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LANGUAGE OF THE MUNDHUM IN THE CHAMLING COMMUNITY

Vishnu S Rai

The purpose of this article is to try to show the difference between the language of communication and the language of invocation in the Chamling community. In this paper, first I will start by introducing briefly the Chamling language followed by the concept of mundhum which is the language of the ritual. Finally, I will describe the language of the ritual.

Keywords: Language, communication, innovation, Mundhum

1 The Chamling language

Like its sister languages viz., Bantawa, Puma, Dumi, Mewahang and others, Chamling belongs to the Tibeto-Burman phylum. The first book, entitled *Cāmlīn Rāi ra Cāmlīn Bhāṣā* ‘The Chamling Rai and the Chamling Language’ by T.B. Rai appeared in VS 2051, i.e. AD 1994-1995. The book mainly talks about the Chamling people and only little about the language. The author describes the glorious past and neglected present of the language, but provides no linguistic description of the language. Instead, the book offers a list of nouns and verbs from the southeastern dialect. In 1997, Karen Ebert’s *Camling* presented the first major linguistic description of the language with sections on phonology, the verb, nominals and sentence patterns. A tiny unpublished study ‘An Outline of Chamling Grammar’ was presented by V.S. Rai to the Royal Nepal Academy in 1997. The study presents a sketch of Chamling grammar, including phonology, morphology and syntax. A *Chamling Nepali Dictionary* was compiled by Bayan Singh Rai appeared in VS 2059, AD 2003. This work is not a dictionary in the strict sense, but a collection of Chamling words with their Nepali equivalents. In 2007, a trilingual dictionary ‘*Camling-Nepali-Angreji Sabdakos* by Novel Kishore Rai, Vishnu Singh Rai, Tanka Bahadur Rai and Bagdevi Rai appeared. This dictionary has chamling words with their equivalents in Nepali and English and also shows the use of those words. Moreover, this resource provides the past and non-past forms of the verbs. Recently ‘*A Grammar of Chamling*’ a doctoral dissertation University of Bern by Vishnu Singh Rai has been published in 2013. This is a first major work in the phonology,

morphology, verb, and syntax of the Chamling language.

Rai ritual language has not been studied so far. It started with Alen’s article ‘Sewala Puja Bintila Puja: Notes on Thulung Ritual language’ which appeared in (1978) and established itself as a milestone in this so far neglected area of ethnolinguistic study. Later different studies on the ritual language of the Mewahang Rai (Ganszle 2002, 2010) the Chintang Rai (Rai et al 2009) and the Puma Rai (Gaenzle et al. 2011) shed light particularly on the use of binominals.

2 Mundhum: A brief introduction

It will not be an exaggeration to say that although Rais are linguistically different, they are culturally the same. They may not understand each other’s languages but they can understand the rituals which are more or less similar. The sum total of all these rituals including the rites of passage as well as healing customs, and the beliefs and practices of Rai people can be said as *Mundhum*. The terms slightly differ across different Rais but the concept remains the same. Gaenzle (2002: 40-42), has found ten slightly different terms for *Mundhum* with one common element *dum* in all of them which shows that their cultures are very similar. They are given on the next page.

Mundum	Chintang, Bantawa
muddum / mu_dum	Mewahang
muntum	Yakkha
mindum	Yamphu
mukdum	Sunuwar
ridum	Kulung
dum la	Chamling
diumla	Thulung
pelam	Lohorung

I use the word ‘*Mundhum*’ because this first came into the written traditions⁷ and is now widely used not only by the Rai but by the entire Kiranti community and by the non-Kiranti speakers, e.g. Nepali speakers.

The exact translation of the concept the term *Mundhum* bears is hard to pinpoint: no word can justify its translation. It was first interpreted by

Chemjong (1966:21ff) as “to be true, holy and powerful scriptures” which Allen finds “misleading in as much as the traditional culture is in some areas entirely an oral one” (1976:261). Gaenszle who has done extensive work on Rai rituala in general and Mewahang Rai rituals in particular accepts the difficulty of when he describes *Mundhum* as “a complex notion at the centre of which is a certain view of the mythic past as being intrinsically linked to the present” (2002:25). Hardman also describes *Mundhum* or Pelam in the Lohorung community in the similar way by saying that it includes “customs, habits, traditions, rituals, and myths which they conceive as belonging to their own ancestors” (2000:104).

A better way to understand *Mundhum* would be to describe its salient features rather than to define it. Firstly, a *Mundhum* has no written records: it is completely oral which is transmitted from one generation to other and this is how it has been preserved so far in the Chamling community from time immemorial. Secondly, it includes rituals, myths, beliefs and social customs which have been carried out right from the birth of the Chamling community. It virtually includes everything that guides the Chamling is a way of life. *Mundhum* is the philosophy of life as well as the code of conduct for the Chamling people in this world and the world after death. It narrates the origin of life an man on to this earth, the nomad life and how this nomad life gradually turned into farming, the story of migration. All these important information are not given in a straight forward manner instead they are shrouded in mythical stories and one has to chaff the grain out of husk carefully because ‘myth and ritual are intrinsically linked’ (Ganszle & Ebert 2008). And this is not at all surprising. Since these information were and are given orally, the narrative form keeps the audience’s interest aroused and this is one of the main reasons why they are still told and listened: any other form may it be preaching or informative might have been cause of its loss. Thirdly, *Mundhum* serves the purpose of healing the sick ranging from as obvious as a headache to as abstract as being haunted or troubled by en evil spirit. The healing done by the priests and shamans can still be observed, and Hardman (2000: 41-43) talks of one such performance which she witnessed in the Lohorung Rai community. The modern science

has not been able to penetrate this mystery but on this ground it would not be justified to say that they are not true. A shaman said to me ‘modern science cannot prove God: does this mean there is no God’. Fourthly *Mundhum* also teaches art such as dancing. In addition to the dance performed by the priests and shamans during the rituals, there are over a dozen types of dance styles known as *sili*. In a nut shell, *Mundhum* is that body of oral literature which guides the life of the Chamling people every day and every moment as it not only tells them how the earth was formed and man was born but also how to make a house. This is the reason why Chamlings or Rais or Kirantis consider *Mundhum* as ‘holy’ and ‘powerful’, and although it’s not in a written form they try to equate it with the Veda and Bible scriptures.

3 The ritual language

So far the ritual language or ritual register has drawn little interest from the linguists and anthropologists. The study of the Rai ritual language was started by Allen (1978) in which he described the dominant presence of binominals in the ritual language of the Thulung Rai. Adopting the technique used by Jakobson (1966) which he called ‘parallelism’ to describe the literary genre, Allen described binominals. This idea or the technique was further used by Gaenszle who extensively described the structure and use of binominals in the ritual language of the Mewahang Rai. He called it ‘pervasive parallelism’ as it was not only found at one level of the language but all the levels viz. phonology, morphology and syntactic levels. In fact, since binominal is the most prominent feature of the ritual language, it was studied from different angles as Gaenszle et al (2011) observes, “the various kinds of explanations offered in earlier work on the phenomenon of binomials. Explanations in terms of poetics are largely inspired by structuralist ideas and argue that binomials have to be seen as part of a more pervasive parallelism. The sociological approach regards binomials as a means for the construction of social hierarchies and linguistic authority. Moreover, culturalist approaches, which see binomials as linked to the system of (dual) symbolic classification, have had to acknowledge that only a part of the existing forms can be analyzed in this way.” They add a new dimension

what they describe as “the effect of binomials on discourse as a whole, or what can be called discursive style.” Wettstein et al. adopted a holistic approach to understand a ritual text, “in our view it is only when considering the total performance of the ritual – including the text, its mythological background, the musical aspects of the recitation, the movement acts performed by the ritual specialists and the audience, the location and spatial set up of the performance – that we can get as close as possible to the meaning of a ritual performance and therefore also to the meaning of a ritual text.”

This of course is true that the meaning of an utterance may it be in any register including the ritual register cannot be grasped only by analysis of the linguistic items used. Even a simple looking utterance can have different connotations depending on the pragmatic factors such as the speaker, the time and place and the context. Going into more detail, we also have to take account of the speaker-hearer or addresser-addressee relationship particularly in a ritual language where a shaman is addressing the departed spirits or the spirits of the ancestors. In this article, I concentrate on the language used in the Chamling *Mundhum* in general and language used in the ancestor worship in particular because the data used in this article have been taken from ancestor worship. The article explores the salient features of the ritual language and proceeds further to note the differences between the ritual and the day-to-day language on all levels of language.

4 Understanding the Mundhum language: Main characteristics

Gaenzle (2002) finds six main ‘feature of ritual speech’, viz. formality by which he means “the ritual language is more thoroughly structured, or patterned, on the stylistic and semantic level, and hence discourse is more predictable”; poetics which suggests the use of poetic devices such as ‘patterns of repetitions, metaphors or metonymies’; textuality which is, according to him, unlike a written text has the performative aspect; discursive universe which suggests that a ritual text ‘that opens up a world’ in his words ‘discursive universe’; performance by which he means that rituals should not be studied only as texts –forms of expression, but also as performance; and competence and authority

which suggests that it’s not only the linguistic competence as proposed by Chomsky (1972) but communicative competence as proposed by Hymes (1974) is required for the user-performers of the ritual language. In this article, I will try to explore the salient features of the *Mundhum* language mainly from the linguistic perspective and touch also on the musicality aspect which has not been treated explicitly by him.

It is a popular belief among different Rai language communities that the language of *Mundhum* cannot be translated as many shamans clearly say that the words and chants automatically come onto their lips while performing a ritual such as *bato lagaumu* or *bayu bhaganu*. How do we understand their meaning then? I agree with what Gaenzle et al. (2005) observes in the Puma ritual language, “Though many of the elements defy semantic analysis, it is nevertheless evident that the ritual terms are intrinsically meaningful and not simply “mumbo jumbo”. A careful morphological analysis of the words as well as such factors as loan words the terms can be translated. I would start by saying that the *Mundhum* language is unique in the sense that some of its words have no meaning by which I mean that the *nachung* who recited these words couldn’t give their meaning, and then there are some other words which they could not give the exact meaning but they guessed them. Let us see some examples, which are found not only in the *Mundhum* language but the priests cannot give their exact meaning.

seluimadeu.maliuadeu	arawa.kharawa
mibu.tabu	grahumi.migrahu

These words which are binomials are taken from the *barkhant* text Although the informants were not able to provide the translation for these terms their meaning can be guessed partly from the context and partly from their structural analysis. Let us the first word seluimadeu.maliuadeu which have appeared 5 times in the entire performance.

- (1) *yonga-da* *seluima-deu maluima-deu*
 river -LOC seluima-god ECHO-god
- yoda* *kunou*
 grow VOC.PART
- ‘In the river Seluimadeu Maluimadeu grew.’

hai seluimadeu maluimadeu
hai seluimadeu maluimadeu
hailseluimadeu maluimadeu
 'O Seluimadeu Maluimadeu !'

Now it becomes clear that Seluimadeu Meluimadeu is living being because only living being can be addressed, and the fact that the last segment –deu attached to Seluima and Maluima refers to God. It should also be noted that this performance is dedicated to the ancestors, therefore it is fair to guess that these two deities are actually the ancestors.

The term, *arawa.kharawa* another binominal also doesn't have any given meaning. Let's see the context in which it has appeared.

- (2) *naim-ou cinim-ou* *arawa kharawa* *tangaïdu*
naima-VOC ECHO-VOC *rice ECHO* *2-keep-3p*
 'O Naima ! O Cinima ! You offered me rice.'

arawa.kharawa suggests some kind of gift offered. Rai (2005) has translated it as 'sacred rice' which could be true because the word 'arawa' is a Maithili word which means rice. This term *arawa* also appeared in Chintang ritual text as quoted by Gaenszle et al (2005).

The term *mibu tabu* has been translated as fire in the following lines probably because the *mi* in *mibu* means 'fire'. This is somehow justifiable but the word *grahumi migrahu* does not provide any clue whatsoever to suggest what it means and no translation for this word has been provided.

- (3) *sapsalung dapsalung thaimalung* *mibu tabu*
 evils spirits ECHO ECHO fire ECHO

hai *seluima-deu* *maluima-deu*
 TUN(N) seluima-god maluima-god

khimr-ungma *saima* *siri* *saima*
 home-evil kill evil kill

maid-ung *kunou*
 treat-1s VOC.PART

'O Gods! Kill the evil spirits. Treat them.'

- (4) *haikama-o* *he* *cikhim-uo*
 earth-VOC ADD home-VOC
 'O earth, o home !'

bhaiti-sung *grahumi migrahu* *chimas-ung*
 firewood burning.coal sal-wood

The consultant was not sure of the meaning of the term *grahumi migrahu*. He suggested that it might mean 'fire of coal' or 'burning coal' probably

because of the term contains *mi* meaning 'fire'. Another point is that it is clearly a binominal but a rare one because in its construction the *mi* changes its position. This is the only one example of this kind in this text and it would be very interesting to find some other examples in other texts if there are any. Another consultant suggested that the meaning of the term *migrahu grahumi* could be 'graha-nachatra' (N), the satellites. The suggestion is based on the belief that that the position of the graha-nachatra affects man's life on earth and here the shaman is trying to pacify those entities that might harm the family for which he is performing. A very careful analysis is required to study them.

5 Binominals in the Mundhum language

Quite a few studies on the Rai *Mundhum* languages (Gaenszle 2002, 2010, Gaenszle et al 2011, Rai et al 2009) were carried out after the landmark study of the binominals in the Thulung ritual language by Allen in 1978. All of these studies were geared to the structure and analysis of binominals which dominate the ritual language. However, this pervasive use of binominals is not unique to the Rai languages but they are reported to be found in other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family spoken in Nepal such as, Tamu (Gurung) language (Strickland 1987), Tamang language (Höfer 1994) and some ethnic community such as Apa Tani (Blackburn 2010) spoken on the northeastern hills in India.

In Chamling, binominals are not restricted to only the *Mundhum* language: they are also found in the ordinary language but their meaning is extended to high level. For example, in the example 5, the word *kokma* 'grandmother' is a term from the ordinary language but when used in the *Mundhum* language it gains more importance and meaning as its meaning is extended from grandmother to the female ancestors and to the female deities. Note also that when used in the *Mundhum* language, the word is not used alone but it comes with another word or better to say it gains the form of a binominal whose 'second limb', *pirima* has no meaning because it is never used alone neither in the *Mundhum* language nor in the ordinary language. In the example 6, however, such ordinary terms as *dōsi* 'back' and *busi* 'front' are used as *Mundhum* binominals not because they have been put together which is also done in

the day to day communication but because they have been used as verbs *dōsidoma* ‘stop from the back’ and *busidoma* ‘stop from the front’ by adding the verb *doma* ‘to stop/ to block’. In this sense *Mundhum* language is very creative. The shamans sometimes enjoy the freedom of adding few shades of colour to the original narration with the help of words which either they borrow from other languages or which they create themselves by adding some part from the same language. In example 7, the words *sona*, *rupa* and *deva* are borrowed from the Maithili language. Since their meanings, except the word ‘deva’ which is also used in Nepali, were not known to the users as they could not give the meaning of these terms. But since I know the Maithili language, I could give their meaning. All of these words were combined with another word *rani* (*sonarani*, *ruparani*, *chonamrani* and *buro rani*) which is itself a borrowed word used both in the Maithili and the Nepali languages. What makes it interesting is the fact that these terms are used with the native term *cyonamrani* (‘good queen’ literally and ‘benevolent goddess’ in the real sense of the term) which in a way qualifies all of them. The meaning of the last term *burorani* has still to be found.

- (5) *a-kokma-ci-ou pirima-ci-ou*
IsPOSS-grandparent-p-VOC ECHO-p-VOC
‘O my (female) ancestors, deities !’
- (6) *dōsi-doma busi-doma mi-daid-ung-ou*
back-stop front-stop NEG-close-1s-VOC
‘Don’t block my path –don’t stop me going
backward and forward.’
- (7) *sona-rani rupa-rani cyano-rani*
gold-queen silver-queen good-queen
- deva-rani buro-rani*
god-queen ??-queen
- mochama-ci-ou*
female ancestor-p-VOC
‘O queen of wealth and prosperity! O mother
deities!’

There are quite a few suffixes, which are extensively used in the *Mundhum* are not found in the ordinary language, and there are some which are also found in the ordinary language but used in the *Mundhum* to mean something different than they are the ordinary language. The following table shows them.

Suffix	Explanation	Example
-ri	Not found in the ordinary language.	<i>dhyolari.thyolari</i> ‘drummers’, <i>karchamri.lakamri</i> ‘shaman’s assistants’, <i>sari.mari</i> ‘illness, trouble’, <i>tanari.sanari</i> ‘door’ <i>khisungri.mithamari</i> ‘jealousy’
-mi	Not found in the ordinary language.	<i>ngasami.khabami</i> , ‘rich/ prosperous’, <i>sayāmi.tayāmi</i> ‘wise male person’ <i>subumi.kubumi.mubumi</i> ‘shaman’,
-ma	-ma is infinitive marker, and female marker in the ordinary language, but it is also used as nominal marker in <i>Mundhum</i> .	<i>misungma.mithama</i> ‘enemy’, <i>amlama.phidima</i> ‘young women’, <i>cabama.kabuma</i> ‘animals’, <i>ciwama.hawama</i> ‘trouble/ apat-bipat’ (N), <i>kurimma.sapcima</i> ‘storm’, <i>sakhlima.cikhlima</i> ‘intestine’, <i>kuyama.kuwama</i> ‘dark’

I propose *-ri*, *-ma* and *-mi* are bound morphemes because the words, at least most of the words, which contain them can occur alone. For example, *dhyola* ‘drum’ and *kyarcham* ‘drumsong’, *tayā* ‘knowledge/ wisdom’ and *khaba* ‘money’, and *cabha* ‘tiger’, and *cikhli* ‘intestine’. It is also interesting to note that sometimes the first word is meaningful sometimes the second one. In *dhyolari thyolari* the first one is meaningful whereas in *sayāmi tayāmi* the second one is meaningful because they can stand alone while the other cannot. In this respect, it would be better to say the the first type (in which the preceding word is meaningful) as ‘original’ (O) and the other (the following one) as ‘echo’ (E) word, and the second type (in which the following word is meaningful) as O and the preceding one as E.

If we look at the structure of these two types of binominals, we find that some of them are actually compound nouns in the sense that both can stand alone and are therefore meaningful in themselves. Some examples are given below.

- dosisili busisili* *dosi* ‘back’ *sili* ‘dance’ and *busi*
‘front’ *sili* ‘dance’ = dance
- sonarani ruparani* *sona* ‘gold’ *rani* ‘queen’ and *rupa*
‘silver’ *rani* ‘queen’ = benevolent goddess
- issako khaīsako* *issa* ‘be bad’ -*ko* ‘nominalizer’ and
khaīsa ‘be bad’ -*ko* ‘nominalizer’ = bad
- pomawa thumawa* *poma* ‘pour’ *wa* ‘water’ and *thuma*
‘sieve’ *wa* ‘water’ = beer

Thus, the binominals in Chamling can be (a) a compound noun in which all the components are meaningful, e.g. *dosisili busisili*: *dosi* ‘back’ *sili* ‘dance’ and *busi* ‘front’ *sili* ‘dance’, (b) a binominal in which the added component is

meaningful, e.g. *nawasung thimasung*: *nawa* ‘??’ *sung* ‘wood’ and *thaima* ‘??’ *sung* ‘wood’ meaning thereby ‘different kinds of wood’, (c) a binominal in which only one component can be meaningful, e.g. *dhyolari thyolari*: *dhyola* ‘drum’ –ri a suffix and *thyola* ‘an E word, –ri the suffix meaning thereby ‘drummers’, and (d) a binominal in which the following component is meaningful, e.g. *sayāmi.tayāmi* : *sayā* ‘an E word’ –mi ‘a suffix’ and *tayā* ‘knowledge/ wisdom’ –mi ‘the suffix’ meaning thereby ‘knowledgeable wise person’

The biverbals are not as interesting as binominals from linguistic point of view: they are not only less in number but less creative as well. Some examples are given below.

- (8) *oko cadim sopa-wa stir-yo kunou*
 this rice who-INST stir-NPT VOC PART
 ‘Who prepares this beer by stirring the rice.’
- sod-yo-ku no cy-o-ku no*
 bring-NPT-NML PART eat-NPT-NML PART
- ding-yo-ku no*
 drink-NPT-NML PART
 ‘Who brings it, who eats and drinks it?’
- (9) *arawa kharawa ta-ngaïd-unga*
 rice ECHO 2-keep-1s
 ‘You offered me rice.’
- de ngalma-si dosomsa-si*
 what do-PUR how-PUR
 ‘What should I do and how (now)?’
- (10) *homma poma-wa thuma-wa*
 drink pour-water sieve-water
surlimo-mo m-cama-si
 priest-GEN 3POSS-eat-PUR
- m-dungma-si kunou*
 3POSS-drink-PUR VOC.PART
 ‘This drink made (by stirring grain in the water and by sieving it) for the priest to eat and drink.’

There are also some biadjectivals such as *issako khaïssako* ‘bad’, *cuapa duapa* ‘poor/miserable’ and biadverbial *cema cema* ‘slowly’, *inglapa himlapa* ‘down’ which are used both in the Mundhum as well as in the ordinary language. But their number is insignificant and their construction is not different from that of the binominals, and therefore they have not been dealt with in this article.

6 Reduplication and repetition

Binominals in the Chamling *Mundhum* are basically examples of reduplication usually partial reduplication with initial syllable change. They are also found in the ordinary language but less frequently. It can also be noticed that in the ordinary language these ‘binominals’ are mostly the examples of complete reduplication and they are used to intensify the action (Rai 1990) or to force the importance of the topic to the hearer. A lot of repetition, which is the basic feature of reduplication is done in the ritual language: not only words but the whole phrases and clauses are often repeated for the purpose of expressing the importance of the topic or person of the talk and to maintain the musicality which is another salient feature of the ritual language. The following lines exemplify the reduplication (they can also be found in the ordinary language: 2nd and 3rd lines of 12) and repetition features.

- (11) *ladi-hō piti-hō-c-ou*
 moon-king star-king-p-VOC
 ‘O mighty moon and stars!’
- hai dosi-doma busi-doma*
 hail back-stop front-stop
- mi-maid-u-c-nou*
 NEG-make-p-VOC
- hai dosi-khōma busi-toma*
 hail back-look front-see
- maid-c-ung-ou*
 make-p-1s-VOC
 ‘O don’t block my path either from the front or from the back.’
- (12) *ale ale sela sela*
 today today tomorrow tomorrow
- hai susum susum*
 hai day after tomorrow
- hai yasum yasum*
 two days after tomorrow
 ‘Today, tomorrow and in the days to come.’
- ma-kha lam-da ma-khat-uë*
 get-lost path-LOC get-go-1sNPT
 ‘I may get lost on my way.’
- dha-kha lam-da dhung-khat-uë*
 fall-down path-LOC fall.down-go-1sNPT
 ‘I may fall down on my way.’
- nelo mu-sa en-a-nga sen-a-ou*
 good do-CONT hear-IMP-1s ask-IMP-VOC

- (17) *issama hai khirima*
hai misungma mithama
khumlungcama beralima
hiyabanepa nelo kunou

The performance gains momentum with the pace of the chant related to the topic. For example, in the beginning his ritual journey, the shaman makes his request in a humble tone:

- (18) *ladi-hō piti-hō-cy-o*
 moon-king star-king-p-VOC
 O mighty moon and stars!
hai dosi-doma busi-doma mi-maid-u-c-ou
 hail back-stop front-stop NEG-make-p-VOC
 ‘O don’t block my path either from the front or from the back.’

Then, the voice of the shaman becomes intense as he describes the path he is crossing, and the onomatopoeic reduplicated words suggest the difficulty in course of his journey as well as the energy he gains from them.

- (19) *dhirung lam dharung lam*
 big rock path rock above path
ei ei ei ei ha ha ha ha
 TUN TUN
hai so bo tipsung malung
 hail like PART forest ECHO
malung-mo lam dhirung lam
 forest-GEN path big rock path
dharung lam ei ei ei ei ha ha ha ha
 rock above path TUN TUN
yamai-dung-ko
 make-1s-NML
 ‘I make the path that goes through steep slope and forest.’

The shaman’s voice grows louder and more intense as the journey becomes more difficult.

- (20) *capca saya ngar-sa-la-sa*
 tiger spirit roar.CON-v2-CONT
byarpa saya dhirung dha-sa
 bear spirit power fall-CONT
hōcha saya hōsap lhasa
 man spirit tool catch-CONT
hai kharu saya m-phlō hor-sa
 hail work spirit 3POS-help throw-CONT
hai nimi saya huu dha-sa
 hail dog spirit bark fall-CONT
khowalung bo mmo-komh-sa
 rock PART 3POSS-cross-CONT

- amo-komh-sa ymaid-ung kunou*
 1POSS-cross-CONT do-1s PART
hai wa hila baikhu lam
 hail water path sea path
mmo-komh-sa amo-komh-sa
 3POSS-cross-CONT 1POSS-cross-CONT
saya soma yamaid-ung kunou
 spirit raise do-1s VOC.PART
 ‘Through the roar of the tiger and bear, through the working men and the barking of dog, I come through a rocky path and through the path full with water to raise the soul.’

In addition to the repetition, rhyme and rhythm, *Mundhum* also has tune which makes it distinctly musical. By ‘tune’ here I mean stretching of some sound (e.g. ei-i-i-i or he-e-e-e) longer as is done in the Indian and Nepali songs. Usually before the actual wording of a song is spoken by the singer, he starts with a sound by stretching it (sometimes quite long in case of Indian classical raga) for some time. He can do the same in the middle or at the end of some line. This is also true to chanting the *Mundhum*. In the glossing I have glossed them as tune (TUN).

The western concept of music (song) doesn’t match with that of the Chamling community: songs and music are for entertainment in the West, it is not so for the Chamling community. There are no songs for entertainment: songs have far more serious purpose –they are used either for healing purposes or to talk with the ancestors for the well being of the community and the world. They are closely tied to the fabric of everyday social life. This is quite common among aboriginal communities. Stone (2005) reports the same concepts in the indigenous people of West Africa, the “life cycle events such as birth, puberty initiation, and death are marked by musical performance.” She also observes that “truly excellent performers rely, in many cases, upon the aid of supernatural tutelary spirits who are guides and spiritual teachers. Musicians may call upon these spirits to be present at a performance, though they refrain from talking openly about these relationships. ...beliefs about the religious and spiritual world are bound into the fabric of performing.”

Chamling people still believes on the healing power of the *Mundhum* provided that the healing performance is done properly by which they mean

it should be performed with proper materials and sung properly (with appropriate words their pronunciation and rhythm) at the proper date and time. The exacting performance can have required result which can be profoundly astonishing to the Westerners' eyes. Treatment of physical and mental illness by music known as 'music therapy' has been used for centuries. Antrim (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/739403>) presents a fascinating narrative of how music has been effectively used from the time of Plato to the present citing examples.

He stresses that 'one of music's particular uses has long been as an antidote for pain' which may have a psychic or physical source. Thus an emotional orgy—that is, a source of the former type—may cause pain to be localized in any healthy organ of the body. It is possible for you to have a toothache in a perfectly sound tooth. The pain may be even worse than that caused by a cavity. Suggestion provides one way of removing it, music another." Hardman (2000) witnessed a healing performance in the Lohorong community in which a young woman, who was suffering from acute pain without any visible symptom was treated by the Lohorong shaman. The power of healing in this case was on the ability of the shaman to find out the cause by talking with the ancestors' spirits which he did by properly talking with the spirits in a proper way. The text which I have analyzed as the source of the data of this paper is specially a ritual performed for the well being of a family which can be viewed as a step for the prevention of ailments and illness.

8 Conclusion

Meaning and understanding of a *Mundhum* text is not solely dependent on its linguistic units, the words and phrases. Along with the lexical items, paralinguistic features such as musicality and the environment that includes materials, time, place and date of the performance of the text must be taken in to account. The following differences have been found between the language of invocation (*Mundhum*) and the language of communication (ordinary language).

The communication process in the language of invocation is one way, that is, it is mainly monologue chanted or sung by the performer usually priests and shamans. It is true that the

myths of the man's birth can be told by the elders to younger, (most of the Chamling children are told this myth (as story usually by their grandmothers as the pretext before they go to bed and sleep) in which case the language becomes the language of the day to day communication.

The language of invocation is more poetic and creative than the language of ordinary communication. The extensive use of the figure of speech such as metaphor, alliteration, onomatopoeia and personification makes it stand distinct from the ordinary language. Since the language is poetic, as in a poem, the rules of the language are stretched to their extreme limits which result in making the language more creative. So the language is marked by the use of 'pervasive parallelism', reduplication, changing the function of parts of speech, and skillful use of the borrowed words so beautifully interwoven with the native words that they themselves become native like.

One of the most striking features of the ritual language is its musicality. It is not all surprising as the entire ritual texts, may it be the myths of genesis or the rising of the head soul or the *cinta*, they are sung. The language used in these performances maintains the rhyme and rhythm which are absent from the ordinary communication. And there are good reasons why they have to be sung. Firstly, all these long texts have to be remembered by heart and if its in a form of song to be sung, it is relatively easier to memorize and remember which is impossible if they are in a prose form because prose uninteresting. Secondly, in addition to evade the evil spirits, some of them are used for the causes of prevention and cure of ailments. Music therapy is well known to the man and the world and the songs are used for this purpose in the Chamling community. It should be noted that there are no songs in the Chamling community in the sense that they are not sung for the purpose of entertainment. The time and place for these songs to be sung are fixed and so do their purpose.

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Abbreviations

1	1 st person	2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person	CON	continue
DAT	dative	DUP	duplication
ECHO	echo word	EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative	GEN	genitive
LOC	locative	M	Maithli
NPT	non-past	NML	nominalizer
OBL	obligative	ONO	onomatopoeic
OPT	optative	P	patient marker
p	plural	PART	particle
POSS	possessive	s	singular
TUN	tune	N	Nepali
VOC	vocative		

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CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING IN *PALPASA CAFÉ*: DEVICES FOR EXPRESSING GLOBALIZED IDENTITY, SOCIAL POWER AND SHIFTS IN SOCIAL STATUS

Uma Shrestha

Sociolinguistic studies of code switching in oral interactions are plentiful (Coulmas 2005; Li Wei 2005b). Studies analysing code switching in literary texts lack sorely (Sebba 2012). An examination of the use of English in the Nepali novel Palpasa Café mirrors the social changes taking place in Nepali society while highlighting social and economic shifts in power emerging due to the increasing use of English and its ever-growing global status.

Keywords: code mixing, code switching

Palpasa Café, published in 2005, describes contemporary Nepal during the ten-year Maoist insurgency through the eyes of an artist named Drishya, who falls in love with Palpasa, a woman who has just returned to Nepal from the United States to pursue a career in documentary film making. Drishya dreams of opening a cafe named after his beloved Palpasa, hence *Palpasa Café* (PC hereafter). Code switching has been defined and classified in many different ways; however, for the current purpose, it is adequate enough to accept code-mixing as alternation between codes within a sentence (Bokamba 1988) and code-switching as alternation between codes beyond the sentence boundaries (Sridhar and Sridhar 1980).

1 The use of English in PC

The use of English in *Palpasa Café* depicts the present multilingual situation in Nepal, where English and Nepali co-exist in intriguingly complex ways. English has been incorporated at several different levels. English words and phrases are interspersed all over the text while stretches of English sentences are incorporated in the conversations. Precisely, the writer introduces English in PC in three different forms as described below. In all the examples provided, English is in boldface while Nepali is in normal print.

1.1 English words and phrases

Many English words and phrases are used in the text without any attempt to set them off by italicizing them or using quotes around them, for example: download, online, wine, hard drink, sleeping

bag, morning walk, homework, sorry, excuse me among others.

1.2 Code mixing

The use of Nepali and English in the same sentence is abundantly used. English verbs are extensively used with Nepali morphology and inserted into syntactic slots of Nepali. No translations are given for these verbs; it is expected that the readers would have a good grasp of English. Readers who have very little knowledge of English will find it difficult to access the text.

- (1) **reserve** garnu
'to reserve'
share garnu khojeko hoina (15)
'I am not trying to share.'
compile garnu parnecha (7)
'It is necessary to compile.'
table join garnu (15) 'to join the table'
handshake gare 'I did a handshake.'
faint hunu (20) 'He fainted.'
message check garthyo (63)
'He used to check messages.'
sms gareko dekhe (63) 'I saw him send sms.'
reject garidiyo (206) 'They rejected it.'
European visa reject bhayo
'The European visa was rejected.'
message pathāe cha
'A message has been sent.'
delete garnu aghi (40)
'Before deleting'
ke mā **handsome** chaina? (17)
'Am I not handsome?'
khair **bar is no bar** (33)
'Well, bar is no bar.'
euṭi **teenage** line mā cha (39)
'A teenager is on the line.'
switch on garin (50)
'She turned on the switch.'

bulb balyo 'The bulb lit.'

cassette rewind garin (50)
'She rewinded the cassette.'

cassette pheri rewind garin (51)
'She rewinded the cassette again.'

- (2) **light** milne bitikai afternoon **color** ma chopna saknechū. malāi **disturb** nagara. (37) 'As soon as I find some light, I can cover it with afternoon color. Do not disturb me.'
- (3) computer **off** garē. kina **off** garihālē? pheri **on** garē (39)
'I turned off the computer. Why did I turn it off? I turned it on again.'

1.3 Code-switching

As I mentioned above, code-switching covers the alternations between the codes beyond sentence borders. A few examples are given below:

A conversation between Drishya (D) and Rooplal (R):

- (4) D: ājakāl school kasto cha kākā
'How is school these days, Uncle?'
- R: **There is no more a school.** bhaebharkā keṭākeṭiharu paḍhirahekā belā ḍyamma paḍkyo
'It exploded when boys and girls were studying.'
- D: tapāilāi samjhirahanchu ma.
'I keep remembering you.'
- R: **How do you remember me?**
- D: tapāile hāleko kathā...
'From the stories you have told.'
- R: **I am glad to know.**
- D: satya ho kākā.
'It's true, uncle.'
- R: **I am happy today.** āphno chorā pharke jasto lāgyo
'I feel as if my own son has come back.'

2 Symbolic uses of code-switching

In this section I would like to discuss the ways in which the writer has cleverly used code switching by exploiting the symbolic connotations of each of the codes for various socio-pragmatic purposes. Nepali, the national language, has a covert prestige within the nation whereas English, the international language and the language of the

rich developed nations, has a wider prestige as the language of the 'punjibadi' the people with money (Wagle 2005:87).

Such symbolic connotations associated with Nepali and English are in play when the writer uses the English words to describe urban setting while using Nepali terms for traditional setting. For example he uses **dinning room, dinner table, kitchen** when the author is referring to various rooms in his house in the suburb of the Kathmandu City but uses 'baithak kotha' when describing the living room of an old traditional house of Palpasa's grandmother. A subtle connection is being made with English and modernity while Nepali with something old and traditional.

Similarly, English, as the global language, carries a greater degree of authority and seriousness. Consider the following example:

- (6) Everyone is teasing Drishya (the narrator) about his friendship with the Dutch woman mentioned in the previous example. Drishya does not take this amicably as he says (69):

Listen u kalā prasanksak ra usle dieko sujhāo thikai lāgyo. teti ho, **Nothing more than that** She is an art critic and I like the suggestion she gave. That's all.

Beginning his utterance in English, he certainly gets the attention of the listeners and his final utterance in English puts an end to his friends' teasing as it expresses his strong defiance. Similar symbolism is seen in the following example:

- (7) Palpasa is trying to shoot a documentary in a village, but she has been told that she cannot go there. Upon hearing this, she says (184):

tinle sārā gaūlelāi bandhak jastai banāekā chan. kasailāi āphno anumati багаer hi ḍḍul garna didaina. **This is simply dictatorship.**

'He seems to have held all the villagers as his hostage. He doesn't allow anyone to go about without his permission.'

The English utterance, while summarizing what has been said, expresses her utmost disgust and power.

Many studies have shown that speakers feel more comfortable using their first language when expressing their personal feelings and emotions

while they tend to use a foreign language when being objective and distant (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Li Wei 1995; Hall and Niple 2015; Myers-Scotton and Ury 2009). One can see this in PC too: Rooplal switches from English to Nepali when he engages in longer explanatory discourse characterized as sentimental and emotional. This is illustrated below (112), where Drishya (D) and Rooplal (R) are having a conversation:

- (8) D: tapāĩ bisekai hunuhuncha kākā?
'Are you all right, kaka?'
- R: bhannuparyo
'I must say so.'
- D: tapāĩ lāi samjhiranhanchu ma
'I keep remembering you.'
- R: **How do you remember me?**
- D: tapāĩ le hāleko kathā...
'From the stories you have told.'
- R: **I am glad to know.**
- D: satya ho kākā.
'It's true, kaka.'
- R: **I am happy today.** āphno chorā pharke jasto lāgyo.
'I feel like my own son has come back.'
- R: **Take care my son**
- D: Kina?
Why?
- R: āja ṭhulo grup āũ daicha uniharu baliyā bānga tannerilāi lai jānchan
'Today a big group of people is coming. They take strong and courageous young people with them.'
- D: acel pani tapāĩ angrezi bolnuhuncha kākā? ketāharusanga?
'Do you still speak English these days, Uncle? With boys?'
- R: maobādi hoki hoina ma surumāi thamyai hālchu
'I can tell whether someone is a Maobadi easily.'
- D: kasari
'How?'
- R: angrejīmā sodhchu. jasle pu jibādi bhāsā nabolnos bhancha usanga boldina.
'I ask in English. I do not speak English to someone who asks me not to use the language of the rich.'

D: ājakāl school kasto cha kākā.
'How is school these days, Uncle?'

R: **There is no more a school.** bhaebharkā ketāketi haru paḍhirahekā belā ḍyamma padkyo.
'It exploded when the boys and girls were studying.'

3 Globalization, nationalization, social changes and English

Nepal, like other countries, has entered into the world of technology; offices, hotels and homes are equipped with computers and young people communicate over online, chat, email. However, the Nepali language has not been able to keep up with such advances; therefore, many English words used in *Palpasa café* are **computer, internet, email, fax, chat, digital camera, download, laptop, online, micro chips, optical fibre, mobile, sms.**

Nepali society has been significantly influenced by globalization: Nepalese are more and more engaged in international communication and travel, as well as in education abroad in countries like America, England, Australia, Canada and Germany; they have greater access to Internet and worldwide social media and television; and giant American food brands such as Pizza Hut, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Baskin Robins have opened in Kathmandu. Nepalese are willingly embracing a lifestyle characterized by eating out, dancing, dating, hanging out and bar hopping on Friday nights, as well as celebrating western customs like New Year, Valentine's day, Birthdays, Christmas among others (www.ekantipur.com/the-kathmandu-post/2012/02/10/money/market-heats-up-as-valentines-day-nears/231454.html). As a result, the popular cultural terms pertaining to food, places and popular culture are used in PC without any attempt to set them off by italicizing them or using quotes around them thereby making them look like familiar, ordinary words. In this category, we find words related to food and food service: **Coffee pot, waiter, wine, hard drink, drink, soup, French fries, juice, bread**; words related to places and household items: **armchair, dining room, kitchen, dining table, apartment, sleeping bag**; other cultural terms: **morning walk, reception, notebook, homework, appointment, traffic light, uniform, photo feature, volume**; words for greetings, good byes and polite words: **sorry, excuse me, thank you, please, bye, by**

the way (10), **best of luck** (10); and words related to war: **ambush**, **crossfire**, **dispatch**

It is interesting to note that some English words are set off with single quotes. For example, two words '**dessert**' and '**dinner**' are marked with quotes when they are being used in the context of "goraharu" (white people), thereby indicating that these words are foreign and represent the "other people" or the "other culture."

- (9) gorāharule '**dessert**' ma gāiko dudhle banāeko khir khāe. '**dinner**' sake pachi (123)
'The white people ate rice pudding made of cow milk for their dessert after they finished their dinner.'

Globalization and the English language has been a topic of numerous recent sociolinguistic papers (Sebba 2012; Hall and Nilep 2015)). The urban areas of Nepal, especially Kathmandu Valley, have not been spared the influences arising from the global power of English. However, the global power of English is relative depending on the speech community and its members as well as their attitudes, beliefs and values regarding English. The Maoists, who believe they have been unfairly oppressed and underprivileged by the then government due to unequal access to education and other resources, show their dislike toward English; hence they call English the language of the 'punjibādi' (wealthy people). English symbolizes foreignness and modernity, a contrast to tradition, local and nationalistic values that they prize so much. In the novel, the writer expresses this idea through Rooplal, who has acquired English skills while he was in the British Army. Rooplal maintains that he can tell a Maoist from a non-Maoist by his/her reaction to Rooplal's use of English. A person is a Maoist if he/she asks Rooplal not to use English while conversing with him/her.

English, on the other hand, has a great market value for a young aspiring singer Keshore, who is a great fan of Bob Marley and the Beatles, the popular English singers. His love for English songs and English singers is clearly displayed in his speech, characterized by English and Nepali code mixing as shown below:

- (10) yo **serious song** ho, **title song**, **tragedy** huncha kyā." tapāi pani āunu parcha hai
'This is a serious song. The title song is supposed to be tragic. You must come, okay.' (65)

- (11) **practice** gardai chu **first album** mā duitā **song hit** bhae malāi **stage performance** cekeo nimitā pani āisakyo (206)
'I am practicing. Two songs in my first album are hits. I have received an invitation for a stage performance.'
- (12) Angphurwa: bholipalṭa **weather** bigrepachi hāmile **climbing abandon** garnu paryo. (74)
'After the weather turned bad yesterday, we had to abandon our climbing.'
- (13) kehi **clear** bhaena (75)
'Nothing has been clear.'
- (14) ahile tapāi kahā **shelter** lina āeko (76)
'Now we have come to you for shelter.'

4 Attitude toward code mixing

The linguistic processes of code mixing and code switching are products of a contact zone where two or more languages encounter each other and coexist in various shapes and manner. These processes, especially code mixing, is often maligned and perceived as a corrupt and unintelligent form of communication.

A telling commentary is made by Keshore about the attitude of the people toward the mixing of English and Nepali in his speech. This is an exchange between Keshore and his friend Tsering (68):

- (15) K: mero gītṭani bujhdina bhanne kati chan kati
'There are many people who say they do not understand my songs.'
- T: timro gītṭa miskaṭ bhāsa hune bhaekāle holā
'Perhaps because your songs have mixed language.'
- K: euṭā kurā bhanu dai? **mind** nagarnu holā. tapāi bolichālimā ke suddha nepāli mātra prayog garnu huncha?
'Can I say something, brother? I hope you wouldn't mind. Do you in your everyday speech use only pure Nepali?'
- T: sāyed gardin ma ta Sherpā bhāṣā pani misāu chu Perhaps not.
'I mix Sherpa language too.'
- K: ma pani āphno gītṭmā kina angreji **mix** nagarne? **reality** bhanyā tehi hoina? jasto tapāi bolnuhuncha
'Why shouldn't I mix English in my songs too? Isn't that the reality? Just like you speak.'

Vernacular speech reflects the actual usage of the speakers while the written language rarely does that. A mixing of Nepali and English in vernacular Nepali seems to be a popular medium of communication among young educated speakers which is most likely to be disapproved by older Nepali speakers who see it as a way of corrupting Nepali. On the other hand, Lahure kaka Rooplal Ale, who has spent a greater part of his life in the United Kingdom, likes to speak English with anyone educated from Kathmandu. But he does not mix languages in the same sentence. Instead he switches beyond sentence borders. He usually greets people in English 'Who is this?' 'who is coming?' and carries on unless the listeners tell him (109)

angrejimā sodhchu. jasle puñjibādi bhāsā nabolnos
bhancha usanga boldina

I ask in English. I do not use English to those who
ask me not to use the language of the rich.

And Rooplal Kaka does indeed use this as a strategy to recognize 'maobadis' from 'nonmaobadis.' The use of English is identified as the language of other people who can be dangerous to the nation's unity and integrity.

5 Conclusion

Palpasa Café exhibits an interesting use of English in vernacular Nepali. On one hand, many English words are incorporated into the text as if they were native words without any attempts to set them off showing the lack of vocabulary in the Nepali language for various social and technological progress and modernity. On the other hand, characters in PC switch between Nepali and English or mix these codes, displaying social class and shifts in social power-characters like Rooplal using English to identify themselves as educated and non-maobadis while younger characters switching from Nepali to English or inserting English extensively into their Nepali to indicate their globalized identity and social mobility. In the midst of all this, there is a sense of uncertainty in the perception of code switching and code mixing. Younger characters, like Keshore, who identify themselves with the western values, look at code mixing as a viable means of communication while those who resist western influence condemn it. But it is certain that the younger generation will encounter English in many aspects of their everyday lives, and hence,

English is not going to disappear from their vernacular speech; eventually, code switching and code mixing will develop into a viable means of communication among them, given the ever-growing global status of English and its importance in the marketplace.

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SPATIAL DEICTICS IN THE WEST BODISH LANGUAGES OF NEPAL A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Tej R. Kansakar

The topic of deixis or indexical expressions concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event. Deictic categories are essentially evidentiality markers in the verbal morphology. The paper will attempt to explore these categories in certain West Bodish languages of Nepal including Ghale and marginally Kaike and Dura of the Tibetic group, and Tamang, Gurung and Manangba of the Tamangic group. The main aim of this paper will be to show that although these languages share many deictic information, they differ in form, function and processes of grammaticalization.

Keywords: deixis, grammaticalization, evidentiality markers, morphology, Tibetic, Tamangic,, agentive/ergative marking

1 Introduction

1.1 The topic of deixis or indexical expressions concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event (Levinson 1983). The phenomena of deixis properly belong within the domain of pragmatics, relating language structures to the contexts in which they are used. Prototypically, deictic categories are exemplified by the use of pronominal demonstratives, tense, specific adverbs of identity 'this/these', 'that/those', the locationals 'here, there, above and below', directionals like 'to, from, towards' etc., and a variety of other grammatical features tied directly to the circumstances of an utterance.

1.2 I shall attempt in this paper to explore the deictic categories in certain West Bodish languages of Nepal which consist of two distinct groups, the Tibetan group includes Ghale, Kaike, and Dura, and the Tamangic group includes Gurung, Thakali, Chantyal, Rohini, Manangba and Tamang. More specifically, I propose to examine some of the morphological aspects of deictic categories found in these languages for typological comparison, and leave the semantic and pragmatic aspects for a later study. However, it will be necessary to make passing references to the deictic categories of "social deixis" which

identifies the social status of speech act participants (SAP's) by the use of honorific morphemes, and "discourse deixis" where demonstratives are normally used as discourse deictics and not simply as spatial deictics. This paper will also seek to identify some of the processes of grammaticalization that have taken place or are taking place due to language contact situations or independent innovations.

2 Morphology

2.1 Diessel (1999) gives a detailed analysis of the morphological structures of demonstratives in two types of languages where demonstratives are either uninflected and do not combine with any other morpheme, and those that are marked for gender, number and/or case and may combine with derivational affixes or other free forms. It is also claimed that the former type of languages has only a few demonstrative particles, and the latter can have very complex demonstrative forms. The West Bodish languages do not strictly conform to this typological distinction, and may perhaps fall within these two extremes. In this section, I shall first present an overview of demonstratives and adverbial deictics in the four languages selected for this study, and go on to examine the structures and functions of deictic forms in a typological perspective.

2.2 In this paper, I have used the data on various categories of deixis in Ghale, Tamang, Gurung and Manangba. These include features of location, direction, nominalized deixis, adverbials and deictic verbs. I would like firstly to make some observations on the morphological structures of these deictic forms. The four languages selected for this study all have demonstratives, verbs and adverbials that are inflected and can combine with other free morphemes. These languages, for example, can have a variety of demonstratives derived from a limited number of demonstrative roots, and can be marked for case in terms of spatial locations relative to SAP's i.e. proximal, distal or remote locations; pronoun and predicate agreement in verbal inflections, and to a lesser

extent on number distinctions. It must be pointed out at the onset that the four languages do not have definite or indefinite articles. As observed by Noonan (2000 : 4) in the context of Chantyal grammar, “the category of definiteness is as central to the syntax of Chantyal as it is to languages with articles : it is simply that definiteness is manifested through a variety of other lexical, morphological, and syntactic devices, one of which is the category of demonstratives”.

2.3 The locational adverbs 'here' and 'there' are obligatorily marked with the locative suffix, e.g. *cu-ri* / *cu-ra* 'here-loc', *kya-ra* / *u-ri* 'there-loc', and the root words can also combine with free forms like *cu-mhi*, *kyu* / *kya-mhi* 'this person', and *the-mhi* / *u-mhi* 'that person'. Tamang is the only language in this group which seems to have lost the locative marking for the 'there', as can be seen in (1) under Deixis and Spatial location:

(1) Deictic root + locative case suffix

GHA:	<i>je-ne</i>	<i>ho-ne</i>	<i>amba mih</i>	<i>hamba mi</i>
TAM:	<i>cu-ri</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>cu mhi</i>	<i>the mh</i>
GUR:	<i>cu-ra</i>	<i>kya-ra/</i>	<i>cu mhi</i>	<i>kya mhi</i>
		<i>kyA-i</i>		
MAN:	<i>cu-ri</i>	<i>u-ri</i>	<i>cu mi u mhi</i>	
	this-loc	there-loc	this person	that person

2.4 While Ghale distinguishes between demonstratives and adverbs, the other three languages Tamang, Gurung and Manangba do not. In the examples under (1), the deictic roots <*cu*>, <*kya*> or <*u*> express these multiple functions. The demonstrative pronouns are formed by combining '-*mhi*' with *cu*- (proximal), *u*-, *the*- or *kyu*- / *kya*- (distal), or simply <*cu*, *u*, *kyar*> for which Manang has an innovative <*khi*:> to refer to third person singular (see examples in 2) where *khi*:-*ko* represents 'he-hon'. This lends support to the hypothesis that pronouns are derived from demonstratives. In the present data, the demonstratives have very limited plural marking for nouns, c.f. Gurung *cu mhi-mai* 'this person-plu' and the plural form in Manangba is expressed as *rA-mhA* 'goat-plu' where the suffix <-*mhA*> most probably has a classifier function like in the Newar language. Tamang however, has lexicalized demonstratives *cu*, *cumA* for 'this, these' and *hojA*, *hojA-ni* for 'that, those', as can be seen in (2). Tamang also has an elaborate system of distance-related demonstratives given in Table

(3) : *hojA*, *kejA*, *ke:jA* for proximal, distal and remote distance in front of the speaker; *tojA*, *to:jA* above the speaker, *mAjA*, *mA:jA* below the speaker. The sentence examples given in (4, 5, 6 & 7) serve to illustrate these uses in the four languages.

Number distinctions in deictic roots / nominals

(2)	Sg.	Pl.
GUR:	<i>cu-mhi</i> 'this person'	<i>cumhi-mai</i> 'these persons'
TAM:	<i>cu</i> 'this'	<i>cu-mA</i> 'these'
	<i>hojA</i> 'that'	<i>hojA-ni</i> 'those'
MAN:	<i>khi</i> :- <i>ko</i>	'he-hon'
	<i>rA</i>	'goat'
	<i>rA-mhA</i>	'goats'

Distance-oriented deictics in Tamang

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| (3) | Proximal | Distal | Remote |
| | ----- | | |
| | <i>hojA</i> 'that in front' | <i>kejA</i> 'some distance away' | <i>ke:jA</i> 'further away' |
| | <i>tojA</i> 'above' | <i>to:jA</i> 'further above' | |
| | <i>mAjA</i> 'below' | <i>mA:jA</i> 'further below' | |
| | ----- | | |
| (4) | GHA: | a. | <i>hamba-mih ane an-da</i>
that-person here neg-come
That person does not come here. |
| | | b. | <i>amba mih ho-ne am-pra</i>
this person that-loc neg-go
This person does not go there. |
| | | c. | <i>honba-mih ho-ne gi-li</i>
that person there-loc go-pst
That person went there. |
| (5) | TAM: | a. | <i>the mi cu-ri A-ne</i>
that person here-loc neg-come |
| | | b. | <i>cu mhi the A-hA pakA</i>
this person there neg-go do |
| | | c. | <i>the mhi kyAr ni-ji</i>
that person over there go-pst |
| (6) | GUR: | a. | <i>kyar mhi cu-i A-khA</i>
that person here-loc neg-come |
| | | b. | <i>cu mhi kya-i A-thyA</i>
this person there-loc neg-go |
| | | c. | <i>kyar mhi kyA-i hyA-i</i>
that person there-loc go-pst |
| (7) | MAN: | a. | <i>u-mi-ko ci-ri aa-khA-bA</i>
that person-hon here-loc neg-come-prs |

- b. *cu mhi u-ri aa-ya-bA*
this person there-loc neg-go-prs
- c. *u-mhi-ko u-ri ya:-mhe*
that person-hon there-loc go-pst

2.5 In Table 8, we can see interesting distinctions in the use of vertical adverbs 'up, down, front, back' < -ri, -je, -ce > where the locative suffixes < -ne >, < -de > distinguish Ghale and Manangba, and Tamang and Gurung where the suffixes are uniformly < -ri >, < -i > or < -ili >, except for the form < -se > in Tamang which is a reflex of < -ce > but has an ablative rather than a locative function in the language. I see this as a significant morphological split between Ghale and Manangba on the one hand and the Tamangic group represented by Tamang and Gurung on the other. This seems to indicate that Ghale and Manangba are more closely associated with the Tibetan group than Tamang and Gurung. We also see that both the vertical adverbs and locational adverbs in Table 8 are marked with the locative suffixes. As indicated above, Tamang seems to have lexicalized some of these forms while the other languages have deictic roots to express these functions. We also notice considerable variation in the word order of phrases 'up here / there', 'down here / there', 'in front / behind here' where the locational adverb either precedes or follows the vertical adverb.

Deictics of vertical location

(8)	GHA	MAN	
	<i>A-ne phyA-ne</i>	<i>cu-phi-ri</i>	'up here'
	<i>ho-ne phyA-ne</i>	<i>u phi-ri</i>	'up there'
	<i>A-ne ng-ne</i>	<i>cu mati-ri</i>	'down here'
	<i>ho-ne nang-ne</i>	<i>u-mati-ri</i>	'down there'
	<i>khum-ne</i>	<i>cu weng-je</i>	'here in front'
	<i>ngelam-de</i>	<i>cu li-ce</i>	'here behind'
	TAM	GUR	
	<i>cu-phi-ri</i>	<i>tA-i cu-ra</i>	'up here'
	<i>kyAcA phi-ri</i>	<i>ci-i cu-ru</i>	'up there'
	<i>mAjA-ri cu-lA</i>	<i>mA-i kyA-i</i>	'down here'
	<i>mAjA-ri kyAjA</i>	<i>mA-i ki-kyor</i>	'down there'
	<i>cu-lA ngachA</i>	<i>cu-ra kyA-ili</i>	'here in front'
	<i>cu-lA gyAp-se</i>	<i>cu-i liyA-i</i>	'here behind'

- (9) GHA: a. *nga kihm phyA-ne khar cik-ya*
I-gen house up-loc straw dry-is
I dry the straw above my house.

- b. *ngA-i kihm nang-ne sa: kyong*
I-gen house down-loc field rice plant-is
Below my house is the field for planting rice.

TAM: c. *nga sun dhim phi-ri thAn-bA*
I paddy house up-loc keep-pst
I keep the paddy above my house.

- d. *nga-ce rA-mhA tim dung-ri /dhi-ri thAn-bA*
I-erg goat-plu house below-loc keep-pst
I keep the goats below my house.

MAN: e. *ching / thing phi-ri / nAng-ri*
house above-loc / below-loc
above / below my house

- f. *ching / thing weng-je / li-ce*
house front-loc / behind-loc
in front / behind the house

2.6 The stem of locational adverbs are lexicalized in Ghale and Tamang when directional affixes are attached to them, but these stems remain unchanged in Gurung and Manangba, as can be seen in Table 10. In Ghale 'up' is *phyA-ne* but 'upward' is *tomo phyA-ne*; 'down' is *nang-ni* while 'downward' is *mo-pra*; and in Tamang the distinctions are between *phi-ri* and *tor-ni* for 'up / upward' and *mAr-ni* and *mAjA-ri* for 'down / downward'. Gurung and Manangba, however, do not have separate lexical forms to distinguish these deictic functions. We also notice that the direction marker in Ghale is not suffixed directly to the deictic stems, as in other languages, but precedes the stem. This seems to suggest that movement or direction in Ghale is expressed by a bound morpheme that gives a "kinetic function" to the main verb. It is, however, not clear in this sample whether the referent is moving (i) toward the speaker, (ii) away from the speaker, or (iii) to a remote distance, not clearly visible to the speaker.

Deictics of direction

(10)	Location	Direction
GHA:	<i>phyA-ne</i> 'up' up-loc	<i>tomo phyA-ne</i> 'upward' dir up-loc
	<i>nang-ni</i> 'down' down-loc	<i>mo-pra</i> 'downward' dir-down
TAM:	<i>phi-ri</i> <i>mAjA-ri</i>	<i>tor-ni</i> <i>mAr-ni</i>
GUR:	<i>tA-i</i> <i>ci-i / mA-i</i>	<i>tA-i</i> <i>mA-i</i>

MAN *phi-ri* *phi-ri*
mati-ri *mati-ri / pishi/ nAngri*

2.7 In Table 11, we see the same process of lexicalization where the vertical adverbs in Ghale and Tamang have different forms when used with verbs 'go' and 'bring'. In Ghale, 'to go up / to bring up' are expressed as *nang-de phyA-ne pra / hwa-de toh siga*; while in Tamang, 'to come down / to bring down' are expressed as *mAjA-ri khA-ba / mar-bhAi lapA* respectively. Here too, the deictic roots in Gurung and Manangba do not undergo any change when used with verbs 'come / come from', but Gurung has contrastive sets of deictics verb roots for 'come / bring': 'to go up' is *tA-i kho* and 'to bring up' is expressed as *bhabAq*; 'to come down' is *mA-i kho* whereas 'to bring down' is *bwibAq*. Further examples of directional adverbs are given under (11) and (12) below.

- (11) GHA: *nang-de phyA-na pra* 'to go up'
 down-loc up-loc go
hwa-de toh siga 'to bring up'
 below-from dir bring
- TAM: *mAjA-ri khA-bA* 'to come down'
mar-bhAi lapA 'to bring down'
- GUR: *tA-i kho* 'to go up'
bhabAq 'to bring up'
mA-i kho 'to come down'
bwibAq 'to bring down'
- MAN: *mati-ri yu-ba* 'to come down'
mati-ta-je kha-bA 'to come from above'
- (12) TAM: a. *cu tong kyAm-se*
 here up from-dir
 from up here
- b. *kyAjA tong kyAm-se*
 over there up from-dir
 from up over there
- c. *cu-lA di kyAm-se*
 from down here
- d. *kyAjA di kyAm-se*
 from down there
- GUR: e. *taa-i / phe-i pau*
 bring it up!
- f. *ca mhi ci-li kyA-i hyA-i*
 went from here to there
- MAN: g. *kyo-ce phi-ri pu-kho*
 You bring it up!

h. *kyo-ce mati-ri par-yo-ro*
 You bring it down!

- (13) GHA: a. *amba nai-ne*
 this side-dir
 to from (go-come)
- b. *tih cho*
 towards this side
 to and fro
- c. *hor-de ane sigA*
 there-from bring / take
 To take from here to there
- d. *to pra-de be thaba-ne bil-ba*
 up go-dir and rope-loc hold-imp
 Go up there and hold on to the rope!
- TAM: e. *dhim nang-gyAm*
 house outside-from
 from inside the house
- f. *dhim mangyAr-gyAm*
 house inside-from
 from outside the house
- GUR: g. *nyo-dhi~ kha-i*
 toward-house come-pst
 came towards the house
- h. *kyar a-ngi kyA-i-bate*
 that there-there there-loc-far dir
 not there, further away.
- MAN: i. *khi-ko tong-ri ye-me*
 he-hon forest-dir run-pst
 He ran towards the forest
- j. *sing tung-niri ma-mo*
 wood over there-dist is-loc.
 The firewood is over there.

2.8 Most demonstratives and adverbials in these languages are derived from the demonstrative roots with nominalizers suffixed to them. In (14) Ghale has *amba / hamba* 'this / that one', Tamang has *tojaa-laa / maaja-laa* 'the one above / below'; *ngach-aa / nga-laa* 'the one in front / behind', *co-rangle-ten / the-rangle-ten* 'like this / that one', while Manangba has *mati-la* 'the one below' and *cu cong-ba* 'like this one'. Gurung, however, seems to lack a distinct nominalizer as the distal and remote demonstratives <ca> and <ketaa> are not marked with the nominalizing suffix like in Tamang <-laa> and Manangba. <-la / -ba>. The demonstrative pronouns like *the-rangle-ten* and *co-rangle-ten* in Tamang can consist of three morphemes: a deictic root, a nominalizer and a comparative suffix. In the present data there is

evidence that demonstratives such as 'this / that' can either be used as independent pronouns or co-occur with nouns when they are called adnominals. We have had many examples in the four languages where the third person pronoun 'he' is often expressed as 'this / that person'.

(14) *Nominalized deixis*

- GHA: a. *amba / hamba phra-ne*
this / that-one like-comp
The one like this / that.
- b. *hamba phra cih-te sigA*
that one pot like-comp bring-imp
Bring a pot like the one over there!
- TAM: c. *tojA-lA*
above-nml
the one above
- d. *majA-lA*
below-nml
the one below
- e. *ngach-A*
the one in front
- f. *nga-laa gyAp-se*
the one behind me
- g. *the-rangle-ten co-rangle-ten*
that-like-comp this-like-comp
the one like that / this
- h. *the tang rAnglen ketA-kyAm bA-u*
that pot like there-from bring-imp
Bring a pot like that one!
- GUR: i. *ca phiA-i pe bu-i yu*
that above-loc from bring-dir come
Bring the one from above.
- j. *ketaa byAu ki pau*
that like buy come
Buy one like the one over there.

2.9 At this point, I am tempted to introduce some data on nominalization in the Newar language here. In doing so, I am advocating its affiliation to Central or West Bodish rather than to the Central Himalayan (Magar, Kham group) or the East Himalayan Kiranti group of languages. In the Newar language, the nominalizers can be derived from adjectives, verb phrases, clauses and sentences where they also function as relativizers. These nominalized structures can also be lexicalized, as can be seen in the examples given under (15) below. The suffixes < -mha >, < -pi:~> and < -gu > in these examples serve as

nominalizers / relativizers which convert words, clauses and sentences into nominalized structures. These structures are also subject to regular case inflections and grammatical relations. So the relative pronouns in Newar like 'that which' or 'one who' are derived by nominalization of the word, clause or sentence. The relativization / nominalization can occur both in subordinate clauses like *thana wa:-mha* 'the one who came here' or in independent clauses like *ji ana won-e maa-gu du* 'I need to go there'. In the West Bodish sample, we can see that Ghale has the suffix < -cu > as the nominalizer, Tamang has < -aa / -laa > and Manang has < -ba >, but Gurung does not seem to have a distinctive relativizing / nominalizing marker but uses locative / directional affixes or comparative free forms to indicate relative subordination. In Tamang, Ghale and Manang, the relative pronouns are the result of attributive clauses where the adnominal demonstratives like *kyu-cu*, *tojaa-laa*, *mati-la* which link them to the preceding nouns and the clauses which they nominalize. The constructions in (14) and (15) therefore have the properties of both the attributive adjectives and full-fledged relative clauses. Given the present sample, we can conclude that the relative pronouns arise not from pronominal demonstratives but from adnominal demonstratives that link a nominal attribute to the head noun.

(15) Nominalizers in the Newar language

- a. *ballA-gu*
'the one which is strong' (inanimate)
- b. *ballA-mha*
'the one who is strong'(animate/ human)
- c. *ballA-pi~*
'the ones who are strong '(animate/human)
- d. *thana wa:-mha* 'the one who came here'
here come-nml
- e. *ma-wa:-pi~* 'the ones who did not come'
neg-come-nml
- f. *ha-yA-gu*
'that which (I) brought'
- g. *ji ana wan-e mA:-gu du*
I there go-npc need-nml is (existential)
'I need to go there.'
- h. *wa-ita dhebA mA-l-A co:~gu du*
he-dat money need-pc prog-nml is
'It is a fact that he is in need of money.'

- i. *ji-i~ imi-ta dha-yA bi-yA-gu kha:*
 I-erg they-dat tell-pc give-pc
 'It is a fact that I told them so.'

2.10 Most demonstratives are inflected in the Bodish languages and there is no basis for assigning pronominal and adverbial demonstratives (including identificational, locational and directional) to different categories. The obvious reason for this convergence is that pronominal and adverbial categories are both derived from deictic roots. These can be summarized as shown in Table 16 for pronominal inflections, and adverbial inflections in Table 17:

(16) *Inflected demonstrative pronominals:*

	Ghale	Kaike	Dura
1p-erg	<i>ma-de</i>	ngA-i	<i>ngi-ge</i>
2p-erg	<i>na-de</i>	<i>nA-i</i>	<i>nga-ge</i>
3p-erg	<i>ngu-de</i>	<i>nu-i</i>	<i>u-ge</i>
1p-gen	<i>ngai-che</i>	<i>nga-na</i>	<i>ngi-ni</i>
2p-gen	<i>nai-ce/je</i>	----	----
1p-gen	<i>ngu-de/je</i>	<i>nga-A</i>	<i>nga-re</i>
	Tamang	Manang	Gurung
1p-erg	<i>nga-ce</i>	<i>nga-ce</i>	<i>nga-ri</i>
2p-erg	<i>e-ce</i>	<i>gya-ce</i>	<i>kih-re</i>
3p-erg	<i>the-se</i>	<i>khi:-ce</i>	<i>kya-mhi-i</i>
1p-gen	<i>nga-lA</i>	<i>nga-i-lA</i>	<i>nga-i</i>
2p-gen	----	<i>kyo-r</i>	<i>e:-la</i>
1p-gen	<i>nga-dA</i>	<i>nga-ri</i>	<i>nga-lAi</i>

(17) *Inflected demonstrative adverbs:*

- a. Identificational
cu-mhi 'this person' *the mhi* 'that person'
amba mih *hamba mih*
 hu-cu
 kyar-mhi
 kyar-mi-ko 'that person-hon'
- b. Locational
cu-ri 'here' *kya-ra / kyaa-I* 'there'
a-ne *ho-ne*
cu-ra *u-ri*
phyA-ne *nang-ne*
phi-ri 'up' *mAJaa-r* 'down'
jo-ri *dhin-rang*
won-ce 'front' *gyaap-se* 'behind'
weng-je *liyA-i*
- c. Directional
tor kyo-to 'upward' *mor-kyo-to* 'downward'
tor-ni *mAr-ni*
taa-i *maa-i*
phi-ti-ri *ma-ti-ri*
khum-ne *ngelam-de*

3 Grammaticalization

Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:11) point out that the grammaticalization should not be seen as processes that involve isolated linguistic items, but it is the entire grammatical construction that may contribute to the evolution of linguistic forms and their functions. The path of grammaticalization of a deictic feature thus depends on the syntactic context in which it occurs.

3.1 Ergativity and case morphology

The pronominal morphology given in Table 16 shows that the ergative marking in the six West Bodish languages are not uniform. Ghale <*-ne / -de*>, Tamang and Manang share the ergative case suffix <*-ce*>, while Kaike and Gurung have <*-ri / -i*>, and Dura has the distinctive <*-ge*> as the ergative marker. These typological distinctions can perhaps be interpreted as the result of migrations and language contact situations. Among the languages of the Tibetan group, Dura may be regarded as the conservative language while Ghale and Kaike have moved closer to the Tamangic group. Another interesting distinction is the presence or absence of the pronominal form in the third person. We can see that while Manang and Gurung have the first and second person ergative pronouns *nga-ce / nga-ri*, and *kyo-ce / kih-ri*, the third person is expressed as *khi:-ce* (proximal) and *u-mhi-ce* (distal) in Manang, and as *kya-mhi-i* in Gurung. Manang and Gurung have still retained the demonstrative source of pronouns while Ghale has <*-de, -che, -je*> and Tamang <*the-se*> as the reduced demonstrative forms of the third person. In this context, Manang is the only language in the present sample which distinguishes between the third person pronoun, demonstrative identifier and locational adverbs in terms of proximity to the speaker. The Manang form *khi:-ce* must therefore be regarded as a highly innovative development, a distinct third person pronoun derived historically from demonstratives but not yet evident in the sister languages. Although this may not be a case of person-related ergative split, the typological distinction is significant in showing the stages in the grammaticalization of pronominals in these languages.

3.2 We have referred to deictic root as the source of pronominals and various categories of adverbials. The deictic roots in these languages can also develop a variety of lexical forms with distinct grammatical functions and meaning. The one basic deictic root in the West Bodish languages is < -*cu* > which is first lexicalized in various forms when attached to other free or bound morphemes and displays a versatile ability to derive new syntactic and semantic roles. We can see some of its possible derivations in Table 18, and the list is by no means exhaustive.

(18) Deictic root < -*cu* > and its derivations

Identifier	<i>cu</i> 'this'	<i>kyu</i> / <i>the kya u</i>	'that
Locational (proximal)	<i>cu-ri</i>		'here-loc'
Locational (distal)	<i>kyu-ce</i>		'there-loc'(distal-proximal)
Directional 1	<i>cu-ce</i>		'here-from' (proximal-proximal)
Directional 2	<i>kyu-cu</i>		'there-from'(distal-proximal)
Directional 3	<i>hu-cu</i>		'over.there-from' (remote-proximal)
Nominalizer	<i>u-cu</i>		'that-one'
Manner	<i>cole-op</i>		'this-way'
Quantifier 1	<i>cet-ke</i>		'this-much'
Quantifier 2	<i>o-ce</i>		'that-much'
Quantifier 3	<i>cote-lhAnA</i>		'this-many'
Comparative	<i>co-rangle-ten</i>		'this-one-like'

Noonan (2001) refers to such compound morphemes as 'double demonstratives' which can serve various exophoric (situational), anaphoric and recognitional functions in narrative discourse. The following examples from Noonan for the Chantyal language illustrate anaphoric and situational uses to refer to the same entity.

