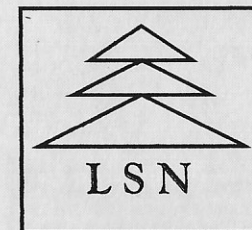


NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

Volume-16

September 1999



Linguistic Society of Nepal

Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Estd 1979

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NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

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TERMINOLOGICAL NEOLOGISMS IN NEPALI

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In the multilingual settings of Nepal, Nepali has been used as a link-language for centuries. It was used as a court language for more than two centuries and as an official language from the beginning of this century. With the printing activities, which started about one hundred years ago, education in the Nepali language was introduced, and use of the language was widely extended. Nepali gradually elaborated its structure, style and vocabulary. Standardization of Nepali continued as grammars were written and dictionaries were compiled. As the range of communication expanded, Nepali was subjected to unexpected roles. Thus, Nepali required measures for its development to meet the challenges of time. The ceaseless advancement of knowledge and urgent need for transfer of technology and flow of information demanded for systematic efforts for the introduction of neologisms into the language. Before the sixties of this century terminological problems were solved individually, during sixties and seventies sporadic efforts were made institutionally and only during the eighties systematic planning for the solution of terminological problems was initiated. In the sections that follow, I would like to highlight the activities for the introduction of terminological neologisms in Nepali and then suggest three contexts - international, regional and national to take into consideration while introducing terminological neologisms into the Nepali language.*

1. Individual attempts (from the beginning to 1950s)

The need of special terms for Nepali language was felt when modern knowledge crept into the Nepalese society. Though Nepalese were exposed to the outer world especially after the Anglo-Nepal war, modern education started with the opening of schools and colleges in the Nepalese capital. The medium of the modern subjects was English while Nepali was taught as an oriental language in secondary schools and as a vernacular at the higher education levels. As Nepali was accepted as one of the vernacular languages in Indian universities, writers were naturally encouraged for their creative activities but very little motivation was there to write books of modern subjects or translate them into Nepali. Gorkha Bhasha Prakashini Samiti was established in 1913 to prepare and publish textbooks in Nepali and extended

its activities in the later half of the thirties with several programmes for the development of Nepali. More books were translated and written, dictionaries were compiled, spelling rules were standardized and structure was elaborated. The printing and publication industry that developed in Nepal also helped magazines and newspapers of Nepali to reach the Nepalese speaking population which paved the way for the introduction of neologisms into the Nepali language. Though the Rana regime of that time was not sensitive to the transfer of knowledge and flow of information in the Nepalese society, Nepali linguistic nationalism was quite strong that enabled the production of good literature. After the fall of Rana autocracy and arrival of democracy in 1951, the range of communication expanded, publication activities were multiplied and more schools, colleges and libraries were opened throughout the country.

Whenever a need of a new term into Nepali was acutely felt, it was the practice to consult Sanskrit vocabulary and grammar which can supply a suitable term. As Sanskrit is the treasure house for most of the modern Aryan languages and other languages of South Asia, several terms of Nepali will be the same as in other languages of the region. Written in the same script and being genetically closer, Nepali shares a great deal of its terminology with Hindi. The problem of over-Sanskritization because of the introduction of new terms is still an issue in the language which was felt in the early fifties. A group of scholars then studying in the Indian city of Banares started a purist movement in Nepali language which was known as 'jharrobad'. The movement started in the middle of the fifties and was very active for a decade. Though the followers of this movement hoped to keep Nepali pure, it could not solve the problem of Nepali neologisms by overthrowing Sanskrit words and artificially creating words on the basis of Nepali derivational affixes. During the fifties two major decisions about the use of Nepali were taken: The constitution of 1958 declared Nepali the national language of Nepal in Devanagari script and the newly opened university made a statutory provision that Nepali would be the sole medium of instruction of higher education though English may remain as an alternative medium up to 1974 (which was later revised to 1984). Though these decisions were taken with strong feelings of linguistic nationalism, no statutory provision was made to take measures for the promotion of the national language to develop its adequacy and to make it a viable medium of higher education. Thus, these decisions were the bases for institutional efforts and systematic planning to introduce specialized

neologisms in Nepali in the coming years, the attempts made up to the fifties were mainly through individual efforts.

2. Institutional efforts (1960s and 1979s)

The institutional efforts for the introduction of neologism started in the 1960s. The English military terms that were naturalized in Nepali were abandoned and replaced by the highly Sanskritized terms. Administrative terms were coined for use in government departments and offices. New terms were also introduced with the new laws, sometimes replacing the old ones. During the sixties several ministries and offices coined new terms with the help of scholars and sometimes by forming committees to solve their immediate needs. With the introduction of New Educational plan, textbooks for all the subjects were written in Nepali. The terms that were needed were either coined by the writers themselves or prepared by a committee of experts appointed by the Ministry of Education. Though Tribhuvan University attempted to make programs for the promotion of Nepali several times, the formation of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies made it possible to start a systematic project to devise specific terminologies in Nepali. The language committee of the Institute held meetings in 1972 and a project proposal to develop technical terminologies for Nepali was prepared and submitted to the authorities for approval. This was a five year project which aimed at producing about 2000,000 words of over 50 disciplines including publications of 50 separate volumes and one unified volume. But the project did not receive approval of the authorities. One of the major activities of the Curriculum Development Centre of Tribhuvan University during the seventies was to publish textbooks in different subjects in the Nepali language. To solve the problems experienced by the textbook writers and university teachers, several meetings were held at the centre and decisions were taken about the use of international terminology, signs, symbols and abbreviations. The medium question in higher education was again raised in 1977 during the first convention of university teachers of Nepali. In an interview given to Ruparekha magazine His Majesty King Birendra pointed out the practical side while considering the medium question in higher education. If Nepali reinforces Nepalese nationalism, the international language aids its international existence. Therefore, His Majesty remarked that the national and international languages are not mutually opposed but they should be used as complementary to each other. The following year, the Royal Nepal Academy brought out a booklet on scientific terminology

consisting of about 2,000 terms from different branches of science. The textbook writers and teachers were engaged in devising special terms that they needed and as a result of this thousands of new terms were introduced in various disciplines of social sciences, pure and applied sciences and technology. Verma and Bandhu (1980) and Subba (1980) undertook studies on the problems and prospects of the use of Nepali in higher education. The first study was directed towards making strategies for the first phase to be completed within five years' time (1979-85) to make Nepali a viable medium for higher education. The suggestions include devising technical terminologies, writing and translating textbooks, preparing handouts in Nepali, editing journals in several disciplines in Nepali language, setting question papers in Nepali and the training of teachers. The Curriculum Development Centre again attempted in 1981 to get approval in order to prepare technical terminologies for Nepali but this was not successful. During this period of two decades several writers used technical terms and also appended them to their works written in Nepali language. But the approaches that were taken to solve the problem were largely adhoc, piecemeal and idiosyncratic. Confusing multiplicity of terms that were adapted, borrowed and coined had made their way into use. So it was a matter of great urgency that a systematic project be initiated to devise terminology in Nepali. But as the year 1984, the last year for complete switch over to Nepali language approached, people began to guess and anticipate that the authorities have reviewed the educational policy with regard to the medium question in higher education. As English medium schools right from the nursery were allowed throughout the country and instructions in English in the secondary level classes were also permitted, the guess was realized to be true. But no official announcement was made about the medium question in higher education and attempts to write books and devising technical terms continued.

3. Technical Terminology Project in the Seventh Plan.

In the year 1984 the Royal Nepal Academy prepared a detailed Programme for devising technical terminologies in Nepal, which was to be coordinated by a member of the faculty of language at the Royal Nepal Academy. Actually this was a revision of the five-year project that was prepared in Tribhuvan University in the year 1972. As the authorities of His Majesty's Government were approached for approval, the 5-year project was accepted for the 7th five-year plan. With a view to accelerate the speed of

development in the process of dissemination of knowledge, flow of information and transfer of skill by making Nepali language a more effective medium of education and communication, the Royal Nepal Academy prepared a conspectus of principles for devising technical terminology in Nepali. In the span of five years time, the project aimed at preparing separate glossaries of technical terms used in more than 50 different disciplines in order to fulfill the requirements for graduate level studies. These glossaries were to be published in separate volumes and finally in one unified volume, which may contain about 250,000 technical terms.

This project received academic supports and encouragements from various individuals and institutions. In 1984, Nepal Chemical Society held a discussion seminar on Nepali equivalents of chemical terms and Carl Duisberg Society Nepal organized a three day seminar on the problems and prospects of the use of Nepali in Science and Technology. Organized by a group of university teachers of technical subjects, the seminar was highly successful. A basic dictionary of technical terms was also prepared by the Royal Nepal Academy in 1985 under the UNESCO programme of language development and was published in 1995.

According to the original plan for Nepali Technical Terminology of the Royal Nepal Academy preliminary works of compilation of the terms were to be given to several groups, societies, organizations or individuals. The individual scholars, the experts of the subjects and linguists did most of the works of primary compilations and thorough checking. By the end of 1989 following glossaries were compiled, revised and finalized:

i) Glossaries were compiled for Linguistics, Economics and Management, Literature, Communication, Fine Arts, History, Psychology, Philosophy, Politics, Sociology, Anthropology, Archaeology, Geography, Law, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Botany, Geology, Mechanics, Survey, Construction, Highway, Irrigation, Sanitary, Library Science, Transport, Music, and Electronics.

ii) Out of these glossaries that were compiled, the following glossaries were revised: Linguistics, Economics and Management, Literature, Communication, Fine Arts, History, Psychology, Logic and Philosophy, Politics, Sociology, Anthropology, Archaeology, Geography and Law.

iii) And out of these revised glossaries, those that were finalized were Economics, Management, Education, Linguistics, Communication and Literature.

Detailed procedures were made to complete the project. A high level advisory committee was formed to make policy decisions and ensure its use. A technical Terminology Committee, composed of the distinguished scholars of Nepali, English and Science as well as Linguistics, worked for the solution of all academic problems related to the creation of technical terms. In order to secure the follow-up of the project it was planned to set-up a permanent technical terminology committee to monitor reactions, process suggestions, make revisions as well as additions for the next edition of the dictionary to be brought out after five years. A three-day seminar was organized by the Royal Nepal Academy in 1988 to review the works done and discuss on the problems that came to light. The glossaries were further revised to avoid overlapping in order to enter a term in its specific discipline only.

It is accepted by the language planners that the terminologies play a significant role in imparting knowledge through a language. As an official language of the country Nepali needs to be effective. Its role in the society demands efforts to expand its adequacy. Any delay in this respect will slow down the pace of development. Therefore the introduction of specialized neologisms for Nepali requires urgent measures. It is a never-ending task in the field of language modernization. It is not a task that can be completed in five or ten years' time. In order to develop and make Nepali a prosperous language we need to expand its vocabulary by introducing new terms that exist in the academic world.

Considering the flow of information that will be faster in the coming years, the transfer of knowledge that will be expanding rapidly for the democratization of education, the consolidation of Nepal as an official media and the development of all the national languages of the country, I would like to suggest that the project be continued in a more systematic way and keep on introducing specialized neologisms into Nepali taking international, regional and national contexts into consideration.

Advancement in science and technology has brought the world closer. In order to get benefit of the progress that has been achieved, it is necessary to be acquainted with the system of knowledge that can be transferred through the newly introduced terms, signs and symbols in various disciplines. They

may not be translated easily and timely into other languages. It is advisable that the international terms be accepted (with simplified phonetic forms if necessary) if this does not threaten national culture and language. We also need to keep contacts with the international bodies which deal with the terminological neologisms.

Most of the international organisations that deal with the technical terms are located in Europe and much of the new innovations come from the developed countries which use Greek and Latin for the formation of new terms. But the people of our region have used Sanskrit for centuries as a vehicle of their composite culture. Nepali, being one of the modern Aryan languages developed from Sanskrit via Prakrit, naturally seeks to borrow from the treasure house from her grandmother - Sanskrit. By using Sanskrit terms, we will not only be benefited from the experiences of the languages that have already enriched themselves, we will also be able to communicate with our neighbours easier and faster. Collaborative activities for the introduction of the specialised neologisms in the major languages of the South Asian nations can be fruitful for the linguists of this region.

As a multilingual country, Nepal needs to promote all the national languages with the formation of a sound language policy. Nepali has been used as a contact language for centuries and then a language of administration, education and communication in the multilingual setting of Nepal, needs to be enriched. For its enrichment it needs to assimilate as many terms from the national languages of the country as it can. These languages may not have the words of newly invented objects and ideas but they certainly have the words that express different objects, actions and concepts in different perspectives.

The Nepali language cannot and should not remain without terminological neologisms if it is to be developed as a viable media of communication, administration and education in Nepal and as one of the developed languages of South Asia.

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* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, November 26-27, 19.

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Thami Kinship Terms

Subhadra Subba Dahal

Introduction

A close look at the Thami kinship terms reveals a number of interesting points about the people. Thamis are a rural based people. Their social structure is simple in the sense that there is no class distinction. They are not yet divided by rich and poor families. They share a common ethnic identity and live by a common goal of survival by subsistence labour. This defines a family structure. A small single family of parents and children completes a family picture. There is no property, therefore, there is no greed to hold on to it tight and keep it in family which requires continuation of family blood and family extensions.

There is no cross cousin marriage system in this society. The primary motivation for introducing cousin marriage is 'property hold' in one family. Such 'property holding' simply does not happen in the Thami society. There is no religious binding also in connection with a marriage concept as is seen in a Hindu society. That parents, after death, are denied admission into the other world, if they do not perform 'Kanyadan (giving away daughter by religious ritual)' in this life. Thamis are free of such religious notions about marriage. Thamis marry because they need to marry as simple as that. A simple social ritual accomplishes the sanction of 'husband wife' relation. Yes, a Thami boy needs a Thami girl as his wife. This ethnic identity overrules all other man made rules. Sometimes this basic mandate is also broken in circumstances of migration from his native village to earn a living elsewhere. Thamis have by first choice married Tamangs outside their ethnic groups. A few cases have been quoted by villagers.

The present data show a clear convergence of Indo-Aryan Nepali and Tibeto-Burman kinship terms.

Nepali kinship types are noticed in Thami. This is a simple case of borrowing or let us say as imitation of a majority people by a minority people. It is not a case of cultural domination. It is a natural process of borrowing of Nepali lexical terms which in due process have become a part of the Thami language without even knowing what is happening.

The following kinship notation is used for the description of Thami kinship terms.

F	-father	}	Pa parents
M	-mother		

B -brother
Z -sister } Sb sibling

S -son
D -daughter } Ch -child

H -husband
W -wife } Sp -spouse

e -elder, e.g., FeB = father's elder brother

y -younger employed in the same manner

♂ -male, used to specify the sex of ego, e.g. ♂ ZS = male ego's sister's son

♀ -female, employed, in the same manner (These male & female notations are not required here)

Blood Relations

1. Grand Parents Generation (G²)

1.1. *bažya* FF + *božyu* FM

1.2. *žužu bažya* FFF + *žužubožyu* FFM

(note: These terms have been borrowed from Nepali, only Thami palatalization has been retained)

2. Parents' Generation (G¹)

2.1. *apa* F + *ama* M

2.2. *žekhapa* FeB + *žekhama* FeBW

2.3. *učyapa* FyB + *učyama* FyBW

2.4. *malam* FeZ + *palam* FeZH

palam MB + *malam* MBW (this is equivalent to *mama*, *maiju* in Nepali)

2.5. *nini* FyZ + *phupažu* FyZH

(note: *nini* is borrowed from Newari and *phupažu* from Nepali).

3. Ego's Generation (G⁰)

3.1. *bubu* eB + *pairi* eBW

hu yB + *wari* yBW

3.2. *tete* eZ + *žarphu* eZH

humi yZ + *damari* yZH

3.3. *lawa* Hsp + *uma* WSp

3.4. *žethažu* heB + *žethani* HeBW

3.5. *dewar* HyB + *dewrani* HyBW

šoltini WeZ + *žekhabubu* WeZH

3.6. *šali* WyZ + *šarubhai* WyZH

amžu HeZ + *damari* HyZH

(note: terms in no. 3.4 to 3.6 are borrowed with slight variation in usage).

4. Ego's Children (G⁻¹)

4.1. *ča* S + *wari* SW

čamai D + *damari* DH

4.2. *baine* ZS + *wari* ZSW

b^hani ZD + *damari* ZDH

4.3. *b^hatiža* BS + *wari* BSW

b^hatiži BD + *damari* BDH

5. Grand Children Generation (G⁻²)

5.1. *čač^ha* } SD children
čač^hi }

6. Relation by Marriage

6.1. *aži* HWM + *č^huku* HWF

6.2. *šamdhi* SWF or DHF

sandhini SWM or DHM

(note: 6.2 are borrowed from Nepali)

7. Kinship by religious ritual

ban 'religious or ritual friend (could be of both sex)'. This is a clear cultural adoption of *mit* system in Nepal which has a very deep religious meaning of kinship bond perhaps more revered than bloodbond. This cannot be broken easily and as good and lasting as blood relation.

banapa F of *ban* + *banama* M of *ban*

mit ba + *mit ama* in Nepali.

This term generates a series of kinship terms relating to G¹ G² and G⁻¹ G⁻² and to marriage relation (consanguineal and affinal types). However, this term '*ban*' is used for simple conventional 'friend' now.

8. Social kinship

šadu 'the man who takes away one's wife not by force but by the consent of the wife also *jar* in Nepali.

šauta 'the woman who is taken as a wives by one's husband *sauta* in Nepali
This term is borrowed from Nepali.

