khenchi ka-bha-ne-chi
 You (d) 2A-help-REF;/RECIP-dS
 'You help each other.' Or 'You help yourself.'
- Khunchi un-ne-chi
 They (d) pull-REFL/REFL-dS
 'They pulled each other.' Or 'One of the two pulled oneself.'

Wiedert and Subba (1985:55-56) say that in Panthare Limbu, too, the dual and plural forms of reflexive verbs signify reciprocity. Similarly, Watters (2002: 105) shows reflexive or reciprocal interpretation of –si in Kham. Ebert (1994:52) presents reflexive verbs of Limbu, Bantawa, Chamling, Thulung, Khaling and Athpare Rai and says that "reflexive and reciprocal are sometimes expressed in the same way".

Roots of reflexive verbs

The roots of reflexive verbs are transitive. The paradigm of the verbs and their use in sentences in (6) show it:

(6) Verb paradigm: ləm , ləm-ma, ləps-u, ləm-chin

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|----|------------------|
| a. | a khune ləps-u-ŋ | b. | a ləm-chin-na |
| | I him beat-3O-1sS | | I beat-self-1sS |
| | 'I beat him.' | | 'I beat myself.' |

Verb paradigm: han, ham-ma, hand-u, han-chin

- | | |
|----|----------------------------|
| c. | khene hamba siŋ ka-hand-u |
| | You that faggot 2S-burn-3O |
| | 'You burn that faggot.' |
| d. | khene ka-han-chin |
| | You 2S-burn-self |
| | 'You burn yourself.' |

Verb paradigm: Uŋ, uŋ-ma, uks-u, uŋ-chin

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| e. | khene khene ka-uŋ | f. | Khune uŋ-chin |
| | S/he you 2S-pull | | s/he pulls-self |
| | 'S/he pulls you.' | | 'S/he pulls herself/himself.' |

The sentences in (6) show that reflexive verbs consist of only transitive stems, but they do not take objects in sentences. These days, some people use a borrowed Nepali reflexive pronoun *aphai* as the object of the verb. For example,

- | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| (7) a. | a aphai ləm-chin-na | b. | khene aphai ka-han-chin |
| | I myself beat-REFL-1sS | | You yourself 2S-burn-REFL |
| | 'I beat myself.' | | 'You burn yourself.' |
| c. | khune aphai uŋ-chin | | |
| | s/he herself/himself pull-REFL | | |
| | 'S/he pulls herself/himself.' | | |

In fact, the above borrowed reflexive pronoun *aphai* is used as the object only due to the influence of the Nepali language. It is not a native element. The transitive meaning is completed by the verbal suffix *-chin* itself. However, this situation shows that as reflexive verbs express transitive meaning, the reflexive pronoun *aphai* is borrowed for its use as the object.

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|----|--|
| k. | uks-u
pull-3O
'S/he pulled it.' | l. | uŋ-chin
Pull-REFL
'S/he crawls.' |
|----|---------------------------------------|----|--|

Driem (1987: 87) says that many reflexive or reciprocal forms are lexicalized in Phedappe Limbu and they are not felt transparent by his informant. Reflexive verbs impart deliberate meaning.

Conclusion

The above situation shows that reflexive verbs were originally transitive verbs because they express transitive meaning though they are identical with intransitive verbs in forms. In addition, some people use *aphli*, a borrowed Nepali term, as an object though it is considered as a foreign element. In fact, object is not used with this verb as the suffix *-chin* itself completes the meaning of a transitive verb. These days, reflexive verb is gradually losing its transitive meaning and becoming intransitive in expressing meaning.

Abbreviations

1	First Person	2	Second Person
3	Third Person	D	Dual
INF	Infinitive	O	Object
RECIP	Reciprocal	REFL	Reflexive
s	Singular	S	Subject

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PRONOMINALIZATION IN URANW-KUDUX

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The pronominalization process in Uranw-Kudux is different according to person, number and gender. The 1st person plural is marked with inclusive *-f* and exclusive *-m*. The 2nd person singular is marked with *-əj* and plural *-r*. The 3rd person singular masculine is *-s*, feminine *-d* and plural *-r* is common for human subjects.

1. Introduction

Pronominalization, one of the morphological processes, is the process of imitating a partial or full phonetic form of pronouns with different case roles by the head of a phrase or sentence. The word 'pronominalization' was coined by B.H. Hodgson (1957).

Pronominalization refers to the use of the subject (and sometimes the object as well) among the Himalayan languages (Grierson & Konow, 1909). Similarly, Kansakar (1993:168) notes that the phenomenon of pronominalization has to do with the affixation of pronouns like formatives to the root verb to indicate agreement to the subject and the object (direct and/or indirect).

The Uranw-Kudux is a Dravidian language spoken in Nepal. In it, the uses of pronominal affixes indicate the person, number and gender of the subject. It is a simple pronominalized language i.e. subject pronominalization. Thus, this paper discusses the person, number and gender of speech act participants which are attached to the verb in Uranw-kudux.

2. List of personal pronouns

The personal pronouns in Uranw-kudux have a binary number system i.e. singular and plural. The pronouns of the first person plural have one including and the other excluding the person or person addressed. Honorificity is lost in this language. The following is the list of personal pronouns in Uranw-Kudux language.

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Uranw-Kudux

person	singular	Plural
1st	en	em (EXCL)
		nam (INCL)
2nd	nin	nim
3rd	is (M. PROX)	ibɽar (PROX)
	iɖ (F. PROX)	
	as (M. DIST)	əbɽar (DIST)
	aɖ (F. DIST)	

3. Pronominalized affixes in verbs

A. The pronominalization process in 1st person is employed in singular and plural of agent, not in the object, e.g.,

(1) a. en əsma mokkan.

en əsma mox-k-a-n
 1SG bread eat.M.PST.1SG
 'I ate bread.'

b. en asge d^hiba tsitskan.

en as-ge d^hiba tsits-k-a-n
 1SG 3SG.M.DIST.DAT money give.M.PST.1SG
 'I gave him money.'

- c. em əsma mōkkam.
 em əsma mōx-k-a-m
 1PL.EXCL bread eat.M.PST.1PL.EXCL
 'We ate bread.'
- d. nam əsma mōkkaṭ.
 nam əsma mōx-k-a-ṭ
 1PL.INCL bread eat.M.PST.1PL.INCL
 'We ate bread.'

From the illustrations (see 1. a-d) above, it is clearly seen that the first person singular and plural inclusive and exclusive pronouns are suffixed to the finite verb form to show the agreement of the subject with the verb. The first person singular *-n* in 1.a & b; first person plural exclusive *-m* in 1.c and first person plural inclusive *-ṭ* in 1.d show the agreement with the verb.

B. The second person pronominal agreement is illustrated below:

- (2) a. nin əsma mōkkaj.
 nin əsma mōx-ka-j
 2SG bread eat.PST.2SG.M
 'You ate bread.'
- b. nim əsma mōkkar.
 nim əsma mōx-ka-r
 2PL bread eat.PST.2PL
 'You ate bread.'
- c. nin əsma mukki
 nin əsma mōx-ki
 2SG bread eat.PST.2SG.F
 'You ate bread.'

From the above examples, it is seen that the second person singular and plural show agreement with verb. But, neither full nor partial pronominal form has imitated by the verb. So, there is no pronominalization in second person pronouns. It only shows subject-verb agreement.

