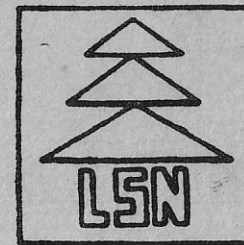


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Contents

Articles	Page
1. The Auxiliary Verb in Kathmandu, Newari and Lhasa Tibetan - <i>Tej Ratna Kansakar</i>	1
2. Status of the Tibetan Language in Nepal - <i>Subhadra Subba Dahal</i>	16
3. On the Constituency of Maithili Infinitivals - <i>Yogendra P. Yadav</i>	33
4. Gender System in Nepali - <i>Madhav P. Pokharel</i>	40
5. Syntactic Deviation in cummings' "a like a" and "Me up at does" - <i>Bijay K. Rauniyar</i>	71
6. The Consonant /s/ in the Jumli Dialect - <i>Ram B. Sijapati</i>	83
7. Sunuwar as an Endangered Language of Nepal - <i>Lal Rapacha</i>	89
8. The Cloze Test and Language Errors - <i>Jai R. Awasthi</i>	103
9. The Critical Period Hypothesis and Language Development - <i>Ram A. Giri</i>	124
10. Teaching English Writing at the Campus Level - <i>Phanindra Upadhyaya</i>	134
11. LSN Newsletter 1996-97	143

The Auxiliary Verb in Kathmandu Newari and Lhasa Tibetan

- Tej R. Kansakar*

The main aim of this paper is to provide a comparative survey of the various grammatical functions of the auxiliary verb in Kathmandu Newari (KN) and Lhasa Tibetan (LT). More specifically, the conjunct-disjunct system in KN and LT will be compared in the light of tense-aspect-modality distinctions in the two languages and the three parameters of old/new knowledge, volitionality and evidentiality as proposed by DeLancey (1985, 1986) for LT. The paper will thus focus on the three syntactic and semantic relations in KN and LT. Firstly, the information structure in the conjunct-disjunct system is explained as a cause-effect relationship which determines the choice of verbal auxiliaries. Secondly, LT makes a distinction in degrees of volition or control a verb may exhibit with first or second person subjects, but in KN the distinction is encoded in the presence or absence of the ergative marker and perhaps in the semantics of the verb. This suggests the need to analyse the transitivity of verbs in relation to ergative case as demonstrated by DeLancey (1984) in his discussion of the morpho-syntax of LT. Thirdly, we look at the evidential system to determine its effect on the verb marking in the two languages. In LT the evidential distinction is

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obligatorily marked in non-future and non-first person sentences, while the KN data reveals a cause-effect relation where the concept of volition is in fact a part of the evidentiality paradigm. This view supports Genetti's (1986) claim that the evidential contrast in Newari parallels the Lhasa system. Our data also shows that volition and direct knowledge of the actor's participation in an event is associated with the conjunct form, i.e. the three systems overlap in the conjunct form, but in the disjunct form they are distinct. Although the pragmatics of spoken or written discourse in Tibetan and Newari may be far more complex than what is envisaged in this short paper, it is suggested that studies of this kind could have typological significance among the Tibeto-Burma languages sharing the conjunct-disjunct system.

1. Introduction

This paper will attempt to provide a comparative survey of the various grammatical functions of the auxiliary verb in Kathmandu Newari (KN) and Lhasa Tibetan (LT). More specifically, the conjunct-disjunct system in KN and LT will be compared in the light of tense-aspect-modality distinctions in the two languages, and the three parameters of old/new knowledge, volitionality and evidentiality as proposed by DeLancey (1985,1986) for LT.

2. Information structure in the conjunct-disjunct system

The tense-aspect-modality system in Newari is based on *ju-/kha-* which are copular verbs, and *da-/ du-* and *co-* which

are existential verbs. The verbs *ju-* and *kha-* as copular verbs are equivalent to the English "be"

- (1) *nyAkva-to dosi ju-ye phvAt-am-nAna*
 buyer-also fault be-INF may-PST-PTP
 The buyer may be as guilty as (the seller).
- (2) *thathe ju:-gu kha-yA-va*
 like this happen-NOM is-PST-PTP
 Being true that it happened this way.

The existentials *da-/du-* and *co-* are equivalent to the English "have" or to "exist", and indicate possession, location, or existence.

- (3) *ji-ke cosA cha-pu du*

I-COM pen NUM-CLF have
 I have a pen.

- (4) *wae-ka amerikA-e du*

he-HON America-LOC is
 He is in America.

- (5) *lhAsA-e yekvo yA:-ta du*

Lhasa-LOC many yak-PLU are
 There are many yaks in Lhasa.

- (6) *pyAkhana so-syam cval-yam*

dance/drama see-PTP stay-IMPF
 Stayed watching the dance/drama.

When used as verbal auxiliaries, *ju-* and *kha-* have the same tense/aspect values, marking future and perfect tense aspect, and *da-* and *co-* mark the imperfective tense aspect. The fact that *da-/du-* and *co-* are imperfective tense/aspect markers may turn out to be significant. As will be seen later, these correspond to an old/new knowledge distinction. Given the nature of future and perfect aspects, it may not be possible however to have an old/new knowledge distinction in KN.

- (7) *ji newA: kha:*
I Newar is
I am a Newar.
- (8) *ji lhAsA won-A-gu kha*
I Lhasa go-PST-NOM is
It is true that I went to Lhasa.
- (9) *ji lhAsA won-e ten-A-gu kha*
I Lhasa go-INF about to-PST-NOM is
I am going to/about to go to Lhasa.
- (10) *cha jyA yAn-A con-a*
you work do-PST stay-PD
You are working.
- (11) *wa iskula-e Akha bvan-A con-a*
he school-LOC letters read-PST stay-PD
He is studying in school.

The auxiliaries *ju-*, *kha-* and *da-/du* however are not person indices like in Tibetan where *yin/yod* are conjunct forms associated with the first person, and *red/dug* are disjunct

forms associated with second and third persons. Consider the following examples from DeLancey (1992:45):

- (12) *nga(s) byed-kyi yin*

I-(ERG) do-IMPF NPC
I will do it.

- (13) *kho-s byed-kyi red*

you/he-ERG do-IMPF NPD
You/he will do it.

- (14) *nga-s thangka gel-gyi yod*

I-ERG thanka hang-IMPF NPC
I am hanging up a thanka.

- (15) *nga-r dngul tog-tsam yod*

I-DAT money some exist
I have some money.

- (16) *kho-r dngul tog-tsam dug*

he-DAT money some exit
He has some money.

The use of *dug-* in statements however is restricted to what DeLancey (1992:44) refers to as 'a fact which the speaker has only just discovered'. This is not strictly evidential but is an instance of a related semantic category sometimes called 'mirativity'. The distinction therefore goes beyond this parameter in Tibetan to include the old/new knowledge distinction. This distinction is shown by DeLancey to be not the source of the speaker's knowledge, or the relative certainty of the knowledge,

but the relative novelty of the information given. DeLancey also makes use of a causal chain of events to explain the choice of verbal auxiliaries:

CAUSE.....> EFFECT

In this chain of events, one begins with a cause and ends with a result. When the speaker is at the cause end of the chain, the information is old, and when one is at the result end it is new. The choice of auxiliaries then depends on where the speaker is in the chain of events. The conjunct form is chosen when the speaker is aware of an event being reported from its inception, while the disjunct form is chosen when the speaker is aware only of the direct knowledge of the result, i.e. the relatively novel information. In KN the use of *da-/du* does not by itself indicate mirativity as its existential status cannot express unexpected result without the combination of *con-a* which in the following examples functions as a progressive aspect auxiliary.

(17) a. *ji-ke cosa cha-pu du*

I-COM pen NUM-CLF have
I have a pen.

b. *ji-ke cosa cha-pu da-yA con-a*

I-COM pen NUM-CLF have- PST stay-NPD
I happen to have a pen.

c. *wa-ã A: nepAl lipi co-ye-gu bon-e-gu
sae-k-A*

he-ERG now Newari script write-INF-NOM read-INF-
NOM learn-CAUS-PST *con-a*
stay-NPD

He is now learning to write and read the Newari script.

The distinction between (17a) and (17b) is that (a) uses the existential *du-* to imply certainty that I have a pen (because I put it in my pocket), while (b) uses *da-* as a finite past and *con-* as an imperfective disjunct to express surprise in finding a pen in my pocket, and that I forgot I put it there. It therefore seems possible to have a conjunct-disjunct distinction marked in the copula verbs when they are used as finite lexical verbs. The third example (17c) implies that the speaker knows the subject has been learning the Newari script as he has seen him do this everyday perhaps for several months. The examples (17b) and (17c) both use the disjunct form of the verb *con-a* with 1st person and 3rd person subjects. This would perhaps illustrate that the old/new knowledge distinction overrides the expected conjunct/disjunct person associations. As suggested earlier, old information, regardless of the person of the subject, is associated with the conjunct form, and the new information with the disjunct form.

3. Volitionality in the auxiliary verbs

Another system we need to consider for the Newari and Tibetan verb auxiliary is the concept of volitionality. We know that LT makes a distinction in degrees of control a verb may exhibit; some verbs are semantically predicated for volition (control), and some for involition (inadvertance). When the subject is non-first person, the auxiliary verb does not encode a contrast in volition, as can be seen in the following examples (DeLancey) (1987:57).

(18) a *na-s dkaryol bcag-pa-yin*

I-ERG cup break-PERF/VOL

I broke the cup (deliberately).

b. *ña-s dkaryol bcag-son*

I-ERG cup break-PERF/NOVOL

I broke the cup (inadvertently).

c. *kho-s deb der bzag-son*

he-ERG book there put-PERF

He put the book there.

In the above examples the first person as subject has two contrasting sets of auxiliary verbs associated with the verbs of control or inadvertance. In Newari the contrast in volition and nonvolition do not seem to carry this syntactic or semantic distinction, as can be seen in the following examples:

(19) a *wa-ã jyA yAn-A con-a*

he-ERG work do-PST stay NPD

He is working.

b. *wa-ã jyA yA-i*

he-ERG work do-NPD

He will work.

c. *wa usAẽ ma-du /ma-da-yA con-a*

he health not-have/not-have-PST stay-NPD

He is ill./He is being ill.

Both the controlled and inadvertant events in (19a) and (19c) are marked with the disjunct verb *con-a* and the contrast in volition is encoded in the presence or absence of the ergative marker and perhaps in the semantics of the verb. DeLancey (1984) demonstrated the utility of analysing the transitivity of

verbs in relation to ergative case to describe the morphosyntax of LT. The distribution of ergative case applies to most two-argument clauses as well as single argument perfective clauses with volitional actors. The following examples for LT are from (DeLancey 1987: 64).

(20) a. *ña-s deb der bzag-pa-yin*

I-ERG book there put-PERF/VO

I put the book there.

b. *ña-s deb brlags-son*

I-ERG book lose-PERF

I lost the book.

c. *kho-s deb der bzag-son*

he-ERG book there put-PERF

He put the book there.

d. **kho-s deb der bzag-pa yin*

he-ERG book there put-PERF/VOL

The first person in (20a) and (20b) are both volitional but the volitionality markings in the verb differ in transitivity. As referred to earlier, the verbs of control are associated with the conjunct auxiliary forms *yod/yin*, and verbs of inadvertance are associated with the disjunct forms *dug/red*. The first person and non-first person subjects in (20b) and (20c) however are non-contrastive and hence ambiguous in volitionality. The perfective auxiliary *-son* (20c) however cannot be replaced by *-yin*, and (20d) for this reason is an unacceptable sequence. In KN the non-first person subject chooses the disjunct form regardless of whether the act is controlled or inadvertant, as illustrated in (19a) and (19c) above. A volitional event may also be related to our

previous discussion on cause and effect. The cause of a volitional event is a decision to perform an action. In a non-volitional event there is no conscious decision leading to the result. The agent of first person volitional event is aware of the cause and encodes this message with the choice of the conjunct form. In the case of an inadvertent event, cause is not known and the disjunct form is chosen.

4. Evidentiality

We next look at the evidential system to determine its effect on the verb marking in the two languages. The evidential distinction as it operates in LT is obligatorily marked in non-future, non-first person sentences:

- (21) a. *sonAm-gyis thangkha bkal-son*
 Sonam-ERG thangka hang-PERF/indirect
 Sonam hung up a thanka.
- b. *sonAm-gyis thangkha bkal-bA-red*
 Sonam-ERG thangka hang-PERF/indirect
 Sonam hung up a thanka.
- c. *sonAm-gyis thangkha bkal-gyi-(dug)*
 Sonam-ERG thangka hang-IMPERF/direct
 Sonam is hanging up a thanka.
- d. *sonAm-gyis thangka bkal-gyi-yod-pA-red*
 Sonam-ERG thangka hang-IMPERF/indirect
 Sonam s hanging up a thanka.

However, with first-person actor in a volitional clause, a third set of forms is used.

- e. *nga-s thangkha bkal-bA-yin*
 I-ERG thangka hang-PERF/VOL.
 I hung up a thanka.

This means that in the first person the contrast is in volition/non-volition, and in non-first person it marks an evidential contrast. There are no parallel contrastive markings on the verb in Newari to indicate evidentiality. It is however possible to show evidential differences in the following ways:

- (22) a. *ritA-Ã saphu: bõ-gu kha*
 Rita-ERG book read-NOM is (true)
 Rita read the book. (witnessed)
- b. *ritA-Ã saphu: bon-a*
 Rita-ERG book read -PD
 Rita read the book. (not witnessed)
- c. *rit-Ã saphu: bon-a hã*
 Rita-ERG book read-PD EVID.
 Rita read the book, I hear. (hearsay/inference)
- d. *ritA-Ã saphu: bõ-gu kha-i/ khae-phu*
 Rita-ERG book read-NOM be-NPD/Be-may
 Rita may have read the book. (possibility)

The first example (22a) can be used only if the speaker actually saw the subject reading the book; the second example (22b) if the speaker had heard the subject or third person mention the reading of the book but didn't actually see her reading it; the third example (22c) expresses hearsay or inference where the speaker concludes the subject's knowledge of the book as evidence of her reading, and the last example (22d) simply

implies possibility without any direct or indirect evidence. The evidential distinction between *bon-a* and *bon-a ha*; and *bo-gu kha*: and *bo-gu kha-i* can perhaps be described as a cause-effect schema in which events are seen to affect to resultant states. The use of *-kha*: codes direct knowledge of the causal event, and *-ha* implies indirect knowledge of the resultant state, from which the occurrence of the event can be reliably inferred. The concept of volition, discussed above, is in fact a part of the evidentiality paradigm encoding not only the nature of the volitional act, but also first-hand knowledge of the actor's participation in an event. This may imply that it is not possible to encode volition for a non-first person actor. The reason for this is that the non-first person actor has access only to the event or the resultant state, but not an understanding of volition. DeLancey (1986) notes that volition, by its very definition, can only be coded in first person: it is too far up the causal-effect chain to be accessible to anyone but the first person.

Genetti (1986) also claims that an evidential contrast in Newari parallels the Lhasa system and provides examples from the two perfective verbs *tal-* and *dhun(-k)-*. She rightly points out that *tal-* can be semantically extended to the durative 'keep' which however refers to inference from the resultant state rather than first-hand knowledge or witness of an event.

The present analysis could be extended to volitional/non-volitional, direct/indirect knowledge of certain aspect of the causal chain in both LT and KN. In the imperfective tense/aspect, the Tibetan auxiliaries *-pa-yin*, *-son*, and *-pa-red* correspond to *-gyi-yod*, *-gyi-dug* and *-gyi-yod-pa-red*. This is also the case with Newari *ju-*, *kha-* and *da-/du-*, *co-* where if the tense/aspect is imperfective it is not possible for the speaker to see

any evidential value for a resultant state. In the future aspect, there is a two-way volitional distinction *-gyi-yin*, *-gyi-red* in Tibetan and *da-/du* and *co-* in Newari.

5. Conclusions

The systems discussed here for Tibetan and Newari are meant to reflect a common system in which the speakers share the knowledge of the cause and effect of an event. They mark a distinction between what the speaker knows of the event being described, whether it is deliberately intended, or what has been the effect of the event. Thus LT through the use of auxiliaries encodes a causal chain of events in which the first person and non-first person are associated with direct and indirect knowledge of this chain of events. Our data show that volition, direct knowledge of the inception of an event, and old knowledge are associated with the conjunct form. The three systems, in other words, collapse in the conjunct form, i.e. the three systems are saying the same thing in the first person - I the speaker am aware of this event/information from its inception or its cause. This is expected given that in a normal situation only the first person, or the speaker, could have access to this end of the causal chain. All three systems, then, encode a common cognitive need to assign causes and effects to events. These systems we said overlap in the conjunct form, but in the disjunct form they are distinct. The pragmatics of spoken or written discourse in Tibetan and Newari however may be far more complex than what is envisaged in this short paper. But such studies can help to establish typological relationships among the Tibeto-Burman languages sharing the *c/d* system and in particular to understand the patterns or configuration of morphological forms and grammatical relations.

Thus far there has not been any consistent work on the typological or areal parameters such as word order, dative subject, ergativity, passivization, verb serialization and verb conjugation systems in the languages of Nepal. Hopefully, investigations of this kind can help to define Nepal as a subarea in South Asian linguistics (see Southworth 1974, Verma and Hill 1979 for interesting steps in this direction).

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Status of the Tibetan Language in Nepal*

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The recent constitution of Nepal (1991) has recognized (a) the Nepali language as the national and official language of Nepal (b) all other languages of Nepal as the national languages (c) every language community of the country has the right to mother tongue primary education and (d) every language enjoys the right to protect, preserve and develop its culture, language and scripts.

I

The Tibetan language in Nepal has occupied a special position although considered a minority language by the standard of number of its speakers. A native Nepali population of 121,819 (1991 Census) speaks this language. This population is distributed in remote areas of northern territory of the Himalayan ridges of valleys and highlands. This Tibetan speaking region extends from northwest district of Humla to stretching eastwards through districts of Mugu, Dolpa, Mustang, northern Manang, Gorkha, Rasuwa, Sindhupalchowk, Dolakha, Solukhumbu, Sankhuwa Sabha and Taplejung. (see the map on page-32)

* This paper was presented at the National Seminar on Tibetan Studies in Beijing, August, 1997.

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These Tibetan speaking native people are not a homogeneous group, but are a number of relatively distinct communities (Charles Ramble, 1986). They speak speeches with geographical variations but linguistically Tibetan which sometimes are mutually incomprehensible bearing local names as Limi in Humla, Lo in Mustang, Sherpa in Helembu and Solukhumbu, Lhomi in Sankhuwasabha and Lhoke in Taplejung. Placed in really remote and difficult geographical areas, isolated by mountain terrain, rivers and villages, inaccessible by transport and communications, it is not impossible over the years to develop geographical variations in speech and ways of life of these people. But culturally, ethnically and linguistically they are Tibetans. Life is most difficult for them due to harsh climate, very little of land where they live in suitable for sustainable agriculture, so many of them are pastoral nomads.

A little explanation about Sherpas is relevant here. In Nepal, Sherpa is given status of a language. The census of 1991 gives 121,819 speakers under the heading of Sherpa. Sherpa represented all other Tibetan species. In fact, linguistically Sherpa is a variation of Tibetan. This census neglect, is a linguistic mistake. Sherpas have become a distinct community than others because of socio and cultural change in them. They are most exposed, enterprising, and have proved good sturdy mountaineers. Participation in foreign mountain expeditions has been their main occupation. They opened up shops, motels and lodges all along the tourist routes and many of them are doing successful business in mountain trekking and travel agencies. Money has given them exposure, education, aspirations for socialization. They have diverged from other mountain Tibetan speaking people. Sherpa as a language is one of those, classified

for mother tongue primary education and is lucky enough to be chosen for radio broadcast in Nepal Radio for news since 1996.

During the middle ages (11 to 14 century), a powerful Khasa Kingdom emerged in the western Nepal which extended as far as Kumaon and Garhwal (India) in the west to Trishuli river (near Kathmandu) in the east, and a portion of Southern West. Tibet was also included in it. It had very good relations with Tibet. Tibetan chronicles mention that earlier kings of this kingdom had descended from Tibetan ancestors (Adhikari, S.M. 1988). Trade routes were active which were frequented by traders and pilgrims to and fro Tibet and India. Buddhism was the court religion of the Khasas (Adhikari, S.M. 1988).