- (19) a. X: *dhung-rA cari-wA-khi cu korsili pin-o*
tree-loc climb-nom-contemp this basket give-imp
'When I climb on the tree, give me this basket.'
- b. Y: *khanna ha-ca*
which.one that-that
'Which one? That one?'
- c. X: *ha-cu*
that-this
'This one.'

In (19a) speaker X first identifies the basket by using an independent demonstrative *cu*, and speaker Y uses the 'distal-distal' double demonstrative *ha-ca* to ask which basket X is referring to. X then responds with 'distal-proximal' *ha-cu*. The uses of *ha-* in (19b) and (19c) have an anaphoric function to refer to the established entity, namely the basket. The

demonstratives *-ca* (distal) in (19b) and *-cu* (proximal) in (19c), on the other hand, are used situationally (or exophorically) to refer to the physical environment. Due to constraints in the scope of this paper, comparable data on the other Bodish languages cannot be included here, although it would be highly interesting to do so. The examples given under (20) simply serve to illustrate the syntactic uses of the deictic compounds listed in (18) above, while (21) provides examples of various other adverbials with numerous deictic functions.

- (20) TAM: a. *cote lhAnA syAuri hAnang-kyAm khA-ji*
this many ants where-from come-pst
Where did so many ants come from?
- b. *cu-rangle lasA-i the-rangle lasA-i tapA*
this-way do-ptp that-way do-ptp can (do)
In doing this way or that way (makes no difference).
- GUR: c. *cha A-lak*
that.way neg-do
Don't do it that way!
- d. *nga-lAi jhaka pau*
I-dat this.much give
Give me this much!
- MAN: e. *kyo-ce o-ce kin-le-ta*
you-erg that-much take-do-can
You can take that much.
- f. *o-so la-ce-lo*
this-way do-ptp-imp
Do it this way!

Other Adverbials

	GHA	TAM
a.	<i>hamba kuwA dyArang</i> that well near 'near that well'	<i>the inAr ngAm-ri</i> that well near-loc
b.	<i>hamba hang phyA-ne</i> that stone front-loc 'on that stone in front'	<i>kyAjA yungbA-ri</i> that (front) stone-loc
c.	<i>hamba tombo nang-ne</i> that tree below-loc 'under the tree'	<i>tong dhi-ri</i> tree below-loc
d.	<i>hong gyA-ne</i> river side-loc	<i>syAng-lA chyau-ri</i> river-loc side-loc
e.	<i>lai-thAn-ji nengi-ne</i> god-place near that-side this-side <i>mandir-lA kyAr-se cAr-se</i> temple-loc right-dir left-dir	

f. *gung-ne kihm* *ghung-lA dhim*
 middle-loc house middle-loc house
 'house in the middle'

GUR: g. *kya dhim-e ngAra* 'near that house'
 there house-loc near

MAN: *thing ti-ri*
 house near-loc

GUR: h. *khya si~dhu-e* 'under the tree'
 under wood-plant-loc

MAN: *si~thing mati-ri*
 wood-plant below-loc

GUR: i. *kyo lAi dara kyo-i* 'both sides of temple'
 that temple two side-loc

3.3 Locative nouns and postpositions

Many of the suffixed nouns with locative markers tend to develop into postpositions, as can be seen in Table 22. This is also the origin of the ablative which refers back to the source of an action, e.g. *kyaam-se* 'from-dir', *nang-gyaam* 'inside-from' in Tamang, and *cu-ce* 'here-from', *kyaa-i-bate* 'there-loc-far from' in Gurung. The locative and the ablative have also the important function of indicating the deictic centre from the point of view of the speaker, and how this focus can shift from the perspective of the speaker to another person. In Newar the demonstratives *tho* 'this', *wa* 'that' *aamkana* 'that one near you' and *hungkana* 'that one over there (away from the speaker and listener)' are usually used adverbially following locative nouns, e.g. *thu-khe paa-khe* 'towards this direction', *pasala-e takka* 'up to the shop' where the postpositions are used to express case-like grammatical relations of the nouns.

(22)	GHA	TAM
a.	<i>kyu nong-ne</i> water inside-loc 'in the water'	<i>kyu nang-ri</i> water inside-loc
b.	<i>amba nai-ne</i> this place-loc, here 'in this place'	<i>cu klA-di, cu</i> this place-loc, here here
	GUR	MAN
c.	<i>kothA no-ra</i> room inside-loc 'in the room'	<i>kothA nang-ri</i> room inside-loc
d.	<i>kyar mhi dhi-ra</i> that person house-loc is 'He is at home'	<i>mu khi: thing-ri ma</i> he house-loc is

3.4 Deictic orientation in compound verbs

The processes of grammaticalization and historical change are most often explained in terms of data on verb morphology. DeLancey (1985 : 379-80) for example, refers to deictic or motion verbs in the Newar language like *wa-* 'go', *wal-* 'come', *bo-* 'fly' which are first syntacticized in their use as specifiers of deictic orientation for other verbs, e.g. *nyaa-se wa-* (walk-dir go) 'to walk away', *jon-aa wal-* (carry-pst come) 'to bring' where the second verb in the compound specifies the motion and directionality of the main action expressed in the first verb. This form of deictic orientation can also be seen in our present data in Table 23 below:

(23)	GHA	TAM
a.	<i>ngu-de ret-te</i> carry-ptp come-pst (He) brought (it).'	<i>pu-i khA-ji</i> carry-pst come-pst
b.	<i>nga khun pri-ya</i> I front go-npst '(I) will walk ahead.'	<i>brA-si ni-ji</i> walk-dir go-npst
c.	<i>he bi pu-ha~</i> tell and send-imp 'tell and send away'	<i>pAng-jim/pAng-si pui-bA</i> say-ptp send-pst
d.	<i>reht-te gi-li</i> take-ptp go-pst 'Taking (it) he went'	<i>baa-si khA-ji</i> take-ptp come-pst
	GUR	MAN
e.	<i>kyar mhi-mi bi pipe</i> there person-to tell send 'tell and send away'	<i>khi:-ce pro-je ye-je</i> he-erg take-ptp go-pst 'taking it, he went'
f.	<i>hya-i ku-nyu</i> go-ptp stay-pst 'ongoing(he) stayed'	<i>phro-ce tosong-hA</i> walk-ptp arrive-pst 'Walking, he arrived'

In the above examples, we can see that the motion / direction verbs are syntacticized and serve to provide deictic functions to the main verbs, e.g. *khun pri-ya* 'to walk ahead' in Ghale, *hya-i ku-nyu* 'going and stayed' in Gurung, *baa-si khaa-ji* 'take and bring' in Tamang, and *phro-ce tosong-haa* 'walking and arrived' in Manang, etc. I had also discussed in Kansakar (1994 : 81-97) the grammaticalization processes in Classical Newar and Modern Newar in terms of auxiliarization and morphologization of the verbs of location / position (e.g. *con-* 'sit / stay', *tad-* 'put'), motion / direction (*yen-* 'take away', *hal-* 'bring') in the context of verb serialization. The verb

compounding in these languages is not a case of lexicalization as the formation of complex verbs does not assume new meaning but functions as a fully productive process with all verbs expressing the deictic notions of location and direction. These deictic features therefore serve specific syntactic functions that are quite basic to the communicative potentials of all human languages.

4 Conclusion

The primary objective of this paper has been to provide an overview of the form, function and grammaticalization of the deictic system in the West Bodish languages of Nepal. In conclusion, I would like to summarize the main findings of this study and indicate briefly the possible areas of further research related to this topic.

4.1 Main findings

4.1.1 The survey of the deictic features in the four West Bodish languages confirms that there is no significant distinction between demonstrative identifiers, pronominals and adverbials. The deictic root is the source for various processes of lexicalization, derivation and grammaticalization. There is therefore no basis for assigning pronominal and adverbial demonstratives (including identificational, locational and directional) to distinct categories.

4.1.2 Most demonstratives and adverbials in these languages are inflected and can combine with other free morphemes. The locational adverbs, for example, are obligatorily marked with the locative suffix, but there is considerable variation in the morphological marking of vertical adverbs that indicate converging and diverging tendencies between the Tibetan group and the Tamangic group of languages. The morphological split that is evident in this regard is not between the two language groups but within each language group, i.e. Manang in opposition to Tamang and Gurung, while Ghale and Kaike seem to have moved closer to the Tamang group in ergative case marking. Similarly, the locational adverbs in Ghale and Tamang are lexicalized and change into new stems when direction affixes are attached to them. This however does not happen in Gurung and Manang where the adverbial stems remain unchanged. These tendencies obviously arise from migration of speakers from the core areas and the resulting language contact situations.

4.1.3 Another typological distinction can be seen in the way these languages make use of deictic verbs 'go' and 'bring'. Here too, the languages assigned to different groups like Ghale and Tamang both use contrastive forms for the two verbs, but while Gurung uses distinct forms for the two verbs, Manang of the same group uses the same root for the two verbs. A further distinction can be found in the use of pronominal forms where the first and second person pronouns differ sharply from the third person. The first and second person are lexicalized pronominal forms, but the third person is normally expressed as 'this / that person'. The development of a third person lexeme in Manang is most probably a recent innovation which is not shared by any of the languages in the two groups.

4.1.4 The grammaticalization processes that have taken place or are taking place in the Bodish languages can perhaps be seen not as random changes but as a systematic path of development, a progressive cline ranging from deictic roots to demonstratives and various adverbial forms with grammatical markers to indicate specific syntactic and discourse functions.

4.2 Areas for further research

4.2.1 Nepal is a small country of about 1,47,181 square kilometres in area [slightly bigger than the state of Wisconsin with 145,436 sq.km] but has one of the most diverse compositions of languages and ethnic communities. We still do not know just how many languages and dialects are spoken in the country, but the present estimate is that there are over 124 distinct languages affiliated to 4 language families and innumerable dialects spoken within its political border. We can identify well-defined language groups such as the Bodish and the Himalayan languages of the western, central and eastern regions including the major Rai-Kiranti group in the east, Kham-Sherpa of the Tibetan group in the north, the Maithili-Bhojpuri-Avadh group of the Southern Terai belt, and the Santhali-Urao~ group in the South-eastern fringe of the country's border. These language groups offer immense scope for areal typological studies in which comparative morphological and syntactic data could establish a continuum of language contact and diversification. We would need to begin with typological relationships within each language group and then to determine what

languages in other groups share comparable features that are due either to common genetic origin or the results of language contact.

4.2.2 Another interesting area suggested by Diessel (1999: 160-61) "is why languages differ as to the number and kind of deictic terms that they employ. It has been repeatedly argued that the cultural environment of a speech community determines, at least to some extent, the size of a deictic system". This proposal has very interesting implications for Nepal where a large number of minority language speakers still live in natural environments as distinct from those who have created spatial environments that are increasingly man-made. A cross-linguistic comparison could reveal whether the less developed languages in the endangered list have much more complex deictic systems than in the languages spoken by more modernized societies. It will be highly relevant to test this hypothesis in a historical perspective with documentation on language shift and language change arising from large scale migrations and socio-economic changes.

Abbreviations

COMP	Complement	DIR	Directional
DIST	Distal	ERG	Ergative
HON	Honorific	IMP	Imperative
LOC	Locative	NEG	Negative
NPST	Non-past	NML	Nominalizer
PC	Past conjunct	PLU	Plural
PROG	Progressive	PST	Past
PTP	Participial		

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INTER-CLAUSAL COHERENCE IN KOYEE

Tara Mani Rai

This paper examines the inter-clausal coherence in Koyee. Clauses like dependent (subordinate) and independent (co-ordinate) are discussed intensively. Clauses like serial verbs, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, converb clauses, relative clauses are best expressed in Koyee which are mostly controlled by multiple verb construction, finite or non-finite, including nominalized clauses. Coordinate clauses comprise conjunction, disjunction, adversative and exclusion in Koyee.

Keywords: functional typology, subordinate, coordinate, typological implications

1 Introduction

Inter-clausal coherence refers to the coordination and subordination system in the language (Givón, 2001:327). Koyee¹ exhibits the inter-clausal coherence in the clauses like dependent (subordinate) and independent (co-ordinate). Clauses like serial verbs, complement clauses adverbial clauses, converb clauses, relative clauses are found to be controlled by multiple verb construction, finite or non-finite, including nominalized clauses. Coordinate clauses like conjunction, disjunction, adversative and exclusion are also best expressed in the Koyee language.

Theoretical framework employed in this paper is functional- typology following Givón (2001:327). This paper is organized into five sections. Section 2 discusses subordinate clauses. In section 3, we look at coordinate clauses. Section 4 examines the typological implications of the study. In section 5, we summarize the findings of the paper.

2 Subordinate clauses

The subordinate clauses are embedded in other clauses and syntactically bound to or dependent on the main clauses² (Givón, 2001:327). It is

either maximally or minimally reduced (Ebert, 1991:112). Accordingly, Payne (1997) notes that the multiple verb construction from (a) Serial verbs (b) Complement clause (c) Adverbial clause (d) Clause chains (e) Relative clause and ultimately shift to (f) Coordination. These six construction types are arranged in such a way that the earlier ones represent the highest degree of grammatical integration between two verbs, whereas the later ones represent the lowest degree of grammatical integration.

2.1 Serial verbs

In a prototypical serial verb construction, there occur two or more verb roots neither as a compound form nor as members of separate clauses (Payne, 1997: 307). The verbs in series express various facets of one complex event. Koyee employs serial verbs in such constructions as in (1).

- (1) a. *aŋ hu:batsu*
aŋ hu: bats-u
1SG reach come.1SG-PST
'I have already reached.'
- b. *umu gonu mitsa*
umu gonu mits-a
3SG laugh die.3SG-PST
'S/he had died happily.'

In the examples (1a-b), two verbs appear to be in the same clause. In fact, the series of the verbs given in (1a-b) are not the real serial verbs. However, such pairs do resemble serial verbs in

-
- a. Intonational integration: Dependent clauses tend to full under a single intonation contour with the main clause, without an intervening pause.
- b. Relational government: Dependent clauses tend to be relationally governed by the main clauses' subject or object, in a way that constrains both possible co-reference relations and obligatory zero anaphora or pronominalization.
- c. Reduced finiteness: Dependent clauses tend to exhibit reduced finite marking, in terms of pronominal agreement and tense-aspect-modality on the verb, or case-marking and determiners on the subject or object.

¹ Koyee [*kōji* : Devanagari केयी] is one of the Rai Kirati languages of the Himalayish sub-group within Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family.

² Givón(2001) mentions the typological parameters of the subordinate clauses in three respects:

the sense that they do occur in the same clause and there is no independent marking of the second verb for persons, numbers and tense, aspect and modality.

2.2 Complement clause

A complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause (Pyane, 1997:313). Complementation refers to the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or prediction is an argument of predicate.

2.2.1 Complement type

Complement clause may precede or follow the matrix verb. There are realized two types of complement clause in Koyee: a) Full sentence complement and b) participial clause.

a. Full sentence complementation

Direct quotes do not take any explicit complementizers. The utterances *lu* 'tell' *demu* 'say', *hi?mu* 'ask' are used to make full sentence complementation.

- (2) a. *nanawa [akulu la?na ip^a ibi*
 nana-wa a-kulu la?-na
 brother-ERG 2SG.POSS-face hide-SEQ
ip^a ibi tsuktsutsa
 ip^a-a ibi tsuktsu-tsa
 sleep.2SG-PST here grandfather-PL
ho?ni] lu t^he?m
 ho?-ni lu t^he?m
 come.NPST-3PL tell HS
 'The elder sister told him "hide your face when you sleep, the grandfathers (ancestors) will come.'
- b. *[arko dina hAdina aŋlai bulu*
 arko dina hAdi-na aŋ-lai bulu
 next day come-CONV 1SG-DAT money
abine] djadi
 a-bine dj-a-di
 NEG-give say-PST-3SG
 'Coming the next day s/he said, "I'll not give you money."

In the examples (2a-b), the entire sentences are complements of the matrix clauses. There are not any changes in tenses and pronoun references. There is not as such formal marking of the complement clauses. The direct quotation (as in 2a-b) is expressed with the independent finite

sentences or is begun by conjugated verb of utterance with no specific complementizing morphology on the reported clause.

b. Participial complement

Participle complements are not the heads of constructions but rather modify some nouns which function as heads as in (3a-b).

- (3) a. *oko [munima b^huldzjam]d^ho?k^hoŋa*
 oko munima b^hul-dzja-m d^ho?k^ho-ŋ-a
 One cat run-DUR-NMLZ see-1SG-PST
 'I saw a cat running.'
- b. *baktsitsawa [sa*
 baktsi-tsa-wa sa
 brother-PL-ERG firewood
hodzanim] d^hok^hoŋa
 ho-dza-ni-m d^hok^ho-ŋ-a
 bring-DUR-PL-NMLZ see-1SG-PST
 'I saw friends coming with the firewood.'

The participle complements occur with immediate perception as in (3a-b). The perception predicates *d^hok^hoŋa* 'see-1SG-PST' as in English see, watch, etc. (Noonan (1985). Complements of perception can be sometimes expressed by using the hearsay morpheme.

2.2.2 Distribution

It is even a verbal complements that functions as subject or object complements of other clauses and thus, analogous to object complements (Givón, 2001). Complement clauses in Koyee are distributed in two ways: Subject and Object.

a. Subject

In Koyee, subject complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause.

- (4) a. *[tsitsi ŋadzam] k^hutsa*
 tsitsi ŋa-dza-m k^huts-a
 child weep-DUR-NMLZ go.1SG-PST
 'That the boy wept went away.'
- b. *[bubu k^hutsam] A^hutsu*
 bubu k^hutsa-m A^h-huts-u
 brother weep-NMLZ NEG-come.1SG-PST
 'That the brother gone did not arrive.'

In (4a-b), the subject complement with non-finite forms of the verbs (nominalised forms) is combined with the matrix clauses. It is to be noted that the form <-m> is the underlying form of the nominalizer in Koyee.

b. Object complement

Like subject complement clauses the object complement occurs in the initial position of the matrix clause.

- (5) a. *aŋa [asina ne del*
 aŋ-a asina ne del
 1SG-ERG yesterday TOP village
k^hutsam sane] *d^hok^hoŋa*
 k^huts-a-m sane d^hok^ho-ŋ-a
 GO-PST-NMLZ Sane see-1SG-PST
 'Yesterday I saw Sane that he was going to another village.'
- b. *d^ho [tanasi mina]*
 d^ho tanasi-m mina
 above get down-NMLZ man
balla ts^henduŋa
 balla ts^hendu-ŋ-a
 hardly recognize-1SG-PST
 'I recognize the man who had gone above.'

In (5a-b), the object complement with non-finite forms of the verbs (nominalised forms) is combined with the matrix clauses.

2.3 Adverbial clauses

Functionally, adverbial clauses link to their main clauses. They remain in their 'local' relations between two adjacent clauses irrespective of the wider (global) discourse context (Givón, 2001: 330). In this respect, these relations resemble the semantic bonds between main verbs and their verbal complements [*ibid*: 330].

2.3.1 Temporal clauses

Typologically, a large number of grammaticalized connectives can specify the temporal relation of an adverbial clause to its main clause to its main clause. Temporal adverbial clauses are realized in terms of precedence, subsequence, simultaneity, point coincidence, terminal boundary, initial boundary, and intermediacy [*ibid*: 330]. Koyee does not follow all these adverbial links. However, there are two main markers used to indicate temporal relationships between clauses.

marker	gloss	function
<-la, -me>	TEMP	Temporal

The suffixes <-la> and <-me> indicate simultaneity of actions, and is suffixed to the verb in a finite clause.

- (6) a. *sinula ne ghɔlpa gadi*
 sinu-la ne ghɔlpa gadi
 see-TEMP TOP big be.PST
 'While seeing, it was not big.'
- b. *sihodame ne k^hiba bidida*
 sihoda-me ne k^hiba bi-di-da
 kill-TEMP TOP dog give-PUR-NPST
 'He provides meat to the dog after he kills the wild animal.'

The example (6a) presents the suffix <-la> whereas the example (6b) shows the suffix <-me> used as the temporal clause. The subordinators have been affixed to the root of the verbs of the subordinate clause.

2.3.2 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses, with their subject most typically co-referential with that of the main clause, signal the purpose of the agent for acting as they did in the event coded by the main clause (Givón, 2001: 337). In other words, the subordinate clause which serves meaning of purpose is referred to as purposive clause.

marker	gloss	function
<-di, -lai>	PUR	Purposive

The markers <-di, -lai³> constituent the purposive clauses in Koyee as in (7a-b).

- (7) a. *umtsawa ramlai dza dzidi p^hiŋuni*
 umtsa-wa ram-lai dza dzi-di p^hiŋ-u-ni
 3PL-ERG Ram-DAT rice eat-PUR send-PST-3PL
 'They sent Ram to eat rice.'
- b. *aŋa bulu d^hurpmulɔi duwaŋa*
 aŋ-a bulu d^hurpmu-lai duwa-ŋa
 1SG-ERG money earn-PUR much-EMPH
kama muda aŋ-a
 kama mu-da
 work do-NPST.1SG
 'I work much to earn money.'

The examples (7a-b) present the purposive clause that has been expressed by a dependent clause, with suffixes <-di, -lai> on the verb. Mostly the purpose clauses in the corpus are found with motion verbs.

³ The suffix marker <lai> seems to have borrowed from Nepali dative marker <lai> which is sometimes interchangeably used as <-lai> in Koyee.

2.3.3 Reason clauses

marker	gloss	function
<-ma>	RES	Reason

Koyee employs the suffix marker <-ma> for the reason clause as in (8).

- (8) [paruhang^dumsa]ts^hΛ[?]m^{ma}
- | | | |
|----------|---------------------|--|
| paruhang | d ^h umsa | ts ^h Λ [?] m ^{ma} |
| Paruhang | eldest | be-RES |
-
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>dz^haralai</i> | <i>senuma</i> | <i>ts^ho[?]o</i> |
| dz ^h ara-lai | senuma | ts ^h o [?] o |
| all-DAT | look after | OBL.NPST |
- 'As Paruhang is the eldest, he must look after the others.'

The examples (8) indicate the reason clause that the morpheme <-ma> as suffix used to a finite verb to form the dependent reason clause⁴.

2.3.4 Cause clause (Causal linking)

marker	gloss	function
<-k ^h a~hakaki>	CAUS	Reason

All subordinate clauses dealt with so far were preposed and, whether reduced or not, could not stand as independent sentences. Reason clauses are postposed and introduced by 'why if', corresponding to the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian model, where such clauses are introduced by a particle meaning literally 'why say-if' (Ebert, 1997).

- (9) a. [aŋ kim k^hΛimuŋΛ ts^ho[?]o
- | | | | |
|-----|-------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| aŋ | kim | k ^h Λimu-ŋΛ | ts ^h o [?] o |
| 1SG | house | go-EMPH | OBL |
- hakaki] d^haplo kutka*
- | | | |
|--------|---------------------|----------|
| hakaki | d ^h aplo | kut-ka |
| CAUS | rites | pay-ADJV |
-
- aŋa ts^homu ts^ho[?]o*
- | | | |
|---------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| aŋ-a | ts ^h omu | ts ^h o [?] o |
| 1SG-ERG | pour | OBL |
- 'I must go to the house because I have to pay the rites anyhow.'

⁴ The ergative/instrumental marker can be suffixed to a nominalized finite clause to express reason as *aŋa iŋlis akukunamawa* 'Because I don't know English...' This construction is similar to Nepali, where <-le> (the Nepali ergative/instrumental marker) expresses reason in clauses.' et another means of expressing reason is found to be <-bika>.

- b. *ba^l se[?]muimuna^Λ fak^ha abo*
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| ba ^l | se [?] muimu-na ^Λ | fak ^h a | abo |
| power show-SEQ | CAUS | | now |
-
- lappa suru ts^hΛ t^he[?]e*
- | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| lappa | suru | ts ^h Λ | t ^h e [?] e |
| fight | start | become | HS |
- 'The formal war only began after they performed their strength.'

In the examples (9a-b) shows the causal clause <k^ha~hakaki> used to indicate the cause of the events.

2.3.5 Location adverbial clauses

marker	gloss	function
<gapa>	LOC	Location

Koyee employs the interrogative pronoun <gapa> to indicate location. This is rather a lexical than morphological. Consider the following examples (10a-b).

- (10) a. *an gapa ip^hena,*
- | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------------------|
| an | gapa | ip ^h e-na, |
| 2SG | where | sleep-2SG.PST |
- d^hambiŋΛ aŋ iptΛ*
- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----------|
| d ^h ambi-ŋΛ | aŋ | ip-tΛ |
| 3DIST-LOC-EMPH | 1SG | sleep-PST |
- 'I will sleep where you sleep.'
- b. *gapa tuwatsun[?] go:di,*
- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------|
| gapa | tuwatsun [?] go:di | |
| where | tuwachung | be.NPST |
- d^hambi retsekuppa dzanme ts^hΛ[?]Λ*
- | | | | |
|----------------------|------------|--------|----------------------------------|
| d ^h am-bi | retsekuppa | dzanme | ts ^h Λ [?] Λ |
| there-LOC | Rechekuppa | born | be.PST |
- 'Rechekuppa was born where Tuwachung is situated.'

Location adverbial clause is realized in Koyee by the interrogative <gapa> as we observed in the examples (10a-b).

2.3.6 Manner adverbial clauses

marker	gloss	function
< k ^h alja >	MNR	Manner

The manner adverbial clauses are non-finite clauses embedded in the matrix clause. Koyee employs <k^halja> as the manner clause as in (11a-b).

- (11) a. *aŋa sam detta d^ham k^halja mu*
- | | | | |
|---------|------|--------------|-------------------|
| aŋ-a | sam | det-tΛ | d ^h am |
| 1SG-ERG | what | tell-1SG.PST | that |

k^halja mu
MNR do
'Do what I say.'

- b. *umu d^hamk^halja muda*
umu-a d^ham k^halja mu-da
3SG-ERG that MNR do.NPST

aŋ d^ham k^halja mu
aŋ sam mu
1SG what do
'He does as I do.'

There are exemplified the manner clause <*k^halja*> as in (11a-b) but this appears to be borrowing from Nepali *tesari* or *jesari* 'in this/ that way.'

2.3.7 Concessive adverbial clauses

<i>marer</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<- <i>k^hojΛ</i> >	CONC	Concessive

Koyee employs <-*k^hojΛ*> as a suffix to the root of the verb that reflects a contrast between the main and the subordinate clause as in (12a-b).

- (12) a. *hu: hodze k^hojΛ*
hu: hodz-e k^hojΛ
water fall-NPST CONC
umu pak^habi lam^hedze
umu pak^ha-bi lam^he-dz-e
3SG outside-LOC walk-DUR-NPST
'S/he is walking outside though it is raining.'

- b. *aniwa sama dena k^hojΛ*
ani-wa sama dena
2SG-ERG what tell 2SG. NPST

umuwa aminda
k^hojΛ umu-wa a-min-da
CONC 3SG-ERG NEG-realize-3SG
'Whatever you say, he does not realize it.'

As in the examples (12a-b), the suffix <*k^hojΛ*> appears to be the concessive adverbial clauses in Koyee.

2.3.8 Conditional adverbial clauses

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<- <i>hak^ho</i> , - <i>k^ho</i> >	COND	Conditional

Most languages allow formation of special conditional structures. Generally, tense, aspect and mood are used to give the conditional construction with different meanings (Whaley, 1997:253). Conditional ADV clauses are divided into two main types: (a) Irrealis conditionals (b) Counter-fact conditionals (Givón, 2001). Irrealis

conditional clauses fall under the scope of non-fact modality. Unlike irrealis conditionals, whose truth value is pending, counter fact conditionals fall under the firmer, negative epistemic scope of non-fact.

- (13) a. *anlai ludzΛm tsai ts^hΛ?Λ*,
an-lai ludzΛm:tsai ts^hΛ?Λ,
2SG-DAT paddy need be.NPST
hak^ho umlai d^humu
hak^ho um-lai d^humu
COND 3SG-DAT contact-IMP
'If you need paddy, contact with him.'

- b. *ana oktΛ a-dzadana k^ho ann Λ-na*
2SG medicine NEG-eat COND 2SG NEG-
better-2SG
'If you do not take medicine, you will not be better.'

In the examples (10a-b), the subordinator <-*hak^ho*, *k^ho*> constitute irrealis and counter-fact conditional clauses respectively.

2.4. Converb clauses

The verbal noun, in association with an appropriate case clitic, can also be used for adverbial subordination, but adverbial subordination can also be accomplished by means of a set specified non finite forms referred to as converbs (Noonan, 1999: 401). In the Koyee, simply two types of converbs are realized. They are: sequential converb and simultaneous converb.

2.4.1 Sequential converb

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<- <i>nΛ</i> >SEQ	sequential	converb

The sequential converb in Koyee indicates that the action in subordinate clause occurs before the action in the matrix clause. The verb suffix <-*nΛ*> is the sequential converb marker in Koyee.

- (14) a. *umwa dza dzadzanaΛ*,
um-wa dza dza-dza-nΛ
3SG-ERG rice eat-DUR-SEQ
iskul k^hutsa
iskul k^huts-a
school go.1SG-PST
'After eating rice, Paruhang goes to school.'

- b. *d^hana baktsi birate ts^hΛnΛ*
d^hanΛbaktsi biratets^hΛ-nΛ
here after brother sad-SEQ

<i>okʰaldʰuŋa kuibʰirdetka</i>			
okʰaldʰuŋa	kuibʰir	det-ka	
Okhaldhunga	Kuibhir	tell-NMLZ	
<i>tʰampubi ma:tʰeʔe</i>			
tʰampu-bi	ma	tʰeʔe	
place-LOC	be.PST	HS	

'The younger brother became very desperate and went to one of the places of Okhaldhunga named Kuibhir.'

The verb suffix <-na> is the sequential converb marker in Koyee as we observed in (14a-b). We observed the sequential converb used the two clauses denoting sequential relationships.

2.4.2 Simultaneous converb

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-to, -du>	SIM	simultaneous

Simultaneous converbs in Koyee are used to indicate the action denoted by the various predicates occurring simultaneously. The verb suffixes <-to, -du> are the simultaneous converb in Koyee as in (15a-b).

- (15) a. *mintsumuatsi ŋakto ŋakto ha:di*
 Mintsumuatsi ŋak-to ŋak-to ha:-di
 daughter cry-SIM cry-SIM come-3SG.PST
 'The daughter came while crying.'
- b. *dudu pʰipdu pʰipdu tsi ipʰa*
 dudu pʰip-du pʰip-du tsi ipʰ-a
 breast suck-SIM suck-SIM|POSS-child sleep-3SG.PST
 'My son slept while sucking breast.'

The verb suffixes <-to, -du> are the simultaneous converb in Koyee as we discussed in (15a-b). So, simultaneous clauses code the relationship called 'overlap' (Thompson and Longacre 1985:188).

2.5 Relative clauses

There are several typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped. They are of three types: (a) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun (b) the mode of expression of the relativized NP (sometimes called "case recoverability strategy") and (c) which grammatical relations can be relativized (Payne, 1997: 326). As Payne (1997) mentions several types of relative clauses in the languages. Following general types of relative clauses are discussed.

2.5.1 Prenominal relative clause

The participle clause is a more common relative clause embedded in Koyee language. There are mainly two ways of forming prenominal clause: by nominalising the clause with <-m> (this marker can be used for both past and non-past) and by suffixing the non-past participle <-ka> to the root (for non-past) and by suffixing <-pam> (the past participle plus nominalizer) to the root (for past relatives) .

- (16) a. *[tsukʰuŋam] piʰo haŋa*
 tsukʰuŋ-a-m piʰo haŋ-a
 mince-PST-NMLZ flour dry-PST
 'The flour minced is dried.'
- b. *[subjʌ dzika] nanitsʌna mubu ŋitsa*
 subjʌ dzika nani-tʌ-na
 bread eat-ADJV children-PL-GEN
mubu ŋits-a
 stomach feel pain-PST
 'The children who had eaten bread felt the stomach painin.'

2.5.2 Relative-correlative clause

Correlative words occur in place of a noun. The head noun appears in the main clause. In this way the relative word *dʰai* 'that much' is a correlative word and the second clause comments on the preceding entity in a relative-correlative construction.

- (17) a. *[habo dʰila moki] [dʰai*
 habo dʰila mo-ki dʰai
 how much late be.1PL.INCL
kama bigre tsʰʌʔ]
 kama bigre tsʰʌʔ
 that much work damage be.NPST
 'The more we do late, the more we will get problem.'
- b. *[gʌm batʰani hoʔŋa][dʰam*
 gʌm batʰani hoʔ-ŋ-a dʰam
 which knife bring-1SG-PST that
ne bʰutte raitʰa]
 ne bʰutterai tsʰa
 TOP notsharp be.NPST
 'The knife what I brought was not sharp at all.'

i. Head as the relative clauses

The subject and objet arguments are the ones that are most frequently relativized on. All the arguments in the relativization accessibility

hierarchy are found expressed with relatives in Koyee as in (18-22).

ii. Head as subject of relative

- (18) *aŋa [mulusasi dza dza-da-m] b^ho?o d^hok^hoda*
 aŋ-a dza dza-da-m b^ho?o d^hok^ho-da
 1SG-ERG rice eat-3SG.NPST-NMLZ pig see-1SG.NPST
 'I see the pig eating rice.'

iii. Head as object of relative

- (19) *[akimbi anaŋa]*
 a-kim-bi a-na-ŋa
 1POSS-house-LOC 2SG.POSS-EMPH

ho?nan^h danam]
 ho?n-a-n^h dana-m
 bring.2SG-PST-SEQ place-NOMLZ
oko mina d^hamwa k^hipda
 oko mina d^ham-wa k^hip-da
 one.CLF man that-ERGCook-3SG.NPST
 'The person you brought back to my house
 and placed there is cooking.'

iv. Head as recipient of relative

- (20) *[aŋa dza biŋam] mina k^hutsa*
 aŋ-a dza biŋ-a-m mina k^huts-a go
 1SG-ERG rice give-PST-NMLZ man 3SG-PST
 'The man who I gave food to left.'

v. Head as oblique of relative

- (21) *d^hadzam [dasimbi] ^had^ho?d-usi*
 d^hadzam dasi-m-bi ^h-d^ho?du-si
 Snacks put-NMLZ-LOC NEG-find-3DU
 'They didn't find the snack where they had put it.'

vi. Head as oblique of possessor

- (22) *misi kam [godim] mina*
 misi kam go-di-m mina
 eye mouth be-3SG.NPST-NMLZ man
 'A person with eyes and mouth'

The examples (18-22) indicate the head as the relative. We find that the head as the subject of the relative (18), head as the object of the relative (19), head as the recipient of relative (20), head as the oblique of the relative (21), and head as the oblique of possessor (22) in the examples illustrated above.

3 Coordinate clauses

The term coordination⁵ (coordinate clause) refers to the syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements (Haspelmath, 2008:1). Coordination is not so much productive in Koyee. There are three logical possibilities (Payne, 1985:1) of coordination following the parameters of coordination as in (*ibid*:4) like conjunction, disjunction and rejection.

3.1 Conjunction

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-n ^h , -k ^h >	ADD	Additive

The independent clauses in Koyee are conjoined by the coordinate clauses. In Koyee < n^h > and < k^h > are used as the markers for conjunction. But they are semantically used as the sequential and committative cases respectively.

- (23) a. *umuwa dza dza dzada n^h*
 umu-wa dza dza-da -n^h
 3SG-ERG rice eat NPST-ADD
k^hutse
 k^huts-e
 go-NPST
 'S/he eats rice and goes.'
- b. *t^haru^h badzuh^hbika*
 t^haru-h^h badzu-h^h-bika
 tharu-king a tribe-king-ABL

t^haruk^h iŋki purk^hats^h
 t^haru-k^h iŋki purk^ha-ts^h
 tharu-ADD 1PL.INCL ancestor-PL

ts^hu?e ts^hani t^he?e
 ts^hu?e ts^hani t^he?e
 separate be.PST-3PLHS
 'Many years ago our ancestors were
 detached from Tharu and Baju kings.'

Coordinators in Koyee are not as much productive as English.

⁵ Typologically, all languages appear to possess coordination constructions (*or coordinate constructions*) of some kind, but there is a lot of cross-linguistic variation. Individual languages may possess a wealth of different coordinate constructions (Haspelmath, 2008:1).

3.2 Disjunction

marker	gloss	function
<-woi>	DISJ	Disjunct

Like conjunction, disjunction is a logical relationship between propositions. If the conjunction of two propositions is true then each of the component propositions is true (Payne, 1997:339). In Koyee language, <-woi> is used as the coordinator for disjunction.

- (24) a. *mintsuma ts^hΛ woi lantsuba ts^hΛʔΛ*
 mintsumats^hΛʔΛ woi lantsuba ts^hΛʔΛ
 daughter born-PST DISJ son born-PST
 'Daughter was born or son was born.'
- b. *ram mitsa woi tsatsa woi*
 ram mits-a woi escape-PST DISJ
 Ram die-PST DISJ tsats-a woi
 'Ram died or escaped away'.

3.3 Adversative coordination

marker	gloss	function
<-tara>	ADVR	Adversative

The Koyee lacks a coordination construction for adversative coordination. This meaning is expressed by concessive subordinate clauses in Koyee. However, the adversative coordinator < tara > is also used for the purpose in the Koyee as in (25). But this not the native word of Koyee language.

- (25) a. *mintsumatsi rja-di*
 mintsumatsi rj-a-di
 daughter laugh-PST-3SG
tara lantsuba tsi ηΛʔ
 tara lantsubatsi ηΛʔ
 but son weep.PST
 'The daughter laughed but the son cried.'
- b. *umu k^hutsa tara*
 umu k^huts-a tara
 3SG go-PST but
aŋ ak^hutsa
 aŋa-k^huts-a
 1SG NEG-go.3SG-PST
 'S/he went but I didn't.'

3.6 Exclusion

marker	gloss	function
<-bahek>	EXC	Exclusion

In Koyee for exclusion the Nepali coordinator *bahek* 'except' is found to be in practice.

There is not native word for this coordinate clause. This has been illustrated in (26a-b).

- (26) a. *dzimu bahek anu*
 dzi-mu bahek a-nu
 eat-INF except 2SG-POSS
kama Λgo
 kama Λ-go
 work NEG-be.NPST
 'You do not have any work except eating.'
- b. *tsapmu bahek*
 tsap-mu bahek
 write-INF except
anu kama Λgo
 a-nu kama Λ-go
 2SG-GEN work NEG-
 be.NPST
 'You do not have any work except writing.'

4 Typological implications

Subordinate clauses in Koyee are preposed (*cf.* as in Chamling) and the subordinators takes the clause-final position (Ebert, 1997). Unlike Kaike (Regmi, 2011), Koyee appears to a bit more productivity in serial verbs as in other Kirati languages.

Kirati languages (Limbu, Bantawa, Athpare, Chamling) make remarkably little use of converbs (Regmi, 2007: 392). Tumbahang (2011:255) states that there is no simultaneous converb expressing an accompanying action of the same subject in Chhatthare Limbu (one of the Kirati languages). Only negative converbs marked by the <-ʔe> abound in this language. This suffix <-ʔe-> changes to <-me> after bilabial consonants <-ne> after dental consonants and <-ŋe> after the velar consonants. Unlike Chhathare, Koyee exhibits the converbs as simultaneous marked by <-to,-du> and sequential by <-na>. Active participle markers as male and female <-pa,-ma> are found almost all the Kirati languages (Doornenbal, 2009: 184). Supine as purposive clause is <-si> is highly used in Kirati languages [*ibid.*: 190]. Relative clauses in Koyee serve to refer to a verbal situation as an attribute of the modified head as in Yamphu (Rutgers, 1998: 255). Koyee employs the morpho-syntactic markings of the subordinate clauses as in Table 1.

Table 1: Morpho-syntactic markings of subordinate clauses in Koyee

markers (forms)	gloss	functions
<la -me>	TEMP	Temporal
<gapa>	LOC	Locative
<k ^h alja >	MNR	Manner
<-di, -lɪ>	PUR	Purpose
<-ma>	RES	Reason
<-k ^h a, -hakaki>	CAUS	Causal
<-k ^h ojɔ>	CONC	Concessive
<-hak ^h a, -k ^h o>	COND	Conditional
<-na>	SEQ	Sequential
<-to, -du>	SIM	Simultaneous

The table-1 presents that the morphosyntactic markings of the subordinate clauses in Koyee. They are realized as <la -me> Temporal, <gapa Locative <k^halja > Manner <-di, -lɪ> Purpose <-ma>Reason <-k^ha, -hakaki> Causal <-k^hojɔ> Concessive <-hak^ha, -k^ho> Conditional <-na>Sequential <-to, -du> Simultaneous. Typologically, the subordinate clauses are realized in Koyee the way we find in other Kirati language.

Coordinate clauses are realized in terms of the conjunct, disjunct, adversative and exclusion in Koyee language. This is presented in the table 2.

Table 2: Morpho-syntactic markings of coordinate clauses in Koyee

markers (forms)	gloss	functions
<kɔ, na>	CONJ	Cojunct
<woi>	DISJ	Disjunct
<ɬara>	ADVR	Adversative
<baheki>	EXCL	Exclusion

The table 2 illustrates the morphosyntactic markings of coordinate clauses in Koyee. Coordinate clauses are simply marked by <kɔ, na> Cojunct, <woi> Disjunct, <ɬara > Adversative <baheki > Exclusion in Koyee. Cross-linguistically, Koyee appears to be closer to other Kirati languages.

5 Summary

In this article, we outlined the subordination system including complement clause, serial verbs, adverbial clause, converb, clausal linking and relative clause in Koyee. Generally the subordination of the clause is carried out by verbal affixes rather than by free relational form. Verb serialization is not so much productive in Koyee

as it is an agglutinating language. Subject and object complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause. Adverbial clauses consist of temporal, location, manner, purpose, causal, reason, concessive, conditional, sequential and simultaneous. They are marked by <gapa>, <k^halja >, <-di, -lɪ>, <k^ha, hakaki> <-ma>, <-k^hojɔ>, <-hak^ha, -k^ho>, <-na>, <-to, -du> respectively. The relative clause in which the verb is suffixed by <-m> may be referred to as perfect participle (PRF PTCP). All the relative clauses in Koyee precede the head nouns. Coordinate clauses are simply marked by <kɔ, na> for conjunction, <woi> for disjunction, <ɬara > for adversative, and <baheki> for exclusion in Koyee. Cross-linguistically, Koyee undoubtedly appears to be closer to other Kirati languages.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ADD	additive
ADV	adverb	ADVR	adversative
CAUS	causative	CONC	concessive
COND	conditional	DAT	dative
DU	dual	DUR	durative
EMPH	empathic	ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive	GEN	genitive
IMPFV	imperfective	INCL	inclusive
LOC	locative	MNR	manner
NEG	negative	NMLZ	nominalizer
NPST	non-past	PL	plural
POSS	possessive	POST	postposition
PRF	perfective	PST	past
PTCP	participle	PUR	purposive
RES	reason	SG	singular
SEQ	sequential	SIML	simultaneous
TOP	topic		

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PROSODIC TYPOLOGY AND THE MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF
THE VERB IN TIBETO-BURMAN

Scott DeLancey

In the “pronominalized” languages of Nepal and the rGyalrongic languages of western China verb agreement is part of the verb word. In languages of the far eastern Himalayas and North East India, agreement and tense/aspect occur in a separate word. This correlates with prosodic structure: trochaic in Kiranti and Central Himalayan versus iambic in the NEI languages.

Keywords: Tibeto-Burman, verb agreement, prosody

1 Agreement words in languages of the Circum-Irrawady uplands

Proto-Tibeto-Burman had a complex verb agreement system, with hierarchical indexation in transitive clauses, and at least a simple inverse marking system (DeLancey 2010, 2011a, Jacques 2010, 2012). The system has been entirely lost in many TB languages. In conservative languages these agreement affixes attach directly to the verb stem. But in languages in northern Myanmar and North East India, we do not find such morphological constructions. These languages show verb agreement, but the agreement markers do not attach to the verb stem. Instead they occur alone or attached to morphemes indicating tense/aspect, negation, and other verbal categories, in a phonologically independent word. I will refer to these phonologically independent agreement forms as AGREEMENT WORDS. The original agreement paradigm was mostly suffixal, but included two or three prefixes, 2nd person #*t-*, inverse *u-*, and probably plural #*ma-* (DeLancey 2011a, Jacques 2010, 2012). In rGyalrongic, Kiranti and Western Himalayan, these are affixed to the verb stem:

Table 1: 1st and 2nd person affixes in the conservative branches

	1	2
lCogtse (rGyalrongic)	Σ-ŋ	tə-Σ-n
Bantawa (Kiranti)	Σ-ŋ(a)	tu-Σ
Rangpo (W. Himalayan)	Σ-ŋ	Σ-n

In languages from northern Myanmar and North East India the agreement morphology works differently. In Jinghpaw, the related Northern Naga languages, and the Kuki-Chin branch,

agreement occurs in a phonologically distinct agreement word following the verb stem:

Table 2: Agreement words in Jinghpaw and Kuki-Chin

Jinghpaw	<i>wà ng-ng-ai</i>	go 1-1-FINAL
	<i>wà n-d-ai</i>	go 2-2-FINAL
Tedim	<i>pai iŋ</i>	‘go 1SG’
	<i>pai teʔ</i>	‘go-2’

Agreement words may also be bi- or tri-morphemic. The agreement morphemes attach to TAM and negative morphemes, forming a syllable which, again, is a phonologically independent word:

Table 3: Agreement in Jinghpaw, Northern Naga, and Northern Kuki-Chin

Jinghpaw	<i>wà r-iŋ</i>	‘return	CISLOCATIVE-1SG’
	<i>wà r-in</i>	‘return	CISLOCATIVE-2’
	<i>wà mǎ-r-in</i>	‘return	PL-CISLOCATIVE-2’
Nocte	<i>ka ¹r-ʌŋ</i>	‘go	CISLOCATIVE-1SG’
	<i>ka ¹r-ɔʔ</i>	‘go	CISLOCATIVE-2SG’
	<i>ka ¹r-ʌn</i>	‘go	CISLOCATIVE-2PL’
Tedim	<i>pai n-iŋ</i>	‘go	FUTURE-1SG’
	<i>pài ní teʔ</i>	‘go	FUTURE 2SG’
	<i>pài ní teʔ-u</i>	‘go	FUTURE 2SG-PL’

These TAM and negative morphemes can be traced back to old grammaticalized auxiliaries (DeLancey 2010, 2013, 2014, to appear). But although there is nothing mysterious about either their origin or their function, they represent a descriptive problem. Though they originate as conjugated auxiliaries, synchronically they are not. They are not verbs of any sort, since they do not share the morphological behavior of verbs: lexical verbs cannot take the agreement suffixes, and the erstwhile auxiliaries no can longer take any other verbal morphology. Since they are not verb affixes either, there is no obvious label for

them in current linguistic terminology. We are used to seeing such constructions either remain as recognizable auxiliary verb constructions, or becoming morphologically attached to the stem as affixes; these agreement words are anomalous in no longer being auxiliaries per se, but still not being morphologically attached to the verb stem.

The languages which show this pattern are also distinguished from other languages of the family by having an iambic pattern of stress placement, where in groups such as Kiranti we find trochaic word stress. In the next section I will show examples of how grammaticalized auxiliaries in Kiranti languages tend to attach to the verb stem and become suffixes. In section 3 I will show the different development of agreement words. Finally in Section 4 I will suggest that the development of the agreement word pattern is a result of the shift from trochaic to iambic word stress.

2 Morphologization of auxiliaries in Kiranti

In Kiranti languages we see the classic morphologization process working as we would expect to see it, especially in a verb final language. Inflected auxiliaries, being unstressed, cliticize to the verb stem and then become tense/aspect suffixes preceding the verb agreement.

2.1 Classic morphologization in Sunuwar

We see a typical example in Sunuwar. In the Okhaldunga dialect we see a slightly-grammaticalized mirative construction in which the copula *'baak* functions as an auxiliary verb (DeLancey 1992):

- (1) *ge-yi-ki baa-tɔ*
give-2-1PL MIR-PST.3SG
'You gave it to us, I see.'

In the Ramechap dialect this construction has completely morphologized into what Borchers (2008) calls the "marker of unexpected action" *-bā-*:

- (2) *goi das gbanta hir-bā-ti-nī*
you ten hour walk-UNEX-PAST-2PL
'You walked for ten hours?!'

In this variety of the language the former copular auxiliary is now an evidential suffix which precedes the tense and agreement suffixes.

Another example from Sunuwar is comparable to some constructions which we will see in Jinghpaw and Kuki-Chin. Kiranti languages all have a basic system of two distinct conjugations, past and non-past. Non-past is typically the simplest form, with no overt tense marking, and agreement attached directly to the verb. In Sunuwar this has been replaced by a new non-past conjugation, and the older paradigm is now used only in negative and non-final constructions. The three Sunuwar conjugations are represented in Table 4 (These are underlying, or slightly reconstructed, forms; the $|n|$ in the 1st and 2nd person nonsingular forms, and the $|t|$ morpheme in the non-past, surface only as palatal offglides (Genetti 1992)):

Table 4: Intransitive agreement paradigms in Sunuwar

	Past	Neg/NonFinal	NonPast
1SG	lā-ti	lā-ŋa	lā-t- nu-ŋ
1DUX	la-n-ta-s-ku	lā-s-ku	lā-t- na-s-ku
1PLEX	la-n-ta-ka	lā-ni	lā-t- ni-ki
2SG	lā-te	lā-ye	lā-t- ne-ye
2DU	la-n-ti-si	lā-si	lā-t- ni-si
2PL	la-n-ti-ni	lā-ni	lā-t- ni-ni
3SG	lā-ta	la	la-t-ba
3DU	lā-m-ta-se	lā-se	la-t- ni-se
3PL	lā-m-te-m	lā-m	la-t- ni-m

The *-nV-* elements in boldface in the non-past column are the new non-past tense suffix. This is a grammaticalization of the widespread TB copula *#na ~ no ~ ni*, reflected in the independent Sunuwar copula *no* and Hayu *no* (Michailovsky 1988: 134-8). The Sunuwar construction is a morphologization of a source construction with a non-finite stem of the verb formed by a **-t* suffix and a finite, conjugated copula *na*. The Sunuwar NonPast form is a very recent development, representing the morphologization of a NMZ + COPULA construction, which developed after the divergence of Hayu and Bahing-Sunuwar (DeLancey 1992).

2.2 Old and new morphologization in Southern Central Kiranti

In Southern Central Kiranti languages an inflected stem and an inflected secondary verb may combine into what Rai calls a "compound" and Ebert a "complex" verb, as in Camling (Ebert 1997:34-7):

- (3) *māid-ung-kas-unga*
forget-1SG-V2:TELIC-1SG
'I forgot it.'
- (4) *ca-m-pak-u-m-k-e*
eat-1/2pl-V2:TELIC-3OBJ-1/2PL-EXC-IPFV
'We will eat it up.'

and Bantawa (Rai 1985: 123-4):

- (5) *moko khaT-yak*
he go-PROG
'He keeps on going.'
- (6) *uŋka khaT-ŋa-yak-ŋa*
I go-1SG-PROG-1SG
'I keep on going.'

These obviously represent the same kind of morphologization of an auxiliary construction as we saw in Sunuwar. Thus the complex verb form in (6) originated as a two-word sequence *khaT-ŋa yak-ŋa*, with the subject indexed on both the verb and the auxiliary. (Like Sunuwar *nɔ*, Bantawa *yak* also occurs as an independent copula).

Bantawa also furnishes evidence of the same kind of morphologization at a deeper level. Consider the following forms from the Wana dialect. (Wana data are from unpublished notes of the late Alfons Weidert. Doornenbal (2009) describes the same phenomenon in Hatuvā. The Rabi dialect described by Rai (1985) works differently):

- (7) *tu-uj*
beat-1SG.AG
'I beat him (past / non-past)'
- (8) *man-tup-D-əŋ*
NEG-beat-PAST-1SG
'I didn't beat him'
- (9) *tu-tu-aŋ*
2-beat-1SG
'you beat me (past)'
- (10) *man-tup-tu-D-aŋ*
NEG-beat-2-PAST-1SG
'you didn't beat me'

In (8) we see that the negative past is formed by a *-D-* morpheme which is suffixed to the stem, and precedes the 1SG agreement suffix. In (9) we see the 2nd person prefix *tu-* prefixed to the verb stem, but in (10) it occurs between the stem and the past tense suffix. The only possible interpretation of this is that the past tense *-D-* is an old auxiliary verb, and we here see it conjugated for 2nd person; i.e. the source construction for this

form is **maŋ-tup tu-Da-ŋ*, with the auxiliary showing the same biactancial agreement as the finite stem in (9).

3 Grammaticalization of agreement words

There is nothing unusual or surprising about the grammaticalization process which we have seen in Bantawa and Sunuwar. This is exactly what the standard accounts of grammaticalization would lead us to expect. In the languages of the Circum-Irrawady group, the same kinds of source constructions grammaticalize into a different pattern. Although old copula and other auxiliary constructions have grammaticalized, just as in the Kiranti languages, to the point where their original lexical source and categorial status are no longer transparent, this is not reflected in any phonological bond with the verb stem. Rather, we find agreement words, phonologically independent of the verb stem. These languages include Jinghpaw, the Tangsa-Nocte group of Northern Naga, Kuki-Chin, and Nungish. In the Nungish languages lexical verb stems still inflect for person and number; in the others inflection on the stem has disappeared and agreement occurs only in the agreement word.

The agreement words in Jinghpaw, Northern Naga, and Kuki-Chin clearly have the same origin as Kiranti morphologized auxiliaries. These are old auxiliary constructions, but they are now opaque, that is, there is no other form which a speaker might recognize as the source of the TAM morpheme. For example, the same copula root which is incorporated into the Sunuwar NonPast verb form is found in the verbal systems of most of these languages, usually in the form *ni*. In a few languages this still also functions as a copula, but in the other languages it remains only in the agreement word system. We can easily recognize two of our ancient agreement indices, as well as *ni*, in the postverbal agreement paradigm of the Northern Kuki-Chin languages, as in these Tedim Chin examples (Henderson 1965):

- (11) *pàì ní-ŋ*
go FUTURE-1SG
'I will go'
- (12) *pàì ní tɛ?*
go FUTURE 2
'You will go'

As I have shown elsewhere, this *tɛʔ* is not directly comparable to the agreement prefix *t-* found in rGyalrongic and Southern Kiranti. Rather, it is a frozen and phonologically reduced copula inflected for person, probably something like *#tə-yak* (DeLancey 2013, 2014). We find apparently the same construction in Jinghpaw, although the meaning of the construction is different:

- (13) *sa ni-ʔ ai*
 go PERFECT-1SG.PF FINAL
 ‘I have gone’
- (14) *sa ni-t d-ai*
 go PERFECT-2SG.PF 2-FINAL
 ‘You have gone’

The agreement suffixes here are the stop forms, *-t* and *-ʔ* < **-k*, which alternate with the original nasal forms *-n* and *-ŋ* in Jinghpaw and Northern Naga (DeLancey 2011b). As in Tedim, the *#t-* prefix, here *d-*, is found attached to a grammaticalized former copula, in this case probably a reflex of the TB copular root **way* (Thurgood 1982, Matisoff 1985, 2003: 221).

All these constructions are apparently based on the same copular root *#na* which we saw in the innovative Sunuwar NonPast construction. Neither language currently uses this root as a copula, although it occurs as such in some other Kuki-Chin languages, and thus must have still functioned as a copula in Proto-Kuki-Chin. This places our question in more direct focus: since all of these languages developed a tense/aspect construction with an auxiliary copula, and in all the construction grammaticalized to the point where the original copular basis of the construction became opaque, what difference between Kiranti languages like Sunuwar and Camling on the one hand, and languages like Jinghpaw and Tedim on the other, leads to this difference in morphological development?

4 Prosodic factors in grammaticalization

Tibeto-Burman languages show a notable divergence in basic prosodic patterns. Languages in the southern portion of the TB range – Lolo-Burmese, Jinghpaw, Nungish, Northern Naga, Kuki-Chin, Naga, Bodo-Garo – manifest a strong iambic stress pattern. This is shared by the Tai and Mon-Khmer languages, and is clearly an areal phenomenon, probably originating in Austroasiatic (cf. LaPolla 2003: 33). Northern TB

languages – Bodic and Kiranti in the northwest, and Qiangic in the northeast – instead manifest a strong trochaic pattern. The difference is manifested in the form taken by a number of word-formation processes which are common across the family and the region.

4.1 Trochaic and iambic word patterns

Sino-Tibetan roots are monosyllabic. But, across the family, noun stems are very often disyllabic. (Verb stems, on the other hand, are almost exclusively monosyllabic in almost every ST language). Disyllabic nouns are often compounds, but most ST languages also have several meaningless noun-formatives which are attached to roots to form noun stems. Naturally these tend to be unstressed, with stress assigned to the root. So in trochaic languages like Tibetan, the noun-formatives are suffixes, while in iambic languages like Jinghpaw, they are prefixes. Compare the following Tibetan and Jinghpaw nouns, formed from cognate roots:

Table 5: Noun stem formation in Tibetan and Jinghpaw

PST root	Jinghpaw	Tibetan
* <i>rus</i> ‘bone’	<i>n-rút</i>	<i>rus-pa</i> (Lhasa /r̥ü̯pə/)
* <i>lak</i> ‘hand’	<i>lə-táʔ</i>	<i>lag-pa</i> (Lhasa /l̥äpə/)
* <i>sla</i> ‘moon’	<i>šə-tā</i>	<i>zla-ba</i> (Lhasa /t̥awə/)

Each word consists of a strong, tone-bearing stem and a phonologically weak unstressed syllable which is one of a set of similar phonologically minimal word-forming syllables. The striking difference between the languages is that in Tibetan it is the first syllable which is strong, and the second weak, while in Jinghpaw it is the opposite.

We see the effect of prosodic type in the more elaborated forms; compare the adjectival expressive formations in Tibetan and Jinghpaw:

Table 6: Trochaic and iambic patterns in expressive reduplication of adjectives

Tibetan	<i>'on pa</i> /w̥ömpə/ <i>'an ne 'on ne</i> / <u>ane</u> one/ <i>yang-po</i> /yãŋko/ <i>yangngiying ngi</i> /yãŋi yĩŋi/	‘deaf’ ‘inattentive’ ‘light (weight)’ ‘irresponsible’
Jinghpaw	<i>lähpra</i> <i>lähpro-lähpra</i> <i>kāshái</i> <i>kāshí?-kāshái</i>	‘fallen leaves’ ‘fallen leaves & stuff’ ‘stagger’ ‘uneven’

4.2 Prosodic patterns and morphologization

There seems to be a strong correlation in TB languages between iambic word stress and phonologically independent verb agreement forms. Several of the strongly iambic branches have no verb agreement at all: Lolo-Burmese, Bodo-Garo, and the various “Naga” groups. The domain of the agreement word paradigm is precisely those iambic languages which retain archaic verb agreement.

Donegan and Stampe (2004) have long argued that morphosyntactic patterns across South and Southeast Asia are conditioned by prosodic structure, and recently Post (2011) has pursued this approach specifically with regard to Tibeto-Burman. Both approaches take an overall rhythmic pattern, rather than word stress, as the most important parameter, and this gives somewhat different results than I have described here. (For example, Post considers Bodo-Garo to have an overall trochaic rhythm, but the word stress patterns of Bodo-Garo are unmistakably iambic). But Donegan and Stampe note a strongly cross-linguistic correlation between affixation and word prosody: languages with trochaic word stress tend to have suffixes, languages with iambic word stress tend to have prefixes, or else to have isolating structure without affixation. Affixes tend to be unstressed relative to the stem. In a trochaic word, stress on the stem leaves an unaccented beat for a suffix, but in an iambic word, there is no weak beat following the stem, and thus no place for a suffix.

I propose that, from the same source construction of a verb stem with an inflected auxiliary, the northern and southern languages follow different paths of grammaticalization due to this difference in prosodic typology. Starting with a construction in which VERB and AUX-AGR are distinct words, a tendency to trochaic stress such as we find in Kiranti and other languages of Nepal will lead to cliticization of the AUX and eventually to suffixation. Iambic stress placement will leave stress on the inflected AUX, which therefore never cliticizes to the verb, but remains phonologically independent. This hypothesis requires further research; in particular, we do not have good descriptions or analyses of the prosodic patterns for many TB languages of either type. But the idea that word stress patterns could

influence the development of affixal patterns is very plausible, with support from neighboring language families.

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MAITHILI PHONOLOGY REVISITED: VOWEL HIATUS, GLIDE INSERTION, AND DIPHTHONGIZATION

Ramawatar Yadav

Languages without vowels are known to be rare in the world, but not all languages of the world have diphthongs. Linguists have calculated that diphthongs occur but in about a third of world's languages alone and that the ai-type diphthongs occur in 75% of world's languages, while the au-type diphthongs occur in 65% of the languages of the world. A diachronic description of the process of diphthong-formation in Old Maithili, Middle Maithili, and Modern Maithili leads to following conclusions. One, a diphthong sound in Maithili appears to be as old as the Maithili language itself. Two, the process of diphthongization in Maithili is closely related to vowel clustering. Three, Maithili vowels tend to be rather choosy in selecting the company of other vowels in their neighborhood. Thus when a set of two vowels combine together they seldom retain their original distinct vowel quality; instead they are particularly prone to undergo a process of diphthongization leading to forming a glide within a syllable. Four, when a set of three vowels co-occur, they do not form a "triphthong" as is done in the English language; instead they simultaneously undergo the twin phonological processes of diphthong-formation and appropriate homorganic glide insertion in that order. Finally, it appears to me that the rule of homorganic glide insertion is a highly pervasive and productive phonological rule in Maithili - so much so that even Old Maithili and Middle Maithili texts attest to it to a certain extent.

Keywords: vowel hiatus, glide insertion, diphthongization, triphthong, phonological process

1 Introduction

Languages without vowels are known to be rare in the world, but not all languages of the world have diphthongs. Linguists, who have analyzed the prevalence of diphthongs across languages in the world, have calculated that diphthongs occur but in about a third of world's languages alone. To be more precise, they have noted that the *ai*-type diphthongs occur in 75% of world's languages, while the *au*-type diphthongs occur in 65% of the languages of the world (Lindau, Norlin and Svantesson 1985 as quoted in Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 321).

The present paper purports to present a diachronic description of a rather recalcitrant sound segment

of the Maithili phonological system, namely, diphthongs.

Previous studies on Maithili phonetics and phonology (e.g. S. Jha 1941, 1954, 1958; G. Jha 1979, 2007; R. Yadav 1979, 1984, 1996, 2003, 2011; and S. K. Jha 2001) have all attempted to describe diphthongs; nonetheless, an adequately satisfactory phonological description of Maithili diphthongs continues to elude linguists till now. In all fairness, though, it must be admitted that S. K. Jha (2001) remains by far the single most exhaustive account of the "phonetics" of Maithili diphthongs, and indeed it succeeds in providing a highly elaborate and reliable description of the articulatory as well as acoustic features of Maithili diphthongs.

This paper will attempt to incur and collate historical linguistic data with an end in view to arrive at an adequately satisfactory historical phonological analysis of Maithili vowel hiatus/clusters/combinations through ages; it is hoped that this style of presentation of historical phonological data will ultimately lead to formation of a firm framework for the analysis of vowel hiatus/clusters/combinations in Modern Mathili.

2 Diphthong defined

This section will quote the definitions of diphthongs offered by some of the most eminent phoneticians of the world in order for readers to see how various their definitions have tended to become.

1. D. Jones (1918/1969) "A diphthong is defined as an independent vowel-glide not containing within itself either a 'peak' or a 'trough' of prominence. By a vowel-glide we mean that the speech-organs start in the position of one vowel and move in the direction of another vowel. By 'independent' we mean that the glide is expressly made, and is not merely an unavoidable concomitant of sounds preceding and following." p. 58

"A diphthong must necessarily consist of one syllable." p. 58

2. A. C. Gimson (1962/1970) "The sequences of vocalic elements introduced under the term "diphthong" are those which form a glide within one syllable. They may be said to have a 1st element (the starting point) and a 2nd element (the point in the direction of which the glide is made)." p. 126

3. B. Malmberg (1963) "Finally a distinction is also made between *monophthongs* whose timbre remains acoustically the same for the ear throughout the duration of the vowel, and *diphthongs* which change timbre during their emission. We therefore hear a certain vocalic quality at the beginning of a diphthong, and another at the end." p. 38

4. D. Abercrombie (1967) "A diphthong may be described and identified in terms of the beginning and ending points...No harm is done by thinking of a diphthong as a sequence of two vowels, provided it is remembered that they occupy only one syllable." p. 60

5. P. Ladefoged (1975) "As a matter of convenience, they (i.e. diphthongs) can be described as movements from one vowel to another. The first part of the diphthong is usually more prominent than the last. In fact, the last part is often so brief and transitory that it is difficult to determine its exact quality. Furthermore, contrary to the traditional transcriptions, the diphthongs often do not begin and end with any of the sounds that occur in simple vowels." p. 69

6. S. Singh & K. S. Singh (1976) "A diphthong may be defined as the single or unisyllabic utilization of two otherwise different vowels of a language. In articulatory terms, a diphthong begins by approximating the articulatory position of one vowel and ends by approximating the articulatory position of another vowel." p. 57

Clearly, there is a problem with regard to these definitions in that linguists do not quite tend to agree on how exactly to define and interpret a diphthong. Nevertheless, a closer reading of the definitions quoted above may show that, in main,

a diphthong consists of a vowel sequence of two discrete entities with an onset and an offset and forming a glide within a single syllable. It appears that even this statement may not turn out to be wholly correct if one keeps in view the stricter claim of Ladefoged that after all diphthongs often may not begin and end with sounds of simple vowels as shown in traditional transcriptions.

3 Treatment of vowel hiatus in Old Maithili (circa 10th to 15th centuries)

Caryāpada

The oldest specimens of the Maithili language are to be found in the hymns/songs known as the *Caryāpada/Caryāgīti* composed by a total of around 22 to 24 Siddha poets during circa 10th to 12th centuries.

Caution is warranted before venturing to deduce any worthwhile conclusions with regard to the precise number of diphthongs and the nature of phonetic diphthongization in the *Caryāpada* basing exclusively on its rendering from the original Newari Palm-leaf Manuscript stored and preserved in the National Archives (known as the *Rāṣṭrīya Abhilekhālaya*) of the Government of Nepal into the Bangla script initially by a Bangla scholar named Haraprasad Shastri (1916) and later by another Bangla scholar named Nilratan Sen (1977), and subsequently transliterated from the Bangla script into the Roman script and translated into English as a literary work of the Bangla language by a Norwegian scholar named Per Kværne (1977/2010). A closer scrutiny of the spelling system employed in the text of the Manuscript as represented in its Roman transliteration nonetheless reveals the existence of such probable diphthongs as [aī] (written as <āi>), [əī] (written as <ai>), and [oī] (written as <oi>). A few examples are cited below from Per Kværne (1977/2010) for illustration.

[ai]

<āila> [aīl]	Song 1, p. 67	'came'
<jāiba> [jaīb]	Song 14, p. 131	'will go'
<sāi> [sāi]	Song 20, p. 159	'master'
<khāi> [khaī]	Song 41, p. 235	'after having eaten'
<samāi> [səmaī]	Song 42, p. 239	'after having held'
<patiāi> [pətiaī]	Song 29, p. 188	'after having believed'

[əi]
<bairi> [bāiri] Song 6, p. 96 'enemy'

[oi]
<choi choi> [choī choī] Song 10, p.113 'after touching repeatedly'

Varṇaratnākara

The earliest extant prose work in Maithili is Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇaratnākara* composed in circa 1325 and edited and published by Suniti K. Chatterji and Babua Misra in 1940. This prose work is a Writer's Manual as it were, and it is survived in a Palm-Leaf Mithilākṣara Manuscript scribed in 1507. Chatterji and Misra's 1940 edition, which was published in Calcutta by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, is based on this extant text of 1507 which was scribed by Maṇikara (written *Manikara*) of village Sauria and obtained from the Mithilā region by Vinod-Vihārī Kāvyaṭīrtha. Forty years later a second edition of the *Varṇaratnākara* was published by Ananda Mishra and Govind Jha (1980).

A textual analysis of the Devanāgarī text of *Varṇaratnākara* as presented by Suniti K. Chatterji and Babua Misra (eds. 1940) reveals that two distinct diphthongs may be safely posited; these are: [əi] written as <ai> and <aī>, and [əū] written as <au> and <aū>. Examples are cited below from Chatterji and Misra (eds.1940).

[əi]
<kaisana> [kəisən] Fol.10a, p. 1 'of what type'
<kaīsana> [kəisən] Fol. 10b, p. 2 'of what type'
<aīsana> [əisən] Fol. 18a, p. 5 'of this type'
<aīsana> [əisən] Fol. 28a, p. 12 'of this type'
<goraiā> [gorəia] Fol. 10b, p. 2 'a beggar-type'
<karail> [kərəīli] Fol. 39a, p. 26 'a gambling game-type'
<daśaraicā> [dəśrəica] Fol. 45a, p. 32 'a dress-type'

<bolaitem> [boləitē] Fol. 41a, p. 27 'immediately upon speaking'
<jaraitem> [jərəitē] Fol. 63b, p. 54 'immediately upon burning'

[əu]
<pauā> [pəūa] Fol. 25b, p. 12 'legs (of a wooden platform for bathing)'
<caūkā> [cəūka] Fol. 25b, p. 12 'an appointed place smeared with sandal wood paste'
<saūrabha> [səūrəbh] Fol. 33a, p. 19 'fragrance'
<saūgandhika> [səūgəndhik] Fol. 35a, p. 21 'a precious jewel'

<kauākātha> [kəūkaθh] Fol. 37b, p. 24 'a gambling game-type'
<cauka> [cəūk] Fol. 37b, p. 24 'a move in a gambling game'
<kandhauṭi> [kəndhəūṭi] Fol. 46a, p.33 'relating to description of a buffalo and its herdsman'

Examples of a few other vowel combinations that may be viewed as being diphthongal in pronunciation are also attested in this text, e.g.