C. The pronominalization in the third person is seen in singular and plural as well as masculine and feminine, e.g.,

- (3) a. *as əsma mɔk^has.*
 as *əsma* *mox-ka-s*
 3SG.M.DIST bread eat.PST.3SG.M
 'He ate bread.'
- b. *aɖ əsma mɔk^haɖ.*
 aɖ *əsma* *mox-ka-ɖ*
 3SG.F.DIST bread eat.PST.3SG.F
 'She ate bread.'
- c. *əbɽar əsma mɔk^har.*
 əbɽar *əsma* *mox-ka-r*
 3PL.DIST bread eat.PST.3PL
 'They ate bread.'

In the examples (see 3.a-c) above, it is seen that the third person singular masculine and feminine i.e. *-s* and *-ɖ* and third person plural *-r* respectively agree with the verb. The partial pronominal forms i.e. *-s*, *-ɖ* and *-r* have attached to the finite verb *mox* 'to eat' in 3.a, 3.b and 3.c respectively.

4. Non-past tense and pronominal affixes

In Uranw-Kudux, the non-past tense marker is identical for first, second and third person, e.g.,

- (4) a. *en əsma mɔxon.*
 en *əsma* *mox-o-n*
 1SG bread eat.M.NPST.1SG
 'I eat bread.'

- b. nin əsma moxoe.
 nin əsma mox-o-e
 2SG bread eat.NPST.2SG.M
 'You eat bread.'
- c. as əsma moxos.
 as əsma mox- o-s
 3SG.M.DIST bread eat.NPST.3SG.M
 'He eats bread.'
- d. aḍ əsma moxoḍ.
 aḍ əsma mox-o-ḍ
 3SG.F.DIST bread eat.NPST.3SG.F
 'She eats bread.'
- e. əbɽar əsma moxor.
 əbɽar əsma mox- o-r
 3PL.DIST bread eat.NPST.3PL
 'They eat bread.'

In the examples (4a-e) above, non-past tense marker *-o* is identical for first, second and third person pronouns.

5. Past tense and pronominal affixes

The past tense marker is also identical to first, second and third person, e.g.,

- (5) a. en kerkan.
 en kal-k-a-n
 1SG go.M.PST.1SG
 'I went (out).'
- b. nin kerkaj.
 nin kal-k-a-j
 2SG go.M.PST.2SG
 'You went (out).'

- c. as keras.
 as kal-a-s
 3SG.M.DIST go.PST.3SG.M
 'He went (out).'
- d. aḍ keraḍ.
 aḍ kal-a-ḍ
 3SG.F.DIST go.PST.3SG.F
 'She went (out).'
- e. əbɾar kerar.
 əbɾar kal-a-r
 3PL.DIST go.PST.3PL
 'They went (out).'

In the examples (5a-e) above, it is observed that the past tense marker *-a* is inflected to the verb. It does not vary according to the person and number.

The tense marker and pronominal affixes do not reflect directly to the verb but the subject-verb agreement is very complicated in this language.

6. Gender and pronominal affixes

Linguistic gender exists in Uranw-Kudux language. The gender of speech act participants is contrast between masculine and feminine for human. For example,

- (6) a. en əsma moxon. (Masculine)
 en əsma mox-o-n
 1SG bread eat.M.NPST.1SG
 'I eat bread.'

- b. en əsma moxen. (Feminine)
 en əsma mox-e-n
 1SG bread eat.F.NPST.1SG
 'I eat bread.'
- c. nam əsma moxoʈ. (Masculine)
 nam əsma mox-o-ʈ
 1PL.INCL bread eat.M.NPST.1PL.INCL
 'We eat bread.'
- d. *nam əsma moxeʈ.* (*Feminine*)
 nam əsma mox-e-ʈ
 1PL.INCL bread eat.F.NPST.1PL.INCL
 'We eat bread.'
- e. em əsma moxom. (Masculine)
 em əsma mox-o-m
 1PL.EXCL bread eat.M.NPST.1PL.EXCL
 'We eat bread.'
- f. em əsma moxem. (Feminine)
 em əsma mox-e-m
 1PL.EXCL bread eat.F.NPST.1PL.EXCL
 'We eat bread.'

From the examples above, both masculine and feminine are distinct for non-past tense. The non-past tense marker *-o* in (6a, c and e) and *-e* in (6b, d and f) inflect for masculine and feminine respectively.

Similarly, the past tense marker *-a* is identical for first, second and third person pronouns. But, first person masculine and feminine is distinctly inflected for past, e.g.,

- (7) a. en əsma məkkan. (Masculine)
 en əsma mək-k-a-n
 1SG bread eat.M.PST.1SG
 'I ate bread.'
- b. en əsma mək^h.an. (Feminine)
 en əsma mək-φ-a-n
 1SG bread eat.F.PST.1SG
 'I ate bread.'
- c. em əsma məkkan. (Masculine)
 em əsma mək-k-a-m
 1PL.EXCL bread eat.M.PST.1PL.EXCL
 'We ate bread.'
- d. em əsma mək^h.am. (Feminine)
 em əsma mək-φ-a-m
 1PL.EXCL bread eat.F.PST.1PL.EXCL
 'We ate bread.'
- e. nam əsma məkkaṭ. (Masculine)
 nam əsma mək-k-a-ṭ
 1PL.INCL bread eat.M.PST.1PL.INCL
 'We ate bread.'
- f. nam əsma mək^h.aṭ. (Feminine)
 nam əsma mək-φ-a-ṭ
 1PL.INCL bread eat.F.PST.1PL.INCL
 'We ate bread.'

From the above examples (7a-f), it is found that the feminine gender marker is $-\phi$ null. The feminine marker has lost in the past tense, whereas the masculine gender is marked with the

marker *-k* as in (7a, c and e). The $-\phi$ marker is for feminine as in (7b, d and f).

7. Conclusion

The Pronominalization process in the first person, second person and third person is found in both singular and plural number and also in gender as masculine and feminine. The first person plural is also pronominalized for inclusive and exclusive one. The tense and pronominal affixes do not inflect directly, rather they agree for the agent pronouns. The pronominal suffixes i.e. *-n*, *-m* and *-t* are for first person singular and plural exclusive and inclusive respectively. The markers *-e* and *-aj* or *-j* for second person singular. The marker *-s* and *-d* are inflected for third person singular masculine and feminine respectively. The marker *-r* is for second and third person plural. The gender of speech act participants for first person agent pronoun is distinct. The statements stated by the male and female speakers are quite distinct. The pronominal affixes for tenses do not affix directly, but rather they agree with the agent pronouns. The structure of the verb form with pronominal suffixes can be shown as:

(verb) stem + tense marker + Pronominal affixes/ number marker

Abbreviations

ϕ	Zero	1	First person
2	Second person	3	Third person
DAT	Dative case marker	DIST	Distal
EXCL	Exclusive	F	Feminine
INCL	Inclusive	M	Masculine
NPST	Non-past tense marker	PST	Past tense marker
PL	Plural	PROX	Proximal
SG	Singular		

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SAADRI (KISAAN) LANGUAGE: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

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This paper is an attempt to present a brief overview of the Kisaan language. The glotonym and heteroglotonym of the language is Kisaan and the autoglotonym is Saadri. Kisaan is one of minority languages spoken in Eastern Nepal. Like Maithili and Nepali, this language has its distinct linguistic features i.e. phonology, morphology and Syntax.