This coexistence of two wife or cohabit simultaneous with two wives by a husband is socially permissible in Nepal but has been declared illegal by the *muluki Ain* 2020 B.S. A man cannot marry more than once as this social code has been introduced since 1965, unless one's wife is physically ill or is incapable of child bearing. (This law has not been enforced faithfully).

thora thori 'senior members of Thami society who are usually addressed as *apa* and *ama* out of respect.

šara šarma 'young men and women of Thami society who are usually referred to as *hu* and *huma* or *tete* or *bubu*.'

huča pali 'children of Thami society' who are usually called *ča* or *čamai* or *čač^a* or *čachi*'.

Note on some terms.

damari and *wari* are neutral terms which could be conveniently applied to ego's generation to succeeding generations. These terms are generated from a marriage, and therefore could be brother-in-law or son-in-law, could be sister-in-law or daughter-in-law. *damari* is a native Thami word but *wari* seems to have originated from *buhari buhari* in Nepali. In usage also Nepali terms *buhari jwai* could be applied to marriage relation of siblings, son and children, and grandchildren from G^0 to G^{-1} to G^{-2} . There are no separate terms for step sons and daughters, or step fathers and daughters. They are sons and daughters and parents, *gai* do not qualify by using step son or daughter or step father or step mother. Even if there are Thami terms to imply step +, they have not been recorded in the present data.

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Nepali Baby Talk

Ballabh Mani Dahal

Perhaps all languages of the world have a special register called baby talk (=BT). This register is primarily used for talking to very young children.

Ferguson (1977) has attempted to generalize the common characteristic features of the BT in different languages studied so far. The Nepali language also has this special set of speech form primarily felt to be appropriate for addressing to very young children. This paper attempts to describe the structure of the Nepali baby talk (=NBT). The normal adult speech (-AS) is regarded as a norm or source, and NBT as a deviant form derived from the AS (Ferguson 1977, James B Bynon 1977). The data analyzed in this study are received from five Nepali speaking teachers from different districts of Nepal. The NBT words are divided into different groups and the NBT structure has been described by various processes such as assimilation, reduplication, deletion, substitution, and suffixation.

The secondary use of NBT is also made in the very intimate and endearing context but this is not included in this study.

1. Phonology

- (i) All vowels of standard Nepali occur in NBT but a, i, u are most frequent.
- (ii) Unmarked and easier consonants are favoured, retroflexes, trill and fricative consonants are replaced by dentals, liquid and affricate.
- (iii) Paralinguistic features like palatalization is noticed.
- (iv) Sentences are pronounced more slowly and carefully.
- (v) There is an overall higher pitch.

2. Vocabulary

The vocabulary of NBT is limited and confined to child's immediate environment and bodily functions. The NBT words may be grouped into two sets: (a) basic set and (b) derived set. The basic set of words are those which cannot be derived from AS source. They may be labelled as suppletive (James Bynon 1977) and derived set of words are those which are related to the source words in the AS. The sum total of NBT perhaps does not exceed forty. In this sense they are limited and closed. But in another sense, the new words may be created and words from AS can be modified and entered into NBT vocabulary. So they are open also.

Structurally open syllabic stems are in majority. The favoured canonical patterns are: CV, CVCV, (C)VV and CVC.

3. Classes of NBT Words

Many NBT words cannot be classed as in adult speech and at the same time they are flexible. When they are used in a sentence they may function as a noun, an adjective, a verb or interjection:

Verb	<i>ha babu</i> ! 'it is hot'
Adj	<i>ha hunchð</i> ! 'it becomes hot'
Noun	<i>fai gðlð</i> 'throw it !'
Verb	<i>fai babu</i> ! 'throw it, dear child !' etc.

Semantically they can be grouped into following categories:

(a) Parts of body and bodily functions:

1. *dudu* 'mother's breast'
 2. *bubu* 'milk'
 3. *aka*
 4. *acci*
 5. *chichi* (Gulmi dialect)
 6. *turi* 'urine' 'sex organ'
 7. *su* 'urine'
 8. *bui* 'backside'
 9. *ham* /*hammð* 'to eat'
 10. *pu* / 'to drink'
 - nwai* 'to take a bath'
 11. *ciu* ~
 12. *nini*
 13. *numu*
 14. *cimu*
 15. *tate, tati* 'to walk'
 16. *bunñð* 'to fall'
 17. *tete* 'to massage oil'
 18. *ma* 'to hit, to strike'
 19. *pa* 'to hit, to strike'
 20. *fai* 'to throw'
 21. *chai* (Gulmi)
 22. *mam* 'baby food'
 23. *pa* ~ 'water'
 24. *cici* 'meat'
- } 'excrement'
- } 'Sleep'

25. *papa* 'anything sweet'
26. *kuni* 'anything sweet'
27. *nana* 'dress'
28. *bate* 'small bowl'
29. *kakkali* 'curry'
- takkali* 'curry'
30. *harðharð* 'to bathe'
31. *chui* 'to touch', to pollute'
32. *ha* ! 'to be pungent'
33. *phui* 'fire, to burn'
34. *kokko* 'cradle'
- jiu* 'to touch the feet of the superior as a sign of respect, as a greeting'

(b) Animals and insects

35. *bā* 'cow'
36. *ai* ~ 'buffalo'
37. *myau* 'cat'
38. *bhya* 'sheep'
39. *mya* 'goat'
40. *kuku* 'chicken'
41. *kiki* 'louse'
42. *kuti* 'dog'
43. *hðthðt* 'horse'

(c) Kins:

44. *baba* 'child'
45. *babu* 'father'
46. *nani* 'child'
47. *mamu* 'mother'
48. *baba* 'father'

(d) Basic qualities:

- nammo* 'good; beautiful'
- ha* 'pungent'

(e) Games:

- Kana kana kurra* 'expression for vibrating the ear drum with trilled sounds'
- hakki* 'word encouraging the child to embrace the mother'
- thigiri/thiri* 'word to encourage the child to stand up'

(f) Spirit:

- guji* /*haugugi* /*haiguji* 'word for frightening objects like a ghost, spirit'
- thiri thiri* 'word used to play by lifting the child with hands.'
- dhai dhai* (Gulmi)

Note:

- (1) Words referring to domestic animals are command calls or onomatopoeic elements.
- (ii) Some are phonesthetic stems denoting feeling or actions.

4. Derivations Processes

Many NBT words are derived from AS words by the processes like assimilation, substitution, deletion, reduplication and suffixation. In some cases these processes overlap and interact with each other.

(a) Assimilation Process

Assimilation may be complete or partial in view of degree, progressive or regressive in terms of direction, and immediate or distant on the basis of the environment. We can observe the tendency to consonant or vowel harmony in this process.

Environment	AS	NBT	Degree	Direction	
-mr -> mm	ramro	nammo	Complete	Progressive	Immediate
-kr -> kk	kokkro	kokkolo	"	"	"
-rk -> kk	korko	kokka (G)	"	Regressive	"
#r -> n/-m	rammro	nammo	Partial	"	Distant
#t -> t-k/-..k	tarkari	kakkali			
		tarkkali	Complete	Regressive	"

(b) Substitution

More complex, and marked sounds which require delicate adjustment are usually replaced by simpler and easier sounds:

Retroflex ->	dental :	Thuli -> Thuli
Fricative ->	affricate:	sano -> chano
		basi -> bachi
Trill ->	Liquid:	tarkari -> tarkkali
		gara -> gala

(c) Deletion

Some of the NBT words are formed by deleting the AS word medial or final syllables:

AS	NBT	Deleted Phoneme/Syllable
kurauni	kuni 'anything sweet'	-rau-

batuko	bate 'cup'	-u-ko-
pani	pa 'water'	-ni
piu	pu 'to drink'	-i-

(d) Reduplication

This process seems to be the dominant process in the NBT. Suppletive or derived words are reduplication. Most of the words and sentences are repeated in NBT. Reduplication may be complete or partial. (R=reduplication).

Complete	Reduplication	
CVC+R:	CVCV	caca, papa etc
CVCV +R:	CVCV CVCV	thiri thiri
CVC +R:	CVC CVC	hathat etc.
Partial	Reduplication	
CVC +R:	CVCCØ	hamma
		buηηØ
		kurrØ etc.

(e) Suffixation

Some of the words are formed by suffixing the diminutive /-i/ and hypocoristic /-u/ in the AS word base:

- (i) The hypocoristic suffix /-u/ is attached to proper names, common names and adjectives of the AS words:

anita	anu
nita	nitu
niranjana	ninuu

Note the overlap of two processes suffixation and deletion in the above examples.

kalo	kalu
sano	chamu
phul	phulu

- (ii) The diminutive suffix /i/ attached to the verb base and is formed a verb stem with/without auxiliary gar 'do' or hu 'be'

nac-	'dance'	nac-i (galØ)
bas-	'sit'	bachi (galØ)
thulo-	'big'	thul-i (galØ) 'to salute'

5. Syntax

The NBT grammar is very rudimentary and restricted. The reduction of inflexion, fluid function of words and avoidance of the first and second person pronouns, neutralization of gender are the features of NBT register.

Ferguson (1977) has classified the above processes under four categories simplifying process ((a) through (c) and derivation from diminutive), clarifying exaggeration of intonation) expressive and identifying process (hypocoristic suffix, use of higher pitch, palatalization etc).

6. Dialect Variation

Regional dialect variation is observed in course of data collection. The instances of the variation so far noticed are semantic and lexical. EN (Eastern Nepali) and GuN (Gulmi Nepali)

EN	GuN
<i>tate</i> 'to walk'	<i>tati</i> 'to walk'
<i>thigiri</i> 'standing'	<i>thiri</i> 'stand up'
<i>kuni</i> 'milk boiled down till it is nearing solid'	<i>kuni</i> 'anything sweet'
<i>papa</i> 'anything sweet'	<i>papa</i> 'a kind of bread'

Social variation may exist in NBT and should be explored in future.

The common features in the BT of the languages of different families spoken in different parts of the world mark the stable and universal characteristics of the BT register. The most interesting phenomenon, however, is that some of the BT words are common in form and meaning cutting across the language family, culture and geography.

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Multilingualism and the Language Situation in Nepal

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1. Background

Nepal represents a complex cross-section of linguistic and cultural diversity. The Census Report 1991 records at least 60 different ethnic communities or castes and a distribution of over 70 languages spoken within the country's present day political boundaries. **The Ethnologue on the Languages of the World** edited by Barbara Grimes (1991) estimates a total of about 100 languages spoken in Nepal. This was perhaps calculated on the basis of over 30 distinct Rai languages which are usually subsumed in the Census Reports under a single heading of 'Rai-Kirat', and under the category of 'other unspecified languages'. These languages and their innumerable satellite dialects have genetic affiliations to at least four language families, namely Tibeto-Burman (about 56 languages), Indo-Aryan (14 languages), Austro-Asiatic/Munda (1 language), and Dravidian (1 language) together with one controversial language isolate - Kusunda. Despite the mutual influences among these languages of different genetic stocks, the channels of communication between groups of speakers are not ideal due to natural and social barriers of caste or professions. Nepali, designated in the Constitution 1990 as 'the official language of the nation' claims 50.3 % native speakers and has a dominant role in the life of the country including its extensive uses for official purposes, as medium of instruction at various levels of education, commerce, legal practices and in public communication media. Among the major languages of Nepal, Sanskrit, Nepali, Maithili (11.8 %) among the Indic languages; and Tibetan, Newari (3.7 %) and Limbu (1.6 %) among the Tibeto-Burman languages, have a long history of written literature and a variety of modern linguistic descriptions such as grammars, dictionaries and teaching materials. There are however a large number of minority languages spread over a wide geographical area that are characterized by a declining number of speakers. This trend in the degeneration of Nepal's numerous languages can be seen clearly in the statistics compiled in the various Census Reports over the past four decades. But according to one demographer (V.B.S. Kansakar 1989: 42) "the linguistic composition of the population of Nepal in

different censuses seems to be rather ambiguous". This ambiguity arises from the failure to identify the ethnic origin of speakers of various languages or to recognize the distinction between a language and a dialect. The census of 1952/54 for instance recorded more than 54 languages and these have progressively declined from 35 in 1961 to 17 or 18 languages in the reports of 1971 and 1981. I shall return to this problem later in my paper. There is therefore a strong case for adequate codification, description and expansion in the uses of these endangered languages for their preservation, development and standardization. It is against this background that we need to examine the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic situation in Nepal in the context of current democratic processes operating in the country.

2. Government Policy and Language Development

The configuration of Nepal's ethnic, cultural, and above all, linguistic diversity is a unique national asset. The governments in the past have not always recognized this reality nor have they taken any measures to promote the various languages of the country. In an earlier paper on "Language Planning and Modernization in Nepal" (Kansakar 1995) I referred to the absence of a clearly defined language policy and the government's failure to implement any consistent program of language planning in the country. The various Constitutions in the past had designated Nepali as the national language in view of its status as a lingua franca among diverse linguistic communities and its role in the national life of the country. While no one has disputed the status of Nepali as the national language, it was abundantly clear that the policy of His Majesty's Government was to promote only the use of Nepali in education, administration, press and publication, information and the media. Only two Nepalese languages, Maithili and Newari, are introduced as optional/elective subjects in the school and higher education curricula. Recently, there has also been a considerable decline in the use of English as medium of instruction in higher education. The government's efforts to increase the use of Nepali at all levels of education, however, have not been matched by production of adequate number of text books and reference materials in Nepali. The situation that has prevailed in the country since the Rana regime is one of a single language policy where the non-Nepali speakers have been at a disadvantage in education, employment and other social benefits. In Nepal where languages enter into dominant versus minority relationships, it is important that language issues are not politicized like in India where tensions and conflicts on linguistic and communal lines do come to the surface regularly (e.g. Hindi vs regional language *visa viz* English) or the Tamil - Telegu conflict in Sri Lanka arising mainly out of disputes

over language issues. In Nepal too, the dominant language policy of the government has been questioned and resisted in recent years. The national referendum in 1979 raised the demand for assigning functional roles to various native languages so that each ethnic group could preserve and strengthen their linguistic and cultural identity. Following the restoration of democracy in 1990 the new Constitution recognizes all indigenous languages of Nepal as 'national languages' and guarantees each community the right to preserve and promote its language, script and culture. The Constitution also asserts the fundamental right of each community to operate schools upto the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to its children. Although this is a remote possibility for most minority languages which lack teaching materials, functional script and written literature, the new Constitutional provisions provide grounds for hope and encouragement among various ethnic groups to work towards the preservation and promotion of their language, culture and educational opportunities in the mother tongue. The minority language groups such as Tibetan, Newar, Magar and Limbu developed primary level materials in the mother tongue, and unwritten languages such as Chepang and Tamang are attempting to devise scripts for producing newspapers and other printed materials. While these are laudable enterprises, the majority of languages in Nepal would need to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features so that these languages could become more functional to meet the demands of a developing society. Such a requirement is but natural in a country like Nepal where a large number of minority languages are poorly developed in form and usage. The national language Nepali itself lacks a comprehensive and authoritative grammar, and languages with rich literary traditions such as Maithili, Newari and the Kiranti languages still lag behind in standardization. In my paper on Language Planning I had referred to the importance of status planning where the national government must recognize the position of one language in relation to others. More specifically, there is a very urgent need to develop the functional uses of minority languages (or language varieties) in written and spoken social discourse. The use of a language in literacy programs and mass media (such as radio/TV broadcasting or publications) also serves to upgrade the status of a language, both socially and politically. The efforts that have so far been made by the recent democratic governments in Nepal to promote the uses of certain regional languages must therefore be seen as steps in the right direction.

3. National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission and the minority languages

One important Government-sponsored venture on the languages of Nepal was the formation of a National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission which compiled vital information and data on the language situation in Nepal and made a number of significant recommendations for the preservation and development of the country's minority languages in particular. The Commission submitted its Report to the Minister of Education, Culture and Social Welfare on 31 Chaitra, 2050 B.S., and among the 58 recommendations made under various headings, the following have been identified as the main ones:

1. To conduct a linguistic survey of Nepal in order to identify and determine the actual number of languages spoken in the country.
2. To promote the languages of the country through codification and linguistic descriptions and to develop the uses of these languages in education, administration and as vehicles of mass communication.
3. To identify the endangered languages and take steps for their preservation.
4. To establish a Council of National Languages for the purpose of study, research and promotion of national languages.
5. To classify languages into three groups, i.e. those with established written traditions such as Nepali, Newari, Maithili, Limbu, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Tibetan; the second with an emerging tradition of writing, e.g. Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Gurung and the Rai group of languages; and the third without any script or written literature for the purpose of imparting primary education in the mother tongue. The third category would include a large number of minority languages including Sattar/Santhal, Danuwar, Chepang, Thami, Majhi, Jhangadh, Dhimal, Darai, Kham, Kagate, Kaika, Kumal, Bote, Byanshi and several languages of the Rai group.
6. To promote mono-lingual or bi-lingual education in the mother tongue and/or Nepali on the basis of the ethnic composition of students in particular areas.
7. His Majesty's Government to approve and support those primary schools in the mother tongue which have been established by the local people.
8. All children to have the right to receive education either in the mother tongue, mother tongue with Nepali or Nepali alone.
9. Students at the lower Secondary level to have the option to study their mother tongue as a subject in place of Sanskrit.
10. To establish a Department of Linguistics in the University to promote the study and research in linguistics, and to produce trained manpower in linguistics.