[əe]
<maenā> [məēna] Fol. 10b, p.2 'a musical instrument and/or dance form'
<(alamkāra) kaele> [kəēle] Fol.18a, p.4 'having worn (ornaments)'
<bhae gelāha> [bhəē gelah] Fol. 18a, p. 4 'became/looked like (3H)'
<kae> [kəē] Fol. 25b, p. 12 'having done (that)'
<lae> [ləē] Fol. 25b, p. 12 'having taken/used'
<paera> [pəēr] Fol. 29b, p. 14 'feet'

[əo]
<terahao> [terhəō] Fol. 16a, p. 4 'all the thirteen (virtues)'
<chao> [chəō] Fol. 18b, p. 5 'all the six (duties of a maid)'
<āṭhao> [aṭhəō] Fol. 18b, p. 5 'all the eight (comely ladies)'
<sehao> [sehəō] Fol. 18b, p. 5 'that too/even that'
<majhaotari> [məjhəōtəri] Fol. 29a, p. 14 'a bedspread'
<naobati> [nəōbati] Fol. 29b, p. 14 'attendant'
<daśao> [dəśəō] Fol. 30a, p. 15 '(in) all ten (directions)'
<calaone> [cələōne] Fol. 46a, p. 33 'having used'
<dhaonihāra> [dhəōnihar] Fol. 46b, p. 33 'holder'

[əe]
<āela> [aēl] Fol. 18a, p. 4 'came'
<suśāela> [sukhəēl] Fol. 41a, p. 28 'dried up'

[eo]
<dheola> [dheōl] Fol. 10a, p. 1 'a caste name'

Padāvalī

Vidyāpati's (circa 1350-1448) *Padāvalī*, a collection of mellifluous lyrical songs, was edited, translated, and published by a number of scholars in languages such as Bangla, English, Hindi, and Maithili. The earliest edition containing a chrestomathy of a total of 82 songs of Vidyāpati is in English by George A. Grierson (1882). Shivanandan Thakur (1941) was the first Maithili-

speaking scholar to deftly edit and publish the so-called Rāmabhadrapura Palm-Leaf Mithilākṣara Manuscript containing a total of 86 songs of Vidyāpati. Thirteen years later, Subhadra Jha's (1954) skillful and masterly edition of the so-called Nepāla Palm-Leaf Mithilākṣara Manuscript containing 262 songs of Vidyāpati was published in English.

The Rāmabhadrapura Manuscript of *Padāvalī* contains a considerable number of occurrences of a number of vowel combinations that may be interpreted as diphthongal in pronunciation; note though that due to a pervasive prevalence of variation in the text of songs among different editions of *Padāvalī*, and due to a rather complex and not-so-well-analyzed prosody of Vidyāpati's songs, it may be somewhat difficult to interpret the exact phonetic quality as well as determine the precise number of diphthongs one way or the other with a greater degree of accuracy and certitude. Nonetheless, the following examples of vowel combinations that may be interpreted as diphthongal in pronunciation are cited below for illustration:

Shivanandan Thakur (ed. 1941)

- [**ai**] written as <ai, ai>
 <puchaitem> [puchaitē] Song 2, p. 338 'in course of asking'
 <kahaitem> [kəhaitē] Song 3, p. 339 'in course of speaking'
 <aīsani> [aiśani] Song 74, p. 401 'such (FEM)'
 <taiao> [təiəō] Song 86, p. 413 'even then'
 <taīao> [təiəō] Song 81, p. 409 'even then'
 <kaisana> [kəiśən] Song 82, p. 410 'such/ of what type'
 <kaisana> [kəiśən] Song 82, p. 410 'such/of what type'
 <heraite> [heraite] Song 82, p. 410 'immediately upon seeing'
 <ailuhu> [ailuhu] Song 30, p. 363 'came'
 [**ao**] written as <ao>
 <duao> [duəō] Song 2, p. 338 'even the second (day)'
 <taiao> [təiəō] Song 86, p. 413 'even then'
 <nibedao> [nibedəō] Song 81, p. 409 'narrate/share'
 <pūrao> [purəō] Song 76, p. 406 'fulfill'
 <jagaolaha> [jəgəōləh] Song 49, p. 378 'waked up'

- <chadaolaha> [chəgəōləh] Song 49, p. 378 'severed'
 <pindhaoluhu> [pindhəōluhu] Song 43, p. 373 'garlanded'

- [**ae**] written as <ae>
 <jaetāha> [jəētah] Song 86, p. 413 'will go (across)'
 <bujhae> [bujhəē] Song 82, p. 410 'realize, understand'
 <jaebā deha> [jəēbā dehə] Song 77, p. 404 '(allow me) to go'
 <upahāsae> [uphasəē] Song 29, p. 362 'ridicule'

- [**au**] written as <au, au>
 <jaubati> [jəūbeti] Song 86, p. 413 'comely lady'
 <jaūbati> [jəūbətī] Song 74, p. 401 'comely lady'
 <saubhāge> [səūbhage] Song 59, p. 387 'good fortune'
 <paurusa> [pəūrus] Song 53, p. 382 'pride'
 <catūdisa> [cəūdis] Song 52, p. 382 'in all four directions'
 <auihu> [əūliu] Song 48, p. 377 'that which had already come'

- [**ui**] written as <ui>
 <duio> [duiō] Song 83, p. 411 'even two'
 <chuiuhu> [chuiuhu] Song 73, p. 400 'touching (even slightly)'

- [**ae**] written as <ae>
 <bikāe> [bikaē] Song 83, p. 410 'sells, is sold'
 <charāe> [charaē] Song 79, p. 406 'ruins'
 <sohāe> [sohaē] Song 47, p. 376 'appeals'

- [**iu**] written as <iu>
 <piulanhi> [piülənh] Song 33, p. 365 'drank'

As in the case of the Rāmabhadrapura Manuscript (comparatively of a later date), the Nepāla Manuscript (supposedly of comparatively earlier origin) too contains copious examples of vowel combinations that may be interpreted as diphthongal in pronunciation. The above constraint of analysis and interpretation applies here too. A few examples are cited below for illustration.

Subhadra Jha (ed. 1954)

- [**ae**] written as <ae>
 <gopae> [gopəē] Song 1, P. 2 'keeping a secret'
 <kae> [kəē] Song 2, P. 2 'having done'
 <katae> [kətəē] Song 2, P. 2 'where'
 <jorae> [jorəē] Song 3, P. 4 'combining'

<khedae> [khedəē] Song 4, P. 4 'chasing'
 <jhāpae> [jhəpəē] Song 4, P. 4 'hides'
 [ae] written as <āe>
 <(tohara) dohāe> [tohər dohəē] Song 4, P. 4 '(I
 say this) oath (by you)'
 <phedāela> [phedəēl] Song 4, P. 4 'ran away'

[əo] written as <ao>
 <jaiao> [jəiəō] Song 6, P. 6 '(may) go'
 <baḍhaolanhi> [bəṛhəōlənh] Song 8, P. 8
 'increased'
 <milao> [miləō] Song 9, P. 10 '(may) meet'

[ao] written as <āo>
 <āota> [aōt] Song 8, P. 8 'will come'
 <pāola> [pəōl] Song 9, P. 10 'got/received'
 <merāola> [merəōl] Song 9, P. 10 'caused to
 mix/copulate'

[əu] written as <au>
 <gaura (goāri)> [gəūr goaīr] Song 14, P. 14
 'foolish (cowherd woman)'

[əi] written as <ai/āi>
 <taisani> [təiəni] Song 2, P. 2 'of that type'
 <aīsana> [əiəsn] Song 5, P. 6 'of this
 type/such'
 <bhanai> [bhənəi] Song 14, P. 14 'says'

[ui] written as <ui>
 <dui> [dui] Song 14, P. 14 'two'

4 Treatment of vowel hiatus in Middle Maithili (circa 16th to 18th centuries)

Sadly, published Middle Maithili literature is but scanty. Examples of vowel hiatus/combinations are therefore cited from a few published Middle Maithili plays based on Manuscripts stored and preserved in the National Archives of the Government of Nepal. Mention must also be made of the fact that most of these Maithili plays were originally written in the Newari script by Newari-speaking royal men of letters of the Malla dynasty of the Nepal Valley during 16th to 18th centuries; consequently possibilities of incorrect decipherment as well as errors of omission, commission, and interpolation by scribes and/or editors of these works continue to remain. Nonetheless, the following examples of vowel combinations may suggest themselves:

Ramdeo Jha (ed. 1970/1988) *Haragaūrīvivāha-nāṭaka*, 1629 (of Jagajjyotirmalla)

[əi] written as <ai/āi>
 <dekhaī chia> [dekħəi chiə] P. 38 '(You) look'

<(gocara) karaī chaño> [kərəi chəō] P. 48 'I make
 a request to you'
 <rusaī chī> [rusəi chi] P. 60 'feel
 indifferent (to me)'

Ramdeo Jha (ed. 1970/1988) *Soḍasa Gītaṃ* 1628
 (a dance play of Jagajjyotirmalla)

[əo] written as <ao>
 <aoro> [əōro] P. 80 '(one) more'
 <taīao> [təiəō] P. 80 'even then'

[əe] written as <ae>
 <paragāsae> [pərgəsəē] P. 81 'provide light'
 <dhabāe> [dhabəē] P. 81 'run'
 <baṭurābae> [bəṭurabəē] P. 81 'collect'
 <ābae> [abəē] P. 81 'come'

[ae] written as <āe>
 <jāe> [jəē] P. 81 'go'
 <mijhāe> [mijħəē] P. 81 'extinguish'

Lekhanatha Mishra (ed. 1972) *Prabhāvātīharaṇa-nāṭaka*, 1656 (of Jagatprakāśamalla)

[əi] written as <ayi>
 <dhayiraja> [dhəiəraj] P. 41 'patience'

[ai] written as <āyi>
 <jāyi chi> [jəi chi] P. 15 'go/take leave (1)'

[ae] written as <āe/āya>
 <āyala chi> [aēl chi] P. 17 'have come'
 <niyarāela chi> [niyəraēl chi] P. 23 'having
 caused to come nearer'
 <bolāya ānaba> [bolaē anəb] P. 26 'will
 fetch'

[ui] written as <uyi>
 <duyi> [dui] P. 48 'two'

Horst Brinkhaus (ed. 1987) *Pradyumnnavijaya-nāṭaka*, undated, (of Jagatprakāśamalla)

[ai] written as <āi/āyi>
 <jāi chaño> [jəi chəō] PP. 266, 302 'go'
 <māyi> [məi] P. 278 'mother'
 <bhāyi> [bhəi] PP. 292, 314 'brother'

[əi] written as <ai>
 <karaī chaño> [kərəi chəō] P. 298 'do'
 <karaī chaha> [kərəi chəh] PP. 306, 314
 'do (2MH)'
 <kahai chia> [kəhəi chiə] P. 298 'tell
 (1+2MH)'

[oi] written as <oi/oyi>
 <hoi acha> [həi əch] P. 278 'becomes'
 <hoyi chia> [həi chiə] PP. 260, 290 'become'

Ramawatar Yadav (ed. 2011)
Parśurāmopākhyāna-nāṭaka, 1713 (of
 Bhūpatīndramalla)

[ai] written as <āi/āyi>

<jāi chia> [jai̯ chiə] Fol. 15b 'go (1)'

<jāyi chia> [jai̯ chiə] Fol. 13b 'go (1)'

<bhāyisabahike> [bha̯isəbəhike] Fol. 49b 'to
 (all) brothers'

[oi] written as <oyi>

<hoyi acha> [ho̯i əch] Fol. 33a 'becomes'

<abhiṣṭa siddhi hoyiha> [əbhiṣṭ siddhi ho̯ihə]
 Fol. 57b-58a 'may your wishes come true!'

5 Treatment of vowel hiatus in Modern Maithili

Most traditional accounts of the Maithili sound system posit *əi* and *əu* (but not *ai* and *au*, for example) as underlying diphthongs. Such a practice is at its best arbitrary, and is heavily influenced by the borrowed Devanāgarī orthography that Maithili happens to currently employ for writing purposes and which does provide separate graphemes and *mātrās* for these two diphthong sounds.

The process of diphthongization in Maithili is closely related to vowel clustering. It seems to me that Maithili vowels are rather choosy in selecting the company of other vowels in their neighborhood. Thus, for instance, when two contiguous vowels co-occur, they seldom retain their original distinct vowel quality; instead, they tend to be particularly prone to convert themselves into diphthongs (however, see Section 6 below). A brief account of the process of diphthongization in Modern Maithili is given below.

Most diphthongs in Modern Maithili are what may be termed as "rising" diphthongs, i.e. they end in high vowels *i* and *u*:

[əi]
 ['əisən] 'of this type'
 ['əlha] 'mole'
 [məi̯l] 'dirt'
 [ləi̯] 'paste'

[əu]
 ['əūtah] 'will come' (3H)
 [bəūk] 'dumb'
 [rəū] 'Vocative (2NH)'

[ai]
 [ai̯] 'today'
 [ka̯ilh] 'yesterday, tomorrow'
 [bha̯i] 'brother'

[au]
 [aū] 'come (IMP, 2H)'
 [jaūt] 'husband's brother's son'
 [laū] 'bring (IMP, 2H)'

[oi]
 ['o̯i̯ θam] 'at that place'
 ['ko̯ili] 'cuckoo'
 [ko̯i] 'any person'

[ui]
 ['u̯i̯θ jaū] 'please arise'
 [bu̯i̯r] 'vagina'
 [su̯i̯] 'needle'

[iu]
 ['pi̯ūsi] 'mother's sister'
 [ghi̯ū] 'clarified butter'

[ou]
 [ho̯ū] 'become (IMP, 2H)'

[eu]
 ['d̥e̯ū̯rhi] 'court'

Note that *ou* and *eu* are extremely defective diphthongs, and it is very difficult to come up with more examples illustrating them.

Vowel clusters ending in mid vowels *e* and *o* also diphthongize, e.g.,

[pə̯ēr] 'feet'
 [kha̯ēt] 'will eat (3NH)'
 ['ho̯ētah] 'will become (3H)'
 [la̯ōt] 'will bring (3NH)'
 [ga̯ōt] 'will sing (3NH)'
 [ke̯ō] 'someone'

There are, however, constraints on diphthongization. Thus, for example, the front and back low vowels do not participate in the process of diphthongization with front and back high vowels. Consequently, such diphthongs as **æi*, **æu*, **ɔi* and **ɔu* are not permissible in Modern Maithili. Similarly, combinations of high and central vowels and mid back and central vowels do not constitute diphthongs either, e.g. **ia*, **iə*, **ua*, **oa*, and **oə*.

The front mid vowel *e* does not form a vowel cluster with the front high vowel *i* following; thus, a diphthong such as **ei* is not permissible in Modern Maithili.

High vowels do not diphthongize with the same high vowels either; in other words, such diphthongs as **ii*, **uu* are not allowed in Modern Maithili.

6 Glide insertion rule

In Section 5 above, we witnessed as to how the co-occurrence of two vowels led to formation of diphthongs resulting in a glide within a single syllable in Modern Maithili. We also looked closely into a number of constraints to the process of diphthong-formation in Maithili. In this section, we will briefly look into the phonological behavior of vowels when more than two vowels co-occur. When more than two vowels i.e. a set of three contiguous vowels happen to occur together in Maithili, they do not form "triphthongs" as they are called in the English language. Instead, they simultaneously undergo a total of two phonological processes with the following rule order: one, the first two vowels undergo a phonological process of diphthongization; and two, a phonological process of appropriate homorganic glide insertion occurs between the newly-formed diphthong and the remaining succeeding vowel. To be more precise, if the resultant diphthong happens to end in a high front vowel [i], then a homorganic glide -*y*- is inserted between the *i*-ending diphthong and the succeeding vowel *a* under the glide insertion rule. The following examples are illustrative:

[bui̯a] ~ [bui̯ya]	'eye ball'
[khoi̯a] ~ [khoi̯ya]	'bark (of a fruit)'
[koia] ~ [koia]	'oil spoon'
[ci̯raia] ~ [ci̯raia]	'a little bird'
[suia] ~ [suia]	'needle'
[dai̯a] ~ [dai̯ya]	'grandmother'
[bhāia] ~ [bhāia]	'elder brother'
[māia] ~ [māia]	'mother'

On the other hand, if the resultant diphthong happens to end in a high back vowel [u], then a homorganic glide -*w*- is inserted between the *u*-ending diphthong and the succeeding vowel *a* under the glide insertion rule, as is exemplified in the examples given below.

[d̥hūa] ~ [d̥hūwa]	'money'
[b̥ūa] ~ [b̥ūwa]	'little child'
[k̥ūa] ~ [k̥ūwa]	'crow'
[l̥n̥ūa] ~ [l̥n̥ūwa]	'barber'
[h̥ūa] ~ [h̥ūwa]	'a terrifying object'
[p̥ūa] ~ [p̥ūwa]	'one-fourth'

[k̥hūa b̥j̥ūa] ~ [k̥hūwa b̥j̥ūwa] 'a sycophant who lives on others'

Above was shown the twin cases of diphthong formation and glide insertion wherein a set of three vowels co-occurred. That, however, may not be the whole story. As a matter of fact, the glide insertion rule is so pervasive in Maithili that even in cases where the word/stem happens to end in -*ia* or -*ua* without forming a diphthong, the glide insertion rule applies if the above-stated structural description is met, e.g.,

[p̥onia] ~ [p̥onia]	'water (used in verse)'
[k̥aria] ~ [k̥aria]	'the black one'
[l̥heria] ~ [l̥heria]	'bangle maker'
[m̥olia] ~ [m̥olia]	'small oil pot'
[k̥aria] ~ [k̥aria]	'the black one'
[p̥uria] ~ [p̥uria]	'packet'
[n̥inia] ~ [n̥inia]	'sleep'
[b̥onia] ~ [b̥onia]	'businessman'
[m̥arua] ~ [m̥arua]	'millet'
[t̥arua] ~ [t̥arua]	'fried vegetable'
[m̥ahua] ~ [m̥ahua]	'name of a tree'
[p̥arhua] ~ [p̥arhua]	'a pretentious reader'
[m̥ac̥arua] ~ [m̥ac̥arua]	'a word of abuse for men used by women'
[k̥achua] ~ [k̥achua]	'tortoise'

Similar is the case with constructions containing -*iə*- and -*oa*- vowel clusters that do not form diphthongs - no matter whether they occur in open or closed syllables. In other words, these vowel clusters too undergo the process of glide insertion in the manner described above. Examples:

[iə]	
[h̥ari̯ə] ~ [h̥ari̯ə]	'green'
[pi̯ə] ~ [pi̯ə]	'yellow'
[pi̯ə] ~ [pi̯ə]	'having drunk'
[pi̯ət] ~ [pi̯ət]	'will drink'
[ji̯əl] ~ [ji̯əl]	'having lived'
[di̯ə] ~ [di̯ə]	'(please) give'
[li̯ə] ~ [li̯ə]	'(please) take'

[oa]	
[p̥o'ar] ~ [p̥o'ar]	'straw'
[g̥o'ar] ~ [g̥o'ar]	'a caste name'
[k̥oa] ~ [k̥oa]	'a slice of jackfruit'
[d̥hoa] ~ [d̥hoa]	'a type of white fabric'
[k̥hoa] ~ [k̥hoa]	'cream made of boiled milk'

Finally, as centralizing diphthongs are not permissible in Maithili, all non-diphthong-forming vowel clusters which end in central vowels *ə* and *a* allow the insertion of a glide

homorganic with the preceding vowel between them, e.g.,

['diə] ~ ['diyə]	'give (IMP, 2H+1)'
['piə] ~ ['piyə]	'drink'
['liə] ~ ['liyə]	'take'
['kəhiə] ~ ['kəhiyə]	'tell (IMP, 1+2MH)'
['dhia] ~ ['dhiya]	'daughter'
[pi'a] ~ [pi'ya]	'cause to drink (2NH+3NH)'
['hoə] ~ ['howə]	'to become'
['dhoə] ~ ['dhowə]	'to wash'

Note should be made of a special fact that the phonological rule of glide insertion is not exclusively restricted to Modern Maithili data alone. Investigation shows that the glide insertion rule, in particular the *y*-insertion rule, is a rather pretty old rule and that it is both pervasive and productive in such a way that it is equally applicable to Old Maithili text such as the *Vaṇṇaratnākara*, as well as to the Middle Maithili texts retrieved mostly from the National Archives of the Government of Nepal, if the structural description is met. A few examples from Old Maithili and Middle Maithili texts are given below for illustration.

Old Maithili

Suniti K. Chatterji & Babua Misra (eds. 1940) *Vaṇṇa-Ratnākara* (circa 1325)

<kaisana> Fol. 10a, p. 1 ~ <kayisani> Fol. 18b, p. 5 'of what type'
<prakāsaitem> Fol. 32a, p. 17 ~ <prakāsayitem> Fol. 32b, p. 17 'immediately upon being lighted'
<savāyī> Fol. 39b, p. 26 for <savāi> 'one-fourth'
<saṃgayitem> Fol. 39b, p. 26 for <saṃgaitem> 'immediately upon being together'
<daśāyī> Fol. 39b, p. 26 for <daśāi> 'a counting unit of ten'

Middle Maithili

Ramdeo jha (ed. 1970/1988) *Haragaūrīvivāha-nāṭaka* 1629 (of Jagajyotirmalla)

<jogīā> (p. 32) ~ <jogiyā> (p. 37) 'a saint'
<dāyī lōke> (p. 44) for <dāi lōke> 'the ladies'
<raṃgarasiyā> (p. 37) for <raṃgarasiā> 'a pleasure-seeker'

Lekhanatha Mishra (ed.1972) *Prabhāvatīharaṇa-nāṭaka* 1656 (of Jagatprakāśamalla)

<jāi chi> (p. 34) ~ <jāyi chi> (p. 15) 'go/take leave (1)'

<thakurāyini> (p. 65) for <thakurāini> 'feminine form of *thākura*'

<pahaḍiyā mālava> (p. 31) for <pahaḍiā mālava> 'name of a *rāga*'

<duyi> (p. 48) for <dui> 'two'

Sundar Jha Shastri (ed. & publ. 2029 V.S./1972 CE) *Nānārtha Deva Devī Gīta Saṃgraha* n.d. (of Jagatprakāśamalla)

<tuw/va> (p. 3) ~ <tua> (p. 13 'you')

<pāw/vala> (p. 5) ~ <pāola> (p. 4) 'received'

<kahayi> (p.3) for <kahai> 'say'

<māyi> (p. 5) for <māi> 'mother'

<pābiya> (p. 13) for <pābia> 'receive'

<bhanayi> (p. 15) for <bhanai> 'says'

Jaimant Mishra (ed. 1977: 32, Footnote) *Maithilī Abhilekha Gīta-Mālā*

<pāw/vala> for <pāola> (Jagatprakāśamalla's Stone Inscription)

Horst Brinkhaus (ed. 1987) *Pradyumnavijayana-ṇāṭaka* n.d. (of Jagatprakāśamalla)

<jāi chia> (p. 223) ~ <jāyi> (p. 178) 'go (1)'

<jāi chaño> (p. 266) ~ <jāyi chaño> (p. 252) 'go'

<hoi acha> (p. 278) ~ <hoyi chia> (p. 260) 'become'

<kahiyā> (p. 330) for <kahiā> 'say'

<karayite> (p. 310) for <karaitē> 'immediately upon doing'

<geyāna> (p. 328) for <geāna> 'knowledge'

<bhāyi> (p. 292) for <bhāi> 'brother'

Ramawatar Yadav (ed. 2011) *Paṛśurāmopākhyāna-nāṭaka* 1713 (of Bhūpatindramalla)

<jāi chia> (Fol. 15b, p. 150) ~ <jāyi chia> (Fol. 15b, p. 150) 'go (1)'

<hoyi acha> (Fol. 33a, p. 166) for <hoi acha> 'becomes'

<bhāyisabahike> (Fol. 41b, p. 174) for <bhāisabahike> 'to brothers'

<hoyiha> (Fol. 57b-58a p. 188) for <hoiha> 'may become!'

Ramawatar Yadav (ed. 2014 Forthcoming) *Gītaṇcaka* c. 1662 (of Jagatprakāśamalla)

<bhanayi> (Fol. 13V: 6) for <bhanai> 'says'

<khelayite> (Fol. 22R: 2-3) for <khelaite> 'while playing'

<tuw/va> (Fol. 5V: 6) ~ <tua> (Fol. 5R: 2) 'you'

<baḍhāw/vala> (Fol. 17V: 3) for <baḍhāola> 'increased'

7 Conclusion

The above diachronic description of the process of diphthong-formation in Old Maithili, Middle Maithili, and Modern Maithili may lead to following conclusions.

One, a diphthong sound in Maithili appears to be as old as the Maithili language itself. All extant literary texts to date attest to the existence of diphthongs - phonetic and/or phonological - in Maithili.

Two, the process of diphthongization in Maithili is closely related to vowel clustering.

Three, Maithili vowels tend to be rather choosy in selecting the company of other vowels in their neighborhood. Thus, for instance, when a set of two vowels combine together, they seldom retain their original distinct vowel quality; instead they are particularly prone to undergo a process of diphthongization leading to forming a glide within a syllable.

Four, when a set of three vowels co-occur, they do not form a "triphthong" as is done in the English language; instead, they simultaneously undergo the twin phonological processes of diphthong-formation and appropriate homorganic glide insertion in that order.

Finally, it appears to me that the rule of homorganic glide insertion is a highly pervasive and productive phonological rule in Maithili - so much so that even Old Maithili and Middle Maithili texts attest to it to a certain extent. One may venture to speculate that in all likelihood the glide insertion rule, in particular the *y*-insertion rule, applied early on providing copious examples thereof and that only later did the *w*-insertion rule apply. Clearly more research is needed to ascertain if it is so.

Colophon: An earlier version of the paper was presented at the 34th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in Kathmandu on 27 November 2013.

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MOOD AND MODALITY IN MAGAR DHUT

Pratigya Regmi

This paper presents mood and modality in Magar Dhut, a Tibeto-Burman language as spoken in Nawalparasi district, within the functional-typological framework. As a grammatical category, both mood and modality are expressed inflectionally as well as lexically. There are six types of mood and two major types of modalities in Magar Dhut.

Keywords: mood, modality, indicative, subjunctive

1 Introduction

Mood and modality are the properties of verb. According to Bybee and Fleischman (1995:2), mood refers to a formally grammaticalized category of the verb which has a modal function. Moods are expressed inflectionally, generally in distinct set of verbal paradigms, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative and conditional which may vary from one language to another in respect to number as well as to the semantic distinctions they mark. Modality, on the other hand, is the semantic domain referring to elements of meaning that language expresses. Palmer (1986:21) notes that cross-linguistically, mood manifests in verbal morphology, whereas modality is alalytic and periphrastic. According to Grunow-Hasta (2008:238), Magar semantically and formally separates mood from modality.

This study is primarily based on the data collected from the seven language consultants, language spoken in four villages of Benimaniapur VDC in Nawalparasi district. The data used in this study are the recorded spontaneous texts produced by the native speakers using Audacity audio editing software. The collected data were transcribed phonetically using IPA and analysis was carried out in Toolbox 158.

2 Mood

Mood describes the speaker's attitude towards a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality or likelihood (Payne 1997). Basically six types of mood are found in Magar Dhut. They are: indicative, imperative, interrogative, optative, subjunctive and hortative.

2.1 Indicative mood

The indicative mood asserts the truth value of proposition. A verb inflects for tense and aspect in normal SOV order of a clause, which may indicate the truth value of the proposition. There are two types of indicative mood in Magar Dhut: non-past and past. A verb inflects for past tense asserts the truth value of the proposition in the past. In the same way, a verb inflects for non-past tense asserts the truth value of the proposition in the present time as in (1).

- (1) a. *kanuŋ gar^ha k^holai dʒa*
kan-uŋ gar^ha k^hola-i dʒa-a
we-POSS field river-ERG eat-PST
'Our field was wiped out by the river.'
- b. *ŋa tʰaĩ buqasjo b^hjaŋa*
ŋa tʰaĩ buqasjo b^hjaŋ-a
1SG EMPH old complete-PST
'I became old.'
- c. *ilak wak le*
i-lak wak le
P.DEM-ALL pig EXIST.NPST
'Pig is here.'
- d. *ilan na kei dʒaŋke fijokle*
i-lan na kei dʒaŋ-ke fijok-le
P.DEM-LOC EMPH some do-INF able-NPST
'(We) can do something here.'

In examples (1a-b), the verb roots *dʒa* and *b^hjaŋ* with the past tense or past perfective marker *-a* codes the truth value of proposition in the past. In (1c), the speaker declares that the pig is here at home or near to the speaker. Similarly, in example (1d), the speaker declares that we can do something here in own village. So, in examples (1c-d) the non-past tense or non-past perfective marker *-le* codes the fact of proposition in the present time.

2.2 Imperative mood

The imperative form of the verb is used to express the direct command and request to the second person in Magar Dhut. There are two ways of encoding the imperative mood: honorific and non-honorific. The non-honorific imperative has transitive-intransitive distinction. The transitive

non-honorific imperative is marked by the suffix *-o* and intransitive non-honorific imperative is marked by *-nΛ*. Following are the examples:

- (2) a. *dipa ilaŋ seo tΛ*
 dipa i-laŋ se-o tΛ
 dipa P.DEM-LOC listen-IMP.NHON EMPH
 'Dipa, listen here!'
- b. *noo b^hΛeke*
 naŋ-o b^hΛe-ke
 2SG-POSS brother-DAT
p^hon d^zaŋo
 p^hon d^zaŋ-o
 call do-IMP.NHON
 'Call to your brother!'
- c. *rΛ silΛi delesa lΛ fiwanΛ*
 rΛ sila-i de-le-sa lΛ
 and jackal-ERG say-NPST-MIR ASRT
 fiwa-nΛ
 walkNHON.IMP
 'And, the jackal told to move ahead.'
- d. *sita i-lak rafinΛ*
 sita i-lak rafin-Λ
 sita P.DEM-ALL come-IMP.NHON
 'Sita, come here!'

In examples (2a-b), the suffix *-o* is attached to the transitive verb roots *se* and *d^zaŋ* to code the non-honorific command or request to the second person. In (2c-d), suffix *-nΛ* is attached with the intransitive verbs *fiwa* and *rafi* to code the non-honorific imperative mood of the speaker.

Likewise, the honorific imperative is coded by the suffix *-ni* as in (3).

- (3) a. *nakoi bit^sar d^zaŋni nΛ*
 nako-i bit^sar d^zaŋ-ni nΛ
 2SG.HON-ERG think do-IMP.HON EMPH
 'Please, think yourself.'
- b. *kanke duk^hΛ mapafiakni*
 kan-ke duk^hΛ ma-pafi-ak-ni
 1PL-DAT sorrow NEG-search-CAUS-IMP.HON
 'Please, don't put us in trouble.'

In examples (3a-b), the verb roots are marked by the suffix *-ni*, which codes the honorific command or request to the second person.

There is a particle *hΛi* functioning as special request like in Nepali. Consider the following examples:

- (4) a. *pat^s lak^h kΛmtiŋaŋ*
 pat^s lak^h kΛmti-aŋ
 five million low-LOC
t^saiŋdisle ŋoso fiΛi
 t^sai-ŋis-le ŋos-o fiΛi
 need-NTVZ-NPST look-IMP.NHON REQ
 'Be aware! We need at least five *lakh*.'
- b. *mamake p^hon d^zaŋo fiΛi*
 mama-ke p^hon d^zaŋ-o fiΛi
 uncle-DAT Phone do-IMP.NHON REQ
 '(You) make a call to (your) uncle!'

In the examples (4a-b), the particle *hΛi* is used to code the special request to the second person.

2.3 Interrogative mood

Basic statements are changed into interrogatives by means of question words and particles with rising intonation, which express the interrogative mood of the speaker in Magar Dhut. Sometimes, both positive and negative forms of the sentences are intermediated by the alternative coordinator *ki* as in (5).

- (5) *mamakuŋ nammar le ki male*
 mama-ko-uŋ nammar le ki ma-le
 uncle-PL-POSS number EXIST.NPST or NEG-NPST
 'Do you have uncle's number or not?'

Example (5) clarifies that the alternative coordinator *ki* with the rising intonation changes the declarative sentence into interrogative to express the interrogative mood of the speaker. It is yes/no type of question, which expects the answer as yes or no only.

Interrogative mood of the speaker is also expressed through the question words, like: *su* 'who', *hi* 'what', *kuŋ* 'how', etc. with rising intonation. Sometimes, emphatic particles do occurs with rising intonation. Following are the examples:

- (6) a. *ŋa maŋaledjaŋ su ale tΛ*
 ŋa ma-ale-ŋeŋjaŋ su ale tΛ
 1sg neg-iden.npst-sbjv who iden.npst emph
 'If I am not who is (the king of this forest)?'

- b. *t^{sh}anne* *d^zammAI* *kuṭA*
 t^{sh}an-le d^zammAI ku-ṭA
 become-npst all how-mnr
- d^zaṭke* *paRisa* *ṭA*
 d^zaṭ-ke paR-diS-a ṭA
 do-inf fall-ntvz-pst emph
 ‘Ok, (then) how to do these all?’
- c. *hi* *t^{sh}ana* *harike*
 hi t^{sh}an-a hari-ke
 what become-pst 2sg-dat
 ‘What happened to hari?’

In examples (6a-c), the question words; *su*, *kuṭA* and *hi* respectively with rising intonation are used to express the interrogative mood of the speaker. This type of questions are open type of question, i.e. the question that inquires other answer rather than mere yes or no.

2.4 Optative mood

The optative expresses the speaker’s hope and desire for the fulfillment of the situation (Grunow-Hasta 2008:184). The optative mood is marked by the circumfix *oṭe-.....-os* in Magar Dhut. Following are the examples:

- (7) a. *rame* *gar^ha* *koke* *oṭeb^hjaṭos*
 ram-e gar^ha koṭA-ke oṭe-b^hjaṭ-os
 ram-ERG field dig-INF OPT-complete-OPT
 ‘I wish that Ram finish to dig the field.’
- b. *mafiart^sA* *d^zAd^za* *mid^zake*
 mafiart^sA d^zAd^za mid^zake
 small child child-DAT
- sefima* *paRq^hisma* *sefit^sA*
 sefima paRq^his-mA sefit^sA
 good study-NMLZ good
- b^hArmi* *kaṭṭaṭ^sA* *b^hArmi* *oṭet^{sh}anos*
 b^hArmi kaṭṭaṭ^sA b^hArmi oṭe-t^{sh}an-os
 person big person OPT-become-OPT
 ‘I wish that the small children study well and become a good and great person.’

In examples (7a-b), the circumfix *oṭe-.....-os* attached with the main verb *d^zaṭ* and *t^{sh}an* to express his/her wish to the second person for something to do and something to be in the future.

2.5 Subjunctive mood

The main function of the subjunctive mood is to code the proposition which the speaker doesn’t assert to be true. There are two types of subjunctive mood in Magar Dhut: conditional and counterfactual.

2.5.1 Conditional

In Magar Dhut, the conditional clause consists of ‘if clause’ (which is the subordinate clause) and ‘then clause’ (which is main clause). The conditional mood is morphologically coded by the suffix *-ḍefiaṅ* with the non-past tense marker. Consider the following examples:

- (8) a. *nakoi* *t^{sh}o* *d^zjadjaṅ* *fiwake*
 nako-i t^{sh}o d^zja-ḍefiaṅ fiwa-ke
 2SG.HON-ERG rice eat-SBJV walk-INF
- fijokle*
 fijok-le
 able-NPST
 ‘If you take rice then you can walk.’
- b. *nafikoi* *kaṃaiḍima*
 nafi-ko-i kaṃai-ḍi-mA
 2SG.HON-PL-ERG earn-NTVZ-NMLZ
- jafiḍjaṅ* *ṅai* *d^zjake* *ale*
 jafi-ḍefiaṅ ṅa-i d^zja-ke ale
 give-SBJV 1SG-ERG eat-INF IDEN.NPST
 ‘If you give (me) from earning (money), then I will eat.’

In examples (8a-b), the suffix *-ḍefiaṅ* is attached with the verb root to show the conditional mood of the speaker.

2.5.2 Counterfactual

The counterfactual clause consists of ‘if clause’ and ‘then clause’ in Magar Dhut. The verb in subordinate clause is coded by the suffix *-pjak* with past tense marker *-a* to code the counterfactual mood of the speaker as in (9).

- (9) a. *iḍik* *ṅa* *lang^hAU* *migur* *b^hArmi*
 iḍik ṅa lang^ha-AU migur b^hArmi
 if 1SG village-POSS main person
- lepjak* *lang^hAU* *bikas*
 le-pjak lang^ha-AU bikas
 EXIST-SBJV village-poss development

dʷaʔke prʌjas dʷataʌula
dʷaʔ-ke prʌjas dʷat-ʌul-a
 do-DAT try do-HAB-PST
 'If I were the leader of the village, I would try
 to develop the society.'

Example (9a) clarifies that the suffix *-pjak* codes the counterfactual event, which shows the hypothetical mood of the speaker.

2.6 Hortative mood

According to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:321), as referred to in Dhakal (2012:72) notes that the hortative mood is primarily used to 'encourage or incites someone to action'. The hortative mood is coded by the suffix *-ij* in Magar Dhut. Following are the examples:

- (10) a. *iʔʌ dʷaʔij nʌ dʱipa*
i-ʔʌ dʷaʔ-ij nʌ dʱipa
 P.DEM-MNR do-HORT EMPH dipa
 'Let's do it, Dipa.'
- b. *muij nʌ*
mu-ij nʌ
 sit-HORT EMPH
 'Let's sit.'

In examples (10a-b), the suffix *-ij* attached with the verb root to excite someone to action.

3 Modality

Modality is a semantic area concerned with attitudes towards events their necessity, likelihood (probability), actuality (realis) and so on. Givón (2001a:300) notes that modality codes the speaker's attitude towards the proposition. Primarily there are two types of judgment made by speaker concerning the propositional information carried in the clause: epistemic judgment, evaluative (deontic) judgment.

3.1 Epistemic modality

The main function of the epistemic modality is to indicate the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth or future truth of the proposition. Epistemic modality is a modality that implies how much certainty or evidence a speaker has for the proposition expressed by his or her utterance. Within epistemic modality, we discuss probability, certainty, negation and mirativity.

3.1.1 Probability

The main function of this modality is to code the probable event. Probability in Magar Dhut is coded by the lexical modal auxiliary verb *au* 'may'. Consider the following examples:

- (11) a. *fioske lagi bʌdʷeʔ ʌbʌ*
fio-se-ke lagi bʌdʷeʔ ʌbʌ
 D.DEM-DEF-DAT for budget after
dʷodʱike aule
dʷod-ʱi-ke au-le
 add-NTVZ-INF PROB-NPST
 'How could (we) collect money for that?'
- b. *fiirʌi tʰo dʷjamʌʌa aule*
fiira-i tʰo dʷja-mʌʌa au-le
 hira-ERG rice eat-PROG PROB-NPST
 'Probably, Hira is eating rice.'

In (11a-b), the modal auxiliary verb *au* with the non-past tense marker *-le* is used to code the probable event, which may happen in following the reference time.

3.1.2 Certainty

Certainty refers to the speaker's attitude or judgment to the situation that the proposition is true. In Magar Dhut, an adverb *paʔkaʔi* 'certainly' codes the speaker's attitude to the situation, that the proposition is true. Following are the examples:

- (12) a. *tʰiniij paʔkaʔi ʌʌʌʌʌ rafle*
tʰiniij paʔkaʔi ʌʌʌʌʌ rafi-le
 today CERT water come-NPST
 'Certainly, it will rain today.'
- b. *kalja piʃin paʔkaʔi imʌʌ uŋle*
kalja piʃin paʔkaʔi im-aŋ uŋ-le
 kalja piʃin CERT house-LOC arrive-NPST
 'Certainly, Kale will come home tomorrow.'

In examples (12a-b), the speaker used the adverb *paʔkaʔi* to code the event, which will surely happen in following the reference time.

3.1.3 Mirativity

According to DeLancey (2001:369-382), mirativity refers to the linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker. Watters (2002:300) notes that mirative is connected with newly

discovered information; information not yet integrated into the speaker's store of knowledge. It makes no claims about the source of information, but only about its newness and the speaker's apprehension of it. Mirativity is morphologically coded by the suffix *-sa* in Magar Dhut. Following are the examples:

- (13) a. *silai kaʃ dʒukti dʒaʃlesa*
 sila-i kaʃ dʒukti dʒaʃ-le-sa
 jackal-ERG one idea do-NPST-MIR
 'Jackal made a trick.'
- b. *inaraj ʒosnaj meno tʃhajā*
 inar-aʒ ʒos-naʒ men-o tʃhajā
 well-LOC look-DUR REFL-POSS reflexion
- daʒlesa*
 daʒ-le-sa
 see-NPST-MIR
 'When he looked in the well, he saw his own image.'

Examples (13a-b) clarify that the suffix *-sa* codes the information completely new to the speaker, regardless of whether the information source is first or second hand.

3.1.4 Negation

Negation is marked by the prefix *ma-* in Magar Dhut. It is derived from Proto-Tibeto-Burman prefix **ma-*. Following are the examples:

- (14) a. *kusai lapʰakoi dʒimke mafijoka*
 kusai lapʰa-ko-i dʒim-ke ma-fijok-a
 any friend-PL-ERG catch-INF NEG-able-PST
 'No friends could catch me.'
- b. *ʃʌʃa ʒau fiomtʃʌ*
 ʃʌʃa ʒa-u ho-na-tʃʌ
 but 1SG-POSS D.DEM-EMPH-NMLZ
- kailei tʃʌʌn ʀʌ matʃʌnne*
 kailei tʃʌʌn ʀʌ ma-tʃʌn-le
 never tradition also NEG-become-NPST
 'But I never like this type of trend.'

In examples (14a-b), the prefix *ma-* codes the negative expression of the speaker towards the situation.

3.2 Evaluative modality

Evaluative modality, by which a speaker expresses propositions as being necessary,

obligatory, advisable, possible, permissible or desirable and as benefactive or malefactive, is analytic and periphrastic. Evaluative modal constructions are formed with modal verbs and other complements-taking constructions in complex clause. There are three types of evaluative modalities in Magar Dhut. It includes ability, obligation and desiderative.

3.2.1 Ability

Ability refers to the situation in which the agent has mental or physical ability to complete the action expressed in the proposition. The grammaticalized verb form *hʒok* 'able' is combined with the tense or aspect marker to code the ability in Magar Dhut as in (15).

- (15) a. *fiosai holaʒ nuʒke fijokle*
 fio-se-I fio-laʒ nuʒ-ke hʒok-le
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG D.DEM-LOC go-INF able-NPST
 'S/he can go there.'
- b. *ilaʒ na kei dʒaʃke fijokle*
 i-laʒ na kei dʒaʃ-ke hʒok-le
 P.DEM-LOC EMPH some do-INF able-NPST
 '(We) can do something here.'

In examples (15a-b), the grammaticalized form of the verb root *hʒok* is combined with the non-past tense or non-past perfective marker *-le* to express the ability of the agent.

3.2.2 Obligation

Obligation indicates that the agent is compelled to perform the action of the verb. The grammaticalized form of the verb *paʀ* 'fall' shows the obligation in Magar Dhut. There are two types of obligation: strong and weak. In strong obligation, the agent of the verb is bound to complete the action of the main verb. Strong obligation is indicated by the grammatical form of the verb *paʀ* 'fall' preceded by the emphatic marker *na*. Following are the examples:

- (16) a. *ʌni tʃʌiʃ fijokke na paʀisle*
 ʌni tʃʌiʃ hʒok-ke na paʀ-ʒis-le
 then GF able-INF EMPH fall-NTVZ-NPST
 'Then, (you) must do (it).'
- b. *meʃʌʌʌʃ dʒaʃma dʒinʒʌgiʒaʒ kaʃ tʃʰok*
 meʃʌʌʌʃ dʒaʃ-mʌ dʒinʒʌgi-aʒ kaʃ tʃʰok
 labour do-NMLZ life-LOC one thing

tʰaĩ dʒaʈke nA paʀisle
tʰaĩ dʒaʈ-ke nA paʀ-ʒis-le
 GF do-INF EMPH fall-NTVZ-NPST
 'Struggling in life, I must do something.'

Examples (16a-b) clarify that the verb root *paʀ* preceded by the emphatic particle *nA* shows the strong obligation toward the agent.

Likewise, in weak obligation the agent is advocated to complete the action. It is indicated by the grammaticalized form of the verb *paʀ* 'fall', which is not preceded by the emphatic marker. Examples are given in (17).

- (17) a. *lang^hAu bikas dʒaʈke paʀisle*
lang^ha-Au bikas dʒaʈ-ke paʀ-ʒis-le
 village-POSS develop do-INF fall-NTVZ-NPST
 '(We) have to develop the society.'
- b. *mamake p^hon dʒaʈke paʀisa*
mama-ke p^hon dʒaʈ-ke paʀ-ʒis-a
 uncle-DAT phone do-INF fall-NTVZ-PST
 '(We) have to call to uncle.'

Examples (17a-b) clarify that the grammaticalized form of the verb *paʀ* codes the action which is to be completed by the speaker.

3.2.3 Desiderative

In Magar Dhut, the stative verb *dʒak* 'like' combined with tense or aspect marker codes the desire of the subject. Consider the following examples:

- (18) a. *ŋa-ke im k^has-ke dʒak-mA*
 1SG-DAT house make-INF like-NMLZ
le
 EXIST.NPST
 'I want to make a house.'
- b. *paʈʈA lap^hakoke ŋaĩ ise*
paʈʈA lap^ha-ko-ke ŋa-i ise
 all friend-PL-DAT 1SG-ERG this
ʒeke dʒakle
ʒe-ke dʒak-le
 say-INF like-NPST
 'I want to say this to all my friends.'

In examples (18a-b), the stative verb *dʒak* combined with the perfect nominalizer *-mA* and non-past tense marker *-le* codes the desire of the speaker to do something.

4 Summary

Moods in Magar Dhut are coded grammatically by the different suffixes as well as lexically. There are six types of mood: indicative, imperative, interrogative, optative, subjunctive and hortative. The past tense marker *-a* and non-past tense marker *-le* show the past and non-past indicative respectively in proposition. Basically, two types of imperative moods are found in Magar Dhut: honorific, non-honorific. Honorific imperative is coded by the suffix *-ni*. Non-honorific imperative has transitive-intransitive distinction. Transitive non-honorific imperative is marked by the suffix *-o* and intransitive non-honorific imperative is marked by *-nA*. The particle *hAi* also shows the special request in Magar Dhut. Interrogative mood is indicated by the question words like *su*, *hi*, *kuʈA*, etc with the rising intonation in the declarative sentences. The alternative coordinator *ki* with the rising intonation also shows the interrogative mood of the speaker. Likewise, optative mood is coded by the circumfix: *oʈe-* and *-os*. There are two types of subjunctive mood: conditional and counterfactual. Conditional mood is coded by the suffix *-dehaŋ* and counterfactual mood is coded by *-pjak*. Hortative mood is morphologically coded by *-iŋ*.

Modalities are coded lexically as well as grammatically in Magar Dhut. Modality system is analyzed on the basis of two major distinctions: epistemic and evaluative. Epistemic modality is further categorized into probability, certainty, mirativity and negation. Probability is coded by the modal auxiliary verb *au*. Certainty is coded by the adverb *paʈkaĩ*. In the same way, negation is morphologically coded by the prefix *ma-*. Mirativity is coded by the suffix *-sa*. Evaluative modality exhibits ability, obligation and desiderative. The grammaticalized form of the verb *hʒok* is combined with tense or aspect marker to code the ability in Magar Dhut. There are two types of obligation: strong and weak. The grammaticalized form of the verb *paʀ* preceded by the emphatic particle *nA* shows the strong obligation and the grammaticalized verb form *paʀ*, which is not preceded by the emphatic particle shows weak obligation. The stative verb *dʒak* shows the speaker's desire.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
ALL	allative	ASRT	assertion
CERT	certainty	CAUS	causative
DAT	dative	D.DEM	distal demonstrative
DEF	definite	ERG	ergative
EMPH	emphatic	EXIST	existential
GF	gap filler	HAB	habitual
HON	honorific	HORT	hortative
IDEN	identificational	IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive	IPA	international phonetic alphabet
LOC	locative	MIR	mirative
REQ	request	MNR	manner
NEG	negative	NHON	non-honorific
NMLZ	nominalizer	NPST	non-past
NTVZ	nativizer	OPT	optative
P.DEM	proximal demonstrative	PST	past
PROB	probability	POSS	possessive
PL	plural	SBJV	subjunctive
REFL	reflexive		
SG	singular		

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ON UNSUPERVISED PARSING OF THE LOW-RESOURCE LANGUAGE USING UNIVERSAL DEPENDENCY RULES

Potemkin S. B. and Kedrova G. E.

Unsupervised parsing of a corpus annotated with part of speech (POS) tags is presented. We use a set of universal rules defined over these tags, seemed to be universal across languages. In addition to these universal dependencies, each specific language typically possesses its own idiosyncratic set of dependencies. Say, for Nepali we formulate in total 20+ rules.

In our models the dependency structure is constructed in bottom-up or top-down order. New algorithms for building a projective spanning tree for a sentence are proposed. Those algorithms work in $O(n^2)$ time, preserve the classical dependency structure and is very effective and simple in realization:

First the corpus sentences are processed connecting near-standing words in each sentence. Then iterations proceed until the sum of differences between the trees received in the sequential iterations becomes stable (sum < 50 different branches) Proximity of trees for different metrics reflects the inflective nature of Nepali.

Keywords: parsing, dependency, corpus, tags, algorithms, bottom-up, top-down

1 Introduction

Human languages exhibit broad similarities in syntactic structure. These syntactic universals attract much attention in recent years, and inspire the development of unsupervised natural language parsing. Cross-lingual correspondences can greatly improve the quality of syntactic analysis.

The basic schema may look rather classic: the system produces a syntactic analysis of the text, driven on the basis of statistical observations and syntactic knowledge. The semantic analyzer checks the syntactic output to see if the semantic relations among words are supported by it. In this paper, we deal with the first step of this schema – automatic parsing with keeping in mind the next stage - semantic analysis, based on the formalism of Montague grammar (Partee, 2004). The interaction between syntax and semantics should be obtained by exploiting, in a formal way, the isomorphism between syntactic and semantic structures.

The problem of automatic parsing avoiding

preliminary manual adjustment and training on the annotated corpora is of great theoretical and practical interest. The resulting grammar rules can support the processes of language acquisition by people, provide preliminary processing of texts for syntactic marking of large corpora and, in the long term, ensure analysis of texts for natural language processing. This problem attracts essential interest thanks to availability of huge corpora, computing capacity growth and new algorithms of machine training.

The annotated corpora allow to prove the hypotheses which are put forward by grammatical theories, and also to form the syntax rules. The process called as "training" of the formal grammar should terminate at the achievement of some small percent of errors. The annotated corpora or «tree banks» are used for grammar training. For the Slavic languages we can mention: Bulgarian (BulTreeBank), Polish (Project CRIT-2), Russian (ETAP-3, IPPI, the Russian Academy of Sciences), and the most advanced one for the Czech language (Prague Dependency Treebank). Tree banks for Balkan (Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Bosnian) languages are under construction. As far as we know there is no available tree-bank for Nepali. The only source we could acquire is a small POS-annotated Nepali corpus (CLE, 2011).

The majority of works on parsing are based either on the rules, or on supervised training. Good parsers based on the constituent formalism are available for English and some other languages (Magerman and Marcus, 1999). Some works based on the dependency formalism also exist. However, good parsers or even any parsers are not available for the majority of the languages of the world. It is connected with the fact, that the resources necessary for the rule-based parsers or for the example-based parsers for the majority of languages are poor. Development of such resources demands material and labour expenses, so it is desirable to develop some methods for grammatical analysis without training on tree-banks, or for automatic or semi-automatic creation

of the tree-banks.

A steady progress in the field of unsupervised parsing was observed during the last years, but the majority of works is based on the context-free grammars whereas the classical model of dependencies (Mel'čuk, 1988) is traditionally used for description of syntax of Russian and other languages with free word sequence. Nepali belongs to this group. The aim of dependency parsing is to construct a tree structure of a sentence where nodes represent words, and edges represent the links between the words. An advantage of dependency parsing is that dependency trees are a reasonable approximation of the semantics of sentences, and are readily usable in NLP applications.

2 Contemporary reaches

The purely statistical approach to syntactic analysis has certain advantages - it is necessary to have only a limited (about 1 million words) unannotated national corpus, without the parallel corpus and even without the bilingual translation dictionary. It is especially important for small and disappearing languages. The statistical approach to the syntactic analysis of sentences is applied in several, interconnected techniques, including DLM (dependency language model) (Gao, Suzuki, 2003), U-DOP (Unsupervised Data-Oriented Parsing) (Bod, 2006), CCL (Common cover links) (Seginer 2007).

Within the limits of Bod's method, it is necessary:

- To construct all possible trees of analysis of all corpus sentences and all subtrees for each tree.
- To find the best (most probable) tree for the given sentence.

A number of computing difficulties arise at the method implementation because the number of subtrees increases tremendously (the Catalan numbers) with the lengthening of the sentence. This problem is resolved by representing subtrees in the form of PCFG (probabilistic context-free grammar) (Geman and Johnson, 2001) and recording all trees as a "shared forest" (Billot and Lang 1989). These methods reduce the computational difficulty to an observable, however very large amount of calculations.

In the Seginer's approach the standard

representation of a sentence structure in the form of a dependency tree is replaced with the set of Common Cover Links, CCL. Sentence analysis proceeds consistently, word-by-word, by the analysis of the initial sequence of words of the sentence. The results of such partial analysis are not subjected to change afterwards, but only could be supplemented. Each new link is added, if it does not break the certain set of a priori rules and if it possesses maximum weight (among admissible). A lexicon containing the list of left and right neighbours for each word connected with the given word and the frequency of such neighbours is created for determination of the link weight.

In comparison with the dependency structure the CCL structure possesses certain advantages: first, for such sentences as «I know the boy sleeps» with the dependency structure [[I] [know] [[the boy] [sleeps]]] CCL does not establish a link direction in the relation [the boy]. Similarly, for Russian the direction of the preposition-noun group is not established. The second difference is more essential. In traditional methods at the moment of reading a word "boy" the link between "know" and "boy" is established, however at the end of the sentence it is necessary to remove this link and to establish new - [know sleeps] and [sleeps boy]. This problem is known in psycholinguistics as a problem of the repeated analysis. In the CCL structure this problem is bypassed by appointing a value to each link -0 the "depth" of this link. Unambiguity of the bracket structure is achieved, without the necessity of removing the established links. Parser on the basis of CCL, adjusted for English language, it available for noncommercial use, <http://staff.science.uva.nl/~yseginer/ccl/>.

Next, Gao and Suzuki also have proposed an incremental approach to parsing where the dependency structure is constructed consistently, after input of the sequential word of the sentence and deletion of the links which break acyclic and projectivity features. Their method was applied not to the sentence structure analysis, but to the restoration of the hieroglyphic view of the Japanese sentence (kana-kandzi) on the basis of the syllabic record (kana) - this problem and the method of its incremental solution also apply to speech recognition.

We propose algorithms for building the spanning tree of the sentence without deletion of the links, working at $O(n^2)$ time, while preserving the classical dependency structure. The automatic syntactic marking of un-annotated corpus, both for Russian, and for other languages with the sufficient volume of electronic texts with a prevalence of projective sentences is possible on the basis of the presented method.

3 Bottom-up and top-down strategies

In the model of local links the dependency structure is bottom-up constructed. Initially the links between the neighbouring words (locality) are established; these links form “units”. Then the links between the neighbouring units are established, and so on, until the last, top level is reached, and the construction of the dependency tree comes to the end. The choice of sequence of association of the units which is defined by the link weight between the units is essential.

Definitions

For a more formal description of our model we define the following:

W - sequence of words of a sentence;
 $W = \{w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n\}$

T - dependency tree over W ; $T = \{(w_i, w_j)\}$, where i, j - numbers of the words connected, $i < j$. T is a projective tree.

U *unit* - subtree of T over an indissoluble subsequence of W ; $U_{k0} = w_k$, or $U_{kl} = \{w_k, w_{k+1}, \dots, w_{k+l}\}$ where each pair of words is connected by a branch of T .

w_m - *Open* node of the unit U iff there are no branches (w_i, w_j) of U , $i < m < j$. Otherwise w_m node is *closed*.

Adjacent units $U_{ap} = \{w_a, w_{a+1}, \dots, w_{a+p}\}$ and $U_{bq} = \{w_b, w_{b+1}, \dots, w_{b+q}\}$ are units where $b = a + p + 1$, that is the beginning of unit U_{bq} directly follows the end of unit U_{ap} .

Basically, the language model should define probability of sentence W over all possible trees T , that is

$$P(W) = \sum P(W, T). \quad (1)$$

where $P(W, T)$ is the probability of the sentence W with sample structure T .

Practically, only one member of the sum, namely $P(W, T^*)$ is used for estimation of $P(W)$:

where T^* - the most probable dependency structure of the sentence which delivers maximum for $P(W, T)$:

$$T^* = \operatorname{argmax} P(W, T) \quad (2)$$

The parsing purpose is to find the most probable analysis T^* of the given sentence W maximizing probability $P(T|W)$. Assuming that links (i, j) are independent from each other (very strong assumption), we have

$$P(T|W) = \prod P((i, j)|W) \quad (3)$$

where $P((i, j)|W)$ is probability of link (i, j) in the specific sentence W . It is impossible to estimate directly probability $P((i, j)|W)$ because the corpus does not contain, or contains very few identical sentences. Therefore we will approximate $P((i, j)|W)$ as $P(i, j)$ which depends only on occurrence of words w_i, w_j in sentences of the corpus and, probably, from the distance $(j-i)$.

Probability $P(i, j)$ is estimated as

$$P(i, j) = C(w_i, w_j, R) / C(w_i, w_j) \quad (4)$$

where $C(w_i, w_j, R)$ - number of occurrences of link R between words w_i and w_j in the corpus, and $C(w_i, w_j)$ - number of occurrences of words w_i and w_j in the same sentence of the corpus (C stands for Count).

It is possible to consider the probability of link $P(i, j)$ as the link weight $d(i, j)$, that is, link with the higher probability has the higher weight. The problem of the data sparseness is solved as in (Gao and Suzuki, 2003), namely, the following estimation is used:

$$d(i, j) = E = \lambda_1 E_1 + (1 - \lambda_1) (\lambda_2 E_{23} + (1 - \lambda_2) E_4) \quad (5)$$

where

$$E_1 = CR_1/C_1; E_{23} = (CR_2 + CR_3) / (C_2 + C_3) E_4 = CR_4/C_4$$

$$CR_1 = C(w_i, w_j, R); C_1 = C(w_i, w_j),$$

$$CR_2 = C(w_i, *, R); C_2 = C(w_i, *),$$

$$CR_3 = C(*, w_j, R); C_3 = C(*, w_j),$$

$$CR_4 = C(*, *, R); C_4 = C(*, *).$$

(* means any word, C stands for *Count*, CR stands for *Count of Relations*)

Parameters λ_1 and λ_2 are defined experimentally. We accept the values presented in (Gao and Suzuki, 2003), namely $\lambda_1 = 0.7, \lambda_2 = 0.3$.

4 Linking dependency

In one our local links model the dependency structure is bottom-up constructed. Initially the links between the neighboring words (locality) are established. Word tuples connected by these links form undivided units. Then the links between the neighboring units are established, and so on, until the top level is reached. The choice of sequence of linking is defined by the link weight between the units. We have proposed an algorithm for building a projective spanning tree for a sentence (Potemkin S., 2009). It works at $O(n^2)$ time, preserves the classical dependency structure, it is very effective and simple in realization:

Local dependency parsing

```

1 n = length (W)
2 do while n > 0
3 d(wimax, wjmax) = max d (i, j) // where i, j
  there are the open nodes of adjacent units Ui, Uj
4 Add arc (wimax, wjmax) to T
5 Uij = stick_together (Uimax, Ujmax)
6 n=n-1
7 end do
8 return (T)

```

W is the ordered set of the words belonging to the sentence; T is the tree under construction; *open nodes* are those nodes of T which are not covered by any arc yet; U_i, U_j are unite containing words w_i and w_j respectively; *stick_together* is the operation of joining adjusting units.

Function *stick_together* (U_{ap}, U_{bq}, i, j) deletes units U_{ap}, U_{bq} , creates a new unit $U_{a(p+q+1)}$ and closes all nodes lying in the interval between i and j . This algorithm of local dependency parsing (LDP) demands $O(n^2)$ operations for analysis of the sentence of n words. We will prove this statement.

On the last step of the cycle, we need to establish links between two units spanning the whole sentence. For this purpose we shall find the maximum weight link between the open nodes of these units. In the worst case units have equal length and all their nodes been open. We need to do $n^2 * n^2$ i.e. $n^2/4$ comparisons to choose the maximum link. On the previous step each of units is halved and we need to do $2 * n^2/16$ comparisons. On $n-i$ step it is required to do $2^i * (n^2/2^{2i}) = n^2/2^i$

comparisons. Summarizing by i , we receive the overall number of comparisons in the worst case of analysis:

$$n^2 * \sum 1/2^i$$

The sum converges to 1, and the overall number of operations = $O(n^2)$

Another proposed algorithm for parsing the unknown language is a top-down one. Its structure is even simpler than the bottom-up algorithm.

Top-down parsing

```

1 n = length (W)
2 do while n > 0
3 d (wimax, wjmax) = max d (i, j)
  // Where i, j are the nodes between which there is
  no node h, i < h < j, already included in T
4 Add arc (wimax, wjmax) to T
5 n = n-1
6 end do
7 return (T)

```

The initial weights of the connections between words $d_0(w_i, w_j)$ are determined from the analysis of all trigrams of all sentences in the corpus. Each word of a trigram is considered to be linked with two right and left neighbouring words. The weight of the connection $d_0(w_i, w_j)$ is calculated as the number of the pairs (w_i, w_j) in all trigrams. Since we want to determine the weight of a link between any two words of the sentence, not only between the words in the trigrams we use the interpolation formula given in (Gao, Suzuki, 2003).

The first step of iteration uses these initial weights producing new connection weights. Iterations proceed until the differences between the trees obtained in iteration k and $k+1$ becomes stable over the whole corpus.

We have compared these stable trees derived for various definitions of distance:

- $d =$ Mutual Information (MI) distance between the whole words;
- $d =$ MI distance between POS;
- $d =$ MI distance between 3-letter endings.

The top-down algorithm for grammar-statistical parsing was implemented as well. The resulting trees obtained by both algorithms are very similar. Proximity of trees b) an c) metrics reflects the

inflective nature of Nepali.

5 Nepali grammar rules

Human languages exhibit broad similarities in syntactic structure. These syntactic universals, attract much attention in recent years, and inspire the development of unsupervised natural language parsing. Cross-lingual correspondences can greatly improve the quality of syntactic analysis.

In this report, we present an approach to unsupervised parsing of a corpus annotated with high-level part of speech (POS)¹ tags, (CLE 2011). We use a set of universal rules defined over these tags, such as Verb -> Noun, Verb -> Adverb, Noun -> Adjective, Noun -> Adposition. These rules are seemed to be universal across languages and can potentially help disambiguate structural ambiguities that are difficult to learn from rough data alone. In addition to these universal dependencies, each specific language typically possesses its own idiosyncratic set of dependencies. Say, for Nepali we formulate the following (Acharya, 1991):

- Postposition occurs on the right of the Noun and could not be linked to more than 1 Noun
- The same for the HRU plural marker
- Adjective usually (probability 0.8) presides the Noun
- The same for Numerals
- Etc.> in total about 20 rules.
- *Iterative training of the model.*
- 1. Each sentence of the training corpus is parsed according to the algorithm of Fig. 1. The initial values of weight of link $d(i, j) = C(w_i, w_j, R)/C(w_i, w_j)$, $|i-j| < 5$ are accepted on the basis of the collected statistics (i) or (ii).
- 2. New values for E1, E23, E4 and E are calculated according to the results of parsing (5).
- Parsing of each sentence with the new values of link weights is carried out. Step 2 is repeated until the alternation of link weights becomes less than the preset threshold.

¹ www.philol.msu.ru/~serge/Nepali/NepaliCorpus/Nepali_POS_Tagset.pdf

6 Processing the POS-tagged corpus

POS-tagged corpus contains 4304 sentences with 111446 words, 12342 different word forms.

Before going on with parsing experiments the source POS-tagged corpus should be processed for using in the statistical parser. The results are shown in Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 represents a fragment of the Nepali POS – tagged corpus (CLE 2011) being processed.

Table 1: A fragment of word-sentence correspondence ²

Word in Corpus	#Sentence #	W # in the Sentence	Nepali word	POS	Word number in the Lexicon
53174	2058	51	लागि	POP	197
53175	2058	52	गृह	NN	4506
53176	2058	53	निर्माण	NN	635
53177	2058	54	व्यवसायी	NN	696
53178	2058	55	राष्ट्रिय	JJ	183
53179	2058	56	संघ	NN	697

Table 2: A fragment of lexicon derived from the corpus³

Word number	Nepali word	Word frequency
7	बाट	590
8	सल्लाहकार	11
9	को	6433
10	रूप	466
11	मा	4198
12	सञ्चालक	50

After such preparation the parsing algorithm, whether top-down or bottom-up could be implemented on such platform as MS Visual FoxPro which does not allow Unicode usage. Instead we may use the word numbers in sentence representation.

7 Experimental results

On Fig. 1 one can see the screenshot of parsing results for Nepali sentence 1088:

तर (CC) धेरै (JJ) ले (PLE) सूचकाङ्क (NN) ले (PLE) कारोबार (NN) मा POP (11) न्यूनतम (JJ) प्रभाव (NN) भन्दा (VBO) बढी (JJ) केही (DUM) नपारेको (VBKO) बताए (VBF) । (YF)

² www.philol.msu.ru/~serge/Nepali/NepaliCorpus/Nep_1.htm

³ www.philol.msu.ru/~serge/Nepali/NepaliCorpus/Nep_2.htm

There are 3 columns for different parsings of the same sentence. The first one was made according to the measure of proximity between whole words of the corpus; the second one – proximity between POS of the corpus words; the third – proximity between the 3-letters endings of the corpus words. Each column consists of 4 sub-columns which are described on Fig.1. Comparing 3 parsing results one can derive conclusive on the accuracy of the analysis and the features of the language.

Analysis of the dependency trees will lead to algorithm improvement? Especially in part of grammar rules incorporated in it. We also have developed an interactive program for assessing the links in dependency tree created by such algorithms.

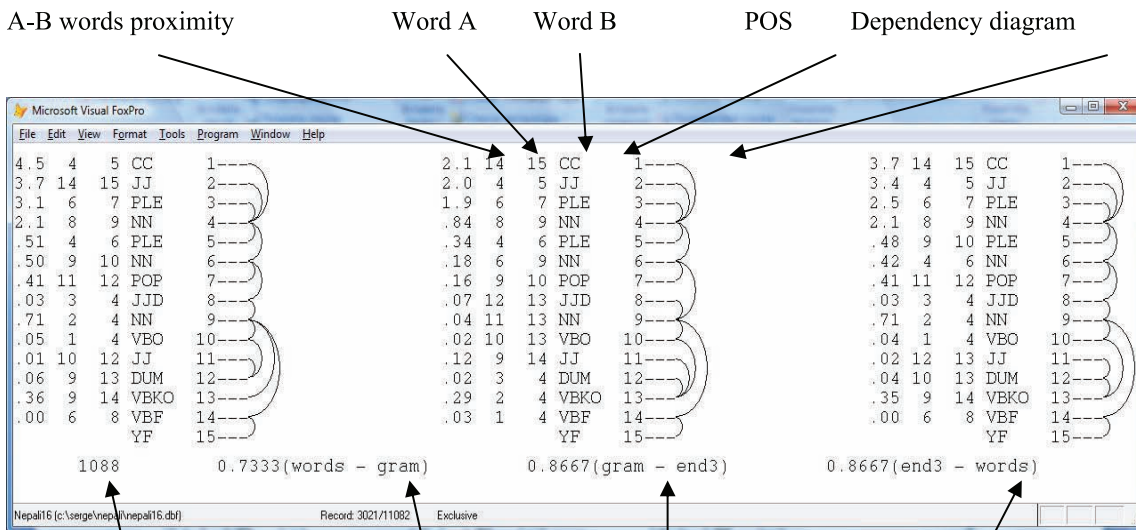
8 Conclusion

The model of local dependency and also the top-down model with the linguistic restrictions over the sentence structure are presented. The new algorithms of grammatical analysis, which searches the dependency tree in the bottom-up or top-down order are proposed.

The link weights are established after analysis of all sentences of the corpus, and then analysis of all sentences is carried out with new weights, etc. – in an iterative mode. Experiments show, that the results of analysis improve after several (7-9) iterations, however not for all variations of grammatical and lexical structure of sentences.

There are some possibilities for the model perfection. In particular, it is possible to check, whether we meet a steady or a terminological word-combination, and to process this accordingly. Further, it is possible to transform an undirected tree into a directed one by considering each open node of a tree (that is, node with no links over it) as a root of the tree, calculating statistics for the formed directed links and choosing the most probable variant.

While the model of local dependency is applicable to the languages with projective sentences, and thanks to the high speed of parsing, this model and algorithms can be used for languages with the limited linguistic resources, even in the absence of the morphological analyzer.