1. Introduction

The distinct language spoken by Kisaan ethnic group is known as Saadri. The total number of Kisaan people who speak the Saadri language amounts to 2,876 (CBS, 2001). The sociolinguistic situation of the Saadri, such as the bilingualism, multilingualism, language attitude and language transmission has not been formally investigated. However, according to the information provided by the Kisaan language consultants, Saadri is spoken by more than half dozen ethnic groups. Thus, Saadri is lingua franca beside Mahendra Highway of Jhapa district. So, the language is in relation of one language– many caste/ethnic groups. They mainly live in Jhapa district and traditionally earn their livelihood by farming. The substantial numbers of Saadri are recorded in the districts like Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Parsa and Rupandehi (Gurung, 2006: 184).

The Kisaan language belongs to northern group of Dravidian language family (Yadava & Turin, 2005).

Saadri is a dialect of Bhojpuri (Abbi, 2001) and Sadani is one of the east of Eastern Prakrit (Jha, S. 1958). The both terms 'Saadri and 'Sadani' may probably refer to the same language. A documentation of Saadri reports that Saadri belongs to Indo-Aryan language family.

2. Phonology

A brief note on the phonological system of Saadri leads to the positioning of the following consonant sounds.

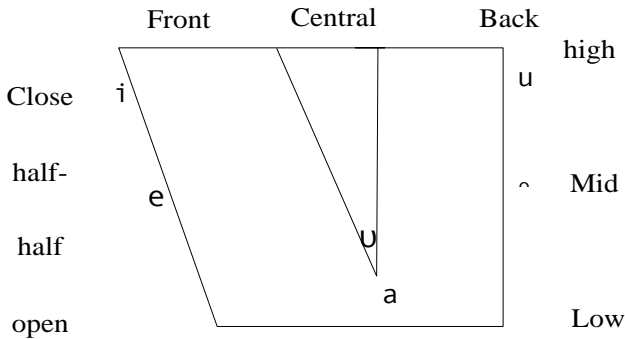
Table 1: Saadri Consonants

Place Manner	Bi- labial	Dental	Alveol- ar	Retro- flex	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b p ^h b ^h	t̪ d̪ t̪ ^h d̪ ^h	t d t ^h d ^h		k g k ^h g ^h	
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Affricate			ts dz ts ^h dz ^h			
Trill			r			
Flap				ɾ (ɽ)		
Fricative			s			h
Approximant	w		j			
Lateral			l			

The consonant system of Saadri resembles several other Indo-Aryan languages like Maithili, Nepali, and Bhojpuri. Voicing contrast is found in plosive and affricate. Similarly, aspiration contrast is found in the place of articulation like bilabial, alveolar, dental and velar.

Regarding vowels, at least six vowels are evident in Saadri.

Table 2: Saadri vowels



3. Nominal morphology

There are several morphological sources of nouns or pronouns which may also be derived from verbs and other categories. Some nouns found in Saadri are mentioned in (1, 2). The nominalization suffix from the verb is *-əi* like *hitəi* 'walking' from *hit* 'to talk' and so on.

- (1) b^hətu 'Brother-in-law' b^həudzi 'Sister-in-law'

3.1 Pronouns

Saadri has the first, second and third person pronouns among which the third person pronouns are demonstrative based. The pronouns are presented in table (3). There is honorifics in the second person pronouns but it lacks in the third person pronouns.

The declensions of Saadri pronouns are presented in the table (4) for different cases like nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, instrumental and allative:

Table 3: Declensions of Saadri personal pronouns

Persons	Cases						
	NO M.	ACC	GEN	INST	LOC.	AB L.	AL L.
1SG	moẽ- ϕ	moke / moke la	mor .	mor- se	mor- me/h ẽ	mo r- se	mo r- pæk ^h a /pə k ^h e /də n
1PL	hame -ϕ	ham- ke/ke la	hamə r	hamə r-se	hamə r-hẽ	ha mə r- se	ha mə r- "
2SG	toẽ-ϕ	toke/ kela	tor	tor-se	tor- me/h ẽ	tor- se	tor- "
2SG (HON)	rəure -ϕ	rəure -ke	rəure -kər	rəure -se	rəure -kər- hẽ	rəu re- se	rəu re- "
2PL (HON)	rəure - mən- ϕ	rəure - mən- ke	rəure - mən- kər	rəure - mən- se	rəure - mən- kər- hẽ	rəu re- mə n- se	rəu re- mə n- "
2PL	tohẽ- mən-	tohẽ- mən-	tohẽ- mən-	tohẽ- mən-	tohẽ- mən-	toh ẽ-	toh ẽ-

	ϕ	ke	kər	se	me/h ẽ	mə n- se	mə n- "
3SG (DIST)	o-ϕ	o-ke/ kela	o-kər	o- kər- se	o- kər- me/h ẽ	o- kər -se	o- kər - "
3SG (PROX)	e-ϕ	e-ke/ kela	e-kər	e- kər- se	e- kər- me/h ẽ	e- kər -se	e- kər - "
3PL (DIST)	o- mən- ϕ	o- mən- ke	o- mən- kər	o- mən -kər- se	o- mən -kər- me/h ẽ	o- mə n - kər -se	o- mə n- kər - "
3PL (PROX)	e- mən- ϕ	e- mən- ke	e- mən -kər	e- mən -kər- se	e- mən -kər- me/h ẽ	e- mə n - kər -se	e- mə n- kər - "

3.2 Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns

Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns are presented in (3) and (4) respectively. The demonstrative pronouns also have proximate and distal meaning:

- (2) 'konhər' 'who' keṭna 'how much/many'
 kəhija 'when' kon 'which'
- (3) e (PROX) 'this' e-mən (PROX) 'these'

o (DIST) 'that' o-mən (DIST) 'those'

3.3 Number

Number is of binary system in Saadri: Singular and Plural. The plural is marked with the marker /-mən/ as common, e.g.,

(4) ts^heri 'a goat' ts^heri-mən 'goats'

3.4 Gender

Gender distinction between masculine and feminine does not exist in Saadri. It does not inflect to the verb, e.g.,

(5) a. mor beṭihər b^haṭ k^halək.
moẽ-r beṭi-hər b^haṭ k^ha-l-ək
1SG.GEN daughter.NUL rice eat.PST.3SG
'My daughter ate rice.'

4. Adjectives

The adjectives listed below represent different categories of adjectives like size, colour, quality, quantity and so on:

(6) nəgəḍ 'good' k^hərap 'bad'

5. Adverbs

The adverbials as in (8) categorize in terms of time, place, manner and so on:

(7) aidz 'today' poroḍin 'day after tomorrow'

6. Postpositions

In fact, the type of verb ending language (with SOV constituent order), Saadri is a postpositional language. Some postpositions are exemplified as in (9) below:

10.1 Tense

Two way tense distinction, namely past and non-past tense is found in Saadri. The past tense marker is /-l/, e.g.,

- (15) ts^howamøn k^halək
 ts^howa-møn k^ha-l-ək
 child.PL eat.PST.3SG
 'the children ate'

Table 5: Inflection of the verb k^ha 'to eat' in the past tense

person	Singular		Plural	
	Past	Negative	Past	Negative
1st	k ^h a-l-õ	ni-k ^h a-l-õ	k ^h a-l-i	ni-k ^h a-l-i
2nd	k ^h a-l-e	ni-k ^h a-l-e	k ^h a-l-a	ni-k ^h a-l-a
3rd	k ^h a-l-ək	ni-k ^h a-l-ək	k ^h a-l-ək	ni-k ^h a-l-ək

On the other hand, non-past tense marker in saadari is /-b/ which also inflects for number in the first and the second person. But for third person it lacks, e.g.,

- (16) a. moẽ pani pibu.
 moẽ pani pi-b-u
 1SG water drink.NPST.1SG
 'I drink water.'