11. To organize a full-fledged language Department within the Royal Nepal Academy, and to recognize and provide financial support to organizations associated with national languages.
12. To establish a separate administrative unit under the CTSDC of the Ministry of Education to develop curriculum, implement and promote mother tongue education.
13. To use the services of trained linguists to ensure more reliable compilation of language statistics in future Census Reports.

If and when implemented, these recommendations could go a long way in solving the major language problems of illiteracy, degeneration of languages, and lack of intelligibility or poor communication between and among speakers of languages and dialects. It is now two years since the Commission submitted its Report and there are no indications yet that the Government will accept the recommendations in letter and spirit. A one-day symposium on "Primary Education in the Mother tongue" organized by the Primary Curriculum and Textbook Development Unit of the Ministry of Education was held at the Kaiser Library on July 7, 1995 (Ashad 23, 2052) while the UML government was still in office. The meeting was largely unproductive as members representing various language groups raised objections to the government's failure to implement the Commission recommendations. The responsibilities expected of the government have been clearly spelled out in the Report but there is no commitment thus far that the recommendations will be implemented. It appears that recent governments are concerned solely with political and economic issues, and linguistic and cultural questions still do not figure in the government's list of priorities. Anyway, I feel that the work of the Commission should not go wasted as it was constituted by the then Congress government with the noble objective of understanding the language situation and the language problems that obtain in the country and implementing the feasible aspects of the Report.

4. Language Shift and Language Maintenance

In a multilingual situation such as Nepal, it is but natural to find cases of language dominance, positive or negative attitudes towards one language or the other, the decline in language loyalty resulting in language shift, and the efforts to maintain a language under pressure of a multilingual area. These are some of the uniting and dividing forces which can operate in a multilingual setting. The most remarkable aspect of multilingualism in Nepal is the composition and distribution of

- (2) 'Taro is working.'
 a. *Wa ilacā dinā cwana.*
 that clock stop.PC stay.PD
 'The clock has stopped.'
 b. *Sono tokee wa toma-tte iru.*
 that clock TOP stop-GER exist.PRES

There are two crucial factors which decide the aspectual interpretation of *cwane* and *iru*: one is the aspectual types of verbs, Aktionsart, and the other is the concept of "duration" of the event expressed by the verbs. These factors determine what kinds of verbs the auxiliary verbs can occur with. I will summarize the distribution of *cwane* in conjunction with the types in Newari.

2.1 Newari *cwane* as an aspectual auxiliary verb

The semantic types of *cwane* with various verbs is roughly summarized as in the following table:

(3)

Intransitive	activity	durative	progressive	<i>nyāsi-wane</i> 'walk', <i>khwaye</i> 'cry' <i>lālkāye</i> 'swim'
		punctual	repetition	<i>thiye</i> 'twinkle', <i>ti~:nhaye</i> 'jump'
	change of state	durative	resultant state	<i>tā:nwaye</i> 'get warm' <i>juye</i> 'become'
		punctual	resultant state	<i>siye</i> 'die', <i>tajyāye</i> 'break'
	change of position	durative	progressive	<i>dane</i> 'stand', <i>phetuye</i> 'sit' <i>wane</i> 'go' <i>waye</i> 'come'
	appearance	punctual	resultant state	<i>duhā-wane</i> 'enter'
aspectual			resultant state	<i>daye</i> 'be'
			progressive	<i>suru-yāye</i> 'begin', <i>sidhaye</i> 'finish'
Transitive		durative	progressive	<i>piye</i> 'dress', <i>bwane</i> 'read'
		punctual	repetition	<i>dāye</i> 'hit'

Table 1

The table shows that the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is crucial to the distribution of *cwane*. In the case of transitive verbs, *cwane* always expresses a progressive meaning, whereas in the case of intransitive verbs, there are three patterns in the interpretation of *cwane*, that is, progressive only,

resultant state only, or both interpretation available. When the main verb is an activity verb, like *lālkāye*, which means 'to swim', *cwane* expresses a progressive meaning.

4. *Rām lālkāyā cwana.*
 Ram.ABS swim.PC stay.PD
 'Ram is swimming.'²

On the other hand, when the main verb is a change of state verb, *cwane* expresses a resultant state, not progressive. If one wants to express the on-going process of change of state, another expression must be used, as in (5).³

- (5) a. *thau~:-kanhae tā~:nwayā cwana*
 recently hot.PC stay.PD
 'It has gotten hot recently.'
 b. *thau~:-kanhae tā~:nwayā wala.*
 recently hot.PC come.PD
 'It is getting hot recently.'

When the main verb is a change of position verb, *cwane* expresses either progressive or resultant state, depending on the context.

- (6) *Rām sku:le wanā cwana.*
 Ram.ABS school-LOC go.PD stay.PD
 'Ram is on the way to school/Ram has gone to school.'

2.1.1 Transitive Verbs

The interpretation of *cwane* with transitive verbs is simple. A transitive main verb plus *cwane* is always interpreted as progressive: the action denoted by the main verb is on-going. If the verb expresses an instantaneous action, *cwane* with the verb expresses a repetitive action, as in (7b).

- (7) a. *Rām-ā tala-e ākha: bwanā cwana.*
 Ram-ERG upstairs-LOC letters.ABS study.PC stay.PD
 'Ram is studying upstairs.'
 b. *Rām-ā khicā-yāta dāyā cwana.*
 Ram-ERG dog-DAT hit.PC stay.PD
 'Ram is beating a dog.'

2.1.2 Other Meanings of *cwane*

Since *cwane* expresses continuation, it can express multiple occurrence of the event the main verb depicts, when the notion of continuation is extended. Now let us consider (8).

more rapidly than beliefs in religious or cultural systems. A parallel case can be found in the Newar population whose language loyalty has been noted as 'one of the strongest in Nepal' (Malla, 456). We however need to distinguish Hindu and Buddhist Newars, and it is my impression that language loyalty and cultural consciousness are breaking down more rapidly among the Hindu Newars than the Buddhist Newars. The Newars who are affluent or occupy high positions in beauracracy, whether Hindus or Buddhists, also reveal greater tendencies to drift away from their language or cultural roots. In the fertile southern Terai plains, the strongholds of the Maithili-Bhojpuri-Avadhī speakers, have also attracted increasing number of settlers from the hills. Although this has promoted bilingualism to some extent, a close integration of the hill and plains people has not taken place and apparently will take more time. Another dimension to this problem is the spread of education which unfortunately has resulted in the neglect of minority languages by the speakers themselves. The growth in education has created a new breed of young elites who adopt modern lifestyles and are indifferent to the development of their mother-tongue or the preservation of their traditional culture. All of us have met individuals who find it degrading to speak in their mother-tongue in public. Along with the growth in education, the socio-economic processes are taking place, thus encouraging social mobility and social change. In this context, it is but natural for minority communities to aspire towards upward social mobility through greater proficiency in the national language or a foreign language such as English as a key to success in life. We may point to this reality as a factor in language decay but we must at the same time realise that "the ultimate test of efforts for maintenance or change rest with the people" (Williamson 1991: 135-6). In other words, if there is ethnic commitment and social integration from within the community, a language and the culture of its speakers will survive, however unfavourable or hostile the circumstances may be. The situation that currently prevails in Nepal may not be unique after all: it is an inevitable part of the sociology of all natural languages.

5. Conclusion

The language situation in Nepal is indeed very complex, so that one of the priorities that needs to be set by the government is the formulation of a consistent, well organized language planning based on all the available linguistic data and information. Whatever the status of the individual languages, it will be necessary for a government agency or the University to undertake sociolinguistic surveys on a regional basis to determine the language abilities and attitudes of each target group.

For example, what are the intelligibility ratings between different languages and dialects; what is the nature of bilingualism in each area in terms of mutual comprehension and extent of use; and what advantages or disadvantages are perceived by a bilingual person? It may also be very revealing to conduct area-wise surveys of the language attitude of a speech community towards the standard language. The very restricted use of Nepali in the Terai regions of Nepal is well known, and although there is no open opposition to the imposition of Nepali in administration and education, Hindi continues to serve the function of a lingua franca in many parts of the southern plains. Similarly, the study of the impact of language on social, political and educational fields can also provide essential input to language policy and its implementation. The Report of the National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission has made a good beginning by preparing a groundwork for sociolinguistic research which can be of great value to government planners, education officers and administrators who need to formulate various policies on management of human resources. Another area that the government ought to regard more seriously is the question of basic education in the mother-tongue, bilingual education and adult literacy programmes. The constitutional provision for mother-tongue education, for example, is a welcome step but does not involve any government participation or commitment to the programme. If direct financial or material support is not feasible, the government should at least provide policy direction and co-ordination in curriculum and textbook development or development of teacher expertise. The Commission recommendation to establish a Chair or a separate administrative unit under the CTSDC / Ministry of Education to implement and co-ordinate the mother-tongue education programme is therefore relevant and laudable.

At the community level there is an equally urgent need to promote awareness of the rich heritage of a language and the culture of its speakers. Bandhu (1995) in his paper on "Linguistics in Nepal" provided many practical suggestions to fulfil the aspirations of various language and ethnic communities. Some of the commendable ideas raised by him include the promotion of minority languages through their use as media of instruction in basic primary education and literacy programmes, the preservation of languages which are facing extinction, and the training of manpower to develop potentials for linguistic research by the Nepalese scholars themselves. He has rightly pointed out that "the promotion of a language involves selection of norms, standardization, cultivation and elaboration of the language" (p.14). The decision to use a minority language such as Magar as a medium of instruction at the primary level, for example, would require decisions about the script, an extensive

elaboration of Magar vocabulary to provide terms for modern school subjects like mathematics, science, social studies etc. Further, there will be questions about what forms of vocabulary or grammar are to be chosen for the preparation of teaching materials or what dialect variety would represent the standard form of the language. All these tasks obviously require a good deal of expertise and sufficient background in descriptive and applied linguistics. The Central Department of Linguistics which has now been established in the University can fulfil the long-term need to produce trained manpower in linguistics and to create an institutional framework for future programmes of teaching and research on the languages of Nepal. The initial effort or desire to preserve and promote a language, however, must come from the speakers themselves. The government, the Royal Nepal Academy or the University can of course sponsor survey projects, descriptive and comparative studies, workshops on teacher education or production of teaching materials in the mother-tongue to help support the process of standardization by developing new uses of a language, thus extending its communicative functions as they arise in a modern state. Toward this end, linguists and language teachers must take the initiative to conduct basic research on the lesser known languages, particularly those that have not been described, so that we have a better understanding and insight into social structure and inter-cultural communication systems. Any addition to our knowledge of the sociology of Nepalese languages would be relevant to the development needs of Nepal, and at the same time contribute to the country's ideal of achieving national integration through recognition of cultural pluralism. A multilingual state with an emerging democratic system cannot continue to follow a monolithic language policy.

Note

An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the Seminar on *The Teaching and Research in Linguistics at Tribhuvan University* on the occasion of the inauguration of the Central Department of Linguistics, August 2, 1996.

Language Family/Language	1952\54	1961	1971	1981	1991
A. Indo-Aryan					
1. Nepali	4013667	4796528	6060758	8767361	9302880
2. Maithili	918211	1130402	1327242	1668309	2191900
3. Bhojpuri	16335	577357	806480	1142805	1379717
4. Tharu	359594	406907	495881	545685	993388
5. Awadhi	328408	477090	316950	234343	374638
6. Urdu	32545	2650	-	-	202208
7. Hindi	80181	2867	-	-	170997
8. Rajbanshi	35543	55803	55124	59383	85558
9. Bengali	-	9915	-	-	27712
10. Danuwar	9138	11624	9959	13522	23721
11. Marwadi	-	6176	-	-	16514
12. Majhi	5729	5895	-	-	11322
13. Darai	3084	1645	-	-	6520
14. Kumal	3510	1724	-	-	1413
15. English	-	-	-	-	2784
B. Tibeto-Burman					
1. Tamang	494745	528812	555056	522416	904456
2. Newari	383184	377727	59979	448746	690007
3. Rai Group	236049	239745	232264	221353	439312
4. Magar	273780	254675	288383	212681	430264
5. Limbu	145511	138705	170787	129234	54088
6. Gurung	162192	157778	171609	174464	27918
7. Sherpa	70132	84229	79218	73589	121829
8. Chepang	14262	9247	-	-	25097
9. Dhimal	5671	8188	-	-	15014
10. Thami	10240	9046	-	-	14400
11. Thakali	3307	4134	-	5289	7113
12. Jirel	2721	2757	-	-	4229
13. Raji	1514	801	-	-	2959
14. Byanshi	1786	-	-	-	1314
15. Sunuwar	17299	13362	20380	10650	-
16. Lepcha	-	1272	-	-	-
17. Meche	523	938	-	-	-

18. Pahari	864	3002	-	-	-
19. Hayu	233	-	-	-	-
C. Austric/Munda					
1. Sattar / Santhal	16751	29485	23853	28207	33332
D. Dravidian					
1. Jhangadh / Dhangadh	4832	9140	-	-	15175
Others	70340	114302	487060	764802	504171
Unspecified	752	6432	-	-	9157
TOTAL	8235079	9412996	11555983	15022839	18491097

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Reciprocity in Kiranti

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1. Introduction

Almost all the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the catchment area of the Koshi river are characterized by a suffix in the verb which means reciprocity or 'each-other', e.g.

1. Rakong:
 - A. *ʔoruŋ-a marc^ha co?p-angi*
boy-ERG girl look-PST
'The boy looked at the girl'
 - B. *marc^ha-a ʔoruŋ co?p-angi*
girl-ERG boy look-PST
'The girl looked at the boy'
 - C. *ʔoruŋ ra marc^ha co?p-wamucaŋci*
boy and girl look-RECIP
'The boy and the girl looked at each other'

2. Lulam:
 - A. *keta-Λ~ keti-lai k^haŋ-u*
boy-ERG girl-DAT/ACC look-PST
'The boy looked at the girl'
 - B. *keti-Λ~ keta-lai k^haŋ-u*
'The girl looked at the boy'
 - C. *keta ra keti k^hŋ-muciŋci*
boy and girl look-RECIP
'The boy and the girl looked at each other'

3. Puma:
 - A. *tokku-a tokku-lai co:p-i*
boy-ERG girl-DAT/ACC look-PST
'The boy looked at the girl'
 - B. *tokku-ci cop-pomwaci*
boy/girl-PI look-RECIP
'The boy and the girl looked at each other'

- 'Taro is working.'
- (2) a. *Wa ilacā dinā cwana.*
that clock stop.PC stay.PD
'The clock has stopped.'
- b. *Sono tokee wa toma-tte iru.*
that clock TOP stop-GER exist.PRES

There are two crucial factors which decide the aspectual interpretation of *cwane* and *iru*: one is the aspectual types of verbs, Aktionsart, and the other is the concept of "duration" of the event expressed by the verbs. These factors determine what kinds of verbs the auxiliary verbs can occur with. I will summarize the distribution of *cwane* in conjunction with the types in Newari.

2.1 Newari *cwane* as an aspectual auxiliary verb

The semantic types of *cwane* with various verbs is roughly summarized as in the following table:

(3)

Intransitive	activity	durative	progressive <i>nyāsi-wane</i> 'walk', <i>khwaye</i> 'cry'
		punctual	repetition <i>lālkāye</i> 'swim'
	change of state	durative	resultant state <i>tā-nwaye</i> 'get warm'
		punctual	<i>juye</i> 'become'
	change of position	durative	resultant state <i>siye</i> 'die', <i>tajyāye</i> 'break'
		punctual	progressive <i>dane</i> 'stand', <i>phetuye</i> 'sit'
appearance		resultant state <i>wane</i> 'go' <i>waye</i> 'come'	
aspectual		resultant state <i>duhā-wane</i> 'enter'	
Transitive		durative	progressive <i>daye</i> 'be'
		punctual	progressive <i>suru-yāye</i> 'begin', <i>sidhaye</i> 'finish'
		durative	progressive <i>piye</i> 'dress', <i>bwane</i> 'read'
		punctual	repetition <i>dāye</i> 'hit'

Table 1

The table shows that the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is crucial to the distribution of *cwane*. In the case of transitive verbs, *cwane* always expresses a progressive meaning, whereas in the case of intransitive verbs, there are three patterns in the interpretation of *cwane*, that is, progressive only,

resultant state only, or both interpretation available. When the main verb is an activity verb, like *lālkāye*, which means 'to swim', *cwane* expresses a progressive meaning.

4. *Rām lālkāyā cwana.*
Ram.ABS swim.PC stay.PD
'Ram is swimming.'¹²

On the other hand, when the main verb is a change of state verb, *cwane* expresses a resultant state, not progressive. If one wants to express the on-going process of change of state, another expression must be used, as in (5).³

- (5) a. *thau~-kanhae tā~:nwayā cwana*
recently hot.PC stay.PD
'It has gotten hot recently.'
- b. *thau~-kanhae tā~:nwayā wala.*
recently hot.PC come.PD
'It is getting hot recently.'

When the main verb is a change of position verb, *cwane* expresses either progressive or resultant state, depending on the context.

- (6) *Rām sku:le wanā cwana.*
Ram.ABS school-LOC go.PD stay.PD
'Ram is on the way to school/Ram has gone to school.'

2.1.1 Transitive Verbs

The interpretation of *cwane* with transitive verbs is simple. A transitive main verb plus *cwane* is always interpreted as progressive: the action denoted by the main verb is on-going. If the verb expresses an instantaneous action, *cwane* with the verb expresses a repetitive action, as in (7b).

- (7) a. *Rām-ā tala-e ākha: bwanā cwana.*
Ram-ERG upstairs-LOC letters.ABS study.PC stay.PD
'Ram is studying upstairs.'
- b. *Rām-ā khicā-yāca dāyā cwana.*
Ram-ERG dog-DAT hit.PC stay.PD
'Ram is beating a dog.'

