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NEPAL ACADEMY AND UNESCO OFFICE IN KATHMANDU**

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In this context, Nepal Academy and UNESCO Office in Kathmandu have shown their generosity to collaborate in supporting and publishing this volume of NEPALESE LINGUISTICS, the annual journal of Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN), a premier organization devoted to the study of languages in general and the Nepalese languages in particular. The LSN extends its sincere gratitude and thankfulness to Nepal Academy for sponsoring the publication of the present issue of NEPALESE LINGUISTICS, Vol 28.

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Shifting linguistic identity of Chepangs

Rishiram Adhikari and Ramesh Kumar Limbu

This paper presents the impact of attitude on language and identity of Chepangs living in Chitwan. The Chepang is one of the indigenous nationalities having distinct linguistic identity. The main concern of this paper is to explore socio economic impacts and speakers' attitude on Chepang language. It discusses how settlement, socio economic status, education and modernity impact on shifting language on Chepangs. The paper presents three case studies of residents in the study area and finds out the factors that show the shifting nature of Chepang language.

1 Introduction

Speakers' attitude and their socio economic status are responsible to the growth and flux of language in particular community. Moreover, industrialization, globalization and modernization are the processes that may have impact upon language shifting in indigenous communities. This paper discusses language shifting situation on Chepangs living in Shaktikhor VDC of Chitwan, located in southern central part of Nepal. The paper specifically focuses on how the Chepang language is rapidly shifting from this area. To study the language shifting situation of Chepang community, researchers visited the field and collected data and analyzed the obtained data by using cases study research design.

Some years back, the situation of Chepangs language was encouraging in Shaktikhor. The mother tongue retention was very high in Shaktikhor, particularly in hill area. In this regard Adhikari (2006) states, "There is 70% mother tongue retention in Shaktikhor". It shows that till 2006 the situation of Chepang language was strong in the study area. Chepnags could speak their language without any hesitation. But, nowadays, the situation is different as most of the Chepangs love to speak Nepali rather than their own language. Linguistic identity of Chepang is rapidly changing as they switched from Chepang to Nepali language. Individual and collective process of modernization, globalization and ongoing socialization process are also responsible for this shift. Apart from this, the pressure of mass media, social demand of day to day life, *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp.1-6*

ongoing economic activities, etc. have created pressure to minority language group to shift from their traditional language practice in Nepal. Minority languages have been falling under crisis. As a result of being a small linguistic group and the contact with Nepali and English languages are also key contributing factors for disappearance of indigenous languages.

The decline of indigenous languages is one of the main causes of shifting linguistic identity from old to new. It also results in a loss of distinct linguistic identity. Dominant linguistic group gives pressure to minority language group through creating hegemony. Rai (2008) states that the linguistic hegemony is the main cause of language shifting in Nepal. Due to causes of globalization and modernization minority languages and cultural groups are influenced by the dominant linguistic group. At this juncture, this paper briefly seeks to investigate the factors that make small linguistic and cultural group shift into the larger one.

2 Chepangs and their Geographical Settlement

Chepang is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal inhabiting the centre hilly region mainly in Chitwan, Makawanpur, Gorkga, Dhading and its surrounding areas. The region is scattered on Mahabharat range and its basin. It is located at the altitude from 600 meter to 1400 meter. Total population of Chepangs is 68,368 (CBS, 2011), whereas, Chepang language speakers are 36,807 which is 0.16% of the total population of Nepal. The following figure shows the settlement of Chepang.



Source: (Adhikari,2013)

Chepang population of Shaktihor VDC is 9418 which is more than 30% of the total population

(VDC Report, 2013). The study area is scattered in *Kayar* basin and its surrounding area. It lies in the south face of Mahabharat range. It is approximately a five-six hours walking distance from the Bharatpur town.

Most of the Chepangs are involved in farming and animal husbandry. The area is covered by community forest and small stream named *Kayar*. The inhabitants of Chepangs are migrated from different regions searching for work and facilities such as farming, cattle rearing and commercial activities.

In the study areas, Chepang language has been speaking since ancient time although the language is influenced by other Tibeto-Burman and Indio Aryan languages. In the view of Thapa (1975), "Chepang language is highly influenced by Tamang language and in some cases it also [borrowed] words from Nepali language".

Language ideologies play important role in language shifting. A positive attitude towards a language supports revitalization and negative attitudes or ideologies undervalue the marginalized language and puts on interference categories. In the core and peripheral area, differing degrees of values are attached to the Chepang language. For instance, in Bazaar area, there is a stigma attached to speaking the Chepang language where the Chepang language is overtly devalued by the dominant society. This leads to Chepang people deny or hide the fact that they can speak the language for they have fear of being ostracized.

3 Factors Affecting on Shifting of Languages

Various factors are responsible for shifting language on Chepang living in the study area. Parents' attitude is one of the important factors which has significant role on shifting of language. Parents attitude help develop the mentality of children about language use. If parents use their mother-tongue with children then they can learn the language automatically. But, parents usually teach Nepali to their children before going to the school in the Chepang community. Parents are conscious about curriculum. Pre-primary school

curriculum is still Nepali in government school and English in private school. Parents and children feel that if they do not understand Nepali, then, they will unable to continue school education.

The Chepang parents, thus, want language competency in Nepali and English rather than the Chepang. Nepal Chepang Association and other cultural group have been raising awareness about Chepang language and culture; however, Chepang speakers feel the need of improving English and Nepali language competency for getting job and business rather than the Chepang language.

Young Chepang people, in Shaktikhor, have become more educated and fluent in Nepali rather than Chepang. Local leaders within the community acknowledge the younger generations as having a greater knowledge of the world beyond the community's boundaries. It is similar to the idea of Luykx(2000) who suggests, "This shift in the recognition of authority can interrupt traditional indigenous age and status hierarchies and the language preferences that follow with these changes in generational experiences"

Contrastingly, the older generations usually speak Chepang language in all domains, even if they are in urban centers, and in their festivities. but young generation hardly use their language even they live in rural area. The focus on one language over another, which is either conscious or unconscious, tends to shift over life-cycles and generations.

The loss of a language entails the loss of many important aspects of the culture that enforce to change cultural identity of a particular ethnic group. Hence, whether the language and identity are used between family members, to reminisce or for commercial purposes, ethnic identity is interwoven with the language.

There are other aspects of identity such as gender, age and settlement that are important for using language. In rural areas usually women, small children, and other generations speak their language though parents force small children to speak Nepali rather than Chepang language. For

example, Thuli Kanchhi and her husband Sarke both Chepang and Nepali with their children in their house. The parents believe that learning Nepali during young age may provide with better opportunities in future for children in outside world.

Geographically, Chepang speaking area is located in centre Nepal where there is existences of Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Newar, Tharu, Dari, Bhujel and Bahun Chhetri. Bhujel is close to Chepang Language. In Shaktihor VDC, out of 9 wards, Ward numbers 1, 2 and 3 lies in the hilly area and ward no. 5 is located in plain area. Most of the hill inhabitant Chepangs speaks their language but the dwellers of plain area speak Nepali language. It shows that settlement of speaker also plays significant role on shifting of language. Apart from that, rich and job holder Chepangs living in the hill areas also prefer to speak Nepali. Mass Media and temporary migration also insist Chepangs to adopt Nepali language rather than the Chepang. Most of the programs of TV and Radio are in Nepali language. In order to understand worldly phenomena and to take entertainment from visual and verbal media, both adult and young Chepang love to learn Nepali, English and Hindi rather than the Chepang. It shows that modernization enforces indigenous language community to shift from old to new and dominant language. Some urban migrant youths of second and third generation identify themselves as Chepang people and even put on traditional dress, but it is only for commercial reasons, for instance, displaying their tradition to entertain tourists. Such types of commercial activities are focused in the town and touristic areas rather than subsistence farming and agricultural locations. The residents speak Nepali and their attire is that of most other developed nations/communities. They wear jeans, jackets, caps etc. which shows that there exists a boundary between the geographical regions in terms of their attitude, attire and language use. It is also observed that the Chepangs dwelling in the town have been involved in business. Their identity is not ethnically marked. Some Chepangs speak and

understand Chepang, but avoid identifying themselves. It is perceived as being backward people. The situation is evident that "last year I met a Chepang boy in Bharatpur. At first, he introduced himself as being a Thapa Magar. But, after being closed, he silently introduced his real identity as Chepang" (Field Survey, 2013). It shows that Chepang living in urban area and working with other ethnic people hesitates to identify themselves as Chepang

Chepangs living in rural area do not hesitate to show their traditional identity. We observed the situation of Chepang living in *Kolar* and found that they generally identify themselves quite clearly as being indigenous, as they dressed in traditional colours, wore caps, silver earrings and traditional skirts. The women's attires were quite feminine and the image of being a woman was very perceptible. The mothers carried their babies on their back with a piece of cloth called a *kumlo*. They do not use such *kumlo* while they come down to plain areas as the women in the town centre normally do. They acknowledge that they are from indigenous descent, and speak Chepang. However, we observed that when the residents of the *Kolar* travel to the town centre they change and try to downplay their heritage and the fact that they can speak the language for fear of being shunned by the dominant society. Interviewees told me that Chepang is not the language spoken in town. The Chepang speakers hide their ability to speak their language in order to blend in with mainstream society. During our field visit in plain area, it was difficult to secure interviewees who were open about their ability to speak Chepang. However, we met some Chepang speakers in the town centre by visiting health post centre. While we tried to find respondents with varying ages, gender, socio-economic stages, and levels of education, we chose key informants rather than representative samples, because we needed people with knowledge of having Chepang or willingness to talk about it. It is followed a 'snowball' technique that could help get in touch with the local people. We takes three cases and analyze to fulfill the purpose of the study.

4 The case studies

Case study 1: Sanikanchhi

The interactions with Sanikanchhi enabled to gain an understanding of the generational language shifts that occurs in young generation. This study is based on the field visit. Sanikanchhi, a teenage girl, was quite shy about it before told us that she can speak Chepang and that she was very happy to participate. She also told that she had a friend, Maya, who could also speak Chepang. She was of a similar age who agreed to be interviewed.

After waiting for a while, we saw a couple of young men. We approached them as we needed to recruit people of their age. They were interested and begin to talk with us. But, as soon as we mentioned about Chepang language, they quite arrogantly protested: "Oh no, we don't speak Chepang". "You have to go to the Hill and talk to the little old ladies who still speak Chepang, not we"(Field Visit Report,2013). She was in the background observing this interaction. We turned to her to confirm the time for interview with her but she immediately became self-conscious and unconfident saying that she didn't speak Chepang so there was no point in interviewing her. Her retraction appears to be a direct result of the attitude of the young men we had just spoken with. We tried to convince her and it took a long while for her to agree. Though, she was not willing to be interviewed in the hotel for fear that people might hear. Her friend who had previously agreed to be interviewed withdrew. During the interview, Sanikanchhi totally closed up and her answers were very short. She did not smile and persisted that she was not fluent in Chepang, contrary to what she told us three days before. She did, however, admit discrimination towards Chepang speakers at Bazaar and we began to understand why she had been so shy in the beginning.

Case Study 2: Thulikanchhi

The use of a language in Chepang is contingent on the framework of social class, values and symbols, as well as on conventions and the pragmatics of economic situations.

This case study is an example of an economically motivated language shifting practice and was recorded in visit to health post. Some members of the community negotiate the boundaries according to circumstances. The following is an extract to show this situation.

Today, the women from the communities came to the Health centre to checkup health. The groups were more dispersed than it was expected, so we wandered around talking to each small group individually. We interviewed one of the mothers, Thulikanchhi who was 31 years old, had a 1 year old daughter and a 5 years old son. When we ask about her ability to speak Chepang with her children she responded: "Now kids don't speak Chepang anymore. At home my father speaks a little, but I can't speak Chepang anymore. My children no longer understand it..." (Personal Interview, 2013).

We asked her if she thought it was important to pass on the language to her children. While she said she did, but deep down we got the impression that she did not believe that it was worth doing. Later, she told that she was a single mother looking for a job. She thought we could help her as an outsider with power. We told her that unfortunately we were looking for a Chepang speakers but she would not be able to help us as she did not like to speak Chepang. We noticed a big change in her face and immediately she said: "I can help you, I speak Chepang "(Personal Interview)

We told her that we needed a Chepang speaker who could speak Chepang and elaborate Chepang words. She immediately changed the tone and enthusiastically spoke proficiency in the Chepang language that she had denied speaking a few minutes before. The young woman had therefore chosen to hide the fact that she was bilingual until we showed an interest and she could perceive an economic benefit.

Thulikanchhi initially gave us the socially expected response about her family's ability to speak Chepang language. Even though in their own environment, the Chepang speakers who modify their behaviour. This was demonstrated

when interviewed people from the Chepang community. They generally have a response that, "Here in the highlands, we speak Chepang more. When we go to the town, we speak Nepali. When we have visitors and they speak Nepali we speak Nepali with them, but at home, we mainly speak Nepali" (Personal Interview, 2013)

It shows the surprising attitude of young people towards Chepang language. It gives an impression that those young men we encountered felt insulted by the idea of them being Chepang speakers. When we were looking for an interview, we were often told by residents that "I understand a little, but I don't speak it". However, as with Thulikanchhi, we often found out this is not quite true, often the town's residents spoke Chepang fluently, but most people denied it. In this situation while looking for a Chepang speaker, if the people, such as Thulikanchhi, case realized that Chepang language may provide an economic benefit they admitted that they could speak or understand their language. Such change of behavior is noticed several times in village. It shows that financial opportunity is a compulsion to her to speak Chepang language. However, in the first case the two young Chepnags denied to speak because they do not see any commercial benefit in Chepnag language.

Case 3: Kali Maya

Kali Maya lives at Milan Bazar. She is a native speaker of the Chepang language and wants to develop fluency in Nepali in order to gain access to business and jobs. For example, social services, even when they are provided in the highlands by visiting professionals, such as traders, speak Nepali language.

One day when we attended a meeting about sanitation and hygiene for mothers and babies of the Chepang community in the hill area. The meeting was held in Nepali. After observing the meeting, we decided to conduct a group interview with the residents of the *Kolar*. When asked what language they would prefer to communicate during the meeting, they responded that they would be more comfortable if the community health meetings were held in Chepang language.

They talked about the discrimination associated with the language. They told us that if they speak Chepang in town, they are called by the names of animals from the mountain (*Phad ka Jantu*) or *Pahada ka Chepang*. Also, if they speak Chepang in front of people who do not know the language, they may think that they are speaking badly about them. After the meeting, everybody spoke Chepang openly between each other. It shows that official affiliation and formal application of Nepali language is also responsible for shifting language in the study area.

5 Summary

As represented by the geographical division of Chepang, the research organization has led to the linguistic identity of Chepang speakers. It interacts with other factors which impact the use and perceived value amongst the local Chepangs. The fieldwork reveals that when the residents of the hill travel to the town centre, they downplay their heritage and the fact that they can speak Chepang. When it is out of a need to transact their business with Nepali speakers and they do not feel fear of being shunned by the dominant society. Younger generations give greater value on Nepali than Chepang language. Case 1 demonstrates the younger generation's increasing connection with a world that extends beyond community boundaries, leading to a rejection of Chepang through peer group pressure.

There is also little economic benefit to speaking the town Chepang. Case 2 suggests that things would be different if this were not the situation. Here, Thulikanchhi only admits to speaking Chepang when she realizes that there is an economic benefit involved. Case 3 shows the impacts of officially used and formally used language on Chepangs. These case studies suggest that Chepang language is under threat and will continue to decline in language status unless it becomes recognized as having tangible functional value, beyond the ideal of symbolic preservation.

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Personal interviews

- Personal interview with Thilikanchhi*
Personal interview with Sanikanchhi
Personal interview with Kali Maya

Words of Human body parts, Birds, Animals and other Insects used among the Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa and Kokborok Languages

Phukan Ch. Basumatary

The analysis focuses on the structural features of the words relating to human body parts, birds, animals and other insects used among the cognate languages like Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa and Kokborok which are spoken in the North-Eastern states of India. From a typological analysis it is found that the structural features of the words are closely similar among the languages. For example, in case of word formation relating the human body parts the initial syllable is like a phonemic morpheme or sometimes a phoneme and the syllable ending of the word functions as bound base or the independent meaningful morphological unit i.e. a word. In some cases words are formed by compounding of two independent meaningful words of body parts which denotes a word of body part. It occurs in Boro and Dimasa languages. Thus relating to the words of birds is also similar from a typological view point. Regarding the words of birds, the initial syllable is an independent and meaningful unit which refers to bird and the other syllabic unit is related to a particular bird. It functions as a bound base having a striking feature in it. As regards to the word of animals, it is found that the words of indicating animals are composed of at least two syllabic units. The initial syllabic unit is a phonemic morpheme and the second syllabic unit is a bound base having specific meaning of different kinds of animals. This typology is similar among the languages of Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa and Kokborok. Also they show certain amount of evidences of genetic relationship with the Tibeto-Burman origin. All these aspects have been discussed in the paper.

1. Introduction

The term **Boro-Garo** is popularly used among Tibeto-Burman linguists to refer to the mostly similar linguistic group i.e. cognate languages like Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa, Kokborok, Tiwa, Deuri-Chutiya and Hajong. On the one hand, the term **Bodo** is also used by G.A. Grierson in the similar purpose to refer to the speech communities like Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa, Kokborok, Tiwa, Deuri-Chutia, Hajong, Sonowal *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 7-11*

etc. Among these languages Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa, Kokborok, Tiwa and Deuri are living and usually spoken in the day-to-day life of these speech communities. It is worth to mention here that Matisoff, Robins Burling and some other linguists of TB (Tibeto-Burman) area have popularly used the term of this kind. Structurally these languages have a highest degree of similarities in case of lexis, grammatical and syntactical levels. Most of the root words are monosyllabic in structure. Some words are formed by compounding of two or more than two bases or bound-bases. Words are derived by addition of prefix or suffix (-es).

It is to be noted that the typology of words relating to the beings of different kinds are of noun class and these are formed by two different linguistic units. This kind of word typology is not exercised or used in any one of the language families of the world except Tibeto-Burman languages. Here typology of different words has been observed and analyzed on the concerned areas; such as words of human body parts, birds and animals, various insects etc.

2. Word Typology among the cognate languages of the Boro

The word typology of the cognate languages of the Boro is simple and easy to be understood. Typologically words are identical and genetically correspond to each other. Therefore they belong to the same group of languages. Regarding the word of human body parts, birds, animals and insects are similar from the structural view point. These have been discussed with some special references of words from each of the cognates.

2.1 Words related to human body parts

In the cognate languages, words related to body parts of human being, animals, creatures and insects, fruits and trees etc. are usually belong to the noun class of words. These are formed by adding affixes with the free morpheme or bound base.

In Boro, words of body parts are formed by two morphological units. In case of hand and leg, the

phonemic prefix {a-} is added with a morphological unit i.e bound base. For instance: {a-k^hai}>ak^hái (hand), {a-t^hiŋ}>at^hiŋ (leg), {a-si}>así (finger), {a-p^ha}>ap^há (palm of hand or leg), {a-duŋi}>aduŋí (calf of leg), {a-gan}>agán (foot step) etc. In case of eye, the consonantal phonemic prefix {m-} is connected with particular bound bases. For example: {mɔ-gɔn} > mɔngɔn > mengón (eye), mɔ-sugur > musugúr (eyebrow) etc. Thus, words related to head and its constituent parts are {k^hɔ-rɔ} > k^hɔrɔ (head), {k^hɔ-ga} > k^hɔga > k^hugá (mouth), {k^hɔ-raŋ} > k^hɔraŋ > k^huráŋ (voice, news), {k^hɔ-nai > k^hɔnai > k^hanai (hair), {k^hɔ-ma} > k^hɔma > k^hama/k^huɔma (ear) etc. These bi-syllabic structure of words are very much complex to analyze whether both of the linguistic units can be considered as syllable or not. But it is clearly understandable that the initial linguistic units like k^hɔ-, k^hu- can be related to the mouth. So it is easily assumable that the word 'k^huga' is derived from the morphological unit. It means mouth. In Boro words related to mouth and its constituents begin with a consonantal phoneme /k^h /.

Words connected with stomach or belly is {u-duŋi}>uduŋí (stomach), {u-t^hu-mai}>ut^húmái (navel) etc. Breast and its inter-related words are also of two parts, e.g: {bi-k^ha}>bik^ha (liver), {bi-bu}>bibu (intestine), {bi-k^hluŋ}>bik^hluŋ (gall), {bi-t^huŋi}>bit^huŋi (thick blood) etc. Here the initial syllables are prefix and the remaining segments of these words have status of bound base.

Dimasa structure is also akin to that of Boro structure. The words of body part are composed of two morphological units. For examples, {yaɔ-p^ha}>yaɔp^ha (the palm of the of hand), {yaɔ-gada}>yaɔgada (right hand), {yaɔ-si}>yaɔsi (finger), {yaɔ-si-ma}>yaɔsima (the thumb), {yaɔ-si-tam}>yaɔstam (a ring), {yaɔ-si-gur}>yaɔsugur (the finger nail), {yaɔ-si-gu}> yaɔsugu {the knee}, {yaɔ-p^ha-khɔr}>yaɔp^hak^hɔr (the hollow of

the foot-palm) and so on. Here 'yaɔ' is a mono-syllabic word which means 'hand'.

Dimasa word 'k^hamaɔ' is used for 'ear' while 'k^huɔma' is used for 'ear' in Boro. Thus 'guŋ' is used for 'nose' in Dimasa which is similar to Boro word 'gɔnt^hɔŋ'. In case of eye, the mono-syllabic word 'mu' is used while Boro use 'megɔn'.

In Dimasa, in case of other constituent and related parts of eye, the compounded structure are like as, {mu-gur}>mugur (eyelids), {mu-sraŋ}>musraŋ (eye brow), {mu-k^haŋ}> muk^haŋ (face) etc. Here all of the structures are composed of two mono-syllabic free morphemes having a meaning of its. Stomach related word is {bu-bu}>bubu (intestine). 'k^habaɔ' is a compounded word having two mono-syllabic morphological segments. Here 'k^ha' is a proto TB root means 'heart'. It has been originated in Boro and other cognate languages.

For example: Br. {bi-k^ha}>bik^ha, D. {k^ha-baɔ}>k^habaɔ, Kb. {bu-k^ha}>buŋk^ha, Rb. {pi-k^ha}>pik^ha, G. {bi-k^ha}>bik^ha.

Rabha structure is also similar to other cognate languages. Here 'nuken'/'muken' denote meaning of 'eye' and 'nu-k^haŋ'/'mu-k^haŋ' is composed of two morphological segments. It means 'face' while 'nu-ken/mu-ken' has also the same structure. Hand and its constituent body parts are usually composed of two morphological segments i.e 'tasi' means hand. {tasi-k^hu}>tasik^hu (finger of hand), {tasi-tala}>tasitala (palm of the hand), {ta-t^heŋ}>tat^heŋ (leg).

Kokborok structure is also same in comparison to other cognate languages. Examples: yak (hand), {yak-ra}>yakra (right hand), {yak-si}>yaksi (left hand), {yak-sku}>yaksku (elbow), {yak-p^ha}>yakp^ha (palm of hand), {yak-pai}>yakpai (foot mark), {yak-si}>yasi (finger), {yak-uŋ}>yakuŋ (leg). Here the cited words are composed of two different segments. Thus {bu-slai}>buŋslai (tongue), {bu-k^ha}>buŋk^ha (liver), {bu-kun}>bukun (nose), {bu-k^huk}>buk^huk (mouth), {mu-k^haŋ}>muŋk^haŋ (face) etc. are words of common structure. In these words, the

first segment is a prefix and the second one is a root word.

Garo structure of body parts is mostly similar to other cognate languages. Words of body parts are composed two morphological segments. In some structure, the first segment represents as prefix or sometimes it has a meaning of its own. It may be clearly intelligible while it is agglutinated with other segments. Some examples may be shown:

{bi-}: {bi-k^ha}>bik^ha (heart/ liver), {bi-buɣk}>bibuɣk (intestine), {bi-guɣl}>biguɣl (skin). Here {bi-} is suffixed as prefix. But in some cases, agglutinated morphological segments represent as bound base or free morpheme. Here are some structures of example-{muɣk-k^haŋ}>muɣkk^haŋ (face), {muɣk-rɔn}>muɣkrɔn (eye), {muɣk-ksi}>muɣksi (tear), {muɣk-k^hi}>muɣkk^hi (eye-excreta), {giŋ-t^hiŋ}>giŋt^hiŋ (nose), {guŋ-re}>guŋre (mucus), {giŋ-k^hi}>giŋk^hi (dried mucus in the nostril) etc.

Thus {zak} means hand. If another morphological segment is added with this segment, it derives a new structure of word having a new meaning. For example: zak-si>zaksi (finger), zak-si-ma>zak-si-ma (thumb finger), zak-asi>zakasi (left hand), zak-sk^huɣl>zaksk^huɣl (nail).

On the other hand, some words of body parts are articulated in a single beat of pulse i.e monosyllabic in structure. May be mentioned some words- sre (tongue), sk^hu (head), k^hni(hair), greŋ (bone), k^hi (stool) etc.

2.2 Words related to Birds, Animals and Insects

The structure of words used for denoting birds, animals and other insects are composed of two different morphological segments. In all the cognates, words related to different kinds of birds have two segments. In Boro, {dau} means bird/chicken; it is a free morpheme and monosyllabic in nature. To denote different kinds of birds, another morphological segment is added with the word {dau}.

For example: {dau-sri}>dausri (martin), {dau-k^ha}>dauk^ha (crow), {dau-bo}>daubo (a kind of heron), {dau-t^hu}>daut^hu (dove), {dau-

gaŋ}>daugaŋ (feather of bird), {dau-sa}>dausa (small bird/chicken), {dau-rai}>daurai (peacock), {dau-duɣi}> dauduɣi (egg), {dau-zuɣ}>dauzuɣ (hen), {dau-ma}>dauma (bird of bigger species), {dau-zuɣla}>dauzla/daula (male bird) etc.

Thus Rabha has also the same structure. Example: {tɔ}/{tɔk} means bird/chicken. To denote particular kinds of bird, the word {tɔ}/{tɔk} is used before morphological units of indicating different birds. Example: {tɔ-k^ha}>tɔk^ha (crow), {tɔ-k^hur}> tɔk^hur>tuk^hur (dove), {tɔ-raŋ}>tɔraŋ (bat), {tɔk-bau}>tɔkbau (owl), {tɔ-basar}>tɔbasar(wild bird), {tɔ-seŋ}>tɔseŋ (egg) etc. But some words denoting names of birds do not follow this system though basic system is similar with other cognate languages.

Garo words of birds are also similar in structure. {dɔ'ɔ} means bird in Garo. To denote different names of bird, another segment is added with it, e.g: {dɔ'-bak}>dɔ'bak (bat), {dɔ'-k^ha}>dɔ'k^ha(crow), {dɔ'de}>dɔ'de (peacock), (dɔ'k^hru)>dɔ'k^hru (dove), {dɔ'-mesal}>dɔ' mesal (wild bird), {dɔ'-p^hɔ}>dɔ'p^hɔ (owl) etc.

Dimasa structure is comparable to other cognates. The word {dau} is used for bird, {dau-rak^hal}>daurak^hal represents bat, {dau-k^ha}>dauk^ha stands for crow, {dau-di}>daudi is used for egg, {dau-bɔŋa}>daubɔŋa for heron etc.

Kokborok structure is also similar to other cognate languages. In Kokborok, {tɔk} represents bird. To denote different kinds of birds, some specific morphological units are added with this word.

Example: {tɔ-k^ha}>tɔk^ha (crow), tɔ-bak>tɔbak (bat), {tɔk-t^hu}>tɔk-t^hu (dove), {tɔk-ling}>tɔkling (kite), {tɔk-ma}>tɔkma (hen), {tɔk-sa}>tɔksa (chicken), {tɔk-la}>tɔkla (cock), {tɔk-tuɣi}>tɔktuɣi (egg of bird), {tɔk-huk}>tɔkhuk (owl) etc.

The words denoting name of some animals are composed of two segments. In Boro, such type of

composition is occurred frequently, e.g: {mu-sa}>muṣa (tiger), {mu-suṣu}>muṣsuṣu (cow), {mu-k^hra}>muḱ^hra (monkey), {mu-p^hur}>muṗ^hur (bear), {mu-i-suṣ}>muṣisṣu (buffalo), {man-dab}>mandab (squirrel), {mu-p^huṣu}>muṗ^huṣu, (mu-sruṣm}>muṣruṣm (ant), {mu-duṣi}>muḍuṣi (porcupine/ a kind of animal having thorn in its body).

In Kokborok language, {mu-suk}>musuk(cow), {mu-k^hra}>muḱ^hra (monkey), {mu-sa}>muṣa (tiger), {mu-sui}> musui (deer), {mandab}>mandab (squirrel), {mi-sip}>misip (buffalo), etc. are used in case of different animals. Here {m-} may be a prefix having phonemic representation.

Dimasa words of referring to animals are also similar to other cognates. For examples: {mu-su}>musu (cow), {mi-iuṣ}>miuṣ (elephant), {mi-sai}>misai (deer), {mi-si}>misi (tiger) etc.

In Rabha, the structure of words relating to animals has a consonantal phonemic prefix, i.e {m}.

Example : {ma-su}>masu (cow), {mi-si} > misi (buffalo), {ma-sa}>masa (tiger), {ma-da}>mada (bear), {ma-kra}>makra (monkey), {ma-sək}>masək (deer), {ma-t^ha}>mat^ha(iguana), {ma-ba}>maba (horse) etc. Here the initial syllable is a prefix of denoting animal while the second or the final syllables are used as bound bases of indicating different kinds of animals. Thus Garo structure is also akin to that of other cognates. The initial syllable begins with consonantal phonemic prefix {m-}.

Example: {ma-chu}>matchu (cow), {ma-tma}>matma (buffalo), {ma-tcha}>matcha (tiger), {ma-tchək} > matchək (deer), {ma-k^hre} > mak^hre (monkey), {ma-t^hram} > mat^hram (an otter), {meṣ-kə} > meṣkə (cat), {ma-k^hbuṣl} > mak^hbuṣl (bear) etc.

In case of names of some small insects generally show some degree of similarities in structure. The consonantal phonemic prefix is added in case of the name of ants.

For example: Br. {mu-sruṣm}>muṣruṣm (ant), G. {mu-sruṣm}>muṣruṣm (ant), Kb. {mi-srum}>misurum (ant). But on the other hand, Rabha and Dimasa do not have this kind of structure, e.g. Rb. {kaṣ-ku}>kaṣku (ant), D. {kai-siṣ}>kaisiṣ (ant). There is also affinity in structure of word denoting fish and something like words, e.g. Br. {na}-fish, G. {na t^hək}-fish, Rb. {na}-fish, D. {na}-fish, Kb. {a}-fish.

3. Conclusion

From a typological investigation it is observed that the words analyzed above are structurally similar and have genetic relationship with each other to some extent to the Tibeto-Burman origin. On the basis of syllabic structure all of the words mentioned here are bi-syllabic. Some of the words are composed of two free morphemes and some of them are comprised of single phonemic morpheme and the other is bound base. On the basis of structure the words related to body parts of human beings and birds and various animals, insects etc. have genetic relationships with the TB (Tibeto-Burman) origin.

Abbreviations

Br.	Boro
G.	Garo
D.	Dimasa
Kb.	Kokborok
Rb.	Rabha

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Coordination in Baram

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This paper presents the coordination process found in Baram language; one of the endangered language of Nepal spoken in Gorkha district at Takukot VDC. The coordination process refers to the process of syntactic construction where coordinators are used to join two or more than two independent clauses to constitute a sentence. So this paper also presents the coordinators that are used in the process of coordination in Baram language.

1. Introduction¹

Coordination is the process of combining two constituents of the same type to produce another large constituent of the same type.

Quirk et al. (1985), two types of coordination are found in English. They are 'syndetic or linked or marked by overt signal and asyndetic or unlinked or not overtly marked by signal. Linking words are called coordinating conjunctions. Asyndetic coordination usually stylistically marked which is used for dramatic intensification. In it conjoins are generally separated by tone unit boundary in speech or by a punctuation writing. Compound sentence can be formed by co-coordinators 'and' 'but' and 'or'. There are certain syntactic features of coordinators.

- Clause coordinators are restricted to clause initial position.
- Coordinated clauses are fixed in a sequence.
- Coordinators are preceded by a conjunction.
- Coordinators can link clause conjunction.
- Coordinators can link subordinate clauses.
- Coordinators can link more than two clauses

¹ This article is based on my M. Ed. thesis entitled 'Clause combining in Baram and English: a comparative study' submitted to the Department of English Education, TU in 2007

The following tree diagram shows the structure of coordinate clause.

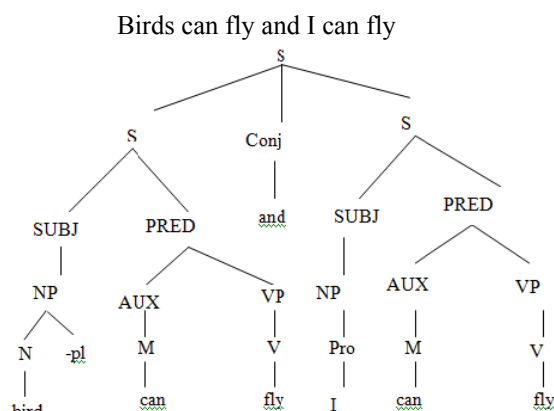


Figure 1: Tree Diagram of English Coordination

2. Brief sketch of clause system in Baram²

Clause refers to a unit of grammatical organization which is smaller than the sentences, larger than phrases, words or morphemes. The clause can be classified into two categories; independent and dependent. Independent clauses are independent to convey the meaning i.e. the meaning of one clause does not lie on the other clause. Unlike independent clause, the meaning of dependent clause lies on the independent clause.

The Baram language has been found rich in both coordination and subordination. In the process of coordination, dependent clauses can be coordinated without ellipsis of 'subject' or any constituents and with the ellipsis of 'subject or both 'subject and 'verb' of independent clause. The coordinators of Baram language found are <hare>, <ki>, <rə> <ki>...<kile>, <niswan>...<rə> and <na...na> The following tree diagram shows the coordination of the Baram language.

² Baram is an endangered language spoken by a handful of elderly people in Takukot Village Development Committee of Gorkha District

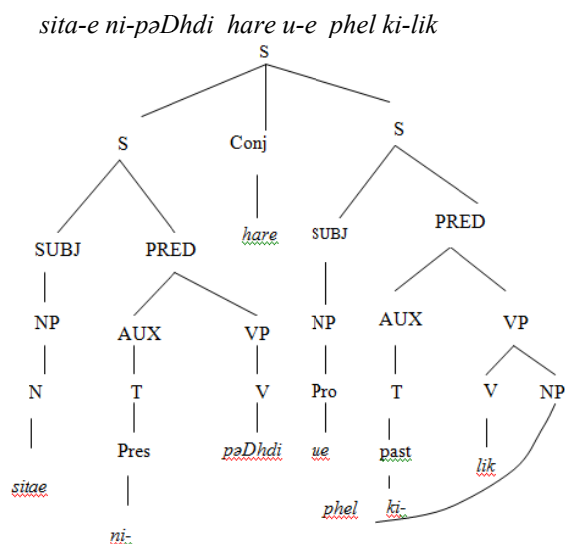


Figure 2: Coordination in Baram

3. Coordinate clauses in Baram

In Baram, two independent clauses are co-ordinated by free morphemes, <hare> <ra,> and <ki>.

- (1) a. *həri nam-ge-ŋi-ya hare. u-se ma –pəDhdi*
 hari school-LOC-NPT-go but he-DAT NEG-read
 ‘Hari goes to school but he does not read.’
- b. *Sita-e ni-pəDhdi hare u-e fel ki-lik*
 sita-ERG NPT-read but she- ERG fail PST-do
 ‘Sita reads but she failed.’

In the process of coordination, the coordination of the constituents of same class or the ellipsis of subject and verb of same class seems to be possible.

- (2) a. *ram-e phəlpħul ki-ca rə biər k - syaŋ*
 Ram-ERG fruit PST-eat and beer PST-drink.
 Ram ate fruit and drank beer.
- b. *kale ciliŋ ŋa hare ŋigyam*
 Kale black NPT-be but polite.
 ‘Kale is black but polite.’

In 1a-2b <hare>,<ki> and<ra> are coordinators and the clauses are independent of each other.

The examples (1a-b) show the co-ordination of two clauses and (2a) shows the coordination with subject ellipsis and example (b) shows the ellipsis of both subject and verb. The coordinators <ki> and <ra> seem to be similar to Nepali coordinators. For example *ram bhat khanchə rə ghərə zanchə*. To compare with English no different co-ordination process seems to be possible. Sometimes <ki>in Baram seems to be working as a coordinator being influenced by Nepalese language. But in Baram <-ki> originally is a past tense marker. The example (2a) shows the evidence.

4. Correlative coordination

In Baram there seems to be correlative co-coordinators and clause too. In correlative clauses both the clauses are independent to each other but different coordinators come to give different meaning.

- (3) a. *naŋ ki thiŋ -go ni-thaŋ kile huk*
 You or stand-INF NPT-mayeither sit down
 ‘You may either stand up or sit down.’
- b. *niswan ram ra shyam-e bihe ki-tuk*
 Both Ram and Shyam married PST do
 ‘Both Ram and Shyam married.’
- c. *ram-e na ŋi- pəDhdi na kam ŋi-tuk*
 Ram-ERG neither NPT-read nor work NPT-do
 ‘Ram neither reads nor works.’

In the example (3a) <ki----kile> is correlative coordinator equivalent to English coordinator ‘either---or’. In Baram too, conjoins may be complete clause or elliptical.

But example (3b) gives the additive meaning of clause by <ra>. The coordinator is<niswan----ra>. It does not give combinatory meaning. In this type of coordination, the sentence and verb require to be elliptical.

In another type of co-ordination which conjoins both negative sentences, the negative marker <na> seems to work in both places. In the example (3c) unlike English ‘neither----nor’, in Baram <na ---- na> occurs being a correlative. In coordination, the first coordinator follows subject not auxiliary.

5. Juxtaposition

In Baram, it has been found that two clauses are coordinated by the process of juxtaposition where clauses are juxtaposed without any coordinator. Any two constituents; verb or verb phrase, noun or noun phrase are combined in this process (4a-b).

- (4) a. *nejla njaŋo nicuno*
nejla ŋi-aŋ-o ni-cun-o
Millet NPST-fry-IMP NPST-put-IMP
[Kansakar et al. 2011]
- b. *asi aŋmæt kiju*
asi aŋmæt ki-ju
air rain water PST-come from above
[Kansakar et al. 2011]

6. Summary

Three types of coordination have been found in this language; simple coordination, correlative coordination and juxtaposition. In simple coordination in Baram two independent clauses are coordinated by free morphemes like <hare>, <ra> and <ki>. Similarly in correlative coordination two independent clauses joined by <ki.....kile>, <niswan.....ra> and <na.....na>. In juxtaposition two clauses are joined without any markers.

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Relative clauses in Magahi

Shweta Chandra

This paper discusses the structure and position of postnominal, internal and extranominal relative clauses in Magahi. It also explores the case function, the syntactic and semantic differences among relative clauses.

1. Introduction

The Magahi language (also known as Magadhi) is spoken in the parts of Indian state of Bihar. Magahi is closely related to Bhojpuri and Maithili, and these languages are sometimes referred to as a single language, Bihari. Magahi is a head-final language with Subject-Object-Verb as the unmarked word order and has postpositions rather than prepositions. There is no agreement of verb with number and gender of the subject but only person and honorificity agreement. The most unique features of Magahi are simultaneous agreement of verb with subject as well as direct object and also agreement of verb with the addressee, who may not be present at the time of the utterance (Verma, 1991).

A relative clause is a kind of subordinate clause, one of whose arguments shares a referent with a main clause element on which the subordinate clause is grammatically dependent. Andrews (1975: 3) gives semantic-syntactic definitions of the relative clause as: 'If a subordinate clause modifies (a- crucially undefined term) an NP and does so by virtue of the fact that it contains in deep structure an NP coreferential to the modified NP, then the clause is a relative clause.'

The above definition brings out two important characteristics of relative clause:

- i. Coreferentiality between the head NP and the relativized NP and
- ii. The modifying functions of the relative clause.

Keenan and Comrie (1977: 63- 64) on the other hand gives following semantics based definition of the relative clause; 'We consider any syntactic object to be an RC if it specifies a set of objects

(perhaps a one-member set) in two steps: a large set is specified, called the domain of relativization, and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence, the restricting sentence is true. The domain of relativization is expressed in surface structure by the head NP and the restricting sentence by the restricting clause, which may look more or less like a surface sentence depending upon the language.'

The semantics based definition of Keenan and Comrie (1977) will also include participial construction under relative clauses. Consider the example of relative constructions in Hindi as in (1).

1. (a) *seeta jo calak hai meri patni hai*
Sita REL clever is I Gen wife is
'Sita, who is clever is my wife.'
- (b) *vo aurat meri patni hai jo laal*
that woman I Gen wife is REL red
sweTar pehane hai
sweater wearing is
'That woman is my wife who is wearing
a red sweater.'

Thus, we can observe in examples (1a- b), the relative expression used in grammatical description to characterize pronouns which generally may be used to introduce a post modifying clause within a noun phrase and by extension to the clause as a whole (Relative clause). Relative clause formation strategies are discussed in the following sections:

2.

2 Relative clause formation strategies

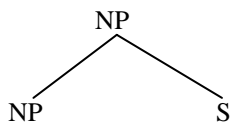
2.1 Restrictive relative clause formation strategies

From Keenan and Comrie and Andrews' definitions we can identify the following syntactic characteristics of restrictive clauses:

- (a) A restrictive relative clause is an underlying Complex NP with a head NP and S. The embedded S must contain an NP coreferential to

the head NP. The embedded coreferential NP can be pronominalized or deleted. After this operation, it will be called relativized NP.

(b) The function of S in the construction is to restrict the reference of the head NP.



Example (2) is based on the above characteristics of the relative clause.

(2) *kaar jo arun ne khariidii aur shyam*
 Car REL Arun Erg bought and Shyam
ne paise diye vo badii hai
 Erg money gave that big is
 'Car that Arun bought and Shyam paid for is big.'

In example (2), 'car' is the head NP and '*jo arun ne khariidii aur shyam ne paise diye*' is a conjoined relative clause, the coreferential NP 'car' has been deleted. Further, the conjoined relative clause restricts or modifies the head NP.

This section is broadly based on Andrews (1975), Keenan and Comrie (1977), Masica (1972), Givón (1975), and Dowling (1978). There are three types of relative clauses in Magahi. Following Keenan and Comrie, we will discuss two criteria by which they differ at the surface level.

(i) The first criterion concerns the relative position of the head NP and the relative clause at the surface structure.

(ii) The second criterion concerns the manner in which the case functions of the relativized NP is indicated. The case functions of the relativizer would indicate the grammatical role of the head NP.

According to the first criterion, there are three types of relative clauses in Magahi:

(a) Postnominal

- (b) Internal
- (c) Extranominal

2. 2. Postnominal relative clause strategy

In postnominal relative clause strategy, the head NP occurs to the left of the relative clause in Magahi like in Hindi as in (3).

3. (a) *U laikaa je laal suT pahinale haii*
 that boy REL red suit wearing is
(U) abh- abhi bhaarat se ayalaii he
 he just India from came is
 'The boy who is wearing a red suit has just come from India.'

(b) *Okar bahini jekar TaNgaRiya tut*
 he Gen sister Rel Gen leg break
gelaii hal ayalaii he
 went was came is
 'His sister whose leg got broken has come.'

(c) *hamar bhaaii je amerikaa meN*
 I Gen brother REL America LOC
raha haii (U) ayalaii he
 live Imperf is he ayalai is
 'My brother who lives in America has come.'

In example (3) '*U laikaa*' (head NP in (3a)), '*Okar bahini*' (head NP in (3b)), and '*hamar bhaaii*' (head NP in (3c)) all occur to the left of the relative clause in each of the sentences. The relative clause is introduced by the relativizer *j-*, which is marked for number and case (i. e. *je-kar* 'whose' in (3b)), which is singular number and genitive case). The relativized NP is deleted in each instance. Unlike other strategies to be discussed shortly, it is not possible to retain the coreferential NP in the relative clause, as the ungrammaticality of the following sentence shows in Magahi:

4 (a) **hamar bhaaii je bhaaii amerika*
 I Gen brother REL brother America
meN raha haii (U) ayalaii he

LOC live is he came is
 ‘My brother who lives in America has come.’

Further, it is also not possible to delete the noun of the head NP if preceded by a determiner as illustrated below:

- (b) * *hamar Ø je bhaaii amerika meN*
 I Gen REL brother America LOC
raha haii (U) ayalaii he
 live is he came is
 ‘My brother who lives in America has come.’

2.3 Internal relative clause strategy

Following Keenan and Comrie (1977), the term ‘internal relative clause’ has been used for what is traditionally known as a relative– correlative clause, because in some abstract sense the head NP is assumed to be inside the relative clause at the surface structure. The NP which appears before the postnominal relative clause in a sentence appears within the internal relative clause with the relative marker appended. Some linguists, though, regard the correlative NP as head NP. The general pattern is that the relativized NP is generally retained along with the relativizer *j-* in the relative clause while a pronominal copy of the head NP appears in the main clause, as shown in (5- 6). In some fixed expressions, we get the archaic pronominal, *se* ‘that’ (in Hindi *so* ‘that’), which is shown by example (7), in Magahi:

- (5) *je laRakii Kal ayalaii hal U Ø*
 REL girl yesterday came was she
bahut sundar haii
 very beautiful is
 ‘The girl who came yesterday is very beautiful.’
- (6) *jekaraa Ø ham praan se bhii jayaadaa*
 REL OBJ I life than also more

chahalii {U } hamar ghar meN ii Ø
tarah
 liked she I Gen house LOC this
 like
aaeye ii ham kaise chahbhaii
 come SUBJN this I Q want Fut
 How could I wish that the one whom I liked
 more than my own life should come like this
 in my house?’

- (7) *je Ø ho gelaii se Ø to ho gelaii*
 REL happen went that Emph happen
 went
ab bataawa ki tohaar kaa haal ho.
 now tell Imperf that you Gen Q health is

‘Whatever was destined to happen, has happened. Now tell me how you are?’

However, it is possible to delete the relativized NP and have a copy of the head NP in the main clause or to retain the relativized NP and have the head NP copied in the main clause as illustrated by (8- 9):

- (8) *jel jaun Ø kal ailaii hal U*
 REL yesterday came was that
laRakii / laRakiyaa bahut sundar haii
 girl very beautiful is
 ‘The girl who came yesterday is very beautiful.’
- (9) *jel jaun laRakii/ laRakiya kal ailaii*
 REL girl yesterday came
hal U laRakii/laRakiyaa bahut sundar
haii
 was that girl very beautiful is
 ‘The girl who came yesterday is very beautiful.’

2.4 Extranominal relative clause strategy

The extranominal relative clause strategy is essentially the minor image of the internal relative clause. The head NP in the main clause is generally preceded by an indefinite *ek* ‘one’, *koi* ‘someone’ as illustrated by (10), or an indefinite determiner followed by an adjective *aisan* ‘such’ in (11), or can be followed by the adjective *aisani* ‘such’ as in (12), for instance in Magahi:

(10) {*koi*} *laikaa/laRakaa ayalaii hal je*
 Someone/one boy came was REL
apane ke/ toraa ke dhundhit rahalo hal
 you OBJ look for CONT was
 ‘A certain boy came who was looking for you.’

(11) *hamaraa ek aisan laRakii chaahii je*
 I OBJ a such girl want REL
paisa se pyaar na karaa ho
 money with love not do Imperf be
 ‘I want such a girl who does not love money.’

(12) *ii log hamar biyaah ek aisan*
 these people I Gen marriage a such
laikaa se karit hath je
 boy with do CONT are HON REL
gharjamaii bane la taiyaar he
 house son- in-law to become DEF ready is

‘These people are going to marry me to such a boy who is ready to be house son- in – law.’

(13) *kaun chiiiz aisan haii je asaani se*
 Q thing such is REL ease with
mil jaa he
 obtain go Imperf is
 ‘What is such a thing that can be obtained easily?’

The head NP can also be preceded by the determiner *U* ‘that’ in the main clause in the Magahi, as exemplified in 14, 15. The general tendency is, however, to drop the relativized NP. ‘*hii*’ attached to it and then the order of the elements is also changed (Det+ NP – NP+ Det) to create relative prominence, as in 16, where *Uhii* ‘that + emphatic marker’ become ‘*Uhii*’ and occurs in example (16) after the head NP *raajnitik* ‘politician’ in Magahi:

(14) *U laRakii ke bahin aam khaait*
 that girl Gen sister mango eat CONT
haii je kal ihaaN aya halai
 is REL yesterday here came was
 ‘The sister of the girl who came here yesterday is eating a mango.’

(15) *U laRakiya ke bahin aam khaait*
 that girl Gen sister mango eat CONT
haii je laRakii kal ihaaN ayal halai
 is REL girl yesterday here came was
 ‘That girl’s sister is eating a mango who came here yesterday.’

(16) *safal raajnitik uhii howa hathiN*
 successful politician he emph be Imperf are
 Hon
je janata ke jhutho baadaa kar saka hath
 REL public OBJ false promise do can is
 ‘Successful politician are those who can make false promise to the public.’

Example (14) is ambiguous between ‘the girl came here’ and ‘the girl’s sister came here’. No such ambiguity exists in (15). Further, it is possible to drop the determiner altogether before the head NP if the head is generic. In example (17) *ghaas* ‘grass’ is generic and it is not preceded by any determiner in Magahi:

(17) *gaay ghaans khaait/ khaa rahalaii hal*
 cow grass eat CONT was
je barakhaa meN bahut uga haii
 REL rainy season in very grow Imperf is
 ‘The cow was eating the grass that grows in abundance in rainy season.’

2. 5 Case coding strategy

The case coding strategy involves making of the case function on the relativizer so that the restricting sentence can be recovered from the surface form. NPs in subject, direct object, indirect object instrumental, ablative, object of comparison, genitive, and locative positions are accessible to relativization.

There are two case forms of the relativizer *j-* in Magahi: the direct form and the oblique form. The direct form of the relativizer in the singular and plural is ‘*je*’ and oblique form of the relativizer in singular and plural is ‘*jaun*’, that is fully context dependent. Ergative marker is not found in Magahi. It is remarkable in Magahi case function, with plural relative *log/ sab* are used alternatively if the plural relativizer is animate while if it is inanimate being only ‘*sab*’ is used. In

Magahi case function is complex it can only be decided by using in context because of it variable relative forms. Thus, the various case functions of the relative marker used pronominally and adjectively in Magahi can be presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Case functions of the relative marker in Magahi:

Case Function	Singular	Plural
Subject	<i>je</i> REL <i>je</i> REL <i>laRakaa/</i> <i>laRikawa</i> boy	<i>je</i> REL <i>je laRikawan</i> REL boys
Direct Object	<i>je</i> REL <i>je</i> REL <i>kitaab/kitabwaa</i> book <i>jekara</i> REL – OBJ <i>je laikaa ke</i> REL boy OBJ	<i>je</i> REL <i>je kitabawan</i> REL books <i>jinkaa</i> REL OBJ <i>je/ jaun</i> REL <i>laikawan ke</i> boys OBJ
Indirect Object	<i>jekaraa ke/</i> REL OBJ <i>jinkaa</i> REL OBJ <i>je laikawaa ke</i> REL boy ke	<i>jekaraa ke</i> REL OBJ <i>je laikawan</i> REL boys <i>ke</i> OBJ
Instrumental	<i>jekaraa se</i> REL with/ by <i>jaun/ je</i> REL <i>kalamiyaN se</i> pen with	<i>jinkaa se</i> REL with/ by <i>jaun/ je</i> REL <i>kalamiyan se</i> pens with
Ablative	<i>jaun se</i> REL with/by <i>jaun gauwaN se</i> REL village from	<i>jinkaa se</i> REL with/by <i>jaun</i> REL <i>gauwaN se</i> villages from

Object of Comparison	<i>jaun se</i> REL than <i>/jinkaa se</i> REL than <i>jaun laikawaa</i> REL boy <i>se</i> than	<i>jaun se/</i> REL than <i>jinkaa se</i> /REL than <i>jaun</i> REL <i>laikawan se</i> than
Locative	<i>jaun/ meN /par</i> REL/LOC/ LOC <i>/pe</i> LOC <i>jaun gauwaan</i> REL village <i>meN</i> LOC <i>jaun Tebalwaa</i> REL table <i>par/pe</i> LOC	<i>jaun/meN</i> REL/LOC/ <i>/par</i> LOC <i>jaun gauwan</i> REL villages <i>meN</i> LOC <i>jaun Tebalwaa</i> REL tables <i>pe/par</i> LOC
Genitive	<i>jekaraa</i> REL - Gen <i>jaun</i> REL <i>laikawaake</i> boy Gen	<i>jinkaa</i> REL -Gen <i>jaun</i> REL <i>laikawan ke</i> boys Gen

3. Differences among relative clauses

This section, discusses syntactic and semantic differences among relative clauses.

3. Syntactic differences

In this section, syntactic differences among the three types of relative clauses will be discussed. There are several co- occurrences restrictions among the three types that are discussed below:

3. 1 If the head NP is indefinite

If the head NP is indefinite, only postnominal and extranominal relative clauses can occur. Example (18) is acceptable in Magahi because the head NP is indefinite and the relative clause is to the right of the head NP. The same holds true for (19).

However, (20) is ungrammatical because the relative clause occurs to the left of the indefinite head NP, but (21) is ill-formed because the relativized NP cannot be indefinite in Magahi.

(18) *kuch din pahile ek adamiyaaN ke*
 a few days ago one person OBJ a
chadariya meN lapeT-ke
 kind of blanket LOC having been wrapped
laawal gelaii hal je lahuuluuhaan
 brought PASS was REL blood-covered
hoit halaii
 be CONT was
 ‘A few days ago a person who was brought wrapped in a blanket had blood all over him.’

(19) *kuch din pahile ek adamiyaaN je*
 a few days ago one person REL
lahuuluuhaan hoit halaii chadariya
 blood covered be CONT was a kind of
 blanket
meN lapeT-ke laawal gelaii hal
 LOC having been wrapped brought PASS
 was
 ‘A few days ago a person who was brought wrapped in a blanket had blood all over him.’

(20) **kuch din pahile je adamiyaaN*
 a few days ago REL person
lahuuluuhaan hoit halaii ek adamiyan
 blood covered be CONT was one person
chadariya meN lapeT-ke
 a kind of blanket LOC having been wrapped

laawal gelaii hal
 brought PASS was
 ‘A few days ago a person was brought wrapped in a blanket who had blood all over him.’

(21) **kuch din pahile je *(ek) adamiyaaN*
 a few days ago REL one person
lahuuluuhaan hoit halaii
 blood-covered be CONT was
chadariyaa meN lapeT-ke
 a kind of blanket LOC having been wrapped
laawal gelaii hal

brought PASS was
 ‘A few days ago a person was brought wrapped in a blanket who had blood all over him.’

Another similar set of examples in Magahi is given in (22), (23), (24) and (25).

(22) *U ek jugal joRiya ke jaait dekhalkaii*
 he one two pair OBJ going saw Agr
je saayad janamdin manaawe aayal halaii
 REL perhaps birthday to celebrate came
 was
 ‘He saw a couple going that had perhaps come to celebrate their birthday.’

(23) *U ek jugal joRiya ke je saayad*
 he one two pair OBJ REL perhaps
janamdin manaawe aayal halaii jaait
 birthday to celebrate came was going
dekhalkaii
 saw Agr
 ‘He saw a couple going who had perhaps come to celebrate their birthday.’

(24) **je ek jugal joRiyaa saayad janamdin*
 REL one two pair perhaps birthday
manaawe aayal halaii U jaait dekhalkaii
 to celebrate came was he going saw Agr
 ‘He saw a couple going that had perhaps come to celebrate their birthdays.’

(25) **je jugal joRiya saayad janamdin*
 REL two pair perhaps birthday
manawe aayal halaii U ek (jugal joRiya)
 to celebrate came was he one (two pairs)
ke jaait dekhalkai
 OBJ going saw Agr
 ‘He saw a couple going that had perhaps come to celebrate their birthday.’

Postnominal and extranominal relative clauses are alike in their ability to take indefinite head NPs.

3.2 Occurrence of quantifiers

Quantifier such as *kai* ‘several’, *kuch* ‘some’, *sab* ‘all’ etc. generally occur with postnominal relative clauses in Magahi, as shown in (26- 27) are unacceptable because the quantifiers *kai* and

kuch occur with the head NP of an extranominal clause in (26) and the relativized NP of an internal relative clause in (27). However, (28) is grammatical in Magahi, because the quantifier *kai* ‘several’ and *kuch* ‘some’ occur with the head NP in the postnominal relative clause.

(26) *??{*kuch/kai*} *vidyarthiyan aChaa ank*
 some/ several students good points
na paawat je kathin pariisram n karath
 not obtain REL hard work not do Imperf
 ‘{Some/ several} students do not obtain
 good points who do not work hard.’

(27) **je {kai/ kuch}* *vidyarthiyan kathin*
 REL {several/some} students hard
pariishram na karath U aCha ank
 work not do Imperf they good points
na paawath
 not obtain
 ‘Some/ several students who do not work
 hard do not obtain good points.’

(28) *kuch/ kai vidyarthiyan je pariisram*
 some /several students REL work
na karath U/Usab aChaa ank na paawath
 not do Imperf they good point not obtain
 ‘{Some/ several} students who do not work
 hard do not obtain good points.’

However, there is an apparent exception to this generalization in Magahi. In sentence (29), where *kuch* ‘some’ occur in the internal relative clause.

(29) *je kuch ham kahit hi (U) sahii he*
 REL little I say CONT am that correct is
 ‘Whatever I am saying is correct.’

‘*kuch*’ in (29) is not used as quantifier but as a nominal. Hence, it is not a real exception. This restriction of quantifier occurrence pairs internal and extranominal relative clauses.

3. 3 Occurrence of emphatics

There are emphatics like *hii*, *bhii* ‘even’ and discontinuous emphatics such as *Thiik...hii* ‘exact...Emph’, *bilkul...hii* ‘absolutely...Emph’, *bas.....hii*, ‘roughly....Emph’, *sirf.... hii* ‘only....Emph’ that occur with head NPs in extranominal relative sentences in Magahi, as

illustrated in examples (30), (31) and (32). Example (30) is acceptable because the emphatics *bhii*, and *hii* occur after head NPs in the extranominal relative sentences. Example (31) and (32) are ungrammatical because the emphatics *bhii*, *hii* occur after the head NP in internal and postnominal relative clauses.

(30) *chiiD ke jangalwan meN bhaluwan*
 Pine Gen jungles LOC bears
 {*bhii/ hii*} *howa haii je kabahii - kabahii*
 also/ Emph be Imperf are REL sometimes
adamiyan pe hamalaa kar de haii
 men LOC attack do give are
 ‘In pines forests there are also bears who
 sometimes attack men.’

(31) **je bhaluwan {bhii/ hii} kabahii-*
 REL bears also/ Emph sometimes
kabahii adamiyan pe hamalaa kar de haii
 men LOC attack do give are
 (U) *chiiD ke jangalwan meN howa haii*
 they pines Gen jungles LOC be Imperf are
 ‘The bears that sometimes attack men are
 found in pine forests.’

(32) **bhaluwan {bhii/ hii} je kabahii- kabahii*
 bears also/ Emph REL sometimes
adamiyan pe hamalaa kar de haii
 men LOC attack do give Imperf are
chiiD ke jangalawan meN howa haii
 pine Gen jungles LOC be Imperf are
 ‘The bears that sometimes attack man are
 found in pine forests.’

Further, the discontinuous emphatic markers do not occur in the internal and Post- nominal relative sentences. This explains the ungrammaticality of (34) and (35). However discontinuous markers can occur with the head NP in extranominal. This accounts for the grammaticality of (33).

(33) *ii Thik U hii napawaa haii*
 this exactly that Emph measurement is
je ham chaahit halii
 REL I want Imperf was

'This is exactly the same measurement that I wanted.'

- (34) *??*je napawaa ham चाहित*
REL measurement I want- Imperf
halii ii thiik U hii haii
was this exactly that Emph is
'This is exactly the same measurement that I wanted.'

- (35) *??*U napawaa je ham चाहित*
that measurement REL I want Imperf
halii ii Thiik U hii haii
was this exactly that Emph is
'This is exactly the same measurement that I wanted.'

This restriction on occurrence of emphatics groups internal and postnominal relative clauses together.

4. Semantic differences

We will observe semantic differences in the following section:

4. 1 Existential presupposition vs. existential assertion

Strawson (1950) states that define referring expressions have existential presupposition associated with them. An existential presupposition associated with them. An existential presupposition is associated with any referring that succeeds in uniquely identifying a particular object or an individual. These referring expressions include definite referring expressions. Specific referring expressions do not have existential assertion, associated with them. Considered from this point of view, internal and post- nominal relative clauses seem to have existential presuppositions associated with them, where as extra- nominal clauses seem to have existential assertions. The following are the examples:

- (36) *je jogiya kesariya kaparawan pahinle*
REL monk saffron clothes wearing
haii U paTanaa se ayalaii he
is he Patna from came is

'The monk who is wearing saffron clothes has come from Patna.'

- (37) *U jogiya je kesariya kaparawa pahinle*
that monk REL saffron clothes wearing

haii U paTnaa se ayalaii he
is he Patna from came is
'The monk who is wearing saffron clothes has come from Patna.'

- (38) *U jogiya paTanaa se ayalai he je*
that monk Patna from came is REL
kesariya kaparawan pahinle haii
saffron clothes wearing is

'The monk has come from Patna who is wearing saffron.'

In (36) the presupposition is that there exists a monk and he is wearing saffron clothes and the new information is that he has come from Patna. Wh- question will be used as a text to separate existential presupposition from existential assertions. What gets questioned generally represents an assertions in the corresponding answer considered from the view point, (36) is responsive to the question, *je jogiya kesariya kaparawan pahinle haii U kahaan se ayalai he* 'The monk who is wearing saffron clothes, where has he come from ?' (37) represents the same presupposition, that there exists a monk and that he is wearing saffron clothes and the new information is that he has come from Patna because it is responsive to the question, *U jogiya je kesariya kaparawan pahinle haii U kahaN se ayalai he?* 'The monk who is wearing saffron clothes, he has come from where?' Further, (36-37) can be possible answers to a question. However, (38) cannot be a possible answer to the question it seems to be responsive to the following question in (39- 40):

- (39) *U jogiya ke bare meN bataaw*
that monk Gen about LOC tell Imperf
'Tell me about that monk?'
- (40) *U jogiya ke bare meN kaa kahala*
that monk Gen about LOC Q said
'What did you say about that monk?'

The preferred answers to (39), (40), would be *U jogiya patina se ayalai he aur kesariya kaparawan pahinle haii* 'That monk has come from Patna and is wearing saffron clothes' but (38) could be possible answer. If the question test is an accepted way to tease out the difference between existential presupposition and existential assertion, then *U jogiya* 'that monk' in (38) represents existential presupposition and *paTana se ayalaii he je kesariya kaparawan pahinale haii* represents new information or existential assertion. It follows that internal and postnominal relative clauses contain existential presuppositions and extranominal relative clauses contain existential assertion. This semantic difference lumps internal and relative clauses together in Magahi.

5. Conclusion

There are three types of relative clauses in Magahi: postnominal, internal and extranominal. In postnominal relative clause strategy the head NP occurs to the left of the relative clause in Magahi like Hindi, Bhojpuri etc. In internal relative clause the relativized NP is generally retained along with the relativizer *j-* in the relative clause while the pronominal copy of the head NP appears in the main clause and extranominal relative clause strategy is essentially the mirror image of the internal relative clause. Two criteria by which the three types of relative clauses in Magahi differ are: at relative position of the head NP and the relative clause of the surface structure. The second one concerns the manner in which the case function of the relativized NP is indicated. The case function of the relativizer indicates the grammatical role of the head NP. The head NP in the main clause is generally preceded by an indefinite '*ek*', and '*koi*'. Further, syntactic and semantic difference among three types of relative clause clear the following facts in Magahi; as in syntactic differences:

- (a) No relativized NP will be indefinite.
- (b) Indefinite head NPs will not occur in the internal and postnominal relative constructions.

(c) Quantifiers like determiner such as *kai* 'many' and *kuch* 'some' will not occur in those internal and postnominal relative constructions where there is a pronominal relative constructions or its copy in the main clause.

(d) Emphatics such as *hii*, *bhii* 'even' and discontinuous emphatic marker like *thiik wahii* 'exact.....Emph' will not occur in internal and postnominal relative constructions.

And in semantic differences: internal and postnominal relative constructions will have existential presuppositions associated with them. The extranominal relative clause will be a part of assertion in Magahi. This semantic difference lumps internal and postnominal relative clauses together in Magahi. Thus, in nutshell it can be said that in Magahi language relative clause formation is restricted rather than free, in the same way as other verb final languages like: Hindi, Bhojpuri etc. From linguistic point of view Magahi language has rich syntactic and semantic feature like other Indo Aryan languages such as Hindi, Bhojpuri, and Maithili etc.

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Case marking in Balami

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Balami exhibits consistently ergative-absolutive system. The ergative marker -ĩ and the absolutive marker is zero. The instrumental case marker is similar to ergative marker -ĩ/łĩ. Genitive case marker is -ẽ. Dative case marker is -tł. The ablative case is marked by -ĩ and -ł is the locative case marker. The allative case marker is -ro and the comitative case marker is -o.

1. Introduction

Balami people claim themselves to be an indigenous community of Nepal. In National Census Reports, the population of Balami is not available because they have been counted into Newar community. According to Rastriya Balami Samaj (National Balami Society), the estimated population of the Balami in Nepal is about 1, 07,000. According to the same organization, the Balami people are scattered in about 21 districts of the country. There has been no study in Balami with functional perspective.

This paper attempts the case marking system in the Balami Language with the functional typological perspective developed mainly by Givon(2001) and further supplemented by Noonan(2003), Dryer(2006).

Balami is consistently ergative-absolutive language. Balami exhibit consistently ergative-absolutive system which is governed by the principle of transitivity which primarily codes the syntactic distinction between the transitive and intransitive clause. The intransitive subject is zero marked. However, the subject of the transitive sentences is marked by case marker. This type of case assignment is homogeneous over the entire person and the different case which proves Balami is consistently ergative-absolutive language.

Every noun and pronoun takes same case clitics with different tenses. Ergative case is the case of the subject of the transitive sentence. The ergative case marker is -ĩ. The absolutive case is the case of the subject of intransitive clause and the object

of transitive clause. Here, the absolutive case is zero-marked. The instrumental case marker in the Balami language is similar to ergative marker -ĩ/łĩ. Genitive case marker in the Balami language is -ẽ. Dative case marker in the Balami language is -tł. In the Balami language, ablative case is the form of a noun which refers to a place from where the action of the verb is performed. The ablative case marker in the Balami language is -ĩ. In the Balami language, -ł is the locative case marker. Allative is the form of noun which expresses the place or thing towards which the action denoted by the verb is performed. In the Balami language, the allative case marker is -ro. In the Balami language the comitative case marker is -o. Comitative has no possessive meaning in Balami as in Kathmandu Newar. Balami Possessive is differently marked

2. Case marking

There are three case type typologically; coding semantics roles, coding pragmatic function and coding transitivity. Transitive oriented case marking: The ergative-absolutive system is governed by the principle of transitivity. It is first and foremost, a system where case-marking codes the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses.

2.1 Ergative-absolutive

In an ergative-absolutive language answering to the classical description(Comrie 1978; Dixon 1979), the subject of the transitive clause displays ergative case-marking, while both the object of the transitive and the subject of the intransitive clause share an absolutive case-marking, most commonly zero.

Balami neither shows 'aspectual split' as in Nepali and Tamang (Paudel, 2006) nor does it shows split in terms of person as in Kham (Watters, 2002) Balami shows ergative-absolutive case system in all of the persons and in the aspects.

- (2) a. *dʒΛ nigΛ* Write 2SG.PST
dʒΛ ni -gΛ 'You wrote a book.'
 1SG laugh 1SG.NPST j *tʰΛĩ bu tʰoinΛ*
 'I laughed.'
- b. *dʒΛ nileu* tʰΛ -ĩ bu
 2SG laugh 2SG.NPST
dʒΛ nil -eu tʰoi -nΛ
 1SG laugh 1SG.NPST write 2SG.NPST
 'I laugh.' 'You write a book.'
- c. *tʰΛ nijΛi* k. *unΛĩ bu tʰorΛ*
 tʰΛ ni ηΛi
 2SG laugh 2SG.NPST un Λĩ bu
 3SG ERG book
 'You laughed.'
- d. *tʰΛnilnΛ* tʰo rΛ
 tʰΛ nil nΛ write 3SG.PST
 2SG laugh 2SG.NPST 'S/he wrote a book.'
 'You laugh.' l. *unΛĩ bu tʰoigu*
- e. *u nilΛ* un -Λĩ bu
 u ni -lΛ 3SG ERG book
 3SG laugh 3SG.PST tʰo igu
 'S/he laughed.' write 3SG.NPST
 'S/he writes a book.'
- f. *u nilgu*
 u nil gu
 3SG laugh 3SGNPST
 'S/he laughs.'
- g. *dʒΛĩbutʰogΛ*
 dʒΛ -ĩ bu tʰo gΛ
 1SG ERG book write 1SG.PST
 'I wrote a book.'
- h. *dʒΛĩ bu tʰoigu*
 dʒΛ -ĩ bu tʰo Igu
 1SG ERG bookwrite 1SG.NPST
 'I write a book.'
- i. *tʰΛĩ bu tʰogΛĩ*
 tʰΛ -ĩ bu
 2SG laugh 2SG.NPST
 tʰo gΛĩ

The examples from (2a-f) are the sentences with the intransitive verb 'laugh' and examples from (2g-l) are the sentences with transitive verb 'write'. In the example sentences the form of the transitive subject and intransitive subject is different. The intransitive subject is zero-marked like the object of the transitive sentence in all of the above examples. However, the subject of the transitive sentence is marked by the case clitic *-ĩ/Λĩ*. This type of case assignment is homogeneous over all of the persons and the different tenses. This proves that Balami is a consistently ergative-absolutive language.

- (3) a. *dʒΛ nigΛ*
 dʒΛ- ∅ ni -gΛ
 1SG-ABS laugh 1SG.NPST
 'I laughed.'

b. *dʒɑ̃ bu tʰogɑ*

dʒɑ	-ĩ	bu- ∅
1 SG	ERG	book-ABS
tʰo	-gɑ	
write	1SG.PST	
‘I wrote a book’		

In the examples 3(b) the ergative case is the case of the subject of the transitive sentence. The ergative case marker is *-ĩ*. The absolutive case is the case of the subject of intransitive sentence and the object of transitive sentence. Here, the absolutive case is zero-marked which is indicated by the symbol - ∅.

2.2 Instrumental

The instrumental case marker in the Balami language is similar to ergative marker *-ĩ/ɑĩ* as given in (4).

4 a. *dʒ ɑĩ kurɑĩ paleu*

dʒɑ	ĩ	kurɑ
1SG	ERG	spade
ĩ	pal	eu
INST	dig	1SG.NPST
‘I dig with the spade.’		

b. *dʒɑĩ kɑlɑmɑĩ tʰigu*

dʒɑ	ĩ	kɑlɑm
1SG	ERG	pen
ɑĩ	tʰo	igu
INST	write	1SG.NPST
‘I write with a pen.’		

In the examples (4a-b), the instrumental marker is *-ĩ/ɑĩ* which is added to the noun phrase that functions as an instrument of the action of the verb.

2.3 Genitive

Genitive case marker in the Balami language is *-ẽ*. The examples of the nouns with the genitive case marker in the language are in (5).

5 a. *sitaẽ tʰẽ*

sita	ẽ	tʰẽ
Sita	GEN	house
‘Sita's house.’		

b. *ramẽtʰe*

ram	ẽ	tʰe
Ram	GEN	head
‘Ram’s head.’		

Above examples (5a-b) show that the genitive marker in the Balami is *-ẽ* which is suffixed to the possessor noun. The noun with the genitive case marker precedes the thing which is possessed.

2.4 Dative

Dative case marker in the Balami language is *-tɑ*. The examples of the nouns with the dative case marker are in (6).

6 a. *dʒ ɑĩ sjamitɑ bu boeu*

dʒ ɑ	ĩ	sjami
1 SG	ERG	shyam
tɑ	bu	bo
DAT	book	give
eu		
	1SG.NPST	
‘I give a book to Shyam.’		

b. *unɑĩ sitetɑ kɑlɑũ birɑ*

un	ɑĩ	site
3SG	ERG	Sita
tɑ	kɑlɑũ	bi
DAT	pen	give
ɑ		
	3SG.PST	
‘S/he gave a pen to Sita.’		

The examples (6 a-b) show that the dative case marker is *-tɑ* which is added to the noun. In the first example ‘shyam’ is in the dative case while in the second example ‘sita’ is in the dative case.

2.5 Ablative

Ablative is a term which refers to a form of noun which is typically used in the expression of a range of locative or instrumental meanings. In the Balami language, ablative case is the form of a noun which refers to a place from where the action of the verb is performed. The ablative case marker in the Balami language is *-ĩ*. The examples of the nouns with the ablative case forms are in (7).

- (7) a. *ram gAMAĩ wARA*
- | | | |
|--------|---------|-----|
| ram | gAMA | ĩ |
| ram SG | village | ABL |
| wA | rA | |
| come | 3SG.PST | |
- Ram came from the village.
- b. *u baladũĩ wARA*
- | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----|
| u | Balad ^z u | -ĩ |
| 3SG | Balaju | ABL |
| wA | rA | |
| come | 3SG.PST | |
- ‘S/he came from Balaju.’

In the examples (7a-b) given above, the nouns *gAMA* ‘village’ and *baladũ* ‘Balaju’ are in the ablative case form which is indicated with the ablative case marker *-ĩ*.

2.6 Locative

Locative is the role of noun phrase that indicates a thing or place where a situation, action or event occurs. In the Balami language, *-A* is the locative case marker.

- (8) a. *hAri sitA p^hAuteu*
- | | | |
|--------------------|----------|-----|
| hAri | sit | A |
| Hari | seat | LOC |
| p ^h Aut | eu | |
| sit | 3SG.NPST | |
- ‘Hari sits on the seat.’

- b. *tebulA gilAS du*
- | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|
| tebul | A | gilAS |
| table | LOC | glass |
| du | | |
| is | | |
- ‘The glass is on the table.’

In the examples (8a-b) above the nouns *sit* *seat* and *tebul* ‘table’ are in the ablative case forms which is marked by the locative marker *-A*.

2.7 Allative

Allative is the form of noun which expresses the place or thing towards which the action denoted by the verb is performed. In the Balami language, the allative case marker is *-ro*. The examples of the nouns with the allative case forms are given below:

- (9) a. *u t^{sh}ẽro wõngu*
- | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----|
| u | t ^{sh} ẽ | ro |
| 3SG | house | ALL |
| wõŋ | gu | |
| come | 3SG.NPST | |
- ‘S/he comes toward house.’
- b. *sjam gwaRo wARA*
- | | | |
|-------|-----------|-----|
| sjam | gwa | ro |
| Shyam | farmhouse | ALL |
| wA | rA | |
| come | 3SG.PST | |
- Shyam came towards farmhouse

In the above examples (9a-b) the nouns *t^{sh}ẽ* ‘house’ and *gwa* ‘farmhouse’ are in the allative case forms which is marked by the allative case marker *-ro*.

2.8 Comitative

Comitative is the form of the noun which shows the relation with another noun to perform the event or action denoted by the predicate in the sentence. In the Balami language the comitative

case marker is *-o*. The forms of the nouns which are in the comitative role in the sentence are in (10).

- 10) a *u ramo t^soŋgu*
 u ram o
 3SG Ram COM
 t^soŋ gu
 live 3SG.NPST
 ‘S/he lives with Ram.’
- b *d^zΛ pasao t^soneu*
 d^zΛ pasa o
 1SG friend COM
 t^son eu
 live 1SG.NPST
 ‘I live with a friend.’

In the examples (10a-b) given above the nouns ram ‘Ram’ and *pasa* ‘friend’ are in the comitative role in the sentence which is indicated by the comitative marker *-o*. Comitative has possessive meaning in Kathmandu Newar but in Balami possessive is marked by separate marker *-ke*.

3. Summary

Noun phrases are marked for case either with the affixes or with the word order or with the use of categories like prepositions or postpositions. Case of the noun phrases are the function of either syntactic role of the noun phrase in the sentence structure or semantic role of the noun phrase or both. Balami is consistently ergative- absolutive language. The intransitive subject is zero marked. However, the subject of the transitive sentences is marked by case marker. This type of case assignment is homogeneous over the entire person and the different case which proves Balami is consistently ergative- absolutive language.

Every noun and pronoun takes same case clitics with different tenses. Ergative case is the case of the subject of the transitive sentence. The ergative case marker is *-i*. The absolutive case is the case of the subject of intransitive sentence and the object of transitive sentence. Here, the absolutive

case is zero-marked which is indicated by the symbol *-∅*. The instrumental case marker in the Balami language is similar to ergative marker *-i/ai*. Genitive case marker in the Balami language is *-e*. Dative case marker in the Balami language is *-ta*. In the Balami language, ablative case is the form of a noun which refers to a place from where the action of the verb is performed. The ablative case marker in the Balami language is *-i*. In the Balami language, *-a* is the locative case marker. Allative is the form of noun which expresses the place or thing towards which the action denoted by the verb is performed. In the Balami language, the allative case marker is *-ro*. In the Balami language the comitative case marker is *-o*. Comitative has no possessive meaning in Balami as in Kathmandu Newar. Balami Possessive is differently marked.

Abbreviations

∅	Zero element
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ALL	Allative
COM	Comitative
DAT	Dative
ERG	Ergative
GEN	Genitive
INST	Instrumental
LOC	Locative
NPST	Non-past tense
PL	Plural
PST	Past tense
SG	Singular

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Verb agreement in Majhi

Dubi Nanda Dhakal

This paper deals with the verb agreement in Majhi. We need ranges of facts to take into account while discussing the verb agreement in Majhi. In addition to number, person, gender, and honorificity, verbs also index subject and object in transitive and ditransitive verbs. This article tries to focus the preliminary findings of verb agreement features found in the Majhi language.

1. Introduction

Majhi (ISO 'mjz') is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the eastern Nepal mainly in the district of Ramechhap. The previous census (2011) shows that there are a total of 24422 Majhi mother tongue speakers out of 83727 Majhi people living in Nepal. *Ethnologue* (Eppel et al. 2012) has categorized this language as 'threatened'¹. While discussing the agreement in Majhi, we will be mainly focused on the controllers and targets as discussed in Corbett (2006).

This paper is organized into seven sections. A brief introduction to the language is given in section 1 and pronouns are discussed in section 2. An introduction to tenses is given in section 3. We discuss different single agreement features in section 4 and double agreement in section 5. An overview of typological implications of this discussion is given in section 6. The paper is finally summarized in section 7.

2. Pronouns

Before moving to verb agreement, it is relevant to mention the pronoun forms in Majhi. Majhi pronouns show two levels of honorificity in the second person pronouns but the distinction of honorificity is not seen in the third person pronouns. Majhi pronouns and their inflections are mentioned in Table (1).

Table 1: Pronouns and inflections for cases

	NOM	ACC-DAT	GEN
1SG	muĩ 'I'	milai	morə
1PL	haĩ 'we'	haĩlai	hamro
2SG	tui 'you'	tuilai	torə
2SG.H.HON	tora 'you'	toraləkai	toraləko
2PL	toralə 'you'	toraləkai	toraləko
3SG	hoi 'he/she/it'	hoilai	hokrə
3PL	holə 'they'	holəkai	holəko

Majhi has split ergativity based on nominal hierarchy. The first and second person pronouns do not code any ergative marker but the third person pronouns onwards take the ergative marker (see DeLancey 1979 for some details).

The third person pronouns do not make any distinction in terms of honorificity. Since the first, and second person pronouns do not take the ergative markers they are not included in Table 1. The third person singular and plural pronouns inflect as *hoi-nin* 'he-ERG' and *holə-kin* 'they-ERG' when they inflect forergative case.

3. Tenses

Verb morphology is predominantly suffixing in Majhi. It exhibits a contrast of two tenses, viz. past and non-past as illustrated in (1-2).

- (1) *haĩ git gaitshə*
haĩ git gai-tshe
we song sing-NPST.1PL
'We sing a song.'

- (2) *dzwārekin puni bitsar gərle*
dzwā-re-kin puni bitsar
son-in-law-3SG-ERG also thought
gər-le
do-PST.3SG
'The son-in-law also thought.'

As we see in example (1), the past tense is indexed with *-le*. The past tense marker is also indexed with *-n* if the subject is the person singular (Table 2). Additionally, the non-past tense is *-tsh* which refers both to present and future events. Therefore, the differentiating the present and future tenses are not very significant in Majhi. Consider an example (3).

¹The data used in this article is mainly from Tamakoshi dialect of Majhi. I like to thank Mr. Dhan Bahadur Majhi for the data of the Majhi language he provided to me and the manuscript of the dictionary (Majhi, forthcoming). This article would not have been possible without his help.

- (3) *bəltshi thaptshət*
 bəltshi thap-tshət
 fish hook set-NPST3PL
 ‘(They) set the fish-hook (to catch us).’

As we see in Table (1,3), *-tsh* is the non-past tense marker followed by person and number of the subject (2).

4. Single agreement

The tense markers follow the verb stems, and in turn the agreement markers follow the tense markers in Majhi as shown in Table (2).

Table 2: Conjugation of intransitive verbs *beg-* ‘run’, *dza-* ‘go’

	beg- ‘run’		dza- ‘go’	
	NPST	PST	NPST	PST
1SG	-tshū	-naī	-itshū	-inaī
1PL	-tshē	-lē	-itshē	-ile
2SG	-tshəs	-ləi	-itshəs	-iləi
2SG.HON	-tshə	-lə	-itshə	-ilə
2PL	-tshə	-lə	-itshə	-ilə
3SG	-tshəi	-lē	-itshəi	-ile
3PL	-tshət	-lə	-itshət	-ila

The table presents the conjugations of two intransitive verbs *beg-* ‘run’, and *dza-* ‘go’. This shows that the verbs agree with the subject in person and number. We illustrate the person, number, gender, honorificity in this section. Consider following examples.

- (4) *tui begtshəs*
 tui beg-tshəs
 you run-NPST.2SG
 ‘You run.’
- (5) *hoi begtshəi*
 hoi beg-tshəi
 he run-NPST.3SG
 ‘He runs.’

Verb agreement is controlled by person and number as illustrated in (4-5). We see that the suffix *-tshəs* shows the non-past tense agreeing with the second person singular subject whereas the suffix *-tshəi* shows the agreement with the third person singular in the non-past tense.

There are two levels of honorificity in the second person singular pronoun. The honorificity in the

second person singular pronoun triggers verb agreement as illustrated in (6-7).

- (6) *tui dzaitshəs*
 tui dza-tshəs
 you go-NPST2SG
 ‘You go.’
- (7) *tora dzaitshə*
 tui dza-tshə
 you go-NPST-2SG.HON
 ‘You (HON) go.’

As illustrated in (6), the second person non-honorific agreement form is *-tsəs* whereas the honorific agreement form is *-tshə* in the non-past tense. It is thus obvious that the agreement due to honorificity is evidenced in Majhi. Verb agreement triggered by honorificity is also seen in the past tense. As shown in Table (2), the suffix *-ləi* agrees with the second person singular non-honorific subject but the suffix *-lə* is used to index the second person singular honorific pronoun in the past tense. The coding of honorificity is also seen in the past tense.

Majhi exhibits the verb agreement owing to gender only in certain verb forms. The feminine agreement suffix is *-i* as is found in genetically related Indo-Aryan languages. However, the gender agreement is indexed neither in the past tense nor in the non-past tense.

The verbs agree with the gender. Gender agreement is seen in some other verb forms (viz. perfect, and prospective forms) when they appear as modifiers. Compare examples (8-9).

- (8) *tshōdāri ailə atshə*
 tshōdāri a-lə atshə
 son come-PRF be.NPST.3SG
 ‘(My) son has come.’
- (9) *tshunenin aili atshi*
 tshunenin a-li atshi
 daughter come-PRF.F be.NPST.3SG.F
 ‘(My) daughter has come.’

The gender is coded with *-i* in (9). Unlike (8), where the verb agreement is seen to agree with masculine subject, the agreement with the feminine subject is seen in (9). We see that the perfect is indexed with *-l* is followed by the

feminine marker *-i* in (9). We also see verb agreeing with the feminine subject in the prospective form as illustrated in (10).

- (10) *ghərə dzainari buhari*
 ghərə dza-inari buhari
 house go-PROS.F daughter-in-law
 ‘The daughter-in-law to go home’

When participial forms precede the nouns, they agree with the head nouns. Consider examples in (11).

- (11) *morli tshunenin*
 mor-li tshunenin
 die-PRF.F daughter
 ‘The dead girl’

Thus, we see that gender is indexed only in some verb forms in Majhi.² Masica (1991:218) notes that gender is a grammatical and syntactic category in IA languages. This holds true for Majhi as well.

Like in main verbs, the Majhi copulas also inflect to agree with the person and number, gender of the subject. Majhi possesses two distinct copular verbs in Majhi, viz. *atsh-*, including its past form *rəhə* and *ho*. The copulas and their conjugations are given in Table (3).

Table 3: Conjugations of copulas

	<i>atsh-</i> be.NPST’	<i>rəhə-</i> ‘be.PST’
1SG	atshū	rəinai
1PL	atshə	rəile
2SG	atshəs	rəiles
2SG.HON	atshə	rəilə
2PL	atshə	rəilə
3SG	atshə	rəilə
3PL	atshət	rəila

The copula *atsh-* is used for locational clauses as in (12) and to show possession (13).

- (12) *muĩ ghərka atshū*
 muĩ ghər-ka atshū
 I house-LOC be.NPST.1SG
 ‘I am at home.’
- (13) *morə duītai tshođari atshət*
 muĩ-rə duī-tai tshođari atshət

² Majhi verbs also seem to agree with the dative subjects. We need further study regarding this as other languages also shows this features (see Hook 1990).

- I-GEN two-CLF daughter be.NPST.3PL
 ‘I have two sons.’

In addition, the copula *atsh* is used in attributive construction as in (14).

- (14) *agi tato atshəi*
 agi tato atshəi
 fire hot be.NPST.1SG
 ‘The fire is hot.’

The copula *ho* is used in predicate nominals as shown in (15). Examples follow.

- (15) *muĩ madzhi ho*
 muĩ madzhi ho
 I Majhi be.NPST
 ‘I am a Majhi.’

The copulas *atsh-* and its past form *rəhə-* inflect differently with different person, number and honorificity.

5. Double agreement

A more interesting feature characterized in Majhi is the double agreement where verb agreement is triggered both by subject and object. This is shown in Appendices (A, B). Appendix A summarizes the affixes which are attached to the verbs in the past and non-past tenses in transitive/ ditransitive verbs. Similarly, Appendix B illustrates the conjugations of verb *de* ‘give’. We will first discuss the transitive paradigms given in Appendices (A, B), and then we will illustrate them with examples. The inflected forms of the verb *de* ‘give’ in the past and non-past tense have been included in the appendix (B).

First of all, let’s deal with the inflectional behavior of verbs in ditransitive verbs as given in Appendices (A, B). As shown in appendices, the subjects are mentioned in the horizontal column and the objects in the vertical column. There are some cases where the agreement suffixes combined with tense markers in transitive verbs are identical to the ones which also occur in intransitive paradigms. So, the transitive verbs in which the inflectional forms are decided only by the subject are referred to as ‘Only S (Subject) marked’ in Appendix (B). In other words, only subjects are marked to them.

The object does not control verb agreement when the first person singular subject acts on the second person singular object in both past and non-past tenses. Similarly, when the first person plural is the subject, the object does not control verb agreement in the past tense. When the second person pronouns act on the first person pronouns, we don't see the object triggering the verb agreement. In addition, we see no addressee component in the verbs when the subject is the second person plural in the non-past tense.

Although some verbs are marked only with the subject, there are inflectional slots in the paradigm where both subject and object are indexed. We are going to deal with this in this section.

Let's recall that the suffix *-nai* codes the first person singular subject in the past tense in intransitive clauses (see Table 2). When we compare this form with the inflectional suffixes appearing to index the verbs in transitive verbs, we find some differences. We see that the form *-nai* also appears when the first person singular subject acts on the second person singular in the past tense. By contrast, when the first person singular subject acts on the rest of the pronouns, the forms differ, viz. *-lai*, *-nin*. The form *-lai* indexes the first person subject acting on the second person plural (PST1SG>2PL) and third person plural (PST1SG>3PL) in the past tense. Similarly, the suffix *-nin* indexes the first person singular subject acting on the third person singular object (PST1SG>3SG). Examples follow.

- (16) *muĩ tshoḍarilai dzal dinin*
 muĩ tshoḍari-lai dzal di-nin
 I son-ACC net give-PST1SG>3SG
 'I gave a net to my son.'
- (17) *muĩ tshoḍarillai dzal dilai*
 muĩ tshoḍari-l-lai dzal di-lai
 I son-PL-ACC net give-PST1SG>3PL
 'I gave a net to my sons.'

Examples (16-17) illustrate the verb agreement when the first person singular subject acts on the third person singular and plural. Despite the fact that the subject is the same in these two examples the differences result from the objects they incorporate in verb forms. For example, in example (16), the object is the third person

singular *tshoḍari* 'son' whereas in (17) it is the third person plural *tshoḍaril* 'sons'.

Now, let's turn to the inflections of the ditransitive verbs in the non-past tense. Consider examples (18-19).

- (18) *muĩ hoilai dzal ditshin*
 muĩ hoi-lai dzal di-tshin
 I he-ACC dzal give-PST1SG>3SG
 'I give him the net.'
- (19) *muĩ holəkai dzal ditshai*
 muĩ hoi-lai dzal di-tshai
 I he-ACC net give-NPST1SG>3PL
 'I give him the net.'

Let's remember that the first person singular subject takes the verb form that ends marker is *-tshũ* in non-past tense. When we compare this with the inflections of verbs in (18-19), we notice that the addressee component is also indexed in the verbs. The suffix *-tshin* shows that the first person singular subject is acting on the third person singular object whereas *-tshai* codes the first person singular subject acting on the third person plural object.

As seen in Appendices (A, B) a number of markers in Majhi are portmanteau affixes incorporating both the agent and patient components in the verbs. In other words, in addition to the subject, the verb also incorporates the addressee components to them. Let's take the suffix *-lte*. It is obvious that the *-l* is the past tense marker. It is not, however, easy to tease apart the rest of its component into agent and patient markers. Therefore, they have been glossed together in this article.

As we see in (16-19), for example, Majhi employs a number of portmanteau suffixes in ditransitive and transitive paradigm. For example, the suffix *-jak* refers to the portmanteau suffix which is the third person singular agent acting on the third person patient.

6. Typological implications

Some features seen in the preceding sections help us align the Majhi in the context of IA languages spoken in Nepal. To begin with, 'Eastern' languages are characterized by the past tense suffix

-l with Marathi (Grierson 1903a:8; Masica 1991:270; Masica 2005:86). Majhi partially characterizes this trait as it contains -l/-n to index past tense as well as perfect aspect. Secondly, eastern languages are characterized by 'inflectional synthesis' compared to western languages. Several agreement features are suffixed to the verbs (Grierson 1903a:7). We see that the Majhi verbs can index both subject and object. Thus, Majhi shares this features of 'Eastern' IA languages. Grierson (1903b:3) states, "Distinction of gender is slightly observed in 'Bihari' languages." Grammatical gender distinction is evident in Majhi only in certain verb forms. The copula (or auxiliary) *bati* is common in some eastern IA languages (Grierson 1903a:8). However, Majhi lacks this feature.