Table 6 : Inflection of the verb pi 'to drink' in the non-past tense

persons	Singular		Plural	
	Non-past	Negative	Non-past	Negative
1st	pi-b-u	ni- pi-b-u	pi-əb	ni- pi-əb
2nd	pi-b-e	ni- pi-b-e	pi-b-a	ni- pi-b-a
3rd	pi-ϕ	ni- pi-ϕ	pi-ϕ	ni- pi-ϕ

The verb inflection of saadri in the past tense and their negative forms are presented in table (5) . On the other hand, the non-past tense marker /-b/ and their negative forms are given in table(6).

10.2 Aspects

Several aspects are seen in saadri.

10.2.1 perfective aspect

Perfective aspect in saadri is not clearly obtained although it is represented by the affixes /ai-/ or /-rəh/ to achieve past and non- past perfective aspect, e.g.,

(17) moẽ b^haṭ k^haihõ.

moẽ b^haṭ k^ha-ai-hõ
 1SG rice eat.PERF.NPST.1SG
 'I have eaten rice.'

10.2.2. Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect is obtained by the affix /-əṭ/ which is attached with the copular verb to achieve past and non-past progressive aspects. The progressive aspect in the past tense is achieved by using copular for the past tense:

- (18) moẽ b^haṭ k^haṭhõ.
moẽ b^haṭ k^ha-əṭ-hõ
1SG rice eat.PROG.NPST.1SG
'I am eating rice.'

10.2.3. Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect in saadri is obtained by the affix/-əṭ/ which is identical to progressive aspect marker, e.g.,

- (19) moẽ kaṇḍəṭrəhõ.
moẽ kaṇḍ-əṭ-rəh-õ
1SG weep.HAB.be.PST.1SG
'I used to weep.'

10.3. Mood

Of the moods in saadri, indicative moods are unmarked. There are no markers for interrogative except rising intonation and use of question words. Some other moods evident in saadri are imperative, optative and conditional moods.

10.3.1. Imperative mood

To indicate imperative mood there is no special marker. The negative morphemes are /nəiṭ/, /dz^hin/, /ni-/ for imperative moods, e.g.,

- (20) gul kər
gul kər-ḥ
noise do.IMP
'Make a noise.'

10.3.2. conditional mood

The conditional mood marker in saadri is /həle/, e.g.,

(21) pani abi hāle moē niaō.

pani abi hāle moē ni-a-ō

water come COND 1SG NEG.come.NPST.1SG

' If it rains, I won't come.'

11 Syntax

Saadri which has SOV constituent order, is verb final, postpositional language. Modifiers precede the modified. In this section, a brief introduction to negativization, causativization and clause combination will be presented.

11.1 Negativization

The negative marker /nəit/, /dz^hin/ or /ni/ are used to negativize the utterances. In the negative construction /nək^he/ and /na-ləg/ of copula are used. Since negative equivalents are mentioned in respective section of verb inflections, this will not be discussed here.

11.2 Causativization

As a process of valence increasing device, the morphological causative in saadri is achieved with the suffix /-a/, /-wa/ and /-laga-. This increases the valency of the verb:

(24) sut-a-lək 'made somebody sleep'

13. Conclusion

Saadri which has its own native lexicon, morphological system, morphology and syntax, is an Indo-Aryan language. A few grammatical features discussed in this article reveal that its description is relevant. In the context of several minor Indo-Aryan languages, saadri has lexical similarity with Maithili and Nepali to a great

extent but it has its own grammatical and inflectional features.

Abbreviations

φ	Zero	1	First person
2	Second person	3	Third person
ABL	Ablative	ACC	Accusaative
ALL	Allative	CONV	Converb
CONJ	Conjunction	DIST	Distal
GEN	Genitive	HAB	Habitual
HON	Honorific	INST	Instrumental
LOC	Locative	NEG	Negative
NPST	Non-past tense	PL	Plural
PROG	Progressive	PROX	Proximate
PST	Past tense	SG	Singular

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THE COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH TO NEPALI TEACHING IN CHINA

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In this paper the author illustrates the achievements and difficulties having been encountered on the attempt to apply Communicative Approach to Nepali teaching in China, and leads to a natural conclusion that such approach is applicable to teach Nepali to Chinese students.

1. Introduction

Communication University of China (CUC) is the only university that offers Nepali as a major subject in China. The teaching of Nepali as a major subject was initially started in 1963, but its teaching was discontinued soon for some historical reasons. Not until 2000 was it resumed. Till now there have been 23 graduates and 15 senior undergraduates, and 15 freshmen were recruited in the current year (2009). Nepali is now one of the majors of national centre for undergraduate education of less commonly taught foreign language in CUC and the national second categorized characteristic major in higher education.

As the first full-time Nepali teacher¹ in China, the author has more than three years of teaching experiences and has successively taught Nepali oral, listening, advanced listening, translation, newspaper reading, social information and culture courses, etc.

2. Problems of Nepali teaching

As the official language in Nepal, English is widely used in both governmental and nongovernmental sectors, such as politics, commerce, tourism, culture and the like, between China and Nepal. As a result, in China, Nepali gains little attention and China Radio International (CRI) is almost the only official institution using Nepali. Besides, the number of Nepalese who are working or studying in Beijing is limited, and most of them can speak Chinese fluently. These phenomena result in two problems. One is that the narrow use of Nepali provides students a little enthusiasm for study. The other one is that the lack of language environment makes it difficult for them to improve.

Due to lack of full-time teachers, traditional Nepali listening teaching is nonstandard. For one thing, the class was teacher-centered. Teachers instructed most of the time, paying little attention to communicating with students, who seldom got the opportunities to express themselves. For another, the teaching materials were mostly out-of-date and impractical. Teachers chose the materials casually, without taking students'

¹ Before 2004 there hadn't been any full-time Nepali teachers in China. They were all experts engaged from CRI.

interest and need into consideration. Students were studying passively, and what they had learned seemed useless. Thus, the students used to complain that they had benefited little from the class. They were having a headache once they had Nepali lessons.

3. The application of communicative approach

In order to solve these problems, the author has all along been working on a teaching method applicable to Chinese characteristics. After constant exploration and attempt in practice, the Communicative Approach which aims at enhancing communicative competence is found to be the most suitable one. It came into being in the late 1960s, based on Hymes' theory of communicative competence and Halliday's system- functional linguistics. It requires student-centered class, calls for real materials and varied teaching measures, emphasizes the competence to use a language.

The author has attempted to apply the theory to Nepali oral, listening, advanced listening and translation courses. After three years of practice, some achievements have been made while there are still many difficulties.

3.1 Achievements

For teaching junior students oral and listening courses, the author focuses mostly on cultivating students' interest, so dialogues and stories which are funny or common in daily life are mainly adopted in the teaching materials. The author has consulted Nepalese friends and experts regularly and renewed

the teaching contents, whenever necessary in order to keep the materials practical and up-to-date. What's more, listening materials which are read by native speakers with standard pronunciation are preferable, so that the embarrassing situation that one can only understand the Chinese styled Nepali have been avoided. And thus students have learned a sterling language, and developed an interest to study.