2.1.2 Other Meanings of *cwane*

Since *cwane* expresses continuation, it can express multiple occurrence of the event the main verb depicts, when the notion of continuation is extended. Now let us consider (8).

B. *wacc^ha lo mimc^ha lo ker-l^h*
 boy and girl and hit-RECIP
 'The boy and the girl hit each other.'

15. Thami: A. *sya-e syaca-kai ilekuno*
 cow-ERG calf-ACC lick-PST
 'The cow licked the calf'

B. *sya ηaη syaca ki-ilek-siegan*
 cow and calf lick-RECIP
 'The cow and the calf licked each other.'

We could not find any other Tibeto-Burman language in Nepal to have this character. This group of Tibeto-Burman language can be called Kiranti or Rai languages. The exact affiliation of Thami is yet to be decided, but it also has reciprocity. This token might indicate Thami to belong to the Rai languages or else, Thami has borrowed the morphology of reciprocity from the neighbouring Rai languages.

2. Historical Reconstruction

Rakong represents the oldest reciprocal morpheme from which Lulam, Puma and Bantawa seem to have developed it, eg.,

16.

	Look	Lick	Hit
A. Rakong	<i>cop-pwamucaηci</i>	<i>lek?-pwamucaηci</i>	
B. Lulam	<i>k^haη-muciηci</i>	<i>lek?-muciηci</i>	
C. Puma	<i>cop-pwamwaci</i>	<i>lek?-pwamwaci</i>	
D. Bantawa	<i>cop?-amwaci</i>	<i>lek?-amuaci</i>	<i>dhat?-amuaci</i>

The phonetic relationship of Sunuwar and Umbule with Rakong can be established through Lulam, eg.

17.

A. Lulam - *muciηtsi*
 B. Sunuwar - *mu mts*
 C. Umbule - *pu[~] tsi-m*

For Umbule

- the nasal feature of [m] is shifted to the following vowel [u] and the resulting initial sound [b] is devoiced as [p].
- the medial syllable [ciη] of Lulam is lost and
- [m] is inserted after the final syllable [t^si].

To derive Sunuwar reciprocal morpheme, from Lulam, the following processes are required.

- the medial syllable [ciη] leaves the nasal trace [m], the bilabial motivation for the change seems to be given by the initial [m].
- the unmarked vowel [a] is inserted between the onset [t] and offset [s] phase of the affricate [t^s], and
- the final [i] is lost.

Bahing seems to have developed its morpheme from Sunuwar, eg.,

18. A. Sunuwar - *mutas*
 B. Bahing - *motase*

The following sound laws establish their historical relationship:

- Sunuwar [u] → Bahing [o]
 - Sunuwar [m] → Bahing [ϕ] in the word medial position
 - [e] is inserted in the final position.

Chamling can be developed from Puma, eg.,

20. A. Puma: *?wamatsi*
 B. Chamling: *matsi*

To derive the Chamling form, the morpheme initial syllable [wa] is to be deleted.

Both Thulung and Limbu forms could have developed their forms from Chamling, eg.,

21. A. Chamling [matsi]
 B. Thulung [bet^{ss}i]
 C. Limbu [net^{ss}i]

To derive Thulung from Chamling the following rules should be applied.

22. a. Chamling [m] → Thulung [b] (Denasalization)

- b. Chamling [a] → Thulung [e] (Assimilation)
 c. Chamling [t^s] → Thulung [t^{ss}] (Aspiration)

In order to develop Limbu from Chamling the following rules are necessary:

23. a. Chamling [m] → Limbu [n] (Homorganic rule)
 b. Chamling [a] → Limbu [e] (Assimilation)
 c. Chamling [t^s] → Limbu [t^{ss}] (Aspiration)

Khaling form seems to be developed from Thulung, eg.,

24. A. Thulung [bet^{ss}i]
 B. Khaling [(i) uit^si]
 (a) Khaling has sporadic insertion of a lateral [l] in the morpheme initial position.
 (b) Thulung [be] → Khaling [ui] (Approximation)
 (c) Thulung [t^{ss}] → Khaling [t^s] (Deaspiration)

Kulung form seems to have developed from Khaling in the derivation of which everything except for the initial lateral [l] of Khaling is dropped, eg.,

25. A. Khaling [luitsi]
 B. Kulung [la]

Thami [si] might have been developed from [t^si] of any neighboring Rai language by the process of assibilation.

The process of assibilation is found even in Koyu, another Rai language spoken in Khotang.

Amchoke form must have developed from Bantawa, eg.,

26. A. Bantawa: [ʔamuatsi]
 B. Amchoke: [muatsi]

In order to derive the Amchoke form, the morpheme initial syllable [ʔa] is to be dropped.

Koyu form can be derived from Amchoke:

27. A. Amchoke: [muaci]
 B. Koyu: [mO:si]

Two processes have undergone in the derivation:

- a. Amchoke [ua] → Koyu [O:] (lowering)
 b. Amchoke [c] → Koyu [s] (Assibilation)

The following flow chart gives the historical picture of reciprocity in Kiranti:

This chart shows that the center of the Rai languages is Khotang which retains the oldest reciprocal form. Kulung's innovation shows a very distant historical relationship with Rakong.

3. Grammatical Borrowing

Data shows that the dative/accusative postposition *lai* is borrowed by 40% of the Rai languages. One-third of them have borrowed the coordinating conjunction *ra* 'and'. Limbu has borrowed the ergative postposition *le*. They have borrowed all these grammatical particles from Nepali. This borrowing shows a superstratum influence in the syntax of the languages spoken in Nepal.

4. Data Collection

We have collected data from the following informants:

- A. Rakong: Ms Ranmaya Rai, 65F, Nigalbas, Diplung, Khotang.
 B. Lulam: Mr. Kesar Rai, 25M, Okhre, Bhojpur.
 C. Puma: Ms. Maya Kumari Rai, 25F, Nigalbas, Khotang.
 D. Bantawa: Mr. Balaram Rai, 30M, Chisapani, Khotang.
 E. Sunuwar: Mr. Mahendra Man Sunuwar, 63M, Prapcha, Okhaldhunga.
 F. Umbule: Mr. Ganesh Rai, 25M ?, Hilepani, Okhaldhunga.
 G. Bahing: Mr. Prem Rai, 25M, Harkapur, Okhaldhunga.
 H. Amchoke: Mr. Hari Bantawa, 34M, Balankha, Bhojpur.
 I. Koyu: Ms. Satlaxmi Rai, 53F, Sungdel, Baxila, Khotang.

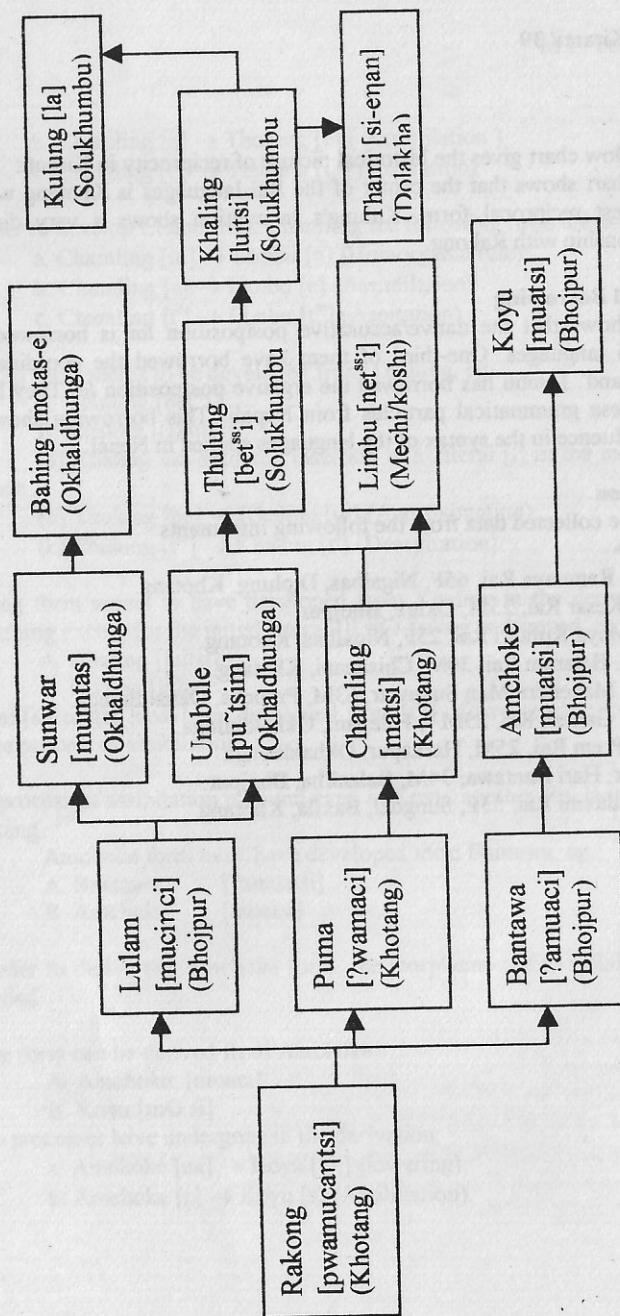


Chart 1: Historical network of reciprocity

A Contrastive Study Aspectual Auxiliary Verbs in Newari and Japanese: with Special Reference to *cwane* and *taye*¹

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1 Introduction

Although Japanese and Newari are similar to each other in many respects, Newari speakers who are learning Japanese, and vice versa, often make mistakes due to the surface similarity of the expressions in the two languages. At first glance, a certain word or expression looks exactly the same, but it is often the case that they are actually different in the range of usage, that is in what situation they are properly used. This sort of knowledge is important not only to learn the target language but to attain a higher degree of descriptive adequacy.

The objective of this paper is to describe the aspectual auxiliary verb in Newari and Japanese, discussing mainly two auxiliary verbs, *cwane* and *taye* in Newari, and their counterparts in Japanese, from a contrastive point of view. I will discuss the similarity and difference between Japanese and Newari, especially focusing on *cwane* in this paper. I believe this paper is useful from a pedagogical point view, as well as a viewpoint of the linguistic research on Nepal Bhāsā.

2 A description of the usages of *cwane* and *iru*

In both Japanese and Newari, existential verbs are used as aspectual auxiliary verbs, *cwane* in Newari and *iru* in Japanese. Unlike English *be* as an aspectual auxiliary verb, which expresses Progressive aspect, or Imperfective aspect, the aspectual interpretations of *cwane* and *iru* will depend on the meaning of a main verb they take. Roughly, as the basic aspectual meanings of the two auxiliary verbs, they represent a continuous action or a resultant state brought about by the event the main verb depicts, as in (1) and (2). In (1), the sentences in Newari and Japanese both express as event in progress. The sentences in (2) express a resultant state meaning.

- (1) a. *Rām jyā yānā cwane*
Ram.ABS work do.PC stay.PD
'Ram is working./Ram was working.'
b. *Taroo ga sigoto o si-te iru.*
Taro NOM work ACC do-GER exist.PRES

- 'Taro is working.'
- (2) a. *Wa ilacā dinā cwana.*
that clock stop.PC stay.PD
'The clock has stopped.'
- b. *Sono tokee wa toma-te iru.*
that clock TOP stop-GER exist.PRES

There are two crucial factors which decide the aspectual interpretation of *cwane* and *iru*: one is the aspectual types of verbs, Aktionsart, and the other is the concept of "duration" of the event expressed by the verbs. These factors determine what kinds of verbs the auxiliary verbs can occur with. I will summarize the distribution of *cwane* in conjunction with the types in Newari.

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Intransitive	activity	durative	progressive	<i>nyāsi-wane</i> 'walk', <i>khwaye</i> 'cry'
		punctual	repetition	<i>lālkāye</i> 'swim', <i>thiye</i> 'twinkle', <i>ti~:nhaye</i> 'jump'
	change of state	durative	resultant state	<i>tā:nwaye</i> 'get warm'
		punctual	resultant state	<i>juye</i> 'become', <i>siye</i> 'die', <i>tajyāye</i> 'break'
	change of position	durative	progressive	<i>dane</i> 'stand', <i>phetuye</i> 'sit', <i>wane</i> 'go', <i>waye</i> 'come'
		punctual	resultant state	<i>duhā-wane</i> 'enter'
	appearance		resultant state	<i>daye</i> 'be'
	aspectual		progressive	<i>suru-yāye</i> 'begin', <i>sidhaye</i> 'finish'
Transitive		durative	progressive	<i>piye</i> 'dress', <i>bwane</i> 'read'
		punctual	repetition	<i>dāye</i> 'hit'

Table 1

The table shows that the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is crucial to the distribution of *cwane*. In the case of transitive verbs, *cwane* always expresses a progressive meaning, whereas in the case of intransitive verbs, there are three patterns in the interpretation of *cwane*, that is, progressive only,

resultant state only, or both interpretation available. When the main verb is an activity verb, like *lālkāye*, which means 'to swim', *cwane* expresses a progressive meaning.

4. *Rām lālkāyā cwana.*
Ram.ABS swim.PC stay.PD
'Ram is swimming.'²

On the other hand, when the main verb is a change of state verb, *cwane* expresses a resultant state, not progressive. If one wants to express the on-going process of change of state, another expression must be used, as in (5).³

- (5) a. *thau~:kanhae tā:nwayā cwana*
recently hot.PC stay.PD
'It has gotten hot recently.'
- b. *thau~:kanhae tā:nwayā wala.*
recently hot.PC come.PD
'It is getting hot recently.'

When the main verb is a change of position verb, *cwane* expresses either progressive or resultant state, depending on the context.

- (6) *Rām sku:le wanā cwana.*
Ram.ABS school-LOC go.PD stay.PD
'Ram is on the way to school/Ram has gone to school.'

2.1.1 Transitive Verbs

The interpretation of *cwane* with transitive verbs is simple. A transitive main verb plus *cwane* is always interpreted as progressive: the action denoted by the main verb is on-going. If the verb expresses an instantaneous action, *cwane* with the verb expresses a repetitive action, as in (7b).

- (7) a. *Rām-ā tala-e ākha: bwanā cwana.*
Ram-ERG upstairs-LOC letters.ABS study.PC stay.PD
'Ram is studying upstairs.'
- b. *Rām-ā khicā-yāta dāyā cwana.*
Ram-ERG dog-DAT hit.PC stay.PD
'Ram is beating a dog.'

2.1.2 Other Meanings of *cwane*

Since *cwane* expresses continuation, it can express multiple occurrence of the event the main verb depicts, when the notion of continuation is extended. Now let us consider (8).

(8) Repetition

khā-ta sinā cwana
 chicken-PL.ABS die.PC stay.PD
 'Chickens are dying.'

In a natural course of event, death cannot take place to the same entity more than once. When the subject is a plural noun as in (8), the primary interpretation is such that chicken are dying one after another.

A multiple event interpretation is available when the main verb is a change of state verb. But in the case of activity, the entire sentence expresses a temporal habitual action, as in (9a).

(9) Habitual

- a. *nhinhi Rām sku:le bas-ā wanā cwana*
 every.day Ram.ABS school-LOC bus.ERG go.PC stay.PD
 'Ram is going to school by bus every day.'
- b. *nhinhi ji sku:le bas-ā wanā*
 every.day 1SG.ABS school-LOC bus.ERG go.PC
 'I go to school by bus every day.'
- c. *nhinhi Rām sku:le bas-ā wā.*
 every.day Ram.ABS school-LOC bus.ERG go.ST
 'Ram goes to school by bus every day.'

(9a) implies that going to school by bus is temporal or that Ram's going to school has been continued since before. Furthermore, the habitual interpretation is obtained only when there is an adverb which expresses repetitiveness in the sentence.

On the other hand, a simple habit is expressed by the past form for the first person subject and the stative form for the third person subject, as in (9b) and (9c), in which a temporal interpretation does not arise at all.

As I will discuss later, the Japanese *wanā cawana* counterpart can always express a simple habitual meaning.

2.2 Japanese aspectual auxiliary verb *iru*

Now I am going to summarize the meanings expressed by *iru* aspectual auxiliary verb in Japanese. This auxiliary verb has been discussed among Japanese traditional grammarians for a long time. The first stepping stone was laid by Kindaichi (1950). Later the Kindaichi's follower deepened this study, but Okuda (1978) criticizes Kindaichi's and his followers' ideas. It is not our interest here to go through the history of the study of Japanese aspect. So I will briefly summarize the meanings expressed by *iru*, based on the work by Yoshikawa (1973), as an exhaustive list, as in (10).

(10) 1. Progressive 2. Resultant State 3. Simple State 4. Repetition 5. Current Relevance (Perfect)

First of all, as in Newari, the interpretation is dependent on the aspectual characteristics of the main verb. If a verb expresses an action, *iru* expresses an on-going action, as in (11a), and when a verb is a change of state verb, it usually expresses a resultant state, as in (11b).

- (11) a. *Taroo ga hasi-te iru*
 Taro NOM run-GER stay.PRES
 'Taro is running.'
- b. *niwatori ga sin-de iru.*
 chicken NOM die-GER stay.PRES
 'The chicken is dead.'

Unlike Newari *cwane* with a change of state verb, the Japanese *iru* can express a process of change of state, as in (12), if there is an adverb that depicts a situation that lasts for a certain length of time which humans can perceive. Without *dondon*, which means 'more and more', it is difficult to get the process interpretation, if not impossible.⁴

- (12) *huusen ga dondon hukuran-de iru.*
 balloon NOM more and more expand-PC stay-PRES
 'The balloon is expanding more and more.'