Sentence # Distance between parsings, based on different proximity measures

Figure 1: Screenshot of parsing results

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WORD FORMATION IN THE KOKBOROK LANGUAGE

Phukan Ch. Basumatary

This paper attempts to analyze the features of word typology of the Kokborok language, a Tibeto-Burman language specially spoken in the state of Tripura in the North-East India. This paper is a structural analysis which shows some peculiarities in case of structure and features of word-formation in particular. Kokborok is similar to other Tibeto-Burman languages like Boro, Garo, Dimasa, Rabha, Tiwa, and Deuri-Chutiya. A Kokborok bears certain kind of ancestral features though it has acquired agglutinating characteristics in course of time.

Keywords: typology, features, Tibeto-Burman, cognate, word-formation

1 Introduction

The term 'Kokborok' denotes the language of the ethnic linguistic community known as Boroks¹, an ethnic group inhabiting in the state of Tripura with a large number of population. The language of the Boroks is being presently introduced as the language of educational institutions and as official language in the Tripura Autonomous District Council. The literary works in Kokborok language are flourishing as the part of written literature. They are keeping up a correspondence very closely to the Boro-Garo² group of linguistic communities of the Northeast India. Their concentrations are found chiefly in Tripura³; besides its adjoining state like in Assam especially in the Kachar district of Assam. In the Sylhet

¹ The term denotes man or people in Kokborok language. Here 'Kok' means speech. Thus Kokborok means speech of the Borok.

² The term is used by linguists of the Tibeto-Burman scholarship to refer to the languages like Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa, Kokborok, Tiwa, Deuri-Chutiya, Hajong, Sonowal and other cognate languages concentrated in North-East India.

³ In the demographic picture of populations, the Boroks have placed in the second position next to the Bengali linguistic community. The total numbers of Kokborok speakers are estimated 31.05% as recorded in 2001 Census Report of Tripura.

district of Bangladesh, the Kokborok linguistic community is also found in small numbers.

Kokborok has monosyllabic words as well as derived and compounding words. Though Kokborok acquired hereditary analytical feature in ancient times, they have adapted the nature of agglutination to a great extent. Following are the evidences to consider for the discussion.

2 Methodology

This study aims at focusing the process of word formation and its structural features of the Kokborok language. The method of analysis is structural. Analysis has been done from a structural point of view. Primary data have been collected from the informants. In the same way, the secondary data have also been collected from other sources. Chiefly Tibeto-Burman word structure has been taken into account as one of the structural as well as typological methods. It is purely a synchronic analysis of Kokborok word-structure.

3 Aims of discussion

The discussion aims to analyze some major aspects of word-structure, e.g. typology of kinship terminology, structure of words of human body parts, word-structure related to animals, birds and other insects, process of formation of adjectives, compounding of nouns and verb typology.

4 Kinship terminology and typology

Kinship terminology used by the native speakers is comparable to the structure of kinship terminology as current in the languages of Boro, Garo and Dimasa. In case of first person, kinship terminology is composed of two morphological components: personal pronoun and bound base having entity of noun class, which is closely related to the first personal pronoun. Likewise, in the second and the third person, the structure of terminology is also the same⁴.

⁴ The data taken for analysis have been gathered from two native speakers of this community. Informants

- (1) a. aŋ(I)-ma (mother)>ama (my mother)
 b. aŋ-p^ha (father)>ap^ha (my father)
 c. aŋ(I)-bachuŋi(sister in law)>aŋbachuŋi(my sister in-law)
 d. aŋ(I)-chu(grandfather)>achu(my grandfather)
 e. aŋ(I)-chuŋi(grandmother)>achuŋi(my grandmother)
 f. nuŋ(you)-ta(brother)>nuŋta (your elder brother)
 g. nuŋ(you)-p^ha(father)>nuŋp^ha(your father)
 h. nuŋ(you)-ma(mother)>nuŋma(your mother)
 i. nuŋ(you)-hanɔk(elder sister)>nahənɔk(your elder sister)
 j. nuŋ-kumui(brother in-law)>nukumui(your brother in-law)
 k. nuŋ(you)-hamzɔk(daughter in-law)>nahamzɔk (your daughter in-law)
 l. bi(he/she)-ma>bima(his/her mother)
 m. bi-p^ha>bip^ha (his/her father)
 n. bi-hənɔk(younger sister)>bahənɔk (his/her younger sister)
 o. bi(he/she)-hamzɔk(daughter in-law)>bahamzɔk (his/her daughter in-law)
 p. bi (he/she)-ta (elder brother)>bata (his/her elder brother).

In the above examples lexical morpheme {aŋ}, {nuŋ} and {bi} refers to I, you, and he/she respectively. To form different kinship terms, a particular kind of kin terms is added with personal pronoun. It is to be noted that this type of process is comparable to other Bodo group of languages.

4 Structure of words related to body parts

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

Most of the words in connection with body parts are composed of two different linguistic segments. In this composition the first minimal segment is generally free morpheme, which indicates the particular body part. To get the word indicating name of another body part is to be suffixed a second minimal segment i.e. bound base

are-Polen Debbarma, 50, Agartala, Tripura and Srikumar Debbarma, 49, Agartala, Tripura.

inevitably used to signify intended body part. Following examples illustrate more on it.

- (2) a. yak (hand)
 b. {yak-ra}>yakra (right hand)
 c. {yak-si}>yaksi (left hand)
 d. {yak-sku}>yaksku (elbow)
 e. {yak-p^ha}>yakp^ha (palm of hand)
 f. {yak-pai}>yakpai (foot mark)
 g. {yak-si}>yasi (finger)
 h. {yak-uŋ}>yakuŋ (leg) etc.

The examples above are composed of two different segments. The monosyllabic word 'yak' means hand in general. While a bound base is added with {yak} it derives a new word. Some of the words like {bu-slai}>buslai(tongue), {bu-k^ha}>buk^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 morphologically bound base signifying the particular body parts.

It is worth to mention here that Garo structure of body parts is also typically similar to Kokborok language. Here some words of body parts may be mentioned for comparison. Not only in case of Garo, this type of formation is also found in other Bodo group of languages as in the example in 3.

- (3) a. {bi-k^ha}>bik^ha (heart/ liver)
 b. {bi-buŋk}>bibuŋk (intestine)
 c. {bi-guŋl}>biguŋl (skin) etc.

Here {bi-} is added as prefix and the second one is to be considered as bound base that signifies particular part of body. Garo monosyllabic word {zak} is comparable to Kokborok {yak} that means hand. In Garo new words indicating body parts may be derived from the root word {zak}. It derives a new structure of word having a new semantic representation as follows.

- (4) a. zak-si>zaksi (finger)
 b. zak-si-ma>zak-si-ma (thumb finger)
 c. zak-asi>zakasi (left hand)
 d. zak-sk^huŋl>zaksk^huŋl (nail) etc.

5 Structure of nouns related to birds, animals and insects

Words used for signifying birds, animals and other insects are composed of two different morphological segments. Words related to

different kind of birds have two segments. In Kokborok structure the word {tɔk} represents bird. To signify different kind of birds, some specific morphological segments are added with this word as in the following examples.

- (5) a. {tɔ-k^ha}>tɔk^ha (crow)
 b. tɔ-bak>tɔbak (bat)
 c. {tɔk-t^hu}>tɔk-t^hu (dove)
 d. {tɔk-liŋ}>tɔkliŋ (kite)
 e. {tɔk-ma}>tɔkma (hen)
 f. {tɔk-sa}>tɔksa (chicken)
 g. {tɔk-la}>tɔkla (cock)
 h. {tɔk-tɕi}>tɔktɕi (egg of bird)
 i. {tɔk-huk}>tɔkhuk (owl) etc.

Words denoting names of some animals are composed of two minimum segments. In Kokborok language, the disyllabic word {mu-suk} means cow, {mɕ-k^hra} means monkey, {mɕ-sa} means tiger, {mu-sui} means deer, {man-dar} denotes squirrel, {mi-sip} signifies buffalo etc. In these words all of the initial syllabic words (used like bound base) have the common semantic representation.

In the above words the second segments are closely related to the particular animals. In case of names of small insects have similarities among the cognate languages. The prefix {mɕ-/mi-} etc. are added before the bound base denoting particular variety of ants. The disyllabic Boro word like {mɕ-srɕm}-(ant), Garo {mɕ-srɕm}-(ant), Kokborok {mi-srum}-(ant) are akin to each other.

On the other hand, Rabha and Dimasa do not have this kind of structure, e.g. Rb. {kaŋ-ku}>kaŋku (ant), D. {kai-siŋ}>kaisiŋ (ant). There is also affinity in structure of word denoting fish e.g. Boro {na}-fish, Garo {na t^hɔk}-fish, Rabha {na}-fish, Dimasa {na}-fish, Kokborok {a}-fish.

6 Formation of adjectives

Formation of adjective is a derivative process in this language⁵. Generally there are two kinds of

system. First, prefixes are added to the verb to form new kind of adjectives. In this case, the initial syllable is prefix and the second syllable is verb intransitive as presented below.

- (6) a. {kɔ-sam}>Adj. kasam(black)
 Pref. Vr. (be black)
 b. {ka-ham}>Adj. kaham(well/good)
 Pref. Vr. (be good, do good)
 c. {ku-mun}>Adj. kumun(ripe)
 Pref. Vr. (ripen)
 d. {ku-p^hur}>Adj. kup^hur(white)
 Pref. Vr. (be white)
 e. {ku-t^hug}>Adj. kut^hug(deep)
 Pref. Vr. (be deep)
 f. {ku-uar}>Adj. kuar(broad)
 Pref. Vr. (be wide)
 g. {kɕ-t^haŋ}>kɕt^haŋ (living/alive)
 Pref. Vr. (live)
 h. {kɕ-baŋ}>kɕbaŋ (much/more)
 Pref. Vr. Intrans. (increase)
 i. {kɕ-k^hɕi}>Adj. kɕk^hɕi (sour)
 Pref. Vr. (be sour)
 j. {ku-p^huŋ}>Adj. kup^huŋ (fleshy)
 Pref. Vr. (be fleshy)
 k. {kɕ-ran}>Adj. kɕran (dry)
 Pref. Vr. (be dry)
 l. {kɕ-rɕaŋ}>Adj. kɕrɕaŋ (learned, wise)
 Pre. Vr. (know)
 m. {ke-seŋ}>Adj. kesəŋ (thin)
 Pref. Vr. (be thin)
 n. {ki-si}> Adj. kisi (wet)
 Pref. Vr. (be wet)

To form an adjective, the suffix {-zak} is added with the verb root as follows.

- (7) a. Vr. rug (boil)-{-zak}>Adj. rugzak (which is already boiled)
 b. Vr. nug(see)-{-zak}>Adj. nugzak (seen) etc.
 c. Vr. sug (burn)-{-zak}> Adj. sugzak(burnt)
 d. Vr. k^hui (be hungry)-{-zak}>Adj. k^huizak(hungry)
 e. Vr. t^haŋ (go)-{-zak}>Adj. t^haŋzak(moving/alive)

7 Formation of compound nouns

In Kokborok, compound nouns are generally composed of two different nouns or composition of both noun and intransitive verbs. Both of them are lexical morphemes as follows.

⁵ See for details Kokborok BhashaShikshar Asar, a book on Kokborok Language Teaching prepared by

a. Noun+noun

- (8) a. ha (soil, earth)+k^hɔr (hole)>hak^hɔr (hole)
 b. nɔk (house)+t^hai (place)>nɔkt^hai (residence)
 c. mai (rice)+tɕi (water)>maitɕi (rice gruel)

b. Noun+verb intransitive

- (9) a. ha (soil,earth)+chɕk (be high)>hachɕk
 (hill or high land)
 b. tɔk (bird)+tui (lay egg)>tɔktui (egg) etc.

Garo structure is also similar to other cognates, e.g.⁶

- (10) a. nɔ(house)+ma(mother/ big)>nɔma (the main house)
 b. nɔ(house)+sa (child/ small)>nɔsa (small house)
 c. dɕi(water)+ma(mother/ big)>dɕima (the great river / big river)
 d. mɕkrɔn(eye)+k^hi (stool)>mɕkk^hi (eye excreta)
 e. mɕkrɔn(eye)+chi (water)>mɕkchi (tear) etc.

8 Formation of verbal noun

Verbal noun is formed in addition of nominal suffix. Variety of suffix is added with verb/ verb root. Example:

- (11) a. Vr. man (get, acquire)-{-nai}>N. mannai (payee)
 b. Vr. man (acquire)-{t^hai}>N. mant^hai (right, claim)
 c. Vr. man (acquire)-{ma}>N.manma (income)

9 Verb and its typology

Causative verb is composed by adding prefix or suffix with verb root. The process is very easy to understand.

a. Prefix+verb root

- (12) a. p^hu-nuk>p^hunuk (cause to see/show)
 Pref. Vr. (see)
 b. p^hu-mun>p^humun (cause to ripen)
 Pref. Vr. (ripen)
 c. me-sen>mesen (cause to defeat)
 Pref. Vr.(defeat)
 d. p^hu-ran>p^huran (cause to dry)

- Pref. Vr. (get dry)
 e. p^hu-run>p^hurun (to cause to teach)
 Pref. Vr. (know)
 f. mi- si>misi (to cause to wet)
 Pref. Vr. (get wet)
 g. p^hɔ- lɔk>p^hɔlɔk (to make long)
 Pref. Vr. (be long)
 h. sɔ-tɔn>sɔtɔn (to cause to wide/increase)
 Pref. Vr.(be wide/broad)
 i. si- kiri>sikiri (to cause to fear)
 Pref. Vr. (get fear)
 j. ku-t^hum>kut^hum (to cause to collect)
 Pref. Vr. (collect)

In the above examples, it is apparently known that the action is performed by the second person as anticipated/directed by the first person.

b. Verb root+ suffix

Causative is also formed by adding suffix with the verb root. While action of the verb is done by the second person with the help of the third person as directed by the first person is to be called causative verb. In this situation first person is the director, second person is the actual agent and the third person is worker. Some of the examples may be mentioned below:

- (13) a. sa(eat)
 sa-ru>saru(cause to eat with the help of somebody)
 b. tan(cut)
 tan-ru>tanru(cause to cut with the help of somebody)
 c. kap(cry/weep)
 kap-ru>kapru(to cause to weep/cry)
 d. p^hal(sale)
 p^hal-ru>p^halru(to cause to sale)
 e. sɔŋ(cook)
 sɔŋ-ru>sɔŋru(to cause to cook)

10 Conclusion

The analysis highlights that word structure of Kokborok language is comparable to other cognate languages of North-East India particularly with Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa and Deuri-Chutiya languages. Structurally all the languages have acquired a high degree of ancestral features in all levels of language. That is why they share certain quantity of identical structure. Also regarding word-structure it has been noticed that

⁶ See Burling, Robbins. 2004. The Language of the Modhupuri Mandi (Garo), Vol. I (Grammar). New Delhi: Bibliophile south Asia.

they show maximum amount of similarities. Now the analysis may be summarized with the following comments:

1. In this language, structurally the basic vocabulary is monosyllabic in nature. Morphologically these are lexical morphemes which are not divisible into smaller segment having independent meaning of its own.
2. Compound nouns are composed of two or more than two nouns or sometimes verb+noun or noun+verb combination.
3. Prefixation and suffixation is required to form a word having different semantic representation.
4. Kinship terminologies are formed by addition of personal pronoun+noun class of bound base which signify specific kin term.
5. Usually adjectives are derived from verb root by addition of prefixes or suffixes.
6. Causative verb is composed by addition of prefix or suffix.
7. Verbal noun is formed by addition of suffix with verb root/ verb intransitive indicating noun class of word.

From a synchronic analysis it is observed that the Borok language is transforming an agglutinating features and typology though they were analytical in features in remote past. Proto-type features are not recurring to a great extent.

Abbreviations and symbols

N	Noun	ADJ	Adjective
Vr.	Verb root	D.	Dimasa
Rb.	Rabha	G.	Garó
PFX	Prefix		

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FOCUS PARTICLES IN CHINTANG

Netra Prasad Paudyal

Particles and clitics have received considerable attention in linguistics and they have been intensively investigated in a number of popular languages. Particles are a vital component of many Kiranti languages. Nonetheless, they receive very minor discussion in grammatical descriptions. During the analysis of the Chintang corpus, I found the vast majority of utterances containing particles. In the present work, I describe the syntactic functions of focus particles in the Chintang language of easermt Nepal.

Keywords: Kiranti, Chintang, particles, endoclitics

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. Apart from Chintang, a small number of speakers of Chintang are also found at Triveni in Āhāle VDC, which is in 3 hours trekking distance from Chintang in south, on the way to Dharan via Chatara. There is no reliable scientific census report available to show the exact number of Chintang speakers. However, I estimate not less than 5,000 people who speak this language as their mother tongue. 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 neighboring languages Athpare, Belhare, and Chiling

¹ I use both the corpus and elicited data in this paper. The Chintang corpus was collected by Chintang and Puma Documentation Project, financed by the Volkswagen Foundation (DOBES Grant Nos. BI 799/1-2 and II/81 961, headed by Prof. Dr. Balthasar Bickel). The examples without a reference were elicited during my fieldwork in Autumn of 2008 and spring of 2010.

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(also pronounced as Chiling or Chulung). There are two major dialects (Mulgāū and Sambugāū) named after the localities where they are spoken. The Sambugāū dialect is more influenced by Bantawa and Nepali, while the Mulgāū variety still preserves its uniqueness. However, the difference between these two dialects is found only in some parts of morphology and lexicon, but not in syntax. The language spoken in the Āhāle VDC is close to the Sambugāū dialect of Chintang.

In my analysis of the Chintang texts, I found the vast majority of utterances containing particles. High proportions of particle-containing sentences are attested throughout the Chintang data, whether one examines narratives or (natural) conversations. All particles, except the borrowed initiator particle *lo*, are post-posed to the syntactic unit they modify. Unlike in some well-studied languages such as Japanese where particles often replace case markers (Vovin 2003, Kroeger 2004:151), particles cannot take the place of case marking suffixes in Chintang. If there are both the particle and the case-marking suffix in a succession, the particle follows the case-marked form.² On the basis of phonological and syntactic criteria, I have described Chintang particles and discourse markers in three major groups: enclitics, endoclitics and independent particles (Paudyal 2013). The frequency of particles in all these classes in Chintang speech is fairly high, and the meaning of each particle is often difficult to relate and render accurately in English. The syntactic functions and meanings encoded by each of the particles is discussed and illustrated with examples in the following sections of this paper.

Although there are different types of particles and discourse markers in Chintang, in this paper, I confine myself to focus particles due to limitations of space. Chintang focus particles also appear as endoclitics, so I describe both of them together in section 3. Section 4 deals with the particle clustering. In section 5, I describe the occurrence of various particles in the different dis-

² Ebert (1997) and Lahaussais (2002) report similar behavior of particles in the neighboring language Athpare and Thulung respectively.

course levels in Chintang. Finally, I briefly summarize the paper in section 6.

2 Particles

A particle is a function word that does not belong to any of the inflected grammatical word classes such as nouns, pronouns or verbs (Zwicky 1985, Kroeger 2005). It is a catch-all term for a heterogeneous set of words and terms that lack a precise lexical definition. As stated earlier, particles and clitics have received considerable attention in linguistics and they have been intensively investigated in a number of languages. Some of the better known works devoted partly or entirely to this topic are Zwicky (1977), Zwicky and Pullum (1983), Zwicky (1985), and Klavans (1985). Particles are a vital component of many Kiranti languages spoken in East Nepal. But they are not covered and described well in grammars. I do not define the notion particle in my work, but I follow Zwicky (1985) in the way I define and analyze the Chintang particles. From a formal point of view, Chintang particles are either cliticized or phonologically independent. Clitics immediately follow the element in their scope and they are phonologically bound to their hosts. I gloss those bound clitic particles with the equal sign (=) in this work. The non-cliticized particles are phonologically independent; they bear own stress and behave as separate words. Among the native particles there are six clitics and seven independent words. Moreover, in Chintang, there is a cross-linguistically very rare type of clitic, the endoclititic, which attaches inside a (morphological) word. In the present work, I only describe the phonologically bound clitics, which also behave as endoclititics in Chintang.

3 Clitics and endoclititics in Chintang

Most of the particles in Chintang are focus clitics, which indicate that the constituent in their scope is focused. The majority of them can also function as an endoclititic, which are attached inside a grammatical word.³ But unlike in some other languages, for example, Pashto (Kopris and Davis 2005) and Udi (Harris 2000, 2002), where endoclititics split apart the root and are inserted between the two pieces, in Chintang, endoclititics

appear between two different stems (e.g. compound verbs) and between prefixes and stems. In Chintang, endoclititics can be hosted by any and all ω -units (Bickel et al. 2007).

3.1 The additive particle =*yaŋ*

The additive particle =*yaŋ* can be roughly translated with English ‘also’ or ‘even’. Unlike the restrictive particle =*le*, which indicates restriction and is discussed later, the additive particle have an ‘inclusive’ interpretation. In example (1), the additive particle =*yaŋ* entails that they went to the funeral procession earlier, too. In the same way, in example (2), the additive particle implies that somebody else took it out as well.

- (1) *paĩ=yaŋ malami u-khad-e*
 today=ADD funeral 3nsS-go-PST
 ‘Did they go to the funeral procession today, too?’
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.088]
- (2) *a-loĩs-o=yaŋ=kha hana=na*
 2sA-take.out-3P=ADD=NMZ₂ 2s=TOP
 ‘You might also take it out’.

In negative utterances, the particle =*yaŋ* gives a sense of ‘even’, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (3) *ekcoti=yaŋ mai-khaŋ-yokt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ*
 one.time=ADD NEG-see-NEG-3P-PF-3P-1sA.PST
 ‘I haven’t seen it even once.’
- (4) *thitta=yaŋ huni-kipma kat-nik-niŋ*
 one=ADD 3nsPOSS-fear [3sS]come.up-NPST-NEG
 ‘They aren’t afraid at all.’
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.232]
 (lit. They do not afraid even little.)

König (1991) reports that it is common for additive particles to combine with interrogative pronouns to form so-called ‘indefinite pronouns’. This also holds true for Chintang.

- (5) *a-ppa a-mma-ce*
 1sPOSS-father 1sPOSS-mother-ns
sa-lo=yaŋ manche
 who-ABS=ADD not
 ‘Neither my father nor my mother, nobody at home.’[ctn_katha 055]

In addition to that, the additive particle =*yaŋ* also functions as an endoclititic. In example (6), it appears in the prefix chain and in (7) in the middle of complex verb forms. This stands in contradiction to the general claim that clitics attach externally, and never within a word (cf.

³ See Bickel (1996:56) for the similar endoclititics in the neighboring language Belhare.

Zwicky 1977, Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Klavans 1985).

(6) *kha=yay-cop-no*
InsP=ADD-see-NPST
'He also looks at us.'

(7) *lak=yay-lus-e*
PRV=ADD-dance-PST
'She also danced.'

Moreover, the additive particle =*yay* also serves as a kind of conjunction 'as soon as' after subjunctive forms, e.g. *ubheni poknaloï=yay kok cano?* [3sPOSS-morning wake.up-NA-OUT=ADD rice eat-NPST] 'As soon as he gets up in the morning he starts eating rice' [CLLDCh2R06S02.1240]. There are some instances for the additive particle =*yay* focusing the entire dependent clause (especially sequential ones), as in (8).

(8) *thams-e=kina=yay*
fall.down-PST=SEQ=ADD
ma-hap-t-e
NEG-cry-NEG-PST
'He did not cry even after he fell down.'
[CLLDCh1R06S01.809]

3.2 The restrictive particle =*le*

The restrictive particle =*le* gives the constituent an 'exclusive' interpretation, i.e. the thing or action is the only thing or action accessible in the specified context. It appears with a wide variety of constituents, including noun phrases, verbs, and adverbs in Chintang. In example (9), the restrictive focus particle indicates that the set of people who left contains only *hunce* 'they'. In example (10), the restrictive particle co-occurs with the conditional particle *para* and restricts the condition when the baby talks. In example (11), it follows the finite form of the verb and indicates that the action has just started, but is not completed yet.

(9) *hunce=le u-khad-a-ŋs-a-c-e*
3ns=RST 3nsS-go-PST-PF-PST-d-PST
'Only they (two) have gone.'
[CLLDCh2R02S02.083]

(10) *amma ta para=le cek-no*
mother come COND₂=RST [3sS]speak-NPST
'(The baby) speaks only when (his) mother comes.'
[CLLDCh1R02S03a.099]

(11) *ney-a-nd-o-ŋs-e=le*

bite-3P-CML₂-3P-PF-PST=RST
'He has only bitten (the fruit).'
[CLLDCh1R13S02.1148]

Like the additive particle =*yay*, the restrictive particle =*le* also functions as an endoclititic. The examples below show that the restrictive particle =*le* appears within complex verb forms.

(12) *thab-a=le-ci-a?* *na*
come.level-IMP=RST-CML₃-IMP IST
'Come! (I will see you!)' [CLLDCh1R09S06.0146]

(13) *khali pin-na=le-gon-no*
only [3sS]run-NA=RST-AMB-NPST
'She only runs away.'
[CLLDCh4R11S06.587]

Particles in Chintang form a kind of chain and appear one after the another. There are relatively few particles which occur without accompanying other particles. The restrictive particle =*le* is one of them. There are extremely few examples where it co-occurs with *naŋ*, *ni* and *o* (e.g. *kheme thapt-o-kh-o muji u-homba-le? ni* [Kh. bring-3P-CON-3P idiot 3sPOSS-alone-RST FOC₂] 'Khem, bring (the sickle). He, an idiot, only (cuts grass) for himself.' ref.CLLDCh1R03S01.0798, ref.CLLDCh1R06 S03.0312), but most of the time it is not followed by any other particles.

3.3 The topic marker =*na*

The clitic =*na* marks the topic under discussion, i.e. what the proposition is about. In other words, it is used to highlight a referent, which has already come up in the discourse and is known by both the speaker and the addressee. This marker can have scope over a word, a phrase or a whole clause, depending upon the domain it is marking as a topic. In my analysis of the Chintang texts, I found the topic particle very frequently with noun phrases, although there are a handful of instances where it is attested with non-finite clauses and time adverbials. During the corpus analysis, I noted that the constituent which is marked as a topic frequently occurs in the clause-initial position, although this is not a requirement. On the basis of my data, I believe that this is a very special type of marker. It shares properties with topic markers in general, but it also has properties that are very untypical for topic marker, namely it can co-occur with question words. So, one could certainly consider other labels (although that might no help).

The utterance in (14) presents textual example of topicalized noun phrase in Chintang. Example (15) illustrates that the topic marker =*na* follows the ergative case marking suffix *-ŋa*.

- (14) *hani-makkai=na temma hou*
 2pPOSS-maize=TOP good PTCL
pog-a-ŋs-e
 [3sS]sprout-PST-PF-PST
 ‘Your maize has been sprouted well.’

- (15) *bhimsin-ŋa=na sei?-ma=lo puŋs-u-c-e*
 bh.-ERG=TOP kill-INF=SRP start-3P-3nsP-PST
 ‘Bhimsin started to kill them.’ [origin_myth.401]

In (14), ‘maize’ is a part of the shared knowledge of both speaker and hearer by virtue of visibility and proximity to them. In addition, =*na* is also used to mark nominals whose referents are not proximal physically to the hearer and the speaker, as illustrated in (15). However, the focus marker =*na* cannot be used to mark a generic referent (16).

- (16) *ma?mi (ma?mi=na*) lu-si kos-a-ŋs-e*
 person tell-PURP [3sS]walk.around-PST-PF-PST
 ‘He has gone around to invite people (for help).’ [CLLDCh3R10S04.669]

There is a single example in our corpus where the topic marker =*na* follows a non-finite clause. This is illustrated in (17). In this example, the topicalizer follows the non-finite form of the verb, and topicalizes the entire purposive clause.

- (17) *akka=yañ kok ca-si=na*
 1s=ADD rice eat-PURP=TOP

kuŋ-ŋa-?ã
 come.down-1sS-NPST
 ‘I, too, come down to eat the rice!’
 [CLLDCh1R11S03.279]

Besides occurring in noun phrases, the topic marker =*na* is often combined with time adverbials and sequential markers, as illustrated in (18) and (19).⁴

- (18) *u-taŋ-be=ta catt-e paĩ=na*
 3sPOSS-head-LOC=FOC₁ hit-PST today=TOP
 ‘He was hit on his head today!’
 [CLLDCh1R13S02.0976]
- (19) *duĩ ghanta pachi=na*
 two hour SEQ=TOP
 ‘after two hours’ [CLDLCh3R01S04.061]

Generally a topicalized constituent is not emphasised or focused with other additional particles in Chintang. But when a speaker introduces a new sub-topic to make something clear regarding the previous topic, s/he often focuses the referent with the particle *ni*. Example (20) shows both the topic marker =*na* and the emphasis maker *ni*.

- (20) *thururuwa yok-no*
 IDEOPH [3sS] tremble-NPST

ani-sora=na ni
 1piPOSS-voice=TOP FOC₂
 ‘Our voice trembles.’ [warisama_talk.067]

An interesting feature of Chintang is that a single clause may have more than one topicalizer, as shown in (21).

- (21) *akka=na masino=go-be?-na*
 1s=TOP small=NMZ₁-LOC=TOP

biha num-ma-niŋ
 marriage do-1sA-NEG
 ‘As for me, I do not get married when I am small.’ [mouse_story.043]

But =*na* is not always an enclitic; it frequently has an accent of its own (cf. *akka na* [‘*akka* ‘*na*:] ‘as for me...’). =*na* is actually only used on a small subset of what is commonly referred to as topics. In particular, it marks what one could call contrastive topics (so the “topicalised” element is always in contrast to some other element for which the proposition does not hold). Consider (22) and (23).

- (22) *Paĩ Nare u-ppa-ŋa*
 Today N. 3sPOSS-father-ERG

teĩ-ma lapt-o-ko na
 beat-INF begin-3P-NPST TOP
 ‘Today, Nare’s father is going to beat him.’, or
 ‘As for beating, Nare’s father is going to do that to him today.’ [CLLDCh3R07S01.108]
- (23) *poŋ-ma na lap-nik-niŋ*
 give.birth-INF TOP begin-NPST-NEG
 ‘As for giving birth, probably she doesn’t start now.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.098]

Judging from both occurrences of *na* (topic and contrastive topic), it seems the constituent preceding *na* is marked as the domain within which an overt or covert predication is asserted, with the frequent implication that it cannot be asserted and therefore does not apply in other

⁴ Ebert (1997) notes a similar behavior of the topic particle in the neighboring language Athpare.

domains. For instance, when one says *akka na khai?āniŋ* [1s TOP go-1sS-NEG] ‘I do not go’, the process of going can only be asserted within the domain *akka*, whereas others might go. Similarly, when one says *akka khad-e-hē na* [1s go-PST.1sPST TOP] ‘I went’, here ‘I went’ can be asserted, but other related events cannot, which could be, e.g. a result in ‘I went, but nothing happened’.⁵

This definition also holds for topicalized wh-questions in Chintang. In example (24), if *na* takes scope over *salo* only it expresses that the question about identity applies only to the one who is questioned but not others.⁶

- (24) *ba sa-lo na*
DEM.PROX wh-NOM TOP
‘Who is she?’ [CLLDCh3R03S02a.294]

This is pragmatically a bit odd, and I think the more likely reading is indeed the one where *na* takes scope over the whole predication (where “the predicate is the zero copula”). The resulting meaning is that we only ask this (other things might not be asked).

At a first glance, the syntax of *=na* seems difficult to describe. This perception arises because *=na* serves several functions, as described in previous work, *=na* also serves as an insistent particle.

3.4 The specific topic *=te*

The clitic *=te* marks a specific topic in Chintang. The particle occurs following the syntactic unit it modifies, including case markers and the nominalizer *=go*.

- (25) *hokko=go=te lase-ko u-wa*
where=NMZ₁=SPC.TOP L.-GEN 3sPOSS-hen
‘Which one is Lase’s hen?’ [CLLDCh1R05S01 074]

The syntactic level at which the specific topic particle operates is a phrasal one. That is, *=te* does not occur on individual constituents within a

phrase, but only over the full syntactic unit, as in the following examples:

- (26) *mi=go=te na-ŋa*
small=NMZ₁=SPC.TOP give.up-1sS
‘I leave the small one.’ [CLLDCh1R04S06.0422]
- (27) *ba-ce-ko the=go=na*
DEM.PROX-ns-GEN big=NMZ₁=TOP
- Rai=go=te*
rai=NMZ₁=SPC.TOP
‘These (people’s) leader is the Rai one.’
[CLLDCh1R02S04.1045]

As the above examples show, the clitic *=te* appears with nominalized clauses which basically function as an NP (Paudyal 2011).

In example (28), the specific topicalising suffix highlights a certain gift item which someone bought and gave to his child, but it is recently lost by the child.

- (28) *khett-u-ŋ-bid-u-ŋ=go=te*
buy.for.sb-3P-1sA-BEN₁-3P-1sA=NMZ₁=SPC.TOP
- a-chau-ŋa mas-o-nd-o-ŋs-e*
1sPOSS-child-ERG lose-3P-CML₂-3P-PF-PST
‘My child had lost the one which I had bought for him.’

There is only one example in the Chintang corpus where the specific topic particle *=te* appears with an infinitive form of a verb. But this utterance is produced by one of our target Children in recording (Speaker LDCh1), and is rejected by my consultant.

- (29) **ba sei?-ma sei?-ma=te*
DEM.PROX kill-INF kill-INF=SPC.TOP
‘to kill this’

Like in (28), the specific topic particle *=te* follows the nominalizer *=go* in most of the utterances in our corpus. However, there is some evidence for the reverse situation, as illustrated in example (30). But the same speaker uses a different order (e.g. *hokko=go=te* ref. CLLDCh3R05S01.292) in the same session. But the reversed order of *=go* and *=te* is not possible with adjectives, as in (31). This is because adjectives in Chintang need to be nominalized before they are used.

- (30) *elo hokko=te=go*
or which=SPC.TOP=NMZ₁
- kakt-o-ko*
obstruct.in.throat-3P-NPST
‘Which one choked?’

⁵See \ref tangkera_04.264a, \ref CLLDCh3R06S05.704, and \ref CLLDCh4R03S02.0038 for more examples from the corpus, where the topicalizer *na* is used with finite sentences of this kind.

⁶Kroeger (2004) states that a question word can never be marked with the topicalizer *wa* in Japanese. The same holds for the corresponding response to the question. But this is not true in the case of Chintang.

- (31) *mi=go=te=le* *yuy=ne*
 small=NMZ₁=SPC.TOP=RST stay=OPT
 ‘Let the small one stay!’ [CLLDCh4R05S04
 1131]

3.5 The focus particle =*ta*

The focus particle =*ta* marks new information which is being introduced for the first time into the discourse. This particle picks out an element as prominent new information (unknown to the hearer) in a given context. This is also the most frequent particle which can appear after all kinds of syntactic units. In Chintang the focused element normally occurs right before the verb. This particle has fewer co-occurrence restrictions than other particles. In example (32) and (33), the focus particle =*ta* appears with a noun phrase, and in (34) with a negative converbal clause (Paudyal et al. 2010).

Example (32) was produced at a point in the discourse when two of the participants were talking about one of their friend’s wife who was seriously ill and was taken to the district hospital from the village. One speaker asked the other participant about the exact problem of the patient. In the response, he focused on the new information, which he supplied for the first time.

- (32) \Speaker PR
hokko *somma* *dhane*
 which till Dh.

u-budhi *u-choŋs-e* *pho*
 3sPOSS-old.lady 3nsA-take-PST REP

 \Speaker CHKR
hile *somma* *pho* *ni*
 a_place till REP FOC₂

 \Speaker PR
aj *li-no=kha*
 what be-NPST=NMZ₂

 \Speaker CHKR
u-boli=ta *manchi?* *pho*
 3sPOSS-sound=FOC₁ not REP
 ‘Speaker PR: Do you know how far they took Dhane’s wife? Speaker CHKR: Up to Hile. Speaker PR: What happens to her? Speaker CHKR: They say that she does not have her voice.’ [CLDLCh2R02S02.093]

In the second example (33), the speaker explains why his small child swallows the food without chewing. The speaker focuses on the new

information which she provides in support of her child.

- (33) *u-keŋ-ce=ta* *ma-pok-yokt-a-rŋs-e*
 3sPOSS-tooth-ns=FOC₁ NEG-rise-NEG-PST-PF-PST
 ‘Her teeth have not come out yet.’
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.178]

As I mentioned above, in example (34), the focus particle =*ta* appears with the non-finite negation converb clause to focus the entire dependent clause.

- (34) *mai-hai=ma=ta* *khad-a-lois-e*
 NEG-discuss-INF=FOC₁ go-PST-appear

hola
 out-PST probably
 ‘She might have gone without talking.’
 [CLDLCh2R02S02.570]

In addition to this, the constituent focus marker =*ta* also appears as an endoclititic. Example (35) shows the focus particle =*ta* appearing in a compound verb form (Paudyal 2013).

- (35) *thab-a=ta-ci-e*
 [3sS]come.level-PST=FOC₁-CML₃-PST
 ‘S/he came.’ [warisama_talk.115]

It is quite common for this focus particle to co-occur with a number of other particles, as in the following example:

- (36) *u-makcha=ta* *pho ni*
 3sPOSS-daughter.in.law=FOC₁ REP FOC₂
 ‘I heard that he is his son in law.’
 [CLLDCh4R03S03.1209]

The focus marker =*ta* is homophonous with the imperfective =*ta*, but they are semantically not the same. Because the imperfective form cannot occur with nouns. On the other hand, =*ta* as a imperfective marker interacts with lexical time structure of the predicate (Bickel et al. 2005), whereas the focus marker cannot interact with the time structure of the predicate.

Besides the particle =*ta*, similar focus is also expressed in a number of other ways, such as stress, gestures, repetition or a combination of two or more of these devices. The description of these devices is beyond the scope of this paper.

3.6 The surprise particle =*lo*

The particle =*lo* expresses speaker’s surprise with respect to the asserted content. Like some other particles, this one is also attached to almost all

types of parts of speech. In example (37), the speaker does not expect that he looks at it, whereas the situation is that he looks at it immediately when he reaches at the point, and thus the speaker is surprised. The speaker of (38) is surprised when the little Chintang children read in English during the recording of the particular session in the Chintang village.

(37) *ba-sa-ŋa=na* *copt-o-ko=lo*
DEM.PROX-OBL-ERG=TOP look.at-3P-NPST=SRP
'He looks (at it)!.' [CLDLCh3R03S03.042]

(38) *angreji-beʔ=lo* *u-ne-no*
Eng.-LOC=SRP 3nsA-read-NPST
'(They) read (it) in English!'
[CLDLCh3R03S03.254]

Like *=ta*, *=le*, and *=yaŋ*, this is also an endoclititic, which can appear between two verbs. The examples in (39) illustrate that the emphatic clitic *=lo* can be inserted inside a complex verb form or it can simply appear outside of the complex predicate.

(39) a. *Kip-ma=lo-dheĩ-ma* *naŋ*
cut-INF=SRP-CML₂-INF BUT
b. *kip-ma-dheĩ-ma=lo* *naŋ*
cut-INF-CML₂-INF=SRP BUT
Both: 'It should be cut!'
[CLDLCh2R02S02.170]

4 Particle cluster ordering

Several particles appearing in the same position and sharing the same host form a 'particle cluster'. Particle clustering is extremely high in Chintang. But it is hard to tell how many particles can co-occur together in Chintang. According to my current data, Chintang sentences may contain up to four particles in a row (40). The particle *naŋ* is the particle which appears at the sentence-final position, following all the other particles. The particle *naŋ* is also the particle which is preceded by the maximum number of particles. The most frequently occurring combination consists of the particles *=ta* and *naŋ*.

(40) *ba-iʔ=ta=lo* *raicha* *naŋ*
DEM.PROX-FLOC=FOC₁=SRP MIR BUT
'But it is here!' [CLLDCh2R02S09.940]

Table 1: shows the particle cluster ordering found in the Chintang texts.

Particle	Followed by	Examples in corpus
<i>=yaŋ</i> [ADD]	<i>lo, naŋ, pho</i>	Ch3R09S06.300
<i>=le</i> [RST]	<i>naŋ, ni, o</i>	Ch4R05S041131Ch 1R06S03.0312
<i>=ta</i> [FOC ₁]	<i>lo, pho, ni, naŋ</i>	Ch4R03S03.0803C h4R03S03.1209
<i>=na</i> [TOP]	<i>ni, lo</i>	khinci talk.048
<i>=te</i> [RST]	<i>lo, naŋ, le, ni</i>	Ch1R03S01.0453 Ch4R05S041131
<i>=lo</i> [SRP]	<i>raicha, naŋ, ni</i>	Ch2R02S09.940

5 Particles in discourse levels

As mentioned in section 4, Chintang sentences may take up to four particles in a row. Nevertheless, not all sentences in discourse take the same number of particles. The number of particles is influenced by the occurrence of the particular sentence in the various levels of discourse. In my analysis of the Chintang corpus, especially the two long conversations (*warisama talk.txt* (579 utterances) and *phidang talk.txt* (442 utterances)) and a narrative story (*story_tiger.txt* (160 utterances))⁷, I found that the sentences in the orientation stage contain the lowest number of particles in comparison to the sentences appearing at other stages. Whereas the sentences in pre-peak stage take the highest number of particles than the sentences in any other levels of the discourse. This is shown in Figure 1.

In my analysis of these three corpus texts, I estimated different discourse stages on the basis of the communicative events in the texts. I did this by my intuition, there was no further criteria employed to identify the various levels of discourse. During this study, I noticed that the orientation stage which is also the beginning of the text contains the lowest number of particles. But this ratio increases significantly after the orientation stage and continues up to the peak of the talk. But after the climax of the talk the number of particles gradually decline. Figure 12.1 shows that the utterances within the orientation stage (Phidang

⁷ During this analysis, I excluded the Child language texts because in such texts sometimes it is hard to know the exact starting point of the session or conversation-because most of the 'Child Language' recordings were chopped into different pieces during the digitization process.

story text) contain only 20 particles while the pre-peak stage contains 95 particles. Similarly, the peak of the talk contains slightly higher number of particles than the conclusion.

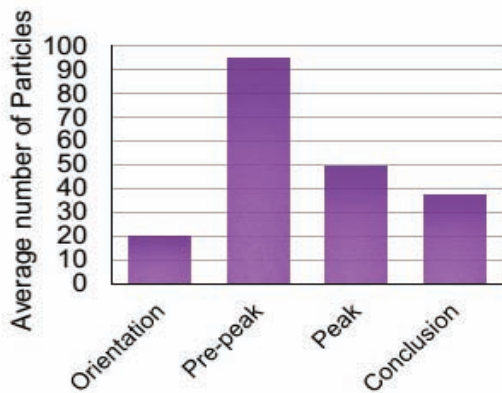


Figure 1: Average number of particles in various levels of discourse

It is still unclear which factor plays an important role behind the distribution of particles in the various levels of discourse in Chintang. But in a similar studies by Person (2000) on Bisu, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Chiang Rai Province of Thailand, found that the orientation and conclusion stages contain few actions, thus they take few particles. Peak and post-peak stages contain lesser number of particles than the pre-peak stage because of dramatic flow of energy in those stages. By contrast, the pre-peak stage is more gradual and consistent in terms of energy level.

6 Summary

Although the class of particles in Chintang is of moderate size, it is nevertheless quite complex. As shown by the preceding discussion about focus particles, we can make progress towards understanding the complexity of particles by analysing them along two independent dimensions: syntax and phonology. Phonologically, we may distinguish three types of particles in Chintang: those that always behave as enclitics/endoclitics, those that behave as freestanding words, and those that behave as both. This paper dealt with only those particles which always behave as enclitics/endoclitics.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	A	agent
ABS	absolutive	ADD	additive
AMB	ambulative	BEN	benefactive
BUT	but	CML	completive
COND	conditional	D	dual
DEM	demonstrative	ERG	ergative case
FOC	focus particle	FLOC	focus locative
GEN	genitive case	IDEOPH	ideophone
IMP	imperative	INF	infinitive
IST	insistive particle	NA	epenthetic
NEG	negative	NMZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative	NPST	nonpast
NSG	non-singular	OUT	out
P	patient	PF	perfective
POSS	possessive	PRV	preverb
PROX	proximate	PST	past
PTCL	particle	PURP	purposive
RST	restrictive particle	S	subject
SEQ	sequential	SG	singular
SPC	specific	SRP	surprise particle
TOP	topicalizer		

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ASPECTS IN DUMI

Netra Mani Dumir Rai

This paper describes the aspects in the Dumi language. It exhibits two types of aspects: perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect is further categorized into non-past and past perfective forms. Likewise, there are five sub-categories of imperfective aspects, viz., habitual, perfect, progressive, durative and prospective aspects. Like the perfective aspect, all these sub-categories of imperfective aspects are further classified into non-past and past forms.

Keywords: aspect, perfective, imperfective, progressive, durative, prospective

1 Introduction

The main purpose of this study is to highlight the aspects in this language based on the primary data elicited in sociolinguistic field survey (2013) and the writer's intuition. Describing the aspect as a grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity in Dumi. This paper is basically organized into three sections. Section 2 looks at the sub-categories of perfective and imperfective aspects. Finally, in section 3, we summarize the major findings of the paper.

2 Aspects

Aspect is a 'grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb' (Crystal, 1994:29). According to Payne (2003:238), it deals with the internal temporal shape of events or states. Likewise, Trask (1993:21) states that aspect relates to the internal temporal structure of a situation. Comrie (1981: 3) defines it as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.' It indicates whether an event, state, process or action that is denoted by the verb is completed or in progress, and its function is to highlight the internal temporal describing of the predication (Katamba 1993:221).

The category of aspect in Dumi comprises the perfective and the imperfective (van Driem 1993:177). In the Dumi language, aspect encompasses a group of heterogeneous semantic and pragmatic categories. The aspectual categorization in Dumi is presented in figure 1.

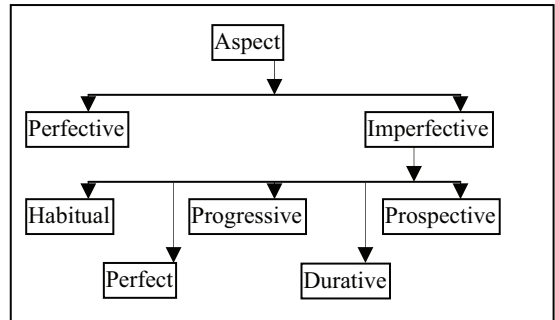


Figure 1: Aspects in Dumi

Hockett (1970:237) notes that aspects have to do not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour. Aspects in Dumi are expressed mainly by morphological means. In many Tibeto-Burman languages, the entire T-A-M system is assembled around the main distinction between perfective and imperfective. All other T-A-M elaborations are then done as further markings of these two basic forms of the verb (Givón, 2001:346). They are discussed as follows:

2.1 Perfective

Perfective aspect is mostly derivational, which refers to the completion of an action in relation to some point in time. The perfective aspect is used to portray an event in its totality (van Driem 1993:177). Most often they are marked by participial suffixes. The perfective aspect looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation (Comrie, 1976:4). In the Dumi language, it is marked by *-i/-u/-o* (recent past) or *-im/-um/-om* (remote past) and the suffix *-ni* is used for the plural or honorificity in perfective aspects. The inflections for the perfective marker are suffixed in accordance with the person, number and honorificity as in (1).

- (1) a. *aŋu asnaŋka della pijo*
aŋu asnaŋka del-la pi-(j)o
1SG yesterday village-ABL go-1SG.PST
'Yesterday, I came from the village.'

- b. *pipi ad^{zh}o ŋa ham^samum*
 pipi ad^{zh}o ŋa
 grandma long time before FOC

 ham-t^sam-u-m
 HON-die-3SG.RPST
 'Grandmother died long time before.'

In examples (1a-b), the suffixes *-o* and *-um* are used as the perfective marker in the sentences (2a) and (2b), respectively. Dumi introduces habitual, perfect, progressive, durative and prospective under the imperfective aspects, which are discussed as follows:

2.2 Imperfective

Imperfective aspect is an explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, in which the action is not completed in relation to some point in time. It is the situation in which the action is in progress and not completed in relation to some point in time. According to Payne (1997:239), the situation is viewed from 'inside' as an ongoing process in the imperfective aspect.

In Dumi, imperfective aspects involve an auxiliary verb while describing an incomplete ongoing performance as in (2).

- (2) a. *umkajo ana moja magANA*
 um-kajo a-na moja ma-gA-nA
 3SG-COM say-INF anything NEG-be-NEG
 'S/he didn't have anything to say.'
- b. *unimua d^ʒa d^ʒi-t^hAtani*
 unimu-a d^ʒa d^ʒi-t^hAt-ani
 3PL-ERG rice eat-PROG-NPST-3PL
 'They are eating rice.'

In the example (2a-b), the suffixes *-gA* and *-t^hAt* are used as the imperfective marker in the sentences (2a) and (2b), respectively.

Dumi introduces a number of distinct categories of imperfective aspects, viz., Habitual, perfect, progressive, durative and prospective. They are discussed below.

2.2.1 Habitual

Habitual aspect, expresses an assertion that a certain type of event regularly takes place from time to time. Payne (1997:241) notes that it does

not imply that an instant of the event is taking place 'now'

The feature that is common to all habitual is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period (Comrie, 1976:27). In a sense the verbs show the repetitions of action.

Sometimes, the past habitual is also expressed simply through the past form of the main verbs. Past habitual in Dumi is expressed by suffixing inflectional morpheme *-t^hAd* (past) and *-t^hAt* (past) to the verb root. They also agree with the number, person and level of honorificity in Dumi. Dumi introduces both non-past and past habitual under the imperfective aspects, which are discussed below

a. Non-past habitual

The non-past habitual in Dumi refer to the tenses, present and the future generally expressing by the same form of the verb. The time reference whether the action expresses the present or the future is determined by the adverbials. They also agree with person, number and honorificity of the subject. The verbal inflections of the non-past habitual are as in (3).

- (3) a. *aŋua somna dudu hapto*
 aŋu-a somna dudu hap-t-o
 1SG-ERG evening milk drink-NPST-1SG.HAB
 'I have the habit of drinking milk in the evening.'
- b. *aŋua somna dudu hapsa maŋto maŋ-t-o*
 aŋu-a somna dudu hap-sa DO-NPST-1SG
 1SG-ERG evening milk drink-HAB
 'I have the habit of drinking milk in the evening.'
- c. *najem disse hijojo kaŋku jeksa muta*
 najem-a disse hijojo
 Nayem-ERG morning always

 kaŋku jek-sa mu-t-a
 water fill-HAB do-NPST-3SG
 'Nayem always fills water in the morning.'

In the example (3a), the habitual aspect is expressed directly with suffixing *-o* in the verb root. Likewise, in (3b-c), the suffix *-sa* as the nominalizer followed by the root of the main verb *-mu* shows periphrastically the habitual aspect in the sentences (3b) and (3c), respectively.

b. Past habitual

The past habitual is often expressed by suffixing *-t^hΛd* to the verb root. The morphological derivation thus takes place mainly in the finite forms of auxiliary verb *-t^hΛd* (past) which also inflect for number and honorificity. However, the past habitual marker *-t^hΛd* of the main verb remains unchanged. Habitual expresses a regular or consistent performance or occurrence of an action or a state as in (4).

- (4) a. *aɲuaa meisipo dudu tuɲt^hΛdi*
 aɲu-a meisipo dudu
 1SG-ERG buffalo-GEN milk
 tuɲ-t^hΛd-u
 drink-HAB-1SG.PST
 'I used to drink buffalo milk.'
- b. *um hijojo nulu imt^hΛisi*
 um hijojo nulu
 3SG whenever day time
 im-t^hΛi-si
 sleep-HAB-1SG.PST
 'He used to sleep in day time.'

In the example (4a-b), the suffix *-sa* followed by the root of the main verb *-mu* shows the habitual aspect in the sentences (4a) and (4b), respectively.

2.2.2 Perfect

In Dumi, the general perfect marker is *-um/-im* and the distinction between past and non-past are inflected in the finite forms of 'be' verbs which inflect for person, number and honorificity. So, the auxiliary (copula) is conjugated according to number, person and honorificity. The different inflections are accordance with the person, number and honorificity as in (5).

- (5) *uma t^{si} tuɲum gota*
 um-a t^{si} tuɲ-um go-t-a
 he-ERG alcohol drink-PFV be-NPST-3SG
 'He has drunk alcohol.'

In the example (5), the suffix *-um* attached to the verb root is followed by the non-past auxiliary verb *-gota* shows the perfect aspect. Dumi introduces both non-past and past perfect under the imperfective aspect, which are discussed as follows:

a. Non-past perfect

In Dumi, non-past perfect aspect is marked by the suffix *-um/-im* to the verb root and is followed by the auxiliary verb *-gota* indicating the non-past perfect as in (6).

- (6) a. *aɲua sap^{hu} t^sΛptum gota*
 aɲu-a sap^{hu} t^sΛpt-um go-t-a
 1SG-ERG letter write-PFV be-NPST-3SG
 'I have written a letter.'
- b. *um imsim gota*
 um imsim go-t-a
 3sg write-PFV be-NPST-3SG
 'S/he has slept.'

The suffix *-um* attached to the verb root in the example (6a), and *-im* in (6b) followed by the auxiliary verb *-gota* show the non-past perfect aspect.

b. Past perfect

In Dumi, past perfect aspect is marked by the suffix *-um/-im* to the verb root and is followed by the auxiliary verb *-ga* indicating the past perfect as in (7).

- (7) a. *aɲua sap^{hu} t^sΛptum ga*
 aɲu-a sap^{hu} t^sΛpt-um ga
 1SG-ERG letter write-PFV cop.PST
 'I had written a letter.'
- b. *um imsim ga*
 um imsim ga
 3sg write-PFV cop.PST
 'S/he had slept.'

The suffix *-um* attached to the verb root in the example (7a), and *-im* in (7b) followed by the auxiliary verb *-gA* show the past perfect aspect.

2.2.3 Progressive

The progressive aspect refers to an activity in progress or developing. In Dumi, progressive aspect is expressed by the affixation of the suffix *-t^hAt / -t^hAd*. The progressive indicative is thus formed by the addition of *-t^hAt / -t^hAd* to the root of the verb and followed by the conjugation of auxiliary verb.

Dumi introduces both non-past and past progressives under the imperfective aspects, which are discussed as follows:

a. Non-past progressive

The non-past progressive forms in Dumi are formed in the same way as in the past; the only difference is that in the non-past, the progressive form is followed by the non-past form of the 'be' verb.

From the speaker's point of view, it implies an event or a state described in the middle of happening or existence, with its boundaries disregarded and its temporal span emphasized. In Dumi, the suffix *-t^hij* occurs with intransitive and *-t^hAt* with the transitive as in (8).

- (8) a. *uma mo mut^hAtta*
 um-a mo mu-t^hAt-t-a
 3SG-ERG what do-PROG-NPST-3PL
 'What is she doing?'
- b. *uma sAp^hu t^sAp^th^hAtta*
 um-a sAp^hu t^sAp-t^hAt-t-a
 3SG-ERG letter write-PROG-NPST-3SG
 'She is writing a letter.'
- c. *um ret^hijnta*
 um re-t^hij-t-a
 3SG laugh-PROG-NPST-3SG
 'She is laughing?'

In the examples (8a-b), the suffix *-t^hAt* attached to the root of the transitive verb is followed by the non-past marker *-a*. likewise, the suffix *-t^hij* in (5c), attached to the root of the intransitive verb is

followed by the same non-past marker *-a* shows the non-past progressive aspect in the sentences, respectively.

b. Past progressive

The past progressive forms in Dumi are formed in the same way as in the non-past; the only difference is that in the past progressive form, the progressive form of the main verb is followed by the past form of the 'be' verb.

In Dumi, the past progressive aspect is marked by the suffix *-t^hij* occurs with intransitive and *-t^hAt* with the transitive as in (9).

- (9) a. *uma mo mut^hAdimga*
 um-a mo mu-t^hAd-im-gA
 3SG-ERG what do-PROG-3SG-COP.PST
 'What was she doing?'
- b. *uma sAp^hu t^sAp^th^hAdimga*
 um-a sAp^hu t^sAp-t^hAd-im-gA
 3SG-ERG letter write-PROG-NPST-3SG
 'She was writing a letter.'
- c. *um ret^hijumga*
 um re-t^hij-um-gA
 3SG laugh-PROG-3SG-COP.PAST
 'She was laughing.'

In the examples (9a-b), the suffix *-t^hAd* attached to the root of the transitive verb is followed by the past marker *-gA*. likewise, the suffix *-t^hij* in (5c), attached to the root of the intransitive verb is followed by the same non-past marker *-gA* shows the past progressive aspect in the sentences, respectively.

2.2.4 Durative

In Dumi, the durative aspect is marked by the suffix *-t^hij...jo* occurs with intransitive and *-t^hAt...jo* with the transitive verb root in the morphological process. Dumi introduces both non-past and past durative under the imperfective aspects, which are discussed as follows:

a. Non-past durative

In Dumi, the non-past durative aspect is marked by the suffix *-t^hij-t...jo* occurs with intransitive

and $-t^h\Delta t-t\dots jo$ with the transitive verb root as in (10).

- (10) a. $t^s u:t^s u \eta u k t^h i g t a j o d^z e k t i n \Delta$
 $t^s u:t^s u \quad \eta u k-t^h i g-t-a-j o$
 child cry-PROG-NPST-3SG-DUR
 $d^z e-k-t-i-n \Delta$
 call-1PL-NPST-1PL.INCL-NEG
 ‘While the child is crying, we should not call her/him.’
- b. $h u j e t^h i g t a j o n i g u d o k t i$
 $h u \quad r e-t^h i g-t-a-j o$
 rain fall-PROG-NPST-3SG-DUR
 $n i g u \quad d o-k t-i$
 rainbow see-1PL(incl)-PST
 ‘While raining, we can see rainbow.’

In the examples (10a-b), the suffix $-t^h i g t a j o$ attached to the root of the main verb followed by the complementary verbs $d^z e k t i n \Delta$ and $d o k t i$ in (10a) and (10b) respectively show the non-past durative aspect.

b. Past durative

In Dumí, the past durative aspect is marked by the suffix $-t^h i g t-t\dots jo$ occurs with intransitive and $-t^h \Delta t-t\dots jo$ with the transitive verb root and the past form is inflected in the auxiliary verb (copula) as in (11).

- (11) a. $t^s u:t^s u \eta u k t^h i g u j o m a d^z e k k u n \Delta$
 $t^s u:t^s u \quad \eta u k-t^h i g-u-j o$
 child cry-PROG-PST-3PL.INCL.DUR
 $m a-d^z e-k-k-u-n \Delta$
 NEG-call-1PL-1PL.INCL.PST-NEG
 ‘While the child was crying, we didn’t call her/him.’
- b. $h u j e t^h i g u j o n i g u d o k k i$
 $h u \quad j e-t^h i g-u-j o$
 rain fall-PROG-3SG.PST-DUR
 $n i g u \quad d o-k k-u$
 rainbow see-1PL(excl)-PST
 ‘While raining, we can see rainbow.’

In the examples (11a-b), the suffix $-t^h i g u j o$ attached to the root of the main verb followed by

the complementary verbs $d^z e k k u n \Delta$ and $d o k k u$ in (11a) and (11b) respectively show the past durative aspect.

2.2.5 Prospective

When an event is going to begin immediately, it occurs the prospective aspect. According to Comrie (1976:64), in this aspect, a state is related to some subsequent situation, for instance where someone is in a state of being able to do something. In Dumí, the prospective aspect is expressed through the conjugation of the main verb $-b a t u m /-b a t i m$ ‘about to’ to the root of the verb and is followed by the conjugation of auxiliary verb $-g o t a$ (non-past) and $-g \Delta$ (past), which are categorized as past and non-past prospective aspects as follows.

Dumí introduces both non-past and past prospective under the imperfective aspects, which are discussed as follows:

a. Non-past prospective

In Dumí, the prospective aspect is expressed through the conjugation of the main verb $-b a t$ ‘about to’ to the root of the verb and followed by the conjugation of auxiliary verb $-g o t a$ (non-past) as in (12).

- (12) a. $a \eta u a s o d^z a p^h i n a b a t u m g o t a$
 $a \eta u-a \quad s o d^z a \quad p^h i-n a$
 1SG-ERG money ask for-INF
 $b a t-u-m \quad g o-t-a$
 PROS-1SG-PFV be-NPST-3SG
 ‘I am about to ask for money.’
- b. $u m i m s i n a b a t i m g o t a$
 $u m \quad i m s i-n a \quad b a t-i-m \quad g o-t-a$
 1SG sleep-INF PROS-1SG-PFV be-NPST-3SG
 ‘S/he is about to sleep.’

In example (12a), the suffix attached to the root of the main verb $-b a t u m$ and in (12b), the suffix attached to the root of the main verb $-b a t i m$, both are followed by the auxiliary verb (copula) $-g o t a$, these examples show the non-past prospective aspect.

b. Past Prospective

In Dumi, the past prospective aspect is expressed through the conjugation of the main verb *-bat* ‘about to’ to the root of the verb and is followed by the conjugation of auxiliary verb *-ga* (past) as in (13).

- (13) a. *aŋua sodʒa p^hina batumga*
 aŋu-a sodʒa p^hi-na
 1SG-ERG money ask-INF

bat-u-m ga
 PROS-1SG-PFV COP.PST
 ‘I was about to ask money.’

- b. *um imsi-na batimga*

um imsi-na bat-i-m ga
 3SG sleep-INF PROS-3SG-PFV COP.PST
 ‘S/he was about to sleep.’

In example (13a), the suffix attached to the root of the main verb *-batum* and in (13b), the suffix attached to the root of the main verb *-batim*, both are followed by the auxiliary verb (copula) *-ga*, these examples show the past prospective aspect.

3 Conclusions

Dumi is a linguistic minority of eastern Himalayish Kirati Rai language group under the Tibeto-Berman of Sino-Tibetan family, which comprises the perfective and imperfective. As in many languages, there is no clear separation among tense, aspect and modality in Dumi. Aspect in Dumi is a grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity. They are divided into perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspects are of two types: non-past and past perfective. Likewise, the imperfective aspects are also classified into habitual, perfect, progressive, durative and prospective aspects, which are also distinctly separated into non-past and past forms.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ABL	ablative
COP	copula	DAT	dative

DUR	durative	EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative	excl	exclusive
GEN	genitive	HON	honorific
IMP	imperative	incl.	inclusive
INF	infinitive	IPFV	imperfective
LG	language	LOC	locative
MAN	manner	NEG	negative
NPST	non-past	PL	plural
PRF	perfect	PROS	prospective
PFV	perfective	PROG	progressive
PRT	particle	PST	past
PURP	Purposive	SG	singular

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TEACHING COLLOCATIONS TO BANGLADESHI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS: A PRACTITIONER'S PERSPECTIVE

Naureen Rahnuma

This paper reports on mistakes of verb-noun collocations, made by Bengali-speaking learners in written Academic English. Evidence reveals the negative influence of learners' L1 on the production of collocations. The implications of these findings for teaching collocations are discussed.

Keywords: collocations, vocabulary, implication, language learner

1 Introduction

“Without grammar little can be conveyed; without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed” – just as aptly endorsed by David Wilkins - the lexicon is one of the most important language components for learners. And the task of vocabulary learning is a substantial one for language learners – be it learning new words or word combinations such as collocations.

'Collocations' are usually described as 'sequences of lexical items which habitually co-occur' (Cruse 1986:40). For example, 'to commit suicide', 'have a haircut', 'boost confidence', 'present evidence' – are all commonly used as collocations in English. The taxonomy of collocations is based on the categories of collocations proposed by Benson et al. (1997). They classified English collocations into two major groups: lexical collocations and grammatical collocations. Collocations are further divided into seven types, and grammatical collocations are divided into eight types. Lexical collocations, which particularly draw the attention of researchers, consist of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, such as 'make peace', 'strong tea', 'argue heatedly', 'deeply absorbed' and so on. On the other hand, grammatical collocations are phrases containing a dominant word, such as a noun, an adjective, or a verb and a preposition or grammatical structure like an infinitive or clause, such as 'afraid of', 'depend on', 'listen to music' or 'major in'.

2 Theoretical background

Native speakers have extensive knowledge about which words should be used together (Ellis, 1996) and they can accurately form the combinations of diverse words. Such knowledge is one of the vital

competencies of native speakers unlike language learners for whom combining words appropriately in a target language is one of the most difficult tasks. Studies have indicated that learners made many collocational errors in their writing and speaking due to lack of collocational competence in English. And as suggested by Hill (1999) most learners even with 'good' vocabulary have problems with fluency due to low collocational competence. Thus errors of collocations are potentially more misleading than those of grammar because of the syntagmatic relations between words that co-occur in a sequence.

Although the emphasis in vocabulary learning has particularly been on building up lists of word definitions (Robinson 1989:276; Gitsaki 1999; Carter and McCarthy 1988), applied linguists realized that vocabulary skills involve more than the ability to define a word. Raising the learners' understanding of the collocations of words is a matter of great importance (McCarthy 1984:21), since the task of learning collocations can present both intralingual and interlingual problems. Thus, Smith (1983) and Nattinger (1980) rightly suggested that the teaching of prefabricated language chunks like collocations facilitates vocabulary building for university-bound students. Bolinger (1968: 106) further validates the point that language learners store phrases rather than a morpheme. Language learning, according to him, is a process which begins at the morpheme level, moves to the word level and is eventually ready for storage into memory as collocations.

Thus researchers consider collocation to be one of the primary concerns in EFL teaching with the aim to make learners aware that learning vocabulary is not just learning new words but being familiar with word combinations. Researchers like Brown, 1974; Nattinger, 1980, 1988; Channell, 1981; Bahns & Eldaw, 1993 and Howarth, 1998 have perceived the significance of collocations and the requisite of collocation teaching in EFL courses which has proven to be vital in order to increase learners' language

competence by enhancing learners' communicative competence and native-like fluency. However, apart from a few studies undertaken by researchers like Liu (1999), Huang (2001), Chen (2002), Liu (2002), and Tong (2004), learners' difficulty in producing collocations is still an issue which is not much investigated.

In Bangladesh most of the university students come from Bengali medium background and have limited exposure to English as a foreign language. As a result, it is an ordeal for the language teachers to teach the tertiary students the necessary vocabulary items in English. Without rich vocabulary the students face various problems in comprehension across the major skills such as listening, speaking, reading and writing in English. Consecutively, lack of competence hinders the desired achievement level in higher studies. So what are the challenges that the students as well as teachers have to overcome while dealing with collocations?

3 Methodology

In order to assess students' ability to collocate words correctly in English, a number of 64 students were tested by a multiple choice test. The students were randomly selected from different departments: majors in computer science, business administration and environmental science. The participants received no information of being tested on purpose, so that the reliability of the trial could be guaranteed.

The multiple choice test consisted of 30 questions, each sentence containing an incomplete collocation. The total mark was 30. The criterion of the scoring was that each option that was correctly chosen would be rewarded one point. The collocations tested were one of the most common types of collocation: verb-noun phrases. The students' overall performance on the test was found to be unsatisfactory- only 48.4% of the collocations were chosen correctly. As can be seen in Figure 1 below, students who got A or B only constitute 29% of the total number. About 44% of the students scored C and D and 27% of students scored an F.

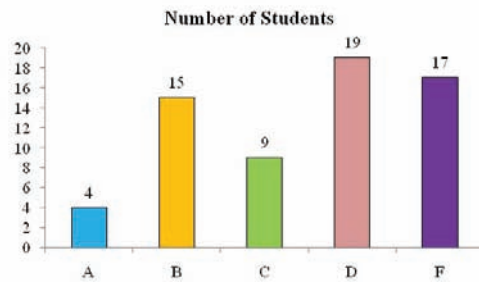


Figure 1: Grading scale: A (30-27), B (26-24), C (23-21), D (20-17), and F (17-0)

It was evident that negative transfer was the most noticeable source of collocational errors - almost half of the incorrect responses were found to be due to negative transfer from Bengali. Students failed to concoct the correct collocational pattern as they tend to use the most direct and the most frequently used translations of Bengali equivalents, although different combinations of words were preferred in English usage. For example, in item 24, "How did you ___ access to the locker room, 61% chose 'get' as a substitute to 'gain'. In item 16, "He died at Mount Elizabeth where he was ___ treatment", 58% chose 'taking' instead of 'receiving'. In item 18, "The company ___ tech support 24/7", 60% students chose 'gives' instead of 'provides'. Similarly, in item 22, "Can you ___ what his real problem is", 65% students opted for 'see' as an alternative to 'identify'. Unfamiliarity with the structure of particular idioms and fixed expressions was another factor for incorrect responses. For instance, in item 10, "The poor old lady ___ help from the passer-by", 60% chose 'asked' instead of 'sought'. Similarly, in the case of item 4, "Many local people have ___ an active interest in our plans", 40% chose 'given' instead of 'taken'.

4 Dealing with collocations

So, why do Bangladeshi students encounter problems with using the right collocations? There are a number of reasons for students' inadequate knowledge of English collocation. From primary till higher secondary level, English in Bangladesh is taught as an essential subject in Communicative Language Teaching approach, with limited focus on academic lexicon which otherwise students should be aware of. And in spite of the fact that

communicative competence refers to the ability to use language productively that otherwise herald the use of words commonly occurring together, students are not explicitly taught formulaic language like collocations, phrasal idioms or lexical bundles. And lack of collocational awareness means students are compelled to directly take the aid of Bengali to translate into English, word rather than chunks of words, which is in most of the cases misleading due to their differences in sentence structures.

Hence, Marton (cited in Bahns, 1993:58) recommended that 'mere exposure to the target language is not sufficient ... to acquire the knowledge of conventional, which equate with collocations' and 'special attention [should be given] to their effective learning of conventional syntactic and grammars' if language teachers want to guide learners towards a native-like command over target language. Thus, explicitly teaching formulaic languages like collocations, phrasal idioms and lexical bundles does not only increase learners' knowledge of such lexical items but also improve learners' oral fluency as well as listening and reading comprehension. Brown (1974) further endorsed that learning collocations systematically enables learners to recognize language chunks used by native speakers both in speech and writing.