CUC is the most famous university in China specializing in mass media. Such feature, as well as the fact that CRI is the place where students will work with Nepali, is taken into consideration in arranging translation and advanced listening courses to senior students. Different aspects of news and reviews constitute the main part of teaching materials, such as politics, economy, society, culture, science and technology, etc. Considering that news is updated frequently, the author has tried her best to keep the teaching materials up with times. Moreover, every week there will be an hour arranged to discuss the most important current affairs. The practicability of teaching materials has ensured that what students learn are useful and their enthusiasm for study can be maintained comparatively.

In class, students' participating and exchanging opinions with the teacher are thought to be of great importance. Therefore, the length of lecturing has been decreased, and more time is given to students to practice. Also the teaching measures have been diversified. Roles play, scenes simulation and language games, etc, go for junior students, while analyzing, discussing and debating are applied to senior ones. Such measures have

avoided students to feel boring and they will consider Nepali an interesting language.

Take a lesson of advanced listening, for instance:

Object: senior undergraduates.

Material: a review from CRI on the success of the 29th Beijing Olympic Games

Length of lesson: 120 minutes

The whole lesson is divided into 3 parts.

First, there was a 15-minutes' warm-up. This part was arranged in order that students could concentrate and understand the material better. After a popular Olympic song, students were asked to tell their experiences in the Beijing Olympic Games, which had been laid out as their homework in the previous lesson. As the game had ended before long, and most of them had been volunteers, the topic soon attracted their attention.

Second, students listened to the material twice. For the first time, they had to tell the main idea. For the second, they answered the given questions, and then retold the story in their own words. Finally the teacher commented on everyone according to pertinence of the content and accurate expression of words. This part took about 60 minutes.

Third, the last 25 minutes was arranged for practice and consolidation. Students were asked to play the roles of

journalists and athletes separately. Journalists should interview the athletes about their feeling and evaluation to the Olympic Games. They put on performance voluntarily after 5 minutes' preparation. Not only could most of the students use what they had learnt just now well, also their humorous dialogues had won laughter and claps.

The attractive contents and varied measures had led the lesson to achieve a favorable effect.

Besides, the communicative activities out of class are considered to be as important as class learning. Students are encouraged to attend all kinds of activities involved. They celebrated Nepalese New Year and Dashain Festival with students abroad, from which they experienced the enthusiasm of another culture; attended the Democracy Day and the welcome party held for the Nepalese Premier's first visit to China, witnessing the establishment of democratic republicanism in Nepal; edited and recorded a New Year programme in CRI, which is highly evaluated by Nepalese audience; organized the forums attended by officials of the Nepalese Embassy, from which they got deeper knowledge about Nepal in the fields of diplomacy and economy, etc. These activities have effectively cultivated students' competence to use the language accurately and express their opinions properly.

In the spring of 2007, a three-week academic tour to Nepal was arranged. Students have got the chances to communicate with people from different professions and experience local

society and culture in person, which they could barely learn in class.

The above-mentioned activities have to a great extent created the language environment and aroused students' interest of study. Comparing to those educated under traditional methods, these students are comparatively better at communicative competence.

3.2 Difficulties

Firstly, the biggest problem the author has encountered is the lack of teaching materials. Communicative Approach calls for diversified materials, such as books, tapes, movies and so on. Though great efforts have been made to improve the situation, it is still a problem that very few materials can be applied to teaching under Communicative Approach. Except for Nepali lectures and Nepali grammar, few textbooks related to Nepali major have been published so far in China, let alone audio or video materials.

The author has also tried to buy materials from Nepal. However, most of the textbooks are either written for native learners, or concerning with literature or religion, which are more or less not suitable for students of CUC. And also, a few audio and video materials can be available.

The present teaching materials we use are mostly compiled temporarily, especially audio ones, which originate from Nepali websites of CRI or BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation). They are practical and up-to-date, but not

normative, comparing to regular ones. And also they are not multiform enough to meet the standard of diversified materials which Communicative Approach demands. However, such status cannot be changed soon. It needs a long period of accumulation and perfection.

Secondly, as mentioned above, Communicative Approach emphasizes the competence to communicate. It thus requires a perfect language environment, which is just poor in China. A very few Chinese can speak Nepali and there are not many native speakers in Beijing. The author has tried her best to create opportunities for students to enhance their communicative competence, but it is far from enough.

Thirdly, according to Communicative Approach, students should communicate on their own initiative so as to achieve a prospective effect. No one will improve passively. However, the reality that Nepali is needed in a few jobs makes it relatively difficult to maintain students' enthusiasm for study.

Fourthly, Communicative Approach requests that teachers themselves have a favorable communicative competence. As a young teacher with only three years' teaching experience, the author still needs to accumulate experience and improve herself continuously. However, the previous two problems have also influenced the author to make progress.

Finally, there has been a rather short history of Nepali teaching in China. It is yet in the initiatory phase to form a comparatively perfect teaching method, and the author feels a

heavy burden that there will be quite a long way to go. Nevertheless, a mature communicative system hasn't been built in Nepali teaching field between China and Nepal. It progresses slowly to consummate the teaching method only depending on the author's own experiences.

4. Conclusions

It is just a beginning for the author to put Communicative Approach into practice. Despite many difficulties, the attempt has initially taken effect, and has been highly evaluated and supported by students. Accordingly, the method will be further studied and greater efforts will be made to better apply this theory to teaching. Undoubtedly, there will be more accomplishments in future.

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A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE TRANSFER
PHENOMENON AND SOME ENLIGHTENMENTS TO
NEPALI LANGUAGE TEACHING IN CHINA

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It usually occurs that when students studying the Nepali language in China express themselves in both oral and written Nepali, they will be influenced by their mother tongue. It is called Language Transfer, therefore we Nepali teachers have to make researches in this field to help Nepali majoring students overcome the difficulties.

1. Nepali language teaching and learning in China at CUC

Nepali major has been set as one of the less commonly used foreign languages in Communication University of China from the early 60's of this century and is being given more and more attention recently, because it is now in an ongoing program under the control of Chinese Education Ministry and has allocated a huge amount of funds for infrastructure development every year. Therefore, we're proud of being the Nepali language teachers in our school, since we have enough support to keep our efforts going on, for example, compiling textbooks, taking part in related activities and carrying out researches. Nepali major in our university has brought up

many excellent graduates, a few of them are believed to be experts in culture research, broadcast abroad, bilateral program etc. and they contribute a lot to develop the relationship between Nepal and China. Till now, almost one hundred graduates make up a harmonious Nepali family. We are the first two full-time Nepali teachers in our school; now our first fifteen students are in the fourth year in their university life; we create many “firsts” in the history and our class is highly valued from all parts; we don’t dare to talk about much experience, because we are too young, but in the meantime, that also means that we still have space to step forward, so we want to put forward our thoughts so that experts could give us more rationalization proposals.

2.The theory of language transfer study

2.1 Definition and classification of language transfer

Language transfer (also known as L1 interference, linguistic interference, and cross-meaning) refers to speakers or writers applying knowledge from their native language to a second language. Language transfer has long been at the base of the concept of second / foreign language acquisition / learning and came to the forefront in the 1950s and 60s as a result of the hegemony experienced by both behaviorism in psychology and structuralism in linguistics. It is most commonly discussed in the context of English language learning and teaching, but it can occur in any situation when someone does not have a native-level command of a language, as when Chinese students make use of their Nepali language.