In the case of change of position verbs, except for verbs of movement such as *iku* 'go' and *kuru* 'come', the interpretations of process of change of position and resultant state are available. Verbs of movement can obtain only a resultant state interpretation. I will discuss this point later.

- (13) a. *ojiisan ga suwat-te iru*
 old man NOM sit-GER stay.PRES
 'An old man is seating himself./An old man is seated.'
- b. *Taroo wa gakkoo e it-te iru*
 Taro TOP school LOC go-GER stay.PRES
 'Taro has gone to school.'

iru is used to express a simple state without the presupposition that the event depicted by the main verb has happened in advance. This is illustrated by (14). The *bakageru* cannot be used on its own and it is always used with *iru*, and as in *bakageteiru*.

- (14) *kono hanasi wa bakage-te iru*
 this story TOP be.absurd-GER stay.PRES
 'This story is absurd.'

Another meaning bound to *iru* is that of habitual. Although the basic forms of verbs can sometimes be used to express habitual, in many cases a habitual action is expressed by the combination of a verb and the auxiliary verb *iru*, as in (15)

- (15) *Taroo wa basu-de gakkoo-ni i-tte iru.*
Taro TOP bus-INST school-LOC go-GER stay.PRES
'Taro goes to school by bus.'

The fifth meaning that *iru* expresses is that of current relevance, which is illustrated in (16).

- (16) *Taroo wa kodomo no toki ichido nepaarui-ni ki-te iru.*
Taro TOP child GEN time once Nepal-LOC come-GER stay.PRES
'Taro came to Nepal once when he was a child.'

Kiteiru does not here mean a resultant state, although the main verb is a change of position verb. Rather *iru* functions as linking the past event to the moment of speech, that is Taro's having come to Nepal has a current relevance to the situation about which now the speaker and the hearer are talking. For example, may be they are talking about as if Taro knows anything about Nepal. The function of *iru* here has a discourse effect. Some scholars discuss imperative aspect in terms of discourse and argues that it expresses background information. Though *iru* has a similar function in this case, it may not be precise to call *iru* an imperfective marker, for it expresses a perfect meaning which presupposes a perfective event.

3. Comparison: Differences

Let us now consider some difference between *cwane* and *iru* regarding their functions. I will here discuss the function of expressing the meaning of resultant state, perfect, and the transitivity contrast observed in Newari.

3.1 Progressive

As was discussed in the previous sections, Newari *cwane* and Japanese *iru* both represent progressive meaning when they take activity verbs as main verb. In the case of verbs of position, however, especially verbs of movement, *cwane* allows progressive meaning while *iru* does not.

- (17) a. *ā: jhi: Swayanbhu-i wanā cwana-gu du.*
now 1PL.ABS Swayanbhunat-LOC go.PC stay.PC-NL exist.ST
'We are going to Swayambhunath.'
b. **ima watasitati wa Suwayambunaato-e it-te iru tokoro desu.*
now-1PL TOP Suwayanbhunat-LOC go-GER stay.PRES place COPULA
c. *ima kara watasitati wa Suwayambunaato-e iku tokoro desu.*
now from 1PL TOP Suwayanbhunat-LOC go.PRES place COPULA

Suppose that two friends are on a bus now and that one of them says to the other, a tourist, where they are heading for. In Newari it is possible for him to say *wanā cwana*, whereas in Japanese it is totally impossible to say the direct translation counterpart *itte iru*. To express the same idea in Japanese, it is necessary to say *iku* instead, and the time adverb must be followed by *kara* 'from'.⁵

The difference may not be attributed to the characteristics of the auxiliary verbs, but to the Actionsarten of the verbs per se. In this respect, it is possible to say *iku* has a stronger sense of achievement than *wane*, which focuses on process, but I will leave this matter aside.

3.2 Resultant State

The usage range of *cwane* and *iru* are rather different in the case of resultant state interpretation, although semantically speaking, they are used to express resultant state; the difference is considered to be a pragmatic one.

Now look at (18). If the speaker sees that a chicken is dead, in Japanese we say as in (11b). In Newari, however, there are at least three different expressions corresponding to the single Japanese counterpart. In the situation where the speaker finds that the chicken is dead without any previous knowledge of the chicken's death, (18a) is an appropriate sentence. This sentence expresses a speaker's finding of a state which newly brought about by the event depicted by the main verb, and it usually implies the surprise of the speaker. If the speaker has already known that it is dead, and someone else asked him or her in seeing a chicken without moving, in this situation, the speaker may answer like (18b). In this case, *sina cwana* is not appropriate. Furthermore, when the speaker is simply talking about the dead state of the chicken, as in a scenario, say, where a mother and daughter go to a market and see a lot of chicken placed on the table at a butcher, she can explain about the chicken to her daughter, like (18c). In this case, as well, *sina cwana* is not appropriate.

- (18) a. *khā sinā cwana.*
chicken.ABS die.PC stay.PD
'The chicken is dead.'
b. *khā si: dhunkala*
chicken.ABS die.INF finish.PD
'The chicken has been dead.'
c. *thwapi~: khā-ta si:-pi~: kha:*
this.PL chicken.PL.ABS die.FD-NL COPULA
'These chickens are dead.'

Therefore, the function of *cwane* is rather different in that it represents a new state in front of the speaker, which is brought about before the speaker knows it, although semantically it primarily expresses a resultant state in the case of change of state verbs. The Japanese *iru* construction, on the other hand, does not seem to have such a modal function like that of the Newari counterpart.

Furthermore, *cwane*'s function of recognition of a newly acquired state is illustrated in the next example, where the speaker found a new shop at the place where there used to be nothing. In this case, *dayā cwana* contrasts with the simple state form of *daye*, *du*, in the sense that the latter simply depicts the existence of a shop.

- (19) *nhāpā ana chu~ nā: ma-du-gu thāsa-e ā: nhu:-gu pasa: dayā cwana*
 before there any too NEG-exist.ST-CL place-LOC now new-CL shop.ABS exist.PC stay.PD
 'There is a new store over there where there used to be nothing.'

In Japanese, the counterpart of *daye* or *du*, which is *aru*, cannot take *iru*. This is because *aru* is a stative verb. On the other hand, Newari *daye* itself is not a stative verb, unless it is used in the stative form *du*.⁶

Now look at the next examples in (20) and (21). As we have seen in the previous section, Japanese *iru* construction can express both resultant state and simple state. On the other hand, we can observe a distinction between the two in Newari here too.

- (20) a. *kono kugi wa maga-tte iru*
 this nail TOP bend-GER stay.PRES
 'This nail has bent/is bent.'
 b. *kono michi wa maga-tte iru*
 this road TOP bend-GER stay.PRES
 'This road is curved.'
- (21) a. *thwa naki~: bekwayā cwana*
 this nail.ABS bend.PC stay.PD
 'This nail has bent.'
 b. *thwa lā bekwa:*
 this road.ABS bend.ST
 'This road is curved.'
 c. *nhāpā tappyā-gu lā ā: bekwayā cwana*
 before straight-NL road.ABS now bend.PC stay.PD

'The road which used to be straight is now curved.'

As the examples in (21) show, Newari clearly distinguishes simple state and resultant state. It is possible to use the stative form of *bekwaye* in the case of nail, if the nail in question is originally bent. However, if the speaker knows that the nail used to be straight and that for some reason it got bent, *bekwaya cwana* is appropriate. A similar thing can be said to the case of road as in (21c), for example, the road used to be straight but now the speaker finds that the road is rebuilt so that it is curved.

In summary, the Newari *cwane* with change of state verbs is used mainly to express the speaker's finding of a new state brought about by the event described by the main verb. On the other hand, in Japanese *iru* construction is always able to express any type of state which is relevant to the event described by the main verb, without any modal meaning. In this sense, Japanese *iru* is more grammaticalized.

3.3 Change of state of the transitive subject

Let us now move on to the cases of transitive verbs which describe the change of state in the subject. Transitive verbs typically describe the action of the subject and the action is directed to the other participant in the event, that is, the object. However, there are some cases in which the action is directed to the same participant, that is the subject itself. Reflexive event verbs are those verbs. In Japanese, *iru* with this kind of verbs gives rise to ambiguous interpretations, either progressive or resultant state. Now look at (22). One of a typical way to disambiguate the sentence is to place a focus either on the subject or on the object. With a locative phrase which describes the location where an event is happening, like *niwa-de*, which means 'in the garden', the interpretation of the sentence is that of progressive. On the other hand, if an adjective which describes the characteristics of the cap, say, *furui*, which means 'old' then the interpretation of the sentences tends to be that of resultant state.

- (22) a. *Taroo wa boosi okabu-tte iru.*
 Taro TOP cap ACC wear-GER stay-PRES
 'Taro has a cap on.'

On the other hand, in Newari, the two are distinguished by two different auxiliary verbs. As we have seen in the previous section, transitive verbs in *cwane* construction is exclusively interpreted as progressive. If the resultant state of Ram's putting on a cap is stated, a different auxiliary verb, *taye*, must be used.

- (23) a. *Rāmā: tapuli puyā cwana*
 Ram.ERG cap.ABS wear.PC stay.PD
 'Ram is putting on a cap.'
 b. *Rāmā: tapuli puyā tala.*
 Ram.ERG cap.ABS wear.PC put.PD
 'Ram has his cap on.'

The function of *taye* is to express a resultant state which is observable to the speaker. In this sense, as Hargreaves (1986) points out, *taye* has an evidentially function. I do not discuss the meaning of *taye* in detail and the similarity to and difference from the Japanese counterpart here, but there is an interesting thing to point out about the Japanese counterpart. If *taye* is directly translated into Japanese, it will be *oku*, which means 'to put' like *taye*. Yet the functions of the two similar auxiliary verbs are not the same. If we translate (24b) into Japanese literary, we obtain a different interpretation.

- (24) a. *Taroo wa sake o non-de iru.*
 Taro TOP wine ACC drink-GER stay.PRES
 'Taro has drunk.'
 b. *Rām-ā aelā twanā tala.*
 Ram-ERG wine.ABS drink.GER put.PD
 'Ram has drunk.'
 c. *Taroo wa sake o non-de oita.*
 Taro TOP wine ACC drink-GER put.PAST
 'Taro has drunk (for some purpose in the future).'

(24b) expresses the current situation of Ram who has drunk *wine* and the speaker can tell it from his face or his smell. But (24c) does not express such a meaning. (24b) must be translated into (24a). (24c) does not have any evidential meaning behind it, rather it has the implication that Taro drank wine so that he can do something in the future. For example, he is having a date for the first time. Since he is too much coward to have a date in a normal psychological state, he drank wine to make himself brave. This kind of preparation interpretation is difficult in (24b), if not at all.

3.4 Perfect

Let us now consider the function of perfect in Japanese *iru*. As discussed in section 2.2, *iru* construction can function as a marker which expresses perfect aspect. In this sense, compared to Newari *cwane*, *iru* is more grammaticalized. The *iru* in perfect aspect, in many cases, appears in subordinate clause to express a

background information of the main clause, but it is also true that it often appears in a main clause. Similar function is attained by the auxiliary verb *taye* which expresses the resultant state of a transitive event.

- (25) *Rām wa nihon e kuru-maeni nihongo o benkyoo-si-te iru*
 Ram TOP Japan LOC come.PRES-before Japanese ACC study-do-GER stay
 'Ram studied Japanese before he came to Japan. (So his proficiency of the language is all right.)'
 (26) *Rām-ā jāpān-e wae-nhya: jāpān bhāsā bwanā tala.*
 Ram-ERG Japan-LOC come-before Japanese read put.PD
 'Ram had studied Japanese before he came to Japan.'

As was said above, *taye* does not have a preparation interpretation, rather it expresses the currently remaining effect of his learning Japanese or his past experience of his learning Japanese.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed the characteristics of the auxiliary verbs *cwane* in Newari and the Japanese counterpart *iru*, and *taye* in conjunction with the related meanings of *iru* and *cwane*. The function of *iru* is more than those of *cwane*, and of course, some functions are not overlapped with each other. I will summarize the differences below:

1. *Cwane* and *iru* both express a progressive meaning with activity verbs.
2. *Iru* expresses all kinds of state regardless of modal effects whereas *cwane* expresses resultant state only when the speaker's finding situation is obtained.
3. In the case of reflexive event verbs, such as verbs of dressing, Newari distinguishes progressive and resultant state by *cwane* and *taye* respectively, whereas Japanese *iru* alone expresses both meanings.
4. Japanese *iru* is used to express current relevance, while *cwane* does not have this function. Instead *taye* expresses similar meaning.

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End Notes

- ¹ This paper is a revised version of my presentation at the 19th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal, held on November 25 and 26. All the data here are based on my fieldwork conducted in summer, 1998. At the time of my research, I learned Newari from Renu Shakya, a teacher at Patan Languages School, and Manik Shakya, who was a student of Newari Studies at Patan Campus. They helped me a lot in my research as well. I would like to express my deep gratitude to them. Also I would like to thank the faculty of Newari Studies, Dr. S.K. Joshi, Mr. K. Tamot, Dr. R.L. Shrestha for helpful comments and guidance during my research. The abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: ABS-Absolutive, ERG-Ergative, DAT-Dative-, LOC-Locative, TOP-Topic, NOM-Nominative, ACC-Accusative, INST-Instrumental, PRES-Present, PAST-Past, PC-Past Conjunct, PD-Past Disjunct, ST-Stative, INF-Infinitive, GER-Gerundive, NL-Nominalizer, SG-Singular, PL-Plural.
- ² As for the tense of the past form of *cwane* as an auxiliary verb refers to, it expresses present to past, hence (4) can be interpreted either as past progressive or as present progressive. I do not show both of the two possible interpretations on the glosses, unless necessary.
- ³ Some change of state verbs expressing a punctual event which is not usually regarded as taking place over a span of time, such as *siye* 'die', cannot take *waye* to express a gradual change of state. Although in English it is possible to say, "The fire is slowly dying", but in Newari it is not natural to say, "*mi: sinaa wala.*" However, I have met a few Newari speakers who accept this sentence. To depict the same situation, it is necessary to say something like "*mi: cipā juyāwala.*" *ci:pā juye* here means 'to become small'.
- ⁴ The process interpretation is not available to all change-of-state verbs. Like Newari, if the change of state in question is too punctual to go on for a certain period of time, it is impossible to get the interpretation of a process of change of state. Also in Japanese, the direct translation of *ci:pā juyāwala* is possible to express a similar meaning. However, the use of the *wane* counterpart in Japanese, there arises a modal meaning, which

expresses the observer's recognition of the change of state. I will not discuss the auxiliary verbs in this paper.

- ⁵ (i) I actually heard this sort of mistake as in b-example from the mouth of a Newar whose proficiency in Japanese is at the level of beginner.
- (ii) Newari *-gu du* and Japanese *tokoro desu* functions in similar way to emphasize the progressive action at a moment of speech.
- ⁶ I do not commit myself to discuss the characteristics of verbs in Newari here, since it is beyond the scope of this paper. This topic, however, is quite interesting, especially from the viewpoint of unaccusativity proposed in the Generative literature.

Research in Language and Linguistics: Retrospect and Prospect

Presidential Address
19th Annual Conference
Linguistic Society of Nepal
November 26-27, 1998.

Tej R. Kansakar

Respected Chairman, Hon'able Rector Prof. Dr. Madhav Prasad Sharma, distinguished guests, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen,

It is my pleasure as well as my privilege as President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal to welcome you all to this inaugural session of the Society's 19th Annual Conference this morning.

At the 18th Annual Conference last year, I surveyed the role of language and linguistics in Nepalese education with focus on the need to strengthen our language curricula for the development of educational standards in the country. These remarks reflect a part of the general concern today on the poor quality of higher education in Nepal. An important aspect of this problem is related to the absence of any linkage between research and teaching on the one hand and education and development on the other. Dahal (1993:6) rightly asserts that 'research is an essential component of higher education', while Khatry (1998: 1) refers to teaching and research as 'two wheels of higher education'. I wish therefore to make a few observations today on the problems and prospects for linguistic studies and research in the context of Tribhuvan University's academic programmes.