An important tool to employ when teaching lexical collocations to university students is the Academic Collocation List (ACL) which consists of 2468 most frequent entries which can be utilized by teachers to decide what word associations and phrases should be taught first. The list includes 570 word families that constitute a specialized vocabulary with a wide coverage of academic texts from various disciplines. More than 94% of the words in the list occur in 20 or more of the 28 subject areas of the Academic Corpus. The ACL (an adaptation of the ACL is shown in Table 1 below) can help learners increase their collocational competence and their proficiency in academic English. Since the need for the repetition of collocations has been strongly recommended by researchers (Conzett 2000, Gitsaki 1999, Harwood 2002, Lewis 1997), language learning should be complemented by frequent practice.

Table 1: The academic collocation list (ACL)

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Noun</i>
Achieve	Goal
Acquire	Knowledge
Conduct	Research/survey/ analysis/interview/study
Consider	Possibility/ aspect/impact/ implications/issue
Develop	Technique/ argument/ method/ strategy/ approach
Face	Challenge/ dilemma / problem/ difficulties
Make	Adjustments/arrangements/availabl e/contribution/policy/provision/reco mmendation/assessment/impact/jud gment
Provide	Context/ data/ feedback/ guidance/ resources/ support/ feedback/insight/explanation/opport unity
Set	Target/goal /objective/ agenda/ parameters
Use	Methodology/ strategy/ technique/ theory/ concept/ definition

<http://pearsonpte.com/wpcontent/uploads/2014/07/AcademicCollocationList.pdf>

Thus typical classroom activities could involve choosing the correct collocation from several other options (see Activity 1 below).

I have always had itchy (1) *hands/ feet/ fingers* and last summer I had the amazing opportunity to travel to the - for me at least - (2) *unexplored/ unplanned I unprepared* territory of the Gobi Desert. My budget wouldn't (3) *spread / stretch/ afford* to travelling on a normal flight but I couldn't find a (4) *low-cost/ low-key/ low-cut* airline to fly me there. In the end, I got a (5) *stand-up/ stand-off / stand-by* ticket and it was not too expensive. Once there I joined a group and we made a journey on horseback into the desert. You wouldn't believe the sheer (6) *very/ mere/epic* grandeur of the region. If you keep your eyes (7) *peeled/ scaled/ washed* you can see all sorts of amazing plants and creatures. We were lucky with the weather. We were told the previous group had had to (8) *meet / face / address* severe weather (9) *circumstances / coincidences / conditions*. Our main problem was that one day we got (10) *hopelessly/ fearlessly / carelessly* lost and they had to send out a search (11) *group/ party/ set* to find us. We felt so stupid. Anyway, the Gobi Desert may not be everyone's choice of holiday destination but I can assure you that it (12) *does / gets/ has* a very special charm of its own. (Activity 1)

Akin to Activity 1, another useful exercise could be devised by asking the learners to correct the sentences (see Activity 2 below).

Rewrite the sentences correctly.

- I really wanted to play a trip to Australia with my classmates last March, but I couldn't because I didn't have enough money.
- I dislike our math teacher because she always gives us a lot of homework to make.
- Excuse me a second. I have to do a telephone call.
- Today we won't have a formal lecture. We are going to make a walk to the park.
- Wow! It's very warm. Let's do soccer in the field.

(Activity 2)

Interesting activities like Activity 3 and 4 below can also be developed to get learners familiar with various collocational items.

Match the items in the boxes on the left with the items on the right:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. express | a. a presentation |
| 2. disseminate | b. a tutorial |
| 3. pose | c. a project |
| 4. formulate | d. knowledge |
| 5. cultivate | e. the literature |
| 6. review | f. an opinion |
| 7. deliver | g. a question |
| 8. schedule | h. a proposal |
| 9. conduct | i. an interest |
| 10. collaborate on | j. research |

(Activity 3)

Finding collocations in a reading text:

- Underline useful collocations and write them on a card with its translation on the other side
- Repeat the collocation aloud while memorising it
- Revise and practise collocations

(Activity 4)

Likewise memory games like the one shown below (Activity 5) could be formulated to teach learners collocations.

Look at the phrases below and memorize them. You have 2 minutes to do so. You will easily remember if you associate them with people you know.

January You are good company but you may have a selfish streak.	July Although you can be patiently shy in social situations, at work you give the impression of being extremely confident.
February You have an engaging personality and a good sense of humor.	August You have a tendency to make snap decisions.
March You have a wild imagination, but you tend to lose your temper too easily.	September You have a strong sense of responsibility and always keep your word.
April You are highly intelligent with a razor-sharp mind.	October You are good at keeping secrets and never bear a grudge.
May You set high standards for yourself and are fiercely loyal to your friends.	November You find it hard to keep your temper. If you think someone is making a fool out of you?
June The best aspect of your personality is the way you always put others first.	December You can be brutally honest and sometimes hurt others' feelings.

people enjoy being with you
 2 you sometimes act in a selfish way
 3 stronger than extremely
 4 quick decisions
 5 do what you say you will do, keep your promises
 6 resent for a long time bad things others have done to you
 7 not get angry
 8 trying to deceive or trick you
 9 honest in a way that may hurt

Check how good your memories are. Write as many phrases as you can remember in a paper and have a look to see if your partner did better than you.

(Activity 5)

Even though such tasks get learners acquainted with the frequent collocations, it is also essential to teach learners a range of unusual and strong collocations like for example, 'foot the bill', 'shrug your shoulders', 'ulterior motives' or 'to be moved to tears'. Since there are no set rules students can refer to while learning collocations, the only way to help learners remember collocations is to expose them through practice and revision activities.

Besides explicit instruction, raising learner awareness of miscollocations is also vital. As errors in vocabulary use are mostly caused by the differences between learners' L1 and target language (Bennui, 2008), identifying the collocational errors can raise learners' awareness of collocations. Studying learners' collocational errors are important as it can direct teachers to decide what should be categorically taught in class. Some problematic collocations of verb + noun combinations with their Bengali equivalent are given below as examples. In the following examples, the English phrases require either one of the verbs- take or make.

'take a trip' - 'beraate jawa' (to go)

'make a telephone call' - 'call kora' (to do)

'make calculations' - 'hishab kora' (to do)

In contrast, their Bengali equivalents differ to a great extent so as to create the confusion. To resolve these differences, teachers can make the learners aware of the differences in Bengali and their English equivalent by making a list of Bengali collocations that contain the verb 'kora' and have students find their English equivalents.

5 Promoting collocational automaticity in learners

Since today's language learners are no longer bounded by the limited amount of language exposure provided by classroom instruction, the aim is to encourage learners to utilize tools with which they would be able to acquire and apply collocational knowledge in classroom and beyond. Apart from explicit teaching of collocations, learners should be armed with various learning strategies which would enable

them to independently expand their collocational knowledge beyond classroom. Making students aware of concordances (Figure 2) or dictionary entries (Figure 3) of a particular collocation to illustrate its use in context, can pave the way to learner independence as the pasture of collocations is extraordinarily vast.

1985 Joseph Friedman drafted a **survey** of the house, which served as put together. And we did a **survey** on a computer to study the
Other experts urged a **survey** of the surviving wild
in Italy. In 1930 he launched a **survey** on "Catholic culture" in Vita
The Italian bishops ordered a **survey** of Italian priests to which 25,
Shere Hite conducted a **survey** in the United States in 1989
Lenders (CML) published a **survey** which showed a clear majority
Harvard University unveiled a **survey** of American attitudes that
the lobby group, said a **survey** of 2,858 members showed an
to Mr Evans, who now quoted a **survey** alleging there were '15,000
Two years ago we took a **survey**. This was born in my heart as of God.

Figure 2: A keyword in context (KWIC) listing for 'survey'

Finally, students need to be trained to record, revisit and reactivate any novel collocations they come across. Students should be encouraged to keep a vocabulary journal to record words in collocational tables, word trees and mind maps that will aid students to develop their own individual mental lexicon.

6 Conclusion

It is evident from the study that, to a great extent, the low proficiency of language production can be attributed to lack of adequate collocational knowledge in the case of Bangladeshi students. The study not only specifies the significance of collocation in proficient language production, but also offers pedagogical suggestions to collocation instruction. Given the problems collocations pose for Bangladeshi learners, explicit instruction will help them overcome the productive challenges of such lexical items. Since they act as the key to fluency and creativeness, collocations should be prioritized in systematic language instruction.

However, the challenges remain as to how the learner errors can be minimized and what materials should be incorporated, on a regular basis, into teaching collocations, leaving room for more extensive research in the area of lexical collocations from both theoretical and pedagogical perspective.

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Appendix

- 1 He's very shy so it's not easy to ___ friends with him. make/take/do
- 2 I've still got to _____ all the arrangements of the party next weekend. take/make/throw
- 3 He refused to _____ all the credit for the success and said that it had been a team effort. do/accept/take
- 4 Many local people have _____ an active interest in our plans to bring live music back to the town. taken/have/given
- 5 For the first few months he _____ great pride in showing people around his new house. had/showed/took
- 6 Why should I _____ the blame for the misunderstanding? make/take/have
- 7 The military _____ the best strategy to counter-attack. took/used/made
- 8 We've moved the wardrobe to _____ room for an extra bed. use/take/make
- 9 The company _____ its target for next fiscal year. took/set/made
- 10 The poor old lady _____ help from the rich man. asked/sought/took
- 11 I finally _____ contact with him at his New York office. made/ set/ got
- 12 She's _____ a remarkable recovery from her illness. doing/coming/ making
- 13 The cars pulled over to the side of the road to _____ way for the ambulance. make/give/take
- 14 The typhoon devastated Philippines now _____ resources to help rebuild itself. require/give/uptake
- 15 Music can _____ the likelihood of depression. decrease/reduce/ decline
- 16 He died at Mount Elizabeth Hospital where he was _____ treatment. taking/giving/ receiving
- 17 The committee has to _____ a consensus before they can choose their spokesperson. come/reach/make
- 18 The company _____ tech support 24/7. gives/shows/provides
- 19 The court will _____ evidence against the criminal next week. show/portray/ present
- 20 North Korea _____ a nuclear threat to the world. poses/shows/gives
- 21 The university _____ a great opportunity for students to showcase their hidden talent. proposes/offers/deals
- 22 Can you _____ what his real problem is? check/see/ identify
23. They _____ a tendency to back out at the last moment. give/have/show
- 24 How did you _____ access to the locker room? get/ gain/receive
- 25 Women still _____ discrimination in many parts of the world. take/receive/face
- 26 The company is _____ rapidly. increasing/ expanding/ moving
- 27 You have to _____ your knowledge once you graduate. apply/make/add
- 28 She _____ involved in showbiz from a very early age. was/became/is
- 29 The climate is _____ constantly due to global warming. change/always/changing
- 30 It is better if you can _____ your own errors. correct/check/change

A LEXICAL COMPARISON OF MAITHILI AND BENGALI: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

Md. Asad

This paper is a comparative and descriptive study of Maithili and Bengali lexical items, that include numeral, weeks, calendar, kinship terms, domestic, native and loan words from Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Portuguese with their nativized forms and usages. The author mainly tries to explore morphological and phonological similarities and differences between Maithili and Bengali, the eastern Indo-Aryan languages.

Keywords: kinship, phonological, lexical items, script

1 Introduction

Maithili is one of the 8th schedule languages of India and an eastern New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language (Jha, 1958), mostly spoken in the eastern and northern parts of Bihar in India and also widely spoken in the south-eastern parts of the Tarai districts of Nepal. It is widely spoken by 30 million people in Bihar. There have been 35 million (2000) native speakers of Maithili in all over the world. Maithili is officially the 2nd largest spoken language of Nepal. It is used and spoken in the different contexts of life, namely in court, law, education, administration, mass media and communication and other various purposes of life. Maithili is introduced as a subject for higher education and is being taught in the different universities of India and Nepal as well.

Bengali is one of the schedule languages of India and an eastern New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language. It is one of the 22 schedule languages of India and spoken in many contexts of life, namely administration, court, law, education, mass media and communication. The language belt of Bengali ranges from Bangladesh to the Indian state of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura.

According to the 2010 report, there are about 205 million native speakers of the Bengali language. Bengali is the 6th ranked, spoken language which has around 230 million native speakers in all over the world.

Maithili and Bengali genetically belong to the Eastern Prakrit in the Indo-Aryan languages.

Maithili belongs to the Magadha group, whereas Bengali belongs to the Videha group (Jha, S, 1958).

Maithili used to be written in the Maithili script, which has some resemblance to the Bengali script and is also known by names like Tirhuta and Mithilakshar. It is written in Devanagari script in the present times. The Bengali is written in Bengali script.

2 A lexical comparison of Maithili and Bengali

As mentioned earlier that the lexical items both in Maithili and Bengali include only common and basic words, namely numeral, days name (week), months name (calendar), kinship terms, domestic words, native items and loan or borrowing words as well.

2.1 Native lexical item

It linguistically includes numeral, week, calendar, kinship terms and domestic words in both Maithili and Bengali. I will discuss each lexical item comparatively in both Maithili and Bengali one by one.

2.1.1 Numeral lexical item

It refers to the numbers are found in both Maithili and Bengali infinitely.

Table 1: Numeral lexical items

Maithili	Bengali	English
ek	æk	1
du	dui	2
tin	tin	3
cair	car	4
pāc	pac	5
c ^h ə	c ^h oi	6
sat	ʃat	7
a ^t ^h	a ^t ^h	8
nə	noi	9
dəs	dəʃ	10

Above table fairly showed that some numeral words in both languages are differed in terms of phonology. The phonemes /e, ə, s, and ā/ in Maithili are markedly altered into / æ, oi, ʃ and a/

respectively, in Bengali. The nasalized sound /ã/ in Maithili phonemically changed into non-nasalized sound /a/ in Bengali. We found that a front mid-high vowel /e/ became a front low vowel /æ/. The central vowel /ə/ altered into diphthong /oi/ vowel. The dental phoneme /s/ changed into retroflex /ʃ/ sound.

/e/ → /æ/
 /ə/ → /oi/
 /s/ → /ʃ/
 /ã/ → /a/

2.1.2 Week name (days)

It refers to the seven days in a week. Let us see the lexical items for week in both languages.

Table 2: Lexical items of days

Maithili	Bengali	English
somber	ʃombar	Monday
məŋəɫbar	məŋolbar	Tuesday
bud ^h bar	bud ^h bar	Wednesday
bərispəitbar	brihospotibar	Thursday
sukkəɾbar	ʃukkrobar	Friday
səniɪbar	ʃonibar	Saturday
rəbiɪbar	robibar	Sunday

Here the above table clearly displayed that both languages in lexical items are in terms of phonemes distinguished from one another. The central vowel /ə/ became back mid-high vowel /o/. The dental phoneme /s/ changed into retroflex /ʃ/ sound. A nasalized vowel is maintained in both languages properly.

/s/ → /ʃ/
 /ə/ → /o/
 /ã/ → /ð/

2.1.3 Calendar lexical item

It includes a series of month names in both languages. Table 3 presents that the names of months in both languages differed in terms of phonemes. The vowel alternation took place where the central vowel /ə/ in Maithili became back mid high vowel /o/ in Bengali, whereas the dental consonant phoneme /s/ in Maithili clearly changed into a retroflex phoneme /ʃ/ in Bengali.

/s/ → /ʃ/
 /ə/ → /o/

Table 3: Calendar lexical items

Maithili	Bengali	Days
bəisak ^h	boifak ^h	31
jəit ^h	joiʃ ^h o	31
ək ^h ar	əʃrəh	31
saun	ʃərabon	31
b ^h ado	b ^h adro	31
asin	aʃvin	30
katik	kartik	30
əghən	ogrəhəyon	30
pus	pouʃ	30
mag ^h	mag ^h	30
fagun	falgun	30
cəit	coitro	30

2.1.4 Kinship lexical item

It contains almost all kinship terms being used in both languages, namely Maithili and Bengali to denote and signify the core and peripheral affinal and consanguinal relationship in a family.

Table 4: Kinship lexical items

Maithili	Bengali	English
babu	baba	father
mai	ma	mother
bəɾ/pəti	bor/ʃami	husband
bəu	bou	wife
bəfə	ç ^h ele	son
bəʃi	mei	daughter
b ^h ai	b ^h ai	brother
bəhin	bon	sister
caca	kaka	uncle
caci	kaki	aunty
dada	dadu	grand father
dadi	dadi ma	grand mother
mama	mama	maternal uncle
mami	mami	maternal aunty

Here, we can clearly notice that kinship terms in both languages are differed in terms of phonemes and morphemes. But some kinship terms are common in both languages.

2.1.5 Domestic lexical item

It refers to the basic or common words existing in a family and being used in every walk of life. Table 5 presents that domestic lexical items in both languages are differed in terms of morphology and phonology. The lexical and phonological differences have been shown in the subsections which follow the table.

Table 5: Domestic lexical items

Maithili	Bengali	English
k ^h ana	k ^h abar	food
maus	māṅʃo	meat
roti	roti	bread
ciken	ciken	chicken
mac ^h	mac ^h	fish
cəmməs	cammuc	spoon
cini	cini	sugar
nun	ləbən	salt
g ^h ər	baʔi	home
gay	goru	cow
mənuk ^h	manuʃ	man
məugi	məmanuʃ	woman
bippət	bipod	danger
santi	ʃanti	peace
biyah	biye	marriage
din	din	day
rait	rat	night
pain	jəl	water
b ^h at	b ^h at	cooked rice
səbji	sobji	veg
cai	ca	tea
duk ^h ə	koʃʔo	unhappy
kəp	kap	cup
gilaas	gilaʃ	glass
kursi	ceər	chair
tebul	tebil	table
bəksa	bokʃo	box
kobi	kopi	cabbage
āʔa	aʔa	flour
pāu	pau	bread
gari	gaʔi	Car
alu	alu	potato
bəhira	kala	deaf
c ^h əuri	mei	girl
c ^h əura	c ^h ele	boy
j ^h or	j ^h ol	gravy
tak	k ^h ōj	search
caur	caul	rice grain
culha	culo	oven
ṭāṅ	ṭēṅ	leg
d ^h ol	d ^h ol	drum
peṭ	peṭ	belly
murhi	muri	puffed rice
loʔa	loʔa	a metal pot
bəḍ ^h na	bəḍ ^h na	a metal pot
jibən	jibən	life
prem/piar	b ^h alobaʃa	love

a. Lexical differences in languages

It shows the different lexical items in Maithili and Bengali for the same entity.

Maithili		Bengali
pain	→	jəl
nun	→	ləbən
g ^h ər	→	bari
k ^h ana	→	k ^h abar
duk ^h ə	→	koʃʔo
bəhira	→	kala
c ^h əuri	→	mei
c ^h əura	→	c ^h ele
tak	→	k ^h ōj
b ^h alobaʃa	→	prem

b. Phonological differences in lexical items

It shows how lexical items are different in phonemes.

Maithili		Bengali
/s/	→	/ʃ/
/ə/	→	/o/
/ə/	→	/a/
/a/	→	/o/
/b/	→	/p/
/r/	→	/ʔ/
/r/	→	/l/
/k ^h /	→	/ʃ/

On the basis of the present data, we found that lexical items in Maithili and Bengali are phonologically and morphologically different from each other. It is important to observe that voiced labial stop /b/ in Maithili changed voiceless labial stop /p/ in Bengali. Further, we notice that dental flap phoneme /r/ altered into the retroflex /ʔ/ and lateral phonemes /l/. We also noticed that aspirated voiceless stop /k^h/ became the retroflex fricative /ʃ/ sound. We can securely say that although Maithili and Bengali belong to the same eastern Indo-Aryan language family, the lexical items in terms of phonemes and morphemes are different contrastively.

2.2 Loan or borrowing lexical item

It refers to the loan words that have been taken from other foreign languages such as, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Portuguese as well, and being used in nativized forms in both Maithili and Bengali.

2.2.1 Arabic loan lexical items

It refers to the loan words borrowed from Arabic language, widely being used by Maithili and Bengali speakers in nativized shapes.

Table 6: Arabic loan lexical items

Arabic	Maithili	Bengali	English
əql	əkəl	əkol	wisdom
əlada	əlada	əlada	separate
əsl	əsəl	əʃol	real
Ilakah	ilaka	elaka	area
qəbr	kəbər	kobor	grave
xəbər	k ^h əbər	k ^h obor	news
xali	k ^h ali	k ^h ali	empty
γərib	gərib	gorib	poor man
jəma	jəma	joma	collect
hisab	hisab	his ^h ab	calculation
tarix	tarik ^h	tarik ^h	date
duniya	duniya	duniya	world
fəqir	fəkir	fokir	beggar
baqi	baki	baki	remaining
kitab	kitab	boi	book
nəql	nəkəl	nokol	copy

Velar fricative sounds /x, γ/ are not found in Maithili and Bengali. These phonemes are replaced by /k^h, g/ respectively in both languages. The plosive uvular phoneme /q/ is not found and replaced by velar plosive /k/ and widely used by native speakers in Maithili and Bengali.

2.2.2 Persian loan lexical items

It refers to the loan words borrowed from Persian language, widely being used by Maithili and Bengali speakers in nativized shapes.

The alveolar fricative /z/ and velar fricative /x, γ/ phonemes are not found in Maithili and Bengali. The speakers of both languages are not able to articulate or produce these sounds. Therefore, these phonemes /z/ and /x, γ/ are replaced by palatal voiced fricative /j/ and velar plosive /k^h, g/ respectively in Maithili and Bengali.

Table 7: Persian loan lexical items

Persian	Maithili	Bengali	English
avaz	avaj	avaj	sound
əndaz	əndaj	əndaj	guess
ayneh	aena	aena	mirroe
aram	aram	aram	comfort
ahiste	aste	aste	slowly
kayəj	kagəj	kagoj	paper
xərab	k ^h ərab	k ^h ərap	bad
xub	k ^h ub	k ^h ub	very
grəm	gərəm	groom	hot
cəʃm	cəsma	coʃma	glass
cadər	cadər	cadər	blanket
jan	jan	jan	dear
degci	degci	degci	pot
məza	məja	moja	fun
der	der	der	late
pərdah	pərda	porda	curtain
rasta	rasta	ras ^h ta	road
bəyan	bəgan	bəgan	garden
bəcca	bəcca	bəcca	child
dokan	dukan	dokan	shop
ruz	rojana	roj	everyday
dəm	dəm	dom	breath
bəzar	bəjar	bəjar	market
hind	hinnu	hindu	India
cakri	kam	cakri	job

2.2.3 Turkish loan lexical items

It refers to the loan lexical items taken from Turkish language in Maithili and Bengali and widely being used by native speakers of both languages.

Table 8: Turkish Loan Lexical Items

Turkish	Maithili	Bengali	English
ordu	urdu	urdu	urdu
kāici	kāici	kāci	scissor
cəkmək	cəkmək	cokmok	sparkle
dede	bəre bhai	dada	elder brother
baba	baba	baba	father
babərçi	babərçi	baburci	cook
laʃ	las	laʃ	corpse
nine	nani	nani	m. grand mother

Turkish words are nativized in Maithili and Bengali language and unconsciously used and spoken by native speakers.

2.2.4 Portuguese loan lexical items

It refers to the loan words taken from Portuguese into Maithili and Bengali and being largely spoken or used by native speakers in their nativized usages.

Like other loan words, these loan words are nativized and unconsciously spoken by the native speakers of both languages. A large number of native speakers actually do not know about the loan word and assume that these words belong to their languages. Now move to the conclusion section.

Table 9: Portuguese loan lexical items

Portuguese	Maithili	Bengali	English
əramrio	əlmari	əlmari	cupboard
estirar	istri	iʃtri	iron
espada	ispat	iʃpat	steel
camisa	kəmiʃ	kəmiʃ	shirt
gəməla	gəmla	gəmla	basket
cave	cab ^h i	cabi	key
janela	ʃəŋla	ʃənəla	window
tobacco	təmbaku	tamaku	tobacco
toalha	toliya	toliya	towel
prego	noh	perek	nail
fita	fita	fita	ribbon/lace
vərnɔ̃a	bəranɔ̃a	baranɔ̃a	verandah

3 Conclusion

I would like to conclude the present paper by saying that it was very interestingly observed that a phonological variation in the basic and common lexical items of both Maithili and Bengali found. Both Maithili and Bengali are different from each other in terms of phonology and morphology, although both these languages genetically belong to the same Eastern Indo-Aryan language family. Maithili is a descendant of Magadhi Apabhramsa and Bengali a descendant of Videha (Jha, 1958). In a nutshell, I have concluded this paper with a list of phonological and morphological alternations in Maithili and Bengali below.

a. Phonological variations of lexical items in Maithili and Bengali are as follows.

Maithili	→	Bengali
/s/	→	/ʃ/
/ə/	→	/o/
/ə/	→	/a/
/e/	→	/æ/
/ə/	→	/oi/
/s/	→	/ʃ/
/ā/	→	/a/
/a/	→	/o/
/b/	→	/p/

/r/	→	/ɾ/
/r/	→	/l/
/k ^h /	→	/ʃ/

The above phonemes in Maithili altered into different phonemes in Bengali. As a matter of fact, the native lexical items in Maithili and Bengali were differed in terms of above phonemes. In loan words, the foreign words have velar fricatives /x, ɣ/, the uvular plosive /q/ and the alveolar fricative /z/ were replaced by the velar plosives /k^h, g/, velar plosive /k/ and the palatal fricative /j/ respectively in the nativized forms in Maithili and Bengali.

b. Morphological variation of the lexical items in both Maithili and Bengali.

Maithili	→	Bengali
pain	→	ʃol
nun	→	ləbon
g ^h ər	→	bari
k ^h ana	→	k ^h abar
duk ^h ə	→	koʃto
bəhira	→	kala
c ^h əuri	→	mei
c ^h əura	→	c ^h ele
tak	→	k ^h əj
b ^h alobaʃa	→	prem

Above, a list of native lexical items indicated that these lexical items found in Maithili and Bengali used for the same entities or objects exists in both languages. The same common entity or object is signified by different lexical items in Maithili and Bengali that are morphologically different.

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Mark Donohue

Many languages of the Himalayan region can be characterised as tonal, but these contrasts frequently involve contrasts in phonation as well. Other languages are described as lacking tone, but having contrasts in breathiness on the vowels or sonorants. This elaboration of locations for non-modal phonation is a trait of the greater Himalayan region. This paper examines the distribution of breathiness, and the implications that an areal-typological perspective bring to our understanding of prosody and linguistic history more widely in the Himalayan and South Asian region.

Keywords: phonation, Himalayas, tone, breathiness, substrate, Kusunda, contact

1 Introduction

This paper argues that the Himalayas is the centre of an area that can be characterised by the phonological use of breathiness, and that this area represents the continuation of an ancient linguistic ecology that predates the dominance of the major language families that are now dominant in the region. As part of the argumentation for this thesis, I note that while many languages have tones that include specification for breathiness, the association of tonal contours and breathiness is centred on the Himalayas, and that the Himalayas is the only part of the world in which the association of breathy phonation with low (rising) pitch contours is (dramatically) violated. This, and the widespread use of non-modal phonations, suggests that breathiness was prior to tonality in the region, and that ancient diffusion spread the prosody.

2 Prosody: Non-segmental phonological information

In this section we examine the difference between segmental and prosodic phonological information. While all languages employ segmental contrasts, with the contrasts specified in the lexicon, some languages additionally employ lexically-specified prosodic contrasts. These two modes of phonological differentiation show very different behaviours, as described in Table 1. An example of the different behaviours can be seen in (1) and (2), showing data from English and Manange. In (1) the different syllables and segments are largely independent of one another, with some positional

allophony (aspiration in the onset of a stressed syllable; velarisation of the lateral in coda position). In (2) the segmentally identical words can be differentiated by tone, but the assignment of tone (represented with H = high and L = low) is not independent for each of the two syllables, with numerous possible combinations, among them HL-HL, not being possible well-formed words in Manange, since tone is assigned at the word level, and HLHL is not a possible tone.

- (1) ‘Nepal’ [nə̃ pʰɔ:l̃]
 (2) a. ‘fold’ [tɛpʌ] [H H]
 b. ‘take out’ [tɛpʌ] [H L]
 c. ‘touch’ [tɛpʌ] [L L]
 d. — *[tɛpʌ] [HL HL]

Table 1: Segmental vs. prosodic contrasts

	Segmental Contrasts	Prosodic Contrasts
All languages?	yes	no
Domain?	segment	variable
Relationship to other units?	paradigmatic	syntagmatic
Effects on (other) segments	possible	normal

Tone is not unique in showing these kinds of freedoms and restrictions. It is possible for other phonological traits to have a non-segmental domain, such as vowel harmony, consonant harmony and disharmony, nasalization, and non-modal phonation types such as [voiceless], [faucalised], [creaky], [breathy], [stiff], [slack], [tense] and [lax] (eg., Gerratt and Kreiman 2001). We shall focus on the feature [breathy]. Breathy voice can be defined as ‘a phonation in which the vocal cords vibrate, as they do in normal (modal) voicing, but are held further apart, so that a larger volume of air escapes between them’, and it is characterized by a reduction (compared to modal voice) of the amount of energy in the lower part of the spectrum, and an increase in the amount of aperiodic high energy noise in the spectrum (eg., Gordon and Ladefoged 2001, Gerratt and Kreiman 2001). It is typically associated with low, and often slightly rising, pitch (Laver 1994,

Gordon and Ladefoged 2001). Depending on the language, breathiness can be contrastive on vowels, glides, liquids, nasals, fricative or plosives, and it is subject to ‘leak’, and to reanalysis. While the Nepali contrast in (3) is generally described as showing a phonological contrast between different initial consonants, the phonetic realization of the contrast is often deferred to the vowel. It is possible that breathiness is incipient as a contrastive element away from plosives in Nepali, given pairs such that seen in (4). It is also possible for a language to show contrasts at multiple levels; Balami (Gautam 2011) and Newar (Hale and Shrestha 2006) contrast breathiness on nasals, liquids and glides, while Gujarati contrasts breathiness on plosives and on vowels, as in (5) (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996). In Kusunda we find three non-modal phonation types, which can appear ‘stacked’ on the same segment, as shown schematically in (6) (in addition, the language contrasts nasalization on vowels).

- (3) a. घर /gʰar/ ‘house’ [gʰar] ~ [kʰar]
 b. गर /gar/ ‘do’ [gar]
 c. कर /kar/ ‘tax’ [kar]
- (4) a. म /ma/, ‘1SG’ [ma]
 b. मह /mah/, ‘honey’ [mah]
- (5) a. /bar/ ‘twelve’
 b. /bʰar/ ‘burden’
 c. /b̄ar/ ‘outside’
 d. /pɔr/ ‘last year’
 e. /p̄ɔr/ ‘early morning’
- (6) a. modal
 b. breathy
 c. faucalised
 d. tense
 e. breathy, faucalised
 f. breathy, tense
 g. faucalised, tense

Figure 1, from Mazaudon and Michaud (2008), shows the association of breathy voice quality with low pitch. The four contrastive pitches of

Tamang have pitch traces approximately as shown; in addition, Mazaudon notes that ‘tone-1 and tone-2 words are high with a clear voice quality; tone-3 and tone-4 are low with a breathy voice quality.’ While the pitch traces for monosyllables shown in Figure 1 do not show a rise for Tone 4 (the low circles), when disyllabic data is taken into account it is apparent that this tone is specified as having a late rise (Figure 2).

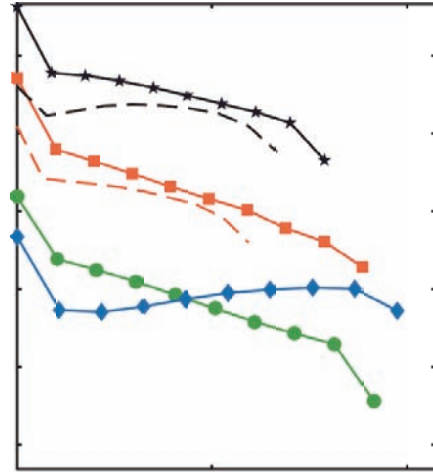


Figure 1: Pitch contours on monosyllables in Tamang

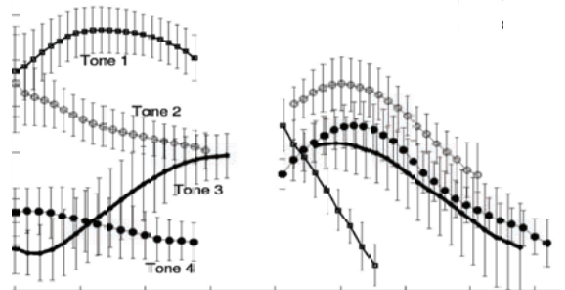


Figure 2: Pitch contours on disyllables in Tamang.

3 The phonetic relationship between pitch and non-modal phonation

As stated earlier, breathiness is phonetically predictable on low, rising contours. An example of this can be taken from Bumthang, an East Bodish language of central Bhutan. In Bumthang two pitch heights are contrasted; high pitch cannot occur with breathiness, while (depending on onset segment type) low pitch can be associated with breathiness; an example of the contrast is *na*⁵⁵ ‘head of queue, front of line’, *na*²² copular, and *na*¹¹² ‘edge’ (similar facts regarding prosodic contrast are reported for at least some varieties of

Sherpa – Kelly 2004). We have already seen the example of Tamang, in which two low (rising) tones are associated with breathiness, while the high (falling) tones have modal phonation. A more complex example comes from outside the Himalayan region, in the form of Shanghai Chinese (Zee 2003). In Shanghai five contrastive contours are found: high falling, high rise, high level, low rise, and low (rise) (51, 34, 52, 13 and 12?). Of these the two low rising contours are associated with breathy phonation.

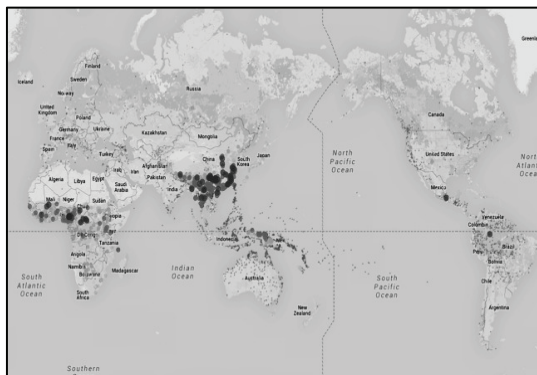
And, conversely, from the greater Himalayan region we find counter-examples. In Gurung, closely related to Tamang, the high level tone and the low level tone are associated with modal phonation, while the high falling and low rise-fall have breathy phonation. That the low rise-fall is breathy is not a surprise, but the high falling tone being associated with breathiness is unexpected. Yet the same is found with Burmese: modal phonation is found with the short high tone, and the low rising tone; the long high tone is creaky, and the long high falling tone is breathy. Outside the Himalayan region breathiness is consistently associated with low (rising) tones, while in the Himalayan region this is attested, but the opposite is also attested. Outside the Himalayan region high, or falling, tones are categorically not associated with breathiness.

4 The distribution of tone and non-modal phonation

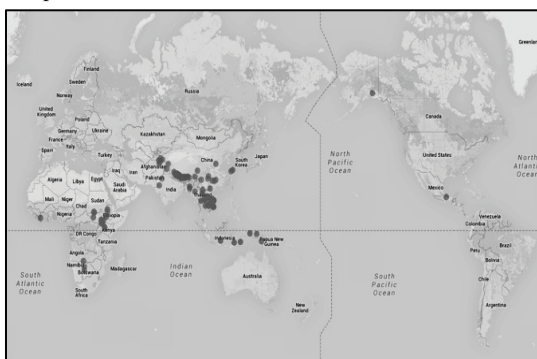
This section examines the geography of tone and contrastive phonation types. The data is drawn from Donohue et al. (2013).

Tone is found in approximately one third of the languages of the world, and is reliably reported on all continents except Australia (Donohue 2012), though the distribution within those continents is highly skewed. Map 1 shows the presence of tone (coded to show languages with more tonal oppositions in a darker shade). The Himalayas is clearly on the periphery of the highly tonal (South-)East Asian area. In terms of contrastive phonation, shown in Map 2, the Himalayas is firmly embedded in the middle of a zone that stretches from Southeast Asia to Afghanistan in which non-modal phonation types are found. This same area, including most of subcontinental South Asia, is also the area in which breathiness can be

found not contrasting on syllable nuclei, but as a component of the segmental system of a language.



Map 1: Tone



Map 2: Contrastive 'register'

5 The diachronic relationship between pitch and breathy phonation.

We have seen that, in addition to being on the edge of the most tonally complex part of the world, the South Asia / Himalayas region also has the highest diversity of breathy behavior, in terms of the locations on which breathiness can be contrastive. Of the linguistic lineages found in South Asia/Himalayas with long histories, all seven exhibit contrastive breathy phonation (though it is arguably present in Dravidian only through the acquisition of Sanskrit loans). Of those families present both in the South Asia / Himalayas region and beyond (Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic), breathy phonation is robustly attested outside the South Asia / Himalayas region only in Austroasiatic languages (and there is not associated with tone). In Tibeto-Burman languages outside the South Asia / Himalayas region breathiness is 'well-behaved', occurring only as a concomitant feature of low,

rising pitch contours. Given this skewed attestation, we must posit language contact. As the driver of the distribution of breathiness in the language families of the South Asia / Himalayas region. This accords with other well-described and discussed phonological and morphological traits that are attributed to contact, such as the distribution of retroflex stops, or the presence of ergative case marking, as well as numerous lexical items.

‘Contact’ is a complex notion (see., eg., Donohue 2013). While ‘contact’ is perhaps most commonly used to refer to a situation in which two contemporary languages show some form of borrowing relationship, that is not the only sense to which ‘contact’ can apply. Importantly, a contact relationship can also exist between a vanished language and a contemporary language.

Given the distribution not only of the existence of contrastive phonation, but also the independence of non-modal phonation types from pitch contours, the simplest and most informative account of the data is to assume that register was prior to tone in the Himalayas. We can posit that an earlier language ecology, most directly represented by Kusunda and more indirectly by other central Nepalese languages, once prevailed over a much wider area in the South Asia / Himalayas region. Some modern linguistic features, such as contrastive breathiness (and perhaps contrastive phonation more generally), uvular consonants, and possibly other linguistic features such as prefixal verb agreement, can be traced to this pre-Indo-European, pre-Tibeto-Burman, and pre-Austroasiatic linguistic ecology (this is compatible with views such as Blench 2010). Breathiness has often been cited as a feature of a ‘South Asian’ linguistic area, but we have seen that breathiness is an ancient substratal feature that predates most South Asian language expansions, and is found beyond the ‘core’ of South Asia, into remote valleys of the Himalayas.

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VALENCE AND VOICE STRATEGIES IN MAGAR

Marie-Caroline Pons

This paper describes the transitivity operators in Magar, a Central Himalayish language spoken in Nepal, based on fieldwork on the dialect spoken in the village of Dudhechaur, Syangja: the causative morpheme -ak increases the valence by adding a supplementary semantic role, while the de-transitive morpheme -fis decreases the valence. These modifications involve transformations in terms of voice of the predicate.

Keywords: morphosyntax, valence, voice, Tibeto-Burman language, Magar

1 Introduction¹

Magar is an agglutinative language, its unmarked word order is SOV and it is a morphologically ergative language. Magar is classified under the sub-family of the ‘West Central Himalayish’ languages of the ‘Bodic’ group of the Sino-Tibetan languages by Shafer (1955:94-111). Bradley (1997:16) has proposed to classify Magar in the ‘Central Himalayan languages’ of the Tibeto-Burman family, including the Raute, Raji, Kham, Chepang and Newari languages. Grunow-Hårsta (2008:111) underlines the presence of two Magar dialects distinguished on the basis of syntactic criteria: the Western dialects present a subject-verb agreement, while the Eastern dialects show split ergativity according to aspect.

The Magar data² essentially comes from fieldwork done in collaboration with the villagers of Dudhechaur, Nibuwakharka V.D.C., Syangja, especially with Arjun Rana, Deepa Rana and Seti Palli. Some of the data have been collected in the village of Takunchaur, Jagatradevi V.D.C., situated at about a three-hour walk from Dudhechaur, among speakers who mainly use Nepali. The Magar language spoken in Dudhechaur and Takunchaur is consistently ergative and presents a subject-verb agreement; as a result, it can be considered as belonging to the Western dialects.

The focus of this paper is the description of the valence and voice strategies in Magar. We will first present the morphological characteristics of the verbal roots whose final consonants reflect the valence and voice of the verb. Then, we will discuss the two morphemes used to syntactically change the valence and the voice of the verb, a pervasive process in Magar: the morpheme *-ak* and the morpheme *-fis*. Finally, we briefly describe two morphemes *-nikiŋ* and *-peak*, used to introduce a time subordinate clause.

The valence of a verb, a notion introduced by Tesnière (1953/1959) and Hockett (1958), represents the maximal number of arguments that a verb can take. The semantic valence is recognized as the number of semantic arguments a verb can take and the syntactic valence, the number of arguments morpho-syntactically coded by the verb. A well-known issue in linguistics is that the term “transitivity” is problematic due to the fact that this notion is not completely representative of the syntactic behavior of the verbal valence. Indeed, if the transitivity of a verb were assumed to be a direct function of the number of syntactic arguments, then a verb such as ‘eat’ would not raise problems and consistently code its arguments. Yet, ‘I eat’ could be interpreted as an intransitive verb and ‘I eat an apple’ a transitive verb. The term ‘intransitive’, ‘transitive’ or ‘ditransitive’ is used here to refer to a syntactic construction.

The valence is linked to the voice because of the fact that the different semantic roles assigned to the arguments of the verb are defined by its semantic characteristics, and when those semantic roles are modified by valence changes, it necessarily implies voice changes.

2 Morphological encoding

2.1 Loan roots

In Magar, valence and voice are primarily present in the verb root, as a fixed morphological process which is not productive anymore, except on loan verbs: the morpheme *-di* is used to derive verbs, especially from Nepali. When a verb is derived,

1 My thanks to Professor Scott DeLancey for his enlightenments and helpful comments.

2 Each example is annotated with the source of the data: D = Dudhechaur; T = Takunchaur; C = Conversation; E = Elicited

the morpheme *-di* is suffixed to the root. When the valence of the loan verb represents a single core argument, the morpheme *-s* is necessary and suffixed to the morpheme *-di*. In the Magar described by Grunow-Hårsta (1998:163), the morpheme *-k* is also attested to derive direct-causative from loan verb: /jʌm-di-k-/ ‘make sth. freeze’. On loan verbs, this morpheme is absent from the Magar spoken in Dudhechaur.

Table 1: Monovalent and bivalent loan verb roots

monovalent	meaning	bivalent	meaning
sar-di-s-	shift	mor-di-	overlay
marka-di-s-	be sprained, twisted	rop-di-	seed
taŋ-di-s-	stretch	taŋ-di-	pull

2.2 Non productive derivational process

The morphological characteristics of the Magar verbs, which are, as just stated, not productive anymore, discriminate the final consonant of the verb root, in terms of both valence and voice: /-s/, /-t/, /-h/ and /-k/. Grunow-Hårsta (1998:153) separates these 4 morphemes into two groups, one defined by an “intransitive/transitive” distinction, respectively /-s/ and /-t/, and the other one defined by a “reflexive-middle/causative” distinction, respectively /-h/ and /-k/. All four are attested in the Magar dialect of Dudhechaur.

Benedict (1972:97-103) reconstructs the Proto-Tibeto-Burman suffixes */-s/ and */-t/ as a reflexive and directive/causative morphemes, respectively. Those suffixes are also attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Kham, (Watters 2003:3-5), Chepang, (Caughley noted by Watters (2003:6)), and in Kiranti languages, Michailovsky (1975:322) and Van Driem (1998:157).

The morphemes /-t/ and /-k/ are present on bivalent verb roots. Grunow-Hårsta (1998:153) has stated that the morpheme /-k/ encodes a direct-causative, distinct from the productive causative morpheme /-ak/, pointing out that Shibatani (2002:137) “has observed indirect causation correlates with productive morphological causatives and direct with lexical causatives”.

The morphemes /-s/ and /-h/ are present on monovalent verb roots; also noted by Grunow-

Hårsta (1998:162), in contrast to /-s/, the morpheme /-h/ is analyzed as encoding a middle voice. In the Magar of Dudhechaur, the morpheme /-h/ is morpho-phonologically different from the one attested in the Magar described by Grunow-Hårsta. That is, verb roots whose final consonant is followed by the morpheme /-h/ are not attested at all; moreover, when a final-root verb is /-h/, either it does not appear or it is re-syllabified: /-h/ is the onset of a second syllable whose vocalic nuclei is the result of a vowel which harmonizes with the vocalic nuclei of the first syllable³. Some examples are as follows.

Table 2: The morpheme /-h/

Grunow-Hårsta	Dudhechaur	meaning
molh-	<i>not attested</i>	mix, integrate self
birih-	biri-	be afraid
t ^h ah-	t ^h aha-	sink oneself

The following pairs contrast the final consonants (and syllable) in terms of valence and voice.

Table 3: Verb root-final

root	meaning	voice	valence
b ^h aha-	be broken, be separated, be divided	middle	mono-valent
b ^h as-	be broken, be separated, be divided	active	mono-valent
b ^h ak-	break, separate, divide	causative	bivalent
b ^h at-	break, separate, divide	active	bivalent

The following examples present some minimal pairs of verbs whose final consonant (and syllable) attests this fixed morphological process.

- (1) a. ŋa-l^ha-kat nepal l^hes-l-aŋ
1Sg-Emph-one Nepal return-Ipfv-1Sg
‘I will return alone to Nepal.’ D-C950-969
- b. kitab-o pana na-l^het-o
book-Gen page Neg-turn-Imp
‘Don’t turn the page of the book!’ T-E479
- (2) a. hos hāga gjaha-le !
Dist.Dem branch snap-Ipfv
‘This branch snaps!’ D-C946-949
- b. buta-aŋ nuŋ-naŋ hāga gjak-l-aŋ
tree-Loc climb-Sim branch snap-Ipfv-1Sg
‘Climbing the tree, I am going to break a branch.’ D-C946-949

³ Grunow-Hårsta describes the nucleus whose coda is /-h/ as a long murmured vowel with a falling pitch-contour (1998:67).

- (3) a. sɔdɛj ɲa ʃ^ha bɑdʒe so-l-aŋ
always 1Sg six o'clock get.up-Ipfv-1Sg
'I always get up at 6.' T-E415
- b. hoʃ-e l^huŋ sot-nikiŋ bul-ke ɲap-a
3Sg-Erg stone raise-Ant snake-Dat strike-Pst
'After having raised a stone, he struck the
snake.' T-E478
- c. argan-e dʒik-nikiŋ ɲa-ke sok-ʃɿ
wasp-Erg bite-Ant 1Sg-Dat make.swell-PstP
'The wasp made me swollen after having
bitten me.' D-E906
- (4) a. ɲa ret-l-aŋ
1Sg laugh-Ipfv-1Sg
'I laugh' T-E375
- b. pema-e ɲa-ke ret-ak-kaŋ
Pema-Erg 1Sg-Dat laugh-Caus-3Sg.Pst
'Pema made me laugh.' T-E375

The valence and voice characterizing semantically and morphologically the magar verbs, is an important feature determining the voice changes involved in the predicate through the suffixation of the morpheme *-ak* or the morpheme *-ʃis*.

3 The morpheme *-ak*

The morpheme *-ak*, directly suffixed to the verb root, increases the valence of the verb, adding a supplementary argument slot to the predicate, changing its voice into causative.

The causative morpheme can be suffixed to a monovalent (5), bivalent (6) or trivalent (7) verb root involving the addition of a supplementary argument slot whose semantic role is the one of the agent (or causer), subject of the sentence, always marked by the ergative case. The subject-verb agreement is present in the predicate.

We must specify that the causative morpheme *-ak*, from a morpho-phonological point of view, undergoes a vocalic harmony when it is suffixed to a verb root whose final consonant is a non-breathy voiced liquid /l/, /r/ or nasal /m/, /n/, /ŋ/⁴. The vowel of the causative morpheme harmonizes with the core vowel of the last syllable of the root.

4 The final velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ loses its velar feature and becomes /n/ when the root is suffixed by the causative morpheme *-ak*: /m^huŋ-/ « to be tired » > /m^hun-uk-/ > « to cause to be tired ».

Table 4: Causative and vocalic harmony

ik [ɪk]				
root-Caus	ʃim-ik-	gin-ik-	hil-ik-	dʒil-ik-
meaning	soak	make ask	make count	make collapse
ok [ɔk]				
root-Caus	dʒom-ok-	ol-ok-	k ^h or-ok-	m ^h or-ok-
meaning	light, lit, kindle	provide as needed	make fall	make drunk
uk [ɔk]				
root-Caus	dʒum-uk-	pun-uk-	hul-uk-	n ^h ur-uk-
meaning	make cold	make fight	sharpen, destroy, demolish	moisten

3.1 Monovalent verb root

The patient of a monovalent verb root suffixed by the causative morpheme, as a salient direct object can be marked by the dative case, as the case in Kham (Watters 1973:199-202), but most of the time, if this patient is inanimate or non-human it remains unmarked (5d.).

- (5) a. hose raha-le
3Sg come-Ipfv
'He comes.' D-C983-988
- b. ɲa-e hos-ke raha-ak-l-aŋ
1Sg-Erg 3Sg-Dat come-Caus-Ipfv-1Sg
'I make him come.' D-E680
- c. dʒolla-aŋ saman ka-nikiŋ ise
bag-Loc things put-Ant Prox.Def
ma-dʒil-mɿ-le
Neg-collapse-Prog-Ipfv
'After having put things in the bag, it does not
collapse.' T-E439
- d. ɲa-e im ɲa-dʒil-ak-aŋ
1Sg-Erg house 1Sg.Pst-collapse-Caus-1Sg.Pst
'I made the house collapse.' D-E747

3.2 Bivalent verb root

The patient of a bivalent verb root suffixed by the causative morpheme is marked by the dative case, as an indirect object, whereas the direct object is left unmarked (6b.).

- (6) a. ɲa-e de-ʃɿ b^hɿɲni-ke
1Sg-Erg say-PsP younger.sister-Dat
"met ket-o!"
vegetables mix-Inj
'I said to my little sister: "Mix the
vegetables!"'. D-C816

- b. η a-e b^hʌjɲi-ke
 1Sg-Erg younger.sister-Dat
 met η a-ket-ak-a η
 vegetables 1Sg.Pst-mix-1Sg.Pst
 ‘I made my little sister mix the vegetables.’
 D-C816

- c. arɟun-e men-o b^hʌjɲi-ke
 Arjun-Erg 3Sg-Gen younger.sister-Dat
 di hat-ak-ak-a
 Water boil-Caus-Caus-Pst
 ‘Arjun made his little sister make the water
 boil.’ D-E815

3.3 Trivalent verb root

When the causative morpheme is suffixed to a trivalent verb root, the subject (agent or causer) remains marked by the ergative case. It is important to specify that in Magar, the ergative and instrumental are both the same morpheme /-e/. We can ask ourselves if the suffixation of the morpheme /-e/ to / η a/ does not mark the semantic role of this argument as instrumental and not as patient. Regarding the recipient or beneficiary, this one is marked by the dative case. The direct object is not marked (7b.). As a result, the suffixation of the causative morpheme to a trivalent verb root could involve an applicative voice. This analysis must be improved.

- (7) a. Δ bʌ η a-e an-na η -rʌ ʌrni
 then 1Sg-Erg go-Sub.Sim-Top midday.meal
 jaha-l-a η j^hami-ko-ke
 give-1pfv-1Sg hired.worker-Pl-Dat
 ‘Then, when I go, I give the meal to the hired
 workers.’ D-S598-605
- b. ho η -e η a-e na η -ke ise jaha-ak-a
 2Sg-Erg 1Sg-Inst 2Sg-Dat Prox.Pro give-Caus-Pst
 ‘He made me give you this.’ D-E814
 (*Lit. ‘He gave you this by me/through me.’*)

3.4 More than one core argument adding

The causative morpheme *-ak* can be reduplicated when the predicate needs the addition of more than one supplementary argument slot (8c.): the agent is marked by the ergative case and the patient by the dative. The direct object is left unmarked.

- (8) a. di hat-mʌ-le
 water boil-Prog-1pfv
 ‘The water is boiling.’ D-E661
- b. η a-e η ^ha-ke ma-de-mʌ
 1Sg-Erg be.sick-Dat Neg-say-Nmlz
 di hat-ak-l-a η
 water boil-Caus-1pfv-1Sg
 ‘In order not to be sick, I make the
 water boil.’ D-E802 (*Lit. ‘In order not to say
 that I am sick, I make the water boil.’*)

3.5 Verb root-final vestige

The causative morpheme *-ak* requires further study, in order to better understand the valence of the Magar verbs. Moreover, the suffixation of this morpheme involves on certain roots the epenthesis of 3 different morphemes /-h/, /-t/ or /-s/ (Table 5.) which apparently come from the fixed morphology of the valence (and voice) of the verb: these roots are not independently used in synchrony. These morphemes correspond to those that have been discussed above as encoding the valence and voice of the root-verb, although this derivational process is no longer productive.

Table 5: Phoneme epenthesis

bivalent	meaning	trivalent	meaning
η ak-	say, talk	η a-t-ak-	make say
η a-h-ak-	call		
bu-	carry	bu-s-ak-	make carry

4 The morpheme *-fis*

When the de-transitive morpheme *-fis* is suffixed to a verb root, this suffixation involves changes in terms of voice of the predicate. The valence and voice of the verb to which *-fis* is suffixed determines and underlines the voice transformation of the predicate.

4.1 Bivalent verb root

When the morpheme *-fis* is suffixed to a verb root whose valence is more than one, the valence of the predicate is decreased and its voice is changed into a passive one (9). The syntactic subject displays a semantic role of patient, marked as the subject of an intransitive construction, that is, unmarked. The patient does not involve subject-verb agreement (11).

- (9) a. daj-e pʌjsa m^heak-ka η
 older.brother-Erg money forget-3Sg.F.Pst
 ‘Brother has forgotten the money!’ D-C950-969
- b. i-la η -o b^hasa m^heak- η is-le
 Prox-Loc-Gen language forget-Dtr-1pfv
 ‘The language of here is being forgotten.’ D-
 C773

If the agent is expressed, this one is marked by the ergative or instrumental case (10).

- (10) η a-e magar b^hasa paha- η is-a
 1Sg-Erg Magar language learn-Dtr-Pst
 ‘Magar language has been learned by me.’ D-E784

The subject, whose semantic role is the one of the patient can be marked by the dative case (11a.), but if its reference is inanimate or non-human it remains unmarked (11b.).

- (11) a. na η -ke dzak- η is-le
 2Sg-Dat like-Dtr-Ipfv
 ‘You are loved.’ D-C809
- b. b^hAjsi η ip- η is-le
 buffalo milk-Dtr-Ipfv
 ‘The buffalo is going to be milked.’ D-E788

4.2 Monovalent verb root

The fact that the morpheme *- η is* can also be suffixed to a monovalent verb root involves differences in terms of voice of the predicate. We argue here that the function of the morpheme *- η is* suffixed to a monovalent verb root is to change the voice of the predicate into middle voice (12).

- (12) a. η a mis-l-a η
 1Sg sleep-Ipfv-1Sg
 ‘I sleep.’ T-E372
- b. η a mis- η is-a
 1Sg sleep-Dtr-Pst
 ‘I fell asleep.’ D-E784

Lyons (1968:373) characterizes middle voice as indicating that “the ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb or his interests”.

The semantic property shared by middle and reflexive, underlined by Kemmer (1992:151), is the fact that the initiator and endpoint of the event are the same entity. However, Kemmer clarifies the distinction between reflexive and middle situations, something that LaPolla (1996:1940-1954) clearly comments on:

The middle situation is like the direct reflexive in that the referent performing the action and the one affected by the action are the same referent, that is, both involve self-directed action, but the middle voice situation differs from the prototypical direct reflexive situation in that the nature of that referent as initiator of the action and the nature of that referent as endpoint of the action are not as distinct as in the reflexive situation.

Reflexive situations represent events whose participants are more distinguishable than in middle situation, that Kemmer (1993b:238) defines as a “low elaboration of participants in an event”.

4.3 Reflexive and reciprocal construction

The reflexive and reciprocal situations in Magar can be expressed by a dative-construction where the morpheme *-l^ha* is suffixed to the pronoun in object position (13). In subject position, the morpheme *-l^ha* is used as an emphatic pronoun (14).

- (13) a. na η -e na η -l^ha-ke na-gin-as
 2Sg-Erg 2Sg-Ref-Dat 2Sg-ask-2Sg.Pst
 ‘You asked yourself.’ D-E423
- b. ka η ko-e ka η ko-l^ha-ke ka-gin-as
 1Pl-Erg 1Pl-Recp-Dat 1Pl-ask-1Pl.Pst
 ‘We asked each other.’ D-E423
- (14) men⁵-l^ha p^hos- η l^h
 3Sg-Emph break.away-PstP
 ‘It broke away (by itself).’ D-C871-881

4.4 Middle voice

The subject of a middle predicate is unmarked and its semantic role is the one of a patient affected by the event or action initiated by itself (15).

- (15) a. hos hāga g η aha-nikin k^horo-le !
 Dist.Dem branch snap-Ant fall-Ipfv
 ‘After having snapped, this branch falls.’ D-C946-949
- b. η a w^ha-na η w^ha-na η k^horo- η is-a
 1Sg walk-Sim walk-Sim fall-Dtr-Pst
 ‘When I was walking, I felt.’ D-E780

When the subject is plural then the predicate underlines a collective voice (16).

- (16) ka η ko m^hΛra η - η is-a
 1Pl be.happy-Dtr-Pst
 ‘We are happy.’ D-E783
 (Lit. ‘We made ourselves happy.’)

The morpheme */- η is/* is cognate with the suffix */-si/*, marking the middle voice in Kham (Watters 2002:241), and of the reflexive suffix */-si η /* in Limbu (van Driem 1987:87).

5 The use of an old form of the pronoun of third person /men/ is also attested in the Magar spoken in Jhadeva described by Angdembe (1996:7). In this example, the referent of /men/ is a buffalo.

It is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti reflexive suffix */-nši/ pointed out by Van Driem (1993:320) to be “reconstructible to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman level” and corresponding to the reconstruction of LaPolla (2003).

According to Grunow-Hårsta (1998:173-176), the de-transitive morpheme *-fis* is not attested in the Magar spoken in the district of Tanahu. Her analysis of this morpheme is different and states that *-fis* expresses a resultative defined by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988:6) as a state implying a previous event: the subject of a transitive construction is called *patient-resultative*, marked by the dative case, and the one of an intransitive construction *subject-resultative*, marked by the absolutive case. However, Grunow-Hårsta (1998:403) points out that the *subject-resultative*, of a monovalent predicate, undertakes “an action of which s/he became the undergoer”, thus corresponding to the semantics of the middle voice, and underlines a “reflexive implication”.

5 Temporal subordinate clause

In Magar, temporal subordinate clauses are introduced by two different postpositional morphemes: *-nikij* and *-peak* (or *-peakij*). These subordinate clauses are temporal, expressing an event preceding the one expressed in the main clause and are semantically linked to causality. The suffixation of the morpheme *-nikij* or *-peak* differs in terms of voice of the subordinated verb: when the verb of the subordinate clause is in the active voice, the morpheme *-nikij* is used (18), whereas *-peak* is suffixed to the bare verb of the subordinate clause when it is in the passive voice (17); the syntactic subject of the subordinate clause displays the semantic role of patient.

The former is not attested in the Magar spoken in the villages of Chandi Bhanjyang and Alamadevi (Syangja) and the one of Harkapur (Tanahu) described by Grunow-Hårsta (1998), nor in the one spoken in Jhadeva (Palpa) described by Angdembe (1996). The latter is attested in the Magar described by Grunow-Hårsta (1998:458): it is not analyzed as being used for marking the passive voice, but merely introducing a simple time subordinate clause.

When the subject of an intransitive (17b.), transitive (17c.) or ditransitive (17d.) construction

receive the semantic role of patient, the morpheme *-peak* is used. The suffix *-ij* is the ablative case, which is essentially used to form adverbs or adverbial clauses: however, regarding to the use of the morpheme *-peak* without the suffixation of the morpheme *-ij* (18a.), its presence is not really clear at that time. Moreover, we can note that the morpheme *-nikij* never appears without the morpheme *-ij*, obviously linked to the notion of time. We argue that the morphemes *-peak* and *-peakij* are allomorphs.

- (17) a. ʃiha riŋ-mA-le
tea be.cool-Prog-Ipfv
'The tea is cooling.' D-E677
- b. ʃho-met riŋ-peakij dʒja-l-aŋ
rice-vegetable be.cool-Ant eat-Ipfv-1Sg
'Once the rice and vegetables have cooled, I eat!' D-C950-969
- c. ho-laŋ kApaða ka-peakij dʒos-le-ni!
Dist-Loc clothes put-Ant burn-Ipfv-Part
'After having been put there, the clothes burn!' D-C950-969
- d. miʰo basAŋa jaha-peakij, hos-ke
good perfume give-Ant Dist.Def-Dat
bʰara-aŋ ka-nikij da-le!
plate-Loc poor-Ant put-Ipfv
'Once the good perfume has been given, having poured this one in a plate, she/he put it on.' D-C971-981
- (18) a. argan pʰin-peak ma-dʒik-le
wasp cook-Ant Neg-bite-Ipfv
'After having been cooked, the wasps don't bite.' D-E461
- b. ŋa-e ʃho pʰin-nikij hup-l-aŋ
1Sg-Erg rice cook-Ant cover-Ipfv-1Sg
'After having cooked the rice, I cover it.' D-C950-96
- c. dʒetʰa raha-nikij, “ŋA-o kam
elder.brother come-Ant Poss.2Sg work
[kʰoɛj]?” de-le-si-a-ta
where say-Ipfv-Evid-Ps-Part
'After the older brother arrived, he said:
“Where is your work?”’ D-S591-597
- d. ŋa-e hos-ke ro-tak-nikij,
1Sg-Erg 3Sg-Dat love-Caus-Ant
midʒa pʰeak-nikij, kAraŋ-mA-peakij (...)
child drive.out-Ant big-Nmlz-Ant
'After having made (themselves) reproduce, after the babies have gone out, once they have been made grown up (...)' D-C905

If the morpheme *-peak* is formed with the causative morpheme */-ak/*, as it seems to be, we can ask ourselves if the morpheme */-pe/* is not a nominalizer. That is, the strict passive syntactic pattern of the subordinate clause underlines semantically a consequence entailed by a causative event.

Table 6: Subordinate clause and voice

main clause	subordinate clause	voice
Σ -SVAgreement	Σ -nikij	active
Σ -ak-SVAgreement	Σ -ak-nikij	causative
Σ -fjis-Pst/Ipfv/PstPart	Σ -peak/peakij	passive

6 Summary

Valence and voice in Magar are primarily part of the semantics of verbs and are morphologically encoded through the final consonant. This derivational process is no longer productive except on loan verbs. The suffixation of the morphemes *-ak* and *-fjis* involves changes in terms of valence and voice of the predicate. The former allows the adding of a supplementary argument slot, transforming the voice of the predicate into causative and assigning to the subject the semantic role of agent. The latter removes an argument slot from the predicate whose valence is more than one, changing its voice into passive; the morpheme *-fjis* cannot be qualified as de-transitivizing when it is suffixed to a monovalent verb root but transforms the voice of the predicate into middle. The presence of these morphemes has to be deeply studied in order to understand better the semantics of the verbs in relation to the valence and voice. Lastly, the valence and voice of the verbs are also important features in determining the presence of two different morphemes to introduce an anterior subordinate clause: *-nikij* and *-peak/peakij*. The valence and voice are essential and meaningful points in the description of a language, embracing the semantics and the syntax.

Abbreviations

Abl	Ablative	Ant	Anterior subordinate clause
Caus	Causative	Cl	Classifier
Dat	Dative	Dem	Demonstrative
Dist	Distal	Dtr	De-transitive
Erg	Ergative	Evid	Evidential
Gen	Genitive	Imp	Imperative
Ipfv	Imperfective	Ln	Loan
Loc	Locative	Neg	Negation
Nmlz	Nominalizer	Part	Particle

Poss	Possessive	Pro	Pronoun
Prox	Proximal	Pst	Past
PsP	Past Participle	Ref	Reflexive
Recp	Reciprocal	Sim	Simultaneous subordinate clause

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Although Sanskrit is the source of neologism and the model of orthography and Nepali is the lingua franca, both are political targets. Nepalese languages have developed many phonological, morphological, syntactic features which may be concluded as the results of migration.

Keywords: immigration, linguistic consequence, graphological, syntactic convergence, phonological, morphological

1 Relative chronology of Nepalese peoples

Although fossils of Ramapithecus have been discovered in Nepal, none of the human races has been identified as an aborigine, except for the Kusunda who speak a language isolate and whose origin has never been linked outside the peninsula. Research in South Asian chronology has set Austric, Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Persian, Greek, Arabic, and Portuguese and English speakers in order, but in Nepal the order seems to be the pronominalized Tibeto-Burman Himalayish and Indo-Aryan. The Bodish group of Tibeto-Burman speakers may have come to Nepal not before the Tibetan unification (7th century). The Austroasiatic and the Dravidian speakers came to Nepal to work in the tea gardens around two centuries ago.

Although the relative chronology of the Nepalese peoples show that all of Nepalese peoples except for the Kusunda speakers, have come to Nepal directly or indirectly from modern Chinese territories, the Indo-Aryan Nepali language speakers are often called 'immigrants' by political activists from Tibeto-Burman family background. Such activists usually speak Nepali creole as the first language, most of who are monolingual to Nepali and who have been living in a metropolitan city or urban area, away from their ancestral habitats, totally detached from the real speakers of their ancestral languages.

2 Relative chronology of peoples in South Asia

2.1 Austric

The earliest immigrant of South Asia is believed to be the Negrito (1500 BC following Chatterji

1974), a group of people speaking Austronesian languages, who were believed to be related to some of the peoples of the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and the islands of Andaman, Nicobar of Indian Ocean as far as the Madagaskar island of Africa; and whose original home is believed to be Taiwan (Reid, 2007). According to Chatterji (1974: 14) all the riverain tracts of north India and Central Indian hills and jungles were occupied by the Austric peoples.

Although there are traces of an influence of Austroasiatic languages and culture (Chatterji & Bagchi, 1929) in the vocabulary and morphology of Nepalese languages, speakers of Austroasiatic languages Santali, Kharia and Munda are reported to have come to Nepal to work in the tea gardens from Jharkhand not earlier than two centuries ago.

2.2 Dravidian

The Austric speaking Negritos were followed by the speakers of the Dravidian languages in South Asia. The Indus Valley (3000-1750 BC) script has not been successfully deciphered although there are conflicting claims of their successful decipherment. Asko Parpola (Parpola, 2005), a professor of the Helsinki University has claimed the language to be Dravidian whose original home is believed to be the vicinity of the Mediterranean Sea (Marr, 1975). The archeology of Xinjiang (Mair, 1998) in western China discovers the mummies of the Dravidian people together with that of the Indo-European peoples (Kangxin, 1998).

However, speakers of the only Dravidian language Kurux (Oraon or Jhangad) in Nepal are also reported to have come from Jharkhand to work in the tea gardens about the same time as the Austroasiatic although there are clear evidences of Dravidian culture and language (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and vocabulary) in the Nepalese languages.

2.3 Indo-Aryan

The Aryan, a branch of the Indo-European speaking people whose original home was in the

vicinity of the Ural and the Caspian Sea around the 4th millennium BC (Mair, 1998), arrived in South Asia around 1500 BC from Central Asia (Burrow, 1975). Chatterji (1974, p. 36) has estimated that the Indo-Aryan speaking people entering the northwestern and the Kirata people entering the northeastern parts of South Asia to be roughly the same.

Indo-Aryan is the family of a human language which has the largest corpus of texts of the widest historical span. The Old Indo-Aryan is represented by Vedic Sanskrit (BC 1500-500) and Classical Sanskrit. The Middle Indo-Aryan (BC 500-500 AD) texts (Woolner, 1928) are represented by Asokan Inscriptional Prakrit, Pali, literary Prakrit and Apabhramsha (500-1000 AD). New Indo-Aryan texts are represented by a large number of both written and spoken texts of languages mainly spoken in the northern part of the South Asian subcontinent together with the texts of Gypsy dialects in Europe and West Asia. Nepali is a New Indo-Aryan language.

2.3.1 Functions of historical Indo-Aryan dialects in Nepal

Modern Nepal makes use of Indo-Aryan languages of all the historical period for various social functions.

a. Nepali is the official language of Nepal. Nepali has not less than twelve geographical (Niraula, 2051) and many nonstandard and social dialects. During the latter part of the Panchayat system of government the 1981 census showed that Nepali was the mother tongue of about 58% of the population. Soon after the political change of 1999, the percentage of Nepali mother tongue speakers dropped to around 50 percent and in the 2001 census report, the population of Nepali mother-tongue speakers further dropped to about 48%. This gradual drop in the population figures in Nepali is the result of change in the attitude of Nepali speakers who speak it actually as a mother tongue and attitudinally as an 'other tongue'. If we compare the census data of Maithili, Tharu, Limbu, Newar and Magar against Nepali, we will find that the population of these languages is gradually diminishing from the beginning (1954) until 1981 and gradually increasing after 1981 while census figures for Nepali correspondingly go in the opposite

direction before and after 1981. There is a growing denial of the historical status of Nepali among political activists who speak Nepali either a second language or as the first language creole.