Indo-Aryan languages present double and even triple agreement. Double agreement is reported in Rajbanshi (Wilde 2008), Maithili (Yadava 1996, 1999), Darai (Dhakal 2012), and Magahi (Verma 1991). In addition, Maithili and Kashmiri show triple agreement (see Yadava 1996, 1999 for Maithili and Raina 1994 for Kashmiri) which is not characterized in Majhi.

7. Conclusion

The discussion shows that the verbs in Majhi can index the features, such as person, gender, gender and honorificity. The subject is the controller in the intransitive clauses but both both subject and object are the controllers in transitive and intransitive subject. The inflectional behavior of copulas is slightly different when they are used as auxiliaries. When the ditransitive verbs code both the subject and object, Majhi also makes use of pormaneatu suffixes. The agreement features evidenced in Majhi are also attested in a number of IA languages, such as Rajbanshi, Maithili, Magahi, and Darai. Majhi presents some distinct features of its own in terms of verb agreement.

Abbreviations

1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person;
 ABL: ablative; ALL: allative; CLF: classifier;
 COM: comitative; DAT: dative; ERG: ergative
 EVID: evidential marker; F: feminine; GEN: genitive;

IA: Indo-Aryan; INF: infinitive; LOC: locative; NEG: negative; NOM: nominative; NOML: nominalized noun; NPST: non-past; PL: plural; POSB: possibility
 POSS: pronominal suffix; PRF: perfect; PROH: prohibitive; PROS: prospective; PST: past; SG: singular

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Appendix A: Agreement suffixes with the past and non-past tenses

Objects →		1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Subjects ↓							
1SG	PST	-	-	-nai	-lai	-nin	-lai
	NPST	-	-	-tshū/-sū	-tshjä	-tshin	-tshai
1PL	PST	-	-	-le			
	NPST	-	-	-tshe	-tshjä	-tse	-sai/-tshai
2SG	PST	-ləi		-	-	-lsi	-lkhən
	NPST	-tshəs		-	-	disis	-tshəs
2PL	PST	-lə		-	-	dilək	-lkhən
	NPST	-tshə					
3SG	PST	-le		-ljas	-lja	-lte	-ljak
	NPST	-tshəi		-tshjas	-tshja	-tshi	-tshjak
3PL	PST	-ni/-la	-la	-ljas	-lja	-ni	-ljak
	NPST	-tshət		-tshjas	-tshja	-tshin	-tshjak

Appendix B: Inflections of the verb *de-* ‘give’ in past and non-past tenses

Objects →		1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Subjects ↓							
1SG	PST	-	-	Only S marked	dilai	dinin	dilai
	NPST	-	-		ditshjä	ditshin	ditshai
1PL	PST	-	-	Only S marked			
	NPST	-	-	Only S marked	ditshjä	dithse	disai/ditshai
2SG	PST	Only S marked		-	-	dilsi	dilkhən
	NPST	Only S marked		-	-	disis	Only S marked
2PL	PST	Only S marked		-	-	dilək	dilkhən
	NPST	Only S marked		-	-	Only S marked	
3SG	PST	Only S marked		diljas	dilja	dilte	diljak
	NPST	Only S marked		ditshjas	ditshja	ditshi	ditshjak
3PL	PST	Only S marked		diljas	dilja	dini	diljak
	NPST	Only S marked		ditshjas	ditshja	ditshin	ditshjak

Evidence and stance in Kusunda

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Kusunda has been described in sketch form (Watters et al. 2006), but a number of morphemic and syntactic structures remain unclear. In particular, the Watters et al. description was based on elicited materials, resulting in confusion about some morphemes. Following the collection of a naturalistic corpus we discuss the function of two verbal suffixes with interesting uses.

1. Introduction: Kusunda*

Kusunda (ISO code: kgg) is a highly endangered language isolate spoken in western Nepal (in Dang-Deukhuri and in Rolpa). Based on our survey 2 people speak the language in 2013; this is at variance from the National Census' report of 28 speakers (2011). The language is typologically isolated as well a genealogically isolated, with many of the morphological categories found in surrounding languages absent from Kusunda. One category, evidentiality, has been reported for many languages of the Himalayan region, but was not reported in Watters et al.'s (2005/2006) description of Kusunda. We present data, based on a large collection of naturalistic texts gathered in a village environment (Donohue 2013), which indicate that evidentiality is present in Kusunda in the form of a verbal suffix *-dzi*, and that a motion-associated suffix *-ta[□]ŋ* is also found, encoding speaker involvement in the outcome of the event. The first of these suffixes was mentioned, but not understood, in Watters et al.; the other was not found in their work.

This paper presents the description offered in Watters et al.'s account of Kusunda for the *-dzi* suffix; presents data showing that evidentiality (specifically, speaker certainty) is in fact the category encoded by the suffix in Kusunda,

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though with complications depending on the person of the subject; and describe the functions of the associated motion suffix *-ta[□]ŋ*, with a brief typological comparison to nearby languages.

The paper finishes with a discussion of why the functions of *-dzi* and *-ta[□]ŋ* were not clear to the authors of Watters et al., with suggestions for greater clarity in data collection.

2. Previous descriptions of Kusunda and the *-dzi* suffix

Most earlier work on Kusunda is confined to wordlists, and some brief paradigmatic elicitation. For an overview of most of the literature, see Watters et al. (2005/2006). Notably lacking is the category of naturalistic texts (in the sense of van Oostendorp and Zwaan 1994, amongst others).

The Watters et al. description presents numerous details of the verbal template in Kusunda. Since the language has a number of inflectional possibilities, no single simple (or complex) template can describe the language's verbs; rather, a number of inflectionally distinct template have to be set up, as shown in Table 1 (drawing on data and analysis from Watters et al.). According to this description agreement can be, depending on the verb class, prefixal ('1'), suffixal (preceding TAM marking) ('2'), suffixal (following TAM marking) ('3'), double-suffixing (for the same argument), or absent. TAM marking is universally suffixal, but in the case of one verb is not a marked category.

Table 1: Verbal inflection for different verb types

Morphemes		Example:
V		<i>tsu</i> 'exist'
V	TAM	<i>bəl-n</i> 'descended'
V 2	TAM	<i>ə-d-i</i> 'I became'
V	TAM 3	<i>sip-n-tsi</i> 'I entered'
V 2	TAM 3	<i>hulə-d-n-tsi</i> 'I cooked'
1 V	TAM	<i>t-əm-ən</i> 'I ate'

In Watters et al. the suffix *-dzi* is mentioned, but not included explicitly in any description of the interaction of different morphemes. Watters et al. (2006: 103) mention that the *-dzi* suffix is ‘not well understood’, and later state ‘Some intransitive verbs make use of a suffix *-dzi* for adjectivals. This is one of the most puzzling suffixes we have encountered because of its occurrence in numerous and varied contexts.’ Watters et al. (2006: 108).

Examining all occurrences of *-dzi* in Watters et al., we find twelve different descriptions of this morpheme, shown in Table 2. Glosses include both past and present tense, realis and irrealis, third person, unspecified TAM marker, adjectival, and habitual.

Table 2: Glosses and descriptions for *-dzi* in Watters et al. (2006)

Page:	Description
35	‘(a frequently occurring) aspectual marker’
54, 56, 134	3:PAST
58, 125	PAST
70, 71, 119, 127, 130	TAM
71	3:IRR
94	‘third person suffix (+ realis)’
99	HAB
103	‘present tense (not well understood)’
103, 105, 108, 123	TAM (?)
118	‘adjectivals’
119	3:REAL
123	??

3. Explaining the *-dzi* suffix

We shall now examine some instances of the occurrence of the morpheme from Watter et al.’s compilation. Note that in all of these examples the verb marked with *-dzi* has a first person subject. The first three examples denote personally observed events, either nominal or full sentences. (Examples taken from Watters et al. are presented with the glosses found in the original, even where

we disagree with some of the glossing conventions employed there. The only exception to this is that the morpheme *-dzi* has been glossed simply as DZI, pending the analysis to be presented at the end of this section.)

- (1) Tsi əgi tu ts-ã^ç-**dzi**.
1SG live snake 1-see-DZI
‘I saw a live snake.’
- (2) Gina amba habə-g-i
3SG meat roast-3-PAST
tsi ts-ã^ç-**dzi**.
1sg 1-see-DZI
‘I saw him roasting meat.’
- (3) Tsi-gimtsi wi ə-g-ən
1SG-friend house do-3-REAL
tsi ts-ã^ç-**dzi**.
1SG 1-see-DZI
‘I saw my friend building a house.’

By contrast, in this next example the verb with a third person subject, ‘hear’, does not take the *-dzi* suffix. It is not impossible for a third person subject to occur with the *-dzi* suffix, as shown in example (5).

- (4) Tsi wa t-ug-un məbə-g-i.
1SG home 1-come-REAL hear-3-PAST
‘He heard me coming home.’
- (5) Wa u-g-i ip-**dzi**.
home come-3-PAST sleep-DZI
‘He came home and slept.’

Similarly, not all first person subject clauses require the *-dzi*, as shown in (6) - (7); similarly, the suffix is not found in non-verbal clauses, even when there is a first person participant involved, as shown in (8).

- (6) Tsi daŋ tʃ-a^ç-an
1SG Dang IRR:1-go-SUBORD
imba-d-i.
think-1-PAST
‘I think I will go to Dang.’

- (7) Tsi pətsəttər bərsə ə-n-i.
 1SG 75 year do-1-PAST
 ‘I am seventy-five years old.’
- (8) Na gimi tsi-yi.
 that money 1SG-GEN
 ‘That money is mine.’

These examples present an important dimension of the *-dzi* suffix: it is used in detecting (and asserting) knowledge, by a first person. In examples (2) and (3) we saw the assertion not only that the subject had witnessed the events described (roasting meat, building a house), but also the assertion by the first person speaker that this information is reliable. We have found, using our data, that 26% of clauses in a sample of fourteen narrative, descriptive texts employ the *-dzi* suffix; and all of these expository texts involve description of events within the speaker’s experience. This suffix will henceforth be glossed as ASSERT, for ‘asserted truth’.

As shown in example (5), the *-dzi* suffix is not restricted to first person subjects. Other examples of *-dzi* with third person subjects from our corpus include (9) and (10), describing aspects of traditional life, a domain over which the speaker has certain knowledge (as the only living person to have grown up in a nomadic Kusunda band), and so is licensed to assert her knowledge and surety.

- (9) Dzəgui-da wen-wen ə-g-ən-**dzi**.
 sick-ACC good-REDUP do-3-REAL-ASSERT
 ‘He (the shaman) makes the sick ones well.’
- (10) Jəmpəlaq-da
 witch-ACC
 pat ə-g-ən-**dzi**.
 kill do-3-REAL-ASSERT
 ‘They kill the witch.’

We have seen that the *-dzi* / (-Ø) distinction marks a contrast in evidentiality. The suffix is used when the speaker is certain about the state/event, and wishes to assert the truth of that state/event (examples (1) - (3)), or when the speaker wishes to assert her authority to speak on

the subject matter (examples (5), (9) and (10)). The suffix is absent in (4) because the speaker is not trying to assert the truth of the statement, but merely to make a (potentially refutable) observation. Example (6) is a less certain statement, and so lacks the *-dzi* suffix. In (7) the statement is certain, but there is no assertion involved: firstly, the speaker is not entirely sure of her actual age, secondly it is not an important part of the local discourse. In (8) both the elements of certainty and assertion are found, but being a non-verbal clause the sentence has no host for *-dzi*, and so it is not found.

4. The *-taʰŋ* suffix

Unlike *-dzi*, which is attested but unexplained, the *-taʰŋ* suffix is completely unattested in Watters et al. (2006). Comparing our corpus and the data reported in Watters et al., we find that the verbs that we attest with *-taʰŋ* appear without this suffix in Watters et al. (we also attest the same verbs without *-taʰŋ*).

The suffix has been attested so far only with the two directed motion verbs with *ug* ‘come’ and *u* ‘take (away)’. The suffix always (in the data collected so far) co-occurs with the assertion suffix *-dzi* in naturalistic texts (we have elicited sentences with *-ta[□]ŋ* but without *-dzi*, but have not heard such sentences spontaneously produced). Further, the *-ta[□]ŋ* suffix only appears with third person subjects, implying that it has either a pronominal feature, .

The *-ta[□]ŋ* suffix is rare, occurring in only 3% of clauses in the fourteen text sample. Based on the fact that it can only occur with ‘come’ and ‘take away’, we gloss this morpheme as MOTION, with further elaboration following. The difference between a verb with and without *-ta[□]ŋ* can be hinted at by examining the following two sentences, one from Watters et al., one from our own corpus. In Watters et al.’s sentence the verb ‘come’ appears without the *-ta[□]ŋ* suffix; in our data it almost invariably appears with this suffix. In (11) the coming verb does not have a particular goal, since the subject was not successful in reaching the goal ‘home’. In (12), by contrast, the

destination is reached. The suffix $-ta^{\square}\eta$ is employed in this second case, where the motion has a specific, achieved goal.

Watters et al. (2006):

- (11) Wa u-g-a k^ha:⁵i un-da
 home come-3-IRR NEG path-LOC
 ip-dzi.
 sleep-ASSERT
 ‘He didn’t come home, he slept on
 the trail.’

Our data:

- (12) Wfia u-**ta^h**η-dzi.
 home come-MOTION-ASSERT
 ‘He comes home.’

Examining a wider range of data, we quickly come to the impression that the $-ta^{\square}\eta$ suffix often has the behaviour of a agreement marker. The following extract from the middle of a text about the activities of a shaman, show the use of the $-ta^{\square}\eta$ suffix with ‘come’ and ‘take away’, and with an understood or assumed participant. (The text can be accessed online via Donohue 2013). In this extract of fifteen intonation units, with ten main verbs (underlined), we see ten instances of the assertion suffix (plus three more on subordinate nominalisations), and four instances of $-ta^{\square}\eta$, very high frequencies in both cases, even for this text in which both morphemes occur at high frequency compared to other narratives we have. We can also see the high frequency of ellipsis of established arguments; the verb can carry agreement morphology, but in many cases does not, and yet ellipsis is common.

Of particular interest is the use of $-ta^{\square}\eta$. Occurring in (15), (16), (24) and (27), $-ta^{\square}\eta$ is used in this text whenever there is a specific location in mind. In (15), and its repeat in (16), the location is the place that has been referred to in (13) and (14): the place where the person has died, the place where the salt-discontinuing ceremony has to be held. Once this location has been established, it is referenced again in (15) with $-ta^{\square}\eta$. In (17) - (23) the text discusses generic activities, and in (24) -

(27) we find a return to specific activity, the taking of the shaman to the river. The most interesting aspect of the use of $-ta^{\square}\eta$ in these clauses is fact that the anaphora is forwards-looking in (24), in terms of overt mentions in the story: he location that the shaman is taken to is only mentioned in line (26), and yet it is prominent enough *in the speaker’s mind* for a use of $-ta^{\square}\eta$ to be licensed. These aspects of the text are summarised in Table 3.

- (13) Qaitə nu mjfiəq ð⁵-dzi bela,
 next man Kusunda die-ASSERT time
 ‘When the next Kusunda has died,’
- (14) fiuki dzfiakpen ə-g-ən bela,
 salt leave do-3-REAL time
 ‘when it is time to leave the salt,’
- (15) gina u-**ta^h**η-dzi moŋ.
 3SG come-MOTION-ASSERT leader
 ‘he comes there, the leader.’
- (16) Gina moŋ u-**ta^h**η-dzi
 that leader come-MOTION-ASSERT
 moŋ un.
 leader hey
 ‘The leader comes there; the
 leader.’
- (17) Nətn nətn ufilen
 what what various
ə-g-ən-dzi.
 do-3-REAL-ASSERT
 ‘He does different things.’
- (18) Ufilen ə-g-ən-dzi.
 various do-3-REAL-ASSERT
 ‘He does different things.’
- (19) fiuki ə nu,
 salt uh that
 ‘That salt,’

- (20) Qadzi in-da ə-g-ən bela
 rice feed-PURP do-3-REAL time
 in-da ə-g-ən-dzi.
 feed-PUR do-3-REAL-ASSERT
 ‘he feeds the salt at the time of the
 rice-feeding (ceremony).’
- (21) Nu-da pəidzi dzaq ə-de
 person-DAT clothes buy do-SEQ
g-in-dzi moŋ.
 3-bring-ASSERT leader
 ‘(The leader) brings clothes for the
 people buying them.’
- (22) Tul ə-g-ən-dzi
 wear do-3-REAL-ASSERT
g-in-dzi;
 3-bring-ASSERT
 ‘He brings something to wear.’
- (23) bap ə-n-dzi g-in-dzi.
 spreaddo-REAL-ASSERT 3-bring-ASSERT
 ‘He brings something to spread.’
- (24) Qadzi in-da ə-g-ən bela
 rice feed-PURP do-3-REAL time
 ədzi mjɦaq g-u-ta^ʔŋ-dzi.
 other Kusunda 3-take.away-MOTION-
 ASSERT
 ‘Other Kusundas take him for the
 rice-feeding ceremony.’
- (25) Qadzi in-da.
 rice feed-PURP
 ‘For the rice-feeding (ceremony).’
- (26) K^hola tə fuɫab ə-n-da;
 river CONTR cook do-REAL-PURP
 ‘At the river, to cook.’
- (27) G-u-ta^ʔŋ-dzi.
 3-take.away-MOTION-ASSERT
 ‘They take **him** away.’

Table 3. Fifteen lines of text examined for the assertion and motion suffixes and coding of the key arguments involved

Line	Clause	Subject?	verb	leader
(13)	subord.			
(14)	subord.			
(15)	main	NP	-ta ^ʔ ŋ-dzi	NP, subj
				• location of (15): subj of (13), obj of (14)
(16)	main	NP	-ta ^ʔ ŋ-dzi	NP, subj
				• location of (16): subj of (13), obj of (14)
(17)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(18)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(19)	–			
(20)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(21)	main	NP, verb	-dzi	NP, subj
(22)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(23)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(24)	main	NP, verb	-ta ^ʔ ŋ-dzi	object
				• location of (24): topic of (26)
(25)	subord.			
(26)	subord.			subject
				• location of (26): topic in clause
(27)	main	verb	-ta ^ʔ ŋ-dzi	object
				• location of (27): topic of (26)

In (28), showing some later lines in the same text, we see the use of *-ta^ʔŋ* with a clear sense of direction towards the most prominent argument in that stretch of the discourse – the shaman.

- (28) Nã^ʔdi getse dzəgui gəje,
 wife child sick if
 nã^ʔdi-ba u-ta^ʔŋ-dzi.
 wife-ALSO come-MOTION-ASSERT
 ‘If the woman is sick, the wife also
 comes to **him**.’

We can summarise the findings. The *-ta^ʔŋ* suffix marks directed or associated motion, with strong pragmatic implications: the motion must be towards the most prominent location in the local discourse, even if that location has not yet been

mentioned overtly: prominence is a matter of the speaker's preferences. Indeed, details of location of the goal of the motion does not even have to be known to the speaker, as long as it is pragmatically salient. In (29) the speaker describes how birds of prey come and fly away with young chickens; their nests are in the jungle, at unspecified locations, but they are pragmatically salient in the context of the utterance and its real-world context.

- (29) *fiana g-u-ta^hŋ-dzi*,
 where 3-take.away-MOTION-ASSERT
fiana g-u-ta^hŋ-dzi.
 where 3-take.away-MOTION-ASSERT
 'It takes (them) away to (the nest).'

From this analysis it follows that the suffix *-ta^hŋ* can have an 'applicative-like' or 'dative-like' function, in that it implies motion with a participant, or towards a participant. Additionally, because *-ta^hŋ* is only found when the sentence contains a high degree of 'speaker involvement', it frequently co-occurs with the assertion evidential suffix.

5. Further notes on the *-dzi* suffix

We should also note other uses of the *-dzi* suffix that are logical, but nonetheless noteworthy, extensions of the assertion/speaker knowledge senses described in section 3. The essential description of evidentiality is most unproblematic when a (first person) speaker reports on a third person subject's activities. We have seen that this same suffix can also be used with a first person subject, in examples (1) – (3), and here the evidential interpretation is present, but some element of speaker assertion is also found. There are other instances of the use of *-dzi* in which 'assertion' is the strongest semantic factor that can be singled out, and the only trace of 'evidentiality' lies in the speakers assertion of the future evidence.

In (30) the translation is not past; the event described (*tsi qasn wfi aⁿ*) is not yet real, and yet

the verb is marked with the realis, and that realis is followed by the asserted evidence suffix.

- (30) *Tsi qasn wfi*
 1SG one house
aⁿ-t-n-dzi.
 do-1-REAL-ASSERT
 'I want to build a house.' *or*
 'I must build a house.'

We believe the suffix to be the same, with the difference being one of interpretation of the central notion of 'assertion'. When the speaker reports her own assertion, she has access to the inner workings of her own mind, and can assert desires and deontic needs. When the speaker asserts events that have been undertaken by a third person, for which she has no direct knowledge of the state of the subject's mind, she can only report on the workings of her own mind, and so assert the truth status of that event; that is, that she is a reliable witness to the event.

We have only limited data on the use of *-dzi* with second person subjects. In (31) we have a sentence in which a daughter was insisting that her mother should stay with her for a few more days, asking when the next time a visit might happen. She uses a second person verb with realis and assertion marking. The *-dzi* cannot be referring to the speaker's state of mind, since the speaker does not know when the desired state of affairs will come about; yet there is definitely an element of the speaker wanting the *nugun* event to take place. The speaker cannot be asserting the truth of future, questioned event, yet there is an element of assertion of the truth that it will not be easy to arrange a subsequent visit. We suggest that with second persons we find that the interpretation of *-dzi* is half-way in between the preferred interpretation found with first persons and that found with second persons.

- (31) Qaitə fera əsa.
 next time when
 n-ug-(u)n-dzi nu.
 2-come-REAL-ASSERT 2SG
 ‘Next time, when will you be able
 to come?’

6. Conclusion

We have seen that the suffix *-dzi* is a suffix that marks speaker assertion; it belongs to the category of morphemes that mark epistemic information, evidentiality and egophoricity. The other suffix under discussion, *-taʰŋ*, marks associated motion with a high level of pragmatic salience.

These suffixes were hard for earlier researchers to identify for two reasons. The first reason is that of expectation, in that the Kusunda morphological categories do not map on to typical Himalayan categories. Secondly, the circumstances in which earlier data was collected were not conducive to the elicitation of these morphemes.

When it is encoded by means of verbal or phrasal morphemes, the evidentiality system of a typical Himalayan language marks the contrast between hearsay/indirect knowledge on the one hand, with an overt morpheme, contrasted with a more ‘certain’ category that is morphologically null. For instance, examine the following sentences from Qiang and from Nepali. In both these languages, typical of other languages of the region, the hearsay category is marked, and the Ø-marked category is the one associated with personal assertion or knowledge. This is the reverse of the Kusunda system described here, in which asserted knowledge is marked overtly, and the Ø-category is used for hearsay (see also, eg., Delancey 2001, Grunow-Hårsta 2007, Lidz 2007, Post 2010, Satoko 2007, and others on this topic; note that this is an areal, not global, tendency; see Chafe and Nichols 1986).

Qiang (LaPolla and Huang 2003)

- (32) the: de-xtse.
 3SG DIR-go.away
 ‘S/he went away.’
- (33) the: fia-qə-i nua?
 3SG DIR-go-HEARSAY QUESTION
 ‘Did he go?’

Nepali

- (34) U ga-eko
 3SG go:PAST-PTCPL
 ‘S/he’s gone.’
- (35) U ga-eko re.
 3SG go:PAST-PTCPL HEARSAY
 ‘S/he’s gone, so I’ve heard.’

Similar confusion is found with the associated motion suffix. Since the *-taʰŋ* suffix is used to monitor pragmatically-salient locational information, it would be very hard to discover in a fixed interior location using direct elicitation, since there is no locational context. Furthermore, a typical Himalayan directional system contrasts more than one different kind of motion, and typically has a semantic orientation that is (purely?) based on absolute direction. The following Dhimial examples show part of the paradigm of directional suffixing in Dhimial, which contrasts five different suffixes in the same position, one of which (*-lha* ‘intensive’) has a modal sense, one has an applicative sense (*-dhi* ‘relinquitive’), and three of which have primarily directional meaning. In addition to the two specific suffixes illustrated here, there is a third suffix (*-gil* ‘indeterminate’).

Dhimial (King 2009)

- (36) tauli to:-pa-nha?
 towel move-VENITIVE-2
 ‘Did you bring the towel in?’
- (37) He?-kilo cum-pu-a-na?
 how.many-kilo hold-DISTAL-FUT-2
 ‘How many kilos do you want to
 take?’

The other reason why Watters et al. failed to analyse the *-dzi* suffix as a marker of evidentiality, or to even elicit the *-ta^fŋ* suffix, concerns the manner of data collection. It is true that direct elicitation is a useful, fast, and necessary tool, but it can only be effectively applied *after* some knowledge of the language's structures is already available, through the observation of naturalistic data.

When we examine the fourteen texts that form the corpus used in this study we find that there is a clear correlation between the kind of material described in the narratives and the frequency with which the two morphemes in question are employed. To discuss just the extreme cases, in the text 'Survive breaking stones', which talks about how the speaker had been making a living breaking up stones for use in cement, there are no instances of either *-dzi* or *-ta^fŋ*. The subject matter is such that the speaker is sure of the truth of the utterances, but does not see any need to assert, or to associate any particular pragmatic salience to any of the utterances. By contrast, in the text 'Go different places' the speaker is talking about the activities of her parents and other adults in the Kusunda band in which she grew up, and their nomadic lifestyle. This is a text that involves a high degree of emotional involvement, and a lot of pragmatically salient material, and it includes many instances of both *-dzi* or *-ta^fŋ*. This is a strong indication that native speaker intuitions, and not prescriptive judgements, are the best kind of data to collect, and that naturalistic texts that uncover new morphemes and new contexts for their use are the best way to find contexts in which cross-linguistically unusual structures emerge.

Table 4. Stories examined for the assertion and motion suffixes

Frequency		Date	Days
<i>-dzi</i>	<i>-ta^fŋ-dzi</i>	recorded	passed*
Survive breaking stones:			
0%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Bow and arrow:			
8%	3%	2 nd Feb	3
Food pollution:			
8%	0%	19 th Feb	20
Nothing to eat:			
8%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Firewood:			
8%	0%	13 th Feb	14
Hunt:			
12%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Kusunda language:			
16%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Our jungle lifestyle:			
18%	0%	1 st Feb	2
Jungle village:			
21%	5%	30 th Jan	0
Dance:			
33%	6%	31 st Jan	1
Shaman:			
43%	19%	15 th Feb	16
Bow and arrow game:			
45%	1%	2 nd Feb	3
Dance, sing and love:			
46%	2%	3 rd Feb	4
Go different places:			
62%	15%	1 st Feb	2

*Since start of fieldwork

With *-ta^fŋ* in particular we can see that there is a correlation between the degree of familiarity that the Kusunda speaker felt with the researchers and the number of instances of *-ta^fŋ* that surface in the texts. Some texts do not contain material that is relevant to the motion aspects of *-ta^fŋ*, but there is

nonetheless an overall correlation ($r = 0.21$, Pearson's correlation) between the length of time that the linguists had been working with the speaker and the use of the pragmatically informative morphemes.

We have seen that evidentiality and stance are marked on the verb in Kusunda, as are pragmatically salient goals. We have also seen that being too well-versed in the typological normalcies of an area can make departures from those norms hard to detect, even for experienced language workers. Similarly, even experienced linguists cannot investigate much of the uniqueness of languages by elicitation alone, since the manner of data collection influences the kind of data collected. For a full investigation of the quirks of a language, a maximal corpus of naturalistic data is essential.

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An acoustic analysis of Balami basic vowels

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In this paper, the acoustic cues for the vowels, characteristic vocal tract resonances called formants, are measured for both male and female Balami speakers and the average formant frequency values for male and female speakers are plotted in the acoustic vowel space separately and in comparison as well. Next, the sample spectrograms for each vowel are given.

1. Introduction

The term Balami is both an ethnonym and a glottonym. According to the Rastriya Balami Samaj (National Balami Society), the Balami people are scattered in about 21 districts of the country and the estimated population in Nepal is about 1, 07,000. The major settlements of people are in the parts surrounding Kathmandu valley including Nuwakot, Dhading, Mawanpur and Sindhupalchok districts. They are also found in Kathmandu, Dolakha, Baglung, Kavre, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, and in a few number in many other districts.

The Balami language is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal and it is genetically closer to Newar. The present study is based on the Balami spoken in the Kagatigaun of Okharpouwa V.D.C. in Nuwakot district.

Balami has nine basic vowels. There are four front, three back and two central vowels in the language. In terms of the height of the tongue body, there are three high, five mid and one low vowel.

2. Methodology

For the study, a list of monosyllabic words of the form CV containing all the vowels in the language was collected. These words were combined with another constant word so that the vowels occur in between two consonants. They were recorded in the normal utterance situation of the form 'I said...'.

The recording was done with the Sony ECM-MS908C Electret Condenser Microphone and EDIROL R09HR recorder. The target utterances

were recorded with three male and two female speakers.

The study is organized in terms of vowel formant frequency values measurement for both male and female Balami speakers in section 3 including the formant frequency values plot in F1 versus F2 plane. Section 4 is the list of sample spectrograms for each vowel. Finally, the conclusion is given in section 5.

3. Formant frequencies

The relevant acoustic cues for the vowels are the formant frequency values, which indicate the prominent resonances of the vocal tract. The acoustic input or the source signal for the vowels is the vibrating vocal folds which vibrate in multiple frequencies and that is filtered by the vocal tract function. The change of the vocal tract shape depending upon the position of articulators acts as the acoustic filter and the prominent resonances characterizing that vocal tract are called the formants and they are measured in terms of their location in the frequency spectrum.

The invariant acoustic cues for the vowels are the formant frequency values. O'connor (1973) says that "vowels generally have more than three formants (F4, F5 etc.) but these higher formants don't seem to be needed for specifying vowels and are more connected with identifying the voice quality of the particular speaker" (p.87). Thus, the first two formants of the vowels are important acoustic cues since the change in the vowel quality is accompanied by the corresponding changes in the formant frequencies.

For the Balami basic vowels, first two formant frequency values were measured for both male and female speakers.

3.1 Vowel formant frequencies in male speakers

For the study, two male speakers were selected and recorded. Of them, Hira Balami was forty years old and Jit Balami was sixty seven years old. The first two formant frequency values of the

vowels produced by male speakers were measured individually and in average and that is given in table 1.

The average first formant (F1) and the average second formant (F2) values given in table 1 are displayed in more stylized form in figure 1.

		vowels																			
		[i]	[e]	[ɛ]	[æ]	[a]	[ʌ]	[o]	[u]	[ɔ]	[ɪ]										
F1	Jit	341	413	454	335	644	647	645	1849	1614	2004	2086	2334	2086	2210	2416	2365	2467	2086	2004	2045
	Hira	335	454	483	338	771	758	764	1543	1492	1517	1731	1849	1614	2086	2334	2086	2467	2086	2004	2045
	Av.	338	433	475	338	764	758	764	1543	1492	1517	1731	1849	1614	2086	2334	2086	2467	2086	2004	2045
F2	Jit	2467	2334	2086	1849	1614	2004	2045	2045	2086	2004	2045	2086	2004	2045	2045	2086	2004	2045	2045	2045
	Hira	2365	2086	2004	1614	1492	1517	1731	1849	1614	2004	2045	2086	2004	2045	2045	2086	2004	2045	2045	2045
	Av.	2416	2210	2045	1731	1517	1517	1731	1849	1614	2004	2045	2086	2004	2045	2045	2086	2004	2045	2045	2045

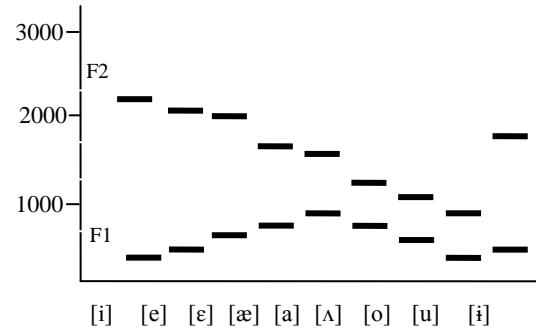


Figure 1: Average first formant (F1) and second formant (F2) values measured for vowels produced by male Balami speakers displayed in stylized form

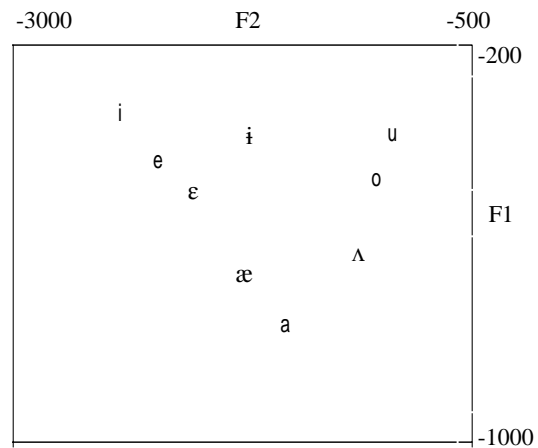


Figure 2: Average first formant (F1) and second formant (F2) values measured for vowels produced by male Balami speakers plotted in the F1 versus F2 plane

Figure 2 is the plot of the average first formant (F1) and average second formant (F2) of each vowel in the acoustic vowel space. As the figure shows, the vertical line indicates the first formant (F1) while the horizontal line indicates the second formant (F2).

3.2 Vowel formant frequencies in female speakers

For the study, two female speakers were selected and recorded. Of them, Sapana Balami is thirty-five years old and Saraswati Balami is fifty-one years old. The first two formant frequency values

measured for each of the vowels produced by female Balami speakers are in table 2.

Table 2 presents the formant frequency values for both female speakers individually and in average. The average formant frequency values of the vowels given in the table are presented in more stylized form in figure 3.

Figure 4 is the plot of the average F1 and F2 values measured for each vowel. This produces the acoustic vowel space for the female Balami speakers comparable to the acoustic vowel space in figure 2 for male speakers.

Table 1 and its more stylized display in figure 1, and table 2 and its more stylized display in figure 3 show that the first two formant frequency

		vowels									
		[i]	[e]	[ɛ]	[æ]	[a]	[ʌ]	[o]	[u]	[ɪ]	
F1	Sapana	380	458	510	765	839	684	522	347	340	
	Saraswati	375	470	583	677	805	661	467	408	375	
	Av.	377	464	546	721	822	672	494	377	357	
F2	Sapana	2820	2693	2340	2046	1807	1477	1155	1080	1775	
	Saraswati	2773	2577	2412	2204	1818	1396	1126	935	1783	
	Av.	2796	2635	2376	2125	1812	1436	1120	1007	1779	

Figure 3: Average first formant (F1) and second formant (F2) values measured for vowels produced by female Balami speakers displayed in stylized form

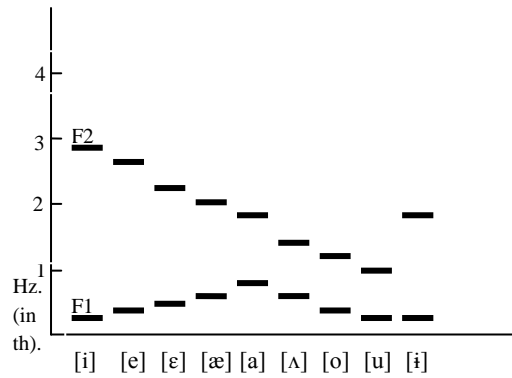
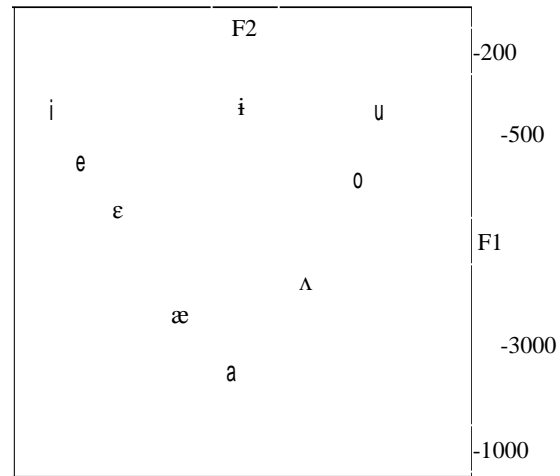


Figure 4: Average first formant (F1) and second formant (F2) values measured for vowels produced by female Balami speakers plotted in the F1 versus F2 plane values for each vowel is unique and the characteristic of the vowel.



As we move from the front vowels to the back vowels, the second formant value is continuously decreasing. It means that F2 is the highest for the vowel [i] while it is lowest for the vowel [u]. Here, F2 corresponds to the articulatory parameter of backness of the tongue body. Likewise, F1 is lower for the high vowels and higher for the low vowels. The sound [a] has the highest F1. F1 decreases as the height of the tongue body goes high. Here, F1 corresponds to

the articulatory parameter of height of the tongue body with inverse relation.

3.3 Acoustic vowel space comparison

In section 3.1, first two formants for each of the Balami vowels produced by male Balami speakers were measured and the average formant frequency values were calculated. The average F1 and F2 was plotted in the acoustic vowel space and this characterizes the vowels produced by male Balami speakers. Likewise, in section 3.2, F1 and F2 were measured for each of the vowels produced by female Balami speakers and the average F1 and F2 were calculated. Then, these values were plotted in F1 versus F2 plane and this characterizes the vowels produced by the female Balami speakers.

As we see the F1 and F2 values for male and female speakers in table 1 and table 3, they are comparable in many ways. The slightly higher F1 of [i] sound for female than for the male is accompanied by all other vowels except [u] and [ɪ]. For [u] F1 is two hertz less for female than for male and for [ɪ] F1 is forty four hertz less for female than it is for male. As for F2, the higher F2 of [i] sound for female speaker is accompanied by all other vowels except [ɪ] which has slightly lower F2 for female than it is for male. The difference in the formant frequencies for male and female speakers is accompanied by the difference of vocal tract shapes for male and female speakers. Bordon & Harris (1980) has said that a female vocal tract is not only smaller than male vocal tract but females have a different vocal tract shape with female vocal tract shape shorter by about 2 cm in the pharynx while only 1.25 cm shorter in the oral cavity.

The two acoustic vowel space for male and female Balami speakers can be presented in the same acoustic vowel space as in figure 5.

Figure 5 shows that the acoustic vowel space for both male and female speakers are similar in the shape though the size of acoustic space for male and female speakers is different. Female acoustic vowel space is larger than the male acoustic vowel space. This is because resonance frequency of female vocal tract is relatively higher than the

resonance frequency of male vocal tract. This fact is confirmed by the study of Peterson and Barney (1952) and Hillenbrand, Getty, Clark & Wheeler (1995).

But, the important fact is that the ratio of formant frequency difference of the different vowels for male and female speakers is similar. This means that, for example, the difference between F1 of vowels [i] and [e] for female is eighty seven hertz while for male it is ninety five hertz which is similar. It is the ratio difference of frequency values of formants rather than exact frequency values which is important for the vowel system of a particular language. Thus, we have similar acoustic vowel space for male and female Balami speakers though the acoustic vowel space for female is slightly larger.

The central vowel [ɪ] which is front for male speaker is exactly at the centre for the female speakers. This can be explained in terms of the fact that female speakers are more conservative to their sounds than male speakers. The male people in the Balami community have much wider communication with outside people than the female people who live most of the time at home and do the household chores and thus lack communication with the outside people.

Figure 5: Average first formant (F1) and second formant (F2) values of the vowels plotted in F1 versus F2 plane for male Balami speakers (broken lines) and female Balami speakers (straight lines)

Figure 10: Spectrogram and formant contour of the Balami vowel [a]

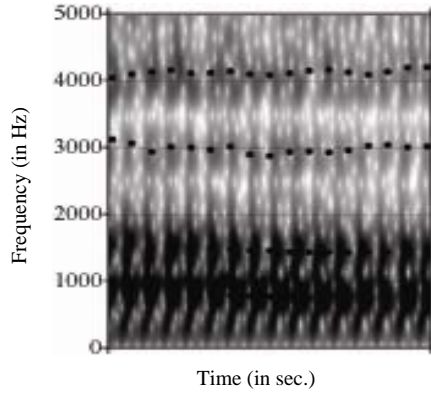


Figure 11: Spectrogram and formant contour of the Balami vowel [ʌ]

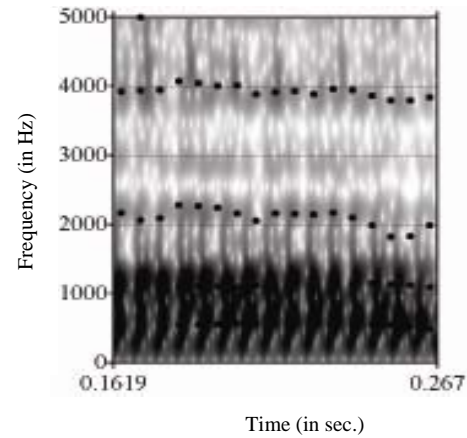


Figure 12: Spectrogram and formant contour of the Balami vowel [o]

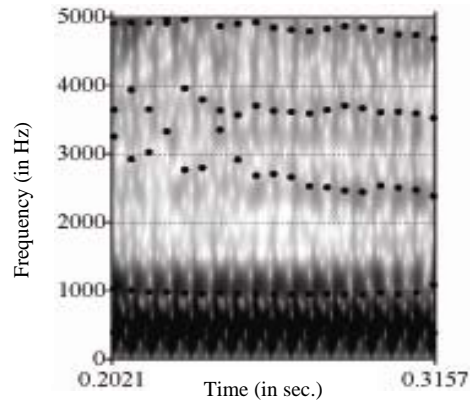


Figure 13: Spectrogram and formant contour of the Balami vowel [u]

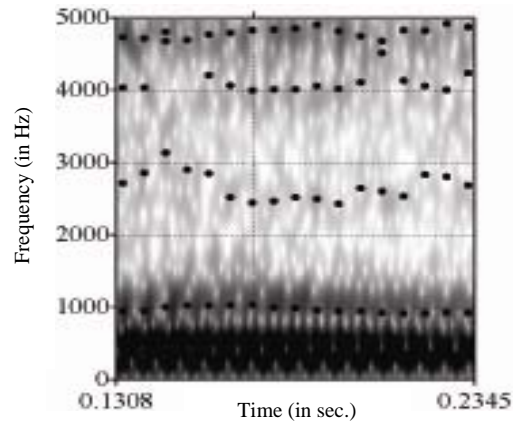
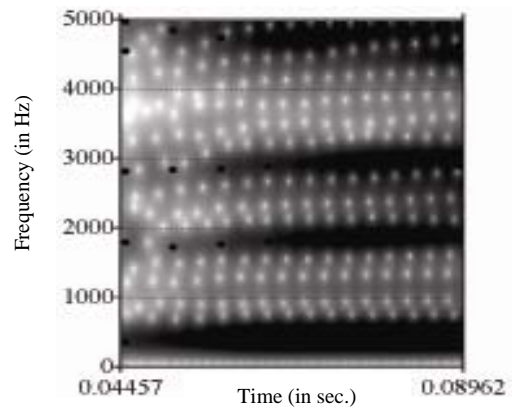


Figure 14: Spectrogram and formant contour of the Balami vowel [i]



5. Summary

In the acoustic analysis of the vowel sounds in the Balami language, the first formant (F1) and second formant (F2) are identified as the acoustic cues and they are measured for both male and female Balami speakers individually and in average. The average F1 and F2 was plotted in F1 versus F2 plane for male and female speakers separately and later compared them plotting them in the same acoustic vowel space. The study shows that female acoustic vowel space is slightly larger compared to the male acoustic vowel space which is because of the difference of the vocal tract shapes in male and female speakers. Though the exact formant frequency values of the vowels produced by male and female speakers differ, the

ratio of the difference of the formant frequency values of the different vowels is similar for both male and female speakers. This shows that the general shape of the acoustic vowel space is more important than the exact formant frequency values in the vowel system of a particular language. Furthermore, the study shows that female speakers seem more conservative to the sounds of the language than the male speakers who are more in contact with outside people and liable to have influences from other languages.

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Mother tongue-based education and the heritage languages of Nepal

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Mother tongue-based education aims to enhance learning opportunities and ensures linguistic human rights for all students. It also contributes for the maintenance of diverse mother tongues. However, the non dominating heritage languages are not taken at the center in the mother tongue-based education program in Nepal.

1. Introduction

Nepal is one of the linguistically diverse countries in South Asia accommodating more than 123 languages belonging to four language families: Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian in addition to Kusunda, a language isolate. A large number of languages in Nepal are threatened to disappear due to small number of speakers, limited domains of language use and weaker intergenerational transmission. About 73 percent of the country's population speaks five major languages, namely Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu and Tamang, while there are only about six percent of the population to speak 109 languages (CBS, 2012).

Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC, 1956), which established the foundation of education system in Nepal, recommended Nepali language for the medium of education. The choice of Nepali was supported with the arguments such as the uniformity in curriculum, availability of teachers, feasibility to develop learning materials etc. The spirit of NNEPC was further intensified by National Education System Plan (NESP, 1971). NESP embedded a political agenda in educational language policy and attempted to maintain one language one nation policy (Yadav, 1990; Awasthi, 2004).

The constitution of Nepal (1990) recognized all the mother tongues of the country as national languages and granted rights to the language communities to operate mother tongue schools. But, the constitutional provision could not motivate the language communities to initiate mother tongue schools. The response of language communities to initiate mother tongue schools

was unsatisfactory. In spite of the constitutional recognition and policy of the government, only two mother tongue schools were established; the first Newar school in Kathmandu and one Magar school in Kaski (Shrestha & Hoek, 1995).

The interim constitution of Nepal (2007) has granted the right for language communities to operate mother tongue schools and the government of Nepal has agreed to abide most of the important human rights documents of the United Nations. The focus of mother tongue-based education has been shifted towards the access and success of basic education. This is a kind of paradigmatic shift in the educational language policies of Nepal. Nepal, along with the nations of the world, expressed its commitment for Education for All (EFA) by the year 2015. The policy makers have become aware that the EFA goals could not be achieved unless the mother tongues are employed as the instructional medium at the early basic education. It is expressed, explicitly, in Nepal's EFA National Plan of Action (2003). The same spirit is reflected on the National curriculum framework (2005) and School Sector Reform Plan (2009). The government of Nepal has also promulgated a crucial document for the implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB MLE) program in Nepal; The Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2010).

In spite of the efforts of the government and the language communities to transform the early basic education into the framework of mother tongue-based education, the implementation of the program is quite unsatisfactory. The program is operated in few schools¹ and it is limited in the

¹ Mother tongue-based education program is operated in 24 schools by the year 2013 as reported by Dr. Lava Dev Awasthi, Director General in the Department of Education, in a language policy workshop organized jointly by the Department of Education and Nepal Academy in Kathmandu.

locally dominant mother tongues, while the heritage languages of the minority students are not included in the mother tongue-based education system. In most cases, these students are misrepresented as Nepali language speakers.

2. Situation of heritage languages in Nepal

Linguistic diversity of Nepal is characterized with the large population speaking few languages and the small population speaking large numbers of languages. Small size of population and language shift are the major factors for the marginalization of heritage languages. Language endangerment is another crucial character of the linguistic diversity of Nepal. Many heritage languages are either endangered or on the way of endangerment. Decreasing intergeneration language transmission is one of the factors pushing languages into endangerment (UNESCO, 2003). New generation cease to speak the heritage languages if these languages fail to provide employment opportunities and economic prosperity. Mother tongue-based education not only transfers the heritage languages to the new generation, it also expands the domains of language use and, consequently, opens up the employment opportunities for those who are proficient in the heritage languages. Teaching mother tongues, textbooks writing, and other similar jobs can be created. Beyond educational improvement and promotion of linguistic diversity, the program has the social, economic and political consequences. Table 1 presents the heritage languages of Nepal with less than 10,000 speakers.

Table 1: The heritage languages of Nepal

SN	Number of Languages	Number of Speakers	Percentage
1	37	1000-10000	0.54
2	24	100-999	0.04
3	13	Below 100	0.00
Total	74		0.58

Source: Central bureau of statistics (2012)

Table 1 presents the status of heritage languages on the basis of the absolute number of speakers. There are 74 languages spoken by only 0.58

percent of population. UNESCO (2003) presents the factors affecting language vitality as intergenerational language transmission, absolute number of speakers, proportion of speakers within the total population, trends in existing language domains, response to new domains and media, and materials for language for language education and literacy. Dozens of languages of Nepal are severely/critically endangered, if the languages are examined under these factors. Thirty languages each have lower than ten thousand speakers, 17 languages each have lower than one thousand speakers and there are twelve languages with lower than one hundred languages. All these 74 languages have only 0.58 percent of speakers in the total population of the nation. The heritage languages are restricted only for the home use. Only eleven languages of Nepal have full language resources, such as newspaper, magazine, journal, literature etc. and the heritage languages either do not possess any language resources or have negligible resources (Yadava, 2008).

Language shift is in acceleration among the heritage language population and the efforts of language maintenance are ineffective. Magar people in Myagdi lost their language several years ago and Chhantyal children, who are in lower grades in school, have begun to stop speaking their ethnic language even at home (Ghimire, 1999). Many languages have also undergone through the same process of language shift. Preservation of these heritage languages is important because of their cultural, ecological and linguistic values. These languages are the source of indigenous knowledge and skills.

The policy of mother tongue-based education does not cover most of the heritage languages of Nepal and the students speaking these marginalized languages are forced to get education in the non-mother tongue medium. The heritage languages are categorized as unfeasible to operate mother tongue-based education program².

² The policy documents such as the report of the National Languages Planning Recommendation Commission and the opinion of some scholars such as Yadav (1992) state that it is impossible to operate

3. Heritage languages in the Educational language policies of Nepal

Educational language policies in Nepal have been dominated by the monolingual ideology and do not consider the heritage languages as important as the dominant languages to be used in education. The earlier policies focused on a single dominant language, while the later policy includes some more strong mother tongues, but not all heritage languages of the nation. The latest policy of mother tongue-based education does not recommend any model to incorporate diverse heritage languages in the mother tongue-based education program. The heritage languages with small population and living in oral tradition are not considered appropriate to deliver education. Mother tongue-based education is interpreted, mostly, as the education in the medium of non-Nepali and non-English languages and the model of education in the medium of any mother tongues other than these two languages are defined as mother tongue medium of education, which is limited to the locally dominant mother tongues. Therefore, students with heritage language background in the multilingual classrooms have to learn through other's mother tongue (Ghimire, 2012).

The language issues have entered in education as the external factors and not as the essential aspect of pedagogy. Politics and the question of power relation among the social groups in Nepali society have great influence over the formulation and execution of educational language policies. Most language matters in Nepal have not been planned; they have evolved in response to historical circumstances (Eagle, 2000:4). The educational language policies were also formed in response to social, political and historical context. The government formed several commissions and expert groups for the educational reform in order to satisfy peoples' desire of change and to improve the quality of education. However, the commissions and the expert groups recommended

mother tongue-based education in the languages without written tradition, dictionary, grammar, and learning resources.

the policy and plan in education under the broader political ideology.

Scholars and linguists criticize Nepal's language policies in education as neglecting minority languages (Yadav, 1990; Yadav, 1992; Awasthi, 2004 & Yadava, 2007) for a long time. The policy has shifted from monolingualism towards multilingualism along with the political change from single party system to multiparty system in 1990. Such an ideological change in the educational language policy of Nepal can be discussed as the greater political influence over the educational language policies.

Eagle (2008:17) suggests that to understand the intricacies of the language problem and the multilingual and multicultural make up of the nation, several background factors need to be considered. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) state that a particular language policy may work to maintain the existing social order and power distribution or to challenge the existing power relation. Tollefson (2002) explains how the language policy debates reflect the struggles for power relation in the society. Nepal's educational language policies can also be observed under the same framework. Ghimire (2011) discusses the educational language policies in Nepal as representation of power struggle and the different political ideals in Nepali society.

Tollefson (2002) argues that conflicts about language policy usually have their source in group conflicts in which language symbolizes some aspect of a struggle over political power and economic resources. The selection of English in the first modern school of Nepal and the recognition of Nepali as the core language for medium of education during the Panchayat regime are some examples of the educational language policies reflecting a social order and power relation among the social groups.

The shift from monolingualism towards multilingualism in the educational language policies is observed as an ideological shift in the sociopolitical context. The objectives of education are also oriented towards the political goals of the state. So, the educational language policies of the state reflect the goals of language proficiency that

the state expects in the future citizen (Skutnabb-Kangas & Mohanty, 2009).

The Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC, 1956), National Educational System Plan (NESP, 1971), National Languages Planning Recommendation Commission (Yadava & Grove, 1994), Nepal Education for All, National Plan of Action (NPA, 2003), National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2005), School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP, 2009) and Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2010) are the major instruments shaping the educational language policies of Nepal.

The first modern school of Nepal, Durbar School, was an English medium school that was established in 1854 for the children of ruling Ranas. The focus shifted towards Nepali as the medium of education, during the Panchayat and ultimately towards the mother tongues of the nation after the restoration of multiparty political system in 1990. However, the policies for the language of education after the commitments of the Government of Nepal to the World Declaration of Education for All (1990) and Dakar Framework of Action (2000) are, significantly, directed towards ensuring access and quality of education. The government of Nepal has been convinced to recognize the role of diverse mother tongues in education in order to achieve its educational goals.

The report of Nepal National education planning commission (NNEPC, 1956) developed a foundation for educational system of Nepal. The commission received conflicting suggestions regarding the medium of education in the schools. Mother tongue-based education could enhance the literacy development, maintain social harmony among the language groups and the government would earn credit were among the arguments given for employing the mother tongues as medium of education. On the other hand, the educationists suggested the committee to recommend Nepali, national language, as the language of education because the mother tongues did not possess dictionaries, grammar and producing textbooks in these languages was difficult and expensive. Similarly, it was

suggested that almost everyone could understand Nepali as it was the official language and lingua franca at the national level. The commission recommended that the Sanskrit and English medium of education could not satisfy the need of rural people and Nepali should be employed as medium of education from primary school up to university level.

The report of NNEPC (1956) has been criticized as the manifestation of one language construct. The commission placed emphasis on the universalization of primary education and on the improvement of service delivery systems across the country. But, 'the report failed to recognize the role of diverse mother tongues in education. Instead, the report placed emphasis on introducing reduction of multilingualism' (Awasthi, 2004, 34).

The report of All Round National Education Committee (ARNEC) and New Education System Plan (NESP) also favored Nepali as the sole medium of education for school education. The ARNEC (1961) recommended that in every primary and secondary schools Nepali should be employed as the medium of education, except for language subjects. NESP (1971) contributed to establish Nepali as the only language to be employed as the language of education in the schools of Nepal.

The educational language policies developed during the Panchayat regime focused on the use of Nepali and proclaimed linguistic nationalism. The Nepali language became a part of the nationalistic movement across the country (Awasthi, 2004). NESP (1971) recommended Nepali as the medium of education for primary and secondary education. However, it was recommended that the teachers could use local languages to explain lessons if the children could not understand Nepali language. Prior approval from the government was made essential in order to use other languages as the medium of education. Some national and international languages were also recommended as optional subjects in school syllabus such as Sanskrit, English, French, Russian, German, Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese, Hindi, Tibetan,

Urdu, Arabic, Farsi, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Newari.

The constitution of Nepal (1990) not only recognized the native mother tongues as national languages but also clearly stated that language communities should have a right to operate mother tongue schools up to primary level (grade 5). The constitutional recognition established a foundation for mother tongue-based education in Nepal. National Education Commission (NEC, 1992) was formed to respond the aspirations of people in a new political environment. The commission recommended mother tongues, non-Nepali languages, to be employed as medium of education for the children, whose mother tongue is not Nepali. The commission recommended that if the mother tongues lack educational materials such as textbooks, grammar, and dictionaries etc, Nepali could be employed as the medium of education along with the explanation and instruction support from mother tongues.

The report of high level national education commission (HLNEC, 1999) recommended the government to develop curriculum, textbooks, dictionaries, language teachers and teacher training programs in order to begin education through the medium of mother tongues. It also suggested upgrading the standard of Nepali language to cope the need of science and technology. Bilingual education program was first recommended in the report of HLNEC (1999) with a view that it promotes harmony among the language groups in the nation and to facilitate transition from mother tongue to the national language, i.e. Nepali.

The report of high level committee in education (HLCE, 2002) presented the educational situation of the nation and developed strategies to address the problems. In the situation of constitutional recognition of mother tongues as instructional medium and people's desire to employ English as instructional medium from grade one, the committee recommended to review the existing curriculum and to develop a policy for curriculum and textbooks. HLCE (2002) recommended that the Nepali and English should be used as subjects from grade one and the mother tongues should be

employed as the medium of education, except for language subjects at primary level.

National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission (Yadava & Grove, 1994) addresses the language problems in Nepal in the context of constitutional recognition to the national languages, mother tongues. It recommended to begin language planning for the development of national languages and to employ them in education as instructional medium as well as to identify the possible domains for the national languages. Mother tongue schools up to primary level shall be opened in the areas where there are monolingual students (Yadava & Grove, 1994, 37). But, the report does not address the need of mother tongue-based education in linguistically heterogeneous communities. In the schools with a predominantly multilingual context, it would be appropriate to adopt the language of the nation³, i.e. Nepali, as the medium of education (Yadava & Grove, 1994, 38).

Nepal's commitment to achieve the EFA (education for all) goals has brought the mother tongues into the fore of educational language policies. Nepal's Education for All National Plan of Action (NPA, 2003) links the language of education to the achievement of educational goals. NPA (2003) addresses the commitments of the governments of the world in the Dakar Framework of Action (2000) and maintains that the use of mother tongues is essential for better educational achievement. Nepal's EFA national plan of action has incorporated one more goal to the six goals set by Dakar forum for the year 2015. Ensuring the rights of indigenous people and linguistic minorities to quality basic and primary education through their mother tongue has become the seventh goal of Nepal's EFA program (NPA, 2003)

National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2005) maintains the provision of local curriculum. Curriculum and learning materials can be

³ The constitution of Nepal (1990) recognized Nepali, a lingua franca at the national level, as language of the nation and other mother tongues, non-Nepali languages, as national languages.

developed under the broad national framework and the local languages (mother tongues) can be used as medium of education. The school can offer mother tongue-based education as per the demand of the community.

School Sector Reform Plan (2009) maintains that the use of mother tongues at Early Childhood Education and Development (ECED) should be the strategy in order to ensure the rights of the children to learn in their own mother tongues. It also maintains that the goal of basic education is to ensure equitable access to quality education through a right-based approach and promotion of a child friendly environment in schools.

Multilingual education implementation guideline (2010) attempts to regulate the MLE schools and prescribes a uniform model of MLE in the nation. Article 4.1 of the guideline states that mother tongue can be used as the medium of instruction up to basic level (grade 8). It also states that mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in ECED (article 4.2). Article 4.3 states that mother tongue can be used as the medium of instruction in grade 1-3 of basic education, except language subjects. Nepali and English along with the mother tongues are recommended to be used as medium of education in grade 4-5 of basic education (article 4.4). Mother tongues should be used as subjects in grade 6-8 of basic education, but the mother tongues can be continued as medium of instruction if the schools want (article 4.5).

Nurmela et al (2011) relates the mother tongue-based education to the legal and moral obligation of the government and discuss the international human right instruments that Nepal has ratified. Among these instruments, two major UN instruments are more important regarding the rights of indigenous peoples and the use of mother tongues in education. First instrument is an International Labor Organization (ILO) convention No. 169 on indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries. Second instrument is United Nations' general assembly Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples (UNDRIP). As a treaty, ILO 169 creates legal obligation to the government of Nepal and the UNDRIP can only give moral pressure.

The ratification of the international human rights and educational instruments indicates that the heritage languages would be recognized and supported. However, the implementation of the policies shows that the heritage languages are still neglected and are ignored for preservation and promotion. Mother tongue-based education has been recommended in general and the policy does not specify the models and frameworks to use heritage languages in education, while these languages require well-specified models in order to ensure their use in education. The teachers are not trained to manage classroom multilingualism. The multilingual education program has been designed to develop multilingual proficiency in the individuals, but not to deliver education in the multiple mother tongues including the heritage languages of few students. The covert form of educational language policies of Nepal does not address heritage languages and the linguistic diversity of the nation. The shift in the policy in the post 1990 era is also limited to promote only few locally dominant mother tongues. Even the mother tongue-based education policy does not recognize the learning need of the students with heritage language background, who are in minority in the classroom and the revitalization of heritage languages in order to promote linguistic diversity of the nation.

4. Education in heritage languages

Operating mother tongue-based education in all heritage languages of the nation is challenging, but necessary. It requires strong commitment of the government as well as collaborative efforts from government, language communities, and social organizations. Mother tongue-based education contributes for delivering good quality education, promoting linguistic human rights, social equality, and linguistic diversity.

The students with heritage language backgrounds face educational challenges at schools because of the language employed as medium of education is unfamiliar for them. Children are unfamiliar to the school environment, teachers and the language used in the school. UNESCO (1953) states that the children can learn better through the medium of the mother tongue because it helps them to formulate and express the ideas about

themselves and the world where they live. At the world education forum in Dakar in 2000, the world leaders agreed to achieve six goals in education. Ensuring access to complete free and compulsory education of good quality for all children, particularly girls, and children from ethnic minorities was one of the goals that the world leaders agreed to achieve by 2015 (UNESCO, 2007).

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) maintains that everyone has a right to education, which is characterized to promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, religious, or racial groups. It also declares that the parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education to be delivered to their children. The spirit of the declaration is to ensure equality and freedom among the individuals and to protect their fundamental rights. In the context of mother tongue-based education, article 26 can be interpreted as the declaration to promote the kind of education accepted by parents and not discriminating anyone in the classrooms based on their language background.

Linguistic human rights entail the fundamental rights of the individuals to use, preserve and promote their mother tongues and the right to learn the languages that they want to become proficient. Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) discusses educational linguistic human rights as the right to have the basic education mainly through the medium of the mother tongue and the right to learn the official/dominant language well. She argues that linguistic human rights (a) prevent linguistic genocide, (b) promote integration and defending people against forced assimilation, (C) promote positive state policies towards minority languages, (d) promote the maintenance of the world linguistic diversity, and (e) promote conflict prevention and self determination.

May (2006) argues that the pejorative positioning of minority languages and their speakers led to the advocacy of minority language rights, which includes four principal concerns; (a) language shift and loss, (b) nationality, politics, and the minoritization of languages, (c) language replacement and social mobility, and (d) linguistic

human rights. The author argues that changing the language preferences or broadening them would improve the life chances of those minority language individuals and groups who are presently disadvantaged in their access to and participation in public services.

Paulston & Heidemann (2006) discuss Basque language revitalization in France through its use in education. They state that a small group of Basque parents organized a Basque language pre-school in 1960s and by 1990 over a dozen schools were established and the enrollment had grown from 8 students to over 830. The Basque language revitalization effort was known as *ikastola* movement and the entire activities were financed by the local resources and the free labor of the parents. In 1994, the French government recognized the school system and agreed to provide for teacher salaries.

The principles of linguistic human rights entail that the state should grant the right to education in the medium of the mother tongues for everyone as a part of basic fundamental rights. It is the responsibility of the government and the language communities to generate the required resources for using every language as the medium of education in the classrooms. Languages, either big or small, are capable to conduct communication and, therefore, can be used in education. No language is unfeasible to deliver good quality education in the early grades. If a language can serve the communication at home, it can serve, equally, for the communication in the school.

5. Summary

The mother tongue-based education has been linked to the multiple fields. It is shaped by various non-pedagogical factors such as linguistics, social, economic, cultural, and politics. However, the primary focus of the program is to improve the access and quality of basic education as well as to promote linguistic and cultural diversity. Nepal has developed supportive policies for the mother tongue-based education, but does not provide specific frameworks to incorporate the diverse heritage languages in the linguistically heterogeneous

classrooms. Therefore, the mother tongue-based education program is also restricted in the few locally dominant mother tongues and the students speaking heritage languages, who are in minority in the classrooms, are discriminated.

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Age-related sociolinguistic variation in sign languages, with particular reference to Nepali sign language

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1 Introduction

NSL is one of the younger languages among the different languages of Nepal. In this article an attempt to analyze lexical variation in Nepali Sign Language will be made, in the context of the older and younger generations of deaf people in Kathmandu. Lexical variation has been found to exist in most sign languages by age, region, ethnicity etc. which occurs due to changes in the language and how it is used. This change is being analyzed in NSL in this article, through comparing the signs of different generations.

Experimental study of NSL vocabulary enables us to evaluate NSL users and classification of the lexical variation of NSL, considering linguistic aspects of sociolinguistic variation in sign languages. Mostly this article is focused on finding out the lexical or sub-lexical variation in NSL, and the variation patterns according to the social factor of age, and due to historical change.

The article is organized as follows: (1) Nepal's sociolinguistic Context; (2) Historical context of the NSL community; (3) Development of NSL; (4) Comparison of the NSL of Older Deaf and Deaf Youths; (5) Conclusion.

2 Nepal's sociolinguistic context

Nepali Sign Language is the native language of the deaf community of Nepal. Nepal is home to over 100 officially recognized caste and ethnic groups who speak around 92 languages officially-recognized by the state (Yadhav 2007). Other data published in the web edition of the Ethnologue states: "The number of individual languages listed for Nepal is 126. Of those, 124 are living languages and 2 have no known speakers." (Lewis, M. Paul, 2009). NSL is one of the younger among these languages.

China lies to the north and India surrounds it to the east, south & west. The area of Nepal is 147,181 square kilometers (Nepal Government

2012), and the population is 26,620,809 (CBS 2011). Kathmandu is the biggest city of Nepal, as well as the capital, with an estimated population of 1,740,977 (CBS 2011).

3 Historical context of the NSL community

3.1 Population

Nepal is a nation without specific population data regarding people with disabilities. Earlier study by the National Planning Commission and UNICEF in 1999 estimated the population of the Deaf at 48,300 in 1999. Later, the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) estimated sign language users to number 5,743 in the 2001 census, Yadhav (2007) has given similar number to CBS which shows NSL as the 39th largest-used language in Nepal, with 0.03% of the population being NSL users. However, the National Deaf Federation Nepal (NDFN) does not agree with the data. The Federation estimates that there are 192,000 deaf people throughout Nepal and estimates that 10,000 deaf are NSL users, and the remainders do not yet have access to NSL.

3.2 Development of NSL

The exact history of sign language in Nepal is uncertain; still the language probably was in existence earlier than the first school for the deaf established in 1966. The first batch of deaf that attend the deaf school in Kathmandu were however probably the first to use sign language in a group. So, to find out when NSL formally started we have to follow them because we do not have any written evidence or history of NSL before that (Sharma 2003). The first ever identified sign collection was conducted from 1985 onwards with the support of Patricia Ross, a Peace Corps volunteer (Acharya 1997). Most the deaf believe that Ross was the pioneer of sign language research in Nepal. Ross has written: "The initial stumbling block in initiating total communication in Nepal was the lack of any recorded sign language. People did not know that

there was a fully developed system of Nepali signs. Despite the fact that sign was not used in the schools, the deaf people, out of their own need to communicate, had developed an intricate system of signs” (Ross 1990:14). This statement is enough to highlight that Nepali Sign Language was in existence before Ross arrived.

3.3 Education

The first school for the deaf was established in 1966, by an ENT doctor in a room of Bir Hospital in Kathmandu, and it later was moved to Balmandir in Naxal. The aim of the establishment of the school was to teach speech therapy to deaf children to help them learn to speak (Prasad 2003). After that Deaf schools were established in five regions of Nepal under the Welfare Society for the Hearing Impaired (WSHI). The number of the deaf schools has now increased to eighteen, with some of them being established by deaf associations.

1. Development of NSL

Although it is probable that some sign-based system of communication existed before the establishment of the first deaf school in 1966¹ and it is also probable that such systems of communication developed further until the first deaf association was established in 1980, there is no actual evidence or documentation which indicates the nature of those sign-based systems, nor the extent to which those systems may (or may not) have contributed to the eventual development of the sign language we now know of as Nepali Sign Language. We know that deaf the deaf were using a gestural system, and that eventually what we have is Nepali Sign Language, but the exact path is unknown, as too is the question as to whether perhaps earlier systems of communication may in fact have qualified as language (rather than just gesture). The establishment of the deaf school helped to bring

¹ By the way these comments are based on repeated contact with numerous older deaf whose age is above 60 who have taken part in the “Older Deaf Peoples Day Care” programme run by Kathmandu Association of the Deaf. They point out that they lead a very isolate life in past, with little or no real communication during their youth.

isolated deaf together; and the establishment of the deaf association helped deaf organize together, and as one result the earlier version of sign language was transformed into NSL, which the deaf community in Kathmandu has now been using since the early 1980’s (Acharya 1997).

Although sign language was originally banned in the deaf school, deaf youth made an effort to keep it alive during their gathering in weekends. Later they established the Kathmandu Association of the Deaf (KAD), KAD developed a one-handed DEVNAGARI finger spelling system with the support of UNICEF (Acharya 1997). Upon the arrival of Ross, KAD supported her to collect sign language words to draft a first dictionary of NSL. This Nepali Sign Language Dictionary was published as Ross P, and Devkota NK 1990.

“Age stratification of linguistic variables . . . can reflect change in the speech of a community as it moves through time (historical change), and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (age grading)” (McKee & McKee 2011: 487). Therefore, the signs collected in the first Nepali Sign Language Dictionary are mostly based on the indigenous signs used by the first batch of students at the deaf school in Kathmandu (Ross P, Devkota NK 1990). However some of the signs were collected from other cities.

Most of the first and second generations of the deaf who can be said to use the present format of NSL² attended the deaf school where they were taught according to oralist methods. Most are from Newar families or other families based in Kathmandu. They were partly capable of lip-reading in Nepali and/or Newari. Many Nepali/Newari daily-use words which are monosyllabic are the most commonly used words which can be easily understood through lip-reading. However, this lip-reading was just used in daily life and household conversation, and this was generally mixed with gesture for better understanding.

² By the way this conclusion is based on stories told by the first generation of the deaf in Nepal, collected when I was an active member of Deaf history group in Kathmandu Association of the Deaf.

Most of them used mouthed Nepali with limited sign language. In the first generation of deaf who attended the oral deaf school, diversity in language use can be found. Education emphasized acquisition of spoken Nepali language among deaf, so mouthed Nepali was present in the earlier version of NSL.

Some deaf who learned written language in school were better capable of using finger spelling which was developed by them in the late 1980's. Still most deaf who attended deaf school at this time do not use finger spelling frequently, or are confused during use. This variation is found within the first generation of the deaf (Devkota NK 1993:8).

Even among Deaf who use lip-reading during family communication, this process was missing during deaf-to-deaf communication. The generation that was educated after the adoption of the finger spelling and after the publication of the first Nepali Sign Language Dictionary have continuously been using the NSL. Standardized NSL has made their communication different from the first generation of NSL users in Nepal. The NSL users of this generation have produced a vast variation along the different axes of sociolinguistic variation, as I have repeatedly noticed during a decade personnel observation. We can say, for example, that the NSL of Kathmandu has some differences from the NSL of Pokhara and vice versa, although in this article we are looking only at variation in Kathmandu by age.

We can make some generalizations about deaf youth and NSL. Deaf who are educated at deaf schools are capable of written Nepali and (some) English. Study states that deaf use written words, but not with the spoken language's grammar. Very few deaf (probably only post-lingual deaf) who have learned Nepali as their first language can conduct clear written communication with hearing people; among them most have good Nepali but poor English. In Nepal no special curriculum for the deaf has been designed, and deaf children learn English and Nepali as additional languages from kindergarten level,

mostly focusing on spoken language grammar³. "Linguistic descriptions of ASL emphasize its difference from English and often ignore the aspects of ASL that are influenced by English. One result of this is that some deaf people whose language has been influenced by English are not comfortable with saying that they use ASL."(Lucas 2004:17) A notable fact is that the Nepali deaf community still has not realized that the language that teachers use in Deaf schools is not actually NSL, but rather is Sign Supported Nepali (SSN) or Signed Nepali (SN), where signs are placed in the order of the grammar of Nepali Language. The translation of interpreters during the deaf-hearing communication, meetings with hearing peoples, and workshops as well generally is not in NSL but rather in SSN or SN.

2. Comparison of the NSL of older deaf and youths:

"ASL users are also aware of sociolinguistic variation in ASL. However, there are many aspects of that variation that have yet to be explored" (Lucas 2004:77). This happens in the case of NSL too as there has been no research of Nepali Sign Language within a purely linguistic framework. The two most recent research publications (Green 2003; Hoffmann 2008) were both from a Linguistic anthropology perspective. Some other research has been conducted in education of the Deaf, but these do not touch on linguistic issues. The full scope of variation within Nepali Sign Language between age generations cannot be demonstrated within the limits of this paper and without further research. Nonetheless, a comparison of the two sign language dictionaries published at different times, combined with personnel observation of the variation, helps us see that the following types of difference occur between the old and new signs:

1. Differences in signs used:⁴ Most of the signs used by Deaf of the older and current generations

³ By the way I mean that Sign Supported Nepali (SSN) or Signed Nepali (SN) is used in school where sign are placed in the order of Nepali grammar not NSL.

⁴ By the Way a large portion of the lexical variation in Nepali Sign language is mostly due to the influence. Finger spelling was developed in mid 1980's and before that the northern variety of sign language was

show differences in the lexical item. Either or both variants may be indigenous, or they may be borrowed. An example where we can see such full lexical replacement is the sign the domestic animal 'Ox', older sign for Ox represent by hand placed on the middle of the shoulders referring to the risen muscles in the Ox's shoulder, has been replaced by cow and plowing land using the traditional HALO instrument, which is used only with an Ox.



Older Sign
[Nepali Sign
Language Dictionary
(Ross P, Devkota NK
1990: 16)]



Current sign
[Nepali Sign
Language Dictionary
(Acharya K, Sharma
D 2003:25)]

2. Difference in phonology of individual signs

For this we can go to the sign of SAMOSA where movement and hand shapes completely changed. The older sign had L hand shapes joining together and moving to both sides making baby G hand shapes. In the newer sign, it been completely changed with O hand shapes on the right side.



Older Sign
Nepali Sign language



Current sign
Nepali Sign

not influenced by finger spelling and the southern variety was somewhat influenced by BSL (or ISL) finger spelling which was used along Nepal's southern border. Some of the signs collected from the southern part represent the BSL/ISL finger spelling as well, and appear among the signs collected in the Dictionary edited by Ross & Devkota 1985.

Dictionary
(Ross P, Devkota NK
1990: 42)

Language
Dictionary
(Acharya K, Sharma
D 2003:48)

3. Use of Finger spelling, and finger spelling incorporation:

“Woll (1991) found that there were many features that differentiated older and younger signers. Older signers used more finger spelling and had less clear mouthing patterns than the younger signers. Younger signers showed more influence from English in their signing” (Lucas 2004:87). But in NSL Older signers use less finger spelling of words, and also incorporate finger spelling hand shapes less often (although with some individual signs more often), so that older signers for example sign TEA with a C hand shape like holding a cup while younger signers sign it with a "CH" finer spelling hand shape.

In the old sign it was referred by the C hand shape with location in the lower lips, now this have been replaced by L hand shape (but with the middle finger also extended) with location in the lower lips.



Older Sign Nepali
Sign Language
Dictionary
(Ross P, Devkota
NK 1990: 46)



Current Sign
Nepali Sign
Language Dictionary
(Acharya K, Sharma
D 2003:51)

Contact influences and Borrowing can be another part of the finger spelling incorporation. As with Sutton's observation that in BSL it has been noted that Israeli Sign Language is influencing the signing of British Jewish deaf people, as many Jewish deaf people visit Israel and are increasingly adopting Israeli signs (as per Lucas 2004:88), so too in NSL, as the result of interaction with international deaf becoming more widespread and with the arrival of more and more deaf tourists in Nepal, and this contact has supported lexical borrowing as a source for

variation in NSL. Some older signs are also found to be borrowed, which we can see in example of the signs in the kinship, with the older sign for 'uncle' (mother's brother) borrowed from ISL, represent through the BSL U shaped hand before the indicating male touching moustache, have been replaced M hand shape in same position and movement to represent NSL finger spelling of MA.



Older sign
Nepali Sign language
Dictionary
(Ross P, Devkota NK
1990:06)



Current sign
Nepali Sign
Language Dictionary
(Acharya K, Sharma
D 2003:09)

Another example of a borrowed sign is the sign ACCEPT, borrowed from ASL and finally approved during the 5th National NSL Approval Convention in 2003, after many years in use. There is more borrowing in signs nowadays. Older signers are less influenced by foreign sign languages. This is affecting the current generation's lexicon and grammar. Younger signers are using more borrowed words with NSL.

4. **Use of mouthing:** Observations have shown that older signers mouthing was used more when they sign, and also the mouthing was different, in some cases less too. In Newar families, as I have indicated above, there was some mouthing in Newari⁵, which however now is no longer present in the younger generation of NSL use. Thus, there used to be present the use of different regional languages (in the form of mouthing) in NSL which is not present now. So there are

⁵ By the way, most of the Newar deaf of the older generation uses "LA" mouthing with NSL sign of WATER, this continues with other words too. This shows the different between mouthing between Newar and non-Newar signer.

differences: no mouthing vs. mouthing of Newari or a regional language of NSL user vs mouthing of Nepali and probably vs. NSL "mouth gesture"⁶.

5. **Fluency:** As already described above in the Older signers tended to be less or more fluent (depending on the individual's language acquisition background), and their sign may have had a smaller vocabulary, because NSL during the 1980's was standardized based only on a few cities. Northern dialect could be different from southern or other dialects. These differences are attributed to: 1. the small number of deaf families, making for a discontinuity between generations; 2. Changes in the educational system; and 3. changing technology. Woll also found lexical differences between older and younger signers and across regions (Lucas 2004). In Nepal, the younger generation of signers is more influenced from Nepali and English. In addition, their NSL vocabulary is greater than that of the older generation of the NSL users. For the example, older generation signers know little or nothing about computer technology or the signs related to this technology, while the younger generation has a high level of fluency in this field.

"Lexicostatistical comparisons between NZSL, BSL, and Auslan show that NZSL is a member of the British Sign Language family, known as BANZSL (Johnston 2003a; McKee and Kennedy 2000). However, is not easy to trace the original pathway between BSL and the development of the NZSL variety" (Mackee and Mackee 2011:490). The same happens in the case of NSL; Woodward pointed towards the possible link between NSL and the sign language(s) of the Indian subcontinent (Woodward 1993), and Zeshan as well in her research on the Sign Language in Indo-Pakistan (Zeshan 2000) had the same assumption. Although the current NSL does not follow the original Indian Sign Language, early NSL does contain some indigenous signs of northern India, and original source of those

⁶ By "mouth gesture" I mean pattern of mouth shapes and movements that deaf use while signing which really do not represent a spoken language, like while signing DEAF a NSL user may product mouthing "DAAP" which doesn't represent either English or to Nepali.

indigenous signes was Saryau Serchan, a deaf adult taught in the Deaf school of Gorakhpur (Sharma 2003:23). In addition, Pulak Murkhajee, a Indian deaf adult, spent a couple years in Kathmandu as volunteer advisor for the deaf association of Kathmandu.⁷

3. Deaf and languages in contact in NSL community

Deaf around Nepal enter Kathmandu for job, education, multipurpose training and other activities. This effort brings some of their indigenous local signs which later are adopted by the deaf of Kathmandu and come into use nationwide.

NSL itself is a natural language established by the deaf community of the Kathmandu Valley *and other areas of the country*, but we cannot deny the influence of other sign languages. If we compare NSL with other sign languages that it had contact with during its initial stage of formation and sign collection, we can see this influence. Foreigner deaf mostly come via Kathmandu, coming in contact with the deaf in the tourist areas of Kathmandu. Their destination will be deaf associations, especially KAD.

Meeting with foreign deaf leads Nepali deaf to communicate either using international signs, or to use English mouthing with Nepali signs. Sometime we can see deaf using halting ASL, where some words are borrowed from ASL and others from NSL but the grammar remains that of NSL or SSN. As well, due to the influence of deaf visitors, now deaf in Kathmandu are capable to use some ASL phrases too. In some cases if the deaf interact together for a longer time some of the signs are exchanged and form a mixed signing which later forms a pidgin SL.

⁷ By the way this observation is based in the memories of Mr. Raghav Bir Joshi, now MP, and one of the older generation of deaf and a photographer in the sign language collection project in 1985-1989. It was recorded while group work of Deaf history collection group in Kathmandu Association of the Deaf. Kiran Acharya also indicated this in his article "A history of the Deaf in Nepal".

4. Conclusion

"Age grouping is used in this study to capture the effects of historical change over time ("apparent time") rather than age-graded linguistic features that might change throughout an individual's lifespan" (Mackee and Mackee 2011:495). The process from Gestural system, to indigenous home signers, to an emergent signing community, finally to standardized NSL, has manifest itself in the linguistic variation found in the NSL used by different generations of deaf in Nepal. NSL variation may have evolved through the generations. Unfortunately, to date, insufficient linguistic research has been undertaken on this situation, and this paper aims to shed some light on lexical variation of the NSL of 1980's and 2000's, through the study of the deaf community of Kathmandu and vice versa. As Kathmandu is an important place in Deaf Nepal, it has language diversity, and this can be seen in a sociolinguistic study of NSL. In addition, NSL that originated from youths of Kathmandu in the 1980's is now influencing the nation, through various means. The most important of these means are deaf youths connecting with Kathmandu and also deaf schools are the other means. Following a year of collaboration and research with both generations of deaf Nepal, this essay documents the history of NSL and signing differences between the two generations in Kathmandu.

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Case marking in Dhimal

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This paper analyzes the case marking in Dhimal. The main 'adaptive-imperative' of case marking in Dhimal is to code the pragmatically-oriented nominative-accusative case-marking scheme. Dhimal has adopted the dative subject construction under the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages (King, 2009). It employs the pragmatically-oriented nominative-accusative case marking system.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the case marking in Dhimal. Dhimal is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by a minority group of the same name residing mainly in the far south-eastern Tarai region of Nepal. The population of Dhimal mother tongue speakers amounts to 19,300 in Nepal (CBS 2011).¹ Some hundreds of Dhimal speakers are also reported to be found in Darjeeling district of West-Bengal, India. Hodgson (1847/1880) is the description of the Dhimal language spoken in Darjeeling without any mention of Dhimal language spoken in Nepal at that time. Dhimal language is described as having two dialects viz. eastern and western by the previous researchers. King (1994, 2009), Cooper (1999) and Khatiwada (1999) put some examples to distinguish the varieties. However, it is still to be investigated whether the differences are enough to have the status of different dialects or they are only the spoken varieties. The different case marking systems displayed in both dialects, are treated contrastively.

This paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 presents the basic assumptions of the functional- typological grammar. Section 3 looks at the case role inflections which signal the syntactic relationship between the words or

structures in a clause. In section 4 the conclusion of the study is presented.

2. Basic assumptions

Grammatical case marking is generally referred to as primary morphological coding property of the syntactic or grammatical relations, viz. subject and primary objects (patient and dative) in a clause. Typologically the languages of the world reveal remarkable diversity in grammatical case marking. Three different systems have been observed so far, namely, active stative (coding semantic roles), ergative-absolutive (coding pragmatic function) and nominative-accusative (coding transitivity) (Givón 2001a: 201). Dhimal case marking system employs pragmatically oriented nominative-accusative case marking strategy. It treats S and A the same, and P differently. This phenomenon is shown in the figure (1).

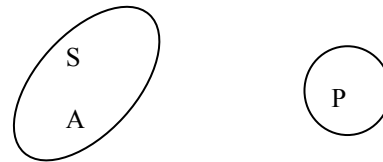


Figure1: Dhimal case marking strategy

Thus, in Dhimal, the subject of an intransitive construction and the agent of a transitive construction are treated in one way (nominatively) and the patient of a transitive construction is treated differently. This phenomenon is exemplified from Dhimal as in (1a, b).

- (1) a. *na-ϕ* *dzim-k^he-na*
2SG-NOM sleep-IMPF-2SG
'You sleep.'

¹ The total population of Dhimal in Nepal is 26,298 as reported in the census (2011).

- b. *na-∅ wa-seheŋ danai-k^he-na*
 2SG-NOM 3SG-ACC beat-IMP-2SG
 'You beat him.'

The subject of the intransitive construction (1a) and the agent of the transitive construction (1b) are zero marked, whereas the patient of the transitive construction (1b) is accusative marked in Dhimal.

This study is based on both primary and secondary data. The primary data for the western variety of Dhimal were elicited from the speakers residing in and around Damak municipality and the data for the eastern variety were elicited in and around Mechinagar municipality of Jhapa district. The secondary data are based on Grierson (1847/1880); Khatiwada (1999); and, King (2009). I have used the examples from the recorded natural texts but some instances are also elicited through translation method. Primary data were cross-checked with the other native speakers of the same area.

Morphological case marking of an NP is one of the overt coding properties of grammatical relations, others being the word order and verb agreement (Givón 2001a:175). Case marking is a morphological overt-coding property of grammatical relations: subject, direct object and indirect object. Such grammatical relations are encoded in the noun phrases by case role inflections. Similarly, they can also be indexed by pronominal verb agreement in the verbal complex. The case marking of the subject and direct object, two 'grammaticalized' grammatical relations is primarily governed by three functional-adaptive imperatives, viz. coding semantic roles, coding pragmatic function and coding transitivity. Though individual languages may enjoy adaptive compromise, most languages dedicate their indirect object case marking almost exclusively to marking semantic roles (Givón, 2001a:198).

3. Case role inflections

In addition to the nominative-accusative case marking system, first person and second person

subject pronouns are encoded in the verbal complex in Dhimal. It displays the grammatical relation of the pronominal subjects with the verb. A noun phrase may be case marked to signal the syntactic relationship at the phrasal and sentence level. Table 1 presents the case role inflection for different cases in Dhimal.

Table 1: Case role inflections in Dhimal

Case role inflections	Cases	Gloss
-∅	Nominative	NOM
-seheŋ ~-heŋ~-eŋ	Accusative/Dative	ACC/DAT
-ko	Genitive	GEN
-hoi/-aŋ	Instrumental	INST
-so	Ablative	ABL
-ta	locative	LOC
-dop ^h a	Comitative	COM
-b ^h ari	Allative	ALL

Table 1 shows Dhimal case markers that encode the case role inflections in Dhimal. In the following section, we briefly discuss the cases with the specific case role inflections.

3.1 The nominative

Case marking in Dhimal is governed by pragmatic orientation. Thus, the subjects of both transitive and intransitive constructions are equally marked with zero as in (2).

- (2) a. *ka-∅ dzim-g^ha*
 I-NOM sleep-PST.1SG
 'I slept.'
- b. *ka-∅ um-∅ tsa-g^ha*
 I-NOM rice-ACC eat-PST.1SG
 'I ate rice.'

In the example (2a, b) the subjects of both intransitive and transitive construction are zero-marked.

The subject as full-NP displays the same case marking morphology as shown in (3a, b).

(3) a. wadzan- \emptyset leŋ-hi
 boy-NOM laugh-PST
 'The boy laughed.'

b. wadzan- \emptyset meʒa- \emptyset piʔ-hi
 boy-NOM goat-ACC sell-PST
 'The boy sold the goat.'

Unlike the first and second person pronouns the third person pronouns and full-NP subjects do not have agreement with the verb as shown in the examples (3a, b).

3.2 The accusative

The patient of a transitive construction is marked in Dhimal in two different ways. The inanimate patient is zero marked just like the subject of an intransitive construction and agent of the transitive construction is marked by the accusative case, i.e zero marked as in (3b). On the other hand, the animate patient is marked by *-seheŋ*, *-heŋ* or *-eŋ* as in examples (4a, b).

(4) a. wadzan- \emptyset bedzan- kai-hi
 heŋ
 boy-NOM girl-ACC call-PST
 'The boy called the girl.'

b. na- \emptyset ka-seheŋ danai-n^ha
 2SG-NOM 1SG-ACC beat-PST.2SG
 'You beat me.'

Unlike the example (3b), the animate nominal patient in (4a) and pronominal patient in (4b) are marked by the accusative case marker *-seheŋ* or *-heŋ*.

3.3 The dative

The dative case is primarily used to express the syntactic relationship of indirect object in clause level. In Dhimal, dative case role is marked by the accusative marker *-seheŋ*~*-heŋ* or *~eŋ* just like exemplified in (3a,b). The beneficiary/recipient patients are dative-marked as in (5).

(5) wa ka-seheŋ atuisa
 3SG 1PL-DAT a.little
 bilaiti pi-hi
 potato- \emptyset give-PST
 'He gave me some potatoes.'

As shown in the example (5) the dative marker displays its function of an indirect object.

The same morpheme is realized as *-heŋ* an in example (6).

(6) ka ram-heŋ
 ISG Ram-DAT
 kitab- \emptyset pi-g^ha
 book- ACC give-PST.1SG
 'I gave a book to Ram.'

As shown in the example (6) the dative marker is realized as *-heŋ* for the function of an indirect object.

Sometimes the dative morpheme is realized as *-eŋ* an in (7).

(7) ram-eŋ m^htu-hi
 Ram-DAT be.hungry-PST
 'Ram is hungry.'

The example (7) is an example of dative subject construction in Dhimal. Since dative subject is not a characteristic feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages, it is an influence of the Indo-Aryan languages (King 2009:90).

3.4 The genitive

Genitive case in Dhimal is encoded by the suffix *-ko*, which is used to denote a possessive relationship between nouns. It follows the possessor and precedes the possessed nouns as in (8).

(8) wa bo-mi-ko si-ta
 3SG other-HCL-GEN house-LOC
 nokər hi-ka hi-g^ha-hi
 servant stay-NMLZ be-PH-PST
 'He stayed as a servant at some other's house.'

The genitive marker is followed by the emphatic marker *-ŋ* when more emphasis is required as in (9).

(9) ela-so bewalai-ko-ŋ
 now-ABL woman.PL-GEN-EMPH
 əd^hkar jen-aŋ
 right be-FUT

'Now onward only the women will be powerful.'

The genitive case does not show agreement to the verb. It agrees with the head noun which shows agreement with the finite verb.

3.5 The instrumental

The instrumental case is used to mark a tool, by which an agent accomplishes an action. The instrumental is marked by the suffix *-hoi* in the western dialect whereas the same is marked by the suffix *-aŋ* in the eastern dialect as in (10a, b) and (11a, b).² Hodgson (1847) mentions *-doŋ* as an instrumental marker in his data. The morpheme *-doŋ* is used as an emphatic marker in the present-day Dhimal language.

- (10) a. *wa laʈʰi-hoi puhyã se ʔ-hi*
 3SG stick-INST snake kill-PST
 'He killed the snake with the stick.'
- b. *kati-hoi katʰe ma-tʰeʔ*
 Knife-INST wood NEG-cut.IMP
 'Don't cut the wood with the knife.'

The instrumental marker in the western variety is *-hoi*. In contrast to this, the eastern variety employs *-aŋ* as the instrumental case marker as in (11a, b).

- (11) a. *wa laʈʰi-aŋ puhyã se ʔ-hi*
 3SG stick-INST snake kill-PST
 'He killed the snake with the stick.'
- b. *kati-aŋ katʰe ma-tʰeʔ*
 knife-INST wood NEG-cut.IMP
 'Don't cut the wood with the knife.'

² King (2009) reports an alternative but uncommon instrumental marker *-au*, which is not witnessed in my data so far.

The eastern dialect of Dhimal employs the instrumental marker *-aŋ* as shown in the examples (11a, b).³

3.6 The ablative

The ablative case in Dhimal is marked by the suffix *-so*, sometimes followed by emphatic marker *-ŋ*, as in (12a, b).

- (12) a. *na hasu-so-ŋ*
 2SG who-ABL-EMPH
dzota tsol-nʰa
 shoe buy-PST.2SG
 'With whom did you buy the shoes?'
- b. *kisan tai-ko miliŋ-so lohi*
 farmer self-GEN farm-ABL come.PST
 'The farmer came from his field.'