In the larger context, Nepal has a fairly long tradition of linguistic studies on some of the major languages of the country such as Sanskrit, Nepali, Newari etc in which native and foreign scholars have produced grammars, dictionaries and etymological descriptions over the past century. Bandhu (1996) provides a brief historical perspective on the linguistic studies in Nepal since the early 19th century which have in many ways set the tradition and direction for linguistic research in the country. Following the establishment of the Royal Nepal Academy in 1957 and Tribhuvan University in 1959, various teachers and scholars made significant contributions to linguistic studies, especially on the historical and comparative model and publication of multilingual glossaries. The pioneer work of Bal Krishna Pokharel in the early 1960's to develop field research methodology for collection of language data was followed by Bandhu in 1964 and 1968 when he conducted extensive field work on Nepali and other languages, and Bandhu, Dahal and Caughley on the study of Chepang language and culture in 1969. By

this time the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) was already engaged in studying the languages of Nepal under the auspices of Tribhuvan University. The SIL linguists undertook systematic research on a number of Nepalese languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian families, and produced the lexicon and phonological summaries of these languages. Later, in the early 1970's their work concentrated on grammatical studies and discourse analyses of selected languages of Nepal. Within a period of ten years (1965-75) the SIL team had made substantial contributions in the areas of phonological studies, analysis of texts, preparation of word-lists, morphological analysis, clause and sentence level syntax, discourse analysis and preparation of literacy materials. In addition, the SIL also conducted seminars, workshops and training programmes including the teaching of the very first M.A. courses in linguistics during 1973-74. These courses aimed to provide a strong academic base together with orientation on field research techniques in descriptive linguistics. Following the departure of the SIL team from Nepal in 1976, a number of Nepalese and foreign scholars have also produced significant works on Nepalese languages and publication of standard reference grammars including Acarya (1991) and Pokharel (1997) for Nepali, Malla (1985) for Newar language, R.Yadav (1996) for Maithili; van Driem (1987, 1993) for Limbu and Dumi, Ebert (1996, 1997) for Camling and Athpare Rai, Michaelovsky (1981) for Hayu/Vayu, Bickel (1996) for Belhare, Varenkamp (1997) and Yhonjan (1997) for Tamang; the linguistic survey of Eastern Nepal conducted by Werner Winter and Alfons K. Weidert on the auspices of the German Research Council during 1981-84 and reported in Hanßon (1991); and the contributions of George van Driem's on-going Himalayan Languages Project based in Leiden University. A group of teachers of Tribhuvan University committed to language and linguistic studies founded the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1979 for the advancement of scientific studies and research in language. The society since then has been organizing seminars, workshops and annual conferences which are attended by native scholars, language teachers and a growing number of foreign linguists every year. Some of them like Austin Hale, Ross Caughley, Warren Glover, David Watters, R.K. Sprigg, George van Driem, Boyd Michaelovsky and Martine Mazaudon in particular have conducted specialized research on the languages of Nepal over the past three decades. Although the Society has not been able to give a leadership in research activities, it has certainly provided a regular forum for discussion of on-going research or dissemination of research reports and findings especially on descriptive or typological studies. The Society also publishes an annual journal of Nepalese Linguistics and a Newsletter for this purpose. The Society has thus succeeded in a small way to project the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of Nepal and to

promote linguistic studies and research in the country. The Society in fact played a crucial role in the establishment of the Central Department of Linguistics in 1996 as a result of a prolonged campaign it had initiated since its first annual conference in 1980. The task force report which formally recommended the establishment of the Linguistics Department envisaged the development of an academic base for the study of theoretical and applied linguistics, the promotion of research on the national languages and the preparation and standardization of minority languages through literacy programmes, mother-tongue education and extensions in the communicative functions of individual languages. Specifically, the Department aims to prepare qualified and professionally trained manpower in linguistics. The course content for this reason includes a compulsory Paper on Research Methodology, Field work and Dissertation. This paper seeks to give students research experience in collecting and analysing data from the languages of Nepal so that they may not only learn linguistics but be able to do linguistics and use their linguistic expertise professionally in the future. We have had a fully operational M.A. programme in linguistics for the past two years and initiated small-scale research projects for both faculty members and students. The faculty members have undertaken projects on various interesting topics including Ballabh Mani Dahal and Devi P. Gautam on "The Standardization of Spoken Nepali", Tej R. Kansakar on "The Syntactic Typology of Newar and Tamang languages", Yogendra P. Yadava on "The Morphology of Maithili Verbs", Madhav P. Pokharel on "The Evaluation of Teaching Materials in Nepali", Nirmal M. Tuladhar on "Wordlists and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire for field work" and Bharat Bhattarai on "The Vocabulary of the Meche language". The first batch of students in the second year have taken up dissertation topics ranging from basic descriptions in morphology and syntax to typological and comparative analyses of languages in close contact. The Department has also affiliated three American scholars who are presently engaged in linguistic research that are of long-term interest to the Department. Daniel McCloy is working on a two - year project "Languages of Nepal Information Management System" (1997-98) which seeks to design and build a computer database for organizing information on the languages and dialects of Nepal. Stephen A. Watters has begun his three-year project on "Comparative Phonology of some Bodish languages of Nepal", while Bryan K. Varenkamp has also scheduled his work for three years to produce a "Reference Grammar of Central Eastern Tamang" which will be a basis for comparative research on other Tamang dialects and the writing of a pedagogical grammar for the language. The Department has recently published the second updated edition of "A Bibliography of Nepalese Languages and Linguistics" compiled by Sueyoshi Toba, and plans to launch publication of working papers and a regular journal

"Gipan" which is a Kusunda word for 'language' in order to reflect our concern for the documentation and preservation of Nepal's numerous endangered languages. In addition, the Department has been very active in organizing workshop-seminars on research methodology, computational linguistics, and two orientation programmes in linguistics for campus-level teachers held during June 8-20, 1997 and July 10-16, 1998 which were designed to upgrade the teaching and learning of language and promote linguistic research in the University. The second orientation programme held this year in fact focussed on the urgent need to develop undergraduate curricula in linguistics so that the study of basic linguistics at that level can contribute to linguistic awareness and development of language competence in students. We cannot over-emphasize the crucial point that without adequate language skills in students the educational standards in this country will keep on falling.

Since its inception, Tribhuvan University has lacked an explicit research policy, and research activities as a result have invariably been assigned a low priority in funding and programming. The Research Division admits that even after 40 years of its establishment, Tribhuvan University has not been able to formulate a formal policy on research, nor has it succeeded in regulating research for educational development (Sharma 1996:142-43). There is also a good deal of fragmentation and duplication of research efforts in academic departments and research centres. In order to overcome some of these logistic problems, the Research Division has recently been attempting to function as a coordinating agency for all research activities within the University. According to the 'Research Bulletins' published by the Division, a total of 205 foreign researchers have been affiliated to the University during the period January 1993 - March 1998. The Division has also sponsored 87 research projects conducted by teachers and local scholars over the same period on a variety of topics. This gives us a total of 292 projects initiated or completed within five years, and of these 21 researchers (i.e. 7.1 %) worked on topics related to language and linguistics or language teaching. Among the research activities sponsored by various faculties, research centres and the University Grants Commission, there are a few completed or on-going projects on language descriptions, e.g. "A Study of Thami language and people" by Subhadra Subba, "A Study of Jhangadh language and culture" by Vishwanath Bhandari and Sita Bhandari, "A Study of the Chantyal language" by Jagannath P. Lamsal, "Word Classes in Nepali" by Devi P. Gautam, "Newari Language Policy III by Ananda Shrestha; Literacy projects conducted by the Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development (CERID); and pedagogic studies on curriculum, teaching materials and methodologies under the Faculties of Humanities and Education.

According to the study conducted by Dahal (1993) the budget for the research centres under Tribhuvan University consists of hardly one to two percent of its total budget. A large portion of this budget is spent on the salary of increasing number of administrative and research staff who do not do any research. There is little money for research publications, training programmes and development of documentation facilities. It is also difficult to judge the quality of research reports especially those which do not get published. Among the four research centres in the University, the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) alone has a linguistic section with limited provisions for research and publications. Subhadra Subba and her team conducted a three-part survey of Bilingualism in Nepal during 1974-75. This was the first work of its kind in Nepal and hence is significant in the history of linguistic research in the country. This was followed by other sociolinguistic projects on "Language Standardization and Simplification" in 1969-70; "Language Medium in Higher Education" in 1978-79 and an unpublished report on "The Vocabulary of the Dhimal language on phonetic and phonemic principles". I. Shresthacarya also made lexical studies of rural Newar entitled "Jyapu Vocabulary : A Preliminary report" in 1976. Apart from these earlier contributions, there has not been any significant project in linguistics sponsored by CNAS for the past 15-20 years. This has been due primarily to lack of funds which imposes severe restrictions on its research programming and training of research personnel. CNAS however has continued to publish a multi-disciplinary journal "Contributions to Nepalese Studies" twice a year since 1973. The journal publishes many specialized research papers and reviews on many subjects including language and linguistics, and caters to a growing international readership. CNAS has also over the years affiliated foreign researchers, a few of them in linguistics are often published in the 'Contributions' as resumes of on-going projects or as part of M.A. / Ph.D. degree programmes in foreign universities. Although not formally affiliated to the University, five students from the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and University of California, Santa Barbara are also in Nepal at this time for research on Nepalese languages that have not been adequately described, and these include Magar, Sherpa, Loba/Lhoba, Manangba and Ghale. The interest and the contributions being made by native and foreign scholars in linguistics research in Nepal have encouraged us in the Department of Linguistics to make projections for the future and to train more students with skills and techniques in field work. Last year Sueyoshi Toba trained our first batch of students on field research methods for a period of three months, and this year Bryan Varenkamp has very kindly continued the tradition we have set for training, field experience and production of quality research reports. The Department in this sense has succeeded in establishing an

environment for academic excellence and fruitful research within a short period of two years. Given adequate resources and expertise, we shall soon be in a position to provide effective leadership and coordination not only for the development of academic programmes in linguistics but also to carry out area-wise surveys of language groups as initiated by the German Research Council for the Rai group of languages in Eastern Nepal referred to above. Since then there has not been any follow-up research project of this kind with areal or typological focus, and it is important that we begin to plan and study the feasibility of conducting areal surveys such as the Bodish group of languages or the Terai group of languages, so that we may better understand the linguistic configuration of Nepal and in the long-term future to produce reliable documentation on what may eventually take the form of a complete and authoritative linguistic survey of Nepal. We cannot of course achieve all this on our own and we would need collaboration and support in terms of linguistic and non-linguistic inputs from academic institutions and government agencies in Nepal and elsewhere. To begin with, we are in favour of initiating agreements or memorandum of understanding with linguistic departments in various countries for exchange of scholars and students, joint editing and publications, and collaboration in small scale research projects that can be mutually beneficial. One obvious starting point for such research activities could be to preserve and document the large number of minority languages in Nepal that are in the endangered list, and to promote the use of such languages through the production of basic descriptions such as grammars, dictionaries, and literacy / teaching materials. An important aspect of working with languages is that we are also dealing with human relationships. Researchers in language must also attempt to understand the social, cultural and emotional aspects of speakers' lives. If we can make the speakers of minority languages aware of the need to preserve their language and their culture, we would have taken a significant step to language maintenance. The development of a functional script (for unwritten languages) and extensions in spoken and written uses do contribute to language loyalty, ethnic pride and ethnic identity. In a multilingual and multi-ethnic setting such as Nepal, linguistic research can thus play a vital role in solving many of our educational and communication problems such as primary education in the mother-tongue, literacy training, second and foreign language teaching and learning, and professional uses of language.

I would like to conclude my remarks with a few ideas on how the existing conditions for research in language and linguistics can best be improved.

(1) The nature and scope for language research in Nepal may ultimately depend on a well - defined government policy on the use and promotion of national languages and foreign language needs in the country. The government

does not have such a policy, and it is essential to formulate policy guidelines so that language planning and educational planning can compliment each other. A policy of this kind must be able to define the rationale for research so that institutions such as the University, the Royal Nepal Academy and other private agencies can set priorities for research according to specific needs, and the researchers can plan on the most feasible methodology for carrying out individual projects.

(2) Research activities in Tribhuvan University began as part of the M.A. / Ph.D. programmes in various faculties including the language departments of Nepali, English, Sanskrit, Maithili, Nepal Bhasa (Newar) and Hindi under the Faculties of Humanities and Education. The students in these departments have the option to write their M.A. dissertations in lieu of Paper 8 and many of them choose to do so on literary or linguistics topics. A few of them also go on to work for Ph.D. degrees, but there is no inventory of what M.A. or Ph.D. research in linguistics have been carried out so far, and almost all such dissertations remain unpublished. There is therefore hardly any dissemination or publication of research findings. Information on these dissertations are difficult to come by as they are permanently locked away in department shelves or piled up in one corner at the office of the Controller of Examinations, uncatalogued and unknown heap of knowledge. The research projects sponsored by or affiliated to the Research Division are known to us only by topic titles and names of researchers published in their Research Bulletins. This is not a happy state of affairs and we need to take some steps to make these research materials accessible to everyone. If publication funds are not available, all dissertations and research reports must be deposited in the Central Library or Campus libraries for consultation by interested persons. Any piece of research should not be seen as an end in itself nor a means to obtain degrees or promotions, but as an input to practical applications or further research. I suggest that the Central Department of Linguistics should begin to compile detailed information on language research both within and outside the University, and to publish outstanding dissertations or research reports submitted by its staff and students. This is a worthwhile goal and the department must be provided with a larger research and publication budget for this purpose.

(3) Among the Research Centres in the University, CNAS and CERID have the potential to promote research on language and language education. At the moment the budget allocations are not sufficient to support a consistent programme of field research, documentation and publications. The Centres thus do not have any agenda for research nor do they set any priorities for academic or applied research. Another aspect of this problem may be the lack of skilled manpower, inadequate support services and above all the declining interest and commitment among the

research staff. The human aspect, to my mind, is far more important than continuous complaints about financial constraints. Dahal (1993:6) expressing an insider's viewpoint stresses the need for a long-term policy and a strong leadership at the research centres so that programmes can be implemented more effectively. The present situation is highly unsatisfactory because decisions on staffing, budgeting and programming are arbitrary, and the research outputs as a result are meagre, ad hoc and irrelevant to the needs of the University or the country. The central problem therefore is not one of inadequate resources only but more a lack of far-sighted planning, weak management and a demoralized research staff who have neither the motivation nor commitment to do research. The present situation will see a distinct change for the better if we can restore our much eroded system of accountability and professional discipline at both academic and administrative levels.

Thank you all for your kind attention.

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Permissive Construction in Nepali: Evidence for Complex Predicates

Ram Raj Lohani

This paper is an attempt to explain the permissive construction in Nepali within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar. This main argument of the paper is Nepali permissive construction is a kind of complex predicate of which the argument structure complex & the composition is in the syntax. And further that the categorial & functional behaviour of the Complex Predicates (CP) is incongruous. This is an extract from my MA thesis (Lohani:1999) developed as a self-contained paper. This paper is divided into three sections. In the first section I have presented the concept of permissive situation & permissive construction. The second section is an outline of theory that I have followed for the examination. It follows with the main body of the paper which is further subdivided into four subsections. In this, I have examined complexity in argument structure level & argument-functional mapping, constituent structure and reflexive anaphora binding, and lastly conclusions are drawn accordingly.

1 Permissive Situation: An Introduction

Permission, like causation, is a semantic notion. The situation of permission can also be split into two events in the fashion of causation as it is explained by Sibatani (1976). The first event simply consists of letting a permission so that the second event comes to be effective. In the actual situation, the agent of the basic event is said to be permitted by some external agent so far that that event be carried out, or say, be took place. Hence as Comrie (1989:171) said the permitter has the power to prevent the second event, that is, he may not give any permission to the patient. Or, it may be that the former event can prevent the action of the second event.

Besides these two situations, there is another situation, namely the situation of instruction. In this situation, an order is made by an external agent to a some agent to accomplish some action. Thus in a construction for the situation of the instruction also power of the agent has certain role on the agent of the base by means of order. And also that he may not order, thus not making the action take place. The difference is seen in the readiness of the base agent: in the permissive, the agent seems to be ready to do and looks for permission from some other source, and in the instruction, the base agent is considered able to do but not ready and as he is asked, he does. But in causation, readiness of base agent is considered

neutral and some sort of force or persuasion is needed on its parts.* It goes further that if the base agent (perhaps not agent but patient or theme) has no participation in the action with some sort of knowledge, it can not be said that the 'agent' is caused to do something. But instead, this construction can be said derived transitive. Thus two-way classification can be drawn: permission vs. causation and permission vs. instruction.¹

Permissive notion can also be interpreted in terms of interruption of the external agent to the action. In the case of agentive situation, if he does not interrupt the action of the agent of the base construction though he has that power, and in the case of non-agentive (subject²) construction, if he does not interrupt the action that is going to occur though he has that power, then such situations are permissive situations and the construction to express these situations are permissive constructions. This definition rightly fits in Nepali permissive construction for there are different events which occur because of non-interruption.

In Nepali, permissive meaning is carried by verb *di* 'give'. In such constructions, it does not bear its lexical meaning but acts as permissive vector. In fact, this vector is a light verb, and in Alsina's (1997) verbatim, this is incomplete predicate since it provides an incomplete a-structure. The participle suffix of the base verb which precedes this light verb is infinitival, the participial endings is marked by *-na*. In Nepali, both agentive and non-agentive base constructions can undergo this type of derivation. The multiple permission is barred due to pragmatic constraints, though theoretically possible like double causatives.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1 Levels of Information

The crucial assumption of this paper is that the information in the lexical entry of a predicate are distributed over four levels, which are simultaneously available to the principle of grammar by some global mechanism. The first of these levels, namely semantic structure (s-structure), is represented in terms of atomic semantic primitives drawn out of the universal inventory. It is that part of meanings that are required for syntactic and morphological regularities, and it is identified with the real world organization of the event structures.

The next level, Argument Structure (a-structure), is the information about the syntactic valency of a predicate and the relative prominence of the arguments. The argument prominence is determined by Universal Thematic Hierarchy in terms of semantically determined prominence scale. The Hierarchy helps to identify the logical subject of the predicate for it is the next prominent argument in the construction. (Being outside of the scope of this paper, I don't enter into detail

to identify the logical subject, but take the theory for granted described in the literature).

Another important assumption is that arguments are classified as Proto-Roles. Depending on the semantic properties of the argument, it is classified as Proto-Agent [P-A], Proto-Patient [P-P], or neutral. If an argument has certain key properties such as undergoing a change of state, being an increment theme, or being causally affected by another participant, the argument will have the [P-P] classification, and if an argument has certain key properties such as volitional involvement in the event or state, or causing an event or change of state in another participant, the argument will be the [P-A] classification (Alsina, 1997:205). There is asymmetry between these two roles: if there is a [P-A] argument, it will be the logical subject, and there can not be more than one [P-A] in any simple predicate information. But in a case of complex predicate, there may be more than one [P-A]; then the resolution is set by assuming the external argument, i.e., the logical subject, or [P-A], of the least embedded predicate maps onto subject function. By contrast, [P-P] arguments are internal arguments.