When the relevant unit or structure of both languages is the same, linguistic interference can result in correct language production called positive transfer — "correct" meaning in line with most native speakers' notions of acceptability. An example is the use of cognates. Note, however, that language interference is most often discussed as a source of errors known as negative transfer. Negative transfer occurs when speakers and writers transfer items and structures that are not the same in both languages. Within the theory of contrastive analysis (the systematic study of a pair of languages with a view to identifying their structural differences and similarities), the greater the differences between the two languages, the more negative transfer can be expected.

2.2 Language transfer and interlanguage

Transfer can also occur between acquired languages. That is what we also focus on. For our Nepali majoring students, in fact, English is a second language and Nepali a third, hence we may assume that a structure or internal rule from English also applies to Nepali.

Language transfer was first discussed in Selinker (1969) and other follow-up studies either provided but further evidences of transfer or its role in understanding the learner's error in particular and interlanguage as a whole. Larry Selinker proposed the theory of interlanguage in 1972, an interlanguage is an emerging linguistic system that has been developed by a learner of a second language who has not become fully proficient yet but is only approximating the

target language: preserving some features of his/her first language in speaking or writing the target language and creating innovations. An interlanguage is also a language that is used by speakers of different languages in order to be able to mutually communicate. Thus, English works as the interlanguage here for us. The relationship between transfer and interlanguage was always at core concern. Though Selinker (1969) did not characterize how the learner's interlanguage looks like (Corder, 1981), yet he did repeatedly imply that transfer was one of the factors associated with the unique system of the learner language (Selinker, 1969; 1972).

Corder (1981) remarked that it is the duty of both teachers of languages and native speakers of the language to point out the transfer according to the rules of language. At the same time, Corder implied that the source of data for transfer research lie in the learners' production or utterances, which is the observed output which results from the second language learner's attempted production of a target language norm (1981). Kasper (1992) also reiterated that it is imperative to find certain constraints on a pragmatic transfer, so that our work will be operationable.

3. Negative transfer phenomena influenced by mother tongue

Nepali is an unusual foreign language in China; our students' practice tell me that transfers occur at all linguistic levels, phonetic, lexical, semantic and syntactic.

At the level of phonetic, differences between Chinese and

Nepali show in terms of phoneme, tone, intonation, rhythm, and juncture. Sound systems of the two languages are totally different because they belong to two phylums. What I will consider is a phonetic feature — the sound pitch difference of the two languages. Chinese is tone-determined; people express different meanings by giving different intonations. One special or difficult point for Chinese students is voiceless sound and voiced sound, for example, छ and झ, क and ग.

When they first get in touch with Nepali in class, they know the difference since we teachers tell them how to pronounce even the positions of the tongue. As they take more knowledge into consideration, result — influenced by mother tongue, is becoming more obvious. The only reason is we don't have to deal with such problem in Chinese. When we want to emphasize something we can make it by stressing the word or the phrase, there is no sound stress in pronunciation. As a result, Chinese students often forget to pronounce each word in the correct way, which directly determines who sounds like a native or not.

At the level of lexical, I would rather say that interlanguage shows its unique importance in teaching and learning. We can't find any link between Chinese and Nepalese words, we still don't have any Nepali-Chinese or Chinese-Nepali dictionaries. Therefore, when beginner or middle-level-learner wants to search a word which he doesn't know at all, the only way to solve it is to use English as a bridge. Besides, when I explain new words in class, if students still can't guess the

meaning after I paraphrase them in Nepali, I would declare the answer by giving them the English word that owns the same meaning. For example, students can understand clearly when I tell them झुन्ड्याउनु means “hang”. And I think it also keeps them in high spirit to learn both foreign languages. It’s double return, I believe. Students in our university inevitably learn English as another major when they choose a less commonly used foreign language as the main major, which is affected by the thought in what way to educate is beneficial to obtain employment in the future. Meanwhile, that leads to high level of English and benefits much during study process for such majoring students, such as searching materials in English and so on.

At the semantic and syntactic levels, what Chinese students feel hard to master is word order and sentence structure. For example, ...ने बित्तिकै, they often confuse about which part should be in the front and which part in the back, that is also difficult to explain with the rule of English, error and negligence often occur. As for grammar, the most obvious point is various Nepali suffixes, several respect forms, and verb postposition phenomenon. All of them don’t have correspondences in Chinese, and as a result, Chinese way of thinking sometimes shows its negative influence when Nepali majoring students do oral and written exercises. It takes a long time for them to remember, a hard process to master and an even longer time to express themselves freely in Nepali as natives.

4. Solutions to the problems caused by language transfer

4.1 Properly recognize the effect of language transfer

We shouldn't leave problems unsolved if we find them. Better solutions are those correct answers to no matter what questions students may raise and to no matter what difficulties we teachers may face. Since similarities are few between Chinese and Nepali, positive transfer seldom works as negative transfer does, of which the direct effect is error occurrences. Transfer was considered responsible for error occurrences in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies (Lado, 1957; Stockwell & Brown, 1965; Corder, 1969; 1971), nevertheless, I think transfer is but one of the sources of error, not all errors are caused by the influence of mother tongue, it's easy to find another factor, for example students' learning capability etc. There are two ways for teachers to practice — one is getting students to come into contact with correct sayings and having themselves conscientiously correct mistakes, the other is directly pointing out mistakes and correcting them at once. We can't blindly say which is better; it depends on different mistake situations, and teachers should cautiously handle them.

4.2 Choose teaching approach properly

During teaching process, we should also attach importance to the comparison of similarities and differences between Nepali and Chinese. Language rules differ from each other; errors come immediately from ignorance of them. We Nepali

teachers should constantly study history, existing fruits and future development of the Nepali language, meanwhile, we should sum up what on earth similarities and differences are, which is prerequisite to solve problems and teach students through language knowledge. By studying and analyzing students' mistakes that occur in their oral and written practice; we can not only find out which part in learning period is feeble; left to be given special direction but realize which part in our teaching method and content insufficient; left to be improved. So error analysis is an effective approach for Nepali teachers in China.

5. Fruits and future, praxis and hope

Achievements in language transfer phenomenon research provide powerful foundation for our foreign language teaching, through error analysis approach we also thoroughly get to know the main problems present in students' learning. Based on these aspects, certain enlightenment would certainly lead us a brighter way to perfection. What's more, we should recognize that reasons of mistakes are complicated; we should properly look on positive and negative transfers. Even more active, effective and scientific methods could be applied in a flexible way to promote foreign language teaching, which will be bound to do good to learning, and that is the ultimate aim for us to approach. As for Nepali teachers in China, deficiency of reading and teaching materials is a serious problem. Fortunately, this situation has been somewhat improved after our study abroad program and thanks to the friends' help; our audio and video materials are also collected quickly. With

support from our school and our own efforts, better studying and learning environment would be created; we'd like to share our materials with all parts, and we also hope to acquire advice from any sincerely supportive side.