As recent as 1991, the government of Nepal neglects to mention Tibetan in its Census Report. When the Khasa Kings had used Tibetan as an official language. Copperplates of the time of Aditya Malla (1321-28) and Punya Malla (1328-37) have been found where government decrees are inscribed in Nepali and Tibetan both. Tibetan chronicles of the Khasa rulers written in the Tibetan language are still available in some monasteries of Western Tibet. They are published by G. Tucci, A.H. France, and S.C. Das (Adhikari, S.M. 1988). If these documents could be made available to Nepalese scholars now, one might have access to more important information on the influence of Tibet in Nepal and vice-versa. This is one of the views expressed by those Nepali scholars who are interested in Tibetan studies.

The Tibetan language enjoys a unique status. It is a language with a long history, autonomy, a rich written heritage

and speakers spread over a large part of China, Nepal, India*. In Nepal it has been classified as a language of religion and culture (Subba 74, Bandhu 94) of a bulk of people of Nepal, although small in population number. Buddhism is the foundation for adopting standard Tibetan for reading and writing. Even Tamangs, Thakalis and Gurungs, who are mountain people living at lower slopes and valleys of the remote areas mentioned above, use Tibetan for religious ceremonies. Their speeches, in cognates and tones very much similar, have been classified in Nepal as independent languages. Shafer (1967) established Gurung, Tamang, and Thakali languages having connections to Tibetan (see Glover, W.W. 1973). Basically, these people are Buddhists and as such use standard Tibetan for religious ceremonies. Tibetan emerged as a cultural language representing a Buddhist people in Nepal who may be divergent small groups but are native people of Nepal and not outsiders. Their identity is protected by the Tibetan language, cultural and religious beliefs.

Monasteries situated all over the remote habitats of these people are the real pillars of foundation and domains of cultural and linguistic identity of these people. Tibetan has never been a school subject in schools of Nepal. But the Tibetan monastic education has been in existence for centuries much earlier than the formal education system was introduced in Nepal only after 1950. Along with other important subjects monks and nuns were given solid education in language and grammar (Dungkar

* R. Bielmeir in his paper "The Tibetan Dialect of Mustang" for Nepal German Seminar on High Mountain Archaeology, September 1997, has used the term Linguistic Tibet to convey the notion of vast geographical regions beyond Tibet where Tibetan is spoken.

Lobzong Tinley 1993). Literacy in Tibetan language has been remarkable, unfortunately, which was never considered in any literacy accounts of Nepal.

David L. Snellgrove in his *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, a study of Tibetan Religion, in 1961 gives a vivid account of monasteries he visited in the Karnali and the Gandaki regions. (Nepal is a land of three mountain river basins, the Karnali in the west, the Gandaki in the middle and the Koshi in the east) specially in Dolpa, Mustang, Manang and Gorkha. He describes the beauty and rarity of frescoes, paintings, thankas, carvings, images, art and architecture and rare books piled up in these monasteries.

During the process of gathering information on monasteries of Nepal, I had long dialogues with K.L. Thakali, the member secretary of the Monastery Management and Development Committee under the Ministry of Local Development, H.M.G, Nepal constituted in 1988. Thakali, during his study tour of monasteries, found three categories of them in the Himalayan region of Nepal:

Grade A located in Mustang (Thu-Chhen Gamba, Jyampa Gomba, Chhyoti Gomba), Dolpa (Shey-Gomba, see Snellgrove) Humla (Rinjhingli Gomba) and Dolakha (Lapche Gomba). They are old and historical.*

Grade B located in Manang (Bodzo Gomba, see Snellgrove) Gorkha (Ra-Chhen Gomba-see Snellgrove). Sindhupalchok (Bagang Gomba) Solukhumbu (Thame Gopmba) and Taplejung (Walung Gomba). They are socio-culturally important.

* This statement is debatable as different scholars have given different names of the monasteries which are described as oldest or largest.

Grade C representing all new and numerous monasteries mostly concentrated in Kathmandu which have everything money could lend, like glaze and glitter but no history. Thakali tells us he was bewildered to see the oldness, aloofness and somberness of these remote monasteries. They are not only places of religious devotion, he says, they are real centers of learning, libraries (containing rare Buddhist scriptures of Tanjure and Kanjure and other books), exhibitions of frescoes and paintings, thankas, images, objects of rare arts and artifacts. In fact, he says, these monasteries are living museums of great value to the nation. Learned monks used to live there, who went to Tibet for higher studies. Monastic education is still in practice in most of the old and new monasteries. So, the principal domain of use of the Tibetan language has been these monasteries. These teacher-monks visited India for pilgrimage and studies of Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit. Ringjing Lin Gomba of Humla, which is the oldest, still has the evidence of the Magadhan (Magadh happened to be the origin of Buddhist rulers in India) impressions in its appearance which shows the contact of these Buddhist people of Nepal with India and Tibet, (Thakali).

Nepali has been the only language of primary education (mother tongue education is still in initial process of implementation). All those Tibetan-speaking children who have access to schools take their education in the Nepali language as a medium of teaching and textbooks. But Tibetan has been introduced only since 1972 in the Campus of International Languages Campus as one of the subjects and as a subject of research in the (CNAS) of Tribhuvan University. In order to integrate remote Tibetan-speaking population into the national

mainstream, every year village elites, mostly monks, were brought to the capital and taken around to acquaint them with the history and culture of the country. This was sponsored by the Remote Area Development Wing of the Home Ministry. This wing looks after the welfare of remote areas. A Tibetan Press was established to print socially relevant messages, Royal, historical and literary biographies and some world affairs. This Tibetan Press products aimed at creating national awareness among these remote people. The Monastery Management Committee and the Remote Area Development Wing still exist but one does not hear anything about their functions.

Regrettably, all good practices have short lives. No persistent efforts in the line of the original thinking of these committees have been in operation in order to be integrated into the overall national development schemes. Such good and docile people continue to live in oblivion with a past but no future.

Socio-economic life of these people remain as it has ever been which offers no challenges for the expansion of their speech except for bilingualism in Nepali in restricted domains of distant schools and distant government offices where Nepali is needed for social communication. The condition of their living is isolated settlements so domains of Nepali use are restricted.

It is noticed that trade in Tibetan borders and in these remote areas is smooth if one knows Tibetan. So, in a way, in border passes, and these areas Tibetan has become a trade language (see Table - 1 on page 30).

II

This section of the paper deals with Tibetan refugees which refer to those refugees who have left their native homes

after 1959, and those who have been born and brought up in exile and their families. Many of them are of second generations born in Nepal and have never seen Tibet. Major concentrations of Tibetan refugees are found in India and next in Nepal. In Nepal, these refugees are of two kinds. One kind of those who have been registered in the records of the Home Ministry of the Nepali Government and those who have left Tibet and have settled in Nepal unregistered and unrecorded and do not live in refugee camps, yet they are known as refugees. Obviously, they have brought money with them so that they can live privately. Some of them have brought properties like land and houses and have started big business, some are engaged in some kind of enterprises like carpet industry, curio shops, restaurants, carpetshops and shops of Tibetan goods and wool spinning factories.

The Tibetan Refugee camps are established at places like Swayambhu, Bouddha and Jawalakhel in Kathmandu, Tashi Palkhiel and Tashiling in Pokhara, Jampaling in Tanahun, Dhorpatan in Baglung, Tserolk in Mustang, Shabruk in Rasuwa, Tsoshan in Dolakha, Chialsa in Solokhumbhu, Walung in Taplejung and Chandipokhari in Nuwakot (see the map on page 32).

The Home Ministry of Nepal shows 12,488 Tibetan refugees in Nepal. A Report on International Migration in Nepal done by the Ministry of Population and Environment (1996) mentions some 13,000 Tibetan refugees are said to have entered Nepal. But according to one estimate more than 25,000 unregistered Tibetans are already in Nepal*. Tibetans from Tibet

* Recently, there are 6 million Tibetans in China, 100,000 in India, 2,500 in Nepal, 2,000 in Bhutan, 2,000 in

and India continue to come and settle down in Nepal all the time since 1959. Some of them have also been Nepali citizenship and some of them would prefer to call themselves Sherpas of Nepal (Source: Oral information). Tibetan style houses are not uncommon to be seen now in Kathmandu. If one asks: Who is the owner of this big house ? Tibetan is the answer and one can identify the owner as poles with colourful flags are found in the close vicinity of such houses. Big new monasteries around Swayambhu and Bouddha in Kathmandu have been built. Monastic schools have also been running where young monks are also taken from Tibetan speaking regions of Nepal.

The case of Tibetan refugees has been different from those native Tibetans. Threatened by insecurity and sense of not belonging, these refugees had only two options. Either try to go back where you belong or do the best of what you have, and they have done the best of what they have, like exploring opportunities to improve their social economic conditions. Return to native land remains there. Motivation to work hard to give your children what you never had in homeland like formal education which gives you a breakthrough in life, has been quite strong. Schools have been opened, mostly funded by foreign donors. Free education is provided to most of the refugee children. Even monastic schools are there. Formal schools have adopted curricula approved by the Ministry of Education, Nepal. Languages (Tibetan, Nepali, English) and history, geography, science, maths, social studies are taught in Tibetan medium schools by qualified Tibetan teachers from Dharmasala, India,

Switzerland, 1,500 in U.S.A. and 600 in Canada. (Source: Newsweek October 13, '97)

and sometimes from Nepal and teachers training projects are also conducted with a view to produce qualified teachers from among their own community. Some of the teachers have been educated and trained outside India and Nepal. Text-books on different subjects are prepared by the Ministry of Education of Dalai Lama Exile Government.

There are 14 schools from Kindergarten to Higher Secondary which employ 123 teachers and have 2,580 students. Seven schools are funded by Snow Lion Foundation, five schools depend on fees collection, 245 students receive scholarships from Dharamsala's Department of Education, and 145 have been sponsored by individuals. (See the Table - 2 on page 31)

Snow Lion Foundation: This foundation has done remarkable job to help the Tibetan refugees by introducing projects which aim at uplifting the socio-economic life of the refugees. It began with a small programme sponsored by the Swiss Association for Technical Assistance (SATA) in 1972 to take care of the health, education and social welfare of four Tibetan refugee settlements, subsequently it came to be known as Snow Lion Foundation. It is funded by Dharamsala, U.K., aids to Tibetans by Germany U.S.A., Switzerland, American Himalayan foundation and it has individual private donors and supporters. It is governed by a secretariat of six full-time staff and a seven-member Executive Committee. There are representatives from the Dalai Lama, Ministry of Home Affairs, HMG, Nepal, Swiss Development Cooperation (previously known as SATA), Red Cross, Nepal and representatives from different refugee camps. Today, this SL Foundation operates

effective projects concerning running schools, health clinics, teachers training programmes and drinking water projects. These projects seem to have positive results. Higher secondary schools are running so well that even Nepali citizens have tried to admit their children. (No exact information on this).

Economically, Tibetan refugees are self-reliant. Since Tibetans, as non-citizens, do not qualify for jobs in the public sectors in Nepal, they create their jobs by business enterprises (Chhetri, R.B. 1991). Chhetri further states that Tibetan refugees have given the host country skills of carpet industry and producing woollen products, recognizing the prospect of raw wool import from Tibet and spinning wool. So many Nepalese have gained economic support from the business ventures of refugees.

Socially, Tibetan refugees have never been in any way unwanted elements in the host society. They are hardworking good people, minding their own business, never indulging in antisocial activities. In fact, economically some of them are far better than most Nepalese. Socio-economic changes have caused fast socialization of Tibetan refugees in the host society. Education has given them new dimensions of exposure and confidence.

At the other side, refugees wish to continue monastic education tradition giving one child to a monastery. Chhetri in his study on refugees states that religious orientation is strong even among the refugees even in a socio-culturally changing set-up. More than 70% of the Tibetan in exile (the focus of this study was Pokhara refugees) wish to continue monastic tradition and practice because it is "a primary marker of Tibetann".

Older generation refugees have loyalty to their traditions and practices, the younger generation seems to have no orthodox views. Feelings of group solidarity are present in them which are evident from the enthusiasm they show for religious or social festivals. But they are more dynamic and practical. A young Tibetan refugee who runs a carpet shop told me they (he and his friends) view life for future and future lies in how best they can handle their present. They gain little if they cling to the past. (He was talking in Nepali with future, present, past words in English).

Young and economically well-off refugees have a tendency to look towards the west. Very few see Nepal as their next homeland. They seem indifferent to Nepalese political and economic situations. When asked if their business has suffered in anyway for all the political changes and new policies, they gave very indifferent answer: "a little". That is all. They acquire three languages in schools and homes - Tibetan, Nepali and English. They learn standard Tibetan in schools which is used for group identity. Nepali is for socialisation but English is the prestige language for international openings.

In spite of all these, all of them wish to maintain loyalty for Tibetan because it is the symbol of their group identity.

Tibetan bookshops and shops which sell things specially Tibetan tea, butter, dried meat and Chinese goods are everywhere in places like Bauddha, and Thamel. Magazines and journals in Tibetan are on sale counters. Young refugees involve in activities like youth congress, women's organisation and theater group, but how actively we do not know.

Behind all these stands their religion firm, stable and dominant. Their faith in their religion is strong and this religion is the principal domain of their language. All new monasteries have been symbol of their existence in homes away from homes. The Tibetan language as the medium of new education, textbooks, published materials and written communication is certainly different from the variety used for religious purpose.

Spoken Tibetan of the refugees must suffer influence of other language contact specially Nepali, and written Tibetan has met challenges for expansion and cultivation. One likes to know if new registers in the language have emerged specially in the area of administration, education and communication. Study of such aspects of the Tibetan language in the present context of socio-economic and cultural changes could be of immense linguistic interest.

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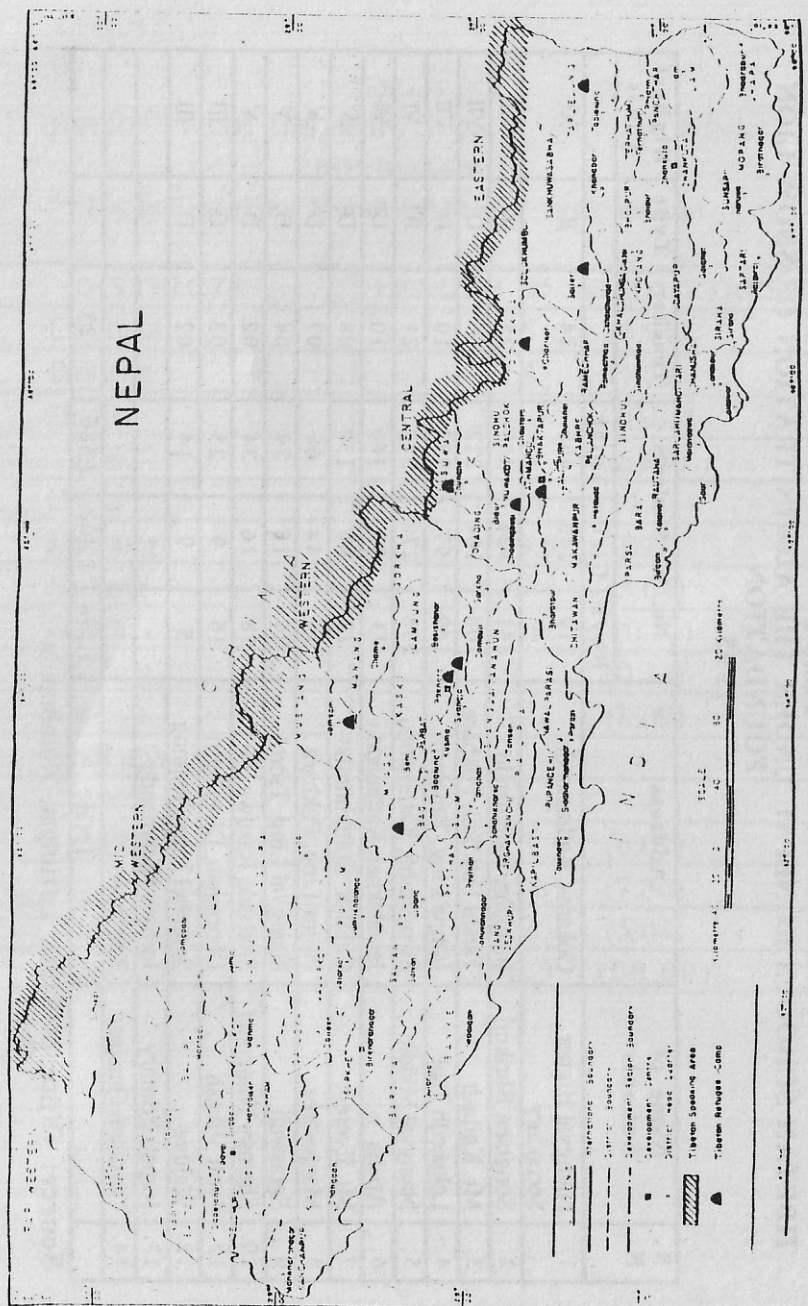
Table 1
DISTRICTWISE DISTRIBUTION OF NEPAL-CHINA
BOUNDARY
 (as indicated by boundary line of 1982 Treaty)

DISTRICTS		LENGTH (IN KILOMETRES)	
1.	Darchula	26.5	(1.91)
2.	Bajhang	24.8	(1.79)
3.	Humla	258.0	(18.61)
4.	Mugu	70.6	(5.09)
5.	Dolpa	161.9	(11.68)
6.	Mustang	123.6	(091)
7.	Manang	42.1	(3.04)
8.	Gorkha	140.1	(10.11)
9.	Dhading	1.9	(0.14)
10.	Rasuwa	112.2	(8.09)
11.	Sindhupalchowk	-	-
12.	Dolakha	-	-
13.	Solukhumbu	83.3	(6.01)
14.	Sankhuwasabha	104.8	(7.56)
15.	Taplejung	69.9	(5.04)
Total		1386.3	(100.00)

Table 2
TIBETAN SCHOOLS IN NEPAL UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF SNOW LION
FOUNDATION
 1995

S. N.	Name of Schools	Address	No. of Students			Teacher	Type	Highest Class
			Boys	Girls	Total			
1.	Nangyal Higher Secondary	Gokarna, Kathamandu	219	246	465	24	B	XI
2.	Songtsen Bhrikuti	Bauddha, Kathamandu	341	324	665	23	B	VIII
3.	Mt. Kailash	Tarshi Palkhiel, Pokhara	108	104	212	9	D	VII
4.	Lekshedh Tsal	Jampa Ling, Tanahun	140	97	237	10	D	VII
5.	Nangyal Middle	Swoyambu, Kathamandu	238	279	517	21	B	VI
6.	Atisha	Jawalakhel, Kathamandu	73	93	166	10	D	VI
7.	Mt. Everest	Chialsa, Solukhumbu	72	66	138	08	D	V
8.	Mangushree	Paljor Ling, Pokhara	24	44	68	07	D	V
9.	Saraswati	Nangyal Ling, Tserok	24	15	39	04	D	V
10.	Shamay Wangphel	Shabruk, Rasuwa	18	16	34	02	D	V
11.	Jyoti Vikash	Dhorpatan, Dhaulagiri	16	9	25	03	D	III
12.	Walung	Samphel Ling, Walung	5	9	14	02	D	III
13.	Jorpati Primary	Jorpati, Kathamandu	-	-	-	-	-	-
14.	Germaan Gmeinar	Kathamandu	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total			1,278	1,302	2,580	123		

Source: Office of Tibet, Lazimpat, Kathamandu



On the Constituency of Maithili Infinitivals¹

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In generative theories of grammar there has been a good deal of controversy about the formal status of infinitival constructions in a sentence. Some linguists (including Chomsky) argue that infinitivals are clauses, while others (including Bresnan) maintain that they are some kind of a verb phrase. In this paper we analyze the infinitivals in Maithili and suggest on the basis of the data in the language that infinitivals be treated as a verb phrase rather than as a clause¹.