Ablative case is also employed in the temporal sense as in (13a, b).

- (13) a. *wa andzi-so-ŋ*
 3SG yesterday-ABL-EMPH
lo-ka mantʰu
 come-NMLZ NEG.be.EXT
 'He hasn't come since yesterday.'

- b. *ka rʰima-so-ŋ*
 1SG morning-ABL-EMPH
haidoŋ ma-tsa-gʰa
 whatever NEG-eat-1SG.PST
 'I didn't eat anything since morning.'

The temporal sense encoded by the ablative marker, sometimes followed by the emphatic marker *-aŋ/-ŋ* is shown in (13a, b).

3.7 The locative

The locative case marker in Dhimal is *-ta*. It functions as a spatial, temporal and locational goal as in (14).

³ The differences in the instrumental markers witness the differences in the two varieties (dialects) of the language.

- (14) *ka hisika siŋ-ta*
 1SG what.kind tree-LOC
hy-aŋ-ka ela
 sit-FUT-1SG now
 'What kind of tree shall I sit in now?'

Temporal location also is marked by *-ta* as in (15)

- (15) *ka ma-hi-ka bela-ta*
 1SG NEG-be-NML time-LOC
wa-ko ts^huri tsalai-n^ha
 3SG-GEN knife use-PST.2SG
 'Did you use his knife when I was not there?'

3.8 The comitative

The comitative case in Dhimal is marked by the morpheme *-dop^ha*. It denotes an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the event, whose role in the event is similar, but is not as important. Examples are (16a, b).

- (16) a. *kaŋko sanaiti-ko tsan*
 1SG-OBL-GEN friend-GEN son
wa-ko one-dop^ha
 3SG-GEN y.sister-COM
bihi paka hi
 marriage do-NMLZ be
 'My friend's son has married to his sister.'
- b. *ka te barka dzagir tsa-ka*
 1SG TOP big service eat-NMLZ
dyaŋ do p^ha k^hiniŋ han-aŋ-ka
 person with Only go-FUT-1SG
 'I shall go only with a person (who has) an attractive job.'

As in the examples (16a, b) the comitative or associative meaning of the nominal is encoded by the comitative marker *-dop^ha*.

3.9 The allative

The allative marks motion of the referents towards a goal. It is indicated by the morpheme *-b^hari* as in (17).

- (17) a. *obalai dera-b^hari hane-hi*
 3PL village-ALL go-PAST
 'They went towards the village.'

- b. *pok^həri-b^hari k^haŋ-labelau*
 pond-ALL watch-TEMP
na dz^həkəkəməkkə tiŋ-hi aŋ
 2SG brightening see-PST QUOT
 '(He) saw a dazzling light when looked towards the pond.'

As shown in (17a, b) the allative marker *-bhari* in Dhimal encodes the meaning 'towards' a certain location.

4 Summary

In this paper, I have described the case marking schemes in Dhimal. Dhimal employs nominative-accusative case-marking system. Dhimal also displays pronominal verb agreement in first person and second person pronouns with three numbers in western variety and singular and plural numbers in eastern variety. The cases nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, genitive, locative, allative and comitative are marked to code syntactic relations in the clause. The main 'adaptive-imperative' of case marking in Dhimal is to code the pragmatically-oriented nominative-accusative case-marking scheme. The inanimate patient is zero marked whereas the animate and pronominal patients are marked morphologically. The accusative and dative cases are marked by the same marker. Dhimal has adopted the dative subject construction under the influence of the language of wider communication viz. Nepali.

Abbreviations

ϕ	zero/null	INST	instrumental
1	first person	INTEN	intensive
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	NEG	negative
ABL	ablative	NMLZ	nominalizer
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
COM	comitative	PERF	perfective
DAT	dative	PH	past habitual

EMP	emphatic	PIMPF	imperfective
EXT	existential	PL	plural
GEN	genitive	PROG	progressive
HCL	human classifier	PST	past
QUOT	Quotative	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	TEMP	temporal
IMPF	imperfective	TOP	topicalizer

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Clitic -e in Bhojpuri

Gopal Thakur Lohar

From functional typological view, clitic -e does not fall in any of the 'parts of speech' in Bhojpuri but it is multifunctional being a clitic in the language. In this context, this paper is an attempt to examine the clitic -e in Bhojpuri from formal and functional perspectives with facts and findings.

1. Background

Certain bound morphemes are neither clearly independent words nor clearly inflectional affixes in a number of languages. Such phenomena with problematic forms exist in many languages of the world, including English, generally treated as an *acategorematic* as they do not readily fit into a standard description of 'parts of speech' (Yadav, 1991:123).

In this context, this paper is an attempt to examine the clitic -e in Bhojpuri from formal and functional perspectives and to talk about such phenomenon discussed in other Indo-Aryan language like Maithili.

Initially *e* is the proximal demonstrative adjective as well as adverb in Bhojpuri: *e gā~o* 'this village', *e t^hā~o* 'this place/here' and *e ber* 'this time/now'.

Besides, *e* is the exclusive emphatic marker in Bhojpuri translated into English as 'only' or 'alone' attaching to the end of host words and are clearly enclitic: *syam-e* 'only Shyam'.

Such phenomenon occurs in other Indo-Aryan languages, i. e., Maithili: *ram-e* 'only Ram'. But in Bhojpuri such phenomenon seems more functional.

In Bhojpuri, -e stands as marker of dative/anti-dative, instrumental and locative cases as well as marker of reason, converb, tense and so on.

In this context this paper is an attempt to examine the -e construction in Bhojpuri from formal and functional perspectives. This paper consists of four sections. Section 1 is an introduction, section 2 clarifies clitic vs. affix, section 3 discusses functions of clitic -e and section 4 supplies summary of the work.

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2. Clitic vs. affix

Zwicky and Pullum (1983) list a set of criteria for distinguishing clitics from inflectional affixes and arrive at an unconventional conclusion that the English contracted negator *n't* behaves like an inflectional affix rather than a clitic. Zwicky and Pullum's prominent criteria are: degree of selection, arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations and morphophonological idiosyncrasies. They are briefly summarized as follows:

- A. The degree of selection between the clitics and the words preceding them is low; in other words, clitics can attach to words of virtually any category:
 1. The person I was talking *to's* going to be angry with me. [preposition]
 2. The ball you *hit's* just broken my room window. [verb]
 3. Any answer not entirely *right's* going to be marked as an error. [adjective]
 4. The drive home *tonight's* been really easy. [adverb]

The inflectional affixes, by contrast, are quite specific in their selections of stems: the plural attaches only to noun stems, the past only to verb stems, the superlative only to adjective and adverb stems.

Like in English, -e in Bhojpuri also can attach to words of virtually any category:

1. *ram-e eso pas kari* 'Only Ram will pass (the exam) this year.' [noun]
 2. *mohan kitab pāl^h-e* 'Mohan used to read a book.' [verb]
 3. *babuji b^huk^h-l-e cal lini* 'Father returned hungry.' [adjective]
 4. *tu nic-e bai^h-e* 'Sit downside only.' [adverb]
- B. There are no arbitrary gaps in the set of host-clitic combinations. But such arbitrary gaps

do occur occasionally in inflectional paradigms, as is well known; e. g., the English verb *stride* anomalously lacks a past participle. Likewise, arbitrary gaps within a single category exist with regard to *n't*: **mayn't*, **amn't*.

Regarding clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri, no arbitrary gap is found in the host-clitic combinations, e. g., as observed in *rame*, *pʌtʰe*, *bʰukʰe* and *nice* shown in A. But arbitrary gaps within a single category exist regarding inflectional paradigms. We have suffix *-i* as a feminine marker but we can see arbitrary gaps in some contexts such as **lofiari* 'female blacksmith', **sʌsuri* 'mother-in-law' as unmarked forms are *lofiarin* or *lofiarin* and *sas* or *sasu* respectively.

- C. No morphophonological idiosyncrasies exist within clitic groups. Hosts are unaffected by the clitics. But for inflectional formations, morphophonological idiosyncrasies are very common. *n't* also displays a number of morphophonological idiosyncrasies (Yadav, 1991: 125):

do don't $u \rightarrow o$ (vowel change)

will won't $l \rightarrow \phi$ (deletion and vowel change) $i \rightarrow o$

shall shan't $l \rightarrow \phi$ (deletion but no vowel change)

must mustn't $t \rightarrow \phi$ (deletion accompanied by syllabicity)

In Bhojpuri, there is a plural marker suffix *-ʌn*, which exhibits idiosyncrasies morphophonologically:

fiʌsua 'sickle' *fiʌsuʌn* $a \rightarrow \phi$ (deletion of vowel)

gʌo 'village' *gʌuʌn* $a \rightarrow ʌ$ and $o \rightarrow u$ (change of vowel)

Moreover, Zwicky (1985) observes clitics to have some properties of affixes (especially inflectional affixes) when contrasted with independent words; and words to have some of the properties of syntactic phrases when

contrasted with clitics. In other words, it can be concluded that clitics are placed between affixes and words. Zwicky (1985) has also demonstrated some tests:

- A. Phonological tests include internal/external sandhi, word/phrase domains in prosodic phonology and word/phrase domains in segmental phonology; and initially observe clitic forming a phonological unit with an independent word.

In Bhojpuri, clitic *-e* normally forms a phonological unit:

ram ram-e 'only Ram'

kʰet kʰet-e 'on the farm'

pias pias-e 'because of thirst'

- B. Accentual test observes clitics as dependent and words as independent accentually but the test lacks reliability as some languages do permit clitics to be accented in certain circumstances such as for emphasis or contrast.

In Bhojpuri, clitic *-e* is generally accented as primary stress in the context of emphasis.

- C. Tests using similarities between clitics and inflectional affixes include binding, closure, construction, ordering, distribution and complexity concluding that clitics are affix-like in contrast of independent words as they resemble inflectional affixes.

In Bhojpuri, clitic *-e* is bound.

- D. Syntactic tests include deletion, replacement and movement concluding that a word can serve as a syntactic constituent, and therefore can be subject to syntactic processes; a clitic, however, is only a proper part of a word-like construct and should be immune to such processes.

In Bhojpuri, clitic *-e* is only a proper part of a word-like construct. It does not exhibit syntactic processes like deletion, replacement and movement.

- E. A test derived from interface assumptions concludes that a clitic group — a

combination of a host word with its clitics — should not be available when syntactic rules apply because cliticization occurs in a component which is ordered after syntactic rules apply.

Such is the case in Bhojpuri also as clitic *-e* is not independently ordered when syntactic rules apply.

Clitic *-e* has its root initially in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, *evA* 'only' is the emphatic marker postposition: *sAtyAM evA* 'truth only' becomes *sAtyAM-evA* when the two words are uttered under the sandhi rule. *sAtyAM* comes to be *sāc* and *evA* shortens to *-e* as a clitic and comes to be *sāc-e* 'truth only' in Bhojpuri. Likewise, *-e* is a locative marker suffix in Sanskrit: *gḥh-e* 'at home'. Clitic *-e* as a locative is true copy of Sanskrit in Bhojpuri and it becomes *g^hAR-e* 'at home'.

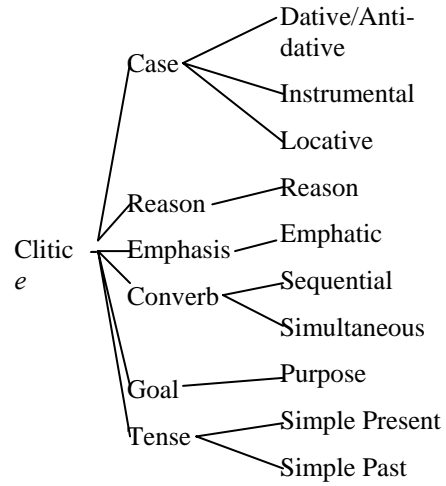
3. Clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri

Clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri is multi-functional. It can occur with different parts of speech in different functions as in (1).

- 1) a. *ram aj-e g^hAR-e a-il hA*
 Ra today- home- come be.
 m CLT CLT -PP NPT
 'Ram has come home only today.'
- b. *mARu kal^h-e gāw-e gA-il*
 Mangaru yesterday village- go-
 -CLT CLT PST
 'Mangaru went to village only yesterday.'

Among the illustrations above, clitic *-e* with *g^hAR* 'home' in 1(a) as well as with *gāo* 'village' in 1(b) has come as locative but with *aj* 'today' in 1(a) and *kal^h* 'yesterday' in 1(b) as exclusive emphatic. The illustrations 1(a–b) demonstrate that *-e* can meet all the criteria Zwicky and Pullum (1983) and Zwicky (1985) have tested to be clitics in Bhojpuri. Moreover, table 1 presents all possible functions of clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri.

Table 1: Functions of Clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri



3.1 As a dative/anti-dative case marker

Dative or anti-dative case in Bhojpuri is generally marked with postposition *ke*:

- 2) a. *hAM ram ke ci t t^hi lik^h-ni*
 I Ram DAT letter eat-
 PST
 'I wrote a letter to Ram.'
- b. *raju mo hAN ke pi t-l-ak*
 Raju Mohan ADT beat.PST.
 NH
 'Raju beat Mohan.'

Case marker *ke* has expressed dative in 2(a) and anti-dative in 2(b) respectively. But the case marker *ke* is simply replaced by clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri:

- 3) a. *hAM to f-e pA t^h-Ai-ni*
 I you- CLT teach- PST
 'I taught you.'
- b. *raju hAM-e pi t-l-ak*
 Raju 1S-CLT beat- PST.NH
 'Raju beat me.'

As illustrated in 3(a–b), clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri functions as dative and anti-dative markers being attached with personal pronouns.

3.2 Instrumental case

The general instrumental case marker in Bhojpuri is *se*:

- 4) a. *kAM se lik^h-a-la*
pen INS write-NPT.PASS
'It is written with pen.'
- b. *fāt^h se kam ho-la*
I INS work be.NPT.PASS
'Work is done with hand.'

But Bhojpuri has property to mark the instrumental case with clitic *-e* instead of the case marker *ke*:

- 5) a. *biya fāt^h-e uk^ha[-φ]*
seedlings hand-CLT uproot.IMP.NH
'Uproot the seedlings with hand.'
- b. *aAM lat-e kAR-φ*
mud foot-CLT do.IMP.NH
'Knead the mud with foot.'
- c) *raju fAM-e dāt-e kaṭ le-lak*
Raju 1S-CLT tooth- cut take.
CLT PST.
NH
'Raju bit me (with teeth).'

As illustrated in 5(a-c), clitic *-e* functions as instrumental marker being attached with nouns, replacing the case marker *se*.

3.3 Locative case

The general locative markers in Bhojpuri are *mē* and *pAR*:

- 6) a. *g^hAR mē cAL-φ*
house LOC walk.IMP.NH
'Walk into house.'
- b. *c^hAPPAR pAR cAT^h-φ*
roof LOC climb.IMP.NH
'Climb on the roof.'

Besides, Bhojpuri has also innovation to mark locative with clitic *-e*. It is copied from Sanskrit, already described:

- 7) a. *g^hAR-e cAL-φ*
house-CLT walk.IMP.NH
'Walk into house.'
'Let's go home.'
- b. *babuji bAJAR-e gA-il ba-ṭē*
Raju market- go-PP be-
CLT NPT.H
'Father has gone to market.'
- c. *k^het-e jφ-o*
field-CLT go.IMP.NH
'Go to the cultivated field.'
- d. *sīṭ^h-e cAT^h-φ*
ladder-CLT climb.IMP.NH
'Climb up the ladder.'

As in 7(a-d), the clitic *-e* is realized as locative, being attached with nouns in Bhojpuri. It is in continuity of Sanskrit tradition: *grāme* 'in house'.

3.4 Reason

Bhojpuri has a tradition to mark reason with clitic *e* with nouns:

- 8) a. *pias-e bol -al nAik^he ja-t*
thirst speak- be-neg. go-
-clt inf 3s.npt iprf
'It's difficult to speak because of thirst.'
- b. *jaṭ-e nin nAik^he pAR-At*
cold- sleep be-NEG. lay-IPRF
CAU 3S.NPT
'It's difficult to sleep because of cold.'

8(a-b) illustrates clitic *-e* marks reason being attached with nouns.

3.5 Emphasis

Bhojpuri has the adverb *k^hali* to express exclusive emphasis:

- 9) a. *fiAM k^hali am k^ha-em*
 I EMP mango eat-FUT
 'I'll eat mangoes only.'
- b. *tu k^hali pēṛ gaN-i-fiA*
 you EMP tree count-
 FUT.2.MH
 'You'll only count the trees.'

But nowadays Bhojpuri has *kewAl* and *fi* at the place as Hindi influence and *matr* as the Nepali one. :

- 10) a. *kewAl tere kAlf-ne ki*
kewAl tofiARA kAlf-la ke
 EMP 2.POSS say-PP PUR
deri fiε (Hindi)
deri ba (Bhojpuri)
 late be.3S.NPT
 'Only you have to say.'
- b. *duniya mē nepal fi*
duniya mē nepal fi
 world LOC Nepal EMP
gulam nAlfi fua fiε
 (Hindi)
gulam nAlk^he b^hA-il
 (Bhojpuri)
 slave neg. NPT be-PP
 'Only Nepal has not experienced colonialism in the world.'
- c) *taṛka-lai mar-nu matrA*
taṛka ke mar-Al matr
 Tadka ACC kill-PP EMP
ram-baṭA sAmb^hAb t^hyo
 (Nepali)
ram se sAmb^hAO rAlf-e
 (Bhojpuri)
 Ram INS possible live-PST
 'Tadka was only possible to be

killed by Ram.'

But these all adverbs of emphasis are naturally expressed in Bhojpuri by clitic *-e*:

- 11) a. *tofiARA kAlf-Al-e ke*
 2.POSS say-PP-CLT PUR
deri ba
 late be.3S. NPT
 'Only you have to say.'
- b) *duniya mē nepal-e gulam*
 world LOC Nepal-CLT slave
nAlk^he b^hA-il
 neg.NP be-PP
 'Only Nepal has not experienced colonialism in the world.'
- c) *taṛka ke mar-Al ram-e*
 Tadka ACC kill-PP Ram-CLT
se sAmb^hAV rAlf-e
 INS possible live-PST
 'Tadka was only possible to be killed by Ram.'

The illustration 11(a–c) demonstrates clitic *e* being attached with nouns and verbs functions as exclusive emphatic marker.

3.6 As a sequential converb

Sequential converb marker suffix in Bhojpuri is – *ke* in general. It is added in the verb-root to construct a sequential converb:

- 12) a. *k^ha-ke sut-i-fiA*
 eat-SEQ sleep-IMP.MH
 'Sleep after meal.'
- b. *iskul se a-ke k^hA-i-fiA*
 school SRC come- eat-
 SEQ IMP.MH
 'Have your meal after having come from school.'

Besides, *-Al*, *-il* and *-wAl* are the infinitive and participle marker suffixes in Bhojpuri. But these

suffixes are again attached with clitic *-e* final to be formed as *-Ale*, *-ile* and *-wAle* to construct sequential converbs in Bhojpuri. But *l* simply omitted and *w* turns to *o* under cliticization:

- 13) a. *ɦAm bAjar se am*
I market SRC mango
kin-le *a-em*
buy-SEQ come-FUT
'I'll come having bought a mango from market.'
- b. *u tA g^hAr-fi se*
he PAR home-EMP SRC
k^hA-ile *a-il rAf-e*
eat-SEQ come- live-
PP PST.NH
'He had already come having meal from home only.'
- c. *ɦAmni karyAkRAM se gA-ole*
we program SRC sing-
SEQ
bAjA-ole *a-wAt rAf-ni*
ring-SEQ come-IPRF live-
PST
'We had been coming having sung and played music from programme.'

Likewise, *-t*, *-At* and *-wAt* are imperfective marker suffixes in Bhojpuri. But they are followed by clitic *-e* to function as immediate sequential converbs in Bhojpuri:

- 14) a. *ɦAika k^hu-te sut gA-il*
boy eat- sleep go-
ISEQ PST.NH
'The boy slept immediately after meal.'
- b. *ɦAm pani pi-te*
I water drink-ISEQ

cAl de-ni
walk give-PST
'I walked immediately after drinking water.'

- c. *u bAjar se a-wAte*
he market SRC com-ISEQ

pAr rAf-Al
lay live-PST.NH
'He fell ill immediately after having come from market.'

Illustrations 13(a–c) and 14(a–c) demonstrate that clitic *-e* function as sequential converb marker combining with either participle or imperfective forms of verbs.

3.7 As a simultaneous converb

The perfective markers *-Al*, *-il* and *-wAl* are followed by clitic *-e* to reshape them into imperfective with *-Ale*, *-ile* and *-wAle* final with verb-roots. Earlier, those imperfective verb patterns have already been described as sequential converbs:

- 15) a. *babuji cor ke*
Father thief ACC
pAkAr-le *A-ni*
catch-SIM come-PST.H
'Father came catching the thief.'
- b. *tu ku tum log ke*
you guest PL ADT
bAit^hA-ole *rAf gA-ilA*
sit-SIM live go-2.PST.MH
'You remained letting the guests sit so long.'
- c. *gAya gAya gA-il se*
Gaya Gaya go-PST.NH CMP
gA-ile *rAf gA-il*
go-SIM live go-PST.NH
'Gaya went Gaya and continued living there.'

As already mentioned in 15(a–c), *-t*, *-At* and *-wAt* suffixes are generally imperfective markers but combined with clitic *-e* final are used as immediate sequential converbs:

- 16) a. *tu rasta mē ɦA ~ s- jA-i-ɦe*
te

you way LOC laugh go-
-SIM IMP.NH

'Go laughing on the way.'

b. *u rat-b^hAR k^ha-te rARf-Al*
he night- eat-SIM live-
whole PST.NH
'He went on eating whole night.'

c. *fAmni rat-b^hAR ga-wate*
we night-whole sing-SIM
rARf-ni
live-PST
'We went on singing whole night.'

As mentioned in 16(a-c), clitic *-e* functions as simultaneous converb marker with verbs in imperfective mood.

3.8 Purpose

The general infinitive and past participle in Bhojpuri are expressed with suffixes *-il*, *-Al* and *-wAl* in verb-root. But clitic *e* with verb root also expresses purpose infinitive:

- 17) a. *cAl-A k^ha-e*
walk-IMP.MH eat-CLT
'Let's go to have meal.'
- b. *mARfies pARt^h-e gA-il*
Mahesh read-CLT go-PP
ba
be-3S.NPT.NH
'Mahesh has gone to read.'
- c. *mai k^ha-we gA-il*
mother feed-INF.P go-PP
ba-ri
be-3.F.NPT.H
'Mother has gone to feed.'

As mentioned in 17(a-c), clitic *-e* functions as purpose marker or *uttaarka* \square *lik kriya* \square as per traditional grammar, when attached with verb-root in Bhojpuri. But causative verb in infixed with *-w* before *e* as demonstrated in 17(c).

3.9 As simple present marker

Bhojpuri verbs take *-la*, *-le* and *-li* suffixes in root following suffix *-e*. But to express habitual context, frequently in proverbs, the root ends with only clitic *-e*:

- 18) a. *so-e se k^ho-e*
sleep-CLT CMP lose-CLT
'The one, who sleeps, loses.'
- b. *d^ha-we se pa-we*
follow-HAB CMP get-HAB
'The one, who keeps following, wins.'
- c. *kAR-e se d^hAR-e*
work-CLT CMP store-CLT
'The one, who sows, reaps.'
- d. *de-l k^hARi na k^ha-e*
give-PP chalk NEG eat-CLT
bela kol^h cat-e ja-e
ox peeler lick- go-CLT
INF.P
'The ox goes to lick the peeler without eating the chalk.' (Lit.)
'Deny the meal, lick the plate.'

Clitic *-e* functions as habitual infinitive, being attached with verb-root in Bhojpuri, as illustrated in 18(a-d). Bhojpuri proverbs have such peculiarity.

3.10 Imperative

Generally the senior commands the junior one. But the close youngsters in Bhojpuri are commanded with non-honorificity by using clitic *e* following suffix *-if* with the verb root:

- 19) a. *d^hre jA-if*
slowly go-IMP.NH
'You'll be going slowly.'
'Go slowly.'
- b) *nimAN se bait^h-if*
good with sit-IMP.NH
'You'll be sitting well.'

'Sit properly.'

As mentioned in 19(a–b), clitic *e* with verb-root suffixed by *-ifi* functions as imperative marker in Bhojpuri.

3.11 Simple past

Clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri is also used to mark the simple past tense:

- 20) a. *ego raja rAfi-e*
 one king live-3.SG.PST.NH
 'Once upon a time there was a king.'
- b. *u sikar-e k'el-e*
 he prey-CLT play-3.SG.PST.NH
 'He used to hunt only.'

4. Summary

Bhojpuri has a number of *-e* constructions that look like suffixal. But *-e* in Bhojpuri is a clitic, not a suffix, as it meets typological tests Zwicky and Pullum (1983) and Zwicky (1985) have empirically prescribed. Section 1 of this paper introduces with properties of clitic with special reference to clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri. Section 2 discusses clitic vs. suffix with tests formulated by Zwicky and Pullum (1983) and Zwicky (1985) and *-e* in Bhojpuri has been tested. Section 3 has discussed functional perspectives of clitic *-e* in Bhojpuri. There are ten types of functions explained in this paper, e. g., dative/anti-dative, instrumental and locative case marker, reason marker, exclusive emphatic marker, sequential and simultaneous converb marker, purpose marker, imperative marker, and simple present and simple past tense marker. Its distribution is also high being attached with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, too. The last section summarizes the work. This paper has sited different contexts of Bhojpuri discourse, based on central Bhojpuri dialect of western Bara and Parsa districts in Nepal. From functional typological perspectives, this paper is an attempt to examine whether a single form can perform a number of functions. The facts and findings show that *-e* in Bhojpuri is a multifunctional clitic.

Abbreviations

1	first person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADT	anti-dative
CAU	causative
CLT	clitic
CMP	complementizer
DAT	dative
EMP	emphatic
EX	exclusive
F	feminine
FUT	Future
GEN	genitive
H	honorific
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IPRF	imperfective
ISEQ	immediate sequential converb
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MH	mid-honorific
NEG	negative
NH	non-honorific
NPT	non-past
PAR	particle
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	past participle
PRF	perfective
PST	past tense
PUR	purpose
S	singular
SEQ	sequential converb
SIM	simultaneous converb
SRC	source

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Participant tracking in Nepali sign language narrative

Michael W Morgan

Story-tellers use the morpho-syntactic devices available in the language to narrate the interaction of characters and events in such a way that their audience is able to track WHO did WHAT to WHOM. This paper looks at participant tracking devices in narratives in a little-studied language of Nepal: Nepali Sign Language.¹

1. Introduction

1.1. Theory meets practice

Documentation of a language can produce a very thick reference grammar of 568 or so pages; however, if it doesn't talk about how things work in *actual discourse*, it isn't saying much about the language in question as it is actually used. After all, we *all* speak *not* in sentences – the favorite topic both of reference grammars and so-called theoretical linguists. Rather, we speak in discourse, a messy level of language analyzable only in terms of 'units' of language both shorter than the sentence, and also much longer than a single sentence.

1.2. Pre-theoretic axioms

In terms of discourse and how it is to be analyzed, we take as givens several axioms:

- Speakers of all languages love to tell stories.
- Storytellers have at their disposal whatever range of morpho-syntactic devices present in their language to present the interaction of characters and events.

¹ I would like to express my gratitude here to: Deaf in Kathmandu and Pokhara who agreed to participate in the first stages of the NSL corpus collection project, to those who agreed to have their signing videoed and used in the corpus and in other studies such as this one, to Deaf students in India and Ethiopia who have allowed me to actively formulate many of the ideas contained herein and who provided feedback on those ideas, and so especially to Upendra Khanal, who fits into all three categories, and whose own narrative served as the source of the photos illustrating this paper.

- For a storyteller to be successful in storytelling, the audience must (minimally) be able to follow WHO did WHAT to WHOM; i.e. to track participants. (Tracking events is also important; however, in this paper we will focus only on participants.)

2. Background on Nepali sign language

Although we can speak of Nepali Sign Language (hereafter abbreviate: NSL) as the national sign language of Nepal and the preferred language of the Deaf community in Nepal, it is in fact not used by all deaf², nor is it the only sign language in Nepal³. Due to the central role played by schools for the deaf in the acquisition of NSL by deaf children, the language is primarily used by Deaf in Kathmandu, Pokhara, and other towns which have schools for deaf.

While Ethnologue (Epele, et al, 2012) gives the number of “speakers” as 5,740 (following to the 2001 census), in fact the number is either much lower (if we limit the count to people who acquired NSL in a manner similar to how native speakers of spoken language acquire their language), or else much larger (if we include all members of the signing Deaf community). Ethnologue also states that “[m]ost are monolingual”. This, however, seems clearly *not* to be the case – at least not if we stipulate that bilingualism in Nepali does not have to be via the spoken mode, nor does it have to be full and

² The perceptive reader will have noted a distinction in the preceding sentence between 'deaf' and 'Deaf'. Although in fact there are a number of complicating factors, both theoretical and practical, this usage (common in discussions of sign language since the 1970s) distinguishes between persons who merely have a medical condition (severe hearing loss) and those persons who can be said to belong to a linguistic and cultural community, primary but not sole criterion for membership into which is preferred use of a sign language. Members of this latter group are referred to by the capitalized 'Deaf'.

³ In addition to NSL, Epele, et al (2012) list three so-called village sign languages

balanced. Most Deaf, especially those who have gone through Deaf schools – which are, after all, one of two central *foci* of NSL acquisition and use –, are at least somewhat bilingual in written Nepali as well. The importance of this bilingualism for linguists studying NSL is the influence spoken/written Nepali grammar and grammatical structures have on signing, giving rise not only to a signed version of Nepali (called variously, but Signed Nepali), which, although expressed manually/visually actually follows the rules of Nepali⁴ and not of NSL.

Two common (but probably false or “semi-false”) beliefs about NSL are that it did not exist prior to the opening of schools for the deaf, and that it is either a dialect of or at least closely related to, Indian Sign Language (ISL).

While NSL has indeed developed considerably (at least with regard to the lexicon) over the past 30 years (since schools for the deaf started to use sign language in instruction), if we look at signers who were in the first cohorts of these schools, we see two extremes: one group who clearly have

4 Actually, although no studies of Signed Nepali have yet been published, analysis of examples in our corpus which have been analyzed show that Signed Nepali follows only *some* of the rules of spoken/written Nepali (notably word order rules and use of certain function words and case markers). Furthermore even these rules are followed inconsistently, resulting in what might more accurately be called “Signed Broken Nepali”.

Although it should be noted that the prime practitioners of this Signed Nepali are hearing signers (e.g. teachers of the deaf and NSL interpreters), Deaf themselves, when confronted with non-fluent hearing signers and when in situations where Nepali is felt to have more prestige (e.g. in schools classrooms), also use Signed Nepali, often sliding back and forth along a continuum between this Signed Nepali and a less bastardized NSL. While such signing has traditionally been included under the rubric of “code switching”, to emphasize the fact that it is often not a simple “either/or” situation but rather an adjustment of signing along a continuum moving closer to Signed Nepali or closer to NSL, I have termed it – originally in the context of Ethiopia and Ethiopian Sign language but equally applicable to Nepal and NSL – “code sliding” (Morgan 2009),

only pidgin-like command of NSL, and others whose NSL signing is virtually indistinguishable from younger fluent, “native” signers⁵. This leads one to assume (although there are no records of this period to corroborate) that the fluent, native-like signers among this cohort *must* have been exposed to NSL during the period of language acquisition. Thus there must have been an NSL, even if it was very different from what we now know of as NSL, even before the founding of schools for the deaf.

As for the second false belief, *pace* previous publications (Woodward 1993; Zeshan 2000) NSL is not clearly related to ISL (nor to Pakistani Sign Language, which Zeshan subsumes under a single Indo-Pakistani Sign Language). Although there is clearly a sizable ISL element in NSL, most probably they are borrowed, or else, some of it anyway, part of a common South Asian gestural system which is one component of both languages.⁶

3. Discourse referents and argument structure

Texts, as first discussed in detail by Halliday and Hassan (1976), manifest *coherence* and *cohesion*.

5 By 'virtually indistinguishable' I do not mean of course that age-related variation features are not present; rather I mean that the overall morpho-syntactic complexity and other gross linguistic features of these older signers is every bit as fully 'language-like' as third generation fluent signers. Also note that the term “native” here has a somewhat different meaning than usual, since few deaf are born into families with parents or elder family members who are fluent in NSL, and so almost all deaf acquire NSL not from birth, but from “first contact” (which is usually when they are enrolled in a school for the deaf).

6 Another possible scenario, which I think is less likely, is that if NSL *was* related to ISL at some point in the past, since that time there has been sufficient vocabulary replacement, as well as restructuring that it is no longer appropriate to say that NSL and ISL belong to the same language or even to the same language family (Morgan 2012). Strange though this statement may seem, this is precisely what happens with creoles, and also with mixed languages.

That is to say, in layman's terms, a good text (narrative, etc) must somehow fit together as a whole (*coherence*) and also "flow" with one sentence connecting to the next (*cohesion*). Restricting the focus to the topic of the present paper, this means that, in order to fulfill the communicative functions of a narrative, the signer must minimally encode the argument(s) (= participants) of successive clauses in such a way that it is possible (or indeed, if s/he be a good storyteller, easy) for the addressee to follow what is happening, and always be able to know who is doing what to whom. That is, the narrative must be presented in such a way that allows for the various morpho-syntactic (and other) forms used by the narrator to be decoded in a correct and meaningful way.

Much theoretical treatment of syntax acts as if it were *indifferent* whether a verb frame: GIVE(N₁, N₂, N₃)⁷ is manifest as:

- 1a. [SITA]₁ gave [the BOW]₂ [to RAMA]₃.
- 1b. [Jānaki]₁ gave [the weapon]₂ [to Lakshman's brother]₃.
- 1c. [That most loyal of all women]₁ gave [Shiva Dhanush]₂ [to Lord Vishnu's seventh Early incarnation]₃.
- 1d. [SHE]₁ gave [IT]₂ [to HIM]₃.

In (many approaches to) syntax we have simply:
 a. Each argument "slot" is an NP. b. There are "NP Rewrite Rules". c. Apply them.

In discourse however, and especially in narrative discourse, it is (usually) *not indifferent* whether, for example in English narrative, the NP in a given clause is a) an indefinite noun, b) a definite noun, c) a synonym, hyponym, etc., d) a modified noun or noun phrase, e) a proper noun, f) a pronoun, or g) a "zero".⁸

7 Where N₁, N₂ and N₃ are the agent, patient and recipient nominal arguments.

8 It should be pointed out that studies of spoken language discourse have tended to look at written texts only, and even when they have ventured to non-written spoken texts, they have tended to ignore co-speech gesture as an option for manifesting sentence arguments. Even if typically co-speech gesture is

For example, in the following short narrative example, one and the same referent is encoded in successive clauses in a number of different ways:

- 2. Once upon a time there was a little girl. Her name was Goldilocks. She lived with her grandmother, who had raised her since she was a baby.

One day Goldilocks went for a walk in the woods, and Ø came upon a little brick house. Ø Overcome by curiosity like all little girls, she entered the house. There was nobody at home.

All bold-face words (and Øs) refer to the same referent (i.e. Goldilocks), and until the last sentence there is a continuity of focus on this referent, and (again, until the final sentence) the grammatical subject – the center of focus – remain the same. Despite this continuity of focus and of grammatical subject, the manifestation of the focused referent changes from clause to clause, from indefinite noun phrase, to proper noun⁹, to pronoun, back to proper noun, to a sequence of zeros, and finally back to a pronoun.

4. Rules for participant encoding

It is assumed there are "rules" (albeit perhaps somewhat flexible rules) which "govern" choice of how referent NP "slots" are filled. It is assumed that these "rules" function to aid the "listener" track the various referents through the course of the narrative. It is further assumed that a number of factors influence these "rules": role in information structure, grammatical role, position on animacy scale, role in preceding text, role in following text, etc.

Such rules have been proposed for a number of languages, and within a variety of theoretical frameworks. For example, Poopatwiboon (1982) presents a detailed list of participant reference rules for Northern Khmer (spoken in Thailand).

exactly that (i.e. gesture occurring *with speech*), there is also the (theoretical) possibility that gesture *replaces* speech and could be the sole manifestation of an argument (different from zero).

9 This presentation is a bit of a fudge of course, given that in this clause the proper name is not the grammatical subject, but merely co-referential to it.

One theory which has attempted to “mathematicized” the rules of participant encoding is Centering Theory¹⁰. According to this theory, each sentence (or clause) has two (potential) centers: a *current center* (in English – and Nepali – almost invariably the grammatical subject) which is the main/most important “focus” of the sentence, and a forward-looking center (which is that argument from among the which is most likely to be picked up as the current center of the following sentence/clause.¹¹

Regardless of the theory, and presumably also regardless of the language, tracking participants involves:

- Introducing participants
- Maintaining focus on a given participant
- Shifting focus from one participant to another (and back) as events dictate
- Reintroducing a participant, or bringing focus back onto a participant which had previously gone out of focus

Such shifts can be more or less expected, more or less felicitous, more or less “smooth”. Various morpho-syntactic and lexical devices are used to help make transitions/shifts as “easy” as possible

In the section below, we will discuss some of these morpho-syntactic devices, both in spoken

languages (as a base of reference) and in Nepali Sign Language (and also other sign languages which have been studied in this respect to date).

5. Outline of current research on NSL

Data for the current study come from a parallel project which aims to develop a corpus of natural Nepali Sign Language discourse. Although the goal is to collect and analyze NSL discourse from a wide variety of genres, both monologic (such as story-telling, personal narratives, lectures, etc) and dialogic (including “true” dialogue, but also such things as interviews),, to date, only monologic narratives have begun to be collected. These are both personal narratives and also story (re)-tellings. As only the last of these have begun to be analyzed, the data for the current study is from this type of discourse, and so the conclusions apply – until further types are also analyzed and compared at least) – to this type of narrative only.

Data collected to date have been from (both prelingually and postlingually) Deaf signers in Kathmandu Valley and Pokhara. For the narrative retellings serving as data for the current paper, deaf informants in Kathmandu and Pokhara were shown a 7 minute *Tom and Jerry* cartoon (episode “The Brothers Carry-Mouse-Off”). After watching it (as many times as they wanted) they were videoed retelling the cartoon (or as much as they remembered) in NSL.

The benefit of using such cartoons (and also cartoons and movies produced in the era before “talkies”¹²) for sign language data collection is that they are fully accessible and fully comprehensible to Deaf as there is no spoken dialogue, and general no or limited written text.

As the corpus is still small and analysis still “a work in progress”, the aims of this paper are illustrative rather than comprehensive.

10 A bibliography of works on or works applying Centering Theory would be quite long. For a practical introduction one might profitably consult any number of coherent short presentations of the theory being applied to specific languages, such as (Di Eugenio 1998; Walker, Cote, and Iida 1994; Aroonmanakun 1997; and Turan 1998) where the theory is applied to Italian, Japanese, Thai, and Turkish, respectively.

11 While many of the concerns of Centering Theory are also addressed under the notion of “cohesion” in the early work of Halliday and Hassan (1976), it should be noted that cohesion is a much broader concept, including *all* instances of cohesion, while Centering Theory focuses *only* on “centers” , i.e. on cohesion of the grammatical subject/focus. In addition, the *raison d'être* of Centering Theory is anaphora resolution.

12 In addition to *Tom and Jerry*, which has been the “stimulus” for narrative discourse collected for NSL, silent movie era *Felix The Cat* cartoons have been used by the author to collect narrative in Indian Sign Language (ISL) and Ethiopian Sign language (YMSQ). Comparisons made at the end of this paper are based largely on an analysis of narrative in these two other sign languages.

6. Encoding discourse referents in NSL narrative

Starting our presentation from the more familiar territory of spoken-language, discourse, and choosing a language familiar to all, in English verbal arguments (be they subject/current centers or other) can be manifest in a number of ways:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • full noun (including proper and common nouns, and also expanded nouns – i.e. noun phrases) • pronouns • zero
Fig. 1: Potential mechanisms for coding participant referents in English discourse

Full noun

If now we compare the list of potential ways participant referents can be manifest in *signed* narrative discourse, we find a much more complicated and longer list, shown in Figure 2:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • noun (including: common noun or name signs, modified noun, synonym, hyponym, etc) • pronoun (index point) • eye gaze indexing • spatial indexing • agreement • classifier incorporation • embodied action¹³
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13 We must be careful *not* to confuse this inclusion of embodied action as a fully legitimate mechanism within NSL with a return to the days when all sign language was viewed as 'mere' gesture and mime. And the careful distinction is possible because, now as opposed to 60 years ago, we have a good understanding of the distinction between iconicity within language (having mostly cleared up the misunderstanding of de Saussure's notion of arbitrariness), of the rule-ordered systematicity of

• (zero)
Fig. 2: Potential mechanisms for coding participant referents in NSL discourse

In fact, in sign language discourse several of these may be articulated simultaneously¹⁴. To take an example from one of the narrative retellings, we see the following “bi-clausal” event (1a and 1b form the first “clause, 2a-2c the second):

3. Lx¹⁵ FALL
 HS CL:animal
 Sp [window]
 RS [mouse]
 EA 'whistle'

Combined and translated into English this becomes: “And so Jerry (the mouse) whistled and then Tom (the cat) fell out the window” – produce by a rather complex interplay of coding mechanisms, but in fact containing a *single* articulated lexical sign (i.e. FALL).

Since what these various categories might look like will be unfamiliar to most spoken-language readers of this journal, photo examples illustrating the more important of them are provided here in Figure 3:

Figure 3: examples of various participant coding mechanisms in NSL discourse

sign language, and also the beginnings of an understanding of how embodied action fits in the bigger picture, on the edge of (but within) *parole*.

14 It appears, in fact that certain verb types (such as the verb LOOK-AT) are almost invariably accompanied by embodied action, that is, the signer himself also shift his facing and gaze, generally in the same direction as the manual Agent-to-Patient agreement direction (with the signer embodying the agent referent), or else (less commonly it seems) embodying the patient (for example, looking away, when the patient is ignoring the gaze of the agent).

15 The various “tiers” here are: Lx = lexical sign, HS = hand-shape (classifier). Sp = spatial indexing, RS = role shift, and EA = embodied action. Following accepted sign linguistic glossing practice, words in small capitals represent lexical signs.



a. lexical noun = MOUSE



b. pronoun



c. classifier (hand on head) = MOUSE + embodied action (facial expression) = CAT



d. classifier (index finger) = MOUSE + embodied action (gaze+facial expression) = CAT



e. embodied action = LAYS-BACK-RELAXING



f. agreement (hand) and embodied action (signer's head), both = LOOK-AT



g. lexical sign BOX with spatial indexing and gaze = located at (signer's) left = BOX

7. Data Analysis Example

As stated above, the purpose of this paper is not to provide a comprehensive summary analysis of participant tracking in , but rather to provide and introduction, and overview, and now finally, an example from actual NSL discourse. If we look at one of the videoed retellings, the initial eleven event “clauses” can be summarized as follows:

4a. [CM] [M] [M] [M] [CM] [MC] [M] [M] [M] [C] ...

where each pair of square brackets represents an event “clause, and contains the participant(s) involved (either M for Jerry the mouse, or C for Tom the cat, or both, in the case of both are involved, e.g. as agent and patient, or in reciprocal action). Taking this same sequence and looking at how each participant is encoded, we have the following:

4b. [LL] [L] [E] [E] [E] [L+CC] [GA] [E] [Ø] [C] [LE] ...

where L indicates the participant is encoded by a lexical sign, C by a hand-shape classifier, A by agreement (marked in the verb), E by embodied action, G by gaze, Ø a zero (i.e. clause without any encoding of participant, e.g. a verb sign which shows neither agreement nor subject/patient incorporation) and combinations of these in the case where a single event “clause is encoded in more than one way.

Already from this very short segment of narrative we see a pattern emerging, from which several general rules can be formulated:

Rule 1: when a participant is introduced the first time, it is expressed as a lexical sign

The first introduction in the given case, the first “clause” is in fact the “title” of the narrative “Cat and Mouse story”

Rule 2: When there is a shift in focus to a different participant (i.e. back to a participant which had been introduced previously, but which had gone “out of focus”), here too the participant is expressed as a lexical sign.

An example of this is seen in the last clause in the sequence above, where the shift in focus is from the mouse to the cat.

Rule 3: where the focus is being maintained, participant is expressed non-lexically.

As for the possible non-lexical expressions, in the given instance embodied action predominates, but we also see examples of gaze, agreement and classifier constructions. The fact that embodied action predominates is perhaps, in the opinion of this researcher, a result of the sub-genre (action narrative), but also of the engaging style of the given narrator. Less skilled and less engaging narrators in the sample of narratives so far analyzed use embodied action significantly less frequently.

What at first glance may seem to be a breaking of this rule in the second clause above (with [M] being expressed lexically (as [L]), is however motivated by Rule 1. Although MOUSE appears already to be in focus in the previous clause where it was lexically-expressed, in that clause (the “title” of the narrative) the focus was on both CAT and MOUSE taken together, and so this is not a case of the focus being maintained, but rather a shift from focus on M and C *jointly* (in the title) to focus on M *alone* (in the second clause).

8. Conclusion

Even from the above short analysis we can in fact proffer several conclusions, tentative to be sure, but nonetheless likely to be worthy of consideration:

The rules adduced above from the NSL narrative example coincide extremely well with those of Centering Theory, and with those adduced for a considerable number of other, spoken languages.

However, of course, since NSL – as too other sign languages – seems¹⁶ to have a wider range of morpho-syntactic and other mechanisms at its disposal for expressing and tracking participants. As with other sign languages, the fact of this multitude of other devices available means that *lexical* and/or *pronominal* referencing density may be lower than in spoken languages. It also means that many expected “zeros” may in fact be filled by some of these other means (e.g. embodied action, or gaze).

If, now we compare the tentative preliminary results from NSL narrative to narratives in other sign languages we have looked at, it seems that perhaps a few of these devices (e.g. spatial indexing) are *less* common in NSL discourse than in other sign languages studied, and that *lexical referencing density* may be a bit more common than in other sign languages. But, of course, our analyzed corpus of NSL discourse is still small, and these results may deviate slightly as we analyze more signers and more narratives – and of course as we start to look at other types of (less action-oriented) narratives and also at non-narrative genres.

Finally, some advice for spoken language linguists:

Depending on your theory of Language, you may chose to view some of the mechanisms used in narrative as outside of the domain of the *Linguistic Semiotic*, strictly defined. Traditionally, such ignored mechanisms included all the various types of “gesture”.

For spoken language (which uses the aural-oral channel for transmission and reception), manual and other gestures (which use the visual modality) are easy to ignore, and to exclude from the field of inquiry. However, viewed from the standpoint of sign languages, where language and “gesture” both occur in the visual modality, such hard and

16 Here the qualifier “seems” is used intentionally, since some of the “seeming” is illusory, the result of the unnatural hard-and-fast distinction made between language and gesture by most spoken-language analysts, and the fact that they therefore decide to exclude all consideration of gesture in their analyses.

fast distinctions are much harder to make, and harder still to justify. Thus, one lesson spoken-language linguists should take home from studies of the interplay of sign language and gesture in deaf discourse is that, whatever *a priori*, axiomatic theoretical stance you may take, language and gesture are in fact clearly a part of a single, broader *Communicative Semiotic*, and thus gesture cannot be viewed as irrelevant to the analysis of language, especially *real* language, as it occurs in the context of communication.¹⁷

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¹⁷ Although I am not sure when I started to refer to the *Communicative Semiotic*, my first published move in this direction, and the first that indicated that the analysis of sign language discourse should cause all linguists to rethink what are generally the all too narrow limits we impose on the field of linguistics (e.g. a linguistics which excludes the study of gesture as it occurs with speech in narrative) is to be found in (Morgan 1998). One recent work which does a very good job arguing for such a rethinking for spoken languages is (Enfield 2009) which examines pointing gestures within Lao discourse.

Negation: Evidences from the Dura language

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The Dura, one of the seriously endangered Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by the Dura people in Lamjung in Gandaki zone in west Nepal has /mo/mapi/ muni/ /ta/ markers to negativise sentences.

1. Introduction

Van Driem (2001: 811) has classified the Dura language as West Himalayish Sub Group of the Tibeto-Burman group. Originally, the Dura people migrated from Purang of China to Karnali Valley and then moved to eastward of Nepal in the sixteenth century. The autoglotonym of the language is the Tandrange Kura and the hetroglotonym is *Khamlyamkhulung Kura ,PokhariThoke Bhasha*. The number of the native speakers is decreasing to 2,156 (CBS 2010) from 5,169 (CBS 2001) in the population census and is on the verge of extinct. The Gurung and Magar living in Pokhari Thok speak it in all domains. Many researchers, scholars and linguists (Bandhu 2001; Lewis 2009; Moseley 2007) have treated the Dura language as the extinct language but this researcher has been working on the Dura language for the last eight years and encountered the fluent Gurung speakers of the language. Because of several sociolinguistic factors, Dura have adopted Gurung, Thapa, Rana, Gurung-Dura, Dura-Gurung Ale Magar as their surnames.

2. Theoretical background

This paper mainly describes and discusses on negative markers and how clauses are negated and presents and reviews the effect of Nepali language in the Dura language. Negation means simply stating that proposition is not true. Turning affirmative sentence into negative can have many interesting effect on many level of languages. The semanticists tell us that the meaning of the various elements of sentences can be affected by negation and the pragmaticist says negations are used differently in different context. According to Miestamo (1973:1), the

standard negation means a basic ways of a language has for negating declarative verbal clauses. In other words it refers to basic clausal negative construction(s) language. SN was referred to as the basic way (or ways) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses. The term SN originates from Payne's (1985) well-known article on the typology of negation; he characterizes SN as follows: By 'standard' negation, we understand that type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences. Such sentences are characteristically main clauses and consist of a single predicate with as few noun phrases and adverbial modifiers as possible. With this trait as a guide, we can identify standard negation in more complex sentences... (Payne 1985: 198 requoted from Miestamo 1973:39). The languages of the world can have several negative constructions. Some of them can be analyzable as SN and some can't. The above definition contains following restrictions that determine the limits of SN: verbal, declarative, main clause, productive, and general. Let us first examine the distinction between declaratives and non- declaratives. Different negative constructions may be used with different grammatical categories, and if one is dealing with indicatives in each case there is no reason to say that one of the constructions is SN and the other ones are not. I would like to illustrate this with clauses from the Dura language. Later on, Pyane (2007:282) has stated that negative clauses usually occur in some context of some presupposition, functioning to negate and counter –assert that presupposition.

The notion of affirmative and negative is encoded in the world languages. The restriction is only on clause negation. There are two negative markers /mo/ma/mu/ in assertive and / ta / in imperative clause structure in the Dura language. There is no agreement of number person and gender to the verb while making negation in the clauses. The basic word order of the Dura language is SVO

and verb final language. Relatively, the word order is free and SVO does not seem to be canonical in this language.

The propositions that stand for acceptance is known as affirmative and deny or prohibition are assumed as the negative proposition in the Dura language

3. Negation and tense

In traditional grammar negation denotes to prohibition or deny in proposition. According to Bhat (1999:13), tense is inflectional markers of the verb for denoting the temporal location of event (or situation). Similarly, the notion of tense is related to time reference. In the Dura language there are two tenses contrast: past and non past. Negation occurs in both past and non past tenses in the Dura language. I would like to exemplify it in the following sentences (1a-c).

- (1) a. η i b^haka mo-co-ba.
I- rice- NEG-eat-NPT
'I do not eat rice'.
- b. η i kat^ha mo- c^hi-da.
we -story-NEG-tell
'We did not tell a story'.
- c. hejro-domo pau r^ho-ba
they-PL- tomorrow -come-NPT
'They will come tomorrow'.

These sentences are taken from the text I have collected from the native speakers of the Dura language though their surname is Gurung. The example (1a) has non- past tense marker /ba/ in the verb /co/ 'eat' and /mo/ is prefixed to verb to negativise in meaning. The sentence (1b) is in the past tense and the suffix/da/ is suffixed to the verb, /c^hi tell'. The negation is made prefixing the marker /mo/ to the verb in this sentence. Similarly, the sentence (c) demonstrates that the negation in the non past tense. The use of temporal adverbial pau 'tomorrow' denotes the future action or future tense in the Dura language. Bhat (1999:35) has stated that temporal adverbials have the function of modifying the temporal character of the verb ,or rather that of providing additional

information about the location in time of the event (or state) that the verb denotes. The same assumption holds to be applicable in the case of the tense distinction in the Dura language.

4. Negation and aspects

Aspect indicates temporal structures of an event, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time (on-going or completed, beginning, continuing or ending). The most important aspectual distinction in natural language is perfective and imperfective. The following example (2a-d) illustrates the negation process.

2. a. η i mo- k^hai
I NEG- come.
'I did not come.'
- b. η i mo-khai-du-mu
I NEG-come-NPT
'I was not coming '
- c. η i mo- k^hai-du
I NEG-come-NPT
'I have not come'
- d. k^hai-po-muni-una.
I come-IDENT-COP-NEG-PT
'I had not come'.

Notice that the two pairs of sentences (2a-d) and given above from above differ another in terms of aspectual distinction. The pair (2a-d) denotes an ongoing event i.e. imperfective. The pair (3a-b) denotes a completed event i.e. perfective aspect. While forming the sentence (2a) the negative marker is prefixed to the verb khai 'come'. The tense marker /da/ is default or deleted. The sentence (2b) is formed negative prefixing the negative prefix to the verb and the tense marker - dumu which is the progressive tense marker in the Dura language is not deleted. In the sentence (3a) the negation is made prefixing the negative marker /mo/ to the verb. The perfect tense marker /du/ is not deleted while making the sentence negative. The sentence (3b) is changed into negative inserting the negative particle /muni /in the verb in which tense distinction is shown by the auxiliary (copular)

verb /po / and aspect distinction is by the aspect suffix /una/ occurring with main verb khai

4. Negation in imperative mood

The negative imperative clauses are formed by adding one of the negative prefixes /mo/ and /ta / to the main verb. There is only one form of second person pronouns in the Dura language. That is /no/ in both formal and informal or let's very formal .Since the verb morphology illustrates that the presence of pronoun is optional. While forming the negative sentence the prefix /ta/ is prefixed to the verb. Let's consider the following demonstrations (3a-c).

3. a. m^he ta-kiu
Local wine NEG-drink
'Do not drink local wine'.
- b. hui-so ta-k^hai
he -COM NEG-Go
'Do not go with him.'
- c. tutu ta-khai
Down-NEG-GO
'Do not go down'

The examples (2a-c) show the negation in Imperative mood in the Dura language. The negative marker /ta /is prefixed to the main verb to make negative imperative clause. The negative marker /ta/ does not occur in non -imperative contexts.

5. Negation and hortative mood

The hortative suffix to the verb is < ge > in the Tandrange Dura language. It is mainly used to encourage the speakers or someone to action in this language. Let's consider the following examples as in (5a- d).While forming negative sentences the negative prefix /mo/ is prefixed to the main verb as in (4a-d).

- 4 a. hetto c̄o-ge
This- much -eat-HOR
'Let's eat this much'
- b. hetto mo-c̄o-ge
This- much- NEG -eat-HOR
'Let's not eat this much'.

- c. k iu-na khai-ge
House-Loc go-HOR
'Let's go to house'
- d. kiu-na ma-khai-ge
House-LOC NEG-go-HOR
'Let's not go to house'.

6. Negation and copular and auxiliary verbs

According to Anderson(2006:30) the most basic and geographically widespread functions of auxiliaries verbs construction cross-linguistically are to encode tense aspect and mood categories that subdivide first past and future then within each categories there are various fine grained shades of remoteness and immediateness in particularly in past and future. There are two copular verbs in the Dura language: The Dura language has two main copular verbs. They serve all existential. locational, attributive and possessive functional. Negation of the copular clauses is formed by the use of the negative particle /mapi/ and muni/.Let's consider the following examples (5a-e).

5. a. i kiu le
This- house -IDENT-COP-NPT
'This is a house'
- b. i kiu mapi
This house NEG.NPT
'This is not a house'
- c. ŋi kiu-na po
I house-LOC -EXIST-COP-NPT
'I am in the house'.
- d. ŋi kiu-na muni
I house-LOC NEG-NPT
'I am not in the house'.
- e. ŋi kiu-na muni -una
I house-LOC NEG- PT
'I was not in the house'.

6. Negative suffixes in conditional clauses

The conditional marker suffix is /c^hise/ in the Dura language. The negative prefixes in the conditional clauses are conditioned by the tense they carry. Therefore, the conditional clause in

the past tense even if it is hypothetical takes the prefix <mo.>. If the clause is the in the past tense it employs < mu > analogous to the main verb. The sentences (6a-b) is in the conditional past tense respectively.

6. a. hui-ge kja-da -c^hise bihe u-ba
He-ERGask-PT-COND Marriage-Do-NPT
'If he asked I would marry'
- b. hui-ge mΛ-kya-c^hise bihe mΛ-ui
He-ERG NEG-ask-NPT-CON Marriage -
NEG-DO-INF
'If he does not ask I would not marry....'

7. Negative quantifier

Negative quantifiers (Payne 2007:293) are susaije' nobody' kalaije nowhere' komΛi' never' in the Dura language. The following example (7a-b) has illustrated this phenomenon.

7. a. ŋi susaije ma-katu
I Nobody - NEG-meet. NPT
'I did not meet anybody'
- b. hui-ge komΛ moΛ-ro.
He-ERG- never- NEH-come
'He never comes.'

8. Double negative constructions

Double negatives are produced when two successive predicates are negated in the Dura language. The phenomenon is illustrated in (8a-b).

8. a. disaro -ge hade mo-ō-mu
Children -ERG nothing NEG- eat-PROG
'Children are eating nothing'.
- b. ŋi-ge hade gumi muni
I-ERG- nothing- money - NEG
'I have no money at all.

9. Summary and findings

The philosophers have debated between the relationship of affirmative and negative since ancient time. From this point of view, the simple propositional logic ,affirmation and negation are

symmetric i.e. a simple way of changing truth value of the proposition The Dura language has mainly two types of negative constructions. They are imperative and non-imperative constructions like other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. The prefixes have meaning in process of negativising the propositions.

Abbreviations

COM	Commutative
COMP	Comparison
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copular verb
DM	Determiner
ERG	Ergative case
EXIST	Existential
GEN	Genitive
IMPERF	Imperfective
LOC	Locative case
M	Mood
NPT	Non-past tense
PERF	Perfective aspect
PT	Past Tense

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Person, number and gender system in Bodo

Parijat Narzary

This paper deals with the features (i.e. person number and gender) of the noun. It also aims to explore and explain the forms and functions of inflectional markers that contribute into making of noun morphology in Bodo.

1 Introduction

The Bodo people are Sino-Tibetan origin of Mongoloid group. They are one of the indigenous ethno-linguistic groups of present north-eastern India who belong to Tibeto-Burman language family. Bodo spread in different parts of north-eastern India and in other parts of India as well as in the neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan but majority of the population is in Assam. But the Bodo people from these countries gather once a year in India during the Bathou festival, a religious festival of the Bodos.

2 Person

The category of person in linguistics is used to mark some kind of deictic reference for the participants in an event. These participants are known as the speaker, the listener and the person/thing being talked about by the speaker and listener. In other words, these participants are a must in every possible linguistic event. Grammar labels these participants as 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person respectively.

It is, however, interesting to explain the roles of these participants in a slightly different context. Imagine, someone is reading a book, let us say GBT (Government and Binding Theory), and the topic s/he is reading is 'Case filter'. How should we put the aforementioned deictic pronominal participants in place in this context? The explanation should come as, Liliane Haegeman is the first person (author) and someone (the reader) is the second person and 'Case filter (the topic) is the third person. The above mentioned categorization or classification of person seems to be relevant in Bodo also. Similarly deictic reference for participants in different speech events gives different personal pronominal terms.

2.1 Persons of Bodo pronoun

Bodo pronouns represent all the three persons. In Bodo the personal pronoun does not show any gender distinction. The pronoun of Bodo can be classified into six main classes, Personal Pronoun, Demonstrative Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun, Relative Pronoun, Reflexive Pronoun and Possessive Pronoun. Given below is the table of the pronoun in Bodo with respect to persons.

2.2 Personal pronouns

Table 1: The personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	aŋ (I)	zəŋ (we)
2 nd	nəŋ (you) nəŋthaŋ (you hon)	nəŋsər (you Pl) nəŋthaŋməŋ (you Pl Hon)
3 rd	biyə(s/he) bithaŋ (s/he Hon)	bisər (they) bithaŋmə↔n (they Hon)

Honorific is addressed to someone elderly based on formality, social distance, or someone who holds a high position or rank in government services or jobs.

Table 2 shows the different grammatical functions of the pronouns in Bodo:

Table 2: Different functions of the pronouns

Subject Pronoun	Direct Obj Pronoun	Indirect Obj Pronoun	Possessive/ Genitive Pronoun
aŋ (I)	aŋk ^h əu (me)	aŋnə (me)	aŋni (my)
nəŋ (you)	nəŋk ^h əu (you)	nəŋnə (you)	nəŋni (your)
biyə (s/he)	bik ^h əu (her/him)	binə (her/him)	bini (her/his)
zəŋ (we)	zəŋk ^h ↔u (us)	zəŋnə (us)	zəŋni (our)
nəŋsər (you pl)	nəŋsər ^h əu (you pl)	nəŋsərnə (you pl)	nəŋsərni (yours pl)
bisər (they)	bisər ^h əu (them)	bisərnə (them)	bisərni (their)

2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns indicate something which is close to the speaker, or probably something which is in the hand of the speaker, or something which the speaker can touch or show from a distant. Examples

- (a). This is a book.
- (b). These are my books.

Both the sentences indicate something which is close to the speaker. Example (a) is used for singular and example (b) for plural. Same goes for the demonstrative pronoun /that/ and /those/. The only difference is /that/ is for singular and the later for plural.

Table 3: The demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative in Bodo	Meaning	Deictic reference
be	This	Indicates what is near the speaker
bəi	That	Indicates what is far from the speaker
besər	These	Indicates what is near the speaker
bəisər	Those	Indicates what is far from the speaker
beəɔ	Here	Indicates what is near the speaker
bəiəɔ	There	Indicates what is far from the speaker
be	This one's	Indicates what is near the speaker
bəi	That one's	Indicates what is far from the speaker

From the above table, in Bodo we can see that there is no difference between 'this' and 'this one'. And the same goes for 'that' and 'that one'. However there is a difference in demonstrative

pronoun according to human and non-human. The table 4 shows it.

Table 4: 'This' and 'that'

Singular	Plural
bi (this)	bisər(these) +human
	bəp ^h ər(these) –human
bəi (that)	bəisər(those) +human
	bəip ^h ər(those) –human

2.4 Interrogative pronouns

In Bodo, interrogative pronoun is formed by question markers which follow the pronouns. Interrogative pronouns are used to ask questions. So, it represents the thing that one does not know. The common interrogative pronouns are who, whom, what and which. Also the possessive pronoun whose can also be an interrogative possessive pronoun. List of interrogative pronouns are shown below.

Table 5: The interrogative pronouns

	Subject	Object
Person	Who	Whom
Thing	What	
Person/thing	Which	
Person	Whose	Possessive

The examples 1(a) and 1(b) make it clearer. The noun phrase that the interrogative pronoun represents is shown in bold.

- 1.(a) pəraisali-k^həu **sər** nəgər-kə?
school-Acc who.QM leave-Pst (Int)
'Who left the school?'
- (b) **sər** pəraisali-k^həu nəgər-kə?
who-QM school-Acc leave-Pst (Int)
'Who left the school?'

The above interrogative pronoun serves as the subject interrogative pronoun. Here 1(a) serves as a question for interrogative pronoun 'who'. Both 1(a) and (b) are grammatically correct.

- 2.(a) sər-nəɔ səŋ-nə?
whom-QM-Poss(-animate) ask-Dat
'Whom to ask?'
- (b) səŋ-nə sər-nəɔ
ask-Dat whom-QM-Poss(-animate)

‘Whom to ask?’

- (c) **hat^hai-ə** sər-k^həu nu-amən?
 market-Loc whom-Acc see-Pst
 ‘Whom did you see in the market?’
- (d) **aj** bi-k^həu hat^hai-ə nu-dəŋmən
 I- him- market- see-Pst
 S Acc Loc
 ‘I saw him in the market.’

Here 2(a) is a grammatical question and it cannot be switched as in 1(a) and (b) for 2(b) is an ungrammatical question marker. The interrogative pronoun ‘**whom**’ in Bodo always stays as an object. Examples 2(c) and (d) works as the object interrogative pronoun.

- 3.(a) **nəŋ** sər-nə hə-dəŋmən?
 you- whom-QM-Dat give-Pst
 2S
 ‘To whom you gave?’
- (b) **aj** nizəm-nə hə-bai
 I-1S nizwm-Dat give-Pst
 ‘I gave to Nizwm.’

The above interrogative pronoun ‘nizwm-nə’ is the position of indirect object which has been questioned and thus it functions as the indirect interrogative pronoun. The past marker / hə-dəŋmən/ can also be said as /hə-ə/ or /hə-k^hə/ in the spoken form.

- 4.(a) **nəŋ** ma kalam(gasinə)-dəŋ?
 you-2S what-QM do-Pres.PROG.
 ‘What are you doing?’
- (b) **aj** kənt^hai lir-gasinə-dəŋ
 I-1S poem write-Pres.PROG.
 ‘I am writing a poem’.

Example 4(a) and (b) are the examples of interrogative pronoun ‘**what**’, ‘kənt^hai’ shows that it is marked as an object to its corresponding question ‘what’.

- 5.(a) **ma** zazen-k^hə?
 what-QM start-Pst (Int)
 ‘What’s started?’
- (b) **sinema-ya** zazen-bai
 cinema – Nom start-Pst
 ‘Cinema started’.

The examples 5(a) and (b) are also the interrogative question and answer to it. It takes the position of subject.

6. (a) **bəbe** p^həi-grəə? daədəi na daə?
 Which come-first egg or chicken
 ‘Which came first? Egg or the chicken?’

In 6(a), the interrogative pronoun which acts as a subject whereas 6(c) the interrogative pronoun /bəbe/, when suffixed with /-zəŋ/ is understood easily that an instrument is required even without adding the word hammer as in 6 (b).

- (b) **biyə** **bəbe?** hatura- de- lugəi-
 zəŋ nə dəŋ?
 s/he Which Hammer- hit- Want
 Inst Abl
 ‘By which hammer does she wants to hit’
- (c) **bəbe?** -zəŋ
 Which Inst
 ‘By which’.
- (d) **biyə** **jita-ni** hatura-zəŋ de- lugəi-ə
 nə
 s/he Jita- hammer-Inst hit- want-
 Gen Abl Pres
 ‘She wants to hit with Jita’s hammer’

The pronoun when it occurs with the possessive marker, indicate possessive question, indicating to whom the person or object referred to, belongs. Example 7(a) proofs that:

- 7.(a) **biyə** sər-**ni** p^hisazə
 she whose daughter
 ‘Whose daughter is she?’

2.5 Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun ‘who’ and ‘that’ in Bodo has the same morpheme if Bodo grammar is described in terms of English grammar. Here in the sentences below, the nominative marker occurs with adjective. So in Bodo relative pronoun, the adjective takes the nominative case marker /-ə/ or /-ya/. But in the sentence number 8(b), when the relative pronoun ‘who’ is removed the nominative marker is removed from adjective and is suffixed to noun.

- 8.(a) bəisə gətʰɔ zai- somaina bin gətʰɔ
r -pʰər pʰə -ya i -pʰər
Dem child Rel beautiful His child
-Pl -Pl -Nom -Pl
'Those children who are beautiful are his children'
- (b) bəisər nai-nə- gətʰɔ- bini gətʰɔ-
məzəŋ pʰər-a pʰər
Dem look-Dat- child-Pl- His child-Pl
good Nom
'Those beautiful children are his children'
- (c) zai subuŋ- tʰab undu- tʰab sikar-ə
pʰər-a yə-a
Rel people- early sleep- early wake-
Pl Pl Pres Pres
'People who sleeps early wakes up early.'
- (d) bizab zai-ha muŋ dəŋ
book Rel-Poss name have
'The book that has a name'.

2.6 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronoun is used in grammatical description to refer to a construction where the subject and the object relate to the same entity.

Table 6: The reflexive pronouns

Singular		Plural	
ɑŋkʰəunə/gəəkʰəunə	Myself	zəŋkʰəunə/gəəkʰəunə	Ourselves
nəŋkʰəunə/gəəkʰəunə	Yourself	nəŋsərəkʰəunə/gəəsərəkʰəunə	Yourselfes
gəəkʰəunə	himself/herself	gəəsərəkʰəunə	Themselfes

- 9.(a) ɑŋ ɑŋkʰəunə ɔn-ə
I-1S Myself love-Pres
'I love myself.'
- (b) ɑŋ gəəkʰəunə ɔn-ə
I-1S Myself love-Pres
'I love myself.'

The morpheme /gəəkʰəunə/ or /ɑŋkʰəunə/ is used when the 1st person singular acts on itself. The morpheme/gəəkʰəunə/ is mostly used in the written standard in Bodo, whereas /ɑŋkʰəunə/ is equally correct but is used mostly in the spoken form.

- 10(a) zəŋ gəəkʰəunə ɔn-ə
we-1Pl ourselves love-Pres
'We love ourselves.'
- (b) zəŋ zəŋkʰəunə ɔn-ə
we-1Pl ourselves love-Pres
'We love ourselves.'

The same goes for the free morpheme ourselves /zəŋkʰəunə/, it is used mostly in the spoken form rather than in writings. Both /zəŋkʰəunə/ and /gəəkʰəunə/ are acceptable.

- 11.(a) nəŋ nəŋkʰəun ə aina- nu-dəŋ
iaɔ
you-2S yourself mirror- see-Pst
Loc
'You saw yourself in the mirror.'
- (b) nəŋ gəəkʰəun ə aina- nu-
iaɔ dəŋ
you-2S yourself mirror- see-
Loc Pst
'You saw yourself in the mirror.'
- (c) nəŋsər nəŋsərəkʰəunə aina- nu-
iaɔ də
ŋ
you- yourselves mirror- see-
2Pl Loc - Pst
'You saw yourselves in the mirror.'
- (d) nəŋse gəəsərəkʰəunə aina- nu-
r iaɔ dəŋ
you- yourselves mirror- see-
2Pl Loc Pst
'You saw yourselves in the mirror.'

The same rule goes for 2nd person as in the 1st person. The only difference is /-sər-/ has to be infix in between /gəəkʰəunə/ for the plurality of 'yourselves', for there is no plurality of ourselves in the 1st person plural. It is simply marked /gəəkʰəunə/ which is used for all the singular reflexive pronouns.

- 12.(a) biyə gəəkʰəunə aina-iaɔ nu-ə
he-3S himself mirror- see-
Loc Pres
'He sees himself in the mirror.'

(b)	bisər-ə	gəɔsər	ainə-iaɔ	nu- dəŋ
	they- Nom	themselves k ^h əunə	mirror- Loc	see- Pst
	‘They saw themselves in the mirror.’			

For 3rd person singular and plural we have only two forms both in the standard spoken and writing form in Bodo. That is /gəɔk^həunə/ for ‘himself/herself’ and /gəɔsər k^həunə/ for ‘themselves’.

From the examples above from 9-12 we can see that the marker /-gəuk^həunə/ is used when a person or thing acts on itself. It is one of the common markers for self.

2.8 Possessive pronouns

A possessive pronoun indicates that the pronoun is acting as the marker of possession and defines who owns a particular object or person. The possessive pronoun in Bodo is morphologically indicated by the genitive marker /ni/ following the personal pronouns.

Table 7: The possessive pronouns

1 st S. Poss.	/aŋni/	‘my’
1 st Pl. Poss.	/zəŋni/	‘our’
2 nd S. Poss	/nəŋni/	‘your’
2 nd S. (Hon) Poss	/nəŋt ^h aŋni/	‘your’
2 nd PL. Poss	/nəŋsəni/	‘your’
3 rd S. Poss	/bini/	‘his/her’
3 rd S. (Hon) Poss	/bit ^h aŋni/	‘his/her’
3 rd Pl. Poss	/bisəni/	‘their’
3 rd Pl. (Hon) Poss	/bit ^h aŋmənni/	‘his/her’

3 Number

Bodo has a morphological number. Number can be classified as single, dual and plural. Many languages including Sanskrit show three systems of number i.e. Single, Dual and Plural. However, most of the modern languages do not have the dual number as a grammatical category. For example, English is one of the languages where the number is distinguished between singular and plural with several strategies to form the plurals.

3.1 Binary number system in Bodo

Number in Bodo is distinguished into singular and plural only. Plural is expressed by different suffixes such as /-məɳ/ and /-p^hər/. There is nothing like dual number in Bodo. The singular forms of nouns are always identical with the corresponding root lexical forms. Bodo has a device of referring to groups of ‘two’, which generally go as pairs. For example, /dəɔtu zərə-se/ which means a pair of dove. So as in a pair of betel nut /gəi zərə-se/. But for a pair of horse it is /gərai həli-se/. But these forms cannot be considered as dual number or classifiers though Bodo has numeral classifiers. Here they are examples of quantification of the objects ‘bird’ and ‘cow’, which has been called in this paper as ‘binary number system’.

3.2 Plural morphemes

Bodo inflects the plural forms of nouns by adding plural bound morpheme /-p^h↔r/ to the noun. For example:

	Singular		Plural	
13(a)	gət ^h ɔ	‘child’	gət ^h ɔ-p ^h ↔r	‘children’
(b)	mansi	‘man’	mansi-p ^h ↔r	‘men’
(c)	raizə	‘society’	raizə-p ^h ↔r	‘societies’
(d)	halua	‘farmer’	halua-p ^h ↔r	‘farmers’

Besides, /-p^h↔r/ Bodo has different plural marker for kinship terms. For example:

	Singular		Plural	
14.(a)	ada	‘brother’	ada- m↔n	‘brothers’
(b)	abɔ	‘elder sister’	abɔ- m↔n	‘elder sisters’
(c)	ag↔i	‘younger sister’	ag↔i- m↔n	‘younger sisters’
(d)	ap ^h a	‘father’	ap ^h a- m↔n	‘fathers’

From the examples of 14(a) to 14(d), we can explain that [-m↔n] and [-p^h↔r] are the plural morphemes in Bodo where each of these bound morphemes occurs with human nouns, non-human nouns and pronouns with the markers. [-m↔n]

is usually used with humans, specifically for kinship terms. [-p^h↔r] is used with humans.

3.3 Plurality on collective nouns

However, some nouns do not have suffixes to be marked as plural, such as mass nouns or collective noun. Therefore in such cases many, lots etc. can be added to the noun to show the number. For example:

	English		Bodo	
15.(a)	A hive of bees	tubur-se	bere	
		group-one	bee	
(b)	A troop of dancer	hanza-se	məsagra	
		group-one	dancer	
(c)	A herd of cattle	palə-se	məsəu	
		group-one	cow	

3.4 Plurality in reduplication

In Bodo we have reduplicated words. Most of them are adjectives and we can have pluralisation by reduplication. In such cases there is no need of adding plural suffix to the head noun. The adjectives are pluralised through the process of reduplication. For example:

REDUPLICATED ADJECTIVES +NOUN				
16.(a)	m↔zaŋ	m↔zaŋ	nə	'good houses'
	good	good	house	
(b)	g↔dan	g↔dan	gəsla	'new clothes'
	new	new	cloth	

However, the reduplicated adjectives can follow the noun to indicate plurality. Even if the noun precedes the reduplicated adjective, it would not change the meaning.

3.5 Plurality on interrogative pronoun

The plurality on interrogative is used when a person wants to get more than one thing. If more than one object is present in the room one will

raise a question marker with /mama/. If more than one person is present, the questioner will ask with the plural marker /sərsər/. And so it for /bəbəbəbe/.

17.	Singular	Plural	English
(a)	ma	mama	what
(b)	sər	sərsər	who
(c)	bəbə	bəbəbəbə	which
(d)	p ^h ai	p ^h aip ^h ai	where

4 Gender

Gender is a grammatical category, a category of words having the same grammatical properties, feminine, masculine and neuter. According to thesaurus a grammatical category in inflected languages governing the agreement between nouns and pronouns and adjectives; in some languages it is quite arbitrary but in Indo-European languages it is usually based on sex or animateness. Feminine gender is that which refers chiefly (but not exclusively) to females or to objects classified as female. Masculine gender is that which refers chiefly (but not exclusively) to males or to objects classified as male. Neuter gender is a gender that refers chiefly (but not exclusively) to inanimate objects (neither masculine nor feminine).

However, languages use an arbitrary means in determining the gender of the objects (noun). In other words, if a language has a grammatical category it requires every noun to be either masculine or feminine. For example, in Hindi, we have 'mez', 'table' which is told to be masculine, however 'kurshi', 'chair' is feminine. The basis of this type of gender classification in Hindi and many other languages is mostly arbitrary.

The linguistic notion of the natural gender is distinguished in almost every language on the basis of the biological differences of gender. However, we can also observe that languages which have gender as the basis means to differentiate the gender of noun, they use ± human, or ± animacy to mark masculine, feminine and neuter. So, a neuter gender is generally the gender of inanimate things in that language. It is also observed that these two

parameters of gender distinctions interact closely with each other in many languages.

Some of the language which belongs to grammatical category visualizes every noun as masculine or feminine and other word classes such as adjectives and verbs are also made to agree along with the subject and object nouns to show the gender agreement. In Bodo, gender is of natural type which shows the difference between feminine and masculine. However, some sporadic marking of gender on the basis of biological differences is given to some set of nouns.

4.1 Derivation of feminine forms by suffixation

Bodo employs feminine suffixation to nouns which r mostly masculine as can be seen in the data 18 (a) to 18 (d) where the feminine bound morpheme is /-i/ and in some rare cases its /-u/.

For example:

	Masculine	Feminine	English
18. (a)	bɛŋga	bɛŋgi	deaf
(b)	tɔgaisula	tɔgaisuli	liar
(c)	balɔnda	balɔndi	widower/ widow
(d)	haita	haitu/gaide	short people

The male female contrast of + human nouns is denoted by means of suppletion. Against some words referring to masculine gender there are corresponding lexical items referring to feminine. For example:

	Masculine	Feminine
19.(a)	apa 'father'	ai 'mother'
(b)	ada 'elder bother'	abɔ 'elder sister'
(c)	phɔŋbai 'younger brother'	binanaɔ 'younger sister'
(d)	pisala 'son'	pisazɛɔ 'daughter'
(e)	hɛɔuwa 'male'	hinzaɔ 'female'

4.2 Gender of kinship term

In Bodo kinship terms could be viewed from two angles that are terms of address and terms of reference.

Terms of Reference

The terms of reference for pronoun 'you'. For example:

	Masculine	Feminine
20. (a)	nɔmpa 'your father'	nɔma 'your mother'
(b)	nɔmbɛɔu 'your grandfather'	nɔmbɛɔi 'your grandmother'
(c)	nɔmt'ɛɔi 'your uncle'	nɔmadɛɔi 'your aunty'
(d)	nɔmayɔŋ 'your uncle'	nɔmayɔŋ 'your aunty'
(e)	nɔŋda 'your brother'	nɔmbɔ 'your elder sister'

The above terms of reference is right but does not sound so polite. So people used you+genitive+ terms of address to sound more polite.

The terms of reference for pronoun 's/he' is shown in the table 8.

Table 8: The terms of reference for pronoun 's/he

	Masculine	Feminine
21.(a)	bipa 'his/her father'	bima 'his/her mother'
(b)	bida 'his/her elder brother'	bibɔ 'his/her elder sister'
(c)	bibɛɔu 'his/her grandfather'	bibɛɔi 'his/her grandmother'
(d)	bihɔɔ 'his/her father-in-law'	bikunzɛɔ 'his/her mother-in-law'
(e)	bikthɛɔi 'his/her uncle'	bimadɛɔi 'his/her aunty'
(f)	bimai 'his/her uncle'	bimanaɔi 'his/her aunty'

In case of reference for the 3rd person /nɔ-/ is replaced with /bi-/.

Terms of Address

	Masculine	Feminine
22.(a)	apa 'father'	ai 'mother'
(b)	abɛɔu 'grandfather'	abɛɔi 'grandmother'
(c)	adɛɔi 'uncle'	madɛɔi 'aunty'
(d)	amai 'uncle'	anɛɔi 'aunty'
(e)	ayɔŋ 'uncle'	ayɔŋ 'aunty'
(f)	ada 'elder brother'	abɔ 'elder sister'

Here the interesting part is there is no gender for great grandfather and great grandmother. And also for father's elder brother and his wife, and for mother's elder sister and her husband, all of

them being addressed as /ayɔŋ/. If one wants to know the exact reference then one has to suffix male or female after the morpheme /ayɔŋ/ like /ayɔŋhinzaɔ/ for aunty and /ayɔŋ h↔uwa/ for uncle.

In case of comparison between terms of address and reference, one might feel that /-i/, /-pa/, /-da/, /-bɔ/, /-bəu/, /-bəi/, /-dəi/, /-mai/, /-nəi/, and /-yɔŋ/ are the root words of mother, father, brother, sister, grandmother, grandfather, uncle and aunty. But without the affixation of /nə-/ , /bi-/ and /a-/ it is not meaningful, meaning it would be some other terms.

In Bodo, affixation plays an important role. In some cases by affixing some morphemes to the common noun, masculine and feminine genders of that class (common noun) can be distinguished. For example:

- 23.(a) s↔ima 'dog'
s↔imabaŋgra 'male dog'
s↔imabaŋgri 'female dog'
(b) ɔma 'pig'
ɔmabunda 'male pig'
ɔmabundi 'female pig'
(c) bəma 'goat'
bəmaphantha 'male goat'
bəmaphanti 'female goat'

In Bodo, we can also have some common gender. This common gender does not uniquely represent masculine or feminine including human nouns and adjectives. For example:

- 24.(a) zaɔza (twins)
(b) biguma (owner)
(c) maɔria (orphan)

However, in Bodo we also have a unique masculine gender which has no corresponding females. For example:

- 25 (a) k^hasi 'castrated male animal'
(b) laɔk^har 'cow boy'
(c) badari 'wood cutter'

Similarly Bodo also has certain unique forms for female like the unique masculine. For example:

- 26.(a) bɔk^hali 'baby sitter'
(b) t^hɔŋali 'naughty girl'
(c) adumgari 'spinster'

5. Summary

Bodo seems to have deictic reference for participants in different speech events where it gives different personal pronominal terms. Number as a grammatical category is relevant only to the numeral difference of nouns and pronouns in Bodo. The notion of masculine and feminine in Bodo does not have any grammatical agreement. One need not know the gender of the noun to use them in the sentence structure.

Abbreviations

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
Dat	Dative
Hon	Honorific
Inst	Instrument
Int	Interrogative
Loc	Locative
Nom	Nominative
Pl	Plural
Poss	Possession
Pres	Present
PROG	Progressive
Pst	Past
QM	Question Marker
Rel	Relative pronoun
S	Singular

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Exploring strategies for translation of onomatopoeic words: A case of *Muglan*

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The present article aims at exploring onomatopoeic words in Muglān and the strategies applied in translating them. Eighty-eight cases of onomatopoeic words are extracted from the novel and ten strategies are found, namely, borrowing, cultural substitution, omission, explicative paraphrases, using verbs, nouns, adverbs, adjectives, idioms and combination of the words.

1 Introduction

In everyday communication, onomatopoeic words frequently occur. In the context of Nepali language, they are widely used in communication, literary texts, child language, advertisement and pop culture (Chapagain, 1994, & Adhikari, 2010). The abundant use of onomatopoeia in Nepali poses problems to its learners, foreigners, translators, teachers and all the concerned scholars. Pedagogically, the study of onomatopoeia is of great help and value to the vocabulary learning as onomatopoeia shares a good deal of vocabulary store in Nepali. Likewise, they are problematic in the context of a linguistic theory of arbitrariness, which claims that there is not direct link between sound and meaning. On the contrary, onomatopoeia suggests that sound and meaning are closely associated. For example, 'crow' is a sound, which signifies the sound of a bird 'crow'; 'thud' is a sound, which implies the sound produced when a book is thrown onto the ground.

Nepali has a huge store of onomatopoeia but English has a small store of it (Adhikari, 2010, & Sugahara, 2010). In this context, the study of the translated work from Nepali to English is really significant and justifiable.

Onomatopoeic words are profusely used in literary works, especially in novels to present a vivid image of the events. They are primarily used to show colloquialism and reality of happenings. Out of many Nepali novels, I have found *Muglān* an exemplary novel of such words.

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Written by a prolific writer and a professor of English and translated by the collaboration of the author himself with a university teacher, Lekhnath S Pathak, *Muglān* is a Diaspora fiction, which is capable of depicting plight of rustic and hapless Nepali youths, Thule and Sutār, at home and abroad (Neupane, 2013). It realistically portrays how Nepalese wild flowers wither into the swamp of material prosperity. However, the author seems optimistic and writes, "I alone know that one day Sutār will return and the tale will end with a victory" (Bhattarai, 2012, p. 168). Since the novel is based on meek and rustic youths' life there is excessive use of onomatopoeia and the translator/author is from the same background, which justifies the rationale of the selection.

Based on the aforementioned context, the present article aims at: (a) exploring onomatopoeia in the Nepali novel *Muglān*, and (b) appraising the strategies used for translating onomatopoeia in the translated version.

2 Review of related literature and theoretical framework

Onomatopoeia is the sound or combination of sounds in a word which imitates or suggests what the word refers to. For example, 'meow' suggests that it refers to the sound of a cat. It also denotes to the use of word that sounds similar to the noise described. In Crystal's (2003) words, onomatopoeia, also called sound symbolism, is polysemic, generally reduplicative and is classified into two: (a) sound imitation, and (b) manner imitation. The former refers to the physical, audible noises, related to the actions or movements of people, animals and things. The latter shows feelings and figurative expressions about objects and natural surroundings and in it sound plays no any role. For example, rattle, tinkle, rustle, among others indicate audible noises and therefore they are instances of sound imitation but twinkle, grin, shriek, among others indicate only physical states but not sounds and so, they are instances of manner imitation.

Therefore, onomatopoeia is a word to incorporate both sound and manner imitation. However, Chiarantano (2006) has asserted that onomatopoeic words mimic the sound they represent and the sound of the word imitates the object makes. They signify the signifiers and are associated to the object they describe. For example, meow (cat's sound), quack (duck's sound), hiss (snake's sound), thud (sound produced when a book hits the ground), click (sound of light switch), and so on. This list shows that onomatopoeic words are used as nouns or verbs. The main difference between Crystal (2003) and Chiarantano (2006) is that the former includes two types of onomatopoeia (i.e. sound and manner) but the latter excludes manner imitation. Following Crystal's (2003) line, Inose (2007) has distinguished onomatopoeia (words that imitate real sounds or human or animal voice or otherwise) with mimetic words (words that phonetically express that do not produce sounds, such as an emotion, a movement or state of things). Inose's (2007) distinction implies that onomatopoeic words exclude mimetic words. This is the point where Crystal (2003) and Inose (2007) mismatch. Similarly, Lili (2008) has observed onomatopoeia as the imitation of natural sounds in word form and onomatopoeic words as direct descriptions of sounds, which have vivid effect. This perception is also similar to Chiarantano (2006). On the other hand, Xi (2010) has gone beyond defining onomatopoeia and conceded that it creates ambiguity in the language because it shows widespread polysemy. Showing the polysemic nature of onomatopoeia, Xi (2010) reminds Crystal's (2003) views. Likewise, Sugahara (2010) has written, "Onomatopoeia is a special language expression because its phonological form appears to be more directly associated with its meaning. Onomatopoeic words can convey imaginative, animated and picturesque meanings that ordinary words do not indicate" (p. 1). Therefore, there is close association between sound and meaning in case of onomatopoeia. This claim goes against arbitrary nature of language. In Nepalese context, Adhikari (2010) has written that onomatopoeic words have been developed through human attitude to imitate the sounds produced by things, animals, nature,

speed and inanimate beings. Therefore, onomatopoeic words relate sounds with meaning.

Regarding the derivation of the term 'anukaraṇ' (onomatopoeia), Chapagain (1994) has written that it is derived from Sanskrit root 'kri/kr' by adding 'anu' prefix and 'lyut' suffix. Therefore, 'anukaraṇ' includes imitation of any object, thought or work. It not only incorporates sounds produced by objects or movements but also sensual feelings of qualities of animate or inanimate beings. He further mentions that Vedic and Laukik Sanskrit are the sources of Nepali onomatopoeic words. Although such words are oral in nature and they belong to the oral tradition, one has to depend only on the written source. Therefore, *Rigveda* is the first written source of Nepali onomatopoeic words. Chapagain (1994) has also compared trends of onomatopoeia in 16 Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages with Nepali language to show that there are some parallel features of onomatopoeia in these languages. He has, moreover, taken 144 onomatopoeic words from Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, and analysed them to show how Nepali words have come from these languages. Similarly, Goettel (2013) has written that the term 'onomatopoeia' is derived from Greek words 'onoma' (name) and 'poieo' (make/do). So, it refers to the making of names by use of words. This view seems parallel to one theory of origin in language, which reads that language is originated from the imitation of sounds of the world. Goettel (2013) has further written that every language has onomatopoeic words but there are variations in different languages. For example, meow (English), miauw (Dutch), miyau (Hebrew), myaun (Nepali), and so on. Similar claim is seen in Elizabeth (2013), which has mentioned that onomatopoeia is the creation/use of words that sound like the items or actions they name or refer to. Elizabeth (2013) has further written that onomatopoeia is a rhetorical device (a language technique/device used to create an effect in or for the reader) and it differs from cacophony (harsh sound/effect) and euphony (harmonious use of sounds). Therefore, onomatopoeia, in this study, refers to the imitation of sound or manner, which signifies the direct association to its meaning.

To categorize onomatopoeic words, Adhikari's (1998 & 2010), Lili's (2008), and Elizabeth's (2013) works are remarkable. Adhikari (1998) has asserted that onomatopoeic words are mainly formed by reduplication process, in which phonemes, syllables, or words recur from two to seven times. For example, sal > salala, salalala ...salalalalalalala. Extending this view, Adhikari's (2010) has presented structural classification, which classifies onomatopoeic words in the following three different types.

Phonemic duplication

There is duplication of consonants and vowel in this category. For example: takka (way of stopping), phutta (swift movement), ghyācca (stop vehicles suddenly), jhulikka (flash), suruppa (a way of drinking something), musukka (smile), curlumma (to plunge), garlyamma (sound of tree falling), sirra (blow wind), etc.

Syllabic duplication

There is duplication of syllables as they are or with some modification. For example: dandan (of fire), dhukdhuk (sound of heart beat), magmug (scent), kapakap (eat quickly), bhatbhati (a way of burning), khāskhus (to talk), siriri (blow wind), etc.

Word duplication

There is duplication of words as they are or with some modification in this case. For example, maryān□maryān□ (munch), dhurudhuru (weep bitterly), lakharlakhar (walk aimlessly), hsyān□phasyān□ (hustle and bustle), etc.

In a comprehensive study of onomatopoeia based on phonetic, semantic and syntactic functions, structure and usages as well as its rhetoric functions, Lili (2008) has classified onomatopoeic words into two types: primary and secondary. Primary types can be classified further into three types, such as animal, human-related and natural phenomenon-related. Secondary types consist of phonaesthemes and kinaesthemes. This is use-based classification. Similarly, by studying 287 English onomatopoeic words collecting from Oxford English Dictionary, Sugahara (2010) has written that some languages possess a few such words whereas some others possess many. For

example, Japanese is speculated to have 2000 to 45000 onomatopoeic words. The study has presented nine grammatical classes of onomatopoeia in English: verbs, nouns, adverbs, adjectives, interjections, gerundives, ing-suffixed adjectives, ed-suffixed adjectives and other ing-suffixed classes. Out of them, the most frequent ones are verbs (87.8%), followed by nouns (78.8%). It implies that onomatopoeic words, in English, generally function as either verbs or nouns and frequently occur as verbs. In contrast to Adhikari's (2010) and Sugahara's (2010) structural and grammatical classification, Elizabeth (2013) has presented six notional types of onomatopoeic words: (a) mechanical, e.g. buzz, click, clatter, (b) fast motion, e.g. whoosh, zing, zoom, (c) musical, e.g. ting, jingle, honk, rattle, (d) food preparation and eating, e.g. munch, nibble, crunch, (e) fighting, e.g. smash, bang, bow, and (e) animals, e.g. meow, oink, cluck, moo, etc.