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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY¹

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Rationale

The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) grants numerous linguistic rights to the citizens of Nepal, and recognizes the linguistic diversity by recording 92 languages in the Census Report of 2001. There are, however, varying reports on the number of languages spoken in Nepal, and to clarify the linguistic situation in the country the National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission (1994/2050 V.S.; its English version 2008) had recommended a Linguistic Survey of Nepal to be carried out to determine more precise identification of languages spoken in the country. To date there have been two attempts to survey the languages of Nepal, namely the Grierson-Konow Survey (1898-1927) and the German Research Council Survey (1981-84). These however lack the detailed and comprehensive nature needed to address the current issues facing Nepal. The first Survey did not include all the languages spoken by the indigenous nationalities, and the second remains tentative and inconclusive due to inadequate documentation. There are thus several reasons why a more reliable survey is needed namely, (1) to develop orthographies for unwritten languages, (2) to determine the role of language in primary and adult

¹ Keynote address delivered on 29th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, November 26-27, 2008.

education, (3) to identify and document minority languages facing extinction, and (4) to implement the socially inclusive provisions made in the Interim Plan, National Planning Commission 2007.

Objectives

The objectives of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal are to:

1. Develop a sociolinguistic profile of all the languages of Nepal.
2. Produce a basic description of at least ten languages (at least one description in each cluster: see section 7 for a clarification of the term cluster) that includes an understanding of the sound system, observations on the grammar, and a trilingual glossary.
3. Develop and maintain a complete database of the languages of Nepal.
4. Develop a description of the use of mother tongues in education (formal and non-formal) as a means to better understand the development needed for mother-tongue curricula in the national educational system.

Methodology

To accomplish the specific goals set out for the LinSuN, the following methods and techniques will be adopted:

- A Sociolinguistic description will involve (1) mapping the geographical location of languages, (2) a study of census reports for a demographic description of speakers of languages, (3) word lists and Recorded Text Tests (RTTS) to determine mutual intelligibility,

(4) Sentence Repetition Tests (SRTs) to study multilingualism, (5) questionnaires and observations to record language use and attitudes, and (6) questionnaires to develop language resources for literacy and education.

- Linguistic description of individual languages will involve (1) recording, transcribing, and interlinearizing spoken and written texts, (2) writing grammar sketches based on particular framework and content outline, (3) elicitation of data based on native speakers' intuition of the language about grammaticality and acceptability etc. Interlinearized Corpora will serve as one of the primary sources for writing grammar sketches.
- Sign language as a non-verbal language will be archived through videography with appropriate methods of linguistic annotations and tagging of Parts of Speech. The users of sign language follow a unique methodology and use a uniform system of signs and gestures to convey the meanings of vocabulary and morphology.
- Compiling a Basic Glossary in the form of a trilingual: native language – Nepali – English. In collecting words we intend to use both the corpora and classified lexicon known as Ontology. Each Dictionary will have entries of at least 5000 headwords arranged in a standard format. For Nepali and English-speaking audience Nepali-native and English-native indices are produced, respectively.

- Developing orthographies and publishing indigenous stories as a means of laying a foundation for future work in language development.
- Archiving materials: For archiving purposes, video recordings, digital sound, images, graphic representation and metadata will be used. The use of metadata is very essential for data accessibility. All these types of materials including audio / video recordings will be deposited at the Central Department of Linguistics Library (the host institution of this Project).

Management

There shall be a **Steering Committee** at the National Planning Commission, Government of Nepal. It will have a supervisory and evaluative role and provide general guidance to the Survey. The National Planning Commission member in charge of Social Inclusion shall be the Coordinator of the Steering Committee. In addition, the National Planning Commission shall invite senior linguists and dignitaries from related government agencies to join this Committee.

For conducting the Survey, there shall be a **Survey Team**. It will be assisted by an advisory group of distinguished linguists from Nepal and abroad.

Human Resources and Training Requirements

The success of the LinSuN Survey will depend largely on the well-motivated and fully committed human resources of both the Survey team and the Administrative team. In assessing the manpower requirements for the Survey, provisions have been made for Special Training and

Academic Training programmes. At least three different areas of training will be necessary for successful survey work under LinSuN :

- Training and upgradation of skills relevant to the Survey work through regular workshops and task-oriented meetings.
- Development and Specializations in Field Studies in the areas of Sociolinguistic Surveys and language descriptions.
- Orientations to impart skills in data gathering in basic descriptive linguistics, grammar writing, and training in making Areal Maps and Linguistic Atlases.

There will also be several Analytical Teams who will function as specialists of various aspects of language related to different levels of linguistic analyses. These would include the expert services of :

- The language community itself on whose knowledge the whole project depends.
- Anthropologists, Archivists, Phoneticians, Phonologists, Syntacticians, Lexicographers, Sociolinguists etc.
- Key Language Experts of Language Families or particular languages
- Specialists such as Statisticians and Management experts to provide reliable statistics of speakers, language data, and efficient management of the Survey.

- Professionals with technical background, such as Software Developers and experts from the Information Sciences to advise and improve the analytical tools and computational analyses of data, and also to solve certain unforeseen problems that may hamper the Survey work.

Expected Outcomes

The primary outcome of LinSuN is to lay a foundation that provides for the linguistic rights of the citizens of Nepal so that all her people, regardless of linguistic background, will be included in the overall fabric of the nation. By better understanding the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the Nepalese people, it is hoped that no community will be excluded from the activities of the nation because of language, and that each language community will be given a foundation for long term language development.

On the completion of the Survey the following results can be expected:

1. This survey will contribute to a comprehensive database with information about each language of Nepal. Each language will have at least a sociolinguistic profile in the database. Many languages, however, will have a fuller picture with an annotation of previous research, grammatical information, and a glossary size lexicon.
2. Policy makers at the government and political levels, linguists, as well as language communities will have access to this database to help them plan and formulate language policies. It is hoped that this will help interested parties make informed decision about

including marginalized languages in nation building efforts.

3. The Survey will foster discussion about what it takes to take a spoken-only language to a standardized written language that can be used in written and other more formalized domains.
4. Through its activities in documentation in a limited set of languages, previously spoken-only languages will have a written form that can be used in limited ways in education, media and local administration. It is believed that extending its use in this way will help language communities keep their languages.
5. The host institution and other academic institutions will benefit from the findings of this study as they incorporate the information from this research into their curricula in teaching linguistics and languages.
6. This survey will help GOs and INGOs who are interested in mother tongue education through the information it gleans about orthographies and materials that have been developed in the languages of Nepal, as well as better understanding what remains to be done.
7. In the initial phase of the Survey, a series of trainings will be conducted to orient the researchers in various methods and techniques (including language technology) required for field work and analysis of data. This will develop capacity and expertise for further linguistic studies in Nepal.
8. A series of high quality publications on the languages of Nepal will be made available to the language

communities and other interested parties. This material will be published electronically as well as in book form.

Time Frame

This survey, proposed for seven years (2008-2015), will include Sociolinguistic Surveys, Language Documentations, Literacy, and Archiving.

(This keynote address was presented on behalf of Linguistic Survey Management Committee (LISMAC) consisting of Prof. Dr. Yogendra P. Yadava as Team Leader and Prof. Nirmal M. Tuladhar as member secretary and Prof. Dr. Chudamani Bandhu, Prof. Dr. Tej R. Kansakar, Prof. Dr. Madhav P. Pokharel, Prof. Dr. Novel K. Rai, Dr. Carl Grove, Dr. Lava Dev Awasthi, Dr. Christopher P. Wilde and Mr. Stephen Watters as members.)