- b. In addition to Nepali there are about fifteen other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal. Maithili has recently been included in the 8th schedule of the Indian constitution; otherwise all other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal are considered language, but they (Bhojpuri, Awadhi) are considered only dialects of Hindi. Some of the Indo-Aryan languages of the mountains like Churaute and Majhi are gradually becoming almost dialects of Nepali due to bilingualism.
- c. Majority of the Nepalese international trade is carried out through Hindi. Hindi is a trade language, the language of religious Hindu *arati*, and a language of mass entertainment and media in the plains, urban areas and among so-called educated people. It is often used as a link language among different South Asian citizens while they are abroad. Even along the southern Nepalese urban areas Hindi often acts as a link language among the educated elite. Hindi is declared a formal language of communication among Terai-based politicians. In spite of these important roles Hindi is often treated as a token of political controversy among the pro-and-anti-Indian fanatics.
- d. Pali is used in Theravada and Hinayana Buddhist rituals. The first Nepalese inscription is in the Asokan Prakrit.
- e. Vedic Sanskrit is used in many Hindu rituals. Sanskrit is used in literary texts, most of the Hindu Puranic texts, religious and ritualistic documents, as a medium of academic exercise in the Sanskrit university and Mahayana Buddhist scriptures. In addition to cultural and academic functions Sanskrit serves as the main source of scientific and technical vocabularies for calquing and human and institutional given names and titles in almost all the languages of South Asia. In spite of such obligatory social functions Sanskrit language has been a matter political debate and controversy. It has been tied to former ruling class and Brahmin priests.

2.3.2 Functions and issues of Devanagari script

Sanskrit remained an unwritten language for more than a millennium until it was transcribed in the Brahmi script in the 3rd century BC. The earliest Brahmi was not adequate to represent Sanskrit phonology. For that adequacy history had to wait until the evolution of Brahmi to Devanagari (8th century). Although there are about seven traditional scripts (Devanagari, Ranjana, Kaithi, Mithilaksar, Lepcha, Sirijanga and Tibetan) to write Nepalese languages, Devanagari has served as the basic role model and gradually other scripts like Ranjana and Sirijanga have evolved to be functionally similar to Devanagari although the phonology of the languages show inadequacy and discrepancies.

Sanskrit universities in South Asia do not teach phonetics although the modern word synonymous for education (शिक्षा) meant phonetics in the Vedic literature. The repercussions of such a convention are such that today every South Asian pundit speaks 'correct' Sanskrit using the phonemic inventory of her/his mother tongue. This practice has brought problem of unanimity in correct spelling in Nepali followed by several other mother tongues in Nepal.

Political opposition of Nepali has its echo in the opposition of Devanagari also in some of the newly written languages like Umbule Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Magar and Dngmali although majority of those who can read and write cannot read scripts other than Devanagari. Devanagari is common in the Newar language which has not less than seven different traditional scripts. Introducing phonemic writing system in some of these languages is sometimes difficult, because people plead correct forms of spelling on the ground of their prejudice borne through Nepali.

2.4 Tibeto-Burman

Grierson (1927) speculates the upper courses of the Yangtze and the Huang-he [which locates roughly the area covered by northeast Tibet, northwest Sichuan and southeast Qinghai provinces of China] to be the original home of the 'Tibeto-Chinese [speaking] race'. Chatterji (1974:26) has estimated that these people started to disperse from modern Sichuan towards South Asia. Following him we can say that speakers of

Tibeto-Burman languages may have reached the northeastern sub-Himalayan region of South Asia during the Shang (1700-1000 BC) period.

2.4.1 The Kirāta people

The presumably pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language speaking *Kirāta* people are mentioned first in several of the Vedic (1000-500 BC) texts [(the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (xxx.16) of the *Shukla-yajur-veda*, *Atharva-veda* (x.4.14), the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (iii. 4.12.1) of the *Krishna-yajur-veda*) and the *Atharva-veda* (10.4.14)] (Macdonell & Keith, 1912). Chatterji (1974:58) notes that a Mongoloid ruler named *Bhagadatta* participated in the Mahabharata war (950 BC) in Kuruksetra. It shows that the Tibeto-Burman people may have occupied the sub-Himalayan caves and mountains of Assam, Bhutan, Nepal, Kumaon and Garhwal by the 10th century BC. On the other hand, Chatterji notes that the Indo-Aryan people do not seem to have occupied the region east of Bideha or Mithila [perhaps to the east of the Kosi River] before 700 BC.

According to the map given by Macdonell and Keith (1912) the so-called Kirata people are shown to have occupied western Nepal in the Vedic period. Here, the name 'Kirata' simply means the Tibeto-Burman 'pronominalized' language speaking Mongoloid peoples, the predecessors of the present day Kanauri, Lahuli, Manchadi, Chaudangsi, Byangsi, Raji, Raute, Kham, Magar, Bhujel, Chepang and Newar speaking peoples. It is unlikely that the Vedic Aryans (1500-500 BC) could have been the neighbors of the Kirata language speaking populations of eastern Nepal although today the word Kirata only refers to them. Based on Chatterji (1974) we can speculate that due to the continuous and gradual influx of the pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language speakers from Sichuan in South China to the Punjab in northwestern India, the people who are dwelling in the west are likely to have been earlier than those who inhabit towards east in their gradual westward movement along the southern sub-Himalayan settlements.

2.4.2 Bodish group of Tibeto-Burman

The Bodish or Tibetic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language speakers came to South Asia

crossing through the Himalayan passes not before the 7th century unification of Tibet.

The Tibeto-Burman languages have contributed substratum influence in the pronunciation, grammatical structure and some of the cultural vocabulary items over Nepali. There is mutual linguistic influence between Indo-Aryan Nepali and Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff, 1990) spoken in Nepal. If we regularly examine the linguistic discourse of the newly introduced *Nayan Nepal* 'new Nepal' column in *the Gorkhapatra* daily, we will find that Nepalese minority languages have not only borrowed neologisms but also several structural and grammatical items from Nepali.

I have developed orthography in almost 50% of the unwritten languages of Nepal. My experience with the interactions of the Tibeto-Burman mother tongue speakers gives the evidence that bilingualism and language shift have acted to bring gradual phonological convergence (Emeneau M. B., 1956; Emeneau M. B., 1980; Krishnamurti, 1986) among Nepalese languages.

2.5 Persian

Pakistan was the eastern border of the Achaemenid king Darius (528-486 BC) who ruled over Afghanistan and Sind. Persian coins are the evidence of that rule. Kushana (135 BC-200 AD) and the Parthian or Pallava rules (10 BC) and the movement of the Parasis to Gujarat and Mumbai (800-900) has brought the Avestan (1200-700 BC) culture to India. All these prehistoric and historical movements have had an influence of different groups of the Iranian peoples in South Asia (Cunningham, 1891 [1990]). Rudradaman (130 AD) is the first Iranian king who initiated the Sanskrit language in historical inscriptions in South Asia.

Nepali is often called the *Khas kura* 'Khasa's language' by the Newars and the Magars. The Khasa tribe is supposed to be a pre-Vedic Indo-Iranian speaking people whose original home is supposed to be Xinjiang and Gansu of western China (Mair, 1998; सांकृत्यायन, 2013). During the Muslim period many Persian words came to Nepali indirectly through Hindi or through the royal courts of Delhi. Not only the lexical items, has the royal dialect of Nepali also borrowed बख्श

<baXç> 'to give' (खाँ 'मद्दाह', 1980) as a grammaticalized vector in a compound verb.

2.6 Arabic

Muhammad bin Qasim's (711-714 AD) conquest in Sind inaugurated the influence of Arabic language. Muhammad Ghazni's raids (1005-1026 AD), Muhammad Ghuri's (1186 AD) and Qutb-ud Din's (1192-1193) activities in India may have promoted an influence of Arabic language. Urdu Ghazal developed as a separate genre (1723-1810). When the Mongols came to Lahore (1241) and invaded Delhi (1303) some of the Mongolian words like <bahadur> came to be used. Vasco de Gama's arrival in Calicut (1498) inaugurated Portuguese vocabulary in South Asian languages. When East India Company set factories in Madras (1641), it generated the use of English language in the peninsula. The French also had their influence in Pondicherry (1673).

There are many Arabic words in legal, administrative and royal vocabularies of Nepali. This may be the result of the indirect influence of Muslim rulers in Delhi.

2.7 English

Sir William Jones (1746-1794) founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), translated Kalidasa's Shakuntala and inaugurated the science of comparative philology which triggered Indo-European scholarship and ultimately the science of linguistics. Fort William College was established in Kolkata (1800) to give instructions to the East India Company's recruits.

The two century long British rule in India has injected an obligatory kaleidoscopic role of English in education, academics, administrative and social fields of Nepal as a language of South Asia and it has given birth to a wide spectrum of sociolinguistic issues.

3 Linguistic issues as consequences of immigration

Following are the issues resulted from immigration in Nepal which is a subset of the larger issues of immigration in South Asia:

a. Issue of indigenous and outsider: Although the relative chronology of the Nepalese peoples show that all of Nepalese peoples except for the

Kusunda speakers, have come to Nepal directly or indirectly from modern Chinese territories, the Indo-Aryan Nepali language speakers are often called 'immigrants' by political activists from Tibeto-Burman family background. Such activists usually speak Nepali creole as the first language, most of who are monolingual to Nepali and who have been living in a metropolitan city or urban area, away from their ancestral habitats, totally detached from the real speakers of their ancestral languages.

b. Issues related with Kiranti: According to the map given by Macdonell and Keith (1912) the so-called Kirata people are shown to have occupied western Nepal in the Vedic period. Here, the name 'Kirata' simply means the Tibeto-Burman 'pronominalized' language speaking Mongoloid peoples, the predecessors of the present day Kanauri, Lahuli, Manchadi, Chaudangsi, Byangsi, Raji, Raute, Kham, Magar, Bhujel, Chepang and Newar speaking peoples. It is unlikely that the Vedic Aryans (1500-500 BC) could have been the neighbors of the Kirata language speaking populations of eastern Nepal although today the word Kirata only refers to them. Based on Chatterji (1974) we can speculate that due to the continuous and gradual influx of the pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language speakers from Sichuan in South China to the Punjab in northwestern India, the people who are dwelling in the west are likely to have been earlier than those who inhabit towards east in their gradual westward movement along the southern sub-Himalayan settlements.

c. Pidginization, creolization and morphological blending: Sankrityayan (संकृत्यायन, 1948, pp. 347-348) cites a blending of Indo-Aryan verb roots and Tibeto-Burman affixes as a strategy of word formation rules in Kanauri. Khatri (Khatri, 2008) and Thapa (थापा, 2008) also note the similar process of word formation in Raji and Chhantyal respectively. This phenomenon may be a result of earlier pidginization and creolization.

d. Anachronism with Austric and Dravidian: Although there are traces of an influence of Austroasiatic languages and culture in the vocabulary and morphology of Nepalese languages, speakers of Austroasiatic languages Santali, Kharia and Munda are reported to have come to Nepal to work in the tea gardens from

Jharkhand not earlier than two centuries ago. Similarly speakers of the only Dravidian language Kurux (Oraon or Jhangad) in Nepal are also reported to have come from Jharkhand to work in the tea gardens about the same time as the Austroasiatic although there are clear evidences of Dravidian culture and language (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and vocabulary) (Bloch, 1929) in the Nepalese languages.

e. Political impact on the census data: Nepali is the official language of Nepal. Nepali has not less than twelve geographical (Niraula, 2051) and many nonstandard and social dialects. During the latter part of the Panchayat system of government the 1981 census showed that Nepali was the mother tongue of about 58% of the population. Soon after the political change of 1999, the percentage of Nepali mother tongue speakers dropped to around 50 percent and in the 2001 census report, the population of Nepali mother-tongue speakers further dropped to about 48%. This gradual drop in the population figures in Nepali is the result of change in the attitude of Nepali speakers who speak it actually as a mother tongue and attitudinally as an 'other tongue'. If we compare the census data of Maithili, Tharu, Limbu, Newar and Magar against Nepali, we will find that the population of these languages is gradually diminishing from the beginning (1954) until 1981 and gradually increasing after 1981 while census figures for Nepali correspondingly go in the opposite direction before and after 1981. There is a growing denial of the historical status of Nepali among political activists who speak Nepali either a second language or as the first language creole.

f. Diffusion of phonological features: Bilingualism and multilingualism in Nepal has changed the retroflex plosives, fricatives and nasal sounds into alveolar in Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal (Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Rajbamshi, Majhi, Danuwar, Bote, Darai, Churaute). In most of these Indo-Aryan languages even the Indo-Aryan palatal affricates and fricatives have also changed their place into lamino-alveolar. This is a non-Aryan substratum influence over the Indo-Aryan.

g. Four way contrasts in plosives and affricates: The four way manner contrast of plosives and affricates in Indo-Aryan languages has diffused

into several Tibeto-Burman languages like Newar, Chamling, Kulung and Khaling. Even the tonal language speakers are found happy to represent their tones on the model of Sanskrit as in Tibetan.

h. Issues with Hindi and other Indo-Aryan: In addition to Nepali there are about fifteen other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal. Maithili has recently been included in the 8th schedule of the Indian constitution; otherwise all other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal are considered language, but they (Bhojpuri, Awadhi) are considered only dialects of Hindi. Some of the Indo-Aryan languages of the mountains like Churaute and Majhi are gradually becoming almost dialects of Nepali due to bilingualism.

i. Functions and issues with Hindi: Majority of the Nepalese international trade is carried out through Hindi. Hindi is a trade language, the language of religious Hindu *arati*, and a language of mass entertainment and media in the plains, urban areas and among so-called educated people. It is often used as a link language among different South Asian citizens while they are abroad. Even along the southern Nepalese urban areas Hindi often acts as a link language among the educated elite. Hindi is declared a formal language of communication among Terai-based politicians. In spite of these important roles Hindi is often treated as a token of political controversy among anti-Indian fanatics.

j. Mutual influences: The Tibeto-Burman languages have contributed substratum influence in the pronunciation, grammatical structure and some of the cultural vocabulary items over Nepali. There is mutual linguistic influence and borrowings across the language boundaries between Indo-Aryan Nepali and Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal. If we regularly examine the linguistic discourse of the newly introduced *Nayan Nepal* 'new Nepal' column in the *Gorkhapatra* daily, we will find that Nepalese minority languages have not only borrowed neologisms but also several structural and grammatical items from Nepali.

k. Features of linguistic convergence: Classifiers, echo words, onomatopoeia and cultural vocabularies of South Asia have become characteristics of Indo-Aryan vocabularies.

l. Everyday use of Indo-Aryan of different historical periods: Modern Nepal makes use of

Indo-Aryan languages of all the historical period for various social functions.

m. Prakrit languages in Nepal: The first Nepalese inscription is in the Asokan Prakrit. Pali is used in Theravada and Hinayana Buddhist rituals.

n. Functions and issues of Sanskrit: Vedic Sanskrit is used in many Hindu rituals. Sanskrit is used in literary texts, most of the Hindu Puranic texts, religious and ritualistic documents, as a medium of academic exercise in the Sanskrit university and Mahayana Buddhist scriptures. In addition to cultural and academic functions Sanskrit serves as the main source of scientific and technical vocabularies for calquing and human and institutional given names and titles in almost all the languages of South Asia. In spite of such obligatory social functions Sanskrit language has been a matter political debate and controversy. It has been tied to former ruling class and Brahmin priests.

o. Relative and interrogative pronominals: Lack of relative and interrogative pronominals in Tibeto-Burman is compensated by the neutralization of interrogative pronominals in Newari, which is again copied by Indo-Aryan Nepali.

p. Lexical, morphological and syntactic borrowings: Przulski (1921), Chatterji and Bagchi (1929) have also discovered many lexical borrowings in Sanskrit from Dravidian. They have also quoted Sten Konow's observation that in 'Bihari' [Maithili] verb paradigms and strange and unique honorific agreements in the language is Austric influence.

q. Lexical and grammatical borrowings from Persian: During the Muslim period many Persian words came to Nepali indirectly through Hindi or through the royal courts of Delhi. Not only the lexical items, has the royal dialect of Nepali also borrowed बख्श <baḡṣ> 'to give' (खौं 'मद्दाह', 1980) as a grammaticalized vector in a compound verb. The Persian complementizer <ki> is also gradually penetrating through Nepali.

r. Role of Arabic and Persian words in legal and administrative domains: There are many Arabic words in legal, administrative and royal vocabularies of Nepali. This may be the result of the indirect influence of Muslim rulers in Delhi.

s. Kaleidoscopic role of English: The two century long British rule in India has injected an obligatory kaleidoscopic role of English in education, academics, administrative and social fields of Nepal as a language of South Asia and it has given birth to a wide spectrum of sociolinguistic issues. Although the lingua franca Nepali and Sanskrit, the language of culture, high status and the source of neologism are often brought to targets of political opposition and controversy, the issue of compulsory English is not debated.

t. Loss of gender and passivization: Caldwell et al (1961, p. 219) show that gender system in Dravidian primarily distinguishes between human and nonhuman in contrast with the Indo-European animate and inanimate. Nepali, although an Indo-European language, is perfectly similar to Dravidian in gender system. Passivization is not morphological in Dravidian (Caldwell, Wyatt, & Pillai, pp. 463-467) in contrast with a typical Indo-European language. Pandharipande (1982) has noted morphological passive structure in South Asia to be in the process of decay. This may be an influence of Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman languages over Indo-Aryan and possibly Austric languages.

u. Phonological nativization of Sanskrit pronunciation: Sanskrit universities in South Asia do not teach phonetics although the modern word synonymous for education (शिक्षा) meant phonetics in the Vedic literature. The repercussions of such a convention are such that today every South Asian pundit speaks 'correct' Sanskrit using the phonemic inventory of her/his mother tongue. This practice has brought problem of unanimity in correct spelling in Nepali followed by several other mother tongues in Nepal.

v. Effect of bilingualism on phonemic inventory: I have developed orthography in almost 50% of the unwritten languages of Nepal. My experience with the interactions of the Tibeto-Burman mother tongue speakers gives the evidence that bilingualism and language shift have acted to bring gradual phonological convergence among Nepalese languages.

w. Role and issues with scripts: Although there are about seven traditional scripts (Devanagari, Ranjana, Kaithi, Mithilaksar, Lepcha, Sirijanga

and Tibetan) to write Nepalese languages, Devanagari has served as the basic role model and gradually other scripts like Ranjana and Sirijanga have evolved to be functionally similar to Devanagari although the phonology of the languages show inadequacy and discrepancies.

x. Popularity and opposition of Devanagari: Political opposition of Nepali has its echo in the opposition of Devanagari also in some of the newly written languages like Umbule Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Magar and Dungmali although majority of those who can read and write cannot read scripts other than Devanagari. Devanagari is common in the Newar language which has not less than seven different traditional scripts. Introducing phonemic writing system in some of these languages is sometimes difficult, because people plead correct forms of spelling on the ground of their prejudice borne through Nepali.

y. High regards of non-phonemic Devanagari letters: High regards for non-phonemic letters and keeping Devanagari as a model of the phonemic inventory form the graphological influence of Sanskrit over the newly developing orthographies of Nepalese languages. Sanskrit borrowings in Nepalese languages have a tendency to maintain their original spelling (e.g. length in high vowels) even though the letters do not represent any phonemic values. Apical and laminal contrast in stops and affricates is represented as dental and retroflex contrast; tonal contrast is represented as four way contrast in stops and affricates in orthography and the inventories of sounds in non-Aryan languages are gradually becoming similar to that of Nepali.

4 Summary

High regards for non-phonemic letters and keeping Devanagari as a model of the phonemic inventory form the graphological influence of Sanskrit over the newly developing orthographies of Nepalese languages. Sanskrit borrowings in Nepalese languages have a tendency to maintain their original spelling (e.g. length in high vowels) even though the letters do not represent any phonemic values. Apical and laminal contrast in stops and affricates is represented as dental and retroflex contrast; tonal contrast is represented as four way contrast in stops and affricates in orthography and the inventories of sounds in non-

Aryan languages are gradually becoming similar to that of Nepali.

Classifiers, echo words, onomatopoeia and cultural vocabularies of South Asia have become characteristics of Indo-Aryan vocabularies. Blending of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman roots and affixes in Raji and Chhantyal and the mutual borrowings of grammatical terms and structures across family boundaries are some of the morphological features.

Lack of relative and interrogative pronominals in Tibeto-Burman is compensated by the neutralization of interrogative pronominals in Newari, which is again copied by Indo-Aryan Nepali. Strange agreement pattern in Maithili is also a result of migration.

Although the original homes of speakers of almost all the languages of Nepal are either Central Asia or China, language activists often claim Nepali to be foreigner's imposition. Sanskrit is the source of neologism and Nepali is the lingua franca, but both the languages are targets of political opposition while compulsory English is not debated.

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MOTHER TONGUE-BASED MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION IN NEPAL

Laxman Ghimire

Enhancing learning opportunities, promoting language ecology, and ensuring linguistic human rights are the key components of MTB MLE policy. It is also an alternative policy favored by minority groups in order to ensure equal division of power and resources between social groups. Moreover, language revitalization is the crucial feature of MTB MLE in Nepal.

Keywords: multilingual education, linguistic human rights, language ecology

1 Introduction¹

Mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB MLE) is a system of education that aims to facilitate learning with the use of familiar language. Likewise, developing the system of education so as to promote local languages, cultures, knowledge, and values is another important aspect of the program. It is realized through the use of students' first language as medium and local contents as curriculum and textbooks. Additionally, the program does not discard dominant languages. Instead, achieving better proficiency in the dominant languages is also an essential aspect of MTB MLE program. Thus, Panda (2009) defines it as a philosophy of education where every child's language, identity, and culture have a space.

Mother tongue instruction generally refers to the use of learner's mother tongue as the medium of instruction (UNESCO, 2003). However, the definition of mother tongues is not precise. It may refer either to the language one speaks at home or the ethnic language one belongs to. Since a large section of new generation speak a language different from their ethnic origin, it is essential to define mother tongue precisely. Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar (2010) define mother tongue on the basis of origin, identification, competence, and function. A mother tongue can be defined in multiple ways as the language one has learnt first, one identifies with or is identified as a native

speaker by others, one knows best, and one uses most (UNESCO, 2003).

The term multilingual education was adopted by UNESCO in 1999 to refer to the use of at least three languages; the mother tongue, a regional or national language, and an international language in education. MTB MLE can be defined as a system of education requiring the use of at least three languages as medium of instruction that begins from 'mother tongue only' instruction and gradual transition to the additional languages. This approach aims to develop strong foundation in the mother tongue as well as good proficiency in other regional, national, and international languages.

Malone (2007) defines MTB MLE in two parts; first, it is the use of students' mother tongue and two or more additional languages as languages of instruction in school and, second, it refers to the bilingual education across multiple language communities. In this context, each community uses their own mother tongue plus the official school language for instruction. Thus, MTB MLE can refer to both situations; giving instruction to the individual students through multiple languages or teaching different language groups of students in the classroom in their own mother tongues. However, facilitating students to learn through their own language is the central feature of both approaches. The first approach is useful in a linguistically homogenous classroom whereas the heterogeneous classrooms necessitate the second approach.

The MTB MLE program aims to achieve three goals; enhancing learning opportunities, promoting language ecology, and ensuring linguistic human rights for all. These are the essential components of 'ecology of language paradigm' which appeared during 1980s and 1990s constructed by the synthesis of the essential features of critical theory with language ecology. The proponents of this paradigm believe that languages play crucial role in the reproduction of social and economic inequality. MTB MLE has shared the basic principles of this paradigm. It is

¹ This article is based on the empirical study carried out in eight schools of four districts (Myagdi, Palpa, Kapilvastu, and Kathmandu) during June-July, 2012.

not only a means of education but also a way to ensure equality among the social (or language) groups as it recognizes everyone's languages, culture, and identity. The acceptance and recognition of societal multilingualism is important for the realization of meaningful democracy (Ricento, 2006). Thus, the goal of promoting linguistic diversity is equally important as the goal of enhancing learning.

The MTB MLE program in Nepal has conferred both of these goals. Promoting language ecology was the focus of initial attempts in mother tongue education when linguistic plurality was first recognized by the state. The focus has been shifted to enhancing learning opportunities after Nepal expressed its commitment towards the goals of 'Education for All' (EFA). The constitution of Nepal (1990), which granted recognition to the native languages in education, stated that every ethnic/language community has a right to preserve and promote their languages. Language communities were given constitutional right to operate mother tongue schools. As the decades long negotiations with the state turned in favor of language communities, mushrooming of mother tongue schools was expected after such constitutional provision. However, only two schools, Magar School in Kaski and Newar School in Kathmandu, were opened in response to this constitutional recognition (Shrestha & Hoek, 1995). This shows that without active involvement of the government the language communities, even with rich linguistic tradition and strong economic background like Newar, cannot operate mother tongue schools on their own.

After the constitutional recognition of mother tongues in education as the right of language communities, the government of Nepal has expressed its concern to the improvement of access and quality of education through mother tongue education system. It has been accepted as the tool to make basic and primary education universally available for all Nepali children, especially to the children from indigenous and minority communities (EFA NFA, 2003). Likewise, the National Curriculum Framework (2005) was reformulated and the Education Act (1971) was amended bringing mother tongues at the center of mainstream education system of

Nepal. Similarly, a pilot program has been carried out in seven schools. After the enactment of the Multilingual Education Implementation Guideline (2010), Nepal has become one of the nations with strong MTB MLE policy. Nurmela et al. (2010) examine the situation of MTB MLE of Nepal as positive policy but weak implementation.

2 Models of MTB MLE

There is no universal model of the program applicable in all contexts. Rather, each context requires a different model of the program. Classroom language context, language attitude of stakeholders, and other local factors are influential in the effective implementation of the policy. Thus, the policy is reformulated at the local level to construct contextually appropriate model within the broader national framework. The models should define the number of languages involved in classroom instruction, the way multiple languages are introduced in classrooms, and the proficiency goals for each language.

All Finish students study in their mother tongue as well as one more national language and at least one foreign language during the early education in Finland (Bjorklund, 2001). In the Basque country, most schools employ trilingual policy with Basque as mother tongue and two additional languages; English and Spanish (Cenoz, 2001). The model employed in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, India, includes four languages; mother tongue, regional dominant language, Hindi and English (Mohanty et al., 2009). Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) is a model employed in Europe with the aim to promote a pedagogical approach recognizing the need of multilingual competence. The model does not concern to the teaching of languages but teaching content through languages, which is represented as a European solution to a European need (Lorenzo et al., 2009 & Vez, 2009).

Skutnabb-Kangas and Mohanty (2009) discuss three different situations as media of teaching; subtractive dominant language medium program, early exit transitional program, and late exit transitional program. They argue that the dominant language model has harmful consequences for the education of indigenous and minority children. On the contrary, the late exit

transitional model of education has solid and consistent positive results in the education of indigenous and minority language speaking students. The late exit model is a strong model requiring mother tongue only instruction at least for 6-8 years. On the other hand, the model with less than six years of 'mother tongue only' instruction is a weak model. Since the models employing less than six years of 'mother tongue only' instruction are weak model, none of the models employed in Nepal are the strong models. Even these weak models are further weakened in classrooms by increasing use of dominant language. The provision of 'mother tongue only' instruction is rarely practiced in the mother tongue schools of Nepal after grade one.

Ball (2010) discusses a range of instructional models from the absolute use of mother tongue to the use of dominant language for entire learning activities. These are bilingual education, mother tongue bilingual education, multilingual education, transitional bi/multilingual education, maintenance bi/multilingual education, and immersion or foreign language education. These models differ from each other on the basis of the number of languages involved in education and the length or intensity of their use in classrooms.

Given the diverse classroom language situations, Nepal requires a broader national framework of MTB MLE which can provide guidelines for the construction of locally appropriate models. Schools can formulate models within the national framework. Likewise, the tasks of teacher development and textbook development should also be assigned to the schools because local variety of mother tongues and local contents are significant to enhance learning. Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) proposes a model for Nepal with the 6-8 years of 'mother tongue only' instruction including good teaching of English and Nepali as the appropriate model. She also recommends that the model should incorporate locally based materials which respect local indigenous knowledge.

However, a single model cannot be appropriate in all classroom contexts in the nation. There are at least three different classroom language situations in Nepal requiring different models of MTB MLE; monolingual students in homogenous classrooms, bilingual students in heterogeneous

classrooms, and monolingual classrooms in ethnically heterogeneous classrooms. The model with single mother tongue can be appropriate in the first situation while the other two situations require the use of multiple mother tongues as medium of education. Teaching through non-mother tongue may not pose learning difficulties for those students who have become bilingual to the school's formal language or have become the monolingual speakers in it. However, this situation leads to the loss of languages and loss of identity which have negative consequences.

3 Language ecology

Besides enhancing learning opportunities, MTB MLE also contributes to language maintenance and multilingualism. It helps in language transfer to the new generation which is essential for language maintenance. Likewise, education is a crucial domain of communication which sustains the vitality of the languages. Use of diverse languages in education entails promotion of language ecology.

Hornberger and Holt (2008) relate the ecology of languages to the study of multilingualism. They put the discussion on broad and dynamic approaches for investigating relationships between language and social environment. The basic principle of language ecology is that languages evolve in the context of social environment. It gives rise to three major themes of description and analysis, language evolution, language environment and language endangerment. Languages, like living species, evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and also in relation to their socio-historical, socio-political, and socio-cultural environment. Quoting Einer Haugen, Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) states that language ecology is a study of interactions between any given language and its environment. Cultivation and preservation of languages, specially the status of languages, functions, and attitudes are the major concerns of language ecology.

The main aim of language ecology is to promote multilingualism and diversity through suitable social environment for the languages. The social environment is largely dominated by the social, political, and economical factors. In other words, positive language ecology helps the languages to

grow and sustain in the society. On the contrary, the opposite situation may lead to the marginalization and loss of minority languages.

Although Nepal is well recognized as linguistically diverse nation, this diversity is threatened due to the marginalization and endangerment of minority languages. Several minority languages of the nation have are either endangered or threatened to extinction (Yadava, 2003 & Epele et al., 2012). These languages are limited only in home communication. Even some of them are being strictly limited only to the older generation. This situation has been resulted due to the lack of positive language ecology. The non-dominating minority languages are living in harsh environment as they lack power, prestige, and resources. As a result, the speakers of these languages cease to speak their mother tongues and shift to the dominant language.

MTB MLE program helps to transfer languages to the new generation leading to language maintenance. It also creates positive social environment for the survival of diverse mother tongues of the nation. Thus, it contributes, significantly, to the promotion of language ecology. Likewise, the program aims to develop multilingual language proficiency including the strong foundation of mother tongues and good proficiency in dominant languages. Thus, the speakers of minority languages do not have to shift language in order to access the market opportunities. MTB MLE program can be instrumental for the revitalization of dozens of minority languages in Nepal that are on the verge of extinction.

4 Equality in learning opportunities

It is against democratic principles to discriminate in learning opportunities in classrooms. Such unfair practices often occur in the schools through the use of a dominant language in education which provides better learning opportunities to the speakers of dominant language while others have to experience learning difficulties. Consequently, this kind of discrimination in learning is resulted into educational failure and exclusion of minority language speakers. Awasthi (2004) highlights such discrimination in the schools of Nepal as the source of language hierarchies.

It is obvious that children can learn better if their home language is used as medium of education. UNESCO (1953) states that 'it is through his mother tongue that every human being first learns to formulate and express his ideas about himself and about the world in which he lives'. Likewise, UNESCO (2003) highlights the role of mother tongues in education as the best quality of education can be delivered only through the medium of students' mother tongue while the use of unfamiliar language provides a double set of challenges; learning a new language and learning knowledge contained in that language.

The use of mother tongues in education is also significant in cognitive development and academic achievement. It is easier to develop academic proficiency in the mother tongues because the children are already able to make basic communication in it. Since languages do have similar system, the skill in one language can be transferred to other languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) argues that when a child has learnt abstract concepts in mother tongues s/he can easily understand the words with similar concepts in other languages.

Cummins (1984) proposes two kinds of language proficiency; basic interpersonal communication skill (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). The former is limited in general communication which is insufficient to make communication in context-reduced situations and to deal with abstract academic concepts. A language must be used in education in order to develop CALP which is an academically suitable strong proficiency of the language. On the contrary, the use of unfamiliar language during the early years in education has the harmful effects on academic achievement and cognitive development.

In order to overcome language barrier and deprivation in learning there are two options; the students can shift language and begin to speak the dominant language before they join school and to employ everyone's mother tongues as medium of education. The former, though it is the trend among the new generations of minority languages, is harmful in many respects. This situation may facilitate students in learning, to some extent, but it cannot represent most of the essential characters of education such as promoting self-determination

and respect to ones' culture and ancestor. Instead, it leads to the situation where individuals can find their education incomplete because of loss of identity and loss of culture. Therefore, the best option is to employ everyone's language in education which ensures equal learning opportunities for all in classrooms.

Most of the education planners and academics in Nepal believe that a language must have a standard form with dictionaries, grammars, and literatures in order to be used in education. As a result, the role of diverse native languages, which lack standard form and literatures, are ignored in education. Equality in learning cannot be achieved only by replacing Nepali medium by few dominating non-Nepali languages. Rather it requires the recognition of everyone's languages both dominating and non-dominating at the local level.

Likewise, categorizing languages as feasible and unfeasible in education is a bias view favoring language assimilation and promoting monolingualism. Dahal & Subba (1986) point out that favoring only the developed mother tongues of few ethnic groups is not the principle of mother tongue education; neither does it ensure equality in learning. They strongly argue that even the small language communities deserve the right to education through mother tongues. Bandhu (2009) also favors the use of everyone's mother tongues in education. He proposes oral use as instruction for those languages lacking writing tradition. UNESCO (1953) clearly states that 'all languages, even the so called primitive ones, are capable of becoming media of school teaching; some perhaps merely as a bridge to a second language, while others may be used at all levels of education'. Any living language can serve learning at least to begin the education. Thus, there is no human language that is incapable to be used in education. 'No language is inherently deficient or illogical; the association between some languages and their so called deficiency is social in origin, resulting from unequal treatment of languages (Mohanty et al., 2009).

Lo Bianco (2010) states that 'in stratified multilingual contexts, school practices give effect to decisions that must be made about what to teach and how to teach'. Thus, it is crucial to decide not only the language of teaching but also

the contents. Local variety of languages, locally developed curriculum and textbooks, and well trained bilingual teachers are the crucial components of MTB MLE program. The attempt to seek standard varieties with dictionaries and grammars is just another form of promoting monolingualism and creating hierarchies among the varieties of a language. Likewise, centrally developed curriculum and textbooks may not be appropriate in the local context because early grade students' knowledge is limited in the society, life, and environment of their surroundings. The unknown contents at this level only add learning difficulties.

Above all, well trained bilingual teachers contribute to the effective operation of the program. Since teachers play the role of agent in transforming policies into practices, their knowledge and skills in the local languages is crucial. A skillful bilingual teacher can facilitate students from diverse language background in learning.

5 Linguistic human rights

After the end of Second World War, the world leaders agreed to establish United Nations (UN) in order to maintain peace in the world and to avoid such devastating wars in the future. In order to avoid conflicts and to promote peaceful cohabitation and tolerance among the nations as well as racial, religious, ethnic, and language groups within the nation, the UN has worked to safeguard individuals' human rights. It has formulated several declarations and treaties to be abided by the nations. Right to education without discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and ethnicity is one of those provisions that the UN ensures through the Universal Declaration of Human Right (1948). The declaration states that everyone has a right to education and such education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial, and religious groups. This clause not only states about one's right to education but also the right to have a particular kind of education. The interim constitution of Nepal (2007) also recognizes the right of ethnic communities to preserve and promote their languages. Likewise, ensuring linguistic right is the fundamental principle of Nepal's MTB MLE

program. However, the nation has yet to work on ensuring linguistic human rights to all in education. This means that no individuals, institutions, and even the state can deny such rights of people.

Language right and linguistic human right differ slightly as the former entails one's right to use languages in particular social situation as well as to preserve and promote mother tongues while the latter assumes such a right as fundamental right. Linguistic human rights are those language rights that, first, are necessary to fulfill people's basic needs and for them to live a dignified life, and, second, that therefore are so basic, so fundamental, that no state (or individual or group) is supposed to violate them (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006).

The concept of linguistic human right emerged along with the critical and postmodern theories. Hornberger (1998) highlights the significance of linguistic human right to 'fight with the increasing threat posed by the loss of world's vast number of languages by the growth of world languages like English'. Similarly, with the reference of linguistic human right, May (2006) sees the possibility of legitimizing and institutionalizing the languages of national minorities within nation states. The author states that linguistic human right is not the ideology of replacing a dominant language with the minority one, but it is about to contest and challenge the linguistic exclusivity and homogeneity upon the nationalist principle. Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) concludes the nature of linguistic human right as the way of 'preventing linguistic genocide, promoting integration and defending people against forced assimilation, promoting positive state policies toward minority languages, promoting conflict prevention and promoting self-determination'. Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar (2010) discuss the right of children to education with focus on the rights of education in ones' own mother tongues for the indigenous and tribal children. They discuss such right with reference to the several international instruments that ensure linguistic human rights for the minority language speaking students. Some of these instruments are as follows:

- a. ILO convention No. 169 on indigenous and tribal people;
- b. Universal declaration of human rights;

- c. International covenant on economic, social and cultural rights;
- d. Convention on the rights of the child;
- e. International covenant on civil and political rights;
- f. Convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- g. African charter on human and peoples' rights;
- h. African charter on the rights and welfare of the child; and
- i. Additional protocol to the American convention on human rights.

6 Redistribution of power and resources

The debates in educational language policy have their source on unequal power relation among the social groups. Since languages represent power and resources, the policy authorizing the use of particular languages in particular domains influences the power relation between the social (language) groups. Moreover, the act of formulating language policies is the division of power and resources among the social groups. Tollefson (2002) argues that policies often create and sustain various forms of social inequality. The ruling group of elites attempts to sustain the inequality while the non-dominant groups seek alternative policy in order to reverse the unequal power relation or to ensure equality.

Thus, the dominant language policy in education is resulted into unequal division of power while the policy of mother tongue medium education is a step towards redistribution of power and resources. The MTB MLE policy entails equal division of power and resources among the social groups. This is the way to prevent minority languages from marginalization and endangerment because unequal division of power and resources between the social groups is caused by the marginalization of minority languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986).

Language policy in education does have long lasting consequences in social, economic, and political sectors because schools produce human resources for the future society. Individuals may have equal or unequal opportunity in the future labor market based on the favorable or unfavorable language policy in education. Bordieu (1991) points out that 'schools present a principal means of access to the labor market.

Likewise, McGroarty (2002) views the debates in educational language policy among the social groups as the conflict to attain power and resource for their future members. The author states that ‘language policies in education represent a critical arena in which a society’s expectations for the success of its future members are simultaneously expressed, enabled, and constrained’.

MTB MLE can also reduce social conflicts. As such conflicts are the result of unequal power relation among the social groups, redistribution of power and resources on the basis of equality can become the solution of most of the social conflicts. It is the role of the state to reduce conflict through positive policies. ‘when competing language groups seek to further their social, economic, and political agenda within the educational system, language policy in education may be a crucial component in state efforts to favor one language group over another, or to reduce the potential social conflict (Tollefson, 2002). Recognition of everyone’s languages in education is instrumental in resolving most of the social problem because ‘questions of identity, nationhood, and power are closely linked to the use of specific languages in the classroom’ (UNESCO, 2003).

Language policy of MTB MLE not only improves the access and quality of education but also contributes to reduce social conflicts through equal distribution of power and resources among the social groups.

7 Conclusion

The MTB MLE policy in Nepal has evolved along with the social, political, and economic forces that govern educational language policies. Dominant language policy was the mainstream policy in education before the restoration of democracy in 1990 whereas the native mother tongues occupied this position in the new political atmosphere based on pluralism ideology. Language right was the focus of mother tongue education system at the beginning while the focus of the policy has shifted to improve access and quality of education in the later phase.

However, language communities and schools, operating MTB MLE program, still focus on the aspect of language promotion. Additionally, schools and teachers usually reformulate the

policies in order to appropriate them in the classroom language situation which is often resulted into the making of ineffective models. Likewise, students in the linguistically heterogeneous classrooms are not granted equal learning opportunities because the MTB MLE program is mostly limited in the dominant mother tongue.

In order to ensure effective implementation of MTB MLE policy, it is essential to formulate locally appropriate models but such models should be constructed with technical guidance and under the broader national framework. Otherwise, the MTB MLE may be ineffective in bringing positive result. On the other hand, the state should consider this policy as a tool to promote equality and to reduce social conflicts.

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DIVERSITY IN THE LEDBL CORPUS

Krishna Prasad Chalise

This paper¹ analyses the diversity in the structure of the Baram corpus regarding the inclusion of the speakers, language varieties and genres/ socio-cultural contexts. Small number of speakers, limited domains of language use/genres and limited or no language varieties are the common features of an endangered language which is reflected in its corpus. It shares the common features of the corpus of an endangered language and has included relatively larger number of domains of language use in it.

Keywords: documentation, corpus, diversity, transliteration

1 Introduction

Language documentation is a new discipline in the field of linguistics which is regarded to have been emerged because of the critical situation of language endangerment in the contemporary world. Its basic assumption is to build a multipurpose, multimodal and long lasting digital corpus of a language so that various kinds of researches on the language would be possible in the future. This type of corpus could be used even for the revitalization of an endangered language and retrieval of a dead language as well. Himmelmann (1998) affirms that the aim of language documentation is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices and characteristic of a given speech community. Language documentation has placed data at the centre of its concerns and regards direct representation of naturally occurring discourse as the primary project. For language documentation data collection, representation and diffusion is the main research goal. It shows that the principal focus of language documentation is the form of the corpus i.e., systematic and principle based collection, analysis and archiving of the data.

The LEDBL corpus is an outcome of the Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation of

the Baram Language (LEDBL)², a 3-year (1st May, 2007-31st October, 2010) major documentation project funded by ELDP, SOAS, University of London and hosted by Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University.

Table 1: The contents of the LEDBL corpus

Media type	Sessions	Duration	Levels of annotation	Annotation files			Metadata files	Elicited data
Audio	183	32:00:05	12	ELAN file	Toolbox file	XML file	IMDI file	Word file
Video	8			191	191	191	191	115 pgs.

The major outcomes of the project are a multimedia digital corpus of the Baram language representing the texts form possible varied linguistic and socio-cultural situations, and language resources such as ethnographic sketch, sketch grammar, dictionary, Baram orthography and textbooks for 1-3 classes.

The corpus consists of altogether 191 sessions from 13 different speakers of which 144 sessions are monological and 47 are conversational. In total there are 42146 utterances and 186214 words as produced by the speakers.

The structure of a documentary corpus should be harmonized with and guarantee the primary focus of language documentation. Structure plays a vital role to determine the quality of the corpus because only a well structured corpus can be a good corpus. Sinclair (2004) accentuates the importance of the structural aspect of any type of corpus. He says that a corpus is a remarkable thing, not so much because it is a collection of

¹ This paper is based on the research report entitled 'The influence of Nepali in minority languages: a case of Baram' carried out under the Faculty Research Grant, 2013, University Grants Commission, Bhaktapur in which Dr. Dubi Nanda was the team leader and the author and Ek Maya Gurung were the team members.

² The author himself worked as a researcher in the project throughout the project period.

language text, but because of the properties that it acquires if it is well-designed and carefully-constructed. The structural design assures the reliability, validity and usability of the corpus. Woodbury (2003:46-47) has suggested six structural qualities of a documentation corpus. He suggests that a good documentation corpus should be diverse, large, ongoing, transparent, preservable and portable, and ethical.

2 The diversity

A corpus is based on the language performance. In the discipline of language documentation, language is the set of language uses in all possible varied situations. So a documentary corpus should be as varied as possible in collection to include the texts representing the different varieties of the language, different groups of speakers, different socio-cultural situations, different domains of language use, different genres of language, etc.

A documentary corpus is a corpus of an endangered language in which there are a limited number of options regarding the external and internal aspects of the language. It is a big challenge to find the fluent speakers of the language, the use of the language in the natural situation and the use of the language in all domains of language use. It is really difficult to mine the texts from the semi-speakers and rememberers in the artificial situations by dramatization.

Still a documentary corpus should be as representative and varied as possible in terms of the temporal, geographical and social varieties of the language, the speakers, their ages, genders, etc. and the uses of the language. The diversity of the LEDBL corpus has been tried to assess on the basis of the texts included from varied language varieties, speakers and genres/socio-cultural contexts.

2.1 The language varieties

Baram is spoken in only two almost adjacent villages of Takukot VDC Dandagaun and Mailung by a handful of aged speakers, there are no as such dialectal variations still there are slight variations in a few words and their pronunciations.

As Baram is spoken only in two small villages within a distance of four km, viz. Dandagaun and

Mailung, there are no distinct regional dialects. There are, however, a few variations in pronunciation and vocabulary between the forms of the language used in the two villages. Out of 1251 basic Baram native words extracted from the LEDBL corpus, there are slight variations in pronunciation in 49 words. In addition, 15 words that were found in the Mailung variety are not present in the Dandagaun variety. As Baram is spoken by a single ethnic group with no social stratification, it has no obvious social variations (Kansakar et al., 2011:198).

LEDBL corpus is solely based on the Baram language as spoken in Dandagaun, Takukot-8, Gorkha. Baram is spoken only in a limited number of domains of language use by a small number of aged people in their daily lives so there don't exist registers of the language.

As Baram people have been speaking Nepali, the official language of Nepal since unknown past; the language is highly influenced by it. The corpus has been designed with cross-linguistic focus. There are parallel translations of the Baram texts into Nepali and English respectively. Similarly there is transliteration of the Baram texts into Devanagari script.

The corpus has tried to figure out the influence of Nepali in Baram for some extent. Although it is awfully difficult to discover the Nepali influence in Baram, LEDBL corpus has tried to look at the Nepali loan words in Baram. In the lexicon the Nepali loans has been marked with (N).

2.2 The speakers

In a language community, there are both male and female speakers that belong to different age

groups. A documentation corpus should be designed to include the texts from all possible groups of the speakers because the use of language by different groups varies for some extent.

According to Kansakar et al. (2011:197) there are 129 speakers of Baram out of which 51 are fluent speakers, 44 are semi-speakers, and 34 are not really speakers but have tacit knowledge of the language to a certain extent. Out of 51 fluent speakers only 13 (nearly 25%) speakers have contributed in the LEDBL corpus. It shows that the corpus could not have been representative enough regarding the number of the speakers.

Table 2: The speakers in LEDBL corpus

SN	Name of the speaker	ID	Sex	Age
1.	Mina Baram	MIN	F	72
2.	Tok M. Baram	TOK	M	66
3.	Panmati Baram	PAN	F	66
4.	Dambar B. Baram	DAM	M	48
5.	Dauri Baram	DAU	F	54
6.	Tek B. Baram	TEK	M	72
7.	Sabbal S.Baram	SAB	M	70
8.	Kamala Baram	KAM	F	62
9.	Dil B.Baram	DIL	M	57
10.	Ram B.Baram 1	RAM1	M	46
11.	Ram B.Baram 2	RAM 2	M	54
12.	Ram BBaram 3	RAM3	M	65
13.	Dal B.Baram	DAL	M	60

But the fact is that 51 fluent speakers according to Kansakar et al. (2011) were based on the self assessment of the respondents. In fact while working with the speakers during the project period, it was identified that there were 22 really fluent speakers of Baram out of which 3 speakers passed away before the collection of the texts for the corpus began. So there remained only 19 fluent speakers for text collection who the LEDBL team tried to work with. One of them was good for reproducing texts for corpus but he was so busy with his carpentry work and would be out of the village most of the time. Some of them were good in communication but not good for text collection. The text collection in extremely

endangered languages is based on the staged events, dramatization and elicitation. So a good speaker for inter personal communication may not be so useful for text collection. The incorporation of different groups of the speakers in the LEDBL corpus is presented in Table 2.

a. The contribution of the speakers in monological³ texts

Out of 13 speakers contributed for the corpus four speakers Mina, Tokman, Dambar, Panmati and Sabbal Sing have remarkable contribution and Ram3, Dal Bahadur and Dauri have just a nominal contribution.

Baram seems to be a nearly extinct language as all the speakers are 46-75 in age. There is not any younger speaker who can speak Baram. Table 2 presents the contribution of the speakers in monological texts by different age groups.

Among the speakers, representation and contribution of 65-72 age groups in monological texts seems to be far higher than the contribution of the other age groups. The eldest age group has contributed two-third of the duration of the monological texts. The contribution of 55-65 group is nearly half an hour.

Table 3: Contribution of the different age groups

	Age group	Number	Contributed texts	Contributed duration
1	45-55	4	35	06:14:26
2	55-65	3	12	00:36:21
3	65-75	6	96	14:12:32
Total		13	143	22:03:52

The next large representation and contribution is from the 45-55 age group of the speakers. This group has contributed nearly one-third duration of the texts. It is because of the single contribution of Dambar Bahadur Baram which is nearly five and a half hours. Dambar is a language activist in the community and has worked as a language informant with various scholars who worked in Baram. He is a good story teller and used to dramatization and elicitation. It shows that the major contribution of texts in the corpus is from the eldest group of the speakers who are the most

³ In the LEDBL corpus the majority of the monological texts are the reminiscences, travelogues, descriptions, family relations, etc.

competent and fluent speakers of Baram. So LEDBL corpus has representation of the real speakers of the language.

Table 4: Individual contribution of the speakers

Speaker ID	Texts	Duration	Utterances	Words	Words/Utter.	Words/sec.
MIN	21	3:50:06	5629	23819	4.23	1.72
TOK	44	7:15:16	9136	39129	4.28	1.49
PAN	14	2:20:23	3273	14662	4.47	1.74
DAM	29	5:23:02	6892	32470	4.71	1.6
DAU	1	0:02:45	80	230	2.87	1.39
TEK	5	0:38:14	1054	4093	3.88	1.78
SAB	11	1:06:49	1421	6634	4.66	1.65
KAM	6	0:20:41	336	1427	4.24	1.14
DIL	4	0:9:50	290	872	3.00	1.47
RAM1	4	0:32:41	328	1186	3.61	0.60
RAM2	2	0:18:37	373	1321	3.54	1.18
RAM3	1	0:01:44	46	159	3.45	1.52
DAL	2	0:05:50	176	726	4.12	2.07
Total	143	22:05:58	29184	128507		

The corpus seems to be male dominated as there are only 4 females out of 13 speakers included in the text collection. In the same way the contribution of the female speakers in terms of the number of texts and duration is also very low.

Table 5: Contribution of the speakers by sex

SN	Sex	Number	Contributed texts	Contributed duration
1	M	9	101	15:29:57
2	F	4	42	6:33:55

This imbalance is because of the large contribution of Tokman and Dambar which is more than 12 hours in total. But in comparison

with other male speakers the contribution of the female speakers Mina and Panmati is very high. In an endangered language like Baram which is not spoken in the natural situations and the complete data for the corpus should be extracted from the staged events, dramatization and elicitation, equal contribution of the participants is terribly difficult. The reality regarding the LEDBL corpus seems that Tokman and Dambar are both good story tellers and actors for dramatization. It seems that in a documentary corpus the contribution of the good story tellers and actors is relatively more than that of other participants.

b. Contribution in the conversational texts

There are only 47 conversational texts between two speakers which is nearly 25% of the total texts included in the corpus. Not a single text among three or more speakers is included. From the conversational texts there are total 12996 (30.85%) utterances and 57707 (30.98%) words. In reality, mostly the use of language is in the form of conversation and the use of monologue is very rare. It shows that LEDBL corpus has lost its representativeness and naturalness regarding the representation of the monological and conversational texts.

But the validity of this representation can be justified in another way. In reality, the old speakers of Baram don't get chance to talk with the family members because there is none in the family who speaks Baram. The Baram speakers generally are single speaker of Baram in the house. So they less occasionally meet other speakers of Baram in the village and rarely talk to them in Baram because mostly they use Nepali. When we gathered the speakers of Baram in beginning of the project, Mina, a competent and fluent speaker of Baram said that she got chance to speak Baram after 16 years of time. The old speakers use the Baram language more in monologue than in conversation. From this perspective LEDBL corpus represents the real situation of the use of Baram. In conversational texts, it is nearly impossible to calculate the contribution of the individual speakers because it should be calculated by the summation of the utterances of the individual speakers. So in this research the contribution of the conversational pairs has been calculated in terms of the number

of texts and duration. Table 4 presents the number of texts contributed by the different conversational pairs.

Table 6: Texts contributed conversational pairs

	MIN	TOK	PAN	DAM	DAU
MIN					
TOK	4				
PAN	3	1			
DAM	2	8	2		
TEK		3		5	
SAB		4		1	
KAM	2	1		5	1
DIL		1		1	
RAM1				1	
RAM 2				1	

The conversational pair of Tokman and Dambar has contributed 8 texts, Tek and Dambar 5, Kamala and Dambar 5, Tokman and Mina 4, Sabbal and Tokman 4 and so on. Even in conversational texts, the contribution of the speakers who have contributed more in monological texts is higher. In the same way, Dambar participated in 26 texts, Tokman in 22 texts, Mina in 9 texts, Tek in 8 texts and so on.

Table 7: The duration by the conversational pairs

	MIN	TOK	PAN	DAM	DAU
MIN					
TOK	0:33:27				
PAN	0:53:52	0:10:05			
DAM	0:21:14	2:05:03	0:31:12		
TEK		0:37:39		0:55:16	
SAB		0:46:29		0:25:06	
KAM	0:11:15	0:09:00		1:02:57	0:06:54
DIL		0:05:38		0:05:10	
RAM1				0:02:04	
RAM 2				0:18:38	

In conversational texts there is the domination of Dambar and Tokman. Doubtlessly, the conversational texts are also male dominated. The duration contributed by the different conversational pairs more or less reflects the number of texts contributed by them. Table 5 presents the duration contributed by the different conversational pairs.

Again, the pair of Tokman and Dambar has the biggest contribution of 2:05:03, Dambar and Kamala 1:02:57, Dambar and Tek 00:55:16 and so on.

2.3 The genres/socio-cultural contexts

A corpus should contain samples of language use across a range of genres and socio-cultural contexts which assures the representativeness of the corpus. Representativeness is an important and unavoidable aspect of any type of corpus.

However, unsteady is the notion of representativeness, it is an unavoidable one in corpus design... A corpus is made for the study of language; other collections of language are made for other purposes. So a well-designed corpus will reflect this purpose. The contents of the corpus should be chosen to support the purpose, and therefore in some sense represent the language from which they are chosen. (Sinclair 2004)

In other words we can say that a corpus should be natural and balanced in terms of the speech events and/or genres/socio-cultural contexts. A corpus is natural in the sense that it should include all possible speech events that can occur in the speech community and it is balanced in the sense that the ratio of the speech events included in the corpus should be almost similar to the ratio of the natural occurrences of the speech events. (Lüpke, 2005) has elucidated about how to make a documentation corpus natural and balanced as:

Rather than choosing a demographic sample and represent speech production proportionally it is advised to represent the full range of situational features, i.e. genres and registers, regardless of their rarity or frequency of occurrence in the population, and to stratify the sample carefully rather than using probabilistic sampling techniques. This is reflected in the relative importance of low-frequent genres and registers (i.e. formal speeches or minutes of a departmental meeting) as opposed to the genre

making up the bulk of everyday language use – conversation. Stratified sampling also assures that linguistic features associated with rarer text types are represented in sufficient quantity (for instance passives, rare in unplanned speech, but more frequent in planned speech

But there are a number of practical problems regarding this issue. It is not possible to identify the exact number of communicative events in a language community. Some events may be very frequent in one community but nil in another community. So the communicative events are community specific. It is impossible to record all communicative events in a given speech community, not only for obvious practical, but also for theoretical and ethical reasons. So, categorization of the speech events is a easier said than done job because there has not been set any standard paradigm to do so. Therefore, Lüpke (2005) suggest that one has to include those speech events that are recognized in the language community or the events that have name in the language.

On the basis of the spontaneity of the communicative events, Himmelmann (1998:22) has proposed a paradigm. Table 6 presents the Himmelmann's proposed paradigm and the situation of the representativeness of the communicative events in the LEDBL corpus.

Table 8: Himmelmann's communicative event types and representation in LEDBL corpus

Parameters	Major types	No.of texts	% of texts
UNPLANNED ↑ ↓ PLANNED	Exclamative	2	1.05
	Directive	21	11.05
	Conversational	45	23.15
	Monological	118	62.10
	Ritual	5	2.63

In the LEDBL corpus, on the basis of Himmelmann's proposed paradigm, the number of texts representing the communicative event types can be presented as:

Monological>*conversational*>*Directive*>*ritual*>*exclamative*.

The classification the events in the LEDBL corpus according to Himmelmann's paradigm in fact is an ad hoc because the categories are not distinct in

themselves. In my experience I have found all other kind of events included in conversation. Similarly a directive event generally is conversational in real practice and an exclamation is very rare in isolation.

Biber (1993: 245) as cited in Lüpke (2009: 10) has proposed a set of parameters and values for the selection of texts representing the different genres/socio-cultural contexts. LEDBL corpus has followed one parameter, the parameter 'purpose' out of eight parameters, to categorize the genres/socio-cultural contexts as listed below. Table 5.9 presents the language function based categories proposed in the LEDBL corpus.

Table 9: Function based categories proposed in LEDBL corpus

S.N.	Categories
1	Cries
2	Signs of surprise
3	Signs of joys
4	Prohibition urging
5	Suggestion
6	Instruction
7	Recommendations
8	Ordering
9	Permission
10	Telling (somebody to do something)
11	Vocative
12	Conversation
13	Chat
14	Discussion
15	Interview
16	Plays
17	Ordering
18	Permission
19	Telling (somebody to do something)
20	Vocative
21	Conversation
22	Chat
23	Discussion
24	Ordering
25	Permission
26	Telling (somebody to do something)
27	Vocative
28	Conversation
29	Chat
30	Discussion
31	Interview
32	Plays
33	Requests
34	Apologizing
35	Songs

36	Procedural texts
37	Reporting
38	Clarifying
39	Narrative (personal, historical, story)
40	Speech
41	Announcing
42	Illustration with examples
43	Comments
44	Opinions (likes and dislikes, feelings)
45	Quoting other people
46	Reported statements and questions
47	Proverbs
48	Songs
49	Procedural texts
50	Action description
51	Reporting
52	Clarifying
53	Birth
54	Marriage ritual if any
55	Death ritual
56	Ritual wailing
57	Ghosts
58	First menses
59	Letter
60	Play
61	Action description
62	Turn taking rules

But the terrible problem regarding this matter is that only the categories have been set but there is no classification of the texts based on the parametric categories. The texts are found to have been classified based on communicative context and genre types based on the parameters in IMDI editor. Table 5.10 and 5.11 present the distribution of the texts in LEDBL corpus according the set parameters.

Table 10: The texts based on communicative contexts

SN	Communication contexts	Number of texts	Percentage of texts (%)
1.	Interactive	32	16.84
2.	Non-interactive	141	74.43
3.	Semi-interactive	16	8.42

Table 10 presents that based on the community context, the number of non-interactive texts is extremely high (74.43%) in comparison with the interactive and semi-interactive texts. Similarly in the classification based on the genre types, the

discourse texts are extremely high in comparison with the rest categories.

In this respect LEDBL corpus has failed the quality of being natural and balanced. The reality is that the texts were recorded based on the parameters set and in overall recording there have been included texts representing all of the parameters in almost natural proportion.

Table 11: The texts based on genres

	Genre types	Number of texts	Percentage of texts (%)
1	Discourse	134	70.52
2	Fiction	24	12.63
3	Drama	31	16.31
4	Singing	1	0.52

But during the analysis all the texts were not analyzed because of the time constraint, the quality of the recording, etc. Only 32 hours of texts out of 75 hours of recording have been analyzed and sent to archive. This has really destroyed the representativeness of the corpus.

3 Summary

As a nearly extinct language, Baram does not have any social varieties. There are slightly distinct geographical varieties, Dandagaun variety and Mailung variety. The corpus has not included any texts from the Mailung variety although it seems to be possible to do. It shows that the corpus has not been successful to be diverse regarding the inclusion of language varieties.

Regarding the speakers, there are texts from 13 speakers out of which the contribution of 8 speakers is nominal. In total there are only 4 female speakers included and their contribution is also very low. Concerning the age groups, there is major contribution of 65-75 age group is extremely high. It shows the corpus lacks the quality of being diverse in terms of the inclusion of varieties of speakers. In fact, a nearly extinct language like Baram has only a handful of good speakers of the language who are very senior in their age. So, a balanced representation of a wide range of speakers representing different age groups and sex groups is impossible. In this regards, the corpus of Baram could not be blamed as imbalanced in representing varieties of speakers.

There are some problems in classification of the speech genres/socio-cultural contexts. The division of the speech genres/socio-cultural contexts is an amalgamation of the parameters suggested by different scholars. More serious problem in connection with it is that the texts have not been classified properly based on the parameters set.

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WORD FORMATION IN LIMBU

Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang

This article discusses affixation, compounding and reduplication as essential processes for the formation of new classes of words from the existing ones in Limbu. The first part presents introduction, second the process of affixation, third part compounding, fourth part reduplication and the last part presents conclusion.

Keywords: derive, affixation, compounding, reduplication

1 Introduction

There are two processes of word-formation such as inflectional and derivational. Limbu is primarily an inflectional language as there are many more inflectional morphemes than derivational ones. However, the inflectional morphemes mark only grammatical categories such as person, number, exclusion, case, tense, negation, and change the form of a word, but they can't form a new word, which are necessary for the enrichment of a language. A few such as Chemjong (1970), Wiedert and Subba (1985), van Driem (1987), Tumbahang (2011a, 2011b) and Kainla et al. (2070 B.S.) deal with inflectional morphemes, but do not talk about derivational processes nor do they discuss compounding and reduplication processes for word-formation.

2 Affixation

New words are formed from the existing ones through the processes of prefixation and, suffixation in Limbu. According to Katamba (1993:47), derivational morphemes form new words either by changing the meaning of the base to which they are attached or by changing the word class that a base belongs to. In Limbu, there are derivational prefixes, prefixes and suffixes (simultaneously used) and suffixes which derive new words from existing ones through affixation processes.

2.1 Prefixation

pɔ-, ci- and pir- are derivational prefixes, which derive adverbs from verbs. The prefix pɔ- occurs before the adjectival verbs such as *lim* "it tastes sweet", *sut* "it tastes sour", *khik* "it tastes bitter",

haŋ "it tastes hot", *ko* "it feels hot" and *ci* "it feels cold". These verbs carry the meanings of both adjectives and verbs. The prefix pɔ- shows the intensity of experience. Table 1 shows the prefixation process of Pɔ.

Table 1: Prefixation of pɔ

Prefix	Root	Word (Adv)
pɔ	lim 'it tastes sweet'	pɔlim 'very'
pɔ	sut 'it tastes sour'	pɔsut 'very'
pɔ	khik 'it tastes bitter'	pɔghik 'very'
pɔ	haŋ 'it tastes hot'	pɔhaŋ 'very'
pɔ	ko 'it is hot'	pɔgo 'very'
pɔ	ci 'it is cold'	pɔji 'very'

These adverbs have collocation restriction and as such can occur only with the verbs from which they have been derived. As a result, verb phrases like pɔlim lim, pɔsut sut, pɔghik khik, pɔhaŋ haŋ, pɔgo go, pɔji ji are formed.

The prefix ci- occurs before verb roots and derives adverbs, which describe fast and light manner of actions. Table 2 presents the derivation process of adverbs from verbs through prefixation.

Table 2: Prefixation of ci

Prefix	Root	Word (Adv)
ci	lɔk 'he pricks'	cilɔk 'lightly'
ci	phit	cibhit
ci	phet 'he treads'	cibhet 'noisily'
ci	hap 'it catches'	cihap 'completely'
ci	kip 'it sticks'	cikip 'fully'
ci	sup 'he closes'	cisup 'partially'

The adverbs given in Table 2 have collocation restrictions. They can occur only with the word from which they have been derived. As a result, verb phrases such as *cilɔk lɔkku*, *cibhit phitu*, *cibhet phettu*, *cihap happu*, *cikip khippu* and *cisup subu* are formed.

The prefix pir- derives adverbs from verb roots with the meaning "at once" and "around". In Limbu voiceless stops become voiced and aspirated voiceless stops become breathy if they are preceded by vowels or voiced consonants.

Table 3. presents derivation process of adverbs from verb roots.

Table 3: Adverbs with prefix *pir*

Prefix	Root	Word (Adv)
pir	tham 'he knocks down'	pirɔhɔp 'at once'
pir	kɔp 'he sorrounds'	pirgɔp 'entirely'

The adverbs in table 3 can occur only with the words from which they have been derived. In the first example, root final consonant /m/ changes to /p/ in the final position of the derived adverb. In fact, this root has two stems. It is *thaps* before a vowel suffix as in *thapsu* and *tham* before a consonant suffix - as in *thamma*. In the second example, the root initial consonant /k/ changes to [g] due to its voicing assimilation to the preceding voiced consonant /r/.

2.1.1 Prefixation and suffixation

The prefix *ka-* and suffix *pa/ma* occurring simultaneously with the verb root form adjectives. The suffix *-pa* denotes masculine gender and *-ma* denotes feminine gender. The former changes into *-ba* if it is preceded by vowels or voiced consonants.

Table 4: Combination of the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-pa/ma*

Prefix	Root	Suffix	Word (Adj)
ka	lok 'he runs'	pa	kalokpa 'one who runs'
ka	im 'he sleeps'	pa	kaimba 'one who sleeps'
ka	et 'he laughs'	pa	kaeppa 'one who laughs'
ka	cɛp 'he cuts'	pa	kajeppa 'one who cuts'
ka	set 'he kills'	pa	kaseppa 'one who kills'
ka	cuk 'he does'	pa	kajukpa 'one who does'

Similarly, colour adjectives are formed by the simultaneous affixation of the prefix *ku-* and the suffix *-la/ra* to the verb roots. The suffix *-la* changes to *-ra* if it occurs after a vowel. The verb *mak* "is black" can function as an independent word, but others can't. They are bound roots. Table 5 show the derivation process of colour adjectives from verb roots.

Table 5: Derivation process of colour adjectives from verb roots

Prefix	Root	Suffix	Word (Adj)
ku	mak 'black'	la	kumakla 'black'
ku	he? 'red'	la	kuhe?la 'red'
ku	phij 'blue'	la	kubhiŋla 'blue'
ku	pho 'white'	ra	kubhɔra 'white'

2.2 Suffixation

Adjectives and different types of adverbs are derived from verbs by suffixation process. They are discussed under the following subheadings.

2.2.1 Formation of adjectives from verbs

Adjectives are derived from verb roots by the addition of the suffix *pa/ma*. *pa-* changes to *-ba* if it occurs after a vowel or a voiced consonant. It marks the masculine gender whereas *-ma* marks the feminine gender. Root final dental nasal changes to bilabial nasal due to its assimilation to the following bilabial consonant.

The verbs in table 6 below carry the meanings of adjectives along with verbs. When the suffix is added to them, the verbal meanings disappear and adjectival meanings appear exclusively

Table 6: Derivation of adjectives from verbs

Root	Suffix	Word
ken 'it is long'	pa	kemba 'long'
un 'it is short'	pa	umba 'short'
yɔn 'it is big'	pa	yɔmba 'big'
cuk 'it is small'	pa	cukpa 'small'
nu 'it is good'	pa	nuba 'good'

2.2.2 Formation of infinitival nouns from verbs

Infinitival nouns are derived from verb roots by adding the suffix *-ma*, which is different from the suffix *-ma* that denotes the feminine gender of an adjective or a noun.

Table 7: Derivation process of infinitival nouns from verb roots

Root	Suffix	Word
yun 'he sits'	ma	yunma 'to sit'
pok 'he rises'	ma	pokma 'to rise'
lok 'he runs'	ma	lokma 'to run'
lom 'he beats'	ma	lomma 'to beat'
lek 'he changes'	ma	lekma 'to change'
lak 'he licks'	ma	lakma 'to lick'

Table 7 presents derivation process of infinitival nouns from verb roots.

2.2.3 Formation of purposive adverbs from verbs

Purposive adverbs are derived from verb roots by adding the suffix –ɲa. This suffix is different from the first person, singular suffix –ɲa though these two suffixes have the same phonetic shape. This is, in fact, only the case of chance resemblance. Table 8 presents the derivation process of purposive adverbs from verb roots.

Table 8: Derivation process of purposive adverbs from verb roots

Root	Suffix	Word
yunɲ 'he sits'	ɲa	yunɲa 'in order to sit'
lok 'he runs'	ɲa	lokɲa 'in order to run'
lom 'he beats'	ma	lomma 'in order to beat'
lek 'he changes'	ɲa	lekɲa 'in order to change'
thunɲ 'he drinks'	ɲa	thunɲa 'in order to drink'

2.2.4 Formation of manner adverbs from verbs

Manner adverbs are derived from verb roots or stems by adding the suffix –lo/ro. The suffix –lo changes to –ro if it occurs after a vowel. Table 9 presents the derivation process of manner adverbs from verb roots.

Table 9: Derivation process of manner adverbs from verb roots

Root	Suffix	Word
yunɲ 'sits'	lo	yunɲlo 'sitting'
lok 'runs'	lo	loklo 'running'
po 'increases'	ro	poro 'increasing'
lanɲ 'dances'	lo	lanɲlo 'dancing'

2.2.5 Formation of adjectives from locational verbs

Adjectives are derived from locational adverbs by adding the suffix –pa/ma. These suffixes are the same as mentioned in Table 6. Table 10. presents the derivation process of adjectives from locational adverbs.

Table 10: Derivation process of adjectives from locational adverbs.

Root	Suffix	Word
to 'up'	pa	toba 'something up'
mo 'down'	pa	moba 'something down'
yo 'over there'	pa	yoba 'something over there'

2.2.6 Formation of adjectives from temporal adverbs

Similarly, adjectives are derived from temporal adverbs by adding the suffix –pa/ma. Table 11. presents the derivation process of adjectives from temporal adverbs.

Table 11: Derivation process of adjectives from locational adverbs.

Root	Suffix	Word
achenda 'yesterday'	pa	achendaba 'yesterday's'
tenda 'tomorrow'	pa	tendaba 'tomorrow's'
ailamba 'this year'	pa	ailambaba 'this year's'
allo 'now'	pa	alloba 'this moment's'
atte 'some times before'	pa	atteba 'something of sometime before'

3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a process of repetition whereby a noun, pronoun, adjective and adverb are fully or partially repeated. The following subheadings discuss full reduplication, partial reduplication and non-reduplication of initial consonant.