Regarding translation strategies for onomatopoeic words, Flyxe (2002) has found six ways, which include: (a) adjectives, (b) adverbs, (c) verbs, (d) explicative paraphrases, (e) onomatopoeia (and mimetic words), and (f) omission. To conclude this way, there is collection of 275 cases of onomatopoeia and their Swedish translations, collected from Yoshimoto Banana's *Kichin*, Endo Shusaka's *Sukyndaru* and Miyazawa Kenji's *Nametokoyoma no Kuma*, *Shikaodori no hajimari* and *Yodaka no hoshi*. These novels have three different Swedish translators. Finally, the study presents that omission is used in translation because of the differences in sentence structures across languages and the necessity of a lengthy, detailed explanation in the target language. It implies that omission is not a good method of translation and one should try to offer explicative paraphrases in case of an onomatopoeia with a high degree of lexicalization. Likewise, Inose (2007), by collecting and analyzing 300 cases from the Japanese novel *Sputnik no koibito* by Haruki Murakami, has found nine methods in translating Japanese onomatopoeic and mimetic words in literature into Spanish and English: (a) adverbs, (b) adjectives, (c) verbs, (d) nouns, (d) idioms, (e) onomatopoeia in the target language, (f) explicative paraphrases, (g) combination of

words, and (h) omission. This study has identified that most Japanese onomatopoeic words function mainly as adverbs. Further, it has suggested, as Flyxe (2002), that omission is not a desirable method of translation. When there is no equivalent word in the target language, the translator should consider using other resources such as explicative paraphrases or combination of various words.

The aforementioned strategies are replicated, with some modifications and additions, in this study, which frames the following 10 strategies to observe how onomatopoeic words in Nepali novel *Muglan* have undergone English renderings: (a) borrowing, (b) cultural substitution, (c) omission, (d) explicative paraphrases, (e) using idioms, (f) using adjectives, (g) using nouns, (h) using verbs, (i) using adverbs; and (j) combining different type of words.

3 Methodology

The design of the study is qualitative and based on secondary sources of data extracted from a novel by Govinda Raj Bhattarai, *Muglān* and its translation into English. The novel consists of five chapters, from which onomatopoeic words in the Nepali version and their translations have been extracted. The author of the original version has four novels, *Manipurko Cithi*, *Muglān*, *Sukarātkā Pāilā* and *Sukarātko Diari* for his credit. Out of them, *Muglān* is a rich store of onomatopoeic words, which are culture-specific.

The data consists of 88 onomatopoeic words (appendix I) which imitate sound and manner of speech, object, animal, human being and others. The words in Nepali and their corresponding translations in English are observed in both original and translated versions. These sets are categorized on the basis of ten strategies used for the translations. Three of the strategies (i.e. borrowing omission and cultural substitutions) are notional, whereas remaining seven are grammatical categories. Each of the categories is assessed with illustrative instances to draw inferences.

4 Result and discussion

Out of several onomatopoeic words in the original version, eighty-eight cases are primary ones. The purposively selected cases have been translated by use of ten strategies. There are two types strategies. One type includes translation by one equivalent word/phrase (i.e. noun, adjective, adverb, verb, idiom, cultural substitution) and in case of non-equivalents; there is use of explicative paraphrases, the combination of two or more words borrowing or omission.

Borrowing

Borrowing has been used in case of non-equivalents. It is used if some culture-specific terms do not exist in the target language. In it, Nepali words are translated in English on the basis of source language (SL, i.e. Nepali) pronunciation and orthography. Such words become loan words or imported words (Neupane, 2011). Even within this strategy, two sub-categories are found: in some cases, there is no any change in orthography while in others there is slight modification. Tin□tin□-ting ting, kwã..kwã - kwa..kwa..kwa, hau..hau - hau..hau, ambã - ambān and so on are some instances of non-modification in translation. On the other hand, suiyyā-soo/cooooo, wāi..wāi - bāin, sararra - srrrrrr and so on are some exemplars of slight modification in orthography. The problem with this strategy is whether the English readers understand the original sense of the Nepali version or not. For overcoming such problem, brief explanation should be given either along with the words or in the footnote form.

Cultural Substitution

This strategy is effective if the source language (SL) and target language (TL) (in this study, Nepali and English, respectively) terms share some commonalities. It implies that in case of equivalence between SL and TL, cultural substitution is possible. In this study, SL term 'pwāk..pwāk' refers to the horn of rickshaw and the TL term for the same is 'honk...honk'. Some other instances of this category are: khuiya - ughhh..., khui...khui- whew, phussa - whzzzzzz..., ã...ã..ã - y...a, ya... y..a, among others (see appendix I for detail). In these

instances, the translator has attempted not to leave gaps. However, the original sense of SL has not been always retained in TL. For example, *jhyām - jhyām* has been rendered into English 'bang... bang'. Nepali term '*jhyām jhyām*' is the sound, which is produced when crowbar strikes on the surface of a hard rock. On the other hand, 'bang...bang' is any general sound produced when striking something deliberately and violently, often in order to make a loud noise, for example, banging on the door, banging the fist on the table, and so on. Despite this, the translator has used this strategy to give only the general impression of the SL into the TL.

Using Adverb

Out of eighty-eight cases, only one adjective in the SL has been translated into the TL by using adverb. SL term '*takryāk tukruk*' refers to a lonesome state of the trees or scattered trees. It has been rendered into TL using adverb 'here and there', which cannot retain the original sense of the SL.

Using Adjective

Only two cases are found under this strategy: *hwāssa gandha- strange* smell and *huiyā huiyā- howling*. In these examples '*hwāssa*' is an adjective, which has been rendered into adjective 'strange' but '*huiyā*' is a noun, which has been rendered into adjective. It implies that there is change of grammatical category in this strategy. Yet, the original term '*hwāssa*' gives derogatory sense (i.e. bad smell) and it has been rendered into a neutral term 'strange'. Therefore, the translator should be very much conscious to retain parallel terms in SL and TL.

Using Idiom

To give vivid images, idioms could be good for translating onomatopoeic words. However, it is very difficult to find a TL idiom that corresponds with SL onomatopoeic word. This is the reason why the translator has used only one case of this strategy, e.g. *chi chi ra dur dur garnu-* to turn up the noses. The meaning of SL term is to loathe something and sense of TL is to avoid something. Therefore, translation gives general impression of the phrase in SL.

Using Noun

Nouns have been used in TL version to translate SL adjectives. For example, *dhyaḱ dhyaḱ-* knock, *jhilika jhilika-* spark, *bhwāḱka bhwāḱka-* thud and so on. In these cases, a single word is used. However, in some cases, noun phrases are also used. For example, *chapāchapī-* swift stroke, *syā syā-* short of breath, among others. In these instances, approximately equivalent terms are used.

Using Verb

As I have seen, SL onomatopoeic verbs (e.g. *phwā phwā garnu*, *nīssa garnu*, *sottar pāru*) and adjectives (e.g. *phil phil phil*, *karyāp karyāp*, *maryān maryān*) are translated into TL verbs. This strategy has been used as equivalent terms in SL and TL. For example, '*hwā hwā garnu*' has been rendered into 'to wail'. The SL term refers to 'cry with loud noise' whereas 'to wail', is to 'cry or complain about something in a loud shrilling voice'. However, there are some uneven cases. For example '*maryān maryān*' refers to chew popcorn primarily but 'munch' indicates to chew anything with much movement of the jaw. So, partial equivalence is seen in this case. Otherwise, translation by using verb is found an effective way of translating onomatopoeic words.

Combination of Words

Out of eighty-eight cases, only three are found into this strategy: *hapyāk hapyāk garnu-* to pant heavily (v. + adv.), *jilililili-* flickering sparks (adj. +n.), and *khititi khititi-* laugh senselessly (v. + adv.).

This strategy is used if not an exact word of SL is not found in the TL. It is a way of interpreting SL terms by use of multiple words in TL. It has been used only if there is lack of proper single term, equivalence in TL.

Explicative Paraphrase

In case of non-equivalence across languages, the translator explains by paraphrasing strategy. In this study, the use of explicative paraphrase is very common in translation. When using this strategy, the translators should be very careful lest too redundant items can be added, which breaks

the natural fluency in the translated version. Otherwise, it is a good way translating onomatopoeia. For example, kyāu kyāu - cries of the monkeys, dhyāmma - a loud thundering sound, tyāk tyāk - the rhythmic beat of strike of hammer and so on.

These examples show that paraphrases can be used to give general impression of the terms. It is better than omission strategy.

Omission

In this study, mostly the terms referring to physical state, action, and feeling are omitted. For example, burururu..., hurururu, ghyācca, sirin□ga, phirirī, casakka casakka, bhatryāk bhatryāk, among others. Because of their omission, the original sense in SLT has been lost in the TLT and therefore omission is not a desirable strategy.

Onomatopoeia is cultural phenomenon. Highly cultural terms are difficult to translate and therefore translators prefer omitting them. The next reason why the terms are omitted in translation is because of their unimportance as translators may think. However, these are not always the cases. For the interpretation of the text, onomatopoeic words play significant role. Therefore, it is advisable not to omit them but to use strategies such as explicative paraphrases or combination of different words.

5 Summary

Onomatopoeia is a special feature of Nepali language and therefore it occupies a vital position in oral and written communication. They are adhered to the culture. Translating onomatopoeic words is one of the hurdles one encounters while attempting to transfer meaning across languages. Yet, such words have been translated by using particular strategies, which are notional and grammatical. The strategies used to translate onomatopoeic words of *Muglān* (a diasporic novel) are: (a) borrowing, (b) cultural substitution, (c) adverbs (d) adjectives, (e) idioms, (f) nouns, (g) verbs, (h) combination of words, (i) explicative paraphrases, and (j) omission. In cases of equivalents in SL and TL, first six (b-g) strategies have been used and the cases of non-equivalents lead in using remaining four (a, h, i

and j) strategies. The study also shows that use of explicative paraphrase is far better than other strategies used in case of non-equivalence.

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Appendix I

Borrowing

suiyyā	- sooo/cooooo
chyāk chyāk chus	- chhyak chhyak chus
sararra	- srrrrrr
ūh...ūh	- uh...uh
tiñ tiñ	- ting-ting
durra...durra	- drrrr...drrrr
duruñ duruñ	- druung druung
hau...hau...	- hau...hau...
kwā...kwā kwā	- kwa...kwa...kwa
wāi...wāi	- bāin
ambā	- ambān
kurre ...	- kurrrrrrr...
hururururu ...	- hururururu...

Cultural Substitution

pwāk...pwāk	- honk...honk
swā...swā	- Zz...zzz...zzz...zzz
ghwār ghwār	- ghrrr..ghrrr..ghrrr..
khuiya	- ughhh...
phussa	- whzzzzzz...
ū...ū...ū...- y...a...ya...y..a./uh...uh...uh	
hwārra..hwārra	- hrrrrr...hrrrrr
tīntīn...tīntīn	- trrrring...trrrring/ ting...ting
khui...khui	- whew
jhyāmjhyām	- bang...bang

catatara...	- trrrrrrr...
tyākryāk tyākryāk-	tuk...tuk...

Omission

burururu...	-
jhyāppa-jhyappa	-
phussa-phussa	-
hururururu	-
ghyācca	-
so...so	-
cī...cī	-
jhyāū jhyāū	-
siriṅga	-
sarlāñ surluñ	-
jhyāmma	-
ryāi ryāi	-
khwāk khwāk	-
siriri	-
phiriri	-
ganamana jhyāi	-
casakka casakka	-
lyākhyāk lyākhyāk	-
bhatryāk bhatryāk	-
phui phui	-

Using Adverb

tkryāk tukruk	- here and there
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Using Adjective

hwāssa gandha	- strange smell
huiyā huiyā	- howling

Using Nouns

dhyāk dhyāk	- knock
siririri...hāwā	- gale of wind
chapāchapī	- swift stroke
jhilika jhilika	- spark
syā syā	- short of breath
khui...ya	- defeated sigh
bhwāñ...bhwāñ	- dog's barking

sararra ...phururu-puff and cough
bhwāka...bhwāka - thud

Using Verbs

phwā phwā garunu - snore
jhwāssa parnu - strike
ñissa garnu - to grin
ṭhas ṭhas kanu - to pant and puff
sottar pārnu - to raze countless trees
ghwār...ghwār - snore
khwān khwān khoknu - to keep coughing non-
stop
sukka sukka garnu - sob
kikrikka dallo parnu - to bundle up
charchari ragat bagnu - to squirt and blood
phil phil phil - flutter
karyāp karyāp - crackle
maryāñ maryāñ - munch
khihryāunu - to be pungent
hwā hwā garnu - to wail

Using Idiom

chi chi ra dur dur garnu - to turn up the noses

Combination of Words

hapyāk hapyāk garnu - to pant heavily (v. +
adv.)
jhilililī - flickering sparks (adj. + n.)
khititi khititi - laugh senselessly (v. + adv.)

Explicative Paraphrases

kyāu kyāu - cries of the monkeys
talyāk tuluk ghar - the houses standing unevenly
jhamakkai sāñjha parnu - it got completely dark
cuiyā...katata...jhyāmma -screeching noise and
smashing sound
dhyāmma - a loud thundering sound
tyāk...tyāk - the rhythmic beat of strike of
hammer
bhwān...durururu - loud exploding noise

swāṭṭha swāṭṭha- sound of whipping
pyā...pulṭuñ...pulṭuñ... pulṭuñ... cyānā pulṭuñ
jhyaī - the tune of panche bājā
tuthu...ḍī - the bulging of narsinga
charlyāñ charlyāñ- clinking of the chains

Lexical reduplication in the Chitoniya Tharu

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Lexical reduplication in the Chitoniya Tharu can be classified into three types: word reduplication, compounding and echo formation. In word reduplication we reduplicate the complete word, part of it, or can form a discontinuous reduplicated structure. The Chitoniya Tharu reduplicates nouns, pronouns, modifiers, quantifiers, question words, relatives and correlatives, and verbs. The reduplication in this language has several functions like intensification, plurality, accentuation, continuity and exclusiveness.

1 Introduction

The Chitoniya Tharu is one of the varieties of the Tharu language spoken in the Chitwan and Nawalparasi districts of central and western Nepal. Although CBS (2012:164) does not classify the Tharu varieties as such, and lumps all the varieties together under one umbrella term Tharu, Epple et al. (2012:88-91) classify the Tharu language into five varieties: the Rana, the Dangaura, the Kathariya, the Chitoniya, and the Kochila Tharu. These loconyms or ethnonyms are commonly used to refer to both the types of varieties: the ethnic and the linguistic. The Chitoniya Tharu is an Indo-Aryan language that follows the nominative-accusative case marking system. The present work discusses the reduplication processes attested in the Chitoniya Tharu. The discussion is based on Abbi (1990, 2001), and Dixon (2010), though several other works were also consulted.

Reduplication is a morphological process in which all or a part of a lexical item is repeated with semantic modification (Abbi 1990:171, 2001:162; Dixon 2010:140). It is a common morphological process in the South-Asian languages. Languages may employ multiple reduplicative patterns.¹ However, the Chitoniya

Tharu employs reduplication process for various pragmatic purposes. As usual, reduplication in the Chitoniya Tharu can be classified structurally into two classes: lexical and morphological.² The lexical reduplication can further be classified into three types: word reduplication, compounding, and echo-formation (Abbi 1990:172, 2001:162; Parimalagantham 2009:23). Word reduplication may be of three types: complete, partial, and discontinuous. The discussion in this paper is limited to the lexical reduplication processes exhibited in the Chitoniya Tharu.

2 Lexical reduplication

According to Abbi (2001:165), “lexical reduplication refers to a complete or partial repetition of a word / lexeme. Complete lexical reduplication is constituted of two identical (bimodal) words.” In this section, we will discuss the subtypes of lexical reduplication in the Chitoniya Tharu.

2.1 Complete word reduplication (CWR)

Word reduplication may be complete, partial, and discontinuous (Parimalangham 2009:24). Before discussing partial and discontinuous reduplication, we will proceed to discuss the complete word reduplication in the Chitoniya Tharu. Analogous to other South-Asian languages, the Chitoniya Tharu employs reduplication of nouns, pronouns, modifiers, quantifiers, question words, relatives and correlatives, and finite verbs for various pragmatic purposes. The reduplication processes and semantic modification of each of them is discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

final -CV, such as *horo* ‘pull’, *ho-horo* ‘pull a little bit’, *horo-horo* ‘pull with great force’, *horo-ro* ‘keep on pulling hand over hand, until the end.

² Both Abbi (2001:163) and Parimalagantham (2009:23) use the term ‘expressives’ to refer to the morphological reduplication which includes sound symbolism, mimic words, iconicity, and onomatopoeia.

¹ Aikhenvald (2007:23-4) mentions three different process of reduplication in Jarawara, each with a distinct meaning: initial CV-, initial CVCV-, and *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 117-124*

2.1.1 Reduplication of nouns

Reduplicative construction in the Chitoniya Tharu is not a word formation process as it is in many of the world languages. It is rather “a stylistic device”, as Abbi (2001:166) says, “used for emphasis.” Reduplication of nouns in the Chitoniya Tharu carries three different functions: distributiveness, emphasis, and plurality. Let us consider the examples in (1a-b).

- (1) a. *des desəkə riti t^hiti bəqəyi*
des des -kə riti t^hiti
 country REDUP- GEN culture
bəqə-əyi
 be.PRS -3PL
 'Every country has its own culture.'
 (JF.BM-78.001)
- b. *jat jatəkə b^hasa bəqəyi*
jat jat -kə b^hasa
 caste REDUP- GEN language
bəqə-əyi
 be.PRS -3PL
 'Every ethnic group has its own language.'
 (JF.BM-78.002)

The reduplication of *des* ‘country’ in (1a) and *jat* ‘caste’ in (1b) perform the distributive function connoting ‘each and every’. It is to be noted that in such cases the root is simply reduplicated without any morphophonological alterations, and the case markers are affixed to the reduplicant, as in (1a-b) above. In the reduplicative constructions with a noun, sometimes, the emphatic clitic *-e* is attached to the base after it is reduplicated. Such reduplications have the same functions: intensification and distribution as in (2).

(2)	a.	<i>u c^həũq kuləwe kuləwa</i>			
		<i>u</i>	<i>c^həũq</i>	<i>kuləwa -e</i>	<i>kuləwa</i>
		that	boy	canal -EMPH	REDUP
		<i>dərukəyi bəqəyə</i>			
		<i>dəruk -yi</i>		<i>bəqə -iyə</i>	
		run - PROG		be.PRS -3SG	
		‘The boy is running along the canal.’			
	b.	<i>muĩ yaju bəjare bəjar g^humləhĩ</i>			

		<i>muĩ</i>	<i>yaju</i>	<i>bəjar -e</i>	<i>bəjar</i>
		1SG	today	market -EMPH	REDUP
		<i>g^hum -l -hĩ</i>			
		walk -PST - 1SG			
		run	- PROG	be.PRS	-3SG
		‘I waked though the market today.’			

In both the examples (2a-b) we notice that the emphatic clitic *-e* is attached to the root of the reduplicants. The reduplicative construction in (2a) *kuləwe kuləwa* emphasizes the sense of the root, whereas the one in (2b) *bəjare bəjar* connotes the sense of plurality and distributiveness along with that of intensification, and means ‘each and every street of the market’.

Furthermore, reduplication of a noun is also employed for the purpose of accentuation, as Abbi (2001:166) states, even in the Chitoniya Tharu. The examples in (3a-b) are illustrative.

- (3) a. *mor bəriyama tiune tiuna bəqəpu*
mor bəriya -ma tiuna -e
 my field -LOC vegetable -EMPH
tiuna bəqə-əu
 REDUP be.PRS -3SG
 ‘There is a lot of vegetable in my field.’
- b. *mor j^hinki bətəwa yaju*
mor j^hinki bətəwa yaju
 my small son today
b^hate b^hat wokeliyə
b^hat -e b^hat woka -l -iyə
 rice-EMPH REDU vomit-PST -3SG
 P
 ‘My small son vomited a lot of rice today.’

The reduplicative constructions in both the examples highlight the sense of the root, and mean ‘a lot of’ in both the sentences.

2.1.2 Reduplication of pronouns

Reduplicative constructions are attested with pronouns as well. In the case of pronouns, reduplication carries the notion of exclusiveness (Abbi 2001:166) as well as intensification. With

the pronominal roots, the emphatic clitic *-hĩ* is optionally attached to the base (4c).

- (4) a. *hunkəhĩ hunkəhĩ milke*
hunka -hĩ hunka -hĩ mil -ke
 they -EMPH REDUP meet -SEQ
k^həsi kətke k^heləyi
k^həsi kət -ke k^ha -l -əyi
 goat cut -SEQ eat -PST -3SG
 ‘They cut the castrated goat and ate themselves.’

- b. *u c^həuqĩ yəpnehĩ yəpnehĩ*
u c^həuqĩ yəpnehĩ yəpnehĩ
 that girl herself REDUP
morəke gəriyoyi
mor -ke gəriya -yi
 I.OBL -DAT scold -PROG
 ‘That girl is scolding me herself (without any reason).’

- c. *tohəra səb^hə yapən yapən*
tohəra səb^hə yapən yapən
 2PL REFL REDUP
g^hər jahə
g^hər ja -hə
 house go -IMP
 ‘You all go to your own house.’

In these examples, the reduplication of the third person plural pronoun *hunka* ‘they’ in (4a), and that of the reflexive pronoun *yəpnehĩ* ‘oneself’ in (4b) connote the notion of ‘exclusiveness’. It emphasizes on the sense of ‘no one else but itself’. Similarly, the repetition of the possessive reflexive *yapən* in (4c) intensifies the notion of the root.

2.1.3 Reduplication of modifiers

The reduplication of modifiers functions as intensifier even in the Chitoniya Tharu, as Aikhenvald (2007:23) finds in the Oceanic languages.

- (5) a. *əstreliyəse yəbəyi*
əstreliyə -se ya -b -əyi
 Australia -ABL come -FUT -PROG

- kəriya kəriya mənse*
kəriya kəriya mənse
 black REDUP man
 ‘From Australia there used to come dark people.’ (PLS.JRC-70.053)
 b. *jəbbəq jəbbəq pəhəqəu*
jəbbəq jəbbəq pəhəq -l -əu
 large REDUP yield -PST -3PL
 (The potatoes) yielded very large.’ (JOW.BRM-56.026)

The reduplicative constructions in (5) intensify the roots *kəriya* ‘black’ in (5a), and *jəbbəq* ‘big’ in (5b). Moreover, the reduplicated modifiers express the notion of exclusiveness as well, as illustrated in (6a-b).

- (6) a. *yəhəwā k^hali d^hənik d^hənik*
yəhəwā k^hali d^hənik d^hənik
 here only rich REDUP
mənse pəq^hsəu
mənse pəq^h-s -əu
 man read -PRS -3PL
 ‘Only rich people study here.’ (PLS.JRC-70.110)

- b. *əre pəkəli pəkəli yəmawā*
əre pəkəli pəkəli yəmawā
 VOC ripe REDUP mango
məture turəsi ho
məture tur -si ho
 only pluck -IMP PRT
 ‘Hey, pluck only the ripe mangoes.’

Although the sense of exclusiveness is expressed by the reduplicative construction itself, sometimes, the limiters like *k^hali* and *məture* are also used, as in (6a-b) above.

2.1.4 Reduplication of quantifiers

Both numeral and non-numeral quantifiers are used in the reduplicative constructions in the Chitoniya Tharu. Reduplicative constructions of quantifiers denote the sense of intensification (7a-b), and that of distributiveness (7c).

- (7) a. *herəhi ta uwə car*
her -hi ta uwə car
 look -IMP PRT 3SG four
car go cirəiyā marliyə
car -go mar -l -iyə
 REDUP -NCLF kill -PST -3SG
 ‘Look, he has killed four birds.’
- b. *du dugo duləhi lele yəbəyi bəq -iyə*
du du -go duləhi
 two REDUP -NCLF wife
le -le ya -b -yi
 take -PRF come -FUT -PROG
bəq -iyə
 be.PRS-3SG
 ‘(He) is coming with two wives.’
 (JF.BM-78.630)’
- c. *həmar baba həmarake dəs*
həmar baba həmarə -ke dəs
 our father 1PL -DAT ten
dəs rupəiya deliyə
dəs rupəiya de -l -iyə
 REDUP rupee give -PST -3SG
 ‘Our father gave us ten rupees each.’

2.1.5 Reduplication of question words

Question words can also be reduplicated in the Chitoniya Tharu. The reduplicated question words indicate plurality as well as intensification. A question word is never reduplicated to talk about a single entity in question. The examples in (8a-c) will illustrate the case.

- (8) a. *yi p^hətəwama tui kət^h*
yi p^hətəwa -ma tui kət^h
 this photo -LOC 2SG what
kət^h dek^həyi bəq^h
kət^h dek^h -yi bəq -hi
 REDUP see -PROG be.PRS -2SG
 ‘What can you see in this photograph?’
 (FS_DR&RM.001)
- b. *tui kakər kakər saje bulsəhi?*
tui kakər kakər saje
 2SG whose REDUP with

bulsəhi
bul -s -hi
 walk -PRS -2SG

‘With whom do you walk?’

- c. *wəhəwā kun kun yail hələyi?*
wəhəwā kun kun
 there who REDUP
ya -il hə -l -əyi
 come -PRF be -PST -3PL

‘Who had com there?’

The question in (8a) connotes that there are more than two entities in the photograph. Similarly, the question in (8b) indicates that the listener walks with more than one person and the one in (8c) shows that there must have come more than one people.

2.1.6 Reduplication of relatives and correlatives

The reduplicated relative and correlative pronouns in relative and correlative constructions have emphatic as well as exclusive connotations in the Chitoniya Tharu. Let's consider the examples in (9a-c).

- (9) a. *tor dao jət^h jət^h*
tor dao jət^h jət^h
 your mother what REDUP
kəhəsihe tət^h tət^h kərəhi
kəhə -s -ihe tət^h tət^h
 say -PRS -3SG that REDUP
kərəhi
kər -hi
 do -IMP
 ‘Do whatever your mother says.’
- b. *muī jəkərake jəkərake*
muī jəkəra -ke jəkəra -ke
 1SG whom REDUP
bəlobəhī uhe uhe məture yəihe
bəla -b -hī uhe uhe
 call -FUT -1SG that REDUP
məture ya -ihe
 only come -IMP

- ‘Only those people come whom I will call.’
- c. *jakər jakər g^hər jaekə*
jakər jakər g^hər ja -ekə
 whose REDUP house go -INF
mən bəɖəu jahə
mən bəɖ-əu ja -hə
 heart be.PRS -3PL go -IMP
 ‘Whoever wants to go home go.’

In the examples in (9), the reduplicated relatives and correlatives connote the notion of intensification and that of exclusiveness simultaneously. The reduplicated relatives and correlatives *jət^h jət^h* and *tət^h tət^h* in (9a) and *jakərake jakərake* and *uhe uhe* in (9b) exclude everything not mentioned here. Similarly, *jakər jakər* in (9c) emphasizes only the person who ‘wants to go home’. Everything else is excluded.

2.1.7 Reduplication of verbs

As Dixon (2010:140) states about the languages in general, reduplication of verb in the Chitoniya Tharu connote iterativity and continuity along with the sense of intensification. The Chitoniya Tharu does not allow the reduplicative constructions for the finite verbs. Instead, as Abbi (2001:167) states, it reduplicates the non-finite forms of the verbs and uses them “in adverbial position to designate various aspects”. The reduplicated non-finite verbs function as intensifiers showing continuity or iterativity, as illustrated in (10a-d).

- (10) a. *rojikə baba k^hetəwama*
roji -kə baba k^hetəwa -ma
 roji -GEN father field -LOC
kam kərte kərte mərliyə
kam kər -te kər -te
 work do -SIM REDUP
mər -l -iyə
 die -PST -3SG
 ‘Roji’s father died while working in the field.’

- b. *yaju dinb^hər muĩ*
yaju dinb^hər muĩ
 today all day 1SG
ut^hle ut^hle kam kərlehĩ
ut^h-le ut^h-le kam
 stand -PRF REDUP work
kər -l -hĩ
 do -PST -1SG
 ‘I worked the whole day standing.’

The examples in (10) show that the Chitoniya Tharu mostly reduplicates the simultaneous converbial form (10a), and perfective form (10b) of the verbs.

2.2 Partial word reduplication (PWR)

In partial word reduplication, the initial phoneme or syllable of the root is replaced by another phoneme or syllable. The reduplicated word is known as an echo word and the process is called echo-formation. The echo words are semantically empty and cannot occur independently in a sentence. They always occur with the base words and simply connote the sense ‘and the things like that’ (Masica 1991: 80). Stylistically, echo formations are considered to be of “the substandard” or “the informal” expressions (Parimalagantham 2009: 28), and pragmatically, they connote “casualness and non-specificity” (Abbi 2001: 169).

Echo formation is one of the areal features of the South Asian languages, and is also attested in the Chitoniya Tharu. It is mostly employed in the verbs and nouns, less frequently in adjectives and adverbs, and rarely in other word classes. The word class of the root influences the echo formation process in this language. In the echo formation process of the verbal roots, the vowel sound of the initial syllable gets modification, whereas in that of the non-verbal roots, it is the initial consonant phoneme that is substituted.

2.2.1 Echo formation of verbs

While forming an echo word of the verbal roots, the high front vowel *i* and high and mid back

vowels *u* and *o* of the initial syllable are modified into *a* in the echo words, as illustrated in (11).

(11)	Base	gloss	echo-formation
	<i>pi</i>	'drink'	<i>pi pa-</i>
	<i>cir</i>	'split'	<i>cir car-</i>
	<i>nij^h</i>	'cook'	<i>nij^h naj^h-</i>
	<i>hũd</i>	'stir'	<i>hũd hãd</i>
	<i>rop</i>	'plant'	<i>rop rap-</i>
	<i>d^ho</i>	'wash'	<i>d^ho d^ha-</i>

Similarly, the low back vowel *a* in the initial syllable is modified into the high back vowel *u*, as in (12).

(12)	<i>c^huđ</i>	'leave'	<i>c^huđ c^huđ-</i>	<i>mar</i>
	'kill'	<i>mar mur-</i>		<i>kađ</i>
	'cut'	<i>kađ kuđ-</i>		

2.2.2 Echo formation of non-verbal roots

The initial consonant phoneme is substituted by several, though fixed, sounds while forming an echo word of a non-verbal word. The most common replacer sound, as Abbi (2001:168) calls it, in the Chitoniya Tharu is the alveolar fricative *s* which is also common in Nepali as well. The examples are listed in (13).

(13)	<i>nun</i>	'salt'	<i>nun sun</i>
	<i>yalo</i>	'potato'	<i>yalo salo</i>
	<i>tiuna</i>	'vegetable'	<i>tiuna siuna</i>
	<i>yəcar</i>	'pickle'	<i>yəcar səcar</i>
	<i>kađ^h</i>	'wood'	<i>kađ^h sađ^h</i>
	<i>mit</i>	'ritual friend'	<i>mit sit</i>

The next most frequently used replacer is the labial approximant *w*, one of the most common replacer in NIA. The examples are listed in (14).

(14)	<i>pani</i>	'water'	<i>pani wani</i>
	<i>k^hana</i>	'meal'	<i>k^hana wana</i>
	<i>lwata</i>	'small pitcher'	<i>lwata wata</i>
	<i>sasu</i>	'mother in law'	<i>sasu wasu</i>
	<i>hər</i>	'plough' (n)	<i>hər wər</i>
	<i>nāk</i>	'nose'	<i>nāk wāk</i>
	<i>.topi</i>	'cap'	<i>.topi wopi</i>
	<i>.tēđ</i>	'eye'	<i>.tēđ wēđ</i>

Sometimes, the whole initial syllable is replaced by the high back vowel *u*. It happens with the words consisting of front or back high vowels in the initial syllable. The examples are in (15).

(15)	<i>b^hita</i>	'wall'	<i>b^hita uta c^hipa</i>
	'plate'	<i>c^hipa upa</i>	
	<i>diya</i>	'lamp'	<i>diya uwa</i>
	<i>guro</i>	'priest'	<i>guro uro</i>
	<i>muđi</i>	'head'	<i>muđi uđi juta</i>
	'shoes'	<i>juta uta</i>	

Though rare, we have evidences of the replacer *p^h* in the Chitoniya Tharu. It seems to be lexically conditioned. The examples are in (16).

(16)	<i>sisa</i>	'bottle'	<i>sisa p^hisa</i>
	<i>suər</i>	'pig'	<i>suər p^huər</i>

2.3. Discontinuous reduplication

The basic principle of reduplication is that “the reduplicative copied strings are typically adjacent to each other at the surface” and this principle is known as Adjacent String Hypothesis (Kirchner 2010:24). However, there are languages in which an extra element is introduced between the base and the reduplicant, and consequently the reduplicant is separated from the base. Such discontinuous reduplication process is in vogue in many of the NIA languages, and the Chitoniya Tharu is one of them. Such extra element is “usually a postposition or an empty syllable” and such constructions are used to refer to extremities (Abbi 2001:170). The postpositions or empty syllables interrupting the base and reduplicant are unique in each language. The Chitoniya Tharu employs a negative morpheme *nə* and the ablative marker *se* between the base and the reduplicant. The examples are given in (17) and illustrated in (18) and (19).

(17)	<i>bəhut se bəhut</i>
	<i>yəpnəhī se yəpnəhī</i>
	<i>kəhəwā nə kəhəwā</i>
	<i>kəkərəhū nə kəkərəhū</i>
	<i>kət^hiyə nə kət^hiyə</i>
	<i>kəsnuk nə kəsnuk</i>
	<i>kīho nə kīho</i>

- (18) a. *bəhut se bəhut bat kəreke rəhələu*
bəhut -se bəhut bat
much -ABL REDUP talk
kər -eke rəh -l -əu
do -INF remain -PST -3PL
‘We had to talk much.’
- b. *yəpnehĩ se yəpnehĩ uwə*
yəpnehĩ -se yəpnehĩ uwə
oneself -ABL REDUP 3SG
baur b^heliyā
baur *b^he -l -iyā*
loafer become -PST -3PL
‘We had to talk much.’
- (19) a. *kiho nə kiho tə k^hahi !*
kiho nə kiho tə
what NEG REDUP PRT
k^hu -hi
eat -IMP
‘Please eat something or other.’
- b. *kəkərəhũ nə kəkərəhũke*
kəkərəhũ nə kəkərəhũ -ke
someone NEG REDUP -DAT
tə kəhəke gelə həliyā
tə kəh -ke ja -lə
PRT say -SEQ go -PRF
hə -l -iyā
be -PST -3SG
‘(He) must have told someone or the other before going.’

3. Conclusion

We have noticed in the discussion that reduplication can be broadly classified into lexical and morphological reduplications. Lexical reduplication can again be subdivided into word reduplication, echo formation, and compounding. In word reduplication itself, we can reduplicate the complete word, part of it, or can form a discontinuous reduplicated structure. In this article we have only discussed the lexical reduplication, except compound, in the Chitoniya

Tharu. In this language, words belonging to any word class like nouns, pronouns, modifiers, quantifiers, question words, relatives and correlatives, and verbs can be reduplicated. While reduplicating nouns and pronouns, the emphatic clitics *-e* and *-hĩ* are attached to the base, whereas other word classes are reduplicated without any morpho-phonological modification. The reduplication in this language has several functions like intensification, plurality, accentuation, continuity and exclusiveness. We have partial reduplication as well. However, two different processes are employed to derive echo words based on the word class of the base. While echo forming verbs, mostly monosyllabic, the vowel of the initial syllable is modified into *a* or *u*, and no change in consonant occurs. In the case of non-verbal reduplication, it is the initial consonant sound that gets substituted. The replacer sounds are *s*, *w*, *u*, and *p^h* listed in the order of frequency. The Chitoniya Tharu also allows discontinuous reduplication and the interrupting elements are the negative morpheme *nə* and the ablative marker *se*.

Abbreviations

~	: Nasalization	1	: First person
2	: Second person	3	: Third person
ABL	: Ablative	ABS	: Absolutive
DAT	: Dative	CLF	: Classifier
EMPH	: Emphatic	FUT	: Future
GEN	: Genitive	HON.	: Honorific
IMP	: Imperative	INF	: Infinitive
LOC	: Locative	NEG	: Negative
OBL	: Oblique	PART	: Particle
PL	: Plural	PROG	: Progressive
PRF	: Perfective	PRS	: Present
PRT	: Particle	PST	: Past
REDUP	: Reduplication	REFL	: Reflexive
	: Sequential	SEQ	: Sequential
		SG	: Singular

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Issues of v-v compounds in Chintang

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Like in other South Asian languages, verbal compounding is an extremely productive phenomenon in Chintang (Sino-Tibetan Kiranti). However, unlike in Indo-Aryan languages of the region, one of the essential properties of Chintang v2s is that they require a disyllabic unit as a host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint (Bickel et al. 2007, Paudyal 2013). This paper describes the structure and properties of v-v compounds in Chintang.

1. Introduction¹

Chintang (ISO636.3: ctn) is spoken by the Chintang Rai people in Chintang VDC (Village Development Committee) of Dhanakuṭā district, close to the Saptakośī river confluence on the southern foothills of the Himalayas. Recently, the name became an ethnic category when it turned out that the original inhabitants of Chintang have a separate Kiranti language. Apart from Chintang, a small number of speakers of Chintang are also found at Triveni in Ahāle VDC, which is in 3 hours trekking distance from Chintang in south. There is no reliable scientific census report available to show the exact number of Chintang speakers. However, Chintang and Puma Documentation Project (CPDP) estimates not less than 5,000 people who speak this language as their mother tongue. The main Chintang-speaking villages are Mulgāũ (from Nepali *mul* ‘main’ and *gāũ* ‘village’) and Sambugāũ.

During my fieldwork in the above two Chintang villages and also in Triveni (Ahāle VDC), I no-

ticed that most, if not all, speakers are bilingual with Nepali, the Indo-Aryan *lingua franca* of Nepal. Some speakers are trilingual with Bantawa, one of the most widely spoken Kiranti languages of the region. Monolingualism of Chintang is now restricted to a handful of elderly persons, especially women. But most children still acquire Chintang as their first language, especially in Gaurong Tole and some other areas of Mulgāũ. The present social situation contributes to the fact that the Chintang language is increasingly being supplanted by Nepali and Bantawa. One of the most important factors of language shift in Chintang is mixed marriage between Chintang and other language groups.

Genealogically, Chintang belongs to the Kiranti subgroup of the large Tibeto-Burman (Sino-Tibetan) family. Within Kiranti, Bickel (2008) identified Chintang as Central-Eastern > Greater Eastern > Eastern > Greater Yakkha. The nearest linguistic relatives within Kiranti are the neighbouring languages Athpare, Belhare, and Chiling (also pronounced as Chiling or Chulung). There are two major dialects (Mulgāũ and Sambugāũ) named after the areas where they are spoken. The Sambugāũ dialect is more influenced by Bantawa and Nepali, while the Mulgāũ variety still preserves its uniqueness. The difference between these two dialects is found only in some parts of the morphology and lexicon, but not in the syntax.

Although there are different types of complex predicates in Chintang, in this article, I confine myself to v-v compounds and present a brief overview of Chintang v-v compound forms in terms of both their morphological structure and syntactic functions. In section 2, I offer a brief review of complex verbs forms in the languages of Nepal. In section 3, I describe the different types of Chintang v2s including their morphological behaviour and functions. Finally, I briefly summarize the major characteristics of v-v forms in section 4.

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2. The complex verb forms

Complex verbal forms have been studied extensively in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, but relatively less attention is paid in Tibeto-Burman languages. Though this phenomenon occurs productively in Kiranti languages, there is no such studies dedicated to compound verbs in Kiranti subgroup. Nonetheless complex predicates are attested in a number of Kiranti languages (e.g., Belhare (Bickel 1996), Athpare (Ebert 1997a), Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009), Camling (Ebert 1997b), Kulung (Tolsma 1999), and Thulung (Lahaussais 2002)). However, the literature discussing complex predicates involves a muzzy diversity of analyses and terminology. For example, Weidert & Subba (1985), Tolsma (1999), Rutgers (1998) use the term ‘auxiliary’, Opgenort (2002) describes this feature as ‘motionalisers’, van Driem (1987, 1993) and Lahaussais (2002) use the term ‘aspectivizers’, Ebert (1997a/b) uses the term compound verb in her works on Camling and Athpare. However, for the sake of clarity and brevity, I refer the vectors simply as v2s in this work (see Table 1 for a list of v2s).

During my analysis of the Chintang corpus, I found basically three types of complex predicates in this language. The first and also the most productive one is the compound verb form which is a multi-verb construction in which the first verb stem (Σ) is followed by one or more vector verbs that semantically modify it. Such forms have been described variously as compound verb, explicator compound verbs, complex predicates, composite predicates or serial verbs in South Asian linguistics. This is a pervasive feature of the languages of South Asia and the greater Himalayan region (Hook 1974, Masica 1976, Mohanan 1990, van Driem 1990, Butt 1993, Pokharel 1999). The second complex predicate construction is a pre-verb and a stem construction in which two elements combine to form a single semantic predicate. They both make a single lexeme, but can be separated by endoclitics and prefixes usually hosted by the stem (Σ). The third type of complex form is a verbal compound in which the second verb is fully inflected while the first verb, which is always a loan from Nepali, is marked only with a verb nativizer morpheme *-e*. Although these three types of complex predicate constructions are

structurally distinct, they share some interesting similarities, for example, in all cases the element in the right position gets full inflection, and in all forms there is a possibility to intrude endoclitics between two verb forms. As stated earlier, in this paper, I focus only on compound verbs.

3. The v-v compounds in Chintang

Before describing the compound verb forms, we introduce the morphological structure of both the simple and complex verb forms in Chintang. A large number of Chintang verbs have a monosyllabic root; a typical syllable structure is CVC when they appear without possible augments *-t*, and *-s*. In these two augments, *-t* is described as a Proto-Tibeto-Burman **-t*, which is usually reconstructed as a “directive” or applicative marker, and *-s* as a reflex of the proto-Tibeto-Burman causative augment **-s* (Wolfenden 1929, Michailovsky 1985, van Driem 1993, Bickel et al. 2010). There are a large number of verb-stems which still preserve these augments in Chintang, for example, *lut-t* ‘press down’, *lu-t* ‘tell someone’, *lu-s* ‘tell’ (antipassive). There are also few polysyllabic verbs which contain a preverbal element and a verb. With such polysyllabic verbs, only the rightmost syllable behaves like a regular stem consisting of a root and an augment. For example, in the form *khas#ŋs-* ‘ask’, only the second part of the verb *s#ŋ-s*, is the regular verb stem; the preverbal part *kha-* behaves like a morphologically separate item, in spite of the lexical unity of the two parts. The full form of a verb stem can be realized only before vowels. No verb stems (Σ) can occur on their own. They must be inflected including prefixes and suffixes before they are used for a particular purpose. In compound verbs, there are usually more than one inner stem due to the result of verbal compounding of two lexical stems. Here the second verb stem, which is described as a v2, can also have a regular root + augment structure. As all the stems of the Chintang verbs (including the rightmost syllable of pre-verb and stem form) constitute a single syllable, the v2-stems cannot directly combine with them. One of the essential properties of Chintang v2 is that they require a disyllabic unit as a host (prosodic subcategorization constraint, Bickel et al. 2007). If there is not any inflectional suffix available to combine with the first Σ , an

epenthetic element *-na* is used to fulfill the requirement. As soon as the first Σ becomes disyllabic, a v2 is combined with it, then the output is a derived stem $\Sigma\Box$ which hosts a complete set of inflectional affixes. The first Σ is commonly inflected for one suffix, and the $\Sigma\Box$ (the derived one) with full range of inflectional affixes. Interestingly, in this regard, the derived $\Sigma\Box$ also copies the markers which are already there in the v1. There are extremely few cases, for example, the third person singular intransitive nonpast subjunctive, which do not take any affix markers.

Table 1. The most common v2 verbs with their function and meanings in Chintang

V2s	Grammatical function	Lexical meaning
<i>-bid</i>	Benefactive I	'give'
<i>-hatt</i>	Completive I	'go/bring'
<i>-gond</i>	Ambulative	'search'
<i>-li</i>	Return	'back'
<i>-yuy</i>	Durative	'keep'
<i>-dhend</i>	-	'put'
<i>-loĩ</i>	-	'take out'
<i>-dhett</i>	Beneactive II	-
<i>-mett</i>	Causative	'do'
<i>-ci</i>	Completive II	'eat'
<i>-si/-set</i>	-	'die/kill'
<i>-dhend</i>		'put'

The examples in (1a) and (1b) illustrate the morphological and phonological structure with the v2 stem *-bid*, which literally means 'give' and functions as a benefactive in this context, and *-gond* 'ambulative'.

- (1) a. $[\Sigma'(\varphi[\Sigma mett]-u)-bid]-u-ku-ce$
do-3P-BEN-3P-NPST-3NSG.P
'S/he does it for them.'
- b. $[\Sigma\Box(\varphi[\Sigma r\#kt]-a)-gond]-a-c-a$
chase-IMP-AMB-IMP-D-IMP
'Chase away.'
[CLLDCh4R13S04.478]

Inflectional suffixes can appear on both parts of the compound forms. Like in the above examples, generally, only one suffix is attached to the v1 to form a di-syllabic host. But some speakers in some cases also include the person marking nasal-

suffixes such as *-ŋ* '1SG.A' and *-m* '1NSG.A' including the third person undergoer *-u* '3P'. Examples (2a) and (3a) show that the compound verb forms *mettuybidukuy* 'to do for someone' and *huguybidukuy* 'to pay for someone' have both actor and undergoer suffixes marked on both member of the compounds. However, in examples (2b) and (3b) only the undergoer is marked on the verbs.

- (2) a. *mett-u-ŋ-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
do-3P-1SG.A-BEN-3P-NPST-1SG.A
b. *mett-u-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
do-3P-BEN-3P-NPST-1SG.A
Both: 'I (will) do it for him.'
- (3) a. *hug-u-ŋ-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
pay-3P-1SG.A-BEN-3P-NPST-1SG.A
b. *hug-u-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
pay-3P-BEN-3P-NPST-1SG.A
Both: 'I pay for him.'

But if the first Σ is followed by the past tense marking suffix *-a*, the person marking suffix is also included. This is not obligatory, but it is very common to include the person marking suffix in such cases. This can be seen in examples (4a,b).

- (4) a. *chapt-a-ŋ-bid-e-he~*
write-PST-1SG.A-BEN-PST-1SG.A.PST
'I wrote it for (them).'
- b. *khatt-a-ŋ-bid-e-he~*
take-PST-1SG.A-BEN-PST-1SG.A.PST
'I took it for (him/her).'

However, as I stated earlier, when there is no inflectional suffix to combine with the Σ , an epenthetic morpheme *-na* appears in-between the first Σ and v2s, which consequently fulfills the disyllabic constraint of the Σ . In 'Free Prefix ordering in Chintang', Bickel et al. (2007) report that there are two such cases under which no suffix is available for the Σ : the first one is with the non-past maker *-no/-nok* suffix (5a) and (5b), which appears only on the v2; and the second condition emerges in third person singular intransitive subjunctive forms (5c), which do not bear any suffixes.

- (5) a. *li-na-ha?no*
be-NA-CML-NPST
'It becomes.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.064a]

- b. *mett-na-bi-no*
do-NA-BEN-NPST
'S/he does it for (someone).'
- c. *tan-na-yak=lok khic-nu porne*
jump-NA-TEL=SIM record-INF
should.be
'She should be recorded when she jumps.'

Moreover, an epenthetic marker also appears when the v2 is in hortative mood (6a), and also in the nonpast subjunctive forms usually followed by the temporal sequential and temporal particle, as in (6b) and (6c).

- (6) a. *ca-na-ca=ne* *na*
eat-NA-CML=HORT INSIST
'Let her eat!'[CLDLCh2R02S02.274]
- b. *huĩ man-na-hai? pache*
DEM finish-NA-CML SEQ
'After finishing that'
[CLDLCh2R02S02.588]
- c. *i-pakku=te* *thuŋ-na-di*
2SG.POSS-uncle=FOC drink-NA-TEL
pacche ololowa rai?ma
SEQ IDEOPH make.noise-INF
'Your uncle makes noise after drinking (alcohol).'

Unlike in Athpare (Ebert 1997, p 71) and Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009, p 252), where prefixes appear as a rule only on the Σ , in Chintang prefixes can also appear on v2s just like suffixes. The following examples illustrate this with prefix *u-* '3NSG'. In examples (7a) and (8a) the prefixes *u-* 3NSG and *a-* 2SG appear before the Σ , but in the examples (7b) and (8b) the same prefix appears before the v2. These two orders are free variants of each other. (see Bickel et al. 2007 for a detail picture of grammatical and phonological word domains.)

- (7) a. *u-hab-a-gond-e*
3NSG-cry-PST-AMB-PST
b. *hab-a-u-gond-e*
cry-PST-3NSG-AMB-PST
Both: 'They cried.'
- (8) a. *a-ko-na-gon-no*
2SG-walk-NA-AMB-NPST

- b. *ko-na-a-gon-no*
walk-NA-2SG-AMB-NPST
Both: 'You (will) walk around.'

However, prefixes cannot satisfy the requirement of disyllabic host. So, the Σ is inflected with the past tense marker *-a* in (7), and the epenthetic *-na* in (8), when there is no any suffixes in the first stem.

Interestingly more than one v2 can be combined with a lexical verb, although this is not very frequent like in Nepali (e.g., *khai-di-hal-nu* 'eat-give-put'). In the Chintang corpus, maximum three v2s have been attested only with a single lexical verb. This type of compound is formed to give an extreme focus on the action.

- (9) a. *kip-ma-dheĩ-ma-bi-ma*
cut-INF-put-INF-BEN-INF
'It should be cut right away.'
- b. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-u-bid-a*
chew-3P-CML-3P-CML-3P-BEN-IMP
'Eat by chewing it!'
[CLLDCh1R03S01.0464]

Generally, it is not possible to have the same vector verb twice in a single compound verb. There is only one example in our corpus where the completive vector appears twice in a single compound verbal form. But examples like in (10b) can be elicited

- (10) a. *lon-na-hai?wa?na-hai?*
walk-NA-CML-TEL-NA-CML
'S/he might walk.'
[CLDLCh3R01S04.069]
- b. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-u-bid-u-hatt-e*
chew-3P-CML-3P-CML-3P-BEN-3P-CML-PST
'He already ate by chewing it.'

The v1 and v2 compounds are usually so tightly fused that they have lost their structural and semantic independence. In most of the cases, such compounds are contiguous; the only constituents that can freely intervene between the two verbs are clitics. However, this type of interruption is not critical for complex predicates and it is not unique to either Chintang, Belhare, a neighboring language (Bickel 1996:56) or a cross-linguistic perspective in South Asia.

The examples in (11a) and (11b) show that the restrictive particle =*le* and the focus particle =*ta* appear between the two verbs. The examples in (12a,b) illustrate that the emphatic particle =*lo* can appear inside the verbal complex or outside of the complex predicate.

- (11) a. *pin-na=le-gon-no*
run-NA=RESTR-AMB-NPST
'She only runs away.'
[CLLDCh4R11S06.587]
- b. *thab-a=ta-ci-e*
come.level-PST=FOC-CML-PST
'She came.' [warisama_talk.115]
- (12) a. *kɨp-ma=lo-dheĩ-ma naŋ*
cut-INF=SURP-put-INF BUT b.
kɨp-ma-dheĩ-ma=lo naŋ
cut-INF-put-INF=SURP BUT
Both: 'It should be cut.'
[CLDLCh2R02S02.170]

Moreover, the two verbs of a complex predicate cannot be scrambled. They can be moved only as a single unit. Any attempts to separate one of the main verbs from its v2 compound are ill-formed. Like simple verbs, compound verbs can also appear in the infinitival form of the verb (12a,b) above or being inflected for the imperatives, as shown in (13a,b).

- (13) a. *tɨjs-ɨbid-a na*
kick-3P-BEN-IMP INSIST
'Please kick on it.'
[CLLDCh4R14S02.0628]
- b. *ho mo rɨkt-a-gond-a-c-a*
well CIT chase-IMP-
AMB-IMP-D-IMP
'Yes, chase in this way!'
[CLLDCh4R13S04.478]

However, unlike v2 stems, auxiliaries are full-fledged stems on their own, and so they do not require disyllabic hosts. Instead they form periphrastic constructions together with a lexical verb (Bickel et al. 2007). In this case, either the lexical verb (14a) or the auxiliary stem can be inflected, as in (15a).

- (14) a. *kha-u-khu mett-a-k-e*
1NSG.P-3NSG.A-carrycause-PST-IPFV-PST
'They made us carry it.'
[Bickel et al. 2007]
- b. *hunce-ko khu-ma-ce*
3NSG-GEN carry-INF-NSG

khu kha-u-mett-a-k-e
carry 1NSG.P-3NSG.A-cause-PST-IPFV-PST
'They made us carry their loads, luggage
or whatever stuff.' [rana_pilgrim.061]

The auxiliary *mett-* basically functions as a causativizer, which adds a causer to the clause in the position of the subject. It can appear with both intransitive and transitive verbs. Added to intransitive verbs, the causative structure is transitivizing. The causer is added as the subject of the clause, while the former intransitive subject (S) is turned into the primary object of the verb derived by the causative. This phenomenon is shown in the following table:

Table 2: Causative derivation with intransitive verbs

Intran. Clause: S
Trans. Clause: A(=causer) P(=former S)
V-CAUS

In the following examples, the intransitive verbs *hap* 'cry', *peĩ* 'fly' and *im* 'sleep' are the base for the causative, leading to the transitive form *hap mett-* 'cause someone to cry', *peĩ mett-* 'cause something to fly', and *im mett-* 'cause someone to sleep'.

- (15) a. *abo hap mett-e gonei*
now cry cause-PST ATTN₁
'Now, she made him cry!'
[Fieldwork_2010]
- b. *akka peĩ mett-u-ku-ŋ*
1s fly cause-3P-NPST-1SG.A
'I make (the dove) fly.'
[CLLDCh3R05S01 031]
- c. *im met-na-ŋ-na-c-e aya*
sleep cause-REFL-PERF-REFL-REFL-PST
EXCLA
'Oh! She has put herself to sleep.'
[CLDLCh2R02S02.564]

- (16) *hap na-mett-e*
 cry 3>2-CAUS-PST
 ‘Did he make you cry?’
 [CLLDCh1R04S06.1547]

When the causative is added to the transitive verb, the valency of the verb is not changed, but the subject and object positions are occupied by other participants than in the non-derived form: the causer of the action appears in the subject position, the former subject is changed into a primary object and the former primary object disappears from the cross-reference marking in the verb. This is demonstrated in the following table:

Table 3: Causative formation with transitive verbs

Trans. Clause: A	P	V
Caus. Clause: A(=new)	G(=former A)	
	T(=former P)	V-CAUS

In the following example, the mother makes the elder sister carry her sibling. The transitive verb *khur-* ‘carry’ is the input for the causative to form *khumett-* ‘make someone carry something’. In this form ‘elder sister’ is the object of the clause.

- (17) *amma-ŋa nicha u-nicha*
 mother-ERG elder.sister 3sPOSS-
 sibling

khu mett-e
 carry cause-PST
 ‘The mother caused the elder sister to carry
 her sibling.’ [Fieldwork_2010]

In a historical paper on compound verbs in Indo-Aryan languages, Sen (1968) notes that compound verbs represent highly polished style and are used frequently in the ceremonial variety of a language. However, this is not the case in the Kiranti languages including in Chintang. The study of the Chintang corpus shows that the compound verb forms are equally productive both in the day-to-day and in the ritual variety of the Chintang language.

4. Summary

Like in many other South Asian languages, there is an extensive use of v-v compounds in Chintang. Among the three different types of complex predicates available in this language, the verbal (v1+v2) compound is the most productive one in

the Chintang corpus. One of the major essential properties of Chintang v2s is that they require a disyllabic host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint. So the (v1) is augmented or supported by inflectional suffixes. If there is no any inflectional suffix available to combine with the Σ , an epenthetic element originates automatically to fulfill the disyllabic requirement. Inflectional suffixes appear on both the v1 and v2, but only the v2 is marked with the complete set of affixes. Clitics can intervene between the two verbs.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
AMB	ambulative
ATTN	attentive particle
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	cause
CIT	citation particle
CML	completive
D	dual
DEM	demonstrative
ERG	ergative case
EXCLA	exclamatory particle
FOC	focus particle
G	goal argument
GEN	genitive case
HORT	hortative case
IDEOPH	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INSIST	insistive particle
IPFV	imperfective
NA	epenthetic
NPST	nonpast
NSG	non-singular
P	patient
PERF	perfective
POSS	possessive
PST	past
PTCL	particle
REFL	reflexive
RESTR	restrictive particle
S	subject
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular

SIM	simultaneous
SURP	surprise particle
T	theme argument
TEL	telic

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Finite state approach to Nepali adjectives

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This paper attempts to group Nepali adjectives according to their formal behavior and implement them to create finite state transducer for each group. All the finite state transducers are composed into a single one, which can analyze and generate the adjectives in Nepali according to two-level morphology: lexical level and surface level. Devanagari script is employed while creating the finite state transducers.

1. Background

Adjectives in Nepali are the words indicating quality, quantity and frequency generally modifying the nouns. The adjectives show various kinds of morphological features such as stem final: *o*-ending and non-*o*-ending, number, gender, honorificity, form and degree.

The approach applied for this study is finite state technology based on two-level morphology (Koskeniemmi 1983). The theoretical concepts are discussed elsewhere in Prasain (2012) and further details can be found in Jurafsky and Martin (2000). Analyzed adjectives, along with morphological tags have been implemented into the computer for computational purpose using the Xerox Finite State Toolkit developed by Beesley and Karttunen (2003).

The paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 describes the characteristic features of Nepali adjectives; section 3 classifies the adjectives according to their formal behavior and creates finite state transducer for each group. Section 4 summarizes the findings.

2. Characteristics of adjectives in Nepali

a. Significant stem finals

The adjectives in Nepali, like that of nouns, show the binary division between *o*-ending adjectives and non-*o*-ending adjectives. The *o*-ending adjectives inflect for number, gender, form and honorificity. These adjectives agree with the features carried over by the head nouns that they modify. The non-*o*-ending adjectives are not consistent in their formal behavior. Rather a sub-

group of non-*o*-ending adjectives take feminine gender marker and another sub-group, especially Sanskrit loan adjectives, inflects for comparative and superlative forms. Table 3.45 lists some *o*-ending and some non-*o*-ending adjectives.

Table 1: *O*-ending and non-*o*-ending adjectives

<i>O</i> -ending	Non- <i>o</i> -ending
ramro 'good'	ʌsʌl 'good'
kalo 'black'	tsʌtur 'clever'
kʰʌsro 'coarse'	lʌgʰu 'small'
mʰito 'sweet'	purwija 'related to east'

b. Number

Adjectives in Nepali show two dimensions of number: singular and plural. The number distinction is found only in *o*-ending adjectives. The citation form of *o*-ending adjective as *ramro* in (1) changes to the *a*-ending as *ramra* in (2) for plural.

- (1) euṭa ramro keṭo a-jo
one.CL good.SG boy.SG come-PST.3SG.MASC
'A handsome boy came.'
- (2) duiṭa ramra keṭa a-je
two.CL good.PL boy.PL come-PST.3PL
'Two handsome boys came.'

Table 2 lists some adjectives that show the singular and plural form and this number feature in the adjectives agree with the number feature of the head noun in the noun phrase.

Table 2: Number: singular and plural

	good	black	coarse	old
Singular	ramro	kalo	kʰʌsro	buḍʰo
Plural	ramra	kala	kʰʌsra	buḍʰa

c. Gender

Adjectives in Nepali that are *o*-ending show masculine and feminine gender. The *o*-ending adjective such as *ramro* in (3) changes to the *i*-ending as *ramri* in (4) showing masculine and feminine alternation. Some of the non-*o*-ending adjectives change into feminine adjective with the suffix *-ni*: (alternately *-ini*: and *-eni*).

- (3) euṭa ramro keṭo
 one.CL good.SG boy.SG
 a-jo
 come-PST.3SG.MASC
 'A handsome boy came.'
- (4) euṭa ramri keṭi
 one.CL good.FEM boy.FEM.SG
 a-i
 come-PST.3SG.FEM
 'A beautiful boy came.'

Table 3 lists some examples of adjectives showing the gender change. The gender distinction depends on the head noun. If head noun refers to human, then only the gender is functional.

Table 3: Gender: masculine and feminine

	Good	black	clever	rural
Masc	ramro	kalo	tsatura	pak ^h e
Fem	ramri:	kali:	tsaturni:	pa ^k h ⁱ ni:

d. Form

Adjectives in Nepali show two forms: direct and oblique. The *o*-ending adjective as *ramro* in (5) shows oblique form and it changes to *a*-ending as *ramra* in (6) showing oblique form.

- (5) euṭa ramro keṭo
 one.CL good.SG boy.SG
 a-ũdʌi ts^hʌ
 come-IMPER be.NPST.3SG
 'A handsome boy is coming.'

- (6) euṭa ramra keṭa-le
 one.CL good.SG boy.OBL-ERG
 praṣṭaw rak^h-eko ts^hʌ
 proposal keep-PERF be.NPST.3SG.MASC
 'A handsome boy has proposed.'

Table 4 lists some examples of adjectives showing the direct and oblique forms

Table 4: Form: direct and oblique

	good	black	coarse	old
Direct	ramro	kalo	k ^h ʌsro	buḍ ^h o
Oblique	ramra	kala	k ^h ʌsra	buḍ ^h a

e. Honorificity

Adjectives in Nepali show two levels of honorificity: non-honorific and honorific. The *o*-ending adjectives as *ramro* in (7) changes into *a*-ending as *ramra* in (8) showing non-honorific and honorific, respectively.

- (7) tʌ̃ ramro
 2SG.NHON good.NHON
 ts^hʌs
 be.NPST.2SG.NHON
 'You are good.'
- (8) timi ramra ts^hʌu
 2SG.HON good.HON be.NPST.2SG.HON
 'You are good.'

Table 5 lists some examples of adjectives showing the honorificity.

Table 5: Honorificity: non-honorific and honorific

	good	black	coarse	old
Non-honorific	ramro	kalo	k ^h ʌsro	buḍ ^h o
Honorific	ramra	kala	k ^h ʌsra	buḍ ^h a

f. Degree

Native adjectives in Nepali do not inflect for degree. The degrees in adjectives are handled syntactically. But the Sanskrit loan adjectives show three levels of degree morphologically: positive, comparative and superlative. The

positive adjective is unmarked as *nju:nA* in (9). The comparative degree is indicated by a suffix *-tar* as *nju:nA-tar* in (10) and superlative by a suffix *-tam* as *nju:nA-tam* in (11).

- (9) *fiamro amdani nju:nA ts^hA*
 our income less be.NPST.3SG.MASC
 'Our income is less.'
- (10) *fiamro amdani nju:nA-tar*
 our income less-COMP
 ts^hA
 be.NPST.3SG.MASC
 'Our income is lesser.'
- (11) *fiamro amdani nju:nA-tam*
 our income less-SUPL
 ts^hA
 be.NP.3SG.MASC
 'Our income is least.'

Table 6 lists some examples of Sanskrit loan adjectives that show three degrees.

Table 6: Degree: positive, comparative and superlative

Tags	less	rigorous
POSIT	<i>nju:nA</i>	<i>gAfiAANA</i>
COMP	<i>nju:nA-tarA</i>	<i>gAfiAANA-tarA</i>
SUPER	<i>nju:nA-tamA</i>	<i>gAfiAANA-tamA</i>

3 Classification of adjectives

On the basis of characteristic features of adjectives in Nepali as discussed in (3.4.1), the adjectives are classified into two major groups. The first one is *o*-ending adjectives whereas the second one is non-*o*-ending adjectives.

a. *O*-ending adjectives

All the *o*-ending adjectives are grouped in a class. The adjectives in this group inflect for number, gender, form and honorificity. The inflection in the adjectives has direct relation with the head noun which it modifies because there is feature agreement between head noun and modifier adjective. Table 7 lists some examples of *o*-ending adjectives.

Table 7: *O*-ending adjectives

Tags	good	Black	coarse	old
+ADJ+SG	<i>ramro</i>	<i>kalo</i>	<i>k^hAsro</i>	<i>buq^ho</i>
+ADJ+PL	<i>ramra</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>k^hAsra</i>	<i>buq^ha</i>
+ADJ+OBL	<i>ramra</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>k^hAsra</i>	<i>buq^ha</i>
+ADJ+HON	<i>ramra</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>k^hAsra</i>	<i>buq^ha</i>
+ADJ+FEM	<i>ramri</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>k^hAsri</i>	<i>buq^hi</i>

The finite state transducer illustrated in Figure 1 is capable of analyzing and generating the *o*-ending adjectives and their forms illustrated in Table 8.

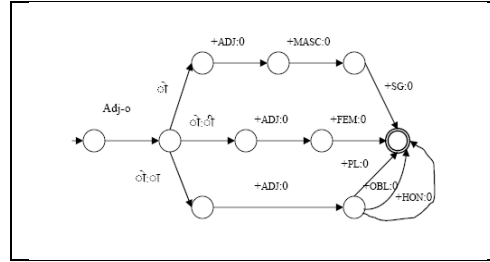


Figure 1: A finite state transducer for *o*-ending adjectives

The phonological rules given in PR 1 are compiled into a finite state transducer and composed with finite state transducer illustrated in Figure 1.

PR 3.9

- i. Stem final vowel *o* of the *o*-ending adjectives of the lower language (i.e, surface level) is changed to vowel *a* for plural, oblique and honorificity.

Regular expression: *o* -> *a* || _.#.

- ii. Stem final vowel *o* of the *o*-ending adjectives of the lower language (i.e, surface level) is changed to vowel *i* for feminine gender.

Regular expression: *o* -> *i* || _.#.

b. Non-*o*-ending adjectives

Non-*o*-ending adjectives in Nepali form a group which includes both marked and unmarked

adjectives. Marked adjectives mean those which take some sort of marking such as feminine marker, comparative marker and superlative maker.

i. Marked adjectives

Type 1: Those non-*o*-ending adjectives in Nepali that inflect for gender: masculine and feminine have been grouped in this class. The citation form is masculine in gender and marker *-ni/-ini* when suffixed to changes to feminine gender. Table 3.52 lists some adjectives of this group.

Table 8: Type 1 marked adjectives

Tags	clever	cunning	of east
ADJ+MASC	tsʌturʌ	dʰurtʌ	purwija
ADJ+FEM	tsʌturni	dʰurtini	purwini

The finite state transducer illustrated in Figure 2 is capable of analyzing and generating the non-*o*-ending type 1 adjectives and their forms illustrated in Table 8.

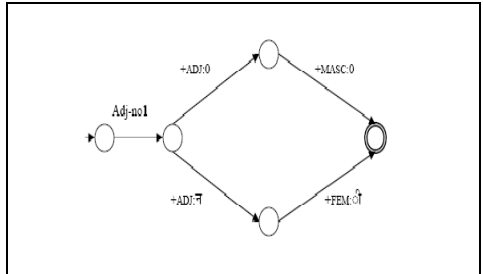


Figure 2: A finite state transducer for Type 1 marked adjectives

The phonological rules involved in this process are given in PR 1 which are compiled and composed with finite state transducer illustrated in Figure 2.

PR 2

i. Halant ् is inserted between consonant symbol and feminine gender marker *नी ni*: at the surface level.

Regular expression: [.] -> ् || liquids _ न ी .#.

ii. *या ja* is deleted before the feminine gender marker *नी ni*: at the surface level.

Regular expression: य ो -> [] || _ न ी .#.

Type 2 Those non-*o*-ending adjectives in Nepali that inflect for comparative and superlative forms are grouped in this class. The adjectives in this group, in fact, are Sanskrit loan adjectives. The adjectives in this group take the comparative marker *-तरा* and superlative maker *-तमा* forming the comparative and superlative forms respectively. Table 9 lists some examples of Sanskrit loan adjectives.

Table 9: Type 2 marked adjectives

Tags	less	small
+ADJ+POSIT	nju:nʌ	lʌgʰu
+ADJ+COMP	nju:nʌ-tʌrʌ	lʌgʰu-tʌrʌ
+ADJ+SUPER	nju:nʌ-tʌmʌ	lʌgʰu-tʌmʌ

The finite state transducer illustrated in Figure 3 is capable of analyzing and generating the non-*o*-ending type 2 adjectives and their forms illustrated in Table 9. In this class of adjectives, no rules are involved.

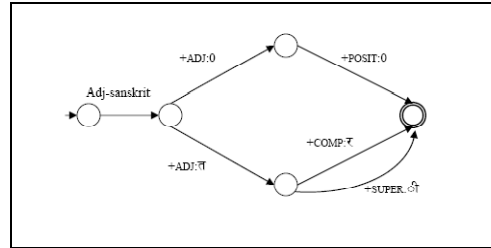


Figure 3: A finite state transducer for Sanskrit loan adjectives

ii. Unmarked adjectives

All those non-*o*-ending adjectives in Nepali which never take any marker are grouped in this class. The adjective in this class remains unaltered. Table 10 lists some examples of unmarked adjectives.

Table 10: Unmarked mdjectives

Tags	gentle	bad	new	rich
+ADJ	ʌsʌl	kʰʌrʌb	nʌjã	dʰʌni

The finite state transducer illustrated in Figure 4 is capable of analyzing and generating the non-*o*-

ending unmarked adjective forms illustrated in Table 10.

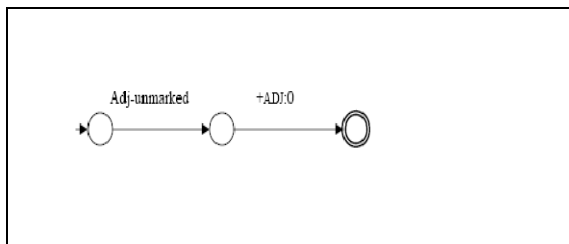


Figure 4: A finite state transducer for unmarked adjectives

The finite state transducers in Figure 1, 2, 3 and 4 are combined into a single finite state transducer using composition operator .o. which can analyze and generate Nepali adjectives.

4 Conclusion

On the basis of formal behavior, Nepali adjectives are classified into major two classes: o-ending and non-o-ending. Non-o-ending adjectives are further classified into marked and unmarked classes. For each group, the finite state transducers are created and composed into single transducer which can analyze and generate Nepali adjectives according to two-level morphology.

Abbreviations

1	= First Person
2	= Second Person
3	= Third Person
ADJ	= Adjective
CL	= Classifier
COMP	= Comparative
FEM	= Feminine
HON	= Honorific
IMPER	= Imperfect
MASC	= Masculine
NPST	= Non-past
OBL	= Oblique
PERF	= Perfect
PL	= Plural
POSIT	= Positive
PST	= Past
SG	= Singular
SUPER	= Superlative

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Subordination in Dumri

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This paper attempts to describe the subordination in Dumri. It exhibits three basic types of subordinate clauses (complement, relative and adverbial). There are two types of both complement clauses (subject and object) and relative clauses (non-finite and finite). Based on situational contexts, Dumri employs the adverbial clauses: time, location, conditional, concessive, manner, purpose, reason etc.

1. Introduction

This paper attempts to examine the subordination in Dumri. The description is within the functional typological framework primarily developed by Lehmann (1988), Givón (2001), Haspelmath (2004) and Payne (2006). Forming the continuum in between the highest and the least degree of grammatical integration in a natural language, there occur complex expressions like serial verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, clause chains, relative clauses and coordination. The main purpose of this study is to analyze one of the morphosyntactic strategies (i.e. subordination) employed to form the complex constructions in Dumri.

Although some linguistic works have been done in Dumri, there is still no document that studied on the subordination in this language. From formal and functional perspectives, no attempt has yet been made to provide a detailed analysis and description of the complex expressions in this language.

Dumri is potentially endangered (Yadava, 2001) and preliterate language spoken by an estimated 2,550 (Rai and Thokar, 2013) of 7,638 (i.e.33.4%) ethnic Dumri¹. Along with other Kirati languages, Dumri has been classified as one of the members

of the east Himalayish languages of Tibeto-Burman family. Dumri is a minor ethnic group in eastern Nepal, most of them living in hilly area of Northern Khotang district in the Sagarmatha zone of eastern Nepal.

The Dumri people living in the Makpa, Jalapa and Kharmi areas call their language *Dumri Bra* 'Dumri language' whereas it is pronounced as '*Dumri Ba* or, *Bo* 'Dumri language' in Baksila and Sapteshwor areas. There is to some extent variation in pronunciation and vocabularies. The language transmission is gradually declining in Kharmi, Sapteshwor, Baksila, Jalapa and Makpa in descending order and the majority of speakers except in Makpa area are quite limited aged Dumri people.

The origin of the Dumri language is especially the five VDCs (i.e. Makpa, Jalapa, Baksila, Kharmi and Sapteshwor) in northern Khotang district of eastern Nepal. It is currently noticed that the language has mainly three dialects distinctly separated with the geographical boundaries: western (Makpa area), southern-east (Jalapa-Kharmi) and northern-east (Baksila-Sapteshwor).

There exists different ways of combining basic clauses to form more complex structures: non-finite clauses and finite clauses. In this paper, we will discuss several morphosyntactic strategies employed to form such complex construction that involve combinations of clauses in Dumri. This study is based on the primary data which is elicited in recent sociolinguistic field survey (2013) carried out by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal 'LinSuN' in the origin of Dumri in northern Khotang district of eastern Nepal.

Subordination refers to a morphosyntactic process of combining two clauses. Defining 'subordination', Crystal (1997:443) expresses his view that it is a grammatical process of linking linguistic units so that they have different

¹ National Census of Nepal 2011

syntactic status, one being the dependent upon the other and usually a constituent of the other.'

In this grammatical strategy to form complex expressions, one clause is dependent on or is embedded to the other. Syntactically, the subordinate clause is not equal to the main clause as it is dependent. According to Kroeger (2005), a subordinate clause is one which functions as a dependent rather than a co-head. In this paper, we will discuss three basic types of subordinate clause: Complement clauses, Relative clauses and Adjunct or Adverbial clauses.

Describing the subordination as the morphosyntactic processes of the complex expressions in Dumi, this paper is basically organized into four sections. In section 2, we examine the complement clauses. Section 3 looks at relative clauses. In section 4, we deal with the adverbial clauses. Finally, in section 5, we summarize the major findings of the paper.

2 Complement clauses

In functional perspective, complement clause is also known as the verbal complement. The complement clauses function as subject or object arguments of other clauses (Givón, 2001). Syntactically, the subordinate clauses embedded in the verb phrase. According to Kroeger (2005), complement clauses are clauses that occur as complements of a verb and are required the sub-categorization features of the verb. The subordinate clause can be identified as a complement clause as in (1a).

(1a) *aŋu norola tambi pijom*

aŋu noro-la

1SG noro- ABL

tambi pi-jom

here come-PERF

'I came here from Norung.'

In (1a), the case relation of the complement is ablative, marked by the suffix *-la* 'from' in Dumi. Non-reduced nominalized clauses can be complements to verbs of cognition or sensation as in (1b).

(1b) *aŋu odusumua ki d^{hi}t^hΛtnim doktu*

aŋu-a o-dusu-mu-a

1SG-ERG 1SG.GEN-friend-PL-ERG

ki d^{hi}i-t^hΛt-nim dok-tu

yam dig-PROG-NMLZ see-1SG.PST

'I saw that my friends were digging

yam.'

In (1b), the verb *d^{hi}t^hΛtnim* 'digging' shows the nominalized clauses as complements of cognition or sensation.

There are two types of complement clauses: subject complement and object complement. In Dumi, these both complement clauses are non-finite clauses.

2.1 Subject complement clauses

In Dumi, subject complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause as in (2a-b).

(2a) *k^hliba t^samum tuma ugo t^saiju*

k^hliba t^sam-um tum-a

dog lose- NMLZ matter-ERG

u-go t^sai-ju

3SG.GEN-soul make upset-PST

'That the dog lost made her upset.'

- (2b) *t^su t^{sh}ukum tuma unu hursi*
 t^su t^{sh}uk-um
 baby born-NMLZ
 tum-a u-nu
 matter-ERG 3SG.GEN-soul
 hurs-i
 be happy-3SG.PST
 'Child's birth made him happy.'

In (2a), the clauses with non-finite verb form *t^samum* 'lost' is the complement clause which functions as the subject complement (i.e. nominalized forms) of the finite verb *t^saiju* 'made upset'. Similarly, in example (2b), the clause with non-finite verb form *t^{sh}ukum* 'born' is the complement clause which functions as the subject complement (i.e. nominalized forms) of the finite verb *hursi* 'made happy'.

2.2 Object complement clauses

In Dumi, the object complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause same as the subject complement clauses, as in (3a-b).

- (3a) *hi kilta aksa aḡulai lam gota*
 hi kilt-a ak-sa
 wind blow-NPST say-NMLZ
 aḡu-lai lam got-a
 1SG-ERG aware be -NPST
 'I am sure that it will be windy.'

- (3b) *t^hampu k^hriripa gota aksa dz^haraa t^suktani*
 t^hampu k^hriripa got-a
 earth round be-3SG. NPST
 ak-sa dz^hara-a
 say-NMLZ everyone-ERG

- t^suk-tani
 know-PL.NPST
 'Everyone knows that the earth is round.'

In (3a), the clause with non-finite forms of the verb *kilta* 'windy' is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *gota*. Likewise, the clause with non-finite forms of the verb *gota* 'is' is the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb *t^suktani* in (3b).

3. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are also known as adnominal clauses and are attributed nominalized clauses. The nominalizer agrees in number with the head nouns. They are either maximally reduced participial clauses, or they contain fully marked verbs followed by a nominalizer as in (4a-c).

- (4a) *amua p^hiḡnim aλmdzλm mambi gota.*
 a-mu-a p^hiḡ-nim
 2 SG.GEN -mother-ERG send-NML
 a-λmdzλm mambi got-a.
 2SG.GEN-food there be-NPST
 'Your food which your mother sent you is over there.'

- (4b) *um asu aksa aḡua t^suktum gota.*
 um asu ak-sa
 3SG who say-NML
 aḡu-a t^suk-tum got-a.
 1SG -ERG know-PERF be-NPST
 'I have known who she is.'

- (4c) *ania akimbi hamhΛmmulai mo abini?*
 ani-a kim-bi
 2SG-ERG house-LOC
 ham-hΛ-m-mu-lai mo
 PL-come-PERF-PL-DAT what
 a-bi-ni.
 2-give-PL .PST
 'What did you give to them who came
 to your house?'

In (4a-c), the verbs *p^{hi}ɲnim* 'sent', *t^suktum* 'known' and *hamhΛm* 'come' with the nominalizer show the relative or adnominal clauses in the respective situations.

In Dumi, relative clauses are pronominal as they occur as nominal pre-modifiers to the head as in (5a-c).

- (5a) *lΛlΛ tupsa minu asnΛmka mit^{si}*
 lΛlΛ tup-sa minu
 ornament make-NMLZ man
 asnΛmka mit^s-i
 yesterday die-PST
 'The man who made ornament died
 yesterday.'

- (5b) *dza dzim t^su:t^su sup^hu*
 dza dzi-m
 rice eat-PERF
 t^su:t^su sup^h-u
 child be full-PST
 'The child who ate rice became full.'

- (5c) *aɲua daptum t^{si} limsa gota*
 aɲu-a dap-tum t^{si}
 1SG-erg taste-NMLZ local beer
 limsa got-a
 sweet be-NPST
 'The local beer I tasted is sweet.'

In (5a-c), *lΛlΛ tupsa*, *dza dzim* and *daptum t^{si}* pre-modify the head *minu*, *t^su:t^su* and *t^{si}* thereby function as nominal modifiers. the nominalized verb *tupsa* in the relative clause *lΛlΛ tupsa* in (5a) refers to the activity that *minu* performs or the quality that the head possesses. Similarly, in (5b) the verb in perfect aspect *dzim* in the relative clause *dza dzim* restricts the head *t^su:t^su* with the reference to the activity that the head has performed. Likewise, (5c) the verb in perfective aspect *daptum* in the relative clause *daptum t^{si}* restricts the head *t^{si}* with the reference to the quality that has shown/performed.

4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clause is also known as the adjunct clauses which functions as an adjunct or adverbial element of another clause. In Dumi, it is employed adverbial clauses to provide the situational context for the event as described in the main clause. Adverbial or manner clause marked by *<-t^he>*, specify the way in which an action is carried out. They are attributed to the verb and hence is 'adverbial' and consequently take the position before the verb as in (6a-b).

- (6a) *hopubrΛ k^hanot^he adzeta*
 hopu-brΛ k^han-o-t^he
 own-language well-IPFV-MAN
 a-dze-ta
 2-speak-IPFV
 'You speak own language well.'

(6b) *u-mupu b^hent^he jAkto*
 u-mupu b^hen-t^he
 3SG.GEN-stomach become full-MAN
 jAk-to
 feed-1SG:NPST
 'I feed him to make his stomach full.'

In (6a-b), the verbs *k^hanot^he* and *b^hent^he* refer to the adverbial or manner clauses.

Functionally, there are seven types of complex expressions categorized as adverbial clauses: time adverbial, location adverbial, manner adverbial, purpose adverbial, reason adverbial, concessive adverbial and conditional adverbial. The function, form and distribution of such adverbial clauses are discussed below:

4.1 Time adverbial clauses

In Dumi, the time adverbial clauses are non-finite clause, which are used to provide information about the relative temporal ordering of the two or more events. The verbs in the adverbial clauses are typically morphologically marked by two types subordinating affixes *-lamlu* 'before' and *-ka* 'after'. The verb marked by the suffix *-lamlu* 'before' indicates the preceding event whereas the verb affixed by *-ka* 'after' signifies events as in (7a-b).

(7a) *kathmandu pinalamlu aju luklabi*
moju
 Kathmandu pina-lamlu
 Kathmandu come-before
 aju lukla-bi mo-ju
 1SG Lukla-LOC be-1SG.PST
 'I lived in Lukla before I came in Kathmadu.'

(7b) *ajua brAttoka um tambi pita*
 aju-a brAt-to-ka
 1SG-ERG call-NMLZ-after
 um tambi pita
 3SG here come
 'She will come here after I call her.'

In (7a-b), the subordinators have been affixed to the root of the verbs of the subordinate clauses. The forms of the verbs in both examples are in non-finite forms.

4.2 Location adverbial clauses

Dumi employs the interrogative pronoun *k^hAmu* 'where' to indicate location in the subordinate clauses as in (8a-b).

(8a) *ani k^hAmu ak^husta mambiŋa aju jo*
k^husto
 ani k^hAmu a-k^hust-a
 2SG where 2-go-2SG. NPST
 mambi-ŋa aju
 there-EMPH 1SG
 jo k^hust-o
 PRT go- 1SG.NPST
 'I will go there where you go.'

(8b) *um k^hAmbi hota mambiŋa aju jo moto*
 ani k^hAmu a-k^hust-a
 2SG where 2-go-2SG. NPST
 mambi-ŋa aju
 there-EMPH 1SG
 jo k^hust-o
 PRT go- 1SG.NPST
 'I will be there where he comes.'

Unlike the time adverbial clauses in (8a-b), the location adverbial clauses are finite subordinate clauses having independent aspect/tense marking in their verbs in Dumi.

4.3 Manner adverbial clauses

The manner adverbial clauses formed by employing the interrogative pronouns are finite subordinate clauses in Dumi as in (9a).

- (9a) *aŋua mo asto mam ŋa muta*
 aŋu-a mo ast-o
 1SG-ERG what say-1SG.NPST
 mam ŋa mut-a
 that EMPH do-3SG.NPST
 ‘(He) does what I say.’

In (9a), the clause with the interrogative pronoun *mo* ‘what’ is the manner finite subordinate clause in Dumi.

The manner adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses embedded in the matrix clause in Dumi as in (9b).

- (9b) *ania t^sia sek^he tum amuta*
 ani-a t^si-a
 2SG-ERG local beer-ERG
 se-k^he tum
 got drunk-NMLZ talk
 a-mut-a
 2-do-2SG.NPST
 ‘You talk as if you got drunk.’

In (9b), non-finite clause embedded in the matrix clause employs *heŋa* ‘as same as’ in the complex subordinate clause.

4.4 Purpose adverbial clauses

Dumi employs non-finite form of the verb two types of subordinators to form purpose adverbial clauses. They are affixed to the root of the verbs as in (10a-c).

- (10a) *uma nu tuna sodza jukta*
 um-a nu tu-na
 3SG-ERG name keep-INF
sodza jukt-a
 money distribute-NPST
 ‘He distributes money to be famous.’
- (10b) *pipi dumkubi nini hamhΛΛ*
 pipi dum-kubi
 grandmother meet-PURP
 nini ham-hΛ-Λ
 aunt HON-arrive-PST
 ‘Aunt arrived to meet grandmother.’
- (10c) *uŋku anilukubi huk-ta*
 uŋku ani
 1PL (excl.) 2SG
 lu-kubi huk-ta
 take-PURP come-1PL(excl.)-IPFV
 ‘We will come to take you.’

It is quite obvious from the example in (10a-c) that the purpose adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses. In (10a) the verbal affix *-na* ‘to’ has been employed as a subordinator to form a purpose clause. In (10b-c), both main and subordinate clauses have the equi-subjects, which are deleted in the subordinate clauses.

In (10b-c), the verbal affix *-kubi* ‘for’ is used for the purpose adverbial clause. In (10b), the speaker tells a person to arrive for the purpose of meeting her grandmother. Likewise, the speaker tells a

person to come for the purpose of taking her/him in (10c).

4.5 Reason adverbial clauses

The non-finite form of the reason clause consists of the root of the verb affixed by the nominalizer *-m* followed by the ergative/instrumental case marker *-a* as in (11a-b).

- (11a) *swaalama t^su:t^sua boloŋa dudu tuŋu*
 swaa-lam-a t^su:t^su-a
 hungry-NMLZ-ERG child-ERG
 bolo-ŋa dudu tuŋ-u
 early-EMPH milk drink-NPST
 'The child drank milk early because she was hungry.'

- (11b) *hu jema k^hliba dz^hit^si*
 hu-jem-a k^hliba
 rain fall-ERG dog
 dz^hit^s-i
 get wet-NPST
 'The dog got wet because it rained.'

In (11a-b), adverbial clauses of reason are formed by the use of a cluster of subordinating morphemes: *-m-a* 'because'.

4.6 Concessive adverbial clauses

In Dumi, the root of the verb is suffixed by *-k^hojo* in order to reflect a contrast of some sort between the main and the subordinate clause as in (12a-c).

- (12a) *atasaba dz^hara hopu bralaka*
hamdzetak^hojo susubra huldettani
 atasaba dz^hara hopu
 nowadays all own
 brΛ-laka ham-dze-ta-k^hojo

lang.-ABL 3PL-speak-IPFV-CONC

susu-brΛ hul-detta-ni

Nepali-language mix-IPFV-3PL

'Nowadays all even if they speak own-language they mix with Nepali.'

- (12b) *um sampel t^{sh}uku k^hojo samp^harsa*
mota
 um sampel t^{sh}uk-u
 3SG weak be-NPST
 k^hojo samp^harsa mot-a
 although courageous be-NPST
 'Although he is weak, he is courageous.'

- (12c) *pabi nat^sur muta k^hojo dz^haraa*
jattani
 pabi nat^sur mut-a
 Pabi jealous do-NPST
 k^hojo dz^haraa jattani
 although everyone like-NPST
 'Although Pabi is jealous, everyone likes him.'

The concessive adverbial clauses in (12a-c) are non-finite clauses.

4.7 Conditional adverbial clauses

Dumi makes use of two types of conditional clauses: probable and hypothetical. The root of the verb is affixed by the marker *-k^ho* in the probable type of conditional clause as in (13a-c).

(13a) *hu jetak^ho asijo hamhotano*
 hu jet-a-k^ho
 rain fall-NPST-COND
 asijo ham-hot-a-no
 nobody PL-present-NPST-NEG
 'If it rains, no one will present.'

(13b) *ani k^haksak^ho aŋu jo k^husto*
 ani k^hak-sa-k^ho
 2SG go-NMLZ-COND
 aŋu jo k^hust-o
 1SG EMPH go-1SG.NPST
 'If you go, I shall also go.'

(13c) *nam g^hrimtak^ho um pitana*
 nam g^hrim-ta-k^ho
 sun set-3SG.NPST-COND
 um pi-ta-na
 3SG come-NPT.1SG-NEG
 'She will not come if it becomes dark.'

In (13a-c), the conditional clauses are expressed with the help of a topic marker preceded by a conditional particle *-k^ho*, as in *jetak^ho*, *k^haksak^ho*, *g^hrimtak^ho* show the conditional markers.

5. Summary

The evidence presented in this paper suggests that there is the morphosyntactic strategies called 'subordination' employed to form the complex constructions in Dumi. The description is within the functional typological framework. The subordinate clause functions as a dependent, rather than a co-head. The three basic types of subordinate clauses are: complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. There are two types of complement clauses: subject complement and object complement clauses. Both

of them are non-finite clauses and are embedded within the matrix.

There are two types of relative clauses: non-finite and finite. The non-finite relative clauses are formed by nominalization whereas the finite relative clauses are formed by employing interrogative pronouns. Dumi employs different types of adverbial clauses like time adverbial clauses, location adverbial clauses, conditional adverbial clauses, concessive adverbial clauses, manner adverbial clauses, purpose adverbial clauses, reason adverbial clauses to provide the situational context for the event (or state) described in the main clause. The verbs in majority of the adverbial clauses in Dumi are morphologically marked by subordinating affixes.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
COM	Comitative
CONC	Concessive
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
excl.	exclusive
GEN	genitive
HLH	Himalayish
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IMPER	imperfective
incl.	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LG	language
LOC	locative
MAN	manner
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NPST	non-past
PL	plural

PERF	perfective
PROG	progressive
PRT	particle
PST	past
PURP	Purposive
SG	singular

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Discourse continuity in Koyee

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This paper attempts to analyze the discourse in Koyee within the theoretical frame work (Givón, 1983a; and Payne, 1997). Discourse has tri-partite propositions which are surfaced as topic, action and thematic continuity. In Koyee, discourse continuity has been employed under the tri-partite propositions where topic or participant continuity tends to appear much more productive than those of other propositions in terms of morphosyntactic level.

1. Introduction

Koyee¹ is one of the Rai Kiranti languages of the Himalayish sub-group within Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. The term 'Koyee' refers to the people as well as the language they speak. Although Koyee language is originally spoken in Sungdel and Rawa Dipsung, it is also spoken in some other places of Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Kathmandu districts by the migrated Koyee speakers. The latest Census 2011 gives the number of mother tongue speakers as 1,271 which is 0.0054 percent of the total population 26,494,504. But the distribution of the speakers mentioned in the Census 2011 is not reliable which needs more exploration. There are no obvious dialects in Koyee language². However, Hanßon (1991) mentions that there are two dialects namely, Sungdel and Behere (Byare).

¹ The original speakers of this language prefer to be called as Koyee. However, Hanßon (1991) has mentioned that renderings like Koi or Koyi [sic] (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 they have switched to Kirati Rodung (Chamling) language in Udayapur.

² Toba et al (2002) has shown no dialects in Koyee in the UNESCO Language Survey Report.

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Discourse is a human communication (Payne, 1997:344). It normally consists of strings of clauses, *i.e.* linguistic instantiations of proposition³. There are three types of continuity: topic/participant, action continuity and thematic (Givón 1983a:7). This division is reasonably well-defined and serves as the convenient framework regarding the discourse-structuring devices of a language. Also these three continuities bridge the gaps between the *macro* and *micro* organizational levels of language.