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Chief Guest, Honorable Minister for Local Development,
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Prof. Jai Raj Awasthi, Prof. CP Sharma,

Dr. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha, distinguished guests,
presenters from home and abroad;

LSN colleagues, media persons, ladies and gentlemen

I remember my first entry into this institution as a student member during its inception in 1979. Today, after three decades, I feel a great pleasure and regard it as a matter of great honor to speak to this august gathering of scholars, linguists, researchers and a host of aspiring young people. Such gatherings made regularly for the last three decades have nurtured a rich 'linguistic culture' in Nepal and this has also drawn the attention of different scholars and institutions in the world—we have achieved this through presentations, discussions, and shared opinions.

¹ Delivered on the 29th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, November 26-27, 2008.

Today, I would like to record the names of some pioneers and eminent linguists like Prof. KP Malla, Prof. TR Kansakar, Prof. Ballabh Mani Dahal, Prof. CM Bandhu, Prof. Shishir K. Sthapit, Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, Prof. Abhi Subedi, Dr. Subhadra Subba, Prof. Shanti Basnyat, Prof. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, Dr. Sundar Krishna Joshi and many others who have made a substantial contribution in laying the foundation of this discipline whereas, the following generation torch bearers are, among others, Prof. YP Yadava, Prof. CP Sharma, Prof. M P Pokharel, Prof. Novel Kishor Rai and recently Prof. JR Awasthi. They are the leaders followed and supported by innumerable young generation enthusiasts—students and researchers alike. Consequently, Linguistic Society of Nepal, which is underpinned by the Central Department of Linguistics, Department of English Education, Central Department of English, as well as Central Department of Nepali, to a large extent, has developed itself into an incomparable pioneering center of learning and research in Nepal. A host of young academicians are involved in learning their own native tongues and in exploring the wide horizon of the linguistic diversity of Nepal. Started by a small group of linguists 29 years ago, the Society has expanded its family now with about three hundred life members, crossed the geographical, linguistic and topical borders.

Obviously, LSN is the oldest of organizations in Nepal that has survived innumerable obstacles-- even wars, armed revolts, emergencies and many hindrances, political and economic, that has maintained its vibrancy throughout years that is growing richer and stronger everyday. No other discipline in Nepal has experienced such a rigorous journey and growth in its content and

form. The LSN survived everything as it remained ever an apolitical organization—a forum dedicated solely to the promotion of academic activities—study and research in linguistics.

As a result, linguistic discourse in Nepal has crossed all its traditional boundaries. During the early days, the papers included topics like *English vowels and consonants* or *syntax and morphology*. Today, at the other point of time, our young linguists are contemplating the application of computational linguistics in many indigenous languages. We have, for instance, papers like *Inventory of Sherpa documents*, *Phonology of Gamale Kham*, *Personal pronouns in Danuwar*, *Case markers in Ghale*, *Negativisation in Chhintang*, *Subordinate in Taplejung Limbu*, *Grammaticalisation in Newar*, *technology used in Puma Chhintang documentation*, *Causativization in Saptariya Tharu*, *Passivization in Bhojpuri* and so on. We have traversed a long way from structural to computational, from lithographic machines to high-tech equipments.

Over the years, Linguistic Society has played a leading role in creating this atmosphere even the Central Department of Linguistics owes to it. These together have created awareness in our student-researchers and many projects are being carried out which aim at the preservation, protection and promotion of indigenous languages of Nepal. Many papers in this conference are the outcomes of the rich experience drawn from the field works. Such a linguistic and cultural awareness among the people has also strongly supported Nepal's political move towards *loktantra*. It is the right to language and culture of the marginal and deprived section that has commanded the highest attention at this hour. At the same time we are

compelled to think over and practice the application of IT in our activities like language study, planning and documentation.

At this moment I would like to remind the august gathering of some issues that Prof. Awasthi raised in his Presidential address last year which I think are no less pertinent today and will steer the LSN further and widen its scope in the new challenging perspectives.

- Having recognized the importance of ‘The Linguistic Survey of Nepal’, the government of has approved the project proposal which should now be given the highest priority.
- The establishment of Language Academy for which the linguistic communities have shown their serious concern time and again is very urgent call of time.
- The development of Nepali as a second language curriculum with the widely expanding Nepali diasporas and the different linguistic groups of the nation in mind needs accelerating.
- The promotion of linguistic and cultural harmony is a must because language is ultimately only a means that functions in society, and the study and researches related to language are not merely theoretical subjects of discussion and debates, rights and duties, they should be utilized as powerful instruments for nurturing and strengthening social harmony as well.
- We have to make the government realize that LSN is a forum of expertise required to preserve and promote different languages as such they have to

be invited to design courses and materials for mother tongue education as envisaged by the government.

- All our efforts should be geared to the mainstreaming of development. All our actions should be purposefully guided by the principle of harmony, peace and humanity.

At this hour the LSN would like to thank Prof. Jai Raj Awasthi and his team that worked hard for a long time for getting the Society registered with government of Nepal. It took us 28 years to accomplish the tremendous task; and now we are safe, we will face no legal or other hitches in running the institution smoothly; however more accountability is required among us for ensuring transparency in our activities.

The team of editorial board consisting of Mr. Bhim Regmi, and Mr. Ganga Ram Gautam headed by Prof. Jai Raj Awasthi has produced a voluminous work, the regular issue of the **Nepalese Linguistics** volume, the Board deserves special thanks for their untiring and meticulous work required to produce such a great treasure in a very short period of time.

I am thankful to my colleagues and Executive Members of LSN who have worked hard, incessantly nights and days, have spent their time, sometimes money and energy in making this mega event a success. It is difficult to survive without any resource in all voluntary bases. We hope the government will recognize the contribution our predecessors have made in sustaining the LSN and will allocate some amount of annual fund towards its sustenance.

The presenters from home and abroad deserve our due thankfulness, the contributors in the journal, the audience, the volunteers for making this success and above all former President and distinguished person Prof. Chandra Prakash Sharma, for growing a small LSN plant into a large fruit bearing tree, nobody shows such a magnanimity in the present day world.

Thank you very much.

26 November 2008, Kathamndu, Nepal.

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Abbreviations used in this list

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

OBITUARY

It is with great sadness to report that we have lost two distinguished linguists of international repute: Dr. Michael Noonan and David E. Watters.

Dr. Michael Noonan, Professor in the Department of English at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, passed away at his home on February 23rd from a brain aneurysm. He has immensely contributed in functional and typological linguistics and wrote extensively on the languages of Nepal.

Dr. Noonan also edited reputed journal such as *Studies in Language*, *Typological Studies in Language* and was the founding editor of *Himalayan Linguistics*. He had had keen interest in promoting linguistics in Nepal. He has made generous contributions to Central Department of Linguistics (CDL) Library at Tribhuvan University on a regular basis. It was his vision to initiate Linguistic Survey of Nepal, which has been going on at CDL since 2008. With Prof. Noonan's demise we feel an irreparable loss in the field of Nepalese linguistics.

Dr. David E. Watters, passed away on 18 May, 2009 from a pulmonary embolism as the result of a post operation blood clot. He has made significant contributions in Tibeto-Burman linguistics, especially the Kham language and had recently started working on Kirati languages.

Dr. Watters had been associated with Nepal for a long time. Recently he volunteered to teach and conduct linguistic research at Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. He was inspiring to young graduates as well as senior colleagues at CDL. He will be remembered for his research on Kusunda language, introducing Typological-Functional grammar, and contributing in the initial phase of Linguistic Survey of Nepal.

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