3.1 Full reduplication

Independent noun, pronoun, adjective and adverb are fully reduplicated in order to add extra emphasis to the original words.

3.1.1 Full reduplication of nouns

Nouns are reduplicated to form new words. Such nouns give extra information.

Table 12: Full reduplication of nouns

Word	Reduplication (N)
paɲ 'house'	paɲpaɲ 'from house to house'
lam 'road'	lamlam 'along the road'
tambhunɲ 'forest'	tambhunɲ tambhunɲ 'only in forest'

3.1.2 Full duplication of pronouns

Pronouns are reduplicated and new words are formed.

Table 13. Full reduplication of pronouns

Word	Reduplication
khunchi 'they'	khunchikhunchi 'only between them'
khenchi 'you two'	khenchikhunchi 'only between you two'
he 'what'	hehe 'what else'
sa 'who'	sasa 'who else'
ba 'this'	baba

3.1.3 Full reduplication of adjectives

Adjectives are reduplicated and new words are formed.

Table 14. Full reduplication of adjectives

Word	Duplication
nuba 'good'	nubanuba 'good good'
yɔmba 'big'	yɔmbayɔmba 'big big'
cukpa 'small'	cukpacukpa 'small small'

3.1.4 Full duplication of adverbs

Adverbs are reduplicated and new words are formed.

Table 15. Full reduplication of adjectives

Word	Duplication
to 'up'	todo 'up and above'
yo 'across'	yoyo 'far away across'
mo 'down'	momo 'down below'
kulum 'middle'	kulumkulum 'middle middle'

3.2 Partial reduplication

New words are formed by reduplicating the first syllable of a two syllabic word.

Table 16. Partial reduplication of adjectives

Word	Partial reduplication (Adj)
culik 'a little'	cujulik 'a little'
yɔrik 'a lot'	yɔyɔrik 'a lot'
lotthik 'one'	lotlotthik 'one each'
necchi 'two'	netnecchi 'two each'

3.3 Substitution of /s/ for word- initial consonant

New words are formed by reduplicating and substituting /s/ for the word initial consonant.

Table 17. Substitution of /s/ for word- initial consonant

Word	word formed by reduplication and substitution
tɔk 'rice'	tɔksɔk 'rice and the likes'
maki 'maize'	makisaki 'maize and the likes'
tak 'friend'	taksak 'friend and others'
hambɛ? 'ginger'	hambɛ?sambɛ? 'ginger and the likes'

4 Compounding

It is a process of forming a new word joining two or more free morphemes. Adverbs, nouns, adjective and adverb, noun and adverb, noun and adjective, adverb and adverb, adjective and

adjective, kinship noun and kinship noun, noun and noun-like word and noun and noun in a phrase are combined to form compound words.

4.1 Compounding of two adverbs

Two adverbs are combined and a compound word is formed.

Table 18. Compounding of two adverbs

words	Compound word
anda 'today' + tenda 'tomorrow'	andatenda 'today and tomorrow'
tenda 'tomorrow' + acchindaŋ 'the day after tomorrow'	tendaacchindaŋ 'tomorrow and the day after tomorrow'
yo + ba?yo	yoba?yo 'over there and over here'

4.2 Compounding of adjective and adverb

Adjective and adverb are combined to form a compound.

Table 19: Compounding of adjective and adverb

Words	Compound word
paŋŋaŋ 'from the house' + mo 'below'	paŋmo 'below the house'
lammaŋ 'from the road' + to 'above'	lamto 'above the road'

4.3 Compounding of noun and adverb

Noun and adverb are combined to form a compound word.

Table 20. Compounding of noun and adverb

Words	Compound word
yaŋ 'money' + ma?ɛ 'without'	yaŋma?ɛ 'without money'
yambɔk 'work' + ma?ɛ 'without'	yambɔkma?ɛ 'without work'

4.4 Compounding of noun and adjective

Noun and adjective are combined to form a compound word.

Table 21. Compounding of noun and adverb

words	Compound word
mamma 'our mother' + pakma 'younger'	mapakma 'step mother'
phubhu 'our brother' + yɔmba 'big'	phuyɔmba 'big brother'
nenne 'our sister' + cukma 'small'	necukma 'small sister'

4.5 Compounding of adjective and adjective

Adjective and adjective are combined to form a compound.

Table 22: Compounding of adjectives

words	Compound word
kaleba 'one who knows' + kaniba 'one who sees'	kalebakaniba 'one who knows'
kajukpa 'one who does' + kabappa 'one who says'	kajukpakabappa 'one who manages'
kaniba 'one who sees' + kaghembra 'one who hears'	kanibakaghembra 'one who has seen and heard'

4.6 Compounding of kinship nouns

Two kinship nouns are combined and a compound word is formed.

Table 23. Compounding of kinship nouns

words	Compound word
kukku + noppa 'his/her uncle-in-law'	kukkunoppa 'maternal uncle-in-law'
ninni + nopma 'our aunt-in-law'	ninninopma 'aunt-in-law'

4.7 Compounding of two nouns

Two nouns are combined and a compound word is made. In such a compound the second noun only supports the first noun to impart meaning.

Table 24. Compounding of a noun

words	Compound word
tak 'friend' + 'luŋ 'stone'	takluŋ 'friends and others'
te? 'cloth' +	te?phuŋ 'clothes and likes'

phuŋ 'flower'	
sa 'meat' + pu 'bird'	sabu 'meat and the likes'
ca 'paddy' + thi 'local beer'	cathi 'paddy and the likes'
nudhi 'vegetale' + sakci 'dirt'	nudhisakci 'green vegetables and the likes'
laje 'land' + siŋbuŋ 'tree'	lajesiŋbuŋ 'land and the like'

5 Conclusion

There are only a few derivative affixes in Limbu. The derivative prefixes change the classes of words to which they are attached, but as derived adverbs they have collocation restriction. Reduplication process is productive and both full and partial reduplication processes are in use. Different types of compounding processes exist in this language.

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ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN DARAI

Dubi Nanda Dhakal

This article discusses the adverbial clauses in Darai focusing the distribution of adverbial clauses in relation to the main clauses. A number of adverbial clauses are marked with the verbal suffixes whereas other morphemes and subordinating conjunctions are used for encoding dependency in other clauses. While some subordinators appear in the clause-initial position some others occur clause-finally. Overall, this article has twofold objectives. Firstly, it aims to account for the adverbial clauses in Darai. Secondly, it aims to deal with the ordering of subordinators and adverbial clauses.

Keywords: adverbial clause, verbal suffix, subordinator, split ergative

1 Introduction

This analysis is mainly based on Thomson and Langacre (1985), Dixon (2009), and Diessel (2001). Determining the order of main and subordinator clauses based on elicited examples may not show proper tendency in all cases. Therefore, the evidence from the corpus is presented in a number of instances. We will give the number of tokens which occur in the corpus of Darai an Indo-Aryan language.¹

This article is organized as follows. With a brief introduction in section 1, some morphosyntactic features of Darai are given in section 2. Section 3 deals with different kinds of adverbial clauses. Similarly, we look at the distribution of subordinators within the adverbial clauses in section 4. Section 5 examines the distribution of the adverbial clauses and the main clauses. The final section is the general discussion of the findings of the article.

2 Some morphosyntactic features

Darai is a split ergative language in which the ergativity is conditioned by nominal hierarchy. Darai encodes the information such as subject, object, gender, number and honorificity in the verbs. Pronominal possessive suffixes are attached to possessed nouns in genitive construction. In example (1), the pronominal suffix *-k* agrees with the third person singular similar to an elicited example (2). In the same way, example (3) shows that the pronominal suffix *-m* agrees with the first person singular.

- (1) *dulhak morlə*
dulha-k mor-lə
husband-3SG.POSS die-PST
'(Her) husband died.' (IMM.UN.001)
- (2) *ukhrə bhaik dzəilə*
u-rə bhai-k dza-lə
he-GEN brother-3SG.POSS go-PST
'(Her) brother went.'
- (3) *merə gorum bhaglə*
məi-rə goru-m bhag-lə
I-GEN ox-1SG.POSS run.away-PST
'My ox ran away.'

Pronouns and pronominal possessive suffixes are summarized in table 1. As seen in examples (1-3), agreement in person and number is obligatory between possessors and possessed if the pronominal possessive suffixes are present. Table (1) contains the pronominal possessive suffixes attached to the nouns particularly to express kinship relations, ownership and body parts.

Table 1: The pronominal possessive suffixes

	Pronouns	Possessive pronouns	Pronominal possessive suffixes
1SG	məi	merə	-m
1PL	hame	hamrə	-Ø
2 SG	təi	terə	-r
2 SG.H	təhē	teurə	-u
2 PL	təisəb	terasəbkə	-Ø
3SG	u	uk ^h rə	-k
3SG.H	unhen	unhenkə	-kan
3 PL	usbəb	usbəbkə	-Ø

¹ This analysis is based on the corpus (of about 2800 sentences). All examples are from the discourse data except otherwise specified. The abbreviations following each example show the text title, speaker and reference of the examples within the texts. The examples without this information are elicited ones (see Dhakal 2011 for further information). The recorded texts were transcribed and interlinearized in Toolbox, a computer software program. I am thankful to Mr. Rajendra Kumar Darai for his help in transcribing and interlinearizing the data.

Moving to verb morphology, one of the features is agreement of verb both with subject and object. Examples follow.

- (4) *ek dhokro p̄isa detamir*
 ek dhokro p̄isa de-ta-mi-r
 one bucket money give-NPST-1SG -2SG
 'I will give you a bucketful of money.'
 (DR.CND.087)
- (5) *anhalmis*
 an-hal-mi-s
 bring-NPST-1SG-2SG
 'I brought you here.' (PTP.CND.057)

As we see in (4), the verb *de* 'give' is followed by the tense marker *-ta*. The subject of the verb is encoded with *-m* and the object is encoded with the suffix *-r*. Similarly, we see the same pattern in (5) in which the verb encodes both the subject and object.

3 Adverbial clauses

Thompson and Longacre (1885:171) note that adverbial clauses modify the other clause like an adverb modifies the other propositions. The subordinators in adverbial clauses show "a special semantic relation between the main and adverbial clause" (Diessel 2001:435). They may be finite or non-finite. Adverb clauses in Darai are marked with subordinating morphemes or lexical subordinators. Adverbial clauses discussed here are purpose, cause, result, temporal, conditional, concessive, and manner clauses.

3.1 Purpose clause

Purpose clauses express a 'motivating event' (Thompson and Longacre 1985:184). There are two main ways of coding purpose clauses in Darai. Firstly, a purpose clause is coded by infinitive *-ike* which is optionally followed by the postposition *lagi* 'for' as in (6). Additionally, in a large number of clauses, the purpose clauses are simply coded by the infinitive marker *-ke* as in (7). The clause which is also accompanied by *lagi* 'for' seems to be a recent development in Darai.² Secondly, purpose clause is morphologically coded by the suffix *-e*. Unlike *-ike* which is also the infinitive marker, the purpose marker *-e* does not have any other functions except indicating the purpose (8). Although the language consultants

say these two can be interchangeably used to encode a purpose clause, the former is more frequent than the latter in the texts. The purpose *-e* clauses rarely occur in the discourse data.

- (6) *goghrike lagi dz̄ail̄*
 [goghr-ike lagi] dza-l̄
 bathe-INF for go-PST
 '(She) went to bathe.' (KAQ.SLD.134)
- (7) *terake leike aila*
 [toi-ke le-ike] a-l̄
 you-DAT bring-INF come-PST
 '(I) came to bring you.' (KAQ.SLD.121)

A purpose clause precedes the clause on which it depends. In the natural texts there are contexts where deviations from the unmarked order are common. Postposed purpose clauses are also attested as shown in (8). There is an interaction between structure and discourse-pragmatic function when the purpose clauses are postposed which is yet to be investigated.

- (8) *ciṅni pheri niskl̄l̄ c̄arike*
 ciṅni pheri nisk-l̄ [c̄ar-ike]
 hen again come.out-PST graze-INF
 'The chicken again came out to graze (roam).'

As can be seen in examples (6-8) purpose clauses reveal some features. First, the purpose clauses may have the same subject as that of the main clause. Second, the purpose clauses do not encode the pronominal references of the main clauses. Notice that such preposed clauses are common when they are statistically examined. Overall, they have a purpose relation with the main clause as is found in other languages as well. While some purpose clauses precede the main clauses, others follow the main clause. Among different 21 tokens of *-ike* clauses follow the main clauses whereas only 19 clauses precede the main clause. The clause with *-ike lagi* (a total of three in the corpus) always precede the main clause. And the purpose clauses marked with *-e* always precede the main clause in the corpus. So, the purpose clauses either precede or follow the main clauses.

3.2 Reason clause

There are some ways of encoding reason (cause) clause in Darai. Firstly, the reason is expressed by lexical subordinator *kikek̄ate* 'because' as shown in

² The postposition *lagi* 'for' is seemingly a Nepali loan.

(9).³ This codes a cause relation to the main clause. The cause subordinator *kikekəte* 'because' originates from two words *kike* 'why' and *kəhəte* 'say-SIM'. In fast and natural speech, the word *kəhəte* is uttered as *kəte*. The reason subordinator is pronounced as *kikekəte* 'because (lit. why saying)'. Consider the following examples:

- (9) *am tə dzhərte nidzə kikekəte tin̄ta am lob kər-lə*
 am tə dzhər-te nidzə
 mango PART fall-SIM NEG
 [kikekəte tin̄-ta am lob kər-lə]
 because three-CLF mango greed do-PST
 '(He said), 'The mango did not fall down because he (showed) greed for three mangoes.'
 (KaQ.SLD.049-050)

The cause clauses always follow the main clause by naming the cause (reason) of their respective main clauses as shown in examples (9). The cause of the need of home-made beer (liquor) is that it is required in all religious occasions. Or, the reason of the need of home-made beer (liquor) is that it is needed in all religious occasions. All reason (cause) clauses occurring in the texts (total 2) are postposed. It is to be noted that the subordinator occurs in clause-final position. Additionally, the sequential converb sometimes expresses the reason as in (10).

- (10) *chahok dekhikum u khusi bhəilə*
 [chaho-k dekh-ikun] u khusi
 daughter-3SGPOSS see-SEQ he happy
 bhə-lə
 become-PST
 'Having seen his son, he became happy.'

The clause with the converb marker *-ikum* in (10) renders the cause of the happiness of the speaker in (10). This sentence can be the answer to the question (11).

- (11) *u kike khusi bhəilə*
 u kike khusi bhə-lə
 he why happy become-PST
 'Why did he become happy?'

3.3 Clauses of time

There are a number of ways of coding the time adverbial clauses. To begin with, temporal clauses

are formed by making use of subordinating conjunctions. There are some independent words (adverbs) which indicate the temporal relations. Only two tokens occur with the word *əgađi* 'before' as shown in (12).

- (12) *sutlarə kəte əgađi bhatike məsinəse phorlə*
 [sut-larə kəte əgađi] bhati-ke
 sleep-PROS than before fermented.rice-ACC
 məsinəse phor-lə
 finely break-PST
 '(He) crushed the fermented rice before it is spread...'
 (HitMW.SD.032)

We also see that the action shown by the adverbial clause precede the main clause (12). Similarly, time adverbial *pəchu* 'after' can join the sentences as in (13).⁴ Some people pronounce this word as *pachi* or *pəchi* as well. The other time adverbials, such as *əni* 'then', and *bəllə* 'finally' too show this relation.

- (13) *cəran̄kə pani khai səklə pəchi səti dzəilə*
 [cəran̄kə pani khai sək-lə
 leg-GEN water eat-ABS finish-PRF
 pəchi] səti dzə-lə
 after immolation go-PST
 'She immolated after drinking water from her dead husband's feet.'

Although a number of adverbials may occur in this kind of construction, they are limited in the corpus data.

Secondly, the temporal clause in Darai shows the relative time (see Dixon 2009:10). The clause refers to the whole length of time (see Watters 2009:108) indicated by *-ilaləi* 'during' or 'as long age' as in (14). The temporal clause is also thus morphologically coded.

- (14) *məi khalələi bəsuk*
 [məi kha-ilələi] bəs-uk
 I eat-during sit-IMP
 'Sit as long as I eat.'

The example (14) signals that the act of 'sitting' continues during 'eating'. All the temporal clauses mentioned above (a total of four) were proposed in the corpus.

Thirdly, the adverbial clause is also marked by the relative-correlative sets. This is a common

³ Thompson and Longacre (1985:185) state "The events are 'unrealized' in purpose clauses whereas the events may be realized in reason clauses."

⁴ The word seems to be a borrowing from Nepali.

strategy in a number of IA languages (Masica 1991:415).

- (15) *dzəbə pani pərit təbə beŋgo basit*
 dzəbə pani pərit təbə
 when water fall-3SG-NPST then
 beŋgo bas-i-t
 frog cry-3SG-NPST
 'Whenever it rains, the frog cries.'

Moreover, Darai also makes use of three non-finite forms to connect to show the temporal relation. Among these forms, the sequential converb is coded with *-ke*, simultaneous converb is marked with *-te* and progressive converb is coded with *-tihin*.

The sequential converbs codes the sequences of events. This shows the temporal relation to the main clause (cf. Noonan 1999, Yadava 2005, Peterson 2002). An example follows.

- (16) *uhī khrake goli hanikun dzəilə*
 u-hī [u-ke goli han-ikun] dza-lə
 he-ERG he-ACC bullet shoot-SEQ go-PST
 'Having shot him, he went.'

The simultaneous converb codes the clauses which show the temporal relation of 'overlap' (cf. Thompson and Longacre 1985:188). An example follows (17).

- (17) *uhī suga bhette khənajə anlə*
 [u-hī suga bhet-te khənajə] an-lə
 he-ERG parrot meet-prog while bring-PST
 'He brought (him) as he met (found) him.'

Similarly, the progressive form of the verb, when used as a converb, shows a complete simultaneity. The continuous converb is also used to mark the 'total simultaneity' (cf. Peterson 2002:112). Example (18) shows that the action 'looking' and 'combining' occur together in the same time frame.

- (18) *məi əina hertin bar costəm*
 [məi əina hert-in] bar cos-tə-m
 I mirror look-SIM hair comb-NPST-1SG
 'I comb the hair looking at the mirror.'

The ordering of the temporal clauses can be summarized as follows. The adverbial clauses coded by the verbal suffixes always precede the main clauses. This is also true to the converb clauses as well. There is a hapex legomenon of the clause marked with *-ilaləi*. The temporal clauses marked with the adverbials also precede

the main clause. Thus, the temporal clauses mainly precede the main clauses.

3.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are morphologically coded in Darai. Protasis or 'if' clause is marked with the suffix *-le* or *-ne*. Conditional is thus morphologically coded in Darai. The subordinator (subordinating particle) *par* or *sit* more often than not occurs in conjunction with the conditional marker. In (19) the conditional clause codes a real situation.

- (19) *gəram məina bhəine patro rakhike*
 [gəram məina bhəi-ne] patro thin rakh-ike
 hot time become-COND keep-INF
 'Keep in a thin layer, if the season is hot.'
 (HtMW.SD.010)
- (20) *toi səti dzəine məi punu dzəitəm səti*
 [toi səti dza-ne] məi punu
 you immolation go-COND I also
 dza-tə-m səti
 go-NPST-1SG immolation
 'If you immolate, I will also immolate.'
 (IMM.SU.003)

The clauses presented in (19-20) are simple conditional clauses. In this context, distinction should be made between simple and hypothetical conditional. Hypothetical conditionals are distinguished from simple conditional because there is the presence of past tense marker which is further accompanied by *par bhəine* in the protasis and *-lahalarəi* (verb inflection) in the apodosis (then clause).

- (21) *ukhrake bolalə bhəine par u ramalaharəi*
 [u-ke bola-lə bhə-ne par]
 he-DAT call-PST become-COND COND
 u rama-laharə-i
 he become.happy-COND-3SG
 'He would have been happy if he had been called.'
- (22) *chahim əili bhəine məi ciŋni kaɬlarəm*
 chahi-m a-l-i bhə-ne]
 daughter-1SG come-PST-F become-COND
 məi ciŋni kaɬ-larə-m
 I chicken cut-HYP-1SG
 'I would have killed the chicken if my daughter had come.'

Hypothetical conditional constructions with past tense and *bhəine* clause describe the situation that

cannot be fulfilled. With hypothetical conditions, as in examples (21-22), the verb in the main clause occurs with *bhaine* 'become-COND'. These conditional clauses obtained from the discourse data always precede the main clauses.

When we look at the corpus, we see that higher number of conditional clauses is marked with the conditional suffix followed by the conditional particles *par* or *sit*. Among a total of 47 conditional clauses in the corpus, 27 conditional clauses were marked with the verbal suffix and the subordinators whereas 21 conditional clauses were marked by the verbal suffix alone.

3.5 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are formed by making use of the subordinator *mare/mahū* 'though'. This signals the 'counter expectation' given in the main clause. The language consultants admit that these two concessive subordinators can be used interchangeably. The concessive subordinators follow the finite forms of the verbs. Concessive clauses typically precede the main clauses which do not have any specific markings in its verbs. Examples follow (23-24).

- (23) *uhī cinlə mare nidzəbhetlə*
 [uhī cin-lə mare] nidzə-bhet-lə
 he-ERG recognize-PSTCONC NEG-meet-PST
 'Although he recognized (me), he did not meet me.'

- (24) *uhī nidzə paulə mahū delə*
 [u-hī nidzə pa-lə mahū] delə
 he-ERG NEG get-PST CONC give-PST
 'Although he did not get (money), he gave (it to me).'

Examples show that the concessive clauses are formed with the concessive subordinator *mare/mahū*. The main verb in the concessive clause is finite. The concessive clauses typically precede the main clauses. While the subordinator *mare* occurs twice in the corpus, the subordinator *mahū* is a hapex legomenon.

3.6 Manner clause

Manner clauses did not occur in the corpus. However, it is indicated by a clause marker *dzəhin* 'like'. As Dixon (2009:3) describes, the manner clause describes the manner how activity is done given in the main clause.

- (25) *bhaim mändelə dzəhin borālə*
 [bhai-m mände-lə dzəhin] bora-lə
 brother-1SG become sick-PST like speak-PST
 'My brother spoke as if he was sick.'

- (26) *ijə ɽaŋgi məi kəhələ dzəhin bokuk*
 ijə ɽaŋgi [məi kəhə-lə dzəhin] bok-uk
 this axe I say-PST like carry-IMP
 'Carry this axe as (in the manner) I told you.'

The manner clause in (25) describes the manner how the speaker's brother spoke. Similarly, the clause in (26) describes that the addresser should carry the axe as instructed by the speaker.

Moreover, the manner relation is shown is by making use of the relative-correlative construction as shown in (27).

- (27) *dzəsin dzəsin məi kəhətəm osin osin toi kəruk*
 dzəsin dzəsin məi kəhə-tə-m
 as as I say-NPST-1SG
 osin osin toi kə-uk
 that.way that.way you do-IMP
 'Do as I tell you.'

In addition to this, the progressive converb also functions as a manner adverb in Darai like in a number of south Asian languages (Subbarao, Hakkacham, and Dutta 2013; Kachru 2006: 231).

- (28) *məi hīd̪ihin ghərə əilə*
 [məi hīd̪t-ihin] ghərə a-lə
 I walk-PROG house come-pst
 'I came home walking.'

As shown in (28), the progressive converb functions as a manner adverb in Darai. This can be the answer to the question given in (29).

- (29) *toi kəske ghərə əilə*
 toi kəske ghərə a-lə
 you how house come-PST
 'How did you come home?'

3.7 Result clause

'Result clauses describe a consequence or conclusion derived from the main clause' (Dressler 2001:443). There are two basic ways of expressing result. Firstly, the lexical subordinators are used to render the result. As noted in some Indo-Aryan languages (Bhatia 1993:78; Koul 2008:208; Schmidh 1999:205), the preceding clause mentions a cause whereas the following clause mentions the result. One of the ways of expressing the result with the subordinating is by making use of the *gunei* 'therefore' (29) *uhəigunei*

'therefore', or *osnəgunei* 'therefore' (30-31). The clause with the subordinator *gunei* 'therefore' is mainly used with the finite verb as in (29) or with the non-finite verb as in (30-31). As these examples illustrate, the subordinator *gunei* occurs clause-finally.

- (29) *dherei ɖalaharə gunei dərəi bhəilə*
 [dherei ɖara-larə gunei] dərəi bhə-lə
 much be.afraid-PROS reason Darai become-PST
 'They were much frightened, (and) therefore
 (named) Darai.' (IN.SU.019)

The result subordinator *uhəigunei* 'therefore' originates from two words, *uhəi* 'that' and *gunei* 'reason'.

The result is also expressed by the second clauses with the subordinator *uhəigunei* 'because of that reason' in (30-31). The former clauses show the causes and the following clause introduced by *gunei* 'therefore' or *uhəigunei* 'therefore' shows the effect. The positions of subordinate clauses differ in these cases. While the result clauses in (29) precede the main clauses, the result clauses in (30-31) follow them.

- (30) *dzeṭhi dulhik tə pachese khəili*
uhəigunei uhī sorkə chawak paulə
 dzeṭhi dulhi-k tə pachə-se
 elder wife-3SG.POSS PART later-ABL
 kha-l-i [uhəigunei u-hī sor-kə eat-PST-F
 therefore he-ERG pig-GEN chawa-k pau-lə]
 child-POSS.3SG give birth- PST
 'The elder wife ate (it) later. Therefore, she gave
 birth to a pig son.' (KaQ.SLD.66-67)
- (31) *pidrənijə piḍarkə rukh rəhələhun uhəigunei*
ukhrake nam pidrəni rəhələhun
 pidrəni-jə piḍar-kə rukh rəhə-lə-hun
 Pidrahani-LOC Pidar-GEN tree remain-PST-HS
 [uhəigunei u-ke nam pidrəni rəhə-lə]
 therefore it-GEN name Pidrahani remain-PST
 'There were Pidar trees in Pidrahani, therefore its
 name was Pidrahani.' (In.UN.15)

The occurrence of these reason subordinators is not very frequent in the corpus. The lexical subordinator *gunei* 'reason' occurs three times, whereas the *uhəigunei* 'therefore' and *osnəgunei* 'therefore' occurs two times each in the entire corpus. Unlike the result clause coded with 'reason', all result clauses (a total of 8) were postposed in the corpus.

3.8 Locative clause

Locative clause is obtained by using the same mechanism as in relative-correlative clause.

- (32) *dzəchi musləḍi pakit uchin cərəi nacit*
 dzəchi musləḍi pak-i-t uchin
 where myrtle ripe-3SG-NPST there
 cərəi nac-i-t
 bird dance-3SG-NPST
 'The birds dance where the myrtle ripens.'
 (SQ.BLD.071-072)

4. Subordinators within adverbial clauses

First of all, it is to be noted that some clauses are marked by verbal suffixes, some others by verbal suffixes combined with adverbial subordinators whereas others are by the adverbial subordinators alone. If we leave the relative-correlative construction, and the adverbial clauses encoded by the verbal suffixes, there are two clear patterns. The subordinators occur clause-finally within the adverbial clauses except in the reason clause in which the subordinator also occur in clause initial position.

The subordinators appear with conditional marked verbal suffix in clause-final position. The concessive and manner adverbial subordinators also appear in clause-final position.

5 Distribution of the adverbial clauses

Diessel (2001:433) notes, "In languages with a final subordinator, adverbial clauses tend to precede the main clause, whereas in languages in which adverbial clauses are marked by an initial subordinator, adverbial clauses commonly occur in both sentence-initial and sentence-final position." Darai is an SOV language. The ordering distribution of main clause and adverbial clauses can be summarized as follows. Darai shows a mixed result regarding the subordinators within the clause. Let's now see the main kinds of adverbial clause and their distribution. (a) The purpose clauses precede the main clauses in unmarked order. A discourse-pragmatic meaning of them is yet to be investigated. (b) The conditional clauses precede the main clauses in the corpus. Not a single token of the postposed conditional clause is attested. (c) The reason clauses may precede or follow the main clause. There is a kind of mirror-image in the distribution in this context. If the subordinator occurs clause-

finally, the adverbial clause precedes the main clause and vice versa. (d) Concessive and manner clauses are attested only in sentence-initial position. Dryer (2008:8) notes that the subordinators found in clause-final and clause-initial position is characterized in the languages of an area stretching from Asia to India.⁵ This feature is also characterized in a number of languages.

6 Conclusion

This article summarizes the adverbial clauses in Darai. First of all, it is to be noted that some clauses are marked by verbal suffixes, some others by verbal suffixes combined with adverbial subordinators and others are by the adverbial subordinators alone. There are finite and non-finite clauses in Darai. Owing to these suffixal subordinators and separate words the mechanism of adverbial clause combining is very productive in this language. While the purpose clause, some temporal clauses, conditional clause are encoded with verbal suffixes, the rest of the clauses discussed make use of subordinating conjunctions. The subordinators occur both in clause-initial and clause-final position. There is a kind of mirror-image in the distribution of the subordinator and the subordinating clauses. If the subordinator occurs clause-finally, the adverbial clause precedes the main clause and vice versa.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative	CLF	classifier
CONC	concessive	COND	conditional
DAT	dative	ERG	ergative
EVI	evidential	F	feminine
GEN	genitive	HYP	hypothetical
IA	Indo-Aryan	IMMP	imperative
INF	infinitive	LOC	locative
NEG	negative	NOM	nominative
NPST	non-past	PL	plural
POSB	possibility	POSS	pronominal suffix
PROS	prospective	PROH	prohibitive
PROG	progressive	PROS	prospective
PST	past	SEQ	sequential converb

⁵ In a typological study, Indo-Aryan language Punjabi is categorized as a flexible word-order language (Diessel 2001:441). Diessel further notes that such languages commonly precede and follow the main clause/predicate.

SG singular SIM simultaneous converb

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GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN BHUJEL: A FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Dan Raj Regmi

In Bhujel, both coding and behavioural properties of grammatical relations lack a unified pattern of control. Nominal morphology and direct-inverse agreement follow ergative pattern whereas pronominal verb agreement and number agreement track the nominative pattern. Similarly, equi-NP deletion, reflexivization and relativization are controlled by ergative. However, chained clauses having second clause in transitive follow nominative pattern.

Keywords: coding, behavioural, direct-inverse, ergative

1 Introduction

This paper attempts to investigate the grammatical relations from a functional perspective in Bhujel, a morphologically ergative Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal.¹ In a natural language, grammatical/syntactic relations, viz., subjects, direct objects and indirect objects play a vital role not only in the grammar of simple clauses but also in major syntactic processes (i.e., complex constructions) such as promotion to direct object, de-transitivization, complementation, causativization, nominalization, relativization, raising, and various types of anaphoric reference and agreement (Givón, 1997; 2001). In Bhujel, too, grammatical relations are characterized by two major formal properties referred to as coding as well as behavioral properties.²

However, these properties are not always applicable across the board. Within the same language, some constructions may be governed only by the subject, or only by the object, or by both, or by neither. Cross-linguistically, such constructions either follow nominative pattern or ergative pattern or mixed pattern (Brainard 1997:91). In the previous studies (Regmi 2007; 2012), even overt coding properties of

grammatical relations, viz., nominal morphology and verb agreement have been scantily examined. No attention has ever been paid to the analysis of behavior-and control properties, which are pertinent diagnostics of grammatical relations, in Bhujel. In this paper, we examine the formal properties of grammatical/syntactic relations, viz. subjects, direct objects and indirect objects in Bhujel mainly in response to three problems: What are the grammatical relations in Bhujel, an ergative language? How are the grammatical relations encoded in Bhujel? And what pattern of syntactic control do major rule governed syntactic processes tag on in this language?

This paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 examines the overt coding properties of grammatical relations in Bhujel. In section 3, we look at the behavior-and-control properties of the grammatical relations in the language. Section 4 summarizes the findings of the paper.

2 Overt coding properties

Overt coding properties, which can be perceptually distinguished, comprise word order (i.e., the NP's position in the clause vis-à-vis other), verb agreement (i.e., the NP's control of pronominal affixes on the complex of verb) and nominal morphology (i.e., the NP's morphological case marking). Of such properties, verb agreement and case marking are morphological whereas word order is syntactic. These overt coding properties remarkably determine the grammatical roles of the clausal participants. The relevance of overt coding properties to grammatical relations even in simple clauses varies from one language to another, or within the same language from one case-role to the other (Givón, 1997). In this section, we examine the overt coding properties and their relevance to grammatical relations in Bhujel.

2.1 Nominal morphology

In nominative-accusative languages such as English and Japanese the case marking morphology codes the grammaticalized subject in a unified way as nominative and direct-object as

¹ Bhujel is an endangered Tibeto-Burman language of Himalayish group spoken by 21,715 (i.e. 18.30%) of the 1,18,650 ethnic Bhujel (CBS, 2012). It is mainly spoken in Tanahun, Gorkha, Chitawan and Nawalparasi districts of Nepal (Regmi and Regmi, 2011).

² Givón (1997:7) argues that the formal properties of grammatical subjects investigated by Keenan (1976:324) can be easily extended to grammatical relations in general.

accusative regardless of semantic roles or transitivity. However, in ergative-absolutive languages like Bhujel, case marking morphology codes the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses (Givón, 2001). In Bhujel, the subject/agent of a transitive clause, irrespective of tense and aspect or person, is marked as ergative whereas the subject of the intransitive clause is marked as absolutive. Thus, there is split in the marking of the subjects in Bhujel. The object/patient of the transitive clause is also marked as absolutive. Following are the examples.

- (1) a. η ai siŋ k^hamnuŋ
 η a-i siŋ- \emptyset k^ham-n-u-ŋ
 1SG-ERG tree-ABS cut.down-NPST-DIR-1/2
 ‘I cut down a tree.’
- b. η a kryapalaŋ
 η a- \emptyset krayp-ala-ŋ
 1SG-ABS cry-PST-1/2
 ‘I cried.’

In example (1a), the subject/agent of the transitive clause is invariably encoded by the ergative marker *-i* whereas the subject of the intransitive clause in (1b) and object/patient of the transitive clause in (1a) are marked as absolutive. In Bhujel, absolutive is left unmarked. However, a human patient/object is marked as dative rather than absolutive in Bhujel as in (2).

- (2) rami η kay dāk^halaŋ
 ram-i η a-kay dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 ram-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘Ram beat me.’

In example (2), the nominal argument as object/patient indicated by the dative case marker *-kay* in transitive clauses exhibits the anti-dative use of the dative case form (cf. Dryer, 1986). Thus, the nominal morphology as coding property follows a consistent ergative pattern in Bhujel.

2.2 Verb agreement

Bhujel displays a very complex pattern of verb agreement/verb cross-referencing indexing person, number and direct-inverse relations of the verbal arguments in the complex of verb. They are discussed briefly as follows:

2.2.1 Pronominal verb agreement

In a single-argument clause, only the reference of the first and second person argument is indexed in the complex of the verb in Bhujel as in (3).

- (3) a. η a n^hialaŋ
 η a- \emptyset n^hi-ala-ŋ
 1SG-ABS laugh-PST-1/2
 ‘I laughed.’
- b. naŋ n^hitealaŋ
 naŋ- \emptyset n^hi-te-ala-ŋ
 2SG-ABS laugh-2-PST-1/2
 ‘You laughed.’
- c. dyo n^hial
 dyo- \emptyset n^hi-al
 3SG-ABS laugh-PST
 ‘S/he laughed.’

In examples (3a-b), both first and second person arguments/subjects are indexed in the verb by *-ŋ*. However, in example (3c), the subject argument in the third person is not indexed at all.

In Bhujel, pronominal agreement on the complex of verb is neither controlled by semantic roles nor by the grammatical roles of the participants. Rather it is controlled exclusively by hierarchical ranking of the verbal arguments/participants - 1/2 → 3 (i.e., the first person or second person acting on the third person object/patient).³ As the first person is the highest ranking participant, in a transitive configuration of 1 → 3, the verb agreement is controlled by the first person subject/agent participant. However, in a transitive configuration of 3 → 1, it is not the subject/agent participant but the first person object/patient which controls the pronominal verb agreement as in (4).

- (4) a. η ai dyokay dāk^haluŋ
 η a-i dyo-kay dāk^h-al-u-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘I beat him/her.’
- b. dyokəy η kay dāk^halaŋ
 dyo-kəy η a-kay dāk^h-al-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘S/he beat me.’

In example (4a), the first person (i.e., the highest ranking participant) is acting on the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant). The person

³ The languages which exhibit agreement based on a hierarchical ranking of participants: 1/2 → 3, at the core of the system, maintain the agreement with the first or second person agent in preference to the third, and with the patient /object where both participants are the first or second person (DeLancey, 1981; Watters, 2002).

indexed on the verb by the suffix *-ŋ* codes the reference of the first person participant, thus, yielding the first person agreement. In example (4b), person indexed by the suffix *-ŋ* does not code the reference of the third person agent participant, rather it codes the first person patient participant. The simple reason is that in (4b) unlike in (4a), the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant) is acting on the first person (i.e., the highest ranking participant). Thus, the agreement is with the first person (i.e., the highest ranking participant).⁴

Similarly, in a transitive configuration of 2→3 or 3→2 yields the second person agreement (also the highest ranking participant) as in (5).

- (5) a. *ŋaŋi dyokay dāk^htetaluŋ*
ŋaŋ-i dyo-kay dāk^h-te-tal-u-ŋ
 2SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-2-(2) PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘You beat her/him.’
- b. *dyokəy naŋkay dāk^halaŋ*
dyo-kəy naŋ-kay dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 2SG-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘S/he beat you.’

In example (5a), the second person (i.e., relatively the highest ranking participant) is acting on the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant). The person indexed on the verb by the suffix *-ŋ* codes the reference of the second person participant, thus, yielding the second person agreement. In example (5b), the third person (i.e., the lowest ranking participant) is acting on first person (i.e., the highest ranking participant). Thus, person indexed by the suffix *-ŋ* does not code the reference of the third person agent participant, rather it codes the second person patient participant. In Bhujel, apart from person, inclusivity reference of the subject/agent participant is also indexed on the verb by the suffix *-tə* as in (6).⁵

- (6) a. *ŋicikəy dyokay dāk^htəalaŋcu*
ŋici-kəy dyo-kay dāk^h-tə-ala-ŋ-c-u
 1DU-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-INCL-PST-1/2-1DU-DIR
 ‘We (two) beat him/her.’

⁴ In Bhujel, however, verb agreement is sometimes controlled by subject/agent participant and sometimes by object/patient participant but not by both (Watters and Regmi, 2008).

⁵ However, Bhujel lacks distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity in free pronouns (See, Regmi, 2012).

- b. *ŋiləmi dyokay dāk^htəlaŋju*
ŋiləm-i dyo-kay dāk^h-tə-ala-ŋ-i-u
 1PL-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-INCL-PST-1/2-1PL-DIR
 ‘We (plural) beat him/her.’

In examples (6a-b), the verb is indexed by the inclusive suffix *-tə* along with the common person marker to encode the inclusivity reference of the subject/agent participant acting on the third person object/patient. However, the inclusive suffix *-tə* does not occur while the third person as subject is acting on the first person inclusive as in (7).

- (7) a. *dyokəy ŋicikay dāk^halaŋ*
dyo-kəy ŋici-kay dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 1DU-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘S/he beat us (two).’
- b. *dyokəy ŋiləmkay dāk^halaŋ*
dyo-kəy ŋiləm-kay dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 3SG-ERG 1PL-DAT beat-PST-1/2
 ‘S/he beat us.’

In examples (7a-b), the inclusivity reference of the object/patient is not marked by the inclusive suffix *-tə*. The verb agreement in terms of inclusivity reference is exclusively controlled by the subject/agent participants of the clauses in Bhujel. Thus, the pronominal indexation/verb agreement in Bhujel is exclusively controlled by a nominative principle, i.e., the subjects regardless of transitivity.

2.2.2 Number agreement

Bhujel overtly indexes duality and plurality of the verbal arguments in the verb complex. In Bhujel, plurality is marked by *-i* for all persons. However, duality is coded by *-j/jə* for the second person and by *-c/cə* for the first and third person. In Bhujel, such indexation is exclusively controlled by a nominative principle, i.e., the subjects regardless of transitivity as in (8).

- (8) a. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE
ŋici kim alnaŋcə
ŋici kim al-na-ŋ-cə
 1DU house go-NPST-1/2-DU
 ‘We (two) go home.’
- b. TRANSITIVE CLAUSE
ŋicikəy am jealaŋcu
ŋici-kəy am je-ala-ŋ-c-u
 1DU-ERG rice eat-PST-1/2-DU-DIR
 ‘We (two) ate rice.’

- c. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE
 niŋji kim altenaŋjə
 niŋji kim al-te-na-ŋ-jə
 2DU house go-2-NPST-1/2-2DU
 ‘You (two) go home.’
- d. TRANSITIVE CLAUSE
 niŋjikəy am jealaŋju
 niŋji-kəy am je-ala-ŋ-j-u
 2DU-ERG rice eat-PST-1/2-2DU-DIR
 ‘You (two) ate rice.’
- e. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE
 niŋ kim altenaŋi
 niŋ kim al-te-na-ŋ-i
 2PL house go-2-NPST-1/2-PL
 ‘You (PL) go home.’
- f. TRANSITIVE CLAUSE
 ŋikəy am jealaŋi
 ŋi-kəy am je-al-u-ŋ-i
 1PL-ERG rice eat-PST-DIR-1/2-PL
 ‘We ate rice.’

In examples (8a-f), the verb agreement with respect to both duality and plurality is controlled by the subjects regardless of transitivity.

2.2.3 ‘Direct-inverse’ agreement

In Bhujel, the direct relations, i.e., 1→2, 1→3, and 2→3, are marked by the suffix *-u* in the complex of the verb apart from person and number suffixes (Regmi, 2012)⁶. Such agreement is solely controlled by the subject/agent participants in transitive clauses in (9).

- (9) a. 1→2
 ŋai naŋkay dāk^haluŋ
 ŋa-i naŋ-kay dāk^h-al-u-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘I beat you.’
- b. 1→3
 ŋai dyokay dāk^haluŋ
 ŋa-i dyo-kay dāk^h-al-u-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘I beat him/her.’
- c. 2→3
 naŋi dyokay dāk^htaluŋ
 naŋ-i dyo-kay dāk^h-te-tal-u-ŋ
 2SG-ERG 3SG-DAT beat-2-(2)PST-DIR-1/2
 ‘You beat him/her.’

Thus, the direct-inverse indexation/verb agreement is exclusively controlled by an ergative principle, i.e., the subjects of the transitive clauses.

2.3 Word order

SOV is the basic word order in Bhujel. In this language, both the ergative subject of the transitive clause as in (1a) and the absolutive subject of the intransitive clause as in (1b) occupy the same clause initial position. However, this order is not fixed. For the pragmatic effects such as topicalization and focusing, both ergative and absolutive subjects (i.e., the main clause topic) and the absolutive direct objects/patients (i.e., the secondary topic) may be permuted from their stipulated places within the clause to a great extent (Regmi, 2012:119-21) as in (10).

- (10) a. rami am jeal sov
 ram-i am je-al
 Ram-ERG rice eat-PST
 ‘Ram ate rice.’
- b. ram-i je-al am svo
 As for Ram, he certainly ate rice.’
- c. je-al ram-i am vso
 ‘It was Ram, as for eating, he did it.’
- d. je-al am ram-i vos
 ‘It was rice, as for eating, which Ram did.’
- e. am ram-i je-al osv
 ‘As for rice, it was Ram, who ate it.’
- f. am je-al ram-i ovs
 ‘As for rice, Ram ate it; he did not do anything else.’

It is to be noted that all the six logically possible clauses (10a-f) are acceptable for different pragmatic effects in Bhujel. However, SOV in (10a) may represent the basic constituent order in Bhujel. Thus, in a language in which constituent order is better characterized as relatively free, word order is not a definite diagnostic of grammatical relations. Thus, word order has neither a nominative nor an ergative coding pattern in Bhujel. However, in Bhujel, word order distinguishes between the ergative subject and absolutive object in the transitive clauses and the absolutive NP and an oblique NP in single argument clauses.

⁶ The inverse relations, i.e., 2→1, 3→1, or 3→2, are not marked. Nor is 3→3 coded by suffix *-u*.

3 Behavior-and-control properties

Apart from overt-coding properties, grammatical relations are also characterized by the formal properties referred to as behavior-and-control properties (i.e., behavioral constraints). Such properties are syntactic constructions whose behaviour is most likely to be governed either by the subject or direct-object grammatical relations. Much like overt-coding properties, behavior-and-control properties, are not always applicable across the board. Within the same language, some rule governed syntactic processes or constructions may be relevant only to the subject or only to the object. Moreover, in a surface-ergative/morphologically ergative language like Bhujel, the morphology does not reveal unified categories of subject and direct objects.⁷

Brainard (1997:91) presents three patterns of syntactic control attested cross-linguistically: (i) nominative pattern (ii) ergative pattern and (iii) mixed pattern. In nominative pattern, the required argument of single-argument clause and the subject of transitive clause control most of the syntactic processes. However, in ergative pattern, the required argument of single-argument clause and the object of transitive clause control most of the syntactic processes. In mixed pattern, the required argument of single-argument clause combines with the subject of transitive clause to control some syntactic processes (following a nominative pattern) and with object to control other syntactic patterns (following an ergative pattern).

In this section, we try to examine the patterns of syntactic control in the light of such cross-linguistic underpinnings in some particular syntactic constructions in Bhujel, which involves grammatical relations for both definition as well as explanation. They are discussed as follows:

⁷ However, control-and-behaviour properties in such languages clearly reveal them to be unified categories (Givón, 2001:190). In other words, in most morphologically ergative languages, syntactic processes follow a nominative pattern of control. That is, the most agentive argument of transitive clause and required argument of single-argument clause control the majority of these processes.

3.1 Control of Equi-NP deletion

Equi-NP deletion is a syntactic process in which the coreferential argument/NP in the complement clause is deleted. Such deletion is controlled by the subjects of the main clauses. In transitive complement clauses, the equi-NP deletion is controlled by the ergative subject whereas in intransitive complement clause it is controlled by absolutive subject. Thus, in Bhujel, the Equi-NP deletion (or coreference), in complement clauses, displays a nominative pattern of control. In complements of manipulative verbs in Bhujel, the manipulee is coded as absolutive if the complement is intransitive as in (11a) but as ergative if the complement is transitive as in (11b).

- (11) a. η a ihaŋ muməy luŋ geyal
 η a ihaŋ mu-məy luŋ ge-yal
 1SG/ABS here stay-INF heart be-PST
 'I want to stay here.'
- b. η a dyoi am k^haŋməy luŋ geyal
 η a dyo-i am k^haŋ-məy luŋ ge-yal
 1SG 3SG-ERG rice marry-INF heart be-PST
 'I want him/her to cook rice.'

3.2 Control of reflexivization

Reflexivization is another syntactic process that even the most syntactically ergative languages display the nominative control. That is, only the nominative subject NP becomes the reflexive pronoun regardless of transitivity (Givón, 1997). However, in Bhujel, a morphologically ergative language, reflexivization clearly exhibits ergative control as in (12).

- (12) η ai η akayla dāk^halaŋ
 η a-i η a-kay-la dāk^h-ala-ŋ
 1SG-ERG 1SG-DAT-REFL beat-PST-1/2
 'I beat myself'

Example (12) shows that the reflexive is indexed by a bound form: *-la* which is suffixed to a personal pronoun followed by the dative marker *-kay*. Such reflexive pronoun is controlled by the subject NP which is ergatively marked. That is, the ergative NP can become the reflexive pronoun in Bhujel.

3.3 Control of zero anaphora in chained clauses

Zero anaphora is another syntactic process in which conjoined/chained clauses share coreferential arguments. In such process, the argument in the second clause which is coreferential with the argument in the first clause remains absent. Such argument is referred to as zero anaphora in chained clauses. Bhujel displays a nominative pattern when the second clause is transitive as in (13).

- (13) maŋgəlei doko kyak^h-al rə dyokay bəjarhaŋ
yunal
maŋgəle-i_i doko_j kyak^h-al rə [ø_i]
Mangale-ERG basket weave-PST and
dyo-kay_j bəjar-haŋ yun-al
3SG-DAT market-LOC sell-PST
'Mangale wove the basket and he sold it (basket)
in the market.'

In example (13) the second clause is a transitive clause, and the anaphoric pronoun arguments are encoded in the second clause in the same way as in the first clause. However, Bhujel shows an ergative co-reference pattern if the second clause is a single argument clause as in (14).

- (14) rami aitekay kənal rə uhaŋsəikoy c^huttiyal
ram-i_i aite-kay_j kən-al rə uhaŋsəikoy [ø_j]
Ram-ERG Aite-DAT see-PST and then
c^hutti-yal
leave-PST
'Ram saw Aite and then left.'

In example (14) the second clause is a single-argument clause. Thus, the antecedent of zero-anaphor in the second clause is again the absolutive NP, however, in anti-dative form.

3.4 Control of relativization

Relativization is a syntactic process by which a subordinate clause modifies an argument in the matrix clause. Such subordinate clause is referred to as the relative clause and the argument that it modifies is its head noun. In Bhujel, relative clauses are primarily formed by the process of nominalization.⁸ Such relative clauses employ the

⁸ In Bhujel, relative clauses may be marginally formed by employing interrogative pronouns as there are not relative pronouns as in English and Nepali tradition (See Regmi, 2012 for details).

nominalizers *-məy* (for imperfective relative clauses) and *-o* (for perfective relative clauses) as in (15).

- (15) a. IMPERFECTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE
ram muməy kim i muna
[ram mu-məy] kim i mu-na
Ram stay-NMLZ house this stay-NPST
'This is the house in which Ram lives.'
- b. PERFECTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE
wa k^huijeo manc^he juŋyal
[wa k^huije-o] manc^he juŋ-yal
fowl steal-NMLZ man run.away-PST
'The man who stole the fowl ran away.'

In examples (15a-b) the relative clauses in square brackets present gaps for the arguments which are the heads of the relative clauses. Such heads may realize a variety of case-roles within that clause (Givón, 2001). Such arguments in Bhujel may be realized by subject, direct object or indirect object. In Bhujel, as an ergative language, relativization may be controlled by the absolutive argument. Thus, the absolutive subject of intransitive clause is directly accessible to relativization as in (16).

- (16) a. SIMPLE INTRANSITIVE
goico yemjeal
goico yem-je-al
man sleep-PRF-PST
'The man slept.'
- b. ABSOLUTIVE SUBJECT RELATIVIZATION
yemjeo goico peto muna
yem-je-o goico peto mu-na
sleep-PRF-NMLZ man good stay-NPST
'The man who slept is good.'

The ergative subject of the transitive clause is also directly accessible to relativization as in (17).

- (17) a. SIMPLE TRANSITIVE
kuykəy wa satyal
kuy-kəy wa sat-yal
dog-ERG fowl kill-PST
'The dog killed the fowl.'
- b. ERGATIVE SUBJECT RELATIVIZATION
wa sato kuy juŋyal
[wa sat-o] kuy juŋ-yal
fowl kill-NMLZ dog run.away-PST
'The dog which killed the fowl ran away.'

Thus, relativization follows a nominative pattern of control in Bhujel. In other words, subject of transitive as well as intransitive clauses are accessible for

relativization in Bhujel. Table 1 presents the summary of the pattern of control in the properties of the grammatical relations in Bhujel.

Table 1: Pattern of control in the properties of the grammatical relations

	Properties	Types of control	
		ERG	NO M
1.	Nominal morphology	√	x
2.	Pronominal verb agreement	x	√
3.	Number agreement	x	√
4.	Direct-inverse agreement	√	x
4.	Equi-NP deletion		√
5.	Reflexivization	√	
6.	Zero anaphora in chained clause with the second clause in transitive	x	√
6.	Zero anaphora in chained clause with the second clause in intransitive	√	x
7.	Relativization	√	x

4 Summary

In this paper, we tried to investigate grammatical relations from a functional perspective in Bhujel, a morphologically ergative language. The grammatical relations play a vital role not only in the grammar of simple clauses but also in major syntactic processes in Bhujel. We mainly focused on the way the grammatical relations are encoded and the pattern of syntactic control in major rule governed syntactic processes in Bhujel. We examined the overt coding properties of grammatical relations: nominal morphology and verb agreement. The nominal morphology as coding property presents a consistent ergative pattern of control. However, the verb agreement does not present a unified pattern. The pronominal verb agreement and number agreement follow the nominative pattern in Bhujel. However, direct-inverse agreement is controlled only by ergative subjects.

The Equi-NP deletion (or coreference) in complements clauses in Bhujel displays ergative-absolutive control. However, in Bhujel, a morphologically ergative language, reflexivization clearly exhibits ergative control. In chained clauses, Bhujel displays a nominative pattern when the second clause is transitive. However, Bhujel shows an ergative co-reference pattern if the second clause is a single argument clause.

As an ergative language, relativization is controlled by the absolutive or ergative pattern. Thus, the absolutive or ergative subject clause can be directly accessible to relativization.

Abbreviations

→	acting upon	INF	infinitive
1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	NMLZ	nominalizer
3	third person	NPST	non-past
ABS	absolutive	PL	plural
DAT	dative	PRF	perfect
DIR	direct marker	PST	past
DU	dual	REFL	reflexive
ERG	ergative	SG	singular
INCL	inclusive		

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DEIXIS IN KUSUNDA

Bhoj Raj Gautam and Mark Donohue

Quantification in Kusunda follows many principles which appear to be universal in languages regarding quantification (eg., Bach et al. 1995), such as a contrast between NP-level and predicate-level quantification. Notable is the widespread presence of quantifier 'float', in which an NP-level quantifier can appear separately from its NP referent, though this is a feature of other NP modifiers as well, in the right circumstances. Unusually (Keenan and Paperno 2012), Kusunda has no unambiguous word or construction representing the notion of universal quantification ('all').

Keywords: quantifiers,, numerals, count/mass distinctions

1 Introduction

This paper identifies the different spatial deictic expressions found in the Kusunda language. In the horizontal dimension, Kusunda people locate and specify objects in terms of the parameters speaker, place, direction, distance and space. In the vertical dimension, the distinction is made between relative height and the absolute height, and those relative height categories interact with the demonstrative pronouns to make further height distinctions.

2 Kusunda

Kusunda is a language isolate from west-central Nepal. Various small notes have been published on the structure and lexicon of the language (Hodgson 1848, 1857, Grierson 1909, Reinhard and Toba 1970, Rana 2002, Watters 2005, Watters et al. 2005/2006, Pokharel 2005, Dohohue and Gautam 2013, Donohue et al. 2014), and it is mentioned in synopses of language of the Himalayan region (eg., Van Driem 2001: 253-262), but before the publication of Watters et al. (2005/2006) no substantial details were available on the grammar of the language.¹The language is critically endangered, with between two and five

speakers (speaking two differing dialects) of the language surviving as of early 2014.

3 Deixis

Deixis is the use of pronominal or pronominal-like expressions to refer to elements of the discourse. Here we concentrate on the use of spatial reference, through adverbial, adnominal and pronominal demonstratives. Watters et al. (2005/2006) mentioned some locative postpositons in the Kusunda language, and made a distinction between static and dynamic locatives. The list of locative postpositons given in Watters et al. (2005/2006) is below:

səmba	behind
aõ	inside
bādzā	outside
gidzaq	between
kampya	to one side
pinda	in front of
a ^ɔ Gkə	on top of, above'
aqa	down, below, under'
ama ^ɔ Ga	down, below, under'
nõ ^ɔ ndze	up above
ã ^ɔ ndze	up above
akpəj	across
asne	uphill
pa:tse	downhill

Along with this list, they make a distinction of a 'static' demonstrative, encoding a non-dynamic locational function, and 'dynamic' demonstrative, here marking a goal sense. Syntactically, both of the locatives, static and dynamic, are adverbial.

The full set of locative adverbs described in Watters et. al (2005/2006) is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Deictic locatives in Watters et. al (2005/2006)

Dynamic	Static
tape 'to here'	təjsa 'here'
təwa 'to here'	ape 'there'
sape 'to there'	nupa 'there'
isna 'to there'	

¹ See also John Robertson's online bibliography for South Asian languages, including Kusunda, at <http://www.southasiabibliography.de/Bibliography/bibliography.html>, and Donohue (2013).

Our data shows that there is a more elaborate spatial deictic system in Kusunda than that which is described in Watters et al. (2005/2006). In next section, we will present the demonstrative pronouns in the Kusunda language. This will be followed by the description of spatial deixis in the language in terms of the categories of location, direction, distance and elevation.

4 Demonstratives

The demonstrative pronouns found in the Kusunda language are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Demonstrative pronouns in the Kusunda

ta ‘this (closer to speaker, inanimate objects/things)’
na ‘this (for everything; animate or inanimate)’
ina ‘this (as pointed/indicated)’
gina ‘that (person/thing)’

As seen from Table 2, the basic distinction in Kusunda demonstrative pronouns is between *ta* and *na*, with *na* able to be elaborated in different ways. These two are selected on the basis of proximity and animacy. The demonstrative pronoun *na* is semantically underspecified, and can be used for all objects, animals etc., but *ta* is exclusively used for inanimate objects/things which are closer to the speaker. As the distance increases from the speaker, the object should be specified further and identified as an object/person itself; iconically, the amount of phonological matter increases as the distance increases. For that case, *gina* is used as a demonstrative pronoun. Examples (1)-(4) illustrate the prenominal demonstrative modifiers in Kusunda.

- (1) ta ufi-ga toq sā^hŋ-ɖa-n
this house-LOC 1PL 3.SIT-PL-REAL
‘We live in this house.’
- (2) na əgəj g-i(u)-dzi tsi-je əmba təjsa
this dog 3-bring-ASSERT 1SG-GEN meat here
‘This dog brought my meat here.’
- (3) ina bəti
this light
‘this light’
- (4) gina nu we: tsi
that man good exist.SPEC
‘That man is good.’

5 Spatial relations

In Kusunda, we can group the expressions used to indicate the spatial position of things in terms of the categories of location, direction, distance and elevation. In the sub-section 5.1, we describe expressions used to indicate location of things.

5.1 Location

Table 3 presents the list of words which are used to indicate the location of objects in the Kusunda language in an adverbial function.

Watters et al. (2005/2006) has mentioned *təwa* and *isna* as ‘dynamic’ deictic locatives. Based on our data, they encode non-dynamic locational senses only. In fact, all of the locatives in Table 3 are used to indicate the static location of the the objects.

Table 3: Locative adverbs in Kusunda

təj ‘right here (as indicated by the speaker)’
təjsa ‘here (in the place of speaker)’
isna ‘there (place distant from speaker/indicated by the speaker)’
təwa ‘the space closer to the speaker as indicated’
pinda ‘in front of (person, place, object)’
səmba ‘behind /at the back of (person, place, object)’
itsi ‘in the same place’
baŋɖa ‘outside’
wafā ‘inside’
ājī ‘further in, in the corner’
gidzaq ‘in between’
ipət ‘side’

The examples (5)-(17) illustrate the use of locative expressions given in Table 3.

- (5) kəp^hera təj t-ug-un
again here 1-come-REAL
‘Again, I came here (right here).’
- (6) toq təjsa ji gu gu ə-da-n
1PL here tree move move do-1PL-REAL
‘We moved (those) logs here.’
- (7) isna ni niŋgitse wafā da fiā^hŋno
there 2GEN daughter house go.IMP sit.IMP
‘Go and live there in your daughter’s house!’

- (8) *təwa nuŋba ts^hāŋ ə-g-ən*
 this.space cow tie do-3-REAL
 ‘(They) tied the cow around here.’
- (9) *qasti inərətɲi ug-i tsi*
 one Tharu.woman come-SPEC 1SG
pinda-pinda
 REDUP-in.front.of
 ‘One Tharu woman came in front of me (for a certain distance).’
- (10) *səmba-səmba tsi t-ug-un*
 REDUP-behind 1SG 1-come-REAL
 ‘I came behind her (for a certain distance).’
- (11) *nu-je wafia, itsi sã^ɛŋ-ən*
 man-GEN house in.same.place 3.sit-REAL
 ‘In the man’s house, I sat there (in the same place).’
- (12) *baŋdza-ba dhəri wafia-ba dhəri*
 outside-ALSO show.light inside-ALSO show.light
na bəti
 this/that light
 ‘This/that lamp shows light both outside and inside.’
- (13) *fiŋkuj taqse ājĩ juŋ ə-g-ən*
 small.baby children farther.inside sleep do-3-REAL
 ‘(They) make their babies and children sleep farther inside (in the house).’
- (14) *gidzaq-ga un tsi*
 between-LOC road exist.SPEC
 ‘In between is a road (there).’
- (15) *k^hola ipət qoŋdaj ufi tsi*
 river side blacksmith house exist.SPEC
 ‘In the side of river, there is one blacksmith’s house.’

The examples (10) and (11) show that the locatives, *pinda* and *səmba* can be reduplicated with some additional meaning. Likewise, the word *itsi* can also be reduplicated with the meaning ‘in the respective places.’, as shown in (17).

- (17) *gimdzi nəŋ-ŋəŋ tsi*
 3SG.emphatic REDUP-what exist.SPEC
itsi-itsi g-u(a)-ta^ɛŋ-dzi
 REDUP-same.place 3-take-MOTION-ASSERT
 ‘Whatever things (to be taken) they have, it will take them into their respective places.’

6 Distance and direction

Table 4 presents the list of words which are used to indicate the distance of objects relative to the position of speakers in the Kusunda language. There is some semantic overlap with the terms seen in Table 3; in these cases the words in Table 4 can be seen to modify the general locations described by the words in Table 3 (such as example (21)).

Table 4 shows that there is three-way contrast for referring to the distance relation relative to the speaker.

Table 4: Kusunda distance relations

<i>tsaqa</i> ‘Proximal; near (relative to the speaker)’
<i>aqɑ</i> ‘Medial; farther, distant (relative to the speaker)’
<i>toqa</i> ‘Distal; farther over there (relative to the speaker)’
<i>aqɑ tsaqa</i> ‘near around here’

The examples (18)-(21) illustrate the use of the words marking distance relation given in Table 4.

- (18) *tsaqa tsi binəj niŋgitse ipən fiab ə-g-ən*
 PROX 1SG sister daughter maize roast do-3-REAL
 ‘My younger sister’s daughter roasts maize nearer.’
- (19) *aqɑ fiŋkuj taqse-da juŋ ə-g-ən*
 MED baby child-DAT sleep do-3-REAL
 ‘(They) make sleep their babies/children farther.’
- (20) *qasti duktsi toqa qauli-je ufi ən-da*
 one son dist god-GEN house do-PURP
dəgəj
 3.go.SPEC
 ‘One son went farther away to make a temple.’
- (21) *təjsa ufi-je aqɑ tsaqa fiãŋ^ɛ-ən-dzi*
 here house-GEN MED PROX 3.sit-REAL-ASSERT
 ‘(They) live around nearer to the house here.’

The words given in Table 4 expressing relative distance can be tested specially by modifying those words with the word *fiŋku* ‘a little’. The example (22) illustrates this modification for the word *toqa*.

- (22) *fiŋku toqa kəp^hera ləmmi bədzar ug-un*
 little DIST again Lamahi market come-REAL
 ‘Even farther away, there will come Lamahi Bazaar.’

There are two more words *ista* ‘near’ and *huntu* ‘far’ which are also used to indicate the distance between two objects or things.

Now, Table 5 presents the adverbials (/postpositions) which are used to indicate the ‘dynamic’ direction of the objects relative to the speaker. In some cases (e.g., example (27)) the goal sense is not immediately apparent, until one considers that the speaker is considering the policemen moving residences over time, and slowly moving closer to the speaker’s own house.

Table 5: Direction (plus distance) words in Kusunda

tape ‘to this side’
sape ‘to next side/to that side’
uŋpe ‘to/at the back of’
aqpe/aqpa ‘to the direction (and space) farther to the speaker’
tsaqpe/tsaqpa ‘to the direction (and space) nearer to the speaker’
appa qappe ‘to everywhere’
kampja ‘(to the place) not here/(not there), far away from here/(there)’

The words *tape*, *sape* and *uŋpe* in Table 5 indicate only the direction; the rest of the words indicate direction and distance (plus space) as well. The examples (23)-(27) illustrate the use of those Kusunda words indicating direction (plus distance).

- (23) tape n-ug-u ta jen sola
to.this.side 2-come-IRR PART leg break

ə-t-ŋ u-dzi
do-1-REAL say-ASSERT
‘If you come to this side, I will break your legs,
(she said).’
- (24) gimdzi budun sape gūm
3SG.emphatic father.in.law to.that.side chase

ə-g-i
do-3-SPEC
‘(She) pushed her father-in-law to that side.’
- (25) tsi ūŋpe bem-dzi
1SG to.back.of fall-ASSERT
‘(He/she) came to fall to the back of me.’
- (26) aqpe bibisi-ga ug-i
to.farther.there Bibisi-LOC come-SPEC
‘(She/he) came over there to Bibisi.’

- (27) tsaqpe kəp^hera gemtsi-əmba
to.nearer.here again police

fiã^hŋ-ən-dzi

3.sit-REAL-ASSERT

‘Nearer to here, the policemen live.’

- (28) na ta appa-qappe bingi ə-g-ən
this PART to.far.away light do-3-REAL
‘As for this (light), it puts light (to) everywhere.’

- (29) aməj t-u(g)-da-n ta gina toq
below 1-come-PL-REAL PART 3SG 1PL

kampe fiã^hŋ-dzi kampe sã^hŋ-da-n

far.away 3.sit.ASSERT far.away 1.sit-PL-REAL
‘When we came down, they lived far away from there, and we also lived far away from there.’

7 Elevation

The Kusunda language makes relative height and absolute height distinction in its elevation contrasts. Table 6 presents the elevation contrasts found in the language.

Table 6: Kusunda elevational contrasts

aŋdze ‘above, level up’
noŋdze ‘above to a reference, level up’
aməj ‘below, level down (specific)’
numəj ‘below to a reference, level down’
ama ‘below, level down’
aqɣa ‘below, straight down’
əhoq ‘above, straight up’
əhoqa ‘above, straight up (space)’
ãjĩ ‘straight up, very up’

The examples (30)-(38) illustrate the elevation contrasts given in Table 6.

- (30) təjsa aŋdze gimdzi duktsi ufii
here above 3SG.emphatic duktsi ufii
‘(There is) her son’s house above here.’
- (31) jek fiɖzar nōŋdze e-go
one thousand above give.IMP
‘Give one thousand up (from my house) there!’
- (32) aməj dəgəj qasti un tsi
below 3.go.SPEC one road exist.SPEC
‘There is one road that goes down/below.’

- (33) numəj ta aula ə-d-i
below PART sell do-1-SPEC
'I sold (the land) that is down there (from my house).'
- (34) ama qaitə nu-je ufi tsi
below next man-GEN house exist.SPEC
'Down there is a man's house.'
- (35) əmbjaq aqxa juŋ ə-t-ŋ
mango.tree straight.below sleep do-1-REAL
'I slept under the mango tree.'
- (36) aməj k^hola-na əhoq soq ts-i-da-n
below river-ABL up.straight climb 1-do-PL-REAL
'We climbed straight up from the river down (there).'
- (37) əhoqa gina fiã^hŋ-ən-dzi
straight.up 3SG 3.sit-REAL-ASSERT
'He lives up there (in the second-storey of a house).'
- (38) ājī fiampe fiampe
very.up where where
'It's very up, it is unknown (while climbing hills).'

8 Personal pronouns and time deixis

Kusunda personal pronouns make the distinctions only in terms of person and number categories. First and second person pronouns distinguish singular and plural forms, while for the third person a single form is used for both singular and plural reference (with the optional, and textually rare, addition of *məni* 'many' in the plural). This third person form is also part of the system of demonstrative pronouns seen in Table 2. Table 7 presents the list of Kusunda personal pronouns.

Table 7: Personal pronouns in Kusunda

	Singular	Plural
First person	tsi	toq
Second person	nu	noq
Third person	gina	gina (məni)

In addition to these free forms, a small set of verbs show agreement by prefix, and one light verb shows agreement by suffix (Pokharel 2005). These forms follow the pattern in the third person free pronouns in not distinguishing number

(though plurality can be separately encoded on the verb).

The temporal deixis in Kusunda are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Temporal deixis in Kusunda

jiodze 'now'
pja 'just a moment before now'
dəbaq 'just a moment after now'
peni 'yesterday'
toqon 'the day before yesterday'
goraq 'tomorrow'
qəturaq 'the day after tomorrow'
dəboraq 'after sometime (days) later'
pigoraq 'this morning'
goradze 'early in the morning'
dəbiski 'later today'
ōŋtsa 'afternoon/mid-day'
tənin 'today'
pinda 'earlier'
səmbaga 'later'
bi:dzi 'dawn'
iski 'evening'
penigoraq 'yesterday morning'
pjaqai 'long ago'

In Kusunda, two words *pinda* and *səmba* are used primarily as locative words which are illustrated in examples (9) and (10). But, the same words can be extended to refer to the time as well. The word *pinda* which means 'in front of' is extended in the time domain to refer to 'earlier'. Likewise, the word *səmba* which means 'behind' in the domain of location is extended to mean 'later' in the temporal domain. As a temporal word, there is one additional morpheme *-ga* added to the word *səmba*. The *-ga* morpheme in is locative marker in the Kusunda language.

9 Note on Kamala's forms

All of the distinction on Kusunda deixis outlined above is based on Gyani Maiya Sen's Kusunda. We can find some more deictic expressions in Kamala Khatri's Kusunda. For example, for Gyani Maiya's *waha* 'inside' (which is synonymous with 'house'), Kamala has *āowa*, a distinct form not found in Gyani Maiya's speech.

Likewise, Kamala uses compound deictics such as *sāmē* and *sādze*, which are built on the forms *sape+aməj* and *sape+andze* respectively. She uses complex expressions such as *sape gu si gu*, which means ‘moving here and there’. In terms of temporal deixis, she uses *hamtsaj* ‘earlier’ instead of Gyani Maiya’s *pinda* for the same; she uses *go.ībādze* ‘later/after a long time’.