Of the three, thematic continuity is considered overall matrix for all other continuities in the discourse. It also preserves topic and action continuity. The implicational hierarchy is given in (2). We organize this paper into five sections. We discuss topic/ participant continuity in section 2. Section 3 analyses the action and 4 investigates the thematic continuity. We summarize the findings of the paper in section 5.

(2) THEME> ACTION> TOPICS/PARTICIPANTS

2. Topic/participant continuity

Topic continuity refers to the fact that discourse tends to evoke the same referents over and over again (Payne, 1997:344). Pronouns and other referential devices are morphosyntactic means of expressing this kind of continuity, as well as its converse, topic discontinuity that precede new unexpected referents. Typologically, there are certain domains of topic continuity (*ibid*, 1997: 345) as in (1).

(1) Topic (referential) continuity

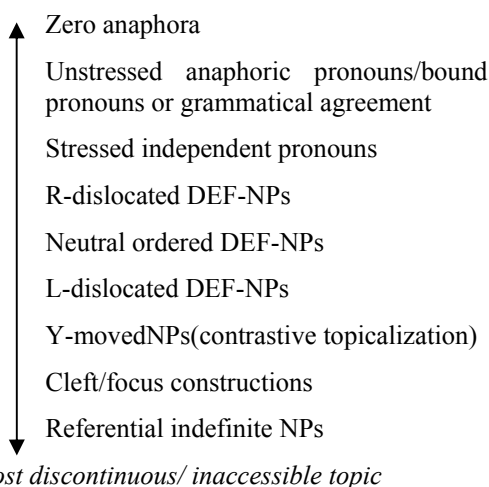
- anaphoric zero;
- verb coding (or anaphoric

³ Givón (1983:5) states that the intuition, expressed under whatever terminology, which lead to shifting the attention of the linguist from the purely structural notion of 'subject' toward the more discourse-functional notion of 'topic' or under some other guises 'theme', may be traced back to a number of sources.

- /grammatical agreement);
- unstressed (clitic) pronouns;
- stressed (independent) pronouns;
- demonstrative pronouns;
- full noun phrases;
- specified noun phrases;
- modified noun phrases;
- special constituent orders, e.g. fronting;
- "voice" alternations, e.g. active, passive, antipassive, and inverse;
- "switch reference" systems

Givón (1983:17) notes that there is a scale of cross-linguistic coding devices which may be employed to indicate topic continuity in discourse, ranking from the most continuous to the most discontinuous.

(2) *Most continuous/ accessible topic*



2.1 Zero anaphora

Zero anaphora or anaphoric zero (as in terminology of Pyane, 1997: 345) is used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity in Koyee. The antecedents of the anaphoric zero may be a full-NP, anaphoric zero or pronoun, are found significantly in the immediately preceding clauses (Givón, 2001: 418). Consider the following examples:

- (3) a. *pikute kimbi k^hutsa*
 pikute kim-bi k^huts-a
 Pikute house-loc go-PST
 'Pikute went to house...'
- b. *d^hanΛ g^hāsa kΛ*
 d^hanΛ g^hāsa kΛ
 3SG grass com
sΛ hΛ:
 sΛ hΛ
 fire wood bring-PST
 'Then, brought the firewood and grass.'

The topic/participant in (3b) is coded by the anaphoric zero, which is used for the most continuous topic. The referent of this zero has been expressed as *Pikute* 'name of the person' in (3a).

2.2 Stressed independent pronouns

Zero anaphora and independent pronouns are used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity whereas the stressed independent pronouns are used in the contexts of referential discontinuity. The stressed independent pronouns are used when there is potential ambiguity because of the occurrence of two or more referents of the equal rank which can be observed in the examples (4a).

- (4) a. *kukuwa umnΛ jaŋalΛi b^haʔa*
 kuku-wa um-nΛ
 maternal uncle-ERG 3SG-GEN
sΛ hΛ:
 sΛ hΛ
 fire wood bring-PST
 'Then, brought the firwood and grass.'
- (5) a. *kukuwa umnΛ*
 kuku-wa umu
 maternal uncle-ERG 3SG
jaŋalΛi b^haʔa

jaŋa-lai b^haʔa
 then call -PST
 'Then maternal uncle called to his
 nephew,'

b. *d^hanΛ umu pak^habi k^hutsa*
 d^hanΛ umu pak^ha-bi
 then 3SG earth-LOC
k^hutsa
 k^huts-a
 go-PST
 'Then he went down the earth.'

In (5a) there are two potential referents, *kuku* 'maternal uncle' *jaŋa* 'nephew' for the third person pronoun *umu* in (5b). Thus, in (5b) the personal pronoun has been stressed so that it refers to the nephew of 'maternal uncle', not 'the maternal uncle.'

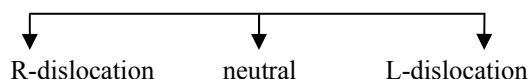
2.3 R-dislocation, neutral word order and L-dislocation

R-dislocation, neutral word order and L-location are precise to the word order which is one of the major coding devices for topic continuity. A natural language may employ two devices: R-dislocation vs. L-dislocation. These two devices are particularly applicable to the rigid word-order such as English (SVO) or Japanese (SOV) (Givón, 1983:19). The specific scalar prediction in such languages is thus:

(6) *R-dislocation > neutral word-order > L-dislocation*

We can see this word order in the table 1.2 below encoding R-dislocation, neutral word order and L-dislocation.

Figure 1.2 Word order in the noun phrases



The scale in (6) presents that the left-most on the scale codes more continuous and right-most more discontinuous ones (Givón, 1983:19). Almost similar type of scale given in (6) can be made in the languages with pragmatically controlled flexible word-order language as in (7).

(7) a. VS > SV
 b. VO > OV

In the scale (7a-b), the left-most element codes the more continuous topics, right-most less continuous topics.

Before we discuss the implicational scale as in (7a-b) can be employed in Koyee or not, we examine the word order phenomena in the language. The order of the constituents of simple transitive clause, viz. S, O and V as in (8a).

(8) a. *umwa buΛ b^heʔe* (SOV)
 um-wa buΛ b^heʔ-e
 um -ERG flower bring-NPST
 'S/he brings flower.'

b. *umwa b^heʔe buΛ* (SVO)
 um-wa b^heʔ-e buΛ
 um -ERG bring-NPST flower
 'S/he brings flower.'

c. *b^heʔePikutewabuΛ* (VSO)
 b^heʔ-e pikute-wa buΛ
 bring-NPST Pikute-ERG flower
 'It is Pikute, as for bringing, he does.'

d. *b^heʔe umwa buΛ* (VOS)
 b^heʔ-e buΛ pikute-wa
 bring-NPST flower Pikute-ERG
 'It is flower, as for bringing, which Pikute does.'

e. *b^heʔe umwabuΛ* (OSV)
 buΛ pikute-wa b^heʔe
 flower Pikute-ERG bring-NPST
 'As for flower, it is Pikute, who brings it.'

- f. *b^heʔe Pikutewa bu_Λ* (OVS)
 bu_Λ b^heʔe pikute-wa
 flower bring-NPST Pikute-ERG
 'As for flower, Pikute brings it; he
 does not do anything else.'

There are acceptable clauses (8a-f) in Koyee as presented above. But we can argue that SOV in (8a) is the neutral or basic constituent order in Koyee. If we observe the constituent orders then we find the same type of word order in the Tibeto-Burman languages.

We can see the phonological rules⁴ employed in the examples (8a-f) where we find all the six clauses lexically possible. However, we can argue that SOV in (8a) is the neutral or basic constituent order in Koyee. Since SOV is a common neutral word-order in other Tibeto-Burman languages like Thulung (Allen, 1975), Bantawa (Rai, 1985) and Doornenbal (2009), Dumi (van Driem, 1993), Athpare (Ebert, 1997), Yamphu (Rutgers, 1999), Wambule (Opgenort, 2004), Jero (Opgenort, 2005), Koits-sunuwar (Rapacha, 2005), Chatthare Limbu (Tumbahang, 2007), Sunuwar (Borchers, 2008), Khwopa Newar (Regmi, 2012), Bhujel (Regmi, 2012), Koyee also belongs to this category.

Phonological rules may be employed as in the examples (8a-f). A basic clause, e.g. (8a) carries a falling tone. In a basic clause the verb bears the tonic stress. In a pragmatically marked clause, e.g. (8b-f) the deviated constituent bears the tonic stress in Koyee. Thus, the verbs in (8b-d) and the objects in 8(e) and 8(f) bear the tonic stress. The constituents which occur clause finally as in (8b-f) are normally uttered with a slightly rise tone. Pragmatically marked clauses as in (8b-f) are uttered with a fall-rise tone.

Let us examine the implicational prediction given in (8b) in the clauses in (9a-b).

⁴ Givón (1983:18) claims the scale of phonological size more continuous/accessible to more discontinuous/inaccecebile topics: Zero anaphora > unstressed/bound pronouns('agreement') > stressed/independent pronouns, full NPs.

- (9) a. *umwabu_Λb^heʔe* (SOV)
 um-wa bu_Λ b^heʔe
 um-ERG flower bring-NPST
 'Pikute brings flower.'

- b. *b^heʔe pikutewa bu_Λ* (OSV)
 bu_Λ pikute-wa b^heʔe
 flower Pikute-ERG bring-NPST
 'As for flower, it is Pikute, who
 brings it.'

It is evident from (8a-b) that the clause (8a) codes the more continuous topics than the clause in (8b).

2.4Y-movedNPs (contrastive topicalization)

Y-moved NPs are used while fronting contrasted topic. This is used functioning as the subjects or the objects to the clause initial positions as in (9).

- (9) a. *bu_ΛPikutewab^heʔe* (OSV)
 bu_Λ pikute-wa b^heʔe
 flower Pikute-ERG bring-NPST
 'As for flower, it is Pikute, who
 brings it.'

- b. *s_Aumwab^heʔe* (OSV)
 s_A pikute-wa b^heʔe
 wood Pikute-ERG bring-NPST
 'As for firewood, it is brother, who
 brings it.'

In (9a-b) direct object *bu_Λ* 'flower' and *s_A* 'firewood' are placed to the clause initial position for the contrastive topicalization.

2.5 Cleft/focus constructions

Koyee does not employ the cleft/focus constructions as we find in the fixed word-order language English. In Koyee, the functions of the noun phrases are specified by using the case inflections. The noun phrases functioning as the subjects or objects are placed just before the verbs or predicates as in (10).

- (10) a. *buΛ pikutewab^heʔe* (OSV)
 buΛ *pikute-wa* b^heʔe
 flower Pikute-ERG bring-NPST
 'As for flower, it is Pikute, who brings it.'

In (10a) the subject 'Pikute' is moved from its clause initial position to the pre-verbal position for the focus.

3 Action continuity

Givón (1983:8) claims that action continuity pertains primarily to temporal sequentiality within thematic paragraph. Most commonly, within a thematic paragraph actions are given primarily in the natural sequential order in which they actually occurred, and most commonly there is small if any temporal gap- or pause-between one action and the next. The actions, in a natural language, are primarily organized in the thematic paragraph in the natural sequential order in which they actually occurred in the narrative discourse. Such continuity is, in general, coded by the tense-aspect-modality within the clause. In Koyee, nominalization may play the role of temporal sequentiality.

- (11) a. *oko p^hop^howa*
 oko p^hop^ho-wa
 one uncle-ERG
sjala setka dzebala
 sjala set-ka dzebala
 jackal kill-ADJV cage
d^hoʔnimts^haʔ
 d^hoʔni-m ts^haʔ
 keep-NMLZ HS
 'One of the uncles had kept a trap to kill the jackal.'

- b. *d^ham dzebala-biʔsΛmnam*
 d^ham dzebala-biʔ sΛmnam
 that cage-LOC last night
sjala sitsam ts^haʔ
 sjala sits-a-m ts^haʔ
 Jackal sits-PST-NMLZ HS
 'A jackal had been trapped previous night.'

- c. *pikute detka keʔa*
 pikute det-ka keʔa
 name tell-ADJV boy
arko delbiʔm
 arko del-biʔ-m arko
 next village-LOC-NMLZ next
b^hjaʔm ts^haʔ
 b^hjaʔ-m ts^haʔ
 come-NMLZ HS
 'A boy named Pikute from the next village had been through the same way.'

- d. *Λni dzebala d^hok^hots^haʔnΛ*
 Λni dzebala d^hok^ho-ts^haʔ-nΛ
 and cage see.PST-HS-SEQ
manmanbiʔηΛ hΛinΛ
 manman-biʔ-ηΛ hΛi-nΛ
 innerly-LOC-EMPH ADV
idΛ d^hoʔdani
 idΛ d^hoʔ-dani
 this see-3SG.NPST
tsΛtsats^haʔ
 tsΛts-a ts^haʔ
 escape-PST HS
 'And he opened it as he thought how the trap is used but the trapped jackal escaped away at the same moment.'

- e. *jokka lɔŋka p^hop^ho*
 jokka-lɔŋka p^hop^ho
 below-ABL uncle
jɔ k^huŋat^hɔtsanim
 jɔ k^huŋa-t^hɔ-tsa-ni-m
 also see-CONT-PST-3PL-NMLZ
pikutewa d^hok^hots^ha?
 pikute-ERG d^hok^ho ts^ha?
 Pikute see.PST HS
 'Pikute saw uncle coming up from
 down.'

The examples (11a-c) constitute a thematic paragraph of a narrative (though not complete) in Koyee. The event in (11a) is indicated by nominalizer <-ka> in the verbal word *semu* 'kill'. The verbal word in (11b) affixed by the past tense marker <-a> to show the sequence of the events. In (11c), we find the nominalizer and past tense marker <-m> and <-Ø> respectively. The state type of 'event'/context in this thematic paragraph is marked by time stable nominalized verb form. The verbs in (11d-e) function as the setting in the narrative discourse.

The nominalized clauses have discourse function of expressing the sequential order in that can be observed in a procedural discourse in Koyee. In such clauses, the verb is affixed exclusively by the nominalizer <-m> and <-ka>. Let us consider a procedural text which presents how arrack or alcohol is prepared as in (12).

- (12) a. *pɔila min d^hum*
 pɔila min d^hum
 at first fire meet
mu ts^ho?
 mu ts^ho?
 do OBLG
 'At the beginning, we need to fire
 the oven.'

- b. *d^hambiŋka p^hosi*
 d^ham-biŋka p^hosi
 that-ABL a pot
k^hapmu ts^ho?
 k^hapmu ts^ho?
 put OBLG
 'Then, we place the pot *phosi*'.
- c. *d^hanɔ p^hosi d^hobiŋka*
 d^hanɔ p^hosi d^ho-biŋka
 then a pot above-ABL
tsin dipmu ts^ho?
 tsin dipmu ts^ho?
 wine put OBLG
 'There after, there should be
 poured the arrack jand inside the
 post.'
- d. *d^hanɔ p^hoŋga dipmu ts^ho? d^hokka*
 d^hanɔ p^hoŋga
 There after a kind of pot
dipmu ts^ho? d^hokka
 dipmu ts^ho? d^hok-ka
 put-INF OBLG above-ADJV
 'Then, there should be added the
painee, a kind of pot.'
- e. *d^hanɔ sano b^hitrɔŋɔ nani*
 d^hanɔ sano b^hitrɔŋɔ
 then small inside-EMPH
dipmu ts^ho?
 nani dip-mu ts^ho?
 small pot put-INF OBLG
 'Then, there should be placed a
 small pot called nani.'

- f. *ani b^haʔa*
 ani b^haʔa
 and a type of pot
dipmu ts^hoʔ
 dip-mu ts^hoʔ
 put-INF OBLG
 'And there should be placed a pot called *bhata*.'
- g. *d^hanaka pogorja b^haimu ts^hoʔ*
 d^hanΛ-ka pogorja
 there after-ADJV cloth
d^hanaka pogorja b^haimu ts^hoʔ
 b^hai-mu ts^hoʔ
 tie up-INF OBLG
 'Thereafter, there should be tied up with the clothes called *patuka*.'
- h. *d^hanΛ tsinbiʔ panlaimu ts^hoʔ*
 d^hanΛ tsin-biʔ
 there after wine-LOC
panlaimu ts^hoʔ
 pan-lai-mu ts^hoʔ
 water-take ou-INF OBLG
 'Then, the water must be poured into the arrack.'

1.4 Thematic continuity

Givón (1983: 8) states: thematic continuity is the overall matrix for all other continuities in the discourse. It is the hardest to specify, yet it is clearly and demonstrably there. Statistically, it coincides with topic and action continuity to quite an extent within the thematic paragraph. The thematic paragraph is by definition about the same theme. Most commonly, it also preserves topic and action continuity.

He further notes that there are three major positions of the thematic paragraph functionally as given in (13).

- (13) *d^himto k^hutsani t^heʔe*
d^him-to tokhaimu-ni t^heʔe
 RED go-3PL HS
 'Then Sodel concluded that the place must be very much fertile where ever these dogs have reached. So they followed the dogs where it took.'

a) Chain initial topic

- (i) Characteristically a newly introduced, newly- changed or newly-returned topic; thus
- (ii) Characteristically a discontinuous topic in terms of the preceding discourse context; but
- (iii) Potentially- if an important topic- a rather persistent topic in terms of the succeeding discourse context.

(b) Chain medial topic

- (i) Characteristically a continuing /continuous topic in terms of the preceding discourse context; and also
- (ii) Characteristically persistent- but not maximally so- in terms of the succeeding discourse context, even when an important topic.

(c) Chain final topic

- (i) Characteristically a continuing/ continuous topic in terms of the preceding discourse context; but
- (ii) Characteristically a non-persistent topic in terms of the succeeding discourse context, even if an important

In a narrative in Koyee, the clauses with the verb marked by reduplication indicate the thematic continuity in the thematic paragraph. Consider the following examples:

- (14) a. *kat^hmandu k^hΛtΛnΛ*
 kat^hmandu k^hΛ-tΛ-nΛ
 Kathmandu go-NPST.1SG-GEN
dokan muto muto
 dokan mu-to mu-to
 shop do-SIML RED
detsukΛ lΛmt^hisu
 de-tsu-kΛ de-tsu-kΛ
 tell-1SG.PST- tell-1SG.PST-
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL
 'Thinking to keep shop, I went to
 Kathmandu.'
- b. *d^hanΛ sodel de*
 d^hanΛ sodel de
 here after Sodel tell
t^he?e lou sapki nūsi
 t^he?e lou sapki-nūsi
 HS VOC hunting dog-DU

gΛpa k^hutsasi lΛmbo
 gΛpa khaimu-si lΛmbo
 where go-DU ALL
walek^ha dipuk^ha godi
 walek^ha dipuk^ha godi
 fertile land inside

ts^hΛ dja?di t^he?enΛ
 ts^hΛ de t^he?e-nΛ
 be.PST tell HS-SEQ
d^ham sapki getΛkΛ GenekΛ ag^hi
 d^ham sapki
 that hunting dog

In examples (14a-b) the reduplicated forms of the verbs with their glossing have been underlined. The clauses with such forms of the verb apart from indicating simultaneous converb have discourse function of coding the thematic continuity in Koyee.

In each clause in (15a-c) the verb is nominalized by the suffix < -m, -ka >. Such clauses code the continuity of theme in Koyee. The clauses with the nominalized forms of the verbs are presented in the following examples in (16a-c) which code the thematic continuity in Koyee.

- (15) a. *t^hanbi?ka fiokimme umbi?*
 t^han-bi?ka fioki-m-me
 place-ABL return-NMLZ-TEMP
 'Returning from shrine,'
 b. *d^hambika okoŋΛ litsam*
 d^ham-bika oko-ŋΛ litsa-m
 that-ABL one-EMPH die-NMLZ
mat^he?e d^hajedjanik^ha
 ma-t^he?e d^haje dja-ni-k^ha
 TEMP-HS that tell-3PL-COND
d^humsatsΛwa b^ha?nim go
 d^humsa-tsa-wa b^hi-a?-ni-m
 elder-PL-ERG say-PST-PL-NMLZ
 'According to our forefathers, only one
 gorilla was saved alone.'
 c. *dusAbā fiobunΛ bΛ?Λ tsApka*
 dusaba bΛ?Λ tsAp-ka
 nowadays language write-NMLZ
mut^hΛdΛnΛ koji:sak^ham
 mu-t^hΛ-dΛ-nΛ koji
 do-CONT-1SG.NPST-GEN koyeee
sAst^habi kama mut^hΛdΛ
 sAst^ha-bi mu-t^hΛ-dΛ
 institution-LOC do-CONT-NPST
 'Nowadays I am writing for my
 language and working for Koyee Rai
 society.'

1.5 Summary

In this paper, we dealt with the discourse continuity in Koyee. We discussed three types of continuities: topic, action and thematic. There are different types of morphosyntactic devices used in the domains of topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity at the multi-propositional

discourse level. Zero anaphora or anaphoric zero is used in the contexts of maximal referential continuity in Koyee. The unstressed anaphoric pronouns are not realized the way we do not find in Sinitic languages. But stressed independent pronouns are used in the contexts of referential discontinuity. The stressed independent pronouns are used when there is potential ambiguity because of the occurrence of two or more referents of the equal rank. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, Koyee exhibits SOV as the basic word order. However, there is the permutation of the constituents in the simple transitive clause. In Koyee, a constituent may be fronted to mark contrastive topicalization. Koyee does not employ the cleft/focus constructions as we find in the fixed word-order language English. The noun phrases functioning as the subjects or objects are placed just before the verbs or predicates. The referential indefinite noun phrases code the most discontinuous topics in the language. In the domain of action continuity tense/aspect markers and nominalized clauses are used as morphosyntactic devices in Koyee. The narrative and procedural discourse show the sequentiality of events in Koyee. The thematic continuity is realized as the sequential converbal and nominalized clauses in Koyee.

Abbreviations

1	=	First person
2	=	Second person
3	=	Third person
ABL	=	Ablative
ABS	=	Absolutive
CAUS	=	Causative
COM	=	Comitative
DAT	=	Dative
DIST	=	Distal
DU	=	Dual
ERG	=	Ergative
GEN	=	Genitive
INCL.	=	Inclusive
LOC	=	Locative
NEG	=	Negative
NMLZ	=	Nominalizer
NPST	=	Non-past
PL	=	Plural
POSS	=	Possessive
PRF	=	Perfective

PST	=	Past
SG	=	Singular
SEQ	=	Sequential
SIM	=	Simultaneous

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A contrastive study of Chhintang and English pronouns: Problems and teaching strategies

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This paper deals with personal pronouns of both Chhintang¹ and English² in general and attempts to compare and contrast between them in particular. Further, it discusses the pedagogical strategies for both learners.

1. Background

Chhintang is an endangered Kirati language belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family. This language is spoken in Chhintang VDC of Dhankuta district, Eastern Nepal. Total population of this language is 3,712 and its SIL code is *ctm*. This is SOV language which includes some features such as postpositions, noun head final, no genders, up to 4 prefixes which are free ordering (Bickel et al., 2007), up to 7 suffixes, clause constituents indicated by case marking, verbal affixation marks person, number, ergativity, tense and aspect, no voice and no tone (Ethnologue, 2012). In contrast, English is SVO language belonging to Indo European language family which consists of some features such as prepositions, genders, voices; verbal affixation doesn't mark person, number and ergativity. So, these two languages are quite different to each other.

Pronouns are grammatical forms that substitute in some way for an NP or for an entire clause (Cowan, 2009). Personal pronoun is one of the basic components of any language. So it is important to make compare and contrast between them if we intend to teach any language as the second language.

¹ I visited Chhintang in August, 2013 for last trip. I was familiar with Chhintang when I spent there for five years under Chhintang Puma Documentation Project from 2004-2008. I further collected the data from several native speakers. Particularly, I am thankful to Mr. Lokendra Tele for Chhintang data.

² For English data, I have consulted the book "The Teacher's Grammar of English" written by Ron Cowan (2009).

2. Personal pronouns

Chhintang personal pronouns are categorised into three types in terms of person viz. first, second and third and singular, dual and plural in terms of numbers. All of them are described below. In contrast, English personal pronouns are divided into three categories viz. first, second and third and two categories viz. singular and non-singular in terms of number.

2.1 First person pronouns

The first person pronoun denotes the addressor or the speaker (Rai, 2007, 2013). There are five types of first person pronouns in Chhintang. They are shown in the following examples.

1. a. *akka hapma?ã*
akka hap-a?ã
1SG weep-1A.NPST
'I weep.'
- b. *anci hapceke*
anci hap-ce-kV
1DU.INCL weep-DU-NPST
'We two (including the hearer) weep.'
- c. *ancaña hapcekeña*
ancaña hap-ce-ke-ña
1DU.EXCL weep- DU-NPST-EXCL
'We two (excluding the hearer) weep.'
- d. *ani habiki*
ani hab-i-kV
1PL.INCL weep-PL-NPST
'We all weep.'
- e. *aniña hapcekeña*
aniña hap-ce-kV-ña
1PL.EXCL weep- PL-NPST-EXCL
'We all (but excluding the hearer) weep.'

Here puzzling concept in Chhintang is that first person pronouns is exclusive and inclusive. The concept of the exclusive and inclusive can be distinguished by the hearer distinction. If the hearer is included, that is inclusive and if the hearer is excluded, that is exclusive. So, in

Chhintang, ‘we’ is realized as four different terms.

In contrast to Chhintang, English has only two first person pronouns in terms of number but two different forms in terms of case. They are shown in the following examples.

2. a. **I** eat rice.
1SG.NOM eat rice.
- b. Ram hit-s **me**.
Ram hit-3SG 1SG.ACC
- c. **We** eat rice.
1NSG eat rice.
- d. Ram hit-s **us**
Ram hit-3SG 1DU.ACC

In English, there are only two first person pronouns which represent only singular and non-singular and no distinction between dual and plural. Further, there is no concept of the inclusiveness and exclusiveness but there are two forms as a nominative case and accusative case.

2.2 Second person pronouns

The second person pronouns refer to the hearer or the addressee (Rai 2007, 2013). In Chhintang, there are three types of second person pronouns in terms of number. They are shown in the following examples.

3. a. *hana ahapno*
hana a-hap-no
2SG 2-weep -NPST
‘You weep.’
- b. *hanci ahapceke*
hanci a-hap-ce-kV
2DU 2-weep-DU-NPST
‘You two weep.’
- c. *hani ahabiki*
hani a-hab-i-kV
2PL 2-weep -PL-NPST
‘You all weep.’

In Chhintang, there is only number distinction and no honorificity in second person pronouns. These three terms can be used for everybody whether s/he possesses the highest rank.

In contrast to Chhintang, English has only one pronoun expressing the second person. There is no number distinction in second person pronoun. Like the first person pronouns, it has no two forms in terms of case. They are shown in the following examples.

4. a. You eat rice.
2 SG/PL.NOM eat rice
- b. Ram hit-s you.
Ram hit-3SG 2SG/PL.ACC

In English, this pronoun is a neutral term which represents all number by only one term. There is no honorificity and different forms in terms of case.

2.3 Third person pronouns

The third person pronouns refer to the person or thing except the speaker and hearer or addressor and addressee (Rai, 2007, 2013). In Chhulung, the third person pronouns seem to be more problematic since they are really demonstrative ones rather than pronouns. They are shown in the following examples.

5. a. *hungo imno*
hungo im-no
3SG sleep-NPST
‘S/he sleeps.’
- b. *hunce uimceke*
hunce u-ims-ceke
3DU 3-sleep-DU.NPST
‘They two sleep.’
- c. *hunce uimno*
hunce u-im-no
3PL 3-sleep-NPST
‘They all sleep.’

In Chhintang, there is interesting feature in third person pronouns, especially in dual and plural. For both dual and plural, there is a single term but whether it represents a dual or plural is resolved by a verbal affixes. For dual, there should be a dual marker in verbal affixes and for plural, there should be a plural marker in verbal affixes. So, such puzzling is resolved by a verb.

In contrast to Chhintang, English has relatively more numbers of the third person pronouns. The

third person pronouns are relatively complex in their nature in terms of gender distinction. They are shown in the following examples.

6. a. **He** eat-s rice.
3SG.M.NOM eat-3SG.NPST rice.
- b. Ram hit-s **him**
Ram hit-3SG.NPST 3SG.M.ACC
- c. **She** eat-s rice.
3SG.F.NOM eat-3SG.NPST rice.
- e. Ram hit-s **her**
Ram hit-3SG.NPST 3SG.F.ACC
- f. **It** play-s a key role
3SG.N.NOM play-3SG.NPST a key role.
- g. Ram buy-s **it**.
Ram buy-3SG.NPST 3SG.N.ACC.
- h. They eat rice.
3NSG.NOM eat rice.
- i. Ram hit-s **them**.
Ram hit-3SG.NPST 3NSG.ACC

In the third person pronouns in English, there are the terms expressing three genders viz. male, female and neutral genders. Further, all of them have their different forms in terms of case except one 'it'. The pronoun 'it' is a neutral pronoun which has no different form for accusative case.

3. Problems: Contrastive analysis

When we compare and contrast between them, we get a number of contrasting features which are described below. Chhintang has 11 personal pronouns whereas English has only 7 personal pronouns for nominative case and 5 other forms for accusative case. There is no different term of Chhintang personal pronouns for nominative and accusative case whereas there are different forms of English personal pronouns for nominative and accusative case. English has no dual and plural distinction whereas Chhintang has clearly dual and plural distinction. Similarly, English has no concept of the exclusiveness and inclusiveness whereas Chhintang has the concept of both exclusiveness and inclusiveness. English has some neutral term such as 'you' which represents the singular, dual, plural whereas Chhintang has

one neutral term such as '*hunce*' but whether it is a dual or plural is resolved by a verbal affixes. English has gender distinction in the third person pronouns whereas there is no concept of the genders in Chhintang. The following examples and interpretations will make it clear the areas where they find them difficult to use the pronouns.

For English learners of Chhintang, they find it difficult to use the first person pronouns since there are four terms for realizing 'we'. Further, there are pronouns in Chhintang which express the exclusiveness and inclusiveness. This concept is found in the Chhintang language like other Kirati languages (Rai, 2007). The concept of exclusive and inclusive can be resolved by the hearer distinction. The pronouns which express the exclusiveness exclude the hearer and the pronouns which express the inclusiveness include the hearer. Further, there are not only four terms for 'we' but also each of them takes different verbal form. So, English learners may commit a mistake to use the pronoun and its respective verb. For example, when they want to say a sentence 'we sleep' in Chhintang, they confuse to select whether *anci* or *ani* or *anciṅa* or *aniṅa* is correct one. They fail to select the proper pronoun in Chhintang for 'we' in their beginning of the learning stage.

Similarly, there is a clear distinction between dual and plural in Chhintang but these features cannot be found in English so English learners can find it difficult to use it properly. If there are two or more than two, they should be addressed by different terms but in English, there is no term to make distinction between dual and plural. For example, English learners face problem to use the pronouns such as *hana* (singular 'you'), *hanci* (dual 'you') and *hani* (plural 'you'). All of these Chhintang pronouns are replaced by only one English pronoun 'you'. So, when the English learners want to use 'you, they fail to interpret which term is correct for what situation.

Similarly, for English learners find another term difficult to use. That is '*hunce*'. The term *hunce* represents both dual and plural third person pronoun in Chhintang. Whether the term *hunce* is representing a dual pronoun or plural pronoun is

puzzling. But, it can be only resolved by a verbal form. The term *huncea* used as a dual takes *uimsace* and the term *huncea* used as a plural takes *uimse*.

Similarly, English learners can be confusion to address a male or female. In English, there is gender distinction whereas Chhintang has no gender distinction. In English, 'he' is only used for male, 'she' is only used for female and 'it' is used for neutrality. But, all of these English pronouns are replaced by only one term '*hungo*' in Chhintang.

For Chhintang learners of English, they find it difficult to use the nominative and accusative forms of pronouns according to case system. In Chhintang there are no different terms for nominative and accusative case. Nominative and accusative cases are unmarked and represented by the same term. But, English has different terms for accusative case. For example, 'He' does not represent only third person singular male but also represent nominative case. If there is 'him' in a sentence, 'him' represents third person singular male and accusative case. So, the case is changed, the term is automatically changed in English but not in Chhintang. The term *hungo* counterpart of 'he/him' can be used for both cases in the place of 'he' as a nominative case and 'him' as an accusative case. So, Chhintang learners fail to use the different terms for different cases.

Similarly, there is no dual and plural distinction in English so Chhintang learners find it difficult. Chhintang has the concept of the dual and plural. If they try to generalise such concept in English, they can be confusion.

For Chhintang learners, the second person pronoun 'you' is also problematic since it is neutral term for all singular, dual, plural, nominative and accusative form in English. So, they may face difficulty while using the pronoun 'you'.

Similarly, they find it difficult to use the pronouns which express the gender distinction. There are three types of gender distinctions viz. male, female and neutral in English. So, they can be confusion to select the proper term for proper gender. For example, *hungo Ram tano* (Ram (he)

comes) can be translated as 'she' comes by Chhintang learners. There is not distinction between 'she' and 'he' in Chhintang. Both 'she' and 'he' are replaced by a single term *hungo*.

4. Teaching strategies

Pronoun is one of the universal features of the languages of the world. There should be the element which should be substituted by a pronoun. The substituted element is called the antecedent of that pronoun. So, there is the connection between the antecedent and pronouns. The connection between pronouns and their antecedents is called anaphora. The anaphora can be intersentential and intrasentential. If we don't understand the types of anaphora, sometimes, it can create problem while teaching and learning the pronouns.

In some cases, Chhintang personal pronouns can be dropped since it can be understood by its verb form but it is impossible in English. In case of the use of the pronouns, the students commit errors in different ways. Some of them are: (1) selecting incorrect pronouns; (2) inserting unnecessary pronouns; (3) misidentifying antecedents; and (4) omitting obligatory pronouns (Cowan, 2009). So, these issues should be paid more attention while teaching and learning pronouns.

In the case of teaching Chhintang pronouns to the English learners and teaching English pronouns to the Chhintang learners, there is danger of L1 influence to the L2 learning. As Lado puts it "individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture" (Lado, 1957). So, while teaching the pronouns, the transfer theory should be kept in mind since where there are differences between them, these create difficulty and hinder the learning. Differences should be paid attention while teaching. In the case of teaching Chhintang pronouns to the English learners, exclusiveness, inclusiveness, dual and plural distinction should be focused on heavily whereas in the case of teaching English pronouns to the Chhintang learners, gender distinction, nominative and accusative forms, some neutral terms should be given emphasis. For teaching the pronouns, we can adopt the teaching

strategies. One of the best way to teach the pronouns is a strip story. A strip story is a set of individual sentences written on strips of paper or on the board. Each sentence contains no pronouns. The job of the students will make ordering the sentences so that they make a coherent story and they use the pronouns where they are required to replace NPs that have already been found in a previous sentence. In this way, we can teach the pronouns successfully.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
ACC	accusative
DU	dual
EXCL	exclusive
F	female
INCL	inclusive
M	male
N	neutral
NOM	nominative
NPST	non-past
NSG	non-singular
PL	plural
SG	singular

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Contact induced changes in Bhujel

Dr. Dan Raj Regmi

Bhujel, a seriously endangered Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal, because of the long and intense contact, especially, with Nepali (an Indo-Aryan language), exhibits lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic features which cut across the language family. Such phenomenon is common in other Tibeto-Burman languages as well (Abbi, 2001; Subbarao, 2000; Noonan, 2003).

1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to provide a description and analysis of contact-induced language change in Bhujel, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. There are two goals of this paper. The first goal is to examine the sociolinguistic situations existing between the speakers of the recipient (i.e., Bhujel) and the donor (i.e., Nepali) language. The second goal is to look at the contact induced changes in Bhujel at the lexical, phonological and morphosyntactic levels. Siemund (2008:1) makes a remark that "...language contact over time will change the languages involved, but despite this seemingly obvious fact, robust models accounting for contact-induced change are still at a premium." He further remarks that "...languages can influence one another in a situation of contact, but predicting the outcome of a language contact situation remains an immensely challenging task."

This paper, contrary to the systematic comparison of and across language contact situations, has focused on the analysis of individual situation of language contact for two reasons.¹ The first is that there is a dearth of systematic descriptions of the languages for comparisons. The second one is that the models so far practised cannot be insightfully employed in sociolinguistic context of Nepal. Nepal presents a complex panorama ethnically and linguistically. There are more than 123 languages spoken in the country with about 83 the

¹ "Current interest in language contact research has clearly shifted from the analysis of individual situations of language contact to a systematic comparison of and across language contact situations." (Siemund, 2008:3)

indigenous languages. 44.6 % of the total population is mono-lingual speakers of Indo-European Nepali, the official language. The rest are all fluent in varying degrees in Nepali. Nepali has not discouraged to encroach steadily on the other languages of the country, both in terms of the continued rise in the percentage of effectively monolingual speakers and in terms of contexts of use among those who continue to speak the other languages (Michael Noonan (2008:82).

Due to the long and stable language contact accompanied by bilingualism, many Tibeto-Burman languages are gradually losing their Sinospheric structural features and sharing many common Indo-Aryan or South Asian linguistic features (Abbi, 2001; Subbarao, 2000, 2012).

Bhujel, too, because of the long and intense contact with Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language, exhibits some phonological as well as morphosyntactic features which cut across the language family. It has lost its tone and makes use of the dative subject construction and correlative relative clauses as in Nepali. However, no attempt has been made to analyze such contact induced changes in Bhujel.

This paper is organized into four sections. In section 2, we present an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of the donor language, i.e., Nepali and Bhujel. Section 3 presents the linguistic outcomes of the contact Bhujel with Nepali. In section 4, we summarize the findings of the paper.

2. Sociolinguistic situation

Nepali is spoken as mother tongue by 44.6 percent (11,826,953) of the total population (CBS, 2012). It is widely used in different domains of language use in Nepal. However, Bhujel is an endangered and preliterate Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 3,923 ethnic Bhujel, most of them living along the Mahabharata mountain range of Tanahun, Gorkha, Chitwan and Nawalparasi districts of Nepal (Regmi, 2012b). That is, this language is spoken by 21,715 (i.e. 18.3%) of the 1, 18,650 ethnic Bhujel/Gharti (CBS, Nepal, 2012). As a result, there appear encouraging

figures of the Bhujel speakers in other parts of the country. Map 1 presents the area where Bhujel is mainly spoken in Nepal.



Map 1: Bhujel speaking area in Nepal

Even today, Bhujel is a marginalized ethnic group of Nepal. Sankoff (2001) notes that the linguistic outcomes of language contact are determined in large part by the history of social relations among populations, including economic, political and demographic factors. We discuss them as follows:

2.1 Identification

Prior to Caughley (1982) neither the Bhujel people nor their language was known to the world. However, unfortunately, he then assumed that the Bhujel is another group of Chepang living across the Narayani River to the west. He named their form of speech as *Gharti* and considered *Gharti* as a sub-dialect of western dialect of Chepang. In search of further evidences to prove that Bujheli (Bhujel) and Chepang are very close relatives, Caughley (1999) compared Bujheli and Chepang in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

He notes that the Bhujeli speaking *Gharti* may be the descendents of a Kham Magar group that settled in the low hills and assimilated linguistically to the Chepang. Especially, in the domain of lexicon (Swadesh 100 word list), he has claimed 98% similarity between Bujheli and Chepang.

He has also discovered many similarities as well as differences between the two languages in the domains of phonology, syntax and semantics. Unlike Chepang Bujheli is characterized by much

greater substitution of Nepali loans. van Driem (2001:786-90) relying on Caughley (1999) notes that 'Bujheli' spoken by between two and five thousand speakers of Chepang residing in Tanahun district to the west of Narayani River is a dialect of Chepang.

2.2 History of social relations

Bhujel and Tamang (2001) identifying Bhujel as one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal, mainly living in Baglung and Tanahun districts of Nepal from time immemorial, claims that they have their own history, traditions and cultures. The Bhujel living in Tanahun district only have their language. They claim that the Bhujel had their independent state in Dhor region. In 1315 AD (1372 VS) they were defeated and divorced from the state by the successors of Dugar Singh Malla, who had established Galkot and Rukum states. This incident brought a turning point in the life of the Bhujel. Some of them lived their life as captives and many of them fled in small groups to different parts of Nepal. This study envisages that a small group of Bhujel in search of a secluded place where they could save their life and prestige happened to come to rugged and remote parts of Tanahun as shown in Map 1.

They have been living in these parts since then. The ancestral place of the Bhujel is Bhuji region (the western part of Baglung district) where Kham is spoken. The main settlements of the Bhujel are in Palpa, Tanahun, Kaski, Baglung, Gorkha, Lamjung and Syangja. They argue that the Bhujel and Chepang are not ethnically related. Rather they may be related to Magar since there is very close affinity between Magar and Bhujel in religion, cultures and traditions.

2.3 Mother tongue proficiency

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) in Bhujel speech communities is not encouraging /satisfactory at all. To measure in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little, only about 50% of the respondents have been found speaking the language very well.²

²Sociolinguistic questionnaire A was administered in the informants from the selected reference points of survey in Bhujel.

Table 1 presents a situation of mother tongue proficiency in speaking in Bhujel speech communities.

Table 1: Mother tongue proficiency in speaking in Bhujel speech communities

Degrees	SPEAKING (n=50)		
	Male n=18	Female n=32	Total
VERY WELL	8(44.4%)	17(53.1%)	25(50%)
SOME	7(39%)	6 (19%)	13(26%)
ONLY A LITTLE	3(17%)	9 (28.1%)	12(24%)

Table 1 clearly shows that 26% of the total respondents speak their mother tongue some. Similarly, 24 % of the total respondents speak their mother tongue only a little. It means that around 50% of the total respondents are not good at speaking the mother tongue. Table 2 presents the mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in Bhujel speech communities.

Table 2: Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in Bhujel speech communities

Degrees	READING AND WRITING (n=13)		
	Male n=8	Female n=5	Total
VERY WELL	5(64.5%)		5(38.5%)
SOME	1(14.5%)	1(20%)	2(15.4%)
ONLY A LITTLE	2(25%)	4(80%)	6(46.2%)

Table 2 shows no female respondent can read and write in mother tongue. It is also clear that 46.2% can read and write their mother tongue only a little. Only 38.46% responded that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. It is obvious from this discussion that Bhujel speech communities are deprived of literary in the mother tongues.

2.4 Bilingual ability

Bhujel is a bi/multilingual community. All Bhujel can speak Nepali, a language of wider communication in the area. Some Bhujel do not speak Bhujel as their mother tongue. As the Bhujel in Tanahun are living in proximity with Gurung and Magar, they can also speak Gurung and Magar apart from Nepali. Some Bhujel also can also languages like Chepang, Ghale, Newar and English. Table 3 shows the present picture of bi/multilingualism in Bhujel.

Table 3: Multilingualism in Bhujel speech community (n= 82)

	Languages	No of speakers	Percentage
1.	Nepali	82	100%
2.	Bhujel	74	90.24%
3.	Gurung	29	35.36 %
4.	Magar	23	28.04%
5.	Hindi	4	4.87%
6.	Ghale	1	1.21%
7.	English	1	1.21%
8.	Chepang	1	1.21%
9.	Newar	1	1.21%

Table 3 shows that 90.24% of the total respondents speak their mother tongue whereas cent percent Bhujel speak Nepali. However, the Bhujels in different key points present different degree of bilingual ability measured by using Sentence repetition test (SRT).

SRT is a tool developed by Carla Radloff (1991) based on the idea that a person's ability to repeat sentences in a second language can be an approximate measure of his or her bilingual ability. Nepali SRT, developed by Varenkamp (1993) for bilingual survey, consists of a set of carefully selected and recorded sentences in Nepali. In SRT, the sentences start rather simply and gradually become more difficult. The length of the sentences as well as the complexity of the grammar slowly increases.

Table 4 presents the percentages of the subjects scoring at different RPE (reported proficiency evaluation) levels at the three key points in Bhujel speech communities. The key points include

Kulmun (KLN), Arthumpka (ATK) and Andimul (ADL) in Tanahun district of Nepal.

Table 4: Percentages of the subjects scoring at different RPE levels

RPE Level	KLN	ATK	ADL	% in average
1+	15%	16%	4.7%	11.9%
2	30%	11.1%	9.5%	16.8%
2+	15%	16.6%	14.2 %	15.3%
3	20%	16.6%	38.0%	24.9%
3+ and above	25%	38.8%	23.8%	29.2%

Table 4 shows that no person who was tested for the ability of bilingualism in received less than 1+ RPE level. On the average, 54.13% people can understand Nepali at a high level (3 and 3+ RPE levels, very good and good level).

To sum up, all the people in Bhujel community can speak Nepali. However, not all the Bhujel can speak their mother tongue. Apart from Nepali, they can speak Gurung and Magar living around Gurung and Magar community. Some Bhujel also can speak languages like Chepang, Ghale, Newar and English. Bhujel community is gradually shifting to Nepali, a language of wider communication in the reference points of the survey. There is no monolingual in Bhujel, the mother tongue. Children do not speak Bhujel as mother tongue in Bhujel community. Middle aged and old people, the leaders of the community, businessmen, the teachers and students are bilingual in both Nepali and Bhujel.

4. Linguistic outcomes of the contact

Thanks to the long and intense contact, especially, with Nepali (an Indo-Aryan language), exhibits lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic features which cut across the language family. We discuss them as follows.

4.1 Lexical outcomes

Bhujel has borrowed massively from Nepali (Caughley, 1999).

Table 5 presents the situation of borrowing of nominals (Based on Basic Vocabulary, CDL, TU)

related to different semantic domains from Nepali (N) to Bhujel (B).

Table 5: Borrowing of nominals related to different semantic domains from Nepali to Bhujel

	Semantic domains	Total	%
1.	Earth and sky	87	59.7%
2.	Time and weather	86	86%
3.	Occupation and titles	143	49.6%
4.	Language and ideas	34	76.5%
5.	Beliefs and feelings	134	95.5%
6.	Wealth	25	92%
7.	Parts of the body	122	68.8%
8.	Disease and treatment	74	83.7%
9.	Types of house	28	92.8%
10.	Village and city	37	78.3%
11.	Utensils	82	95.1%
12.	Arms and ammunitions	67	92.5%
13.	Musical instruments	39	100%
14.	Foods, clothes and ornaments	174	90.2%
15.	Reading and writing	32	84.3%
16.	Animals and their organs	93	81.7%
17.	Birds and insects	91	48.3%
18.	Plants	115	86.9%
19.	Fruits and flowers	90	93.3%
20.	Cultivation	158	93.6%
21.	Transportation	19	100%
22.	Human relations	30	96.6%

Table 5 shows that 88.1% words in nominal forms have been borrowed from Nepali. In the same way, many words in adjectival forms have been borrowed from Nepali Based on Basic Vocabulary, CDL, TU). Table 6 presents the situation of borrowing of adjectival of different semantic domains from Nepali (N) to Bhujel (B).

Table 6: Borrowing of adjectival related to different semantic domains from Nepali to Bhujel

	Semantic domains	Total	%
1.	Earth and sky	30	96.6%
2.	Time and weather	37	81%
3.	Occupation and titles	52	23%
4.	Language and ideas	26	11.5%
5.	Beliefs and feelings	76	77.6%
6.	Wealth	23	91.3%
7.	Parts of the body	74	79.7%
8.	Disease and treatment	21	57.1%
9.	Types of house	68	47%
10.	Village and city	-	-
11.	Utensils	40	72.5%
12.	Arms and ammunitions	37	72.9%
13.	Musical instruments	29	2.9%
14.	Foods, clothes and ornaments	206	67.8%
15.	Reading and writing	26	7.7%
16.	Animals and their organs	20	75%
17.	Birds and insects	49	6.1%
18.	Plants	43	4.6%
19.	Fruits and flowers	41	2.8%
20.	Cultivation	55	1.8%
21.	Transportation	29	34.4%
22.	Human relations	51	100%
		1033	842

Table 6 shows that 81.5% in the adjectival forms have been borrowed from Nepali (Based on Basic Vocabulary, CDL, TU).

It is also to be noted that out of 210 standardized wordlist (used by LinSuN), 27.1% words have been borrowed from Nepali and around 34% from Chepang (Regmi, 2012a). Similarly, out of 100 Swadesh wordlist, 8 words have been borrowed from Nepali.

Bhujel has borrowed words from Nepali in different ways as well. Table 7 presents some words which have been borrowed as they appear in Nepali.

Table 7: Words borrowed in Bhujel as they appear in Nepali

	Bhujel	Nepali	
a.	tara	tara	'star'
b.	b ^h ir	b ^h ir	'cliff'
c.	pul	pul	'bridge'
d.	tusaro	tusaro	'frost'
e.	manc ^h e	manc ^h e	'man'
f.	kaka	kaka	'uncle'
g.	sala	sala	'brother-in-law'
h.	citrə	citrə	'drawing'
i.	duk ^h	duk ^h	'trouble'
j.	pap	pap	'sin'
k.	devi	devi	'goddess'
l.	gala	gala	'chin'
m.	rog	rog	'disease'
n.	k ^h ət	k ^h ət	'scar'
o.	bar	bar	'fence'
p.	sirək	sirək	'quilt'
q.	udus	udus	'bug'

Bhujel has borrowed such forms of the words which are used in Nepali in the areas where Bhujel is spoken. Table 8 presents some such words in Bhujel.

Table 8: Words borrowed from local dialects of Nepali

	Bhujel	Nepali	
a.	jimin	priti ^h vi	'world'
b.	səmt ^h ər	məidan	'plain'
c.	b ^h el	bad ^h i	'flood'
d.	tasya	juwade	'gambler'
e.	hīduwa	g ^h umənte	'nomadic'
f.	bədəmas	ənniyayi	'criminal'
g.	sahu	d ^h əni	'rich'
h.	jannya	j ^h ākri	'shaman'
i.	bic ^h e	bicc ^h i	'scorpine'
j.	kədəu	kodo	'millet'
k.	məkai	məkəi	'maize'

Bhujel attaches native suffix to the Nepali roots which have been slightly nativized in Bhujel. Table 9 presents some such words in Bhujel.

Table 9: Words consisting of native suffix and Nepali root slightly nativized in Bhujel

	Bhujel	Nepali	
a.	bācə-məy	jiunu	‘survive’
b.	bəcai-məy	bəcaunu	‘protect’
c.	umkay-məy	umkənu	‘escape’
d.	cəlai-məy	cəlaunu	‘move’
e.	k ^h yau-məy	k ^h yaunu	‘row’
f.	k ^h icəu-məy	k ^h icnu	‘draw’
g.	metay-məy	metnu	‘erase’
h.	bujhə-məy	bujhnu	‘know’
i.	cinay-məy	cinnu	‘recognize’
j.	jəcəu-məy	jəcnu	‘examine’
k.	b ^h ər-məy	b ^h ərnu	‘fill’

Bhujel adapts Nepali roots before suffixing the infinitizer/nominalizer -məy. Table 10 presents some such words in Bhujel.

Table 10: Words adapted before suffixing infinitizer/nominalizer -məy

	Bhujel	Nepali	
a.	nyam lagə-məy	g ^h am lagnu	‘sunshine’
b.	tətay-məy	tətaunu	‘to make hot’
c.	lyam kətay-məy	bato katnu	‘to cross the road’
d.	biswas rak ^h -məy	biswas gərnu	‘to believe’
e.	dek ^h a pərə-məy	dek ^h apərnu	‘to appear’
f.	maya marə-məy	mayamarnu	‘to lose hope’
g.	bicet ge-məy	bicet ^h unu	‘to be in coma’
h.	bəndə rak ^h -məy	bəndəgərnu	‘to close’
i.	le rəsəy-məy	jibro rəsəunu	‘to water’
j.	dut cyur-məy	dud ^h duhunu	‘to milk’
k.	səmmyay-məy	səmmyaunu	‘to level’
l.	k ^h ali rak ^h -məy	k ^h aligərnu	‘to vacate’

4.2 Phonological outcomes

Because of the long and intense contact with Nepali, Bhujel is gradually adopting some prominent features of Nepali phonology. It has lost tone and glottal stops which its relative language, i.e., Chepang still retains. It has adopted six vowel system against five vowels as proposed in Benedict (1972). Table 11 summarizes a few salient phonological features in Bhujel and Nepali.

Table 11: Summary of the few salient phonological features in Bhujel and Nepali

	Features	Bhujel	Nepali
1.	Tonality	absent	absent
2.	Vowels	six	six
3.	Murmur	found with stops, trills, laterals and affricates	Found only with stops and affricates
4.	Voiceless & voiceless aspirate distinction	distinctive mainly in word-initial position	distinctive in all positions [initial, medial, final]
5.	Voicing	only in stops	distinctive in all positions
6.	Nasal vowels	four	six
7.	Stress	predictable from the orthography	predictable from the orthography

4.3. Morphosyntactic outcomes

Both Nepali and Bhujel allow AN word order. The ‘dative subject’ construction is a prominent feature of Nepali syntax. It is coded by the suffix -lai in Nepali whereas it is encoded by -kay in Bhujel. In such construction, the most animate argument is rendered in the case ordinarily assigned to indirect objects and, moreover, acquires many of the characteristics of subjects in the language.

Semantically, dative subjects are typically non-volitional experiencers (Noonan, 2006). Such construction is also characteristic of the Bhujel language. The Nepali classifier system is quite

simple, consisting only of a human/non-human distinction. The suffix *-jəna* is used for human and *-wota* is used for non-human nouns in Nepali. In Bhujel, *-bon* is used for human and *-jyo* is used for non-human. In the related language Chepang, such distinction is not attested. It can be surmised that such distinction found in Nepali has been borrowed in Bhujel.

Bhujel has borrowed the pattern of correlative constructions from Nepali. In Nepali, such constructions are frame by using *jo... tyo*. However, interrogative pronouns are used for such purpose in Bhujel.

Perfective and imperfective relative clauses are formed by nominalization both in Nepali and Bhujel. In Bhujel, perfective and imperfective are marked by the morpheme *-o* and *-məy*, respectively. In Nepali, they are marked by *-erə* and *-nu*, respectively. Both languages have simultaneous and sequential converbs. In Nepali, simultaneous and sequential constructions are marked by *-dəi* and *-erə/gəri* where as in Bhujel they are encoded by *-tʰəi* and *-bet*, respectively. Both languages present the free-standing nominalized clauses. In Bhujel, such clauses are followed by followed by copula *na/mutona*. In Nepali, such nominalized clauses are followed by *chə/ho/ thiyo*. These languages differ in morphological valence changing strategies. In Nepali, there are both causative and passive constructions whereas in Bhujel there is only causative construction, not passive. Table 12 summarizes the morphosyntactic features in Bhujel and Nepali. Both languages have verbal with nominal and adjectival functions. Moreover, both languages are characterized by complementation: subject complementation and object complementation.

Table 12: Summary of the morphosyntactic features in Bhujel and Nepali

	Features	Bhujel	Nepali
1.	Word order: AN	√	√
2.	Dative subject construction	√	√
3.	Numeral classifiers	√	√
4.	Correlative constructions	√	√
5.	Perfective and imperfective relative clauses	√	√
6.	Conjunctions	√	√
7.	Simultaneous and sequential converbs	√	√
8.	Free-standing nominalized clauses	√	√
9.	Complement clauses	√	√
10.	Numeral system	√	√
11.	Causativization	√	√
12.	Passivization	x	√
13.	Verbal with nominal and adjectival functions	√	√

Some constructions such as dative subject constructions, correlative constructions, complementation, and constructions related to disjunctions, adversative coordination and exclusion typically exemplify the cases of contact induced morphosyntactic outcomes in Bhujel. They are briefly exemplified as follows:

- (1) Dative subject constructions
 - a. *ŋa-kay yonkray lag-al*
 1SG-DAT hunger feel-PST
 'I felt hungry.'
 - b. *ŋa-kay maya lag-al*
 1SG-DAT love feel-PST
 'I felt love.'

(2) Correlative constructions
 gəu kuy-koy me
 which dog-GEN tail
 na-lə u kuy
 be-NEG that dog
 ŋa-koy na
 1SG-GEN COP
 ‘The dog which does not have
 tail is mine.’

(3) Complement clause
 a. pas ge-je-o
 pass become-PRF-PTCP
 bat-i ŋa
 matter-ERG 1SG
 geum-ala-ŋ
 be happy-PST-1/2
 ‘That I passed made me happy.’

b. nyamti wa-ti
 water rain-DUR
 mu-o ŋa-kay
 stay-PTCP 1SG-DAT
 ci-ti-mu-na-ŋ
 know-DUR-AUX-NPST-1/2
 ‘I know that it is raining.’

(4) Disjunctions
 a. mumcoco co-al ki
 daughter bear-PST or
 co co-al
 son bear-PST
 ‘Daughter was born or son
 was born.’
 b. ram si-je-al ki
 Ram die-PRF-PST or
 bides cho-je-al
 foreign move-PRF-PST
 ‘Ram had died or moved to
 other country.’

(5) Adversative coordination
 a. mucoco n^hi-al tərə
 daughter laugh-PST but
 co kryap-al
 son cry-PST
 ‘The daughter laughed but the
 son cried.’

b. nepal gərīb mu-na
 Nepal poor be-NPST
 tərə dyumto mu-na
 but beautiful be-NPST
 ‘Nepal is poor but it is beautiful.’

(6) Exclusion
 a. je-o bahek t^he
 eat-NMLZ except other
 naŋ-koy kam na-lə
 2SG-GEN work be-NEG
 ‘You do not have any work
 except eating.’
 b. si-məy bahek t^he
 die-NMLZ except other
 do-ma upay na-lə
 what-NEG way be-NEG
 ‘There is no way except dying.’

4. Summary

This paper has attempted to look at the contact induced changes/ outcomes in Bhujel, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. Bhujel, because of the long and intense contact, especially, with Nepali (an Indo-Aryan language), has exhibited some lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic features which cut across the language family.

Bhujel has borrowed many words massively from Nepali (Caughley, 1999). It has adapted its phonology and morphosyntax from Nepali. It has adopted six vowels as in Nepali against five vowels as proposed in Benedict (1972). It has already lost both tone and phonemic glottal stop. The ‘dative subject’ construction, correlative constructions by using interrogative pronouns and the use of classifier system to distinguish non-human from human nouns are some examples

of contact induced changes in Bhujel (Regmi, 2012).

The main reason is that, now-a-days, including a child is bilingual in Nepali and Bhujel on the one hand, Nepali has higher power and more domains than Bhujel on the other.

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Multilingualism, domains of language use and language vitality in Magar Kaike

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Magar Kaike, a Tibeto-Burman language, presents an interesting sociolinguistic situation characterized by intense contact with Nepali, sustainable orality and significant use in all domains of language use except in singing, bargaining and village meetings. By launching effective activities properly we can raise this language from EGIDS 6A to EGIDS 5.

1. Background

This paper briefly analyzes multilingualism, domains of language use and language vitality in Magar Kaike. This language is spoken mainly in the three villages, viz. Sahartara, Tupatara and Tarakot under Sahartara Village Development Committee of Dolpa district of Nepal. Magar Kaike, a seriously endangered in terms of number of speakers and under-described Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodish group, is exclusively used in almost all the domains of language use in their own community. There is an intense contact of Magar Kaike speakers with Nepali and Poinke (Tichurong) speakers. Consequently, almost all the young and adult speakers in Magar Kaike speech community, unlike in other speech communities in Nepal, become almost equal competent in three languages, namely, Magar Kaike, Nepali and Poinke.

This paper is organized into seven sections. In section 2, we deal with naming and origin of the language. Section 3 deals with the situation of multilingualism. In section 4, we provide a brief review of dialectal variation in Magar Kaike speech community. Section 5 discusses the domains of language use in the language. In section 6, we evaluate language vitality in Magar Kaike. Section 7 summarizes the findings of the paper.

2. Naming and origin of language

Magar Kaike now refers to the glossonym 'language-name', which is spoken by the people who are ethnically identified as the Magars living *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 162-168*

in Sahartara VDC in Dolpa. Magar Kaike, a compound word, consists of two words: *kai* meaning 'fairy' and *ke* meaning 'language'. Thus, literally, Magar Kaike is the 'language of fairy'. Moreover, Magar Kaike is the autoglotonym, i.e., the language referred to by its speakers themselves. This is the popular name of this language. Magar Kaike is also referred to as Tarali Kham as an alternative name. It is to be noted here that many Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Mid-Western region of Nepal are commonly referred to with names followed by the word *Kham* 'talk/language'. Such languages include Chautal Kham, Bhote Kham, Tarali Kham, Magar Kham and Raute Kham. Moreover, it has been a common practice to identify the form of the speech with the names of the indigenous nationalities themselves.

Fisher (1986:35-7) presents an interesting legend as to the origin of the Magar Kaike language. The legend briefly reads as follows: During the time of Kayal kings, a pregnant woman took asylum to a king of this area. She gave birth to a son. The son grew young and he used to go the jungle with his cows. One day a milk lake appeared in a jungle. One day he saw seven young women take bath in the lake of milk and flying up from there. He told that incident to the mother. The mother asked him to catch one of them and bring home. As per the direction of the mother he caught the youngest sister and brought home. However, she remained silent because she did not understand their language. The mother and the son were surprised at her silence. They prepared different kinds of bread and worshipped her. She was surprised by all this activity and all of sudden two words in her own language burst out of her mouth. They were: *tai k^henan* which mean 'what to do?' From that time on, the language spoken by the angel is spoken as the mother tongue in Sahartara, Tupatara and Tarakot and this language is referred to as Magar Kaike and its speakers as Magar Kaike Magars. This legend is very popular

in the Magar Kaike speech community. Everyone takes this legend for granted and is proud of speaking Magar Kaike, the language of the fairy. Linguistically, this language is close to Tibetan and spoken only in Nepal (Bradley, 2002:78).

3. Multilingualism

Magar Kaike is a multilingual community. In this community, an individual or by a group of speakers may have a choice of mainly of three languages, viz. Magar Kaike, Nepali and Poinke. Table 1 presents a general picture of multilingualism in Magar Kaike speech community.

Table 1: Multilingualism in Magar Kaike community (N= 59)

	Languages	No. of speakers	%
1.	Magar Kaike	59	100%
2.	Nepali	59	100%
3.	Poinke(Bhote Kham)	59	100 %
4.	Tibetan	2	3.38%
5.	English	3	5.08%
6.	Hindi	2	3.38%

Source: Field study, 2011

Table 1 shows that all the speakers can speak Magar Kaike, Nepali and Poinke. Some speakers who have formal education can speak English too. Some speakers can speak other languages like Tibetan and Hindi. This situation can be presented more clearly in Figure 1.

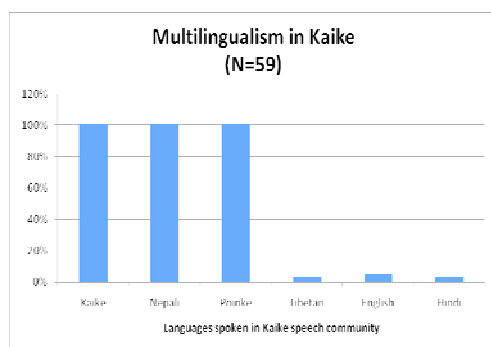


Figure 1: Multilingualism in Magar Kaike

Figure 1 shows that all the Magar Kaike can speak Nepali and Poinke. Only a few can speak languages like Tibetan, English and Hindi.

Kaike speech community provides different levels of bilingual ability. In order to evaluate the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Magar Kaike speakers in standard Nepali the sentence repetition test (SRT) was conducted in 27 informants in Sahartara VDC, Dolpa. Sentence repetition test (SRT) is a tool developed by Carla Radloff (1991) based on the idea that a person's ability to repeat sentences in a second language can be an approximate measure of his or her bilingual ability. We have used Nepali SRT developed by Varenkamp (1993) for bilingual survey in Magar Kaike. This SRT consists of a set of carefully selected and recorded sentences in Nepali. In SRT the sentences start rather simply and gradually become more difficult. The length of the sentences as well as the complexity of the grammar slowly increases. There are three practice sentences followed by fifteen scored sentences. The sentences are played for one person at a time in the community. After hearing a sentence the person being tested tries to repeat the sentence as accurately as possible. The marking is done on the basis of the errors the person makes in repeating the sentences. A score of 0-3 points is given for each sentence. The fifteen sentence scores are added to give a total score between 0 and 45 points for each person.

SRT provides an overall picture of the bilingualism levels of the community. The test was administered in different kinds of people in terms of demographic categories of age (young: 15-40, old: 41+), sex, level of education (educated: class 4+, uneducated: up to class 4). Table 2 provides the sampling chart used in bilingualism survey in Magar Kaike.

Table 2: Sampling chart used in bilingualism survey in Magar Kaike

	YOUNG		OLD	
	EDC	UNDC	EDC	UNDC
MALE				
FEMALE				

EDC: educated; UNDC: uneducated

The score received by each person was averaged for each demographic category. The average SRT scores were converted into RPE (reported proficiency evaluation) levels. Table 3 provides the SRT score and RPE level including the description of RPE level in SRT in Magar Kaike.

Table 3: SRT score and RPE level Magar Kaike

SRT SCORE	RPE LEVEL	DESCRIPTION OF RPE LEVEL
34-45	3+ and above	Very good, general proficiency to excellent proficiency
28-33	3	Good, general proficiency
21-27	2+	Good, basic proficiency
15-20	2	Adequate, basic proficiency
9-14	1+	Limited, basic proficiency
5-8	1	Minimal, limited proficiency
0-4	0+	Very minimal proficiency

Table 4 presents the SRT results according to the demographic categories of education, age and gender in Sahartara VDC in Magar Kaike.

Table 4a: SRT results in terms of education, age and sex in Magar Kaike

Demographic categories		EDUCATED		
		N=	Avg	RPE
Male	Young	2	39	3+
	Old	2	34.5	3+
Female	Young	4	28.5	3
	Old	2	32	3

Table 4b: SRT results in terms of education, age and sex in Magar Kaike

Demographic categories		UNEDUCATED		
		N=	Avg	RPE
Male	Young	2	27	2+
	Old	5	27.8	3
Female	Young	3	33.3	3
	Old	6	24.6	2+

Table 4a shows that in Magar Kaike speech community educated people have more proficiency in Nepali than the uneducated ones. Moreover, educated male are more proficient than educated female. The table also shows that uneducated young male and uneducated old female have the same level of proficiency in Nepali. Educated male have the highest level of proficiency in Nepali. To sum up, no person who was tested for the ability of bilingualism has received less than 2+ RPE level (good, basic proficiency).

4. Dialectal variation

As we mentioned earlier that Magar Kaike is spoken in a small area by a small population. In this section, however, we attempt to look at if there are any dialectal variations in Magar Kaike. For this purpose, first, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the key points, namely, Sahartara, Tupatara, Tarakot, Belawa and Dunai from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex B for 210 wordlist). Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist were aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages were calculated in the WordSurv. Table 5 presents the lexical similarity percentages among the key points in Magar Kaike.

Table 5: Lexical similarity percentages among the key points in Magar Kaike

	SHT	TPT	TRK	BLW	DUN
SHT	100%	98%	98%	99%	95%
TPT	98%	100%	97%	98%	95%
TRK	98%	98%	100%	98%	96%
BLW	99%	98%	98%	100%	96%
DUN	95%	95%	96%	96%	100%

SHT:SAHARTARA; TPT:TUPATARA;
TRK:TARAKOT; BLW:BELAWA; DUN:DUNAI

Source: Field study, 2011

Table 5 clearly shows that Magar Kaike has a greater degree (ranging from 95% to 99%) of lexical similarity in the different key points. Generally, the 60% is used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of the lexical similarity. When lexical similarity percentages are less than 60% the form of the speech spoken in different key points are considered to be different languages. If such percentages are 60% or more the intelligibility testing is required by using RTT (Recorded Text Test). Normally, percentages higher than 85% are taken as the indicators to conclude that the speech varieties being compared are likely to be related dialects. Looking at the lexical similarity percentages, which are higher than 95%, we can say that Magar Kaike does not have any dialectal variation. Besides, the attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors in the evaluation of the dialectal variation. All the informants unanimously reported that Magar Kaike does not have any dialectal variation.

5. Domains of language use

Domains of language use are generally referred to as the patterns of language use among the speakers of a language. More specifically, they are the contexts or situations in which a speaker makes a choice, in most of the cases, a conscious choice among his/her mother tongue, a language of wider communication and both or other languages. The domains in which the languages are most frequently used by the Magar Kaike speakers include counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), and telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings, village meeting and primary education.

In the Magar Kaike speech community, apart from Magar Kaike, Nepali and Poinke, both Magar Kaike and Nepali and Magar Kaike, Nepali and Poinke are used in different domains of language use. The Magar Kaike speech community lacks songs in their mother tongue. Magar Kaike is used in the domains like joking, discussing and praying. In story telling in general and telling stories to children, Poinke may be used. However, its use is least in the Magar Kaike speech community. Nepali is used in primary

education. This shows that the Magar Kaike children are still deprived of the right of primary education in their mother tongue.

Table 6 presents the languages most frequently used by the Magar Kaike speakers in different domains by sex.

Table 6: Languages most frequently used in different domains (N=59)

Domains	Languages			
	Magar Kaike	Nepali	Poinke	Kaike and Nepali
Counting	69.5 %	1.7%	1.7%	27.1%
Singing	-	100%	-	-
Joking	89.8%	5.1%	-	5.1%
Bargaining	1.7 %	44.1%	-	43.4%
Story telling	74.6%	8.5%	3.4%	13.6%
Discussing	88.1%	3.4%	-	8.5%
Praying	88.1%	3.4%	5.1%	3.4%
Quarrelling	74.6%	1.7%	-	23.7%
Abusing	77.9%	-	-	23.7%
Telling stories to children	77.9%	13.6%	3.4%	5.1%
Singing at home	-	100%	-	-
Family gatherings	100%	-	-	-
Village meetings	-	73.9%	-	27.1%
Primary education	-	100%	-	-

Source: Field study, 2011

Out of 59 informants, more than 69% have responded that Magar Kaike is used in the domain of counting in the Magar Kaike speech community. Magar Kaike has still retained its native cardinal number up to hundred. Around 2% of the total informants have responded that Nepali or Poinke is used in counting. Thus, all the informants have responded that they use Nepali either in singing at home or outside home. More than half of the informants have replied that. In joking, discussing and praying, Nepali is least used. More than 74% of the informants have told that Magar Kaike is used in the domains like storytelling, quarrelling, abusing and telling stories to children. Cent percent of the informants

have responded that only Magar Kaike is used in family gatherings. However, in the village meetings, where speakers other than Magar Kaike are also involved, Nepali is mostly used. But, sometimes both Nepali and Magar Kaike are also used. As mentioned earlier that Magar Kaike are the trans-Himalayn traders. In the domain of bargaining, they mostly equally use Nepali, Nepali and Magar Kaike.

6. Language vitality

Yadava (2004) has systematically assessed the level of endangerment of all the languages of Nepal and categorized them into safe, almost safe, potentially endangered, endangered, seriously endangered, moribund and extinct. Each category has been explicitly well-defined and well-explained. Magar Kaike falls in the seriously endangered category because it has an extremely small number of speakers. In Magar Kaike, absolute number of speakers is less than a thousand.

Despite the fact that level of intergenerational language transmission in the Magar Kaike community is strong, there is no access to the media of the Magar Kaike speakers at all. Moreover, they are using more and more Nepali words in their expression in the Magar Kaike language. There are no materials for language education and literacy in the native language. Moreover, Magar Kaike are migrating to the urban areas day by day and using the contact language of the migrated area. Taking all these facts into consideration, it is right to categorize Magar Kaike as a seriously endangered language.

Very recently, EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), a tool for evaluating language vitality has been developed and five conditions or components of sustainability have been identified to characterize the language vitality level. Five conditions or components of sustainability, acronymmed as FAMED, consist of functions, acquisition, motivation, environment and differentiation (Lewis and Simons, 2010).

Table 7 presents the evaluation of vitality level in Magar Kaike in terms of FAMED conditions.

Table 7: Evaluation of vitality level in Magar Kaike in terms of FAMED conditions

	Evaluation
FUNCTIO N	There exists adequate oral use of Magar Kaike in every domain, except in singing songs, for which oral use is desired but there is no written use of this language.
ACQUISIT ION	There is full oral transmission of the Magar Kaike language to all children in the home (literacy acquisition, if any, is in the second language).
MOTIVATIO N	Members of the Magar Kaike speech community perceive the economic, social, religious, and identificational benefits of using their language orally, but they perceive no benefits in reading and writing it.
ENVIRON -MENT	Official government policy affirms the oral use of the language, but calls for this language to be left in its current state and not developed.
DIFFERENT- IATION	Members of the language community have a set of shared norms as to when to use the local language orally versus when to use a more dominant language, but they never use the local language in written form.

Table 7 shows that Magar Kaike has a sustainable orality. In other words, there exists an adequate oral use in every domains for which oral use is desired but there is no written use. On this very basis, Magar Kaike may be categorized as 6a (vigorous). The sustainable orality may be assessed in terms of each FAMED conditions further categorized into absent (0), uncommon (1), common (2) and sustainable (3). Table 8 presents the assessment of the orality in Magar Kaike.

Table 8: Assessment of the orality in Magar Kaike

FAMED	SCORES	CATEGORY
FUNCTIONS	2	Common
ACQUISITION	3	Sustainable
MOTIVATION	3	Sustainable
ENVIRONMENT	2	Common
DIFFERENTIATION	3	Sustainable
TOTAL	13	

In order to raise EGIDS 6A to EGIDS 5, a number of activities have to be launched in different FAMED conditions.

A. FUNCTIONS

i. Fundamental literacy development

Magar Kaike is a preliterate language. Thus, writing system has to be resolved immediately and primers have to be produced in an appropriate writing system. Financial and technical resources have to be managed for developing writing systems as well as writing primers. Moreover, Community consent required for orthography.

ii. Language socialization through literature

There are a number of proverbs and stories in Magar Kaike. Such matters are urgently needed Magar Kaike speech community because small children do not know Nepali at all. For the collection of such matters financial and human resources have to be properly managed.

B. ACQUISITION

i. Technical support and computer training for on-site desktop publishing should be provided to the speech communities. However, there is no electricity in such hinterlands.

ii. Computer assisted language learning (CALL) programs should be launched by managing financial and technical resources.

iii. Training bilingual teachers by using technology centers should be managed.

C. MOTIVATION

Programs such as language empowerment and book signing/public reading should be started by managing financial and human resources.

D. ENVIRONMENT

Programs such survival school, community consultation, theater anthropology and cross-language revitalization conference should be started though they are not easy. Table 9 sums up the activities required for raising Magar Kaike from EGIDS 6A to EGIDS 5.

Table 9: Activities required for raising Magar Kaike from EGIDS 6A to EGIDS 5

	Activities	Remarks
FUNCTION	Fundamental literacy development	Community consent required
	Language socialization through literature	Urgently needed
ACQUISITION	Technical support and computer training for on-site desktop publishing	Electricity is required
	Training bilingual teachers using technology centers	Electricity is required
	Computer assisted language learning	Electricity is required
MOTIVATION	Language empowerment	Attitude change is required
	Book signing/public reading	Literacy level has to be increased
ENVIRONMENT	Survival school	
	Community consultation	Not easy to gather people
	Theater anthropology	Not easy
	Cross-language revitalization conference	Very useful

Table 9 shows that there may be a number of activities required for raising Magar Kaike from EGIDS 6A (vigorous) to EGIDS 5 (written).

However, the most important activities include developing orthography with the full consent of the community, developing primers and teaching materials for the mother-tongue based multilingual education and ethnographic documentation in the language.

7. Summary

In this paper, we dealt with multilingualism, domains of language use and language vitality in Magar Kaike. All the speakers can speak Magar Kaike, Nepali and Poinke. Some educated speakers can speak English too. In Magar Kaike speech community, educated people have more proficiency in Nepali than the uneducated ones. Moreover, educated male are more proficient than educated female. In this speech community, uneducated young male and uneducated old female have the same level of proficiency in Nepali. Educated male have the highest level of proficiency in Nepali. No person in this speech community has less than 2+ RPE level (good, basic proficiency).

Kaike is used, except in the domains like singing (in general), bargaining, singing at home and village meetings, in all the domains, Kaike is overwhelmingly used. Everybody in this speech community can speak at least three languages, viz. Kaike, Nepali and Poinke. Kaike community in common with other indigenous communities is gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication in the hilly areas in Nepal. Language maintenance in Kaike is not appalling.

While evaluating language vitality, Magar Kaike may be categorized as 6a (vigorous) since it has a sustainable orality. In other words, there exists an adequate oral use in every domains for which oral use is desired but there is no written use. A number of activities required for raising Magar Kaike from EGIDS 6A to EGIDS 5. However, the most important activities include developing orthography with the full consent of the community, developing primers and teaching materials for the mother-tongue based multilingual education and ethnographic documentation in the language.

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Some perspectives on Maithili

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This paper is a product of a research mainly focused on Maithili-speaking people living in Madhesh. The Maithili language is spoken by more than 30 million people mainly in the northeastern part of Indian state of Bihar and the eastern part of Nepalese Tarai region. In Nepal, it is the language of 11.7 percent (3,092,530). Most of them feel their language is highly prestigious. But our earlier experiences and practices show that we have failed to rightfully address the country's linguistic diversity.

1 Background

Nepal is a country of linguistic diversity. "Despite its small size, Nepal accommodates an amazing cultural diversity including linguistic diversity. More than 123 languages are identified in a small country Nepal" (NPHC 2011 Vol. I, CBS Report: 2012)¹. According to Ethnologue (2012), however, there are 124 languages (spoken and sign) including 120 living languages and four reported as having no known mother tongue speakers living languages spoken in Nepal. Nepal is a multilingual nation. However, a single language has been given power, recognition and prestige while the remaining minority languages are impoverished and marginalized. Previously people were discouraged to use their languages: 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. This kind of biased attitude of suppressing other languages in favour of Nepali was maintained until recently. This, along with some other factors, has led to violent conflicts and separatist movements. It is therefore necessary to

¹ There are 123 languages spoken as mother tongue as reported in census 2011. Nepali is spoken as mother tongue by 44.6 percent (11,826,953) of the total population followed by Maithili (11.7% 3,092,530).

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address these issues of linguistic minorities in the context of inclusiveness democracy in Nepal.

There is a fundamental linkage between language and traditional knowledge related to biodiversity. As languages go extinct, there is an irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical and ecological knowledge. Local and indigenous communities have elaborated complex classification systems for the natural world, reflecting a deep understanding of local flora, fauna, ecological relations and ecosystem dynamics. This traditional ecological knowledge is both expressed and transmitted through the local or indigenous language. When young people no longer learn the language of their ancestors, special knowledge is often lost, as it is not transferred into the dominant language that replaces it. This is often because the dominant language does not have the vocabulary for this special knowledge, or even because the very situations in which this kind of knowledge and its relevance for survival are learned do not occur in the dominant culture.

2 The Maithili language

Maithili is believed to have evolved from Vedic and Classical Sanskrit through several intermediate stages of *Magadhi Prakrit*, Proto-Maithili and *Apabhramshas*. It emerged as a distinct modern Indo-Aryan language between A.D.1000 and 1200. Maithili has a long rich tradition of written literature in both Nepal and India. The earliest written record can be traced back as early as *Vernaratnakara*, the oldest text in Maithili written by Jyotirisvara Kavisekharacharya in the 14th century. The most famous Maithili writer is Vidyapati Thakur, popularly known as Mahakavi Vidyapati. Apart from being a great Sanskrit writer, he composed melodious poems and songs in Maithili, entitled *Vidyapati Padavali*, which mainly deals with the love between Radha and Krishna. It is this anthology of poems that has made him popular and immortal to the present day.

During 13th to 15th centuries Maithili enjoyed the highest social status throughout its area and even outside it. It was the vehicle of all sorts of social activities. It was the mother tongue of the then royal families in the Karnata and Oinibar dynasties in Mithila, Malla dynasty in Nepal and Sen dynasty in Morang. The most of the kings of these dynasties composed poems and dramas in it and liberally patronized its writers. In its peak period it also served as a lingua franca throughout the north-eastern region comprising Nepal, Assam, Bengal, Orissa and south-eastern Bihar. It was the most effective vehicle in spread of Neo-Vaisnavism in the above said regions. (Jha, D.1993: xi)

During Malla regime, Maithili also flourished as a court language in the Kathmandu valley. Consequently, several literary works (especially dramas and songs) and inscriptions in Maithili are still preserved at the National Archives in Kathmandu. In the present context there have been literary writings in all literary genres, especially poetry, plays, and fiction, from both Nepalese and Indian writers. Apart from literature, Maithili writers have also been contributing to other fields like culture, history, journalism, linguistics, etc.

In addition to written texts, Maithili has an enormous stock of oral literature in the forms of folktales in prose and verse, ballads, songs, etc. Among them the ballads of Ras Lila (expressing the love between Radha and Krishna) and Salhes (a prehistoric king) are well known specimens.

As its name implies, Maithili is, properly speaking, the language of Mithila, the prehistoric ancient kingdom, which was ruled by King Janak and was the birthplace of Janaki or Sita (Lord Ram's wife). This region was also called *Tairabhukti*, the ancient name of Tirhut comprising both Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts of Bihar, India.

In both Nepal and India, Maithili has been taught as a subject of study from school to university levels of education. Especially in India, however, it has been hampered by the lack of official recognition as a medium of instruction. In Nepal,

there has been made a constitutional provision for introducing all the mother tongues spoken in Nepal, including Maithili, as mediums of instruction at the primary level of education. This is, no doubt, a welcome step for their promotion, but in spite of speakers' zeal there has not been much headway in this regard in the dearth of official initiatives and basic requirements like teaching/reading materials and trained manpower. Maithili is the second most widely spoken language in Nepal. Both PEN (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) and *Sahitya Akademi* have recognized Maithili as the 16th largest language of India.

In some older literature an alternate name for Maithili, "Tirhutia" is referred to. This name, however, is seldom encountered today. In this report it will always be referred to simply as Maithili.

Grierson classifies Maithili as Bihari, Eastern zone, Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian, Indo-European (LSI V, II: 1). Grierson grouped Maithili with Bhojpuri and Magahi under the same general classification, "Bihari". This is somewhat misleading since Maithili and Magahi are much closer to each other than either is to Bhojpuri (Yadav, 1984: 3). Grierson's term "Bihari" is also misleading because he often refers to it as a language rather than a genetic classification. We have interpreted the references in Grierson to the "Bihari" language as general references to all three languages in the Bihari grouping; Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Magahi. Grierson explains that the peoples who speak the Bihari languages are historically connected to the peoples to their west.

But at present our affair is not with ethnic relations, but with the facts of grammar, and, taking grammar as the test, there can be no doubt either as to the origin or affiliation of Bihari. Like Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese, it is a direct descendant, perhaps the most direct of the descendants, of the old form of speech known as Magadhi Prakrit, and has so much in common with them in its inflectional system that it would almost be possible to make one grammar for all four languages (LSI V,II: 1).

Another, more recent classification, is similar to Grierson's only more specific. In this classification Maithili is grouped only with Magahi at the lowest level of classification. They are grouped under the term Magadha. The rest of the classification is as follows: Indo- European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Eastern Prakrit, East (Jha, 1958).

Maithili is bordered on the south by Magahi, the language to which it is most closely related. To the west its neighbor is Bhojpuri; to the east, Bengali; and to the north, Nepali. Hindi is spoken as a language of wider communication by many people throughout the Maithili area.

No two linguists agree on how exactly to classify the Indo-Aryan languages showing the place of Maithili among them. Prominent among those who have treated the problem are: Grierson (1883 a; 1918; 1919) Chatterji (1926), Mishra (1949), S. Jha (1959) G, Jha (1974) and Jeffers (1976).

Later Grierson (1918, 1919; 1927) stipulated what is now known as the "inner group-outer group" theory of Aryan migration into India, and provided a slightly different grouping of the Indo-Aryan languages. He divided them into three main divisions, the grouping of which was "based on Linguistic consideration and also coincides with the geographical distribution of various languages" (Grierson 1918:49).

Chatterji (1926) like Grierson (1883a) believes that Maithili belongs to the group of Magadhi Apabhramsa (called Magadhi Prakrit by Grierson). He was also the first linguist to distinguish Maithili and Bhojpuriya (Bhojpuri) as belonging to two branches of the Magadhan subfamily Chatterji (1926) observes:

Bhojpuriya somewhat stands apart from its sister speeches, having come under the influence of its neighbour Awadhi (Ardha-Maghadhi) from very early time. --- But the sharp distinction between Bhōjpuriya and Maithali-Magadhi in their coagulation would justify their relegation to two separate groups, at least for the modern age (Introduction; p 92).

Most native Maithili scholars seem to go along with Chatterji's (1926) classification, with some minor modifications. Such a classification enables them to emphasize two main points, i.e. that Maithili is not a dialect of Bihari and hence ought not to be grouped with Bhojpuri.

Estimates of the population of Mithila vary, but they center around the figure of 30 million. It is the second most widely spoken language in Nepal (Yadav, 1984: 1).

Maithili is spoken by a wide variety of castes 'high' 'middle' and 'low'. It is also spoken by the people of all ages. In Mithila, especially, the Brahmin caste has always been associated with superior linguistic ability. The Maithili language is spoken by more than 30 million people mainly in the northeastern part of Indian state of Bihar and the eastern part of Nepalese Tarai region. It is also used marginally in adjoining Indian states like West Bengal, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. In Nepal, it is the language of 11.7 per cent (3,092,530). Of the total population it figures second in terms of the number of speakers next only to Nepali, the language of the nation, spoken by 44.6 percent (11,826,953) of the population (CBS 2011).



Map 1: Maithili in Nepal²

According to CBS 2001, the total population of Maithili speakers on the basis of districts:

² The language map is drawn by Irene Tcker, SIL International (2011).

Table 1: District wise Maithili speakers' population

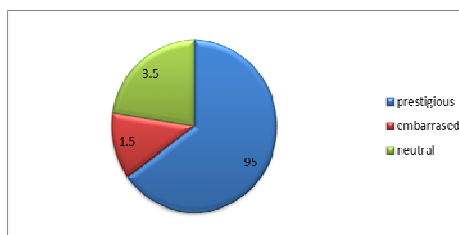
District	Total Population	Area (km ²)	VDC	Municipality	Native Speakers' number
Jhapa	810636	1606	47	3	21,877
Morang	964709	1855	65	1	1,86,557
Sunsari	751125	1257	49	3	2,00,444
Saptari	646250	1363	114	1	4,28,320
Udaypur	321962	2063	44	1	8,714
Siraha	643136	1188	106	2	4,84,520
Dhanusha	643136	1180	101	1	6,02,121
Mahottari	646405	1002	76	1	4,56,656
Sarlahi	768649	1259	99	1	3,46,015

Source: District development profile.2012. Mega Publication and Research Centre Kathmandu, Nepal

3 Language attitudes

Language attitudes can have a decisive impact on the acceptance and use of mother tongue literature. I tried to determine Maithili speakers' attitudes both towards the standard Brahmin speech and their own speech and to obtain their attitudes toward extant Maithili print and non-print media. This information was elicited with informal (talking) questionnaires and few general observations regarding language use and attitudes. It seems that the Maithili language is being well-maintained by both Brahmins and non- Brahmins in domains of intimacy. Almost all of the subjects said that they speak Maithili with their parents, siblings and children. Most also said that they pray in their own language also. All of the subjects said that the young people in their village are speaking Maithili in just the same way as the older people do. All but one of the subjects

thought that Maithili would continue to be spoken indefinitely by future generations. All of those who thought this said that they felt that it would be a good thing for Maithili to be retained. Many of the lower-castes consider their dialect of Maithili to be inferior to that of the Brahmins. Many respondents said that the story-teller spoke pure Maithili, which was different than their own "Thethi" Maithili (in Sarlahi). When questionnaire subjects were asked to identify their mother tongue, a few of the low caste subjects said, "Thethi" Maithili. A few of these subjects also reported that the young people in their village were not proud of their language any more. The questionnaire subjects were also asked a few questions regarding Maithili media. All of them reported that they listen to Maithili radio programs and all said they enjoy these programs. The lower-caste subjects were a little more equivocal in regard to Maithili literature, though. All of the respondents (Brahmin) said they prefer to read Maithili. A few negative responses seem to indicate that there are perhaps some ambivalent attitudes among lower-caste Maithili speakers regarding the standard Maithili spoken by the Brahmins. Some of the young people see the use of Nepali as a way to advance themselves and career development. A study of language attitudes generally attempts to describe people's feelings and preferences towards their own language and other speech varieties around them, and what value they place on those languages.



Pie Chart 1: Feeling towards their language

The above figure shows that out of 300 respondents 95 percent feels that their language is prestigious for them. Whereas 1.5 percent feels embarrassed while speaking Maithili in front of Nepali speakers at offices. But 3.5 percent

remains neutral. While they are asked “Have you ever felt any problem because of your mother tongue?”, then 85 % had reported that as “no”, 10% had responded as “yes” and 5% had expressed their mix responses. This also reflects that most of them don’t have any problem to speak their own language. This is the positive feeling towards their language.

4 The Supreme Court's verdict

Taking into consideration the arguments put forward during the sessions and the pleading notes presented, and after studying the dossier, the main demand of the writ petition is seen as requesting annulment of the decision on 2054/04/10 by the defendant Kathmandu municipality to use Newari language in addition to Nepali as the language of official business, the decision on 2054/08/24 by the Rajbiraj Municipality to use also Maithili as its language of official business recognizing it as the language of the Municipality, and the decision on 2054/08/03 by the District Development Committee Dhanusha to use also Maithili as its language of official business since the decisions contravene Article 6(1) as well as Articles 1, 2, 6 (2), 12(2E), and Article 16 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 2047, Article 58 (1) A, B, C of the District Development Committee Act 2048, and Article 69 (1) A, B, C of the Municipality Act 2047, Karyavyavastha Niyamavali of the His Majesty's Government, 2048. The main issue is whether the decisions taken by the respondents regarding the use of Nepal Bhasa and Maithili Languages are in contravention of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047, Article 6 (1) and whether those decisions should be annulled or not? Before taking on the topic of decision, it is necessary that the controversial question raised by the defendants- that the petitioner do not have the locus-standi to approach the court since the decision is not impact public interest or concern must be resolved. The defendants have raised the issue that since there are no public interests of concerns inherent with the decisions under dispute and the petitioner, are not personally affected in adverse way, the writ petitioners do not have the right to petition under Article 88 (2)

of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047. It is observed that the petitioners have presented the writ petition by also on the basis of Writ No, 83, Decision no. 1964, requesting annulment of the decisions stating that the decisions are in contravention with the Article 6 (1) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047 which is the fundamental law and every citizen is obliged to abide by the constitutional provisions. Pursuant to Article 88 (2) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal BS 2047, in order to resolve any constitutional or legal dispute concerning public interest or concern, one can approach the court have necessary and appropriate order issued and have the rights enforces or to resolve the dispute. In the present dispute, too, since the issue of giving recognition and using Nepal Bhasa and Maithili as the language of official business by the defendants against the Article 6 (1) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, is an issue of public interest and concern, according to the aforementioned doctrine and Article 88 (2) it cannot be said that one can approach the court with the writ petition. Considering the issue of decisions taken by the defendants being in contravention with Article 6, Sub-article 1 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047, it is necessary to discuss the provisions in the Articles 6 (1), and 6 (2), and the relation between them. Since there are separate provisions made in the Sub-articles (1) and (2), under the marginal note of Article 6 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047, under the Language of the Nation, it cannot be said that both the sub-articles have the same purpose. The Article 6 (1) with the provision that Nepali language is the language of the nation is the same as provided in the Article 7 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2015, and in the Article 4 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2019, thus having constitutional background; whereas, the additions in the Article 6 (1) Nepali shall be the language of official business , and in the Sub-article (2) that languages spoken as mother tongues in different parts of the country shall be the national language are additional features of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047. In the Article 6(1) there

is provision of use of Nepali language as the language of official business and in the Article 6 (2) the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047 is seen to be committed towards recognizing all the languages spoken as mother tongues in different parts of the country as national language. Considering Article 6 (2) it is seen that the nation is a collective constitute of all the Nepalese people having common aspirations and united by a bond of allegiance to national independence and integrity of Nepal, irrespective of religion, race, caste or tribe. It is undisputed that Nepali language in Devnagari script is the language of the nation. The Constitution has not discriminated against the languages stating that they are big or small. The issue is of use and identity. It is now relevant and necessary to consider what is meant by official business. The rights of the state are mainly divided so they can be exercised by the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary and in the Article 35 Sub-article (4) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047 the provision is that so far as any action is to be taken in the name of His Majesty pursuant to this Constitution and other laws, all other executive actions shall be expressed to be taken in the name of His Majesty's Government. However, if the His Majesty's Government alone exercises all the executive power the rule will be too centralized and the government may not be able to oversee all the areas. Therefore; the major obligation of the state is to arrange for a system so that the benefits of democracy can be enjoyed by the people through providing them maximum opportunity to participate in the rule through decentralization. In accordance, with a view to involve the people in the village, municipality, and districts in self-governance rule and development work, the Village Development Committee, Municipality and the District Development Committee have been formed and empowered through the Acts. In accordance to this, they are authorized also to look into cases and give decisions. The state has conferred some of its rights and obligations in the interest of the common people to the municipality and the District Development Committee that are organized institution with sole right of succession remaining in the form of legal individuals. Since

the functions undertaken by the constitutional organs and other bodies to work in the interest of the common people are functions of state to be exercise executive, legislative and judicial rights of the Kingdom of Nepal, they are official business. In addition, the functions of fulfilling the obligations of the state regarding the health, security and public interests are undertaken to be executed as per the wishes of the state, and executed in the capacity of the government, therefore it is taken as official business.