Functional Structure (f-structure) & constituent structures are remaining two levels of which the latter informs about the grammatical category & the constituency of the construction at the surface level. The former is the linking level between a-structure & c-structure, and in the very level syntactic function of arguments are determined & other grammatical features like nominal & verbal features are represented.

2.2. Complex Predicates & its Composition

The predicate in a construction defines the roles & functions of the arguments that appear there. If the predicate of a construction is composed of two or more units that jointly determines its information structure, then the predicate is said to have complex structure.

In the lexical representation of a predicate, the grammatical function, grammatical features, and categories associated with the arguments are largely predictable from the s-structure and a-structure information, although the reverse is not possible (Mohan, 1994:2). This means that these two types of information of a predicate must be represented in its lexical entry. Therefore, these are called underspecified lexical representations. From the underspecified information, f-structure and c-structure properties are predicted through universal and language specific principles of correspondence, and we get the fully specified representation of a predicate.

This implies that a predicate is complex not at predictable information but at underspecified information. The predictable information should be similar, that

is, flat, for all types of predicates. That is to say, complex predicate formation takes place either at a-structure or at s-structure. If a predicate is incomplete and gives underspecified but regular a-structure, then this can be completed by fully specified a-structure of another predicate, and thus complex predicate formation takes place at a-structure. In this process, the bond formation between two argument structures is due to the sharing of one argument between two PRED values. This type of complexity can be found in transitivization, causativization and permissives of a base construction. If the matrix predicate does not have regular a-structure though it is incomplete, there is no possibility of combination at a-structure in regular manner. This type of complexity can be accounted for assuming the composition of PRED values at s-structures. Both of the predicates provide information at s-structures in terms of semantic primitives and by composition a single a-structure is projected from them. This type of composition appears specially in non-verbal complex predicates where the same matrix predicate projects different types of a-structures or arguments with different case markers (for case markers are due to independently motivated s-structure value) while combining with different embedded predicates.

Status of the units of a CP is also noteworthy to get the idea of its lexicality. If the combination is due to bound morpheme, it occurs in the lexicon & categorially it is single word. And if the composition is due to two independent words that occupy different nodes in the c-structure, the combination occurs in the syntax & categorially they are not single word. The latter type may be functionally single word though not necessarily because a CP in a construction may cause ambiguity in anaphora binding. But whatever be the type of composition, it obeys the binary composition along a tree. This means two predicates in structural sisterhood under a mother combine & in case of multiple complexity it goes systematically upto the final product.

2.3. Syntactic Functions and Mapping

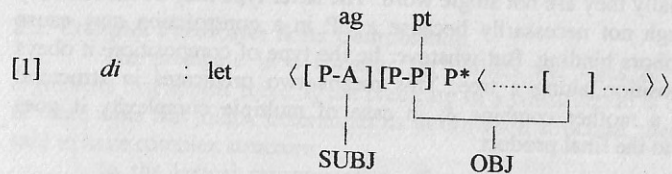
The mapping between a-structure and f-structure is constrained by principle of argument-function biuniqueness, and only lexical rules can alter this. This means a single argument has single function in f-structure and vice versa. Regarding the case markers, these are independently motivated s-structure information, and so there is no clear associate between the syntactic function of an argument and its case marker. The principle that maps a-structure and f-structure lets external argument map only onto subject function and internal argument either onto subject or onto object function. The internal argument maps onto subject function if there is no external argument.

3. Permissive Constructions

3.1 Argument Structure and Syntactic Function

The permissive predicate (*di* 'let') is underspecified in a-structure. The empty slot in the a-structure is filled by embedding some fully specified a-structure of a base predicate. For functional mapping, the external argument of the complex structure, that is the logical subject of the least embedded predicate, maps onto subject function. This means the logical subject of the incomplete predicate is grammatical subject of the complex structure. For this combination the patient of the incomplete predicate should be semantically identified with the logical subject of the embedded predicate. The difference against causativization lies at the point that in the latter the shared argument is always agent of the base predicate, for causative construction represents the action done by some conscious agent under persuasion or force of some external agent. But permissive construction does not restrict in this manner; and the base predicate with non-agentive logical subject can also undergo such derivation. As we will see later, there is a small restriction on the choice of subject of the base. The shared argument, the perimitee, maps onto object function, which is always marked by Dative case if this is conscious participant.

The schematic representation of a-structure of matrix predicate is given in [1]. The existence of P* represents the underspecified a-structure.

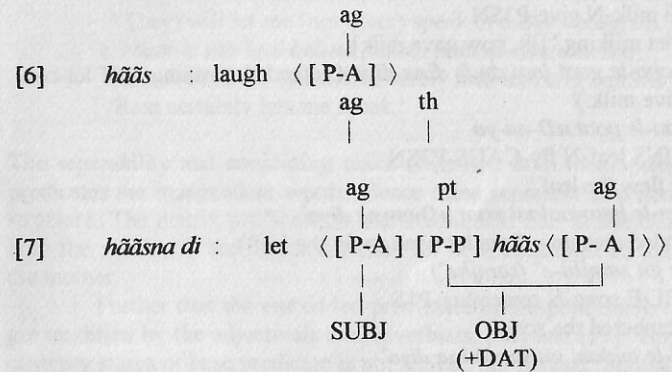


The filling of the vacant slot can be illustrated by embedding any of the a-structure of following base construction.

- [2] *āp kuhi-yo*
 mango-N rot-P3SN
 'The mango got rotten'
- [3] *keTo hāās-yo*
 boy-N laugh-P3nhSM
 'The boy laughed'

- [4] *bhaai-le aksyar meT-yo*
 brother-E letter erase-P3nhSM
 'The brother erased the letter.'
- [5] *buhaari-le paahunaa-laai bhaat di-in*
 daughter-in-law-E guest-DAT rice-N give-P3mhSF
 'The daughter-in-law gave guest rice.'

For illustration, only the a-structure of [3] and the embedded representation of each with [1] are given as [6] and [7], respectively.



The corresponding derived structures of [2] to [5] are [8] to [11] as follows:

- [8] *pasale-le āāp kuhi-na di-yo*
 shopkeeper-E mango-N rot-INF let-P3nhSM
 'The shopkeeper let the mango be rotten.'
- [9] *bhaai-le keTo-laai hāās-na di-yo*
 brother-E boy-DAT laugh-INF let-P3nhSM
 'The brother let the boy laugh.'
- [10] *karNa-le bhaai-laai aksyar meT-na di-yo*
 Karna-E brother-DAT letter erase-INF let-P3nhSM
 'Karna let the brother erase the letter.'
- [11] *bhim-le buhaari-laai paahunaa-laai bhaat di-na di-e*
 Bhim-E daughter-in-law-DAT guest-DAT rice-N give-INF let-P3mhSM
 'Bhim let the daughter-in-law give rice to the guest.'

The grammaticality of [8] in Nepali clears that the construction with intransitive verb, which means 'the action happens itself', can also be permissived. The

implication of the meaning of this construction is that the shopkeeper could manage otherwise not letting mango be rotten. In [11], the double Dative marker is differentiated by word order, pause and the situation combinely.

3.1.1 Constraints in Permissive

If the construction means inherently permission [12], if the subject is instrumental [13], unconsciously motivated work [14], and with subjects that do not agree in verbal inflexion [15] can not be permissived.

- [12] a. *gaai-le dudh di-yo*
cow-E milk-N give-P3SN
'Cow let milking.' [lit. cow gave milk]
- b. * *baacho-le gaai-laai dudh dina diyo* (intended meaning: calf let cow to give milk.)
- [13] a. *haawaa-le paat uD-aa-yo*
wind-INS leaf-N fly-CAUS-P3SN
'Wind flew the leaf.'
- b. * *raam-le haawaalaai paat uDaana diyo*³
(Intended meaning: Ram let wind to fly the leaf.)
- [14] a. *mai-le git samjhi-e~ (samjhe~)*
1S.OBL-E song-N remember-P1S
'I remembered the song.'
- b. * *hari-le malaai git samjhina diyo*⁴
(Intended meaning: Hari let me to remember the song.)
- [15] a. *ma-laai cilaa-yo*
1S-DAT itch-P.nAgr
'It itched to me.'
- b. * *raam-le ma-laai cilaana diyo*
(Intended meaning: Ram let that I feel itching.)

3.2 Constituent Structure

1. Conjoining and Separability

- [16] a. *raam-le sitaa-laai [[hãas-na] ra [bol-na] di-yo*
Ram-E Sita-DAT laugh-INF and speak-INF let-P3nhSM
'Ram let sita laugh and speak.'
- b. *raam-le [[sitaa-laai hãas-na] ra [gita-laai ru-na]] di-yo*
Ram-E Sita-DAT laugh-INF and Gita-DAT weep-INF let-P3nhSM
'Ram let Sita laugh and Gita weep.'

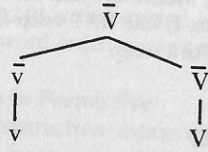
- c. [[*raam-le gita-laai hãas-na*] ra [*syaam-le rita-laai ru-na*]] *di-e*
Ram-E Gita-DAT laugh-INF and Shyam-E Rita-DAT weep-INF let-P3nhP1
'Ram let Gita laugh and Shyam let Rita weep.'
- [17] a. *ma-laai bol-na ta di-φ (de)*
1S-DAT speak-INF EMF let-nh.IMP
'Let me speak (first).'
- b. *aaj-ko kaaryakrama-maa bol-na ma-laai nai di-ne-cha-n*
today-GEN program-L speak-INF 1S-DAT EMP let-UNR-be-nP3P1
'(They) will let me (not other) speak in today's program.'
- c. *raam-le ma-laai bol-na pakkai pani di-cha(dincha)*
Ram-E 1S-DAT speak-INF surely also let-be.nP3nhSM
'Ram certainly lets me speak.'

The separability and conjoining make clear that both incomplete and embedded predicates are independent words. Hence these represent two nodes in the phrase structure. The matrix predicate, or the incomplete one, is the categorial head but both the predicates are functional head for both contribute to the PRED value of the mother.

Further that the embedded predicates in the permissive construction also get modified by the adjectivals and adverbials, [18] and [19]. This means that the category status of base predicate is not lexical, but phrasal. Similarly the light verb can be topicalized across the clause, [20].

- [18] *ma timi-laai me-ro ghar-maa din-ko ekcoTi maatra uau-na*
1S-N 2mhS-DAT 1S.OBL-GEN house-L day-GEN once only come-INF
di-cha-u(dinchu)
let-be-nP1S
'I let you come to my house only once a day.'
- [19] *guru-le ma-laai ciccyaa-era bol-na di-yo-na-n(dianan)*
teacher-E 1S-DAT scream-CONJP speak-INF let-PM-NEG-nP3mhS
'Teacher didn't let me speak screaming.'
- [20] a. *dinchan aajako karyakramamaa bolna malaai nai* (cf. [17b])
b. *dië bhimle buhaarilaai paahunaa-laai bhaat dina* (cf. [11])
In the light of these facts, the c-structure of Nepali permissive complex predicates can be given as [21], v represents the incomplete status of matrix predicate.

[21]



3.3 Reflexive Anaphora Binding

Permissive CP permits ambiguity in anaphora binding. As I have proposed elsewhere (Lohan, 1999: 99) that anaphora binding should take place at a-structure and available logical subjects are potential antecedents, this equally holds for permissive construction also, [22].

- [22] a. *us-le ma-laai aaph-no ghara jaa-na di-yo*
 3nhS_i OBL-E 1S_j-DAT REFL_{i/j}-GEN go-INF give-P3nhSM
 'He let me go my / his home.'
- b. *u ma-laai aaph-no kuraa bataau-na di-cha(dincha)*
 3nhS_i-N 2S_j-DAT REFL_{i/j}-GEN talk tell-INF let-be.nP3nhSM
 'He lets me tell the matter about myself/ himself.'

3.4 Mismatches and Conclusions

Permissive CP permits mismatches between a-structure and c-structure, and f-structure and c-structure. For there are two nodes at c-structure, in both correspondences we get one-to-two correspondence, that is, two nodes in the c-structure corresponds to the single a-structure and f-structure. Hence these levels are non-isomorphic.

The permissive CP forms at a-structure by combination of two information provided by two predicates. The CP is not a single word. It consists of two categorial words which correspond with two functional words. Therefore, anaphora binding is ambiguous for two functional words provide two logical subjects before composition. The status of CP and both predicates are found to be phrasal.

Abbreviations

CAUS- Causative	nAgr-Non-agreement
CONJP- Conjunctive Participle	NEG-Negative
DAT- Dative	nh-non-honorific
E-Ergative	nP- non-past
EMP- Emphatic	OBJ- Object Function.
F-Feminine	OBL-Oblique (inflectional)
GEN-Genitive	OBLQ-Oblique (Post position)
IMP- Imperative	P-Past
INF-Infinitival Participle ending	PI-Plural
INS-Instrumental	REFL-Reflexive
L-Locative	S-Singular
M-Masculine	SUBJ-Subject function.
mh-mid-honorific	UNR- Unreal aspect
N- i. Nominative (at nominal)	
ii. Neutral gender (at verbal)	

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¹ The fuzziness of causation vs. permission can be illustrated by following example (i)

- (i) nokar-le cor bhagaayo
servant-E thief-N escape-CAUS-P3nhSM

'Servant caused the thief escape.' or 'Servant let the thief escape'

The meaning depends upon the situation and mode of interpretation. The fuzziness of causation vs. instructive is also there which we can see in Bandhu (1985) where though the author mentions *araamu*, *bhannu* (to ask) as causativizer proposing further investigation, the construction with these verbs should be considered as instructive rather than causative.

² Subject in terms of agreement as verbal inflexion.

³ Marginally, the intended meaning can be derived from the structure with the instrumental marker in the 'pegmatite'.

⁴ Marginally, this construction may mean : Hari waited for a while (or provided opportunity) for me to remember the song.

Classification of the Tamang 'Verb Stems'

Krishna P. Chalise

Tamang is a non-pronominalized member of Tibeto-Burman language family. Because of the cultural and linguistic proximities it used to be believed that Tamang has direct relationship to Tibetan language. Now, this has been proved to be false. Mazaudon (1993) clarifies the relation as : Tamang is a language of the Tibeto-Burman language family, belonging to the same branch as classical Tibetan, but it is not a descendant of classical Tibetan. It is not a Tibetan dialect. To use family metaphor, Tamang is a grand nephew of classical Tibetan, not a grand child.

Tamang is a highly agglutinative language with monosyllabic characteristics. Most of the verb roots consist of a single syllable which may be closed or open. If the verb stem consists of more than one morpheme, morphophonemic changes are found in very limited cases.

Tamang verb stems can be classified on the basis of their structural, derivational and morphophonemic nature.

1 Classification on the Basis of Structure

Tamang verb stems can be classified into following classes on the basis of their structural complexity.

1.1 Primitive Verb Stems

Primitive verb stems are those which are basic, mono-morphemic and mostly monosyllabic. In reality they are verb roots.

(1)	<i>thuŋ</i>	-	'drink'	<i>mehr</i>	-	'sleep'
	<i>paŋ</i>	-	'say'	<i>khar</i>	-	'dry'
	<i>cuŋ</i>	-	'catch'	<i>kyał</i>	-	'swim'
	<i>pin</i>	-	'give'	<i>syal</i>	-	'rub'
	<i>cim</i>	-	'store'	<i>set</i>	-	'kill'
	<i>chek</i>	-	'tremple'	<i>cya</i>	-	'look'
	<i>kotek</i>	-	'tickle'	<i>te</i>	-	'pour'
	<i>brah</i>	-	'walk'	<i>kho</i>	-	'grate'
	<i>blo:h</i>	-	'prick'	<i>kro</i>	-	'burn'
	<i>ca</i>	-	'eat'	<i>nu:</i>	-	'sleep'
	<i>syi</i>	-	'die'	<i>hoi</i>	-	'dissolve'

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<i>wai</i>	-	'boil'	<i>kha</i>	-	'come'
<i>tha:</i>	-	'cut'	<i>su:</i>	-	'plant'

1.2 Complex Verb Stems

A complex verb stem is formed by the combination of verb with other grammatical elements whether substantive (noun and adjective) or verbal to lexicalize a complex event structure. Because of the high agglutinative monosyllabic nature of Tamang, any complex situation can be lexicalized by the arrangement of morphemes such that each morpheme carries one sense of the complex situation. Noun + Verb (N+V), Verb + Verb (V+v) and Adjective + Verb (A + V) constructions are possible in Tamang.

N+V

Noun and verb can combine together to form a complex verb stem.

- (2)
- paŋ-ce Taŋa yoh-la-ji*
Pasang-ERG money thief-do-PST
'Pasang stole money.'
 - the-ce kli-puŋ-ji*
he-ERG stool-hit-PST
'He defecated.'
 - ram-ce sita-da roh-la-ba*
ram-ERG Sita-da friend-do-NPT1
'Ram helps Sita.'

V+v

Two or more verbs can combine to form a V+v complex verb stem. This type of complex stem is called compound verb stem. A compound verb stem, in spite of its multi-rooted composition, performs the role of a single verb. "Vv is the sequence of two verbs in which the semantic center of gravity shifts from v to V, with concomitant lexical emptying or grammaticalization of v. In some cases this lexical emptying is almost complete. In other cases, enough of the literal is retained and v semantically contributes but a literal translation is not quite admissible (Masica 1976:141)"

In the sequence V is the main stem and v is the secondary one. v is popularly called explicator. As the explicator verb construction is wide found in 'South Asian Linguistic Area', Tamang a member of the area, also has such construction.