1. The Phenomenon

Consider the following paradigm of the non-finite verb forms in Maithili:

Categories	Non-Finite Verbal Forms		
	'write'	'eat'	'wash'
1. Infinitive	<i>likh-ab</i>	<i>khaa-eb</i>	<i>dho-eb</i>
2. Gerund	<i>likh-naai</i>	<i>khe-naai</i>	<i>dho-naai</i>
3. Present Participle	<i>likh-ait</i>	<i>khaa-it</i>	<i>dho-it</i>
4. Past Participle	<i>likh-al</i>	<i>khae-l</i>	<i>dho-el</i>

Table: Inflectional Categories of Maithili Non-finite Verbs

As indicated in the table above, the principal non-finite forms of Maithili verbs include infinitive, gerund, present and past participles. As

mentioned above, this paper is addressed to only one of these forms, viz. infinitive.

A Maithili infinitive consists of a verbal stem normally suffixed with (i) *-eb* if the stem ends with *a* or *o* and (ii) *-ab* elsewhere (R.Yadav, 1996). Besides, it also takes oblique forms when it is followed by case particles or postpositions.

Though it is basically a verbal form, it partially overlaps with other grammatical forms --- a phenomenon common to several NIA languages (Masica, 1991:323). For example, the *-ab/-eb* form in Maithili can function as a finite verb, noun or agentive adjective, as exemplified in (1 - 3):

- (1) a. ham kitaab likh-ab
 I book write-Fut.1 "I'll write a book."
 b. ahaa ① kitaab likh-ab "You'll write a book."
 c. tu ① kitaab likh-bae
 d. to ① kitaab likh-bah

To serve its nominal functions, Maithili infinitives may occur as subject or object, take an oblique form + a case particle and be used as a complement to a postposition, as shown in (2-5), respectively:

- (2) saber uth-ab nik aadat thik.
 early to rise good habit is "To rise early is a good habit."
 (3) raam saber uth-ab pasand karait aich.
 Ram early to rise like- Pres. 3nh "Ram likes to rise early."
 (4) a. hari pujaa kar-ae-ke nahi maan-l-ak
 Hari worship-Inf.-Obj. not accept-Pt.-3nh "Hari refused to worship."
 b. mohan-ke ① khet jot-baa-k/ ai-k nik nahi lagait aich
 Mohan-Obj. field plough-Inf.-Gen. good not feel- Imp. Pres. 3nh
 "Mohan does not like ploughing field."
 (5) a. raam sut- b- aak/ai-lel uth-al
 Ram sleep-Inf.-Postp. rise-Pt. "Ram got up to sleep."
 b. raam kaaj kar-ai-me biswaas kar-ait aich
 Ram work do-Inf.-Postp. believe- Imp. pres. 3nh "Ram believes in doing work."

c. ahaa ① okraa hardam daa ① t-ai-par rahait ch-iai.
 you him always scold-Inf.-Postp. keep on- Imp. Pres. 2h
 "You keep on scolding him."

In addition, the infinitival constructions in Maithili have distributional similarity with nouns including gerundives:

- (6) raam-ke ① kitaab nik lag-ait ch-ainh
 tahal-ab
 to walk
 tahal-naai
 walking

Apart from nominal functions, Maithili infinitives may also overlap with adjectival functions. This is a regular secondary nominal formation (usually from the oblique infinitives) of an agentive adjective > Noun, e.g.

- (7) i kaaj kar-ai- valaa (aadmi) nahi chai
 this work-Inf.-Ag. (man) not is
 "This is not (a man) to work."

This also functions as a "prospective Participle" ('about to V'):

- (8) aai raam aa- bai-valaa chai
 today Ram come-Inf.-PP is
 "Today Ram is about to come."

2. Constituency

Finite and infinitival constructions are parallel with regards to their distribution in the complement position of a complex NP. This is exemplified in the following examples:

- (9) a. [NP [S- hari apan jamin bech-at] [N se baat]] jhuth aich
 Hari self land sell- Pt.3nh this fact false is
 b. [NP [N hari-k apan jamin bech-baak] [N baat]] jhuth aich
 "The fact that Hari sold his land is false."
 (10) a. raam [NP [S- hari apan jamin bech-lak] [N se baat]] kah-lak
 b. raam [NP [N hari-k apan jamin bech-baak] [N baat]] kah-lak
 "Ram told the fact that Hari sold his land."

Despite of their distributional similarity, finite and infinitival complements differ not only in their inflections but also in their constituent status. At this point, it seems to be in order to refer to what various linguists have to say about the status of infinitival in general. Linguists are divided into two schools at this issue. Some of them claim that infinitival are clauses, i.e. S's, with phonologically-null complementizer and subject designated as *e* (Chomsky, 1980, 1981, 1982a, 1982b; Koster & May, 1982). Thus, *to leave* in (11a) can be analyzed as in (11b):

(11) a. John tried to leave.

b. John tried [_S [_{COMP} *e*] [_S [_{NP} *e*] to leave]]

Others propose that infinitivals are some kind of verb phrases designated as VP', as shown below (Cf. Bresnan, 1971, 1978; Brame, 1976; Gazdar, 1981 and Dasgupta, 1980, 1982):

(11') John tried [_{VP} to [leave]]

If so, then the fact that these constructions do not have (lexically overt) complementizer and subject obviously follows from their VP'-hypothesis. In this section we show how the facts about Maithili infinitivals support the VP'-hypothesis.

3. Arguments against the S'-Analysis of Maithili Infinitivals

3.1 Intraclausal and Interclausal Movement Rules

The fact that extraction out of infinitival complements involves intraclausal rules like Focussing establishes that they are not clauses:

(12) a. hari ghar bec-baak-lel caah-ait aich

Hari house sell-Inf.-Postp. want-Imp. be-Pres3nh

" Hari wants to sell a house."

b. ghar hari bec-baak-lel caah-ait aich

" Hari wants to sell the house (and not anything else)."

If they were clauses, Focussing would not derive the acceptable structure in (12b). On the contrary, we would expect the extraction in question to involve interclausal Focussing, whereby the NP *ghar* is moved to the [_{NP} *e*]-*da* position within the matrix F, an optional

resumptive pronoun is left behind. But this move is not permitted, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (13):

(13) *ghar-da hari bec-baak-lel caah-ait aich

Such a move is, however, quite acceptable in the case of an extraction from a finite clause:

(13') ghar-da hari caah-ait aich je bec-ab

3.2 Scrambling

Another test to determine whether Maithili infinitives are clauses or not is to apply the intraclausal stylistic rule of Scrambling. Consider the following structure:

(14) a. raam i baat kaailh kah-l-ak je kitaab bazaar-me nahi bhetai

Ram this fact yesterday say-Pt.3nh that book market-in not available was

" As for Ram, he said this fact yesterday that the book was not available in the market."

b. * raam i baat kitaab kah-lak je kaailh bazaar-me nahi bhetai.

(15) a. raam hari-ke sut-ai-baak-lel gel aich

Ram Hari-Acc. sleep-Caus.-Inf.-Postp. went

b. sut-ai-baak-lel raam hari-ke gel aich

The structure in (14b) is ruled out since elements from two clauses (matrix and embedded clauses) are permuted. But in (15b) Scrambling permits the permutation of elements from the matrix clause and the embedded infinitival. It follows then that infinitivals are not clauses in Maithili.

3.3 Subjacency

If infinitivals are assumed to have clausal status, then we would find the following asymmetry between leftward and rightward movement rules: rightward movement rules do not observe subjacency, while leftward movement rules do. Consider Extraposition from NP (a rightward movement rule), illustrated by the structures in (16):

(16) a. mohan ahaa-ke [_α ... [_{NP} [_S ... hari ghar jaet] [_{NP} se/i (baat) kah-baak-lel] ael aich

Mohan you-Acc. Hari home go-Fut. that fact say-Inf.-Postp.
come-Perf. Pres3nh

"Mohan has come to tell you the fact that Hari will go home."

b. mohan ahaa ①-ke [α ...[NP t_i se/i baat kah-baak-lel] ael aich [S'' je hari ghar jaet].

If α in (16) is taken to be S'' , then the moved phrase crosses two bounding nodes, viz. NP and S'' , resulting in the violation of the Subjacency Condition. But if α is taken to be a VP, a non-clausal phrase, the application of the Extraposition from NP does not pose any problem for the Subjacency Condition, since it has to cross only one bounding node, viz. NP. Thus the non-clausal analysis of infinitivals resolves a potential asymmetry between the two kinds of movement rules with respect to subjacency and is more highly valued from theoretical point of view.

To sum up, we have analyzed infinitival constructions in Maithili and discovered a number of reasons why they cannot be treated as clauses. Instead, we treat them as VP-adjuncts, i.e. internal VP's dominated by higher VPs as shown below:

(17) VP \rightarrow (AP*) (NP) (NP) (VP') V

There is a reason to consider them VP's; namely, infinitivals and VPs inside finite clauses have the same form as in (17). The difference between them is that the V in an infinitival is inflected with an infinitive marker (*eb, ab* or oblique), while the V in a finite clause inflects for tense, person and/or gender of one or more arguments.

Notes

¹ I would like to thank K.A. Jayaseelan and P. Dasgupta for their insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. It was presented at the 17th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held in Kathmandu on November 26 and 27, 1996.

² See Yadava(1983) for an earlier version of infinitivals in Maithili.

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GENDER SYSTEM IN NEPALI

- Madhav P. Pokharel*

1. Literature Survey

Grierson (1916: IV: 23) writes that there are two genders-masculine and feminine and that the distinction of gender is purely sexual; nouns indicating females, and these only are feminine, all others are masculine. "This method of expressing gender is no doubt due to the influence of surrounding Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal." Dahal (1974: 166-8) has classed nouns as human and non-human in one parameter and countable and continue in another. He has classed nouns on the ground of concord. He has also given concordial relationship of modifiers and verbs with noun (pp. 583-5). Under the heading of concord, he has given a structural analysis of verb inflection and displayed the concord of honorific. Sthapit (1978:40-3) has also classed nouns on concord and has showed six types of concords. He has also treated honorific separately. Under the heading of gender, Sathapit writes: "Among personal pronouns only III sg NonHon pronouns make gender distinctions (non-feminine Vs feminine) which is based primarily on pronoun (as sub) - verb agreement." He has also treated adjectival and adverbial classifiers respectively. For all of them distinction of gender is only sexual. Nobody has till now treated all kinds of concordial system and

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noun classifiers under the common semantic heading of gender or noun class or classifiers (cf. Dixon 1982:157).

2. Scope of the paper

This paper presents that Nepali has both concordial system characteristic of Indo-European and numeral classifier system characteristic of Sino-Tibetan and Austro-asiatic languages. In that sense, typologically Nepali gender is similar to Yagua, a language of northeastern Peru (cf. Payne 1986) which shows features of both prototypical numeral classifier system and a concordial system. Difference between Io and other Central Tai languages and Nepali is that they are basically South East Asian languages, and have introduced gender into the classifier system (DeLancey 1986), but Nepali is basically an Indo-European language of concordial system but it has mixed numeral classifier system into it. Besides that, there will be an attempt to give counterexamples to Language Universals from Nepali data for studies by Greenberg (1972, 1974), Adams and Conklin (1973), Denny (1976), Allan (1977), Dixon (1982, 1986) and Craig (1986).

3. Noun Classes and Classifiers

The criterion of noun class (Dixon 1982: 163-4) is that "any language which contains some pronominal reference to subject, object or both, where there is more than a single affix with third person reference (in either singular or plural or both) has noun classes." According to Dixon (1986) (i) Noun classes involve a grouping of all the nouns of a language into a smallish number of classes (usually 2 to 20). Noun classifiers number from about 20 to 400; (ii) Noun classes always constitute a closed grammatical

system while "Noun classifiers are always free forms"; (iii) Marking of noun class is never entirely within the noun word. If a noun indicates class by an affix on itself, then this affix will also apply concordially to some other words in the sentence, "there is never any reference to classifiers outside the NP".

In spite of these differences, Dixon continues, "Noun class (gender) systems and sets of noun classifiers each provide the means or categorization of an object in terms of relevant parameters of world-view. They do essentially the same semantic task although they do approach it in rather different ways, noun classes operating in terms of an obligatory morphological system constituting a largish set of lexical items, in syntactic construction with the noun head".

In this paper following Lakoff (1986)'s cognitive function of classifiers in a particular language, and research findings of especially Greenberg (1972, 1974), Adams and Conklin (1973), Denny (1976), Allan (1977), Dixon (1982) and Craig (1986), both noun classes and classifiers of Nepali are to be described on the description models of Allan (1977), Dixon (1986), and Lakoff (1986).

4. Nepali Noun Classes

4.1. Basis: Pronoun Substitution: On the basis of pronoun substitution (cf. Dixon 1982:163-4) the total set of Nepali nouns can be classed into human and non-human. Humans are generally substituted with the pronoun **ko** 'who' (interrogative) and its relative counterpart **jo**, while non-humans are substituted with **ke** 'what' (interrogative) and its relative counterpart **je**. This fits into the criteria of noun classes set by Dixon (1982) stated above.

However, within the human class there are certain anomalies: new born babies and children are substituted with **ke** (non-human) not with **ko** (human). e.g.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| 1. | ko | Ayo ? | keTo | Ayo | keTi. | Ai. |
| | who | came | boy | came | girl | came |
| 2. | ke | Ayo ? | gAi | Ayo. | keTo | Ayo. |
| | what | came | cow | came | boy | came |
| 3. | sitA-le | ke | pAi ? | choro | pAi. | |
| | Sita-ERG | what | begot | son | begot | |
| 4. | sitA-le | ke | pAi ? | kitAb | pAi. | |
| | Sita-ERG | what | begot | book | begot | |

Human and non-human classes are reflected in plurality also (see below). Only these four pronouns show gender distinctions. Rest of the pronouns do not show gender at all. Reduplication is the process of changing these pronouns into plural. Human gender shows plural marker with plural verb, while the non-human gender does not show corresponding plural morpheme in verbs. e.g.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|----------|------|-----|------------|------|-------------|------|
| 5. | ko-ko | Ae ? | keTA | ra | keTi | Ae. | gAi-bhai-si | Ae. |
| | who-who | came-sg. | boy | and | girl | came | cow-buffalo | came |
| 6. | dAl | | bhAt | | tarkAri | | Ayo. | |
| | lentil | | rice | | vegetables | | came | |

Lakoff's principles of categorization (Lakoff 1986) helps to explain some of the anomalies here. While worshipping the cow people say :

7. ke	Ain ?	gAi	Ain.
what	came-FEM-sg-HON	cow	came-FEM-HON-sg

Even now though they use human verb morphology pronoun is the same in case with non-human culture-specific divine objects like cow (still **ke**). But in cases of giving honour to children on the ground of various sociolinguistic variables a child is substituted with **ko** but still the new born baby takes only **ke**.

8. ko	Aunubhayo ? :	dewar
who	came-HGH	women's brother-in-law
9. ke	janmanubhayo ? :	dewar
what	is-born	women's brother-in-law

However, to refer it to another baby **ko** is used. e.g.

10.	yo	ko	ho ?
	this	who	is

4.2. Basis : Concord: The total combination of matrices of concord between noun head and its modifier on the one hand and between subject noun and finite verb on the other make up the overall system of noun classes in Nepali.

4.2.1 Human

In the human axis two parameters of honour and sex and in the non-human axis three parameters namely animation, countability and unit vs collection are essential for the description of concordial set. Linguistic reflection of social or graded honorific distinction is the areal feature of South-east Asia and so native to Sino-Tibetan and Tai languages like the languages of S. China, N. Burma, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand: (cf, Erbaugh

1986 and DeLancey 1986). Even in Jacaltec, a Meso-American language "a multidimensional organization with a hierarchical axis of interaction of humans with the powers" (Craig 1986) is found. Honorific gender is the characteristic of numeral classifier languages. But when Nepali introduced classifiers it affected not in the classifier system but in the concordial system.

In Sanskrit the general rule of honorific is the use of plural morphemes. In case of second person, there is the possibility of both singular and plural morphemes of the verb in the third person. e.g.

10.	te	gaccanti	'he goes'
	they	go	
11.	vayam	gacchAmah	'I go'
	we	go	
12.	bhavAn	gacchati	'you go' (sg.)
	3rd. sg.	3rd sg.	
13.	bhavantah	gacchanti.	'you go' (sg.)
	3rd pl.	3rd pl.	

This rule more or less applies to Modern Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Bengali, Pahadi, and Sinhalese and also in the Dravidian languages like Tamil, Kannada, and Telugu. Ancient Greek, Latin, Old Persian and Vedic Sanskrit did not have honorific of this type at all. While Sino-Tibetan and Tai languages have honorific form but not concord. Thus the use of plural morpheme in honorific may be a Dravidian influence, though gender in Dravidian languages is

an influence of Sanskrit (Emeneau 1956), or else it may be an innovation of South Asia.

For two reasons honorific is also included in the gender system of Nepali. First of all honorific is a classification of noun as opposed to "abusive classification" (Allan 1977; Adams 1986). Secondly, only plurality is not sufficient to characterize honorific in Nepali and it has its unique concord. Thirdly, honorific is also a semantic grouping of noun (of. Buse 1969) where grammar (concord, voice, number and special construction of verb) determines the class.

The unmarked noun shows concord with both adnominals (adjectives, possessives, and pronouns) and verb. The same is true with plural number and feminine. Lakoff (1986) writes "In most languages that have classification by gender the male category is unmarked". This holds good in Nepali also in that the female category is marked.

13. (masculine): hAmro sAno chorA-le sun-yo.
our younger son -ERG heard
14. (Feminine): hAmr-i sAn-i chori-le suni
our-FEM younger-FEM daughter-ERG heard-FER
15. (Plural): hAmr-A sAn-A chor-A/chori-le sune
our-PL younger-PL son-PL/daughter-ERG heard

This unmarked noun in singular is substituted with the pronoun **ta~** in the second person and with **tyo/u** in the third person whether masculine or feminine. Let us label this level of noun as Low Grade Honorific (LGH). Sanskrit did not have feminine gender in verb. This is the later development in Modern

Indo- Aryan languages in that feminine morphology in verb is developed from participles.

Middle Grade Honorific (MGH)

Middle Grade Honorific (MGH) is the original form of honorific in Nepali, while High Grade Honorific (HGH) and royal honorific are the recent developments. In remote areas of Nepal, among uneducated native speakers, and in folktales and songs, even today MGH is used for husband, parents, gods and goddesses, kings or queens to show respect. In urban areas later, the HGH is developed and it seems in Kathmandu, besides HGH, royal honorific is developed the last few centuries ago. In the masculine the plural form of 13 that is 15 is used as honorific, but in the femine the rule does not hold good. e.g.

16. hAmr-i sAn-i Chori-le sun-in
our-FEM younger-FEM daughter-ERG heard-MGH

High Grade Honorific

Nouns of HGH are associated with the pronouns **tapAi~** in the 2nd person and with **uhA~** in the 3rd person. Here concord with the adnominals is not different from that of MGH; there is no concord between noun and verb; but this grade is always associated with a special type of compounding in verbs which does not vary with number and sex comparable to Nepali impersonal voice. e.g.

17. hAmr-A sAn-A kAkA-le sunnu bhayo
our-PL younger-PL uncle-ERG heard-HGH
18. hAmr-i sAn-i kAki-le sunnu bhayo
our-FEM younger-FEM aunt-ERG heard-HGH

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| 19. | hAmr-A | sAn-A | kAkA/kAki-le | sunnu bhayo |
| | our-PL | younger-PL | uncle/aunt | heard-HGH |

Royal Honorific

Royal nouns do not show difference of sex in any level (cf. the table below).

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|---------------|----------------|
| 20. | hAmr-A | baD-A | mahArAjA-bATa | sunni-baksi-yo |
| | our-PL | great-PL | king-from | heard |
| | 'our great king heard' | | | |
| 21. | hamr-A | baD-A | mahArAni-bATa | sunni-baksi-yo |
| | our-PL | great-PL | queen-from | heard |
| | 'Her Majesty the Queen heard' | | | |

Note that to class royal nouns there is another type of compounding in the verb with a special borrowed Persian word **baksa**. But this is not the only reason to separate royal honorific from HGH. The difference lies in the lack of sex distinction in concord with adnominals. Moreover, royal honorific is never used in the active voice. Thus the special compounding of verb incorporated with **-baksa** together with *ever-* passive voice separates the royal class of nouns from the rest.