Before the custom of formation of organized institutions like the Municipalities and the District Development Committees, the functions undertaken by these institutions were conducted by the body of the state, and it is the obligation of the state alone. It is learnt from the study of the investigative articles written by Dhanbajra Bajracharya that in the ancient Nepal, during the Lichhavi period there were administrative bodies like Kuther, Shuli, Lingual, Maapchoke for running the state; the Lingual used to oversee the work of drainage, water taps, and wells and the office known as the Panchali used to oversee disputes related to drainage, and cases of local nature, construction and maintenance of taps, road, drainage, temples, Paati, Pauwa etc.(Purnima, Volume 12, 21, 23 Itihaas Samsodhan Mandal) With the passage of time, the concepts of local self-governance rule and local governance evolved, and the government empowered the locally elected bodies to take up some of the obligations of the government in the interest of the common people. Presently, in this regard, Local Self-governance Rule Act 2055 is in practice. According to Black's Law Dictionary, local government means the government or administration of a particular locality; especially, the governmental authority of a municipal corporation, as a city or country, over its local and individual affairs, exercised in virtue of power delegated to it for that purpose by the general government of the state or nation. (Black's Law Dictionary, P.824, ed.1968) Some of the rights of the state have been delegated to the legally formed bodies the municipality and the District Development Committee to be used by them. The

purpose behind doing so is that the states' obligation is fulfilled through providing an opportunity to the people for participating in the governance so that they reap maximum benefit of the democracy, and in addition the state can get cooperation in running the state through the fulfillment of roles delegated by the state to the Municipality and the District Development Committee. Although the Municipality and the District Development Committee are elected autonomous bodies and not bodies of the His Majesty's Government the functions undertaken in the course of fulfilling the legally conferred obligations of the state are in the capacity of official business. Having the sole executive rights of the state the His Majesty's Government can supervise and direct the District Development Committee even though they are legally formed autonomous bodies, as well as it has the right to suspend or dismiss these in special situations such as working in contravention with the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047, as is evident from Clauses 6 (1), 69 of the Municipality Act 2048 and Clause 49 of the District Development Committee Act 2048; there are also provisions that the executive officer working as Secretary in the municipality and the Local Development Officer are also appointed by the His Majesty's Government. These officers have been given the power to keep administrative control in the respective bodies. (Municipality Act 2048, Clause 72, District Development Committee Act 2048, Clause 50) The legal redress has to be provided in a condition when the bodies delegated with legal obligations do not fulfill them for whatever reason and a civilian approaches the court in order to have his right protected and exercised. A legally formed body may not exercise more rights than it is legally conferred with. The Municipalities and the District Development Committee are dependent on the legislature regarding their powers. Formation of the state law is the obligation of the legislature. Even for the purpose of framing rules for the fulfillment of the purpose of the Municipality Act 2048 and the District Development Committee act 2048, the rule framed thus has to be approved by the His Majesty's Government exercising the executive

power of the state. The resolution of an issue of whether a piece of work has been done within the jurisdiction or not is not to be given by the municipality or the District Development Committee themselves, the resolution of the issue lies under the jurisdiction of the law, constitution and the court. Some of the obligations of the state regarding the welfare of the people have been given to the municipality and the District Development Committee for them to be fulfilled by; and the businesses of these bodies are supervised, regulated and controlled by the His Majesty's Government exercising the executive power of the state; and regarding the exercise of judicial power too, since there are provisions in the Municipality Act, 2048, Article 62 (3) that appeals can be made before the District Court or the Appellate Court depending on the situation, it becomes clear that in the course of fulfilling those obligations by the Municipality and the District Development Committee, Nepali is the medium of the official business. In the context that the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 2047, Article 6 (2), 18 and Self Governance Act 2055, and District Development Committee Act 2048, have given the responsibility of protection, promotion and development of the different languages, scripts and cultures of different communities in their areas to the Metropolis, the Municipalities, and the District Development Committees, an equal opportunities has to be provided by these bodies to every community as they love their own language, script and culture. And the expectation is that they get equal respect from all. In this same context, Article 18 (1) has conferred every community the right to protect and promote their own language, script and culture. However, under the provision of the constitution, a legally formed body exercising self governance rule cannot be taken as belonging to a particular community. Under a Municipality or a District Development Committee there may be various communities having different sets of language, scripts, and culture. Various languages, scripts and cultures are to be protected and promoted; the law has delineated the power and duties for the same, however it is not in conformity of the constitution that those bodies

exercising self-governance can themselves use the language of a particular community as the language of official business in contravention with the constitutional provision. It is mentioned clearly in the Constitution Article 1 (2) that it is the duty of everyone to uphold the Constitution. The argument that the decision in question is a continuation of the decision of 2015/1/06 regarding use of Nepal Bhasa, cannot be said to be valid in the context of the provisions of the current Constitution. Since there is a constitutional provision pursuant to the Article 6 (1) of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 2047 that the Nepali language in the Devnagari script shall be the language of official business, no other national language can be the language of official business in its place or parallel to it. Therefore, the decision of Kathmandu Metropolis to authorize use of Nepal Bhasa as an additional language of official business in the Municipality, and the decisions by the Rajbiraj Municipality and the District Development Committee Dhanusha to authorize the use of Maithili language are hereby annulled by order of certiorari since they are in contravention with the Article 6 (1) of the Constitution. After removing the case file from the active case record, submit it to the archive in accordance with the rules. Submit the case file to the archive as per rules after removing it from the active record.

5 Language politics in Nepal

The rulers of the Baise and Chaubise Rajyas (the groups of 22 and 24 states) voluntarily and psychologically embraced the dominance of Khas culture and Nepali under Gorkha rule of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. It can thus be argued that the 1720s were a remarkable decade for that was when language became a contentious issue in Nepali politics. Not only the Shah dynasty but the Ranas, who took over power in 1846 and made the Shah Kings mere figure heads, had also given especial nourishment to the Nepali language by undermining other languages. Due to such especial protection given by various rulers in the 18th and 19th centuries, a number of major development milestones such as standardization

of literature, dictionary preparation and codification in Nepali were achieved.

These past decades have been frustrating to many of us because of the issue of language being turned into political gamesmanship, particularly at a time when a more urgent need is action against the identity crisis rather than anything else. After 1950, some linguistic organizations were established, and due to which a clarion call was made for language rights. Here, the credit goes to Gajendra Narayan Singh, founder of the Nepal Sadbhavana Parishad, who followed the Hindi Movement. Though the language movements conducted during the years 1951-1961, was guided by political motives. With the dissolution of the first democratically elected government in 1960 and the rise of the Panchayat system in 1962, emerged in which the Nepali language became an eminent part of the political scenario. In the course of inculcating the non-party culture, linguistic sentiments did not flourish as much as they could have. Understandably, the Panchayati rulers were greatly averse to accepting Nepal as a multilingual society. Hence, language was never considered as the national attire. What is more, in the name of national integration, the "one nation, one language" policy was introduced in 1960, due to which other linguistic sentiments were strongly curbed.

Furthermore, the 1962 Panchayat Constitution was a model instance of politicization of language as its Article 4 affirmed the Nepali language as the national language stipulating nothing about the indigenous languages. During the period 1962-1989, Nepali became the medium in schools, the media, parliamentary debates, and deliberations in court. Even the New Education Plan of 1971 eschewed other languages as a medium of instruction in schools. A feeling of isolation within the people was cultivated because of the monolingual policy of the state.

Consequently, the leaders of language movements including Gajendra Narayan Singh and Padma Ratna Tuladhar vehemently demanded the implementation of a liberal language policy. But their call for language rights could not remain as

it was because the people's movement during the Post-Jan Aandolan Days turned into political agitations that ultimately combined language and politics in unfathomable ties. Although the People's Movements opened the door for various changes in the country we failed to adhere to the language policy properly. We failed to develop all the indigenous languages even though the 1991 Constitution of Nepal named Nepali as the language of the nation (Rastra Bhasha) and other languages of Nepal as national languages (Rastriya Bhasha). However, it cannot be denied that proclamation of the indigenous languages as national languages has somewhat ensured their presence in the mainstream of the state.

A closer look at history about how the state treated the languages reveals that the treatment was driven by political will. The culture of a country is indeed judged by the way it treats and respects linguistic minorities. But our earlier experiences and practices show that we have failed to rightfully address the country's linguistic diversity.

6 Summary

For many decades the region saw a slow growth in the sectors of language development, literacy, poverty, women empowerment, infrastructure development and more or less all the sectors. Although the scenario is changing quite slowly, most of the people of this region thought that they were treated differently or ignored by the government and bureaucrats.

Nepal is a multilingual nation. However, a single language has been given power, recognition and prestige while the remaining minority languages are impoverished and marginalized. Previously people were discouraged to use their languages 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. This kind of biased attitude of suppressing other languages in favour of Nepali was maintained until recently.

The findings also reveal that the attitude towards their mother tongue is highly positive but if the trend towards imposing only Nepali language will not be changed, then language will come under the risk in further days. The next issues emerged that though they have strong motivation towards the mother tongue education, they are unable to get the good mother tongue environment.

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State restructuring and language policy in Nepal

Suren Sapkota

This article discusses the various aspects of language planning and policy in the present process of state restructuring in general. It attempts to find out the relation between political system and their consequences in various censuses, and reviews the legal provisions regarding the languages spoken in Nepal with a glance of language movements. The need of inclusive language policy while restructuring the federal state by using bi/tri languages in both vertical and horizontal administrative business, and the use of the national languages in the education system in general and basic education in particular are the major findings of the discussion.

1 Introduction

Language is enormously human triumph, and philosophers have long documented that language, above all else, is the one thing that distinguishes us from every other organic species. No human community exists without it. All the languages are entirely human, cognitively composite, and stunning in their design. Thus, every language stands for, in some sense, a different view of the world, a different conceptual universe. All then are praiseworthy of recognition and policy accommodations that promote their well-being and preservations in one hand, and, their number has been affected by the political system that the country practiced.

Despite being Nepal a multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural federal country, no initiation has been taken by the government to protect, develop, and manage the languages spoken within. This multilingual setting confers Nepal on distinct position on the linguistic map of the world and renders it as one of the most fascinating areas of linguistic research. The 2011 census has reported 123 languages spoken in the country as the mother tongues. Nepali is spoken as mother tongue by 44.6 percent (11,826,953) of the total population followed by Maithili (11.7% 3,092,530), Bhojpuri (6.0%; 1,584,958), Tharu (5.8%; 1,529,875), Tamang (5.1%; 1,353,311), Newar (3.2%; 846,557), Bajjika (3.0%; 793,418), Magar (3.0%; 788,530), Doteli (3.0%; 787,827), Urdu (2.6%; 691,546) (CBS National Report 2011). It is important that the language situation in Nepal be analyzed to facilitate linguistic studies and

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language planning. Such an analysis is also important to examine the social structure of the country's population since language constitutes one of the main indicators (Yadava, 2003). As the awareness among people of a common linguistic community identify springing from their shared experience serves the building block of national integration, it is important for the government to accord due place to each language and cultures so that linguistic diversity in the nation attempts to foster purpose politics of nation building. It is equally important to overcome a sense of alienation, seclusion and discrimination from broader identity. Language is multidimensional and touches almost every facets of human lives, an entirely inclusive national inclusive policy would necessitate language planning at two levels; (a) education, mass-media, administration, etc, and (b) federal level, provincial level, and local level.

2 Political systems and language number

There exist varying estimates about the enumeration of the languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal from the past. The census report 2011 has identified 123 languages spoken in Nepal while Ethnologue (2012) presents a list of 124 languages spoken in Nepal as mother tongues. Several of them are dying out for a number of reasons such as the marginal number of speakers, rapid migration towards urban areas, and no functional use in education, media, and local administration.

The 1952/54 census recorded 44 languages. This was the period after the termination of the Rana regime from the country. Just before the year, the Rana responded to King Tribhuvan move by making Gyanendra Shaha the king. This led to huge mass demonstrations in the country that compelled the last Rana Prime Minister Mohan Sumsher to come into negotiations with Tribhuvan and the Nepali Congress. The result of the political change in the country directly affected in the number of languages to be listed in census 1952/54.

In 1961 census, the number of languages fell down to 33. This was period of direct rule of King

Mahedra having only the Nepali language as national language. As a result, the minority languages ignored and not listed in the census. The number of languages was, however drastically reduced to 17 in the 1971 and 1981 censuses, and 20 in 1991. After Bishweshar Prasad Koirala, the first elected PM in 1959 was deposed and imprisoned in 1960; Nepal did not have a democratic government until 1990, when the country became a constitutional monarchy.

The census conducted after the restoration of democracy in 2001 shows the number of languages radically increased to 92. After the second people's movement in 2006, the number of languages raised drastically. As a result, the census report of 2011 has listed 123 languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal.

The uncertainty about number of languages and their reduced enumeration in the last five censuses (i.e.1952/54-1991) may be attributed to a lack of awareness of Nepal's indigenous mother tongues and also to the 'one nation one language' policy adopted during the Panchayat regime (Yadava, 2003). During the 'black years' of the Rana regime and continuing on through the ears of Panchayat rule in the Kingdom of Nepal, the state promulgated the doctrine of 'one nation, one culture, one language,' ... (Watters et al. 2005).

The other reason for the significant rise in the number of languages recognized as being spoken in Nepal is the public awareness in the social sector. One important factor instrumental in the change is that a large number of languages used as mother tongues were returned for the first time in 2001, and in 2011 because of the growing awareness of linguistic and cultural identity, and the willingness of the state to acknowledge this linguistic and cultural diversity. Since the restoration of democracy in 1990 there has been a genuine increase in awareness among linguistic minorities and indigenous peoples about their mother tongues and the status that these might be accorded in the nation. Following the enumeration, some linguists were also consulted to aid in the precise identification of the languages spoken in Nepal as mother tongue.

3 Review of legal provisions

Before the unification, there were a number of small states from the east to the west in this territory. Some of them were formed on ethno-linguistic basis; others were running in the form of Kingship. The first type states were found to use their own language along with other languages if necessary in the administration. The second type used the languages of the wider communication; *Khaskura/Khasbhasa* along with the local languages. Since the creation of greater Nepal, the Nepali language has been popular as an easy means of communication between all language speakers of the nation. There was no evidence for legal provision regarding the language before Rana regime perpetuation on this 'one nation-one language' policy. It further stated that: (i) The medium of instruction should be the national language in primary, middle, and higher educational institutions,...can be an anchor-sheet for Nepalese nationality, and can be the main instrument for promoting literature. (ii) No other language should be thought, even optionally in primary school because few children will need them, they would hinder the use of Nepali,... there are not enough well-qualified teachers, and those who wish and need additional languages, can begin them in the 6th grade (NEPC 1956:95).

The use of Nepali in education was further prescribed by K.I. Singh government in 1957 and in Panchayat regime as Nepali as medium of instruction. In 1961 the National System of Education was introduced to further promote the use of only Nepali in administration, education and media in compliance. In addition, Nepali Company Act was passed in 1964 directing all companies to keep their records in English or Nepali. This further supported the use of the Nepali language along with the English in administration.

Following the democratic people's movement in 1990, however, the Kingdom of Nepal made a wise and significant step forward in recognizing the inheritant rights of linguistic minorities. The Constitution of Nepal 1991 acknowledges that: (i)Nepal is a "multi-ethnic, multi-lingual" nation (Part I, Art. 4), (ii) The Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the language of the nation of Nepal. The Nepali language shall be the official

language (*Part 1, Art. 6.1*), (iii) all the languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal. (*Part 1, Art. 6.2*), in addition, the constitution also made a provision for the use of mother tongues in primary education (*Part 1, Art.18.2*). It also guaranteed Nepalese as a fundamental right to preserve their culture, scripts and their languages (*Part 1, Art. 26.2*). The greatest weakness of these provisions was the lack of any explicit plan and policy to implement them.

To implement these constitutional provisions about language, a recommendation commission for formulating policy for national languages was formed by the government in 1993. The main objectives of the commission were twofold: promotion of national languages and their use in local administration, primary education and media. The CDC has so far developed textbooks in 14 national languages to be taught as subject. This initiative is no doubt a welcome step; for the first time some non-Nepali languages have been introduced in education. Another implementation of the commission report has been the introduction of 18 different languages in Radio Nepal by the Government of then Nepali congress Party. The recommendation for the use of minority languages in local administration was later enacted into a law, the *Local Self-Governance Act* of 1999 which deputed to local bodies the right to preserve and promote local languages. Nevertheless, on June 1, 1999, the Supreme Court announced its final verdict and issued a certiorari declaring that the decisions of these local bodies to use regional languages were unconstitutional and illegal. The court's verdict raised serious questions about the sincerity of the government's commitment to the use of minority languages in administration and led to further frustration among minority language communities. Government of Nepal is committed to making quality primary education accessible to all children including children from indigenous and minority language groups including six universal goals of education for all for ensuring the right of indigenous people and linguistic minorities to basic and primary education through mother tongue.

It is believed that to achieve the EFA/Nepal (2004-9) goals a policy of transitional multilingual

education policy has been endorsed. According to this policy, a child will acquire basic educational skills through the medium of his/her mother tongue and gradually switch to a lingua franca/an official language so that s/he can "feel at home in the language in which the affairs of government are carried on" and finally learn a foreign language (e.g. English) for broader communications and access to science and technology (Fishman 1968). The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007), an outcome of the People's movement II, makes the provisions that (i) all the languages spoken as the mother tongue in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal, (ii) The Nepali Language in Devanagari script shall be the official language, (iii) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2), it shall not be deemed to have hindered to use the mother language in local bodies and offices, state shall translate the languages so used to an official (*Part 1, Art. 5*).

The recommendations made by the Committee of Social and Cultural Solidarity in constituent assembly (unfortunately that was dismissed with the CA five month before) to decide the basis of cultural and social solidarity has a number of valuable tips regarding the languages spoken in Nepal. In addition, the major political parties namely; UCPN (Maoist), Nepali Congress and CPN(UML) including other, have mentioned about the use and status of the national languages in their election manifestos.

4 A glance of language movements

In Nepal, there have been some language movements among which two of them namely 'Save Hindi' and 'Nepalbhasa movement' were thought to be the most considerable movements in the language history. The first was led by Nepal Terai Congress with its leader Veda Nand Jha in 1951 the main objective of which was recognition of Hindi as an autonomous Terai state language. Likewise, the Nepalbhasa movement in 1920s was grounded in its very forming the concept of strong ethnic identities with its glorious past, a distinct language, a unique culture, an old literature, a particular script and territory, etc. It aims at the recognition and usage of NepalBhasa along with other the languages spoken in Nepal for official purposes. Similarly the latter half of the 1970s may

be said to be a period of beginning for the minority language issues.

After the restoration of democracy in 1990, and mainly after the people's movement second in 2006, new waves of enthusiasm awakened widespread interest in the minority languages and cultures among many indigenous groups as well as among the advocates of their causes. This in turn spurred an increase in minority language development efforts. Moreover, many indigenous organizations mushroomed almost overnight with the purpose of preserving, developing and promoting their cultural and linguistic heritage. After the people's movement in April 2006, the people demanded from various sectors of society marginalized in the past, including *Janajati* and *Madhesi* in their linguistic issues. In the post people's movement, all most all the political parties, larger or smaller, have been advocating linguistic issues, at least in theory if not in practice.

5 Need for inclusive language policy

In the context of the envisaged federal structure of the country there is a need for designing Nepal's language policy to preserve and promote local, regional, and national languages in one hand, and the determination of the particular languages to communicate among different levels administration (i.e. vertical), and, among different the federal states (i.e. horizontal) on the other. For these purposes, both the status planning and corpus planning are indispensable in inclusive language policy. Thus, this policy may be categorized as determining the languages in federal state while restructuring of the nation in various levels, and the policy for use of language in education and media.

5.1 Language policy in a federal state

The federal state is the result of different ethnic and linguistic groups and communities with their political contract through the written constitution. Nepal is now on the same process of being federalization. The political leaders and constitution makers should think those in their mind while making constitution through the CA.

Before articulating some perspectives on language policy, it would be in order to discuss the role of

language in restructuring the state within the envisaged federal system. Language and culture function as an adhesive link and strengthen greater cohesion among members of a community. Hence, language and culture are prominent criteria for restructuring a state.

When we see the world's federal states, they are found to be seen as; (a) one cast one language one state, (b) one cast one language multi state and (c) one state multilingual/multiethnic. If the state is reconstructed only on the basis of caste and language, there may be the possibility to fall the nation into an endless debate and conflict. India and Nigeria are the examples of having this type of conflict. In fact federalism is the philosophy of democratic political nation system to strengthen unity among different variation and inequality.

Most of the models regarding the state reconstructing have found to be utilized some common basis like ethnic/linguistic/cultural identity, economic and administrative possibilities, the excess and complementary of natural resources. Some have emphasized on historical place of ethnic/linguistic/cultural groups, and gave less priority and significance to geographical complementary (Sharma and Khanal, 2009:34). This is because the different political parties and ethnic and linguistic groups have their own understanding of the ethnic/linguistic/cultural points and areas. As a result, some have claimed some areas as their own, while other have reclaimed on contrary to the previous claims. For example, the proposed Kochila State that comprised of three districts viz. Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari claimed by UCPN (Maoist) has been reclaimed as *Limbuwan* by Limbuwan Party, and moreover, the Terai based parties have been demanding those districts to be included within a single state of the whole Terai region as a single autonomous *Madhesh Pradesh*. The same area has been proposed by the name of *Birat Pradesh* by the CPN (UML), *Bijayapur* by Govinda Neupane, *Purbi Terai* (East Terai) by Pitamber Sharma, *Mithilanchal* by Surendra K.C. and Amresh Narayan Jha, Far-East State by Chandra Kanta Gyawali, Rajbanshi autonomous area by K.B. Gurung, *Morang Mandal* by Babu Ram Acharya, and so on.

Similarly, some Magars have claimed that the two areas of their residency belonged to their ancestral areas from Surkhet to Tanahun and Ramechap to Dhankuta as Magarant State. Likewise, Tharu also have been demanding to put the areas of Tharu majority areas into Tharuwan State (Ibid. 2009:35). There find mainly two significant issues existed in course of restructuring the state; (i) development of all the languages of Nepal and provide mother tongue education in schools up to proper level for the medium of instruction, and, (ii) determination of the languages in day to day administrative function of the nation and their criteria for using them in both vertical and horizontal. The main reasons for Nepal to be a federal from the unitary form of government is present structure of the state in its ethnic, linguistic and areal inequality, enexcess and uninclusive. As Nepal has been practicing unitary and centralized form of government from the long run, the process of restructuring the nation into federal one is complex and sensitive one. In this context the different ethnic groups have presented their own ethnic autonomous states on the basis of their own historical and traditional geo-cultural territory. They presented their states with their names and boundaries too. Some of these states are yet seen to be started naming as de-facto. This issue captures easily in this context, because it is the nation's political objective to form the federal states. Unfortunately, the nation itself could not start its process of being federal state. Though federalism is a political issue, the technical and expertise aspects are also equally important. But the related working teams or/and commissions have not been formed yet by the state till now. To make federal state there find no any signals of doing its homework from the state level yet. The job of politics is to determine only the direction and destination of the country. But the whole remaining jobs of its implementation are to be done by the regular homework of the commission. No system will make by the contemporary quick political decision. If we believe in the system of multiparty democratic and competitive political system, then there is no meaning of dictatorship of only one political party. In despotism, federal nation no longer runs, and there will always be the possibility of danger of separation. The past USSR and Yugoslavia are the examples with the same

problem. So the process of restructuring the nation must not be limited to the structure and process of political party's dictatorship but on the basis of maximum ownership of the people.

In the process of federalization of the state, firstly, the present unitary nation should be divided into different self-governing units. Among the many views, opinions and proposals that were presented in the process of federalization of the country, altogether there are four alternatives. The first proposal proposed by the Madhesi Parties is the tri-state federal structure of Himal, Pahad and Madhes/Tarai. The next alternative is the federal structure on the basis of caste and language. The third is the states from Himal to Tarai with geographical, ethnic and linguistic variation and adjustment with its own eco-political states. The last or fourth alternative is of mixed type. In this type, if we can, the determination of states on the basis of multiethnic and multilingual states bearing in mind the historical and cultural territory and density of the population which can be suitable in our context. For this, some states will be of ethnic identity, some are of linguistic identity and rest of others carries geographical identity. Except Nepali and Maithili linguistic communities, no other communities will have their states with majority. It will be long term utility of federal Nepal if we reconstruct the nation on the basis of presence of density of ethnic and linguistic communities with their geographical, economic and political possibilities. The federal Nepal should develop and provide legal provision to all the languages spoken in Nepal. But it is equally important in acculturation of using them clearly as the constitutional provision for the language used for formal usage of the nation. Otherwise, by using it as a catalyst, seasonal issues of ethno-language for the short term political opportunity may mushroom almost overnight. Language is the fundamental right for every individual. There will be revolution if the nation bands in using them. If the nation leaves it open, then any individual searches nationally and internationally highly accepted language(s) in accordance with his/her priorities and adaptability for facilities and opportunities. The use of English language in almost all the countries can be the example.

The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 recognized that all the languages spoken in Nepal as their mother tongue are national languages. There is no doubt that federal Nepal by its present constitution too, will be multilingual. Though the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1991 also mentioned Nepal as multiethnic and multilingual, it bends the use of them in nation system. Language movements rose. Even after the peoples' movement second in 2006, the interim constitution has provisioned only Nepali is recognized as a medium of official usage for government's administrative purpose.¹

If it opens the use of mother tongue in local level and local offices, this can be an upward step of opening constitutional door for the transformation of Nepal towards multilingual nation. An agreement between the government and Madhesi Janadhikar Forum in 2008 says that (a) mother tongue, (b) Nepali language and (c) English language i.e. a tri-lingual policy in the government, administration, education and international communication that should be recognized in the constitution. In this way, after the peoples' movement II in 2006 Nepal has been up-warding towards multilingual nation system. English language has been used as a means of international communication and quality higher education. But the main issue here is not of English but of Nepalese languages especially the mother tongues.

¹ But sometimes in the higher political level and position, the usage of language has seen as debatable and controversial issue. Generally the constitutions of other countries do not mention about which language is national and/or not. The languages that are used in the administrative purpose are only found to be listed in the constitution. But in the case of Nepal, constitution has already recognized all the languages spoken in Nepal as their mother tongue as national languages, the possibility of using them in national level is not uneasy. So, if the provision of national language will be remained the same in the constitution, the clear definition, criteria and preliminaries of those languages may be mentioned in the constitution. All the languages may not get chance to be listed in the constitution to use in administration, education, media, etc. India is an example of it where although hundreds of mother tongues are there; only a few have been codified in the constitution.

After entering into the federalism, Nepal, no doubt will transform into the multilingual nation system. The states can use the local languages in their administration and offices for governmental purposes. For the central government and in-between central and state government and among different state governments there will be necessity of one or more link language(s) (Khanal, 2008:96). In other countries, we cannot find any particular criteria for practicing use of language.

The constitutions of quite old federal states remain quiet in the use of language in their constitutions. In the constitution of the USA, Australia, Brazil and Mexico there is no mention of administrative or link language. In the USA and Australia, English language is found to be in practiced, and Brazil uses Portuguese while Mexico uses Spanish. Some countries like Argentina, Spain, Malaysia, Venezuela etc. though they practice federalism, use only a single language for their governmental purposes. The English and Amharic languages got constitutional recognition in Nigeria and Ethiopia respectively. In Russia and Austria, there is only one language in central and provincial languages in different provinces are in practice. India, Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, South Africa etc. have been practicing the multilingual federalism. They are often cited for their liberal language policies. Post-apartheid South Africa, for example, has accepted 11 languages to address some ethnic communities. But with the passage of time, English, although fifth on the list, has emerged as the most preferred language there. Efforts to promote Afrikaans as the first language have not produced encouraging results (Adhikary, 2010). Meanwhile, leaders of various ethnic communities appear to have realized that the Nepali language is one vital foundation to establish the collective identity of the diverse ethnic groups that make up Nepal.

The other question can be whether all the languages mentioned in the last population census 2011 can be the national languages of Nepal? For this, all the national languages will be indexed in the constitution by writing a clear definition of national language. There will be no the situation of using only a Nepali language as a language of administration after entering into the federal structure. The subject of language is certainly

related to the structuring of the provinces. There can be the situation of using two or three major local languages including Nepali within a single province. Likewise, it will be necessary to get information in their mother tongue while getting clearance and doing self-defense in the government offices for which the state have to provide the translator (Khanal, 2008:48).

The language policy that we proposed here for the administrative purpose for the federal Nepal is of bi or trilingual policy (according to the position and the number of languages in local level) in vertical and horizontal. Nepali will be the language of federal government and federal and provincial government. In the same way, Nepali and/or other major languages in the local level can be used to communicate between the province governments and local governments. The federal governments use the Nepali language to perform its business. Horizontally, there is more chance of using the Nepali language to communicate among the different federal states. Because, Nepali is broadly used as the lingua-franca in Nepal among the different linguistic communities. To communicate among the local governments in the local level, the local language(s) of the district or VDC, along with the Nepali language could be possible.

The other most noteworthy fact while talking about the language use is the use of English language in Nepal although the constitution has not mentioned the role or/and of its status. The use of English plays a vital role in some of the domains like mass media, academic seminar and symposiums, the library, public administration, diplomatic business, high level academic and research institutions and register level languages. Nepal's heavily dependence on foreign aid, its diplomatic relations with more than 100 nation-states; the growing of NGOs and INGOs and job opportunities to Nepalese in these institutions and abroad, and a number of factors have contributed the gravity of English in the lives of Nepalese people (Sapkota, 2010). Thus, the use of the English language in Nepal is indispensable in the era of science and technology. English may also mention as one of possible languages in Nepalese language policy.

5.2 Language policy in education system

The National Education Planning Commission in 1956 has recommended the Nepali language as a medium of instruction. This recommendation was made on the basis of the population census 2052/54 which has listed that 48.7%, and 86.6% people of Nepal speak Nepali as their mother tongue and the second language respectively. Although the decision might have advocated on the basis of the census data, and in lack of homework, materials, manpower, etc. to conduct teaching-learning in other languages, the major thing the government had lacked was the willpower to make the policy to provide education in other languages too, at least in lower classes. The use of single language policy in national education system slowly hindered the learning process; especially in the children from other language communities.

It is generally not recognized, at least not in Nepal that children from minority language communities are as a distinct disadvantage over children whose mother-tongue is the official language. Among these disadvantaged children, discouragement is high, resulting in high drop-out rates (Toba, Toba and Rai, 2005). It has been found that most of the school dropouts belong to these non-Nepali speaking communities. Apart from them, a large number of children from these vulnerable groups have no access to school and are debarred from the right of achieving basic education.

It has been widely accepted that all children should have opportunity to receive basic and primary education through mother tongues as their right. If we provide primary education through mother tongues children can have better learning as they can engage more actively in understanding and learning activities though their greater proficiency in them (Yadava, 2007). Besides, it also can help to attract the out-of-school children from indigenous and minority language groups to join school as they will feel homely with the use of their mother tongues in education (UNESCO, 1951). It is therefore desirable to envisage a policy such as 'transitional bilingual education', according to which children will start their basic education in their mother tongues for better learning and quality education, gradually switch to

a lingua franca for broader communications and eventual switch to an international language such as English for global communications and access to science and technology.

We have so far discussed the policy or status planning of Nepalese languages for promoting their functions in areas such as government offices, education, and mass media. As a prerequisite, the change in status requires the development of language resources such as orthography, new vocabulary, spelling changes, dictionaries, grammars, and reading materials in these languages so that a language becomes an appropriate medium of communication for use in administration, education, media, etc. This branch of planning is known as 'corpus planning'. Most of Nepalese languages, which are still preliterate and undescribed, need to undergo corpus planning before introducing them in the prescribed areas.

Nearly the one-fourth of Nepalese languages are viable to be threatened due to reasons such as lack of inter-generational language transmission, marginalized number of speakers, dearth of materials for language education and literacy, negative government and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use, and so on. To preserve these 'seriously endangered' or 'moribund' languages before they are lost to the posterity to come, it is time to undertake their linguistic and ethnographic documentation. There have been various estimates about Nepalese languages in the past. Even after the people's movement the Government of Nepal, as some linguists and speech communities point out, has not shown positive attitude for the development of small languages, their writing system, and scripts. Some of the languages, which have recently developed writing systems, had received no government encouragement. There are a larger number of lesser known languages, which are endangered and likely to die out in the lack of their use and documentation (Yadava, 1996).

What we advocate here is not the promotion of the mother-tongue to the detriment or displacement of Nepali as the national lingua franca, the language of status and language of higher education in the nation-state if firmly established. The claims to linguist rights from minority and indigenous

groups in Nepal is not a cry for autonomy, but a cry to be able to participate in the wider life of the nation on a par with those whose mother-tongue is Nepali (Rai, 2005). The present constitutional and legal provisions and measures undertaken by the Government of Nepal to promote and preserve the interests of the linguistic minorities (including the endangered linguistic groups) are not adequate. A scientific and most up-to-date linguistic survey to determine the status and position of various languages of Nepal should be conducted and accordingly, a scientific, need-based language promotion and planning policy should be formulated and promoted. Because the languages of Nepal are in different status and position, some are unconscious i.e. sleeping and some half conscious, some conscious and some walking. In this context, it must be determined categorically which language needs which status and treatment with phase wise development. Different policies and strategies should be formed to promote them. Except those languages which have rich written tradition (Nepali, Maithili, Newar, Limbu), the smaller and 'lesser known languages', comparatively need more government protection and encouragement to preserve their own identity. But for the smaller languages which have their own scripts but have not developed, need different treatment.

The good news, however, is this there is an authentic linguistic survey to facilitate the implementation of a language policy. But, because of the lack of budget and understandings in the government level, it will be difficult to run in the future. There is a need for a regulatory body to formulate, evaluate and implement the language policy.

The other most important thing is translation. As more we translate the text from other languages into the mother tongues, the prosperous the mother tongues as more. This process enlarges the domains of language use, makes large wisdom, and children can get benefited especially from the children literature. Translation helps in gradual switching to a lingua franca and to an international language such as English for global communications and science and technology too. But the most significant consideration is that the language is inherently linked to the culture of its

linguistic community. So, while translating the texts into the mother tongues the cultural traditions of the target language should be given the most importance.

6 Summary

Languages in Nepal have been conspiratorially manipulated, and the minority and ethnic languages have been ignored for years mainly after the Rana regime. This has resulted them have a linguistic disadvantage and uncompetitive edge over others, and inaccess to education and employment.

But language debate is so acute that it might never have been seen before. It may be effect of the worldwide process of democratization and its impact over their identification and preservation in the process of transforming the country into federal one from its unitary form. In this regard, it is thought to be not so in general issue to be raised. But sometimes in our contexts the political parties, foreign agencies, NGOs and INGOs and some activists in the name of the languages make their business in their daily lives. The overgeneralization and playing over by unnecessary plunging into nation language politics may harm socially, nationally and even internationally. It sometimes may bring communal tension and civil war too which may weaken the state and hence its nationality. So it is better not to be played over the languages but within the languages so that politics of language and language politics can go side by side.

Federalism that is highly advocated without a clear and complete roadmap for the local self government based on democratic foundation and advocacy of the unitary system backed by self centered statuesque ideology cannot contribute to benefit the languages undergone by the centralized state system since hundreds of years. Therefore, while making roadmap of New Nepal, it is better to come up above the petty personal interests and thoughts that plead to add some more rights up to the provinces level languages only but we have to open up the new avenues for the local languages in local governments to make them powerful and responsible enough to the local communities. For this the local level linguistic minorities should be uplifted by following transitional bilingual

education, according to which children will start their basic education in their mother tongues for better learning and quality education, gradually switch to a lingua franca for broader communications and eventual switch to an international language such as English for global communications and access to science and technology. It is with these perspectives that we have proposed for a territorized bilingual policy in regional units of administration and the transitional bilingual education in policy. In a recent study it has been shown how minority languages can be better preserved and promoted by regional/local administration than the central one.

Moreover, in order to frame an appropriate policy, timely and need based language and cultural policy, to develop harmony and cooperation among various linguistic groups, to settle cultural and linguistic problems, to define the role of languages and to conduct high level academic research regularly, special and most representative high level linguistic and cultural commission should be formed. As the courts are the guardians of the constitutional rights of the citizens, the language activists should try to pressurize the parliamentarians to amend the constitutional provisions concerning language and create strong lobby and public opinion in their favor. All mother tongues deserve preservation. All the languages of Nepal should be encouraged and protected by the government. The government should be given special treatment to those languages, which are on the verge of decay.

The language policy for the administrative purpose for the federal Nepal is of bi or trilingual policy in vertical and horizontal. Nepali will be the language of federal government and federal and provincial government. In the same way, Nepali and/or other major language(s) in the local level can be used to communicate between the province government and local government. The federal government uses the Nepali language to perform its business. Horizontally, there is more chance of using the Nepali language to communicate among the different federal states as Nepali is broadly used as the lingua-franca in Nepal among the different linguistic communities from the east to west. The local language(s) of the district or VDC, along with

the Nepali language may be used to communicate among the local governments in the local level.

The use of English in mass media, academic seminar and symposiums, the library, public administration, diplomatic business, high level academic and research institutions and register level languages, science and technology, job opportunities and a broad number of factors have contributed the gravity of English in the lives of Nepalese people. So English may be the next possible language to be mentioned while we come into action in language planning and policy.

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Dynamic of Nepali public's opinion on the linguistic issue

Pawan Kumar Sen

This paper argues based on longitudinal opinion surveys that though the majority of Nepali people have preferred the single-linguistic policy (Nepali language as the only official language), significant minority of the public demand for the multi-linguistic policy. If Nepal's democracy has to be made an inclusive democracy, a new constitution needs to address the voice of the minority too.

1 Introduction

This paper illustrates the dynamic of general Nepali public's view toward the linguistic issue of Nepal using findings from longitudinal public opinion polls conducted between Sep 2006 and Jul 2009. It divulges what the general Nepali people think on the linguistic issue in this time of political transition, and how their opinion toward this issue undergoes changing over time (if there is any change). Variations in the opinion by ethnicity, geographical region, educational status, age group and political party preference have been examined too. A reason for paying a high attention to these five variables is that these variables are the explanatory variables which significantly influence the public's view on the state restructuring issues, and they are identified to be the significant explanatory variables through multiple regression analyses (which were conducted for the PhD research of this author).

Since the role of political parties in democratic systems of governance is to represent the people, it is important for them to be consistently aware of how the public perceives a certain issue. Here, it is worthwhile to recall that political scientists have repeatedly argued for the ordinary people's voice (measured through scientific opinion polls) to be used as a primary basis for formulating or amending laws and policies (Eisinger 2008). A series of public opinion polls if conducted scientifically is a reliable means to gauge the general people's view on contemporary political issues at different intervals of time and help conducting time-series analysis of their views. So, this type of longitudinal public opinion polls helps identifying ruptures and continuities in public opinion toward particular issues over time. *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 199-210*

Many social scientists who prefer to base their studies on the quantitative approach say that longitudinal polls are most commonly used to capture changes in public opinion on an aggregate level (Hellevik 2008). Changing dynamics of public opinion can be captured only by longitudinal public opinion polls which measure them over time through the same questions.

The paper begins with the context of state restructuring issues the country is facing today. Then, it is followed by historical background of Nepali identity based on the language, culture and religion of Hindu high caste group. The paper also highlights on the methodology of the public opinion polls on the basis of which the paper presents its argument. After this, the paper discusses about the general public opinions on single-lingualism against multilingualism. Then, the paper shows the relationship between public opinions toward various state restructuring issues. Finally, it ends up with conclusions.

2 State restructuring issues in the present-day Nepal

Nepal today is going through probably the most difficult political transitional phase in her history. Basic characteristics of the Nepali state since her foundation in 1768 - the monarchy, the unitary state, the Hindu state and the promotion of Nepali language as the only official language have been eliminated. These four components had been promoted as the four pillars of the structure of the Nepali state until 2006. In this context, views of Prayag Raj Sharma, a leading scholar of Nepal's history, are very important who writes that "Prithvi Narayan Shah and those after him, based the country's unification on four key ideas: the unquestioning power and authority of the Hindu King of Gorkha, the supremacy of the Hindu ethos in national life, social integration through Hindu social system based on caste division, and recognition of Nepali as the language of government, administration and, in more recent times, education" (Sharma 1992: 7). After the April 2006 mass movement (commonly known as *Jan Andolan II*, which literally means a second wave of a mass movement) called by the Seven-

Party Alliance¹ and the UCPN (Maoist)², the old structure of the Nepali state was demolished and Nepal's political parties conceptualized a new form of the structure of the state: republic, federal, secular and multi-linguistic state. By the first meeting of an elected Constituent Assembly (CA) held on 28 May 2008, Nepal was formally transformed to a republic from the monarchy, to a federal state from the unitary state, to a secular state from the Hindu state and to a multi-linguistic state from the single-linguistic state. So, the republicanism, federalism, secularism and multilingualism are the four most important new state restructuring issues in the present-day Nepal. But this paper concentrates only on the linguistic issue. Examination of other state restructuring issues is beyond the scope of this paper.

3 Historical background

During and after the expansion of the Gorkha Empire, Nepali (or *Gorkhali*) identity had been constructed on the basis of the dominant language, culture and religion, which were obviously the language, culture and religion of the *Gorkhali* rulers and elites who belonged to Hindu high caste group. An artificial homogenous national identity had been attempted to create by promoting Nepali language (previously known as *Gorkhali* language or *Khas kura* or *Parbate kura*) as the only state language along with Hindu religion and Hindu monarchy. This naturally led to marginalize and even exclude languages, cultures and religions of others. This policy rejected the national identity of Nepali people based on multicultural values³. Ultimately, Hindu

high caste hill group, and their cultural values and language became the dominant and privileged while other groups such as *Janajatis*, *Dalits* and *Madhesi* were excluded from the mainstream of the Nepali state, and ended up as the under-privileged and marginalized groups.

When the then Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher Rana formally declared Nepali language as the only state language in 1905, and ordered his government not to use and recognize other languages, non-Nepali speakers such as *Janajati* groups and *Madhesi* people felt discriminated in subsequent years and officially became the second-class people. Nepali language was further propagated by the Nepali state to the detriment of other languages with the establishment of *Gorkha Bhasa Prakashan Samiti* in 1913, which was obliged to publish literatures exclusively in Nepali language. Exclusive strategy of the state was further apparent when the National Education Planning Commission published its report, *Education in Nepal*, in 1956, which explicitly recommended the government to promote Nepali language as the only medium language in schools with a view to ceasing other ethnic and regional languages gradually. With the promulgation of the Constitution of Nepal 1960 under the *Panchayat* regime, the state adopted one-language policy declaring Nepali language only the national language of the country because of which other languages felt suppressed.

Social justice movements began to take place in the country demanding equal rights including the linguistic right after 1951 when Nepali polity became open with the abolition of the oligarchic Rana regime and the instatement of multiparty democracy⁴. However, the movements were not strong enough to change the old structure of the

¹ It was an alliance formed by the seven agitating parliamentary political parties on May 2005 to protest against the king's take-over of 1 February 2005 (when the incumbent king Gyanendra dismissed the appointed Deuba government, declared a state of emergency and took all executive powers).

² The UCPN (Maoist) was previously called CPN (Maoist) until it formally unified with the People's Front Nepal (*Janmorcha* Nepal in Nepali language) in January 2009. Not to be confused with other leftist parties with similar names like the CPN-Maoist (note the dash in between), and the CPN Maoist (without dash in between).

³ Bhattachan (2001:47) writes that the rulers of Nepal used coercive measure of Hinduization, Sanskritization

and Nepalization to eliminate diverse language, religion, society and culture.

⁴ In fact, language movement had started in Nepal much earlier than 1951. For instance, Nepalbhasa movement began in 1920s which was strongly associated with Newar ethnic identity movement (Sapkota 2010: 210). But this movement was organized in underground manner due to the intolerant Rana regime because of which reach of the movement was limited.

Nepali state. It was only after the restoration of the multiparty democracy in 1990 as an outcome of the April 1990 mass movement (i.e. *Jan Andolan I*), political leaders and activists from historically excluded groups such as *Janajati* and *Madhesi* communities had begun to demand for a more inclusive democracy including the multi-linguistic policy⁵. They began to assert their rights and identities in a more organized manner. They demanded to the state for recognizing their unique culture, religion and language. Even though the 1990 Constitution recognized Nepal as a multiethnic and multilingual nation⁶, it did not overtly articulate provisions that would recognize the diversity and plurality of Nepali society. So, it could not promote the spirit of the inclusive democracy. The hegemony of the language of Hindu high caste hill group (i.e. Nepali language) continued even under the 1990 Constitution. Languages other than Nepali were not given official recognition⁷. This constitutional arrangement led to linguistic discrimination toward non-Nepali speaking *Janajati* groups and *Madhesi* groups. So, the social justice movement after 1990, too, did not bring significant reforms in the structure of the Nepali state. However, an open atmosphere guaranteed by the 1990 Constitution provided ample opportunities for ethnicity- and identity-based movements within the established political structure which challenged the state to recognize cultures, religions and languages of all the marginalized groups. It allowed a space for the assertion of voices from the excluded, under-privileged and marginalized people. On the other, the Maoist

⁵ Leaders of hill Dalits also started the movement around the same time demanding for their empowerment and inclusion. However, they do not involve in the linguistic movement since their mother tongue is Nepali.

⁶ The Article 4(1) of the 'Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990' states that "Nepal is a multiethnic, multilingual, democratic, independent, indivisible, sovereign, Hindu and Constitutional Monarchical Kingdom" (Law Books Management Board 1990).

⁷ The Article 6(1) of the 1990 Constitution says that "The Nepali language in the Devnagari script is the language of the nation of Nepal. The Nepali language shall be the official language" (Law Books Management Board 1990).

movement further amplified the identity issue and defied the cultural monopoly of the Hindu high caste hill group since the mid 1990s when UCPN (Maoist) started an insurgency against the Nepali state. Along with other rights, it raised voice in favour of equal linguistic right of ethnic and regional languages. These movements had brought the issue of various rights including the linguistic right to the forefront. They demanded a multi-linguistic policy with a right of using local languages at the local government level instead of only Nepali language⁸. So, exclusionary strategies of the Nepali state even after *Jan Andolan I* was the root cause of emergence of social justice movements (Lawoti 2010: 73). Most of their demands, including the demand for the linguistic right, were tied up with the demand for federalism. They had envisaged that they would achieve the linguistic right if the demand for federalism could be fulfilled.

After *Jan Andolan II*, the demand for the linguistic right along with the demand for federalism gained the ground. The endorsement of the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 in January 2007 did not satisfy the *Janajati* and *Madhesi* leaders as it did not explicitly mention about republicanism and federalism⁹. They organized protest movements to show their anxiety demanding that it be amended in order to take into account the concerns of the *Janajati* and *Madhesi* people. In December 2007, the Interim Legislature-Parliament approved a bill to amend the Interim Constitution with a view to incorporating the demands raised by *Janajati* and *Madhesi* leaders. Even though the amendment did not explicitly state anything about the linguistic policy of the country, it guaranteed federalism by

⁸ Recognition of other languages at local government level was rejected by the Nepali state. The Supreme Court of Nepal declared Kathmandu Metropolitan City's decision of recognizing Newari language at local level unconstitutional in June 1999. This verdict prevented Kathmandu Metropolitan City from using Newari language in her local administration.

⁹ The Article 4(1) of the "Interim Constitution on Nepal 2007" states that "Nepal is an independent, indivisible, sovereign, secular, inclusive and fully democratic state" (Law Books Management Board 2007). There was no mention of republicanism and federalism.

stating Nepal a federal democratic republic state in its Article 4(1). The first sitting of the elected CA held in May 2008 formally declared Nepal a federal democratic republic state. Leaders of *Janajati* and *Madhesi* protest movements had taken the declaration of the country a federal democratic republic as the first and primary step toward paving a way for achieving the linguistic right.

4 Methodology of the public opinion polls

Opinion polls used in this article are from two series of longitudinal opinion polls based on the random (probability) sampling: one is called 'Nepal Contemporary Political Situation' or NCPS and another 'People's Perception of Safety and Security' or PPSS. This author is one of the principal researchers in both of the series.

These polls geographically represented every part of the country in their samples, and had employed random (probability) sampling techniques in all stages (from district level to respondent level). Districts were selected employing stratified random sampling where stratification was based on 5 development regions and 3 ecological regions. Villages (i.e. VDCs) and municipalities within the sample districts were selected by employing simple random sampling. Then, wards within the sample VDCs and municipalities were selected through simple random sampling. Households within the sample were selected through the random-walk method¹⁰ and finally respondents of age 18 and above within the sample households were selected for interview using the Kish-grid (i.e. a table of random numbers)¹¹. In this way, the polls had followed the random (probability) sampling techniques in

¹⁰ The starting points for the random-walk are recognizable locations such as schools, crossroads, chautaras, bazaars, temples, mosques etc. At first, interviewers start to walk towards any direction randomly (using Spin-the-bottle technique) from a starting point counting number of households at the same time. Based on number of households, required numbers of households are selected using a systematic sampling.

¹¹ Use of the Kish grid ensures that each eligible member in a selected household has an equal chance of being selected for the interview.

every stage so that findings of these polls could be generalized in the context of the entire population under study¹². The random (probability) sampling is the only scientific basis that allows drawing an inference from a sample to a population though there is always a small degree of deviation between a sample and population (O'Muircheartaigh 2008).

Every wave of polls in these series more or less had followed the same methodology because of which their findings are comparable with each other, and trend analysis can be conducted out of their findings¹³. The samples of these surveys had, indeed, truly represented the national population. The sample composition in terms of ethnicity, sex, age group, region, religion etc. was very much consistent with the population composition as per Nepal's 2001 national census. Therefore, this researcher claims that findings of these surveys closely mirror opinions of the entire adult Nepali citizens with a certain margin of error, not only the sample respondents¹⁴. In other words, findings of these surveys are generalizable to the entire population.

5 Single-linguistic policy vs. multi-linguistic policy: Opinion from people

The linguistic issue has important bearing in the present context of Nepal, where the task of constitution drafting has not yet been completed. There is a danger that if the opinions of the common people differ widely from that of the political elites, the constitution may not be drafted or if drafted, it would be extremely difficult to implement or if implemented, it would not be long lasting¹⁵. Therefore, it is important that those

¹² A scientific quantitative survey conducted with random (probability) sampling techniques produces a generalizable set of findings (Patton 1990, Sayer 1992, Weisberg 2008).

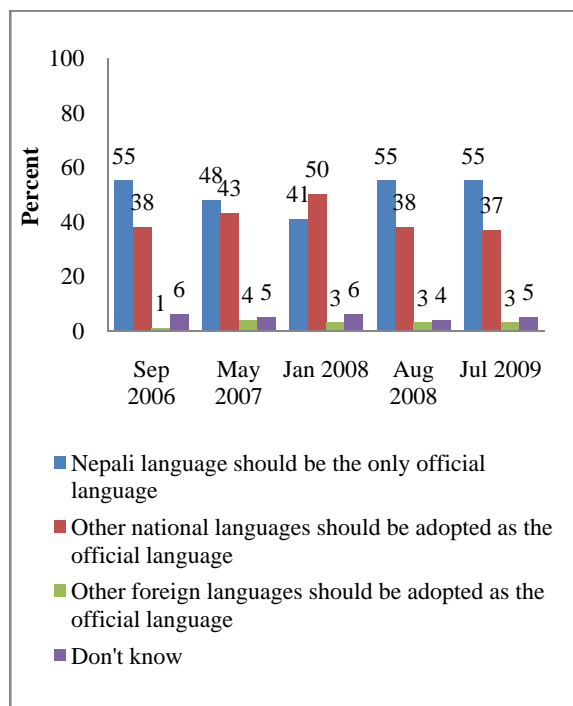
¹³ Methodology of the surveys must be similar if findings of these surveys have to be compared with each other (Hellevik 2008).

¹⁴ Representative opinion polls measure the public opinions of a population of interest (Kepplinger 2008, Weisberg 2008).

¹⁵ Shin (2007) argues, referring to the Freedom House research, that the success or failure of the process of

responsible for drafting the constitution should listen to the voices of the ordinary people.

In September 2006 (the first time the survey asked the question: *There is a debate going on whether Nepali language should be the only official language or if other national languages should be also adopted as official languages. What should be the language policy of Nepal?*), a clear majority (55 percent) said that Nepali language should be the only official language. But proportion of the people who believed on this single-linguistic policy had dwindled down to 48 percent in May 2007 and reached at the lowest, 41 percent, in January 2008 – a few months prior to the May 2008 declaration of the CA. This is the only time (i.e. January 2008) when proportion of people preferring other national languages as the official language was higher than those who preferred Nepali language as the only official language. Decline in public’s support toward Nepali language as the only official language in May 2007 and January 2008 may be due to the outbreak of *Madhesi* and *Janajati* movements in January/ February 2007. One of the demands of these movements was the recognition of other regional and ethnic languages as the official languages. Nevertheless, the public’s support toward a single-linguistic policy had again grown to a simple majority (55 percent) in August 2008 – a few months subsequent to the declaration of the CA. The support remained the same as of July 2009. The surveys had disclosed that a simple majority of the ordinary Nepali people wanted to retain the single-linguistic policy i.e. Nepali language should be the only official language in the country. However, proportion of those who wanted the state to adopt other national languages as the official language at the local level was also significant.



Base for Sep 2006 was 3000, May 2007 3010, Jan 2008 3010, Aug 2008 3025 and Jul 2009 3004

If the linguistic issue was examined by ethnicity, an interesting picture emerged. Among the hill communities, irrespective of groups, majority people were in the favour of retaining the Nepali language as the only official language. In spite of that, level of favouritism toward the Nepali language was different among these hill communities. Hill caste group, hill Dalits and Newars had showed more favouritism toward the Nepali language compared to hill indigenous group. Mother tongue of hill caste group and hill Dalits is Nepali while this is not the case with majority of Newars. Nepali is not a first language for most of the people from hill indigenous group either.

Figure 1: Public’s Opinion on the Linguistic Issue

democratization largely depends on the role of the general mass played during the transition.

Table 1: Public's support toward Nepali language as the only official language *By Ethnicity*

	Sep 200 6	May 2007	Jan 200 8	Aug 200 8	Jul 200 9
All groups	55	48	41	55	55
Hill caste group	73	58	63	75	77
Hill indigenous group	51	53	46	60	56
Hill Dalit	59	62	58	75	71
Newar	64	53	57	70	66
Madhesi caste group	40	33	7	24	20
Madhesi indigenous group	40	39	25	40	43
Madhesi Dalit	45	31	6	24	20
Muslim	31	18	12	16	31

Unlike hill communities, majority of all the Madhesi communities, irrespective of groups, wanted to introduce the multi-linguistic policy in the country. They had reported that other languages spoken in the country (also known as national languages) should be also recognized as the official language at the local level. However, Madhesi people were also not in the favour of Hindi language in spite of Tarai based regional parties' demand¹⁶. On the other hand, a significant proportion of Madhesi indigenous group had favoured the Nepali language as the only official language. It is worth-mentioning that none of the Madhesi groups, including Muslims, speak the Nepali language as their mother tongue.

Table 2: Public's support toward other national languages as the official language *By Ethnicity*

¹⁶ Tarai based region parties have been demanding Hindi language as the official language in Tarai region. The demand was first voiced in 1951 by Nepal Tarai Congress Party under the "save Hindi movement" (Sapkota 2011: 229).

	Sep 200 6	May 200 7	Jan 200 8	Aug 200 8	Jul 200 9
All groups	38	43	50	38	37
Hill caste group	22	33	29	21	16
Hill indigenous group	39	39	42	34	37
Hill Dalit	34	28	21	16	20
Newar	31	40	38	27	30
Madhesi caste group	50	56	88	69	68
Madhesi indigenous group	56	52	68	54	46
Madhesi Dalit	49	61	85	63	68
Muslim	56	66	85	61	62

If the data was disaggregated by development region, it was found that level of the public's support toward Nepali language as the only official language was highest in Far-Western region than any other regions. It may be because of the reason that majority of the people living in this region are hill caste group and hill Dalits whose mother tongue is Nepali. Majority of people in Western and Mid-Western regions also wanted Nepali language as the only official language.

Table 3: Support toward Nepali as the only official language *By Development region*

	Sep 2006	May 2007	Jan 2008	Aug 2008	Jul 2009
All groups	55	48	41	55	55
Eastern	60	55	33	62	46
Central	55	41	36	49	45
Western	48	57	47	61	62
Mid-Western	46	49	47	41	63
Far-Western	71	33	59	69	77

However, significant proportion of people living in Eastern and Central regions had supported toward other national languages as the official language. But the proportion of such people had dropped off after January 2008.

Table 4: Public's support toward other national languages as the official language *By Dev. region*

	Sep 2006	May 2007	Jan 2008	Aug 2008	Jul 2009
All groups	38	43	50	38	37
Eastern	36	37	60	31	49
Central	37	51	59	49	47
Western	42	30	44	30	29
Mid-Western	48	37	28	45	25
Far-Western	25	60	32	21	18

Education attainment had a significant influence on the public's view toward the language issue. The higher the education attainment, the higher the support toward Nepali language. In general, people with higher educational status has better hold over Nepali language whichever ethnicity they belong to. Because of this, they may have favoured the Nepali language as the only official language in the country.

Table 5: Public's support toward Nepali as the only official language *By Educational status*

	Sep	May	Jan	Aug	Jul

	2006	2007	2008	2008	2009
All groups	55	48	41	55	55
Illiterate	50	44	35	48	46
Informal Education	59	48	44	53	57
Primary/lower secondary	55	54	47	58	51
Secondary	58	48	43	62	63
Higher secondary	69	47	44	61	66
Bachelor's and above	63	42	48	56	71

Looking at another side, the higher the education attainment, the lower the support toward other national languages. However, proportion of illiterate and less educated people who had supported the multi-linguistic policy was still lower than those who had supported the Nepali language.

Table 6: Support toward other national languages as the official language *By Educational status*

	Sep 2006	May 2007	Jan 2008	Aug 2008	Jul 2009
All groups	38	43	50	38	37
Illiterate	39	43	50	42	40
Informal Education	31	43	51	40	35
Primary/lower secondary	40	40	50	38	42
Secondary	39	46	50	33	31
Higher secondary	30	45	54	34	31
Bachelor's and above	38	48	48	43	25

Age of the people also showed a significant influence on their view in this matter. People from older age groups were more likely to support toward Nepali language as the only official language compared to their younger counterparts.

Table 7: Public's support toward Nepali language as the only official language *By Age group*

	Sep 2006	May 2007	Jan 2008	Aug 2008	Jul 2009
All groups	55	48	41	55	55
25 and Below	58	42	42	53	55
26-35	55	49	40	55	51
36-45	52	48	36	54	55
46-55	53	50	41	52	55
56-65	58	52	43	61	56
Above 65	63	51	55	64	60

On the other, people from younger age groups were more likely to support toward other national languages as the official language compared to their older counterparts. It may have happened because youngsters accept the changes more readily than the old people.

Table 8: Public's support toward other national languages as the official language *By Age group*

	Sep 2006	May 2007	Jan 2008	Aug 2008	Jul 2009
All groups	38	43	50	38	37
25 and Below	37	49	51	41	38
26-35	39	43	51	38	42
36-45	41	41	53	39	35
46-55	39	41	51	41	37
56-65	33	38	42	33	32
Above 65	23	38	38	27	26

The public's support toward Nepali language as the only official language is significantly influenced by their political party preference¹⁷.

¹⁷ Political party preference of the survey respondents were identified either based on which political party they voted for in the last election or based on which party they would vote for in the upcoming election. Political party they would for in the upcoming election was taken as the basis for the identification of political party preference in the surveys conducted in Sep 2006, May 2007 and Jan 2008 while party they voted for in

Supporters of all the Communist parties, including UCPN (Maoist), had more favouritism toward the single-linguistic policy than any other party supporters. Even though UCPN (Maoist) had been advocating to eliminate the monopoly of Nepali language, majority of the supporters from this party too stood in the favour of Nepali language as the only official language as of August 2008. Nepali Congress and small rightist parties supporters had the moderate level of support. But supporters of Tarai based regional parties had very low level of support toward the domination of Nepali language which indicated that they preferred other national languages too as the official languages of Nepal.

Table 9: Public's support toward Nepali language as the only official language *By Political party preference*

	Sep 2006	May 2007	Jan 2008	Aug 2008
All groups	55	48	41	55
UCPN (Maoist)	51	49	50	62
Nepali Congress	59	53	41	52
CPN (UML)	53	51	36	64
Small rightist parties	51	41	46	44
Small leftist parties	43	35	48	62
Tarai based regional parties	29	13	3	17

Note: Question on political party preference was not asked in the July 2009 survey.

Supporters of Tarai based regional parties had more favouritism toward the multi-linguistic policy than other party supporters. These regional parties had been campaigning in the favour of other national languages, particularly for those languages spoken in Tarai. However, recognition of Hindi language (i.e. a language widely spoken in the northern part of India) was not in the public's priority even though these Tarai based parties had been demanding Hindi an official language in Tarai.

the last election was the basis in the surveys conducted in Aug 2008.

Table 10: Public's support toward other national languages as the official language *By Political party preference*

	Sep 2006	May 2007	Jan 2008	Aug 2008
All groups	38	43	50	38
UCPN (Maoist)	44	45	45	33
Nepali Congress	37	40	55	42
CPN (UML)	44	44	58	31
Small rightist parties	41	48	52	53
Small leftist parties	57	61	40	33
Tarai based regional parties	67	84	88	66

Note: Question on political party preference was not asked in the July 2009 survey.

6 Relationship between public opinions toward state restructuring issues

In this section, relationship between public opinions toward the linguistic issue and other state restructuring issues is examined first through bivariate correlation analysis and then through partial correlation analysis. First, Spearman's bivariate correlation coefficient (ρ) is calculated to see the association between public opinions since the data used are ranked values, not ratio scale (Field 2009: 180, Snedecor and Cochran 1980: 192). Then, partial correlation coefficient between two public opinions is calculated by controlling the effects of other two opinions. Partial correlation coefficient is calculated because it produces truer measure of relationship between two variables than bivariate correlation coefficient (Field 2009: 189). Therefore, relationship between the public opinions is examined based on partial correlation. In this article, only relationship between the linguistic issue and other issues is explained, not the inter-relationship between all of them.

Only two surveys have been used for this purpose; the surveys conducted in September 2006 and January 2008. Reason of using only these two surveys is that these are the only surveys in which questions related to all of the

four state restructuring issues had been asked to respondents in the same survey.

Opinions that showed the agreement to old structure of the Nepali state were coded 1 while those to new structure were coded 2. For instance, 'Nepali language as the only official language' was coded 1 and 'Other national languages as the official language' was coded 2, 'Hindu state' was coded 1 and 'Secular state' 2, 'Unitary state' was coded 1 and 'Federal state' 2, and 'Monarchy' was coded 1 and 'Republic' 2 in the respective questions. 'Other' responses, 'Not understood', 'Not heard' and 'Do not know/ cannot say' were treated as missing and excluded from the correlation analysis.

Now let's look into the partial correlation analysis between the opinions from the September 2006 survey. Partial correlation coefficient between 'Nepali language vs. Other national languages' opinion and 'Hindu state vs. Secular state' opinion was positive and statistically significant ($r_{13.24} = .188$, p (two-tailed) $< .05$)¹⁸. It can be concluded that there was a positive and significant relationship between these two opinions: as public's support toward Nepali language as the only official language increased, public's support toward Hindu state increased and vice-versa. It means that people who supported Nepali language as the only official language also wanted Nepal to be a Hindu state. In other words, as public's support toward secularism increased, public's support toward other national languages as the official language at the local level increased, and vice-versa. It means that people who supported other national languages as the official language at local level also wanted Nepal to be a secular state. 'Nepali language vs. other national languages' opinion had no statistically significant relationship with other two opinions:

¹⁸ For simplicity, 'Nepali language as the only official language vs. Other national languages as the official language' is labeled as Variable-1, 'Monarchy vs. Republic' opinion is labeled as Variable-2, 'Hindu state vs. Secular state' as Variable-3 and 'Unitary state vs. Federal state' as Variable-4. Therefore, $r_{13.24}$ denotes the partial correlation coefficient between Variable-1 and Variable-3 eliminating the effect of Variable-2 and Variable-4.

‘Monarchy vs. Republic’ and ‘Unitary state vs. Secular state’ as of September 2006.

Table 11: Correlation coefficients (Spearman’s rho) and partial correlation coefficients between various public opinions in the September 2006 survey

	Nepali vs. Other national lang.	Monarchy vs. Republic	Hindu state vs. Secular state	Unitary state vs. Federal state
Spearman’s correlation coefficients				
Nepali language vs. Other national languages	1 [2788]	.021 [2608]	.120* [2589]	.173* [180]
Partial correlation coefficients				
Nepali language vs. Other national languages	1	.086	.188*	.136

** Correlation is significant at 1% level of significance (two-tailed), * Correlation is significant at 5% level of significance (two-tailed), Number inside brackets is number of cases

The partial correlation analysis between the opinions from the January 2008 survey revealed that relationship between ‘Nepali language vs. Other national languages’ opinion and ‘Unitary state vs. Federal state’ opinion was positive and statistically significant ($r_{14.23} = .172$, p (two-tailed) $< .01$). So, there was a positive and significant relationship between these two opinions: as public’s support toward Nepali language as the only official language increased, public’s support toward unitary state increased and vice-versa. It indicates that people who supported Nepali language as the only official language also wanted Nepal to be a unitary state. In other words, as public’s support toward other national languages as the official language at local level increased, public’s support toward federalism increased, and vice-versa. It indicates

that people who supported other national languages as the official language at local level also wanted Nepal to be a federal state. Unlike in September 2006, ‘Nepali language vs. Other national languages’ opinion had no significant relationship with the opinion ‘Hindu state vs. Secular’ in January 2008. Also, ‘Nepali language vs. Other national languages’ opinion had no statistically significant relationship with another opinion: ‘Monarchy vs. Republic’ as of January 2008.

Table 12: Correlation coefficients (Spearman’s rho) and partial correlation coefficients between various public opinions in the January 2008 survey

	Nepali lang. vs. Other national lang.	Monarchy vs. Republic	Hindu state vs. Secular state	Unitary state vs. Federal state
Spearman’s correlation coefficients				
Nepali language vs. Other national languages	1 [3060]	-.056** [2720]	.053* [2868]	.162** [681]
Partial correlation coefficients				
Nepali language vs. Other national languages	1	-.129	.071	.172**

** Correlation is significant at 1% level of significance (two-tailed), * Correlation is significant at 5% level of significance (two-tailed), Number inside brackets is number of cases

These findings confirmed that public’s opinion on one new characteristic of the state structure considerably corroborated to another new characteristic of the state restructure as well. If public agreed with one new feature of the state,

they would also agree with another new feature of the state and vice-versa. As of September 2006, there was statistically significant and positive relationship between 'Nepali language vs. Other national languages' opinion and 'Hindu state vs. Secular state' opinion. But the relationship between these two opinions was not statistically significant in January 2008. 'Nepali language vs. Other national languages' opinion had been found to be significantly and positively correlated with 'Unitary state vs. Federal state' opinion as of January 2008. This indicated that public's opinion on the issue of language had become more important with respect to the issue of federalism than any other issues in the later year.

7 Summary

Though the majority of the Nepali people still preferred the single-linguistic policy as before, significant minority of the people demanded for a multi-linguistic policy. People of hill origin and Madhesi origin were divided on the issue of the language. Majority of hill caste group, hill indigenous group, hill Dalits and Newars were in the favour of single-linguistic policy and supported the Nepali language as the only official language. But majority of all Madhesi groups wanted to end the domination of the Nepali language and demanded for the multi-linguistic policy. However, Madhesi people were also not in the favour of Hindi language in spite of Tarai based regional parties' demand. Similarly, majority of the people from Western, Mid-Western and Far-Western regions favoured the single-linguistic policy and wanted Nepali language only the official language. High educated people were more likely to recognize Nepali language as the only official language than their less educated counterparts. A majority of supporters of UCPN (Maoist), NC, CPN (UML) and small leftist parties had favoured a single-linguistic policy while a majority of Tarai based regional parties' supporters had preferred for a multi-linguistic policy, but not for Hindi. So, position of Tarai based regional parties that Hindi should also be the official language in Nepal, had no support from their own supporters. Despite of UCPN (Maoist)'s standpoint in the favour of ethnic and regional languages, majority of its

supporters too preferred to recognize Nepali language as the only official language.

Public's opinion on one issue of the state structuring significantly influenced to another issue of the state restructuring as well. There was statistically significant relationship between 'Nepali language vs. Other national languages' opinion and 'Hindu state vs. Secular state' opinion as of September 2006. But the relationship between these two opinions was not statistically significant in January 2008. The relationship was statistically significant between 'Nepali language vs. Other national languages' opinion and 'Unitary state vs. Federal state' opinion in this year. This shed light on the significant contribution of the issue of federalism on the public's opinion toward the linguistic issue in the recent past.

Though the majority Nepali public have not approved multi-linguistic policy as yet, the minority people who supported the multi-linguistic policy are also sizeable. They include all types of groups, both privileged groups such as Newars, and under-privileged groups such as hill indigenous group, Madhesi communities and religious minority group like Muslims. So, a substantial segment of the Nepali populace is disposed to the multi-linguistic policy even though they are in minority in terms of numbers. Since Nepal is under the process of formalizing federalism, there is no situation of adopting the single linguistic policy in Nepal of the future. Recognition of only Nepali language as the official language in all levels of administration is simply out of question. If Nepal's democracy has to be made an inclusive democracy, a new constitution needs to address the voice of the minority in its frame. This will not only guarantee the inclusive democracy, but also give an ownership of a constitution to the minority. If it happens so, a new constitution will be recognized by both the majority and minority, and be long lasting. This spirit was ignored by all the previous constitutions of Nepal, which did not last long.

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Puma phonology: A descriptive analysis

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This paper discusses the phonology of Puma, a southern Kiranti language spoken in the eastern part of Nepal. Cross-linguistically, it preserves sounds like retroflex and central mid vowel which are lost in neighbouring languages Bantawa and Camling. It also shares some phonological features with other Kiranti languages.

1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to give a sketch of Puma phonology. In Puma we can find three types of vocabulary: Puma ordinary words, Puma ritual words, and loan words from Nepali, Maithili, Bantawa and English. The phonology of Puma ordinary words, and ritual words and loan words is not the same. The loan words are not taken into account when establishing a phoneme inventory here. The most distinctive feature of the ritual language in Puma is the binomials. These binomials are used only in the ritual speech, e.g., *bettumbuj moribuj* ‘flower’ which is in ordinary speech *buj* ‘flower’ and *chorom borom* ‘dried meat’ which is in ordinary speech *chopaku sa* ‘dried meat’. A few verbs are also binomials, for example, *kapma cenma* ‘ask for protection’ which in ordinary speech is *red* ‘protect’. This is rather unusual and has not been reported from other Kiranti languages (Gaenszle et al. 2012).

We can see Nepali influence in the phonological description of Puma. There is no doubt that Puma phonology can be described excluding loans from Nepali. It is assumed that Puma ordinary vocabularies preserve their certain characteristics from Nepali compared to other neighbouring languages. We can find loan words in Puma. The retroflex /t/ ~ /tʰ/ show a contrast between aspirated and unaspirated in the word-initial, word-medial and word-final position while /d/ ~ /dʰ/ are contrastive only in a word-initial and word-final position. These are very marginal in overall lexicon type frequency and are found mostly in Nepali loan words.

Unlike other Kiranti languages, Puma has preserved distinct phonemes like dental, retroflex

(Rai 1985, Rai 2003). Conversely, some of the important features such as the glottal /ʔ/ seems to be disappearing and replaced by the velar /k/ (e.g., *kapheʔwa* > *kaphekwa* ‘money’), and unrounded high back vowel /ɔ/ is replaced by rounded high back vowel /o/ (e.g., *ʈŋ* > *ʈoŋ* ‘head’). It is assumed that the fact behind this kind of disappearance is not generational difference but it might be influence from Nepali.

2 Consonant inventory

Puma has 32 consonant phonemes. They can be grouped by four-way contrasts: manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing and aspiration. On the basis of place of articulation, the consonants can be grouped in six different types: bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal. With regards to the manner of articulation, the consonant phonemes can also be classified into seven different types. They are stops, nasals, affricates, fricative, liquid, trill and glides. The consonant phonemes are presented in Table 1, which is slightly modified and updated version of Rai et al. (2009). The stops and affricates show a contrast in terms of voicing and aspiration. For oral stops, there is a contrast of voiceless stops vs. voiceless aspirated stops vs. voiced stops vs. voiced aspirated stops, for example, /p/ ~ /pʰ/ ~ /b/ ~ /bʰ/, /t/ ~ /tʰ/ ~ /d/ ~ /dʰ/, /tʃ/ ~ /tʃʰ/ ~ /dʒ/ ~ /dʒʰ/, and /k/ ~ /kʰ/ ~ /g/ ~ /gʰ/. Similarly, the affricates also show the opposition of voiceless vs. voiceless aspirated vs. voiced vs. voiced aspirated. For example: /c/ ~ /cʰ/ ~ /j/ ~ /jʰ/.

Table 1: Consonant inventory

	Place of articulation					
	bil.	den.	retro.	pal.	vel.	gl.
sto.	p b ph bh	t d th dh	ṭ ḍ ṭh ḍh		k g kh gh	h
nas.	m mh	n nh			ŋ	
aff.				c j ch jh		
tri.			r rh			
fri.			s			
liq.		l				
gli.	w			y		

Nasal stops show a contrast between voiced vs. voiced aspirated except for /ŋ/, for example /m/ ~ /mh/, /n/ ~ /nh/, and /ŋ/ (See Table 1). For fricatives, liquid and glides, the contrast of voiced vs. voiced aspirated only applies to /r/ ~ /rh/ though the frequency of /rh/ is marginal in Puma vocabulary.

Puma is not a tonal language and intonation does not play a role for identifying phonemes. The consonant phonemes are determined on the basis of minimal pairs and where there are no minimal pairs, near minimal pairs are considered.

2.1 Stop consonants

Puma has altogether sixteen stops. Stop consonants in Puma occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions with almost any vowel combination. There are four types of stops, namely bilabial, dental, retroflex and velar. Contrasts between voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and voiced aspirated can be found in all types of stops. Both voiced aspirated except /dh/ and /jh/, and voiceless aspirated do not occur word finally. The detail of different stops is given below.

2.1.1 Bilabial stops

The bilabial stops are /p/, /ph/, /b/, /bh/. They show contrast in different word positions (initial, medial and final). /p/ is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop and it occurs in all three positions. /ph/ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop, which

occurs in word initial and word medial positions only. /b/ is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop and it occurs in all three positions. /bh/ is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop, which occurs in initial and medial positions only. In this way, /p/ and /ph/ contrast only in initial and final positions whereas /b/ and /bh/ contrast in initial and medial positions. /p/ and /b/ contrast in all three positions, as presented in the Table 2.

p ~ ph ~ b ~ bh

Table 2: Bilabial stops

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>puks</i> go	<i>taps</i> pour	<i>bokhop</i>
<i>phuks</i> escape	<i>cʌphuk</i>	tadpole
<i>bhuks</i> break	grass	-
<i>patd</i> flow	<i>cabha</i> tiger	-
<i>batd</i>		
go.around		
<i>bukd</i> heat	<i>cʌbuŋ</i> hill	<i>bob</i> round
<i>bhukd</i> bury		

2.1.2 Dental stops

The dental stops are /t/, /th/, /d/, /dh/. They show contrast in different positions. /t/ is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop and it occurs in all three positions. /th/ is a voiceless aspirated dental stop, which occurs in word initial and word medial positions only. /d/ is a voiced unaspirated dental stop and it occurs in all three positions while its voiced aspirated counterpart /dh/ occurs also in all three positions. Thus, /t/ and /th/ contrast only in initial and final positions whereas /d/ and /dh/ contrast in all three positions. /t/ and /d/ contrast in all three positions, as shown in Table 3.

t ~ th ~ d ~ dh

Table 3: Dental stops

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>tapd</i> freeze	<i>bitd</i> walk	<i>bomt</i> round
<i>thapd</i>	<i>jethu</i> wife's e.	-
winnow	bro	<i>repd</i>
<i>dapd</i> kick	<i>khodi</i> hook	protect
<i>dhapd</i> wash	<i>tudhi</i> up there	<i>tupdh</i> fill'

2.1.3 Retroflex stops

Retroflex /ʈ/, /ʈʰ/ and /ɖ/, /ɖʰ/ which are contrastive in different positions in basic vocabulary are very marginal in overall lexicon type frequency and are found mostly in Nepali loan words. Unlike the close neighbouring languages Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009, Rai 1985) and Camling (Rai 2003), Puma preserves retroflex sounds and dental sounds. The retroflex is one of the more reliable features define ‘South Asia as a linguistic area’ (Masica 2001, Noonan 2003). The disappearance of retroflex sound from other Kiranti languages in contrast with Puma may be cross linguistically relevant for the evidence of one of the South Asian features. Similarly, these stops are distinct in voicing. As discussed before, the retroflex stops /ʈ/, /ʈʰ/, /ɖ/, /ɖʰ/ show contrast in different positions. /ʈ/ is voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop and it occurs in all three positions. /ʈʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated retroflex stop, which occurs in initial and medial positions only. /ɖ/ is a voiced unaspirated retroflex stop and it occurs in all three positions. /ɖʰ/ is a voiced aspirated retroflex stop, which occurs in initial and medial positions only. As a consequence, /ʈ/ and /ʈʰ/ contrast only in initial and medial positions whereas /ɖ/ and /ɖʰ/ also contrast in initial and medial positions. /ʈ/ and /ɖ/ contrast in all three positions, as presented in Table 4.

t ~ tʰ ~ d ~ dʰ

Table 4: Retroflex stops

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>tɔŋ</i> head	<i>kʌŋtʰi</i> pot	<i>raŋt</i> make
<i>tʰoŋma</i> upwards	<i>rokʰtʰok</i> net	fire
<i>ɖoŋ</i> waist	<i>bʌɖɖʰe</i> many	-
<i>ɖʰaŋ</i> heap	<i>rakɖʰa</i> yam	<i>rakɖ</i> get
		stuck
		-

2.1.4 Velar stops

The velar stops are /k/, /kʰ/, /g/, /gʰ/. They are distinct in different positions. /k/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop and it occurs in all three positions. /kʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop, which occurs in initial and medial positions only. /g/ is a voiced unaspirated velar stop and it occurs in initial and medial positions only and its voiced aspirated counterpart /gʰ/ occurs in initial and medial positions only. In this way, /k/ and /kʰ/ show contrast only in initial and medial positions whereas /g/ and /gʰ/ contrast in initial and medial positions only. /k/ and /g/ contrast in initial and medial positions, as presented in the Table 5. The occurrence of /g/ and /gʰ/ in a word-initial and word-medial positions are very marginal.

k ~ kʰ ~ g ~ gʰ

Table 5: Velar stops

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>koŋma</i> accept	<i>puks</i> go <i>bekha</i> bag	<i>bhok</i> pig
<i>khoŋma</i> pig	<i>ogi</i>	-
<i>goŋma</i> height	st.potato	-
<i>ghotpa</i> belch	<i>sighotma</i> a bird	

2.2 Affricates

There are four affricates - /c/, /j/ and their aspirate counterparts /ch/ and /jh/. They show contrast in different positions. /c/ is a voiceless unaspirated affricate and it occurs in initial and medial positions only. Similarly, /ch/ is a voiceless aspirated affricate, which occurs also in initial and medial positions only. /j/ is a voiced unaspirated affricate and it occurs in initial and medial positions while its voiced aspirated counterpart /jh/ occurs in initial and final positions. Thus, /c/ and /ch/ contrast only in initial and medial positions whereas /j/ and /jh/ contrast in initial position only. /c/ and /j/ contrast in initial and medial positions that is presented in the Table 6. The overall occurrence of /j/ and /jh/ in a word-initial and word-medial, and word-final positions

are very marginal. The contrast of /j/ and /jh/ in word-medial position is not attested.

c ~ ch ~ j ~ jh

Table 6: Affricates

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>cokd</i> join	<i>phuci</i> vagina	-
<i>chokd</i> lit fire	<i>bechuk</i> ginger	-
<i>jokd</i> keep	<i>sojje</i> false	-
<i>com</i> edge	-	-
<i>jhom</i> bunch	-	<i>sajh</i> a tool

2.3 Nasals

Nasals involve three distinct tongue positions: bilabial /m/, alveolar or dental /n/ and velar /ŋ/. There are altogether five nasals consonants in Puma - /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, and an aspirate counterpart for /m/ and /n/, namely /mh/ and /nh/, which are not found in Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009) but are found in Camling (Rai 2003). All three nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ occur in syllable-initial, syllable-medial and syllable-final positions.

Like other neighbouring Kiranti languages, there is a velar nasal in word-initial position (e.g., *ŋa* ‘I’, *ŋenma* ‘keep’) while the Nepali language does not have a velar nasal in word-initial position.

Nasal consonants contrast in different positions. Three nasal consonants /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ occur in all three positions while /mh/ occurs in initial position only and /nh/ occurs in initial and final positions. Thus, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ contrast in all positions whereas /m/ and /mh/ contrast in initial position only. /n/ and /nh/ contrast in initial and final positions, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Nasals

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>mi</i> fire	<i>phamt</i> grab	<i>khim</i> house
<i>ni</i> get	<i>kent</i> tame	<i>bhan</i> root
well	<i>koŋpi</i>	<i>bhuŋ</i> a lot of
<i>ŋi</i> cook	match.	of
<i>mu</i> do	maker	-
<i>mhu</i> fight	-	-
<i>nhaps</i> smell	-	<i>onh</i> run

2.4 Fricatives

There are only two fricatives: /s/ and /h/ in Puma. They show phonological oppositions in different positions. /s/ occurs in all positions while /h/ occurs in initial and medial positions only. They contrast in initial and medial positions only as shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Fricatives

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>si</i> grain	<i>busit</i> in front of	<i>pis</i> speak
<i>hi</i> blood	<i>tuhi</i> below’	-

2.5 Trill

There are two trills – voiced unaspirated /r/ and its aspirate counterpart /rh/. They contrast in word-initial position only. /r/ occurs in all three positions while its aspirate counterpart /rh/ occurs only in initial position as shown in Table 9. Unlike Bantawa there is an aspirated counterpart in Camling.

Table 9: Trills

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>ri</i> thread	<i>doro</i> what	<i>ɕher</i> beat
<i>rhandh</i> rub	-	-

2.6 Liquid

The only liquid /l/ contrast in different positions and occurs in all three word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions, which is presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Liquids

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>li</i> penis	<i>khula</i> jungle	<i>pil</i> squeeze

2.7 Glide

There are two glides: /w/ and /y/ show phonological oppositions in different positions. They both occur in word-initial and word-medial positions. They show contrast in initial and medial positions only, as shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Glides

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>was</i> throw	<i>tawa</i> peacock	-
<i>yas</i> tickle	<i>chiya</i> living	-

3 Minimal pairs

In principle, when two sounds bring change of meaning in the pair words, they are considered to be separate phonemes. They show contrast phonetically and their distinction is based on the parameter of their voice difference. The minimal pairs for consonant phonemes that have been identified are presented in Table 12 and where there are no minimal pairs, near minimal pairs are presented. The minimal pairs for retroflex /ʈ/, /ʈh/, /ɖ/, /ɖh/ and voiced unaspirated affricate /j/ and its aspirated counterpart /jh/, and even minimal pairs are not attested.

Table 12: Consonants in minimal pairs

/p/	<i>pis</i>	speak	<i>pitd</i>	squeeze
/ph/	<i>phis</i>	be ill	<i>phitd</i>	hit
/b/	<i>ba</i>	weave	<i>bukd</i>	have heat
/bh/	<i>bha</i>	cut	<i>bhukd</i>	uproot
/t/	<i>tas</i>	fell	<i>tep</i>	wash face
/th/	<i>thas</i>	bind	<i>thep</i>	fat
/d/	<i>di</i>	up	<i>dup</i>	earn
/dh/	<i>dhi</i>	vagina	<i>dhup</i>	strike
/ʈ/	<i>ʈokpa</i>	chief		
/ʈh/	<i>ʈhakpa</i>	basket		
/ɖ/	<i>ɖakɖ</i>	close		
/ɖh/	<i>ɖhakk</i>	make		
/k/	<i>kus</i>	hide	<i>kepd</i>	sting
/kh/	<i>khus</i>	steal	<i>khepd</i>	be stick
/g/	<i>gondra</i>	dirt		
/gh/	<i>ghotpa</i>	belch		
/ca/	<i>ca</i>	eat	<i>cakɖ</i>	send
/ch/	<i>cha</i>	child	<i>chakɖ</i>	be hard
/j/	<i>jokd</i>	keep		
/jh/	<i>jhokka</i>	basket		
/m/	<i>mi</i>	fire	<i>meri</i>	tail
/mh/	-		<i>mheri</i>	a tree
/n/	<i>ni</i>	get		
		well		

/nh/	-			
/ŋ/	<i>ŋi</i>	cook		
/s/	<i>si</i>	grain	<i>sokd</i>	weed
/h/	<i>hi</i>	blood	<i>hokd</i>	be warm
/l/	<i>li</i>	penis	<i>loks</i>	spread
/r/	<i>ri</i>	rope	<i>roks</i>	tease
/rh/	-			
/w/	<i>wat</i>	put on	<i>wAk</i>	farm land
/y/	<i>yat</i>	be soft	<i>yAk</i>	flesh.of.ribs

4 Vowels

There are six vowels in Puma. The vowels are two front, /i/ and /e/, two central, /ʌ/ and /a/, and two back, /u/ and /o/. No central mid vowel /ʌ/ is found in Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009) and other Kiranti language Athpare (Ebert 1997).

Table 13: Puma vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
		ʌ	
low		a	

The vowels show contrast in different phonological positions. In this section I present the phonological oppositions in all positions: word-initial, word-medial and word-final. The vowels are demonstrated like this: front vowels, central vowels, back vowels, high vowels, mid vowels and low vowel.

4.1 Front vowels

In Puma there are two front vowels, namely /i/ and /e/. They show contrast in all positions, word-initial, word-medial and word-final as shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Front vowels

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>ApA</i> PROX	<i>cAkɖ</i> save	<i>AsA</i> two
<i>apa</i> father	<i>cakɖ</i> send	<i>sa</i> meat

4.2 Central vowels

/ʌ/ and /a/ are two central vowels in Puma which show the phonological contrasts in all positions, word-initially, word-medially and word-finally as presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Central vowels

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>ʌpʌ</i> PROX	<i>cʌkɔ̄</i> save	<i>ʌsʌ</i> two
<i>apa</i> father	<i>caʔkɔ̄</i> send	<i>sa</i> meat

4.3 Back vowels

Puma has two back vowels. They are /u/ and /o/ which show contrast in all positions, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Back vowels

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>und</i> push	<i>khukd</i> strike	<i>mu</i> do
<i>ond</i> grind	<i>khokd</i> cut'	<i>khodo</i> so and so

4.4 High vowels

There are two high vowels in Puma. They are /i/ and /u/. They show contrast in all different positions as presented in Table 17.

Table 17: High Vowels

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>ips</i> sleep	<i>pis</i> speak	<i>khi</i> shit
<i>ups</i> hold	<i>pus</i> begin	<i>khu</i> chew

4.5 Mid vowels

There are three mid vowels in Puma. They are /e/, /ʌ/ and /o/. They contrast in all different positions- word-initial, word-medial and word-final as presented in Table 18.

Table 18: Mid vowels

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
<i>et</i> make listen	<i>khek</i> bite	<i>ke</i> we all
<i>ot</i> break	<i>khok</i> crush oil	<i>gogo</i> cow
<i>ʌk</i> scoop out	<i>khʌk</i> be bitter	<i>ʌsʌ</i> two
<i>ok</i> crow		

5 Vowel minimal pairs

All vowels except mid central vowel /ʌ/ can be lengthened in both past tense and non-past tense but no minimal pairs based on vowel length are attested in Puma. The minimal pairs for vowel are presented in Table 19.

Table 19: Puma vowels in minimal pairs

i ~ e	<i>it</i> give <i>et</i> make.listen	<i>sit</i> louse <i>set</i> kill
ʌ ~ a	<i>ʌpʌ</i> PROX <i>apa</i> father	<i>cʌkɔ̄</i> save <i>chakɔ̄</i> send
u ~ o	<i>und</i> push <i>ond</i> grind	<i>khukd</i> strike <i>khokd</i> cut
i ~ u	<i>ips</i> sleep <i>ups</i> hold	<i>pis</i> speak <i>pus</i> begin
e ~ ʌ ~ o	<i>khek</i> bite <i>khʌk</i> bitter	<i>ʌk</i> scoop <i>ok</i> crow

6 Diphthongs

Diphthongs are marginal in Puma. The diphthong /ai/ is more productive compared with others which occurs in about a dozen stems. The diphthongs /ui/, /au/, and /ʌi/ occur only in couple of stems, while /ia/ and /ae/ occur only in each stem, as in Table 20.

Table 20: Diphthongs

/ai/	<i>chai</i>	childhood
/ia/	<i>siaku</i>	dead
/au/	<i>khau</i>	which
/ua/	<i>muama</i>	creation
/ae/	<i>khaetma</i>	proclamation
/ui/	<i>kuiyama</i>	dark
/iu/	<i>tuniu</i>	moulmain codar
/uo/	<i>puoŋkha</i>	place of soul
/ʌi/	<i>kʌisʌmak</i>	bad
/oi/	<i>biyoi</i>	greeting

7 Summary

Puma has 32 consonant phonemes and six vowel phonemes. All consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position, while vowel phonemes occur in all word-initial, word-medial and word-final position. All stops, all nasals but their aspirated counterparts, all affricates but the phoneme /jʰ/, the liquid, and the trill but not its

aspirated counterpart, and both glides occur in word-medial positions.

Puma has some loan words from other languages. The phonology of ordinary language and ritual language is quite distinct but the description of the ritual language is not the purview of this paper.

Unlike neighbouring languages like Bantawa and Camling, Puma preserves retroflex and dental sound. A central mid vowel is found while diphthongs are marginal.

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Interactive evaluation of quasi-synonyms extracted from the bilingual dictionaries

Potemkin Serge

Identification of synonyms for the languages with limited resources remains challenging. This article deals with a novel method for extracting synonyms from the entries of the bilingual machine-readable dictionaries. It was supposed that different translations of the same word are usually synonyms. An interactive PHP program for verification of the obtained quasi-synonyms was developed.