- (3) a. *ŋa-da e:-la ghaDi pit-kha-u*
I-DAT you-GEN watch send-come-IMP
'Send me your watch.'
b. *the syo-ri kor-nyi-ba*
he morning-LOC wander-go-NPT1
'He wanders in the morning.'
c. *e:-ce the-da ken ca-puŋ-ji*
you-ERG he-DAT rice eat-hit-PST
'You permitted him to eat rice.'

In the string of complex verb stem the first root governs the meaning but the second one also contributes in the semantic content of the whole verb stem. Similarly, both of them also have syntactic role and contribute in the syntactic structure.

There are some verbs in Tamang they are composed of two verbs. They have essentially onomatopoeic function. They are not composed of two different verbs but it is mere repetition of same verb. So, they have no status of complex stem.

- (4) *kete-ketek* 'walk producing sound'
yan-yon 'move here and there'
phyon-phyon 'to float something over water'

Adjective + Verb (A + v)

There is no distinction between verbs and some adjectives in Tamang. Same word can be a verb as well as an adjective. Whether the word is a verb or an adjective is determined by the function that performs in the sentence.

- (5) a.i) *ŋa-la jame jyaba mu-ba*
I-GEN daughter beautiful be-NPT1
'My daughter is beautiful.'
ii) *ŋa-la jame jya-ji*
I-GEN daughter become well-PST
'My daughter became well.'
b.i) *cu ji: kampa mu-ba*
this wine bitter be-NPT1
'This wine is bitter.'

- ii) *cu ji: kham-ji*
this wine become bitter-PST
'This wine became bitter.'

So, it seems to be difficult to declare whether the complex is A+V or V+v. It needs further detailed study. However Tamang speakers use the A+V complex.

- (6) a. *cu sya khampa ta-ji*
this meat bitter become-PST
'This meat became bitter.'
b. *ŋa-la dihm bokta ta-ji*
I-GEN house old become-PST
'My house became old.'
c. *e:-la jame jyapba ta-ji*
you-GEN daughter beautiful become-PST
'Your daughter became beautiful.'

But, there are some adjectives that can't be a verb. They are pure adjectives. The adjectives that end with *-pa/-ba* can be both a verb and an adjective, but others can't be. The difference between the two types of adjectives needs further study.

1.3 Derived Verb Stems

The derived verbal stems are those which are derived from other word classes. So derivative process is as a class changing process. Tamang has no such type of morphological derivational system because there is no clear-cut distinction among noun, verb and adjective. It is unique in Tamang as well as other Tibeto-Burman languages that it is very difficult to distinguish whether root is basically verbal, nominal or adjectival.

"The Tibeto-Burman dialects possess a richly varied vocabulary. They don't possess a real verb, the whole expression starting from substantial conception, many of them have developed a kind of inflections by means of words which are no for all practical purpose particles. Same word can be noun, verb and adjective." Grierson (1909). In Tamang it is very difficult to declare that which (noun or verb or adjective) is basic one and which is derived.

- (7) a. *ca-ba -ce ken ca-ji*
eat-NOM1 -ERG rice eat-PST
'Eater ate rice.'
- b. *ŋa-ce ca-ba ken leppa mu-ba*
I-ERG eat-NOM1 rice hot be-NPT1
'The rice that I eat is hot.'
- c. *ŋa-ce ken ca-ba*
I-ERG rice eat-NPT1
'I eat rice.'

In the above examples the same word *ca-ba* is used in all of them. In (7a) that is used as a noun, in (7b) that is used as an adjective and in (7c) that is used as a verb.

Although Tamang has no class changing derivational system, other non-class changing derivations are possible.

1.3.1 Causative Stem

Tamang causative stems are formed by suffixing causativizer <-na> and do verb <-la> in the non-causative verb stems, both transitive and intransitive.

- (8) a. i) *ŋa-ce the-da brigu pin-ji* (non-causative)
I-ERG he-DAT pen give PST
'I gave him a pen.'
- ii) *e:-ce- ŋa-da the-da brigu pin-na la-ji* [causative]
you-ERG I-OBLI he-DAT pen give-CAUS do-PST
'You made me give him a pen.'
- b. i) *ŋa-ce ken ca-ji* [non-causative]
I-ERG rice eat-PST
'I ate rice.'
- ii) *ram-ce ŋa-da ken ca-na la-ji* [causative]
Ram-ERG I-DAT rice eat-CAUS do-PST
'Ram made me eat rice.'
- c. i) *ram syi-ji* [non-causative]
Ram die-PST
'Ram died.'
- ii) *hari-ce ram-da syi-na la-ji* [causative]
Hari-ERG ram-DAT die-CAUS do-PST
'Hari caused Ram to die.'

The verb in (8a) is ditransitive, (8b) is transitive and (8c) is intransitive. In Tamang, causative verb stem can be derived from both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(9) Non-causative	Causative
<i>thuŋ-</i>	<i>thuŋ-na la</i> (drink)
<i>cheŋ-</i>	<i>cheŋ-na la</i> (pull)
<i>chiŋ-</i>	<i>chiŋ-na la</i> (wake up)
<i>them-</i>	<i>them-na la</i> (keep)
<i>cim-</i>	<i>cim-na la</i> (store)
<i>per-</i>	<i>per-na la</i> (grind)
<i>thur-</i>	<i>thur-na la</i> (fight)
<i>kyal-</i>	<i>kyal-na la</i> (swim)

1.3.2 Negative Stem

Tamang negative stems are formed prefixing negative affix. There are two negative prefixes <tha- > and <a- >. Each of the following examples has i) affirmative and ii) negative forms.

- (10) a. i) *tini e:-la dihm-ri Doma kha-ba-la*
today you-GEN home-LOC Doma come-NPT1-Perf
'Doma has come at your home today.'
- ii) *tini e:-la dihm-ri Doma a-kha (-ba-la)*
today you-GEN home-LOC Doma NEG-come(-NPT1-Perf)
'Doma has not come at your home today.'
- b. i) *ram-ce gaŋ-ri krep-pa-la*
Ram-ERG hill-LOC climb-NPT1-Perf
'Ram has climbed on the hill.'
- ii) *ram-ce gaŋ-ri a-krep (-pa-la)*
Ram-ERG hill-LOC NEG-climb(-NPT1-Perf)
'Ram has not climbed the hill.'

In the context, the TAM (Tense-Aspect and Modality) markers are deleted. <tha- > can be used only in imperative sentences. It is termed here as the prohibitive prefix.

- c. i) *cu rimThim -la chyoi khet-o*
this culture -GEN book read-IMP
'Read this book about culture.'
ii) *cu rimThim -la chyoi tha-khet-o*
this culture language-GEN book PROH-read-IMP
'Don't read this book about culture.'
- d. i) *ram-da ηot-o*
Ram-DAT call-IMP
'Call Ram.'
ii) *ram-da tha-ηot-o*
Ram-DAT PROH-call-IMP
'Don't call Ram.'

2 Classification on the Basis of the Stem -Final Segment

From the available data, I have found that Tamang verb stems can end with eight consonants and all vowels. /s/ and /T/ are found in the final position of nouns, only in very limited cases. So, I have not included them here. Tamang verb stems can end with the following segments.

(11)	a.	/ŋ/	<i>thuŋ-</i> 'drink'	<i>cheŋ-</i> 'pull'	<i>paŋ-</i> 'say'
	b.	/n/	<i>kin-</i> 'take'	<i>pin-</i> 'give'	<i>khren-</i> 'twist'
	c.	/m/	<i>sum-</i> 'feel'	<i>kram-</i> 'spoil'	<i>cim-</i> 'store'
	d.	/r/	<i>sar-</i> 'bloom'	<i>or-</i> 'uproot'	<i>thur-</i> 'fight'
	e.	/l/	<i>kyal-</i> 'swim'	<i>syal-</i> 'polish'	<i>gahl-</i> 'sun set'
	f.	/p/	<i>khrap-</i> 'bite'	<i>lahp-</i> 'chase'	<i>wap-</i> 'jump'
	g.	/t/	<i>ret-</i> 'grind'	<i>ηet-</i> 'chew'	<i>pit-</i> 'send'
	h.	/k/	<i>phlak-</i> 'plaster'	<i>kotek-</i> 'tickle'	<i>serak-</i> 'peel'
	i.	/i/	<i>syi-</i> 'die'	<i>Ti-</i> 'sit'	<i>wai-</i> 'boil'

j.	/i:/	<i>phi:-</i> germinate	<i>ci:h-</i> pinch	<i>phi:h-</i> peel
k.	/e/	<i>te-</i> 'pour'	<i>reh-</i> sift	<i>kle-</i> split
l.	/e:/	<i>e:-</i> 'you'	<i>re:h-</i> 'get up'	<i>sye:-</i> 'know'
m.	/a/	<i>ca-</i> 'eat'	<i>khya-</i> 'patch'	<i>kha-</i> 'come'
n.	/a:/	<i>tha:-</i> 'cut'	<i>ŋa:-</i> 'blow with mantra'	<i>cya:-</i> 'look'
o.	/o/	<i>po-</i> 'change'	<i>cho-</i> 'dye'	<i>kro-</i> 'burn'
p.	/o:/	<i>kho:-</i> 'grate'	<i>do:h-</i> 'jerk'	<i>ŋo:-</i> 'tease'
q.	/u/	<i>khru-</i> 'wash'	<i>chu-</i> 'touch'	<i>nyu-</i> 'dissolve'
r.	/u:/	<i>mu:-</i> 'sleep'	<i>du:h-</i> 'tire'	<i>ju:h-</i> 'bark'

Tamang verb stems can be classified into the following classes on the basis of morphophonemic changes and suffix selection. The class of verb is determined by the quality of the final segment. Six verb classes are possible in Tamang. The morphophonemic nature of each of the classes is presented in the paradigms given for each of the classes.

Only three forms are taken to form each paradigm because morphophonemic changes are more frequent and regular in these forms.

2.1 Voiceless Ending Class (VI-set)

Tamang verb stems can end with any above listed voiceless segment. We can find the basic form of suffix with this set, thus this set can be used as a diagnostic of basic form of the suffix. This class is characterized by no alternation in the suffix. So the basic form of the suffixes are found with the verb stems belonging to this class.

The paradigm given below illustrates the affirmative inflections of VI-set.

(12)		PST	NPT1	IMP
	<i>rap-</i>	'stand' <i>rap-ci</i>	<i>rap-pa</i>	<i>rap-o</i>
	<i>kotek-</i>	'tickle' <i>kotek-ci</i>	<i>kotek-pa</i>	<i>kotek-o</i>
	<i>set-</i>	'kill' <i>set-ci</i>	<i>sep-pa</i>	<i>set-o</i>

2.2 Voiced Ending Class (Vd-set)

Tamang verb stems can end with any voiced segment except voiced-stops, breathy vowels or breathy consonants and glides. We can find suffix alternation with vd-set. This process is found to be regular.

(13) The following paradigm illustrates the affirmative inflections of Vd-set.

	PST	NPT1	IMP
yaŋ- 'final'	yaŋ-ji	yaŋ-ba	yaŋ-o
sum- 'feel'	sum-ji	sum-ba	sum-o
mehr- 'sleep'	mehr-ji	mehr-ba	mehr-o

Vd-set is characterized by the progressive assimilation between the stem final segment and suffix initial segment.

[-voice] → [+voice]

The basic form of PST is <-ci> and NPT1 is <-pa>. But with the stems of the set the voiceless segments are changed into corresponding voiced ones.

ci → ji
pa → ba

It is important to note that this voiceless and voiced alternation is found to be in free variation. The use of one in place of other does not affect in meaning and understanding. However the alternation is found. This alternation is more regularly found in eastern dialect and less frequent in western. Some western speakers use only the voiceless forms. It shows that this alternation has been newly innovated. I have distinguished this alternation in this work because my language consultant does so.

2.3 n-Ending Class (n-set)

If the stem ends with /n/, it assimilates with the bilabial segment of the suffix following it in place of articulation. This regressive assimilation causes stem alternation. /n/ is not found in the stem final position if it is followed by the suffix having bilabial segment in the initial position.

The paradigm given below illustrates the affirmative inflections of n-set.

	PST	NPT1	IMP
pin- 'give'	pin-ji	pim-ba	pin-o
brehm- 'wait'	brehm-ji	brehm-ba	brehm-o

min- 'ripen'	min-ji	mim-ba	min-o
kin- 'accept'	kin-ji	kim-ba	kin-o

In NPT1 form no verb stem is found ending with /n/ segment. It is important to note that this alternation is compulsory. Native speakers cannot understand if this alternation is not followed in conversation.

2.4 t-Ending Class (t-set)

The verb stem ending with /t/, assimilates with the bilabial initial segment of the suffix following it in place of articulation. So /t/ is changed in to /p/, as the result that causes stem alternation.

(15) The paradigm given below illustrates the affirmative inflections of t-set.

	PST	NPT1	IMP
set- 'kill'	set-ci	sep-pa	set-o
pit- 'send'	pit-ci	pip-pa	pit-o
wat- 'jump over'	wat-ci	wap-pa	wat-o
ret- 'grind'	ret-ci	rep-pa	ret-o

In NPT1 form no stem is found ending with /t/.

2.5 Short Vowel -Ending Class (V-set)

Tamang verb stems that end with short vowels determine the selection of suffix in imperative construction. The paradigm given below illustrates the affirmative inflections of V-set.

	PST	NPT1	IMP
Ti- 'sit'	Ti-ji	Ti-ba	Ti-u
nyi- 'go'	nyi-ji	nyi-ba	nyi-u
reh- 'sift'	reh-ji	reh-ba	reh-u
te- 'pour'	et-ji	te-ba	te-u
ca- 'eat'	ca-ji	ca-ba	ca-u
kha- 'come'	kha-ji	kha-ba	kha-u
po- 'change'	po-ji	po-ba	po-u
kro- 'burn'	kro-ji	kro-ba	kro-u

This set takes <-u> as an imperative affix. In the case of /u/ ending stem /u/ itself becomes long.

khru + u → khru:

'wash' IMP
chu + u → chu:
 'touch' + IMP

2.6 Long Vowel-Ending Class (V: -set)

The verb stem that ends with long vowels determines the selection of suffix in imperative construction. The following paradigm shows the affirmative inflections of V: - set.

(17)		PST	NPT1	IMP
	<i>cya</i> - 'look'	<i>cya:-ji</i>	<i>cya:-ba</i>	<i>cya:-ko</i>
	<i>syē</i> - 'know'	<i>syē:-ji</i>	<i>syē:-ba</i>	<i>syē:-ko</i>
	<i>nu</i> :- 'sleep'	<i>nu:-ji</i>	<i>nu:-ba</i>	<i>nu:-ko</i>
	<i>kho</i> :- 'grate'	<i>kho:-ji</i>	<i>kho:-ba</i>	<i>kho:-ko</i>
	<i>tha</i> :- 'cut'	<i>tha:-ji</i>	<i>tha:-ba</i>	<i>tha:-ko</i>
	<i>ku</i> :- 'be bent'	<i>ku:-ji</i>	<i>ku:-ba</i>	<i>khu:-ko</i>

This set takes <-ko> as an imperative suffix. In some speakers speech <-ko> is changed into <-go> according to Tamang general trend of voicing assimilation. But both the forms are acceptable to the native speakers.

Imperative in Tamang is device that can determine whether the stem final vowel is long or short.

If the stem ends with diphthong ending with high vowel /i/, it takes <-yo> as imperative suffix.

(18)		PST	NPT1	IMP
	<i>hui</i> - 'push'	<i>hui-ji</i>	<i>hui-ba</i>	<i>hui-yo</i>
	<i>tai</i> - 'fall off'	<i>tai-ji</i>	<i>tai-ba</i>	<i>tai-yo</i>
	<i>sai</i> - 'clean'	<i>sai-ji</i>	<i>sai-ba</i>	<i>sai-yo</i>

Conclusion

Tamang verb stems can be classified on the basis of their structural complexity and stem final segment. Chaining of morphemes to form a single verb stem is a prominent characteristic. There is no morphological device to differentiate noun, verb and adjective. So derivation of verb stems from other word classes is a dilemma. But the class retained derivations are possible. The distribution of the segments /s/ and /T/ is remarkable. Voiceless ending class can be used as a diagnostic of the basic form of a suffix. There is affix alternation with voice ending class, stem alternation with t- and n- ending classes and suffix selection with vowel ending classes.

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TOPICS IN NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

Edited by **Yogendra P Yadava & Warren W Glover**

This volume incorporates linguistics studies made by both Nepali and international scholars. It is a collection of work by over thirty contributors who have made in-depth study of language in the Himalayan kingdom. The linguistic and cultural diversity that is such a prominent aspect of this country has attracted many scholars. Since its inception the Royal Nepal Academy has served as a centre for the study of the arts and cultures of Nepal. The Academy has published many works in pursuit of its goal of preserving the cultures of Nepal and enriching scientific knowledge. The current volume is another contribution to the Academy's publication programme.

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Fax: +977(1)221175

Paper: NRs 680 US\$19.95

1999.624 pages, 9.75x 7.25 inches

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शक्य अफसेट प्रेस (प्रा) लि.

Printed at :

Shakya Offset Press (P) Ltd. Tel. : 260608, 260185
FAX : 977-1-265606, E-MAIL : shakya@mangal.wlink.com.np