Kinship, love, intimacy, attitude of the speaker, power dynamics and several other sociolinguistic variables bring about fluctuation in the honorific gender.

Love also changes sex both ways from masculine to feminine; also from feminine to masculine. For the son they sometimes use 14 and 16 and for daughter 13. Example 15 is possible but less attested. In Kathmandu, it has been the fashion of the date in upper or upper-middle class to adopt royal honorific

as a prestige dialect. Adams and Conklin (1973) write: "In many languages with the human/non-human distinction basic there is more than one class for humans. Humans are classed according to social rank or according to kinship but not both. This choice, of course, is culturally determined. Kinship based classifier system categorizes according to the generation of the individual with relation to the speaker and sometimes according to whether the relationship is consanguine or conjugal. Classification systems based on the social rank of humans are more common. The basis of social status includes age, wealth, occupation, nobility, or sacredness. Among the classifiers for humans there is a complicated system in which age, sex, and occupation are manipulated to determine status. In most cases all three of these factors are used to class an individual. However, at the extreme ends of the spectrum age becomes the only relevant factor. In this sense, age is the primary distinction, occupation is secondary and sex is tertiary. Surprisingly, humans are never categorized on the basis of sex alone, sex appears in all the kinship based classifier systems, but only as a secondary differentiation among members of a specific generation."

But contrary to Adams and Conklin Nepali data show humans classed both social rank and according to kinship. However, rest of their generalizations are equally applied to Nepali data. Thus, following Denny (1976) and Craig (1986:287) classifiers in the domain of social interaction present a multimimensional organization with a hierarchical axis of interaction of humans with the power and social relation. Burmese classifiers (Denny and Craider 1986) also show social status in humans.

Gender Non-human

In the non-human class there is no distinction of sex. Thus non-human animate class differs from unmarked human LGH only in the distinction of sex. e.g.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 22. | hAmr-o
our | sAn-o
small | bAccA-le
male calf-ERG | sun-yo.
heard-MASC. |
| 23. | hAmr-o
our | sAn-o
small | bAcci-le
female calf-ERG | sun-yo
heard-MASC.Sg. |
| 24. | hAmr-A
our | sAn-A
small | bAccA/bAcchi-le
male/female calf | sun-e
heard-PL |

(cf. 13 and 14 and the summary chart below.) Concordial difference between 13 and 23 distinguish human from non-human. In singular all non-human nouns take the unmarked concord 13.

Gender Inanimate

Distinction between animate and inanimate lies in the concordial difference of unit vs collection, e.g.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 25. | hAmr-A
our-PL | tin
three | Trak
truck | bAcch-A
calf-PL | A-e
came-PL |
| 26. | *hAmr-o
our-SG. | tin
three | Trak
truck | bAcch-A
calf-pl | A-yo
come-SG. |
| 27. | hAmr-A
our-PL | tin
three | waTA
classifier | Dhung-A
stone-PL | A-e
came-PL |
| 28. | hAmr-o
our-SG | tin
three | Trak | Dhung-A
stone-PL | A-yo
came-sg. |

Thus the possibility of 28 as opposed to 26 establishes on one axis the distinction between animate and inanimate and on another axis the distinction between unit and collection.

Gender Count

Uncountable nouns in no case take plural morpheme in verb and pronoun, while countable nouns distinguish between unit and collection in demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adjectives and verb. cf.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|------------------|
| 29. | hAmr-o
our-SG
(our furniture came) | kursi-Tebul
chair-Table | A-yo
came-SG. |
| 30. | hAmr-A
our-PL | kursi-Tabul
chair-Table | A-e.
came-PL |
| 31. | hAmr-o
our -SG. | dA1-bhAt-tarkAri
lentil-rice vegetable | A-yo
came-SG. |
| 32. | *hAmr-A
our-PL | dA1-bhAt-tarkAri
entil-rice vegetable | A-e.
come-PL |

While countable nouns in 29 or 30 can be associated with both singular and plural forms of demonstrative adjective or demonstrative pronoun, uncountable nouns in 31 even in collection, in no case can take plural forms of demonstrative adjective or adverb. eg.

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| 33. | yo
this | kursi-Tebul:
chair-table: | tyo
that | kursi-Tebul
chair-table |
| 34. | i
these | kursi-Tebul :
chair-table: | ti
those | kursi-Tebul
chair-table |

35. yo dA1-bhAt-tarkAri: tyo dA1-bhAt-tarkAri
 this dal-rice-vegetable that dal-rice-vegetable

36. *i dA1-bhAt-tarkAri : *ti dA1-bhAt-tarkAri

Summary of Nepali Noun Classes (branching diagram)

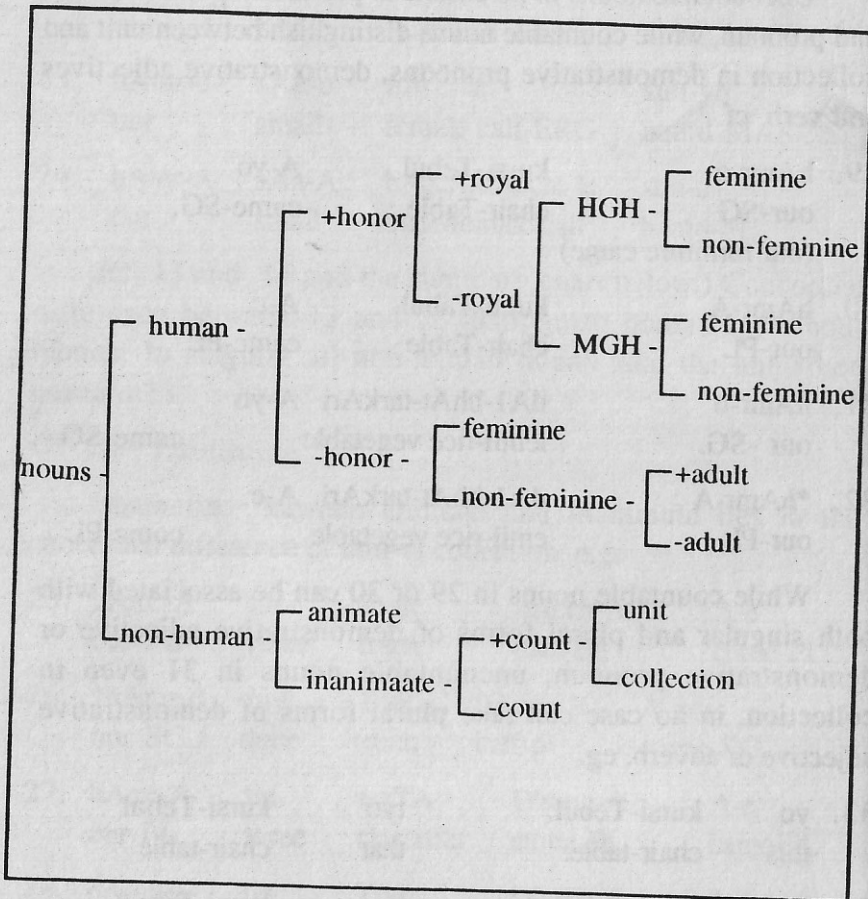


Fig. 1: Genders (Noun Classes) in Nepali

Table 1: Agreement Matrices in Nepali (suffixes)

	Singular			plural		
	masculine	feminine		unit	collection	
LGH	o o o	i i i		A A/i e	A A/i e	
MGH	A A e	i i in		A A/i e	A A/i e	
HGH	A A o	i i o		A A/i o	A A/i o	
royal	A A o	A A o		A A/i o	A A/i o	
animate	o o o	o i o		A A/i e	A A/i o	
<u>Inanimate</u>						
count	o o o	- - -		A A e	o A/i o	
noncount	o o o	- - -		- - -	o - o	

In certain compounds like **kAli geDi**, **kAncha sAg**, **kAnchi au~Io**, **kAi~li bA**, **kAli**, **nAg**, **kaili bAcchi** the non-human and masculine heads are combined with feminine marker **-i**, however, syntactically they are not productive, that is to say, they are fossilized and that they do not show any concord.

In the derivational category (not in the syntactic category) there are two groups of noun. In the animate group **-i**, **-ni**, **-eni**, **-ini**, show wife or female relationship as in the case of human nouns (where there is concord).

37. bAcch-o: bAcch-i 'calf'
 ghoD-A: ghoD-i 'horse'
 kukkur: kukkur-ni 'dog'

38. pokhrel: pokhrel-ni

Another group of nouns in the derivational category is inanimates where the feminine suffix *-i* is used as a diminutive marker. e.g.

39.	big	small	
	DAlo	DAli	'basket'
	loTA	loTi	'water pot'
	geDo	geDi	'berry or bead'
	kA~kro	kA~kri	'cucumber'
	jAlo	jAli	'net'
	thAl	thAli	'plate'

But *rAno* (opp. *rAni*) 'queen bee' and *bAkhro* (opp. *bAkhri*) 'she goat' show the opposite phenomenon probably due to their leading role in the group. In case of *Doro/Dori* 'rope' the slender one is masculine (cf. Dixon 1982: 160).

Language Death and Acquisition

Among bilingual Tibeto-Burman speakers of Nepali, there is a tendency of merging the distinction of sex, plurality, and MGH but not HGH and royal. Also that children acquire gender (sex, status, plurality) distinction later, but not as late as the acquisition of classifiers.

Thus Nepali shows loss of gender parallel to the languages of Niger-Congo (Demuth et al 1986) in that "the number of plural classes tends to collapse," concord appears to be lost first in numerals and adjectives, while it maintained longest in subject pronouns". Hyman et al (1980) have also attested similar phenomena of losing gender distinction, collapsing plurals and losing concord in the contact areas of grassland languages. Thus

the tendency of gender loss in Nepali may be due to the contact with Tibeto-Burman languages.

5. Classifiers in Nepali

The universal principle of classifier in noun phrase (Allan 1977) is that classifiers are always next the noun head. Nepali also follows the principle. eg.

40.	ek	koso	kerA	kerA-ko	koso
	one	CL	banana	banana	PL

Burmese, Thai and Mandarin also follow the same order (Greenberg 1972).

5.1. Functions of Classifiers

Greenberg (1974) thinks that classifier expresses a unit and that it is "redundant in translation" into languages like English. Adams (1986) thinks "noun as a symbol is imprecise" and it is the classifier which gives appropriate characteristics to the noun. Denny (1986) also thinks that classifier gives the unit, as noun refers to some kind of mass. For Hopper (1986) classifier is seen to "foreground" physical objects.

As in languages like Burmese and Thai where there are many words which are their own classifiers (Greenberg 1972) Nepali also has that tendency. cf.

41.	tin	dAnA	dAnA
	three	CL	rudraksha

As for numerals in the classifier set Hopper (1986) writes: "Although the numerals may be an important part of these figures, it may not be the most important part as evidenced by the

fact that normally unstressed variants of 'one' and 'two' occur there, and in many of the uses of these figures, the numeral 'one' alone may normally occur there, having lost most if not all its qualifier force and functioning only to identify and bind the figure." Greenberg (1972) (in majority of the cases) restricted higher numerals and their multiples. Nepali also follows these generalizations to some extent. (Greenberg has shown objection to this point in a personal letter to me).

42. a. ek pitko acAr. dui pitko acAr.
 one CL pickle two CL pickle
- b. ek Dhikko dahi: dui Dhikka dahi
 one CL curd two CL curd

(possible but unusual)

But in case of countable nouns Greenberg's majority generalizations are in Nepali not followed. e.g.

43. saya janA mAnche
 100 CL man
44. pacAs janA mAnche
 50 CL man
45. hajAr janA mAnche
 1000 CL man

However, in such cases the higher numerals are stressed. As Mithun (1986), Denny (1986), Hopper (1986) and Payne (1986) have noted noun classifiers in Nepali also are historically deived from noun words, because there are several words which are used both as noun and as classifier. (On his comment to this paper dated Oct. 3, 1988 Greenberg writes "classifiers are not

always separate words. Further the classifier phrase is sometimes not part of the noun phrase but adverbial" cf. Greenberg (1975).

46. juwA 'yoke' dAnA 'rundrAksha', thun 'breast', boT 'tree', siyo 'needle', bAli 'harvest', mAu 'mother', ghaDi 'watch'

There are more than hundred classifiers in Nepali, some of which are listed by some writers like Parajuli (1987; 203-4), but till date nobody has done intensive semantic or syntactic study on classifiers.

5.2. Description of Noun-Classifiers

With combinations of two features of classifiers **JanA** and **waTA** all Nepali nouns are classified explicitly.

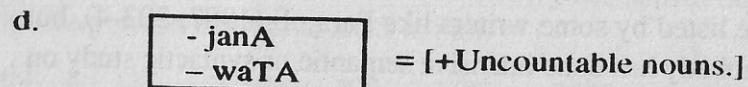
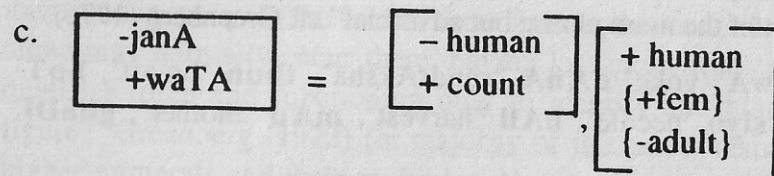
- a.

+ janA
- waTA

 = [+human, +male, +honor]
- b.

+ janA
- waTA

 = [+human, +male, +honor]



47. dui janA kAkA. (honor)
two CL uncle
48. dui waTA kAkA (-honor)
two CL uncle
49. dui waTA keTA (-honor)
two CL boys
50. dui waTA/i AmA
two CL mother
51. dui janA AmA (possible but less likely)
two CL mother
52. dui janA keTA (less likely)
two CL boys
53. dui waTA bAlakha.
two CL baby
54. *dui janA bAlakha

55. dui waTA makai
two CL maize
56. * dui janA makai
57. * dui waTA pAni
58. * dui janA pAni

The attitude of the speaker can sometimes extend **janA** to 'mother' or **waTA** to 'uncle'. In this way the set of features of these two classifiers help to class nouns into human, hon-human, honor, sex, adult, countability in the same way as concordial system of gender. These two classifiers are general, however, there are other specific classifiers.

General classifiers for animates are **mAu** (literally 'mother') for female adult, and **thAn**, e.g.

59. dui thAn bhai~si
two CL water-buffalo
60. dui mAu bhai~si
two CL water-buffalo-female
61. *dui mAu rA~gA
two CL water-buffalo-male

Group Classifiers

Animates are separated by "group classifiers" (Matisoff's terminology, Hopper 1986) like 62 or residence like 63.

62. **golo**: ants, bee, wasp, etc.
jer: cow, buffalo.
bathAn: goats, sheep, etc.

63. **goTh**: cow, buffalo, etc.
khor: goats, pigs, chicken, etc.

Inanimates

Most of the classifiers are used to class inanimate objects, to show semantic transparency of (cf. Allan 1977) dimension, size, shape, material, consistency, arrangement, function and 'something abstract' (in case of Nepali data).

Historical development (1400 BC-modern time) of Chinese classifier (Erbaugh 1986) show that classifiers are originated from quantifiers and shape classifiers precede classifiers for non-concrete item. Previously use of classifiers was optional; then it became obligatory. Finally classifiers distinctions collapsed to general classifiers. DeLeancy (1986) is of the view that Tai language are the original source of classifiers as a Southeast Asian areal phenomenon.

According to Adams (1986) most of the classifiers in the Asian area originate from the plant source as metaphors and that most of the objects counted in this area are plants and plant parts. In my Nepali data also 45% of the classifiers come from the plant source. Zubin and Kopcke (1986) write that classifiers are important to specify shape and function.

5.3 Choice of Classifier in the Continuum of a Consistency Scale

The following diagram shows the choice of a classifier in the continuum of a scale of consistency of increasing relative density from fire to iron. It shows the range of a particular classifier. In the scale physically the relative density of ghee is lower than that

of curd; similarly smoke is lower than that of steam, or cream is lower than honey, but speakers of Nepali feel just the opposite. Thus the scale is grounded upon a survey of five Nepali speakers. Similarly fire is physically not matter, but speakers feel it to be a matter.

R	iron		Dallo	Dhikko	Dhelo	(tAr, pAto)	
E	salt		cimTi	Dhikko	Dallo		
L	limestone		Dallo	turko	Dhikko		
A	mud		Dallo	cappari	bakkAnu		
T	soap		cakki		Dallo		
I	rice	sito	cakki	coili	Dallo	cappari	bhakkAnu
V	ghee	latko	pitko		Dallo		bhakkAnu
E	curd	cakki	Dhikko	latko	pitko		
	cream			latko	pitko		
D	honey			thopo	latko		
E	water	chiTo		thopo	turko		
N	smoke	cakki	cakka	jwAlo	ku-Dullo		
S	fire		jhilko	jwAlo	rA-ko	(koilo, aghulTo)	
I							
T							
Y							

Fig. 2 Choice of Classifiers (relative magnitude)

This diagram shows that classifiers like **latko**, **Dallo**, **thopo** have certain range of consistency. For example, both water and honey can take the classifier **thopo**, but honey cannot take **chiTo** and water cannot take **latko**; **latko** ranges from

honey to ghee and to salt, **Dhikko** is used only for objects of relatively definite shape. Thus it appears with curd, disappears with mud etc. and reappears with limestone and ranges to iron. Most of these classifiers have same fuzzy shape. In case of iron **tAr** is used to mean 'long metallic object' otherwise **sinko** is used with non-metallic substance of the same shape. eg.

64. tin tar sun: tin sinkA cAucAu: tin DorA janei.
3 CL gold 3 CL noodles 3 CL -sacred thread

Similarly **pAto** is used with some two dimensional objects. Therefore the set of classifiers in the **consistency scale** is at the same time showing classes of nouns like dimension (**tAr**, **pAto**, **Dhikko**) quantity or size (**Dallo**, **cappari**, **bhakkAnu**), material (**tAr** vs **sinko**), shape (**sito**, **cakki**, **coili**) and an abstract quality: (smell or temperature: **harak**).

65. ek harak gandha
one CL smell

66. ek harak bAph
one CL steam

Material:

67. One dimensional wire-like:

sun	:tAr	::bA~s	: sinko	::kerA	:reso
sun	CL	bamboo	CL	banana	CL

Shape:

Following are the shape classifiers:

a. **kaN:** sand, dust.

b. **geDo:** usually hard round object; as and abusive term also used for soft round objects. eg.
mustard, maize, rice (hard).

[abusive] : mustard, maize, grape, mango, orange, pumpkin, arecnut, coconut, beaten rice.

c. **dAnu:** (soft round fruit) mustard, maize, grape, mango, orange, arecnut, coconut, potato.

If it is very big it takes **waTA** the general classifier. If the potato is boiled it takes **Dallo** and the boiled rice takes **sito**.

Half Section :

Half sectional shapes are indicated by classifiers like :

d. **diul** : dAl -like

e. **phably-ATo** : potato, mango, orange, lemon, pumpkin, vertical section of jackfruit or even banana.

f. **phyAk** : hollow round cylindrical objects like pumpkin and bamboo.

g. **pAnu** : ginger like objects.

Capsulized objects

Capsulized objects in the natural form take :

h. **koso** : banana, pea, beans (cylindrical form)

i. **Topro** : like cashew-nut, **bhalAyo** (wild cashew-nut).

j. **bijulo:** like the innermost caplule of orange and citrus fruits generally in conical form.

- k. **kesro**: one of the semicircular capsules of the orange or garlic.
- L. **poTi**: garlic-like capsulized capsule.
- M. **koyo** : innermost capsule of the mango, or fleshy capsule of jackfruit.
- n. **Dhi~Di**: chilly-like capsule.
- o. **ghogo**: capsulized corn-like maize.
- p. **TATo**: harder and bigger capsules of the tree like (Nep) **bhorlo**, **TA~ki**, **rAtbriCche**.
- But very big capsules like jackfruit take the general classifier **waTA** only.
- q. **khilli**: Artificial capsule like betel (**pAn**) and cigarette will take this classifier.