1. Introduction

Synonyms are two or more words or phrases of the same language, which are coincident or nearly matching meaning in a certain subject domain. Despite the importance for a variety of applications, including learning the native and foreign languages, translation, natural language processing (NLP), information retrieval, machine translation, knowledge mining, etc., the task of identifying synonyms remains the complex problem and has no generally accepted solution in lexicography.

There are very few if any absolute synonyms. The "dictionaries of synonyms" actually contain quasi-synonyms which are listed in clusters of similar words and explicate the differences between the words in each cluster. These dictionaries are in effect dictionaries of quasi-synonym discrimination. Writers can use such resources when choosing between quasi-synonyms, because choosing the wrong word can be imprecise or awkward, or convey unwanted implications. These dictionaries are made for human use, and they are available mainly on paper, not in electronic format. Quasi-synonyms can vary in many ways. DiMarco, Hirst, and Stede (1993) analyzed the types of differences adduced in dictionaries of quasi-synonym discrimination. They found that there was no principle limitation on the types, but a small number of types occurred frequently.

2. Building lexical resources

Lexical resources for natural language processing can be derived from machine-readable versions of conventional dictionaries. Ide and Veronis (1994) *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 218-224*

argue that it is not possible to build a lexical knowledge-base (LKB) from a machine-readable dictionary (MRD) without human supervision, because the information it contains may be incomplete. Information extracted from corpora augments LKB with frequency information and with knowledge about collocations. The corpus-based researches concerns induction morphology for new languages from parallel corpora (Yarowsky and Wicentowski, 2000). IS-A hierarchies have been learned automatically from MRDs (Hearst, 1992) and from corpora (Caraballo, 1999).

Apresjan built a bilingual dictionary of English synonyms explained in Russian (Apresjan et al., 1980). It contains 400 entries selected from the approximately 2500 entries from *Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms*, reorganized by splitting or merging clusters of synonyms, guided by lexicographic principles described by Apresjan (2000). A dictionary entry consists of: headwords, explication, translation, meaning (semantic similarities and differences), notes, syntax, co-occurrence constraints, and illustrations. The meaning includes the following types of differences: semantic, evaluative, associative and connotational, and differences in emphasis or logical stress.

Potemkin and Kedrova (2008) investigated the question of which words should be considered quasi-synonyms, without interest in their nuances of meaning. They merged clusters of quasi-synonyms from several dictionaries, in English and Russian, and represented them in a geometric space.

Thesauri are probably the most common source of synonyms. While such resources created by the qualified linguists such as the most developed English thesaurus, WordNet (<http://wordnet.princeton.edu>), may be used as a high quality source of synonyms, but the amount of manual work needed to build thesauri for other languages, incomplete coverage of vocabulary and restrictions on availability, impose difficulties on

their usage and indicates the need for automatic synonyms extraction.

2.1 Nepali lexical resources

Nepal is a multi-ethnic and multilingual country where more than 70 languages are spoken by the population of over 20 million. Selection and downloading the dictionaries for including into the LKB is a difficult task. Many of the native Nepalese and foreign scholars participate in preparing Nepali-English and English-Nepali dictionaries (Schmidt, 1994), (Raj Adhikary, 2009). Besides, there are some Nepali-Hindu, Nepali-Japanese, Nepali-Russian (Rabinovich et. al., 1968) and others bilingual dictionaries. The monolingual Nepali dictionary by Brihad Shabdakosh, a comprehensive dictionary of the Nepali language, prepared in 1983 is considered to be the standard dictionary of Nepali. One can find only several downloadable and on-line English – Nepali, Nepali – English or Nepali – other language dictionaries in the Internet. We managed to found such dictionaries as (Turner, 1931), (Schmidt, 1994), (Krämer, 2007).

In the 1990-th the need for a concise comprehensive dictionary of Nepali synonyms was recognized. This need resulted in planning the creation of the Nepali Dictionary of Synonyms (Bandhu, 1994). According to his plan, each entry should consist of a) the head entry, b) synonyms, c) collocations, d) concise definitions, if any, e) derivatives and f) antonyms. He planned to collect the data from various sources, i.e., published dictionaries, literary works, newspapers and magazines. A list of basic words was used to collect words from different geographical areas. It was planned that the dictionary should be useful for the writers, students, linguists and all people who are interested in Nepali.

2.2 Building a lexical base of quasi-synonym

Our goal in this section is to automatically acquire a lexical knowledge-base of quasi-synonyms from

bilingual dictionaries. Each entry in the dictionary contains the head source word and a set of equivalents in the target language and also definition of meaning, examples of usage, pronunciation, describes the differences among them. Our goal is not only to automatically extract knowledge from one such dictionary, but also to develop a general method that could be applied to any such dictionary and any language with minimal adaptation. We rely on the hypothesis that the dictionary entries contains enough regularity to allow automatic extraction of knowledge from them.

3. Computing procedures

The task can be divided into three phases, treated by consecutive modulus. The first module extracts the pairs of quasi-synonyms from the bilingual dictionary and ascribes the confidence score to each pair. The second module involves interactive voting procedure for assessing the synonymy of each pair of extracted words; and the third module performs ranking these pairs according to the voting count and other considerations.

Automatic selection of quasi-synonyms using bilingual or monolingual explanatory dictionary is not a trivial task. It requires: populating the database with the Nepali words and their English or other language equivalents or definitions; data formatting; search and matching the populated databases. We propose a new method for the synonyms identification based on the bilingual (English –Nepali) machine-readable dictionaries.

3.1 The first module procedure

- Purify the .html files from the extra markup to produce the plain text.
- Receive dictionary entries, including the head word, translation, part of speech (POS) tags, grammar, pronunciation, spellings, examples, phrases, etc.

- Use "bag of words" method. All words from definition are placed into the bag of words associated with the head Nepali word.
- Search the list of English word forms (~300000) for each word in the bag.
- For each member of the bag its lemma and morphological features are obtained
- Search for coinciding English lemmas in the definitions of each pair of Nepali words

After downloading the dictionary entries from Internet as .html files, we deleted extra markup to produce the plain text. Usually the entry contains: the Devanagari script of the head word, the transliteration or phonetic transcription of the word, part of speech (POS) tag, English equivalents, sometimes morphological paradigm, collocations with other words forming other parts of speech and/or different meanings, sometimes examples of usage, phrases and sentences with the defined word. See two entries for noun and verb respectively (Example 1):

Noun: विश्वास

biśwās, pop. *biswās*, I. *viśwās*, s. Confidence, trust, faith. -- *b° garnu* to trust, believe. -- *b° ghāt* v.s.v. -- *b° ghāti* v.s.v. -- *b° patra* written credentials. -- *b° pātra* believable, reliable. -- *b° yogya* trustworthy. -- *b° rākhnu* to be reliable, keep faith. [lw. Sk. *viśvāsa-*.]

Verb: बिसाउनु

bisāunu, vb. intr. To rest, be at leisure. -- *bisāune belā* leisure. [Sk. *viśrāmayati* causes to rest: cf. Pa. *vissameti*, Pk. *vissamāi*; Ku. *bisūṇo*, to put one's load down; S. *visāiṇu* to quell, extinguish; G. *visāmom*. rest; M. *vis&abrevecr;vṇē* to halt; -- Sk. *viśr&abrevecr;myate* in P. *vissamṇā* to rest; L. *missamaṇ* to be extinguished; S. *visāmaṇu* to be worn out; -- the

simple *śrā myati* in Pk. *sammai*; Sh. *śomēi* is tired.]

One problem comes from polysemy. Transitivity of synonymy is not well preserved when synonyms of different senses of a polysemous word are mixed together. A further problem is caused by the abundance of synonyms in Nepali, which other language, e.g. English cannot reflect. While translating from Nepali to English therefore the textural richness of the original language should be expressed by the multi-word complexes.

Selection of the word translation and POS tags from the definitions requires the development of specific algorithms for parsing, which itself is a difficult task and its solution is out of scope of this research. Therefore, we used the method of "bag of words" (Wikipedia), which is well proven in the corpora studies. So, for each Nepali word definition we select utterances of literals, namely all uppercase and lowercase Latin letters, separated by other characters, including blanks, punctuation, transcription marks, numbers, etc. Each token is considered as a "word" and is placed into the bag of words associated with the head Nepali word.

Next step is to search each word from the bag in the list of English word forms (volume approx. 300000 word forms). This step is necessary because the dictionary definition often contains transliterations of Nepali words, which should not participate in the further analysis. Search for each member of the bag of words in the list of English word forms frequently (though not always) allows to filter out the Nepali transliterations. Also, for each member of the bag we can find its lemma and morphological features.

Next task is to find the coinciding English lemmas in the definitions of each pair of Nepali words. These coinciding words are counted. Those pairs of Nepali words, which definitions

contain at least one coinciding word are considered as synonymous candidates. Currently our machine-readable Nepali-English dictionary contains about 30,000 entries. Following the above procedure we have allocated about 290,000 quasi-synonyms, of which only about 9,000 pairs are associated with more than one English word. Refer to Table 1

Table 1: Relation between the number of coinciding words in definitions and the number of quasi-synonyms

Number of coinciding words in definitions	Number of quasi-synonymous pairs
1	278373
2	8504
3	596
4	89
5	13
6	3
7	4
Total	287582

It should be noted that some definitions contain a large number of coinciding words (up to 7), but the analysis of the definitions shows that this pair of Nepalese words cannot be considered as synonymous and even as quasi-synonyms.

3.2 Purification

Pruning the list of the synonyms candidates may be conducted in the following directions:

- Delete the candidates if two Nepali words pertain to different parts of speech
- Delete the pairs of synonyms connected by less than 2 (3, 4) words.
- Check the bag of coinciding words. If the most part of these words are English synonyms then the confidence that the Nepali words are synonyms increases. Tables 2 and 3 present some Nepali words connected by 7-5 English words and 2-3 English words respectively.

Example 2: Two words linked by 7 coinciding words in definitions: {come, deity, occur, planet, plural, star, verb} – actually are antonyms: अस्ताउनु - to set and उदाउनु – to rise.

On the other hand, sometimes a single coinciding word in two definitions proclaims two words are synonyms. Most often this happens when the coinciding word is not found in any other definition (the number of such words = 1064).

Example 3: The only coinciding word is

<gardener>:

बगैँचे or bargaice - s. Gardener. [der. bargaicā q.v.], and
मालि - s. (f. mālini) Gardener.

Pruning the list of the synonyms candidates may be conducted in the following directions:

- Delete the candidates if two Nepali words pertain to different parts of speech
- Delete the pairs of synonyms connected by less than 2, 3, 4 words?
- Check the bag of coinciding words. If the most part of these words are English synonyms then the confidence that the Nepali words are synonyms increases.

Tables 2 and 3 present some Nepali words connected by 7-5 English words and 2-3 English words respectively.

Table 2 Candidate Nepali synonymous pairs with the highest number of the coinciding words in their definitions

Nepali A	Nepali B	Coinciding English words in A and B Definitions	#
आफू	आफैं	herself himself itself myself ourselves themselves yourself	7
कठपाउ	खराउ-	auspicious female inauspicious middle	7

	खुट्टे	raise sole	
आइजाइ गर्नु	आइजाइ गर्नु	around contact forth frequent hang remain travel	7
आउनु	इनु	infinitive intransitive stem verb	6
पद्	पत्	clan honor occupation position profession rank	6
आवाज उठाउनु	आवाज उठाउनु	behalf raise shout someone speak voice	6
चाँडो	चाँडै	early quick quickly soon worker	5
कम्पनि	कम्पनी	company east India Indian rupee	5
चतुर्वर्ग	त्रिवर्ग	*artha dharma object observance wealth	5
दन्तद्वारे	दन्तद्वार्	auspicious male middle open tooth	5
पत्यारो	बिश्वास	believe confidence faith trust trustworthy	5
अटाउनु	कुभिण्डो	cannot cast pearl pumpkin swine	5
थाना	ठानेदार्	charge officer police station *subidar	5
अस्ताउनु	चन्द्रमा	come morning note plural verb	5

Table 3 Candidate Nepali synonymous pairs with the number of the coinciding words = 2, 3.

Group of synonyms	Coinciding English words in Definitions
त्यज्नु, त्याग्, त्याग्नु	abandon desert
क्षमता, दक्षता, लायकि	ability fitness
गुण, दक्षता, लायकि	ability skill fitness
भर्-मौदुर, सके, सक्	ability best *bhar

गर्भस्त्राव, तुहुनु	abortion miscarriage
तुहुनु, मल्लो	above upper
झुसिनु, निम्ह्याउनु	above brim
पातो, भार्	above shoulder
फाउ, भार्	above weight
मास्त्रि, माथि	above math
सङ्ग्रह, सङ्क्षेप्	abridgment epitome
भनक्क, अचानक	abruptly suddenly

3.3 Dominant selection

The next step in our research should be extraction of the dominant word from the list of quasi-synonyms. This step requires more Nepali linguistic resources, such as words frequency dictionary, POS-annotated corpus of Nepali texts, etc. Also application of the cluster analysis is needed.

4. Evaluation by experts

Generally speaking, it might be difficult to devise experiments that directly measure the quality of synonyms. The first step towards solving this problem was the expert evaluation of quasi-synonymous pairs. We have developed an interactive resource "Dictionary of Nepali Synonyms" which enables the on-line voting on the admissibility of synonymous pairs.

The native Nepalese, including the professional lexicographers and the wide community of the Internet users may participate in the voting process.

A pioneer project, www.philol.msu.ru/~serge/NepSyn/fv.html, for choosing the "true" Nepali synonyms by the Internet users is described below.

First the new participant is asked to fill the registration form. S/he may login as a guest, then

s/he can see all the content of the site, but cannot enter corrections and cannot vote. The qualification in Nepali is checked by asking an easy question – to choose only one correct translation for a sample Nepali word. After passing the registration process the participant is asked to enter the first letters of the Nepal word he wants to explore.

4.1 Virtual keyboard

We have included virtual keyboard for those participants who do not have the Nepali Unicode keyboard.

Nepali synonyms



[Back to Registration](#)

Figure 1: Virtual keyboard for Devanagari

When the whole word or the first letters of a Nepali word is submitted the participant sees the synonyms offered for voting:

Nepali synonyms

USER = prolexprim@gmail.com

Mark synonyms (Yes !, Maybe ?, No -)

Nepali A	English words	Nepali B	+ / ? / -	Score
डिल्	bank edge	पालि	⊙ / ○ / ○	1
डिल्	edge ridge	नाको	○ / ⊙ / ○	0
डिल्	hillside ridge	थुम्कि	○ / ○ / ⊙	-1
डिल्	ridge terrace	भिटो	○ / ⊙ / ○	0
डिल्लि	capital city	राजधानि	⊙ / ○ / ○	1
डिल्लि	capital city	लासा	○ / ⊙ / ○	0
OK		Back		

Figure 2: Quasi-synonyms offered for voting

4.2 Voting process

First column contains the words which match the input pattern. Second column contains those English words which belong to the definition / translation of both left and right Nepal words. Columns +,?,- contain checkboxes which the user should check: (+) s/he is aware of the synonymy between left and right Nepali words; (?) s/he is not aware; (-) s/he is aware that words are not synonyms.

After filling checkboxes in each row the user by pressing OK button sends the form to the server where her/his choices are added to the counter of good/bad synonyms.

5. Analysis of the voting results

The third module aimed at analyzing the results of voting was not developed yet. It should perform certain calculations over the results of voting. The main formula for estimating confidence will include:

- the number of all votes,
- the number of positive and negative votes,
- the overall frequency of each member of the Nepali synonymous pair
- the frequency of the English words coinciding in the definitions of two Nepali words
- the occurrence of these English words in English dictionaries of synonyms, etc.

6. Conclusion and future work

We have presented a novel method for extracting synonyms from the bilingual dictionaries. The method is based on “bag of words”. Compared to corpus-based methods, the proposed approach has the advantage of lexicon-based methods such as light weight in computational resource and complexity, and easy adaptation across different domains or languages.

Meanwhile, coverage of lexicon-based methods is obviously limited to the coverage of the dictionary of choice. Another problem comes from polysemy. Transitivity of synonymy is not well preserved when synonyms of different senses of a polysemous word are mixed together. Sense-disambiguated definition texts are required to avoid this problem.

The interactive technique was proposed to assess the admissibility of pairs of synonyms. This new promising approach can extend the scope of lexicography researches and even rise up the literacy of the participants.

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Font identifier and Unicode converter for Hindi

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Fonts are used to represent text in document. Fonts are mainly two kind non-Unicode and Unicode fonts. Complex scripts like Hindi and other Asian languages well represented in Unicode fonts. There are some other ways to write these languages for e.g we can use ASCII/ISCII codes to represent different characters of Hindi, but there are large numbers of characters in Hindi script as compared to English. Therefore, we always need multiple ASCII/ISCII encoded characters combination to represent a single character of Hindi Script. One major problem in these ASCII encoding based fonts is that we cannot easily transfer text from one system to another. The system must have these text fonts. There are hundreds of ASCII/ISCII encoding based fonts which are used to write Hindi text. New software systems are based on Unicode fonts.

1. Introduction

Earlier the users had to inform about the type of font encoding, in which the text written. Therefore, to make this process automatic, an effort has been made to resolve this issue. Font identifier is a system that automatically detects the font of given text whereas Unicode converter is a system that involves changing a font into Unicode.

2. Problems related to Hindi language

There are 23 official languages spoken in India. Indian languages have distinct scripts, but the grammar is mostly same. Large amount of text data is in ASCII/ISCII based encoding, so it is always difficult to store, process and transfer text data from one system to another. Unicode encoding system is a better way to store and process the text data. Unicode data can be transferred from one system to another easily, without knowing the underneath font of text. We know that large amount of Hindi text written in different font so we need a promising system to identify and convert all these text to Unicode text so that text will be beneficial for text processing and for other tasks.

Today is an era of Internet; these different ASCII/ISCII encoding based Hindi fonts create challenges, like if any website text content is written in particular font, then the viewer must have that font installed on the local system. For this, that particular website always provides that font-type to viewers to download and install it on their systems otherwise; the viewer will not be able to read website text. Therefore, it becomes challenging task for website developers too, if developers are using one or

many different fonts on the website then all these fonts should available on client's machine. There are so many websites those based on different font-type, so to overcome this problem website designer provide image file of written text rather than text file. In this condition users, do not need any font installed on the local system to read website text. This method is time-consuming task to develop image of every text. Website becomes heavy due to many images and it consumes much bandwidth. As we know that, there are so many fonts available for English text. All font characters based on common ASCII code, but in Hindi fonts, same char is represented by different codes in different fonts. As we can see in example Table 1:

Table 1: Character code mapping for English and Hindi fonts

Font Name	Arial	Times New Roman	Agra	Hindi
Word	T h a n k s	T h a n k s	ध न् य व ा द	ध न् य व ा द
Byte Code	84 104 97 110 107 115	84 104 97 110 107 115	NULL 85 59 111 107 110	NULL 78 121 118 97 100

As you can see that, same char codes are used for Arial and Time New Roman fonts in English Text, but in Hindi text has different char codes for Agra and Devanagari fonts. Another problem that comes while working on different Hindi Fonts is that there are many characters and matraa's written in various ways.

3. Related work

Er. Jagdeep Dangi developed Dangi Soft Font Converter. This converter has two parts first one is Prakhar Devanagari and Font Prarivatak, which is able to convert ASCII/ISCII encoding based fonts to Unicode. Second part of this software called UniDev, which used to convert Unicode to ASCII, based fonts. This software is commercial product and available only in offline version. Prakhar Devanagari font Parivartak (ASCII/ISCII to Unicode Converter) can convert various ASCII/ISCII Devanagari texts into Unicode text with 100% accuracy. This software can convert various Devanagari (Hindi/Marathi/Sanskrit) texts into ASCII/ISCII (8 bit) fonts. It can convert more than 258 both true type and type-1 fonts like Kruti-dev, Chanakya, Shusha, Shiva, DV-TTYogesh, 4CGandhi, Sanskrit 99, Marathi-Kanak etc) into Unicode (16 bit)

text immediately and easily. UniDev part of the software can convert Unicode based text to various ASCII/ISCI encoded fonts like Kruti dev, Chanakya etc for (Hindi / Sanskrit / Marathi) Devanagari Script. This is the first error free tool in the market for converting Unicode based text to various ASCII/ISCI (8 bit), At present about 9 both true type and type-1 fonts like Kruti dev, Chanakya, Shiva etc. fonts are with 100% accuracy.

Anand Arokia Raj, Kishore Prahallad (Anand Arokia raj, Kishore Prahallad. 2007): has developed a system for font identification and font data conversion for Indian languages. They uses TF-IDF(Term frequency and Inverse document frequency) weights approach for identification of font encoding by giving weightage to unigrams(current glyph), bigrams (current and next glyph) and trigrams (previous, current and next glyph). These terms that most frequently occurred in the data file and weightage given to them accordingly. This is the scheme which is used to identify font for input text. The Char map table is prepared for conversion of identified text. Rules are used to convert the text correctly. System used for many languages like Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Bengali etc.

E-Pandit Converter: Shri Shirish Benjawal has developed this software. This converter converts the Unicode text into Legacy font and Legacy font text into Unicode. Presently it supports only Chanakya font. According to the developer of this software, in future, other fonts will be added into it. Its interface is very easy to understand. Its output is 94 % correct. In this converter, quotes, percentage sign, full stop into puran viram, two-byte nukta into one-byte nukta characters and other rules used. All the existing approaches or working systems are good but none of the system is able to detect the font of input text automatically, user must have to choose font of input text. If the user does not know the font of text in advance then he will not be able to converter non-Unicode text into Unicode unless he tried all the available converters. Therefore, in our proposed system we developed an algorithm, which is able to detect font of the text and efficiently convert that text into Unicode text.

4. Flowchart of the system

The flow chart shows that we start with input the Hindi ASCII encoded text. The whole text is tokenised into unigrams(word) and then normalised. Frequencies of each unigram in the given text are calculated and match against the maximum frequent words present in the database. The database contains most frequently used unigrams. If the font group is found after matching process then the text converted into Unicode by using Unicode char mapping. If font group not found by

comparing the unigrams with the unigrams present in the database, then the system works at character level and compares characters with the character map table. If no result is found, then the system stops and if the results are found, then the Unicode conversion takes place. The flowchart described the system in the figure-1.

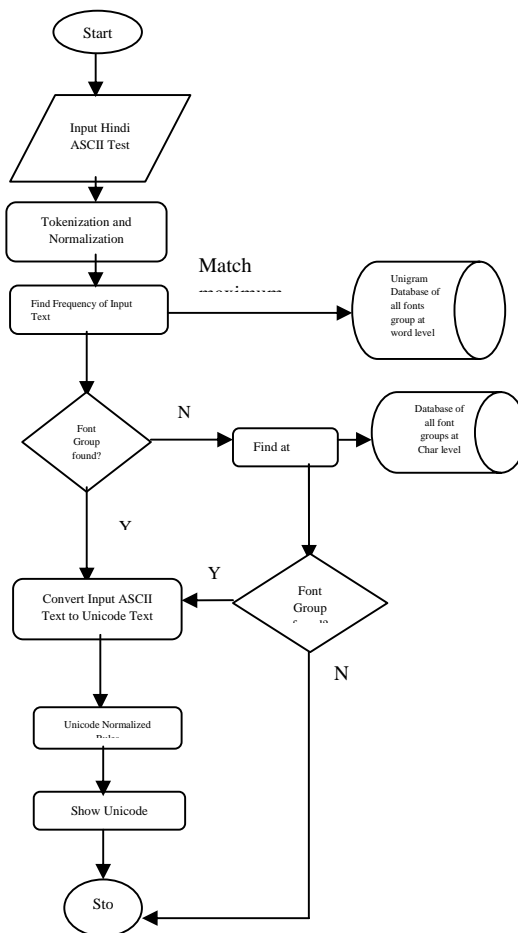


Figure 1: Flowchart showing system working

5. Fonts collection

A font traditionally defined as a quantity of sorts composing a complete character set of a single size and style of a particular typeface. Around 170 Hindi fonts are collected manually by downloading from different websites. Many fonts have their series for example KrutiDev font. It has a series of its font type and has same character map and ASCII value. Character map is mapping of character or any symbol or matraa of any font, phonetically.

6. Analysis about fonts

While analysing the various fonts, a technique is used to map the font characters, symbols and matraa phonetically corresponding to the Unicode character. A character map table is made, in which the character is written in different fonts, so that we come to know that which fonts have same character map corresponding to the Unicode characters.

The next step is to make groups of those fonts that have same character mapping, name that group, and save the information in tabular form so that this information can be used easily later on in identification and conversion process. About 170 fonts collected and grouped them into 26 groups. Some font groups are shown in Appendix A. After analysing the character map of each font, 26 groups are made and a name given to each font group. For example, in ITR font group, CCDV-ITR-LAYOUT and KDV-ITR-LAYOUT fonts are put together because their character map is same. Name of the font groups are based on fonts under that group. Group name can be any name but we tried to choose an appropriate name to describe the fonts under that group. A table shown below show some of the font groups and their character mapping.

Table 3: Character mapping of some of the font groups

UNICO DE	IT R	CCS RI	IN D	CCD V	PR K	Naidu nia
अ (A)	E	A	¥	À	¢	Y
आ (Ā)	Eç	Am	¥æ	Àb	¢k	Yt
इ i	F	B	§	Ê	£	R
ई ie	F	B©	§ü	Ê¶	£r	
उ o	G	C	©	ı	¤	W
ऊ ou	H	D	ª	Ð	¥	Q

7. Identification of font group

To identify the font of given input text, most frequently occurred words are extracted from input and compared with our Database where we have stored 500 most frequently used unigrams extracted from Hindi corpora having 1.1 million words. Corpus having data related to political, sports and business domain that was collected from different Hindi websites. Frequently occurred words in input text are stored in a Binary Search Tree along with their frequency. We have used Binary search tree to make this process fast. After that, we compare these words with our database and maximum matched words under a single group elected as font of input text. This font will be used to convert input text to Unicode

text. However, sometimes the System is not able to decide which font group should select for conversion because of ambiguity in font groups. The System has equal number of input text words that lie under two or more groups. That time system may select wrong font group, which may lead to wrong conversion of input text. Therefore, to overcome this problem we need to check out input text at character level. Where we have search trigram, bigram in char map table where we have stored all the Unicode characters corresponding to different font groups. We have search trigram, bigram because some of Unicode chars in Hindi have multiple ASCII code characters in different fonts like character अ in Unicode is mapped to Eç in font CCDV-ITR-LAYOUT.

Font identification algorithm can describe as:

$$R = \text{MAX} \sum_{i=1}^n F i1, \sum_{i=1}^n F i2, \dots, \sum_{i=1}^n F i26$$

Where, F=Number of font groups and i=number of input char/words

The Input text is tokenised into unigrams and each unigram is matched under all the different font groups F1 ..to .. F26. Max of all matched unigrams is a winning group or font of the input text.

8. Conversion of Font data into Unicode

After identifying the font group, character map table is used to map input chars with the corresponding Unicode of the selected font group. After that Unicode normalization, rules are used. This technique which is used for conversion called IT3-Transliteration scheme. IT3 is a transliteration scheme developed by IISc Bangalore, India and Carnegie Mellon University with the primary focus on user readability of the transliteration scheme.

Hindi language specific modifications like halant and nukta modifications carried out first. The next step is to reconstruct the pivotal consonant in an Akshara if there is. The different Unicode normalized rules under each category explained with some examples below. These rules modified or redefined whenever it is required.

i. According to Hindi language, the characters modified, if modifiers like virama and nukta used with full characters. For example:

अ ा ज (a a j) आज (aaj)

ii. The words we speak and while writing them, they are written according to some language specific processing. For example:

क र् म (k r m) कर्म (krm)

iii. The rule of merging two or more maatra characters and forms a valid single maatra. For example:

इ सकाे (I s k o) इसको (isko)

iv. If half character comes with ि (ae)matraa, then ि(ae) matraa comes before half character. For example:

स् ि थ ि त (s ae th ae) स्थिति (sthti)

9. Results

We have collected the testing data from various resources like Hindi websites and from some Hindi corpus of ASCII/ISCII based fonts. Testing data includes around 15000 Hindi ACSII/ISCII encoding based fonts' tokens. Collected data is related to all font groups those we have created. Testing data related to different fields like science, business, politics, news etc. Standard evaluation metrics Recall, Precision, F1-Mesure used to evaluate the system. System is able to identify font of text with 95% accuracy, if the font is identified correctly then the system convert non-Unicode font text to Unicode text with 100% accuracy. During testing phase sometimes system fails to identify font of the input text or sometimes it detect wrong font and apply Unicode mapping rules according to that font group. This happens due to less input data submitted to the system to identify font of text. Like when user submit one or two words or text which is not most frequent words in Hindi, that time the system is not able to identify font of input text. When it goes at char level to find its font group and there are chances of ambiguity between two font groups like input text have equal count of chars those belong to two different groups. Therefore, system accidently apply wrong font mapping on text. For this problem we have provided a solution, system gave both font choices to user which were detected by the system at char level or word level , then user may apply any font on text from both choices.

10. Summary

We have developed font identification system that helps the user to know about font of the text automatically and a font conversion system which converts the non-Unicode text to Unicode text to read that text without

installing the specific font on the system. Identification process is a key difference of our system as compared to another, and there is no need to use different converter for different font. User would be able to convert all available fonts into Unicode without knowing the name of font. In future, we will add more unigrams in the system to make the system more accurate for font identification process. This system and the algorithm can be used for other Indian languages with minimum changes so we will try to use this system for other Indian languages also. However, for that, it requires proper character mapping and unigrams for that specific language. We will try to make this system online as soon as possible and that will be free to use.

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- <http://www.tamasoft.co.jp/en/general-info/unicode.html> Accessed 11/11/2012
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Appendix: A

GROUPS	FONTS
ITR	CCDV-ITR-LAYOUT, KDV-ITR-LAYOUT, MTDV-ITR-LAYOUT
CCSRI	CCDV-SRI2-LAYOUT, CCDV-SRI3-LAYOUT, MTDV-MDN-LAYOUT
ISM	AYOUT, CCDV-ISM-LAYOUT, DV-TTSurekh, DV-TTSurekhEN, DV-TTYogesh, DV-TTYogeshEN, KDV-ISM-LAYOUT, MTDV-ISM-LAYOUT
IND	CCDV-AU-LAYOUT, CCDV-IND-LAYOUT, CCDV-SULIPI-LAYOUT, Chanakya, KDV-IND-LAYOUT, MTDV-IND-LAYOUT, Patrika, Yogeshweb
CCDV	CCDV-SRI708-LAYOUT
PRK	CCDV-PRK-LAYOUT, KDV-PRK-LAYOUT, MTDV-KRT-LAYOUT
Marathi	Marathi Sharada, Marathi Tirkas, Marathi-Kanak, Marathi-Lekhani, Marathi-Roupya, Marathi-Vakra, msms
Divya	DV_Divya, DV_Divya, Aryan, Aryan2
APSDV	ek, APS-DV-Ajay, APS-DV-Ajit, APS-DV-Akanksha, APS-DV-Alankar, APS-DV-Amal
Aakar	Aakar, Aakriti, Anuradha, Abhinav, Devanagari, DINA-A, Himalaya, Preeti, Amrit Kuruti, Bhaktapur, Ganga 1, Sadhana, Jyapu
Naidunia	Naidunia, Webdunia, CCDV-WEBDUNIA-LAYOUT

Xdvng	Xdvng, Dtyash
Mantra	MANTRA
Shusha	Shusha, Shusha02, Shusha05
Shree	SHREE726
Sang	SANGATI,SANGEET, SANGRAH
KF	KF-Aarti, KF-Amruta, KF-Kiran, Suvida01, Suvidha2, Shivaji01, Shivaji02, Shivaji03, Shivaji05, Aarti, Suvida01, Suvidha, Suvidha2
Devnew	Devanagari New
HemantQA	hemanqa-Ajaya
DVME	708,DV_ME_Shree0709,DV_ME_Shree0714, DV_ME_Shree0715, DV_ME_Shree0720
DVB	DVB-TTYogeshEN, DVBW-TTYogeshEN
Jaipur	Jaipur
kruti Dev	Agra, Ajay Normal, Ankit, Arjun, Chandini, DevLys 010, Hemant, Kruti Dev 010, Ankur10, Astro 571, HINDI149, Kruti Dev Display 440, KrutiPad 702, MTDV-KRT-LAYOUT, MTDV-RNG-LAYOUT, WALKMAN-CHANAKYA-905, NEWDELHI, PARAS-HINDI, RAVANA, SHIVA, NARAD, TERAFont-KALPNA, TERAFont-KAVI, Mughal-22-Hindi

Relativization in Maithili

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This article is an attempt to analyze relativization in Maithili from functional-typological perspective. In this article, we introduce the relative clauses and relativizers; and analyze the different types of relative clauses in terms of their typological parameters.

1. Introduction

Maithili, an Indic language belonging to the group of the modern Prakrit Vernaculars is a Modern Indo-Aryan language. Maithili is a cross-border language in that it is spoken across the border on both sides in India and Nepal. To be precise, it is spoken in the districts of Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, and Rautahat of Nepal and in the districts of Madhubani, Darbhanga, Sitamarhi, Saharsa, Madhepura, Purnea, East-Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, and Begusarai of the Bihar and also in some parts of Jharkhand and West Bengal states of India. Maithili is spoken by about 35 million people in total, comprising 3.09 million people in Nepal as per census, 2011 and 31.90 million people in India (Lewis et.al. 2013).

The process of forming a relative clause construction is known as relativization. 'A relative clause is a clause that modifies a phrasal constituent, generally a noun phrase. We call the noun phrase that is so modified the head of the relative clause' (Riemsdijk 2006: 338 as cited in Subbarao 2012: 263). It is a subordinate clause in which the embedded predicate may be [+finite] or [-finite]. Such a non-finite predicate may be participial or infinitival. A relative clause is a kind of subordinate clause, one of whose arguments shares a referent with a main clause element on which the subordinate clause is grammatically dependent. In this article, we discuss relativizers in Maithili, types of relative clauses that are found in the language in terms of functional typological parameter as the theoretical framework.

2. Relativizers in Maithili

The relative clause in Maithili is marked by the relative marker or relative pronouns *je* 'who' (used for humans) and *je* 'what' (used for non-humans with no honorific-nonhonorific distinctions) and their inflected forms for different case, number and honorificity (Yadav 1996: 116-17, 351). The same form *-je* which assumes varying shapes depending upon the case marking it takes; honorificity, animateness, and possessiveness Singh (1979: 176).

Table 1: Relativizers in Maithili

	Animate		Inanimate
	Honorific	Non-honorific	
Direct	<i>je</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>je</i>
Oblique	<i>jə(kəra)</i>	<i>jəni(ka)</i>	<i>jahi</i>
Poss	<i>jə(kər)</i>	<i>jəni(ka)/ jəni(kər)</i>	<i>jahi(- NP+ak), jahi(-ker)</i>

Source: Singh (1979: 176)

3. Types of relative clauses

Following general types of relative clauses discussed in the literature (e.g. Keenan 1985, Comrie 1989, and Givón 2001: 10-11), relative clauses in Maithili can be restrictive or non-restrictive.

3.1 Restrictive relative clauses

Restrictive relative clauses are used to delimit/restrict the meaning of the referent of a NP. In Maithili, the relativized NP consists of the relativizer *je* (in its various forms) with or without an accompanying common noun: when the latter is present, the relativizer serves as a determiner. The NP of the relative clause is co-referential with the head NP of the main clause. The head NP of the main clause consists of the correlative pronoun or the demonstrative pronoun either with or without an accompanying common noun. Consider the following examples:

(1) *u kitab je*
 u kitab [je
 that book REL
kailh kinli se
 kailh kin-l-i] se
 yesterday come-PST-1 COREL
həm həra gel
 həm həra ge-l
 1SG lose go-PST
 ‘The book that I bought yesterday was lost.’

(2) *thakurji je neta*
 thakur-ji [je neta
 Thakur-H REL leader
chəith ai bhasən
 ch-əith] ai bhasən
 AUX-PRES-3H today speech
detah
 de-t-ah
 give-FUT-3H
 ‘Thakurji who is a leader will deliver a speech today.’

3.2 Non-restrictive relative clauses

Non-restrictive relative clauses are generally defined in other languages as relative clauses that do not constrain the head of the relative clause, and whose heads are ‘fully specified, definite NPs such as proper nouns’ (Keenan 1985: 169); as relative clauses that add information ‘about an already identified entity, but not to identify that entity’ (Comrie 1989: 138). Nonrestrictive relative clauses are also marked with the relativizer/relative pronoun *je*. But unlike the restrictive relative clauses, nonrestrictive relative occur with proper nouns and personal pronouns whose potential referents are by definition definite. The can be further sub-divided into two types:

(3) *əvinas je daktər*
 əvinas [je doctor
 Avinash REL doctor
chəit əmerika jəetah
 ch-əit] əmerika jəe-t-ah
 AUX-PRES-3H America go-PST-3H
 ‘Avinash, who is a doctor, will go to America.’

(4) *əhā eme pəirh rəhəl*
 əhā eme pəirh rəhəl
 2H MA read PROG
chi je nik bat
 ch-i [je nik bat
 AUX-PRES.2H REL good matter
əich
 əi-ch]
 be-PRES.3NH
 ‘You are studying MA, which is a good thing.’

In the example (3) the relative clause supplies extra information about the head NP, whose reference is already specified because it is a proper noun. But in the examples (4), the relative clause gives a comment on the whole matrix clause.

4 Typological parameters of relative clauses

According to Payne (1997: 326), there are several typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped. The parameters to be discussed in this section are (i) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun, (ii) the mode of expression of the relativized NP, and (iii) which grammatical relations can be relativized.

4.1 The position of the RCs with respect to the head

The first typological parameter by which relative clauses can vary is the position of the clause with respect to the head. Regarding the position of the relative clauses with respect to the head NP, relative clauses can be of four types in Maithili. They are (i) postnominal, (ii) prenominal, (iii) internally headed, and (iv) headless.

4.1.1 Postnominal RC

Postnominal relative clause may occur either immediately to the right of the head noun which we shall label as NP-adjoined relative clause; or to the right of the VP of the matrix clause, which we shall label as the extraposed relative clause (Subbarao 2012:266). In it, the head NP occurs outside the relative clause. In Maithili, the usual word order thus is: dertnier + head + relative clause. Sentences (5-6) exemplify postnominal RC.

(5)	<i>u</i>	<i>chor</i>	<i>je</i>
	u	chor	[je
	that	thief	REL
	<i>həmər</i>	<i>əũthi</i>	<i>cori</i>
	həm-ər	əũthi	cori
	1SG-GEN	ring	steal
	<i>kəene</i>	<i>chəl</i>	(<i>se</i>)
	kə-ene	ch-əl]	(se)
	do-PSTPCPL	AUX-PST.3NH	COREL
	<i>pəkra</i>	<i>gel</i>	
	pəkra	ge-l	
	catch	go-PST.3NH	
	'The thief who had stolen my ring was arrested.'		

(6)	<i>o</i>	<i>admi</i>	<i>kəm</i>
	o	admi	kəm
	that	people	less
	<i>sutəit</i>	<i>əich</i>	<i>je</i>
	sut-əit	əi-ch	[je
	sleep-IMPERF	be-PRES.3NH	REL
	<i>bəhut</i>	<i>kəphi</i>	
	bəhut	kəphi	
	a lot of	coffee	
	<i>pibəit</i>	<i>əich</i>	
	pib-əit	əi-ch]	
	drink-IMPERF	be-PRES.3NH	
	'People who drink a lot of coffee sleep less.'		

Examples (5) and (6) are of postnominal relative clauses as the head NPs *u cor* (5) and *u admi* (6) occur outside the relative clauses and the relative clauses occur immediately to the right of the head noun and right of the VP of the matrix clause respectively. The relative clauses are marked by the relativizer *je*. The common noun which might otherwise accompany the relativizer within the relativized NP has been deleted in these examples.

4.1.2 Prenominal RC

Prenominal relative clause is the clause that occurs before the head. In it, the head NP occurs outside the relative clause. In Maithili, the usual word order thus is: relative clause + correlative/demonstrative determiner + head. Sentences (7-8) exemplify prenominal RC.

(7)	<i>je</i>	<i>hera</i>	<i>gel</i>
	[je	hera	ge-l]
	REL	lose	go-PST
	<i>se/u</i>	<i>kələm</i>	<i>həmər</i>
	se/u	kələm	həm-ər
	COREL/DEMONS	pen	1SG-GEN
	<i>chəl</i>		
	ch-əl		
	AUX-PST.3NH		
	'The pen that was lost was mine.'		

(8)	<i>je</i>	<i>əhā</i>	<i>nəi</i>
	[je	əhā	nəi
	REL	2H	not
	<i>kinləũh</i>	<i>se/u</i>	<i>ghəri</i>
	kin-l-əũh]	se/u	ghəri
	buy-PST-2H	COREL/that	watch
	<i>həm kin</i>	<i>lələũh</i>	
	həm kin	le-l-əũh	
	1SG buy	take-PST-1SG	
	'I bought the watch that you did not buy.'		

Sentences (7) and (8) are the examples of prenominal relative clauses. The head NPs: *kələm* in (7) and *ghəri* in (8) occur outside the relative clauses and the relative clauses precede head NPs. Unlike postnominal relative clauses, prenominal relative clauses require that their NP contains correlative/demonstrative determiner.

4.1.3 Internally headed RC

Internally headed relative clauses are those for which the head occurs within the relative clause (Payne 1997: 328). The matrix clause too may have the head NP repeated in it, in which case the head NP is preceded by the correlative-demonstrative-determiner; usually, however, the head NP is deleted and only a correlative-demonstrative-third person pronoun is used (Yadav 1996: 357). The sentences (9-10) are illustrative:

(9)	<i>je</i>	<i>khelari</i>	<i>mæc</i>
	[je	khelari	mæc
	REL	player	match
	<i>me</i>	<i>gol</i>	<i>kəelək</i>
	me	gol	kə-el-ək]
	LOC	goal	do-PST-3NH
	<i>se/u</i>	<i>biməl</i>	<i>chəl</i>

se/u biməl ch-əl
COREL/that Bimal be-PST.3NH

‘The player who scored a goal in the match was Bimal.’

- (10) *je* *gæ* *əhā* *nəi*
[je gæ əhā nəi
REL cow 2H not
kinləūh *se/u* *gæ*
kin-l-əūh] se/u gæ
buy-PST-2H COREL/that cow
həm *kin*
həm kin
1SG buy
leləūh
le-l-əūh
take-PST-1SG
‘I bought the cow that you did not buy.’

4.1.4 Headless RC

Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify. In general, languages in which nominal modifiers are themselves nouns are more likely to employ headless relative clauses as a major relative clause strategy than languages for which there is a distinct and large class of adjectives (Payne 1997: 328). Maithili like other languages can use headless relative clauses when the head noun is non-specific. Example (11) illustrates headless relative clauses.

- (11) *həmər* *kitab* *corənihar*
həm-ər kitab cor-ənihar
1SG-GEN book steal-NOM
bhaig *geləi*
bhaig ge-l-əi
run away go-PST-3NH
‘One who stole my book came.’

The head NP in the example (11) is missing. It is, therefore, a headless relative clause.

4.2 The mode of expression of relativized NP

The second parameter by which relative clauses can vary is how the NP is expressed. This parameter is sometimes stated as a ‘case recoverability’ problem (Keenan 1985 as cited in Payne 1997: 330). In relative clauses there must be some way of identifying the role of the referent of the head noun within the relative clause. The

head noun itself functions in another clause (the main clause); however, it always has a coreferent within the relative clause. The role of that NP can be different from the role of the head noun within the main clause. Examples (12-13) illustrate this problem.

- (12) *u* *sāp* *je*
u sāp [je
that snake REL
həmra *dekhlək* *se*
həm-ra dekh-l-ək] se
1SG-ACC/DAT see-PST-3NH COREL
ramkē *kait* *lelkəi*
ram-kē kait le-l-kəi
Ram-ACC/DAT bite take-PST-3NH
‘The snake that saw me bit Santosh.’

- (13) *u* *sāp* *jəkra*
u sāp [jək-ra
that snake rel-ACC/DAT
həm *dekhliəik*
həm dekh-l-iəik]
1SG see-PST-1+3NH
se *ramkē*
se ram-kē
COREL Ram-ACC/DAT
kait *lelkəi*
kait le-l-kəi
bite take-PST-3NH
‘The snake that I saw bit Santosh.’

In example (12) the head noun *sāp* is the subject of the main clause verb *kait lelkəi*. It is also the subject of the relative clause verb *dekh*. However, in example (13) *sāp* is still the subject of the main clause verb *kait lelkəi* but it is not the subject of the relative clause verb *dekh*.

4.3 Which grammatical relations can be relativized?

This is the third or the final parameter by which relative clauses can be grouped. In outlining the typology of relative clauses in a language, it is important to specify for each type of relative clause encountered which elements can be relativized (Payne 1997: 335). Keenan and Comrie (1977) observe that any given relative clause strategy will allow relativization on a continuous segment of the following hierarchy:

subject> direct object> indirect object> oblique> possessor

They also posit the ‘NP accessibility hierarchy’, which lists the most accessible type of NP at the top and the least accessible type at the bottom. Regarding the accessibility to the different case roles, Maithili expression shows tendency to relativize subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor in the possessive construction and object of postposition. The examples (14-19) illustrate the accessibility hierarchy in Maithili:

- (14) *mohən mədänkē kitab*
 mohən mədən-kē hisab
 Mohan Madan-ACC book
delkhinh
 de-l-khinh
 give-PST-3H
 ‘Mohan gave a book to Madan.’
- (15) *mohən je mədänkē*
 mohən [je mədən-kē
 Mohan REL Madan-ACC
kitab delkhinh
 kitab de-l-khinh]
 book give-PST-3H
 ‘Mohan who gave a book to Madan.’
- (16) *kitab je mohən*
 kitab [je mohən
 book REL Mohan
mədänkē delkhinh
 mədən-kē de-l-khinh]
 Madan-ACC give-PST-3H
 ‘The book that Mohan gave to Madan.’
- (17) *mədən jekra mohən*
 mədən [jek-ra mohən
 Madan REL-ACC/DAT Mohan
kitab delkhinh
 hisab de-l-khinh]
 book give-PST-3H
 ‘Madan to whom Mohan gave a book.’

The example (14) is an independent clause and (15), (16) and (17) illustrate three relative clauses. In (15) the subject NP: *mohən* is relativized, in (16) the direct object NP: *kitab* is relativized, and in (17) the indirect object NP: *mədən* is relativized.

- (18) *jəkər kitab hera*
 [jək-ər kitab hera
 REL-GEN book lose
geləik se chā□a
 ge-l-əik] se chā□a
 go-PST-3NH COREL boy
khub ciciait chəl
 khub ciciait ch-əl
 much cry-imperf be-PST-3NH
 ‘The person whose book got lost was crying a lot.’

In example (18), the genitive or possessive NP: *chāda-k* is relativized.

- (19) *həm jahi ghər*
 [həm jahi ghər
 1SG REL house
me rəhəit chi
 me rəhəit chi]
 loc live-IMPERF AUX-PRES-1
se saph əich
 se saph əi-ch
 COREL clean be-PRES.3NH
 ‘The house in which I live is clean.’

In example (19), the object of postposition *ghər* is relativized.

The subject in example (15), direct object in (16), indirect object in (17), possessor in the possessive construction in (18), and object of postposition in (19) are accessible to relativization in Maithili.

5 Position of RCs in a sentence

Regarding the position of relative clauses in a sentence, Comrie (1989) shows three positions of relative clauses: (i) clause-initial position, (ii) clause-medial position, and (iii) clause-final position.

5.1 Clause-initial position

When the relative clause occurs in initial position of a sentence, it is called clause initial construction. Example (20) illustrates clause-initial in Maithili:

- (20) *je kəimra həm*
 [je kəimra həm
 REL camera 1SG
əhākē deləũh se
 əhā-kē de-l-əũh] se
 2H-ACC/DAT give-PST-1+2H COREL

<i>japani</i>	<i>chəik</i>	
japani	ch-əik	
Japanese	be-PRES.3NH	

‘The camera that I gave you is Japanese.’

5.2 Clause-medial position

When relative clause occurs in medial position in a sentence, it is considered as clause-medial position. Example (21) illustrates clause-medial in Maithili:

(21)	<i>u</i>	<i>kəimra</i>	<i>je</i>
	u	kəimra	[je
	that	camera	REL
	<i>həm</i>	<i>kəilh</i>	<i>kinləũh</i>
	həm	kəilh	kin-l-əũh]
	1SG	yesterday	buy-PST-1SG
	<i>se</i>	<i>japani</i>	<i>əich</i>
	se	japani	əi-ch
	COREL	Japanese	be-PRES.3H

‘The camera that I bought yesterday is Japanese.’

5.3 Clause-final position

When RC occurs in final position in a sentence, it is called clause final position. The following example (22) illustrates clause-final relative clause in Maithili:

(22)	<i>okra</i>	<i>pəkəir</i>	<i>la</i>
	ok-ra	pəkəir	la
	3NH-ACC	catch	bring.IMP
	<i>je</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>torlək</i>
	[je	am	tor-l-ək]
	REL	mango	pluck-PST-3NH

‘Fetch him who plucked mangoes.’

6. Copying vs chopping constructions

Comrie (1989: 140 as cited in Thakur (2005: 50)) has also defined relative clauses in terms of copying and chopping constructions of the head.

6.1 Copying construction

When the head of the relative clause is repeated in a sentence, this process is referred to as copying construction. The sentence (23) exemplifies this:

(23)	<i>je</i>	<i>chatrə</i>	<i>phəst</i>
	[je	chatrə	phəst
	REL	student	first
	<i>kəelək</i>	<i>ohi</i>	<i>chatrəkē</i>
	kə-el-ək]	ohi	chatrə-kē

do-PST-3NH	that	student-ACC
<i>həm</i>	<i>inam</i>	<i>deliyəi</i>
həm	inam	de-l-iyəi
1SG	prize	give-PST-3NH

‘I gave prize to the student who stood first.’

In example (23), the head NP: *chatrə* is repeated.

6.2 Chopping construction

When the head of the relative clause is not mentioned in the main clause, this process of relativization is referred to as a chopping construction. The example (24) illustrates this process of relativization in Maithili:

(24)	<i>je</i>	<i>sari</i>	<i>əhā</i>
	[je	sari	əhā
	REL	saree	2H
	<i>kəilh</i>	<i>kinləũh</i>	<i>se</i>
	kəilh	kin-l-əũh]	se
	yesterdsy	buy-PST-2H	COREL
	<i>bə□</i>	<i>sundər</i>	<i>əich</i>
	bə□	sundər	əich
	much	beautiful	be.PRES.3NH

‘The sari which you bought yesterday is very beautiful.’

In the example (24), the head NP: *sari* is not mentioned in the main clause.

7. Correlative construction

When the NP of a relative clause correlates the subject of the main clause, it is said to have correlative construction. The example (25) illustrates the correlative construction in Maithili:

(25)	<i>je</i>	<i>lə□ki</i>	<i>tv</i>	<i>me</i>
	[je	lə□ki	tv	me
	REL	girl	TV	LOC
	<i>git</i>	<i>gaib</i>	<i>rəhəl</i>	<i>əich</i>
	git	gaib	rəhəl	əich]
	song	sing	PROG	be.PRES.3NH
	<i>se</i>	<i>ənu</i>	<i>əich</i>	
	se	ənu	əich	
	COREL	Anu	be.PRES.3NH	

‘The girl who is singing on TV is Anu.’

In this example, NP of the relative clause *je lə□ki* correlates the subject of the main clause *lə□ki* which is preceded by the correlative pronoun *se*.

8. Attributive adjective vs relative pronoun

Comrie (1989) defines relative clause with respect of the presence or absence of relative pronoun. The attributive adjective is very common in the Maithili syntax. The sentence (26) illustrates attributive adjectival relative clause which can also be termed as headless relative clause:

(26)	<i>sukna</i>	<i>urait</i>	<i>ciraike</i>
	sukna	ur-ait	cirai-ke
	Sukna	fly-PRESPL	bird-ACC
	<i>pakar</i>	<i>lelake</i>	
	pakar	le-l-kaik	
	catch	take-PST-3NH	
	'Sukna caught the flying bird.'		

(27)	<i>je</i>	<i>cirai</i>	<i>urait</i>
	[je	cirai	ur-ait
	REL	bird	fly-PRESPL
	<i>chal</i>	<i>takra</i>	<i>sukna</i>
	ch-al]	tak-ra	sukna
	be-PST	COREL-ACC	Sukna
	<i>pakar</i>	<i>lelake</i>	
	pakar	le-l-kaik	
	catch	take-PST-3NH	
	'Sukna caught the bird that was flying.'		

In sentence (26), *urait* is participial verb form used attributively to modify *cirai*. But sentence (27) is the relative pronoun type as the relativizer *je* is used in it.

9. Extranominal relative clause

Another type of relative clause, termed the extranominal relative clause, also exists in Maithili (Yadav 1996: 357). In such a construction, the head NP contains an indefinite determiner which is usually the numeral *ek* 'one' followed by the classifier *a*, or an indefinite pronoun: both of which may optionally be followed by such pronominal adjectives as *ehān/ohān* 'of such type'. The following are the examples:

(28)	<i>ekta</i>	<i>ehān</i>	<i>laka</i>
	ek-ta	ehān	laka
	one-CLAS	such	groom
	<i>khaju</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>sarkari</i>
	khaj-u	[je	sarkari
	find-IMP	REL	government
	<i>nokri</i>	<i>karait</i>	<i>hoe</i>

<i>nokri</i>	<i>kar-ait</i>	<i>ho-e]</i>
job	do-IMPERF	be-OPT.3NH
'Find such a groom who is employed in government service.'		

Note that the common noun within the relativized NP is obligatorily deleted in the extranominal type of relative clauses.

10. Summary

In this paper we discussed relativization i.e. process of forming a relative clause construction in Maithili. The relative clause in Maithili is marked by the relativizers *je* 'who' and *je* 'what' and their inflected forms for different case, number and honorificity. Relative clauses in Maithili can be restrictive or non-restrictive. Regarding the position of the clause with respect to the head, relative clauses in Maithili can be of four types: prenominal, postnominal, internally headed, and headless. Maithili expression shows tendency to relativize subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor in the possessive construction, and object of postposition. The language has three types of relative clauses regarding the position of the relative clauses in a sentence: clause-initial position, clause-medial position, and clause-final position. The language has also copying and chopping constructions of the head NP. Another type of relative clause in Maithili is correlative construction which is marked by the correlative pronoun *se*. The extranominal relative clause also exists in Maithili.

Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ACC	Accusative
AUX	Auxiliary
CLAS	Classifier
COREL	Correlative
DAT	Dative
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
H	Honorific
IMP	Imperative
IMPERF	Imperfective
LOC	Locative

NH	Non-honorific
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun phrase
RC	Relative clause
OPT	Optative
PRES	Present
PRESPCPL	Present participle

PROG	Progressive
PST	past
PSTPCPL	Past participle
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
VP	Verb phrase

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Tense system in the Bahing language

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The concept of present and future is not distinct in the Bahing language. So, tense system in the Bahing language can be categorized into two-way system as past and non-past. Person, number and verb structure such as intransitivity and transitivity play crucial role in determining the tense system.

1 Introduction

This paper investigates the tense system in the Bahing languages from formal and functional perspectives. Of 123 languages spoken in Nepal as mother tongue reported in census 2011, the Bahing language is one of the Kirati languages spoken in the Eastern Development Region of the country. The populous areas of the Bahing people are Okhaldhunga and Solukhumbu districts.

According to the census report 2011, the total population of Bahing is 3,096. Of them, 1,444 are males and 1,652 females. However, the census report shows more Bahing mother tongue speakers than the total Bahing population. According to the census report 2011, the total population of Bahing by mother tongue is 11,658. Of them, 5,417 are males and 6,241 are females.

This paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 discusses the theoretical framework for this paper. In section 3, we look into the tense system in the Bahing language. Section 4 summarizes the findings of the paper.

2 Theoretical framework

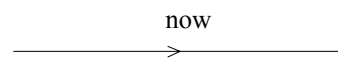
Tense is the systematic and grammatical way of coding of the relationship between two points along the time axis. Following Reichenbach's theory (1949) of tense, the two points are the reference time (R-time) and the event time (E-time). The default R-time that an event is anchored to is the time of speech (S-time). For this reason, tense has been considered a deictic category (Comrie 1976:2, 1985:14).

Referring to the tense and temporal anchoring, past tense locates a situation to the left of the *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 238-246*

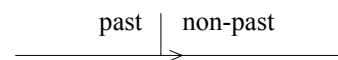
present moment in time point. Thus, the meaning of past tense is to locate a situation prior to the present moment (Comrie 1985:41).

According to Bybee et al. (1994:82), past express the meaning of occurring before the moment of speech. It is to be noted that past tense simply locates a situation prior to the present moment, but it does not locate a situation in a specific time in the past. To locate a situation in a specific time in the past, usually a past time adverbial is required.

Payne (1997:236) describes that tense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment clause is uttered. If we think of time as a line, with "now" represented by a point moving from left to right, we can conceptualize tense in terms of the following diagram:



Payne (1997:236) also presents probably more common two-way distinction as past and non-past:



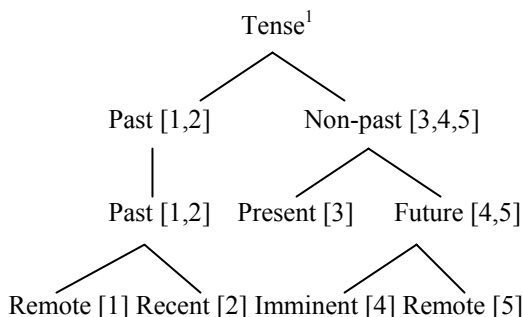
Comrie, in his classic book on tense, summarizes the difference by saying that "tense is grammaticalized expression of location in time" (Comrie 1985:9), whereas aspect "refers to the grammaticalization of expression of internal temporal constituency" (1985:6).

As pointed out by Givón (1984a:272), tense involves primarily, though not exclusively, time as seen in terms of points in sequence, whereas aspect is concerned with the boundedness of spans of time.

Dik acknowledges that his very brief account of tense (Dik 1997a:237-23) is based on Comrie (1985). Like Comrie, Dik relates tense to a time

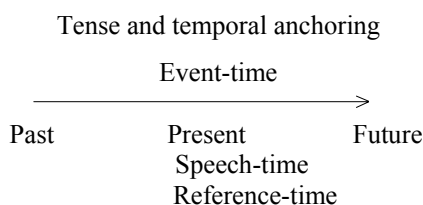
line, on which are located a reference time and a time corresponding to the moment of speaking. A distinction is made between absolute tense, in which the reference time coincides with the moment of speaking, a relative tense, in which the two are distinct.

Dik (1997a:238, example (4)) presents the tense distinction in the tree diagram.



Givón (2001:285) says tense is ‘the systematic coding of the relation between two points along the ordered linear dimension of time’.

Givón (2001:286) illustrates reference time and event time diagrammatically:



Butler (2003:449) uses two terms 'temporality' and 'aspectuality', borrowed from Dik (1997a:237), to refer to areas of meaning, whether realized grammatically or lexically. Tense and aspect are thus grammatical manifestations of temporality and aspectuality respectively.

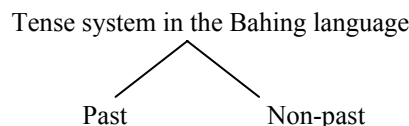
So, in this paper, the tense system in the Bahing language is divided into two-way distinctions. And, the functional approach is applied for the purpose of analysis.

¹ The numbers in the brackets denote the sentence examples in the original text.

3 Tense system in the Bahing language

In this paper, we look into only two distinctions of the tense as past and non-past in the Bahing language. It is because that the non-past marker denotes both present and future-like concept in the Bahing language. For example, the *marker -wa* denotes both present and future-like concept.

This is not the detailed paper on tense system in the Bahing language. We deem that this paper is a simply an introductory part on tense system, wherein we simply look into two-way distinctions of past and non-past tense. It can be illustrated diagrammatically:



It is also deemed that this paper will be a helpful stair for the further research who wants to carry out detailed study on tense system in the Bahing language.

The divisions of the tense system in the Bahing language as past and non-past are dealt with examples in the following sub-sections.

3.1 Past tense system

The past tense in the Bahing language is determined by the different markers with pronominal markers. Thokar (2005:66) indicates that the past tense in the Bahing language is marked differently according to person, number and verb structure as intransitivity and transitivity. Therefore, in the Bahing language, person, number and verb category play crucial role in determining the past tense.

The past tense structure with person, number and verb category is presented in the following sub-sections.

3.1.1 Past tense structure with first person, number and verb category

In the intransitive verb structure, if the subject of the sentence is the first person singular, then the

past tense marker *-ti* is attached to the verb root. It can be presented in this way.

i. Intransitive verb structure

verb root + past tense marker *-ti* + number

Let's consider intransitive sentences in (1a-f).

(1) Intransitive verb structure

- a. gu bək-ti
gu bək-ti
1SG sit-PST.1SG
'I sat down.'
- b. gu ŋi-ti
gu ŋi-ti
1SG frighten-PST.1SG
'I frightened.'
- c. gu rap-ti
gu rap-ti
1SG stand-PST.1SG
'I stood up.'
- d. gu dok-ti
gu dok-ti
1SG fall.PST.1SG
'I fell down.'
- e. gu bre:-ti
gu bre:-ti
1SG cry.PST.1SG
'I cried.'
- f. gu ris-ti
gu ris-ti
1SG cry.PST.1SG
'I laughed.'

From the sentences in (1a-f), it is clear that the past tense marker *-ti* is attached to the verb root

only in intransitive verb structure with first person singular subject.

If the subject of the sentence is first person singular with transitive verb, then the past tense marker *-təŋ* is attached to the verb root. It can be presented in this way.

i. Transitive verb structure

verb root + past tense marker *-təŋ* + number

Let's consider the transitive sentences in (2a-c).

(2) Transitive verb structure

- a. gu-mi dza^so dza-təŋ
gu-mi dza^so dza-təŋ
1SG-ERG rice eat-PST.1SG
'I ate rice.'
- b. gu-mi mjam-dwa-lai dza-təŋ-mi
gu-mi mjam-dwa-lai
1SG-ERG that-PL-DAT
dza-təŋ-mi
eat-PST.1SG-3PL.OBJ
'I ate them.'
- c. gu-mi wabara dza-təŋ
gu-mi wabara dza-təŋ
1SG-ERG mango eat.PST.1SG
'I ate mango.'

Sentences in (2a-c) clearly show that the past tense marker *-təŋ* is attached to the verb root only in transitive verb structure with first person singular subject. Moreover, number marker always follows the tense marker.

3.1.2 Past tense structure with the second person, number and verb category

With second person singular subject in the sentence, the past tense marker *-te* is attached to the verb root if the verb structure is intransitive. It can be presented in this way.

i. Intransitive verb structure

Verb root + tense marker *-te* + number

Let's consider intransitive sentences in (3a-b).

(3) Intransitive verb structure

- a. gə le:-te
gə le:-te
2SG return-PST.2SG
'You returned.'

- b. gə ip-te
gə ip-te
2SG sleep-PST.2SG
'You slept.'

In the sentences in (3a-b), it is clear that the past tense marker *-te* is attached to the verb root only in intransitive verb structure with second person singular subject.

The past tense marker *-ti* is attached to the verb root if there is the second person singular subject in the transitive sentence structure. It can be presented in this way.

i. Transitive verb structure

Verb root + tense marker *-ti* + number

Let's consider transitive sentences in (4a-c).

(4) Transitive verb structure

- a. gə-mi dzat^so dzap-ti
gə-mi dzat^so dzap-ti
2SG-ERG rice at-PST.2SG
'You ate rice.'
- b. gə-mi mjam-dwa-lai dzap-ti-mi
gə-mi mjam-dwa-lai
2SG-ERG that-PL-DAT
dzap-ti-mi
eat-PST.2SG-PL.OBJ
'You ate them all.'
- c. gə-mi am-lai typ-ti
gə-mi am-lai typ-ti
2SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST.2SG
'You beat him/her.'

Sentences in (4a-c) clearly show that the past tense marker *-ti* is attached to the verb root only in transitive verb structure with second person singular subject. Moreover, number marker always follows the tense marker.

3.1.3 Past tense structure with person and number

In 3.1.1, we discussed about first person and second person singular subject in the sentence with intransitive and transitive verb form with different tense markers in the verb root.

However, the verb root is inflected with *-ta* to denote past tense if the subject of the sentence is in the first person duality and plurality, second person duality and plurality, and in both singular and plural third person subject.

The past tense marker *-ta* is applicable in all except in the case of first person and second person singular subject structure in the sentence. It can be presented in this way.

i. verb root + tense marker *-ta* + number

Let's consider the sentences with person and number in (5a-b), (6a-b) and (7a-b).

(5) First person dual and plural structure

- a. gu-su-mi dzat^so dza-ta-su
gu-su-mi dzat^so
1SG-DL.ERG rice
dza-ta-su
eat-PST-1DL.EXCL
'We two ate rice.'
- b. gu-ku-mi dzat^so dzak-ta-ku
gu-ku-mi dzat^so
1SG-PL.EXCL-ERG rice
dzak-ta-ku
eat-PST-1PL.EXCL
'We all ate rice.'

Sentences in (5a-b) clearly show the past tense marker *-ta* attached to the verb root in the first person dual and plural structure.

(6) Second person dual and plural structure

- a. gə-ni-mi dzat^so dzan-ta-ni
gə-ni-mi dzat^so
2SG-PL-ERG rice
dzan-ta-ni
eat-PST-2PL
'You all ate rice.'
- b. gə-si-mi dzat^so dza-ta-si
gə-si-mi dzat^so
2SG-DL-ERG rice
dza-ta-si
eat-PST-2DL
'You two ate rice.'

Sentences in (6a-b) clearly show the past tense marker *-ta* attached in the verb root in the second person dual and plural structure.

(7) Third person singular and plural structure

- a. am-mi dzat^so dzap-ta
am-mi dzat^so dzap-ta
3SG-ERG rice eat-PST
'H/she ate rice.'
- b. am-dwa-mi dzat^so dzam-ta-me
am-dwa-mi dzat^so
3SG-PL-ERG rice
dzam-ta-me
eat-PST-3PL
'They all ate rice.'

Sentences in (7a-b) clearly shows the past tense marker *-ta* attached in the verb root in the third person singular and plural structure.

3.2 Non-past tense system

The non-past tense in the Bahing language denote both present and future-like situations. In the verb root, non-past tense is differently marked according to the subject in the sentence. There is restriction in the person and number (Thokar, 2005:72). The structure of non-past tense is presented in the following sub-section.

3.2.1 Structure of the first person subject

In both intransitive and transitive verb structure, the verb root is inflected with the marker *-ŋa* if the subject of the sentence is in the first person singular. Let's consider the sentences in (8a-d).

(8) First person singular subject

- a. gu dzat^so dza-ŋa
gu dzat^so dza-ŋa
1SG rice eat-NPST.1SG
'I eat rice.'
- b. gu la-ŋa
gu la-ŋa
1SG go-NPST.1SG
'I go.'
- c. gu mjamte pa-ŋa
gu mjam te pa-ŋa
1SG that work do-NPST.1SG
'I do that work.'
- d. gu bre:-ŋa
gu bre:-ŋa
1SG cry-NPST
'I cry.'

Sentences in (8a-d) clearly show that the marker *-ŋa* is attached in the verb root in the transitive and intransitive verb sentence structure with the first person singular subject. The marker *-ŋa* can be said that it plays role of denoting non-past tense. However, if the subject of the sentence is in the duality or plurality structure, the verb root does not inflect for non-past tense. In this case, the non-past tense marker is absorbed and the semantics remains intact. Instead, dual and plural pronominal marker is attached to the verb root. Let's consider the sentences in (9a-c).

(9) First person dual and plural subject

- a. gu-su dzat^so dza-su
gu-su dzat^so
1SG-DL.EXCL rice
d za-su
eat-1DL.EXCL
'We two eat rice.'

- b. gu-ki dzat^so dza-ka
 gu-ki dzat^so dza-ka
 1SG-PL.EXCL rice eat-1PL.EXCL
 'We all eat rice.'
- c. gə-ji dzat^so dza-ji
 gə-ji dzat^so dza-ji
 1SG-PL.INCL rice eat-1PL.INCL
 'We all eat rice.'

Sentences in (9a-c) clearly show that the non-past tense marker is not overt in the verb root rather the subject pronominal markers are attached to the verb root.

3.2.2 Structure of second person subject

The markers *-ji* and *-i* are attached to the verb root to denote the non-past tense if the second person subject in the sentence is singular. Let's consider the sentences in (10a-b).

(10) Second person singular subject

- a. gə dzat^so dza-ji
 gə dzat^so dza-ji
 2SG rice eat-NPST.2SG
 'You eat rice.'
- b. gə tyb-i
 gə tyb-i
 2SG beat-NPST.2SG
 'You beat (someone).'

Sentences in (10a-b) clearly show that the markers *-ji* and *-i* in the verb root play the role of denoting non-past tense in the sentence structure with the second person singular subject.

However, if the subject of the sentence is in duality or plurality, the non-past tense is not marked in the verb root with the distinct marker. In this case, the non-past tense marker is absorbed and the semantics remains intact. Instead, dual or plural pronominal markers are attached to the verb root as in (11a-b).

(11) Second person dual and plural subject

- a. gə-si dzat^so dza-si
 gə-si dzat^so dza-si
 2SG-DL rice eat-2DL
 'You two eat rice.'
- b. gə-ni dzat^so dza-ni
 gə-ni dzat^so dza-ni
 2SG rice eat-PL
 'You all eat rice.'

Sentences in (11a-b) clearly show that the non-past tense marker is seen in the verb root rather the dual or plural subject pronominal markers of the second person are attached to the verb root.

3.2.3 Structure of third person subject

In intransitive verb structure, the non-past tense is zero-marked in the verb root if there is third person singular subject. It is denoted with the symbol $-\phi$ as in (12a-b).

(12) Third person singular subject with intransitive verb

- a. am la- ϕ
 am la- ϕ
 3SG come-NPST
 'H/she goes.'
- b. am ra- ϕ
 am ra- ϕ
 3SG come-NPST
 'S/he comes.'

Sentences in (12a-b) clearly show that the intransitive verb with the third person singular subject does not inflect to show the non-past tense.

The marker *-wa* denotes non-past tense in the Bahing language if the subject of the sentence is third person singular with the transitive verb structure in the sentence. Let's consider the sentences in (13a-b).

(13) Third person singular subject with transitive verb

a. am wabara dzawa

am wabara dza-wa
3SG mango eat-NPST.3SG
'S/he eats mango.'

b. am salama gi-wa

am salama gi-wa
3SG bag give-NPST.3SG
'S/he gives bag (go someone).'

Sentences in (13a-b) clearly show that the marker *-wa* is attached to the verb root to denote the non-past tense if the subject of the sentence is in the third person singular with the transitive verb structure.

However, if the third person subject is of duality and plurality, the subject pronominal marker is attached to the verb root. In this case, the non-past tense marker is absorbed and the semantics remains intact. Let's consider the sentences in (14a-b).

(14) Third person subject with duality and plurality

a. am-dwa-si wabara dza-se

am-dwa-si wabara dza-se
3SG-PL-DL mango eat-3DL
'They two eat mango.'

b. am-dwa wabara dza-me

am-dwa wabara dza-me
3SG-PL mango eat-3PL
'They all eat mango.'

Sentences in (14a-b) show that the third person subject pronominal markers *-se* in the dual subject and *-me* in the plural subject are attached to the verb root rather than distinct tense marker.

3.3 Negation and past tense structure

In typological studies of modality the usual dichotomy is between realis and irrealis. The dichotomy of realis and irrealis is a

semantic/pragmatic notion rather than a formal one. The distinction between realis and irrealis is defined as distinguishing between actual and non-actual events (Chung and Timberlake 1985:241 as cited by Poudel 2007:62). Realis is basically equivalent to indicative. The notion such as possibility, hypothetical and imperative is the sub-divisions of irrealis. The negated declarative also has the force of unreal or non-actual hence, irrealis but the negated imperative does not lead to realis because an imperative either negated or not never refers to the actual events.

Languages vary in the category that are treated as realis or irrealis. For example, realis is used to express past and present situations as in Manipuri and in Burmese (Okell 1969 as cited in Comrie 1985:50). But the same category of irrealis is used to express past habitual in Dyrirbal (Comrie 1985:51). It is also reported that the markers of irrealis are quite irregular (Givón 1982, Bybee et al. 1994:138). In spite of such differences, there are a lot of similarities too, amongst widely different languages.

The realis portrays situations as actualized, knowable through direct perception. On the other hand, the irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable through imagination (Mithun 1995:368).

A prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true. A prototypical irrealis mode asserts that an event did not take place or will not take place. It simply makes no claim with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described. Negative clauses do assert that events or situations do not hold, but these are subject to the same realis-irrealis continuum as are affirmative clauses. Some languages, however, treat all negative clauses as irrealis (Payne 1997:244-45)

In the Bahing language, the prefix *ma-* is the morpheme, which denotes the negation. While the past tense structure of the affirmative sentences is negated with the prefix *ma-*, the past tense markers are no longer visible rather they are omitted. Instead, pronominal markers and irrealis

marker *-wa* are attached to the verb root. In this case, the marker *-wa* is identical with the non-past tense marker as in 3.2.3. In this case, the marker *-wa* is labeled as irrealis. Let's consider the sentences in (15a-f).

(15) Past tense structure and negativization

- a. meera-mi dzat^so dzap-ta
 meera-mi dzat^so dzap-ta
 Meera-ERG rice eat-PST
 'Meera ate rice.'
- b. meena-mi dzat^so ma-dzap-wa
 meena-mi dzat^so
 Meena-ERG rice
 ma-dzap-wa
 NEG-eat-IRR
 'Meera did not eat rice.'
- c. gu-mi dzat^so dza-təŋ
 gu-mi dzat^so dza-təŋ
 I-ERG rice eat-PST.1SG
 'I ate rice.'
- d. gu-mi dzat^so ma-dza-ŋa-wa
 gu-mi dzat^so
 I-ERG rice
 ma-dza-ŋa-wa
 NEG-eat-1SG-IRR
 'I did not eat rice.'
- e. gu la-ti
 gu la-ti
 1SG go-PST.1SG
 'I went.'
- f. gu la-ŋa-wa
 gu la-ŋa-wa
 1SG go-1SG-IRR
 'I did not go.'

Sentences in (15a-f) clearly show that the past tense makers are omitted, while they are negated

with prefix *ma-*. Instead, pronominal markers and irrealis marker *-wa* are attached to the verb root.

However, this type of change does not occur in the non-past verb structure while they are negated with the prefix *ma-* as in sentences (16a-d).

(16) Non-past tense structure and negativization

- a. am dzat^so dza-wa
 am dzat^so dza-wa
 3SG rice eat-NPST.3SG
 'S/he eats rice'
- b. am dzat^so ma-dza-wa
 am dzat^so ma-dza-wa
 3SG rice NEG-eat-NPST.3SG
 'S/he does not eat rice.'
- c. dza-se-si
 dza-se-si
 eat-2DL-3DL
 '(You two) Eat (them two).'
- d. ma-dza-se-si
 ma-dza-se-si
 NEG-eat-2DL-3DL
 '(You two) Don't eat (them two).'

Sentences in (16a-d) clearly show that the non-past structure of the verbs in the sentences does not go changed even they are negativized with the negative prefix *ma-*.

4 Summary

In the Bahing language, the tense system can be categorized into two: (i) past and (ii) non-past. Except in the negated structure in the past tense, the past tense markers are distinctively attached to the verb root with different number markers and verb structure such as intransitivity and transitivity. In some cases, the non-past tense is not marked distinctly by tense marker rather pronominal markers are attached to the verb. The past tense makers are omitted, while they are negated with prefix *ma-*. Instead, pronominal

markers and irrealis marker *-wa* are attached to the verb root. On the other hand, the marker in the verb root to denote non-past tense is obligatory only in the first, second and third person singular subject, which have different markers. However, if the subject of the sentence is in duality and plurality, the non-past tense marker is not attached to the verb root - rather remains covert, but the semantics remains intact. These are the interesting characteristics of the Bahing language.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	first person
3	first person
DU	dual
DAT	dative
ERG	ergative
E-time	event time
EXCL	exclusive
INCL	inclusive
IRR	irrealis
NPST	non-past
OBJ	object
PL	plural
PST	past
R-time	reference time
SG	singular
S-time	speech time
ϕ	zero marker

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The interaction of weight effects and extrametricality in Nepali phonetic stress assignment

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This article presents a constraint-based (optimality-theoretic) approach to analyzing the interaction between syllable weight and extrametricality in phonetic stress assignment in Nepali. Incorporating several examples from Acharya (1993), I construct a constraint-based account of generalized phonetic stress assignment. I conclude, in the spirit of Prince and Smolensky (1993/2004), that extrametricality can be overruled when it comes into conflict with a higher-ranked well-formedness constraint.

1. Introduction

Much recent exploration of prosodic stress assignment within an optimality-theoretic framework has led to the conclusion that edge-oriented constraints on well-formedness are gradient, rather than absolute, in nature. This conclusion suggests a general hypothesis that extrametricality subsumes a family of effects in which edgemostness interacts with other (often higher-ranked) prosodic constraints (McCarthy and Prince 1986:9, Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004: 39).

Standard Nepali demonstrates an interaction between left-oriented phonetic stress patterning and syllable weight. Crucially, this interaction may be construed as an instantiation of hierarchical constraint domination. The default for the prosodic system is to assign leftmost prosodic prominence except when this default is overruled by a higher-ranked prosodic constraint on syllable weight. This interaction is not unlike the generalization constructed by Hayes (1995: 276-8).

The present analysis attempts to demonstrate that extrametricality in Standard Nepali phonetic stress assignment can be overruled by a well-formedness constraint sensitive to syllable weight.

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It will be shown that this constraint, properly formulated, has a blocking effect on the left-oriented system default of phonetic stress assignment. As such, the remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a brief overview of Optimality Theory and the particulars of weight and prominence-driven stress systems. Section 3 presents a constraint-based analysis of the interaction between syllable weight and phonetic stress assignment in Nepali. Finally, Section 4 offers a concluding discussion.

2. Background

In this section, I introduce briefly the theoretical framework to be used. This serves also to establish the view that stress assignment is largely epiphenomenal and results from an interaction between two hierarchically arranged constraints. Before going into a detailed description of weight and prominence-driven stress systems, I will start with an introduction to the basic assumptions of Optimality Theory. Since this is not intended to be a general introduction to this framework, I will restrict the discussion to only those aspects of the theory which will be essential in the treatment of stress assignment.

2.1 Violability and conflict

Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004) is based on the assumption that languages are shaped by the interaction of universal violable constraints on output forms. These universal constraints stand in conflict and are ranked with regard to each other. This notion of constraint ranking means that satisfying some constraints is more important than satisfying others.

In standard Optimality Theory (henceforth, OT) one input is matched with a potentially indefinite set of possible outputs by a function labeled

EVAL. These potential outputs, which are generated by a largely unspecified function GEN, are compared with each other with regard to how well or how poorly they fulfill the requirements of a set of constraints. The optimal output candidate is selected which demonstrates the least violations of the constraints deemed most important.

The selection procedure is illustrated using constraint tableaux. The example tableau provided below (adapted from Krämer 2003: 51) is read as follows: the first (leftmost) column lists the possible output candidates above which an assumed underlying representation is displayed and against which these outputs must match. To the right of the input, the relevant constraints are listed such that constraints appearing to the left are more important (i.e. higher ranked) than those appearing to the right. The asterisks represent violations of the constraint in the column by the candidate in the respective row. Asterisks marked with an exclamation mark denote fatal constraint violations, meaning that particular candidate is excluded from being selected as the optimal form.

Table 1: Adjudication via a constraint tableau

Candidates	CONSTRAINT A	B	C	D
candidate 1	*!			*
candidate 2		*!		*
candidate 3			*	*!
☞ candidate 4			*	

In the next subsection, I will briefly discuss how weight and prominence-driven stress systems are modeled within the framework of OT.

2.2 Weight and prominence-driven stress systems

Stress systems typically assign primary stress from a domain edge, namely right or left. In stress systems that incorporate syllable weight, primary stress generally falls on the leftmost or rightmost

syllable of greatest weight (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004: 39). In such prosodic systems where weight and edgemostness interact, two constraints appear to be involved: following the taxonomic distinctions given by Prince and Smolensky, I shall refer to these as PK-PROM (Peak-Prominence) and EDGEMOST.

The first constraint provides a formal definition of a kind of elevated prominence known as stress. Here, I follow McCarthy and Prince's (1986: 9) representation, which I find particularly perspicuous:

- (1) **Peak-prominence** (PK-PROM)
 $Peak(x) > Peak(y)$ iff $|x| > |y|$

PK-PROM stipulates that element x is a better peak than y if its intrinsic prominence is greater than that of y .

The second constraint stipulates the favored position of the primary stress (i.e. prominence peak) in a word. Here, it is necessary to point out that the term 'word' may refer to any stress domain (whether prosodic, morphological or other).

- (2) **EDGEMOST** (peak; L|R; Word)
 'A peak of prominence lies at the L|R edge of the Word'

The constraint EDGEMOST requires that the prominence peak be situated at some edge (choose 'left' or 'right') and be bound within a particular domain (here, 'word').

Before demonstrating the interaction between these two constraints, I will further refine EDGEMOST to reflect a left-oriented prominence system.

- (3) **EDGEMOST** (peak; L; Word)
 'A peak of prominence lies at the Leftmost edge of the Word'

Given the EDGEMOST constraint specified here and the PK-PROM constraint defined above, I

construct the following tableau to demonstrate the leftmost requirement under an equal segment weights condition. Here, PK-PROM is included in spite of the fact that the constraint is inactive.

Table 2: Left-Oriented Prominence System (No Heavy Syllables)

Candidates	PK-PROM	EDGEMOST (pk; L)
☞ LLL		#
LLL		σ#!
LLL		σσ#!

In the above tableau, PK-PROM has no bearing in the decision made by EVAL since all candidates lie in the same relative standing. To demonstrate this particular ranking of constraints, I appeal to the following tableau in which the addition of heavy syllables makes the role (and ranking) of PK-PROM apparent.

Table 3: Left-Oriented Prominence System (with Heavy Syllables)

Candidates	PK-PROM	EDGEMOST (pk; L)
LHL	L!	
☞ LHL	H	σ#
LHL	L!	

It is worthwhile to note that, when candidates are equal with respect to their intrinsic prominence, the decision criterion is passed to the next available constraint. In the event that the highest-ranked constraint may adjudicate the decision, it becomes unnecessary for EVAL to look to the next available constraint in the hierarchy. The latter case is reflected above where irrelevant EDGEMOST violations are shaded.

3. Syllable weight and phonetic stress assignment in Nepali

Standard Nepali demonstrates an interaction between syllable weight and extrametricality that

is rooted in two well-formedness constraints operative in prosodic patterning. Following Prince and Smolensky (1993/2004), I maintain that word-level prosodic head assignment in Nepali may be referred to as an instantiation of ‘do-something-except-when’—a default that is blocked under certain circumstances due to hierarchical constraint-ordering (38). In what follows, I outline a moraic-ordering of Nepali syllable weight before proceeding to a constraint-based analysis of phonetic stress assignment.

3.1 Degrees of heaviness of Nepali syllables

Before exploring the interplay between syllable weight and extrametricality, it is necessary that we make a few distinctions concerning syllable weight. While the previous section did indeed touch upon syllable weight, the dynamics of syllable weight in Nepali are substantially more complex than a simple light vs. heavy distinction can capture. For this reason, I appeal to Acharya (1993), whose account of syllable weight as a resultant sum of segment component values I find particularly congenial (39-41).

Table 4: Segment value by phonological component

Segment component	Component value
a. Voiceless unaspirated stops	0.1
b. Voiceless aspirated stops	0.2
c. Voiced unaspirated stops	0.3
d. Voiced aspirated stops	0.4
e. Nasals	0.5
f. Fricatives	0.6
g. Laterals	0.7
h. Trills	0.8
i. Glides	0.9
j. Phonemic short vowels	1
k. Phonemic nasal vowels, long vowels and vowels + glides	2
l. Vowels + nasal glides	3
m. Phonetically extra-long vowels	4

Acharya’s decomposition of segment values permits us to weigh the Nepali syllable by summing the values of its components. For example, in the disyllabic word /^hdar.ba:r/ ‘palace’, the weight of each respective syllable would be [2.1-3.1].

The first complication in our treatment of syllable weight is that Nepali recognizes multiple degrees of syllable weight (or intrinsic prominence). To treat this, I follow Hayes’ (1995: 276) suggestion of a moraic ordering of weight classes. However, it is evident that Hayes’ mora-based scheme of ordering weight-classes cannot be applied directly to Nepali syllable weight due to the fact that the Nepali syllable weight assignment is sensitive to both the typological structure of the syllable (e.g. CV vs. CVC) and the nature of the segmental components themselves (i.e. type of consonant/vowel). Under this consideration, I formulate the following moraic ordering of syllable weight classes in Nepali.

Table 5: Moraic-ordering of syllable weight values

Total syllable weight value	Moraic weight value
1.0 – 1.9	μ
2.0 – 2.9	μμ
3.0 – 3.9	μμμ
4.0 – 4.9	μμμμ
5.0 – 5.9	μμμμμ

The above moraic-ordering yields the following heaviness scale:

- (4) **Heaviness scale (Intrinsic prominence)**
 $|\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu| > |\mu\mu\mu\mu| > |\mu\mu\mu| > |\mu\mu| > |\mu|$

This heaviness scale ranks the intrinsic prominence of syllables from heaviest to lightest. In the proceeding subsection, it will be shown that this scale fits directly into the constraint PK-PROM. Although it may be contended that this moraic-ordering is significantly more coarse-grained than Acharya’s (1993) approach, I contend that this

heaviness scale fits more suitably with the gradient harmonic scale shown below.

- (5) **Heaviness scale (Gradient harmonic)**
 $\mu\mu\mu\mu\mu > \mu\mu\mu\mu > \mu\mu\mu > \mu\mu > \mu$

It is only within the context of a properly formulated PK-PROM constraint that such a gradient harmonic ordering may be invoked. In addition to following the moraic-ordering measures implemented by Hayes (1991/1995), the use of such a moraic scheme allows us to avoid counting when reckoning optimality in a harmonic ordering of forms (see Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004: 27 for discussion).

3.2 Constraint interaction in phonetic stress assignment

Having established a moraic-ordered heaviness scale, we now proceed to a constraint-based analysis of phonetic stress assignment in Nepali. It will be argued that the rules governing phonetic stress assignment in Nepali may be represented as two hierarchically-arranged constraints: one judging intrinsic syllable prominence and the second stipulating edgemostness. It will then be shown that phonetic stress is left-oriented except when a higher-ordered syllable weight constraint is invoked.

To begin this exploration of constraint interaction, I consider two phonetic stress rules for Nepali outlined by Acharya (1993). The first may be summarized as follows (43):

- (6) **Nepali phonetic stress rule 1 (NPSR-1)**
 Phonetic stress falls on the word-initial syllable if the other syllables in the word are of equal weight, or heavier by only one degree.

NPSR-1 may be represented as an instantiation of the constraint EDGEMOST as formulated in the previous section. The following list (Acharya 1993: 44) illustrates the regular phonetic stress pattern encapsulated by EDGEMOST (peak; L).

Table 6: Adjudication via NPSR-1 (corpus data)

a.	/ka:ka:/	μμ.μμ	‘uncle’
b.	/ba.sa:/	μ.μ	‘sit down’
c.	/ra:m.la:l/	μμμ.μμμ	(proper name)
d.	/tʃa:.no/	μμ.μμ	‘roof’
e.	/tʃa:.ya:/	μμ.μμ	‘shadow’

Formulated as a constraint, EDGEMOST (peak; L), accurately predicts stress assignment in all cases sampled above. Cf.:

Table 7: Adjudication via EDGEMOST

Candidates	EDGEMOST (pk; L)
☞ /ka:ka:/	#
/ka:ka:/	σ#!

In the absence of any other constraints, one would expect the leftmost edge to be the prosodic head in all conceivable environments. This, however, is not the case. As indicated above, Nepali stress assignment is sensitive to syllable weight, which, as Acharya (1993) notes, leads to a rightward-shifting of stress in a particular environment. This rule is described as follows (44).

(7) **Nepali phonetic stress rule 2 (NPSR-2)**

If any of the succeeding syllables is heavier than the word initial-syllable by two or more degrees, then the stress occurs on the succeeding syllable, but only if the succeeding syllable is immediately adjacent to the word-initial syllable.

In cases where weight interacts with the regular stress pattern, we appeal to the rule elaborated above. The following list demonstrates that a higher-ranked positional constraint is at play in certain environments (Acharya 1993: 44).

Table 8: Adjudication via NPSR-2 (corpus data)

a.	/pa.'ka:w.tʃa/	μ.μμμ.μ	‘(he) cooks’
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b.	/ba.'na:w.tʃa/	μ.μμμ.μ	‘(he) makes’
c.	/b ^h ak.b ^h a.ka:w.tʃa/	μμ.μ.μμμ.μ	‘(he) stutters’
d.	/p ^h at.p ^h a.ta:w.tʃa/	μμ.μ.μμμ.μ	‘(he) jabbbers’

Exactly as in the weight and prominence-driven system considered in the previous section, the positional constraint EDGEMOST is completely dominated by the weight-measuring PK-PROM, properly formulated. Following Acharya’s description of NPSR-2, I formulate a positional prominence-peak constraint (formalized below).

(8) **Peak-prominence** (peak; L & L+1; Word)

$Peak(x) > Peak(y)$ iff $|x| - |y| \geq \mu\mu$

‘Target Leftmost and Leftmost + 1; the element x is a better (more harmonic) peak than y iff the difference between the intrinsic prominence of x and the intrinsic prominence of y is greater than or equal to (i.e. at least) two morae.’

The full constraint hierarchy runs PK-PROM (peak; L & L+1) >> EDGEMOST (peak; L). The following tableaux demonstrate how evaluation proceeds over two examples. Note that the decision rule selects a stress assignment that is consistent with the examples cited from Acharya (1993) above.

Table 9: Adjudication via PK-PROM

Candidates	PK-PROM	EDGEMOST (pk; L)
/pa.ka:w.tʃa/	μ!	
☞ /pa.ka:w.tʃa/	μμμ	σ#
/pa.ka:w.tʃa/	μ	

In cases where the difference between the heaviness of the first two syllables (L & L+1) is not at least two morae, the decision is passed to the second constraint, EDGEMOST. Cf.:

Table 10: Adjudication via NPSR-2 (Pass to EDGEMOST)

Candidates	PK-PROM	EDGEMOST (pk; L)
☞ /b ^h at.p ^h a.ta:w.tʃa/	μ	#
/b ^h at.p ^h a.ta:w.tʃa/	μ	σ#!
/b ^h at.p ^h a.ta:w.tʃa/	μ	
/b ^h at.p ^h a.ta:w.tʃa/	μ	

By stipulating that PK-PROM only target the first two leftmost syllables, this model ensures that phonetic stress assignment will fall only on either Leftmost or Leftmost+1. Under this formulation of PK-PROM, any candidate bearing stress on any syllable other than Leftmost or Leftmost+1 is rejected outright.

The phonetic stress pattern in this Nepali generalization shows that extrametricality can be overruled when it comes in conflict with another (weight-sensitive) prosodic constraint. Crucially, prominence is left-oriented except when being so entails the fatal violation of the higher-ranked prominence constraint. Following Optimality Theory, we expect such a phenomenon to be resolved by special constraint stipulation. That is, if extrametricality is in fact a rule assigning a certain feature, it seems that there can be no other explanation as to why it fails to apply when its structural description is met.