10 Conclusion

We have shown Kusunda deictic system, especially the spatial relations, can be described in terms of the parameters of location, distance, direction, space and elevation, and the system of demonstratives in Kusunda does not follow many assumptions about the distinctions typically found in demonstrative systems (Diessel 1999). While we have discussed the use of the system in naturalistic texts to refer to space and time, we have not examined the use of demonstratives in their discourse-tracking function (Himmelman 1996). This remains as a direction for further research.

List of abbreviations

1	First person	2	Second person
3	Third person	ASSERT	Assertion
DAT	Dative	DIST	Distal
GEN	Genitive	IMP	Imperative
IRR	Irrealis	LOC	Locative
MED	Medial	PART	Particle
PL	Plural	PROX	Proximal
PURP	Purposive	REDUP	Reduplication
REAL	Realis	SG	Singular
SPEC	Specific		

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CLASSIFIERS IN MODERN MAITHILI

Atuleshwar Jha and Md. Asad

This paper focuses on descriptive study of classifiers in modern Maithili. Under the term of classifiers, the authors attempt to show the five numeral classifiers, namely /ta/, /go/, /got/, /gotel/ and /gore/ in modern Maithili. The classifiers are markedly represented on numerals along with noun. This paper specifically deals with the social variation regarding the use of classifiers by the Maithili native speakers. This paper also shows that there is no change in classifier constructions with respect to the singularity and plurality of nouns in Maithili.

Keywords: classifiers, social variation, singularity, plurality

1 Introduction

Noun class systems are those in which the classification of Noun is generally done on the basis of the core semantic characteristics as animacy, sex, humanness, and sometimes also shape. Noun class system can be semantically transparent, and their assignment can be based clearly on the semantic, morphological, and/or phonological criteria (Aikhenvald, 2006: 463). The noun class systems are marked by a finite and limited number of classes in which nouns can be classified.

The term ‘classifier’ categorizes noun at broad level. classifier languages can be grouped and categorized into six types namely; noun classifiers, numeral classifiers, classifiers in possessive construction, verbal classifiers and two relatively rare types are locative classifiers and deictic classifiers. they share a common semantic core and differ in the morpho-syntactic context of their use and in their preferred semantic features (Aikhenvald, 2006).

Classifiers are usually defined as morphemes that inherently classify and quantify nouns accordingly semantic features. They designate and specify semantic features inherent to the nominal denotatum and divide the set of nouns of a certain language into disjunct classes (Senft, 2000: 21). Classifiers are defined as morphemes which occur in surface structures under the specifiable conditions, and denote some salient characteristics of the entity to which a noun is associated, and is

restricted to particular construction type commonly known as classifiers construction. Classifiers construction are generally understood as the morpho-syntactic units which require the presence of a particular kind of a morpheme, the choice of which is dictated by the semantic characteristics of the referents of the head of a noun phrase (Aikhenvald, 2000: 13).

As mentioned already, that there are six types of classifiers found in the languages of the world such as noun classifiers, numeral classifiers, classifiers in possessive construction, verbal classifiers and two relatively rare types are locative classifiers and deictic classifiers. We restrict myself to discuss and explain only numeral classifier and its constructions found in Maithili.

2 Numeral classifiers

Numeral classifier is a morpheme that appears next to a numeral or a quantifier and it categorizes the referent of a noun in terms of its animacy, physical or functional, cultural and other inherent properties. Numeral classifier languages lack of a number of distinctions in terms of singularity and plurality. They are the most commonly recognized type of classifier system. Numeral classifiers are found across the languages of East and Southern Asia and Oceania. It is widely found in many eastern languages such as Hindi varieties (Barz & Diller, 1980), in Bangla (Dasgupta & Tanmoy, 1993; Dayal, 2012) and in Assamese (Shah, 2009) of Indo-Aryan languages, in Tibeto-Burman languages (Saha, 2008), in Chinese languages (Yang, 2001; Oi-man, 2006) and in most Austro-Asiatic languages (Adams, 1989) as well. Moreover, we can also find numeral classifiers in the Far East, Japanese, Korean and Ainu (Oi-man, 2009). Here is an example of numeral classifier from Maithili.

- (1) du go c^həura
 two CL (NUM) boy
 ‘two boys’

The choice of a numeral classifier is mostly semantic based. Numeral classifier systems differ

in the extent to which they are grammaticalized. The use and the application of numeral classifiers in a language vary from speakers, depending on their social status, competence and the situation when they are speaking. For example, in Minangkabau (Rina Marnita), several specific classifiers are not known to younger people (Aikhenvald, 2000: 98).

In a language, some nouns may take no numeral classifiers and some nouns may have alternative choices of numeral classifiers. It depends on which property of the noun is focusing. Numeral classifiers are frequently independent lexemes, but can affix to numeral and quantifying expressions (Oi-man, 2009).

In the introductory section, I briefly discussed the introductory part of the noun class system and classifier systems with examples from different languages. We know that all systems classify the noun according to semantic features, but they basically differ in morpho-syntactic properties. In the present paper, we present a detailed description of the numeral classifier system and its constructions in Maithili.

3 Numeral classifiers in Maithili

Maithili is constitutionally one of the 8th schedule languages of India. It is an eastern New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language (Jha, 1958). It is spoken mostly in the eastern and northern parts of Bihar in India and also widely spoken in the south-eastern regions of the Tarai districts of Nepal. Maithili is officially the 2nd largest spoken language of Nepal (Pandey, 2006). It is spoken by 12% of the total population of Nepal (Yadav, 2008). According to 2001 Census Report, Maithili is spoken widely by 12, 179, 122 (12 million) native speakers and 1.18% of the total population of India. As per Ethnologue report, it is spoken by 30 million speakers in Bihar.

In the history of the Maithili language, the 15th century is considered as the Vidyapati era in which the famous poet Vidyapati wrote extraordinarily a huge series of poems and poetries in Maithili (Mishra, 1976). However, when we turn the pages of the 15th century Maithili, we find that there is no evidence of classifiers in the Vidyapati old text poems. Even in the last decades of the 19th century, various learned Maithili writers did not use the classifiers

in their written texts. For example, between 1883 and 1887 George Grierson produced a set of grammatical sketches of Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri. In order to obtain illustrative and comparative material he asked an educated speaker of one or more dialects of each language to translate the same set of fables into his particular form of speech. The results are informative. In fact, not a single classifier is used by the translators of the northern Maithili (Grierson 1883: 30-38), mixed southern Maithili-Bengali (Grierson 1887: 80-86), southern Maithili (Grierson 1885: 94-101), and mixed Maithili-Bhojpuri (Grierson 1884: 92-98). Since the historical evidence shows that the classifiers were not used at that time in speech at all over the Maithili speaking regions (Barz & Diller, 1980). Subhadra Jha (1958: 353-354) in his book, a list of classifiers but did not describe and explain them in detailed frame. Some of the classifiers are not in proper use now.

Grinevald (2002: 260) fairly suggests that in classifier languages with numeral classifier systems, there are two types of classifiers: firstly, Mensural classifiers and the secondly the Sortal classifiers. Furthermore, he says that Measure terms appear in constructions expressing quantities and arrangements and exist in all languages of the world and it is equivalent to mensural classifiers. He also points out that the Sortal classifiers are equivalent to the True classifiers.

In the present study, we explain and describe a list of numeral classifiers in terms of both Mensural and the Sortal classifier types in the modern Maithili in detail. It is well known that like other eastern languages, Maithili has also a list of both classifiers at large level. Maithili is a numeral classifier language. The classifiers always appear next to numerals or quantifiers along with nouns in the modern Maithili language. The general structure of Noun Phrase in Maithili language is: numeral/quantifier+classifier+noun/adjectival noun phrase. It predominantly demonstrates that classifiers in Maithili morpho-syntactically occur between numeral/quantifier and noun in the sentences. Maithili does not have as many classifiers as other eastern languages of India have. There are two types of numeral classifiers: True and mensural classifiers found in Maithili.

3.1 Numeral classifiers (True) in Maithili

It has been universally proposed that the numeral classifier language has two types of classifiers: the mensural classifiers and the sortal classifiers. The Sortal classifiers are equal to the true classifiers. In this section, we elaborately describe and explain the True classifiers found in Maithili. It does not have singular and plural distinction at all. The data clearly shows that almost all classifiers can be occurred with quantifiers like numerals along with noun head in Noun Phrase. Reduplicated numerals also take classifiers in Maithili but not in Bhojpuri.

3.1.1 Numeral classifier (True) [-go]

It is widely used for both animates and inanimates by the native speakers of Maithili. The data shows that there is a social variation in using this numeral classifier. The data also presents that it is broadly used around all communities (solkan) but rarely by the Brahmins. As examples are below

- (2) ek go mərd
 one CL man
 ‘A man’
- (3) du go nik kitab
 two CL nice book
 ‘Two nice books’
- (4) tin go cəppəl.
 three CL slipper
 ‘Three slippers’

3.1.2 Numeral classifier (True) [-ta]

It is also used for both animate and inanimate by the native speakers of Maithili. The data exhibit that it is widely used by Brahmins and rarely by the other communities.

- (5) ek ta məugi
 One CL woman
 ‘A woman’
- (6) du ta g^hər
 two CL house
 ‘Two houses’

3.1.3 Numeral classifier (True) [-go t]

It is mostly used for human. It is widely found in written literary texts, namely novels and dramas. But in today’s Maithili, it is hardly used and spoken by the native speakers in day-to-day life. As for examples

- (7) tin go t be ta.
 three CL son
 ‘Three sons’
- (8) car go t be t i.
 four CL daughter
 ‘Four daughters’

3.1.4 Numeral classifier (True) [-kitta]

It is used only for lands/farms irrespective of social variation of communities (Brahmins or Solkans). Examples are as follows.

- (9) ek kitta k^het.
 one CL land
 ‘A land’
- (10) ek kitta g^hərari
 one CL abode-land
 ‘An abode-land’ (residential land)

3.1.5 Numeral classifier (True) [-tuk]

It is used for the pieces of nut and gift in terms of dress cloths or ready-made cloth dresses.

- (11) ek t uk supari.
 one CL nut
 ‘A piece of nut’
- (12) du t uk k[?]pra.
 two CL cloth
 ‘Two cloths (as a gift)’

3.1.6 Numeral classifier (True) [-g^hani]

It is used for the fried fish, meat and edible items, just after having fried in the cauldron. Examples:

- (13) ek g^hani tərəl m[?]cc^h.
 one CL fired fish
 ‘A fried fish’
- (14) du g^hani c^hanəl puri.
 two CL fired puri
 ‘Two fried puri’

3.1.7 Numeral classifier (True) [-p^hari]

It is used for the part/division of fish, meat, fruits, land, and other objects as well. It is used mostly by other communities and rarely by Brahmin. Examples are given below.

- (15) ek p^hari macc^h.
 one CL Fish
 ‘A division of fish’

(16) du p^həri gost.
two CL meat
'Two divisions of meat'

(17) tin p^həri am.
three CL mangoes
'Three parts of mangoes'

3.1.8 Numeral classifier (True) [-gore]

It is used for human mostly by the Brahmins and rarely by others (Solkan). It is considered as a direct quantification where the noun head directly is quantified in structure of numeral classifiers, the noun head is regularly deleted (Hale & Shresthachrya). Examples are follows.

(18) ek gore a eb.
one CL come Fut
'(you) a person will come'

(19) tin gore ja ɔit
three CL go IMPRF
'(they) three persons go/will go'

3.1.9 Numeral classifier (True) [-gore]

It is also used only for human by all communities (Solkan), except Brahmins. It is also a direct quantification in which head noun is usually omitted or deleted. Examples are follows.

(20) ek gore a ɔit.
one CL come IMPRF
'(he/she) a person comes/will come'

(21) du gore
two CL
'Two persons'

(22) pāc gore k^ha ɔit.
five CL eat IMPRF
'Five persons eat/will eat'

(23) dunu gore a eb
Both CL come Fut
'(you) both do come/will come'

3.2 Mensural classifiers in Maithili

The Mensural classifier is one of the types of numeral classifier that is equal to the measure term classifiers found in almost all languages of the world. The Mensural classifiers are also widely found in Maithili. We would not discuss and describe all mensural classifiers here but those which are unexplored and unnoticed by

various learned Maithili scholars. Some of them occur with quantifier along with nouns.

3.2.1 Mensural classifier [-kuriya]

It is used only for inanimate, uncountable object. It means something like that 'a heap of' uncountable objects. For examples:

(24) ek kuriya g^has.
one CL grass
'A heap of grass'

(25) du kuriya pətta.
du CL leaves
'Two heaps of leaves'

(26) tin kuriya d^han.
three CL rice-paddy
'Three heaps of rice-paddy'

3.2.2 Mensural classifier [-jora]

It is used for both animate and inanimate. It refers to the countable collective nouns. It means something like 'a couple/pair of' something.

(27) ek jora bəɾəd.
one CL ox
'A pair of oxes'

(28) ek jora juta.
one CL shoes
'A pair of shoes'

(29) ek jora gac^h.
one CL tree
'A couple of trees'

3.2.3 Mensural classifiers [-g^hani]

It is broadly used for inanimate object and countable collective nouns. It means 'a collection of four of' something. As for example:

(30) ek g^hani puri.
one CL puri
'A collection of four puri/ four puri'

3.2.4 Mensural classifiers [-pəseri]

It is mostly used for inanimate object, uncountable collective noun. It means or refers to the 'five kg of' something. As for example.

(31) ek pəseri alu.
one CL potato
'A collection of 5 kg potatoes'

3.2.5 Mensural classifiers [-gahi]

It is broadly used for inanimate object

andcountable collective noun. It means 'a collection of five of something. Example is as follows:

- (32) ek gahi kela.
one CL banana
'A collection of 5 bananas'

3.2.6 Mensural classifiers [-sori]

It is broadly used for inanimate object andcountable collective nouns. It means 'a collection of 16 of' something or refers to the 16 countable objects. As for examples

- (33) ek sori lətam.
one CL guava
'A collection of 16 guavas/ 16 guavas'

3.3 Numerals without classifiers in noun phrases

There are various nouns which do not take numeral classifiers in Noun Phrases in Maithili. Here, we substantially illustrate the nouns that do occur along with numeral and do not take classifiers. It is interesting to point out that the numbers do not take classifiers, although they modify nouns.

3.3.1 Mathematical formula

The classifiers are not occurred with a number without nouns or follow mathematical symbol andformula.

- (34) **du** aur **tin** pāc ho-t
two and **three** five be-Aux
'Two and three make 5'

3.3.2 Calender periods and time measures

Numbers that modify days, weeks, months, years, hours and other measurement of time, do not take the classifiers at all.

- (35) admi **tin/3** **din** me a ɔit.
Person three day in come IMPR
'A person will come within 3 days.'

3.3.3 Money amount

A number modifying a quantity of money i.e. 100 or more than 100 then numbers do not take the classifiers. But if money is less than 100 then number takes the classifier.

- (36) **ek** ya **du** so rupya
one or two hundred money
'One or two hundreds rupee'

- (37) **ɛssi** **go** rupəya
eighty **CL** money
'Eighty rupees'

It is interesting to observe that the money i.e. a note of 10 rupees and multiplication of 10 like 100, 1000, 10000 etc., modifies the noun, it fairly takes classifier but not with numbers.

- (38) a. **so** **go/ta** rupəyya
Hundred CL money
'A note of hundred'
b. ***du** **go/ta** **so** rupəyya
two **CL** hundred money
'two hundred rupees'

3.3.4 Weight and measurement

Like money, a number modifying the units of weight and measurement does not take the classifier.

- (39) a. loha **du** **fiṭ** ləmba c^həi.
iron two feet long Aux
'An iron is two feet long'
b. *loha **du** **go** **fiṭ** ləmba c^həi.
iron two **CL** feet long Aux
'An iron is two feet long'
(40) a. **teen** **kilo** caur
three kg rice-paddy
'three kilogram rice-paddy'
b. ***teen** **go** **kilo** caur
three **CL** kg rice-paddy
'three kilogram rice-paddy'
(41) a. sat litər dud^h
seven liter milk
'seven liter milk'
b. ***sat** **go** litər dud^h
seven **CL** liter milk
'seven liter milk'

It is important to notice the above examples (38b, 39b, 40b, 41b) are not grammatical correct according to the native intuition. The numerals those modify weight or measures the uncountable objects, specifically do not take classifiers at all.

3.3.5 Fraction numbers

Fraction numbers significantly do not take classifiers.

- (42) **ek** aur **ad^ha** roṭi.
one and **a half** bread
'One and a half bread'

We found that the nouns usually come with numeral classifiers in NP in Maithili, but in some contexts, they do appear along with numerals but without classifiers. Below, we present a tentative classification of numeral classifiers in Maithili, based on the present data.

Table 1: Classification of numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers			
True classifiers		Mensural classifiers	
<i>Animate</i>	<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Animate</i>	<i>Inanimate</i>
-go	-go	-jora	-jora
-ṭa	-ṭa		-kuriya
-goṭ	-kitta		-g ^h ni
-goṭe	-ṭuk		-pəseri
-gore	-g ^h ani		-gahi
-p ^h əri			-sori

On the basis of the collected data, observation and analysis, we presented a detailed tentative classification of numeral classifier in Maithili. As mentioned above, that Maithili is not as rich in Numeral Classifiers as other eastern languages in India.

4 Conclusion

The present paper elaborately gave a detailed descriptive study of numeral classifiers in Maithili. We concluded the present paper with my findings and observations is that numeral classifiers in Maithili are fairly classified on the basis of animacy i.e. animate and inanimate, not on the basis of sex, shape, size and color. Sometimes, the same numeral classifiers were being used for both animate and inanimates. Therefore, Maithili is not as rich in classifier as other eastern Indian languages are. This paper concluded the following bullet points.

- There was no evidence of numeral classifiers in the Vidyapati texts in 15th century. Even in the last decades of the 19th century, various learned Maithili native writers did not use the classifiers in their written texts.
- Maithili had a number of True and Mensural classifiers. The numeral classifiers generally appeared next to numerals or quantifiers along with nouns in the modern Maithili. The general structure of Noun Phrase in Maithili was...
NUMERAL/QUANTIFIER+CLASSIFIER+NOUN/ADJECTIVEAL NOUN PHRASE.

- There were many true or Sortal numeral classifiers identified in Maithili namely, /go/, /ʔa/, /goʔ/, /gore/, /ʔuk/, /kitta/, /p^hri/, and/g^hani/. They can occur with numerals and quantifiers as well along with nouns in NP except /goʔe/ classifier.
- Among the true numeral classifiers, /go/, /ṭa/, /goṭe/ and /gore/ are frequently used by the native speakers of Maithili. There is a social variation among the communities regarding the use of numeral classifiers.
- There were a number of unexplored and unnoticed Mensural classifiers such as, /kuriya/, /g^hani/, /pəseri/, /gahi/, and /sori/ in Maithili. They can occur with numeral or quantifiers along with countable collective noun. The Mensural classifiers are found in almost all the languages of the world.
- Numbers modifying days, weeks, month, years, time measurement and, unit and weight measurement do not take the classifiers in Maithili.
- Numbers modifying 100 rupees or more than 100 rupees then numbers do not take classifiers.
- The mathematical symbol or formula and fraction number too do not take the classifiers along with noun.

Finally, our observation is that not all nouns necessarily occur with numeral classifiers in Maithili like other languages. In other words, on the one hand, the numerals that modify nouns take classifiers and on the other hand, the numerals that modify nouns take numerals but without classifiers.

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ASCERTAINING ACCESS TO MOTHER TONGUE-BASED MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR ETHNO-LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES OF NEPAL

Ambika Regmi

Many children are still deprived of basic quality education because of lack of clear policy and plan in Nepal. The situation is further aggravated by state of indecision in the ethnolinguistic communities about multilingual education. No expected outcomes are achieved unless teachers are properly motivated and effective materials, based on local need and context, are prepared.

Keywords: quality education, ethnolinguistic, multilingual

1 Introduction

This paper discusses some strategies for ascertaining access to mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTBMLE) for ethnolinguistic communities in Nepal. Nepal is a multilingual and multiethnic country. There are 123 languages and 125 caste/ethnic communities (CBS, 2012). Still, children in most ethnolinguistic communities are deprived of basic education in their respective mother tongues. Quality basic education is far away for them. Teaching in unfamiliar languages has hindered the cognitive development in the children. Language not only helps promote equality and empower people but also is a key factor for the social inclusion in ethnolinguistic communities.

Mother tongue-based multilingual education is the most important mechanism for achieving the goal of education for all among minority communities (Tuladhar, 2011). In Nepal, attempts have been made to encourage the children from every speech community to get educated. However, the policy adopted by the government is not conducive for such a purpose. The curriculum and textbooks as well as reading materials must be compatible to the socio-cultural setting of the communities. Another important factor is the attitude of the communities.

At present, most of the children in basic education are not learning the basic skills, but are rather focused on learning the Nepali language, which is almost alien to them. It is only through MTBMLE that life crucial knowledge embodied in the language can be passed on from generation to

generation in these communities. Only with appropriate strategies, we can guarantee access to MTBMLE in all ethno-linguistic communities of Nepal.

This paper is organized into seven sections. Section 2 briefly presents the ethno-linguistic situation in Nepal. In section 3, we make an overview basic education in ethno-linguistic communities of Nepal. Section 4 looks at the policy and practice of mother tongue-based multilingual education Nepal. In section 5, we enumerate the challenges of mother tongue-based multilingual education in Nepal. Section 6 discusses some strategies to mitigate the challenges and guarantee access to MTBMLE in all ethno-linguistic communities of Nepal. In section 7, we present a summary of the paper.

2 Ethno-linguistic situation

2.1 Language and ethnicity

After the reinstate of democracy in 1990, in ethnic communities in Nepal there has appeared an intense awareness about the importance of the recognition of their ethnicity and the forms of speech they used as mother tongues. Consequently, there appeared a remarkable change in the figures of castes/ethnic groups in the report of national censuses in Nepal. In 2001 Census, more than 100 castes/ ethnic groups and around 92 languages were officially recognized. In 2011 Census, 123 languages spoken as mother tongues have been recognized as the languages of Nepal. According to the Census, 2011, Nepali is spoken as mother tongue by 44.6 percent of the total population followed by Maithili (11.7%), Bhojpuri (6.0%), Tharu (5.8%), Tamang (5.1%), Newar (3.2%), Bajjika (3.0%), Magar (3.0%), Doteli (3.0%), Urdu (2.6%). Unquestionably, Nepali has been serving as the lingua franca as well as the medium of basic education in Nepal for long time. Moreover, these languages belong to four language families, namely, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian and Kusunda, a language isolate. According to the census 2011, there are 125 caste/ethnic groups in

Nepal. Chhetri is the largest caste/ethnic groups having 16.6% of the total population followed by Brahman-Hill (12.2%), Magar (7.1%), Tharu (6.6%), Tamang (5.8%), Newar (5.0%), Kami (4.8%), Musalman (4.4%), Yadav (4.0%) and Rai (2.3%). The religions followed in Nepal have been broadly cataloged into ten categories: Hinduism Buddhism, Islam, Kirat, Christianity, Prakriti, Jainism, Bahai and Sikhism (CBS, 2012). Hinduism is followed by 81.3% of the population while Buddhism (9.0%), Islam (4.4%), Kirat (3.1%), Christianity (1.4%), Prakriti (0.5%), Bon (13,006), Jainism (3,214), Bahai (1,283) and Sikhism (609).

These figures are enough to confirm that Nepal is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation. Ethnic and religious diversity is coupled with its linguistic plurality in Nepal (Yadava, 2004). Ethnicities, religions and languages are found to interact with one another, resulting in the threefold ethnic/religious-linguistic structure (Proposal of LinSuN, 2008:14).

In Nepal, there are around 10 caste/ethnic groups with a common language. They speak a single mother tongue. This is exemplified by Nepali, which is spoken as a mother tongue by various caste groups such as Kshetri, Bahun (Hills), Kami, Thakuri, Damai, Sarki, Sanyasi, Gaine, Khawas, Badi). There are around 53 ethno-linguistic communities in Nepal each of which has a common mother tongue. Such communities include Tamang, Newar, Musalman, Limbu, Sherpa, Gharti/Bhujel, Kumal, Rajbansi, Sunuwar, Majhi, Danuwar, Marwari, Satar/Santhal, Jhangad/Dhangad, Gangai, Thami, Dhimal, Bote, Yakkha, Darai, Tajpuriya, Thakali, Bramhu/ Baramo, Jirel, Meche, Lepcha, Panjabi/Sikh, Kisan, Raji, Byansi/Sauka, Hayu, Koche, Walung, Munda, Raute, Yohlmo, Kusunda, Lhomi, Kulung, Ghale, Nachhiring, Yamphu, Chamling, Athpariya, Bantawa, Dolpo, Thulung, Bahing, Lhopa, Sangpang, Khaling, Topkegola and Lohorung. Such a situation presents one-to-one relation between languages and ethnic groups.

There are about 5 ethnic communities each of which speaks several mother tongues. This “one caste/ethnic groups with several languages” in Nepal include Magar(Kham, Kaike, Poinke, Dhut), Chepang (Chepang and Banakariya), Gurung (Gurung, Ghale), Tharu (Rana Tharu, Dagaure Tharu, Khona) and Rai(Bantawa, Chamling, Kulung, Thulung, Sangpang, Khaling, Dumi, Puma, Chhintang, Umbule, Bahing, Nachiring, Koi, Yamphu, Chhiling, Lohorung, Mewahang, Tilung, Jerung, Lingkhim, Sam, etc). In the Tarai also, this situation is present. There are around 40 ethnic communities which live in different parts of the Tarai of Nepal. In Maithili speaking area, they speak Maithili or its dialects whereas in Bhojpuri speaking area, they speak Bhojpuri or its dialects as their mother tongues in Nepal.

In Awadhi speaking area, they speak Awadhi as their mother tongues. Such ethnic communities include Yadav, Teli, Chamar, Koiri/Kushvaha, Kurmi, Dhanuk, Musahar, Dusaha, Kewat, Bahun(Tarai), Kathbaniyan, Malaha, Kalwar, Hajam/Thakur, Kanu, Sudhi, Lohar, Halwai, Rajput, Kayastha, Bantar, Barahi, Kahar, Lodh, Rajwar, Bin, Gadheri, Chidhimar, Mali, Dom, Kamar, Kalar, Natuwa, Dhandhi, Dhankar, Rajdhob, Kori, Sarwriya, Amat and Dev. For some ethnic communities, the languages have not yet been identified (Turin, 2004).

Table 1: Ethno-linguistic situation of Nepal

	Linguistic structure	Caste/ethnic groups
1	Several caste/ethnic groups with a common language	10
2	One ethnic group one language	53
3	One ethnic group with several languages	5
4	One ethnic group speaking different languages in different places	40
5	Ethnic groups whose mother tongues is not yet identified	17

Source: National Housing and Population Census, 2011

On the basis of the national report of the Census, 2011, we can broadly present the ethno-linguistic situation of Nepal into five categories (Regmi, 2013). Table 1 presents the ethno-linguistic situation of Nepal.

2.2 Language vitality

Many languages of Nepal are endangered. Lewis and Simons (2010) has proposed a model for assessing the vitality of languages. The model is referred to as Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. Table 2 presents vitality of the languages of Nepal on the basis of this model.

Table 2: Vitality of the languages of Nepal

	Vitality label	No. of languages	Percentage
1.	Safe/Vigorous	53	43.09%
2.	Vulnerable/ Threatened	51	41.46%
3.	Definitely endangered/ Shifting	11	8.94%
4.	Severely endangered/ Moribund	6	4.87%
5.	Critically endangered/ Nearly extinct	1	0.8%
6.	Dormant	1	0.8%
		123	100%

Source: Ethnologue (Epple et al. 2012) and UNESCO, 2010

Table 2 shows that of the 123 languages of Nepal, around 30 are vigorous (The language is used orally by all generations and is being learnt by children as their first language), 51 threatened (The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child bearing generation are transmitting it to their children), 11 shifting (The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children), 6 moribund (The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation) 1 nearly extinct (The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to

use the language) and one dormant (The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency).

It is to be further noted here that Nepali is a *lingua franca* or a language of wider communication and medium of instruction in the basic education in Nepal. Thus, it has also been adopted as a mother tongue by people from different ethnic groups as well. Apart from this, there is a significant increase in ethnic languages as well as ethnic groups in Nepal. It is mainly due to the rise of ethnic consciousness which asserts ethnic identity mainly through culture and language.¹ Many members of many ethno-linguistic communities, though they do not speak their respective ethnic languages, have recorded the ancestral languages as the mother tongues. This is evident from the enumeration of the mother tongues in Census 2001 as well as 2011. In general, there is a common tendency to shift toward Nepali or some dominant regional and ethnic languages. Such diversity, shifting tendency as well as vagueness as to the real speakers of the mother tongues have been a great challenge for ensuring quality basic educations, mainly, to the children of ethnic communities in Nepal. In such situation, to ensure the right to every child irrespective of his/her backgrounds to receive education of good quality is a challenge. However, the nation has to provide, at any cost, the children from ethnic communities with early and easy access to education and enabling them to participate in learning processes according to their evolving capacities (Shaeffer, 2007).

3 Basic education in ethno-linguistic communities

A few years ago, in Nepal, it was estimated that 8% out of 6-14 school age children are deprived of education and only 39.5 % completed class five

¹ There were only two options about the linguistic information in the Census, 2011: (i) what is your mother tongue? (ii) What is your second language?

of basic education in time. This situation has not yet improved despite the efforts of the government and non-governmental organizations.

Nepali is the mother tongue of only 44.6 percent of the total population in Nepal. However, the language of instruction in the basic education in non-boarding schools for the children from non-Nepali speaking communities, in general, is Nepali. The fact that learning in a language that is not one's own provides double sets of challenges to the children has not been duly acknowledged in Nepal. Indeed, learning a new knowledge embodied in a new language is really challenging to the children (Shaeffer, 2007). The teaching materials and textbooks have been prepared in Nepali keeping in mind of main stream culture. The lessons in such materials and textbooks have neither taken into account of the students' own knowledge and experience learned from their parents and others in their home community nor have the materials so far prepared tried to give the impression that the only Nepali culture and tradition followed by Nepali mother tongue speakers is not crucial for the life. Such materials are in fact not understandable for them. In reality, where there are schools for non-Nepali speaking children, the teachers are unlikely to share the students' social and cultural background or to speak the students' language. Thus, the schools where mother tongue-based multilingual education is not in practice have been just 'an unfamiliar place teaching unfamiliar concepts in an unfamiliar language'. In other words, because of double set of challenges, they do not understand the content of the prescribed lessons leading to low performance in the test of knowledge. This ultimately compels them either to repeat the grades or leave school altogether being eventually discouraged. In practice, it seems that Nepal has not seriously recognized the role of multilingual education in increasing enrolment, retention and achievement in the formal education of non-Nepali speaking children in Nepal (Regmi, 2012).

4 Policy and practice of mother tongue-based multilingual education

4.1 Legal provisions

So far legal provisions are concerned, they are not hindering at all for the implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education in Nepal. As per the Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) each community have the right to get basic education in their mother tongue as provided for in the law. In Nepal the local bodies have been authorized to run primary schools in mother tongues by the Local Self-governance Act, 1998. Similarly, the provisions in Education Act (amended in 2002) and Education Regulations, 2002 have been made for running primary schools in mother tongues. The Curriculum of Primary Education, 2007, has also authorized the concerned stakeholders to impart primary education in respective mother tongues. Likewise, National Curriculum Framework, 2007 has stated that the first phase of basic education (1-3) can be imparted in mother tongue.

The Three Year Interim Plan, 2007, had also focused on the institutionalization of education in mother tongue and expansion of such program in par with the demand and promotion of multilingual education. Implementation Guidelines, 2005 for District Curriculum Coordination Committee and Regional Curriculum Coordination Committee have also made provisions for developing curriculum and teaching materials at the local level.

4.2 Policy

Nepal has made a strong commitment at the World Education Forum in Dakar 2000. In this commitment, Nepal has assured that by 2015 all children, particularly girls and children from ethnic minorities will have access to complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality and will have right to receive education of good quality to every child as per the EFA Core Document. It further ensures that by 2015, in

Nepal, the schools will have been inclusive learning centers of excellence that respond to the learning needs of all children. Keeping these commitments in mind, Nepal has endorsed Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines, 2010. This Guidelines has focused on “bottom-up” approach acknowledging the prominent role of the language communities, school management committees, local bodies, non-governmental organizations in establishing child right to receive quality basic education in mother tongue. It has defined “Basic Education” as the educational structure of grades 1-8 and “Multilingual Education” as an instructional system in which education is imparted in one or more than one languages including local language. One has to be very clear about the distinction between multilingual education and mother tongue-based multilingual education. In reality, Nepal has not acknowledged mother tongue-based multilingual education as the integral part of existing education system nor has it been made compulsory. The vision is not clear about the principles and policies of mother tongue-based multilingual education in Nepal.

There are two provisions of the use of mother tongue in educational programmes : as a medium of instruction and as subject. The formal education up to basic (pre-primary to standard 8) and non-formal education may use mother tongue as medium of instruction with different provisions for different levels. In general, curriculum, textbooks and other related materials for mother tongue education could be developed locally in schools involved in implementing the program.

Table 3 presents the provisions of medium of instruction in the basic levels in Nepal.

Table 3: Provisions of medium of instruction

Levels	Medium of instruction	Remarks
Pre-primary	Local mother tongue	For all subjects
1-3	Local mother tongue	For all subjects except Nepali and English
4-5	Bilingual (mother tongue and language of official use)	For all subjects except Nepali and English
6-8	Bilingual (mother tongue and language of official use) or other tongue	For all subjects except Nepali and English

Source: Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines, 2010

4.3 Practice

In Nepal, neither the ethno-linguistic communities are rightly informed about the value of MTBMLE and right of basic education through mother tongues nor are the governmental agencies working in the true spirit of MTBMLE. In practice, in Nepal, looking at its pace, the mother tongue-based multilingual education, though indispensable, has been ill-fated with lethargy, indecisiveness and mismanagement on behalf of the stake-holders.

MLE Pilot Project (2007-2009) tried to implement mother tongue as medium of instruction in 8 languages in 21 schools (7 in the beginning) of 6 districts. Due to the absence of adequate operational link with the system's mechanism there has appeared discontinuity of the initiatives for mother tongue-based multilingual education.

Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) has produced textbooks for mother tongue as subject for different grades in a number of languages. Whatever materials have been prepared by the centre has basically been used as models for writing MLE materials in other languages. National Center for Education Development (NCED) has started teacher trainings for mother tongue education.

5 Challenges of mother tongue-based multilingual education

In Nepal, still, children in most ethno-linguistic communities are deprived of basic education in their respective mother tongues. Quality basic education is far away for them. Teaching in unfamiliar languages has hindered the cognitive development in the children. It has not yet been recognized that language not only helps promote equality and empower people but also is a key factor for the social inclusion in ethno-linguistic communities.

Mother tongue-based multilingual education is the most important mechanism for achieving the goal of education for all among minority communities. In Nepal, attempts have been made to encourage the children from every speech community to get educated. However, the policy adopted by the government is not conducive for such a purpose. The curriculum and textbooks as well as reading materials must be compatible to the socio-cultural setting of the communities. Another important factor is the attitude of the communities. At present, most of the children in basic education are not learning the basic skills, but are rather focused on learning the Nepali language, which is almost alien to them. It is only through MTBMLE that life crucial knowledge embodied in the language can be passed on from generation to generation in these communities. However, the implementation of the provisions of mother tongue-based multilingual education is facing a number of challenges in Nepal. Some of them are as follows:

- a. Nepal lacks a detailed, reliable, comprehensive and all-inclusive picture of the situation of the languages and their dialects till today (Toba, 2004).
- b. Many languages are preliterate, still undescribed or poorly described and seriously endangered or endangered in Nepal. In preliterate languages, until a writing system is not developed, textbooks and other reading materials may not be developed and implemented without any obstacle.
- c. There is lack of appropriate textbooks and reference materials in Nepal. Such textbooks and reference materials so far produced by the

Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) as models and prepared by other institutions and non-governmental agencies are mostly translated with a little adaptation.

- d. In a multilingual country like Nepal, except in a few schools located in Tarai and Himalayan regions, there are students from divergent socio-linguistic backgrounds. Such students may require the textbooks and reading materials compatible with their respective socio-linguistic backgrounds.
- e. There is lack of trained multilingual teachers in Nepal.
- f. There is lack of positive attitude in teachers and communities.
- g. There is also lack of awareness about multilingual education in Nepal.
- h. Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2010) does not follow transitional bi/multilingual education on the one hand, it lacks adequate operational link with the system's mechanism on the other.

6 Some strategies

Only with appropriate strategies, we can guarantee access to MTBMLE in all ethno-linguistic communities of Nepal. In reality, there is no solid foundation for the implementation of mother tongue-based multilingual education in Nepal. There are three stakeholders in this respect: government, ethno-linguistic communities and teachers. Unless there is coordination between these stakeholders, it is impossible to guarantee the access to MTBMLE to ethno-linguistic communities. To ensure the rights of the indigenous peoples and linguistic minorities to basic and primary education multilingual education, we may provide the following suggestions:

- a. Transitional bi/multilingual education should be strictly followed. According to transitional bi/multilingual education, the basic education starts in mother tongues for better learning and quality education, gradually switch to a language of broader communications such as Nepali or others for official and other uses and eventually switch to an international language such as English for learning science and technology, using

it as medium for global communication and access academic knowledge as a library language. Whatever policies have been framed they are entitled to be followed only by the government schools.

b. Reliable, comprehensive and all-inclusive sociolinguistic information of all the languages spoken in Nepal is most for the proper implementation of multilingual education in Nepal. For this, linguistic survey of Nepal must be successfully completed.

c. The textbooks and reference materials must be based on the local context. The present trend of translation without a minimum adaptation must not be encouraged. This will definitely aggravate the situation.

d. At least a thorough description including sound system of each language must be made. It helps to develop a writing system in those languages which are preliterate. Moreover, with the consent of the respective speech communities, writing system must be determined.

e. Ethnographic documentation of all the minority languages must be done for the collection, identification, recognition and preservation of the information about the culture and traditional knowledge embodied in such languages. Such information paves the foundation for teaching and learning materials in mother tongues.

f. Proper incentives like promotion, special allowances and special training opportunities should be provided for the trained multilingual teachers. Positive attitudes may be created even in general teachers by providing such incentives as well.

f. Minority speech communities are mostly marginalized educationally, economically and socially. Such minority communities must be assured by the government that they would not need to migrate for a better life. The tendency of migration has resulted in the disinterestedness in multilingual education among the minority speech communities. Such communities should be convinced about the practical importance of multilingual education.

7 Summary

In this paper, we tried to discuss the strategies to guarantee the access of the mother tongue-based multilingual education to the ethnolinguistic communities in Nepal. Nepal presents a complex ethno-linguistic situation. Many ethnolinguistic communities are gradually shifting to Nepali and many have already shifted to Nepali. However, they respect the ancestral language as their mother tongues. Many ethnic languages are seriously endangered and ethnic communities are marginalized socially, politically and economically. The present policy and practice is not conducive for the proper implementation of mother tongue based multilingual education. Many children are deprived of basic quality education.

The multilingual education is indispensable in the present context of Nepal. Different speech communities are demanding that the government frame a policy that the mother tongue as subject up to 10+2 is made compulsory. It is a matter of further discussion with the concerned stakeholders. However, due to the lack of a clear policy and plan on behalf of the government and the state of indecision on behalf of the speech communities, multilingual education is not effectively implemented in Nepal. Unless teachers are encouraged, multilingual education may not realize the expected outcomes and ensure the right of speech community to get basic education in their respective mother tongues.

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NEPALI LINGUISTICS: NEXUS OF SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC DYNAMICS

Abhi Subedi

This keynote speech was delivered at the 34th annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) at Nepal Academy, Kathmandu on 26th November 2013.

Honourable President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Chief Guest--poet, linguist and Chancellor of the Nepal Academy--Mr. Bairagi Kainla, former Presidents of the LSN, working committee members of the LSN, senior and contemporary linguists, academics, students, ladies and gentlemen!

I would like to get your permission to read my speech written in the form of an essay. The title may sound like a serious academic writing, I must admit, it is not entirely that. I, however, want to touch upon a few issues and themes most of which have been discussed by Nepali linguists and literary scholars and philosophers. My efforts to bring the strands of those thoughts together here are guided by a few considerations which draw from my own experience and my observation and reading of what the linguists, some selected scholars who are instrumental in the creation and continuity of this Society, have been producing over the decades. The usual discussions about linguistics, especially in opening sessions of such seminars rightly hinge round a few familiar topics like the existence of many languages, languages dying out of neglect, indifference of the state machinery to the preservation of the languages, formation of departments and societies and the introduction of new schemes of field surveys, use of new technologies that include the digitalisation and computer scheming of data and analyses thereof, and most importantly, contemplations on the pay-offs of such efforts so far. But I want to speak about the historical anxiety that linguists express by freely using the methodology warranted by current modes of studies. Quest for identity and anxiety to bring to light the muted issues becomes a subject of research, for which linguistics is the productive medium.

My first topic, therefore, is the imbrications of historicity and linguistic studies in Nepal. I do not want to sound like a philologist, which I am not, by evoking the topic. Being a great admirer and

reader of Erich Auerbach, however, I would certainly indicate at the philological interest of Nepali linguists in extended areas of stylistics, literature, law and even studies of archives--areas covered by Auerbach and his great contemporaries in their philological studies. My submission is that Nepali linguists in some of these areas have made notable researches by diverting attention from the mainstream linguistics over the years, but by maintaining strong link with the discipline. But the volume of the output is very small but important.

My story is very simple. My association with the Linguistic Society of Nepal--I became its President once and General Secretary twice--and my knowledge about its activism so far, has taught me to see this evolution in a historical perspective. Several prominent native scholars' works have already made a history. I will indicate if not discuss their initiatives and achievements little later. Some foreign scholars who mainly worked in this area, in Tibeto-Burman linguistics and attended the conference regularly are/were Dr. Austen Hale, the late Dr. R.K. Sprigg whose Scottish bagpipe resonated in Kirtipur's autumnal mellow evenings each year, the late Alfons Weidert, George van Driem, Boyd Michailovsky, Sueyoshi Toba and many others. Juxtaposition of the synchronic and philological methods used by these linguists varied in method. Some were ambitious and path-breakers, others were describers fulfilling the needs of linguistic surveys. On the basis of the study of the typology of Tibeto-Burman languages, some of them even imagined a pervasive geo-linguistic and cultural sphere in the entire Himalayan region.

The political developments in the country over the last three decades, since the establishment of the LSN and the transformation of the society has found its reflection in some of the major linguistic discourses in this country. I received the news of the formation of the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1979 in Edinburgh where I was studying under harsh conditions after the election of Margaret Thatcher, whose government terminated our scholarships. Prof. Madhav P. Pokharel links this

event of the formation of the LSN to the completion of PhD by the pioneering modern linguists of Nepal.¹ This news coincided with the news of political changes taking place here. I linked the news of the establishment of the LSN to the changes in the autocratic structure of polity in the land as reported little earlier in the British press. British papers reported the change in somewhat quaint ways. *The Guardian's* reporter Peter Niesewand juxtaposed totally alien metaphors, different myths at a particular moment in Nepali history, in his report. Putting the hippies of the late sixties with the students of 1979 he reported, "The hippies got first word that the students were coming. Kathmandu's ultra-cool Freak Street galvanised into unaccustomed action".² His exoticisation of theatre was remarkably funny—"You can see the *Importance of Being Earnest* in Kathmandu, should the mood take you, but you won't ever watch *Macbeth*. Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party* was on last Sunday, but *Hamlet* has been banned". No one would have staged those plays in Kathmandu then let alone the Pinter play. Niesewand uses them as tropes to mix myth about Nepal in the West with the ground reality. I do not know if that is still the major mode of the Western perception about Nepal as projected by the somewhat fantastic news of *The Guardian* reporter. But people in Britain were seeing changes in Nepal in quite the same way as they were looking at the changes in Iran then.

Nepali times came as surprise to me in Britain; the story of change in Nepal was murky and confusing for me. That is when I developed in some sense a desire to link the linguistic studies with the broader social awareness and experimentations that were going on at Edinburgh University then. And the shift from philological studies to synchronic studies of languages and its

sociolinguistic basis had gained ground. The famous Hallidayan linguistics had drawn a great deal from the British sociologist Basil Bernstein's theory of elaborate and restricted codes that continued to be debated long after that. John Lyons discussed the major linguistic philosophy that incorporated both the current trends and Western philosophical schools in his two-volume books on Semantics. A meeting ground of literature and linguistics was a redefined formation of stylolinguistics. Analyses of poet E. E. Cummings's few lines like "anyone lived in a pretty how town" and "with ups so many bells down...he sang his did he danced his didn't" were considered as major stylolinguistic target. My guru Kamal Prakash Malla had completed his PhD in that area of study a few years earlier from that University. The letter said he had become the founding President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. Others who were trained in linguistics outside the country came from the English and Nepali departments.

The very well known pioneering linguists of Nepal known then were Mahananda Sapkota, Balakrishna Pokharel who was trained in the linguistic school of Suniti Kumar Chatterji in Calcutta, Haridev Mishra, Taranath Sharma and Iswarananda Shresthacharya who was a free researcher. Others of course did follow, but these names represented a few trends of linguistic studies earlier. I had in mind then the important linguistic seminar organised by the then INAS, the first avatar of CNAS on November 4, 1974 in which among others Kamal P Malla's paper "Linguistic studies in Nepal" was presented as the keynote speech in which he predicted, "linguists may be a rare species in Nepal, but they are, hopefully, not as rare as snakes in Ireland. At the same time, it is reassuring to know that in the foreseeable future Nepali linguists, though few and far between, are unlikely to face extinction." This paper today gives a clear picture of how serious linguistic studies were not part of the academic exercise then. In the same paper Malla advises the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) working for eight years then to do more to encourage some Nepali linguists to complete their PhDs with them, who after all did complete the same some years after that under the tutelage of the eminent Summer Institute of Linguistics scholars.

¹ "Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) was established in 1979 when Subhadra Subba (1973), Kamal Prakash Malla (1973), Ballabh Mani Dahal (1974), Chura Mani Bandhu (1978), Tej Ratna Kansakar (1978), Shishir Kumar Sthapit (1978) and Ramawatar Yadav (1979) completed PhD in linguistics". Cited from Prof. Madhav P. Pokharel's Keynote address, "Role and relevance of linguistics in Nepal", *Nepalese Linguistics*, Vol. 27, 2012, pp.237-243, p. 237.

² *The Guardian*, 19 May 1979.

I am sure you have read the detailed history of linguistic studies in Nepal in Prof Malla's Silver Jubilee address, which is a very well-documented analysis of the brief history of efforts made towards setting up a department of linguistics.³ This address, which combines ire, fire and scholarship, is a historical document that dramatises the pain, trials and tribulations of the pioneers of education. It shows how the pioneers worked together and clashed for good reasons. Incidentally, the fire that Prof. Malla's speech highlights as expression perhaps of Nietzschean creative energy was set when I was the Chair of the Central Department of English. I continued the fire sermon and wrote a play entitled *Fire in the Monastery*, which has seen about 200 productions in Nepal and Europe. The genesis of the fire had little to do with serious pedagogic or curricular content. But Prof. Malla's use of the metaphor speaks many more things about university educational practices than just one incident. Now the fire has become a cliché and peccadillo in Kirtipur that anyone can raise even for discontents of minimum merit. I want to add here, the Linguistic Society's historicity grew on the fringe of these combustible central departments. All of those who made efforts to establish the department of linguistics came from the departments of English, Nepali and Nepal Bhasha, all vulnerable to fire.

Our stories combined fun with seriousness all of which cannot be narrated here. The pioneers, of course, bore the first brunt, but those of us who inherited the Society continued to work with fun and seriousness, with a spirit of *jouissance*, for the most part, which worked, we must admit. My memory was triggered after reading Dr. Manfred Treu's report about the eleventh annual conference of the LSN in 1990 in the *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*. At this conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal I wrote a speech for the vice-chancellor of T.U.

Prof. B.C. Malla advocating the strong need for the establishment of a department of linguistics. We had nicely orchestrated the session with thunderous ovations as he read the speech with great taste. That stage-managed orchestration of our own slogan gave us a confidence that the Department was just a matter of months if not years. But suddenly, Prof. Malla changed his tone and said, "I have read what President of the LSN Abhi Subedi has written for me. Now I want to say something of my own. At this moment, it is not possible for us to open a department of Linguistics". The historicity of the Department of Linguistics is thus linked to the genesis of the Linguistic Society of Nepal not only through jolts but also through consensus, humour and common realisation of all the educationists.

The tale of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, which is only 34-year old is told by different people according to who sits down to narrate it. It has almost become folklore with only oral records narrated especially by garrulous folks who would just want to reiterate it at talk shops, in some cases. A happy turn came in this linguistico-narrative folklore when the young generation of linguists, most of them graduates of the Central Department of Linguistics, started documenting its history. Now that process is seriously underway, I guess. One day one of them made an emergency call to me, as it were, and said, 'we have found a gap of two years in the history of the LSN. Pray, tell us who was the President during that period'. It took me sometime before I recalled. I said 'Dr. Ramavatar Yadav was the President then. His period was very successful from the point of view of linguistic activities'. I called Dr. Yadava, who after some hesitation confirmed yes, he was the President then. Such is the orality of the LSN history. The linguists of the young generation are out to set up a documentation system befitting a great society like the Linguistic Society of Nepal.

The Linguistic Society of Nepal came at a very historical moment in Nepali history when the Panchayati Raj was deeply entrenched by enforcing monotheistic linguistic, cultural and political policies. The genesis of the LSN thus can be traced back to a time when the silent war between the spirit of what Arjun Appadurai calls cellular energy which is, of course, used both by

³ Prof Kamal P. Malla, 'Politics, education, and the labour pains of linguistics in Nepal', Keynote address delivered at the silver jubilee of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, November 26, 2004, published in *Contemporary Issues in Linguistics*, 2005. Pp 557-574. See also, David N Gellner, "from literature to linguistics to culture: an interview with KP Malla (1996)

the good and bad forces in the society, and those who controlled all mechanism that generated creative engagements and energy of people. I am citing this concept written much later only in order to show how the LSN did represent the cellular energy then. Both the upper and lower forms of such cellular organisations had started working then because this was the only Society that could spectacularly bring talented and serious linguists and thinkers from around the world together, and continues to do so. One cannot name them all here. But I would like to introduce the words of Arjun Appadurai, which are written for what he calls ‘essay on the geography of anger’. He says:

At the upper ends they are vast,...At the other end, they are small and fluid, bare networks, working quietly, often invisibly but also across national and other lines. The study of these networks has grown increasingly lively, especially among political scientists concerned with new forms of international bargaining, with expanding the study of social movements, and with the third space outside of market and state.⁴

The LSN, though started as a modest organisation, had the attributes of the cellular which had “small and fluid, bare networks, working quietly, often invisibly but also across national and other lines”. That is precisely what happened in the case of the LSN. It has always brought the fluid and small networks together, which under the leadership of the new generation of linguists in the later years, and after the establishment of the Central Department of Linguistics in 1996, for which the euphoria that was very high at the beginning did take a pragmatic turn later, did gain in strength. A former President of the LSN Prof. Govinda Raj Bhattarai was precisely highlighting this very aspect of this organisation. In his presidential address he says, “Obviously, LSN is the oldest of organizations in Nepal that has survived innumerable obstacles-- even wars, armed revolts, emergencies and many hindrances, political and economic, that has maintained its vibrancy through the years that is growing richer and

stronger everyday.”⁵ The LSN became the only cellular organisation in Nepal, which without any NGO obligations and institutional help maintained the continuum, and the very energy of the fluidity, and of the expanding public sphere continued to be operative.

The public sphere was influenced by the control of the Panchayat polity. We have evidence of tensions taking place in other spheres that quietly challenged the monotheistic cultural policy of the state, but the LSN did present a forum where the voices of discontent, scholarship, research and anxieties about the preservation of the dying language in this tremendously rich linguistic country continued to resonate, a process that has expanded today by utilising both the old methods and the digital system of research. The first generation of digital users was euphoric, experimental; an interesting cohort of scholars practised that, and the unwary made wild guesses. When the New Education System Plan used computer for screening applications for admission in colleges the news spread like Australian bush fire. I remember one old man who turned up at Padmakanya Campus seeking admission of his daughter-in-law at the proficiency certificate level some time in 1972 I guess, asking Prof. Shivagopal Risal, “Sir, I want to meet Computer Sir, because they say he has taken the entire responsibility of admitting or rejecting students *bharnaad*”. Did the computer come as a toy to confound the people, create awe and deprive them of educational opportunities, or to promote true education? It is a subject of review.

The miserable fiasco of the ill-conceived plan with computer as the major actor, however, speaks volumes about the rash action of the policy makers, who were mostly elites close to the power regime. Foreign bank loans were taken to improve education, but as the history shows, much of it was wasted or squandered away; a few badly designed monstrosities were erected. The multinational capital investment in Nepal’s education as in other big cultural projects was a fiasco and a disaster, too, but the teachers had to pay the loan by sacrificing their *jagirs* or jobs. An

⁴ Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Number: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006) p 132.

⁵ Prof. Govinda Raj Bhattarai, Presidential address delivered on the 29th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, November 26-27, 2008.

elite class that had the least passion and vision of education was in the managerial role. Education in the following days did not make headway at the University, now universities, because the focus on right curricula and pedagogy and academic practice grew weaker. It was taken over by ulterior energies. The Linguistic Society of Nepal did continue to exist as well as thrive because it was not part of any major or minor projects. Happily, for that very reason it did not draw any attention of the ruling elites who had financial connectivity with the stakeholders of education.

In my presidential address at the twelfth annual Conference on Nov 26, 1991, I highlighted upon the impact of the previous year's political change in Nepal. I have said in that the political leaders in a matter of one year have glibly accepted the language of sycophancy popularised by the erstwhile Panchayat regime that they overthrew. Now the same language of sycophancy has returned. I have said, 'the language of considerable number of academics became one of sycophancy, and small repertoire of phrases and clichés was employed to carry out the communication among themselves'⁶. Michael Hutt called 'this double-life' in the essay where he cites my words. We noticed changes in the idioms of politics, and saw compromises glibly made in the orientation of speech that bore the impact of the erstwhile power structure. Judged from linguistic point of view, change in power structure does not necessarily lead to a system of change in speech pattern that we can notice through analytical discourse analysis in linguistics.

I come to my second point. The LSN when it was created did not have any objective other than the scientific study of languages, and work to highlight the linguistic issues. But with each year, some important studies on linguistic issues related to culture and identity came to inspire the linguists to look into their languages and cultural formations in a new way. A tendency to look back at the past, heritage of culture related to language began to grow in Nepal. Looking at the available corpus of some of the works of the senior and major linguists we can see that historical and cultural subjects have drawn their attention.

Among them were senior linguists, whose work inspired and continue to inspire the new generation of linguists. Going through the voluminous issues of *Nepalese Linguistics* one can see a greater part occupied by the synchronic study of languages. A major thrust has been one of making field study of languages. But some significant body of works, which include books and learned articles, were written on the historical side of linguistic studies.

Though all the major works done by these linguists were not part of the LSN, these linguists who architected the directions of the LSN studies, which continue to guide the Society's major thrust of study, maintained the meaningful continuity of their scholarship. The major historical studies of the Newar language, for example, can be cited here. *Dictionary of Classical Newari* compiled from thirty-eight major manuscripts is one such major achievement.⁷ Prof. Kamal Prakash Malla and Professor Tej Ratna Kansakar as well as Kashinath Tamot were mainly involved in this work. The editorial note shows the philological significance and pragmatics of this work. "Scholars have therefore found this language to be an important tool not only for comparative and historical studies of Tibeto-Burman linguistics but also for the study of the gradual diffusion and acculturation of Indian culture across the Himalayas", says Professor Malla in his introductory note.⁸ His shift to historical studies of place and river names, and various politico-cultural topics over these decades need not be listed here. They are available in journals and websites.

Another such major work of historical significance is Dr. Ramawatar Yadav's study—translation and historical linguistic study of the well-known Maithili play written by the Malla king Bhupatindra Malla⁹. This is a very important work with introduction, analysis and diachronic study of the Maithili and other languages used in

⁷ Tej R Kansakar, et al. *A dictionary of Classical Newari*, Ed. Kamal P. Malla (Kathmandu: Nepal Bhasa dictionary committee, 2000).

⁸ Kamal P. Malla in editor's note. *Ibid.*

⁹ Ramawatar Yadav (ed) *Fascimile Edition of a Maithili Play: Bhupatindramalla's Parsuramopakhyana-nataka* (Kathmandu: B.P. Koirala India-Nepal Foundation, 2011).

⁶ Abhi Subedi, cited in Michael Hutt, *Nepal in the Nineties* (Delhi: Oxford University press, 1994) 88.

the text. Produced by a linguist, one of the founders of the LSN, this work merits attention. This book contains, "...manuscript in Newari Script, Transliteration into English, Commentary on Medieval Maithili Dramaturgy, Critical Notes, and Sketch of a Middle Maithili Grammar."¹⁰ Articles on Maithili language written by Ramavtar Yadav and Yogendra Yadava are focussed on the historicity of the language.¹¹ Ramvatar Yadav has also made linguistic studies of the Maithili plays of the Kathmandu valley. Similarly, on the ethno-cultural and oral historical side, poet and scholar Bairagi Kainla made very significant linguistic, ethnographical and textual studies of the major Limbu oral texts over these years. These works include the poetic and philological studies of the Limbu ritual and poetic texts. He links this study in the post Panchayat era. As an ardent supporter and collaborator of the LSN, Kainla's works have a relationship with this Society's activities.¹² One very intelligent linguist and our erstwhile student Tejman Angdembe, similarly, has shifted his focus on the historicity associated with the language and the culture that such linguistic forms evoke. In a collection of essays written in Nepali and some in English, this intelligent linguist of the younger generation has dwelt on the questions of the historicity and current questions of language description.¹³ Recently, I chanced to review a PhD dissertation of Mohan Kumar Limbu. The study is aptly titled 'Linguistic Study of Limbu Mundhum' because it does not use the historical or philological but synchronic methodological

system to study this powerful ancient text, which is one of my favourite oral texts. The method is entirely synchronic and uses the descriptive methodology of linguistics used for studying spoken languages. Such combination of methodology and subject is a telling example of how the Linguistic Society and the Linguistic Department have been bringing the strands of both the synchronic and philological studies together. Some works of senior and younger Nepali language linguists like Prof. Chudamani Bandhu, Prof. Madhav Pokharel and those of the others that use the non-philological methods to study old texts, or poetic ritual texts can be cited here and there, but shift to historical or philological studies does not appear to be a major trend in Nepali language linguistic studies, even though there is a big need for that. Remarkably, Nepali folklorists have done some good works in this direction. This is a significant point of sociolinguistic and cultural study. In other words, for linguists this amounts to working in tandem with historians. I would like to cite the words of a well-known scholar about history's dynamics and its relevance to the study of other areas of learning like language. Penelope J. Corfield in her introductory essay says:

...all language in history, including both Saussurean *langue* and *parole*, is of potential interest to historians. That of course, provides a broad canvas. Language is often considered generically, including: the evolution of grammatical rules and the changing stock of words; the origins, evolution, and range of languages; how they are diffused and adapted; and the contribution of communal language use to racial or national identity. At the same time, language is also viewed in diversity.¹⁴

That nexus between historicity and presentism has inspired Nepali linguists to search for both the living and dying linguistic heritage, culture and identity associated with that. My examples here collected for a brief lecture should not be taken for an exhaustive survey of linguistic studies of the above nature. I have cited the above examples that support my hypothesis that resurgence in history is an expression of anxiety of the present

¹⁰ Title page.

¹¹ See *Angan*, Nepal Academy journal of Maithili, various issues.

¹² See Bairagi Kanhila especially, *Limbu Jatima Kokhpuja* (Academy, 2048 BS), *Samsogha Mundhum* (Limbu Sahitya ra Utthan tatha prakasn samaj, 2051 BS), *Irsya ra ankhidahika akyan* (Major Keshar Simnggh Lingden Limbu and Lingden Limbu, 2051 BS), *Tangsing Tamma Mundhum: Akhyan ra Anusthan* (Academy, 2052 BS), and *Sasik Mundhum* (Limbu Sahitya ra Utthan tatha prakasn samaj, 2052 BS). Kainla has translated and interpreted these major Limbu Mundhums. His interpretation of the oral language of the earlier times is a remarkable historical study of language.

¹³ See Tejman Angdembe, *Bhasa, Sanskriti ra Itihaska Fansarharu* (Kathmandu: Dilbikram Angdembe, 2069).

¹⁴ Penelope J. Corfield, *Language, History and Class*, (ed) (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991) p 13.

realism. My objective here has been to highlight a fact that historicity becomes part of the synchronicity when the past and the cultural and linguistic heritage becomes a subject of importance. That is more so in the case of the linguistic and cultural heritage whose proper study is muted under the policy regime of the state that promotes only monoculture and linguistic traditions. The apology of the rulers is unity of the nation-state, which is nothing but a method developed to rule without resistance. The consequences of such policies are serious. The great traditions of languages and cultures become extinct, which is a serious loss for any country. Prof. Novel Kishore Rai in his keynote address says, “When a language dies, a way of thinking dies with it. A part of our culture and history is lost forever. Any argument that says reduction in languages will unify the human race and guarantee mutual understanding is simply naïve.”¹⁵

To end my presentation, I would like repeat that the LSN created an atmosphere and occasion for the native linguists to historicise the everydayness and to recreate the muted and ignored aspects of language and culture, and to linguists coming from different parts of the world to interact with linguists of totally different backgrounds. But the dynamics of linguistic studies is that linguists use such metalanguage that can be shared. Linguistics is such a subject that opens avenues of freedom and learning, and does not have any specific teleology. To represent that dynamics, the LSN has chosen the befitting *modus operandi*, which is one of free research, passionate engagement to the subject and rejoicing on the achievements and findings of big and ordinary nature. The cohort of the linguists of different generations present here is a proof of that optimism and the *raison d'être* of our humble yet great efforts to advance productively and meaningfully.

Thank you for the attention!

¹⁵ Novel Kishore Rai, ‘Keynote Speech: The 31st Annual Conference of LSN,’ *Nepalese Linguistics*, Vol. 26, 2011, pp. 327-331.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: 34TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF
THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL

Krishna Prasad Parajuli

Honourable Chief Guest Shree Til Bikram Nembang (Bairagi Kainla), Chancellor, Nepal Academy, Vice-Chancellor, Nepal Academy, key note speaker to 34th annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal Professor Dr Abhi Narayan Subedi, Head, UNESCO Office in Kathmandu, Mr Axel Plathe, Member Secretary, University Grants Commission (UGC) Shree Bholanath Pokhrel, Campus Chief, Madan Bhandari Memorial College, Shree Chaitanya Sharma, plenary speaker, Prof Dr Biplov Chakravarti, Chief Editor, of the Journal of Nepalese Linguistics Volume 28 and Head of Central Department of Linguistics, Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi, Vice- President, executive committee members, Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN), former Presidents, Chief Editors and executive committee members, LSN, life members, LSN, distinguished linguists, scholars, paper presenters, participants, from home and abroad, media persons, ladies and gentlemen,

We are meeting at a critical period in the history of Nepal. It has already had the experience of two different elections of constituent assembly, the first of which was unsuccessful to draft the constitution. This led the country to the constitutional crisis and turbulent state and the people shouldered a huge burden of financial and other resources unnecessarily. We hope that the recent and the final election of the constituent assembly will provide with the constitution and open the avenues to form the stable government and prosper for the consolidation of democracy. We are also hopeful that the constitution will guarantee the linguistic rights to the mother tongue speakers of more than 123 languages (Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) report: 2012) and the concerned authority will formulate the concrete policy for their promotion, documentation, preservation and revitalization.

Since its inception in 1979, Linguistic Society of Nepal has undergone a number of impediments. In spite of such impediments, it has always been organizing its annual conferences, conducting regular workshops, seminars, talk programs and

scholarly meetings. In addition to these, it has been regularly publishing its journal *Nepalese Linguistics*. These activities have of course provided a forum to a large number of foreign and native scholars, eminent linguists, and practitioners, who discuss various issues with respect to different areas of linguistics. The Society always gives high priority to carry out systematic researches and advance scientific study of languages.

The 34th annual conference of the Society and publication of the 28th volume of *Nepalese Linguistics* are the continuation and result of such activities, held every year in this august gathering. At this very momentous period, I express my sincere gratitude to all the former presidents, respective executive committee members and life members of the Society for their commitment and sense of responsibility towards the Society. They were, are and will ever be the source of inspiration to the young researchers in this field and we promise that we will try to keep this spirit up.

1 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. Central Department of Linguistics in association with the National Planning Commission (NPC) and other institutions/organizations has conducted the sociolinguistic survey of Nepali, Maithili, Newar, Kham, Magar (Dhut), Gurung, Chhantyal, Raji, Raute, Khonaha, Sonaha, Bajhang, Baitadeli, Achhami, Dotyali, Dagauna Tharu, Rana Tharu, Byansi, Avadi, Bhojpuri, Chepang, Yakkha, Chhillong Lapcha, Kaike, Jirel, Kumal, Bote, Bhujel, Santhali, Dumi, Koyee, Rajbanshi, Tajpuriya, Koche, Ganagai, Meche, Uranw,

Malpande, Kisan, Khariya, Majhi and Tilung languages (Regmi: LinSuN report, 2013)

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).
- 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. Documentation of the Chhintang, Puma and Baram languages.
- e. Continuation of the web journal Himalayan Linguistics.
- f. Publication of the Ethnologue: Languages of Nepal with Nepali translation
- g. Ethno-linguistic Survey of Nepal (EISuN) initiated recently by the National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN)
- h. Research of the Centre for Communication and Development Studies including the community based multimodal dictionary of the Lohorung language.

j. Research activities carried out by Nepal Academy in different languages of Nepal.

l. Ph. D. researches carried out by various scholars in different languages of Nepal in TU and other universities

In addition, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), SIL International, different departments at TU related to language and linguistics have also contributed a lot in the areas of linguistics.

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.

2 Documentation and revitalization of the languages threatened by extinction 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).

3 Census report 2012

The report of the CBS, 2012 has given recognition to more than 123 languages, which were 93 in total in the report of 2001 census. Compared to 2001, the 2012 report has given recognition to more than 30 languages. In total, 41 languages have less than 1,500 mother tongue speakers and among 41, 11 of them have less than 1000 speakers. This leads us to conclude that the state does have to take major steps to preserve, promote and revitalize them. Because "If we do nothing then after 100 years half of the world's heritage will be gone"- and will be like in Australia which has lost 95% of its linguistic heritage" and it is the worst case of any continent"

It is also relevant to quote Kansakar who in his presidential speech mentions that

...language is a key factor in the cognitive growth of the child and lays the foundation for learning for individual, community and national development. (*Nepalese Linguistics vol 15, 1998 pp, 65-73*).

4 Coordination and collaboration

The Society has always emphasized the cordial relationship with different institutions. The present executive committee has tried to strengthen this relationship with Nepal Academy, University Grants Commission, Central Departments at TU and its research wings, National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) and many more to mention.

For the first time, LSN has been able to join hands with the UNESCO Office in Kathmandu. This relationship will certainly broaden the horizon of linguistics and linguistic activities in Nepal and also hope the continuity of such bilateral relationship in the days to come.

5 Linguistic issues pertinent till date

LSN, has been raising a number of issues in its annual conferences and on other occasions. Some of the issues raised on such occasions have been addressed and others are still relevant and need to be given high priority by the government and its line agencies.

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 Issues ahead

a. Formation of language commission or language academy to formulate the policy guidelines for the promotion, preservation and revitalization of more than 123 languages spoken in Nepal.

b. Despite its keen interest in organizing short and long term trainings, refresher training, workshop,

seminar, and summer schools more systematically and frequently and in providing a platform to the graduates, it is not able to materialize these activities due to the lack of resources.

d. Involvement of LSN in various institutions/organizations as a representative in order to provide linguistic expertise and formulate policy guidelines.

7 Sessions and papers

There will be 1 plenary and 20 parallel sessions in which more than 80 people from 15 different countries will discuss their researches on different branches of linguistics (historical linguistics, phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, morphophonemics, sign language, psycholinguistics, applied linguistics, morphosyntax, lexicography, lexical studies, discourse analysis, anthropological linguistics, language typology, multilingual education, natural language processing, language documentation, semantics, and pragmatics comprising of more than 36 languages (Nepali, Khash(ani), Bhojpuri, Rana Tharu, Kochila Tharu, Rajbanshi, Hindi, Maithili, Nepali Sign language, Dravidian, Kusunda, Spanish, Lhomi, Bhujel, Kagate, Balami, Tibetan, Newar, Majhi, Dhimal, Limbu, Magar, Bodo, Meche, Chhulung, Dumi, Dura, Sherpa, Gurung, Tamang, Turkish, Rabha, English, Sanskrit, Irani and Russian).

At this moment, I promise that we will 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 a transitional phase.

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Thanks are due to honourable Chancellor Shree Til Bikram Nembang for his inspiring support to the Society.

I also remember the support extended to us by many individuals and institutions at this juncture to make this event successful.

Similarly, I express my sincere thanks to all the other institutions, media partners media persons for their kind support. University Grants

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I would also like to thank Prof. Dr Dan Raj Regmi, Chief Editor of Nepalese Linguistics volume 28, Dr Balaram Prasin and Krishna Prasad Chalise 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.

"The world is a mosaic of visions and each vision is encapsulated by a language"

Thank you very much for your patience.

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CDE	Central Department of English
CDN	Central Department of Nepali
CIL	Campus of International Languages
CNAS	Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
DEE	Department of English Education
IOE	Institute of Engineering
LinSuN	Linguistic Survey of Nepal

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