There dimensional non-capsuled and solid cylindrical objects choose the following classifiers:

- r. **ghanu**: for the whole bamboo.
- s. **IA~kro**: smaller and thinner like sugarcane.
- t. **gi~D**: cut at two ends like wooden log, sugarcane, bamboo, and pencil.
- u. **chesko**: ranges from pencil, twig, to about one meter long cylindrical object (not generally with regular cut).
- v. **a~kho/A~khlo**: one of the natural sections of a bamboo or sugarcane.

Bamboo and maize are classed for different shoes in Nepali with classifiers likes :

w. **Bamboo**: **ghanu**, **khabaTo**, **phablyA~To**, **gi~D**, **A~khlo**, **sikro**, **Tuppo**, **chesko**, **Theuko**, **kapTero**, **bhATo**, **sinko**.

x. **Maize** : **boT**, **ghogo**, **geDo**, **hAr**, **Tuppo**, **pAt**, **dAnu**, **DA~klo**, **DhoD**.

Other Shape Classifiers:

- y. **puDko**: conical shape like maize.
- z. **Dhungri** : hollow cylinder.
- aa. **cakka/cakki** : wheel-like shape like cucumber slice, soap, etc.

Even in three-dimensional objects, consistency or flexibility selects particular classifier. Besides regularity of shape also determines the choice of classifier.

In two-dimensional objects there are classifiers like: **cakIA** (classifier for land), **panNA** (for paper), **dharo** (for a particular size of cloth), **hal** (land), and classifiers meaning leaf (cf. Adams 1986) like **pAtO**, **pAt**, **patra**, **pattA**, **patti**, **sal** (one layer of brick in the wall, **pAkho** (sloped land), **pApro** (hard objects like **pApaD**, dry bread or outer cover of wound), **khAt** (layer), **paiso** (coinlike), **Tiko**, **coili** (slice).

For one dimensional objects the classifiers are **juwA** (yoke) 'distance covered by the sun,' **siyo** (one line of plough), **kA~Ti** (nail-like), **Doro** (threadlike), **TyAndro** (small flexible rope or threadlike object), **suta** (thread), **lasker** (one dimensional

arrangement of people or ants), **culTho** (arranged locked hair), etc.

Thus Nepali data also confirm Adam's generalizations of numeral classifiers in Austro-asiatic: "several of the classifiers had shape as their major organising dimension. These classes separated objects on the basis long, round and flat. In addition, these shape classes could include secondary physical parameters such as rightly or flexibility, relative size, empty vs full, irregularity vs regularity part were used for metaphors of basic shape."

Classifiers for particular arrangements are **Tho** (hair), **culTho** (twisted hair, river or smoke), **muTho**, **biTo**, **bhAri** (grass, firewood, etc), **mAlA** (garland or rosary-like) **thungo** (flower-like), **phul** (classifier for clove), **bAlO** (ear of rice, wheat, barley, etc.), **kunyũ** (arrangement of straw in a particular shape), **laTTo** and **gujulTo** (different shapes of arrangement of hair-like objects).

Erbaugh (1986) says 'measure classifiers' (i.e. 'quantifier' to quote Greenberg 1972, 1974) occur in the same syntactic frame of classifiers developed from the measure terms in the linguistic area.

Dixon (1982:213-4) writes that names of 'time units' (following Greenberg 1972, 174) and/or uncountable noun" do not include a classifier in the numeral construction, But we have already seen above uncountable nouns classified on the consistency scale. In addition to that there are abstract nouns in Nepali which take classifiers, eg:

68. ek	jhapki	nidrA
one	CL	sleep

Classifier in Nepali also has an anaphoric use (cf. Denny 1986) :

69. tin	kosA	kerA
three	CL	banana

70. kerA-ko		koso
banana-GEN		CL

71. i	kos-A	rAmr-A
chainan		
these	CL-PL	nice-PL
are-not		

72. kati	kosA ?	'how many bananas ?'
how many	CL	

Plant parts are the major source of classifiers; however, there are classifiers (like **cokTo**, **TAuko**) that come from animal source in Nepali data.

6. Conclusion

Gender system in Nepali shows the influence of Tibeto-Burman classifier system. It is likely that some of the Tibeto-Burman languages may have been influenced by Nepali concordial system. On the one hand Nepali is showing loss of Indo-European gender distinction of sex, while on the other hand it has developed its own peculiar honorific concordial system.

En passant we have seen Nepali data as the counterexamples to universals of gender and classifier system. As for classifiers detailed further studies are recommended.

By and large, Nepali gender system is unique among the South Asian languages.

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Syntactic Deviation in cummings' "a like a" and "Me up at does"

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I'd rather learn from one bird how to sing
than teach ten thousand stars how not to dance

(*New Poems*, 22)

(While you and i have lips and voices which
are for kissing and to sing with
who cares if some oneeyed son of a bitch
invents an instrument to measure spring with?

(*is 5*, "One," XXXIII)

The writer of these lines, e.e. cummings, is himself an inventor of the visual configuration and spatial arrangements of his poems, beside typically cummingsesque deviations. To say, he is an interdisciplinarian to blend painting to poetry. His poetry, thus, is like Quince's speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Quince as the Prologue feels great difficulty in reciting a few lines of verse with proper punctuation. Then Theseus the Duke comments: "His speech was like a tangled chain--nothing impaired, but all disordered" (v. i.).

On hearing cummings, one may find him mentally impaired, much as the townspeople see Pudd'nhead Wilson in the opening chapter of Mark Twain's novel of the same name, where Mr. David Wilson provokes a communicative breakdown by his fatal remark about his wish to own "half of that dog," "an invisible dog

(that) began to yelp and snarl and howl and make himself very comprehensibly disagreeable" (Twain 1955).

To say, cummings' poetry, too, often seems "disordered." But it is "nothing impaired," rather holds its "chain" of meaning. The reader does not simply "fall away" like Wilson's audience. His ambiguity forms a creative device, as elsewhere, that "concentrates meaning in few words" (Traugott and Pratt 1980). cummings has invited his reader's "membership" by promising something very tellable and seriously communicative. The reader, on his part, pragmatically disentangles or "disambiguates" (Traugott and Pratt 1980) himself by getting fully informed; that is, exploiting his own extraordinary linguistic and literary competences, or indulging in "highly cerebral" activity of language acquisition (Fairley 1975). That is, he presupposes the composition and selection processes, the worth of the text, and "cooperates" with greater interest and effort to "decipher" deviance.

Most suitably, cummings integrates deviance that chiefly provides cohesiveness within a poem. His poetic structure has that essential "linearity" that Jakobson advocated: "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination" (1960). He hates "standardization, communism, all planning and ordering that kills the sensuous and emotional awareness by which people are kept alive" (Pearce 1952). His poems seem to be a "spontaneous overflow of emotions," a voice of feelings in real sense.

For example, the fragmentary sequence of the poem "a like a" (19 words) shows a high pattern. It is taken from *Xaipe* (pronounced /Kaire; Khira/), 1950. In Greek, it means "rejoice," "greetings." Ironically, the poem has nothing to rejoice or none to greet.

a like a
grey
rock wanderin

g
through
pasture
wom

an creature whom
than
earth hers

elf
could
silent more no
be

Syntactically, the fragment is a nominalization (without a verbal and predicate). It can be derived from three sentences through relativization. The only possible ambiguity occurs due to the reduction of the relative clause modifier and could occur in a completed non-deviant sentence: *a woman creature like a grey rock wandering through pasture than whom earth herself could be no more silent approached me.*

Thus we have two simple sentences: "a woman creature is like a grey rock" and "she (or it) is wandering through pasture." They can be combined by relative clause embedding to form a matrix sentence, and one complex sentence: "earth herself could not be more silent than her." This in turn can be embedded into the matrix.

Here I am reminded of a cartoon in a Chinese journal. It showed two women in a park sitting apart and, guess, *silent*. The

caption read: *The Eighth Wonder of the World*. O Tempora! O Mores! Something unusual about women, especially in a park.

But the woman in this case is alone, and hardened enough, like a grey rock, to speak the grief she is laden with. Ironically, it is her silence that communicates a lot. Much more (*the volcano in the womb of the earth and hers*) is communicated by the verse pattern and the speaker's empathetic or sympathetic voice. As for cummings, he "saw in silence an image for the transcendent and the metaphysical." He saw in it "the finest eloquence" and "the keenest quality of sound" (Kidder 1979). He could even hear "the noise of petals falling silently" (cummings 1972).

To resume, the entire sentence can be subsequentially nominalized and the main verb *be* deleted, to provide the sequence of the poem. Relative clauses identify and describe and are therefore a suitable vehicle given cummings' statement, while reduction and nominalization allow for compression. The deletion of *be* disrupts only little due to its high probability frequency and ability to be readily reinserted. This deletion of "neutral" copulative *be* heightens the imagistic effect of descriptions. Deleting *be* leaves a type of fragment, condensing the poet's expression and increasing a sense of immediacy, spontaneity, visual compression and even subjective experience.

cummings deals with the fragment in terms of the best grammatical analysis he can give it, guided by its well-formed parts. We may compare it with the set of nondeviant sentences most closely related to it.

The ambiguity (owing to relative clause reduction) caused by the resemblance of woman and rock functions thematically: she or grey rock is wandering through the pasture. Since the participle is placed between the two noun phrases, like a squinting (two-dimensional) modifier, it may apply to either. The modifying principle "wander," placed squintily between the lines, may take

both woman and rock as its possible subjects. Both selections involve deviance, one conflicting features (woman/silence; rock/wandering), the other impermissible word order.

The ambiguity suggests indistinctness perhaps due to distance. "Silence" as well as cummings' typographical concentration indicates distance, and only slight limited movement. Semantically, the participle is countered by association with a "grey rock." The total effect is that of stasis. cummings skillfully selects and manipulates verbs to minimize the expression of action. He has deleted the main verb *be* and dislocated "be" to close the poem. "That single final token stresses the descriptive mode, recalling all the deleted (or suppressed) instances of *be* (in accordance with the suggested deviation) while avoiding surface repetition" (Fairley 1973). Moreover, the line-end achieves an ironic and unimitable effect.

cummings integrates multiple levels in the poem by shifting the "like" modifier before the noun and establishes a visual and syntactic axis. He also supports the location of "woman creature" in the field typographically and lexically by an equal distribution of words and lines, and at the phonological level: "wom/an creature whom." Syntactically, "woman creature" is both preceded and followed by descriptive comparative clauses. It gives an impression of balance to an entirely left-branching sequence. Its centring contributes to the overall impression of quiescence and equilibrium.

All of the ungrammatical features of "a like a," the deletions and dislocations, function to relate syntactic, semantic, and visual levels into a consistent whole. They heighten the structure of the poem and its rendering of the image of woman in the field captured at an instant in time.

Fairley (1975) likens the sequence with Pound's nonsyntactic fragments, the haiku that calls up an image:

The apparition of these faces in the crowd;
Petals on a wet, black bough.

We find another likeness in Williams' poem:

so much depends
upon

a red wheel
barrow

glazed with rain
water

beside the white
chickens

or in cummings' own

pity this busy monster, manunkind,
not.

Fairley (1975) adds that the syntactic deviance shapes the poem, forms its structure, as the nominalization works as a characterization, an image. The major inversion is an impermissible adjective shift.

Comparative adjectival constructions governed by *like* never shift in Standard English (SE). The application of WH-DEL and ADJ-SHIFT creates an ambiguity: is the rock or woman "wandering through pasture?" Even considered as separate instance, the second phrase ("grey rock") is deviantly preposed. Thus the shift both compounds the sense of deviance and provides balance. It integrates the visual and syntactic image by centring the main noun phrase "woman creature." In this way the syntactic

deviance gives the poem its suprastructure or "superstructure" (Freeman 1978).

The deviance in "Me up at does" (26 words) derives from word-order. The basic tension of the poem lies between the jumbled string of the speaker and the well-ordered question of the mouse. The juxtaposition of the statements forms structural device. The syntactic device and thematic statement are linked well enough to create suprastructure and cohesion.

Me up at does

out of the floor
quietly Stare

a poisoned mouse

still who alive

is asking What
have i done that

You wouldn't have

The rearrangement of the units gives the following acceptable sequence:

up at Me out of the floor (does) a poisoned mouse (does) quietly
Stare who still alive is asking What have i done that You
wouldn't have

The poem shows cummings' love for country folk, flora and fauna. Here cummings shows man inimical or hostile, unlike nature, to animals. Finding "a poisoned mouse," he blends contradictory impulses into a single image. Mice to the owner of a country residence like Joy Farm (summer home near Silver Lake,

New Hampshire, bought by Cummings' parents in 1899) gnaw their way into great nuisance unless poisoned. But mice--to a poet who delighted in "the eyes of mice" as a symbol for a reality beyond literature (preface to *is* 5) and who found himself sharing his meals with a mouse (& "Sonnet-Actualities," *XX*), and writing an elegy for a dead mouse (*No Thanks*, 14)--represented something friendly and affectionate. Unlike the Pied Piper, he neither lures the mice away nor revenges on the children. He rather feels, as owner and poet, both sides of the issue: Pursuing his own mousey ways, this mouse, in his accusing question "What / have i done that / You wouldn't have," poses many more questions (relevant to today's ecological problem) for the reader to answer.

Within the poem, the jumbled speech and the deviant word order in the first section expresses the speaker's bewilderment, the irony of the situation, and the emotional reversal. Curiously, the imagined speech of the mouse is, by contrast, in standard order, straightforward and concise. Inversion of the prepositional object ("Me up at") and the adverbial inversion ("still who alive") are errors that belie (refute) agitation. They are shifts within constituents. Here Cummings disrupts sequence within the unit. He also dislocates the auxiliary "does" and gives it emphasis at the end of the line. Thus it functions ambiguously, expressing at once emphasis, through the emphatic structure, "a poisoned mouse *does* quietly stare," (note the oxymoron or paradox) and disbelief, through the interrogative one, "*does* a poisoned mouse quietly stare?" Cummings probably had both functions in mind, as is evident by the verb agreement.

In "Me up at" and "still who alive" Cummings preserves the constituent unit while it disturbs the internal sequence and dislocates the entire indirect object ("Me up at"), place adverbial ("out of the floor"), and finite verb ("does stare") within the

sentence, postponing the matrix subject, "a poisoned mouse." Here again he has sandwiched the noun phrase emphatically and visually between relative clause modifications. The delaying of "a poisoned mouse" startles both the reader and the speaker of the poem. Compare Hopkins' shift of major units in:

Leaves, like the things of man, you
With your fresh thoughts care for, can you?

where the pattern is O-S-V.

Cummings' disordering like Hopkins' is supported by Gordon (1966):

The demands of rhetoric and emotion in any period of English can disrupt this normal order, bringing emphatic elements to the beginning or the end of the sentence--Blessed are the poor in spirit (O-S-V), say the Beatitudes; ... 'to God almighty be thanks,' writes Alfred with some emotion and a conscious reversal of normal order. But as soon as the voice drops and the narrative or the exposition continues, this sentence-structure (S-V-O) forms the staple of all narrative sentences in English of all periods.

The poem also derives organization and meaning from syntactic deviation. Any correction of the deviant sequences would irreparably alter formal relations and mar both unity and rhythm. The displacements rather permit freedom of movement within constituent boundaries, and perhaps even reversal of any two consecutive items.

While the "woman creature" in "a like a" is dehumanized and "silenced," the "poisoned mouse" here is "still alive" and "greet" the man unusually with more "poisoned" question. The woman's "dead silence" like grey rock is juxtaposed with the mouse's "(a)live speech." While the vocal creature approached "me"

silently, the silent creature gnawed "him" poisonously. That is, both the acts gnaw at the speaker's hearts, without, of course, being poisoned (and what about the reader?). His "Me" in the second poem transcends into "us" up at whom does the "poisoned mouse quietly Stare...."

In both of the Joy Farm poems, cummings shows his affection for the country people and makes *Adventures in Values* (hence, the title of the book where the originals are anthologized). Untrecker (1979) rightly calls him "an author heroically protecting everything that he values." True, in his Wordsworthian love for country people and Emersonian love for nature or transcendentalism, cummings stands as the great democratic poet who finds and establishes order out of chaos.

cummings' patterns indicate an awareness of poetic options, with all their subtleties, such as the influence of adverbials on the positioning options of other sentence constituents, especially the object (O). His persistent use of archaic and biblical options may be in itself a significant feature, setting him apart from his contemporaries. Redin (1925), like Gordon, notes that the pattern S-O-V "has almost disappeared in modern verse, so far as this is reflected in Georgian Poetry" while the pattern S-A-V, with A as a prepositional adverb, is "still far from rare." Yet cummings uses both, extending object displacement into the 20th century.

Fairley (1973) commends cummings' these counter-grammatical devices for the boldness of the deviations and the irregular syntax that strikes structural cohesion and makes syntactic deviation cohesive. He uses it conventionally as a "foregrounding" or "de-automatizing" feature that has been favoured by the generative frame of reference requiring "the (systematic) violation of the norm of the standard" (Mukařovský 1964) to make it poetic, expressive and aesthetic. It provides relief and contrast within a context of otherwise parallel and regular

constructions. The sentence pattern in these poems function as the major structural support. It is shaped instrumentally by deviance.

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The Consonant /s/ in the Jumli Dialect*

- Ram Bikram Sijapati**

1. Background

The Nepali dialect spoken throughout the Karnali zone, Bajura, Achham and Bajhang (excepting Chirbungle) is known as 'the central Nepali.' Among the central dialects of Nepali another sub-division is that of Majhali and most dialects spoken in the Karnali zone belong to this category. The Census of 1990 revealed that Nepal has a population of 18, 462,081 people of whom the number of Nepali speakers in the five districts of the Karnali zone is 243,743 which constitutes 1.3 percent of the nation as a whole, 2.3 percent of the overall number of Nepali speakers and most importantly 93 percent of the Karnali zone.

The Jumli dialect consists of a distinct speech community. This dialect region extends to the Karnali river to the west and stretches as far as the northern reaches of the Mahakali zone via Humla to the north. The Census Report of 1990 indicates that the Jumla district has a population of 76, 305 people of whom 99.2 percent speak the Jumli dialect.

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2. The Jumli Dialect

The study of the Jumli dialect incorporates the central dialects of Nepali and it is a comprehensive term to refer to the varieties of Nepali found in the region. The term Jumli is not confined to the administrative district Jumla which is but one of the five districts of the Karnali zone. However, historically speaking, most of the districts within the Karnali zone were under the domain of Jumla principality and the sociolinguistic term Jumli dialect is used synonymously to the central dialects of Nepali. Thus Jumli refers not merely to the language of Jumla but to the entire range of central dialect of Nepali spoken in the entire Karnali region.

Strictly speaking, 'Jumli' could be replaced by 'Central dialects of Nepali' (Known as 'Kendriya' or 'Majhali' in Nepali) but it would overshadow the historical connotation of the mountainous Jumla and its socio-cultural tradition. The Jumla region in this sense connotes: pre-historic Jumla state; a centre of 125,000 mountains, (SAPADALAKSHYA) the land of Javeshwar and Kalyal; the Jumla Kingdom pre-dating the Sugauli treaty, the Jumla administrative region before the country was formed into 75 administrative districts and Jumla as one of the 75 constituent districts. The historic Jumla was the cradle of ancient 'Khas' state from which the earliest form of Nepali was known as 'Khas Kura': Prof Balkrishna Pokhrel is of the view that another name of Nepali as 'Parbate Kura' came from the 'Sapadalaksha Parbat' (the centre of 125,000 mountains) given to ancient Jumla (A History of Khas Nation-Part II, unpublished). Thus the present study covers the wider form of the central Nepali designated under the Jumli dialect.

3. /s/ in the Jumli Dialect

Ratnakar Devekota of Jumla discussed the pronunciation of /s/ consonant in the Jumli dialect (*Nepali*, No. 96 (1983)). In his article Devakota observed that the /s/ ; of the Jumli dialect acquires additional /h/x in the perverted form of speech (e.g. shatta :xʃf , shato :xf6f] , meaning instead, quickly). But this argument is against linguistic principles.