4. Summary

The present analysis has served to demonstrate that certain aspects of Nepali phonetic stress assignment may be construed as the result of two hierarchically-ordered constraints. While faithfulness to a leftmost prosodic head stipulation orders a default mode for stress assignment, syllable weight has been shown to override this default in a sort of blocking

phenomenon. Hence I conclude, in the spirit of Prince and Smolensky (1993/2004), that leftmost-prominence in Nepali phonetic stress assignment can be overruled when it comes into conflict with a higher-ranked well-formedness constraint.

As a final note, I point out that this analysis is not meant to be exhaustive in its account of stress assignment, but rather, general and coarse-grained. As is the case in many languages, judgments of stress in Nepali are delicate and subject to complex, pragmatically-driven prosodic constraints, as well as dialectical variation. It is therefore essential to distinguish the observations of distinct circumstances and to seek non-impressionistic support for the generalized claims made here.

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Status of Limbu mother tongue education in Nepal

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This article presents the status of Limbu language and Limbu mother tongue education on the basis of information gathered from interviews and books. It introduces the Limbu language with a brief background, records the contributions of different organizations to the development of mother tongue education, discusses problems and recommends suggestions.

1 Introduction

There are about 6900 languages spoken in the world. They belong to 136 languages families, out of which there are six major language families namely Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian, Indo-European, Niger-Congo, Sino-Tibetan and Trans-New Papua Guinea. On the basis of the number of individual speaker, Chinese is spoken by the largest population, which is followed by Spanish, English, Arabian, Hindi, Bengali, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese and German respectively (Ethnologue 2009).

In Nepal, there are 123 languages (National Population and Housing Report 2011). They belong to Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian families and a Kusunda which is a linguistic isolate. In terms of number of speakers, Indo-European is the largest language family, but in terms of the number of individual languages, Sino-Tibetan is larger than Indo-European. Limbu belongs to Sino-Tibetan family. It is spoken in 9 districts of Kosi and Mechi zones of eastern Nepal namely Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam, Jhpa of the Mechi zone and Sankhuwasabha, Terhathum, Dhankuta, Sunsari and Morang of the Kosi zone. It is also spoken in the Kathmandu valley. Outside Nepal, it is spoken in India, Bhutan, Myanmar, Singapore, Hongkong and the U.K. . It is called *Yakthng Pan* in their mother tongue and its script is called *Sirijanga*.

It has four dialects namely Taplejunge, Panthare, Phedape and Chhatthare (see Wiedert and Subba 1985, van Driem 1987 and Kainla 2059 B.S.). However, Chhatthare is very different from other dialects and it is not intelligible to their speakers (see Tumbahang 2011₁). Hansson (1991) *Nepalese Linguistics, Vol. 28, 2013, pp. 253-261*

classifies it as a separate language. All languages mentioned above have unique ways of expression, and they as such mark the identity of 126 ethnic and caste groups.

Scholars have expressed opinions about the importance of language. I quote some of the scholars.

Each language constitutes a certain model of the universe, a semiotic system of understanding the world, and if we have 4,000 different ways to describe the world, this makes us rich. We should be concerned about preserving languages just as we are about ecology (Ivanov (1992) as quoted in Crystal (2000:36).

In fact, language diversity reduction lowers the pool of knowledge, and weakens adaptation strength of the species.

Hale (1992:8) says, Just as the extinction of any animal species diminishes our world, so does the extinction of any language.

Pogson (1998:4) as quoted in Crystal (2000:34) adopts a genetic analogy and says, language diversity, like a gene pool, is essential for our species to thrive...If we are to prosper, we need the cross-fertilisation of thought that multilingualism gives us.

Krauss (1992:8) says:

Surely, just as the extinction of any animal species diminishes our world so does the extinction of any language. Surely we linguists know, and the general public can sense, that any language is a supreme achievement of a uniquely human collective genius, as divine and endless a mystery as a living organism. Should we mourn the loss of Eyak or Ubykh any less than the loss of the panda or California condor?'

Policy statement issued by the Linguistic Society of America in 1994 goes a step beyond analogy and says the loss to humankind of genetic diversity in the linguistic world is...arguably greater than even the loss of genetic diversity in

the biological world, given that the structure of human language represents a considerable testimony to human intellectual achievement.'

The above statements of different scholars indicate the need for the preservation of diverse languages to protect the identity of people. But Shah and Rana rulers never realized this fact. After the integration of *Limbuwan* to the Gorkha kingdom, the Limbus were forbidden to read and write in Limbu, which is evident from the warning of conscious people to the members of the community that "let's not say that we read and write Limbu otherwise the king of Gorkha will kill us" (Chemjong 2003 Reprint). Until the end of the Panchayat system, single language (Nepali only) was in practice and other indigenous languages were suppressed. During this period, the then government would take strong action against those who were involved in the activities of reading and writing indigenous languages. Lalsor Sendang, Gangaram Lingkhim, Prithivi Maden, Randhoj Sereng, Asok Nembang, Bir Nembang suffered much during the Panchayat period while working for Limbu language and literature. Having realized the significance of the mother tongue people like Iman Singh Chemjong, Kajiman Kandangwa, Puspa Thamsuhang, Asman Subba, Rana Bahadur Menyangbo, Yehang Laoti, Asok Kumar Sabehang, Bijuli Prasad Anchanbo, Purna Bahadur Hangsrang, Ganesh Bahadur Thamsuhang, Captain Yan Bahadur Payangu, Lal Bahadur Lungwa Subba, Chandra Kumar Serma and many others tried to spread Srijanga script and Limbu literature across the Limbu communities running the risk of prosecution and imprisonment. Since the advent of multiparty democracy, Bairagi Kaila and Amar Tumyang among others have been making significant contribution to the development of Limbu language and literature.

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 recognized Nepali language in the *Devnagari* script as "the language of nation" and "official language" and all the languages spoken as a mother tongue in different parts of Nepal as "national languages" of Nepal. The constitution (Part 3, Article 18) provided each community with

linguistic rights to preserve and promote its language, script and culture, and operate schools up to primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to the children.

The UNESCO meeting of the specialists was held in Thailand in 1990 with the slogan 'Education for all'. It concluded with a resolution that all children of primary school age be provided with education in their mother tongue by 2000. Complying with this resolution, National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission was formed on May 27, 1993 under the leadership of Tilbikram Nembang. It submitted its report in 1994 with the recommendations that linguistic survey be conducted, curriculum and textbooks be designed with an objective to introduce mother tongue as the medium of monolingual and transitional bilingual primary education and literacy programs among other things. The National Education Commission of 1999 formulated a policy of educating children in their mother tongue. Likewise, the ninth five year plan (1999-2002) formulated policies and programs targeting indigenous peoples. In order to implement plans and policies, the National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) was established. It has recognized 59 tribes as ethnic communities.

The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) ended the difference between "the language of nation" and "national languages" recognizing all as "national languages" of Nepal. It also made provision to use the mother tongue in local bodies and offices. It provided each community with the rights to get basic education in their mother tongue and preserve and promote their language, script, culture, cultural civility and heritage. Limbu language activists and their ethnic organization Kirat Yakthung Chumlung (KYC) were motivated to provide children basic education in the mother tongue.

2 Literature

Limbu has both oral and written literature.

2.1 Oral literature

Oral literature includes narratives, folk songs, prayers etc.

2.1.1 Mundhum narrative

Mundhum is the source of oral literature in Limbu. It tells the stories about the origins of the universe and human beings, growth of human population, development of sin and suffering of human beings, arrival of Limbu priests such as Phedangma, Yeba, Samba etc. on the earth and their ways of washing sin etc. These Limbu priests recite the narratives in poetic language. They perform cultural rituals such as naming, feeding, marriage and death ceremonies and religious rituals such as yakwa, casot, tangsing etc. reciting narratives verbatim. They also cure diseases by reciting hymns. These hymns and narratives have been transmitted orally from one generation to another since time immemorial. Recently, some writers have published them in the form of a book.

While praying to Yuma Goddess, Phedangma recites the narrative in the following way:

sijorag

keiŋme san

peŋi thaŋaŋ

pa:njaŋ thaŋaŋ

(I, your messenger, came to request you.)

Samba recites the narrative of the origin of the universe in the following way:

taŋsaŋaŋaŋ ho:pte

iksaŋaŋ ho:pte

muhəŋliŋ nesse

kheheŋliŋ nesse

(There was no sky, no earth, there was void below, void above too.)

2.1.1.2 Folk song

senchreŋla lago cadumelle

saŋsaŋba tenno adumelle

tummui ibippa henaro

huksogen cibhakkaŋ sewaro holy place

(In the month of Marga, the season of enough grain, I am pleased to meet you in this sacred place. On this occasion, I would like to salute you folding both hands.)

2.2 Written literature

2.2.1 Dictionary

Senior (1908), Chemjong (2018 B.S.), Har (1960), Kumar Bajrabihari et al. (1980), Limbu (2051 B.S.), Subba (1980), Yongyang (2052 B.S.), Kainla (2059 B.S.), Mikhailovsky (2002) are the major works on Limbu dictionaries. In addition, Karkpatrick (1811), Campbell (1840), Hodgeson (1857), Wiedert and Subba (1985), Van Driem (1987) list a few words in their grammar books.

2.2.2 Grammar

Chemjong (1970), Wiedert and Subba (1985), Van Driem (1987), Tambahang (2011₂, 2011₃) and Mabo (2067 B.S.) are the Limbu grammars.

2.2.3 Textbooks

Ani? pa:n series for class 1, class 2, class 3, class 4 and class 5 have been prepared. In addition, Amar Tumyang has translated into Limbu Social Studies, Math Education, Science Education and Physical Education of class 1.

2.2.4 Literature

Sodhungen Imansingh chotlung (2060 B.S.) is the first epic written by Amar Tumyang. Before it were written Kirat Mikhan Samlo by Subba Khadga Bahadur Nembang in 2013 B.S., Kabita Sangraha Semmui by Chandramani Tumbapo in 1986, Kesami Namsami by Birahi Kainla in 1987, Palam and Balihang Tangnam by Nara Yanghang in 2052 B.S. and 2053 B.S. respectively, Itnimaha? by Puspa Thamsuhang in 2057 B.S. They are significant works done in the field of poetry. Poets like Tanka Wanem, Amar Subba, Dilendra Subba, Hima Devi Bokkhim, Purna Muringla, Sesehang Phyak, Chandra Mangyung, B. B. Muringla among others have made

important contributions to the development of poems.

Thattama written by Padam Sing Muringla in 1983, Sepmang written by Deuman Hondok Khamdok in 1984, Phungbonai written by Mani Raj Hukpa in 1985, Hingmellek Tanba Lamdik by Sat Kumar Singdhabu in 1987, Mim Iplikhe written by Lalit Muringla in 1988, Chosaplungma written by B.B. Pakkhim in 1991, Sakmat written by Dev Man Yakthung Khamdhak in 1998, Ningwasorat written by Rup Lal Khamdhak in 2005, Loji written by Uttar Kumar Yanghang in 2062 B.S. are some of the novels in this language.

Sepmangle Kusepmang is a drama written by Uttar Kumar Yanghang in 2062 B.S.

2.2.4 Journals

At least 44 journals are published in Limbu. They are listed in Tambahang (2011₁).

2.2.5 Cinema films

There are at least 8 cinema films in Limbu. They are listed in Tambahang (2011₁).

2.2.6 FMs

Various programs are transmitted in Limbu through different FMs (see Tambahang 2011₁)

3 Mother tongue schools

There is no exact record of mother tongue schools. From its inception as an optional subject in the primary level in 2055 B.S., there are ups and downs in their number. District Education Offices and KYC are also unable to give the exact number of the schools.

According to Mrs. Lila Singhak, general secretary of KYC, Central Committee Lalitpur, Limbu is being taught as an optional subject up to class five in 139 schools in Terhathum district.

Mr. Harka Yaksu, general secretary of KYC District Committee, Tapljeung says (telephone interview) that Limbu was taught as an optional subject up to class five in 60 schools of the Taplejung district until the last academic session, but report on the accurate number of schools this year has not been received yet. Until last year,

only in schools of Sinam and Thechambu, it was taught up to class 5 whereas in other schools only up to class 3 it was taught. Mr. Yaksu is a recently retired principal of Higher Secondary School, Hangpang and wants to devote his rest of the life to the service of language, culture and religion of Limbu. However, he complains that the organization which he has joined to attain his goal isn't enthusiastic about these things, and the government is not supportive. Initially, people were interested in mother tongue education, but now they are losing interest gradually, and there is every likelihood that the number of mother-tongue should decrease.

According to Muksam Laoti, there were 220 mother tongue schools in Panchthar district in the beginning. But during the Maoist insurgency, District Administration Office of Panchathar prohibited the use of Limbu language as a medium of instruction and communication. After the restoration of peace, teaching of Limbu was not revived in all schools. Therefore, the number of mother tongue schools decreased considerably. Laxmihang Angbo, the secretary of KYC, District Committee Panchthar, reports that Limbu as an optional subject is being taught up to class 5 in 150 schools of Panchthar district. In addition, it is taught in class 11 and 12 in Satyahanma Higher Secondary School, Imbung, and class 11 is running in Prithivi Higher Secondary School, Yasok in Panchthar district. In the last academic session, 40 students appeared in the examination of class 11 and 20 students in the examination of class 12. Abhisek Yekten, General Secretary of KYC, District Committee, Ilam says that Limbu is taught up to class 5 in 32 primary schools in Ilam district. It is being taught from this session in class 11 in Saraswati Higher Secondary School, Bajo, Ilam. In Kirat Samjik Mundhum Nisam Him, Bajo, 9 Mangsebung, all subjects are taught in Limbu at government expense.

Mr. Tek Bahadur Angdembe, Chairman of KYC, District Committee, Jhapa reports that Limbu was taught as an optional subject up to class 3 in about 17 schools of Jhapa district until the last academic session. The number of mother tongue schools in Jhapa is still unknown. Rastriya Ramananiya

Adarsa Higher Secondary School Dudhe, Jhapa, is going to start class 11. Mr. Angdembe isn't optimistic about the increase of the number of mother tongue schools. According to Mr. Ganesh Wanem, Secretary of KYC, District Committee, Sankhuwasabha, Limbu is taught as an optional subject up to class 5 in Saraswati Secondary School, Siddha Pokhari -4, Jwalamukhi Primary School, Nundhaki- 8 and Prakaseshwar Primary School, Siddhakali -2 in Sankhuwasabha district. In addition, informal literacy program is also being conducted in some villages. Mr. Tek Bahadur Neyanghang Limbu, a Nepali Diaspora in Germany started teaching Limbu in Jwalamukhi Primary School, Nundhaki- 8 through Bal Bahadur Chemjong paying him 2000/ rupees for 4 months.

According to Muksam Laoti, a teacher of Limbu mother tongue, Limbu is taught up to class 5 as an optional subject in Niketan Higher Secondary School, Dharan 3, Bhanu Memorial Secondary School, Dharan 6, Panchayat Secondary School Dharan 10, Siksha Sadan Higher Secondary School, Dharan 15 and Kiranteshwar Secondary Dharan 19. It is taught in class 11 and 12 in Public Higher Secondary School, Dharan 12. Now, there are 23 students in class 11 and 33 in class 12. Singha Devi Higher Secondary School Basantatar 2, Dhankuta has 8 students in class 11.

4 Contributions of GO, NGOs and VDCs

Government (GO), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and Village Development Committees (VDCs) have made significant contribution to the running of Limbu mother tongue education.

4.1 Government

The Government of Nepal has endorsed a policy of transitional multilingual education and introduced multi-lingual education program to fill the gap between school and house, and preserve the linguistic right of the communities enshrined in the constitution. It has adopted School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP) to attain the goal "Education for All" (EFA) by reforming more than 7500 schools nationwide by 2015. Without launching

mother tongue based multilingual education, it is impossible to achieve this goal.

According to Mr. Amar Tumyang, Curriculum Development Centre, Sanothimi, Bhaktapur has designed curriculum for up to grade 8, and textbooks for up to grade 6 have been prepared. Similarly, syllabuses for class 11 and 12 have been prepared by Nepal Sanskrit University and preparation of textbooks is underway.

Compulsory subjects such as Math, Science, Social Studies and Physical Science are taught up to class five in primary schools. Ani? Pan is taught as an optional subject in all classes.

Altogether 9 subjects carrying 800 marks including mother tongue are included in the curriculum of 6-8 classes. They are Nepali, English, Mathematics, Social Studies and Population Education, Science and Environment, Health and Physical Education, Moral Education, Occupation, Profession and Technical Education and Mother Tongue or Local Language or Sanskrit or any other languages. Optional subject in grades from 6 to 8 contains genres such as story, poetry, biography, essay, drama, letter and functional grammar.

The text books Ani? Pan series of grades from 1 to 5 were published by Nepal Government, Curriculum Development Centre, Sanothimi financed by Education Sector Advisory Team, and they were delivered to District Education Offices which would in turn send them to concerned schools. The schools would distribute them among students on time free of cost. Now, Kanchan Printing Press Biratnagar has been given the responsibility to print them.

4.2 Kirat Yakthung Chumlung

KYC Central Committee Lalitpur helped write Limbu textbooks and run informal education, conduct training to write Sirijanga script and teach textbooks in different districts. It coauthored Tarang 2051 B.S. and Yakthung Saksak 2061 B.S.

4.3 Adibasi Janajati Samaj Nepal

Adibasi Janajati Samaj Nepal conducted several training programs for mother tongue teachers. It organized "Basic Limbu language teachers' training", which ran for one month from 2065/10/15 to 2065/11/15 at Myanglung Campus, Terhathum. 69 Limbu language teachers of Terhathum participated in the program. The program was sponsored by the VDCs. Mr. Muksam Laoti, Tek Bahadur Sambahangphe, Mr. Hita Ram Tiling and Mr. Amit Thebe were the trainers.

Durdimba Janachetana Samuha, Durdimba Panchthar organized one-week long "Basic Limbu language teachers' training" from 2066/ between Dashain and Tihar at Durdimba, Panchayat, Panchthar. 15 Limbu language teachers of Panchthar participated in the program. Mr. Muksam Laoti and Mr. Dev Raj Sauden were the trainers.

Adibasi Janajati Samaj Nepal Terhathum again organized one-month long "Basic Limbu language teachers' training", from 2066/12/15 to 2067/11/15 at Myanglung Campus, Terhathum. 71 Limbu language teachers of Terhathum participated in the program. The program was sponsored by the VDCs. Mr. Muksam Laoti was the trainer.

It again organized six-day program on "Basic Limbu language teachers' training", from 2067/10/20 to /26 at KYC Him, Dharan . 21 Limbu language teachers of Sankhuwasabha, Terthathum, Taplejung, Panchthar, Dhankuta, Sunsari and Morang participated in the program. The program was sponsored by the VDCs. Mr. Amar Tummyang, Mr. Muksam Laoti and Mr. Dilli Lingdam were the trainers.

It also organized fifteen-day program on "Multilingual language teachers' training" from 2067/12/15 to 30 at Myanglung Campus, Terhathum. 70 Limbu language teachers of Terthathum district participated in the program. The program was sponsored by the VDCs. Mr. Muksam Laoti, Mr. Kali Bahadur Kandangwa and Mr. Dilli Lingdam were the trainers.

During the same period, it organized "Basic Limbu language teachers' training" in the same campus. Mr. Muksam Laoti, Miss. Rosa Phombu, Miss. Drupati Limbu, Mr. Khin Raj Limbu and Miss. Dil Kumari Angbung were the trainers.

It organized a five-day program on "Multilingual education teachers' training" from 2068/12/2 to 6 at Educational Training Centre, Inaruwa, which was participated in by 15 Limbu language teachers of Sankhuwasabha, Terthathum, Taplejung, Panchthar, Dhankuta, Ilam, Sunsari and Morang districts. National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities, Lalitpur sponsored the program. Mr. Muksam Laoti and Mr. Dilli Lingdam were the trainers.

Since 2069. Educational Training Centre, Inaruwa has been organizing "Multilingual education teachers' training" for language teachers of 16 districts of eastern Nepal. Limbu language teachers of 9 districts participate in the training. Then, they train the teachers of their own districts. The trained teachers of the district train the teachers of different Resource Center Areas and each trained teacher of Resource Centers in turn trains the teachers of his/her resource area.

4.4 Village Development Committees

According to by-rule of 2056 of the rule of Local Autonomous Governance Act 2055, if a community wants to run mother tongue education, the VDCs should provide economic grant. Therefore, VDCs according to their economic condition are paying from 2500 to 5000 rupees per month to Limbu language teachers.

5 Problems

There are ideological, pedagogical and economic challenges before the mother tongue education.

5.1 Ideological problem

Parents don't know about the fact that children have basic interpersonal skill in their mother tongue. They can talk in their mother tongue about the things which they can see and touch. If they are taught contextual things in their mother tongue at school, they will be encouraged to learn.

Then, they can learn subjects like geography, history, social studies, and talk about abstract things like love, hate, honesty etc. They develop these abstract concepts on the basis of what they have already known in their mother tongue. So, they develop cognitive academic proficiency in the mother tongue if they are taught in it. They can easily transfer the abstract concepts to other languages like Nepali and English, and learn these languages faster.

Unaware of the fact that mother tongue education means teaching of and through mother tongue, and it provides children with cognitive and linguistic benefits, parents think that it means simply teaching the children their mother tongue, which they can learn at their own home and that it is waste of time to send their children to school. They want their children to learn languages which can get them job and access to higher education. They believe that education in mother tongue would not help them attain their goal, but it would rather restrict their children to their limited area, Limbuwan. Therefore, those who can afford expenses (ironically, advocates of mother tongue education, too) send their children to English boarding schools.

Even students are not enthusiastic about mother tongue education. They have rather positive attitude to Nepali and English languages. They prefer to speak Nepali in the classroom. They, too, believe that learning in mother tongue would restrict them to their own area, and keep them uneducated forever.

These days, most of the government schools have started teaching in English medium, and made it a rule that students should come to school in assigned dress with a tie on their neck and a bag on their back in order to compete with English boarding schools to attract students for enrollment. These schools give priority to those who want to learn English rather than the ones who want to learn mother tongue as an optional subject. It naturally makes the mother tongue learners feel humiliated. As a result, they opt for English instead of their mother tongue.

5.2 Pedagogical problem

Firstly, training for Limbu language teaching hasn't been conducted by the government so far. Only short term trainings for writing script and basic teaching have been run by an NGO like Adibasi Janajati Samaj Nepal with the financial support of VDCs. Therefore, the teachers aren't as proficient as they are expected.

Secondly, textbooks aren't available on time. In the beginning textbooks were published by Nepal Government, Curriculum Development Centre, Sanothimi financed by Education Sector Advisory Team, and they were delivered to District Education Offices which would in turn send them to concerned schools. The schools would distribute them among students on time free of cost. Now, Kanchan Printing Press Biratnagar has been given the responsibility to print them. It has printed the books, and they are lying piled up, but there is scarcity of books in the schools, and the students are suffering. The reason for such thing to happen is that the schools don't fill in the demand form and District Education Offices don't allocate budget for these textbooks. Without money, the press doesn't deliver them. Consequently, they won't reach schools, and students will suffer. According to Harka Yaksu, they were not available on time in the last academic session, and Limbu students in the school opted for English instead of Limbu.

Thirdly, the syllabuses of 9 and 10 haven't yet been designed, and there is a gap between class 8 and 11.

Fourthly, the syllabuses of class 11 and 12 haven't been approved by Higher Secondary Education Board. Now, in 11 and 12 classes, contents based on the syllabuses designed by KYC to run Proficiency Certificate Level in 2059 B.S. are being taught. Therefore, the question of official recognition still exists, and it discourages students to opt for mother tongue subject.

Lastly, Limbu textbooks have been written in Panthare dialect of Limbu, and the mother tongue teachers teach in the same dialect. Chhatthare Limbu is very different from this dialect. Children

of Chhatthare Limbu speakers can't understand the language, and they don't feel comfortable to learn in this language because there is a gap between what they speak at home and what they learn at school.

5.3 Economic problem

In the beginning, Limbu as an optional subject was introduced in 220 schools of Panchthar district. Then, the Limbu textbook *Ani? Pan* was distributed to the students free of cost. Later, the schools began to charge money for the books, though it was available from the government free of cost. Then, many students stopped opting for it. It is one of the reasons that the number of Limbu teaching schools decreased 220 to 150.

Secondly, the VDCs can't appoint a full time mother tongue teacher due to shortage of budget. Teachers have to teach for nominal amount. In addition, the VDCs fix the remuneration of the mother tongue teacher for one year only. Next year, they will have to fix it again through the decision of the meeting. Due to this process, the teachers are uncertain about their remuneration. As a result, they become less enthusiastic about their job.

6. Suggestions

1. Children face difficulties in learning and understanding if they are taught only through the medium of Nepali language in the schools. But, when the same subject matter is taught in the mother tongue, they understand it easily. Therefore, parents should be convinced that children can achieve cognitive and linguistic benefits from mother tongue education, which facilitates learning second and third languages.

2. Teachers and local leaders should be made aware of the importance of mother tongue education in order to stop any situation uncongenial to mother tongue education.

3. Teachers should be trained in mother tongue education teaching.

4. Mother tongue textbooks should be published by the Janak Siksa Samagri Kendra and they should be provided free of cost to the students.

5. Syllabuses of class 9 and 10 should be designed and textbooks should be prepared.

6. Approval of syllabuses of class 11 and 12 should be received from Higher Secondary Education Board.

7. Textbooks should be prepared in the local dialect and taught in the same dialect.

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Linguistic context and language endangerment in Nepal

Yogendra P Yadava

This paper is an attempt to present the linguistic context and language endangerment in Nepal. Despite being small in area, it possesses a striking linguistic plurality comprising 123 languages (Census 2011). Of these languages, Nepali (44.64 %) has been used as the official language. Nepal's languages belong to four language families plus a language isolate, viz. Kusunda. Only a few of them have literate traditions. Electronic technology has been barely used to support Nepal's languages. Most of the minority languages are still undocumented or underdocumented.

Nepal's languages are not immune from the global trend of language endangerment. 96% of them are spoken by just 4% of Nepal's total population (Census 2011) and are thus threatened of extinction. To assess the levels of their endangerment Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS, Lewis and Simons 2010) has been employed for the analysis. Accordingly, most of the languages belong to the category of threatened languages, followed by the category of vigorous languages. There are quite a few cross-border and migrant languages, which, despite being spoken by minority groups in Nepal, cannot be evaluated as threatened as such since they are spoken by a large number of speakers in neighboring and remote countries. It is imperative to undertake initiatives for the development and preservation of the existing endangered languages.

1 Introduction:¹ South Asia, home to a large number of languages and their dialects, figures as one of the most multilingual regions in the world. Nepal, a small Himalayan state in South Asia, is not immune to this situation. This country, with a population of 26,494,504 (Census 2011), possesses a striking linguistic plurality. It comprises a relatively small area of 147,181 square kilometres with a length of 885 kilometres

¹ I would like to thank Dubi Nand Dhakal, Binod Adhikary and Manoj Yadav for their support in completing this article.

from east to west and a mean breadth of 193 kilometres from north to south. However, its topography is rich and varied. Inhabiting the different climatic and ecological zones with a high level of biodiversity per unit area (viz. over 5,400 species of higher plants and 850 species of birds, 2.2% and 9.4% of the world's totals, respectively (Shrestha and Vimal 1993: 3)), it is matched by a similar rate of linguistic and cultural variation. Nepal is populated by 125 officially recognized castes and ethnic groups practicing ten different religious faiths (viz. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Kirat, Christianity, Prakriti, Bon, Jainism, Bahai and Sikhism (CBS 2012: 4)) and are estimated to speak approximately 123 languages officially-recognized by the state (CBS 2012: 4).

This paper consists of two major sections. Section 1 deals with the situation of Nepal's languages related to their genetic affiliation, literacy, ethnicity, use, policy, exclusion, multilingualism, and major/minor categories (in terms of their number of speakers). Section 2 is an attempt to assess Nepal's language endangerment using a recent analytical framework, namely the Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS, Lewis and Simons 2010).

2 Context

2.1 Approximations

The distribution of Nepal's languages is shown in the map given below.



Map 1: Languages of Nepal

To understand Nepal's linguistic diversity precisely, we must naturally ask: How many languages are spoken in Nepal? There is no accurate answer to this. However, there have been a number of attempts to enumerate the languages spoken in this country as mother tongues. One of the major attempts is the enumeration of languages in the various censuses. Since the 1952/54 census, languages have consistently been reported, but their number shows variation in these censuses. Except 'other', 'unknown' and 'not stated' languages, the last six censuses recorded 44 (1952/54), 36 (1961), 17 (1971), 18 (1981), 31 (1991), and 92 (2001) languages, but the figure has now increased to 123 (2011).

This significant increase in the number of languages spoken in Nepal in the last two censuses may be ascribed to a number of reasons. Since the restoration of democracy, there has been continual increase in consciousness among linguistic minorities (including indigenous peoples) about their mother tongues. Their ethnic organizations have been playing an active role in creating awareness about preserving and promoting their cultural identity, including their languages. Taking cognizance of this reality, the CBS also sought the cooperation and support of these organizations in the enumeration of languages for the 2001 and 2011 censuses. Subsequently, linguists were also consulted for a precise identification of Nepal's languages. Uncertainty about the number of Nepal's languages and their reduced enumeration in the last five censuses may be attributed to the fact that this information was not required, a lack of awareness about mother tongues, and also the "one nation–one language" policy adopted during the Panchayat and earlier regimes.

Setting aside the various censuses, attempts have also been made by individual linguists to identify Nepal's languages. Malla (1989) and Toba (1992) mention 70, while Noonan (2005:2) presented an

estimate of at least 140 languages spoken in Nepal, 109 of which are of the Sino-Tibetan family. Of these, at least 115 are spoken exclusively or primarily in Nepal, while quite a few (including Nepali, the existing official language) are cross-border and recently migrated languages spoken in India and elsewhere. More recently, the *Ethnologue: Languages of Nepal* (Eppel et al. 2012) lists 124 languages.

All these attempts (including the seven censuses) for enumeration of languages spoken in Nepal as mother tongues have so far remained a sort of approximation or rationalization. It will obviously take much research to arrive at an accurate number; the ongoing Linguistic Survey of Nepal, started in 2008, can be a further step in this direction.

1.2 Genetic affiliation.

The languages enumerated in the 2011 census belong to four language families, viz. Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian; one, Kusunda, is a language isolate² consisting of a single language without any genetic relationship with other languages. Most of these languages belong to two language families, Indo-European and Sino-Tibetan, while only a few are Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. In the Nepalese context, the Indo-European family comprises Indo-Aryan languages, which form the largest group in terms of speakers, at nearly 82.06 per cent. The speakers of Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages constitute 17.46, 0.19, and 0.13 per cent respectively, while Kusunda has just 28 speakers.

Though Sino-Tibetan languages are spoken by relatively fewer people than those of the Indo-European family, they account for the largest

²."A language isolate is a language which has no known structural or historical relationship to any other language." (Crystal 1997: 328)

number of languages, viz. about 70 languages, whereas Indo-European languages number about 50. The Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian families, as well as the isolate language, consist of a single language each.

1.3 Literacy in languages

Most of the languages spoken in Nepal are still confined to orality. Each of them has a rich oral heritage of folk stories and songs handed down from parent to child over a long period of time, e.g. Salhes³ in Maithili and Mundhum⁴ in Kiranti languages. However, they are disappearing with the growth of literacy and with language shift. It is, therefore, time to document them before they are lost for good.

Only a few of Nepal's languages have literate traditions. They include Nepali, Maithili, Tibetan/Sherpa, Newar, Limbu, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, and Lapcha in particular. All of them have a long tradition of written literature, employing various writing systems or scripts. Most of the Indo-Aryan languages, such as Nepali, Maithili (originally written in Mithilakshar or Kaithi script), Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Hindi and Rajbanshi use the Devanagari script, though Bengali is written in a different version of Devanagari. The Tibetan script is used by Lamas for Tibetan. Newar has its own traditional script called Ranjana, but it has also adopted the Devanagari script for the sake of convenience in reading and printing. Limbu uses its own Kirati Srijanga script. Lapcha is written in the Rong script.

Of late, some other languages have developed literate traditions. Initiatives have been undertaken by various language communities to develop writing systems appropriate to the sound system of their languages and practically

³. Salhes is an ancient ballad sung and performed in praise of mythological king and deity in Nepal Tarai.

⁴. Mundhum is a cover term for the religious [scripture](#) and folk literature of the different tribes of [Kirat](#) people of [Nepal](#).

acceptable to them. These include Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Gurung, Rajbanshi and the Rai group of languages, such as Bantawa, Thulung, Chamling, Khaling, Kulung, etc. Tharu, Tamang and Gurung use the Devanagari script, but some of the Gurung speakers advocate for the use of the Roman script for their language. Magar has developed its own script, called Akkha. Recently, these languages have started developing some written literature in the form of newspapers, magazines, textbooks for adult literacy and primary education, and folk literature.

As in India, Santhali in Nepal is written in the Roman script. Arabic script is used for writing Urdu. Thus, about nine scripts have been used to write Nepal's languages (Yadava 2003: 151-2).

The literate languages of Nepal are listed against their writing systems as follows:

- i. Devanagari: Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Newar, Tamang;
- ii. Sambota: Tibetan, Sherpa;
- iii. Ranjana: Newar;
- iv. Srijanga: Limbu;
- v. Rong: Lapcha;
- vi. Akkha: Magar;
- vii. Mithilakshar/Tirhuta: Maithili;
- viii. Sherpa/Tamhig: Tamang;
- ix. Gurumukhi: Punjabi;
- x. Perso-Arabic: Urdu;
- xi. Ol Ciki /Ol: Santhali;
- xii. Bengali: Bengali.

Electronic technology (the web, text and speech recordings, spell/grammar checker, machine translation, web dictionary, etc.) has been sparsely used to support Nepal's languages, with the exception of Nepali.⁵ Though there is a growing

⁵ Setting aside the basic initiatives started before 2005, the development of corpora and lexical resources started in earnest with the EU-funded Nepali Language Resources and Localization for Education and Communication (NELRaLEC, called *Bhashasanchar* in Nepali) project (2005-7). The most significant contribution of this project was the

trend in documenting both major and minor languages, there still exist a large number of minority preliterate languages which need to be documented to produce grammars, dictionaries, analyzed texts and reading materials. Some underdocumented languages also require further improvement in analysis.

1.4 Language and ethnicity

Nepal is a multiethnic nation, comprising various ethnic and religious communities. Its ethnic and religious diversity is coupled with its linguistic plurality. They are found to interact with one another, resulting in a threefold ethnic-religious-linguistic structure.

There are a number of ethno-linguistic communities in Nepal with a common mother tongue. Mother tongues associated with particular ethnic groups include Magar, Tharu, Tamang, Gurung, Limbu, Sherpa, Rajbanshi, Sunuwar, Kumal, Majhi, Danuwar, Chepang, Thami, Thakali, Bhote, Dhimal, Darai, Lapcha, Byangsi, Raute, Raji, Uranw, etc. This situation of a one-to-one relation between languages and ethnic groups is characterized by the “one tribe one language” formula. Urdu is the mother tongue of a community professing a particular religion, viz. Islam. Similarly, Tibetan-speaking Bhotiyas or Sherpas are Buddhists (cf. Breton, 1997: 16-17). In cases of one-to-one relation between the tribes and their languages, a comparison of the population of different tribes and their languages can show the extent of language retention by each group.

It is, however, to be noted that this formula is not exempt from exceptions. Some ethnic

construction of the 14-million-word Nepali National Corpus (NNC). This corpus includes both spoken and written data, the latter incorporating a Nepali match for FLOB and a broader collection of text. Additional resources within the NNC include parallel data (English–Nepali and Nepali–English) and a speech corpus. The NNC is encoded as Unicode text and marked up in CES-compatible XML. The whole corpus is also annotated with part-of-speech tags (see Yadava et al. 2008 for details).

communities speak several mother tongues. This “one tribe with several languages” situation applies to the Rai (Kirati) group in the eastern hills and mountain. This trend is illustrated in the Tarai region also. In this region, various castes and tribes such as the Brahmin, Rajput, Yadav, Teli, Kurmi, Chamar, Khatawe, etc. speak Maithili in the Maithili-speaking area, Bhojpuri in the Bhojpuri-speaking area and Avadhi in the Avadhi-speaking area. Thus, in the Tarai, there is no one-to-one correspondence between ethnic communities and their mother tongues.

In addition, we also find the “several tribes with a common language” formula, according to which different ethnic groups are found to speak a single mother tongue. This formula is exemplified by Nepali, which is spoken as a mother tongue by various castes and tribes such as the Bahun, Kshetri, Kami, Damai, Thakuri, Sarki, Sanyasi, and so on. Being a lingua franca, it has also been adopted as a mother tongue by people from different ethnic groups. Hence, it is called an “interethnic language.” Similarly, the Newars consist of various ethnic groups, but all of these speak a single language, viz. Newar or Nepal Bhasa.

All these aspects of language-ethnicity relation reflect the dynamism of language shift in the Nepalese context, suggesting a common tendency to shift gradually toward some major regional and ethnic languages. As a result, there has been continuous decline in the numerical strength of Nepali speakers (see Yadava 2003 for details).

1.5 Language use and policy

In the absence of a comprehensive study, it is difficult to say anything definite about the patterns of language use in Nepal. However, some broad generalizations can be made in this regard on the basis of some sporadic studies on the extent and domains of the use of some individual languages in the country. In all speech communities, mother tongues are normally used as intra- and inter-household languages. When interacting with speakers of a different mother tongue, people generally tend to switch to a lingua franca. Moreover, mother tongues other

than Nepali have gradually ceased to be spoken by the younger generations under the influence of Nepali medium community school education and the mass media. Nepali, spoken by the largest number of Nepalese people (44.64 per cent), has been adopted by various language communities as a lingua franca for wider communication as well. It is, however, to be noted that, apart from this national lingua franca, there is also a regional lingua franca, Hindi, which has been used as medium of wider communication mainly in the Tarai.

The *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal* (HMG/Nepal 1991) has recognized Nepali as 'the language of the nation' (*raashtrabhaasaa*) and all mother tongues spoken in Nepal as 'national languages' (*raashtriyabhaasaa*) (Article 6). It accepts Nepali as the only official language but, in addition, the constitution has also adopted the policy to promote and preserve Nepal's national languages. The document also ensured freedom to use one's mother tongue as a medium of instruction at the primary level of education. This was the first time that some constitutional provisions were made for languages other than Nepali, in consonance with the observed linguistic plurality of the country.

Since these constitutional provisions, some efforts have been made to promote and preserve Nepal's national languages at both the governmental and non-governmental level. In 1993/4, the government constituted a commission to spell out the details of a language policy for the development of national languages and their use in education and mass media (Yadava and Turin 2006; Yadava and Grove 2008). Though the commission's recommendations were not fully implemented, they at least paved the way for using some of the national languages in education and mass media, and also helped create awareness among various language communities for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongues. So far, 19 languages have been used by Radio Nepal for broadcasting news. Besides, textbooks have been prepared for 21 mother tongues so as to teach them as a subject at the primary level and also, in some cases, the secondary level of education.

In addition, various language communities have continued their efforts to develop writing systems (e.g. Gurung and Magar), prepare dictionaries and grammars, and compile reading materials. Tribhuvan University has been engaged in developing expertise to boost up linguistic studies in Nepal. Its recent thrust with the Linguistic Survey of Nepal can be taken as a significant step in the field of documenting Nepal's languages and studying them systematically.

1.6 Linguistic exclusion

Despite being multicultural and multilingual, Nepal enshrined 'ethnic', instead of 'civic', nationalism in its task of nation-building (Oakes 2001). This has been reflected in various regimes, from the Gorkha conquest till now. Recently, the 2007 *Interim Constitution of Nepal*, an outcome of the *Andolan II* ('Movement II'), makes the following provisions for languages:

- a. All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.
- b. The Nepali Language in Devanagari script shall be the official language.
- c. Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2), it shall not be deemed to have hindered to use the mother language in local bodies and offices. State shall translate the languages so used to an official.

(*The Interim Constitution of Nepal* (2007), *Part 1, Article 5*)

The greatest weakness of these provisions has been the lack of any explicit plan and policy to implement them. Consequently, Nepali alone remained as medium of administration, education and media while the rest of the languages were debarred from use in national domains, obstructing their speakers' equitable access to national benefits and compelling them to shift to the language(s) of opportunities and upward mobility, such as Nepali and/or English.

1.7 Multilingualism

The linguistic diversity of the country has given rise to three situations, viz. monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism. Of these

language situations, only monolingualism or the use of just one's mother tongue has been regularly reported since the first modern census in 1952/54. Most speakers of Nepal's languages have been found to be in close contact. As a result, these languages tend to converge through mutual borrowing and influences, and gradually come to share a number of lexical and grammatical features. For example, we find Tibeto-Burman languages "Indo-Aryanized" and Indo-Aryan languages "Tibeto-Burmanized". There is a need for an intensive study of convergence as well as divergence in order to ascertain the precise nature of Nepal as a linguistic area.

However, languages are not isolated units. In fact, they can be inter-related to one another in a number of different ways, including a common linguistic history or culture, or perhaps through economic ties or social ties such as inter-marriage (Watters 2008). The Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the Tarai region (e.g. Nepali, Rajbanshi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, and Tharu) constitute a curious case of a language continuum, in that they are linked uninterruptedly from the viewpoint of intelligibility (Yadava and Grove 2008). In other words, it is rather difficult to say where one language ends and another one begins. However, the degree of intelligibility decreases as the distance between adjacent languages increases, thereby forming a continuum. In such a case, people employ a language of wider communication or contact language, such as Hindi in the Tarai, Sherpa (also referred to as Tibetan by some of its speakers) in the mountains, Bantawa in the Rai-Kirat region, Nepali in the hills, and so forth.

1.8 Major and minor languages.

If 100,000 speakers is taken as the cut off for 'major' languages, the number of these languages in Nepal is 19, and their cumulative percentage of the population is 95.91%. Inversely, the remaining 94+ languages are spoken by about 4% of Nepal's total population. These 'major' languages are given in the table below.

Table 1: Nepal's major languages (Central Bureau of Statistics 2012)

Languages	Speakers	Per	Cumulative
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			cent	per cent
1.	Nepali	11826953	44.64	44.64
2.	Maithili	3092530	11.67	56.31
3.	Bhojpuri	1584958	5.98	62.29
4.	Tharu (a single)	1529875	5.77	68.07
5.	Tamang	1353311	5.11	73.18
6.	Newar	846557	3.20	76.37
7.	Bajjika	793416	2.99	79.37
8.	Magar	788530	2.98	82.34
9.	Doteli	787827	2.97	85.32
10.	Urdu	691546	2.61	87.93
11.	Avadhi	501752	1.89	89.82
12.	Limbu	343603	1.30	91.12
13.	Gurung	325622	1.23	92.35
14.	Baitadeli	272524	1.03	93.37
15.	Rai (?)	159114	0.60	93.97
16.	Achhami	142787	0.54	94.51
17.	Bantawa	132583	0.50	95.01
18.	Rajbanshi	122214	0.46	95.48
19.	Sherpa	114830	0.43	95.91

On the other hand, there are marginalized languages with only a few speakers. The following table lists 31 languages with between 10,000 and 99,999 speakers:

Table 2: Minor languages with 10,000 to 99,999 speakers (Central Bureau of Statistics 2012)

20.	Hindi	77569	0.29	96.20
21.	Chamling	76800	0.29	96.49
22.	Bajhang	67581	0.26	96.75
23.	Santhali	49858	0.19	96.94
24.	Chepang	48476	0.18	97.12
25.	Danuwar	45821	0.17	97.29
26.	Sunuwar	37898	0.14	97.33
27.	Magahi	35614	0.13	97.46
28.	Uranw	33651	0.13	97.59
29.	Kulung	33170	0.13	97.72

30.	Kham (Magar)	27113	0.10	97.82	61.	Mewahang	4650	0.02	99.34
31.	Rajasthani	25394	0.10	97.92	62.	Sign language	4476	0.02	99.36
32.	Majhi	24422	0.09	98.01	63.	Tibetan	4445	0.02	99.38
33.	Thangmi	23151	0.09	98.10	64.	Meche	4375	0.02	99.40
34.	Bhujel	21715	0.08	98.18	65.	Chantyal	4283	0.02	99.42
35.	Bangla	21061	0.08	98.26	66.	Raji	3758	0.01	99.43
36.	Thulung	20659	0.08	98.34	67.	Lohorung	3716	0.01	99.44
37.	Yakhkha	19558	0.07	98.41	68.	Chhintang	3712	0.01	99.45
38.	Dhimal	19300	0.07	98.48	69.	Gangai	3612	0.01	99.46
39.	Tajपुरija	18811	0.07	98.55	70.	Pahari	3458	0.01	99.47
40.	Angika	18555	0.07	98.62	71.	Dailekhi	3102	0.01	99.48
41.	Sampang	18270	0.07	98.69	72.	Lhopa	3029	0.01	99.49
42.	Khaling	14467	0.05	98.74	73.	Dura	2156	0.01	99.50
43.	Wambule	13470	0.05	98.79	74.	Koce	2080	0.01	99.51
44.	Kumal	12222	0.05	98.84	75.	Chhiling	2046	0.01	99.52
45.	Darai	11677	0.04	98.88	76.	English	2032	0.01	99.53
46.	Bahing	11658	0.04	98.92	77.	Jerung	1763	0.01	99.54
47.	Bajureli	10704	0.04	98.96	78.	Khas	1747	0.01	99.55
48.	Yholmo	10176	0.04	99.00	79.	Sanskrit	1669	0.01	99.56
49.	Nachhering	10041	0.04	99.04	80.	Dolpali	1667	0.01	99.57

Table 3 lists the languages with between 1,000 and 9,999 speakers.

Table 3: Minor languages with 1,000 to 9,999 speakers (Central Bureau of Statistics 2012)

50.	Yamphu	9208	0.03	99.07
51.	Bote	8766	0.03	99.10
52.	Ghale	8092	0.03	99.13
53.	Dumi	7638	0.03	99.16
54.	Lapcha	7499	0.03	99.19
55.	Puma	6686	0.03	99.22
56.	Dungmali	6260	0.02	99.24
57.	Darchuleli	5928	0.02	99.26
58.	Athpariya	5530	0.02	99.28
59.	Thakali	5242	0.02	99.30
60.	Jirel	4829	0.02	99.32

81.	Hayu	1520	0.01	99.58
82.	Tilung	1424	0.01	99.59
83.	Koi	1271	0.00	–
84.	Kisan	1178	0.00	–
85.	Waling	1169	0.00	–
86.	Musalban	1075	0.00	–

In Table 4, there are quite a few languages with less than 1,000 speakers.

Table 4: Languages with less than 1,000 speakers (Central Bureau of Statistics 2012)

87.	Hariyani	889	0.00
88.	Jumli	851	0.00
89.	Lhomi	808	0.00
90.	Punjabi	808	0.00
91.	Belhare	599	0.00
92.	Oriya	584	0.00
93.	Sonaha	579	0.00
94.	Sindhi	518	0.00

95.	Dadeldhuri	488	0.00	
96.	Byangshi	480	0.00	
97.	Assamese	476	0.00	
98.	Raute	461	0.00	
99.	Sam	401	0.00	
100.	Manange	392	0.00	
101.	Dhuleli	347	0.00	
102.	Phangduali	290	0.00	
103.	Surel	287	0.00	
104.	Malpande	247	0.00	
105.	Chinese	242	0.00	
106.	Khariya	238	0.00	
107.	Kurmali	227	0.00	
108.	Baram	155	0.00	
109.	Lingkhim	129	0.00	
110.	Sadhani	122	0.00	
111.	Kagate	99	0.00	
112.	Dzonkha	80	0.00	
113.	Bankariya	69	0.00	
114.	Kaike	50	0.00	
115.	Gadhawali	38	0.00	
116.	French	34	0.00	
117.	Mizo	32	0.00	
118.	Kuki	29	0.00	
119.	Kusunda	28	0.00	
120.	Russian	17	0.00	
121.	Spanish	16	0.00	
122.	Nagamese	10	0.00	
123.	Arabi	8	0.00	
	Not reported	47718	0.18	99.77
	Others	21173	0.08	99.85

2. Assessing language endangerment in Nepal using EGIDS

In linguistically diverse countries like Nepal, minority languages are gradually being lost. According to an estimate (Krauss 1992: 7), 90% of human languages face extinction by the end of the 21st century. In other words, only 600 of 6,000 or so languages will be safe (Crystal 2000: 18).

Nepal, a multilingual nation, is not unaffected by this global trend of language endangerment. Most of its languages, being undocumented and marginalized, are on the verge of extinction.

2.1 Analytical framework

The basic reason why a human language gradually ceases to exist is simple and obvious. In the course of adapting to a changed context, speakers of a mother tongue no longer consider that language advantageous and replace it with a language that can benefit them. But how does a language lose its efficacy and become threatened? The issue of language shift is complex and obscure. To understand it, one must look at an intricate matrix of relevant variables and their interaction. Nepal offers a complex interaction of variables involved in language vitality and endangerment. It requires a separate study with a view to understanding the trend of language loss in the country.

In order to assess the state of language vitality and endangerment in Nepal, a number of factors have been suggested, such as diminished number of speakers, poor economic status, lack of language transmission to the younger generation, migration to urban areas and foreign countries for work and/or education, as well as lack of literate tradition, official recognition and initiatives for language maintenance, reduced language use in domains such as education, local administration, and mass media, lack of official status and use and, above all, of the language community's awareness. In these circumstances, it is important to initiate the documentation of endangered languages in collaboration with language communities, linguists, governmental and non-governmental agencies, so as to preserve and promote them for future generation (Epele et al. 2012: 10).

Based on these and other factors, a number of analytical frameworks have been proposed for analyzing the vitality and endangerment of languages. They mainly include the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or GIDS (Fishman 1991, 2001), the the Euromosaic study (Nelde, Strubell and Williams 1996), the 1998 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe, and the list

of nine factors necessary to assess the vitality of a particular threatened language published in 2003 by the UNESCO. Recently, Lewis and Simons (2010) have adapted Fishman's GIDS-scale as the *Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)*. The EGIDS scale consists of 13 hierarchical levels which are briefly explained below.

EGIDS Level 0 (International): The very few languages used internationally belong to this level.

EGIDS Level 1 (National): The languages which are used for official purposes and have gained national status fit in this level. Such languages have full oral and written use supported by their standardization, and use as medium of administration and education.

EGIDS Level 2 (Regional): This level comprises languages which are also national languages but confined to a more localized, regional domain.

EGIDS Level 3 (Trade): This level includes languages that may not have official recognition but are "vehicular" in the sense that they are used as a second language by members of multiple first-language communities and serve important functions for business and intergroup communication. They are learned outside of the home either formally or informally and often have a standardized (though perhaps not officially sanctioned) written form.

EGIDS Level 4 (Educational): The languages at this level are used as a medium of instruction or subject of instruction.

EGIDS Level 5 (Written): The languages at this level are used for face-to-face communication by all generations and have effective educational support in parts of the community.

EGIDS Level 6a (Vigorous): The languages which belong to this level have current oral use.

EGIDS Level 6b (Threatened): The languages are used for face-to-face communication by all generations but only some of the children learn them.

EGIDS Level 7 (Shifting): This level shows clear cases of language shift in progress because of the lack of intergenerational transmission.

EGIDS Level 8a (Moribund): The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation.

EGIDS Level 8b (Nearly Extinct): At this level, language speakers are confined to a few old people.

EGIDS Level 9 (Dormant): The languages which have recently been abandoned belong to this level.

EGIDS Level 10 (Extinct): If a language has no remaining speakers, it belongs to this level.

2.2 Findings

The following table, based on the information elicited from linguists and language activists (Epple et al. 2012), 2011 Census data and some earlier studies, as well as the present author's sporadic field observations, is an attempt to assess language vitality and endangerment in terms of EGIDS-scale:⁶

Table5. Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Level	Label	Languages	Number of languages	Percentage
0	International	Chinese, English, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, French	6	6.45
1	National	Nepali	1	1.07

⁶. Of the 123 languages enumerated in Census 2011 only 93 languages have been included in this analysis since the data was not available for the rest of the languages at this moment.

2	Provincial	Hindi, Sherpa	2	2.15
3	Wider Communication	Urdu, Newar	2	2.15
4	Educational	Maithili, Avadhi, Bhojpuri, Doteli, Tibetan, Bengali,	6	6.45
5	Developing	Koi, Lhomi, Rajbanshi, Tamang, Tharu, Thulung, Wambule, Marwari, Bajjika	9	9.68
6a	Vigorous	Bagheli, Bahing, Byangsi, Dhimal, Dolpo, Ghale, Yholmo, Jumli, Kagate, Kaike, Khaling, Kisan, Kuki, Nepalese sign language, Raute, Santhali,	16	17.20
6b	Threatened	Angika, Athpariya, Bantawa, Belhare, Chantyal, Chepang, Chamling, Chhintang, Darai, Dungmali, Gurung, Jerung, Jirel, Magar, Kharia, Kulung, Uranw, Limbu, Lohorung, Yakkha,	31	33.33

		Majhi, Meche, Mewahang, Puma, Raji, Sampang, Sunwar, Thangmi, Yamphu, Bote, Manange		
7.	Shifting	Bhujel, Chhiling, Danuwar, Dumi, Kumal, Lapcha, Naccherang, Phangduwali, Sonha, Thakali, Hayu	11	11.83
8a.	Moribund	Tilung, Chukwa	2	2.15
8b.	Nearly extinct	Baram, Kusunda, Lingkhim, Sam	4	4.30
9.	Dormant	Dura, Sanskrit	2	2.15
10.	Extinct	Waling	1	1.07
		Total	93	100

The EGIDS-scale employed in the table above is hierarchical, suggesting that language endangerment is a continuum wherein there exist vigorous languages at one extreme and dormant or extinct languages at the other extreme, interrupted by a number of interrelated scales.

The table above shows that most of the languages belong to the category of threatened languages (6b), followed by the category of vigorous languages (6a). Both of these categories suggest that most of Nepal's languages are confined to their preliterate tradition and used in oral communication with more or less intergenerational transmission. A few languages are shifting (7). Altogether, the majority (50.53%) of Nepal's languages fall into the higher scale of endangerment (6b-10) and are on the verge of extinction. It is to be noted that the majority of

these languages are of the Tibeto-Burman phylum of the Sino-Tibetan language family.

A few languages, such as Chinese, English, Spanish, Russian, Arabic and French, are obviously foreign and international languages, but minority ones nonetheless and they may be at a risk in Nepal, where they are marginalized. They have, however, 'a kin state'. These international migrant languages are thus not threatened; the same argument also holds for most migrant languages such as Santhali, Uranw, Lapcha and so on (Gorter 2007). In addition, there are many languages in the north of India that are also spoken in Nepal. These 'cross-border languages' are spoken by populations whose traditional geographic areas have been politically divided by one or several frontiers, or they may be languages whose speakers migrated at some point in their history (Yadava 2011). The demarcation of the Indo-Nepalese border is a case in point. Cross-border languages shared by Nepal and India include Angika, Avadhi, Bajjika, Bengali, Bhojpuri, Byangsi, Hindi, Lapcha, Limbu, Magar, Maithili, Nepali, Rajbanshi, Rai-Kirat languages, Tamang, Urdu, etc. Languages which migrated into Nepal recently include Mizo (32 speakers), Kuki (29 speakers), Nagamese (10 speakers), Dzonkha (80 speakers), Assamese (476 speakers), Sindhi (518 speakers), Oriya (584 speakers), Punjabi (808 speakers), Hariyanwi (889 speakers), and Rajasthani (25394 speakers). These cross-border and (remotely or recently) migrated languages, despite being spoken by minority groups in Nepal, cannot be evaluated as threatened as such.

3 Conclusion

Nepal, like other South Asian nations, is characterized by multilingualism and linguistic diversity representing four language families (Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian), and including a language isolate (Kusunda). There are various competing calculations of the number of Nepal's languages. Recently, the 2011 Census has enumerated 123 languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal whereas the *Ethnologue: Languages of Nepal* (Eppel et al. 2012) gives a list of 124 languages, one of which (Waling) is said to be extinct. Most

of the languages spoken in Nepal are still confined to orality. Most of these languages are confined to oral traditions. Electronic technology (the web, text and speech recordings, uncodification, spell/grammar checker, machine translation, etc.) has not been used to support Nepal's languages except for Nepali. A large number of the minority languages are still undocumented or underdocumented. Nepal is a multiethnic nation, comprising various ethnic and religious communities, an ethnic and religious diversity which is coupled with its linguistic plurality. All the mother tongues spoken in Nepal have constitutionally been accredited as 'national languages', although, in practice, Nepali alone, spoken by 44.64% of the country's total population, has been used for official and educational purposes. Consequently, the remaining languages have been debarred from use in national and other practical domains, obstructing their speakers' equitable access to national benefits and compelling them to shift to the language(s) of opportunities and upward mobility (such as Nepali and/or English).

The number of 'major' languages is 19 (Table 1), and their cumulative percentage is 95.91%. Inversely, the remaining 94+ languages (Tables 2, 3, and 4) are spoken by just about 4% of Nepal's total population. Moreover, the various languages of Nepal are not all discrete units; instead, they often constitute a continuum of intelligibility, which makes it rather difficult to say where one language ends and another begins.

Like other multilingual nations, Nepal has also been vulnerable to the global trend of language endangerment. Most of its languages, being undocumented and marginalized, are threatened with extinction. In order to evaluate the state of language vitality and endangerment in Nepal, Lewis and Simons (2010) have adapted Fishman's GIDS-scale as *the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)*. The assessment performed in this article on the basis of the EGIDS shows that most of the languages belong to the category of threatened languages (6b), followed by the category of vigorous languages (6a) (see Table 5). There are quite a few cross-border and (remotely or recently) migrant languages, which, despite being spoken

by minority groups in Nepal, cannot be evaluated as endangered since they are used by a large number of people in neighboring and remote countries. As such, I propose that it is vital to devise ways for the development and preservation of the endangered languages of Nepal, through the construction of corpora, enhancement of their status, and planning their acquisition (Cooper 1989).

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Importance of paralinguistics in learning English as second language

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The current work discusses Pakistani English teachers' perceptions and their classroom practices regarding paralinguistics teaching. Furthermore, it highlights the reasons which are hindrance in paralinguistics teaching in classroom contexts; and suggests ways to incorporate teaching of paralinguistic features.

1. Introduction

The paralinguistic properties of speech play an important role in human speech communication and their knowledge has an immense significance for teaching English as a second language in L2 contexts. The constituents of paralinguistics are supportive to extend communicative competence. These components (tone, pitch, volume, intonation) play a vital role in the academic progress of second language learners and are helpful in gradual increase in learners' skills. In Pakistani education system, the paralinguistic features, regardless of being the most noticeable and fore facet of teaching, have been overlooked in the past and relics mostly unattended at hand. The school administrations, language policy makers and syllabus designers need to realize the importance of appropriate use of paralinguistic features in learning L2.

A majority of the Pakistani English teachers possess divergent views about the role and efficacy of paralinguistics knowledge in the learning process. They are often inconsistent in their practices of the teaching of paralinguistics as well. This research will be helpful for English teachers to improve their teaching process by using paralinguistic features effectively in language classrooms. Moreover, it not only explores the various facets of paralinguistic use, but also brings to the face the multifarious advantages hidden in integrating them in teaching practice. It will also be helpful to examine the nature of communication in the speech situation and how this differs from the written medium.

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Unless and until teachers are informed about this ignored aspect of language, its various benefits cannot be cashed upon.

The roadmap for the paper is as follows: Section 2 discusses literature review about the role of paralinguistic features in learning English. Methodology is described in Section 3 and the current status is discussed in Section 4. Section 5 discusses the relevant issues and solutions, and Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Literature Review

Paralinguistics refers to the non-verbal elements of communication used to modify meaning and convey emotion. Moreover, it may be expressed consciously or unconsciously. It includes the pitch, volume, and intonation of speech. Sometimes the definition is restricted to vocally-produced sounds. The study of paralinguistics is known as paralinguistics. (Crystal, 1975) A sentence can convey entirely different meanings depending on the emphasis on words and the tone of voice. For example, a statement can have three different meanings depending on which word is emphasized:

"I didn't *say* you were stupid".

"I didn't say *you* were stupid".

"I didn't say you were *stupid*".

In Saussure's terminology paralinguistic phenomena would rather be 'parole' than 'langue'. Traunmuller (2001) Crystal (1969) narrates in his book that paralinguistics communicate "affective" meaning anger, sarcasm, surprise, emphasis, excitement and so on. This is certainly an important role of paralinguistics.

Paraverbal communication is an important part of interpersonal communication. Secord and Backman (1964) consider that it supports and supplements communication by opening up other channels and frameworks of communicating

information. Paraverbal signals can emphasize, modify or even fully negate verbal statements. Similarly, Forgas (1985) indicates that paraverbal signals have an important role in the structuring and control of human interactive processes. They inform the participants of a conversation as to how their messages are received and thus allow for correction. Para verbal communication plays a vital role in human behavior and it is important to recognize that communication frequently involves more than a verbal message. Effective communication requires that we understand the role of nonverbal behavior as one dimension of communication competence.

Motley (1993) illustrates the same issue in his book and says, "Nonverbal behavior has become a major field of research in the communications discipline and one consistent theme is that the meaning of nonverbal message depends on its context."

It helps to communicate with others in a significant way. 2nd language acquisition requires motive interaction in the target language communication in which speakers are concerned not only with the utterances but also with how messages are delivered. Krashen (1988) Hymes (1960), who introduced the concept of communicative competence, believes that there are certain rules of use without which the linguistic or grammar rules are useless. According to him rules of paraverbal communication of the language are needed for communicative competence. Thus, he highlighted the rules of paraverbal communication as important as other grammar rules for learning a second language. According to Robbins and Langton (2001) Paralanguage is communication that goes beyond the specific spoken words. It includes pitch, amplitude, rate, and voice quality of speech. Elements of paralinguistic features include: intonation and tone, loudness and volume, tempo etc. Intonation is referred to as a prosodic feature of language. It is the collective term used to describe variations in pitch, loudness, tempo, and rhythm.

Galloway (1980) and Loveday (1982) were also in favour of paralanguage and in their work on classroom communication they observed,

"it is not so much linguistic errors as it is sociolinguistic and paralinguistic errors that lead to breakdowns in communication or cause serious offense or insult, for people are generally far less aware of these often subtle aspects of communication, which may nevertheless be the principal bearers of affective information." Moreover, Galloway (1980) believed that the use of paralanguage in the L2 classroom encourages the speakers and consequently the people in the classroom will show increased desire to transmit a message and will thereby hold the listeners' attention better. Barbour (1988) in his research on classroom communication reported that approximately 75% of L2 classroom management behavior was paraverbal. Similarly Smith noted that teachers' nonverbal behaviors are for students the signs of the psychological state of the teacher and so should not be taken lightly.

The affective filter hypothesis (Krashen 1987, 1988) plays a great role in learning a second language by the appropriate or inappropriate use of paraverbal communication by the teaching community in the class. The learners who have high motivation, great self-confidence, a good self-image, and a low level of anxiety are better equipped for success in second language acquisition. Similarly learners with low motivation, low self-esteem, and debilitating anxiety are usually bad learners and show poor academic progress. It is because of the raising of the affective filter which form a 'mental block' that prevents comprehensible input from being used for acquisition in the students and so those students are bad learners. In other words the language acquisition is blocked when the students are not at ease in the class due to negative paraverbal behavior of teacher. He also made this point clear that the paraverbal communication in the class acts as a language of relationship and this relationship motivates students much for learning. The silent cues signal changes or continuity in the quality and direction of any interpersonal relationship between a student and the teacher and these cues can be the primary

means of expressing attitudes of intimacy, aloofness, concern and indifference.

Teachers who are aware of paralanguage, of the multi-channeled nature of communication, should be better teachers. Nine Curt (1976) They will always try to increase their skills as directors of classroom behaviours and will be better equipped to interpret student messages, which is especially significant when the students come from different cultural backgrounds; they will help their students become more culturally aware; and they will be more able to facilitate the acquisition of second language in their students and will enjoy more command. Students need to know with whom, when, where and in what way they can speak and act. Mehan (1979) They must have speech and behaviour that are appropriate for classroom situations and they must be able to interpret implicit classroom rules. Full participation in classroom activities requires competence in both the social and situational aspects of classroom language, in other words, classroom communication.

Para verbal communicative competence is essential for L2 learners to participate in target language learning. According to Thompson (1973) teachers are like role model for their students. Students are passive receiver of knowledge and get from their their teachers what they see and feel in their attitude. A teacher can leave both positive and negative impacts on students' character building. Paralinguistic features are central in L2 classroom. Learners can analyze the voice, mood and tone of teacher through para verbal communication. Learner can absolutely judge the personality features of his/her teacher. They can develop social relationship with each other with in the language classroom for more effective learning.

Nine Curt (1976), a famous researcher, rightly said, "paralanguage is not a must, which will greatly enrich our L2 classrooms and increase our communicative competence. Teachers who are aware of paralanguage, of the multi-channeled nature of communication, should be better teachers. They will always try to increase their skills as directors of classroom behaviours and

will be better equipped to interpret student messages, which is especially significant when the students come from different cultural backgrounds; they will help their students become more culturally aware; and they will be more able to facilitate the acquisition of second language in their students and will enjoy more command."

It can be safely said that the paraverbal communication in second language classrooms is basically a language of motivation for L2 learners and its appropriate use not only motivates them to learn English language more but also improves their academic progress. On the other hand, the inappropriate use of paraverbal communication causes a threatening environment in the class and most of the students get depressed and failed in their examination. As a result many of them started abhorring English language and consequently never learn in their whole life. That is why the wrong use of para verbal communication should be strictly prohibited in the class and our teachers should be properly trained for the appropriate use of para verbal communication in the second language classroom.

3. Methodology

Non-experimental research design was used for this study to interpret Pakistani English language teachers' perception towards paralanguage. The study was cross-sectional in nature. Moreover, quantitative approach was used in order to confirm what has been postulated. A survey questionnaire was used for the collection of data and it was quantitative in nature. There were 36 questions in all and all the questions carry five response categories (i.e. Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree). The number beside each response becomes the value for that response and the total score is obtained by adding the values for the each response. Moreover, pilot testing was done in order to make sure that the questionnaire successfully gets the intended responses from the target population.

The sample for the research was drawn through simple random sampling for probing the role of paralinguistic features in learning English as second language at graduate level at private

universities of Lahore city out of which 105 are male and 95 are female. The participants were explained the purpose of study and care was taken to maintain the secrecy of the individual views as far as possible to save the participant from embarrassment. All ethical and professional responsibilities were taken into account. The focus was on four sub scales:

- a. Teachers' perceptions and beliefs about paralinguistic features in L2 context
- b. Teachers' knowledge about the paralinguistic features
- c. Teachers' use of paralinguistic features in class room context
- d. Teachers' use of resources for paralinguistic implementation in language learning.

The study used a descriptive statistics to analyze the data from the exploratory survey. SPSS was used to analyze quantitative data. Average raw scores of samples category in terms of gender and medium of school education were calculated to see the results.

4. Result

The survey show interesting results.

4.1 English teaching experience (in years)

The data reveals that the increased years in the teaching experience contribute towards altering teachers' attitude towards teaching and use of paralinguistic features in English classroom as beliefs about teaching and learning usually undergo change(s) over a period of time. It also proves that more experienced teachers are better teachers. It was noted that 23% of the selected sample have more than 10 years English language teaching experience or overall teaching experience. Almost 63% possesses experience more than five years but less than 10 years. Only 4% hold less than 1 year experience.

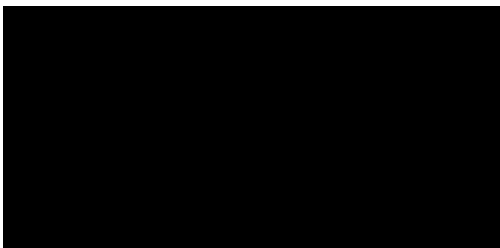


Figure 1: English Teachers' Teaching Experience

The findings suggest that teachers with a greater experience may be well couched in effective ELT practice.

4.2 Professional English teachers' organizations association

The rationale to ask about teachers' professional linkages was to have an idea about the updating of their knowledge and skills with the latest research outcomes concerning the main issues that the English teaching community faces. Moreover, joining such organizations provides a platform for sharing one's experiences and discussing classroom issues collectively which most teachers could benefit from. Apart from discussion the conferences and workshops organized by such associations also evaluate the level of teachers' knowledge. Only 10% of the selected sample are regular member of SPELT (Society for Pakistani English Teachers), the only English teachers' organization in Pakistan. It implies that only 10% had the opportunity to participate in regularly held meetings (once in every month) and enhances their subject knowledge and skills on various issues. But it is not a sufficient strength of the teachers as almost 83% of the selected sample is not the member of any professional English organization which is an alarming situation because such organizations give awareness about new researches, techniques and methodologies.

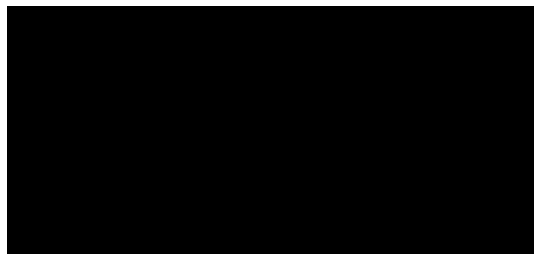


Figure 2: Teachers' Professional Teaching Association

The findings suggest that it is very important to have the refresher courses, training workshops and seminars. It will help English teachers to

make their beliefs and practices better. It is also proposed that educational organizations should give opening to their teachers by arranging such gatherings.

4.3 Teachers awareness about the importance of paraverbal features

Responses to questions regarding to the awareness and belief towards the importance of paralinguistics features provided a great help in order to understand how vital a role intonation plays in motivation of L2 learners. Variations and (rising and falling) in pitch sequences within speech plays a crucial role to get the exact meaning. It will also help us to know that whether L2 students respond to intonation to recognize the words and map them onto the pictures or not and in what basic ways are intonational features exploited in the classroom for instructional purposes. Teachers were aware about the importance of paralinguistic features in L2 classroom contexts. It was good to see that 53% of the teachers know that is

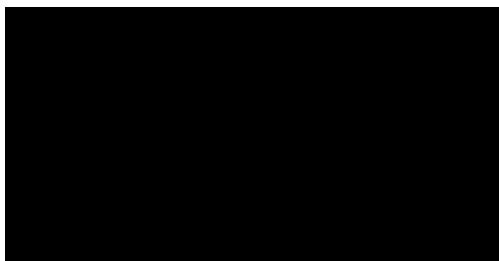


Figure 3: Teachers' Beliefs about Paralinguistic Feature.

Only 32% of the respondents replied that they have excellent knowledge about the paralinguistic features where as majority i.e. 53% were of the view that they have appropriate knowledge of all paraverbal components. Teachers' perception was that these features are equally important in both L1 and L2 learning and speaking. This set of questions has been included to collect teachers' responses as to what they believe about paraverbal teaching and learning. The results suggest that teachers' understand the importance of paraverbal teaching and learning in L1 (first / mother language) and L2 (second / target language) speech.

4.4 Teachers' competence about paralinguistic features and their acuity about paraverbal communication in L2 classrooms

The result of these set of questions are quite contradictory. 32% of the subject claimed to have great knowledge of paralinguistic features, although most of them (about 66%) were not taught paralinguistic features in their school days. However, it seems acceptable that majority claims to possess the right amount of knowledge. This reflects the teachers' belief about their efficacy regarding para verbal teaching; their actual competence though is subject to question.

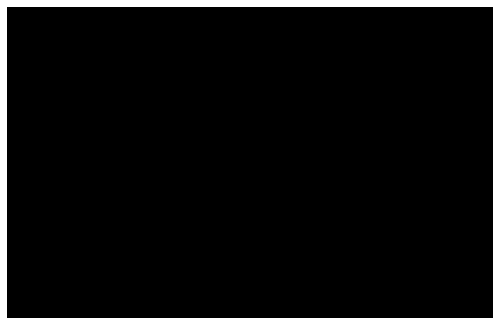


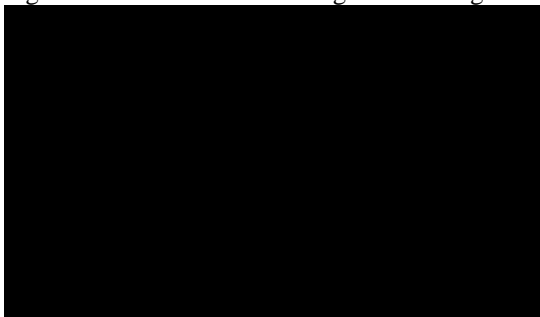
Figure 4: Teachers' Knowledge about Paralinguistic Features

The result of a set of questions reveals that the respondents acknowledged the importance of teaching and learning both in L1 and L2 which appears to be a positive result. The outcome shows that teachers understand the importance of paraverbal communication in L2 context and they want to implement it in their classroom environments. But as far as another question is concerned the results are disappointing despite the acknowledgement of the importance of the paralinguistic teaching previously institutions are quite often neglecting it. It could somewhat be for the reason that it has not been built-in within the college syllabuses. Another reason could be that mostly at graduate level written courses are included to make students' writing skills better without realizing that paralinguistic teaching is of equal importance especially in L2 context.

4.5 Teaching of paralinguistic features in classroom

The data reveals that the effects of paraverbal features put a vital role on the individual and classroom environment. No doubt, paralinguistic features contributes towards learning in a friendly environment. The use of paralanguage in the L2 classroom encourages the speaker and consequently the people in the classroom will show increased desire to transmit a message and will thereby hold the listeners' attention better. Moreover, it helped to understand teachers teaching practices of implicit or explicit paraverbal instructions. Furthermore, it also describes that whether paraverbal instructions should be given formally or informally. Teachers usually teach paralinguistic features through drill, practice, reading, listening and by making make explicit rules in language classroom.

Figure 5: Classroom Teaching of Paralinguistic



Features.

67% of the respondents teach paralinguistic through and repetition. 20% use reading material to make them clear where as only 13% teaching paralinguistic features through listening skill. This was quite strange that no one gives importance to practice in the classrooms. As the study says practice may help them to make them understand better. Moreover, it also describes the situation of listening and speaking in L2 context which are badly neglected. Usually teachers put stress on writing and reading skills. Grammar translation method is still in very much practice. Listening is the skill which is a key to speaking so if teachers' practices proper paraverbal language to keep their students active then it may be very effective for communicative competence.

4.6 Content of paralinguistic features in classroom

Appropriate content of paraverbal components enhances the efficacy of English language learning. For example, grammar teachings and help in making concepts more clear. The data focuses on the importance of stress in the classroom which is one of the contents of paraverbal features. It may help to find out the continuous learning process of students which results in gradual increase in their skills or output. Teachers replied that to indicate the boundaries of structures in language class intonations and effective pauses are very much helpful. Similarly, for better clarification of a concept; stress and variations in tone are always helpful. Moreover, intonation plays in motivation of L2 learners. Variations and (rising and falling) in pitch sequences within speech plays a crucial role to get the exact meaning It is also helpful to know that whether L2 students respond to intonation to recognize the words and map them onto the pictures or not. Similarly voice modulation has its great impact on students learning.

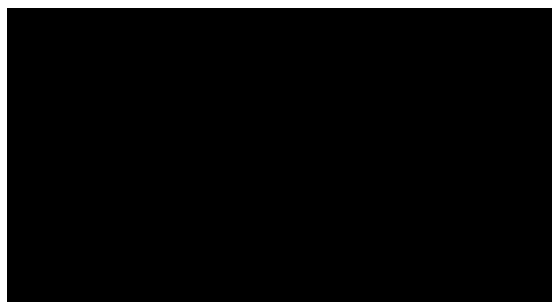


Figure 6: Impact of Voice Modulation on Students

80% of the respondents said that voice modulation enhances students' motivation. A lesson can be taught in a very effective manner if incorporates with monotone. Similarly, use of intonation develops interest among students. They feel themselves encouraged to participate in classroom activities. Moreover, students may infer a teacher's attitude through his/her way of address and change in his/her pitch, tone and volume.

5. Suggestions

Teachers need to be more well-informed about ELT methodologies and the current trends and practices in the ESL classrooms. It is the knowledge and understanding these methodologies that will help teachers understand how paralinguistic features is treated differently these methodologies and why; it will also help them in deciding which methodology best suits in their context. They should be encouraged and motivated to become members of ELT organizations, and on attending any workshop, seminar or conference they should be asked to give formal presentations of what they learnt, suggested, and disagreed at the meeting.

A knowledgeable teacher has the advantage of possessing a full command of the language over an untrained teacher. It is very essential for Pakistani public and private educational institutions to arrange workshops and provide their teachers with opportunities to develop and grow professionally. This will give them awareness about the use of English as a language in classroom environment.

Task-based approach involves students to work in pairs or groups and to use the acquired language for the accomplishment of some task(s). Communication activities focusing on a particular paralinguistic feature (e.g. stress, tone, intonation etc.) should be enacted to enhance students' fluency as well as provide them opportunities to use the learnt items in real life situation.

Paralinguistic features play a very vital role in communicative competence. Institutions should include these features particularly in their teaching courses and it should not be taken as a side by learning. Intonation is the glue that holds the message together. It indicates which words are important and enhances the meaning. Therefore, a combination of both the top-down and bottom-up approaches yields much better results and the teachers must be aware of this fact and should inculcate the segmental and supra-segmental both in teaching of paralinguistic features.

6. Summary

This research paper evaluates the role of paralinguistic features in learning English as second language at secondary level. The paraverbal component refers to how we say the words, the tone, pacing and volume of our voices. The analysis of data reveals that the paralinguistic features contributes towards learning friendly environment in L2 classroom. In conclusion it can be said with some degree of certainty that English language teachers lack consistency in their beliefs and classroom practices regarding the use of paralinguistic features. The conclusion of the research predicts that the paralanguage has a great impact on L2 learning.

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Presidential speech

Mr Krishna Prasad Parajuli

33rd Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN)

Honourable Chief Guest Shree Til Bikram Nembang (Bairagi Kainla), Chancellor, Nepal Academy; distinguished guest Prof. Dr Ganesh Man Gurung, Chairman, University Grants Commission; the key note speaker to 33rd annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Prof. Dr. K. V. Subba Rao; Dr Ram Chandra Dhakal, Director, CEDA; Shree Nani Ram Khatri, Director, CNAS; Chief Editor of the Journal of Nepalese Linguistics Volume 27 and Head of Central Department of Linguistics Dr Dan Raj Regmi; former presidents; chief editors and executive committee members; Linguistic Society of Nepal; Vice- President, Linguistic Society of Nepal; Life members, Linguistic Society of Nepal; distinguished linguists; scholars; paper presenters; participants from home and abroad; media persons; ladies and gentlemen.

First of all I express my sincere thanks to all the life members of Linguistic Society of Nepal for electing me the President of the Society in its 3rd annual general meeting held on 10th of Asar 2069. At the same time, I owe to Prof. Dr Kamal Prakash Malla, Prof. Dr Chura Mani Bandhu, Late Prof. Dr Ballav Mani Dahal, Dr Ramawatar Yadav, Dr Subhadra Subba, Prof. Dr Abhi Subedi, Prof. Nirmal Man Tuladhar,

Prof. Chandra Prakash Sharma, Prof. Dr Tej Ratna Kansakar, Prof. Dr Rameshwor P Adhikari, Prof. Dr Yogendra Prasad Yadava, Prof. Dr Madhav Prasad Pokhrel, Prof. Dr. Novel K. Rai, Jai Raj Awasthi, Prof. Dr Govinda Raj Bhattarai, my dear gurus and Dr Dan Raj Regmi for their dedication and commitment towards the Society and inspiration to the young researchers in this field.

The 33rd annual conference of the Society is a continuation of the august gathering, which has been uninterruptedly organized since its establishment in 1979. It has always been a forum, where national and international scholars discuss various issues with respect to different areas of linguistics and come to a conclusion.

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1. A glimpse of LSN activities

a. Meeting with the former Presidents and Chief Editors

Executive Committee of Linguistic Society of Nepal organized a meeting on August 12, 2012 at the Seminar Hall, Central Department of Linguistics (CDL), Tribhuvan University (TU) with the former Presidents and the Chief Editors of the Journal of Nepalese Linguistics. Main concern of the meeting was for the enhancement of the society. The meeting had been successful as the former Presidents and Chief Editors assured the Executive Committee that they would support the Committee from their respective fields for the enhancement of the Society.

b. Talk programme

Linguistic Society of Nepal and Central Department of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University jointly organized a talk programme on Computational grammar development: What is it good for? on 7th September 2012 (069/05/22) Friday at Central Department of Linguistics, TU. The Expert of the talk programme was Prof. Dr Miriam Butt, University of Konstanz, Germany. Linguists, computer scientists, research scholars, faculty members and students from Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu University, and participants from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Germany were also present during the talk.

c. Workshop/Seminar

The Society organized a one day workshop/seminar at Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) on 28th September, 2012. The workshop was conducted by Prof. Dr Madhav Prasad Pokhrel on Issues in grammar and linguistics and Prof. Dr Abhi Subedi on Speech and writing: Various perspectives.

2. Major achievements in the field of Nepalese Linguistics

a. "The setting up the first and only department of linguistics in the entire nation, which is a

'home' of a large number of languages and dialects...'. is one of the major achievements. Thanks to those who spent their time and energy in establishing the department.

b. Initiation of Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)

Central Department of Linguistics in association with the National Planning Commission and other institutions/organizations has conducted the sociolinguistic survey of Nepali, Maithili, Newar, Kham, Magar, Gurung, Chhantyal, Raji, Raute, Khona, Sona, Bajhangi, Baitadeli, Achhami, Dotyali, Dagaura Tharu, Rana Tharu, Avadi, Bhojpuri, Chepang, Yakkha, Chhilong Lapcha, Kaike, Jirel, Kumal, Bote, Bhujel and Santhali languages (Regmi: 2012 personal communication).

In addition to sociolinguistic study, we have to begin to research in other areas in consonance with objectives of LiNSuN. The objectives of LiNSuN were to:

- i. develop sociolinguistic profile of all the languages of Nepal,
- ii. produce a basic description of at least ten languages (at least of Nepal one description in each cluster) that includes an understanding of the sound system, observation of the grammar, and a trilingual glossary,
- iii. develop and maintain a complete database of the languages of Nepal,
- iv. 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 education system and the proposal on methodology, management, human resource and training requirements, analytical team, expected outcome and time frame expressed in the proposal of LinSuN (Yadava: Keynote speech delivered at the 29th annual conference of LSN, 2008 on behalf of Linguistic Survey Management Committee (LISMAC).

I would like to express my sincere thanks to all the initiators of LinSuN.

c. Uninterrupted publication of the Journal of Nepalese Linguistics, which is the result of the series of discussions held in the annual conferences of the Society.

d. Harmonious relationship with Nepal Academy, University Grants Commission, National Planning Commission, Central Department of Linguistics, English and other departments and research wings CNAS and CEDA at Tribhuvan University, National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) International and many other government and non-government organizations. This has broadened the horizon of linguistics and linguistic activities in Nepal.

e. Documentation of the Chhintang, Puma and Baram languages.

f. Initiation of the web journal Himalayan Linguistics. Its issue 10.1 is a special issue in memory of late Michael Noonan and late David Watters.

g. Publication of the Ethnologue: Languages of Nepal with Nepali translation

However, as pointed out by Subba: 2009, in her key note speech delivered at the 30th annual conference of LSN, over the passage of three decades we are still standing at the same place, and whether we linguists have been able to fulfill our duty to our country in sorting out correct priorities. We have still to make a strenuous effort in this respect.

3. Documentation and revitalization of linguistic diversity and mother tongue education

LSN urges the nation to protect and promote the linguistic rights of its people and the need for the documentation of linguistic diversity and implement all of them as revealed in the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007. It has stated that

a. Each community shall have the right to get basic education in their mother tongue as provided for in the law. (Education and Cultural Right: Article 17:1).

- b. Each community residing in Nepal shall have the right to preserve and promote its language, script, culture, cultural civility and heritage (Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007: Education and Cultural Right: Article 17:3).
- c. The State shall, while maintaining the cultural diversity of the country, pursue a policy of strengthening the national unity by promoting healthy and cordial social relations, based on equality and coexistence, amongst the various religions, cultures, castes, groups, communities, origins and linguistic groups, and by helping in the equal promotion of their languages, literatures, scripts, arts and cultures (Interim constitution of Nepal, 2007: State Policies: article 35:3).

4. Sessions and papers

There will be fifteen parallel and two plenary sessions in which presenters from home and abroad will discuss their researches on historical linguistics and typology, phonetics, phonology, syntax, morphology, semantics and history, applied linguistics, methods and language policy, discourse, non-vocal communication, language, register, lexicography and mother tongue education, language processing and language technology, and lexical studies comprising of more than 35 languages.

We have, for example, papers like: *Can RRG explain the emergence of finite/non-finite distinction in the 14th-century Newari?*, *'The tail' in classical Newari lexicon and the proto-Tibeto-Burman root, null pronouns or rich inflection? Hints from diachrony*, *Typology of verb agreement in the languages of Nepal*, *About 3 ways of dying of hunger in Lithuanian*, *Composite group as the units of speech production in Nepali*, *The history and dimensions of Kusunda study*, *Contact Nepali in Kathmandu valley: Convergence between TB & IA languages*, *Linguistic identity of the Charuwā speech community of Assam*, *Linguistic exclusion in Madhesh: A case of Maithili speaking people*, *Writing system in Tamang: An experience of challenges and practice*, *Compoundization of verbs in Bodo and Assamese language*, *Negativization in Churete*, *Person number and gender of Bodo*, *Affixation in Kurux language*,

Case marking in Balami, *Tense and aspect in the Chhulung language*, *Differences in eastern and western Dhimal*, *Linguistic situation of Kulung*, *language contact in Sikkim*, *Motivations for mixing codes and scripts in television commercials*, *Ethnolinguistic identity of Chepangs*, *Interplay of language, culture and identity*, *Magar toponyms in Tamuwan*, *Towards meronymic hierarchies of 'body part terms' in Nepali*, *A lexical comparison of Maithili and Bengla: An etymological study*, *Lexical reduplication in the Chitoniya Tharu*, *Toponyms in the Magar from Rukum and Rolpa*, *Clause combining in Baram*, *Clause combining in Dumi*, *Adverbial clauses in Darai*, *Tense, aspect and modality in Santhali*, *Temporal and locative clauses in Maithili and English: A comparative study*, *Irregularities in control: A cross-linguistic functional explanation*, *From spatial to subject marker*, *Contact induced changes in Bhujel*, *Multilingualism in Kaike*, *Dialects used by the Miyani Moimansingia Muslims people of Assam*, *Sociolinguistic situation of Kurux language*, *Language and culture*, *Ethnologue: A pragmatic birds-eye view of the languages of Nepal*, *Perception and production of English tense/lax vowel contrasts by Koreans*, *Teaching a foreign language in a multi-lingual classroom, alignment of objectives, instructional strategies and assessment in an EFL class*, *Importance of paralanguage in learning English as second language*, *Clitic -e in Bhojpuri*, *Verbal and nonverbal predicates in Puma*, *Noun classes in Dangaure Tharu*, *Case system in Tharu*, *Space beyond time: Ways of detecting knowledge*, *Affixation and compounding in Hakka*, *Working with the last speakers of Baram*

Intergenerational transfer among Yamphu speakers in Nepal, *A socio-linguistic survey of Lohorung*, *Is woman's language different?*, *A study on mother tongue maintenance by Juang children*, *The methodology for collecting data used by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN): Doodles and challenges*, *Sociolinguistic survey: challenges and opportunities*, *Using participatory methods among Tharu communities in southwest Nepal*, *Can the idea of a multimodal online platform be a part of the national policies for language, culture and education in Nepal?*

Preserving indigenous knowledge and cultural heritage in Lavua, Thailand, Self documentation of languages using mobile application, Mystery of Russian riddle, The use of Nepali: Its cultural and social power in the guru of love and Buddha's orphans, Plain language for lawyers, Participant tracking in Nepali sign language narrative, Tiwa language: A study, Nepali news classification based on VSM, Comparison of unsupervised algorithms applied to morpheme analysis for Nepali. Comparison of NeLRaLEC and MPP tag sets for Nepali.

5. Issues raised in the previous conferences of LSN

Since the establishment of LSN, it has been raising numerous issues in its annual conferences. Some of the issues raised in the conference have been addressed. Like the establishment of Central Department of Linguistics, initiation of Linguistic Survey of Nepal.

I want to share with you the issues raised by former presidents of the Society and reiterate them here.

- a. It is essential to establish a Central Institute or Foundation of languages dedicated to the study and research of all the languages of Nepal (Rai: Presidential address delivered at the 26th annual conference of LSN, 2005)
- b. LSN and Central Department of Linguistics have jointly made a proposal to the concerned authority for the foundation of a Language Academy in order to plan and formulate policies for languages (Awasthi: Presidential address delivered at the 27th annual conference of LSN and 12th Himalayan Languages Symposium, 2006)
- c. The establishment of Language Academy, for which the linguistic communities have shown their serious concern time and again, is very urgent call of time.
- d. The development of Nepali as a second language curriculum with widely expanding Nepali Diasporas and the different linguistic groups of the nation in mind needs accelerating.

e. 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 the researches related to language are not merely theoretical subjects of discussion and debates, rights and duties, they should be utilized as powerful instrument for nurturing and strengthening social harmony as well.

f. 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. (Bhattarai: Presidential address delivered at the 30th annual conference of LSN, 2009)

g. Languages in which there are only a few speakers have to be immediately documented and languages like Dura have to be revitalized (Regmi: Presidential address delivered at the 31st annual conference of LSN, 2010)

6. More issues ahead

- a. In order to materialize the dream of its life members, there is an urgent need of a piece of land for the construction of its building.
- b. Generation of resources
- c. Prepare policy guidelines and hand them over to the concerned authorities of the government and other organizations.

At this very moment, I promise that we would try to strengthen the activities of the Society more and keep up the tradition to fulfill its mission despite the fact that Nepal is still in the critical phase both politically and economically.

I remember the generous support extended to us by many individuals, institutions and organizations at this juncture to make this event successful. On behalf of Linguistic Society of Nepal, I express my gratitude to Nepal Academy for the financial support to publish the 27th Volume of the Journal of Nepalese Linguistics. Similarly, I express my sincere thanks to University Grants Commission, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University Office of the VC, Central Department of English,

Central Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Sajha Prakashan, Madan Bhandari Memorial College, Summer Institution of Linguistics (SIL) International, Cambridge University Press India Pvt. Ltd., Bhrikuti Academic Publications, Sunkoshi Chhapakhana Pvt. Ltd. Kanjirowa National School, Arunima Educational Foundation, Leisure World Tours and Travels, Jubilant College, Creative Academy, Einstein Academy, Parikar Catering, Image Printers, Centre for Economic Development and Administration (CEDA), session moderators, former presidents LSN, life members LSN, paper presenters, contributors and many more for their moral, logistic and financial support to make this mega event a successful one.

I would also like to thank Dr Dan Raj Regmi, Chief Editor of Nepalese Linguistics volume 27, Dr Balam Prasin and Mr Ramesh Khatri the editors for their painstaking and untiring effort in bringing this volume in your hands.

Please bear with us for any inconveniences caused.

Once again I would like to welcome to all the guests from home and abroad and wish their pleasant stay in Kathmandu.

Thank you very much for your patience.

List of the life members of linguistic society of Nepal

1. Honorary members

Austin Hale
Balkrishna Pokharel
Bernard Kolver
Werner Winter

2. Late life members

Ballabh Mani Dahal
Harihar Raj Joshi
Kenneth L. Pike
Khadga Bahadur K.C.
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CNAS Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
DEE Department of English Education
IOE Institute of Engineering
LinSuN Linguistic Survey of Nepal

Note: We have tried our best to update the list of the life members of Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN). We would be grateful to your kind help for further updates.

Abbreviations used in this list

CDC Curriculum Development Centre
CDE Central Department of English
CDL Central Department of Linguistics
CDN Central Department of Nepali
CIL Campus of International Languages