Prof. Balakrishna Pokharel in his article the Consonants in the central Nepali Dialect (*Ratnashri* Vol 2, No. 5, 1965) has established that there is only one sibilant in the Jumli dialect that is /s/z= The dental /s/z and retroflex /s/ɸ have been subsumed under /s/z in the Jumli dialect. It is a well known linguistic formulation that in all condition /s/ z does not develop out of original /s/;= among the languages derived from Sanskrit, all the sibilants had merged in the indistinct /s/ form during the Prakrit period. Thus the jumli /s/z appears only partially historical. Both dental and retroflex /s/ ; and /s/ɸ have been changed to palatal /s/ z in the Jumli dialect. It is on this basis that I have uniformly used /s/z in discussing the sibilants in Jumli. Whatever the source of derivation, /s/ z is preserved in a number of words of Jumli even though in many cases it tends to take /x/ form which is in between /k/v and /h/x=

In his *Basic course in Jumli* (1984), Dr. Bandhu has also followed this approach like **Xaag** (xʃu, HAg).

While appreciating the formulation of Pokhrel (1965), I have identified four functional characteristics of /s/z in the Jumli dialect. They are:

A. Retention of /s/ z

a) Word final sibilant

Jumli		Nepali	Meaning
/ तिर /	tis	तीस	'thirty'
/ बीर /	bis	बीस	'twenty'
/ देश /	des	देश	'country'

b) Sibilant followed by /e, i / O=, P

/ सिनु /	sinu	सुत्नु	'to sleep'
/ शिल्लाट /	sillat	सिल्ली	'stupid'
/ परिश /	parsi	पर्सी	'the day after'

c) Sibilant followed by /j/ o

/ रयाल /	syAl	स्याल	'jackal'
/ बरयो /	basyo	बस्यो	'sat'
/ आरयो /	aAsyo	आशा गन्यो	'hoped'

B. Deletion of /s/ z

/s/ z is deleted in the word vowel-medial position and when followed by vowels other than /e,i/ P, O=

/ कसो /	kaso	कसो	'do not you think so'
/ कसारी /	kasari	कसरी	'how'
/ एसो /	eso	यसो	'in this way'

Exception:

/ अहन्चि /	aHanchi	सन्चो नभएको	'ill'
/ पुईशो /	puinso	पैसा	'money'
/ भुइसो /	bhuinso	भैंसी	'buffalo'

C. When a sibilant is changed to /i/ 'Pj' to be followed by aspirated /k, ch, th, ph, ;, 5, 7, y, km ±, then /s/ z is deleted.

र कैथुरो /	kaithuro	कस्तुरी	'musk deer'
/ कैथो /	kaitho	कस्तो	'in what form'
/ कैठ /	kaitha	कष्ट	'pain'
/ ऐठुमि /	Aithumi	अष्टमी	'eighth day of the lunar month'

D. Sibilant changed to /h/ x

This consonant form of the Jumli is established by the author in course of his research. This consonant has the voiceless, aspirated, and larynxical features.

a) /s/ z changed to /h/ in the word initial position unless followed by /e,i/ and /j/:

/ हल्यान /	Halyan	सल्याना (सल्यान)	'Salyan (a place)'
/ हाइथर /	HAithar	सास्तरा (सास्तर)	'folktale'
/ हात्या /	HATHya	साथी	'friend'

b. /s/ z changed / h / x in the medial consonant clusters of bi-syllabic or tri-syllabic words followed by vowels other than /e,i/ P, O=

/ पुह्रो /	pur Ho	भाले	'rooster'
/ आह्रो /	Ar Ho	ऐना	'mirror'
/ माह्रल /	mArHal	मार्शल	'martial'

This change of sibilant /s/ to /h/ is noticed only with the medial consonant cluster involving /r/.

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Sunuwar as an Endangered Language of Nepal

– Lal Rapacha*

1. Introduction

Sunuwar (Konic lo) is one of the Rai-Kiranti languages of 'western Kiranti or Koi-Wayu' group (Hansson 1991). The speakers of the language have their own distinct ethnicity and culture which closely resemble Bahing-Rai (Rapacha 1996) in their locality of Okhaldhunga district. Unfortunately after the restoration of multi-party system in 1990, there has been a speedy degeneration of diverse ethnic groups, cultures and languages. Hopefully, languages like Maithili, Newari, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Rai, Limbu, Magar, Tamang, and Tharu which have sizable number of speakers and writing traditions, have been introduced in the news of Radio Nepal (Yadava 1997) and among them primary education and literacy programmes have already been introduced in Newari, Maithili, Limbu, Magar, and Tamang languages. Or another example can be taken of the constitutional accreditation of minority languages in the 1990 constitution of the kingdom of Nepal and so forth. Of course, these provisions after the restoration of democracy are hopeful and noteworthy as well. On the contrary, languages like Byangsi, Chongkha, Longaba,

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Biksi, Pongyong, Limkhim, Bungla, Hedangapa, Waling, Khandung, Rokhung, Choskule, Dorungkecha, and Hawi (Hansson 1991) among the Kiranti are either extinct or nearly extinct or no data are found. Today, linguists narrate a pathetic and bizzare story on the death of the Kusunda language to their younger generation. The number of episodes to be narrated are increasing day by day. For instance, many Kiranti languages viz Hayu, Surel, Sunuwar, and many others are on the verge of extinction.

On the basis of this evidence, therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to introduce and analyze the process of 'Koinc lo' decay and endangerment in terms of language shift. There would perhaps be no controversy in accepting language as a part of one's way of life, a code through which a people's culture is transmitted from one generation to another (Malla 1979). Then, if language itself become extinct, culture and ethnicity as such are also endangered. The Koinc lo geographically located in Wallo Kirant viz on the bank of the Khimti, Likhu, Yolung, Malung, and Solung rivulets and spoken in those areas is struggling like a patient etherized upon its death bed.

2. Historical Dimensions of Sunuwar

Generally the language is referred to as "Sunuwar language" or "Koinc lo" according to their own tribal name Sunuwar or Sunwar. Unfortunately the tribal name itself is controversial among writers if not linguists. Linguistically speaking, Sunuwar and Bahing-Rai languages are sister languages (Rapacha 1996). It may require some more evidence on Sunuwar and Bahing from the points of view of their cultural,

ritual, tribal, and physical proximity. Mythical and genealogical stories have already narrated their relationship as brothers (Rapacha 1996).

Eden Vansittart (1896) mentions the tribal name as Sunwar or Sunpar and the traditional title Mukhiya given to them. He further elaborates that the names Sunwar or Sunpar as such are said to be derived from these men residing either to the east or west of the Sunkoshi river. The division is thus- Sunwar (west of Sunkoshi) and Sunpar (east or across Sunkoshi). This statement 'said to be derived from...' poses more questions than answers. There must be a distinct tribal identity of these people before residing on the east or west bank of Sunkoshi. If so their tribal name must be different from Sunwar. Why only Sunwar today and not Sunpar? So far as the traditional title Mukhiya is concerned, Hansson (1991) remarks that the title is occasionally used as an ethnic label. I propose their language as Mukheke lo (the language of Mukhe, Mukhiya) and their ethnicity as Mukhiya rather than Sunwar only. The reasons behind this proposal is immensely useful. We shall deal with it later.

The earlier mentioned proximity with Bahing-Rai is further elaborated by Morris (1933) in terms of the complex pronominalized language spoken by the Rais and Limbus which are genetically affiliated to the same Tibet-Burman language family. Today, the Mukhe lo is fairly heavily 'Nepalized and Hinduized' (Hansson 1991) and consequently such pronominal features are not present. Nevertheless, their tribal ethnicity is 'nestled between the Rais and Limbus' (Farwell 1984). Apart from the eastern tribal relationship with them, Northey and Morris (1927) point out their ethnic relationship to the western

tribes especially with Magars and Gurungs but which is not authentic. Consequently, one after another a series of guesswork entered in the field of Nepalese anthropology and sociology as well. To quote Bista (1967) 'some people believe that they (Sunwars) are off shoots of the Magars'. This is a better example of how hearsays close the door to scientific conclusions.

Manipulations and misinterpretations of the terminology 'Sunuwar / Sunwar' are also quite common among scholars if not linguists. Sanskrit classicists misinterpret the term as 'swarnakar' (Parajuli et al, 1983: 1359, 1392) etymologically. Similarly, Prakritists and historians manipulate it as "Sunar" profession (Subedi et al 1996: 84, 88) ignoring the fact that 'Sunar' or 'goldsmith' profession is one of the untouchable caste divisions among the Brahmans. The problem of indentity crisis is the Mukhiyas' problem. They should try to find out solutions to this problem. That is why my proposal of 'Mukhe lo' instead of 'Sunwar' has advantage unless their proto-history is discovered through scientific observation and analysis not by guesswork or hearsays.

The socio-history of the community has negative impact on their lives and language. Hopefully the linguistic history since Brain H. Hodgson (1874)¹, G.A. Grierson(1909), and D. Bieri and M. Schulze (1969-71)² has proved to be a watershed in the linguistic history of Sunuwar. But for how long ? The language is in queue after Kusunda, Hayu, Surel, Raute, and earlier mentioned Rai-Kiranti languages which may sink into oblivion.

3. Present State of the Language

The rivulet areas mentioned in Section 1 above, form the core area of Sunuwar where Nepali is commonly spoken. Besides Nepali, a number of other languages, for instance, Rai-Kiranti, Newari, Tamang, and Magar are spoken in the vicinity of Sunuwar territory mainly in the Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap districts. Although the speakers of Sunuwar share such multilingual linguistic repertoire, their language is much influenced by Nepali only in terms of new and modern vocabularies. Otherwise the percentage of loan words is 18 and 40 in the core and peripheral areas respectively (Rapacha 1996). Nepali, therefore, is one of the languages which will replace Sunuwar in the near future. It does not mean that the number of members in its ethnic group are declining. Ironically, enough number of Sunuwars do not speak their Mukhe lo but those who speak do so fluently and competently. Their children also speak the language quite often in their family or in the kitchen, market place and for other purposes. Basically, they are bilingual, and Nepali is commonly used as a lingua franca.

There is as yet no practical orthography of the language. It has no written tradition nor any significant literature although it is rich in oral literature and in its folklore. Native speakers like late Karna B. Sunwar tried to develop the Sunuwar script (Rapacha 1996) but it is not generally accepted for numerous reasons. Until now the Devanagari script is used for writing and the script of the New Testament translated in Sunuwar in Devanagari is internationally published. The *Dictionary of Synonymy* (1973)³ published by the Royal Nepal Academy, which contains about 2,914 words of Sunuwar, and vocabulary collection by native speakers like K.B. Sunwar (1991)⁴ and

M.B. Mukhiya Mulicha(1994)⁵ are also available in the same script. Recently in 1996 a sociolinguistic profile of the language has been completed under the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur. No other textual, learning, and literacy material are available in the language. Neither activities like language maintenance programme in schools or in the community have been organized nor any other 'official support and financial backing' are provided for further development of the language (quoted in Wardhaugh 1996).

4. Towards a Gradual Deterioration

Linguists are the only people who lament the death of a language. Unfortunately, nowadays, linguists also are indifferent towards the Mukhe lo. No one knows, why. I remember exactly three years or so ago, one of the SIL linguists asked me in an indifferent voice what I would do after carrying out research on the Mukhe lo. I had no answer. It was the first time in my life I really stumbled, fumbled and nearly gave up such stupidity of doing something in my own language. I thought and re-thought several times. After all, I set out on a field work for sociolinguistic survey in the spring of 1996. A detailed descriptive study of the language is still to be carried out by linguists to ensure a prominent linguistic identity of Sunuwar among the Rai-Kiranti languages.

Another example of the official indifference is the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS 1991) report in which the number of speakers is not recorded. Obviously, this indicates that the number of Sunuwar speakers is one of the rare human species found in Nepal. Truly speaking, the Sunuwars are hiding

their language and ethnic identity because of their controversial ethnic, misinterpretation, indifference, their shy nature and widespread illiteracy among them today. Their indentity differs from one place to another, for example, Sunuwar, Sunwar, Mukhe, Mukhiya, Marpache, Rai or Kormocha, Mulicha, Rupacha and so on according to their clan names (see Rapacha 1996). Out of these, Thapa (1996) mentions a separate existence of the Bramu language which is closely related to Sunuwar. Those who live in the Darjeeling area are known as Mukhiya, Marpache, and Sunwar. During the linguistic survey period in India, Grierson (1909) recorded a figure of 5,356 Sunwar speakers in the areas of Darjeeling and Sikkim. In addition, their number is also scattered in various parts of Nepal. They are divided into clans known as twelve and ten clans. Amazingly, the ten clan Sunuwars cannot speak their language. They have forgotten their language and culture many years ago before linguists began taking account of the language. Among the twelve clan Sunuwars also the language is not spoken for various social reasons. In this way, their language and ethnicity as such is deteriorating gradually or may become extinct before our linguists or language planners take active steps for its preservation through codification and linguistic descriptions.

5. The Enigma behind Endangerment

Obviously, one of the reasons behind such language loss in Nepal is 'liguistic discrimination in the job market' (Acharya 1997) for example, English. This is true in our contemporary society influenced by modern education, mass media, science and technology or Nepal's exposure to the outer world through English. In the past no government of Nepal took

account of the development of multilingualism which could contribute to the development of the nation as a whole. There had been a long tradition of 'a monolithic language policy' (Kansakar 1995) for centuries in Nepal. Therefore, most of our indigenous cultures and languages are being assimilated in the mainstream of the Hindu culture known as 'Nepalization and Hinduization' in Hansson's terms (p.95). Naturally, many indigenous people today may ignore their language by saying, "It's a language which no practical use" and "Don't tease me ! What on earth are you going to do with Tharu ? It's of no significance. Neither my son nor daughter speak Tharu. They are just like Nepali" as cited H.R. Acharya (1997). Such attitudes raise grave questions which are unanswerable like that of Srijunga Hang (AD 880-915) who was tyrannically executed for introducing the 'Kirant Script, which is also known as the Srijunga Script' (Salter and Gurung 1996).

Another example of this problem is the linguistic prejudice. Although Nepal is a multilingual country, only Nepali has been the language of education, law, administration, and mass media for ages within Nepal and in some parts of India. Many indigenous languages especially in the remote and hilly areas were ignored so that no linguistic recognition was given in the past Census Reports. This served to promote language consciousness and loyalty among the speakers for the preservation and development of their mother tongue. The present constitution of Nepal as mentioned earlier is based more on the principle of 'Survival for the fittest' than on equality and equity. News broadcast on Radio and primary education in mother tongue in some language out of about 100 languages according to

Grimes (quoted in Kansakar 1995) stated before is a noteworthy example of multilingualism but these are insufficient in the case of many dying languages and in particular Sunuwar.

6. Linguistic Rights and Language Preservation

In this context, Samuel Johnson's idea 'Tongues, like governments, have a natural tendency to degeneration; we have long preserved our constitution, let us make some struggles for our languages' (quoted in Krishnaswamy 1992) can be relevant in order to preserve the endangered languages including Sunuwar and make its speakers aware of the fact that their language as well as culture can enrich the Nepalese culture or language as a whole and consolidate national integration for the holistic development of Nepal. Obviously, this can strengthen our national spirit. When our national goal is one, issues regarding linguistic rights and language preservation in Nepal will automatically gain linguistic status at the local if not the national level.

Apart from the new constitution's recognition of all the mother tongues spoken in the different parts of Nepal as 'the national languages' (Article 6), it is necessary to implement status planning for endangered languages in order to recognize them locally. Special provisions, for example, official support, financial backing and opportunity for education and jobs in various fields should be provided by the government so that the remaining number of speakers of a target language can use their language freely, proudly and openly in their respective locality. This enhances their linguistic, cultural, and national awareness. When the people are aware of their language, culture, and nation, they participate in its development. This is one of the processes of

How ethnic and indigenous people get their linguistic rights to use their language in communication, education or which help other fields to preserve their language. Accordingly, people have to struggle for their languages as Samuel Johnson (1992) struggled for English in the 18th century England. Today, if England has to show something to the world is her language, literature and culture but no longer the Victorian sun that never set in the British Empire. Thus, the Mukhiyas/Sunuwars also can make Johnson their source of inspiration for their linguistic rights and language preservation among their scattered population in the country or outside the country. Strictly speaking, we should not assume language death as a natural phenomenon. There are many internal or external factors that determine the growth or decline of a language.

7. Conclusion

This is the right time to reform and reconstruct our endangered languages including Sunuwar. It is necessary to base our decision on scientific observation regarding their ethnicity, culture and language rather than on hearsays. Scientific and linguistic studies would contribute to the preservation and functional uses of the language. The government should also implement the special provisions stated in the preceding Section 6 as soon as possible for their ethnic and linguistic identity. It is significant to learn something from J. Diamond also that 'Each language is indissolubly tied up with a unique cultural literature whether written or not ... all of which represent the end point of thousands of years of human inventiveness. Lose the language and you lose most of that as well' (quoted in Acharya 1997). Appreciate and preserve them for our national advantage.

Moreover, co-existence with other language communities ensures a better future. There is, therefore, a strong need to ensure their identity and development before they go the way of Kusunda in Nepal or Maori in New Zealand.

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Notes

- ¹See Hodgson (1874) for proto-synonymous words.
- ²Beiri and Schulze's study (1969-71) covers *Sunwar Phonemic Summary, Segmental Synthesis, Texts, Sunwar tone and higher levels, A Guide to Sunwar tone, and A Vocabulary of the Sunwar Language*.
- ³The dictionary covers bilingual synonymous words.
- ⁴See Sunwar (1991) for a basic vocabulary and clan names.
- ⁵See Mukhiya Mulicha (1994) for a basic vocabulary and marital process.

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The Cloze Test and Language Errors

- Jai R. Awasthi*

1. Introduction

Errors in language learning are viewed differently at different times-both positively and negatively. At times they are compared with signs, on other times they are considered essential in language learning. Even two schools of methodology under Behaviourist theory of psychology have two different attitudes to error - as a sign of inadequate learning or as an inevitable feature of learning. The first view point is rightly discouraging because it is against the existence of errors at all which is very unlikely. The second view, though does not say anything about the utility of errors in language learning, is rather relaxing because it accepts at least their existence.

Another view to look at error is rather positive in nature. Errors serve as the source of information about the 'process of acquisition' (Ellis 1986:52). Dulay et al. (1982) and others equate L1 acquisition with L2 acquisition believing that the errors that the L2 learners make are similar to the ones that the children acquiring L1 make. The deviated form produced by the learners are viewed as developmental errors similar to the ones that are found in the target language. In this connection Gorbet (1979:28) states that "... errors are not a cause for alarm but are

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tools for helping us to help the student progress easily and naturally through the stages of his interlanguage." However, it is essential that the teacher, in our context where English is taught as a foreign language, at some point, has to design text materials for the learners in question in the areas he finds his learners weak through the studies designed and carried out for that purpose. For the purpose of the present study the cloze procedure was used.

2. The cloze test

Oller (1973:92) defines the cloze test as one of the most promising types of integrative skills tests which has been proposed for measuring either achievement or proficiency in foreign language or second language situation". It was first used with the native speakers by Taylor (1953) to assess the difficulty of the reading materials. Though there are differences among the scholars in respect of the exact nature of a cloze test, it is a test in which every *n*th word is deleted so that the subjects may show their "..... linguistic knowledge, textual knowledge and knowledge of the world" (Cohen 1980:97) in order to refurbish the text by filling in the words deleted.

Richards et al. (1985) assume it to be a technique for measuring reading comprehension. However, Alderson (1979b) finds it more a grammar and vocabulary test than reading comprehension. Similarly, Madsen (1983:47) regards it as an "integrative" test used to assess the overall language proficiency.

A wider perspective of the cloze test is discussed by Porter (1983:63) who mentions it "..... to be a means of assessing the ability to use the various discourse constraints ranging over a text in order to set up and then confirm or modify linguistic

predictions: this ability is widely held to be a characterizing component of general proficiency in language." Though these features of the cloze test are appropriate in order to call it an integrative test. He hesitates to do so on the theoretical ground. The purpose of the present study is not to discuss the theories behind the cloze test but to put it into practice following the procedures suitable in the present context.

It is generally agreed that there are two types of cloze test or method of deleting words: the *fixed ratio method*, in which every *n*th word from the test is deleted, and the *variable ratio method*, in which the words are deleted from the text depending upon the variables decided to be tested.

The scoring of the cloze test is done in five different ways: They are: counting (a) *exact words* (b) *synonymous words* (c) *semantically acceptable words* (d) *identical form class words* (e) *any grammatically corrected word regardless of form class, function, or meaning*. However, Madsen (1983:50) suggests two ways of scoring the cloze test - the *exact word method*, i.e. counting the words that were deleted from the text, and the *acceptable word method*, i.e. counting the words that are grammatically and semantically acceptable in the given context.

3. Objective of the study

The objectives of the study were:

- a. to find out the errors committed by the proficiency certificate level first year students studying at Tribhuvan University,
- b. to explain the causes of these errors,
- c. to suggest remedial measures.

4. Limitations of the study:

The study is limited to the errors obtained from the cloze test and the categories tested in it.

5. Population of the study

The present study was carried out in nine institutes/faculties under Tribhuvan University. Of these, five campuses were located in the Kathmandu valley, and four outside it were in Pokhara and Bhairahawa.

The population of the study, which comprised of 270 first year students, belonged to various parts of the kingdom, from hills and plains, representing altogether fifty-eight out of 75 districts, of Nepal with an average distribution of 4.65% students per district. The majority of students (73.3%) under study were from villages while 26.6% from the urban areas. 13.4% students came from English medium background while 76.68% from the Nepali medium schools. The majority of students i.e. 74.44% were the product of public school while 25.56% came from private schools. Of the 270 students, 65.5% were the speakers of Nepali followed by Newari, Gurung, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magar, and Limbu speakers which consists of 11.8%, 5.1% 4.8%, 2.9%, 2.2% and 1.1% respectively. There were two speakers each from Rai, Tamang and Tharu languages. The average marks that the students under study had obtained in the SLC examination was 52.4%. The highest and the lowest average marks obtained by the students of science and technology and law were 60.3% and 46.5% respectively. The average age of the students was 17.7% years. 65.5% of the students were boys while the rest i.e. 38.5% were girls.

6. Research Tool

For the purpose of the present study, three texts (one paragraph for each) containing 226 words were written and the fixed ratio method was applied, i.e. every fifth word was deleted. For scoring, as Oller (1973:193) suggests, the acceptable word method was used. It so happened after deleting every fifth word from the texts that there were totally 44 slots comprising of both content and function words to be filled in by the students. The following table shows the categories included in the test.

7. Analysis and Interpretations

After scoring the test, the following error frequencies and error percentages are obtained. The items are put in a hierarchical order from the highest to the lowest error percentage.

Table No. 1

Frequency and percentage of errors obtained from reading comprehension (cloze) test.

S.N.	Function word	Frequency	Percentage	Content Words	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Auxiliary Verbs	394	72.96	Verbs	1577	58.4
2.	Articles	823	60.96	Nouns	800	49.38
3.	Conjunctions	822	60.88	Adjectives	251	46.48
4.	Pronouns	867	40.13	Adverbs	228	42.22
5.	Prepositions	375	34.72			
	Total	3281	50.63		2856	52.88

The above table shows that students find function words comparatively less difficult than the content words. Porter (1983:70) reports that in comparison to the function words, content words are more difficult to predict, even for the native speakers and "..... four times as difficult to predict exactly for non-natives". The present study, though does not show that kind of wide difference between these word groups, confirms his findings.

What follows is a discussion and explanation of the errors obtained from the cloze test. The performance of the BSPs excel their counterparts in all the items tested. Similarly, NNSs excel the NSs in all the items but two, i.e. articles and nouns.

7.1 Function words: Discussion and Explanation

Richards et al. (1985:61) define function words as those words "..... which have little meaning on their own, but which show grammatical relationship in and between sentences (grammatical meaning)". Conjunctions, auxiliaries, prepositions, pronouns, articles, etc. are included under function words.

The errors in the function words are further discussed into the above five categories.

7.1.1 Errors in auxiliary Verbs

Errors in the auxiliary verbs rank the first position with 12.96%, which are obtained from the two slots to be filled in by the students. The two sentences given in the test are:

1. * She feared that she _____ be dismissed. (could, would, might)

may
will

was
has
can
leave
go
and
to, etc.

2. * The price _____ very high but the people bought the things they need. (were)

are
is
of, etc.

Since sentence 1 is in the past tense, a choice of the present form of the verb is contextually not acceptable. Though a past modal is required to be filled in the slot, the students choose both modals (not appropriate) and non-modals. In addition, they also choose words belonging to other categories like prepositions, conjunctions and nouns as well.

In sentences 2 a past plural auxiliary is required. However, the students, in addition to the present auxiliaries like *is* and *are*, choose prepositions (*of*), main verbs (*became*, *raises*), adverbs (*very*, *always*), adjectives (*more*, *much*), etc. Quite a few students have opted for phrases like *of these are*, *of the thing*, etc. too.

Causes of errors in the auxiliaries are due to the inadequate learning on the part of the learners.

7.1.2 Errors in Articles

Errors in the articles are very common among the learners of English and especially for those whose native languages do not have these. Articles occupy the second highest rank yielding 60.96% errors in the cloze test. The typical examples obtained from the students' corpora are given here:

3. * The people of Japan stand as _____ example of it (an)
the
for
a
independent
Mt. Everest, etc.
4. * Sita worked hard from the early morning to _____ late evening. (the)
very
every
until
till
sleep, etc.
5. * She decided to quit _____ job for ever and become _____ village school teacher. (the/a)
a the
for as
from in
leave, etc. *good, etc.*

Through the examples 3-5 above, it can clearly be seen that the students frequently interchange the definite and the indefinite

articles because of their inadequate knowledge or lack of native-like intuition pertaining to the use of English articles. However, it is surprising to find that they have replaced articles with prepositions, verbs, pronouns, determiners, intensifiers, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc.

While explaining for the possible cause of such errors, Duskova (1969:19) rightly observes: "... the use of the definite article instead of the indefinite or the zero article is probably due to interference between the various functions of the articles themselves" (1969:19). However, the use of other grammatical items in place of articles may be ascribed to the transfer of language rules from Nepali, since it does not have an article system (Sthapit 1978:603) and the students opted for other possible items.

7.1.3 Errors in conjunctions

The examples of errors in conjunctions given below exhibit that the students replace conjunctions with nouns, verbs, prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, determiners, etc.

6. * His father asked him _____ They were laughing. (why)
that
when
and, etc.
7. * She couldn't say anything against the shopkeeper _____ she feared that she would be dismissed. (because)
but
so
and
then, etc.

8. * One day she asked him for leave _____ the shopkeeper wouldn't allow her to take any. (but)

shop
to from
job etc.

This category yielded 60.88% errors. This shows that conjunctions are equally problematic for the learners of English even at this level. The errors in this category may be caused due to the inadequate learning on the part of the students.

7.1.4 Errors in Pronouns

In the present test personal, relative, possessive and indefinite pronouns such as *he, she, they, who, his, their,* and anything are included. In order to complete the items in this category, an understanding of a simple definition of pronoun, i.e. a word used in place of noun or a noun group- is enough. Pronouns too, with a record of 40.18% errors, are not less problematic for the students at this level.

The students used nouns, articles, verbs, prepositions, adjectives, conjunctions and even phrases like *his son and daughter.* And clauses like "why they were laughing" instead of pronouns in sentence 9 through 11. The following examples show the words with the higher error frequency.

9. * When he came back, _____ told the story to his elder brother and younger sisters. (he)

and
home
to, etc.

10. * He told the story to his elder brother and younger sisters _____ also joined him in laughing. (who)

are
they
and
he she
his son
an, etc.

11. * Without asking _____ to anyone she began to laugh. (anything)

question
him
reason
stories
them
why
no questions. etc.

In sentence 10 the conjunction and the noun home do not fit in the slot. The same is the case with the preposition to. One of the words filled in sentence 10 fits in the context since the slot requires the relative pronoun who. The words question and reason require a preceding article in sentence 186 the pronouns him and them do not make any sense. The word stories may be acceptable, but Bhanu is simply telling a story only.

It is inferred from the above examples that the errors in pronouns in this section are caused due to inadequate learning.

7.1.5 Errors in Prepositions

Errors in prepositions rank the last in the category of function words yielding 39.21% errors. In place of prepositions, the students have used articles, conjunctions, verbs, pronouns, adverbs and nouns, etc. The following examples are illustrative:

12. *People must work hard _____ develop their country. (to)
for
in, etc.
13. * The shopkeeper made Sita work hard _____ the early
(from) morning to the late evening.
in
since
open
get up, etc.

The two prepositions used in sentence 12 need a participle form of the verb to follow them in a given context. The preposition *in*, which has the highest error frequency in 13, is chosen to replace *from* in order to express the duration of time. The position of *since* in the same sentence is not compatible with the context but the students may have used it in analogy with the Nepali *dekhi* (*from*). In other cases it is the lack of clarity regarding the use of English prepositions that causes them to commit errors in this category.

7.2 Errors in Content Words: Discussion and Explanation

Richards et al. (1985:61) define content word as those words " which refer to a thing, quality, state or action and

which have meaning (lexical meaning) when the words are used alone. "Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are included under content words.

Errors in content words are discussed and explained in this section under the following categories.

7.2.1 Errors in Verbs

Errors in verbs contain 58.40% in all. A careful analysis of the words chosen by the students to fill in the ten slots shows that they do not have a reasonably good knowledge of the English verb system. The following examples give a clear picture of it:

14. * Bhanu went to _____ a film. (see/watch)
saw
look
watched, etc.
15. * The shopkeeper wouldn't _____ her to take any.
(allow/permit)
let
leave
be
gave, etc.
16. * Bhanu's mother came in and _____ everyone laughing.
(saw)
see
watched
started
them
seeing, etc.

17. * He told the story to his elder brother and younger sister who also joined him in _____ (laughing)

story
laugh
enjoying
family
happy, etc.

Sentence 14 requires an infinitive form of the verb. Though the selection of the verb, e.g. saw and watched is alright, the past forms are not acceptable. The verb look does not fit in the context. Similarly, none of the verbs given in sentences 15 through 17 is fit to be used in the slots given. The use of function words on the one hand and other inappropriate content words on the other shows that students may not have adequate exposure to the use of English verbs as in the given contexts.

7.2.2 Errors in Nouns

The vocabulary items expected in this section are very common and occur in day-to-day use such as people, citizens, lesson, owner, shopkeeper, etc. However, 49.38% error yield of this category indicates that the students find a problem here, too. The following examples exhibit the types of errors they commit in nouns:

18. * The _____ of Japan stand as an example of it (people)

country
people's
development
developed, etc.

19. * _____ mother came in and saw everyone laughing.
(Bhanu's/His)

And
When
Their's, etc.

20. * Sita worked in a _____ selling household goods. (shop)

small
hard
goods, etc.

For the given slot in sentence 18 above the word development may be acceptable but it does not agree with the plural verb (stand) in the sentence. The word people without a possessive's can be the right choice.

In 19 *and* and *when* require an independent clause to follow or precede them. The words *small* and *hard* in 20 are adjectives and require a noun to be followed, but on the contrary, the students have made an awkward choice of goods.

The errors in nouns reveal two things. One is that the students do not have adequate knowledge of the English sentence structure and the other is that they lack the stock of vocabulary required of them.

7.2.3 Errors in Adjectives

Errors in adjectives are recorded 46.48% in this test. The following sentences exhibit the words chosen by the students which have relatively higher frequencies:

21. * All the _____ countries should learn a lesson from Japan. (developing)

undevelop
people
develop
world, etc.

22. * People from different places came there to buy foodstuffs and many of _____ goods. (household, useful, other, etc)

of
things
kind
kinds
are, etc.

Participial forms of undevelop and develop are needed in sentence 21 to make them fit in the given context. A large number of adjectives are formed by adding -ed or -ing suffixes to the transitive verbs, with a few exceptions: and have a passive meaning. Students do not seem to have observed this rule. The other two words do not give any sense in the sentence. In 22 none of the words supplied make any sense. The errors in this category occur due to the incomplete knowledge of the students in the formations of adjectives from verbs, nouns and even from adverbs. It is also obvious that they lack appropriate adjectives needed in the context like in 22.

7.2.4 Errors in Adverbs

In the present test adverbs of degree like very, really, etc. are required. A knowledge of intensifier (submodifiers) -words which may function as a modifier of an adjective or of another adverb to make it more emphatic, e.g. very, completely. etc. is

also required. The following examples are given to see whether the students find the appropriate adverbs of degree required in the given contexts:

23. * Bhanu went to see a film which was _____ funny.
(very/quite)

a
about
real
like
much, etc.

24. * They developed their country in a _____ short period of time. (very)

develop
few
quiet, etc.

Students supplied articles, prepositions and adjectives for adverbs. Sentences 23 and 24 show the excessive use of adjectives. It may be that they are confused between adjectives and adverbs. Therefore, these errors seem to be intralingual in nature and caused due to inadequate exposure of the students to the English adverbs.

8. Findings

1. Errors obtained from the cloze test reveal that students commit more errors in content words compared with the structure words.
2. Auxiliaries and main verbs record the highest error percentage in their respective groups.

3. Students have been found using context words for function words, e.g. nouns for articles.
4. The present form of the verbs are fused for the past exhibiting the problem in tense.
5. The performance of the BSPs is comparatively better than that of their counterparts. Similarly, NNSs excel the NSs in all items, but articles and nouns.
6. The cause of errors are mainly due to the lack of adequate stock of vocabulary and especially in prepositions. However it is obvious that the subjects also lack, on the whole, adequate practice in reading comprehension.

9. Pedagogical Suggestions

Keeping the discussion and findings in view, we can suggest that students need enough practice in reading comprehension. They, for this purpose, need adequate supplementary materials besides their textbooks. As the students of government schools lag behind their private school counterparts who get more exposure of English at schools need more practice in reading comprehension. Special attention should be paid to verbs - both auxiliary and main verbs. They should also be taught English tense exhaustively.

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Appendix

The Cloze Test

*Read each passage (the entire paragraph) carefully. Then fill
in the words that have been left out. Each blank must be filled
with only one word:*

1. Yesterday, Bhanu went to ... a film which was
... funny. It made him ... When he
came back ... told the story to ... elder
and younger sisters ... His father asked him
... they were laughing. Bhanu ...
... him the story and ... began to laugh also ...
... mother came in and ... everyone

laughing. Without asking ... to anyone she
too ... to laugh.

2. People must work hard ... develop their country.
The ... of Japan stand as ...
example of it. They ... so hard that they ...
... their country in a ... short period of time.
... are now proud of ... own labour. All
the ... countries should learn a ...
from Japan.
3. Sita worked in a ... selling household goods.
People ... different places came there ...
... high but people bought ... things
that they needed ... that was the only ... in
the locality. The ... made Sita work hard ...
... the early morning to ... she feared
that she ... be dismissed. One day ...
asked him for leave ... the shopkeeper would not
... her to take any. ... she decided to
quit ... job forever and became ...
village school teacher.

The Critical Period Hypothesis and Language Development

- Ram Ashish Giri*

Whether or not there exists a critical period in the life of a human is debatable. Despite controversies, there is a growing interest in the Critical Period Hypothesis. Numerous research studies on the Hypothesis have drawn conclusions in support of the existence of the "Critical Period" and have concluded that second language learning is more difficult and labored after the Period as one gets older. Other theorists and researchers believe that these claims are highly exaggerated and overstated. The paper gives an introduction to the Critical Period Hypothesis, outlines the historical context for it and raises some of the issues that are controversial.

Introduction

Some developmental psychologists believe that specific experiences that occur at one time during the life span will affect the development of an organism more than they would at any other times (Colombo, 1982 p. 262). The critical period hypothesis (CPH) is based on this idea. The propounders of the CPH who believe in the major role of the brain in the

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development of language, hypothesise that the development of language takes place during a specific period of time. According to the hypothesis, language develops as a result of brain maturation which takes place between the birth and puberty. At puberty, development ends because the brain is fully developed and lateralization is complete. After this period, the brain loses its neural plasticity, and as a result, language acquisition can no longer take place. It is said that if the left hemisphere is damaged during this period, the right hemisphere takes over the function of the left hemisphere and language acquisition takes place because of the plasticity which still exists in the brain. However, if the left hemisphere is damaged after this period, adults fail to recover language.

A critical period, thus, is a time in the life span of an organism in which the organism is more sensitive to the environmental stimulation than in any other times. In language development, "critical period" may be defined as a biologically determined period of life when language can be acquired more easily and beyond which time language is increasingly difficult to acquire (Brown 1987).

In this paper, I attempt to (i) introduce the Critical Period Hypothesis, (ii) outline the historical context for it, and (iii) raise some of the debatable issues regarding the hypothesis.

The Critical Period Hypothesis

"Critical period", as it has been said earlier, is a biologically determined predisposition when lateralisation takes place in the brain making it optimum sensitive to language development. The lateralisation process begins around the age of two and is

completed around 12 or 13. Children acquire language in this period easily and after this period, it is difficult for people to be able to acquire fluent control of a language.

In Second Language Acquisition, researchers extrapolate such a period to second language contexts. They hypothesise that there is a critical point for second language acquisition which most probably occurs around puberty and that beyond this period, people are incapable of acquiring native like competence, at least in some areas of language (Brown 1987).

The Historical Context of the CPH

The notion of "critical period" has been used in the past. Originally, ethnologists studying the origin of species-specific behaviour employed this hypothesis to see if such a period existed in which a particular kind of stimulus had to be present for a species to develop normal behaviour (Crystal 1987). In the following section, I recapitulate how the mentor of empiricism (behaviourism), rationalism (cognitivism) and constructivism (interactionism), view the hypothesis.

In the behaviouristic tradition, language development is viewed as a progression from random verbalisation to mature communication through the simultaneous application of classical and operant conditioning and imitation (Gleason 1989, p. 176). Obviously, behaviourists do not prescribe any particular period which is more important from language acquisition perspective, nor do they accredit the child with any knowledge of rules responsible as a precondition for language development. For them, the time taken to acquire a language is a limitation of the training technique rather than the maturation process. Watson

(1924), a classical behaviourist, denied the existence of mental process for language learning and said that language is "a very simple type of behaviour" or "a manipulative habit" which evoked by the environment and if stimulus (the process of evoking) occurs sufficiently and frequently, the response is practised, and is strengthened to become automatic. The principle of reinforcement (strengthening of the response), thus, plays a great role in the process of language development. A child in this tradition is viewed as a recipient, an "interested bystander" having no active role in the process of language behaviour or development.

If the behaviouristic theory undermines the role of the brain in language development, the mentalistic theory underestimates the contribution of environment. The mentors of this tradition (Chomsky 1965, Lenneberg 1967) argue that language is innately human - a species-specific behaviour; that every individual is born with the Language Acquisition Device (LAD) that makes language acquisition possible; that language development is pre-programmed in the individual's brain allowing the individual to acquire it through exposure; and that the environment plays a minor role in the maturation of language. It is Lenneberg (1967) who elaborated the Chomskyan LAD into the Critical Period Hypothesis.

One thing neither of these traditions (behaviouristic and mentalistic) acknowledges is the influence the children as language learners may have on the environment in which they acquire language.

The interactionistic tradition, of which Piaget (1954) and Vygotsky (1962) are mentors, may be called a moderate

compromise between the behaviouristic and the linguistic (mentalistic) traditions. This tradition recognizes that both factors (cognitive as well as social) affect the course of language development. It advocates that languages development is a by-product of social, linguistic, maturational/ biological, cognitive, etc. factors. To emphasize the role of these factors, Vygotsky (1962) argues that the causal relationship between the factors is reciprocal in that they are not only interactive, they modify language acquisition, language acquisition in turn modifies the development of cognitive and social skills.

Thus, this tradition adheres to both sides of the nature-nurture controversy. It recognizes that humans are physiologically specialized as language users, that some language abilities may require the maturation of some physiological systems, that for language development, maturation is critical, and also that specific types of experience and training are necessary for language skills to develop (Bohannon, 1989).

The Critical Period Hypothesis

The CPH seems to be based on the everyday experience rather than on empirical evidence. Why, for example, children normally begin to speak between their eighteenth month and twenty-eighth month whether or not any conscious and systematic training takes place, why they usually learn a language at the same rate and through the same route, why children, who happen to be deprived of learning language during the critical period, never reach the level of the native speaker's competence, etc. Based on observations, Lenneberg concludes that :

1. The behaviour (language emerges before it is needed Language develops long before children need to communicate.
2. Its appearance is not the result of a conscious decision: as any other biologically pre-programmed behaviour, it develops automatically if the environment is adequately appropriate.
3. Its emergence is not triggered by external events. Any external feature in the children's surroundings does not facilitate the biologically scheduled behaviour. Insufficient or impoverished environment, however, may impair the proper development of the behaviour.
4. There is likely to be a biologically scheduled period for the acquisition of the behaviour. The mentors seem to be a little bit unsure of this phase of their hypothesis as they themselves point out "it is clear that there is a biologically scheduled starting point of language acquisition, far less clear there is a biologically scheduled finishing point" (Aitchison 1981. P. 115).
5. Direct teaching and intense practice have relatively little effect. Adequate and sufficiently rich exposure will suffice for the acquisition. Language cannot emerge before it is programmed to emerge irrespective of any attempt to do so: and
6. There is a regular sequence of "milestones" as the behaviour develops which are correlated with age and stages of development. As it is noted earlier, the route and rate of

language acquisition are chronologically universal (Ellis, 1987).

The Present Debate

Lenneberg's hypothesis is based on indirect evidence such as the differences in recovery from aphasia for children versus adults, and differences in progress in language acquisition before and after puberty.

It is believed that the brain having reached its adult value by puberty loses its plasticity and reorganizational capacity necessary for acquiring language (Gliedman 1981. P. 367) and that early in life humans have a superior capacity for acquiring language. This capacity disappears or declines with maturation (Johnson 1988).

Some researchers draw conclusions from their studies on the second language learning to support the hypothesis. They conclude that second language learning is more difficult and laboured as one gets older, that natives like proficiency especially in phonology is rarely achieved by older learners, and that language learning process is easier and the proficiency level is greater and tended towards native-like levels if the learners are young at the time of learning (Genessee 1986. P. 101).

The CPH is often used to rationalize empirical studies on the first (native) as well as non -native (second or foreign) languages. However, in the recent years, the hypothesis has been the subject of acute controversy. Schleppegrell (1987) counterargues that there is no decline in the ability to learn as people get older, that the age is not a major factor in language acquisition, and that the context in which adults learn is the major influence on their ability to acquire the new language (P. 3). Genesses (1986) too criticizes

the CPH's claims that the process of second language learning becomes easier with the younger learners and that young second language learners may gain native-like proficiency. In his opinion, these claims are highly exaggerated or overstated. In fact older learners learn a new language faster and achieve higher levels than younger learners do (p. 100-101). Flege (1987) cites a research study reporting evidence that in certain circumstances, adult learners may receive second language phonology better (P. 165).

Conclusion

Obviously, existing neurological evidence does not provide firm support for the existence of critical period. Partly as a result of this, and partly because of his reconciliatory compromise, Piaget's constructivism is perhaps more popular and highly justifiable in language learning processes. According to this theory, the complex structures of language might be neither innate nor learned. Instead, these structures emerge as a result of interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic environment, (Gleason 1989 P. 182). Thus the nature-nurture controversy may be misconceived. Both sides are right: nature triggers off the behaviour, and lays down the framework, but careful nurture is needed for it to reach its full potential.

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Teaching English Writing at the Campus Level

- Phanindra Upadhyaya*

Looking back at more than four decades of teaching English as a second language, we see that our achievements have been rather bleak. Today English learning activities are still confined to class room and that also to a limited extent. The teacher, either due to his/her limited command over the language or due to lack of confidence in himself or the material he/she is teaching or due to poor quality of the students, takes pleasure in either comfortably leaning back solely on the mother tongue while teaching English or ignore the major hurdles that come up while teaching the language. Learning English therefore becomes a subject and the whole purpose of learning English as a language is defied. It is seldom used for communication and the students just want to get rid of it by passing the examination. This outlook towards the language has made our students very weak in English writing and the other language skills.

The above problem has been realized time and again and few ways to overcome such problems have been identified but the implementation aspect has always remained weak. The blame is comfortably put on overcrowded classrooms, inefficient teachers, short sighted planners, ill equipped libraries, time limit, etc. What

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has been always overlooked is the real human factor. The basic problem in our teaching of English is that we have not been able to help our students help themselves. Our only motive has been to complete the given course within the given period of time. We have not been able to cultivate the right concept behind learning a second language resulting in lack of interest on the part of the learner.

The problem is further compounded by the fact that most of these students come from different parts of the country and have had varying amount of ESL training resulting in a remarkable difference in their proficiency. Most of these students have actually had very little writing practice.

The teaching of writing to our students has therefore, always proved to be a taxing job for most of the teachers of English. At one point all our efforts to teach writing fall short and we have no option but to go back to the prevalent system of spoon feeding. This approach might seem to be effective initially but in the long run, we are creating nothing but dependent students who stop exercising their brains to even write a single sentence.

Some common writing problems that our college going students exhibit.

The common problems that our students have are:

1. They have little knowledge about the communicative purpose of writing.
2. Our students overemphasize the role of grammar in language learning. They are more concerned about correctness of

sentence rather than concentrating on writing down ideas and feelings first.

3. They lack experience applying the learned language in real life situations. Language is thought to be just another subject, not a skill which can be properly mastered through use.
4. Our students have limited vocabulary due to insufficient reading.
5. The students have problems with word order.
6. Our students have serious generalization problems. The students don't think in a broad way. They either overgeneralize or hardly generalize at all.
7. Our students have very little concept of purpose and audience in writing.
8. Motivation is a serious problem. Most of them are so obsessed by the passing of the final exams that they forget how important writing is to them in their future academic life.

The end result of these common problems is writing apprehension or writers block where the students are predisposed to avoid writing task. The students are scared to transform their thoughts on the page. They have difficulty thinking just before writing. They fear that they would be misunderstood. They fear that they would fail.

In order to overcome the above mentioned problems which majority of our students have, the first and foremost requirement is the commitment of the teachers towards teaching professions

philosophy. Teaching is an art and there is no doubt about it (Irmischer, 1987). Instead of grumbling about the mess around us, we should try to make the best use of whatever is available. The only thing required is the willingness on the part of the teacher to teach, that is, professional attitude. Entering the teaching profession without any interest in it will be frustrating to both the teacher and the student. Specially, the language teacher should never forget the fact that language is one of human being's highest achievements and the characteristics of humanness should not be overlooked (Gordon & Tryoyka, 1987).

To begin with, therefore, the teachers motto should be to help the students help themselves. The teacher should be able to cultivate interest in the students by providing ample examples and creating situations where language in the form of writing becomes inevitable (Gibson, Meyer, & Schaffrath, (1977). It should be made clear that speaking, reading, listening, and writing, are four different language skills and each of them need special effort to learn. Their interrelationship should, however, be stressed. They should be made aware of the fact that each skill requires a different style. What counts is the teacher's ability to interact with the students in the given situation of overcrowded classroom, limited time, and the necessity to create interest in writing. A good teacher should never deviate from encouragement and positive reinforcement in order to keep the students, who are already at risk, glued to the task of learning writing.

The teacher should make the students clear that writing, as any other skill, is a communicative act. The concept of audience should be brought in and the students should be made aware that they will be writing for someone else to read. In the case of

students the teacher is the audience and they can initially, write for him/her. However, they should come to know that in reality the audience is not so easily accessible and could be known or unknown.

The next step should be to draw attention of the students towards reading, an aspect which is very often neglected in our classrooms. The teacher should stress the importance of reading in the process of writing and should discourage the students from memorizing forms, which defies the whole purpose of practical utility of a language. They should be asked to read whatever interests them, as self motivated reading for interest and/or pleasure, has always proved to be beneficial. This would help the students to get a feel of how language actually flows and how words are actually ordered. They will acquire the knowledge of the beginning, middle, and the end of a piece of text, the key to successful writing, along with the movement from the general to the specific.

Once the students form the habit of reading, they will automatically start thinking about shaping their writing accordingly. As the students have now crossed the first hurdle and have started reading and thinking about writing, the teacher should start teaching the actual process of writing. This can begin by asking the students to do some informal scribbling, like making notes, putting down their thoughts (brainstorming), maintaining a journal, outlining, etc. They should be left alone to generate ideas of their own and to create a precondition for writing. This process could be further boosted by providing a very caring and sharing environment by the teacher. Instead of declaring that the student is wrong here and there, the teacher

should try to be encouraging by providing positive feedback. What helps when and how should be the real concern of the teacher (Johnston & Faust, J.Z. (1985).

After the students have generated plenty of ideas on issues to be represented in their writings, the teacher should try to help the students come to a common topic in the classroom. This could be done by lateral discussion among students so that they do not feel left out. After a common topic is identified and agreed upon by the students, the teacher can comfortably proceed with the technical details. The students should be asked to think in terms of the introduction, the body and the conclusion of their topic and the teacher should act as a facilitator. Introduction of the concept of paragraphs should follow but in a very careful way. It has been often observed that while teaching about the paragraph form, the teachers tend to forget that a paragraph is a psychological unit and is divided intuitively. The teacher should, therefore, help the students to grasp the idea of a paragraph and restrain themselves from insisting on any hard and fast rule.

The students very often find it hard to write the very first sentence. They experience a kind of mental block and this is where the teacher should help them break the ice. The idea of general to the specific should be brought forward. They should be asked to write the introduction in such a way that the reader gets a clear picture of the content of the essay to follow. The teacher should consistently be encouraging and help the student to come out with a good topic sentence. The students should be helped in striking a balance between the general and the specific.

Another problem which bars the students from moving forward in their writing is the choice of right word/vocabulary in

order to verbalize their thoughts. The crude method of memorizing words and their meanings falls short as the right method of knowing a word is not followed. The students who do a lot of reading are in a better position here because they can readily transfer their reading vocabulary into writing. The teachers should insist on reading as words are better learned in context.

Now the teachers can comfortably teach grammar as the students have started looking at language in context. It is a widely accepted fact that grammatical knowledge is very useful to a writer to avoid errors. However, the students who are learning to write should not be overburdened by the intensities of traditional grammar. It should be taught in context and as a facilitator not as a restrictor (Kinesella, P. (1981). The teachers should always wait for the right moment to introduce any grammatical form.

Once the students start writing the teachers should encourage them to revise their own work. The common tendency of the students is to write and leave the correction to the teacher. This habit must be discouraged as the students should be helped to stand on their own. When they finally bring their writing to the teacher, they should not be attacked for their mistakes. Positive feedback should be provided and corrections should be suggested with proper reasoning.

It is very encouraging to note that the new plus three Bachelors course has come up with books which aim at using language for achieving communicative tasks. However, it is quite clear that most of our teachers are not very familiar with concepts of language learning and thus are unable to make the optimum use of the texts prescribed in a creative way. Their only qualification

as a teacher is a Master's Degree in English. A recent workshop in Padma Kanya is a welcome step towards making the teachers aware of the ways to approach the new textbooks and such exercises should continue.

Similarly, as most of the English Graduates from the Tribhuvan University opt for teaching at the colleges in the country, it would be very appropriate to include a kind of creative and effective short term teacher education program which mainly focuses on appropriate interactive techniques for Language teaching in our classrooms. This type of required course during the MA program should be able to grade the would be teachers on the following personal characteristics which most of the administrators strongly refer to:

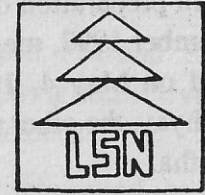
- ability to offer helpful support to the students
- patience and sensitivity
- reliability and perseverance
- ability to convey information
- commitment to the teaching professions philosophy and training.

I would like to conclude by saying that before blaming our students for not writing properly, we as teachers should look at ourselves and do a serious self evaluation. We should try to find out our weaknesses and try to learn as much as possible. Those of us who think that we have taught enough and have nothing to learn, should quit teaching immediately.

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LSN Newsletter Activities of 1996-97



New Office Bearers Elected

The new office bearers of the Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN) were elected unanimously on April 12, 1997. The composition of the LSN Executive committee is as follows:

President	- Prof. Tej Ratna Kansakar
Vice-President	- Prof. Sundar Krishna Joshi
Secretary-Treasurer	- Mr. Bijay Kumar Rauniyar
Joint-Secretary (Office)	- Mr. Amma Raj Joshi
Joint-Secretary (general)	- Mr. Phanindra Upadhyaya
Member	- Ms. Sudha Tripathi
Member	- Ms. Nayan Tara Amatya
Member	- Ms. Sushama Regmi
Chief- Editor	- Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay

Earlier an election commission was formed with Prof. Abhi Subedi as Election Commissioner and messrs Nirmal Man Tuladhar and Chandra Prakash Sharma as members of the election commission.

The outgoing president of LSN Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma handed over the official charge of the Executive Committee to the in-coming president Prof. Kansakar on April 15, 1997.

Editorial Board

In preparation of the 18th annual conference of the LSN in November 1997, members were nominated to the LSN Editorial Board on May 4, 1997. Along with the Chief-Editor Mr. H. Upadhyay, the other members are Mr. Lal Rapacha and Mr. Dipak Shrestha.

Highlights of the 17th LSN Annual Conference

The LSN organized its 17th annual conference on schedule at CEDA/TU auditorium on November 26-27, 1996. Some one hundred linguists comprising members and invitees of the LSN from Nepal and abroad participated in the conference.

The vice-chancellor of Tribhuvan University Dr. Kamal Krishna Joshi was the chief guest who also inaugurated the two-day conference. The vice-chancellor Dr. Joshi congratulated the LSN for bringing together linguists and language teachers from Nepal and abroad for its annual conference.

Dr. Joshi expressed happiness over the fact that Tribhuvan University had formally set up the Central Department of Linguistics at its Kirtipur Campus and hoped that it would give a new impetus to the study of linguistics and rich language mix of Nepal.

Professor Dr. Mohan Prasad Lohani who chaired the inaugural session observed that the LSN has played an important role in raising awareness of the complex language situation in Nepal and providing objective scholarly approaches to study and

discuss the issues in language planning and teaching in Nepal as well as across the world.

The President of LSN Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma presented his presidential address highlighting the activities of LSN and objectives of the 17th annual conference.

Mr. Siman Gautam, the Chief Editor, presented the copies of *The Nepalese Linguistics* to the chief guests and other dignitaries. The following papers were presented at the conference.

November 26, 1996

Session I : Syntax

1. Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar: The auxiliary verb in Kathmandu Newari and Lhasa Tibetan
2. Dr. George van Driem: Sino-Bodic: A major 'new' linguistic sub-grouping in the Himalayas
3. Mr. Suyeyoshi Toba: Dhimal: An important link
4. Dr. Devi Prasad Gautam: The comps in Nepali

Session II : Applied Linguistics

1. Mr. Phanindra Upadhyaya: Teaching English writing at the Campus level.
2. Ms. Tracy Hirata-Edds: Rhetorical modes and their relationship to writing and reading for understanding.
3. Dr. Paul Gunashekhar: The evaluation of ELT materials

November 27, 1996

Session III: Morphology and Syntax II

1. Prof. Balakrishna Pokharel: Magar impact in Nepali, the case of present tense
2. Dr. Yogendra P. Yadav: On the constituency of Maithili infinitivals
3. Dr. R.C. Caughley: Onomatopoeic features in regular categories of Nepalese languages
4. Dr. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha: A dialectical difference between Patan and Dolakha dialects of Newari on grammatical level

Session IV: Stylistics and Socio-linguistics

1. Dr. Gita Khadka : Structural Persuasiveness in Whitman
2. Mr. Bijay K. Rauniyar : Understanding King Lear's intentions
3. Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay : Linguistic stratifications in Nepali
4. Mr. Amma Raj Joshi : Images in the proverbs of the Bajhangi dialect

Valedictory Session

Presidential Address Delivered at the 17th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal

- Chandra Prasad Sharma
President, LSN

And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, "Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."

The Tower of Babel

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is my pleasure and privilege to welcome you all to the 17th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. I must thank you for your active support and participation which has so far helped the Society to survive. Last year, the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Kamal Krishna Joshi promised to look into and if possible to comply with our long standing request of opening the Department of Linguistics. On this momentous occasion, I would like to thank him for fulfilling the long cherished dream of the LSN. Let me also take this opportunity to thank all the Presidents and the office bearers of the Linguistic Society of Nepal for working hard towards achieving this goal--the establishment of the Department of Linguistics at T.U. And I would also like to thank all of those who have supported this idea and helped us to accomplish it.

The Department of Linguistics has been opened and it has already started its academic programme from this year. The challenge, of course, is to maintain the standards and make it a useful Department and not a 'burden to the nation' as many people have the apprehension that it might become one. The Department of Linguistics has to prove its worth, otherwise, it will be a white elephant among other white elephants in the wilderness of Kirtipur. So, let all of us engaged in Linguistics' activities solemnly vow to make the Department a seat of academic excellence and run its programme in a way befitting the dignity of the discipline. Let us not make it a begging bowl for personal enhancement or endowment as many NGO's and their "donors" are prone to doing. Nor should we use it as a fuel for starting a linguistic conflagrations.

Today, I would also like to appeal to the linguists of the developed and the developing worlds not to make language an issue for conflict, division, and rancour. We the people living in the Third World, are economically disadvantaged and are struggling to build the infra-structure that will help us to uplift our people's life. We, as a nation, are busily engaged in the process of building a ladder to the heaven but we have to make sure that the energy is not wasted in making a new "Tower of Babel". We need linguistic harmony not linguistic disorder.

We do not want any god-- the god in the heaven or the gods on earth-- to incite us into initiating this language war which many of the developing countries of the world are facing in the present day world. The god, it seems, was afraid of human being's endeavour and ingenuity and left threatened. He gave them different languages and created unintelligible situation that

resulted in conflicts and struggle. The people of the past forgot to build the tower. Instead, they got involved in petty wars all over the world. The Tower symbol has failed. It has created situation for more bloodshed than generated holy or sacred words. The developed countries, being trained in that tradition, seem to create more troubles to the developing countries. In the name of democracy and freedom, they play the role of a catalyst and trigger problems that were non-existent. They claim to enlighten us. But in reality the people find themselves in more confused situations. And to solve problems, they resort to violence as they feel convinced that force is the only solution and opt for guns which the modern gods are to happy to equip them with. Thus we find the people from the developing countries engaged more in destroying each other than creating peace and harmony. They quarrel among themselves on the slightest excuses. And this weakens the nation and the national integrity.

In the present scenario, when the idea of idea of 'global village' is afloat, it may seem ludicrous and biased to advocate 'National integrity.' But it seems that unless the people of developing countries comprehend the meaning of 'national integrity' in its full measure, they will not be able to understand the underlying concept of a 'global village.' At present, this phrase is used in a very limited sense. To the West, the world has become a 'global village' not because they believe in universal understanding and in "Bashudaiva Kutumbakam" but because the scientific developments have provided the world with the fastest means of communication and transportation. But the question is: What will they communicate if their hearts are filled with hatred and enmity? So, I feel that it is not only the task of the linguists to study and reconstruct the living or dying languages but also to

play the role of a Socrates and tell people to use a language for developing understanding.

Most of the time the linguists living in a multi-lingual nation create a lot of unnecessary clamours and compel their government in the name of justice to use its meagre resources on the development of language of the nation when the country is unable to develop even one language--the National Language. This seems to be true in the case of Nepal, too. Though our democratic constitution has made a provision to impart education in the mother tongue, I will strongly suggest the policy makers and the linguists to reconsider the policy and, if possible, opt for one language formula because that seems to be the right course.

Let me thank you all again for your co-operation and encouragement.

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In this issue

Articles	Page
1. The Auxiliary Verb in Kathmandu, Newari and Lhasa Tibetan	1
2. Status of the Tibetan Language in Nepal	16
3. On the Constituency of Maithili Infinitivals	33
4. Gender System in Nepali	40
5. Syntactic Deviation in Cummings' "a like a" and "Me up at does"	71
6. The Consonant /s/ in the Jumli Dialect	83
7. Sunuwar as an Endangered Language of Nepal	89
8. The Cloze Test and Language Errors	103
9. The Critical Period Hypothesis and Language Development	124
10. Teaching English Writing at the Campus Level	134
11. LSN Newsletter 1996-97	143